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An Architecture for Music:
Building spaces for secular music performance in the British Isles *c.* 1660-1800

Sarah P. C. Hendriks

Doctor of Philosophy
University of Edinburgh
2018

I confirm that this thesis presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy has

a) been composed entirely by myself

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Abstract

This thesis investigates how an architecture for music developed during the long eighteenth century in the British Isles. It discusses why certain venues were chosen, and how the spaces used for performance evolved architecturally during this period. It therefore provides an architectural history of the concert hall and the spaces used for secular music performance in the British Isles in the long eighteenth century. The thesis focuses on the British Isles, with particular attention given to London, Edinburgh, Dublin, and Oxford. It uses the historical record to identify spaces and venues used for secular music performance. It analyses the architectural features of these spaces and situates them within a cultural context, arguing that their choice and appearance was influenced predominantly by social and cultural trends, alongside the practical needs of musicians. By situating architectural changes within the broader socio-historical context of the eighteenth century, the thesis contributes to the historiography of cultural and architectural history, and opens up questions about the nature and place of vernacular architecture in eighteenth-century studies.

The first three chapters are broadly chronological and situate changes in siting and appearance within a socio-historical context. Chapter One focuses on the effect of the Restoration and seventeenth century political events on the development of the music meeting and the use of the tavern as a performance venue. Chapter Two examines the impact of commercial and economic enterprise on the choice and appearance of concert venues. The third chapter analyses the construction of the first purpose-built concert venues, relating these projects to polite culture and the growth of a middle class. The final two chapters of the thesis take a broader approach. The fourth chapter explores the impact of urbanism and early town planning on the siting and fortunes of music performance spaces, whilst Chapter Five looks at the question of the 'architect' and the science of acoustics in the design and execution of spaces for music.

The thesis demonstrates that architecture for secular music performance was guided and shaped by its socio-cultural context in the eighteenth-century British Isles. It ultimately argues that an architecture for music developed during this period, one that shifted from vernacular to polite forms of expression, and in the process contributed to the genesis of a new building type: the concert hall.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS vii
LIST OF FIGURES ix
ABBREVIATIONS AND NOTES ON THE TEXT xvii

VOLUME ONE

INTRODUCTION 1
Defining the Scope 3
Sources 9
Fields of Study 11
Architecture and Music 11
Acoustics 15
Historiography and Musicology 18
Architectural History 21
Chapter Outline 24

CHAPTER ONE: SETTING THE STAGE 29
The Music Meeting 35
The Oxford Music Meeting 36
Edmund Chilmead 39
The Oxford Music School 47
Thomas Britton 52
The Tavern 56
Music Houses 62
Catch Clubs 66
The Coffeehouse 67

CHAPTER TWO: PAYING THE PIPER 71
The Entrepreneur 74
John Banister 74
York Buildings 82
Thomas Britton 87
The Vendu 88
Hickford's Rooms 91
Industry 93
Cultural Speculation 100

CHAPTER THREE: GOING SOLO 109
The Crow Street Music Room 114
The Fishamble Street Music Room 116
Holywell Music Room 124
St Cecilia's Hall 132
Assembly Rooms 146

CHAPTER FOUR: ARRANGING THE CITY 149
London 154
The London Pleasure Garden 160
Edinburgh 166
Dublin 171
Oxford 178
Centre and Periphery 181

CHAPTER FIVE: (RE)CONSTRUCTING SOUND 187
Constructing Sound 192
A Case Study: Thomas Mace 201
Sound Models 207
Reconstructing Sound 213

CONCLUSION 227
Future Avenues of Research 229
Encore 235

BIBLIOGRAPHY 237

VOLUME TWO

APPENDICES 279
Appendix A 281
Appendix B 283
Appendix C 285
Appendix D 291
Appendix E 295
Appendix F 305
Appendix G 307
Appendix H 309
Appendix I 311
Appendix J 313

ILLUSTRATIONS 315

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Much has happened during the three years of this thesis, including the loss of three dear friends and family members. PhD life, consequently, was not entirely what I had imagined though it remained, in its way, invigorating and ultimately rewarding. I thank those who supported me during this time and for the patience and understanding of those around me.

To my supervisors Ian Campbell and Alistair Fair, whose advice and perspectives were always helpful and insightful: Thank you for your support – both scholarly and pastoral.

To those who enabled this research through the provision of funding, thank you: The University of Edinburgh, the Paul Mellon Foundation, the Edinburgh College of Art, and the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain.

To those who assisted with this research, thank you for giving freely of your time, expertise, and assistance, and for teaching me how to navigate the variety of archives, materials, and catalogues across the British Isles: In particular, the archivists and librarians of The National Archives, The City of Westminster records office, The Cambridgeshire records office, Trinity College Library Cambridge, Wadham College Oxford, the Irish Architectural Archive, the National Library of Ireland, The National Library of Scotland, The Soane Archive, and the V&A.

To my friends – new and old, near and far – your support, encouragement, and time has seen me through the good times and bad.

Finally to my family and especially my mother: for listening, for talking, for supporting. Although you were all so far away, feeling you were here has meant the world. This is for you.

List of Figures

Figure 1: Photograph of Broad Street, Oxford, by Harold Minn, from the cupola of the Sheldonian Theatre,1936, Oxford. *BL*: G. A. Oxon a.64, p.30 (Image sourced from Bellingham, p.23)

Figure 2: Map showing the location of Ellis's home, now the site of the Weston Library, relative to the Bodleian Library and Sheldonian Theatre. Image: googlemaps, 20 August 2018

Figure 3: Chamber Organ, *c.* 1680, University of Edinburgh, Musical Instruments Museums Edinburgh 4327

Figure 4: British School, *A Musical Party*, *c.* 1750, oil on canvas, image courtesy of Sotheby's and reproduced from Leppert, *Music and Image*, pl. 94

Figure 5: John Hudgebut, *Thesaurus Musicus,* 1693, detail of titlepate, *BL*: K.2.g.16

Figure 6: Details of the Heather Bequest for the establishment of a Music Professorship at the University of Oxford. *Bodleian:* Reg. Conv. N 23, fol. 222

Figure 7: Plan of Ground Floor of the Bodleian Schools, from Sir Edmund Craster, *History of the Bodleian Library*, 1981, pg. 4

Figure 8: A selection of receipts detailing expenses for restoring the music school in 1657. *Bodleian:* UA N.W.3.4

Figure 9: John Rocque, *A plan of the cities of London and Westminster, and borough of Southwark*, 1746, Detail with red star making the corner of Jerusalem Passage and Aylesbury Street

Figure 10: John Wollaston, *Thomas Britton*, oil on canvas, 1703, National Portrait Gallery, London: NPG 523

Figure 11: First documented reference to a 'music house', *TMA*: COL/CA/01/01/070

Figure 12: Playford, dedication to *The Musical Companion*, 1667

Figure 13: Auction catalogue for a 1689 auction at Tom's Coffeehouse, London. *BL*: 1402 g.1

Figure 14: First recorded public advertisement for a concert, London *Gazette*, 30 December 1672

Figure 15: Anonymous (eighteenth century), *An Orchestra Rehearsing*, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, reproduced in Leppert, *Music and Image*, pl. 1

Figure 16: Advertisement for auction of art at a site identifiable as the Vendu also referring to the weekly music meetings. British Library Art Sale Catalogues BL 1402 g. 1, fol. 98

Figure 17: Two advertisements for auction of art at the Vendu, *British Library*: Art Sale Catalogues BL 1402 g. 1, fol. 112, 125

Figure 18: *Hickford's Concert Rooms, Brewer Street,* 1878, in Elkin, *The Old Concert Rooms of London*, facing p.44

Figure 19: St Mary's Chapel in the Niddry Wynd, From an engraving in Maitland's *History of Edinburgh*, 1753

Figure 20: William Hogarth (1697-1764), Concert ticket for Marys Chapel, engraving, Private Collection/The Bridgeman Art Library https://sites.google.com/site/researchpages2/home/st-mary-s-chapel-niddry-wynd-a-virtual-reconstruction

Figure 21: Jacques-Louis David (1748 -1825), *The Tennis Court Oath,* 1790-91, Palace of Versailles

Figure 22: Michael Burghers (painter), Image of Club Rules and Regulations from Oxford, *c.* 1684, Bodleian: MS Top. Oxon. A. 76

Figure 23: Frontispiece to Henry Playford's *Pleasant Musical Companion*, 1701

Figure 24: Brownrigg & Co (surveyors), Survey of Fishamble Street showing the Theatre, 1804, *NLI*: Longfield maps 21 F.88/ (149) 1804

Figure 25: Satellite image of Fishamble Street above the former Fishamble Street Music Room, googlemaps

Figure 26: Arch marking the entrance to the former Fishamble Street Music Room, (Photo: S. P. C. Hendriks)

Figure 27: Hibernian Magazine, *An Inside View of the Private Theatre Fishamble Street*, March 1794

Figure 28: *Norfolk House music room*, Victoria and Albert Museum (Photo: S. P. C. Hendriks)

Figure 29: Anonymous, *festa di ballo,* second half of the eighteenth century, Giovanni Antonio Medrano and Angelo Caresale, Teatro San Carlo, Naples, with the Royal Box in the background, opened 1737, Victoria and Albert Museum. S.3918-2009

Figure 30: Richard Castle, *Design for the entrance front of Leinster House by Richard Castle, c.* 1745, Irish Architectural Archive 96/68.1/1/9. Photography David H. Davison

Figure 31: Plan of Holywell Music Room, *Bodleian:* Gough Maps 27 fol. 95

Figure 32: Holywell Music Room, Oxford (Photo: S. P.C. Hendriks)

Figure 33: Serlio, Detail of *Five Books of Architecture,* 1619, Book Five, Chapter 14, Fol. 9

Figure 34: Hills & Saunders, *The Music Room from the South*, 1901, in Mee, *The Oldest Music Room in Europe*, facing p 20. Original and detail

Figure 35: Holywell Music Room Entrance, Oxford
(Photo: S.P.C. Hendriks)

Figure 36: Seating in Holywell Music Room Oxford
(Photo: S.P.C. Hendriks)

Figure 37: Interior of Holywell Music Room showing the space where the fireplace was. (Photo S. P. C. Hendriks)

Figure 38: Holywell Music Room Oxford showing the rear curved wall. (Photo: S.P.C. Hendriks)

Figure 39: Tiered stage and partial balustrade in Holywell Music Room Oxford
(Photo: S.P.C. Hendriks)

Figure 40: Organ on the tiered stage with partial balustrade in Holywell Music Room Oxford (Photo: S.P.C. Hendriks)

Figure 41: Interior of Holywell showing the stage with balustrade an the organ.
(Photo S.P.C. Hendriks)

Figure 42: Robert Mylne, *Design for a Public Gallery,* Winner of the first prize at the Academia di san Luca, September 1758. Archivio Storico, Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Rome, image from Rock, *St Cecilia's Hall*, pl. 4.2

Figure 43: Adam office, *South Bridge Concert Rooms*, *c.* 1785, *Soane*: Adam vol. 34/12-15

Figure 44: William Edgar, *Plan of the City and Castle of Edinburgh*, 1765, *NLS:* EMS.s.786

Figure 45: Detail from *Plan and detail of the city of Edinburgh*, in John Andrews, *A Collection of Plans of the Capital Cities of Europe,* 1771, *NLS*: EMS.s.58

Figure 46: Thomas Aitchison, *Plan of Edinburgh City and Suburbs*, 1794-1795, *NLS*, RB.s.1205

Figure 47: Plan showing alterations to Niddry's Wynd, in Harris, *St Cecilia's Hall*, p.19

Figure 48: Western façade of St Cecilia's Hall, 2018 (Photo: S.P.C. Hendriks)

Figure 49: Old entrance door to St Cecilia's Hall (Photo: S.P.C. Hendriks)

Figure 50: St Cecilia's Music Hall before re-development, showing the internal piers, July 2014, University of Edinburgh ID0054493

Figure 51: St Cecilia's Music Hall before re-development, July 2014 showing columns and stair to the Music Hall, University of Edinburgh, ID0054470

Figure 52: Interior of St Cecilia's showing the newly reconstructed stage (Photo: S.P.C. Hendriks)

Figure 53: Plans of St Cecilia's Hall, Harris, *St Cecilia's Hall*, pp.28, 31

Figure 54: St Cecilia's Hall after re-development showing the cupola and re-instated amphitheatrical seating, 2017, Photo: University of Edinburgh

Figure 55: Giovanni Battista Aleotti, *Teatro Farnese*, Parma, 1618, (Photo: By www.bestofcinqueterre.com - Own work, CC BY-SA 4.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=51681933)

Figure 56: *Plan of the Teatro Regio*, Turin, 1738-40, Soprintendenza ai Monumenti, Turin in Howard, *St Cecilia's Hall*, Figure 6.

Figure 57: Burlington, Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of, *The Assembly Rooms, York,* 1730, RIBA: SD149/VI/13(1-2), SC50/VI/13(3) RIBAPIX 29053

Figure 58: Adam office, *Edinburgh Assembly Rooms*, *n.d.*, *Soane:* Adam vol 31/33-38

Figure 59: Hanover Square Room, London, engraving of the interior, *Illustrated London News*, 1843. Photo: Mansell Collection, London

Figure 60: Wenceslaus Hollar, *Map of London, c.* 1660

Figure 61: John Rocque, *A plan of the cities of London and Westminster, and borough of Southwark*, 1756

Figure 62: John Rocque, *A plan of the cities of London and Westminster, and borough of Southwark*, 1756, detail showing approximate location of Mitre, Old Jewry, and the Castle

Figure 63: John Rocque, *A plan of the cities of London and Westminster, and borough of Southwark*, 1756, detail showing approximate locations of tavern venues

Figure 64: John Rocque, *A plan of the cities of London and Westminster, and borough of Southwark*, 1756, detail showing venues in use *c.* 1700-1720

Figure 65: John Rocque, *A plan of the cities of London and Westminster, and borough of Southwark*, 1756, detail showing location of Banister's venues

Figure 66: John Rocque, *A plan of the cities of London and Westminster, and borough of Southwark*, 1756, detail showing Britton's approximate Clenkenwell venue

Figure 67: Plan showing the distribution of the Pleasure-Gardens of London, including Wells and Spas in Wroth & Wroth, *The London pleasure gardens of the eighteenth century*, 1979, 12-13

Figure 68: *Sadler's Wells theatre*, 1731, based on an earlier engraving. University of Bristol Theatre Collection, reproduced in Forsyth, *Buildings for Music*, pl. 2.23

Figure 69: Thomas Rowlandson, *Chinese Pavilion, Vauxhall Gardens,* 1785. Image from regencyhistory.net

Figure 70: After Samuel Wale *Inside of the Elegant Music Room in Vauxhall Gardens*, 1752, Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 702493

Figure 71: Johann Sebastian Müller after Samuel Wale, *A General Prospect of VauxHall Gardens*, engraving, late 18th century, Victoria and Albert Museum London, E.809-1903

Figure 72: *'The Inside View of the Rotunda in Ranelagh Gardens with the Company at Breakfast'*, 1751. *BL:* C103k.11

Figure 73: John Donowell, *A View of the Orchestra with the Band of Music, the Grand Walk &c. in Marybone Gardens*, published by John Tinney, 1755, etching and engraving, British Museum.

Figure 74: James Craig, *Plan of the new streets and square*, 1768, *NLS:* EMS.s.647

Figure 75: William Edgar, *Plan of the city and castle of Edinburgh*, 1765, *NLS:* EMS.s.786

Figure 76: William Edgar, *Plan of the city and castle of Edinburgh*, detail showing location of music venues, 1765, *NLS:* EMS.s.786

Figure 77: *Dublin in 1685*, as reconstructed by Leonard Strangways from Thomas Phillips's map, reproduced in Somerville-Large, *Dublin: the fair city*, p. 101

Figure 78: Aerial view of Fishamble Street, googlemaps

Figure 79: John Rocque, *Plan of the City of Dublin and the Environs on the same Scale of London, Paris, & Rome*, 1756, *Harvard Map Collection*, G5784_D8A1_1756_R6_8343468226

Figure 80: *The Hospital and New Gardens as shown in a plan of 1764*, reproduced from Boydell, Rotunda Music, pl. 3

Figure 81: H. Bartlett, *Exterior of the Lying-in Hospital & Rotunda, Dublin*, 1830, in Curran, *the Rotunda Hospital*, frontispiece.

Figure 82: David Loggan, *Oxonia Illustrata,* 1675 (south at top), showing location of Holywell, Bodleian Library

Figure 83: Map showing the locations of scientific and musical communities in Oxford from Gouk, *Music, Science, and Natural Magic*, p.42

Figure 84: Robert Moray, *Diagram of acoustic experiments conducted in a bay near Glasgow*, *RSA*: Cl.P.2.34

Figure 85: Diagram of Gloucester Abbey whispering place, *RSA:* Cl.P.2.33

Figure 86: Athanasius Kircher, 'Amplifying devices', *Phonurgia Nova,* 1673, p.138

Figure 87: Athanasius Kircher, 'Broadcasting music', *Phonurgia Nova*, 1673, p.143.

Figure 88: Athanasius Kircher, 'Acoustic system for palaces', *Musurgia Universalis*, 1650, volume II, p.296

Figure 89: Athanasius Kircher, 'Speaking statue', *Musurgia Universalis*, 1650, Volume II, opposite p.303.

Figure 90: Athanasius Kircher, 'Room shapes and acoustics', *Phourgia Nova*, 1673, p.100

Figure 91: Leonardo da Vinci, *Plan for 'theaters for hearing mass'* (*teatri per uldire messa*) (left), Section and exterior view of a '*place for preaching*' (*loco dove si predica*). Institut de France, Paris. Reproduced in Forsyth, *Buildings for Music*, p. 14

Figure 92: Thomas Mace, *Musick Room* in *Musick's Monument*, 1676, p.239

Figure 93: Isaac Newton to Henry Oldenburg, letter with diagram of Mace's otacousticon, 30 November 1675, *RSA* EL: N.1.49

Figure 94: Sebastiano Serlio, *Odeo music room – D – Tutte l'opere d'architettura*, 1619, Book VII, Chapt III.

Figure 95: Pietro Fabris, *View of the apartment of Kenneth Mackenzie, 1st Earl of Seaforth, 1741-1781, at home in Naples: concert party*, 1771, National Galleries Scotland, PG 2611

Figure 96: Gabriel Dumont, *Design for a concert hall*, in *Parallèle de Plans des plus belles salles de spectacles d'Italie et de France*, *c.* 1764.

Figure 97: Joseph Bonomi, *designs for an assembly room*, 1776, RIBA Archive SC23/7.

Figure 98: Performance of Handel's *Messiah* on Fishamble Street with the Fishamble Street Music Hall arch in the background. Image from Twitter @events_DCC, 14 Apr 2016

ABBREVIATIONS AND NOTES ON THE TEXT

Abbreviations

BL	British Library
Bodleian	Bodleian Library, Oxford
CSPD	Calendar of State Papers Domestic
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography
Marsh	Marsh's Library, Dublin
NLS	National Library of Scotland
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
Pepys	Pepys' Diary
RSA	Royal Society Archives
TMA	The Metropolitan Archives, London
Wadham	Wadham College Oxford Archives

Dates

Dates have been modernized and refer to a New Year beginning on 1 January.

INTRODUCTION

Between 1731 and 1762, four freestanding and purpose-built structures for the public performance of secular music were constructed in the British Isles: Crow Street Music Room in Dublin (1731), Fishamble Street Music Room in Dublin (1741), Holywell Music Room in Oxford (1748), and St Cecilia's Hall in Edinburgh (1762). These were the first purpose-built spaces for musical performance in Europe and are now considered the first iterations of the architectural typology known as the concert hall.[1] Taken together, they are remarkable for three reasons. Firstly, these structures all appeared before the typology of the concert hall had been established, and all within a relatively short time frame. Secondly, they were all constructed within the geographical (and political) region of the British Isles, decades before equivalent structures would appear on the Continent.[2] Thirdly, they were geographically dispersed across the Isles, rather than being clustered in or around London. These four venues are therefore representative of a particular type of architecture that, in the long eighteenth century, was particular to the British Isles: an architecture for music. The principal aim of this thesis is to investigate how such an architecture for music developed during the long eighteenth century in the British Isles. This thesis examines how this architecture came about, and what led to the creation of buildings designed and constructed primarily for the concert performance of secular music. It identifies and discusses the types of spaces used for secular music performance in the

[1] Michael Forsyth, *Buildings for Music: The Architect, the Musician, and the Listener from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 49.
[2] In this thesis 'British Isles' refers to the islands of Ireland and Great Britain. Although there are debates about whether there are more politically neutral ways to refer to the islands west of the continental mainland, for the purposes of this study I am using the current commonly accepted terminology.

British Isles from the Restoration and across the eighteenth century, and how these structures related to each other and their socio-cultural context.

Although never considered collectively, these four buildings have each been the subject of individual study. In 1911, John H. Mee published *The Oldest Music Room in Europe*, a history of Holywell Music Room in Oxford (1748). Proclaiming that he had been unable to find any other contemporary or earlier concert rooms he stated that it was 'probably the oldest building of its kind in Europe'.[3] Since then, and in order to account for Dublin's two purpose-built rooms, his assessment has been modified only slightly, to cast Holywell as 'the oldest surviving concert hall in the world'.[4] The Crow Street Music Room has been the subject of only one dedicated study, by W. H. Grattan Flood in 1910. Although known to scholars as an early example of a purpose-built music venue, the lack of any known documents, images, or details has prevented it from receiving greater attention.[5] The Fishamble Street Music Room was also the subject of a piece by Flood in 1912.[6] Information about the structure is scarce; there are no known archival records and the building itself has long since been demolished, save for a reconstructed entrance arch on the original site. This no doubt accounts for the lack of any subsequent architectural analysis of the structure. Fortunately, the memory of the Fishamble Street Music Room has been assured, since it was the venue for the premiere of Handel's *Messiah* on April 13 1742. Like Holywell and Fishamble Street, St Cecilia's Hall also has its own particular notoriety: its unusual elliptically-shaped performance space. It has garnered the greatest scholarly attention of these early spaces. Dating from 1911, David Fraser Harris' *Saint Cecilia's Hall in the Niddry Wynd* remains a seminal work on the building.[7] Deborah Howard's 1993 article debunked the long-held view that the

[3] John H. Mee, *The Oldest Music Room in Europe: A Record of Eighteenth-Century Enterprise at Oxford* (London: John Lane, 1911), 1.
[4] Forsyth, *Buildings for Music*, 52.
[5] W. H. Grattan Flood, 'Crow St. Music Hall, Dublin, from 1730 to 1754', *Sammelbände Der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 11, no. 3 (1 April 1910): 442–46.
[6] W. H. Grattan Flood, 'Fishamble St. Music Hall, Dublin, from 1741 to 1777', *Sammelbände Der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 14, no. 1 (1912): 51–57.
[7] David Fraser Harris, *Saint Cecilia's Hall in the Niddry Wynd: A Chapter in the History of the Music of the Past in Edinburgh*, Second edition (Edinburgh: O. Anderson and Ferrier, 1911).

elliptically-shaped space was modelled on the theatre at Parma.[8] Joe Rock's more recent 2009 article focused on the archival sources of the project, providing the most in-depth architectural history and analysis of the venue to date.[9]

But despite the individual and combined distinctiveness of these buildings there is, at present, no study that investigates them collectively, setting them within the broader socio-cultural context of the British Isles. This thesis addresses this gap in scholarship. It is therefore the first study to investigate these earliest purpose-built venues for secular music performance in the British Isles as a group. It is also the first to identify the emergence of an architecture for music in this region. And it is the first to situate this architectural phenomenon within the broader social and architectural context of the eighteenth century British Isles. This thesis therefore forms an important contribution to architectural history, especially for the fields of architectural and cultural studies, and typology studies.

Defining the Scope

To consider all the possible iterations of musical performances and their architectural settings is beyond the scope of this thesis, since music was an integral part of numerous activities. It could be an accompaniment to dances, meals, theatre performances, or ceremonial events. Music was performed in private and public contexts, in intimate family scenes, public demonstrations, and within educational contexts. But the Restoration saw the emergence of a particular type of musical entertainment: the concert. It is this type of performance that this thesis investigates. The term was used in relation to music performance as early as 1689 in the *London Gazette* to advertise a series of 'Concerts of Musick'.[10] The concert is typically defined

[8] Deborah Howard, 'St Cecilia's Hall: Architecture and Music in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh', in *The Arts in Eighteenth Century Scotland: Papers from the Symposium in Honour of Basil C. Skinner*, ed. Murdo Macdonald (Edinburgh: Quadriga, 1993), 31–52.
[9] Joe Rock, 'The Temple of Harmony: New Research on St Cecilia's Hall, Edinburgh', *Architectural Heritage* 20, no. 1 (November 2009): 55–74.
[10] '*OED*: 'concert'; The Concerts of Musick that were held in Bow-street and in York-Buildings, are now joyn'd together.' *London Gazette*, No. 2496/4, 1689.

as having some sort of financial association. Whilst the importance of commerce to the definition of the concert varies between scholars, there is a uniform acceptance of the public nature of the event and the focus on music as the principal activity.[11] For the purposes of this thesis, the concert is defined as having a public and commercial element and has music, vocal and instrumental, as its central entertainment. For this reason, other performance types and their associated spaces, such as opera, theatre, sacred music in religious contexts, dance music and folk music have been excluded, except where they relate directly to the thesis.

Public, in the context of music performance, refers primarily to the performance's potential accessibility to an unrestricted range of participants and audience members. Although factors such as wealth, privilege, and education may have inherently restricted access, public performances did not require introductions or invitations in order for individuals to participate. Private performances, by contrast, had a more restricted circle of participants. These were not widely accessible, with access being granted most commonly through introductions or invitations. The terms semi-private and semi-public are also used throughout this thesis to indicate where performances are neither entirely public, nor private. A semi-private, or semi-public, performance was one that was more open and accessible than a traditional private gathering, but not so open as to enable anyone to participate.

Notably, the examples cited at the opening of this Introduction were not called Concert Halls at the time of their construction, but instead referred to as Music Rooms or Music Halls. This was probably due to the more established notion of music being a subsidiary activity taking up one part of a greater venue, rather than

[11] For commerce being an intrinsic aspect of the event, see: Peter Borsay, 'Concert Topography and Provincial Towns in Eighteenth-Century England', in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2004), 20; Anthony A. Olmsted, 'The Capitalization of Musical Production: The Conceptual and Spatial Development of London's Public Concerts, 1660-1750', in *Music and Marx: Ideas, Practice, Politics*, by Regula Burckhardt Qureshi (London: Routledge, 2002), 109. By contrast, McVeigh places greater emphasis on the centrality of music, 'independent of the usual activities to which music formed an accompaniment, such as eating or drinking, dancing, or conversing, praying or marching': Simon McVeigh, 'Introduction', in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2004), 2.

the principal justification for the construction of a building. By calling the building a Music Room or Music Hall, it was clear that the principal use of the building was for music. Interestingly, the first recorded use of the term 'concert hall' actually refers to a theatre, built in Edinburgh's Canongate.[12] The use of the name was an attempt to circumvent the strict licensing laws that regulated theatrical performances. Since 'concerts' were associated predominantly with the performance of music, it was not immediately obvious that theatrical performances were being staged. The authorities were not fooled for long, however, and the venue soon closed only to later receive a license and officially re-open in 1767.[13]

The idea of the concert was not unique to the British Isles, though similarly secular performances appeared later in other countries, such as the *Concert Spirituel* in France from 1725.[14] But the Civil Wars and Commonwealth in the mid-seventeenth century created a unique social, cultural, political, and religious environment in the British Isles that fostered the development of secular music and brought its performance into a public and commercialized context not seen elsewhere in Europe. It is this that accounts for the British Isles being at the forefront of developing an architecture for secular music. The architectural developments for music seen in the British Isles were, therefore, also unique within Europe. Whilst the association between architecture and music was not itself developed in the British Isles during this period, it was here that a purposely-built space for secular music first appeared. By contrast, purposely-designed spaces for secular music performance are not recorded on the continental mainland until the end of the eighteenth century, when the *Altes Gewandhaus* was constructed in Leipzig (1781).

This thesis is not the first to associate British concert venues with the history of performance spaces and the concert hall. Michael Forsyth's *Buildings for Music*

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[12] *Caledonian Mercury*, 4 August, 1747
[13] Historic Scotland and The Theatres Trust, *Acting with Confidence: Scotland's Theatre Architecture* (Glasgow: Historic Scotland, 2011), 6.
[14] William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 3.

provides a thorough and expansive view of architecture for music from the seventeenth century to the present day. It is, at present, the only typological-style study of the concert hall. Covering Europe and North America, his largely socio-historical approach places emphasis on the cultural context of spaces for music and discusses a broad range of performance spaces, including opera houses.[15] Although in essence an historical survey of secular performance spaces, Forsyth does not focus primarily on the architectural history of individual buildings or the relationships between them, instead giving greater attention to their socio-historical context. And while the British Isles does receive prominence in the early chapters, the scope of the work does not afford space for an in-depth analysis of the British Isles as a unique centre in the creation of an architecture for music.

There is no other typological study of the concert hall. Nikolaus Pevsner omitted the concert hall from his seminal work on typologies, as it 'would have swelled the book to unmanageable proportions'.[16] This does not mean, however, that spaces for music performance in the British Isles have been entirely neglected by scholars, although references to them occur largely in fields other than architectural history. Concert histories of the British Isles are, with good reason, largely focused on London and Oxford.[17] With the exception of Dublin's association with the première of Handel's *Messiah*, the rest of the British Isles is generally overlooked in favour of studies directed towards the Continent. However, this thesis demonstrates that music and its associated architecture was visible and prominent in other centres around these Islands. By examining the British Isles, rather than focusing solely on south-east England, this thesis asserts that the Islands demonstrated a cohesiveness of culture, and that their achievements as a whole should be situated within broader European discussions.

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[15] Forsyth, *Buildings for Music*.
[16] Nikolaus Pevsner, *A History of Building Types* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), 9.
[17] Forsyth, *Buildings for Music*; Susan Wollenberg, *Music at Oxford in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

Histories of music spaces for particular cities or countries within the British Isles have proven useful in identifying specific spaces and understanding nuanced socio-cultural differences. Robert Elkin's *Old Concert Rooms of London* and John Harley's *Music in Purcell's London* both focus on the capital, itself not devoid of architecture for music, albeit not freestanding and rarely purpose-built in this period.[18] David Johnson and Henry George Farmer's works on Scotland provide an excellent social overview and cite a range of specific spaces from the eighteenth century.[19] A focus on the performance settings of music in Scotland is enhanced by John Purser, whose work *Scotland's Music* provides a useful overview of Scottish folk music for the period.[20] Similarly, Brian Boydell's oeuvre on Dublin's music scene laid the groundwork for understanding Ireland's eighteenth-century concert culture, updating and correcting Flood's work from the early twentieth century. In particular, Boydell's work has been vital to charting a useful chronology of formalized music spaces in the eighteenth century.[21]

The thesis, for the most, takes its examples from London, Oxford, Dublin, and Edinburgh. Whilst music performances were not restricted to the capitals, the majority of innovation and experimentation happened here. Oxford is of course the obvious exception to this rule, but this is due to its unique history and association with the monarchy, as well as its intellectual links to London and Dublin. In the eighteenth-century British Isles, Dublin was second only to London for culture.[22] Despite being geographically isolated from the rest of Europe, Dublin nevertheless attracted famous musicians from across the Continent and the modern city is still defined by its impressive eighteenth-century architecture. Furthermore, its political

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[18] Robert Elkin, *The Old Concert Rooms of London* (London: Arnold, 1955); John Harley, *Music in Purcell's London: The Social Background* (London: Dobson, 1968).
[19] David Johnson, *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972); Henry George Farmer, *A History of Music in Scotland*, Da Capo Press Music Reprint Series (New York: Da Capo Press, 1970); Henry George Farmer, *Concerts in 18th Century Scotland* (Glasgow: Published by the Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow, 1945).
[20] John Purser, *Scotland's Music: A History of the Traditional and Classical Music of Scotland from Early Times to the Present Day*, New enlarged edition (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2007).
[21] Brian Boydell, 'Venues for Music in 18th Century Dublin', *Dublin Historical Record* 29, no. 1 (1 December 1975): 28–34.
[22] Brian Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar, 1700-1760* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1988), 7.

(and subsequently social) relationship with England meant that Dublin, at the time, was closely connected to Britain. Despite this, Dublin's contribution to the architectural history of the British Isles is frequently overlooked.

From Mee, to Harris, Flood, Elkin, Harley, and Boydell (amongst others) there is a preponderance of scholarship focusing on the spaces for secular music performance in a specific city or venue. In the last decades, such studies have moved beyond the major capitals to also include various regional centres. Jenny Burchell and Peter Borsay's research on regional concert culture has demonstrated that secular music performance was by no means a pastime restricted to the major centres, but that musical culture was widespread across the Isles in the eighteenth century.[23] Borsay's paper on provincial music shows that concerts became a recognized pastime in provincial towns and cities, but not until the eighteenth century.[24] Such studies also show that the construction of architecture for the primary purpose of performing music remained the remit of the capitals. Due to their reactive, rather than proactive, role in the development of the architectural form, provincial centres have been largely excluded from this thesis. Their growth in the latter eighteenth century and the ubiquity of Assembly Rooms and Spa complexes is, however, used as evidence for a broader cultural preoccupation that was national, rather than urban.

This thesis gathers these various sources and approaches together to show that during the long eighteenth century, the concept of an architecture specifically for secular music was not confined to any one city, but rather something typical of the British Isles as a whole. The thesis does, nevertheless, focus predominantly on the four major centres where musical architecture is recorded: London, Oxford, Dublin, and Edinburgh.

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[23] Jenny Burchell, *Polite or Commercial Concerts?: Concert Management and Orchestral Repertoire in Edinburgh, Bath, Oxford, Manchester, and Newcastle, 1730-1799*, Outstanding Dissertations in Music from British Universities (New York: Garland, 1996); Borsay, 'Concert Topography and Provincial Towns in Eighteenth-Century England'.

[24] Borsay, 'Concert Topography and Provincial Towns in Eighteenth-Century England'.

Sources

Unfortunately, very few of the spaces used for musical performance in this period are still standing. Holywell Music Room, Oxford and St Cecilia's Hall, Edinburgh are the two notable survivals, and both are in use today as concert venues. Both have been reconstructed internally on the basis of historical descriptions and so their appearance cannot be read as a literal survival of their original form.[25] Regardless, their conservation has enabled on-site analysis of their structure, size, and sound. Only fragments of Dublin's Fishamble Street Music Room survive in situ, but even these traces have been useful in gaining an appreciation of its original siting. Nothing survives of Crow Street Music Room and any inclusion in this thesis is therefore based on the little extant scholarly information available.

For the most part, identification and analysis of sites has been based on documentary and visual sources. Diaries and personal papers have been invaluable sources for evidence of musical activities, especially for the seventeenth and early-eighteenth century. Among the most notable are those of Samuel Pepys (1633-1703), John Evelyn (1620-1706), Anthony à Wood (1632-1695), and Roger North (1653-1734).[26] Literature and art have also provided ways to access the venues of this period.[27] Newspapers too have been an invaluable source in constructing a history of concert performances and in reconstructing the location of concert venues across cities and decades. The value of newspapers as source material for reconstructing concert life in this period has been recognized by other concert historians. Michael Tilmouth's early

[25] Simpson and Brown Architects, 'St Cecilia's Hall Conservation Statement', accessed 26 September 2017, https://www.simpsonandbrown.co.uk/files/image/HeritageConsultancy/09-12-06_StCecilia_sHall_ConservationStatement_LowRes.pdf.
[26] Samuel Pepys, 'The Diary of Samuel Pepys', The Diary of Samuel Pepys, n.d., http://www.pepysdiary.com; John Evelyn, 'The Diary of John Evelyn: With an Introduction and Notes', Cambridge Core, March 2015, https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139962759; Bellingham, Bruce, 'The Musical Circle of Anthony Wood in Oxford During the Commonwealth and Restoration', *Journal of the Viola Da Gamba Society of America* 19 (1982): 6–71; Roger North, *The Musicall Gramarian*, ed. Hilda Andrews (London: Oxford University Press, 1925).
[27] Laurence Whyte, *The Collected Poems of Laurence Whyte*, ed. Michael J. Griffin (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2016).

Calendars are especially useful for the English context.[28] Boydell provides a similar source for Dublin, and Rosamund McGuinness and Catherine Harbor have contributed much to the economic history of concerts with their analyses of London newspaper advertisements.[29] Newspapers and diaries are especially useful sources, given that programmes and other concert ephemera rarely survive for this period.

The focus on the seventeenth and eighteenth century in these studies reflects the importance of the period in the creation and establishment of new types of musical performance. Since the 1980s, scholars have increasingly recognised a longer narrative period extending from as early as *c.* 1660 through to as late as *c.* 1825.[30] This thesis considers spaces for secular music performance within this long eighteenth century. The period is aligned with the emergence of a Restoration culture, and considered to mark the birth of a consumerist society, the enlightenment, and a new approach to the notion of national identity.[31] The thesis takes as its starting point the first traceable music meetings in the British Isles, recorded on the verge of the Restoration. It ends towards the close of the eighteenth century, when the first purpose-built concert halls in the British Isles were closing and changing preferences in musical entertainment were favouring other types of spaces such as pleasure gardens and assembly rooms.

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[28] Michael Tilmouth, 'Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers Published in London and the Provinces (1660-1719)', *R.M.A. Research Chronicle*, no. 1 (1961): II–107; Michael Tilmouth, 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers Published in London and the Provinces (1660-1719)', *R.M.A. Research Chronicle*, no. 2 (1 January 1962): 1–viii.

[29] Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar, 1700-1760*; Rosamond McGuinness, 'Gigs, Roadies and Promoters: Marketing Eighteenth-Century Concerts', in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2004), 261–71; Rosamond McGuinness, 'The RHBNC Computer Register of Musical Data in London Newspapers 1660-1800', in *A Handbook for Studies in 18th-Century English Music*, ed. Michael Burden and Irena Cholij (Edinburgh: Faculty of Music, University of Edinburgh, 1987), 6–12; Catherine Harbor, 'The Birth of the Music Business: Public Commercial Concerts in London 1660-1750' (PhD, Royal Holloway University of London, 2012).

[30] Elizabeth McKellar, *The Birth of Modern London: The Development and Design of the City 1660-1720*, Studies in Design and Material Culture (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 3.

[31] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*, Revised edition with new introductory essay (New Haven, Conn; London: Yale University Press, 2012), 1.

Although this thesis focuses on a particular building type, it does not aim to be a typological study in the image of Pevsner. It is, however, hoped that the findings presented here might contribute to such a study in the future. The typological approach, as famously practised by Pevsner, is naturally suited to a chronological discussion.[32] This chronological ordering is taken up by both Forsyth and Elkin, which can be read as histories of a building type. They have each taken a historical, rather than architectural, focus for their accounts, charting the history of concerts in a chronological fashion. I too have elected to take a broadly chronological approach, to trace both architectural forms and features, and changing social trends in musical performance over the period. However, diverging from Forsyth and Elkin, this thesis places greater emphasis on the architecture of performance spaces and employs a socio-historical analysis of spaces for music in order to contextualize changes in the architecture of the structures. This analysis will provide a new way of interpreting and accounting for the architectural changes and developments of spaces for secular music in the long eighteenth century. By situating the spaces and ventures, most of which have already been identified in works such as Forsyth's and Elkin's, within this socio-cultural architectural framework, I offer a new hypothesis as to how and why the architecture of the concert hall developed in the way that it did. Whilst this thesis owes much to the tradition of typological studies, it has been moulded most directly by multi-disciplinary approaches that focus on the relationships between sound and space, outlined below.

Fields of Study

Architecture and Music

This thesis, although the first to consider architecture for music in the British Isles in this period, is not the first to engage with the intersection of architecture and musical performance in the early modern period. Deborah Howard and Laura Moretti brought the topic to prominence with their publications on architecture and music in

[32] Pevsner, *A History of Building Types*.

Italy and France.[33] Their 2009 study of Venetian churches broke new ground in synthesising architectural history, music, and acoustics.[34] A similarly interdisciplinary approach was taken in their edited volume on spaces for music in France and Italy.[35] Whilst the majority of the book takes a thematic approach, *Part VI The Development of Purpose-Built Spaces for Music,* focuses to a greater extent on the changing architectural aspects of spaces for music. This section demonstrates how a socio-historical approach can be used in the context of musical architecture. This opens up new ways of thinking about the evolution of music spaces, not only in France and Italy, but also in other regions that develop music traditions; namely, the British Isles. However, whilst still looking at spaces for music performance, they have set aside the question of the concert hall, and instead focused on 'the spatial context of music-making'.[36]

The methodology used in this thesis draws upon their approach as a working example of how to apply socio-historical analysis to the architecture of music spaces. This approach bears fruit for the period and architecture under discussion in this thesis as it places greater emphasis on the experience of performance and the functionality of the space. These are both key concepts when considering the interaction between music and architecture and how space is modified and designed for a particular need. This approach relies on a highly interdisciplinary and socio-historical methodology as it places greater emphasis on the social context of music making and its relationship to architecture.

A strong interdisciplinary approach has also been necessary because so few studies on architecture for eighteenth century music performance spaces have been written. Forsyth's *Buildings for Music* is the leading study on the development of the concert

[33] Deborah Howard and Laura Moretti, *Sound and Space in Renaissance Venice: Architecture, Music, Acoustics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); Deborah Howard and Laura Moretti, *The Music Room in Early Modern France and Italy: Sound, Space and Object*, Proceedings of the British Academy 176 (Oxford: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 2012).
[34] Howard and Moretti, *Sound and Space in Renaissance Venice*.
[35] Howard and Moretti, *The Music Room in Early Modern France and Italy*.
[36] Howard and Moretti, 1.

hall.[37] His claim that the study of concert halls is 'primarily of interest for musical-historical rather than architectural reasons' is perhaps indicative of a more traditional approach to architectural history, which is drawn to surviving public structures and big-name architects, due to the availability of source material. He is correct that the history of the opera house, which 'will fill pages with leading names from architectural history' has garnered more attention from architectural historians.[38] This can perhaps be explained by the clear typology of the opera house, the plethora of extant exempla, and the strong Continental focus of the art form.

In the preface, Forsyth asserts that he attempts 'to provide a broad background to the buildings… while outlining some of the influences that architectural acoustics exert on musical style'.[39] As a result he includes brief acoustic analyses of these early spaces, but favours socio-historical accounts. Whilst this provides an interesting story to the early development of the concert hall, it lacks, by consequence, a real focus on the architecture itself. Unsurprisingly, his chapter on the early years of the concert hall is largely historical in nature and almost entirely focused on buildings from the eighteenth century. Images and primary source anecdotes are used to great effect as evidence. However, by limiting this early period to a single chapter in order to tell a narrative of the musical-historical development of the concert hall, his discussions are limited to the best-known and most influential examples. This focus on the narrative, or perhaps his own assessment that the concert hall is of historical rather than architectural interest, means there is little by way of architectural analysis for any structures prior to Holywell and no attempt to see architectural connections between the various venues. Whilst the lack of extant examples does indeed hamper an 'archaeological' approach to the building fabric, this thesis demonstrates that it is nevertheless possible to provide an architectural analysis of historical spaces.

[37] Forsyth, *Buildings for Music*.
[38] Forsyth, 71.
[39] Forsyth, *Buildings for Music*, Preface.

Elsewhere, Forsyth identifies a range of other spaces for public music performance including coffee houses, taverns, and assembly rooms.[40] He names the earliest purpose-built concert halls as being in London, and the first of these as a room in the York Buildings of 1675.[41] This claim, I believe, should be more nuanced, since the York Buildings were not constructed, but rather fitted out, for musical performances. This is unlike structures such as Holywell Music Room in Oxford (1748), which he correctly asserts, is the earliest still in use.[42]

Taking a more purely historical perspective is the more common approach to the intersection of architecture and music. This has been particularly common for musicologists, whose emphasis on the history of performance often also recalls the site or setting of that performance. Whilst not intending to provide an architectural history, such works are highly valuable in recording historical details about the locations and appearance of venues. They therefore contribute useful details for constructing architectural histories from a socio-historical perspective. Although not as recent as Forsyth, Elkin's *Old Concert Rooms of London* is one such classic work on the subject.[43] Elkin opted to focus each section of his text on a particular building or venture. This enabled deeper analysis both architecturally and historically; however the focus on fewer, albeit better documented, spaces does not give a holistic picture of musical life in London. Furthermore, while the focus on the Capital does reiterate the importance of London in the development of the concert hall, the complete exclusion of all other towns and cities means that there is no broader contextualisation for the architectural, or intellectual developments that took place there.

Dorothea Baumann's *Music and Space*, although not a history of the concert hall, includes a survey of historic performance venues. Her primary aim is to understand

[40] Michael Forsyth, 'Concert Hall' (Oxford University Press, 1996), http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T018968.
[41] Forsyth.
[42] Forsyth.
[43] Elkin, *The Old Concert Rooms of London*.

the acoustic environment of such spaces and how this relates to the experience and practice of performance. She rightly notes the benefit of focusing on the architectural and art historical aspects of music performance to fill lacunae in the history of music rooms.[44] By using a case study of Handel's *Messiah*, Baumann's study is naturally less concerned with the period prior to its première in 1742. But whilst her work is thorough, it tends to over-simplify its architectural analysis in an attempt to categorize and define spatial types. This means that architectural aspects are often treated cursorily or without adequate context. Whilst some interesting social and historical associations are suggested between church buildings and concert hall development in Italy, her broader concepts of time and architectural development frequently come across as confused and are treated somewhat haphazardly.[45] This said, the number of buildings and performance contexts mentioned make it one of the most comprehensive studies of historical performance spaces to date.

Acoustics

The principal aim of this thesis is to investigate how an architecture for music developed during the long eighteenth century in the British Isles. Since it focuses on spaces that were used for musical performances, acoustic and socio-historical aspects of performance are important factors in the interpretation and analysis of the venues discussed. As a concept, acoustics, of course, are not a recent discovery. The relationship between architecture and acoustics (both spoken and musical) was recorded in antiquity.[46] From the Renaissance, Italian architects and theorists applied their knowledge to sacred contexts, both in the churches and *ospedale* of Venice, as Howard and Moretti have shown.[47] Since music is an aural activity and one that cannot be captured in its original historical context, acoustic theory is potentially of

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[44] Dorothea Baumann, *Music and Space: A Systematic and Historical Investigation into the Impact of Architectural Acoustics on Performance Practice Followed by a Study of Handel's Messiah*, Natur, Wissenschaft Und Die Künste; Bd. 7 (Bern; Oxford: P. Lang, 2011), 18.
[45] Baumann, 48.
[46] In, for example, Lucretius, Plato, and Vitruvius.
[47] Deborah Howard, *Sound and Space in Renaissance Venice : Architecture, Music, Acoustics* (New Haven ; London: Yale University Press, 2009).

great importance for historians, though it is yet to become standard within architectural history.

The highly scientific nature of modern acoustic investigation may seem at odds with the historical context, but innovations in technology have opened up new pathways for exploring the sonic history of spaces. Magrini and Ricciardi's experiments in Italian churches are one such example.[48] Their approach, although not without its problems, has proved useful for demonstrating the exact acoustic effect of temporary modifications to buildings. Computer modelling and simulation of never-built or no longer extant historical spaces, though problematic, could yet prove insightful for the field. Due to limited time and resources, these types of approaches have not been used in this thesis. However, they do present interesting potential pathways for future research within this field of scholarship and for the restoration of historical musical spaces. Atkinson's *Noisy Renaissance*, and Terpstra and Rose's edited volume both express the potential for sound studies on an urban scale and these have been influential in my conception of music regions within urban development.[49]

In the early twentieth century, Hope Bagenal and Walter Sabine brought the science of acoustics into modern scholarship and their works are still highly influential today.[50] Increasingly, acoustics of music spaces for non-specialists have become available and of particular note is the chapter by Raf Orlowski, which provides an easily accessible schema and explanation of acoustics specifically in relation to musical environments.[51] This type of approach is of great benefit to the architectural

[48] A. Magrini and P. Ricciardi, 'Churches as Auditoria', *Journal of Building Acoustics* 10, no. 2 (2003): 135–58.
[49] Niall Atkinson, *The Noisy Renaissance: Sound, Architecture, and Florentine Urban Life* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2016); Nicholas Terpstra and Colin Rose, eds., *Mapping Space, Sense, and Movement in Florence: Historical GIS and the Early Modern City* (London New York: Routledge,Taylor & Francis Group, 2016).
[50] Hope Bagenal, 'Influence of Buildings on Musical Tone', *Music & Letters* 8, no. 4 (1 October 1927): 437–47; Wallace Clement Sabine, *Collected Papers on Acoustics*, Dover Books on Physics and Mathematical Physics S1196 (New York: Dover Publications, 1964).
[51] Raf Orlowski, 'Assessing the Acoustic Performance of Small Music Rooms: A Short Introduction', in *The Music Room in Early Modern France and Italy: Sound, Space, and Object*, ed. Deborah Howard and Laura Moretti, vol. 176, Proceedings of the British Academy (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2012), 157–59.

historian, since it easily translates the relationship between building materials and architectural features and the impact these have on the acoustics of a space.

The question of music, as distinguished from sound, is not a new one for acousticians. Most works on acoustics for non-specialists, like that of Frederick Hunt, tend to be historical in nature and provide a history of the field beginning with the Classical world.[52] Whilst these are helpful in assessing what was known about acoustics during various periods of history, they do not show how this knowledge was, if indeed it ever was, applied to architecture. The exception to this is Leo Beranek, whose classic work *Music, Acoustics, and Architecture* clearly sets out the history of the discipline (albeit without reference to the Royal Society) and some general observations of architectural elements that alter musical acoustics.[53] His analysis, however, is based on the notion that 'it is more than likely that the old halls that are still standing are among the best that were built'.[54] Such a view, whilst convenient, does leave out other factors that led to the destruction of many halls such as fire, redevelopment, and changing social needs. This work is, nevertheless, very useful in outlining the principles of acoustics in relation to music and architecture.

Beranek also introduced interesting questions of agency between architecture and composers, saying that 'the experience of music can never be divorced from the acoustics of the space in which it is performed', and suggesting that music of each period has a matching architecture to which it responds.[55] The question of agency between building and composition was not only asked by Beranek, but was also considered by Bagenal.[56] So far no consensus has been reached, though Baumann too discusses the idea in *Music and Space*.[57] In this she cites Claudio Monteverdi's (1567-1643) visit to the Teatro Farnese in Parma to check the acoustics before composing

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[52] Frederick Vinton Hunt, *Origins in Acoustics: The Science of Sound from Antiquity to the Age of Newton* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1978).
[53] Leo Leroy Beranek, *Music, Acoustics & Architecture* (New York ; London: Wiley, 1962).
[54] Beranek, 11.
[55] Beranek, 31, 44.
[56] Hope Bagenal, 'Musical Taste and Concert Hall Design', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 78 (1 January 1951): 11.
[57] Baumann, *Music and Space*, 29.

for the space as evidence of composers responding to architecture. Further examples of composers responding to architecture are discussed, but these tend to then be from the nineteenth century, when there were a far greater variety of available spaces.[58] This approach ties music and architecture much more closely together than is generally thought and adds an interesting dimension to the idea of purpose-built spaces for music performance.

Historiography and Musicology

Another variable in assessing historical acoustics are the instruments and the repertoire being performed. Many instruments, both string and wind, underwent significant technological changes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Composition styles changed also, affecting the size and composition of orchestras.[59] These changes had a profound effect on the sound musicians produced and therefore on the types of performance contexts they best suited. Changes in instrument technology and compositional style cannot, then, be overlooked as factors in the changing needs of spaces for music performance. Since the relationship between space and music is still rarely examined, these fields tend to be explored in isolation, rather than as part of a symbiotic whole. Scholarship focusing on composition and performance during this period, such as the survey works by Tim Carter and John Butt and Richard Taruskin, are therefore useful contextual aids.[60] This is similarly so for musicologists like Christopher Marsh and Eric David Mackerness who also provide social context to contemporary musical developments, but do not focus on performance setting.[61]Within musicology, studies in the subfields of soundscapes and performance practice have emerged in recent decades. Soundscape studies

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[58] Baumann, 64.
[59] Jürgen Meyer, *Acoustics and the Performance of Music*, Fachbuchreihe. Das Musikinstrument, Bd. 33 (Frankfurt/Main: Verlag Das Musikinstrument, 1978), 197.
[60] Tim Carter and John Butt, *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Richard Taruskin, *Music in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).
[61] Christopher W. Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Eric David Mackerness, *A Social History of English Music* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964).

encompass architecture only where they intersect with acoustics, instead showing a preference for soundscapes in the broadest sense, encompassing city street noise and country fields.[62] Performance practice, despite its obvious applicability to this study, has also maintained a distance from architecture. Publications in *Performance Practice Review*, established in 1988, reflect the preference for examining specific compositions or performers, rather than the spaces in which they performed.[63]

The exception to this is Richard Leppert, a musicologist interested mainly in performance and social context, who examines how music both responds, and contributes, to the changing social environment. Although he does not touch on the architectural aspects of performance space, his work focuses on 'how music as shaped by social-cultural forces, itself contributes to socio-cultural formation'.[64] Drawing on Theodor Adorno and Walter Benjamin, his approach argues that musical culture does not simply respond to socio-cultural changes, but also contributes to them.[65] This approach can also be extended to the spatial context of musical performance and used to analyse the symbiotic relationship between space and music. It is, in effect, a new way of asking the question first raised by Bagenal of whether music has made certain demands of architecture, or whether it has always responded to its architectural setting.[66]

Another field of study that informs my methodology is social and economic history. Closely related to Leppert's approach are studies that address contemporary behaviours and social expectations and suggest why certain venues were favoured,

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[62] R. Murray Schafer, *The Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World* (Rochester, Vt.: Destiny Books, 1994); Emily Ann Thompson, *The Soundscape of Modernity: Architectural Acoustics and the Culture of Listening in America, 1900-1933* (Cambridge, Mass; London: MIT Press, 2002).
[63] *Performance Practice Review*; Frederick Neumann, *Performance Practices of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (New York: Schirmer, 1993); Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist, *Rethinking Music* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).
[64] Richard D. Leppert, *Sound Judgment: Selected Essays* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), xiv.
[65] Richard D. Leppert and Susan McClary, *Music and Society: The Politics of Composition, Performance, and Reception* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Theodor W. Adorno, *Introduction to the Sociology of Music* (New York: Seabury Press, 1976); Walter Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* (Prism Key Press, 2010).
[66] Bagenal, 'Musical Taste and Concert Hall Design', 11.

how they were used, and by whom. Leppert himself addresses these aspects in relation to music tutoring and although his observations are not then mapped onto performance spaces, the issues he highlights in relation to polite society and gendered performance contribute to a more nuanced understanding of performance context.[67] William Weber practises a similarly sociological approach to musicology. His *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England*, examines how certain composers and pieces became canonized during this period in England.[68] Weber situates the growth of musical culture in this period within a social, political, and cultural context. Although the architectural backdrops to performances are not the focus, his work provides a clear social contextualization for the performances themselves.

This type of approach for the eighteenth century is heavily influenced by economic studies, since the period is seen as an era of new commerce, especially for cultural activities. John Brewer's *Pleasures of the Imagination* and Neil McKendrick's *Birth of a Consumer Society*, were leaders in the burgeoning field of cultural studies in the 1980s and 1990s.[69] These studies established the idea of the long eighteenth century and identified the birth of a commercialized society in England. Such studies united the fields of culture with history and economics, providing a fuller understanding of early modern society. Economic studies of the period such as McKendrick, Brewer, J. H. Plumb and Burchell, therefore highlight the importance of market drivers in determining the location, size and modification of structures, although their emphasis is on the commercialization of leisure, rather than its impact on architecture.[70] Weber has looked specifically at musicians as entrepreneurs, whilst Anthony Olmsted has examined the development of the concert and successfully

[67] Richard D. Leppert, 'Music Teachers of Upper-Class Amateur Musicians', in *Sound Judgment: Selected Essays* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).
[68] Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England*.
[69] John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, New edition (London: Routledge, 2013); Neil McKendrick, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Europa, 1982).
[70] McKendrick, *The Birth of a Consumer Society*; Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*; J. H. (John Harold) Plumb, *The Commercialisation of Leisure in Eighteenth-Century England* (Reading: University of Reading, 1973); Burchell, *Polite or Commercial Concerts?*

stresses the importance of economics in driving the development and need for concerts.[71] He tends, however, to rely on the generally accessible information for early concerts and tavern venues in London. At times this undermines his thesis since it shows a superficial awareness of the musical background and people involved. For example, he cites only one reference to Ben Wallington (*fl.* 1670s) as being extant anywhere, yet Wallington was a friend of Pepys who appears regularly in the latter's diaries and is discussed also by Roger North.[72] Whilst insightful, his article highlights the difficulties of inter-disciplinary cultural studies.

Architectural History

By placing a cultural pastime at the centre of architectural discussions, this thesis reframes the ways in which architectural development and style are considered. An aim of this thesis is to relate the development of an architecture for music to broader changes in architectural style during the eighteenth century. In this regard, it contributes to our understanding of stylistic classification during the eighteenth century and seeks to query how and when architecture is categorized as polite or vernacular.[73] The development of an architecture for music, as outlined in this thesis, shows a shift from the typically vernacular tavern to the polite, classically-detailed concert hall. This thesis suggests that changes in architectural setting reflected the changing status of music in society. This thesis therefore shows that architecture had a symbolic role to play in claiming a status for music performance in British society. By tracing the transition from vernacular to polite, the thesis seeks to open up the

[71] William Weber, *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700-1914: Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 2004); Olmsted, 'The Capitalization of Musical Production: The Conceptual and Spatial Development of London's Public Concerts, 1660-1750'.
[72] *Pepys' Diary*; North, *The Musicall Gramarian*.
[73] The definition of vernacular is important here. Whilst aspects of region are a factor, I take vernacular architecture to speak primarily to an inherited tradition of construction in relation to a building's form and function. In this way, urban structures are not excluded. Vernacular architecture in this context is not, therefore, defined by stylistic hierarchies or quality of construction, such buildings can still be highly decorative and of the highest quality, but rather linked to a continuing tradition of building practice and use.

question of the relationship between these strata of classification during the early modern period.

The approach in this thesis is in contrast to the vast majority of eighteenth-century scholarship, which has focused either on individual architects, individual buildings and types, or the primacy of architectural styles, namely Palladianism and Neoclassicism.[74] In their edited volume on classicism, Barbara Arciszewska and Elizabeth McKellar highlighted the absence of architecture within discussions of early modern cultural history.[75] This thesis addresses this gap in scholarship by taking music as a cultural nexus and examining the architecture of musical performance spaces during the long eighteenth century. Despite the demonstrable fruits of such an approach, architectural historians have been slow to incorporate this methodology. A possible reason may be the field's preoccupation with biographical studies of individual architects or buildings, and the hangover of John Summerson's work *The Architecture of the Eighteenth Century,* which gave prominence to architectural styles, namely Palladianism and Neoclassicism.[76] The emphasis on buildings of higher status is seen in the choice of subject matter. The country house still dominates literature, with churches and civic buildings also receiving strong attention.[77]

Studies of vernacular architecture, on the other hand, are largely absent from this period. Housing and domestic architecture receive the greatest attention in this field,

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[74] See, for example, the vast scholarship on individuals such as Christopher Wren or Robert Adam, individual building studies, and period studies: Lisa Jardine, *On a Grander Scale: The Outstanding Career of Sir Christopher Wren* (London: Harper Collins, 2003); Eileen Harris, *The Genius of Robert Adam: His Interiors* (New Haven ; London: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 2001); John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530 to 1830*, Seventh revised and enlarged (third integrated) edition, Pelican History of Art (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983); Giles Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age* (New Haven ; London: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 1995).
[75] Barbara Arciszewska and Elizabeth McKellar, *Articulating British Classicism: New Approaches to Eighteenth-Century Architecture*, Reinterpreting Classicism (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), xx.
[76] John Summerson, *The Architecture of the Eighteenth Century*, World of Art (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986).
[77] Anthony Geraghty, *The Sheldonian Theatre: Architecture and Learning in Seventeenth-Century Oxford* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2013); Charles Wemyss, *The Noble Houses of Scotland, 1660-1800* (München: Prestel Verlag, 2014).

but the vernacular in the urban public sphere is a notable omission in scholarship.[78] Despite the recognition that the early modern period saw a blossoming of specialised building, and in France the first theoretical treatises on the notion of 'type' by use were being produced, recent scholarship reflects a reticence towards typological or even thematic studies. Of late, more thematic works are appearing, such as Matthew Walker's study of architectural culture, which has sought to reconsider how architectural theory and practice developed during this period.[79] However it too has, by the nature of its architectural material, remained centred on famous names and places.

My approach in this thesis has been informed by the move in architectural history to acknowledge a socio-historical context for building. Most famously practised by Mark Girouard, this approach has enabled studies that both move away from, and contextualize, the tradition of studying great architects or individual works.[80] Girouard broke new ground with this approach in *Life in the English Country House*.[81] Rather than simply catalogue the different phases of development and chart changes in architectural form, Girouard sought to explain and account for these changes. This approach, useful though it is, is not sufficient in and of itself for an examination of music spaces. This is largely due to the changing sites and types of spaces used for music performance and the shifting importance of music performance to this architecture.

Typological works are still relatively rare in modern scholarship, although their benefit to architectural history and other fields of enquiry are well recognised. Kathryn Morrison's *English Shops and Shopping*, which places the architecture of an

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[78] Christine Casey, *The Eighteenth-Century Dublin Town House* (Four Courts Press, 2010); Victor Chinnery and Val Chinnery, *Names for Things: A Description of Household Stuff, Furniture and Interiors 1500-1700* (Wetherby: Oblong, 2016).
[79] Matthew Walker, *Architects and Intellectual Culture in Post-Restoration England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).
[80] Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (London: Book Club Associates, 1979); Lydia M. Soo, *Wren's 'Tracts' on Architecture and Other Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
[81] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*.

industry in the spotlight, shows the potential for building type studies acting as a springboard or foundation for studies in other areas. She explicitly directs further work to 'in-depth studies in the fields of retail, architectural or local history.'[82] Christine Stevenson's *Medicine and Magnificence*, also focused on public architecture, demonstrates that a particular building type can be studied within the context of an historical period.[83] Taking this approach even further, Stevenson says in the introduction to her book on eighteenth-century hospitals that she wishes to show 'the relevance of this topic to other kinds of cultural and socio-historical enquiry'.[84] Whilst this is by no means her only aim, it is one that is equally applicable to the present project due to the relationship of music spaces with economic, social, political, religious, and musical history.

Chapter Outline

This thesis aims to investigate how an architecture for music developed during the long eighteenth century in the British Isles. In doing so, it provides an architectural history of the concert hall in the British Isles in the long eighteenth century. It seeks to understand why certain performance venues were chosen, and how the spaces used for secular music performance evolved architecturally during this period. The first three chapters can be loosely grouped together since they each consider aspects of cultural history in relation to the built environment of music spaces. Taken together, they also form a loose chronological development moving through the seventeenth century (Chapter One) into the early eighteenth century (Chapter Two) and finally from the *c.* mid-eighteenth century onwards (Chapter Three).

Chapter One focuses on how the socio-political context of the seventeenth and eighteenth century British Isles affected the musical professions and performance

[82] Kathryn A. Morrison, *English Shops and Shopping: An Architectural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 3.
[83] Morrison, *English Shops and Shopping*; Christine Stevenson, *Medicine and Magnificence: British Hospital and Asylum Architecture, 1660-1815* (New Haven, Conn; London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2000).
[84] Stevenson, *Medicine and Magnificence*, 1.

settings. Focusing on music meetings, an early iteration of the public concert, the chapter traces their development from the Restoration through to the early eighteenth century. The chapter looks specifically at the architectural setting of these meetings and discusses the suitability of the tavern. It discusses why the tavern was the preferred performance venue for such gatherings across the Isles and how its form and features enabled publicly accessible music performance. Architecturally, the tavern is central to this chapter, demonstrating the role vernacular architecture had to play in the formation of an architecture for music.

Chapter Two follows the well-trodden trail of cultural historians in examining the interplay between music spaces and commercial and economic enterprise. However it differs from these traditional approaches by examining the impact of commercialization on the architecture of performance spaces. The chapter explains how commerce gave rise to the 'concert' as we know it, and argues that this was a crucial factor in the development of a space built specifically for the performance of music. It examines the role of the entrepreneur in bringing about a new emphasis on the aesthetics of a performance venue and consolidating the spatial division between audience and performer. It also explores the idea of cultural speculation, as practised by musical societies, and the resulting construction of purpose-built spaces for music.

The third chapter includes the four principal architectural case studies of the thesis: Crow Street Music Room, Dublin Fishamble Street Music Room, Dublin, Holywell Music Room, Oxford, and St Cecilia's Hall, Edinburgh. In addition to an architectural analysis, these buildings are set within the broader social context of polite society and changing preferences in public entertainment. The chapter argues that these buildings embody an architecture for music, developed through and closely related to, their music meeting and tavern forebears. It argues that the choice in design and style, and use of known architects, reflects the desire to distinguish this new concert culture from its tavern-based past, both figuratively and practically. The chapter also considers Assembly Rooms as a rival and eventual displacer to the

concert hall in the eighteenth century, due to changing social preferences for cultural entertainment.

The final two chapters of the thesis take a broader view of architecture for music. Whilst still engaging with cultural history, each chapter also picks up on a current theme of eighteenth-century architectural studies to provide a more holistic approach to the topic of architecture for music during the long eighteenth century.

To this end, the fourth chapter explores notions of urbanism and early town planning. It draws primarily on cartographic evidence to provide an analysis of how architecture for music responded to its changing urban environment. The chapter looks at how the expansion and development of urban centres impacted upon the siting and survival of concert venues. In this respect, it considers the outward expansion of cities and how the move towards the periphery destabilized the centrality of traditional civic centres. It discusses another type of leisure activity, the pleasure garden, and how architecture for music was incorporated into this setting. The chapter also touches upon architecture for music in regional centres and the consolidation of a musical culture across the British Isles.

Chapter Five examines the science of acoustics and the role of the architect in the design and execution of spaces for music. This chapter discusses the centrality of acoustics to the success of a venue for musical performance and investigates to what extent this unseen science was understood and factored in to the choice and design of venues for music. It examines the state of knowledge surrounding architectural acoustics in the scientific community through an investigation into the Royal Society's experiments in the field. The chapter explores how much the architects of spaces for music might have known about acoustics during this period, and suggests that musicians were far more involved in the design process than has previously been assumed.

This thesis uses the historical record to identify spaces and venues used for secular music performance in the British Isles during the long eighteenth century. It analyses the architectural features of these spaces, as well as their cultural context, arguing that the choice and appearance of spaces for secular music performance was influenced predominantly by cultural trends and the needs of musicians. By situating architectural changes within the broader socio-historical context of the eighteenth century, the thesis demonstrates that these spaces can be considered as forebears to the concert hall, and therefore early iterations of the building type. The thesis contributes new architectural research on the history of the concert hall and the spaces used for secular music performance in the eighteenth-century British Isles. It also contributes to the historiography of cultural and architectural history, and opens up questions about the nature and place of vernacular architecture in eighteenth-century studies.

CHAPTER ONE

~ Setting the Stage ~

By the turn of the eighteenth century, London was the musical capital of the world.[1] Its Royal Musical Household was the largest in Europe.[2] In Scotland, the St Cecilia's Day concert of 1695 heralded the beginning of Edinburgh's concert life.[3] Dublin was entering a 'golden age', as Boydell puts it, 'in which a highly cultivated society encouraged and patronised the arts, including most notably architecture, literature, the theatre and music'.[4] The musical life of the British Isles had come a long way from the Wars of the Three Kingdoms in the mid-seventeenth century and the immense disruptions they caused to civic and cultural life. This chapter focuses on the first iterations of public music making that emerged from these periods of political, social, and cultural crisis. It examines the music meeting and its socio-

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[1] Michael Forsyth, *Buildings for Music: The Architect, the Musician, and the Listener from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 21.
[2] Penelope Gouk, 'Performance Practice: Music, Medicine and Natural Philosophy in Interregnum Oxford', *The British Journal for the History of Science* 29, no. 3 (1996): 275.
[3] Deborah Howard, 'St Cecilia's Hall: Architecture and Music in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh', in *The Arts in Eighteenth Century Scotland: Papers from the Symposium in Honour of Basil C. Skinner*, ed. Murdo Macdonald (Edinburgh: Quadriga, 1993), 49.
[4] Brian Boydell, *Four Centuries of Music in Ireland: Essays Based on a Series of Programmes Broadcast to Mark the 50th Anniversary of the BBC in Northern Ireland* (London: BBC, 1979), 28.

cultural connections to the origins of the concert. It also argues that the tavern, the predominant venue for public musical performance from the Restoration to the eighteenth century, was ideally suited, architecturally, to fostering this emerging type of public music performance.

The mid-seventeenth century had been a period of particular turmoil for musicians due to the closing of the theatres in 1642 and removal of church organs in 1644. Prior to this, theatres and churches had been major employers of musicians and their censure left many musicians unemployed. With the restrictions placed on theatre and church music, many musicians lost their main livelihoods. Although the Court and private patronage continued, it did so in a vastly different state to earlier in the century.[5] Musicians were therefore forced into finding new avenues for employment and those that enjoyed playing music for entertainment were also confronted with finding new outlets. One such avenue was the music meeting, a gathering of individuals who met to play and listen to consort music. No doubt there were other types of gatherings and solutions found by musicians, but the music meeting has achieved particular prominence in the history of performance for its associations with the concert. It is also notable for being a mode of performance recorded as taking place in taverns across the British Isles in the aftermath of civil disturbance: an apparently universal solution for musicians after times of upheaval.

In the early seventeenth century, taverns were normally associated with itinerant musicians, those playing to make their livelihood.[6] By contrast, professionals and

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[5] Mary Chan, 'A Music Meeting & Playford's Publishing', in *The Well Enchanting Skill: Music, Poetry and Drama in The Culture of the Renaissance; Essays in Honour of F. W. Sternfeld* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 231.
[6] Brian Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), 8.

elite music makers did so within the more private, or semi-private conditions of patronage.[7] The beginning of this shift was of course with the dissolution of the Court, which forced many musicians into the 'commercial marketplace'.[8] Cromwell's third parliament (1656-7) decreed any music-makers in an inn, alehouse, or tavern were 'rogues, vagabonds and sturdy beggars'.[9] The Puritans were not against music itself; their ordinances regulating tavern music had more to do with keeping public peace.[10] Domestic music, therefore, flourished during the Commonwealth.[11] This was partly due to a long folk tradition, but also because 'many chose rather to fiddle at home, then to goe out and be knockt on the head abroad'.[12] But by the 1660s, taverns were taking on a new social function and with that came new rules for who attended and what took place.

Although taverns would come to be the predominant venue for early iterations of the concert, their use was predicated by the rise of the music meeting as a form of publicly accessible performance. The importance of Oxford music meetings to the development of the concert has already been recognised by scholars.[13] According to Bruce Bellingham, these meetings were 'unique to Oxford, and arose because of political, religious and cultural circumstances during the middle years of the

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[7] Penelope Gouk, *Music, Science, and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999), 24.
[8] Gouk, 30–31.
[9] Robert Elkin, *The Old Concert Rooms of London* (London: Arnold, 1955), 13.
[10] Percy A. Scholes, 'The Truth about the New England Puritans and Music', *The Musical Quarterly* 19, no. 1 (1933): 4.
[11] John Harley, *Music in Purcell's London: The Social Background* (London: Dobson, 1968), 13.
[12] Harley, 23; Roger North, *The Musicall Gramarian*, ed. Hilda Andrews (London: Oxford University Press, 1925), 294.
[13] Susan Wollenberg, *Music at Oxford in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Bruce Bellingham, 'The Musical Circle of Anthony à Wood in Oxford during the Commonwealth and Restoration', *Journal of the Viola Da Gamba Society of America* 19 (1982): 6–70; Chan, 'A Music Meeting & Playford's Publishing'.

seventeenth century.'[14] In 1642, the Court relocated from London to Oxford. This meant that these two cities (and their resident musicians) were the first to experience and respond to the upheaval and changes brought about by the Civil War. Given its unique status as both a University Town and site of the Court in the Interregnum, Oxford was certainly a-typical of other regional centres.

Although Oxford was clearly an important musical centre during the Interregnum, its renown as such has been enabled by the contemporaneous writings of Anthony à Wood.[15] Wood (1632-1695) was an antiquarian, a keen amateur musician, resident of Oxford, and a prolific chronicler of the city's history and life.[16] His works include a biographical dictionary of musicians, a history of the University of Oxford, a catalogue of visitors during the Interregnum, and a collection of personal diaries.[17] These last are a key source for reconstructing musical life in the aftermath of the Commonwealth and an unusually descriptive contemporary account of music activity during the Interregnum and the early years of the Restoration.[18]

Wood's writings have been used extensively by historians of the period to reconstruct the musical life of the city. No equivalent sources survive for other cities, though the

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[14] Bellingham, 'The Musical Circle of Anthony à Wood in Oxford during the Commonwealth and Restoration', 14.
[15] Anthony à Wood, *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary, of Oxford, 1632-1695*, ed. Andrew Clark (Oxford: Printed for the Oxford Historical Society, at the Clarendon Press, 1891).
[16] 'Wood, Anthony [Anthony à Wood] (1632–1695), Antiquary | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography', accessed 13 August 2018, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29864.
[17] Anthony à Wood, 'Biographical Notes on Musicians' (n.d.), Bod Lib. MS Wood D 19; Anthony à Wood, *The Antient and Present State of the City of Oxford: Containing an Account of Its Foundation, Antiquity, Situation, Suburbs, Division by Wards, Walls, Castle, Fairs, Religious Houses, Abbeys, St. Frideswede's, Churches ... Monumental Inscriptions; Mayors, Members of Parliament, &c.*, ed. Sir John Peshall (London: J. and F. Rivington, 1773); Anthony à Wood, *The History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford, in Two Books: By Anthony à Wood*, ed. John Gutch (Oxford: Printed for the editor, 1792); Wood, *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary, of Oxford, 1632-1695*.
[18] Wood, *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary, of Oxford, 1632-1695*.

1660-1669 Diary of Samuel Pepys, a naval administrator and Member of Parliament, is of value for its record of daily life in London. Although he himself did not appear to be part of any music meeting, his diaries provide ample insight into London's musical life.[19] In a less personal, though equally individual manner, Roger North (1653-1734) the English lawyer, biographer and amateur musician also records some individual London meetings.[20] The majority of information about London music meetings therefore comes from contemporaneous sources and literature.[21] This availability of sources is reflected in the literature, which tends towards historical cataloguing of known meetings and venues. An exception is Ian Spink, whose article on the Old Jewry has helped create a fuller picture of just how popular and widespread music meetings were from the Restoration onwards in the Capital.[22] Moreover, he uses contemporary sources to great effect, examining dedications and musical inscriptions to reconstruct the membership and movement of particular music meetings.

Whilst the music meeting is widely recorded and recognized in Oxford and London scholarship, it is less conspicuous in Ireland and Scotland. Due to political events in Ireland and Scotland, such as on-going war and uprisings throughout the seventeenth and into the eighteenth century, cultural life did not stabilise at the same rate as in England. This meant that music meetings, when they did appear in Dublin and Edinburgh, did so at later periods and underwent faster periods of change,

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[19] Samuel Pepys, 'The Diary of Samuel Pepys', The Diary of Samuel Pepys, n.d., http://www.pepysdiary.com; Frederick Bridge, *Samuel Pepys, Lover of Musique* (London: Smith, Elder, & co, 1903).
[20] North, *The Musicall Gramarian*; Roger North, *Roger North on Music : Being a Selection from His Essays Written during the Years c.1695-1728* (London: Novello, 1959).
[21] This is especially so for Dublin, the key information about which is found in the poetry of Laurence Whyte: Laurence Whyte, *The Collected Poems of Laurence Whyte*, ed. Michael J. Griffin (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2016).
[22] Ian Spink, 'The Old Jewry "Musick-Society": A 17th-Century Catch Club', *Musicology Australia* 2, no. 1 (1967): 35–41.

becoming instituted as Musical Societies within comparatively shorter periods of time than was seen in England. Greater emphasis is therefore given in the scholarly tradition to the period after these meetings became formalised into established Music Societies.[23]

But despite the scholarly recognition of the importance of music meetings to the development of the concert, what is yet to receive attention is a focus on the architectural settings of these early meetings. This is especially true for the tavern, whose architectural history, even outwith its musical associations, is underexplored in scholarship of this period. Few works on the tavern from an architectural perspective have been written for this period, though the tavern's association with culture has been more widely recognised.[24]

This chapter therefore focuses on the architectural settings of these early meetings. It begins with an examination of the earliest-recorded music meetings and their architectural setting within private homes. It then discusses the Oxford Music School as a venue of semi-public performance, and how this grand architectural provision contrasted with the vernacular, domestic setting. The second part of the chapter discusses the tavern as a venue for early public performances. It outlines a number of London-based tavern meetings and argues that taverns across the Isles – egalitarian and publicly accessible spaces – were both socially and architecturally suited to

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[23] William Forbes Gray, *The Musical Society of Edinburgh and St. Cecilia's Hall: Extracted from the Nineteenth Volume of the Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, December 1933.* (Edinburgh: Old Edinburgh Club, 1933); W. H. Grattan Flood, 'Fishamble St. Music Hall, Dublin, from 1741 to 1777', *Sammelbände Der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 14, no. 1 (1912): 51–57.

[24] Ian Newman, 'Tavern Talk: Literature, Politics & Conviviality' (ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2013); Thomas Edward Brennan, *Public Drinking in the Early Modern World: Voices from the Tavern, 1500-1800* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2011). An exception is Janet Pennington, 'Inns and Taverns of Western Sussex, England, 1550-1700: A Documentary and Architectural Investigation', in *The World of the Tavern: Public Houses in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Beat A. Kümin and B. Ann Tlusty (Aldershot, Hants, England; Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2002), 116–35.

fostering a new musical culture in the wake of the seventeenth and eighteenth century civic and cultural disruptions. The chapter ends by showing the uniqueness of the tavern as a venue for music performance, by contrasting its use with another publicly accessible building type, the coffeehouse.

The Music Meeting

Although Wood's accounts recall his particular experience of an Oxford music meeting, there is reason to believe that his experience was typical of other music meetings across the Isles. The music meeting, based on Wood's descriptions, involves a performance for a small group of select individuals where participants seem able to listen or join in at leisure. Participants brought their own instruments and probably music too when they had it. A small fee was paid to cover incidental expenses, and perhaps take some refreshments.[25] These general features of the music meeting are seen in later tavern meetings and go on to form the basis of the Musical Societies that were responsible for constructing the first purpose-built spaces for music performance.

According to Wood, a notable aspect of the Oxford meetings he attended was that little regard was given to the age, standing, political, or religious beliefs of the participants: the desire (and ability) to play music overrode any otherwise potentially fractious viewpoints.[26] The emphasis on the music, rather than the political or religious affiliation of its members, seems to have been a particular feature of early

[25] Bellingham, 'The Musical Circle of Anthony à Wood in Oxford during the Commonwealth and Restoration', 46.
[26] Bellingham, 32.

music meetings across the Isles.[27] Although few member lists survive for other groups, those that do show an eclectic group of individuals, brought together for the sake of performing music.[28] Such unity through diversity is explicitly noted in a poetic description of an early eighteenth-century Dublin Music Meeting: 'With *Papists, Tories,* and some honest *Whiggs;* / If *F-----s* came, then did *Greg Byrne* and he, / Compare their *Systems* of *Philosophy*'.[29]

The Oxford Music Meeting

The relocation of the Court to Oxford in 1642 brought with it a retinue of professional musicians. When the Court was dissolved in 1646, many musicians chose to remain in the city since they had no other immediate options for employment. This meant that the city had a higher than usual number of professional musicians living alongside a University community of industrious and curious intellectuals.[30] With the music school out of use from 1642 – *c.* 1656/7, there arose a gap in the potential avenues for communal music making, a fundamental aspect of musical training and practice. The Puritans, who were then installed in power, were wary of public music making and the disturbances it could cause. As Scholes has argued, they were not against music-making as such, and so private

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[27] This was true of Clubs in general, which frequently attracted a diverse membership, Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies, 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World*, Oxford Studies in Social History (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 4.

[28] See, for example, Ellis's meeting as recorded in Wood, and the Edinburgh Musical Society as discussed by MacLeod: Wood, *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary, of Oxford, 1632-1695*; Jennifer Macleod, 'The Edinburgh Musical Society: Its Membership and Repertoire, 1728-1797' (PhD, University of Edinburgh, 2001).

[29] Laurence Whyte, 'An Historical Poem, On the Rise and Progress of the Charitable and Musical Society', in *The Collected Poems of Laurence Whyte*, ed. Michael J. Griffin (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2016), 262–72 ll. 34-36.

[30] Gouk has noted the similarities between the format and location of music meetings and early scientific interest groups in Oxford: Gouk, *Music, Science, and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England*.

music making was able to flourish.[31] In the university town of Oxford, this meant college rooms as well as private homes were used as venues for select musical gatherings. The contemporary chronicler of Oxford life, Anthony à Wood provides evidence for this, saying: 'they encouraged instrumental musick and some there were that had musick meetings every week in their chambers; but vocall musick the heads of these partie(s) did not care for, and the juniors were afraid to entertaine it because [it was] used by the prelaticall party in their devotions'.[32]

Wood's accounts of Oxford life during this period are particularly important for this study as they provide an insight into a type of musical gathering that is directly related to the modern concert and the origins of the concert hall. Across thirteen years of his diaries from 1655/6 to 1669, Wood makes reference to a number of music meetings, some of which he himself attended.[33] Expenses in his ledgers imply that he was a frequent attendee at such gatherings.[34] The main meeting series Wood attends and describes is that of William Ellis (*fl* 1630, bur. 1680). Wood includes two extended accounts of Ellis's meetings in his diary. The first is recorded in March 1656 when Wood himself had just joined (Appendix A). The second is from March 1659 (Appendix B). Wood's accounts are not only evidence that music meetings were active in Oxford in the 1650s and 1660s, they also provide insight into the types of people attending and music being performed. Both accounts list the regular participants at the meeting and the instruments or parts they played. In March 1656, the group was comprised almost entirely of students and fellows who had ability in

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[31] Percy A. Scholes, *The Puritans and Music in England and New England: A Contribution to the Cultural History of Two Nations* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), 14.
[32] Wood, *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary, of Oxford, 1632-1695*, I, 298 (93).
[33] For a discussion of the manuscript tradition and sources for the diaries, see Bellingham, 'The Musical Circle of Anthony à Wood in Oxford during the Commonwealth and Restoration', 8.
[34] For a fuller listing of his attendance see Bellingham, 'The Musical Circle of Anthony à Wood in Oxford during the Commonwealth and Restoration'.

music. The account from March 1659 serves to update the register of the attendees, acting as a supplement to the earlier list.

Based on the information provided, which includes details about the participants, structure, instrumentation, and location, it seems that Ellis's was the earliest, most popular, and probably longest-lived of the Oxford music meetings. Wood himself maintained a fairly regular attendance over the course of thirteen years until June 1669 when there are no further references to Ellis's meetings in his Diary.[35] It seems highly likely that this cessation was due to Wood's personal situation, rather than the disbanding of Ellis's meetings. Although as Bellingham notes, there is no reference anywhere to Ellis's meetings in the 1670s.[36]

Ellis was an organist with St John's College from 1639, a position that lost its funding after the Civil War, but in which he is recorded again from 1660.[37] Wood's first account of Ellis's meeting is for March 1655/6, though it is possible that the meetings started as early as 1648 or 1649, this being soon after his supposed expulsion from St. John's College in 1648.[38] An earlier origin date is also suggested in the description itself, which begins: 'By this time A.W. had genuine skill in musick, and frequented the weekly meetings…'.[39] Based on earlier records in the diaries, it seems that Wood was still in the early stages of learning to play the viol and violin and that perhaps his

[35] Wood, *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary, of Oxford, 1632-1695*.
[36] Bellingham, 'The Musical Circle of Anthony à Wood in Oxford during the Commonwealth and Restoration', 68.
[37] Andrew Hegarty, *A Biographical Register of St. John's College, Oxford, 1555-1660*, Oxford Historical Society 43 (Woodbridge, England: Boydell Press, 2011), 267.
[38] Wood, 'Biographical Notes on Musicians'. Wood says that Ellis was 'ejected' in the Harley MS 5409 draft, but Thompson notes that this is incorrect and more probable was that the post was not remunerated during these years: 'Ellis, William | Grove Music', accessed 13 August 2018, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-3000000121.
[39] Wood frequently refers to himself in the third person. Wood, *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary, of Oxford, 1632-1695*, I, 204 (72).

level of ability was not sufficient to join in these meetings until 1655/6.[40] Further evidence for a starting date in the late 1640s comes by way of Ellis's business interests. Between 1647 and 1659 he held licences almost every year to keep a common alehouse, an additional stream of income, and a foreshadowing of the role taverns would come to have in musical performance.[41]

Edmund Chilmead

This small commercial aspect is also present in another early music meeting dating to the late 1640s/early 1650s. Edmund Chilmead (1610-1654), also an Oxford man, is recorded as hosting music meetings at his premises at the *Black Horse*, Aldersgate Street, London.[42] Wood provides a biography of Chilmead in which he says that he was educated at Magdalen College, Oxford before becoming a petty canon of Christ Church in 1632.[43] The last account of him in Oxford is in the Christ Church account books for 1642.[44] He was expelled from that College for an unknown offence, possibly in 1648, but this may actually be the date he is first recorded in London.[45] Chilmead was more of a theoretical than practical musician. He supplemented his earnings with academic and foreign language cataloguing, transcribing, translating, and ghost writing. He also wrote his own treatise *An Early Critique of Bacon's Sylva Sylvarum,*

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[40] Wood, *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary, of Oxford, 1632-1695* Dec. 1651 [I, 173 (62); I, 212]; Bellingham, 'The Musical Circle of Anthony à Wood in Oxford during the Commonwealth and Restoration', 11–13.
[41] 'Ellis, William | Grove Music'. Citing Oxfordshire History Centre: QS/C/A5/1-2
[42] 'Aldersgate street at the sign of the Blacke Horse' was also the address of Thomas East, the music printer in the early seventeenth century: Donald William Krummel and Stanley Sadie, *Music Printing and Publishing*, New Grove Handbooks in Music (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990), 226.
[43] Wood, n. I, III, col. 350
[44] Mordechai Feingold and Penelope M. Gouk, 'An Early Critique of Bacon's Sylva Sylvarum: Edmund Chilmead's Treatise on Sound', *Annals of Science* 40, no. 2 (1 March 1983): 143.
[45] 1648 is recorded by Wood, but this is probably an error. See: Feingold and Gouk, 142–43; Montagu Burrows, ed., *The Register of the Visitors of the University of Oxford, from A.D. 1647 to A.D. 1658* (Westminster: Printed for the Camden Society, 1881), 485.

demonstrating a keen awareness of acoustic theory.[46] His investigations into acoustic theory pre-empted many that would be posed by the Royal Society but it is thought he did not publish his treatise since his views on Bacon were in contrast to most at the time.[47] It is rumoured that in 1651 he ran for the Gresham professorship of music but could not, ultimately, compete with the well-connected William Petty.[48]

His meetings were held at the *Black Horse*, Aldersgate Street.[49] This was also the address of Thomas Este/East (1540-1609), a musician and music printer from the early seventeenth century. [50] The *Black Horse* is a known tavern name and so the exact delineation between home, business, and tavern is unclear.[51] But the symbol was used to designate Este's business and there is reason to believe it also functioned as a domestic residence. [52] The internal arrangements of the property, or any details about the space, are unknown.

There are many similarities between the Ellis and Chilmead meetings. Chilmead's dates are recorded as being in the late 1640s or early 1650s and Ellis's could be as early as the 1640s, depending on how soon after being let go from St. John's he began his venture. Both, then, appear to have begun at around the same time.[53] Both

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[46] The treatise is now in the Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 204. A synopsis and examination can be found in Feingold and Gouk, 'An Early Critique of Bacon's Sylva Sylvarum'.
[47] Mordechai Feingold, 'Chilmead, Edmund', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed 15 March 2017, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5310.
[48] Feingold and Gouk, 'An Early Critique of Bacon's Sylva Sylvarum', 144.
[49] Feingold, 'Chilmead, Edmund'.
[50] Donald William Krummel, *English Music Printing, 1553-1700* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1975), 19–20.
[51] Charles Hindley, *Tavern Anecdotes and Sayings: Including the Origin of Signs, and Reminiscences Connected with Taverns, Coffee-Houses, Clubs, Etc.*, Cambridge Library Collection. British and Irish History, 19th Century (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1875), 69.
[52] Krummel, *English Music Printing, 1553-1700*, 19–20.
[53] Gouk, *Music, Science, and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England*, 43.

charged a fee for the meeting in order to cover expenses and make a small living.[54] Furthermore the meetings, although seemingly semi-public, were held in private, domestic, establishments. These were venues chosen by hosts based on convenience and availability. Both men were well connected to academics, theorists, keen amateurs, and probably professional musicians. Although we have no record of who exactly attended Chilmead's meetings, he probably also hosted some musically well-educated individuals.[55]

It seems remarkable that both men should have independently set about creating the same type of venture at the same time. Given the dates and their connections to Oxford, it seems plausible that these men either knew each other, or had a common network through which the details of the venture were shared. Which one came first, or if the two men discussed the model together whilst still in Oxford, will probably never be known. But the similarities between the two are evidence of a cross-fertilisation of musical practices and practicalities, the results of which would ultimately end in concerts and the concert hall.

Another key similarity is that both men hosted his meetings at his own home. These early meetings therefore mark an important transition in the siting of performances, since they combine a home-based performance venue with the concept of a more public performance. According to Wood, Ellis's meetings were: 'in his house opposite to that place where the theatre [the Sheldonian (1664-69)] was afterwards built'.[56] By consulting the leases for properties in the street during this time,

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[54] For a broader discussion of their economic impetus, see Chapter Two.
[55] For a discussion of Chilmead's contacts and interests, see Feingold and Gouk, 'An Early Critique of Bacon's Sylva Sylvarum'.
[56] Wood, *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary, of Oxford, 1632-1695*, [I, 204 (72)] March 1655/6. Burney recorded, incorrectly, that Ellis's house was 'situated on that place whereon the theatre was built': Charles Burney, *A General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*

Bellingham suggested that Ellis occupied a tenement to the west of 46 Broad Street (in 1662, and 1677) and to the east of 47 Broad St (in 1667).[57] H. E. Salter, who compiled the lease information, included a note referring to the music meetings saying 'At the north end of the garden there is a detached room still known [in 1926] as the Music Room.'[58] Nothing more is known about this room or whether it even dated from Ellis's time and unfortunately this range of houses was demolished in 1936 to make way for the New Bodleian, now the Weston Library. This 'vernacular housing that otherwise extended along the top end of Broad Street', was vastly different to the University buildings and Sheldonian directly opposite.[59] The range still in existence and currently housing Blackwell's Bookstore, is however from the same era (Figure 1).[60] The west end of the New Bodleian and the east end of modern day Blackwell's are numbers 48-49 Broad Street. Ellis's home was therefore on the North side of Broad Street, on a site now generally identified as being part of the Weston Library (Figure 2).[61]

Without any information on the arrangement of rooms it is difficult to make any concrete claims about the accessibility or spatiality of the actual space used. However,

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(London,: Printed for the author and sold by Payne and Son, at the Mews-Gate; Robson and Clark, Bond-Street; and GGJand JRobinson, Paternoster-Row, 1789), 335.

[57] Bellingham, 'The Musical Circle of Anthony à Wood in Oxford during the Commonwealth and Restoration', 38.

[58] H. E. (Herbert Edward) Salter, *Oxford City Properties*, vol. 83, Oxford Historical Society (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press for the Oxford Historical Society, 1926), 262–64.

[59] Anthony Geraghty, *The Sheldonian Theatre: Architecture and Learning in Seventeenth-Century Oxford* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2013), 1.

[60] Bellingham, 'The Musical Circle of Anthony à Wood in Oxford during the Commonwealth and Restoration', 38.

[61] Gouk, *Music, Science, and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England*, 48; Bellingham, 'The Musical Circle of Anthony à Wood in Oxford during the Commonwealth and Restoration', 38. Burney incorrectly transcribed Wood's journal to say the meetings were 'situated on that place whereon the [Sheldonian] theatre was built' rather than 'opposite to that place'. Burney, *A General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, 335.[61]

based on Wood's descriptions of the music repertoire and the meeting, it is possible to infer some of the room's attributes. In an account from 1656, Wood says:

> The gentlemen in privat meetings which A.W. frequented, play'd three, four and five parts all with viols, as treble-viol, tenor, counter-tenor and bass, with either an organ or virginal or harpsicon joyn'd with them: and they esteemed a violin to be an instrument only belonging to a common fiddler, and could not indure that it should come among them for feare of making their meetings seem to be vaine and fiddling.[62]

Wood's account of the repertoire refers to an organ, virginal, or harpsichord, and consorts of between three and five parts. The organ was almost certainly a chamber organ, designed in size and sound for these smaller spaces (Figure 3). The largest instrument at the gathering was the virginal or harpsichord, large in size but not in sound due to its gut strings. The exact arrangement of space within the room would therefore have been dictated by the instruments present and in use at any given time. A mid-eighteenth century image, *A Musical Party*, gives an indication of how the space may have been arranged (Figure 4).

That Wilson 'mostly presided the consort' indicates that the music performed was consort rather than solo, and also that a conductor was used to keep time.[63] The use of a conductor may have been due either to the size of the group performing or to assist in keeping time for those less used to consort playing. The presence of a conductor also suggests individual part books may have been used rather than the tabular form popular with singers and other consorts (Figure 5).[64] This arrangement had an impact on how the space was used, as it meant musicians needed to orient

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[62] Wood, *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary, of Oxford, 1632-1695*, I, 212.
[63] Wood, *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary, of Oxford, 1632-1695*, [I, 204 (72)] March 1655/6.
[64] See, for example, the set of four books making up *Thesaurus Musicus* (1693), *BL*: K.2.g.16

themselves in relation to the conductor, rather than to the furniture that held the music.

Although Ellis's group was at least eighteen to twenty strong, the type of consort music being played seems unable to accommodate all the participants all of the time. If there was only one player per part, performances could include as few as four people. This means that in any given piece, the majority of attendees were probably listening rather than playing. On the basis of the extant descriptions it is difficult to say whether anyone attended solely to listen and not perform, although Wood himself seems to become 'more an observer than a participant' in the 1660s.[65] Despite this, it seems that participants moved freely between the roles of observer and participant.

This fluidity is a notable feature of these early performances and has important spatial implications. Given the early date and apparent flexibility of these meetings, it seems unlikely that these different roles would have had architecturally demarcated areas within the room. This is of course with the exception of the limitations imposed by the portable instruments such as the organ, virginal, and harpsichord. Such a division would only become a feature of concerts and their venues from the last quarter of the seventeenth century. The reasons for this are discussed in Chapter Two.

The room, then, must have been large enough to accommodate the eighteen to twenty members, plus a range of instruments. It was probably quite a full space. Despite this, it was probably fairly well-balanced acoustically. This balance was

[65] Bellingham, 'The Musical Circle of Anthony à Wood in Oxford during the Commonwealth and Restoration', 68.

achieved through the natural limitations of the gut-stringed instruments, which could not project their sound like modern instruments. The wooden construction of the room, and the sheer number of individuals would also have acted as sound absorbers, further deadening any acoustic reverberance and volume. Stringed instruments too used gut strings and, in the early meetings, violins were yet to be introduced. Acoustically then, the venue would not have been deafening, and these already muted sounds would have been absorbed quickly into a wood-panelled and densely packed room.

It is apparent from Wood's descriptions that the Ellis meetings were somewhat of an institution within the Oxford community during the 1650s and 60s, though they were by no means the only such meetings. Wood himself may well have hosted some meetings in Merton in 1657/8.[66] Other individuals in Oxford also appear to have continued on the practice of music meetings throughout the seventeenth century, although they did so within the architectural confines of the University buildings. Among them was Narcissus Marsh (1638-1713), a long-standing host who held weekly meetings in his rooms from at least 1666 to 1673:

> I had before this betaken myself to the practice of musick, especially of the Bass Viol, and after the fire of London, I constantly kept a weekly consort (of instrumental musick and sometimes vocal) in my chamber on Wednesday in the afternoon, and then on Thursday, as long as I lived in Oxford.[67]

Narcissus Marsh was Provost of Trinity College, Dublin and Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin. He is remembered principally for the library he founded in the shadow of St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin. He wrote an autobiographical diary-cum-quasi-spiritual

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[66] Bellingham, 45.
[67] *Marsh*: MS Z2.2.3b, p. 9. Reproduced in Raymond Gillespie, *Scholar Bishop: The Recollections and Diary of Narcissus Marsh, 1638-1696*, Irish Narratives (Cork: Cork University Press, 2003), 20.

narrative typical of religious men in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century.[68] Before settling in Ireland, Marsh was educated and resided in Oxford where he was made principal of St Alban's Hall in 1673. Unlike Ellis, Marsh did not inhabit the same address for the duration of his concerts, but moved his meetings with him as he changed colleges. His meetings began in Exeter College in 1666 before moving to St Alban's in 1673 when Marsh was made Principal. Given that the concerts were held in Marsh's rooms, it seems unlikely that he would have been able to make any architectural modifications to the space. His meetings were probably more like home-based chamber music gatherings, with small consorts momentarily fitted in to the surroundings. There is no record of Marsh continuing his weekly meetings in Ireland after his relocation there in 1679. He makes this explicit in his writings, which begin to concentrate on living a more devout and less frivolous life. The following is in reference to the Oxford meetings: 'Yet O Lord I beseech thee to forgive me this loss of time and vain Conversation.'[69] After Marsh left Oxford, Henry Aldrich, (1648-1710) a musician and architect and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford from 1692 to 1695, took up the series and moved it to Christ Church.[70] Clearly, semi-private music making had become part of Oxford musical life after the Restoration, even if it had reverted to the University Colleges.

Ellis's meetings appear then to have fulfilled a unique role in the mid-century musical life of Oxford. Part of Ellis's success and longevity may well have been due to the fact that his home was not part of a collegiate or University establishment and therefore

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[68] For more on these and how Marsh fitted in with this tradition, see Gillespie, *Scholar Bishop*, Introduction.
[69] Gillespie, 20.
[70] Gouk, *Music, Science, and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England*, 50. Other college meetings are listed in Wood, *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary, of Oxford, 1632-1695*, I, 273; On Aldrich, see Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600-1840*, 4th ed. (New Haven Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 2008).

physically, and presumably socially, open to anyone with sufficient means, inclination, and ability. Another possible contributing factor is that they compensated 'for the disrepair and the inactivity at the Music School'.[71] This hypothesis is further supported by the attendance of John Wilson (1595-1674), the Heather Music Professor who Wood noted 'mostly presided the consort'.[72]

The Oxford Music School

In 1626, William Heather provided a bequest to the University of Oxford for the establishment of a University Professorship in music (Figure 6). In addition to the provision of books and instruments, he prescribed the establishment of a weekly meeting at which to play music in consort:

> Good Mr. Wheare, let me instruct you to undertake with Mr. Vice chancellor to know how ye universitie will like of my prupose which I meane to doe. That is to bestowe a winde instrument and a chest of Vialls and as many Setts of books as I can get for love or mony, and yearely allowance of ten pounds by the yeare to have them kept continually in Tune, and that I would have one afternoon in ye week for ye practise of Musick and to stand in ye musicke Schoole, in which ye Theorie is redd…[73]

Wood's records provide further information about the scheme:

> The FOUNDER'S request of the Musick Lecture (2) Imprimis, that the Exercise of Musick be constantly kept every week, on Thursday in the afternoon, afternoons in Lent excepted. Secondly, I appoint Mr. Nicholson, the now Organist of Magd. Coll. To be the Master of the Musick, and to take charge of the Instruments… Thirdly, I do appoint the said Master to bring with him two boys weekly, at the day and time aforesaid, and play lessons of three Parts, if none other come. Lastly, I ordain that once every year the Instruments be viewed and

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[71] Bellingham, 'The Musical Circle of Anthony à Wood in Oxford during the Commonwealth and Restoration', 68.
[72] Wood, *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary, of Oxford, 1632-1695*, [I, 204 (72)] March 1655/6.
[73] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Reg. Conv. N 23, fol. 222

> the books: and that neither of these be lent abroad upon any pretence whatsoever, nor removed out of the Schoole and place appointed.[74]

It is not clear from this original edict as to whether these afternoon practices were intended to be public or not, but the space was certainly used for the public performance of music in some instances, such as for public examinations. The presence of a gallery at one end of the room suggests that there was a physical and architectural separation of performers and audience members. That the gallery was at one end, rather than being in the round, suggests that performance was not the main function of the space. The additional space along the walls and in the centre of the room was likely used for practical purposes, such as music storage and to facilitate teaching rather than for seating or anything decorative or acoustic. Throughout the Civil War, the Music School had been used as a 'magazine for cloth for soldiers' apparel and coates', only to undergo a period of restoration from 1656.[75]

The Music School was situated within the Bodleian Schools Quadrangle (Figure 7).[76] At its inception, it was situated on the first floor in the south-east corner of the complex, next to Astronomy and above Rhetoric. By 1656, the same year Ellis's meetings are recorded by Wood, the Music School had been relocated to the ground floor, perhaps in order to aid its accessibility.[77] Much damage and loss had been sustained by the collection during the Civil War, but receipts indicate that from 1656 it underwent significant updating. The building works detailed in the receipts include labour of carpenters, the 'tacking downe of the floures in the Musick Scoole and for

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[74] Wood, *The History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford, in Two Books*, I, 358.
[75] Wood, *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary, of Oxford, 1632-1695*, I, 83.
[76] Wood recounts playing here on Thursdays, see Wood, I, 223.
[77] Rachael Poole, 'The Oxford Music School and the Collection of Portraits Formerly Preserved There', *The Musical Antiquary; London / New York* 4 (April 1913): 150.

seting it up in another Scoole', and for 'rales' in the School.[78] In 1657 the lock was mended on the door and a new key provided. A new key was also issued for the rail door, the great chest, the book chest and a 'new Dobel casement' was installed. Timber was supplied for the organ, windows were re-glazed, a harpsichord was restored, and chairs and desks were constructed. Receipts from the works conducted on the music school at the time indicate that John Wilson (Professor of music and conductor of the Ellis meetings) was responsible for its reconfiguration and maintenance (Figure 8).[79]

From these records we know that the music school had a timber floor (very good for absorbing the sound), many windows (good for providing light to the musicians), a variety of instruments and music books for use that could also be stored within the space, chairs and desks for the formal study of the discipline, and a rail, designating a separate area for onlookers or performers. These features were all practical elements, factored into the restoration of an otherwise blank space in order to accommodate the formal study and performance of music. In a record from 1660, Wood recounts a performance in the music school: 'The school was exceeding full, and the gallery at the end of the school was full of the female sex.'[80]Although within the University context, the Music School is, nonetheless, evidence for a burgeoning publicly accessible concert culture. Its restoration can also be seen as evidence of an emerging architecture for music, where architectural features are modified to suit the needs of music performance.

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[78] Poole, 'The Oxford Music School and the Collection of Portraits Formerly Preserved There'.
[79] Poole; Bellingham, 'The Musical Circle of Anthony à Wood in Oxford during the Commonwealth and Restoration', 57–60. The receipts are reproduced in Bellingham.
[80] Wood, *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary, of Oxford, 1632-1695*, I, 316.

Acoustically this space would have sounded very differently to Ellis's due to the differences in materials and size. But the Music School is, in many ways, an anomaly of performance spaces due to its relative exclusivity and place within a University context. For although it exhibits many of the features that are later inscribed into concert hall design, such as separate areas for performers and audience members, it was established primarily as a place of study for a select group. The architecture of the Music School is therefore better seen as testament to the notion that architectural typologies develop in response to the needs of the activity they house: in this instance, music. This is also seen in the development of the Sheldonian Theatre (1664-1669). This project was closely connected with the University Act, of which music made up only a small part. Although it contained an organ, the building was architecturally linked to the theatre tradition of London, which placed greater emphasis on the spoken word.[81] A stage was, at one point, part of Wren's design, but this was removed to create something closer to an assembly hall.[82]

It is clear that Oxford was a unique case for the period. Even Cambridge, ostensibly comparable as a university town, did not appear to have had a similar programme of musical activity. It did not endow a Professorship of music until 1684, though this alone does not mean that the city was devoid of musical activity or even of music meetings in the period following the Civil War. Thomas Mace (1612/3-*c.* 1706), a singing man at Trinity College Cambridge, noted that 'We had (beyond all *This*) a *Custom* at *Our Meetings*, that commonly, after such *Instrumental Musick* was over, we did *Conclude All*, with some *Vocal Musick*, (to the *Organ*, or (for want of *That*) to

[81] Geraghty, *The Sheldonian Theatre*, 18.
[82] Geraghty, 57.

the *Theorboe*', suggesting that the phenomenon was not completely unheard of.[83] Music meetings were certainly part of University life by the eighteenth century when Zacharias Conrad Von Uffenbach (1683-1734), the German bibliophile and traveller, visited and recorded attending a music club at Christ's College, Cambridge.[84] Whilst true that Cambridge did not benefit from having such a prolific chronicler as Wood and that its musical life may therefore be underrepresented in the historical record, it is more likely that Oxford's unique association with University and Court fostered its own particular musical life.[85]

Between the Court, College Chapels, travelling theatre, and music school performances, there was clearly much musical activity taking place in Oxford during the mid-seventeenth century. With the restoration of the Music School, the number of musical events in the city increased. This was another aspect of Oxford's uniqueness: the sheer concentration of events taking place in the city over such a short period of time.[86] This may explain the changes in Ellis's meetings, noted by Wood in the 1660s. After the reopening and restoration of the Music School, Ellis's meetings began to focus more so on hosting visiting musicians and ex-Oxford students, including virtuosi like Thomas Baltzar (*c.* 1630-1663).[87] This may well tie with Wood's decreased participation during this period. The hosting of famous

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[83] Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument, or, A Remembrancer of the Best Practical Musick, Both Divine and Civil, That Has Ever Been Known to Have Been in the World Divided into Three Parts* (London: T. Ratcliffe and N. Thompson for the author, 1676), 235.
[84] Zacharias Konrad von Uffenbach, *Herrn Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach Merckwürdige Reise durch Niedersachsen Holland und Engelland: mit Kupfern : erster-[dritter] Theil*, ed. Johann Georg Schelhorn (Ulm; Memmingen: auf Kosten Johann Friedrich Gaum, 1754), 12.
[85] Burney, *A General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, 340.
[86] Gouk, *Music, Science, and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England*, 53.
[87] Bellingham, 'The Musical Circle of Anthony à Wood in Oxford during the Commonwealth and Restoration', 68.; Baltzar was a leading German violinist known as the 'Swede' due to his professional associations with the Swedish Court. His skill afforded him another moniker of 'the incomperable Lubicer': See Peter Holman, 'Thomas Baltzar (?1631-1663), The "Incomperable 'Lubicer' on the Violin"', *Chelys* 13 (1984): 3.

individuals also had a subtle effect on the format of the music meeting in general, by turning most attendees into observers. The creation of the virtuoso performer is a marker of seventeenth-century musical life, but this also had a profound impact on the division of roles into an observing audience and professional performer; a hallmark of concert culture by the end of the century.[88]

If the vigour and frequency of Wood's references to Ellis's music meeting is any indication, the venture must have been quite well known and certainly very highly regarded. It is unsurprising, therefore, that it was likely used as a model for other types of ventures. Because of the political situation, Oxford was well-connected to other major centres, especially London. The movement of people (and with them ideas) between Oxford and London was constant. Whilst tracing inspirations between cities and individuals may well be problematic, it is worth examining the musical ventures of London for the period, given its proximity and links with Oxford.

Thomas Britton

The privately-hosted music meeting was not restricted to the earliest years of the Interregnum and Commonwealth, but continued to operate as a model into the eighteenth century. In London, Thomas Britton (1643/4-1714) began a music club in the style of Chilmead and Ellis in his own home in 1678.[89] Britton was by trade a small-coal man, but was also a keen amateur chemist and known as a collector of

[88] Colin Lawson, 'Performing through History', in *Musical Performance: A Guide to Understanding*, ed. John Rink (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 8.
[89] Hugh Arthur Scott, 'London's Earliest Public Concerts', *The Musical Quarterly* 22, no. 4 (1936): 457.

instruments and music.[90] Upon his death, Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753) the physician, naturalist and collector, purchased a large part of his collection.[91] That it was a collection for use, rather than study, means that it probably contained some of the repertoire used at the meetings.[92] His Club, as it became known, met in a warehouse in Clerkenwell, at the corner of Jerusalem Passage and Aylesbury Street (Figure 9). The site of his house was later taken over by the Bull's Head Inn and demolished in the twentieth century.[93]

His weekly meetings acquired a prestigious reputation. Over their *c.* forty-year history Britton hosted some of the biggest names and musical accomplishments for the period: Handel performed there on his first London visit, and other important individuals of the period including the German-born composer Dr Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667-1752) and English musician and music publisher John Banister the Younger (1662-1736), along with various members of the nobility were frequent attendees.[94] The English poet, translator, and essayist John Hughes (1677-1720), who attended the meetings, wrote a verse about him:

> Tho' mean thy Rank, yet in thy humble Cell
> Did gentle Peace, and Arts unpurchas'd dwell;
> Well pleas'd Apollo thither led his Train,
> And Musick warbled in her sweetest Strain.
> Cyllenius so, as Fables tell, and Jove
> Came willing Guests to poor Philemon's Grove.

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[90] W. A. Campbell, 'The Chemical Library of Thomas Britton (1654-1714)', *Ambix* 24, no. 3 (1 November 1977): 143–48.
[91] Percy M. (Percy Marshall) Young, *A History of British Music* (London: Benn, 1967), 37–38.
[92] In 1936 the BBC broadcast a musical programme selected from his library, 'A Century of London Concerts, 1670-1770', *BBC Radio 3*, 4 July 1988.
[93] Elkin, *The Old Concert Rooms of London*, 28.
[94] Elkin, 23.

> Let useless Pomp behold, and blush to find
> So low a Station, such a liberal Mind.[95]

John Wollaston the painter (active 1742-1775) did his portrait (Figure 10). Part of the appeal was no doubt Britton himself who was well known around London. By far the lengthiest and most colourful description occurs in the satirist Ned Ward's (1667-17131) *Compleat and Humorous Account* (Appendix C).[96] In it he affirms Britton's reputation as a collector of music whose passion seems to have far outweighed his abilities. His enthusiasm and character had no small part in his appeal and these seem to have helped establish his reputation.

Contemporaneous descriptions tell us that the concerts were held at Britton's own house, which was deemed rather small. Sir Roger L'Estrange (1616-1704), one such attendee, described the venue as being 'a long, low room above the coal-store… [with] access by way of an unsteady staircase pinned to the outside of the building'.[97] This description is confirmed in *The London Magazine*:

> On the ground floor there was a repository for small-coal; over that was the concert-room which was small and narrow… Notwithstanding all, this mansion, despicable as it may seem, attracted to it as polite an audience as ever the Opera did.[98]

According to Ward Britton did, at one time, attempt moving to a larger room but this proved unsuccessful and he moved back to the small room in his house.[99] Clearly

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[95] As quoted in John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, "A new ed., with the author's posthumous notes". (London: Novello, Ewer and Co, 1875), 789.
[96] Edward Ward, *A Compleat and Humorous Account of All the Remarkable Clubs and Societies in the Cities of London and Westminster [Electronic Resource]*, The seventh edition. (London: printed for JWren, 1756).
[97] Young, *A History of British Music*, 36.
[98] Isaac Kimber, ed., 'Memmoirs and Anecdotes of the Extraordinary Thomas Britton, the Musical Small Coal-Man: From Mr. Hearne, and Sir John Hawkins's Late History of Music.', *London Magazine, or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer, 1747-1783; London* 46 (February 1777): [60]-61.

convenience was preferred over comfort. Other descriptions of the venue support the conclusion that his concerts were attended primarily for the music and their host. Ned Ward adds that aside from the low roof, there was only one small window and that the room was obviously stifling when occupied. From these descriptions it is apparent that Britton's choice of space was dictated entirely by what was available to him. That it had such a reputation and yet was still patronized by some of London's finest musicians and residents says much for its ambiance. The incongruity of not only the man but also his premises, when compared with the musicians and attendees, has no doubt contributed to the survival of details about the event. It also demonstrates that concerts were, at this point, still defined by their content rather than their architectural setting. This accords with the informal nature of the gathering. Britton's popularity, and perhaps also the informality of his venture which placed the intensity of a private music meeting in the ambiance of a tavern, is said by Norman Hyde and Percy Young to have spurred on other ventures in more public spaces such as those at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand, the Castle Tavern, the Queen's Head Paternoster Row, and the Queen's Arms near St Paul's Cathedral.[100]

Despite the status of the performers and attendees, Britton's gatherings were, in real terms, actually a type of music meeting. Their contribution to the architectural history of concerts is perhaps best defined by what they lacked rather than what they had. In this respect, Britton's concerts are evidence for the consolidation of a concert culture and the desires of a musical public. That they were so absent of the trappings that would come to define the concert hall shows that the building type at this period

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[99] Ward, *A Compleat and Humorous Account of All the Remarkable Clubs and Societies in the Cities of London and Westminster [Electronic Resource]*, 302.
[100] Norman Hyde, *Four Faces of British Music* (Churchman Pub., 1985), 176; Young, *A History of British Music*, 42.

was still very much in its infancy and continued to be defined primarily by its function than its form.

So far this chapter has focused on music meetings and how this new musical enterprise grew from the turmoil and disruption of the Civil War and Commonwealth. But such musical endeavours were not restricted to the private homes of individuals, nor to Oxford. In fact, these privately hosted, albeit seemingly public events, were in the minority of public musical performances of the Restoration. Instead, taverns were by and large the preferred venue for meetings.

The Tavern

The tavern, firstly, ought to be distinguished from the inn. The former served cold food and drink. It was typically used by locals and had no provision for accommodation. It was a place for local engagement with other more permanent members of the community, a place for taking a morning ale or for meeting friends.[101] Taverns were, in effect, social rather than functional spaces. By contrast, the Inn was designed for the traveller. It had accommodation, stables, hot food and drink, and was typically frequented by those in transit, or those looking to make money from them.[102] Inns and taverns proliferated during this period with the rise in

[101] There are *c.* 65 references to this in *Pepys*. So, for example: 'Going to my office I met with Tom Newton, my old comrade, and took him to the Crown in the Palace, and gave him his morning draft', 27 January 1660

[102] Hyde, *Four Faces of British Music*, 66–68; Beat A. Kümin and B. Ann Tlusty, *The World of the Tavern: Public Houses in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot, Hants, England ; Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2002), 6; Judith Hunter, 'English Inns, Taverns, Alehouses and Brandy Shops: The Legislative Framework, 1495-1797', in *The World of the Tavern: Public Houses in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Beat A. Kümin and B. Ann Tlusty (Aldershot, Hants, England; Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2002), 65–82.

road traffic.[103] In the 1650s and 60s they were attracting a large and diverse clientele, and were consolidating their place within British society.

The tavern occupied a prominent position in seventeenth-century life. Pepys' Diary is full of references to tavern visits for eating, drinking, and socializing; often where music is involved.[104] Pepys is a key source for the playing of music in taverns, though he does not seem to have been a regular attendee at any music meeting, despite his own keen interest in the pastime and attendance at one in October 1664:

> So to the Coffeehouse, and there fell in discourse with the Secretary of the Virtuosi of Gresham College, and had very fine discourse with him. He tells me of a new invented instrument to be tried before the College anon, and I intend to see it.
> Thence to the Musique-meeting at the Postoffice, where I was once before. And thither anon come all the Gresham College, and a great deal of noble company: and the new instrument was brought called the Arched Viall,1 where being tuned with lute-strings, and played on with kees like an organ, a piece of parchment is always kept moving; and the strings, which by the kees are pressed down upon it, are grated in imitation of a bow, by the parchment; and so it is intended to resemble several vyalls played on with one bow, but so basely and harshly, that it will never do. But after three hours' stay it could not be fixed in tune; and so they were fain to go to some other musique of instruments, which I am grown quite out of love with, and so I, after some good discourse with Mr. Spong, Hill, Grant, and Dr. Whistler, and others by turns, I home to my office and there late, and so home…[105]

His anecdotes demonstrate that music was frequently part of the atmosphere of taverns:

> At noon I went to the Sun tavern; on Fish Street hill, to a dinner of Captn. Teddimans, where was my Lord Inchiquin (who seems to be a very fine person), Sir W. Pen, Captn. Cuttance,

[103] A. E. Richardson, *The Old Inns of England*, Third edition, revised, British Heritage Series (London: B. T. Batsford, 1938).
[104] There are *c.* 65 references to music in taverns in *Pepys*.
[105] *Pepys*: 5 October 1664

> and one Mr. Lawrence (a fine gentleman now going to Algiers), and other good company, where we had a very fine dinner, good musique, and a great deal of wine.[106]

Furthermore, his diary indicates that it was not only itinerant or amateur musicians who frequented these establishments. He records 'thence to the Mitre, where I drank a pint of wine, the house being in fitting for Banister to come hither from Paget's'.[107] Clearly Banister, who at this point was leader of the King's Violins, was also doing the public rounds.[108]

Taverns had, of course, existed prior to the Commonwealth, but their musical success in the Restoration can be owed to the changing social dynamics of the newly emerging society. Many more taverns appeared after the Restoration, reflecting their 'expansion, diffusion, improvement and re-embellishment' as central pillars in society and to the economy.[109] The tavern was an 'ambiguous space between the public and the private' during the Interregnum.[110] Because it was neutral it became the social hub of the Early Modern world; a role it retained until the later emergence of activity-specific spaces.[111] This multi-functional role meant that taverns could appeal to, and cater for, a broad cross-section of society and this made them particularly appealing for music meetings.[112]

Because of their association with public music performances, London taverns were also the site for one-off performances and musical demonstrations. The Royal Society

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[106] *Pepys*: 22 December 1660
[107] *Pepys*: 21 January 1660. Paget's was another name for the Mitre in Mitre Court off Fleet Street.
[108] Scott, 'London's Earliest Public Concerts', 456.
[109] J. A. Chartres, 'The Eighteenth-Century English Inn: A Transient "Golden Age"', in *The World of the Tavern: Public Houses in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Beat A. Kümin and B. Ann Tlusty (Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate, 2002), 226.
[110] Gouk, *Music, Science, and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England*, 65.
[111] Brennan, *Public Drinking in the Early Modern World*, II, xxxvii.
[112] Brennan, II, xxxvii.

often attended such events. These took place at the *Post Office* near Gresham College, this being the *Black Swan* in Bishopsgate, where Pepys attended a music meeting.[113] Among the Society's records there are references to live musical performances such as a re-performance of the programme from the opening of the Sheldonian.[114] In another, a demonstration of an already old instrument, the *archiviole*, took place at Gresham College.[115] Whilst in and of themselves these may appear to reveal little, they suggest that the venues and spaces that hosted musical performances (at least for the Royal Society) were not chosen specifically for that purpose. Rather, they were picked for other reasons, perhaps logistics, and their role as a music setting was a secondary consideration.

But in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the tavern was a natural choice for the public music meeting. William Hayes (1708-1777), the Heather Professor Music at Oxford from 1741-1777 provides an indication of how the tavern interior was arranged for music meetings. Describing an Oxford meeting at the Kings Head, he said:

> It had been customary for the Harpsichord to stand on one side of the Room & at a Table near it sat the Performers on Violins &c, which being on a Level with the auditory Members, was inconvenient. It was therefore agreed to have portable Floors to raise the Performers which with proper Desks had a good Effect, the Harpsichord being placed in the Front the Violins on each Side so that all was seen and heard to as much advantage as the scanty Height of the Room would admit of.[116]

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[113] Harley, *Music in Purcell's London*, 139; Gouk, *Music, Science, and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England*, 61–62.
[114] John Wallis to Boyle, 17 July 1669, *RSA*: RB/3/5/89
[115] Hendry Oldenburg to Robert Boyle, 13 October 1664, *RSA*: EL/OB/17
[116] William Hayes, 'William Hayes's History of the Music Room' (n.d.), Ob. MS. Top. Oxon. d. 337, Bodleian Library.

There were also architectural benefits for such a venue. Designed to fit larger numbers of people in a space essentially for conviviality, taverns had little fixed furniture and often at least one large room.[117] This made them ideal for accommodating groups to play consort music whose instruments and music were portable. In the later seventeenth and early eighteenth century, taverns frequently undertook renovations and expansions in order to accommodate a growing club and musical culture.[118] Due to its architecturally-ambiguous nature, the tavern ultimately 'provided space for the processes that would lead to its replacement by more specialized institutions'.[119] In the case of music, this meant the creation of the concert hall.

Although there are fewer sources for the public performance of secular music in Dublin and Edinburgh, it is clear that a similarly public and tavern-based performance practice was beginning to emerge in the early eighteenth century. The preference for tavern-based performance by musical societies in Dublin is seen in the history of the Charitable and Musical Society. The Society originated as a loose group of individuals who met for conversation, music, and drink, and staged plays and musical entertainments for debtors. First convened in around 1710 by Gregory Byrne, a shopkeeper, the first official President of the group was Patrick Beaghan, a Jacobite. At this time they met at the Cross-Keys Tavern.[120] The founding members of the group were Gregory Byrne, Patrick Beaghan, alderman James Malone (state printer to James II), John and William Neal (father and son music printers), and

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[117] Dorian Gerhold, *London Plotted: Plans of London Buildings c.1450-1720*, London Topographical Society 178 (Caterham, Surrey: London Topographical Society, 2016), 172.
[118] Clark, *British Clubs and Societies, 1580-1800*; Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England*, 16.
[119] Chartres, 'The Eighteenth-Century English Inn: A Transient "Golden Age"', 222.
[120] Whyte, *The Collected Poems of Laurence Whyte*, 26.

Laurence Whyte, a poet.[121] Whyte penned a number of poems about the group, including an account of their activities in *The Broken Mug* (Appendix D).[122]

In a later poem, *An Historical Poem on the Rise and Progress of the Charitable and Musical Society*, Whyte gave a potted history of the Society from which their various tavern 'homes' can be reconstructed (Appendix E).[123] According to Whyte, the group began at the George on Fishamble Street. This was kept by Peter Leview, a flute player and music teacher.[124] When the George closed, the group moved to the Bull's Head where they were briefly known as 'Bullshead Society'.[125] According to Flood, John Neal moved the meetings from the Bull's Head (in Fishamble Street) to the 'Bear' in Christ Church Yard in 1723.[126] John Neal was president at the time and instigated the group's charitable enterprises, eventually leading to the changing of their name.[127] In 1733, whilst John Neal was still president, the meetings moved back to the Bull's Head. After his death in 1737, his son William took over management of the group and was instrumental in the construction of the purpose-built venue: the Fishamble Street Music Room, to which they moved in 1741.[128] It is unclear if he became president or if he remained as treasurer but with a more elevated role. In this same year, Jonathan Swift (1667-1745) the essayist and Dean of St Patrick's Cathedral, forbade the St Patrick's Vicars Choral from attending the 'Club of Fiddlers in Fishamble Street'.[129] This was in response to events of December 1740 when three of them had 'at the instance of some obscure persons unknown, presumed to sing

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[121] Whyte, 26.
[122] Whyte, 26.
[123] Whyte, 'An Historical Poem, On the Rise and Progress of the Charitable and Musical Society'.
[124] Whyte, *The Collected Poems of Laurence Whyte*, 26.
[125] Whyte, 26.
[126] Flood, 'Fishamble St. Music Hall, Dublin, from 1741 to 1777', 51.
[127] Flood, 51.
[128] Flood, 51.
[129] Flood, 52. Citing notes in Chapter Books, St Patrick's.

and fiddle at the club above mentioned'. Swift later recanted, allowing them to perform in the premiere of Handel's *Messiah* some three months later.

In Edinburgh, Steil's Tavern was known as the main music venue at the beginning of the eighteenth century. According to Hugo Arnot, Patrick Steil, a vintner, tavern keeper and fiddler, hosted a weekly music club that formally became the Edinburgh Musical Society in 1728.[130] It is also possible that this group formed the basis of the Edinburgh Assembly, and probably inspired the formation of the Aberdeen Music Society in *c.* 1748.[131] This later shift towards a public engagement with music was due to political turmoil, which continued to destabilize Irish and Scottish civic and cultural life into the eighteenth century.[132] That music also moved into the tavern in these places suggests that musicians here were facing similar issues and finding similar solutions regarding publicly accessible space and suitability. Clearly the tavern provided a logical solution as it was taken up across the Isles as the preferred venue for public music performance in the early years prior to the creation of an architecture specifically for music.

Music Houses

Another factor in the use of taverns was the proliferation of organs. By 1660 there were more organs in taverns than in churches.[133] Enterprising tavern owners had, presumably, acquired the same organs Cromwell had discarded from the churches.

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[130] Hugo Arnot, *The History of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Printed for W. Creech, and J. Murray, London, 1779).
[131] Clark, *British Clubs and Societies, 1580-1800*, 80.
[132] Mary Cosh, *Edinburgh: The Golden Age* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2002), 2–3.
[133] John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, New edition (London: Routledge, 2013), 6.

So commonplace was it that John Evelyn (1620-1706) the English writer and diarist, in the guise of a foreign visitor, remarked:

> and that nothing may be wanting to the height of luxury and impiety of this *Abomination,* they have translated the *Organs* out of the *Churches,* to set them up in *Taverns*, chanting their *Dithyrambicks*.[134]

This often resulted in taverns setting aside one particular room for music. In London, such taverns often became known as music-houses.[135] The first recorded reference to a music house dates from 1658, where a charge for drunken brawling was brought against 'Thomas Smith at the Musicke-house at Blew Bell by the postern gate of London Wall' (Figure 11).[136]

The association between taverns and music was therefore not solely due to an association between music and drinking. Other music houses are recorded in London, such as The Mitre.[137] Located at the West end of St Paul's Churchyard, it operated as a music house in 1664: 'A Catalogue of the many natural rarities… collected by Robert Hubert, *alias* Forges, Gent… and daily to be seen, at the place called the musick house at the Mitre, near the West end of St Paul's Church… 1664'.[138] By 1665, however, it was referred to as the 'late Musique-House' whose

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[134] John Evelyn, *A Character of England: As It Was Lately Presented in a Letter to a Noble Man of France*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed for Jo. Crooke, 1659), 33, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_val_fmt=&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:54133&rft.discoveryservice=primo.
[135] Elkin, *The Old Concert Rooms of London*, 14.
[136] *TMA*: COL/CA/01/01/070
[137] There are many taverns called the *Mitre*. Distinguishing which one is which is normally done by location. Elkin says this is because they were built on land that belonged to a bishop or abbot. Elkin, *The Old Concert Rooms of London*, 14, n.1.
[138] In Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, II, 700.

organ was being sold off.[139] According to Elkin, the tavern was destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666.[140]

Spink suggests that this Mitre was also the venue for a series of music meetings involving Ben Wallington (*fl.* 1670s), a goldsmith by trade who was known to Pepys.[141] These meetings were described by Roger North:

> 52. Publik meetings and I. Ben Wallington
>
> A great means of bringing that foreward was the humour of following public consorts, and it will not be out of the way to deduce them from the beginning. The first of those was in the lane behind [Saint] Paul's [Cathedral], where there was a chamber organ that one Phillips played upon, and some shopkeepers, and foremen came weekly to sing in consort, and to hear, and injoy ale and tobacco; and after some time the audience grew strong, and one Ben Wallington got the reputation of [a] notable base voice, who also set up for a composer, and hath some songs in print, but of a very low sence; and their musick was chiefly out of Playford's catch book. But this shewed an inclination of the citisens to follow musick. And the same was confirmed by many little enterteinements, the masters voluntarily made for their scollars, for being knowne they were allwais crowded.[142]

In another work, North describes the location of the meeting in more detail, saying the music meeting was in the 'lane behind [Saint] Paul's [Cathedral]… behind St Gregory's Church…[in] a large room in an alehouse where stood a chamber organ'.[143] As Spink noted, St Gregory's Church was at the southwest corner of the Cathedral, the same end as the Mitre.[144] If Wallington's meetings were held prior to 1666, it seems very probable that they were indeed held at the Mitre. Further

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[139] *The Intelligencer* 23 January 1666 in Michael Tilmouth, 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers Published in London and the Provinces (1660-1719)', *R.M.A. Research Chronicle*, no. 2 (1 January 1962): 1.
[140] Elkin, *The Old Concert Rooms of London*, 14.
[141] Spink, 'The Old Jewry "Musick-Society"', 35–36. Benjamin Wallington is mentioned five times in *Pepys*: 15 September 1667, 1 December 1667, 9 February 1668, 13 July 1668, and 27 September 1668.
[142] North, *The Musicall Gramarian*, f.136/51.
[143] North, *Roger North on Music*, 304.
[144] Spink, 'The Old Jewry "Musick-Society"', 35–36.

evidence for this comes by way of the dedication in Playford's *Musical Companion* (1667). Playford (1623-1686/7), the leading publisher of music in the Restoration, dedicated this work 'to his endeared Friends of the late Musick-Society and Meeting in the Old-Jury, London' (Figure 12). Since Wallington was one of the individuals named, Spink argues that this 'late Musick-Society' was that of the Mitre and the tunes contained in Playford's publication formed the basis of their repertoire.[145] Their dates and location also seem to accord with the fortunes of the Mitre. They probably relocated from the Mitre to the Old Jury (to the East of St. Paul's) in 1664/5 when the Mitre's organ was sold off, but ceased to exist by 1667.

Ned Ward described a different Mitre Tavern that had been fitted out for music (Appendix F).[146] Although not the same venue, this extract paints a picture of what these types of establishments might have been like:

> The room, by its compact order and costly improvements, looks so far above the use it's now converted to that the seats are more like pews than boxes; and the upper end, being divided by a rail, looks more like a chancel than a music box. I could not but imagine it was built for a fanatic meeting-house, but they have for ever destroy'd the sanctity of the place by putting an organ in it, round which hung a great many pretty whimsical pictures…

Ward's description highlights some of the key features that would come to be associated with an architecture for music: Namely, the physical separation of performers and audience, with a type of stage for the performers and a formal arrangement of seating for the audience, and an attempt to create a particular aesthetic environment. As Elkin notes, the description is also clear that a particular room within the tavern has been designated for this purpose.[147] There is little

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[145] Spink, 37.
[146] Edward Ward, *The London Spy* (London: Folio Society, 1955), 253–56.
[147] Elkin, *The Old Concert Rooms of London*, 16–17.

concrete information regarding the construction of the room, though it was probably built of timber. The installation of the chamber organ probably took place in the late 1640s, when organs were removed from the churches and chapels and frequently set up in taverns.[148]

Catch Clubs

Although they were no doubt able to cater for instrumental music, taverns also hosted vocal groups, or catch-clubs, with regularity. The catch, and its cousin the glee, is an unaccompanied vocal piece for male voices of between three and six parts.[149] Playford's business was structured around the catch and the popularity of the catch club, which seems to have arisen in light of the regained popularity of singing after the Restoration. In Oxford, Wood noted his attendance at a catch meeting in February 1663: 'at Westcote's at the catch-meeting, 6d, being the first time according to Mr. [Henry] Denton's proposal of laying downe each man as much'.[150] The model seems to have copied that of Ellis's, in other words a meeting in a semi-public venue with a weekly charge for group musical performance. Wood's attendance at the catch meeting was short-lived, and one hopes it was not because he shared North's experience in London where, 'with the help of a dull organist and miserable-singers, folks heard musick out of the Catch-book, and drank ale together'.[151]

This consolidated a strong association between singing and taverns, which may have grown from the Puritan quashing of music. Brian Robins notes the penalty for public music making was the same for vocal or instrumental music, but smuggling violins

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[148] Evelyn, *A Character of England*, 33.
[149] Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England*, 2.
[150] Wood, *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary, of Oxford, 1632-1695*, I, 468.
[151] North, *Roger North on Music*, 304.

or viols in to a tavern was far more difficult than breaking in to song.[152] According to Hyde, however, catch clubs were a response to the rowdiness of tavern music.[153] The catch-clubs of the mid-1660s were, nevertheless, a widespread type of musical performance that entered the truly public sphere of the tavern.[154] This is seemingly in contrast to instrumental music meetings, which still preferred private or semi-public venues and were yet to move into the truly public world of the tavern.[155] This division is most apparent in the English context. In Dublin and Edinburgh, by contrast, instrumental music seems to have been the favoured, or at least best recorded, music in taverns.[156]

The Coffeehouse

The suitability of the tavern as a neutral and publicly accessible venue for public music performance has already been shown in this chapter. The tavern was not, however, the only neutral publically accessible space in seventeenth-century Britain. From the Restoration the coffeehouse too became widespread across London, and the British Isles.[157] The Dublin Philosophical Society, founded in 1683 by William Molyneux (1656-1698) an Irish writer on natural philosophy, science, and politics, first met in a coffeehouse.[158] But the coffeehouse did not rival the tavern as a venue for musical performance, unlike on the Continent where, in Germany, coffeehouses

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[152] Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England*, 9.
[153] Hyde, *Four Faces of British Music*, 70.
[154] Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England*, 11–13.
[155] Gouk, *Music, Science, and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England*, 48.
[156] As Steil's Tavern and the recorded history of the Charitable Music Societies in Dublin would suggest.
[157] See, Bryant Lillywhite, *London Coffee Houses: A Reference Book of Coffee Houses of the Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Centuries* (London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1963).
[158] Peter Somerville-Large and Mark Fiennes, *Dublin: The Fair City*, Rev. ed. (London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1996), 111.

were the preferred venues for musical gatherings in the eighteenth century.[159] The reason was probably to do with the already-established role of taverns in the British Isles and their association with music, conviviality and drinking, prior to the introduction of coffeehouses.

The importance of the tavern to music performance has already been discussed. The coffeehouse too, nonetheless, also had an important role to play in the fostering of music performance culture, even though they were not used for performances explicitly. Coffeehouses were instead frequently used as venues for ticket sales.[160] This was certainly the case in Oxford for the Holywell concerts of the later eighteenth century. They also hosted auctions and the first music collection sales such as at Dewing's Coffee House in 1691 (Figure 13).[161] The coffeehouse in the British Isles was therefore a conduit for music performance, rather than being a venue itself. By contrast, coffeehouses on the Continent seem to have had more of an association with the performance of music. Telemann's Leipzig concerts were hosted in coffeehouses in the early eighteenth century.[162] The coffeehouse in London was a similarly public venue to the tavern, but utilized more often for discussion than performance. Pepys, for example, records meeting friends in coffeehouses where they would discuss many topics, including music:

> So to the Coffeehouse, and there fell in discourse with the Secretary of the Virtuosi of Gresham College, and had very fine discourse with him. He tells me of a new invented instrument to be tried before the College anon, and I intend to see it.[163]

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[159] Forsyth, *Buildings for Music*, 57.
[160] Susan Wollenberg, '"So Much Rational and Elegant Amusement, at an Expence Comparatively Inconsiderable": The Holywell Concerts in the Eighteenth Century', in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2004), 243.
[161] Harley, *Music in Purcell's London*, 144.
[162] Forsyth, *Buildings for Music*, 57.
[163] *Pepys*: 5 October 1664

In one entry he records partaking in informal performances at a coffeehouse, suggesting that music was not completely absent:

> After dinner I back to Westminster Hall with him in his coach. Here I met with Mr. Lock and Pursell, Masters of Music, and with them to the Coffee House, into a room next the water, by ourselves, where we spent an hour or two till Captain Taylor came to us, who told us, that the House had voted the gates of the City to be made up again, and the members of the City that are in prison to be set at liberty; and that Sir G. Booth's case be brought into the House to-morrow. Here we had variety of brave Italian and Spanish songs, and a canon for eight voices, which Mr. Lock had lately made on these words: "Domine salvum fac Regem," an admirable thing.[164]

Conclusion

As seen in this chapter, taverns became the predominant venue for public musical performances from the 1660s. Even the earliest music meetings, Ellis's and Chilmead's, had associations with tavern-style establishments: Ellis's alehouse license suggests he operated in the public realm, and Chilmead's lodgings were potentially connected to a tavern. The timing and location of music meetings during this period suggests an association between the end of political turmoil and the emergence of public music making. Oxford and London are recorded as having the earliest publicly accessible music meetings, whilst the later dates in Dublin and Edinburgh can be ascribed to on-going political, social, and cultural instability into the eighteenth century.

That the tavern should be the predominant venue for public musical entertainment is not surprising. Its links with conviviality and the acquisition of organs meant that

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[164] *Pepys*: 21 February 1660

there was already an association between the tavern and music. As Weber has noted, the tavern also possessed political and social independence from the state, enabling cultural experimentation in a public, yet protected environment.[165] This was bolstered by the tavern's social accessibility as a neutral public space. Its architectural suitability for music was marked by way of its larger rooms designed for gatherings, and non-fixed fittings that facilitated a modification of internal space.

The music meeting laid the foundation for the idea of the concert and brought music making into the public sphere through the use of the tavern – a socially accessible and non-partisan space. And whilst the tavern remains, architecturally, the focal point of later deviances in concert hall development, the music meeting paves the way for the other crucial factor in the establishment of the concert: commerce.

[165] William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 8.

Chapter Two

~ Paying the Piper ~

> These are to give notice, that at Mr. John Banisters House, now called the Musick-School over against the George Tavern in white Fryers, this present Monday, will be Musick performed by excellent Masters, beginning precisely at 4 of the clock in the afternoon and every afternoon for the future precisely at the same hour.[1]

On 30 December 1672, the above advertisement appeared in the *London Gazette* (Figure 14). It is the earliest-known advertisement for a public concert and marks an important point in the history of the concert.[2] It is important for a number of reasons, not least being a clear indication of a division between the roles of audience and performer. The advertisement also reflects the consolidation of a public concert culture in the seventeenth century (in England at least). It also shows that this concert culture was no longer restricted to the music meeting and the gathering together of musically-able individuals, but that it was also accessible for those who wished solely to observe and enjoy high-quality performances. Although not made explicit in this announcement, such advertisements also heralded the introduction of commerce into the concert environment. This chapter examines this commercialization of the concert and the effect this had on an architecture for music.

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[1] *London Gazette*, 30 December 1672

[2] Eric David Mackerness, A Social History of English Music (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964), 83; Catherine Harbor, 'The Birth of the Music Business: Public Commercial Concerts in London 1660-1750' (PhD, Royal Holloway University of London, 2012), 229.

The association of the Restoration with the birth of the public concert is not new in scholarship. The Restoration not only brought about a restructuring of society but also, from an economic perspective, heralded the introduction of 'new capitalism'.[3] The period was marked by a rise in the standard of living from 1688.[4] Cultural historians have linked this new access to disposable income with a greater consumption of leisure activities, including music.[5] This growth was so immense, that by the early eighteenth century, London was the 'largest single marketplace for musical… performance in Europe'.[6] One aspect of this was that the performance of music became connected with corporate enjoyment, rather than remaining a largely personal pursuit.[7] It was fostered by a professional musical class, entrepreneurial in nature, and not restricted by Court employment.[8] As a consequence, this brought about a rise in 'competitive professionalism' amongst musicians.[9] The growing association between music and commerce is seen not only in the establishment of new ventures dedicated to concert giving, but also in the variety of commercial endeavours that included music as an associated commodity such as pleasure gardens and spas.

This type of approach began in the 1970s and 1980s, with studies on the commercialization of culture and the birth of a consumer society.[10] Since then, music-specific analyses have also appeared. Scholars, however, have mostly focused

[3] Anthony A. Olmsted, 'The Capitalization of Musical Production: The Conceptual and Spatial Development of London's Public Concerts, 1660-1750', in *Music and Marx: Ideas, Practice, Politics*, by Regula Burckhardt Qureshi (London: Routledge, 2002), 106.
[4] Mackerness, *A Social History of English Music*, 87.
[5] J. H. (John Harold) Plumb, *The Commercialisation of Leisure in Eighteenth-Century England* (Reading: University of Reading, 1973); Neil McKendrick, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Europa, 1982).
[6] Penelope Gouk, *Music, Science, and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999), 55.
[7] Peter Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society and Family Life in London, 1660-1730* (London: Methuen, 1989).
[8] William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 7–9.
[9] Mackerness, *A Social History of English Music*, 85.
[10] McKendrick, *The Birth of a Consumer Society*; Plumb, *The Commercialisation of Leisure in Eighteenth-Century England*.

on the social conditions that made public concerts possible.[11] Another common approach is to study the effects of commerce on concerts, rather than how commerce contributed to their creation. In this regard, newspapers have been a popular source for analysis of concert growth, especially for England and Dublin.[12] Catherine Harbor has taken a similar approach, using a database of London newspapers to identify the origins of a commercialized concert industry, noting that the choice and appearance of concert venues changed with the creation of the commercialized public concert.[13] Anthony Olmsted is an exception, looking specifically at the effect of commercialization on the development of concerts.[14] Other associated industries have also been the subject of research, such as music printing and publishing, instrument manufacture, and teaching.[15]

But whilst these studies have gone a long way in identifying the origins of the concert and the impact of economic drivers on cultural activities, the effect this had on architecture and the siting of performances is yet to receive due attention. This chapter address this gap in scholarship and argues that the impact of 'new capitalism' on architecture is seen in the choice of performance venues, especially in the internal

[11] Michael Tilmouth, 'Some Early London Concerts and Music Clubs, 1670-1720', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 84 (1 January 1957): 13–26.
[12] Michael Tilmouth, 'Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers Published in London and the Provinces (1660-1719)', *R.M.A. Research Chronicle*, no. 1 (1961): II–107; Michael Tilmouth, 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers Published in London and the Provinces (1660-1719)', *R.M.A. Research Chronicle*, no. 2 (1 January 1962): 1–viii; Brian Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar, 1700-1760* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1988).
[13] Catherine Harbor, 'Newspapers as a Source for Studying the Music Business in England, 1660–1750', *Business Archives: Sources and History* 90 (2005): 1–13; Harbor, 'The Birth of the Music Business: Public Commercial Concerts in London 1660-1750'.
[14] Olmsted, 'The Capitalization of Musical Production: The Conceptual and Spatial Development of London's Public Concerts, 1660-1750'.
[15] Rosamond McGuinness, 'Gigs, Roadies and Promoters: Marketing Eighteenth-Century Concerts', in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2004), 261–71; Rebecca Herissone, 'Playford, Purcell, and the Functions of Music Publishing in Restoration England', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 63, no. 2 (1 August 2010): 243–90, https://doi.org/10.1525/jams.2010.63.2.243; Richard D. Leppert, 'Music Teachers of Upper-Class Amateur Musicians', in *Sound Judgment: Selected Essays* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); Jenny Burchell, '"The First Talents of Europe": British Music Printers and Publishers and Imported Instrumental Music in the Eighteenth Century', in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2004), 93–114; Terry de Valera, 'Two Eighteenth - Century Musical Instrument Makers', *Dublin Historical Record* 36, no. 4 (1983): 122–31.

arrangement of space and growing emphasis on decoration in schemes designed to generate profit. This chapter therefore argues that the commercialization of concerts had a direct bearing on the creation of an architecture for music. In particular, this chapter shows how the introduction of commerce affected the use of the tavern as a performance venue, and brought about the first architectural modifications of space specifically for music. The chapter is arranged into two main sections. The first focuses on the entrepreneur and examines how individuals guided the concert out of the tavern and into venues designed more specifically for the concert. The second section examines the financial incentives for cultural speculation and how a growing concert culture required, and financially incentivized, an investment in architectural infrastructure.

The Entrepreneur

John Banister

The plaudit of the first advertised concert, above, goes to John Banister (1630-1679), a violinist and leader of the King's Violins from 1663-1667.[16] He was a well-known figure within London's musical circles at the Restoration and is considered 'one of the first who established lucrative concerts in London'.[17] He had been sent by Charles II to study violin in France, the French musical style being in vogue at the time.[18] In 1667 he was dismissed from his post either for failing to pay wages to his musicians or for insulting the French, upon whose style the King's twenty-four

[16] Hugh Arthur Scott, 'London's Earliest Public Concerts', *The Musical Quarterly* 22, no. 4 (1936): 454. Those who think so are Norman Hyde, *Four Faces of British Music* (Churchman Pub., 1985), 174; Robert Elkin, *The Old Concert Rooms of London* (London: Arnold, 1955), 18. Mackerness, *A Social History of English Music*, 83, calls them recitals.
[17] Charles Burney, *A General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period* (London,: Printed for the author and sold by Payne and Son, at the Mews-Gate; Robson and Clark, Bond-Street; and GGJand JRobinson, Paternoster-Row, 1789), 368. Olmsted is torn between Banister or Wallington being the first: Olmsted, 'The Capitalization of Musical Production: The Conceptual and Spatial Development of London's Public Concerts, 1660-1750', 110.
[18] Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England*, 8.

violins were modelled.[19] This dismissal and subsequent loss of income is generally considered the impetus for his advertised concert series.[20] It was not, however, the prompt for Banister first performing solo in public.[21] Pepys records speaking and listening to Banister in taverns across London: 'thence to the Mitre, where I drank a pint of wine, the house being in fitting for Banister to com hither from Paget's'.[22]

Banister's enterprise marks a key divergence from the music meetings discussed in Chapter One in that his advertisement addressed potential observers rather than participants. There is no suggestion in the advertisement that attendees will have any opportunity to play. Instead, Banister seems to clearly separate these functions into two separate roles. It is clear that attendees are not there to perform or partake, but that the two roles (performer and auditor) are clearly demarcated. This division has important implications for the spatial arrangements and fittings of the concert space, and thus, the creation of an architecture for music. Whilst Banister was not the first to institute such divisions, see for example the Music School gallery in Chapter One, his advertisement does suggest a growing familiarity with the concert as a public event.

Scholars, however, have typically focused on whether Banister's was the first *public,* rather than the first private concert. For Hugh Arthur Scott, the difference seems to lie in how public the event was and how explicit the admission charge was.[23] He thinks private concerts existed before this within the circles of the nobility and in similar European ventures, but that Banister was unique in being so distinctly public.[24] John Harley takes a more nuanced approach, seeing Banister's innovation as the culmination of a previous tavern tradition and the social upheaval of the

[19] Scott, 'London's Earliest Public Concerts', 454; Roger North, *Roger North's The Musicall Grammarian 1728* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) f.135 (p.261).
[20] Scott, 'London's Earliest Public Concerts', 454.
[21] Scott, 456.
[22] *Pepys*: 21 January 1660
[23] Scott, 'London's Earliest Public Concerts', 455.
[24] Scott, 453.

Commonwealth and Restoration, saying it was 'mothered by necessity, and sired, almost accidentally, by numerous less formal musical gatherings over many years'.[25]

The emphasis on the public nature of the event is certainly an important one, as is the formal recognition of a division between audience and performer. But the introduction of paying solely to listen to a performance is equally important to the establishment of a standardized concert environment. The earliest printed advertisement, quoted at the opening of this chapter, makes no reference to a fee or payment upon entry, though Scott believes, based on later Banister advertisements, that they were 1s 6d.[26] Harbor cites Roger North who claimed '1s. was the price and call for what you pleased'.[27] For Olmsted, this introduction of commerce is an important factor in the creation of the concert.[28]

It is likely that Banister, in a similar manner to Ellis and Chilmead, used the meetings as a form of income. This need to commercialize what had previously been a pastime arose due to the lack of paid employment for accomplished musicians during the Commonwealth. Anthony à Wood recorded that Ellis used his meetings for this purpose: 'After Cathedrals & Organs were put down in the grand rebellion… [the meetings] kept him and his wife in a comfortable condition'.[29] Bellingham seems more cautious of this purpose but has noted that 6d was paid each time Wood attended one of Ellis's meetings, surmising that the sum was 'perhaps for refreshments, but perhaps also to sustain a livelihood for William Ellis when he maintained his establishment during his expulsion from the chapel of St. John's College'.[30] Ellis also held a tavern licence for the majority of the years his music meeting was in operation and so it is possible that the fee Wood records was for

[25] John Harley, *Music in Purcell's London: The Social Background* (London: Dobson, 1968), 135.
[26] Scott, 'London's Earliest Public Concerts', 454.
[27] Harbor, 'The Birth of the Music Business: Public Commercial Concerts in London 1660-1750', 101; North, *Roger North's The Musicall Grammarian 1728*, f. 137/53.
[28] Olmsted, 'The Capitalization of Musical Production: The Conceptual and Spatial Development of London's Public Concerts, 1660-1750'.
[29] Anthony à Wood, 'Biographical Notes on Musicians' (n.d.), Bod Lib. MS Wood D 19 MS Wood D19 [4].
[30] Bruce Bellingham, 'The Musical Circle of Anthony à Wood in Oxford during the Commonwealth and Restoration', *Journal of the Viola Da Gamba Society of America* 19 (1982): 46.

refreshments taken at Ellis's tavern.[31] However, this does not exclude the association between music meetings and fees. Wood also records Edmund Chilmead as having been 'forced, such were the then times, to obtain a living by that, which before was only a diversion to him, I mean by a weekly music meeting'.[32] The early date of such an enterprise, and the inclusion of payment, has led him to being described as 'a musical entrepreneur'.[33] As home-based activities, these semi-public meetings (i.e. inclusion by invitation or association) were convenient and had low overhead costs, resulting in higher profits for the host.[34] Furthermore, their longevity suggests that they were financially lucrative. [35]

The main parallel, then, is that their economic viability was constructed as a direct response to the loss of income. For Ellis and Chilmead this was brought about by the Interregnum, for Banister it was due to his loss of income as leader of the King's Violins. A key difference between these music meetings and Banister's is in the publicity surrounding Banister's venture. There is no record that these other meetings were formally advertised, though evidence for this is in the lack of any surviving materials to the contrary.[36] As music meetings, Ellis's and Chilmead's attendees would have both listened and performed throughout the evening. This may explain the lack of advertisements for Ellis and Chilmead, since a certain level of musical competence was required in order to participate. A fundamental difference, therefore, is in the distinct division between the roles of audience and performer.

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[31] Anthony à Wood, *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary, of Oxford, 1632-1695*, ed. Andrew Clark (Oxford: Printed for the Oxford Historical Society, at the Clarendon Press, 1891) I, 204 (72).

[32] Anthony à Wood and Philip Bliss, *Athenae Oxonienses: An Exact History of All the Writers and Bishops Who Have Had Their Education in the University of Oxford : To Which Are Added the Fasti Or Annals of the Said University* (Rivington, 1817) Vol. III, 350.

[33] Mary Chan, 'A Music Meeting & Playford's Publishing', in *The Well Enchanting Skill: Music, Poetry and Drama in The Culture of the Renaissance; Essays in Honour of F. W. Sternfeld* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 232.

[34] Olmsted, 'The Capitalization of Musical Production: The Conceptual and Spatial Development of London's Public Concerts, 1660-1750', 118.

[35] Scott, 'London's Earliest Public Concerts', 457.

[36] The *London Gazette* was launched in 1665 and advertisement bills were probably also circulated independently. For more on advertisements during this period, see: McGuinness, 'Gigs, Roadies and Promoters: Marketing Eighteenth-Century Concerts'; Harbor, 'The Birth of the Music Business: Public Commercial Concerts in London 1660-1750'.

This formalization of the concert into an event with performers and a paying audience had a tangible effect on the internal arrangement of space and the inclusion of certain features. Although at Banister's home, which also seems to have doubled as a musick-school, effort was made to alter the space and make it more suitable for a concert-like performance.[37] Roger North, writing forty years after the events, described the setup:

> The next essay was of the elder Banister, who had a good theatricall vein, and in composition had a lively style peculiar to himself. He procured a large room in Whitefryars near the Temple back gate, and made a raised box for the musitians, whose modesty required curtaines. The room was rounded with seats and small tables, alehouse fashion. One shilling was the price, and call for what you pleased; there was very good musick, for Banister found means to procure the best hands in towne, and some voices to come and performe there, and there wanted no variety of humour, for Banister himself (*inter alia)* did wonders upon a flageolet to a Thro'Base, and the severall masters had their solos. This continued full one winter, and more I remember not.[38]

The passage describes a single large space that had been adapted to suit its new purpose as a concert venue. A 'raised box', or stage, had been erected for the musicians. This probably served a practical purpose, making it easier to see and hear the musicians. It also created a physical separation (both laterally and vertically) between the performers and the audience members. This left no doubt as to the separate roles these two groups had within the event. The audience were seated in small groups around tables, suggesting that refreshments may also have been available to enjoy during the performance. The exact arrangement of these seats and the physical layout is unclear. The arrangement of chairs and tables is described as 'alehouse fashion' and from this we can assume that the arrangement must have been recognisable from other tavern establishments.[39] In fact, the description has many

[37] Harley has queried whether this was simply the terminology for such a space or if a music school was also actually in existence. Harley, *Music in Purcell's London*, 145. Teaching must have occurred in some form there, but that the name perhaps derives from the type of instructive performance by masters as seen at the Music School in Oxford. The location can be seen on the Ogilby and Morgan Map of 1677.
[38] Roger North, *The Musicall Gramarian*, ed. Hilda Andrews (London: Oxford University Press, 1925), f.137/53.
[39] Harley, *Music in Purcell's London*, 146.

parallels with that of the Mitre in Ward's *London Spy* (Appendix F). In that passage, chairs and tables were arranged around the room and a separate space was marked out for musicians. Banister was almost certainly drawing upon such tavern meetings as a type of model for his own performances; a link that further consolidates the origins of an architecture for music with the tavern and music meeting establishments of the previous decades.

There is one particularly curious aspect of North's account: the 'curtaines'. It is unclear from the passage where these curtains were in relation to the box and the musicians: Did they completely obscure the musicians from the audience, or did they partially shield them? This is a feature not otherwise connected with either the tavern environment, nor with any earlier performance in the British Isles. Whilst other records of music performance and curtains in the British Isles are lacking, comparable descriptions can be found on the Continent. Von Uffenbach, the German traveller who recorded music meetings in Cambridge, also noted a similar arrangement at a performance of a *Collegium Musicum* in Berne 11 November 1714:

> The upper end of the roomy hall is cut off, just as is the choir of a church, by a screen. Here there is a place for the performers. It is remarkable that the dais is protected from the audience by a curtain, so that no-one in the audience can see the performers. They, on the other hand, can see the audience![40]

Young suggested that the curtain was 'to protect the female singers and gamba players from scrutiny by curious eyes'.[41] It is unclear as to whether there were any

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[40] *Am 11. November 1714 stattet Uffenbach dem Berner Collegium musicum einen Besuch ab. Schurer und Herff führen den Gast ein. Zunächst imponiert Uffenbach das Äußere. Das Kollegium hat einen eigenen Musiksaal, der auf Kosten musikliebender Bürger, allen voran des Herff selbst, errichtet worden ist. Das obere Ende des weiten, geräumigen Saales ist abgetrennt vom übrigen Raum, wie ein Lettner in der Kirche den Chor abzuteilen pflegt. Hier steht die Orgel, und hier ist der Platz für die ausübenden und sich übenden Musikanten. Das Merkwürdigste aber ist, daß dieses Musikpodium vom Zuschauerraum durch einen Vorhang verdeckt ist, und zwar so, daß niemand von den Zuschauern hineinsegen kann, die Spiler aber wohl heraussehen können.* Eberhard Preussner, *Die musikalischen Reisen des Herrn von Uffenbach. Aus einem Reisetagebuch des Johann Friedrich A. von Uffenbach ... 1712-1716. [With portraits.]* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1949), 50; English translation in Percy M. (Percy Marshall) Young, *A History of British Music* (London: Benn, 1967), 62–63.
Young, 62–63.
[41] Young, *A History of British Music*, 62–63.

female performers in Banister's concerts who needed the protection of curtains. Banister's concerts did contain both vocal and instrumental music, but since the exact repertoire performed is unknown, it is unclear whether any particularly 'confronting' or 'unflattering' instruments were performed. One further possibility is that the placement of the musicians on a raised box would naturally have led to a disparity in the level and gaze of the musicians and audience members. The curtain may, therefore, have been for modesty due to the audience's viewing angle and the height of the performers.

North's description of the event implies, however, that the musicians could be seen since 'Banister himself' is noted, as are the 'severall masters' who had solos. Whilst modesty was obviously a consideration, this no doubt had to be balanced with marketability, a closely related facet of commercialization. Banister is a key exponent of this, utilizing newspapers to advertise his concert series. Because of this, it seems unlikely that he would choose to perform behind a curtain. Given that he explicitly advertised the appearance of 'eminent masters', it stands to reason that he, and they, would have wished to be recognizable and therefore visible. The 'curtaines' remain a mystery.

Whilst a simple financial incentive may have driven Banister's idea for a concert series, it is also probable that the concerts were themselves a form of advertising to attract new students.[42] This idea is supported by the wording of the advert, which draws attention to the venue as 'the Musick-School' and emphasises Banister's appearance and the quality of the performers on display. Like many other professional musicians, Banister would have been supplementing his income with teaching. Drawing attention to his venue as a 'Musick-School' may therefore have been good for that business. A similar motivation can be read in the prominent inclusion of his own name, one that would have been known and recognisable to his audience.

[42] William Weber, 'Mass Culture and the Reshaping of European Musical Taste, 1770-1870', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 8, no. 1 (1977): 5–22.

The advert of the *London Gazette* tells us that the concerts were at Banister's home. North's description of the room as 'procured' suggests that a space was set aside and deliberately arranged, whether permanently or on an ad-hoc basis, for the performance of music.[43] This too is an important distinction in the history of spaces so far discussed. It suggests a conscious move away from using any available space, as was the case for Ellis, Chilmead, and Britton, and towards purposely arranging a space specifically for music performance. Furthermore, the use of 'procured', and description as large, suggests that some thought was given to the room's size in relation to its function; however, it is more likely that this was related to the potential number of attendees (and therefore profit) than the acoustics. In doing so, Banister was marketing a particular strength of his series. The York Buildings (*c.*1676), discussed below, that became famous for hosting foreign virtuosi, also picked up this idea of marketing a unique offering. This became a feature of commercialized concerts in late eighteenth-century London as a way to attract an audience.

Banister's venture, as unique as what it seems to be, was nevertheless still connected to its tavern precursors. In the format of the concert event, both the tavern meetings and Banister's were open to the public and held once per week. At both, a fee was charged to attend and both vocal and instrumental music was performed. Architecturally, Banister's was even arranged as an alehouse. In Chapter One I discussed the importance of the tavern in bringing musical performances into the public sphere. The influence of the tavern on the creation of the concert hall does not, however, end here. The tavern had a close 'association with the development of commercialized leisure'.[44] The concept of payment for service was an integral component of the tavern's daily operation and even the payment of musicians (much like modern buskers) meant that there was an existing association between music,

[43] According to Harley, North thought the concerts were at the *George Tavern*, but this seems incorrect: Harley, *Music in Purcell's London*, 145 n. 35.
[44] J. A. Chartres, 'The Eighteenth-Century English Inn: A Transient "Golden Age"', in *The World of the Tavern: Public Houses in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Beat A. Kümin and B. Ann Tlusty (Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate, 2002), 223.

commerce, and the tavern. The first associations between public musical performance and payment therefore occur in the tavern. The issue of payment is not one whose importance can be understated in the development of the concert hall.[45] It was the impetus behind the relocation of music meetings from taverns into purposely-sourced spaces.

York Buildings

Banister's concerts have been described as straight up economic exploitation.[46] In respect to cost, set-up, and marketing, there is no question that he had commercial ideas. This has led Michael Tilmouth to suggest that Banister's concerts became a 'model' for other ventures such as the York Buildings.[47] However his analysis was made based on the event, rather than its architectural setting, and as we shall see York Buildings were vastly different to Banister in this regard.

The transition from semi-private meeting, to public tavern meeting, to public commercial endeavour previously outlined in relation to Ellis, Chilmead, and Banister, is also clearly articulated in the history of the Society of Gentlemen. Roger North gave a brief account of this group:

> There was a society of gentlemen of good esteem, whom I shall not name for some of them as I hear are still living, that used to meet often for consort after Babtist's manner; and falling into a weekly cours, and performing exceeding well, with bass violins (a cours instrument as it was then which they used to hire), their freinds and acquaintance, were admitted and by degrees as the fame of their meetings spread, so many auditors came that their room was crowded; and to prevent that inconvenience, they took a room in a tavern in Fleet Street, and the taverner pretended to make formall seats, and to take mon[e]y; and then the society disbanded. But the taverner[,] finding the sweet of vending wine and taking mon[e]y, hired masters to play, and made a pecuniary consrt of it to which for the reputation of the musick, numbers of people of good fashion and quality repaired.[48]

[45] Olmsted, 'The Capitalization of Musical Production: The Conceptual and Spatial Development of London's Public Concerts, 1660-1750'.
[46] Olmsted, 128.
[47] Tilmouth, 'Some Early London Concerts and Music Clubs, 1670-1720', 13.
[48] North, *Roger North's The Musicall Grammarian 1728* f.137/54-f.137v.

Ostensibly, the Society disbanded as they felt the taking of money detracted from their principal aim to perform music. However, their stand did little to stem this growing emphasis. North explains:

> The masters of musick finding that mon[e]y was to be got this way, determined to take the buissness into their owne hands; and it proceeded so farr, that in York Buildings a fabric was reared and furnished on porpose for publik musick. And there was nothing of musick valued in towne, but was to be heard there. It was called the musick meeting; and all the quallity, and beau mond repaired to it but the plan of this project was not so well layd as ought to have bin, for the time of their beginning was inconsistent with the park [i.e. pleasure gardens] and the playhouses, which had a stronger attraction.[49]

The group of music masters, who had been hired to replace them and perform in the tavern, saw that there was an opportunity to make money if they had access to their own venue.[50] As a direct response to the success of the growing concert culture of London, they therefore started their own venture: The York Buildings.[51]

The group acquired a room in the York Buildings, intending it to be a space in which they could have greater autonomy over their concerts and more direct access to profits. North also notes that it was built because the Castle Tavern meetings were so crowded.[52] Ultimately, the project failed due to its poor planning and programming, and since each music master was trying to gain the greatest benefit, each saw himself as the main attraction and so concerts were a haphazard series of mismatched pieces, styles, and instruments, rather than a smoothly run, coordinated whole:

> And what was wors the masters' undertakers were a rope of sand, not under the rule or order of any person, and every one foreward to advance his owne talents, and spightfull to each other, and out of emulation, substracting their skill in performing, all which together scandalized the company, and poysoned the entertainement. Besides[,] the whole was without designe or order; for one master brings a consort with fuges, another shews his guifts in a solo upon the violin, another sings, and then a famous lutinist comes foreward, and in this manner changes followed each other, with a full cessation of the musick between every one, and a ga[b]ble and bustle while they changed places, whereas all enterteinements of this

[49] North f.137v (p. 265-6).
[50] North, *The Musicall Gramarian*, 54.
[51] Burney, *A General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, 369.
[52] Harley, *Music in Purcell's London*, 148.

> kind ought to be projected as a drama, so as all the members shall uninterruptedly follow in order, and having a true connextion, set off each other.[53]

The project, and concerts more generally, also suffered in London from the growing competition from other forms of commercialized leisure such as Pleasure Gardens (see Chapter Four). These passages show that whilst issues of space motivated the initial move into the tavern sphere, the second move to a purposely-acquired space was motivated by economic interests. They also reflect the emergence of a formal separation between audience and performer and are an indication of a growing consumerist culture that passively enjoyed entertainment rather than actively creating it.[54]

The York Buildings, however, is notable for being 'the first room in London designed specifically for public concerts'.[55] Originally owned by the Archbishop of York, the complex was transferred to the Duke of Buckingham before being 'developed' in *c.* 1680.[56] The room they used is said to have been at the bottom east side of Villiers Street off the Strand, in a fashionable part of London.[57] It was said to have had a beautiful ceiling painted by Verrio that had been incorporated from York House.[58]

Newspaper advertisements record concerts at the York Buildings from 1685-1736, although the Room was not under the same management throughout this period.[59] Regular concerts were hosted only from 23 November 1685 to 5 December 1711, and the occasional gatherings in 1717/18.[60] The 'season' ran from October to May,

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[53] North, *Roger North's The Musicall Grammarian 1728* f.138 (p.266).
[54] Richard D. Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-Cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 162.
[55] Harley, *Music in Purcell's London*, 147. Olmsted stresses that it was the first designed 'for commercial concert giving' Olmsted, 'The Capitalization of Musical Production: The Conceptual and Spatial Development of London's Public Concerts, 1660-1750', 119.
[56] Young, *A History of British Music*, 40.
[57] Elkin, *The Old Concert Rooms of London*, 29.
[58] Elkin, 29. See also Austin Brereton, *The Literary History of the Adelphi and Its Neighbourhood* (New York: Duffield, 1909).
[59] Harbor, 'The Birth of the Music Business: Public Commercial Concerts in London 1660-1750', 175.
[60] Tilmouth, 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers Published in London and the Provinces (1660-1719)'.

explaining why it had a reputation for being quite cold.[61] In 1711, Sir Richard Steele (1672-1729), co-founder of *The Tatler* took on a lease for the Room, and probably remodelled it into a space more suitable for Opera.[62] Following its refurbishment by Steele, the Irish philosopher Bishop Berkeley (1685-1753) said it was 'the finest chamber I have seen and will contain seats for a select company of two hundred persons of the best quality'.[63] Steele's interventions are likely described in a *Daily Post* notice of 1724:

> To be LET,
> The Great Room in Villiers-street, York Buildings, 32 Foot 4 Inches long, 31 Foot 6 broad, 21 Foot high, the Sides and Roof adorn''d with Painting, Gilding, Pillars, Capitals and other Decorations, 4 Rows of Seats round the Room, stuff'd and cover'd with green Bayes, and rail'd in with Iron; besides an Alcove rais'd four Foot, with a Semicircle of Seats and Stands for Musick, 15 Foot 9 Deep, and 17 Foot in Diameter, towards the Room a Gallery over against the Alcove, handsomely rail'd with Iron. Together with the House thereunto belonging, of 2 Ground Rooms, 3 one Pair of Stairs, 6 two Pair of Stairs, and 7 Garrets, with Kitchen and Cellars. Enquire at the next Door.[64]

This description accords with that of North, who describes it as 'a great room… [with] proper decorations as a theatre for musick'.[65] The setting of an eighteenth-century image, *An Orchestra Rehearsing*, depicts an unknown yet similar space (Figure 15). The building was taken down in 1753 and replaced by stables and coach-houses.[66] Prior to Steele's modifications, the space was probably used for various purposes including dancing, auctions, and private hire.[67] This would have required movable seats and fewer architectural fittings than were later included by Steele in his Opera space.

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[61] Young, *A History of British Music*, 40.
[62] Tilmouth, 'Some Early London Concerts and Music Clubs, 1670-1720', 15. Notices about his ventures are in the *Spectator*.
[63] Tilmouth, 15.
[64] *The Daily Post*, 10 August 1724
[65] Harley, *Music in Purcell's London*, 148.
[66] 'Villiers Street | British History Online', accessed 30 May 2017, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol18/pt2/pp61-62.
[67] Hugh Arthur Scott, 'London's First Concert Room', *Music and Letters*, n.d., 385.

By the turn of the eighteenth century the York Buildings had become a fashionable concert venue and frequently acted as an extension of the Court.[68] It provided entertainment for foreign dignitaries such as the Russian Tsar in 1698.[69] During this time the venue hosted the first performance of an oratorio in England, Handel's *Esther*.[70] The St Cecilia Festival had a yearly concert from 1683 onwards and from 1684 to 1703, the annual St Cecilia's Festival Ode was re-performed here.[71] The venue also became a focal point for foreign musicians, especially those from Italy.[72] Its billing as a centre for new music and foreign musicians was designed to be a particular selling point, building on the appeal of the virtuoso performer first seen with Davis Mell and Thomas Baltzar back in 1660s Oxford.[73]

The status of the York Buildings as a premier concert venue was consolidated not only by its reputation for hosting virtuosi from the Continent and operating as an annexe to the Court, but also by its setting within a restored grand house in a fashionable part of London. Internally, the Antonio Verrio ceiling and neat spatial arrangement afforded certain gentility to the space and, by consequence, the event. This was in vast contrast to the tavern environment and no doubt suited the new *beau mond* clientele whose primary interest was social, rather than musical.[74] This was to become a feature of performance spaces: the natural affinity between a paying middle or upper class audience and the aesthetic appearance of the performance space.

[68] Harley, *Music in Purcell's London*, 148.
[69] Young, *A History of British Music*, 41. *Post Boy*, 15 February 1698
[70] Elkin, *The Old Concert Rooms of London*, 37.
[71] Elkin, 32–33.
[72] Elkin, 30–31.
[73] Young, *A History of British Music*, 40.
[74] William Weber, 'Musical Culture and the Capital City: The Epoch of the Beau Monde in London, 1700-1870', in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2004), 71–89.

Thomas Britton

The York Buildings were, by this measure, in complete contrast to Thomas Britton's musical gatherings, which operated at almost the same time, from 1678-1714. Like the York Buildings, Britton's meetings attracted a similar clientele and, as noted in Chapter One, hosted important musical events and foreign musicians. But the two ventures differed markedly with respect to their appearance: Britton's meetings being at his home in Clerkenwell, and the York Buildings being a refurbished palace. Ralph Thoresby (1658-1725), an antiquarian from Leeds, wrote in his diary on 5 June 1712:

> In our way home called at Mr Britton's, the noted small-coal man, where we had a noble concert of music, vocal and instrumental, the best in town, which for many years he has had weekly for his owen entertainment, and of the gentry, &c., gratis, to which most foreigners of distinction, for the fancy of it, occasionally went.[75]

This marked contrast between the two, despite their successes, is testament to the new status of musical entertainment in London at the turn of the century. The last quarter of the seventeenth century, in particular, saw a proliferation in the number of commercial enterprises for concert giving, tapping in to this increasingly popular pastime. Following on from the commercial model of Banister and the apparent success of the York Buildings, most new ventures did away with the musical society model and instead opted for the commercial. Britton's model is, in these terms, a relic of the post-war music clubs and its success was predicated on the character of the host and the quality of his music. For these new commercial enterprises, however, the choice of venue became a central concern for the enterprise, since audiences were paying for an experience rather than to participate.

[75] *Thoresby*: June 5, 1712

The Vendu

By the 1690s the York Buildings were facing much stiffer competition, since concerts had become a regular fixture of the London scene.[76] Other ventures were also staging and advertising regular concert series and multiple venues were competing for patronage. The biggest competitor was the Vendu, situated 'next Bedford-gate in Charles-street, Covent Garden'.[77] Although not called the Vendu explicitly until 1692, it had concerts advertised in newspapers from 1691-1695.[78] First mentioned in 1691, the *London Gazette* reports that it was constructed especially for concerts, though there is no other supporting evidence for this:

> The Consort of Musick, lately in Bow Street, is Removed next Bedford-Gate, in Charles Street, Covent Garden (where a Room is newly built for that purpose) and, by Command, is to begin on Friday next the 20th instant, where it is afterwards to be continued every Thursday…'[79]

Only nine months after its opening, the space was enlarged and there is little mention of it after 1694.[80] Most likely it became redundant after the launch of Hickford's Rooms (discussed below).[81] Scott believes the Vendu 'was expressly built for concerts'.[82] It is not clear whether he was aware of the *Gazette* notice, but Olmsted disagrees on the grounds of its date and name, which he expected would reflect either the person behind it, or contain a reference to the space itself.[83]

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[76] Tilmouth, 'Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers Published in London and the Provinces (1660-1719)'.
[77] Charles Street is now Wellington Street and Bedford Gate is unknown but may be the corner of Tavistock Street and Wellington Street. Elkin, *The Old Concert Rooms of London*, 37–38.
[78] *London Gazette*: 7 March 1692; Harbor, 'The Birth of the Music Business: Public Commercial Concerts in London 1660-1750'.
[79] *London Gazette*, 19 Feb 1691
[80] Elkin, *The Old Concert Rooms of London*, 40.
[81] Elkin, 41.
[82] Hugh Arthur Scott, 'London's First Concert Room', *Music & Letters* 18, no. 4 (1937): 381.
[83] Olmsted, 'The Capitalization of Musical Production: The Conceptual and Spatial Development of London's Public Concerts, 1660-1750', 120.

The name, however, was a derivative of the French verb *vendre*, meaning to sell. And in fact, the sale of artwork was the distinguishing feature of the Vendu.[84] Art sale catalogues circulated between 1689 and 1692 confirm the later addition of the name (Figure 16, Figure 17).[85] Although the newspaper advertisements of the venue focus on the musical offerings, the name of the venue and art sale catalogues suggests that music perhaps became an extra draw card to what was principally a sale of artwork. This might explain the short-lived appearance of the venue in newspaper advertisements. The dual use of the space also suggests that there was little fixed furniture, though the advertisement of the event does suggest a formal (and therefore physical) separation of performer and audience.

The concert enterprise was run by Johann Franck and Robert King. Robert King was a royal musician.[86] Although he is thought to have been involved in concert giving prior to opening the Vendu, nothing is known about where or what this venture may have been.[87] Johann Franck, however, appears in association with a number of concert ventures around London at this time, the principal one being the concerts at The Two Golden Balls tavern at the upper end of Bow St, Covent Garden.[88] Young suggests that Franck's involvement in the concerts was about obtaining publicity.[89] In 1689, King was given a performance license from William III, itself further evidence that paid concerts were a recognised event by 1689:

> Whereas we do well approve of the Abilitys in Musick of Rob[t] King one of Our Musitians and he having besought us to have Our Authority to sett up a Consort of Musick, And to have the Sole Government thereof And that none shall force their way in without paying such prices as shall be sett downe. Our will & pleasure therefore is, & We do hereby License and authorize y[e] s[d] Robert King to sett up a Consort of Musick to be performed by such as he shall appoint and as often as he shall think Fitt and We require & Command all persons to forbeare rudely or by force to enter in or abide there during the time of performing y[e] s[d] Musick without observing such Rules & paying such prices as shall be by him sett down. And

[84] Elkin, *The Old Concert Rooms of London*, 37–38.
[85] *BL*: 1402 g.1
[86] Mackerness, *A Social History of English Music*, 83.
[87] Elkin, *The Old Concert Rooms of London*, 38.
[88] Elkin, 39.
[89] Young, *A History of British Music*, 42.

> all Our Officers Civill & Military are required to be aiding & assisting herin. Given at Our Court at Whitehall the 25th day of December 1689 in ye first yeare of Our Reigne.[90]

In October of that same year, a notice appeared to say that 'The Concerts of Musick that were held in Bow-street and in York buildings are now joyn'd together and will be perform'd in York Buildings'.[91] A year later, a *Gazette* notice for 9 October 1690 says that 'Mr Franck's consort of vocal and instrumental musick will be performed… at the 2 Golden Balls, at the upper end of Bow-street, Covent-Garden.' So in October of 1690, Franck either reverted to a previous venue, or began his own new venture from scratch. It is no doubt the appearance of Franck that led Harley to think that the Bow Street and Vendu concerts were connected and simply a change of venue. Three months later, in January 1691, Franck had joined with King to perform in Charles Street Covent-Garden.[92] This advertisement also makes reference to the 'Sale of Valuable Paintings which may be seen on the Musick nights', suggesting that it became the Vendu. A month later, the Two Golden Balls group also moved to Charles-street on 19 February 1691.[93] On this basis, Young suggested that the Two Golden Balls crowd had left the York Buildings.[94]

Due to their success, the York Buildings and Vendu became models that were imitated by other ventures.[95] Following on from the tradition of Banister, they consolidated the commercial viability of the concert and thus the benefit of having a space for musical performance. Closely connected to this was the separation of performer and audience and the further consolidation of a paying audience enjoying the performance of a paid performer. These separate roles and their unique requirements, such as the stage and seating, had a central role to play in the creation

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[90] Elkin, *The Old Concert Rooms of London*, 38. Citing *CSPD:* 25/12/1689
[91] *London Gazette*: 14 Oct 1689
[92] *London Gazette*: 15 Jan 1691
[93] Harley believes the two were connected and this was simply a change of venue, Olmsted seems to agree though makes no reference to Franck's return to the Two Golden Balls after York Buildings, Young also suggests it was a breakaway of the Two Golden Balls group from York Buildings. Harley, *Music in Purcell's London*, 149; Olmsted, 'The Capitalization of Musical Production: The Conceptual and Spatial Development of London's Public Concerts, 1660-1750', 113; Young, *A History of British Music*, 41.
[94] Young, *A History of British Music*, 41.
[95] Young, 42.

of an architecture for music. As seen, these early concerts also had spatial arrangements that demonstrated a growing understanding of the need for an architecture for music.

Hickford's Rooms

By the eighteenth century, concert giving in London was 'definitely and permanently established'.[96] It was a commodity available to anyone who could afford it.[97] Two important ventures have already been discussed, but as their short-lived fortunes have shown, concert giving was not a guaranteed business success, despite its growing presence in London society. In eighteenth-century London, the longest-lived and most successful venture was Hickford's (Figure 18). Operating from 1697-*c.* 1780, it was considered the most fashionable concert room of the day.[98] Hickford's is also notable for hosting the benefit concert of Mozart and his sister on their visit in 1765.[99] Elkin suggests it was in demand as a concert venue because of the shortage of other suitable venues.[100] It began in James Street/Panton Street but also operated in Brewer Street from 1738.[101] Hickford's was a family enterprise and it is unclear whether John Hickford the Elder or his son was responsible for the move to Brewer Street.[102]

According to Scott, Hickford's Dancing Academy and Auction Room, Panton Street appeared in 1672 after Colonel Thomas Panton (*d.*1685), a reformed gambler, obtained a license to construct new streets.[103] The original Panton Street site was a

[96] Scott, 'London's First Concert Room', 1937, 457.
[97] Olmsted, 'The Capitalization of Musical Production: The Conceptual and Spatial Development of London's Public Concerts, 1660-1750'.
[98] Elkin, *The Old Concert Rooms of London*, 42.
[99] Elkin, 47–48.
[100] Elkin, 42.
[101] Harbor, 'The Birth of the Music Business: Public Commercial Concerts in London 1660-1750'.
[102] Elkin, *The Old Concert Rooms of London*, 44.
[103] Scott, 'London's First Concert Room', n.d., 380.

dancing school, but the main room was also used for concerts.[104] This is very similar to Banister and suggests that such doubling of enterprise was not uncommon.

The first mention of Hickford's as a venue for concerts is in 1697:

> These are to give Notice to all Lovers of Musick, and the Art of Singing that Mr. James Kremberg is lately come out of Italy, and shall keep a New Consort of Musick by very great Masters, of all sorts of Instruments: with fine Singing, in Italian, French, English, Spanish, German, Dutch and Latin, after the newest Italian and French manner. At Mr. Hickford's Dancing-School in Panton-street, near the Hay-Market, or in James-street over-against the Tennis-Court, just by the Blew-Posts, there being a Door out of each Street to the Room. This Consort will begin on Wednesday, the 24th of this Instant, at Eight a Clock at Night, and will continue Weekly the same Day; always with New Compositions. Price Half a Crown.[105]

Between 1697 and 1706, the venue seems to have been used more often for dancing or auctions or one-off benefit concerts, rather than for any regular concert series:

> The Song Composed by Mr. Jeremiah Clarke, and Sung on St. Cecilia's Day, will be performed on Thursday next the 9th Instant, at Mr. Hickford's Dancing-School in Panton-street, or in James-street over against the Tennis-Court, just by the Blue-Posts, there being a Door out of each street to the Room, and for the Benefit of the said Mr. Clark and Mr. le Riche, late Steward of the Feast. The Musick begins at Eight.[106]

These were more profitable avenues, since the York Buildings were still at the height of their popularity.[107] From the 1710s onwards Hickford's began to grow in popularity and eventually displaced the York Buildings as London's preferred concert venue. This shift in clientele no doubt contributed to the closure of the York Buildings.[108]

> At Mr. Hickford's Great Room in James-street, near the Hay-Market, on Monday next, being the 31st of May, will be an Entertainment of MUSICK, perform'd by Mr. Morphy upon the Harp. To begin at Seven a-Clock. Subscriptions are taken in, and Tickets delivered out at the

[104] Elkin, *The Old Concert Rooms of London*, 42.
[105] *Post Boy*: 20 November 1697
[106] *London Gazette*: 6 December 1697
[107] Scott, 'London's First Concert Room', n.d., 382.
[108] Scott, 390.

> British Coffee-house near Charing-Cross, at Four for one Guinea, and a single one at Six Shillings.'[109]

In *c.* 1738 the premises were moved to 41 (now 65) Brewer Street near Piccadilly where they remained until *c.* 1780, later to be demolished in 1934. This was the Hickford family home, where a room suitable for concerts was constructed at the rear of the property.[110] An organ was present in the room from its inception, since in 1738, an advertisement for a concert with 'several new Concertos on the Organ' was announced.[111] The building had two entrances. The principal one was from Brewer Street, but there was also another on Windmill Street (now Great Windmill Street). This back door was used for sedan chairs to collect attendees.[112] It is unclear just what the room looked like at its opening, but undated descriptions indicate that it had a coved ceiling, a platform for the performers, and a gallery above the door.[113] The platform was at the south end, with a large window behind it. The gallery was at the opposite end, over the door. It also had cornices and carved mouldings, which would have benefitted the acoustics and added to its visual appeal.[114] With dimensions of *c.* 15.2 x 9.1 x 6.7 m, it also had a good acoustic ratio.[115]

Industry

The tavern-based music meeting did not disappear with the realization of financial gain, but instead grew into a different type of commercial endeavour. As music meetings became more public and better known, their reputation afforded new commercial opportunities. This was especially the case for music publishers and printers, who used their affiliation with particular music meetings to advertise their

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[109] 'taken from a scrap-book and dated May 1725': Elkin, *The Old Concert Rooms of London*, 43–44.
[110] Michael Forsyth, *Buildings for Music: The Architect, the Musician, and the Listener from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 28.
[111] Elkin, *The Old Concert Rooms of London*, 45.
[112] Elkin, 44–45.
[113] Forsyth, *Buildings for Music*, 28.
[114] Elkin, *The Old Concert Rooms of London*, 49.
[115] Dorothea Baumann, *Music and Space: A Systematic and Historical Investigation into the Impact of Architectural Acoustics on Performance Practice Followed by a Study of Handel's Messiah*, Natur, Wissenschaft Und Die Künste; Bd. 7 (Bern; Oxford: P. Lang, 2011), 136.

services.[116] This was done by selling tickets at the premises of the publishers, or through dedications in musical works.[117] The performance of these in the public sphere generated purchases. For these individuals, taverns remained a key conduit for attracting and advertising to new clients since they were publicly accessible and required no additional organization.

John Playford's (1623-1686/7) bookselling and publishing enterprise is, in itself, evidence for a growing interest in and engagement with musical performance. His business began in 1651, around the same time that Chilmead and Ellis were setting up their music meetings. Playford's business can then be seen as a direct result of the burgeoning concert scene, which was forming 'an important part of social life in London'.[118] The relationship between publisher, musician, and audience is clearly seen in his dedication to *The Musical Companion* (1667) and evidence of a growing commercial industry surrounding concerts (Figure 12). The preface to the second edition of this work, published by Playford's son, is even clearer in its commercial and social aims:[119]

> He has prevailed with his acquaintance and others in this City, to enter into several Clubs Weekly, at Taverns, of convenient distance from each other, having at each house a particular master of music belonging to the Society established in it, who may instruct those (if desired) who shall be unskilled in bearing a part in the several catches contained in this book, as well as others, and shall perfect those who already have some insight in things of this nature, that they shall be capable of entertaining the societies they belong to abroad. In order to do this, he has provided several articles to be drawn, printed, and put in handsome frames, to be put up in each respective room the societies shall meet in, and be observed as so many standing rules, which each respective society is to go by: and he questions not, but the several Cities, Towns, Corporations &c., in which the kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, as well as Foreign Plantations, will follow the example of the well-wishers to Vocal and Instrumental Music in the famous City, be establishing Weekly Meetings as may render his undertaking as generally received as useful. And if any body or bodies of gentlemen are willing to enter into or compose such Societies, they may send to him, where they may be furnished with the books or articles. This much he thought was necessary to premise, and giving the reader a

[116] Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies, 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World*, Oxford Studies in Social History (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 165.
[117] Playford is the most well-known and prolific example of such behaviour, though he is by no means the only example, see Brian Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), 15.
[118] Chan, 'A Music Meeting & Playford's Publishing', 232.
[119] Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England*, 15.

> light into the knowledge of his design; but he shall leave his book without further vindication than the great names of the persons who obliged the world with the words, and those who (if anything can add to such finished pieces) have given a mitre to 'em by their Musical Composures; as Dr. Blow and the late famous Mr Henry Purcell, whose Catches have deservedly gained an universal applause.[120]

London became a centre for music publishing in the 1690s and for harpsichord manufacture by 1750.[121] Alongside Venice, it was a key centre for instruments and music publishers and a nexus for trade routes.[122] The expansion of these networks, both commercial and intellectual, had a profound impact on the music industry of the British Isles and the formulation of the concert. From the Restoration onwards, the British Isles were recognised, even by musicians, as being a land of opportunity. England was a leading mercantile world power from the reign of Charles II and so immigration increased.[123] Many foreign musicians, especially Italians, moved to London and the British Isles in order to make a living since they recognised the economic opportunities commercialized leisure provided. As Johann Mattheson (1681-1764) the German musician and writer noted, 'he who in the present time wants to make a profit out of his music betakes himself to England'.[124] Pepys too noted the growing number of Italian musicians and their musical influence from the Restoration.[125] The supply of foreign music was aided by each of the capitals' positions as a trading city. Not only did this make it easier for individuals to move between centres, but also it was logistically easier to share instruments and music between different countries and cultures.

The influx and appeal of foreign musicians is most clearly recognised in concert billings. Famous international musicians could attract large audiences and were therefore good both for the performer and for the concert manager. Some of these

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[120] Henry Playford, *The Pleasant Musical Companion*, 2nd ed., 1701
[121] David Wyn Jones and Cardiff Department of Music University of Wales, *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 3.
[122] Gouk, *Music, Science, and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England*, 19.
[123] Wyn Jones and University of Wales, *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, 3.
[124] Tilmouth, 'Some Early London Concerts and Music Clubs, 1670-1720', 14. Citing in translation, J. Mattheson, *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre,* Hamburg, 1713.
[125] Elkin, *The Old Concert Rooms of London*, 17–18.

included Margherita de L'Epine (*c.*1680-1746), an Italian singer, the main star of Drury Lane performances who also performed at the York Buildings as a singer and harpsichordist, and dancer.[126] Felice Giardini (1716-1796), an Italian violinist, set up a 20-concert subscription in the 'Great Room' at 21 Dean Street, Soho where the German composer Carl Friedrich Abel (1723-1787) made his London debut.[127] Mozart's appearance at Hickford's Rooms has already been mentioned, and of course Handel spent the majority of his career in London as a composer and performer.

But this was not simply an eighteenth-century phenomenon. Throughout the seventeenth century, foreign musicians were moving regularly to the British Isles, such as the composer and keyboardist G. B. Draghi (*c.*1640-1708), composers Godfrey Finger (*c.*1655-1730), and Pietro Reggio (1632-1685).[128] Thomas Baltzar (a German) and Nicola Matteis (an Italian) were both foreign violinist freelancers who found fame and success here in the late seventeenth-century.[129] Gerhard Diessener (1640-1684), a composer, had concerts at his London home from 1663 to advertise his works after having spent time at Kassel, Paris (in 1660).[130]

But the arrival of foreign musicians was not always heralded as a positive, and instead 'viewed by the natives as an invasion – seeking their fortune from public performance'.[131] The now obvious divisions between audience and performer exacerbated this feeling. According to Hyde, foreign musicians arrived to fill the gaps created by a declining number of 'home grown' British composers and performers.[132] This view is in contrast to David Wyn Jones who is against the 'foreign domination' theory.[133] He interpreted the increase in foreign musicians as a recognition of the commercial opportunities afforded by London and the economic potential available

[126] Henry Davey, *History of English Music* (London: J. Curwen & sons, 1895), 384.
[127] Elkin, *The Old Concert Rooms of London*, 58–59.
[128] Davey, *History of English Music*, 327–28.
[129] Young, *A History of British Music*, 29.
[130] *The Loyal Post*: 28 October 1682, in Young, 35.
[131] Leppert, *Music and Image*, 20.
[132] Hyde, *Four Faces of British Music*, 129.
[133] Wyn Jones and University of Wales, *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, 4.

across the Isles compared to at home.[134] The British Isles shared a musical culture with the Continent, in terms of style and composers and English public music was urged on, in part, by the impact of Continental virtuosi and the public desire for foreign music.[135]

Professional, foreign, musicians were increasingly providing entertainment to a passive, high-society audience in Britain. But there was also a feeling that the influx of Italians and new musical styles created competition for work and space with local companies.[136] At the Haymarket Theatre, Italians bore the brunt of the political divide between Tory (pro-English, anti-foreigner) and Whig (pro-Haymarket) views. Harley notes that many Italian and French musicians were also Catholic, and so London in the Restoration was not always a friendly place.[137] This further complicated the issue by playing to chauvinistic, anti-Catholic, and patriotic tendencies.[138] This is reflected in comments like those of the essayist and cleric Vicesimus Knox (1752-1821), who said that a gentleman could enjoy music or theatre without needing to associate with the players.[139]

But whilst the York Buildings seem to have gained some renown for its foreign performers, in other instances, the venue itself became a pull for foreign musicians. Hickford's Rooms, for example, were popular with Italian violinist-composers like Geminiani (1687 Lucca-1762 Dublin).[140] Geminiani was a fan of Corelli and also an Italian who had a huge impact on British and Irish musical tastes, after his relocation there.[141] He, like so many virtuosi, performed his own music. Corelli's reputation was already being forged before his arrival in England. Pepys' nephew heard him during his travels to Italy and brought news of his reputation back to England.

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[134] See also Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England*.
[135] Young, *A History of British Music*, 28.
[136] Leppert, *Music and Image*, 20.
[137] Harley, *Music in Purcell's London*, 158.
[138] Leppert, *Music and Image*, 20.
[139] Leppert, 20.
[140] Elkin, *The Old Concert Rooms of London*, 43.
[141] Young, *A History of British Music*, 26–27.

Commercialization meant that public concerts became a form of publicity and although similar environments did not exist on the Continent, continental musicians adapted to this more readily than the English.[142] Therefore, given that the concert hall works because of its commercial and financial application, it is natural that it would develop in the Isles where such opportunity existed. Furthermore, the concert required an audience that must be able and willing to pay a fee.[143] This was a feature of the middle class, itself a British phenomenon. This view is summed up by Roger North who said: 'the Grand secret, that the English would follow Musick and drop their pence freely, of which some advantage hath bin since made'.[144]

Although a feature of late seventeenth-century concerts, the British Isles did not invent paying audiences. According to Colin Lawson, Venetian opera had tickets from 1637, and the mixture of the 'commercial and artistic considerations that continues to this day'.[145] Lawson says that the public concert became popular from the second half of eighteenth century due to social conditions, and that they initially took place in small venues 'encouraging an articular, intimate performing style'.[146] This certainly seems an accurate assessment of the growing interest in public performances on mainland Europe at this time, but as this thesis has shown, this phenomenon took place in the British Isles almost a century prior. By the second half of the eighteenth century, British audiences were beginning to lose interest in public concerts in favour of new types of entertainments such as assemblies, pleasure gardens, and the opera.

By the end of the century, concert attendance was firmly entrenched in the psyche of the London social scene and paying to attend a performance was well understood.

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[142] Olmsted, 'The Capitalization of Musical Production: The Conceptual and Spatial Development of London's Public Concerts, 1660-1750', 126.
[143] For a discussion of ticket prices and concert accessibility, see William Weber, *Music and the Middle Class: The Social Structure of Concert Life in London, Paris, and Vienna*, Comparative Studies in European Social History (London: Croom Helm, 1975), 23–29.
[144] Roger North, 'Essay of Musicall Ayre' (Master of Arts, The Australian National University, 1977), https://openresearch-repository.anu.edu.au/handle/1885/133223, 124.
[145] Colin Lawson, 'Performing through History', in *Musical Performance: A Guide to Understanding*, ed. John Rink (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 8.
[146] Lawson, 11.

The late seventeenth century had therefore seen in a tremendous shift in the attitudes and consumption of music performance, a shift that was consolidated in the early eighteenth century and the move towards purpose-building venues for musical societies. The majority of these changes occurred in England in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, though without the earliest forays by Chilmead and Ellis during the Commonwealth and early part of the Restoration, they would not have happened with the speed and inventiveness with which they are now attributed.

Banister is now heralded as being the first to publicly advertise concerts, and the York Buildings would seem to be the first room that is fitted out specifically for the act of concert giving. The final decade of the century saw the emergence of a growing market for concerts, with different ventures each attempting to distinguish themselves by way of some unique feature, be it additional activities or certain performers. This happened alongside new competition amongst the performers who, having seen the potential for profit and fame, were increasingly open to marketing themselves as virtuosi rather than as part of a consort or group.[147] This market was supported by the migration of foreign musicians to the British Isles, an act that both consolidated and grew the market for professional musical performance.

By the eighteenth century, concert giving was 'definitely and permanently established' in England.[148] The models provided by the key ventures of the latter seventeenth century, Britton's series, the York Buildings and the Vendu, became the basis for imitation in the early eighteenth century. Their influence can be recognized in Hickford's Rooms, in particular, but are also present in the subsidiary ventures put on in the Spas and Pleasure Gardens of London.[149] One particular facet of this is the increasing attention given to the appearance of venues. Although the dedicated spaces of the mid-eighteenth century were still a long way from realization, the foundations for their creation had by this point been well and truly laid.

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[147] William Weber, *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700-1914: Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 2004), 6.
[148] Scott, 'London's First Concert Room', 1937, 457.
[149] Young, *A History of British Music*, 42; Hyde, *Four Faces of British Music*, 176.

Cultural Speculation

Music and its performance was becoming big business in the British Isles, not only for individual entrepreneurs but also for Societies. In Aberdeen, professional musicians were heavily involved in creating the Aberdeen Musical Society in 1748, probably to bolster their reputation and advertise to potential students.[150] But for some, the burgeoning association between the performance of music and commerce detracted from the music itself. Some more public and charitable musical societies and academies, such as the Royal Academy of Musick founded by the French composer Robert Cambert (*c.*1628-1677) in 1673 at Bridges Street Covent Garden, sought to counter this commodification of the music industry and ensure the music itself remained the primary focus of performance.[151] These groups were, nonetheless, still subject to the effects of commercialized leisure, though this manifested in a particular way: The musical societies of Dublin, Edinburgh, and Oxford all elected to construct their own venues, thus partaking in a form of cultural speculation.

The transitory phase of increasingly rampant commercialization seems to be a particular feature of the London musical scene, though it was by no means the only outlet for musical provision in the capital. The rise of the Club or Musical Society began to proliferate at the end of the seventeenth and in to the early-eighteenth centuries.[152] Across the rest of the Isles, a similar trend emerged, one that was largely devoid of individual musical entrepreneurs in favour of Society-based, semi-public music meetings. Here, music meetings, many of which formalised into Musical Societies, remained the primary providers of concert entertainment. Like the London-based groups already discussed, they too began in taverns. But where London groups preferred to relocate from taverns to repurposed spaces like the York Buildings and the Vendu, the leading music meetings of Dublin, Edinburgh, and

[150] Clark, *British Clubs and Societies, 1580-1800*, 165.
[151] Harley, *Music in Purcell's London*, 142.
[152] Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England*, 16.

Oxford each elected to purpose-build their own venues. The earliest purpose-built concert halls, Fishamble Street Music Hall Dublin, Holywell Music Room Oxford, and St Cecilia's Edinburgh, were therefore all constructed by musical societies that began in taverns.[153] As a private project, each was funded by subscription and (perhaps unsurprisingly) each apparently overspent by the time of opening. These three were, in crude terms, cultural speculations, betting that future interest in concert series would cover the costs of building.

In Scotland, the earliest recorded meetings, and an early public orchestral concert, took place in the 1690s at Stiel's Tavern, just off the Royal Mile.[154] The group that met there is thought to have become either the Edinburgh Musical Society or The Assembly (or perhaps both). Steil did not seem to continue hosting music meetings after both groups formalised and established headquarters elsewhere. The Assembly took a room in Assembly Close before officially relocating to the New Town in 1787. In 1728 the other group formally became the Edinburgh Musical Society, taking Marys Chapel as their official home (Figure 19). The room they hired was on the upper floor of the Chapel and accessed via a rear, external staircase. In 1785 Marys Chapel was demolished to make way for the South Bridge and there is no official record of its interior.[155] However, a surviving ticket stub for the Musical Society depicts a seemingly accurate rendition of the interior of this concert space (Figure 20).[156] The image shows a sparsely decorated room, with the great window and a mirror on the rear wall: a simple, yet practical space.

[153] The exact origins of the Crow Street Music Hall are unknown, though in all probability were similar to these other Societies.
[154] R. A. Houston, *Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment Edinburgh, 1660-1760* (Oxford: Clarendon, Clarendon Press, 1994), 216.
[155] Deborah Howard, 'St Cecilia's Hall: Architecture and Music in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh', in *The Arts in Eighteenth Century Scotland: Papers from the Symposium in Honour of Basil C. Skinner*, ed. Murdo Macdonald (Edinburgh: Quadriga, 1993), 50.
[156] 'St. Mary's Chapel, Niddry Wynd: A Virtual Reconstruction - Research Pages 2', accessed 14 August 2018, https://sites.google.com/site/researchpages2/home/st-mary-s-chapel-niddry-wynd-a-virtual-reconstruction.

In 1738, the Edinburgh Musical Society renewed their lease for another nineteen years.[157] However, by 1752, the Society had begun collecting money 'for [building a] new Room, which must take place very soon'.[158] By this time the Society felt that the Chapel was unsuitable for the types of performances they wished to stage, as well as being somewhat too small for their number which had risen to 130 by 1752.[159] Due to the success of their concerts, the Society therefore considered building their own venue. They considered various options, including a joint venture with the Assembly in 1755. A site was proposed to the north of Miln's Square, but (probably) the architect John Adam (1721-1792) suggested abandoning it due to the cost of the project.[160] With a suitable site not forthcoming, the plan seems to have been abandoned.[161] When plans fell through, the Assembly decided on a refurbishment of their own premises, and the Musical Society sought to acquire land, the first step in the construction of St Cecilia's Hall.[162]

As indicated above, the group had a ticketed admission fee for their concerts, although attendance at such events was restricted to members of the group and their guests, more than a third of whom were Law Lords or Advocates.[163] The importance of ticket sales and their projected revenue to the Music Society is reflected in the investment made for these tickets. In 1733-34, the Society outlaid £7 10s stg for 'the price of a copper plate from London', probably the one engraved with the ticket stamp.[164] The engraving is listed as made by the English engraver and art dealer Gerard Vandergucht (1696/7-1776) to a design by William Hogarth (1697-1764) in

[157] Joe Rock, 'The Temple of Harmony: New Research on St Cecilia's Hall, Edinburgh', *Architectural Heritage* 20, no. 1 (November 2009): 57.
[158] Howard, 'St Cecilia's Hall: Architecture and Music in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh', 51; William Forbes Gray, *The Musical Society of Edinburgh and St. Cecilia's Hall: Extracted from the Nineteenth Volume of the Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, December 1933.* (Edinburgh: Old Edinburgh Club, 1933), 223.
[159] Gray, *The Musical Society of Edinburgh and St. Cecilia's Hall*, 223.
[160] Howard, 'St Cecilia's Hall: Architecture and Music in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh', 51. That Adams advised against it due to cost of the cellars is also noted by Rock, 'The Temple of Harmony', 59.
[161] Gray, *The Musical Society of Edinburgh and St. Cecilia's Hall*, 223–24.
[162] Rock, 'The Temple of Harmony', 59.
[163] Rock, 57.
[164] 'St. Mary's Chapel, Niddry Wynd'.

catalogues of 1785 and 1833, though this attribution is deemed spurious.[165] Given the apparent accuracy of the design, it is probable that whoever made the design visited the room. As the ticket stub indicates, the group was willing to invest in infrastructure to support their concert activities. As a Society, they were not reliant on appealing to the public for income, but instead had steady financial support from their membership base. Investment in architecture to house them was, therefore, not a commercial endeavour but a financial one. Their decision may also have been informed by the example of other societies, who had also constructed purpose-built spaces on the basis of subscription.

One of these was in Dublin, where the Charitable Musical Society for the Relief of Imprisoned Debtors built the Fishamble Street Music Room in 1741. Dublin, like Edinburgh, had a lack of entrepreneurial concert-givers. Here, musical individuals appear instead to have patronized Musical Societies, directing their endeavours and forging links with professionals. More common in Dublin was the entrepreneur who included music as an accompaniment to, or as one part of, another entertainment in a fashion more akin to the Vendu. The Commodius Booth was one such venture, where the acrobat, performer, and theatre manager Madame Violante (1682-1741) included music as a feature alongside her own acrobatic demonstrations and children's performances.[166]

In a distinction from the London music meetings, Dublin groups had a strong emphasis on charity, as is reflected in their choice of names.[167] Proceeds from the meetings were used to support various causes including the construction of hospitals, support of orphans, and the administration of hardship funds. This emphasis on

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[165] John Nichols, *Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth: With a Catalogue of His Works Chronologically Arranged; and Occasional Remarks.*, The third edition, enlarged and corrected (London: Printed by and for John Nichols, 1785), 455, no. 57; William Hogarth, *Anecdotes of William Hogarth*, ed. J. B. Nichols (London: J. B. Nichols and Son, 1833), 302. The catalogue by J. B. Nichols refers to a copy of the original in Joseph Garston's sale in 1784 when it sold for £3 4s.

[166] Peter Somerville-Large and Mark Fiennes, *Dublin: The Fair City*, Rev. ed. (London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1996), 145.

[167] Brian Boydell, *Rotunda Music in Eighteenth-Century Dublin* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1992), 17.

charity contributed significantly to the success of venues like the Fishamble Street Music Hall since, as Boydell has noted, the Hall provided a non-theatrical and non-denominational venue for the performance of religious pieces (which were extremely popular), and Dublin Society was large enough to furnish a crowded audience yet small enough to notice if anyone was missing.[168] In this respect, Dublin music and concerts fulfilled a different social role here compared to in England or in Scotland. Concert life was closely linked to identity politics and the political and social makeup of Dublin and Irish society. Those running concerts were doing so for group rather than individual gain. This impetus is not seen to the same extent in Scotland or England.

The Charitable Musical Society for the Relief of Imprisoned Debtors had initially formed as a musical society like those of London, but in the 1730s began to focus on charitable causes. Prior to the building of the Hall, the Society had met at various taverns in the nearby area (as outlined in Chapter One). Due to the lack of surviving records, financial details of the Fishamble-Street enterprise are lacking. But the Irish author Laurence Whyte's (*d.*1753) poems suggest that the decision to purpose-build was to provide stability for the group and to access a larger space; Two features missing from their tavern relationships and beneficial to their charitable aims.

> Long had the *Goddess* wander'd here and there,
> First from the *George* to anchor at the *Bear*,
> Then from the *Bear*, she travel'd to the *Bull,*
> And there her Train grew numerous and full,
> Then hoist her Sails, to find a larger port,
> Where she might rest and build a sumptuous Court. (*ll.*31-6)[169]

Like the Edinburgh Musical Society, the Dublin group saw investing in architecture as a sound move for the future growth and prosperity of the Society. Any desire to increase their profits was driven by altruistic aims.

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[168] Boydell, 17.

[169] Laurence Whyte, 'A Poetical Description of Mr. Neal's New Musick-Hall in Fishamble-Street Dublin', in *The Collected Poems of Laurence Whyte*, ed. Michael J. Griffin (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2016), 262–72.

The Music Club in Oxford also followed a similar path, moving directly from a tavern meeting to a self-managed, and purpose-built venue. An account by William Hayes indicates that towards the end of 1741 the subscription to the Club increased dramatically and that the tavern was no longer large enough to accommodate the group (Appendix G).[170] Furthermore, the room was too small to host other public concerts such as Benefits. These were held in College Halls and these relocations were considered a further inconvenience to the Club. In addition to the size of the tavern, the group had also discovered that it was not architecturally well suited to their performances. William Hayes says that 'it had been customary for the Harpsichord to stand on one side of the Room & at a Table near it sat the Performers on Violins &c, which being on a Level with the auditory Members, was inconvenient', presumably for both visual and acoustic reasons. To overcome this, the Club brought in 'portable Floors', and 'proper Desks'. The effect, it seems, was to create a makeshift stage that raised the performers above the height of the audience. Unfortunately the room was also quite low and so the platform could not be raised too high. The Desks meant that the instrumentalists could be separated, rather than grouped around one table. This flexibility resulted in the harpsichord being positioned centrally with instruments on either side of it.

The issues the Club had with the space were, therefore, *architectural* rather than *social* and it was primarily the need to have surroundings that suited the performance of music that inspired their search for new premises. Financial gain is nowhere mentioned as a factor in the construction of their new Room. A Subscription was established amongst the members to finance their move and a Racket Court was found.[171] This choice was not so unusual, since tennis and racket courts were frequently used for other purposes including meetings and for theatrical

[170] William Hayes, 'William Hayes's History of the Music Room' (n.d.), Ob. MS. Top. Oxon. d. 337, Bodleian Library.
[171] It is unclear which racket court this was, many being present in Oxford colleges during this period, Jeremy Potter, *Tennis and Oxford* (Oxford: Oxford Unicorn Press, 1994).

performances (Figure 21).[172] They possessed good proportions, a high ceiling, and were large enough to hold a reasonable audience. However the sale of the Court fell through and instead the Society leased land from Wadham for £100.[173] £500 was raised in subscriptions but 'by the Time the Walls were raised' money was 'swallowed up' and project halted. Monthly choral performances were therefore staged to raise extra funds: £176 13s 3d for fitting out the room for '400 persons commodiously'.[174] This use of choral music as a fundraiser helped establish a lasting appetite for both choral music and Handel amongst local audiences, and ensured its longevity in Holywell concert repertoire throughout the remainder of the eighteenth century.[175]

The Holywell example and the account by Hayes are the most explicit in their association between architecture and the spatial needs of music performance. But as the examples of St Cecilia's and Fishamble-Street indicate, these concerns were not restricted to the Oxford context. For Banister, Hickford and the other various London groups, commercial interests informed their choice of space. By contrast these Societies, which were set up on a different economic model, had ready access to funds. This enabled them to invest in a permanent, and suitably-designed venue. Although both types of groups were driven to make architectural choices about their performance locations, the type of financial model they were part of informed the decisions they made. In both cases, this resulted in a more public performance of music: Initially through entrepreneurship, in the shift from taverns to purposely-sought performance spaces, and later by Societies in the creation of purposely-built spaces for music.

[172] Potter, 60–62.
[173] Susan Wollenberg, '"So Much Rational and Elegant Amusement, at an Expence Comparatively Inconsiderable": The Holywell Concerts in the Eighteenth Century', in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2004), 251. *Wadham*: 82/1/1-6
[174] Wollenberg, 252.
[175] Wollenberg, 252.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored how the commercialization of secular music performance affected the architecture of concert venues. It has shown that the introduction of ticketed entry facilitated a more permanent physical separation between performer and audience. This was by way of seating and the introduction of an orchestra, or stage. These were the first architecture features to be introduced that specifically related to musical performance and therefore the first iterations of an architecture for music. The first part of this chapter examined the role of the entrepreneur in moving the concert from its egalitarian tavern base, into privately operated venues, which placed equal importance on the financial as well as musical outcomes of the concert. Due to this financial incentive, attention was increasingly given to the appearance of venues, something that appealed to the intended clientele.

The second part of the chapter examined musical speculation. This was a different type of economic investment in musical architecture and one that would have a longer-lasting impact. The chapter showed how musical societies, whose principal aim was still the performance of music, chose instead to invest in sourcing a permanent home, their motivation being driven by space and architectural need, rather than economic gain. A similar approach was taken across the Isles and the result was the construction of an architecture for music, the first purpose-built music venues, the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter Three

~ Going solo ~

At the opening of this thesis, I drew attention to the first purpose-built concert halls in the British Isles: The Crow Street Music Room, Fishamble Street Music Room, Holywell Music Room, and St Cecilia's Hall. I noted that they had yet to discussed in relation to each other and within the context of the creation of an architecture for music. In Chapters One and Two I showed how cultural and economic activities supported the establishment of the concert as a cultural activity and how this influenced the creation and development of an architecture for music in the British Isles. The buildings discussed in those chapters were, by and large, adapted in varying degrees to facilitate the performance of music and reflected a growing, widespread understanding of the architectural needs for music performance across the British Isles. In the second part of Chapter Two, I discussed a form of cultural speculation; one that involved a direct investment in architecture. More specifically, the construction of buildings designed specifically for the performance of music. These buildings were the first purpose-built concert halls in the British Isles: The Crow Street Music Room, Fishamble Street Music Room, Holywell Music Room, and St Cecilia's Hall.

This chapter examines these earliest purpose-built venues. It contains a brief architectural history of each venue, with particular regard to the choice of design and architect. It analyses each of the buildings and the circumstances surrounding their construction. It situates these developments within the context of an emerging

'polite' society and the expectations for cultural engagement that went with this new class. The chapter argues that this movement was a key factor in the design and appearance of these earliest structures. It suggests that this ultimately also led to their displacement by Assembly Rooms in the latter half of the eighteenth century. This chapter therefore argues that social pressures shaped and influenced the design and eventual demise of the concert hall during this same period. The chapter also argues that in choosing well-known architects and fashionable designs, the Societies behind these building projects were making a claim as to the intellectual and social importance of music. Just as their fashionable appearance served to distance entrepreneurial ventures from their tavern forebears, so too did these classically-derived, purpose-built structures distance themselves aesthetically and conceptually from the tavern tradition of public music making. The chapter suggests that purpose building stand-alone structures was an attempt to elevate the status of public music making and create a semi-public building.

Scholars have noted the uniqueness of these purpose-built halls, but current scholarship reflects a preference for individual building studies rather than a collective approach.[1] These purpose-built venues have been the subject of previous studies, the majority of which were published between 1910 and 1912. Why studies of this type were all published during these years is unclear. It is particularly curious that between them, they covered the key purpose-built concert halls of the British Isles. Mee's 1911 publication is still at the core of subsequent works on Holywell Music Room.[2] Flood's 1912 publication on the Fishamble Street Room and, in 1910 on the Crow Street Music Hall, are still the only publications on these venues.[3] St Cecilia's has benefitted from recent attention by Howard and Rock, each updating

[1] Forsyth is still the only work that considers concert halls as a groups: Michael Forsyth, *Buildings for Music: The Architect, the Musician, and the Listener from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
[2] John H. Mee, *The Oldest Music Room in Europe: A Record of Eighteenth-Century Enterprise at Oxford* (London: John Lane, 1911).
[3] W. H. Grattan Flood, 'Crow St. Music Hall, Dublin, from 1730 to 1754', *Sammelbände Der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 11, no. 3 (1 April 1910): 442–46; W. H. Grattan Flood, 'Fishamble St. Music Hall, Dublin, from 1741 to 1777', *Sammelbände Der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 14, no. 1 (1912): 51–57.

Harris' seminal work of 1911.[4] Although a century has passed since this flurry of interest, there is still no work that considers these particular buildings collectively.

As noted in Chapter Two, music meetings became more formalized in the eighteenth century, often acquiring Club or Society status. They still bore many similarities to their music meeting predecessors, the main one being the emphasis on the performance of music. Attendees would both listen and perform, though increasingly not in quite as informal an arrangement as at Ellis's. As meetings became more popular and attendance increased, the venues used became increasingly public and many groups opted to formalize themselves in some manner.[5] The few club documents that survive indicate that the Clubs operated in very similar ways.[6] It was not uncommon to have written membership lists, a committee, and Club Rules, which were written down in formal documents (Appendix H).[7] Wood's accounts of Ellis's meetings contain similar types of information, although these were written for a very different purpose. A common feature seems to have been the Club steward, who was responsible for planning the concerts and administration of the tickets. This role was rotated through the membership. Another feature was their male only membership lists, although women were able to attend concerts and some events as guests.[8] In some instances these rules were decorated and pinned to the wall of their

[4] Deborah Howard, 'St Cecilia's Hall: Architecture and Music in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh', in *The Arts in Eighteenth Century Scotland: Papers from the Symposium in Honour of Basil C. Skinner*, ed. Murdo Macdonald (Edinburgh: Quadriga, 1993), 31–52; Joe Rock, 'The Temple of Harmony: New Research on St Cecilia's Hall, Edinburgh', *Architectural Heritage* 20, no. 1 (November 2009): 55–74; David Fraser Harris, *Saint Cecilia's Hall in the Niddry Wynd: A Chapter in the History of the Music of the Past in Edinburgh*, Second edition (Edinburgh: O. Anderson and Ferrier, 1911).
[5] Brian Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), 16.
[6] Robins, 17. Some examples include: *BL*: Harley MS1911, Academy of Vocal Music, 1726, 1730-31; *Bodleian*: MS Top. Oxon. A. 76, Orders of a Music Meeting, *c.* 1684; Jennifer Macleod, 'The Edinburgh Musical Society: Its Membership and Repertoire, 1728-1797' (PhD, University of Edinburgh, 2001); Musical Society (Castle-Tavern, Pater-Noster-Row, London, England), *The By-Laws of the Musical Society, at the Castle-Tavern in Pater-Noster-Row* (London, 1731).
[7] Orders of a Music Meeting, *c.* 1684, *Bodleian*: MS Top. Oxon. A. 76
[8] Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies, 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World*, Oxford Studies in Social History (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 3.

home venue (Figure 22).[9] Such a feature was made explicit by Henry Playford, John's son, in his preface to the second edition of *The Pleasant Musical Companion* (1701):

> that they shall be capable of entertaining the societies they belong to… he has provided several articles to be drawn, printed, and put in handsome frames, to be put up in each respective room the societies shall meet in…[10]

This formalization of status and the creation of a club culture was a feature of eighteenth-century life. It proliferated in London, but quickly spread across the English-speaking world to both capitals and regional outposts of the British Isles.[11] This is reflected in the titlepage of the same Playford publication, which was 'published chiefly for the Encourage of the *Musical Societies,* which will be speedily set up in all the Chief Cities and Towns in ENGLAND' (Figure 23). Clubs and Societies proliferated during this period and many were satirized in contemporaneous publications.[12] Britton's meetings were recorded in Ned Ward's *A Compleat and Humorous Account of all the Remarkable Clubs and Societies in the Cities of London and Westminster* and it was probably this that elevated the gathering from a music meeting to a weekly Club (Appendix C).

In Chapter Two I noted that the first purpose-built halls were all made and financed by Music Societies, and that this was influenced by their ability to access subscription fees. Whilst this economic aspect is important, it is not the only factor in a trend that is seen in Dublin, Edinburgh, and Oxford. The Music Societies of these cities were, as discussed in Chapter Two, the primary concert providers. Unlike London, these cities did not have a proliferation of musical entrepreneurs, or a multitude of music meetings. Building their own venues was therefore not only a financially viable one, but also a practical one, that suited their seemingly stable and elevated status as a provider of musical entertainment. As noted, space was a primary consideration for

[9] Holes in the corners of the document show where it was pinned to a wall.
[10] Henry Playford, *The Pleasant Musical Companion*, 2nd ed., 1701. Quoted in Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England*, 15.
[11] Clark, *British Clubs and Societies, 1580-1800*, 2.
[12] Including Oliver Goldsmith's *Essays*, 1765 and the *Spectator*, 1711-1714.

these groups; the tavern environment no longer being fit for purpose. In Chapter Two I also noted the growing awareness of the impact of aesthetics on concert attendance and the links between aspect and clientele.

By the eighteenth century the concert, as we have seen, was well and truly established as a cultural event and its popularity increased throughout the opening decades of the eighteenth century. This popularity was not due to a more musically-educated public, but to the rise of 'polite' society and the growing importance placed on social life. One aspect of this was attending and being seen at certain events. This phenomenon is observed across popular culture in the period and has been covered by Burke and Brewer, and, for music specifically, Leppert and Weber.[13] It was a feature of eighteenth-century life that had a significant impact on concert culture and, by extension, the architecture that housed it. As will be seen in this chapter, this appeal to clientele of a certain standing, with access to finances but not necessarily any real musical skill or interest, had an impact on the choice and appearance of architectural design.

The spaces discussed in this chapter are notable not only for their uniqueness, but also for their architectural style. The Societies that financed them all chose named, and in two cases famous, architects to design buildings in the latest fashions. In doing so, the Societies were making a claim not only about their status as established providers of musical entertainment, but also as members of polite, genteel, and elevated society. By choosing such fashionable façades for their new homes, these Societies were visually asserting their break with a tavern tradition, and claiming a newly elevated, and enlightened status. The music club and the tavern have been

[13] Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 3rd ed.. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009); John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, New edition (London: Routledge, 2013); Richard D. Leppert, *Sound Judgment: Selected Essays* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); William Weber, 'Musical Culture and the Capital City: The Epoch of the Beau Monde in London, 1700-1870', in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2004), 71–89; William Weber, *Music and the Middle Class: The Social Structure of Concert Life in London, Paris, and Vienna*, Comparative Studies in European Social History (London: Croom Helm, 1975).

noted as the forerunners to the modern concert.[14] This is because Music Clubs transitioned from taverns to their own purpose-built concert venues, namely, Holywell Music room, St Cecilia's, Fishamble Street, and Crow Street. Due to their now prominent role in the history of architecture for music, it is worth discussing each in turn.

The Crow Street Music Room

The musical societies of eighteenth-century Dublin were characterized by their focus on charitable fundraising.[15] This was reflected in their choice of names, which included the Charitable Musical Society for the Support of the Hospital for Incurables, the Charitable Musical Society for the Relief of Distressed Families, and the Charitable and Musical Society for the Relief of Imprisoned Debtors.[16] In the early eighteenth century, benefit concerts were frequently held in the larger churches and cathedrals of Dublin, these being the only spaces big enough to hold a sizeable audience.[17] This need for space was a key factor in the move towards purpose-building a performance venue.

The Crow Street Music Hall was the first large, secular, space available for public concerts in Dublin and the main venue for secular music performance until the construction of the Fishamble Street Music Room in 1742.[18] Little is known about the Crow Street Music Hall, although it has been recognised as 'one of the world's first venues outside London specifically built for public concerts'.[19] The Crow Street

[14] Ian Spink, 'The Old Jewry "Musick-Society": A 17th-Century Catch Club', *Musicology Australia* 2, no. 1 (1967): 41; Penelope Gouk, 'Performance Practice: Music, Medicine and Natural Philosophy in Interregnum Oxford', *The British Journal for the History of Science* 29, no. 3 (1996): 261.
[15] Brian Boydell, *Rotunda Music in Eighteenth-Century Dublin* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1992), 17.
[16] Brian Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar, 1700-1760* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1988), 16–17.
[17] Brian Boydell, 'Venues for Music in 18th Century Dublin', *Dublin Historical Record* 29, no. 1 (1 December 1975): 29.
[18] Boydell, 29.
[19] Harry White and Barra Boydell, eds., *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland* (Dublin, Ireland: University College Dublin Press, 2013), 367–68: 'Crow Street'.

Music Room was constructed in 1731 for the Musical Academy for the practice of Italian Musick, or the Anacreontic Society.[20] The project was led by a Mr John Johnson and this led to it being known also as 'Mr Johnson's Room'.[21] His identity is uncertain; though it is likely he was the treasurer of the group. The architect was Michael Wills (*fl c.* 1721-*c.* 1777), an Irish architect who rebuilt the Smock Alley Theatre in 1735 and worked with the architect Thomas Burgh (1670-1730) on Steevens's Hospital.[22] There are no surviving building plans or documents regarding the project, but a record by Wills himself says that he designed the structure using musical proportions:

> I have been many years considering the thing [acoustics] and find no way so rational as that of making the theatre itself in a musical proportion taking the length from the front of the middle box to the first scene. The breadth in the clear of the boxes where widest, two thirdso f this length and the height from the stage to its ceiling called the sound board, three fourths of the breadth, consequently half the length… [in this] proportion also I built the musick-hall in Crow-Street where musick was heard in compleat harmony.[23]

As the largest available concert venue in Dublin, it had its hey-day in the 1730s, hosting performances mostly of vocal and instrumental concerts either for individual musicians or for charitable benefits, as was typical of Dublin's concert life.[24] In the 1740s its popularity waned in favour of the Fishamble Street Room and it was used predominantly by two Charitable Musical Societies: the Charitable Musical Society for the Relief of Distressed Families and the Charitable Musical Society for the Support of the Hospital for Incurables.[25] It was demolished and rebuilt as an Opera House in 1758 and closed permanently in 1820.[26]

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[20] Boydell, 'Venues for Music in 18th Century Dublin', 29; Forsyth, *Buildings for Music*, 52.
[21] Robert Hitchcock, *An Historical View of the Irish Stage* (Dublin: R. Marchbank, 1794), 83; White and Boydell, *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*, 267–68: 'Crow Street'.
[22] *Dictionary of Irish Architects*: Wills, Michael; Christine Casey, '"De Architectura": An Irish Eighteenth-Century Gloss', *Architectural History* 37 (1994): 80–95.
[23] *CBL*: W. MS 192: *De architectura*, *c.* 1770, p. 11 in Casey, 88.
[24] Boydell, 'Venues for Music in 18th Century Dublin', 31.
[25] Boydell, 31.
[26] Boydell, 31.

The Society who financed it was made up of amateur musicians and thought to have been modelled on similar London societies.[27] Its primary interest in Italian music was a reflection of its membership, who were largely 'cognoscenti'.[28] This was an interest seen also in London with the Academy for Italian Musick. These groups reflected the broader preoccupation with Italian music and were supported by the growing number of Italian musicians in the Isles. Perhaps unsurprisingly, it was the venue for Geminiani's Irish debut on 17 December 1733 and premièred the first performance of Handel's *Acis and Galatea* on 1 May 1734.[29]

The Fishamble Street Music Room

The Fishamble Street Music Room's greatest notoriety was as the venue for the premiere of Handel's *Messiah* on 13 April 1742. The venue was constructed by The Charitable and Musical Society for the Relief of Imprisoned Debtors in 1741. This was a Music Club that had begun life in a tavern some twenty years prior. A poem by former member Laurence Whyte outlines the history of the Society including their relocation between various taverns and their official naming in 1723 (Appendix E).[30] As he shows, their 'home' moved frequently during the 1720s and 1730s between various taverns in the vicinity of Christ Church Cathedral on Fishamble Street and in Christ Church Yard. In the late 1730s or early 1740s the Club, now rebranded as a Charitable Society, decided to construct their own venue. As Whyte indicates, issues of space were a key factor:

> Long had the *Goddess* wander'd here and there,
> First from the *George* to anchor at the *Bear*,
> Then from the *Bear*, she travel'd to the *Bull,*
> And there her Train grew numerous and full,

[27] See Flood, 'Crow St. Music Hall, Dublin, from 1730 to 1754', 442.
[28] Flood, 443.
[29] White and Boydell, *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*, 267–68: 'Crow Street'.
[30] Laurence Whyte, 'An Historical Poem, On the Rise and Progress of the Charitable and Musical Society', in *The Collected Poems of Laurence Whyte*, ed. Michael J. Griffin (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2016), 262–72.

Then hoist her Sails, to find a larger port,
Where she might rest and build a sumptuous Court. (*ll.* 31-36)[31]

The Fishamble Street Music Room, or Neale's Musick Hall as it was sometimes called, was built on Fishamble Street. The Hall was the principal, and largest, venue for public musical performances from its opening until the 1760s when its popularity began to decline in favour of the newly opened Rotunda.[32] In 1777 it was converted into a theatre. The fate of the Musical Society during these years is unknown.

Forsyth placed the Hall on the former shop site of the Neales, a family of musical booksellers and printers, though White and Boydell place this shop in Christ Church Yard rather than in Fishamble Street.[33] The family had a long association with the group: John Neale and his son William were founding members of the Society. John became President of the group in 1723 and was behind changing the name to the Charitable and Musical Society. His son William was Treasurer and responsible for overseeing the finances during construction of the Room.[34] Unfortunately no accounts or documentary material are known to survive to provide details about the project. A history of the building has instead been reconstructed through architectural fragments, the poems of Laurence Whyte, and newspaper clippings.

The site was a large plot with only a small street frontage and is now the courtyard of an apartment block. A survey of 1804 from after the Hall's conversion to a theatre shows its footprint (Figure 24).[35] This footprint is retained in the remnants of an eighteenth-century brick wall, now part of a garden border, and visible on google maps (Figure 25). An arch is also in situ on the site (Figure 26). Based on its

[31] Laurence Whyte, 'A Poetical Description of Mr. Neal's New Musick-Hall in Fishamble-Street Dublin', in *The Collected Poems of Laurence Whyte*, ed. Michael J. Griffin (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2016), 262–72.
[32] Brian Boydell, *Four Centuries of Music in Ireland: Essays Based on a Series of Programmes Broadcast to Mark the 50th Anniversary of the BBC in Northern Ireland* (London: BBC, 1979), 31.
[33] Forsyth, *Buildings for Music*, 52; White and Boydell, *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*, 731: 'Neal [Neale] family'; Donald William Krummel and Stanley Sadie, *Music Printing and Publishing*, New Grove Handbooks in Music (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990).
[34] Whyte, 'An Historical Poem, On the Rise and Progress of the Charitable and Musical Society'.
[35] *NLI:* Longfield maps 21 F.88/ (149)

appearance and position relative to the surrounding structures, it seems unlikely that this is the original arch. Indeed a newspaper article from 2000 suggests that the arch was rebuilt due to cracking.[36] If it still contains original material, this has been incorporated and the whole structure moved slightly from its original position. There are no known contemporaneous images or visual depictions of the Hall aside from an engraving after its conversion to a theatre in 1777 (Figure 27). Sources for its appearance are therefore scarce and information about its construction comes mostly from newspaper accounts. The one exception to this is a poem by Laurence Whyte, the former member who also detailed the Society's history.[37] In a supplement edition to his 1742 book of poetry, he included a new work, entitled *A Poetical Description of Mr. Neal's new Musick-Hall in Fishamble-street, Dublin*, in which he describes the building (Appendix I).[38]

In it, he describes the Hall as an oblong on an east-west axis. He says that the Hall had a concave arch, suggesting a fully-articulated arched ceiling. Whether this choice was made especially on the basis of acoustics is unknown, but such a choice marked a departure from the flat-ceilinged taverns to which the Musical Society had been accustomed. He also describes mirrors that 'reflect the Fair', probably arranged along the walls in a manner similar to grand private drawing rooms of the period (Figure 28).

As a venue for musical performance, it had a designated area for the musicians at the western end, though Whyte makes no reference as to whether a stage had been fitted. At the opposite end, an 'awful-throne', decorated with fluted columns, pilasters, and a crest was situated for the President of the Society. Presumably seating for fellow audience members was also arranged at this end, though on this point of practicality

[36] Nuala Haughey, 'Rebuilding Work Begins on Famous Dublin Arch', *The Irish Times*, accessed 15 May 2018, https://www.irishtimes.com/news/rebuilding-work-begins-on-famous-dublin-arch-1.254977; Christine Casey, *Dublin: The City within the Grand and Royal Canals and the Circular Road with the Phoenix Park*, Buildings of Ireland (London: Yale University Press, 2005), 65.
[37] Whyte, 'An Historical Poem, On the Rise and Progress of the Charitable and Musical Society'.
[38] Whyte, 'A Poetical Description of Mr. Neal's New Musick-Hall in Fishamble-Street Dublin'.

Whyte is similarly silent. It is therefore unclear whether the seating was fixed, movable, raked, or in rows. It almost certainly was not 'alehouse' style. The seating and spatial arrangements were a clear indication that the Society were breaking with their tavern roots and aiming for a more genteel and well-ordered event. The throne is an unusual inclusion in a space such as this, though a parallel may be drawn with catch clubs that sometimes reserved a place for the president on a raised dais.[39] Holywell Music Room, Oxford (1748) and St Cecilia's Hall, Edinburgh (1762) were also concert venues purpose built by musical societies. In contrast to the Fishamble Street Room, neither of these other two venues included a seat reserved for the President of the group, yet both are known to have had fixed seating for an audience and a stage. The 'throne', however, can be read as a claim on the aspirations and status of the Musical Society. A similar type of demarcation is seen in continental Opera Houses in the designation and decoration of the Royal Box directly opposite the stage, as in the Teatro di San Carlo, Naples (1737) (Figure 29). Whether a satirical remark on the influence of the Society, or a genuine claim on the aspirations of the group, the emphasis on the throne rather than audience seating, nonetheless reflects the importance of social status to the group.

Whyte does not explicitly name him, but a newspaper notice records that the architect of the Fishamble Street Music Room was Richard Castle (1690-1751), a leading Palladian architect of the period:

> The members of the Charitable Musical Society at the Bull's Head in Fishamble-street, are desired to meet there on Friday next, and so to continue each succeeding Friday, as well t be entertained with their Concert of Musick, as to consider of proper Regulations for their Entertainment in their new Room, which is finished in an elegant manner, under the direction of Capt. Castle, and will be opened on the first Friday after Michaelmas-Day. Signed by Order, Wm Neal, Treasurer.[40]

[39] Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England*, 17.
[40] *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 1-5 Sept 1741. In Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar, 1700-1760*, 73.

Like his building, there are scant details about Castle's life, though research by Loreto Calderón and Konrad Dechant has contributed to filling some of the gaps.[41] He was likely an engineer by training who made his way from Germany to England in the 1720s where he probably came into contact with Lord Burlington's circle.[42] He acquired his style of drafting from Henry Flitcroft (1697-1769), whilst seemingly employed in Vanbrugh's Office, and drawings in the Elton Hall archive are attributed to him (Figure 30).[43]

In around 1732 he relocated to Ireland with Sir Gustavus Hume, a member of the Burlington Circle, to construct Castle Hume.[44] Soon afterwards he became draftsman to the pre-eminent architect of Ireland, Sir Edward Lovett Pearce (*c.*1699-1733), who himself had personal and professional connections to Vanbrugh.[45] He worked on the Newry Canal (1741), the first stone lock in Ireland, and on Parliament House (1729). On the basis of a now lost document, Castle probably received a number of high profile commissions including Summerhill, Powerscourt, and Leinster House, on the recommendation of Pearce.[46] He was highly esteemed by the nobility and gentry 'as an artist' and as 'an agreeable companion'.[47] He is said to have spent his evenings drinking with Dr Mosse (the man responsible for the Lying-in Hospital and the Rotunda, to be discussed in Chapter Four).[48] He is referred to as a 'gentleman', both in his subscription to the third volume of *Vitruvius Brittanicus* and in the Irish

[41] Loreto Calderón and Konrad Dechant, 'New Light on Hugh Montgomerie, Richard Castle and No. 85 St Stephen's Green', in *The Eighteenth-Century Dublin Town House*, ed. Christine Casey (Four Courts Press, 2010), 174–96.
[42] The Knight of Glin, 'Richard Castle, A Synopsis', *Irish Georgian Society* VII, no. 1 (1963): 32.
[43] The Knight of Glin, 'The Irish Palladians' (PhD (draft), Harvard University, 1964), 78, IAA; The Knight of Glin, 'Richard Castle, A Synopsis', 32.
[44] S. N., 'History of the Fine Arts in Ireland: Richard Castles', in *Anthologia Hibernica: Or, Monthly Collections of Science, Belles-Lettres, and History*, vol. 2 (Dublin: R. E. Mercier, and Co., 1793), 242.
[45] Calderón and Dechant, 'New Light on Hugh Montgomerie, Richard Castle and No. 85 St Stephen's Green', 185.
[46] Edward Lovett Pearce, 'An Explanation of the Following Designs for a Parliament House in Dublin', n.d.; In, The Knight of Glin, 'The Irish Palladians', 59.
[47] S. N., 'History of the Fine Arts in Ireland: Richard Castles', 243.
[48] S. N., 243.

Press.[49] In 1740 he became the official architect of Trinity College, designing the printing house, dining hall, and tennis court.[50] This was at the same time as the construction of Fishamble Street. Curiously, the Fishamble Street Music Hall is rarely noted on his list of works and it remains unclear how he became involved with the project. In 1743 he took on a clerk and measurer, John Ensor (1715-1787). Ensor would later go on to design the Rotunda for Castle's friend Mosse at the Lying-in Hospital, the venue that displaced Fishamble Street as the main Dublin concert space.[51] His obituary in the Dublin Gazette called him:

> … an ornament to his time in Architecture on which his judgement was solid, his taste pure, and his inventions quick and free. To him this kingdom owes the true beauty and taste of Architecture as well as the spirit of building well.[52]

It is unclear how Castle came to design the Fishamble Street Music Hall or what the terms of his employment on this project were. He is nowhere recorded as being a musician or as having an interest in music, and it is unknown if he had any personal links to members of the Musical Society, many of whom are named or alluded to in Whyte's poem.[53] One would imagine his links to the Musical Society, if he had any, would have been made clear in the newspaper advertisements or Whyte's poem on the Music Hall. Given his reputation in Dublin, it is clear that the Society had big ambitions for their project. By employing the foremost architect of the day, the Society was staking a claim on their own place within Dublin Society and their aspirations for civic recognition. Without any contemporary images and only Whyte's poetic description, it is difficult to surmise just what the Fishamble Street Room would have looked like. Based on his style, the Room would in all probability have been a Palladian structure, perfectly symmetrical, with a pediment and possibly some columns.

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[49] Colin Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus, or, The British Architect* (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1967). *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 1-5 Sept 1741.
[50] The Knight of Glin, 'The Irish Palladians', 141.
[51] 'Richard Castle', *Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720-1940*, n.d., accessed 2 December 2017.
[52] *Dublin Gazette*, 19 February 1751. In, The Knight of Glin, 'The Irish Palladians', 184.
[53] Whyte, 'An Historical Poem, On the Rise and Progress of the Charitable and Musical Society'.

Castle is generally described as Palladian, but had 'an unorthodox use of detail'.[54] For example, he tended to assemble niches, pediments and oculi as front centrepieces and used rusticated blocks of various sizes in one project with a 'lean towards an almost mannerist conjunction of elements' in his interiors.[55] For C. P. Curran, his was 'a severe Palladianism coloured with Dutch prettiness'.[56] His style seems to have derived from Pearce but was combined with influences including Serlio, Palladio, Scamozzi, and Pozzo, Inigo Jones, Gibbs, the Burlington Circle, and also William Adam.[57] He demonstrates dependence on Adam's Designs and may have met him in London with Sir John Clerk of Penicuik (1676-1755) in 1727.[58] His 'own detailing is far from the Vanbrugh idiom, relying heavily on English and Scottish Palladian sources such as James Gibb and William Adam'.[59] The Knight of Glin noted, however, that Castle's style changed from 1736,

> moving gradually away from the more baroque undertones of his earlier work, as exemplified in Castle Hume, Summerhill and Powerscourt, and concentrating increasingly on a simpler more cubic and block-like form, less overlaid with heavy rustication and, in general, showing a growing distaste for a plethora of surface detail. His building, in fact, becomes severer -- and in some cases duller – as his career advances.[60]

In his only written treatise, an essay on artificial navigation, Castle wrote that 'proportion is so admirable a principal in Nature that without it nothing can be perfect. It is to that we owe the Beauty, Lasting and Use of every Machine that the Art

[54] A.M. Rowan, 'Castle, Richard (d. 1751), Architect and Engineer', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed 6 December 2017, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-4871.
[55] Rowan.
[56] C. P. Curran, *The Rotunda Hospital: Its Architects and Craftsmen* (Dublin: At the Sign of the Three Candles, 1945), 8.
[57] The Knight of Glin, 'The Irish Palladians', 71.
[58] The Knight of Glin, 74.
[59] The Knight of Glin, 51A.
[60] The Knight of Glin, 121.

of Men has invented, and whosoever varies from it never can be said to have made a useful, or durable, Work'.[61]

The Hall was officially opened in October 1741, the same year Handel visited Dublin. He performed in the Hall in December of that year and in a letter to Charles Jennens, a friend and librettist of the *Messiah*, noted the organ and described the room as 'charming'.[62] In 1742, Handel once again used the Hall, this time to première his work the *Messiah*. The event was recorded extensively in the local papers.[63] These accounts indicate that the Hall could seat 700 people without skirts or hoops, though the seating arrangements are not noted in any of the accounts. Whyte wrote another poem to commemorate the event, but this does not mention any more about the Hall.[64]

Given the apparent aspirations of the Charitable and Musical Society, and the scant evidence for the building, it is reasonable to suggest that attention was given to the aesthetic appearance of the building. The separation of performer and audience, seen increasingly with the commercialization of concerts, is here implied in Whyte's poem. It is important to note, however, that no reference is made to any architectural division, save in the installation of the 'throne' at one end. The features of an architecture for music are here beginning to take shape: In the construction of a purpose-built venue, the separation of performer and audience, and the attention given to a decorative appearance in appealing to modern, polite, society. The ubiquity of these features to an architecture for music is also seen at Holywell Music Room, the next purpose-built music space to be constructed in the British Isles.

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[61] *Essay on artificial navigation, c.* 1730, *NLI*: MS 2737 in The Knight of Glin, 185.
[62] Horatio Townsend, *An Account of the Visit of Handel to Dublin: With Incidental Notices of His Life and Character* (Dublin, 1852), 36, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015007880084.
[63] For a list of these see, Boydell, 'Venues for Music in 18th Century Dublin', 81.
[64] Laurence Whyte, 'A Poem on the General Effect and Excellency of Musick', in *The Collected Poems of Laurence Whyte*, ed. Michael J. Griffin (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2016), 285–90. And a poem published in *Faulkner's Journal*, 17-20 April, 1742, reproduced in Townsend, *An Account of the Visit of Handel to Dublin*, 89–90.

Holywell Music Room

In 1911, Mee proclaimed that Holywell Music Room, Oxford (1748), was 'probably the oldest building of its kind in Europe'.[65] The Irish Rooms, also purpose-built for music, pre-dated Holywell, but their demolition in the nineteenth century meant that Holywell became the oldest surviving building. Although the Room was funded and built by the Music Club, Mee's view was that the impetus for the project came about through the requirements for the annual University Act and the influence of Hayes as Heather Music Professor.[66] Although Holywell came to be used as an unofficial extension of the University music department, this chapter argues that the impetus to build the room came about primarily through issues of space and suitability not afforded to the group in the use of a tavern. It therefore argues that greater emphasis should be placed on the group's tavern and music meeting roots as factors in the creation of the Room. Whilst the concept of Holywell does accord with other semi-public University building projects in Oxford, it also exhibits similarities with other purpose-built music venues across the British Isles, and the more general emergence of an architecture for music: something that was not particular to Oxford, despite its long association with the city.

Prior to the construction of Holywell, the annual performances and Act had been performed in the Sheldonian and at the Music School. Mee and Susan Wollenberg link the Holywell project indirectly to this formal University tradition, rather than to Wood, the music club, and weekly meetings.[67] Hayes' account of the project's history

[65] Mee, *The Oldest Music Room in Europe*, 1.
[66] Mee, 3.
[67] Mee, *The Oldest Music Room in Europe*; William Hayes, 'William Hayes's History of the Music Room' (n.d.), Ob. MS. Top. Oxon. d. 337, Bodleian Library.

in Mee is the key source for the early appearance of the building (Appendix J).[68] Because of this, and due to his status as Professor, Mee reckoned that Hayes was no doubt closely connected with the project.[69] This connection has been further consolidated for Wollenberg when Holywell is situated within the broader University context of building projects. She notes that there was a tradition in Oxford of constructing buildings for a particular need, and for constructing public buildings (such as the Sheldonian Theatre (1664-1669), Bodley's library (1602), and Ashmolean Museum(1678-1683)), and that Holywell was another facet of that tradition.[70] However, whilst Hayes's description of the building does indicate knowledge of the project, it was only in 1749 after construction was completed, that he was placed on the lease agreement with Wadham College.[71]

[68] Mee, *The Oldest Music Room in Europe*, 4–9.
[69] Mee, 9.
[70] Susan Wollenberg, '"So Much Rational and Elegant Amusement, at an Expence Comparatively Inconsiderable": The Holywell Concerts in the Eighteenth Century', in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2004), 249.
[71] *Wadham*: 82/1/1-6: In 1749, James Stonhouse, William Hayes, and Herbert Barber replaced Robert Fysher, Thomas Camplin, and Richard Hind as the lease holders.

William Hayes (1708-1777) was a composer, organist, and the Heather Professor of Music from 1741 until his death in 1777, at which time his son Philip assumed the role.[72] He is an important figure in the history of Holywell and provides key source material for its history. He wrote two accounts pertaining to the construction of Holywell Music Room, both of which are key sources in reconstructing the original form of the room and were used as the basis of the mid-twentieth century restoration of the building. The first was written in 1753 and describes the building of the Hall (Appendix G). In 1773 he wrote a second account, noting when and how features had been altered (Appendix J). The descriptions are particularly important for the architectural history of the building since the single, undated, architectural plan that survives does not include any interior features and the building has been modified and remodelled several times over its 270-year history (Figure 31).[73]

In Hayes' 1753 document he tells us that the Music-Club, which had become the Musical Society by 1757, instigated the plan to move from the Kings Head tavern to a larger and more suitable venue. The main issue faced by the group whilst at the Kings Head was the space for, and arrangement of, the instrumentalists. Hayes had noted the difficulties the musicians had in being able to see each other and being seen by their audience:

> It had been customary for the Harpsichord to stand on one side of the Room & at a Table near it sat the Performers on Violins &c, which being on a Level with the auditory Members, was inconvenient. It was therefore agreed to have portable Floors to raise the Performers which with proper Desks had a good Effect, the Harpsichord being placed in the Front the Violins on each Side so that all was seen and heard to as much advantage as the scanty Height of the Room would admit of. At this time all public concerts such as Benefits were had in some College Hall: for the Kings Heard Room would not contain the number assembled on those Occasions & the meeting in College Halls was attended with inconvenience to the Society where it happened to be.[74]

[72] Simon Heighes, *The Life and Work of William and Philip Hayes: 1708-1777--1738-1797* (Routledge, 2014).
[73] *Bodleian*: Gough Maps 27 fol. 95
[74] Hayes, 'William Hayes's History of the Music Room'.

In its original guise, the plan to set up a new music venue in Oxford involved neither a purpose-built structure, nor a formal or grand design. The members of the Music Club that funded the project had initially tried to purchase a Racket Court and modify it to suit their needs.[75] Investigation has revealed nothing as to which Racket Court this may have been. The sale, however, fell through at the last moment and the Club was forced to change its plans. Had the sale been completed, the Club would have fitted out an existing structure to suit their needs. How and why they decided to build, rather than seek another venue is unclear, but in 1742, the year after Fishamble Street had opened, they took on a plot of land from Wadham College for £100. The Holywell Music Room was therefore purpose-built on land acquired specifically for its construction. It did not adapt an existing structure, nor fit in around extant buildings.

A recurrent name in the early lease documents is that of Thomas Camplin (1716-1780), the Vice-Principal of St Edmund Hall. Camplin, Hayes informs us, was also the architect of Holywell. Very little is known about the man and no other building by him is recorded. Hayes tells us that he was 'sometime Vice-Principal of *St. Edmund-Hall*, now Archdeacon of *Taunton*'.[76] Before moving to St Edmund's, Camplin matriculated as an undergraduate at Queen's College on 25 May 1732 aged 16. He obtained his BA in February 1735-6, M.A. in 1738 and later G. & D.C.L.[77] In 1767 he returned to his hometown of Taunton as Archdeacon, a position he held until his death in 1780. Aside from these positions, nothing else is known of the man or his work.[78] College archives possess none of his papers or biographical details, and

[75] *Bodleian:* Hayes.
[76] William Hayes, 'Account of Holywell Music Room', in *The Oldest Music Room in Europe: A Record of Eighteenth-Century Enterprise at Oxford*, by John H. Mee (London: John Lane, 1911), 4–9.
[77] 'Page:Alumni Oxoniensis (1715-1886) Volume 1.Djvu/237 - Wikisource, the Free Online Library', accessed 17 November 2017, https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Page:Alumni_Oxoniensis_(1715-1886)_volume_1.djvu/237.
[78] The only building in Taunton that he may have had some involvement in is the Octagon (Plymouth Brethren, formerly Methodist, on Middles Street. It was built in 1776-8, when Camplin was in Taunton, but according to Pevsner this was done 'under the direction of Wesley, who preached at its opening'. He describes it as: 'Red brick with two tiers of windows, arched and circular. Inside cream and brown paint, flat ceiling, galleries on four sides, lower preaching end.' Nikolaus Pevsner, *South*

even Howard Colvin omits him from his dictionary.[79] His inclusion on the lease, and role as architect, suggest that he himself was a member of the Club and therefore an amateur musician. His architectural interests and training are far more elusive. Without any documents or other known projects, it is difficult to suggest much about his style or approach to architecture. The notion of the 'gentleman architect' designing University buildings was not unfamiliar within the Oxford context, however, as collector and politician George Clarke's (1661-1736) designs for Worcester College demonstrate.[80]

A single architectural plan and elevation of Holywell remains in the Bodleian Library (Figure 31).[81] The plan is undated and unsigned, though it appears to show the building in its original form and is likely to be contemporaneous with the building.[82] It is situated on a north-south axis and has a south-facing façade with classical elements and a segmented circular apsidal north end. The building is 65 x 32 x 30 feet and constructed of rubble with a stuccoed brick southern end and a welsh slate roof.[83] It is set back approximately 38 feet from the street. Very little detail is included on the plan and no interior fittings or fixtures are indicated. The drawing includes a half-height building along the western side, which has now been extended further to the south and functions as a green room and amenities block.[84] At the southern end, two curved walls join the edges of the building with the edges of the property. These each have a door leading to the land on either side of the building.

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and West Somerset, Buildings of England 14 (Harmondsworth, Midd.; Baltimore: Penguin, 1958), 314.In Pevsner guide South and West Somerset. p. 314

[79] Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600-1840*, 4th ed. (New Haven Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 2008).

[80] Howard Colvin, *A Catalogue of Architectural Drawings of the 18th and 19th Centuries in the Library of Worcester College, Oxford. (The Greater Part Belong to the Collection Bequeathed by George Clarke.) Compiled [with an Introduction] by H. M. Colvin. [With Reproductions and a Portrait.]* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964).

[81] *Bodleian*: Gough Maps 27 fol. 95

[82] Mee, *The Oldest Music Room in Europe*, 9.

[83] Historic England, 'Holywell Music Room, Oxford - 1047232', Historic England, accessed 16 November 2017, https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1047232.

[84] Mee, *The Oldest Music Room in Europe*, 9–10.

Along the street frontage is an iron railing of 81 feet, 6 inches with large central gates, which, according to Hayes, were originally adorned with crests.[85]

The southern face of the building has been modified since its original construction. A lobby now extends from the lower front half of the building (Figure 32). The southern façade still has the moulded pediment with a blind circular lunette, not unlike those seen in Serlio's *Five Books of Architecture* (1550) (Figure 33). Beneath this is a row of three windows. The elevation shows these as having shouldered window surrounds and scrolled sills, but these were not present on the structure in 1901 (Figure 1). On either side of the central doorway are two further tall, arched windows that match those of the upper range. The drawing includes an additional upper lintel to create a rectangular frame; but this too is absent on the present building. Without a date for the drawing or further documentary evidence, it is difficult to say whether these details were modified, or if the drawing presents a scheme slightly different to what was constructed. The central door was reached by ascending five steps arranged as a pyramid. With the extension of the front range, an additional step has been added and the whole re-arranged to form a single straight ascent (Figure 35). The door appears to have retained its open pediment with a garlanded crest plate in the centre and is flanked by two pilasters with scrolled tops. The lobby and staircase seem to be later additions though the rest of the outside is largely unchanged; the gates and palisades may be original, but are now without the crests.[86]

This street-facing southern end projects a stately, if relatively simple, aspect. The classical façade is a far cry from the Club's former tavern setting. Whilst space was certainly a factor in the move, the external style and appearance of the building speaks to a grander claim for the building. Although not on the same level as the other public buildings of Oxford, such as the Sheldonian or Ashmolean, there was, nonetheless, an attempt to engage with a grander and more formal style of

[85] Mee, 4–9.
[86] Mee, 10.

architecture. Like the Fishamble Street Room, the Holywell Music Club also used architecture to affirm their status as serious providers of concert music and to distance themselves, at least visually, from the ambiance of the tavern-based music meeting.

At the time of its opening in 1748, the audience were seated on benches that ran across the width of the room.[87] This arrangement allowed for '400 Persons commodiously'. The seating was the only feature to be significantly modified after construction. By 1752 a gallery had been erected above the entrance and in 1754, Hayes records an 'Alteration of the Seats'.[88] Since the gallery had already been erected, this alteration must refer to the insertion of tiered seats. These ranged down the eastern and western walls and connected with the gallery, forming a continuous arc of four rows from the orchestra around to the door, a feature that has been reinstated (Figure 36). Hayes noted that a space was left on the western wall for the fireplace, but that in summer this was boarded up and temporary tiered seats were inserted to fill the gap. This new arrangement resulted in a decrease of the potential audience to only 300 people.[89] Today, the fireplace is no longer visible, but the tiered seating has been retained (Figure 37).

The rear wall was curved, though the reason for this is unclear (Figure 38). It does not appear to be deep enough to warrant links with religious or theatre architecture. If the current interior curve of the stage is original, it may simply have been an aesthetic device. Alternatively it may have served a functional role in providing a better arrangement of the instruments on the stage. A further hypothesis is that it was curved for acoustic reasons, to help channel the sound towards the audience, in the manner of an arch or whispering wall (see Chapter Five). Without further information on Thomas Camplin, or definitive building plans for Holywell, it is

[87] Susan Wollenberg, *Music at Oxford in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 49–50.
[88] Hayes, 'Account of Holywell Music Room'.
[89] Leo Leroy Beranek, *Music, Acoustics & Architecture* (New York ; London: Wiley, 1962), 47.

impossible to ascertain the exact reason for this design element. What is certain is that it was a design choice that did not derive from tavern architecture.

Internally, Holywell was said to have 'combined simplicity with elegance and functionality'.[90] In practical terms, this meant it contained all the key features associated with an architecture specifically for music. There was a stage constructed from a raised platform, a permanent version of that inserted at the King's Head, though now with a balustrade (Figure 39). An organ was placed in the central, rear-most part of the stage (Figure 40). The purpose of the balustrade is unclear. It could have been functional, to prevent the musicians from inadvertently stepping off the platform, a device to create a visual separation between the performers and the audience, or a modification of the curtain used by Banister and to provide the musicians with some modesty (see Chapter Two).

Philippe Jung, a violinist with the Holywell orchestra, noted the brightness of the room and its excellent arrangement in his *Guide d'Oxford*: 'The seats are also very well arranged and the room is very brightly lit by two brilliant lamps which, on entering, convey much grandeur and magnificence'.[91] This was due not only to the candelabras, but also to the three large windows on the eastern side, and three windows on the southern side that lit the room (Figure 41). The size and shape of these windows are reminiscent of church architecture and combined with the original bench seating, create 'a space more like a Presbyterian church than a concert hall'.[92] There were also, however, two 'very handsome Lustres of Cut Glass' suspended from the ceiling.[93] These were a later addition, financed by the ladies' committee.[94] By 1911 they had disappeared from the building, having been used at

[90] Wollenberg, *Music at Oxford in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, 49.
[91] *Les bancs sont aussi fort bien arranges, et la sale très bien éclairée par deux lustres superbes, qui, en entrant, indiquent beaucoup de grandeur et de magnificence:* Philippe Jung, *Guide d'Oxford* (Oxford, 1805), 97. Translation is my own.
[92] Howard, 'St Cecilia's Hall: Architecture and Music in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh', 64–65.
[93] Mee, *The Oldest Music Room in Europe*.
[94] Mee.

Westminster for George IV's coronation banquet.[95] Although the building's interior was relatively plain, the ceiling of Holywell was stuccoed. Mee has surmised that in its original form it was probably quite ornate since local craftsmen Roberts and Snetzler, who installed it, were renowned workmen.[96] By 1911, however, very little original decoration remained and the stuccowork of the ceiling was gone.[97]

Camplin's design certainly spoke to the modern taste for the classical, but was lacking in the detail and level of execution seen in other more public, and University funded, projects like the Ashmolean or Sheldonian Theatre. This, however, is because the building was initially designed to house the Music Club and was financed by subscription rather than by a University endowment and its formal associations with the University only became more entrenched after its construction. It is clear that the Musical Society were aiming for an architectural style that would situate their project closer to that of the University than the town, thus conveying their aspirations for the group and its music. However, if the building is viewed in relation to the tavern room that it replaced, one can see a clear architectural association in the simplistic design elements, the focus on the arrangement of internal space, and the placement of performers and audience members. Internally, Holywell Music Room has more in common with its tavern-room forebears than its aspirational, Neoclassical exterior would suggest: an embodiment of the transition from vernacular to polite.

St Cecilia's Hall

The last purpose-built space considered in this chapter, and the only Scottish example from the period, is St Cecilia's Hall, built in 1761-2. It was designed by Robert Mylne (1733-1811) and commissioned by the Edinburgh Musical Society. Like Holywell, St Cecilia's has survived to the present day, although it has undergone

[95] 'Holywell Music Room', accessed 16 October 2017, https://www.wadham.ox.ac.uk/news/2017/february/holywell-music-room.
[96] Mee, *The Oldest Music Room in Europe*, 11–12.
[97] Mee, 11.

many changes since closing as a concert hall in 1797.[98] Aside from its survival, a rare thing for early music spaces, the Hall is known principally for its unusual, elliptically-shaped concert room. Harris's 1911 work remains the key work on the building's history, though Rock and Howard's more recent contributions have helped to elucidate its history further.[99] St Cecilia's is the best documented of the purpose-built halls due to the survival of the Musical Society records.[100] There are, however, no surviving building plans.

The Edinburgh Musical Society was formally incorporated in 1728. It had begun as a gathering of musically-literate professionals in Steil's Tavern, but relocated to Marys Chapel with their change in status. [101] The group held a series of leases on the upper hall of the Chapel, but in the 1750s began discussing plans to erect their own, purpose-built venue. Initially they had planned to construct a new room, free-standing, as part of the Marys Chapel complex and 'a plan prepared of the new building intended for better accommodation of the Musical Society' was presented to the Chapel in March 1755.[102] Two designs, one with an ornamental façade, were prepared. Their details are unknown but were possibly by John Adam (1721-1792), himself a member of the group.[103] After some discussion between the Chapel and the Society, the scheme was agreed to, providing that the Society would not be forced to construct the ornamental façade.[104] The scheme was mentioned again in May 1755 when the land for the building was re-let by the Chapel, and again in 1759 when the Society's lease on the upper room was about to expire.

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[98] Simpson and Brown Architects, 'St Cecilia's Hall Conservation Statement', accessed 26 September 2017, https://www.simpsonandbrown.co.uk/files/image/HeritageConsultancy/09-12-06_StCecilia_sHall_ConservationStatement_LowRes.pdf.
[99] Harris, *Saint Cecilia's Hall in the Niddry Wynd*; Rock, 'The Temple of Harmony'; Howard, 'St Cecilia's Hall: Architecture and Music in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh'. A conservation plan written for the Room's refurbishment is a useful amalgamation of information also Simpson and Brown Architects, 'St Cecilia's Hall Conservation Statement'.
[100] William Forbes Gray, *The Musical Society of Edinburgh and St. Cecilia's Hall: Extracted from the Nineteenth Volume of the Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, December 1933.* (Edinburgh: Old Edinburgh Club, 1933); Macleod, 'The Edinburgh Musical Society'.
[101] Macleod, 'The Edinburgh Musical Society', 23.
[102] *ECA*: SL34/1/7 Marys Chapel minute book, pp. 1–3.
[103] Rock, 'The Temple of Harmony', 58.
[104] Rock, 57.

Despite this, the project fell through and by January 1756, the Edinburgh Musical Society was in discussion about a joint venture with the Assembly, with whom they had once shared space in Steil's Crosskeys Tavern. The Assembly, unlike the Society, did not focus exclusively on the performance of music. From August 1755, the Society had, on occasion, used the Assembly Rooms in New Assembly Close to host concerts. When they did so, a temporary stage had to be erected.[105] It was not solely an interest in polite culture that connected the two groups. A number of individuals were members of both institutions and, as Rock has shown, the groups shared materials and employed the same workmen in their subsequent building projects. According to Rock, the two groups did, at one point, considered a joint project at Halkerston's Wynd.[106] This scheme was possibly the one for which John, Robert, and James Adam received payment in January 1756:

> [for] a design for the Concert Hall and other conveniences with cellars and other rooms got under the level of the ground; To our time and trouble making out the estimates of all the different parts, attending many of the different meetings of the Managers & being present at the survey & taking the levels of the ground.[107]

This design is also unknown. Over the next three years there is scant reference to any further plans to build or move. But in 1759, as the Society's lease was about to expire, two designs were once again mentioned. These may well have been the same designs from the 1755 discussion with the Chapel. In June of 1759, George Drummond (1687-1766), a Lord Provost of Edinburgh and member of the Musical Society from 1752, urged the Society to purchase a plot of land at the foot of Niddry's Wynd.[108]

> the Directors had fixed upon an area of seventy seven feet by forty one for building a new music room, lying in the same Wynd a little below Mary's Chapel belonging to Deacon (James) Hunter the wright, for which they proposed to pay three hundred pounds stg…

[105] Rock, 58.
[106] Rock, 58.
[107] Account as quoted in Rock, 59.
[108] Howard, 'St Cecilia's Hall: Architecture and Music in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh', 53; Macleod, 'The Edinburgh Musical Society', 39.

> [they] ordered the treasurer to call in the subscriptions for purchasing the same and also ordered plans and estimates of the building to be laid before them.[109]

In November 1759 an application for building was made to the Dean of Guild:

> The said Society have lately purchased and acquired several houses and an area having an entry from the Cowgate by the Close called Davidson's Close and a separate entry by a large area from Niddry's Wynd . . . That the said Musical Society intend to build a great hall or Musical house upon the ground above mentioned or upon such a part thereof as they shall think proper. But as this will be attended with great expence, the Society thought it their duty to lay the said plan before your Lordship . . .[110]

On 7 June 1760 a deal was struck over the site and building when David Rae, Lord Eskgrove (1729-1804), purchased the land.[111] From this point, plans moved quickly. A building fund levy was added to the membership.[112] It was most likely at this point that Robert Mylne was approached to provide a design for the building. He was, as Deborah Howard has said, a 'surprising choice for a commission of such high prestige' given that he had built nothing else in Edinburgh at the time and was not resident in the city.[113] But he had recently won a Silver Medal at the *Accademia di San Luca* and, soon after his return to London in 1759, also won the competition to design Blackfriars Bridge.[114] In addition to his growing prestige, he also had links with the city. Mylne was born in Edinburgh and his father and brother were both accomplished masons in the city. Robert and William Mylne were gentlemen members of the masonic lodge and belonged to the Incorporation of Masons.[115] These two features no doubt made him an attractive proposition for a Society who were themselves almost exclusively gentlemen and members of the aristocracy.[116] This is, in fact, a striking difference between the Edinburgh Musical Society and the other Societies previously discussed, and is a reflection of the different social makeup

[109] *ECL*: Edinburgh Musical Society minute book, vol. II, p. 105.
[110] *ECA*: Dean of Guild Court warrant, 9 January 1760
[111] Rock, 'The Temple of Harmony', 60.
[112] Rock, 60.
[113] Howard, 'St Cecilia's Hall: Architecture and Music in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh', 53.
[114] Howard, 53, 55.
[115] Howard, 51.
[116] For information on the membership of the Society, see Macleod, 'The Edinburgh Musical Society'.

of Edinburgh. Constructing a room in the latest architectural fashion was, for them, not a claim as to their potential standing, but a reflection of their current status. In Edinburgh, polite society ran the concert series rather than attended it, and although the Society was not 'entirely representative of the nobility and gentry of Scotland', its high number of legal professionals reflected its middle and upper class membership.[117]

There are no records detailing how or when Mylne became involved in the project, but on 25 June 1760 'At the meeting a plan for the new Musick Hall designed by Mr Milne at London was produced, which was Considered and aproved of.'[118] Mylne himself was not in Edinburgh at the time, having only returned from Rome in 1759 and soon afterwards winning the competition to design Blackfriars Bridge. The plans were instead sent by caddie to Sir Alexander Dick (1703-1785).[119] Mylne's papers include only one reference to the St Cecilia's project. In a letter of 1760, Robert writes to his brother William, who had been appointed principal mason for the project in March 1761:[120] 'I received yours of the 25th ultº and am very glad to hear that you got the Concert Room to execute.'[121] Since Robert was busy in London, the work was supervised by George Paterson (architect) who, like Robert, was paid 10 guineas.[122]

It is interesting that the Society, who had architects within their membership including Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, Sir Gilbert Elliott, Earl of Kellie, and the Adam brothers, opted to hire an architect from outside the group to design their Hall.[123] According to Rock, it was Mylne's Neoclassical drawings from Rome, which he said

[117] Gray, *The Musical Society of Edinburgh and St. Cecilia's Hall*, 190; Macleod, 'The Edinburgh Musical Society', 55–57.
[118] *ECL*: Edinburgh Musical Society minute book, vol. II, p. 114, 118.
[119] Rock, 'The Temple of Harmony', 62. Alexander succeeded to the baronetcy on the death of his brother William in 1746. He is not recorded as a member of the Musical Society in the lists compiled by Macleod, however a Sir William Dick (son of Alexander) is recorded as being a member from 1785-88 Macleod, 'The Edinburgh Musical Society', 242.
[120] Rock, 'The Temple of Harmony', 63.
[121] Robert Mylne, 'Letters', 13 September 1760, MyFam 4/54, RIBA.
[122] Howard, 'St Cecilia's Hall: Architecture and Music in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh', 55.
[123] Howard, 49.

included oval rooms with pilasters of one and two storeys, which garnered the attention of the Musical Society (Figure 42).[124] More likely was the prestige Mylne had acquired as a local achieving success on the international stage that swayed the Society. The decision to go with Mylne is particularly curious, however, when one considers that the Adam brothers had already proposed plans for a concert hall and were members of the Musical Society. As noted above, they had been consulted over the building of a music venue in the 1750s. The family, seemingly, should have been the more qualified to construct a venue for musical performance. Later designs for Assembly Rooms suggest they were familiar with designing for music.[125] As part of their proposed South Bridge scheme of 1785, they even included a concert hall within the design (Figure 43). The hiring of Mylne to design the Hall did not help assuage the rivalry between them, the brothers referring disparagingly to Mylne as 'Blackfriars Mylne'. William, writing to his brother James in Rome, said:

> I saw the new Concert Room there, which has an ugly squat oister like look & will certainly murder the music totally, which will [be the] finishing stroke to Blackfriars whenever it is ready for performing in.[126]

By the end of 1762, the construction of St Cecilia's was almost complete. Unfortunately no original building plans exist, but minutes of the Society's meetings and financial receipts have enabled a thorough building history by Rock.[127] He has shown that Mylne's designs were altered during the construction process and it is therefore difficult to say just how much of the final product was part of Mylne's initial design. Just how much the design was altered is uncertain, but it is clear that a number of events in 1761 and 1762 had a profound effect on both the appearance and fortunes of the Hall. At the same time that Mylne's plans were being approved and executed, a court case was underway over the plan and the impact it would have on the lighting of nearby properties. Janet Thompson brought the case to the Court

[124] Rock, 'The Temple of Harmony', 62.
[125] See, for example, plans for Assembly Rooms in Bath, Glasgow, Exeter, and Edinburgh, now held in the Soane Museum.
[126] Rock, 'The Temple of Harmony', 66.Quoting *NAS*: GD18/4761
[127] Rock, 'The Temple of Harmony'.

of Sessions arguing that her shop and business would be adversely affected by the construction.[128] In January 1761, the Court ruled in her favour and determined that provision must be made to ensure light still reached the northern courtyard.[129]

The design of the building appears to have changed considerable during the construction process, probably due to arguments and the ruling over the Janet Thompson dispute over the square and light.[130] Part of the Thompson dispute included the re-siting of the stairs needed to access the top floor concert room. The external stair (as at Marys) was relocated internally to the southern end of the Hall. This was probably the reason behind the taking down and thinner re-building of the walls in November 1762.[131] It is unclear if the planned colonnade to the North was ever built, but it certainly did not survive the construction of the bridge.[132]

The construction of the South Bridge, 1785-1788, had a profound impact on the building. At the time of St Cecilia's initial design, Niddry's Wynd was one of the ancient passages leading off the High Street and St Cecilia's was therefore fitted within the existing scheme of structures (Figure 44). There is evidence that earlier houses on the site were incorporated into the design, perhaps forming part the walls and piers on the ground floor, as well as creating a natural courtyard at the front entrance to the building (Figure 45).[133] Unfortunately, the line of the new South Bridge did not align with the existing network of wynds and closes, and those in the way of the piers of the bridge were either destroyed or disturbed (Figure 46). One of these was Niddry's Wynd. Much of the Wynd was destroyed in the process of constructing the Bridge, including St Marys Chapel and the townhouses abutting either side of St Cecilia's (Figure 47). The entrance courtyard, although lost with the intrusion of the South Bridge, became a saviour to St Cecilia's since its main façade

[128] Rock, 60–61.
[129] Rock, 63–64.
[130] Rock, 66.
[131] Rock, 66.
[132] Rock, 67.
[133] Rock, 64.

and entrance way lay to the south of the Bridge. If not for this, it too may have been destroyed with the construction of the Bridge.

The reconfiguration of Niddry's Wynd naturally altered the approach to the building and forced an alteration to the design of the façade. According to Rock, the surviving western façade is probably not by Mylne (Figure 48).[134] The central portion of the front elevation is ashlar, however the segments to the north and south of this were plastered after 1788 when the construction of the bridge led to the demolition of the two houses that abutted the building.[135] The lintel of the original main door on the western side has ornamental supports and opens to a vestibule underneath the main concert room.[136] Brackets on either side of the door may be originals from 1763 and it is possible that the main entrance had columns that were removed in April 1764 (Figure 49).[137] On the current façade, the window architraves are raised, but this is not present on any other building by Mylne.[138] There were once three windows on the ground floor, and probably no pediment. There may have been a fourth window to the north but this would have been under the colonnade.[139]

The building comprises two levels, with the concert hall on the upper floor. The ground floor is in three portions. The two northern-most segments are marked by rows of three arches (Figure 50). At the southern end is a row of four stone pillars, though the carved wooden capitals representing hanging bunches of fruit and leaves that Harris described are no longer present (Figure 51).[140] This lower vestibule acted as a lobby and reception area where concert-goers could mingle and meet prior to the concert, but probably did not welcome sedan-chairs that could enter to drop off or pick up their charges and attendees as suggested by Harris.[141] To either side of the

[134] Rock, 71.
[135] Harris, *Saint Cecilia's Hall in the Niddry Wynd*, 18.
[136] Harris, 13–14.
[137] Rock, 'The Temple of Harmony', 71–72.
[138] Rock, 71.
[139] Rock, 71.
[140] Harris, *Saint Cecilia's Hall in the Niddry Wynd*, 26–27.
[141] Harris, 27–29.

pillars are two stone staircases that lead up to a landing and the entrance to the concert hall (Figure 52).[142] Two stone steps lead from the landing, which is five feet and ten inches wide, into the concert room.[143] These are no longer present.

The pillars and stairs are further evidence that Mylne's initial plans were altered. Underneath the southern end of the concert hall are four pillars that support the landing at the top of the stairs but do not quite fit the space. An attempt was made to rectify this by adding lath and plaster tops, but these are in a slightly different style to the pillars.[144] In 1761, contracts for the proposed work were costed out and paid in full. Rock has suggested that any subsequent payments therefore reflect later changes or additions to the original contract, and therefore plan. The accounts show that in March 1762 foundations of four pillars were laid, but there is no mention of purchasing stone for the pillars themselves in the accounts.[145] Innes of Stow papers suggest that the pillars may instead have been reused from the Assembly Rooms in New Assembly Close.[146] In 1765, the Assembly built a new tearoom, removing four pillars from their premises. The builders on both projects were William Mylne (Robert's brother) and James Ramsay (slater).[147] It is therefore suggested that these pillars were repurposed for the St Cecilia's project. Further evidence for a change in the design of the internal stairs is in an account of February 1763. This account was for stone to build the stairs and made after the first contract. The stone for the stairs was charged in February 1763, after the first contract. The stairs and columns may therefore have been in addition to this first contract and thus a modification of Robert's initial design.[148] Furthermore, the stairs are not considered the work of a trained architect, but may have been relocated from Mylne's original entrance.[149]

[142] Harris, 27.
[143] Harris, 30.
[144] Rock, 'The Temple of Harmony', 65.
[145] Rock, 64.
[146] Rock, 'The Temple of Harmony'.
[147] Rock, 64.
[148] Rock, 65.
[149] Rock, 72.

At the northern end of the concert room, was a stage (like Holywell), upon which the musicians performed. It too was divided from the room with a balustrade. This has only been partially reconstructed in the most recent restoration (Figure 52). In Harris' reconstructed plans, this end had its own entrance just for the musicians (Figure 53). This emphasized the social aspect of the concert series, with the audience and musicians having their own access points within the building in a manner almost akin to a grand house and its servant passages. Oddly, at St Cecilia's, despite being a venue for music, the organ appears to have been an after-thought, only being commissioned in 1768, five years after the hall was opened.[150] This is confirmed by the description of the room sent to Snetzler the organ maker in 1766:

> an oblong of 65 feet by 38 feet at the extremes and 26 feet high in the middle . . . From the floor of the orchestra [height not given] to the Cornish where the ceiling begins, which is curved, is 13 feet 4 inches in height but by cutting the ceiling you might have five feet more of height for the long pipes if necessary, however the show of the front of the organ must go no higher than the Cornish and finish at the ceiling.[151]

The later introduction of the organ can, however, perhaps be interpreted as a reflection of the different musical interests of Edinburgh concertgoers. Although still popular, Handel does not feature quite as prominently in the preferred repertoire as at Holywell or in Dublin, whilst orchestral and even catch singing takes precedence.[152] As in Dublin, Italian music and musicians were immensely popular, many being permanently employed by the Society from its incorporation.[153] The concert room itself bears many similarities with Holywell and presents a similar conception of the architectural requirements for music. Unlike Holywell, however, the majority of these features were only incorporated after the building had opened. Whether this was due to time constraints, finances, or poor planning is uncertain.

[150] Howard, 'St Cecilia's Hall: Architecture and Music in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh', 56.
[151] Rock, 'The Temple of Harmony', 66.
[152] Macleod, 'The Edinburgh Musical Society'.
[153] For an analysis of the employment of professional musicians by the Society, see Macleod.

St Cecilia's was said to accommodate 500 people.[154] This was a huge number considering the building's footprint is comparable to Holywell.[155] Like Holywell, St Cecilia's seating plan was also altered after its opening and this second scheme has been invoked in the latest restoration (Figure 54). The final arrangement was only agreed as late as December 1762, just one year before its opening:

> the Seats in the new Room should be placed round the Side… five rows of seats only, and the fore Seat to be 18 Inches high above the floor, and each seat to be 5 Inches higher than the other… [the back seat is] to be movable and Serve for a passage occasionaly [sic].[156]

The purpose of the 'passage a few feet broad that was carried quite round the hall behind the last of the elevated seats' has been elusive.[157] Harris interprets it as meaning that the rows could be accessed from either the northern or the southern ends, as indicated by the dotted lines on his plan of the room (Figure 53).[158] It is unclear what, if any, alternative scheme was proposed prior to this, although rows of seats or benches, as in Holywell's initial scheme, seem plausible. The seating may have been altered to mirror the scheme found in Holywell. Another alternative is that it was deemed acoustically beneficial for the audience, since they followed the contour of the curved wall.[159] One further reason can be attributed to the growing social emphasis on the performance of consuming leisure, in other words, seeing and being seen. Harris suggested that the empty central space this arrangement created was used for walking and socializing during intervals.[160] By being ranged around the outside of the room, audience members could observe each other in a more agreeable fashion, as was the norm in opera houses on the Continent.

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[154] Howard, 'St Cecilia's Hall: Architecture and Music in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh', 56; Hugo Arnot, *The History of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Printed for W. Creech, and J. Murray, London, 1779).
[155] Howard, 'St Cecilia's Hall: Architecture and Music in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh', 64–65.
[156] Sederunt Books in Gray, *The Musical Society of Edinburgh and St. Cecilia's Hall*, 226.
[157] James Cuthbert Hadden, *George Thomson, the Friend of Burns, His Life and Correspondence* (London: J. C. Nimmo, 1898).
[158] Harris, *Saint Cecilia's Hall in the Niddry Wynd*, 30–32.
[159] Howard, 'St Cecilia's Hall: Architecture and Music in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh', 63.
[160] Harris, *Saint Cecilia's Hall in the Niddry Wynd*, 30.

As with the organ, Cecilia's finishing touches did not appear to be an intrinsic part of the initial scheme and most were not executed until after 1766, four years after the building's official opening.[161] Only two years after opening did the stair receive a balustrade and mahogany handrail. A year after this, in 1764, the seats, orchestra rails, and doors were finally painted (though there is no mention of the walls or ceiling being anything other than just plaster at this point) and cushions were added to the seats. These features continued to be re-painted and updated with relative consistency until the end of the century, only a few years before its closure as a Concert Hall in 1797. The delay to the finishing touches of the interior was most likely a financial rather than a stylistic one, with aesthetic details being low on the list of necessary expenditure. However Rock sees this delay as a reflection of the male membership and their attitudes towards the use of the hall: 'They saw it above all as a space to practice and perform music; everything else was secondary and beautifying works were carried out only in relation to the growing presence of the ladies at concerts.'[162]

Given the seemingly frequent and pervasive alterations to Mylne's design, deciding how much was original is problematic. This has led Rock to say that the only certainty is that Robert Mylne 'produced a plan of the concert room and its seating'.[163] What does seem certain is that Mylne was responsible for the two-storey plan form. The positioning of the concert hall on the first floor, as Alexander Kincaid noted lit solely from above like the Pantheon, was a clever solution to the Old Town's density.[164] The central cupola enabled natural light to enter the space despite its siting within the confined and built up Old Town (Figure 54). And by placing the Hall on the first floor, and providing a reception area below, Mylne was able to provide multiple spaces without the need for a large footprint.

[161] *ECL*: Edinburgh Musical Society minute book
[162] Rock, 'The Temple of Harmony', 68.
[163] Rock, 72.
[164] Howard, 'St Cecilia's Hall: Architecture and Music in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh', 65.

Despite possessing all of the increasingly standard features of a building for music (a stage, a seating plan, and decorative details), St Cecilia's remains highly unusual due to its shape. The inspiration for the elliptically-shaped concert room has been debated, but it is certain that this feature came from Mylne. Arnot was the first to claim the concert hall was like the 'great opera theatre at Parma' and this view held sway for many years.[165] This was repeated constantly thereafter except for Britton's text for Shepherd's 'Modern Athens' which printed Paris (probably for Parma by mistake).[166] Harris' 1899 work said it was the Farnese Theatre in Parma, following a suggestion by Daniel Wilson in *c.* 1850:

> Only six years before the commencement of the works beyond the North Loch, Sir Robert Mylne was employed to furnish the designs for St. Cecilia's Hall in the Cowgate. It was built after the model of the great Theatre Farnese at Parma, and thought now long deserted by the votaries of St. Cecilia, it was admirably adapted for the purposes of a concert-room, its oval form and elliptical ceiling, as well as the skilful arrangement of the seats, uniting to convey every note clearly and distinctly to the auditors. In this respect the great Music Hall of the New Town is decidedly inferior, notwithstanding the lapse of above eighty years since the building of St. Cecilia's Hall, and the great attention devoted in the interval to the practical application of acoustics in architecture.[167]

In reality, as Howard demonstrated, there are very few similarities aside from the facing, tiered seating (Figure 55).[168] Mylne was of course in Italy travelling between 1754-9 and probably saw the Teatro Regio in Turin (1738-40), an oval opera house with inward facing seats (Figure 56).[169] He may have been interested in acoustic experiments at Teatro Nuovo in Parma where semi-elliptical masonry under the floor helped with the acoustics.[170] But there is, otherwise, no clear model upon which his design may have been predicated.[171]

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[165] Arnot, *The History of Edinburgh*.
[166] Howard, 'St Cecilia's Hall: Architecture and Music in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh', 58–59.
[167] Sir Daniel Wilson *Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time*, 1891 ed.
[168] Howard, 'St Cecilia's Hall: Architecture and Music in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh', 59.
[169] Howard, 59.
[170] Howard, 65.
[171] Studies of Italian concert spaces focus on sacred, opera and theatre contexts. Research on public music-making spaces, especially in Grand Tour locations, is currently lacking.

Theoretically, his design should have been of acoustic benefit to the space but, as discussed in Chapter Five, this was not the case. Bar some early acoustic issues, the room seems otherwise to have met mostly with success. An account in Defoe's *Tour Through Great Britain* describes its appearance and, obliquely, its acoustic impression:

> The new concert-hall (built about three years ago) is an elegant room of an elliptical form, with a concave ceiling and a large skylight in the centre. From the ceiling descend seven handsome branches filled with wax lights. It is most commodiously fitted up with seats rising gradually above each other, and seems (upon the whole) one of the best calculated rooms for music that is (perhaps) to be met with in Britain. The roof, however, is thought to be rather too low, and the room is more warm than is agreeable in summer.[172]

Although the buildings discussed in this chapter were unique in their appearance and construction they did, nevertheless, all contain a particular set of architectural features, suited to the performance of music. Two of these features were practical: the stage and seating. Both these elements were the result of a consumerist leisure in which participants were either performers or audience members. The separation of these two roles had become ingrained in the architecture of performance spaces with the introduction of commerce, and were retained by the Musical Societies who, themselves, sold tickets. The third element possessed by each of these venues was the emphasis placed on a pleasing aesthetic appearance and the desire for modern, classical architecture. This shift from the tavern to the latest fashions mirrored the changing status of music, from a gentleman's pursuit to a gentleman's entertainment. This transition, from vernacular to polite, shows that architectural style possessed its own codified language of taste and style and that these societies used this language to assert their own place in this emerging polite, and enlightened, society. That the architectural features for music in these buildings were retained from the tavern, suggests that there was perhaps far greater crossover between vernacular and polite architecture during this period than what is traditionally acknowledged. The

[172] From Defoe's *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain* completed after Defoe's death by Richardson. Quoted in Harris, *Saint Cecilia's Hall in the Niddry Wynd*, 201.

architectural origins of what are now classed as polite entertainments did not necessarily have their roots in polite architecture.

Assembly Rooms

From the mid-eighteenth century onwards, Assembly Rooms began to grow in popularity, reflecting the changing preferences of audiences who were seeking new forms of socializing and musical consumption.[173] Music as a dedicated pastime was being re-evaluated and 'the value of music to society was the subject of considerable debate'.[174] Assembly Rooms afforded a new type of engagement, one where music was still present, but not the principal focus of the activity. Although also appearing in Edinburgh and London, they were especially prominent in regional capitals, as the many designs by the Adam brothers' attest, and examples quickly spread across the country including in York (1732), Bath (1769), Newcastle (1776) (Figure 57).[175]

Like the newly constructed concert venues discussed above, Assembly Rooms were socially demarcated spaces, largely for the middling and upper classes. Like the tavern, Assembly Rooms afforded a variety of different spaces, and thus provided for multiple activities. Their general plan form included sets of smaller subsidiary rooms off a larger central area, a departure from the venues developed primarily for concert performance (Figure 58). These different rooms created spaces for different activities including cards, conversation, or taking tea. Music remained a feature of the venues, but with the primary purpose of attendance being a social one, music again became an accompaniment rather then main attraction. Due to the developments of architecture for music in the lead-up to this period, certain features were retained. Assembly Halls might include a stage and of course the visual appearance was an

[173] James Stevens Curl, *Spas, Wells, & Pleasure Gardens of London* (London: Historical Publications, 2010).
[174] Wollenberg, '"So Much Rational and Elegant Amusement, at an Expence Comparatively Inconsiderable": The Holywell Concerts in the Eighteenth Century', 248.
[175] Designs for Assembly Rooms by the Adam brothers include Bath (Adam vol 28/47), Edinburgh (Adam vol 31/33-38), Exeter (Adam vol 44/109-112); Glasgow (Adam vol 2/69, 10/44, 30/14-17)

important aspect, as seen at the Hanover Square Rooms in London (Figure 59). But seating was now mostly movable due the changing uses of the principal space: as a venue for a ball, a forum for discourse, or a formalised concert venue.

By the end of the century, Assembly Rooms had become the principal venues for musical entertainment in the British Isles; a reflection of the importance placed on social networks and the behaviour of 'polite' society. Assembly Rooms were neutral spaces that enabled the genders to mix and provided a public, yet still semi-regulated, space outside the home. This role was not new to the Assembly Room, but had also been a characterization of the concert hall due its past associations with taverns and coffee houses. But the major difference with the Assembly Rooms was that of gender. Because the focus of concert halls was the music, and because largely male-dominated musical societies ran the venues, women were always somewhat excluded. With a changing emphasis from music to social interaction, women gained more autonomy in attending such venues.

Conclusion

As this chapter has shown, the first purpose-built concert halls were unique building projects that engaged directly with their tavern roots. They embodied the first attempts to design and construct an architecture for music. The key features these buildings possessed (a stage, seating, and aesthetics), are still the main features identified with the concert hall. That this type of architecture did not continue to proliferate throughout the rest of the century, but was overtaken by other multi-faceted venues like Assembly Rooms where music was not the sole attraction, was not due to any shortcomings in the architectural form of the structure, but due to changing social preferences in the consumption of cultural (and especially musical) entertainment.

The chapter has argued that the construction of purpose-built concert venues was informed by a tavern past, but enabled and guided by the emergence of a polite society, interested in gentility and sociability, one that ultimately supplanted it in the form of the Assembly Rooms. It has shown that in the features maintained from previous venues, these structures bear an architectural relationship with their tavern forebears. It has also been shown that the (universal) decision to construct polite venues in a classical style was not simply one of fashion, but reflected a broader concern with taste and style. Architecture was therefore used as a representative means to reject the tavern past and its association with the common or vernacular, and instead align these Societies and musical culture more generally with modern movements, style, decorum, and taste. These buildings were therefore not simply functional, but also a reflection of social changes across the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In showing this, the chapter has emphasized the impact social and cultural life had on the creation and adaptation of architectural form.

Chapter Four

~ Arranging the City ~

In Chapters One and Two, I showed how political, social, and economic factors influenced the selection of performance venues. In Chapter One I argued that fundamental changes to political and social life had a direct bearing on the establishment of public music performance as an industry and the use of taverns as the primary performance venues. In Chapter Two, I demonstrated how the commercialization of culture, in this instance music, had a direct and fundamental impact on the choice and appearance of venues. In Chapter Three I examined the first purpose-built concert halls in the British Isles and showed how their construction and design was guided by changing social tastes and the rise of 'polite' society. These initial chapters have also introduced the key buildings and spaces for secular music performance in the seventeenth and eighteenth century British Isles. This chapter situates these examples of architecture for music within the urban environment and creation of the modern city.

This chapter argues that the development of musical architecture was influenced by this changing urban landscape and that the location and siting of venues responded to the urban environment, rather than shaped it. The chapter therefore also argues

that the success of musical ventures was influenced greatly by their location within the changing civic landscape. The chapter begins by looking at the relationship between venues and their urban environments. It presents a series of case studies, based on the key venues discussed in the thesis. It begins with the capitals: London, Edinburgh, and Dublin. The fourth case study focuses on Oxford, which, due to its unusual status as a university town, had a different experience of civic development. It also discusses the pleasure garden as an alternative leisure activity on the periphery of the city, one that also had architectural infrastructure for music. Finally, the chapter considers the expansion of musical culture and architecture in regional centres, suggesting that this reflects the consolidation of musical culture across the British Isles.

From the Restoration to the end of the eighteenth century, the population of the British Isles increased dramatically. In the eighteenth century, England and Scotland urbanized more quickly than any other European country.[1] London (and Westminster) grew from a city of *c.* 400,000 to one million by 1801.[2] Edinburgh more than trebled from *c.* 30,000 in the 1660s to *c.* 100,000 by 1800.[3] Dublin experienced the greatest population growth, expanding from under 9000 in 1659 to *c.* 140,000 by 1760.[4] This phenomenon was not restricted to the urban population, although migration to civic centres did have an impact on numbers. Urban growth and the opportunities it provided also attracted musicians. Exact statistics for musicians are

[1] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*, Revised edition with new introductory essay (New Haven, Conn; London: Yale University Press, 2012), 378.
[2] Elizabeth McKellar, *Landscapes of London: The City, the Country and the Suburbs, 1660-1840* (New Haven, Connecticut; London: Yale University Press, 2013), 2; Peter Clark, *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain. Vol. 2, 1540-1840*, Cambridge Histories Online (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 316–17; R. A. Houston, *The Population History of Britain and Ireland, 1500-1750*, Studies in Economic and Social History (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 1992).
[3] R. A. Houston, *Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment Edinburgh, 1660-1760* (Oxford: Clarendon, Clarendon Press, 1994), 1; Ian Campbell and Margaret Stewart, 'The Evolution of the Medieval and Renaissance City', in *Edinburgh: The Making of a Capital City*, ed. Brian Edwards and Paul Jenkins (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005), 33.
[4] Maurice Craig, *Dublin 1660-1860* (Dublin: Figgis, 1980), 5; Brian Boydell, *Rotunda Music in Eighteenth-Century Dublin* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1992), 15.

unknown, but between 1680 and 1689, the monarty was the greatest employer of musicians, with around 220 in its employ.[5]

Whether from migration or population growth, civic and larger regional centres were faced with increased pressures on resources, and urban expansion became a natural necessity. This coincided with an influx of wealth and the emergence of a new social order, in which religion was no longer a central part of civic life, 'polite' society was dictating cultural and aesthetic tastes, and there was relative political stability. The subsequent expansion and growth of civic centres, alongside the genesis of new building types and an increased differentiation of civic spaces, meant that circulation patterns and the character of certain areas changed. This period is now, therefore, considered to coincide with the birth of the modern city.

Urban studies have a strong claim on cultural history, especially for eighteenth-century studies.[6] In recent years, this field has been augmented by the inclusion of mapping and historical geography. Elizabeth McKellar includes images and maps in her analysis of London's suburbs to provide a new perspective on the growth and characterization of the city in the long eighteenth century.[7] Elsewhere, mapping and historical geography have been used in increasingly technological ways to plot and analyse the distribution or movements of industries, groups, and individuals.[8] The potential of historical mapping is also being recognised by other fields as diverse as Classics and Music.[9] In recent years the application of mapping to musical and sonic

[5] John Harley, *Music in Purcell's London: The Social Background* (London: Dobson, 1968), 14.
[6] See especially, Peter Borsay, *The Eighteenth-Century Town: A Reader in English Urban History 1688-1820*, Readers in Urban History (London: Longman, 1990); Elizabeth McKellar, *The Birth of Modern London: The Development and Design of the City 1660-1720*, Studies in Design and Material Culture (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 8 n. 1 other refs here; A. L. Beier and Roger Finlay, *London 1500-1700: The Making of the Metropolis* (London: Longman, 1986).
[7] McKellar, *Landscapes of London*.
[8] Stana Nenadic, 'The Spatial and Social Characteristics of Craft Businesses in Edinburgh's New Town c.1780-1850' (Edinburgh New Town and new towns in Scotland, 1767-2017, Edinburgh, 2018); 'MESH - Mapping Edinburgh's Social History', The University of Edinburgh, accessed 2 August 2018, https://www.ed.ac.uk/history-classics-archaeology/research/research-projects/mapping-edinburgh-s-social-history.
[9] 'ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World', accessed 2 August 2018, http://orbis.stanford.edu/; Institute for Musical Research, School of Advanced Studies and Newcastle University, 'Mapping the Musical City' (Senate House, London, 2018); Stephen Rose, Marnix van

contexts has been gaining particular traction. Niall Atkinson's *Noisy Renaissance* has shown a new way to conceptualize city layout based on its soundscapes.[10] The field is also beginning to attract the attention of musicologists, as is seen in the Music and Mapping Symposium held in London in February 2018 and the first moves to establish a network of scholars working in the field.[11] Musicologists looking at mapping are currently using it to identify the musical characteristics of cities or regions, and to trace the movements of individuals, instruments, and styles.[12]

Drawing on this approach, I have created a series of maps for London that plot the known venues for performance by type and by date.[13] In doing so, I have been able to trace a clear relationship between architecture for music and the changing urban landscape. These maps show that the type of venue and its location altered over time and in direct correlation to changes in character and wealth within the city. As noted above, urban expansion was not guided solely by population growth, but also by changing social patterns. The maps reflect these new civic relationships and the impact of Enlightenment ideals on the urban environment. The centrality of cathedrals and market squares to civic life, for example, was eroded in this period. As a result, social activities including music were no longer tethered to these historical centres, but instead moved outwards towards the periphery. This changing geography had a direct and profound impact on the fortunes of particular venues, as shall be shown in this chapter.

Berchum, and Thomas Delpeut, 'Workshop: Network Analysis and New Approaches to Music History' (DHBenelux, Amsterdam, 2018).

[10] Niall Atkinson, *The Noisy Renaissance: Sound, Architecture, and Florentine Urban Life* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2016); Nicholas Terpstra and Colin Rose, eds., *Mapping Space, Sense, and Movement in Florence: Historical GIS and the Early Modern City* (London New York: Routledge,Taylor & Francis Group, 2016).

[11] Institute for Musical Research, School of Advanced Studies and Newcastle University, 'Mapping the Musical City'. An application is currently under consideration with the AHRC to establish a formal network of scholars in the field.

[12] Mollie Ables, 'Mapping Networks of Musicians in Early Modern Venice' (Mapping the Musical City, Senate House, London, 2018); Samuel Llano, 'Sound Mapping and Social Control in Nineteenth-Century Madrid' (Mapping the Musical City, Senate House, London, 2018); Eric Charry, 'Mapping Music and Downtown New York, 1950-1970' (Mapping the Musical City, Senate House, London, 2018).

[13] Dates are divided by decade and venues have been allocated a decade based upon the period in which they were most active.

The period under consideration in this thesis coincides with more fundamental changes in society from the Interregnum onwards, most especially, the shift from an agrarian to a mercantile society. This resulted in increased migration to civic centres, especially in London and Dublin. But at the same time, the burgeoning middle classes and the rise of commercialized leisure, enabled by better transport links, brought about a new relationship between city and region. Road travel was a significant factor in the economic development of England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and also consolidated the tavern and inn as a social hub, as seen in Chapter One.[14] This is reflected in the growth of Spa Towns and resorts, regional centres defined by their leisure attractions rather than by their status as Cathedral cities.

Concerts, as we have seen, were a city-based phenomenon, but over the eighteenth century, they became 'a nationwide pastime' in England.[15] Urbanization was a key factor in driving this phenomenon. So while London had been at the forefront of developing a concert culture in the seventeenth century, in the eighteenth century, smaller centres began to challenge this dominance.[16] In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, economic expansion led to cultural growth, especially in English towns.[17] The desire for culture in regional centres is seen in the plethora of Assembly Room structures constructed in these areas, as discussed in Chapter Three. During this period 60-70 towns became regional centres, and regional capitals emerged.[18]

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[14] J. A. Chartres, 'The Eighteenth-Century English Inn: A Transient "Golden Age"', in *The World of the Tavern: Public Houses in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Beat A. Kümin and B. Ann Tlusty (Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate, 2002), 205.
[15] Peter Borsay, 'Concert Topography and Provincial Towns in Eighteenth-Century England', in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2004), 19–20.
[16] Borsay, 20.
[17] Elizabeth Chevill, 'Clergy, Music Societies and the Development of a Musical Tradition: A Study of Music Societies in Hereford 1690-1760', in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2004), 38.
[18] Chevill, 38.

London

In the mid-seventeenth century, London was still centred around St Paul's Cathedral. The city had, however, already begun to extend outwards, with settlements linking London to Westminster and St James (Figure 60).[19] The River Thames formed a natural southern boundary, but the rest was otherwise surrounded by countryside and farmland. The main thoroughfare running to the north was Bishopsgate Street. The main route across the city was the Strand, running virtually parallel to the river. In the 1660s, London was beset by a number of significant events that destroyed much of the medieval city. The Great Fire (1666) and the Plague (1665-6) resulted in the destruction not only of the city, but also of its population. Because of this London, unlike other early modern cities, was forced into creating a new physical identity in the mid-late seventeenth century. Coinciding with the Restoration, London's reinvention was not only architectural, but extended to its political, social, and religious identity too.[20]

From the Restoration to the end of the eighteenth century, London's population quadrupled and as it did, expansion beyond the city walls became a necessity. The city, at this time, also became more fragmented, with individual areas taking on stronger individual identities.[21] Charles II opted to make St James' Palace his main residence and this drew members of the upper classes to take residences in the vicinity.[22] Speculation led to the construction of numerous streets and gardens, and the area to the west of the city soon became a genteel region connecting the Palace to the old city.[23] The east end retained its characterization as the lower end of the city, and although the Great Fire (1666) led to a rebuilding of much of this part in more

[19] McKellar, *Landscapes of London*, 2.
[20] Christine Stevenson, *The City and the King: Architecture and Politics in Restoration London* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).
[21] McKellar, *The Birth of Modern London*, 15; Norman G. Brett-James, *The Growth of Stuart London*, London and Middlesex Archaeological Society (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1935).
[22] McKellar, *The Birth of Modern London*, 18.
[23] McKellar, 17.

fashionable materials and styles, it never rivalled the Georgian terraces of the west end.

As Rocque's 1746 map of London shows, St Paul's Cathedral was a central point of reference within the city and the point at which the major roads all converged (Figure 61). As was typical of the medieval city, this point proliferated in taverns and social spaces. It was here that the earliest tavern-based music meetings, discussed in Chapter One, met. The Mitre and the Old Jewry were both located near the churchyard, and the Castle (from which the York Building's venture emerged) was not far away on the Strand (Figure 62). The proximity of the Cathedral was also fortuitous, since cathedrals across the Isles frequently supported lay-clerks and resident musicians who were known to frequent the nearby music meetings.[24] This association no doubt also contributed to the rise of Catch Clubs in addition to Music Meetings. A map of taverns known to have been used for concerts shows a concentration along the Strand, with a cluster around St Paul's (Figure 63). The vast majority of these tavern venues are recorded in the 1660s and 1670s, which is unsurprising given the predominance of the venue during this period. Only two taverns are noted after the 1670s, The Queen's Head and Two Golden Balls in the 1690s.

From the 1680s, commercialized concert venues began to proliferate. The impact of market forces on concert spaces was not restricted to the internal expression of architecture, but also had an effect on the siting and location of venues. As commercial concerts became more common, a shift can be seen in the siting of venues across London. Increasingly these ventures were set up towards the west of the city. By the eighteenth century they were grouped mostly around Covent Garden and towards St James (Figure 64). The area was a natural home for the staging of

[24] Brian Boydell, 'Venues for Music in 18th Century Dublin', *Dublin Historical Record* 29, no. 1 (1 December 1975): 28. The situation is less certain in Scotland, but ably demonstrated in London and in Dublin, where the vicars choral of St Patrick's and Christ Church Cathedrals formed the Hibernian Catch Club in 1680: Brian Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), 14.

concerts. It already had associations with a cultural society, being the site of the King's Theatre from 1660. No doubt the largest draw, however, was the venues' proximity to their main clientele: the middle and upper classes with the money to attend concerts and partake in leisure activities. By having concerts close to their target audience, ventures could entice bigger audiences. Furthermore, the region had long held an association with the theatre and performing arts due to the presence of the King's Theatre and St James. With St James once again becoming a centre of Court life, this reputation was revitalized.[25]

Mapping London's performance venues, both by type and by date, shows a clear shift westwards and the consolidation of the area between St James and Covent Garden and a key area for music performance.[26] This move towards the west and the consolidation of a cultural region within the city is reflected also in the siting of Banister's ventures. Banister, the first to advertise public concerts, moved location more than once. His first venue was at a house in Dogwell Court, a small passage between Lombard Street (now Lombard Lane) and Temple Mews (now Bouverie Street) (Figure 65).[27]

> These are to give notice, that at Mr. John Banister's House, now called the Musick-School over against the George Tavern in White Fryers, this present Monday, will be Musick performed by excellent Masters, beginning precisely at 4 of the clock in the afternoon and every afternoon for the future precisely at the same hour.[28]

As discussed in Chapter Two, although called the 'musick school', the venue was also Banister's main residence. This suggests that the fully commercial venture of hiring a venue was not available, whilst internal modifications were both adequate and affordable. His initial location was within proximity to St Paul's, the main thoroughfares of the city, and the key musical societies of the period. But the area,

[25] For contemporary accounts on the characterization of city regions, see McKellar, *The Birth of Modern London*, 21.
[26] The venues have been assigned a date based on the records that record performances as taking place, not their date of construction.
[27] Robert Elkin, *The Old Concert Rooms of London* (London: Arnold, 1955), 20.
[28] *London Gazette*: 30 December 1672.

Whitefriars, was also regarded as a haven for 'unscrupulous debtors' and no matter the quality of the 'excellent masters' and Banister himself, it no doubt lost its appeal as a venue for paying clientele.[29] Ned Ward's description leaves no doubt that it was vastly different from other areas also offering concert entertainment:

> On White Friars
> The place where knaves their revels kept,
> And bid the laws defiance,
> Where whores and thieves for safety crept,
> Is of her filthy swarms clean swept:
> Her lazy crew that skulk'd for debt
> Have lost their chief reliance.
>
> Villains of ev'ry black degree
> Were on this spot collected;
> Oaths, curses, lies and blasphemy
> Pass'd currently from he to she,
> Made virtue stare to hear and see
> What vices here were acted.
>
> The streets were stain'd and houses lin'd
> With bloodshed, sin, and sorrow;
> So wicked, it was hard to find
> One Christian with an upright mind
> But seem'd to be a place design'd
> To perish like Gommorrha.
>
> But now the wicked scene withdraws
> And makes an alteration:
> It's purg'd and cleans'd by wholesome laws
> And is become a sober place
> Where honesty may show its face
> Without disreputation.[30]

Banister did not stay at his Whitefriars location for long. Certainly Whitefriars was not an upmarket part of town, and so Banister's location may well have become an issue, especially if he was aiming to attract a paying audience. If it was, this is more likely due to it being in the early years of a burgeoning concert culture. Two years later he is recorded as having 'removed to Shandoi-street, Covent Garden, and there

[29] Elkin, *The Old Concert Rooms of London*, 20; See also the description in Edward Ward, *The London Spy* (London: Folio Society, 1955).
[30] Ward, *The London Spy*, 124–25.

intends entertainment as formerly on Tuesday then next, and every evening for the future, Sundays only excepted'.[31] There are no further details about the space he used, or what happened to the Whitefriars establishment. John Harley suggested that the initial move west may have been to try and attract a better clientele.[32] This new location was in the heart of the action, right by the new hub of political and cultural activity: St James's. But even this did not seem to have sufficed. In 1676 he is recorded at Lincoln's Inn Fields, and at the Essex Buildings off the Strand, in 1678.[33] The advertisements for these two events are unlike the earlier advertisements up to 1675, which specifically reference Banister's venture:

> On Thursday next the 14th instant, At the Academy in Little Lincolns-Inn Fields, will begin the first part of The Parley of Instruments, Composed by Mr John Bannister, and perform'd by Eminent Masters at Six a Clock, and to continue Nightly, as shall by Bill or otherwise be Notifi'd. The Tickets are to be deliver'd out from One of the Clock till Five every day, and not after.[34]

> At the Musick-School in Essex Buildings against St. Clements Church in the Strand, will be continued a Consort of Vocal and Instrumental Musick, Beginning at six of the clock every evening. Composed by Mr. John Bannister.[35]

Whether these venues were also owned and operated by him, or whether just his music was used, is uncertain. The notices say that music by Banister will be performed, but they do not make an explicit claim to the space being his, or the venture being run by him. Linguistic similarities between these and earlier advertisements, for example, 'perform'd by Eminent Masters' and 'at the Musick-School', indicate that the events were organised by him, but these could have been appropriated to give an impression of association.

Another motivation for changing location is perhaps reputation. Banister was a professional musician and given that he himself also played at the concerts and was

[31] *London Gazette*, 25 January 1675
[32] Harley, *Music in Purcell's London*, 145.
[33] *London Gazette*, 21 November 1678
[34] *London Gazette*, 7 December 1676
[35] *London Gazette*, 6 January 1678

trying to attract pupils, it can be assumed that he wanted a certain air of prestige associated with the events. This explains hiring the best musicians to join him, something that was possible due to his connections. But staging such élite concerts in Whitefriars probably became too incongruous. The more genteel climes of Covent Garden were far better suited to the cultivation of such an image.

Whatever his reasons for relocating so frequently, it is clear that this area to the west, near Covent Garden, was his new preferred region. This is hardly surprising, considering that with the introduction of commercialization to British concert culture, the choice of location moved away from the old centre of London towards the west. Banister, moreover, was not the only musical entrepreneur to shift further westwards as the city expanded and a wealthier middle and upper class became settled. The siting of many concert venues around the Covent Garden area and east to St James is evidence of venues responding to the urban environment. In this same region were also the Two Golden Balls, the Vendu, and Hickford's Rooms.

There are, however, two key exceptions to the proliferation of venues in this region. One is Britton's establishment that, as discussed in Chapter One, continued to attract audience members from the nobility, and important musicians, into the eighteenth century. The house itself was situated in Clerkenwell, at the corner of Jerusalem Passage and Aylesbury Street (Figure 9).[36] Like Banister, Britton did not live in the most desirable parts of London. Nevertheless, this did not seem to be enough to dissuade his attendees, many from the higher echelons of British society, from becoming regular patrons at his gathering.

The other interesting anomaly in the pattern is the Strand, which continued to vie for audiences even after the area around Covent Garden had become an established base for performance. Running parallel with the river, the Strand connected the east and west, enabling an easy traverse of an otherwise densely packed city. It linked the Court and all its trappings with the old city and the commercial trade that provided

[36] Elkin, *The Old Concert Rooms of London*, 22.

the city's wealth.[37] A particular feature of the Strand area was the conversion of aristocratic mansions into new streets and developments. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, Essex, York, Arundel, and Somerset Houses all underwent such transformations.[38] It was here that the York Buildings venture was established, the first truly commercial concert venue to break away from the tavern environment and private home (see Chapter Two). If North's description of the initial concerts is any indication, the appeal of the York Buildings must certainly have been due to its setting and location, rather than the experience itself:

> Here was consorts, fuges, solo's, lutes, hautboxis, trumpets ketle drum's, and what not but all disjoynted and incoherent for while the masters were shuffling out and in of places to take their parts there was a totall cessation, and none knew what would come next; all this was utterly against the true model of an enterteinement.[39]

As part of an old palatial complex and on the cusp of old and new within the city, the venue afforded a neutral territory of sorts for both Court and city to come together. This explains its use as an extension of the Court to host state visits. It also accounts for the prominence and success of the York Buildings, especially in the latter seventeenth century, and the importance placed on its visual attributes. Its initial success can therefore, be attributed to its siting and appearance, both of which appealed to the new leisured audience.

The London Pleasure Garden

Given the nature and severity of seventeenth-century events, it seems all the more remarkable that public music making not only survived, but adapted to its fluctuating environment and responded to local planning and building programmes. Another aspect of London city development and its relationship to music venues is the outward expansion and the increased availability, and affordability, of

[37] McKellar, *The Birth of Modern London*, 24.
[38] McKellar, 23. See also Brett-James
[39] Roger North, 'Essay of Musicall Ayre' (Master of Arts, The Australian National University, 1977), 327–28, https://openresearch-repository.anu.edu.au/handle/1885/133223, Part 124.

transport.[40] Because of this, London's fringes began to receive greater attention. In the mid-seventeenth century (and even in the mid-eighteenth century) Clerkenwell, Britton's home, was at the outskirts of the city (Figure 66). It was ringed by open countryside, which, with London's growth, became a commodity to support the growing population and wealth of the city. This periphery also provided leisure attractions, in the form of pleasure gardens and spas.[41] This outward move towards the periphery is clearly reflected in a map of Pleasure-Gardens, Wells, and Spas (Figure 67).

In Chapter Three I showed how Assembly Rooms created a rival entertainment to the concert hall from the mid-eighteenth century. In London, concert life was such that it was never completely displaced. But by the 1730s other types of entertainment, of which music was an important part, were also attracting clientele and competing with concert venues. One such attraction was the pleasure garden. The pleasure garden became a direct competitor to the concert hall, not only because it was also a commercialized leisure opportunity, but also because it included musical entertainments (and therefore architecture for music).

Pleasure gardens had existed in London from before the Restoration although their rise in popularity is generally associated with the political stability of the Georgian Period.[42] The three main gardens in London were Vauxhall, Ranelagh, and Marylebone, and each of these had more permanent, or at least elaborate, settings for their main musical entertainments. Other gardens also included musical entertainments, though these were never as extravagant as those at the main gardens.[43] Like the concert hall, the main gardens attracted wealthy and influential clientele who were able to afford season tickets.[44] Although many in the latter

[40] Especially for St Cecilia's, see section below.
[41] McKellar, *Landscapes of London*, 113.
[42] James Stevens Curl, *Spas, Wells, & Pleasure Gardens of London* (London: Historical Publications, 2010), 242.
[43] Warwick William Wroth, *The London Pleasure Gardens of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Macmillan, 1979).
[44] Wroth, 8.

seventeenth century included musical entertainment, this did not become a feature of the gardens until the eighteenth century when attending secular musical performances, as discussed in this thesis, had become part of British social and cultural life.[45] Even then, these gardens were not primarily for the performance of music. Instead, promenading, discussion, and taking in a range of entertainments, of which music was just one, was foremost. But since this was an attraction, time and money was expended on creating suitable performance environments within the outdoors.[46]

Concert halls, or music rooms, were only occasionally included as independent buildings. An early example can be found at Sadler's Wells (1683), a spa and music house established by Richard Sadler in the latter seventeenth century. The music house was a single-storey wooden building, which was torn down and rebuilt in 1765 as a theatre (Figure 68).[47] It was like a tavern, and operated in a similar fashion to the music houses in the city.[48] Throughout the season, concerts were held twice weekly at the music house. In 1699 these were hosted by James Miles and Francis Forcer (*d.* 1705?) but the concerts continued with Miles renaming it Miles's Music House and continuing concerts probably until his death in 1724. After this the entertainments, which had never been solely musical, became more acrobatic and theatrical.[49] On 23 May 1698, the music house hosted a vocal and instrumental concert featuring an orchestra of violins, hautboys, trumpets and kettle-drums.[50]

At Vauxhall, outdoor entertainments took place in a Chinese Pavilion (Figure 69), whilst indoor entertainments had a Music Room of mixed architectural styles (Figure 70).[51] Initially known as the New Music Room or the Great Room, it was entered

[45] For a discussion of the eighteenth-century London gardens, including their musical entertainments, see Wroth, 2.
[46] Curl, *Spas, Wells, & Pleasure Gardens of London*.
[47] Michael Forsyth, *Buildings for Music: The Architect, the Musician, and the Listener from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 49.
[48] Curl, *Spas, Wells, & Pleasure Gardens of London*, 50.
[49] Wroth, *The London Pleasure Gardens of the Eighteenth Century*, 45–47.
[50] Wroth, 45.
[51] McKellar, *Landscapes of London*, 117.

through a Colonnade off the Grand Walk. A Saloon, or Picture Room led off it.[52] Concerts included sonatas and concerts with an organ overture.[53] The Chinese Pavilion, around 70ft in diameter, was situated in the centre of The Grove, a quadrangle of around five acres bordered by boxes and pavilions (Figure 71).[54] This is described in *England's Gazetteer* of 1751: 'and in the centre of the area, where the walks terminate, is erected the temple for the musicians, which is encompassed all round with handsome seats, decorated with pleasant paintings, on subjects most happily adapted to the season, place and company'.[55]

Ranelagh's main attraction was its famous Rotunda within which patrons could promenade, listen to music from the bandstand, and take tea, coffee, and bread and butter (Figure 72).[56] Initially called the Amphitheatre, the Rotunda was built by William Jones, architect to the East India Company, in 1741.[57] Horace Walpole (1717-1797) described an early visit in 1742, the year it opened: 'they have built an immense amphitheatre, with balconies full of little ale-houses: it is in rivalry to Vauxhall and costs above twelve thousand pounds'.[58] In a letter of 26 May of the same year, he describes it as a 'vast amphitheatre, finely gilt, painted and illuminated; into which everybody that loves eating, drinking, staring, or crowding, is admitted for twelvepence'. Unfortunately the Rotunda had an echo, so it was not very good acoustically, but given that the focus was on promenading, this was not a huge detraction.[59] This may, however, have contributed to a Frenchman's critique in 1749 that 'one becomes bored with the bad music, the tea, and the butter'.[60]

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[52] Wroth, *The London Pleasure Gardens of the Eighteenth Century*, 303.
[53] Wroth, 303.
[54] Wroth, 302–3.
[55] Wroth, 293.
[56] Wroth, 5. For a discussion of music and musicians at Ranelagh, see Mollie Sands, *Invitation to Ranelagh, 1742-1803* (London: JWesthouse, 1946).
[57] Wroth, *The London Pleasure Gardens of the Eighteenth Century*, 199.
[58] Letter to Mann, 22 April 1742, in Wroth, 200.
[59] Dorothea Baumann, *Music and Space: A Systematic and Historical Investigation into the Impact of Architectural Acoustics on Performance Practice Followed by a Study of Handel's Messiah*, Natur, Wissenschaft Und Die Künste; Bd. 7 (Bern; Oxford: P. Lang, 2011), 148.
[60] *on s'ennuie avec de la mauvaise musique, du thé, et du beurre*: In Wroth, *The London Pleasure Gardens of the Eighteenth Century*, 5. Translation is my own.

Guidebooks contain much architectural detail about the Rotunda and it was compared with 'the Pantheon at Rome'.[61] Constructed of wood, it had an external circumference of 555 ft and diameters of 185ft externally and 150ft internally.[62] Four doric porticos formed the entrance and the building was mirrored inside and out. There was an arcaded exterior with a gallery above that was reached via stairs at each portico.[63] The interior had *c.* 52 boxes in 1793, each separated by wainscoting and able to accommodate seven or eight people. Figure 72 shows tables at various points across the floor area of the space and the hatching represents matting that covered a plaster floor. Above these boxes was another gallery of boxes reached from the outside. The whole space was lit by sixty windows and was mostly constructed of wood. The ceiling was an olive colour, with a rainbow at the outside edge. Chandeliers hung from the ceiling and the whole was considered 'very glorious'.[64]

At Marylebone gardens, official tickets of admission that included musical entertainment of concertos, overtures and airs were sold from 1738.[65] Like Vauxhall, Marylebone too had a garden-orchestra that, from 1740, included an organ.[66] In addition to this purely musical entertainment, there was also a House or Great Room for balls and dancing.[67] Various musicians of repute performed at the lunchtime and evening concerts including Mr. Lampe, and Miss Faulkner (daughter of the London printer).[68] Handel himself visited with friends, on occasion, and his works were played by the orchestra.[69] An image from 1755 shows the garden with the orchestra (on the right) and great room, each a two-storeyed building (Figure 73). From 1763, the Gardens came under the management of various musicians. First was Thomas Lowe, a singer previously of Vauxhall Gardens, under whom vocalists became a key

[61] See, Kearsley's *Strangers' Guide* (1793?); Wroth, 201.
[62] Boydell, *Rotunda Music in Eighteenth-Century Dublin*, 23; Wroth, *The London Pleasure Gardens of the Eighteenth Century*, 201–2.
[63] Wroth, *The London Pleasure Gardens of the Eighteenth Century*, 202.
[64] Wroth, 202.
[65] Wroth, 95.
[66] Curl, *Spas, Wells, & Pleasure Gardens of London*, 145.
[67] Curl, 147.
[68] Wroth, *The London Pleasure Gardens of the Eighteenth Century*, 96.
[69] Wroth, 98.

musical attraction.[70] Another musician, Dr Samuel Arnold, became proprietor in 1769, but retired soon after in *c.* 1773.[71] The Gardens continued to host musical entertainments in various forms until their closure in 1776.

The challenges of performing outdoors, with a non-fixed audience, required a different approach to that of the concert hall, which was able to regulate the number and placement of its audience. The very nature of the pleasure garden meant that patrons were meant to come and go and partake of music in a less formal arrangement than in a dedicated concert venue. Although it is apparent that these structures were built primarily with attendees' needs in mind, we can see in some of the features that were incorporated that performance requirements were not entirely forsaken. This is seen in the inclusion of certain architectural features, such as the stage, which became a primary concern. Unsurprisingly, acoustics were a particularly difficult aspect to engage with, especially given the largely outdoors nature of the enterprises.

The popularity of pleasure gardens impacted upon the popularity of concerts. In one sense they consolidated the public consumption of music by providing entertainment outside of the principal concert season of October to May.[72] But as shown in Chapter Two, the financial viability of concerts was central to their success. The popularity of pleasure gardens reflected a shift in consumer focus: from dedicated concert hall, to multi-entertainment pleasure garden. The pleasure gardens therefore had an impact on the concert hall since they provided an alternative type of music consumption. They also impacted upon the success of concert venues due to their location on the outskirts of town. This meant that people were being drawn further out from the civic centre to enjoy entertainment, aided by developments in transport. This accessibility, and no doubt the novelty, meant that previous channels of proximity and accessibility were disrupted.

[70] Wroth, 101.
[71] Wroth, 103.
[72] Sands, *Invitation to Ranelagh, 1742-1803*, 27.

The size and proliferation of venues for musical performance in London meant that the future of the event was not consigned to the success or longevity of a single institution. Although certain venues did dominate the London music scene during particular periods, demand for this one type of leisure activity remained constant enough to ensure that there was always a concert venue in the City. York Buildings only held the mantle as the most fashionable venue for a short period of time, poor management soon leading to its demise and replacement by Hickford's Rooms, which remained the premier concert venue until the nineteenth century, hosting both Mozart and Haydn. Because of London's population and the sheer variety of entertainment, concerts managed to maintain a presence throughout the century, fending off rivals such as pleasure gardens.

This survival and adaptation was, in many ways, unique to London. Despite a vibrant cultural scene and an appreciative public, concert venues in Dublin and Edinburgh did not enjoy the longevity of those in London. In each of these instances, part of the reason for the concert hall's decline in popularity can be ascribed to changes in the city plan and circulation, which ushered in changing preferences for social engagement and entertainment, and facilitated the challenge of rival institutions.

Edinburgh

Civic expansion was not confined to London, although sheer numbers meant that London's expansion occurred on a greater scale than any other city in the British Isles at the time. Other cities, by contrast, exhibited a more clearly regulated plan of expansion. Such was the case in Edinburgh. The idea of a northern city expansion was first proposed in the 1670s, though political and economic events prevented it from being realized sooner than the mid-eighteenth century.[73] The motivation for this expansion was not simply practical, nor due solely to population growth. It was also philosophical, aimed at re-casting Edinburgh as a modern capital city, with

[73] Campbell and Stewart, 'The Evolution of the Medieval and Renaissance City', 35.

modern hygiene and more spacious living conditions.[74] In this respect the city looked to London as a 'striking example' of modernity.[75] Though notably, the plans and designs drawn up by the Earl of Mar (1675-1732) in the early eighteenth century drew heavily on French influence, reinforcing the physical and intellectual associations between Edinburgh and the Continent.[76]

In 1766, James Craig won the competition to design the new expansion (Figure 74). His plan was the visual antithesis of the Old Town (Figure 75). Unlike in London, where the destruction wreaked by the Great Fire meant that much of the city (both old and new) was constructed within the same period and so contained a certain visual unity, Edinburgh had two visually distinct regions. In the New Town, Georgian terraces and a regular arrangement of wide streets and squares created a uniform, light, and spacious arrangement of shops and dwellings. In the Old Town, the spine of the Royal Mile and its haphazard series of wynds and closes spilled down the sides of the mound. This division between the two had a profound impact on the development, success, and longevity of venues for music performance.

Although it could not boast the same preponderance of music venues as London, Edinburgh too had musical venues. Originally these were in the Old Town. Steil's Tavern, Cross Keys Tavern, The Assembly, Mary's Chapel, and St Cecilia's Hall were all within close proximity on the southern side of the High Street, just below St Giles' Cathedral (Figure 76). These venues were also close to the Law Courts, a group closely connected with the Musical Society.[77] Before the construction of the New Town, this area was also associated with grand houses of the nobility and was an area 'ripe for redevelopment'.[78] Niddry's Wynd, before its demolition, had been home to

[74] Campbell and Stewart, 37.
[75] *Proposals for carrying on certain Public Works in the City of Edinburgh* in, A. J. Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh, 1750-1840* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1966), 4.
[76] On medieval Edinburgh being laid out in a Continental fashion, see Campbell and Stewart, 'The Evolution of the Medieval and Renaissance City'.
[77] Jennifer Macleod, 'The Edinburgh Musical Society: Its Membership and Repertoire, 1728-1797' (PhD, University of Edinburgh, 2001), 57.
[78] D. Bell, *Edinburgh Old Town: The Forgotten Nature of an Urban Form* (Edinburgh: Tholis, 2008), 204.

one of the grandest houses in Edinburgh, that of Lockhart of Carnwath (1673-1731), a Scottish spy and politician, and family.[79] Another important Scottish family, the Erskines of Grange, also lived in the Wynd.[80]

The *Proposals* suggested that 'People of fortune, and of a certain rank, will probably chuse to build upon the fine fields which lie to the north and south of the town: but men of professions and business of every kind, will still incline to live in the neighbourhood of the exchange, of the courts of justice, and other places of public resort'.[81] This idea that the Old Town would retain its centrality was no doubt why George Drummond (1688-1766), a key figure in both the *Proposals* and the Musical Society, urged the group to purchase land on Niddry's Wynd. With the initial success of the South-side developments, this seemed a promisingly prospect.[82] But by the 1780s, the Edinburgh New Town to the North was becoming the fashionable new centre of the city, changing people's relationship with the Old Town and south-side developments.[83] The construction of the North Bridge (1763-1772) and the New Town from 1767 did not simply extend the city's borders; it created a whole, literally New, Town. This was intended to form a balance with the South-side development of George Square. The Old Town could not compete with the spacious grandeur of the new expansion and, coupled with the decline in the South-side development, shops and wealthy residents soon relocated northwards. Cramped, old buildings in winding passages were replaced with grand Georgian terraces and squares. The shifting preference towards the fashionable New Town was reflected in the siting of performance venues, especially the Assembly, which also relocated there in 1787.

As shown in Chapter Three, Assembly Rooms displaced concert halls as a preferred entertainment in the latter eighteenth century. In Edinburgh, an Assembly was operating from as early as 1710, providing entertainment and, like the Clubs of

[79] David Fraser Harris, *Saint Cecilia's Hall in the Niddry Wynd: A Chapter in the History of the Music of the Past in Edinburgh*, Second edition (Edinburgh: O. Anderson and Ferrier, 1911), 6.
[80] Harris, 7.
[81] Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh, 1750-1840*, 10.
[82] Mary Cosh, *Edinburgh: The Golden Age* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2002), 3–4.
[83] Cosh, 14.

Dublin, with an emphasis on raising funds for charitable causes.[84] An attraction of the wealthy, the appeal of the Assembly was no doubt aided in Edinburgh by the elegant new settings of the New Town and a greenfield site. The Assembly, which in the 1750s had considered building a venue in association with the Musical Society in the Old Town, instead opted to refurbish Old Town premises in Assembly Close before relocating to George Street in the New Town in 1787.[85] Adam made designs to refurbish the George Street premises in 1791, but these were not acted upon (Figure 58).[86] Whether the venue attracted more patrons, or the patrons were attracted by the new venue, is difficult to ascertain. Regardless, the new premises were a success, becoming a main attraction in Edinburgh as a letter by Scottish poet and satirical author Tobias Smollett (1721-1771) suggests: 'Our company of actors is very tolerable, and a subscription is now afoot for building a theatre, but their assemblies please me above all other public exhibitions'.[87]

The impact of urban planning on the success of the concert hall can therefore clearly be seen in Edinburgh. The fortunes of St Cecilia's, which opened the same year construction of the North Bridge began, was inherently connected with the New Town Scheme. Although the New Town extended the boundaries of the city and the space in which its inhabitants dwelled, the Bridge continued to enable patronage of St Cecilia's Hall and its concert series remained unaffected. However, the construction of the South Bridge from 1785 resulted in the destruction of Niddry Wynd and the repositioning of the Street (Figure 47). This meant the loss of the entrance courtyard and porticos, and the dwarfing of the structure next to the immense piers of the bridge. An iron rail, supported by wooden pillars had been put up in the front of the building in September 1764.[88] Originally there was also a small portico at the main

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[84] Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh, 1750-1840*, 250.
[85] Youngson, 250–52.
[86] John Gifford, *Edinburgh*, Buildings of Scotland (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984), 281.
[87] Tobias Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker, by Tobias Smollett*, 2nd ed. (London: Printed for W. Johnston, 1771), https://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/s/smollett/tobias/clinker/chapter57.html.
[88] William Forbes Gray, *The Musical Society of Edinburgh and St. Cecilia's Hall: Extracted from the Nineteenth Volume of the Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, December 1933.* (Edinburgh: Old Edinburgh Club, 1933), 227.

entrance.[89] This was set within a small courtyard, formed by the two houses that abutted the Hall on either side of the main entrance. This would have made a more logical place for the sedan chairs to drop off their passengers, rather than the interior of the vestibule as Harris assumed. The construction of South Bridge, however, changed the siting and access points to the Hall, greatly reducing the street space outside the entrance. Howard noted that this contributed to the decline of the Hall since it occurred at the same time that carriages became very popular. This meant that there was no longer enough space around the building's entrance, a detraction given the inclement weather.[90] Mary Cosh, however, has noted that the sedan chair was still the most popular form of transport for 1790s Society in Edinburgh.[91] This Society was, however, now firmly based in the New Town, and it seems more likely that the distance of travel was a greater detraction than the point of access.

In 1787, the Trustees of the South Bridge 'gave as a recompense to the Directors of the Musical Society a small area fronting the Cowgate, on the south-east side of St. Cecilia's Hall, as well as the area between the Hall and the Cowgate.'[92] But naturally the Cowgate too experienced a severe decline in status with the construction of the New Town and this also had a direct, adverse affect on the Hall. The extra land could not counter the appeal of the New Town and the rise in popularity of the Assembly Rooms in which, as A. J. Youngson noted, 'concerts could conveniently be given and much more conveniently be attended'.[93] By the late 1780s, the Musical Society was making architectural modifications to accommodate their new surroundings and attract concert attendees. In May 1787 concerts were cancelled until 12 June due to

[89] Gray, 227.
[90] Deborah Howard, 'St Cecilia's Hall: Architecture and Music in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh', in *The Arts in Eighteenth Century Scotland: Papers from the Symposium in Honour of Basil C. Skinner*, ed. Murdo Macdonald (Edinburgh: Quadriga, 1993), 66–67.
[91] Cosh, *Edinburgh*, 120.
[92] Harris, *Saint Cecilia's Hall in the Niddry Wynd*, 22.
[93] Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh, 1750-1840*, 249.

access difficulties.[94] This same year a portico was set up to defray the effect of the weather.[95] In 1789 extra lamps were needed as the bridge blocked the light.[96]

St Cecilia's continued to lose audience members and by 1790 concerts were becoming less popular.[97] There was a last attempt to modernise in 1797 with a new decoration of the Hall.[98] This proved to have little effect. The hired professional musicians, who had been a principal draw card for the Society, became disruptive in the 1790s and this too contributed to its demise.[99] On 7 February 1801, three years after the last concert, the Society held a meeting 'at 3 o'clock in St Cecilia's Hall, to take measures for disposing of their property and the winding up of the affairs of the Society'.[100] The Hall was sold to a Baptist Church, whilst the New Town retained its status as the main cultural centre within the city. Both physically and socially, the new relationship between the two parts of the city had a profound effect on the success of the venue: the altered streetscape meant that carriages could no longer use the streets, light was less available, and the forecourt lost its grandeur. This, coupled with the general rise of the fashionable Assembly Rooms in George Street, sounded the death-knell for the venue.

Dublin

A similar pattern of civic expansion impacting upon the fortunes of a concert hall is also seen in Dublin. The Charitable Musical Society had comprised a diverse group of people and 'played a central role in developing the self-consciousness of Dublin's expanding middle class, one which was sensible, well-intentioned, and capable of

[94] Joe Rock, 'The Temple of Harmony: New Research on St Cecilia's Hall, Edinburgh', *Architectural Heritage* 20, no. 1 (November 2009): 70.
[95] Rock, 70.
[96] Rock, 70.
[97] Various reasons are ascribed to this, including finances and siting. For a brief discussion, see Macleod, 'The Edinburgh Musical Society', 206.
[98] Rock, 'The Temple of Harmony', 70.
[99] Howard, 'St Cecilia's Hall: Architecture and Music in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh', 57–58.
[100] Rock, 'The Temple of Harmony', 70.

non-sectarian cultural interaction'.[101] Dublin audiences were therefore more interested in concerts for their role within fashionable social life and charitable activity, rather than for the music itself.[102] It was hardly surprising, therefore, that they should abandon the Fishamble Street Music Room in favour of a newer, more fashionable and more clearly charitable, venue. Adding to this propensity was that the newer venues were more closely situated to the fashionable Georgian expansions of the City. By contrast, the Musical Society's Fishamble Street Music Hall was in the centre of the old city, displaced from the centres of new wealth and fashion.

Fishamble Street is one of the most ancient streets in Dublin and a central conduit from the river to the hub of the medieval town (Figure 77). The first Viking settlement in the area is recorded not far from the street's northern end.[103] The street was named for its association with the fish trade.[104] Its curious shape reflects its past: its wider midpoint marking a medieval market (Figure 78).[105] To its south-eastern end is Dublin Castle, the official seat of the viceroy, a magnet for high society in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and a key musical centre in the seventeenth century due to the yearly performance of the ode for the Monarch's birthday and the Castle Balls.[106] At the south end of Fishamble-Street is Christ Church Cathedral, founded in *c.* 1030 and home to Archbishop Laurence O'Toole (twelfth century), Dublin's patron saint. Not so far away, though further south again, is St Patrick's Cathedral founded in 1191, where Jonathan Swift was based and Narcissus Marsh established his library. These two Anglican cathedrals each had choral establishments, meaning that Fishamble Street was in close proximity to the resident professional musicians of the city.

[101] Laurence Whyte, *The Collected Poems of Laurence Whyte*, ed. Michael J. Griffin (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2016), 25.
[102] Boydell, *Rotunda Music in Eighteenth-Century Dublin*, 15.
[103] Peter Somerville-Large and Mark Fiennes, *Dublin: The Fair City*, Rev. ed. (London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1996), 9.
[104] Somerville-Large and Fiennes, 39.
[105] Christine Casey, *Dublin: The City within the Grand and Royal Canals and the Circular Road with the Phoenix Park*, Buildings of Ireland (London: Yale University Press, 2005), 316.
[106] Brian Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar, 1700-1760* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1988), 14.

This area around Fishamble Street was the centre of the medieval city, which stretched eastwards along the banks of the Liffey towards Trinity College.[107] In the seventeenth century, the eastern side of Fishamble Street became a cultural nexus with the construction of Smock Alley Theatre in 1662 and a plethora of taverns, many of which, as seen, hosted musical performances.[108] Alongside it, the Temple Bar was a newly developed area for wealthy Englishmen, filled with houses and gardens. By the turn of the eighteenth century, the area contained numerous theatres, music venues, and taverns, though its reputation had also begun to change, developing renown as the red light district.

As Boydell has shown, musical societies were also active in College Green, near the Parliament buildings, and throughout the Temple Bar area.[109] Although their performances were frequently linked with charitable causes, it is clear that musical activity was closely centred within these old boundaries of the city. The importance of cathedrals to the medieval city and the fostering of vocal music is also seen in Dublin, as in London.[110] From Whyte's poem on the early history of the Musical Society, it is clear that the group moved location frequently in the 1720s and 1730s, finding their homes in various taverns (Appendix E). These were mostly located along Fishamble Street or in nearby Christ Church Yard. They were by no means the only tavern-based Society active during the period.

Given these clear links between music and the old city, it is hardly surprising that these groups did not look further afield when seeking to establish a permanent base. Mr Johnston's Crow Street Music Hall opted for the central area of the Temple Bar, whilst the Fishamble Street Music Hall remained close to their previous tavern base, The George. This was not the only concert venue on the street. In 1742, Dublin newspapers mention the Philharmonick Room situated 'opposite St John's Church in

[107] Craig, *Dublin 1660-1860*, 5.
[108] Smock Alley, like Drury Lane in London, had entertainments that featured both music and drama. Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar, 1700-1760*, 19.
[109] Boydell, 'Venues for Music in 18th Century Dublin'.
[110] In Dublin, the Hibernian Catch Club held its meetings in a Cathedral. Cf Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar, 1700-1760*, 14.

Fishamble-street' and next to Christ Church.[111] According to Boydell, this housed the Philharmonick Society; the now renamed Crow Street Music Society. The reason for the move, and choice of location, is unknown.[112] He posits that it could have been an issue of space, and that their Crow Street venue was too large for their needs and the performance of oratorios. However, their relocation occurred the year after the Fishamble Street Music Hall opened. One wonders if their rebranding might have been an attempt to compete for audiences and to distance themselves geographically from the centre of the Temple Bar, which had since lost its status.

By the mid-eighteenth century, Dublin's cultural life was still very much centred on the Castle and surrounding areas. However the population of the city had expanded dramatically from *c.* 60,000 in 1700 to *c.* 140,000 by 1760, making it the second largest city in the British Isles behind London.[113] Parliament House, on which Richard Castle, the architect of Fishamble Street Music Room, first worked with Edward Lovett Pearce, was constructed in the 1730s, the first indication of an emerging civic infrastructure. Architecturally, Dublin was also modernizing; its new infrastructure united in its classical architecture, lending character to a city that is still defined by it today. In 1762 the utterly-Georgian Merrion Square was laid out to the south east of Trinity College. This was but one of a series of garden squares in the newly-constructed east end of the city, which also included St Stephen's Green, and the recently completed Leinster House (1745-48), also by Castle.[114]

These developments consolidated the southern bank as the core of the city. Although the northern banks of the Liffey had been settled for centuries by the seventeenth century, it was only with the Wide Streets Commission in 1757 that the modern city

[111] Faulkner's Dublin Journal and Dublin News-Letter 12-16 October 1742. Boydell, 17.
[112] Boydell, 17.
[113] Boydell, 11.
[114] Richard Castle, architect of the Fishamble-Street Hall, was also responsible for buildings in and around these new developments including #85 St Stephen's Green, and Leinster House. See, Loreto Calderón and Konrad Dechant, 'New Light on Hugh Montgomerie, Richard Castle and No. 85 St Stephen's Green', in *The Eighteenth-Century Dublin Town House*, ed. Christine Casey (Four Courts Press, 2010), 174–96; David J. Griffin, *Leinster House, 1744-2000: An Architectural History* (Dublin: Irish Architectural Archive, 2000); Somerville-Large and Fiennes, *Dublin*, 128.

and its new routes began to formulate.[115] A ferry continued to link the thoroughfare from Stephen's Green to the Rotunda until the construction of Carlisle Bridge in the 1790s, but the shift away from the medieval core of the city was clear.[116] The development of Oxmantown from 1665 was the first clear indication of expansion on the northern bank.[117] This was consolidated with the construction of four new bridges in the last quarter of the seventeenth century: Bloody Bridge (1670), Essex Bridge (1676-8), Arran bridge (1682), and Ormond Bridge (1682).[118] Within this context the accessibility of Mosse's Rotunda and gardens, firmly to the north of the river, was difficult to conceive. It seemed out of the way and vastly removed from the established cultural and social hubs to the south (Figure 79).

Bartholomew Mosse (1712-1759) was a surgeon and the founder of the Lying-In Hospital, now known as the Rotunda. His maternity hospital was established in 1743 and funded through subscriptions and fundraising activities. In order to finance his hospital, Mosse also established a pleasure garden, designed from the outset to be a fashionable place of entertainment.[119] No doubt the novelty and variety of activities attracted visitors, and to the surprise of many it soon became part of the leisure circuit. Mosse's New Gardens were modelled on Vauxhall and became 'a vortex of fashion'.[120] An account of their musical setting is given by John Bush in his *Hibernia Curiosa* (1764):

> In the middle nearly of the garden is a spacious and beautiful bowling green. On the side of the garden opposite the hospital the ground being much higher is formed into a fine hanging bank of near thirty feet slope on the top of which is laid out a grand terrace walk commanding a fine view of the hospital. On the upper side of this terrace and nearly encompassed with the groves and shrubberies is built a very pretty orchestra. This is the most agreeable garden about Dublin and is their Vauxhall much frequented in the fine summer evenings by the general company of the city And though the whole garden is not so generally

[115] Somerville-Large and Fiennes, *Dublin*, 152.
[116] Somerville-Large and Fiennes, 152–53.
[117] Casey, *Dublin*, 24.
[118] Casey, 24, 691.
[119] C. P. Curran, *The Rotunda Hospital: Its Architects and Craftsmen* (Dublin: At the Sign of the Three Candles, 1945), 28.
[120] So said a 'contemporary', cited in Curran, 29.

> calculated for a musical entertainment s the gardens of Vauxhall yet there are some walks in it where the music has a finer effect than I have ever found in the London Vauxhall.[121]

As seen in the London pleasure gardens, the stage featured heavily, sometimes being adapted as a bandstand. These structures that accommodated the musicians were generally covered, though it is unclear if this was intended for the benefit of the promenaders for when it rained, for decorative value, or for protecting the instruments and reflecting their sound back down towards the attendees instead of being lost to the open air. Where these structures were placed varied depending on the site. The main musical venue in Mosse's Dublin gardens was an 'orchestra' set up along a path overlooking the bowling green (Figure 80).

Mosse was a savvy and astute businessman and well aware of what would appeal to the Dublin public. He was also a musician, a member of the Charitable Musical Society, and therefore finely attuned to the tastes and whims of his fellow Dubliners.[122] His choice of location, on the north side of the river, was a long way from the more fashionable climes of the city on the southern bank, but his site afforded landscapes, parks, gardens, and with the Rotunda, modern architecture (Figure 81). With the construction of the Rotunda in 1757 Mosse had a new attraction to appeal to his audience. Its unusual design and fashionable Neoclassical style made it the place at which to be seen. Built by John Ensor, Richard Castle's apprentice, the Rotunda design was inspired by Ranelagh rotunda in London. Ensor's Round Room cost £6,044. 14s. 11d.[123] It was far smaller than its London counterpart, being only 80ft in diameter and 40ft high.[124] But the Rotunda had the novelty of being a circular space, and the twenty years between it and the Fishamble Street Music Hall meant that it represented the height of fashion and architectural taste. Furthermore, where Fishamble Street had been built for the performances of the Musical Society, the Rotunda was built for social occasions to support the charitable activities of the Hospital. This was not to the exclusion of architectural features that

[121] John Bush *Hibernia Curiosa,* from a tour of 1764 in Curran, *The Rotunda Hospital*, 29.
[122] Curran, 2.
[123] Boydell, *Rotunda Music in Eighteenth-Century Dublin*, 24.
[124] Boydell, 24.

supported the performance of music, however. On the western side was a stage that projected out into the room and in 1764 an organ was added above this to better enable evening concerts.[125]

The success of Mosse's Rotunda, given its location, seems to have been a surprise to the established musical venues in the old centre. In 1751, ten years after its opening a 'very elegant additional room' was added to the Fishamble Street Hall for 'the comport [sic] of those who attended balls and ridottos'.[126] William Neale was behind the changes. The decision to add to the structure reflects a change in the type of musical entertainment being enjoyed. The Hall had hosted balls and ridottos (a type of assembly ball) throughout its life, but as shown in Chapter Three, these were clearly growing in popularity by the mid century and the Hall needed to adapt in order to accommodate them. By adding a room, the building could remain competitive as a venue for these types of entertainments. However, even within this ten-year period, it is clear that audiences were beginning to shift their preferences, from passive musical entertainment, to more social forms of engagement. Unfortunately this bid did not meet with lasting success.

By the 1770s, Fishamble Street had lost its pre-eminence as a hub of cultural activity, especially for music. Just as the Fishamble Street Music Room had supplanted the Crow Street Music Theatre as the most popular venue for musical entertainment, so too did it find itself being supplanted by the Rotunda. The Rotunda and its blossoming pleasure garden had displaced the Fishamble-Street Room as Dublin's preferred concert venue. However, the area still retained the Smock Alley Theatre (1662) and it seems that dramatic performances (including Opera) were still the remit of the Temple Bar region. In keeping with this, the Fishamble Street Music Hall was converted into a theatre for operas in 1777, demonstrating a continuing bid to stay relevant to changing tastes.

[125] Boydell, 24; Curran, *The Rotunda Hospital*, 30.
[126] In W. H. Grattan Flood, 'Fishamble St. Music Hall, Dublin, from 1741 to 1777', *Sammelbände Der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 14, no. 1 (1912): 54.

The expansion of Dublin's cultural centres to the peripheries of the city were not necessarily just a response to issues of space, and unlike London and Edinburgh, they did not result in a complete re-centring of the city. Clearly the centre of the Old Town had an established association with the creative arts. The Rotunda and Georgian developments to both the north and south afforded new social and leisure opportunities. Because Dublin was a trade-based economy that relied on the river, the central nexus of the Liffey and the associated hubs of the Customs House (1781-1791) and City Hall (1769-1779) meant that the old Dublin centre was never entirely displaced. This was aided by the contemporaneous developments on both sides of the river, enabling the old Dublin south bank to remain a point of socio-political gravity, in spite of the city's outward expansion.

But the cultural shift outwards can also be interpreted as a reaction to the traditional centres of power, the cathedrals and Court, and the rise in the importance of social allegiances and leisure. This type of reading accords with a new consumerist society driven by the prosperity and creation of a middle class funded by commercial endeavours, rather than political allegiance. Such wealth did not require as close a proximity to centres of power.

Oxford

The three cities discussed so far in this chapter bear many similarities. All have been united in the impact urban expansion had on the siting and fortunes of their concert spaces, and all are capital cities. The final case study, Oxford, differs in both these respects. It is unusual in that its principal concert venue was not displaced by urban expansion, and neither was it a capital city. Although Oxford had hosted the Court during the Interregnum, the city itself was primarily a university town. The practicalities that accompanied this, and the limitations on expansion imposed by the land-owning Colleges, meant that the City did not begin to expand until the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with its town-based industrialisation

through the construction of the Oxford Canal (1790), and the building of the Univeristy Press in Jericho (1826). It can be no coincidence that Holywell was the longest-lived of the early concert halls discussed in this thesis, remaining continuously in use as a performance venue until 1836.

Holywell Music Room was the longest lasting of the first purpose-built halls. Because of its association with the University of Oxford, it was protected somewhat from the changing preferences of the musical public. A contributing factor to this was the Room's associations with the University Music department, which were consolidated by William Hayes in the 1750s and 1760s, and then by his son Philip from the 1770s.[127] This made the building an unofficial extension of the University portfolio. Holywell was subsequently considered part of the town's infrastructure, becoming almost a semi-public building in the manner of the Bodleian Library (1602) and Ashmolean Museum (1683). It was another facet of the University tradition of creating purpose-built structures and public buildings like the Sheldonian Theatre (1669).[128] The concerts therefore functioned within a close-knit social and musical context, supported by Oxford's role and institutional status.

Another contributing factor was that the city itself remained relatively small and underwent few changes to affect the residents' circulation and use of the city. Moreover, as Wollenberg has noted, the city had a dense population high in young men with leisure time to devote to both performing in, and attending, concerts.[129] The concerts, in which Oxford's many musical families and professionals performed, appealed not only to 'local needs and tastes, but also [to] aspects of eighteenth-

[127] John H. Mee, *The Oldest Music Room in Europe: A Record of Eighteenth-Century Enterprise at Oxford* (London: John Lane, 1911), 15.
[128] Susan Wollenberg, '"So Much Rational and Elegant Amusement, at an Expence Comparatively Inconsiderable": The Holywell Concerts in the Eighteenth Century', in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2004), 249.
[129] Wollenberg, 248.

century English cultural life more broadly'.[130] This included the provision of an attractive public entertainment space and opportunities for increased sociability.[131]

Another aspect that contributed to its longevity was its location within the city (Figure 82). Although Oxford was not, and is not, a particularly large city, Holywell was in close proximity to the central knot of main University Buildings; namely, the Old Bodleian Library, the Schools, the University Church of St Mary's, and the Sheldonian Theatre. Furthermore, it was at the eastern end of Broad Street, a major thoroughfare through the city, connecting it with the parish of Holywell. This proximity to the Schools and the centres of University ceremony enabled its use in the activities of the University and aided its accessibility by musicians. This proximity was also certainly of benefit to Ellis as well, whose location opposite the Sheldonian meant that he was not far from the College communities and their resident musicians. So while the layout of the city did not have an economic impact on the location of spaces for music like the cities above, it still had an important role to play in the establishment of music meeting culture and the longevity of ventures. One can argue that musical spaces within the Oxford city plan therefore responded to intellectual, rather than financial, capital.

The layout of the city of Oxford has been used to argue for the genesis of music meetings. Penelope Gouk has shown that the location and spread of scientists and musicians across the city contributed significantly to the sharing of ideas, largely within musical gatherings (Figure 83).[132] She notes that 'during this period [seventeenth century] Oxford was one of the richest repositories of musical technologies and skills in the country, not only in terms of highly trained practitioners, but also in terms of instruments, books, and opportunities to play and hear music in a variety of settings'.[133] This provided 'the context for a new kind of

[130] Wollenberg, 255.
[131] Wollenberg, 258.
[132] See especially Chapter Two, Penelope Gouk, *Music, Science, and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999).
[133] Penelope Gouk, 'Performance Practice: Music, Medicine and Natural Philosophy in Interregnum Oxford', *The British Journal for the History of Science* 29, no. 3 (1996): 261.

musical practice that eventually led to a major musical innovation: the public concert'.[134] She also shows that Oxford was a 'fertile site' for experimentation and scientific thought between *c.* 1640-1660 and argues that the institutional and social structures that generated scientific knowledge and practice in Oxford, also existed in parallel for music.[135] This is reflected in the use of similar types of venues, such as taverns and coffeehouses.[136] However this was also a natural consequence of the built environment during this period, since building specialization was only just beginning to emerge. Taverns and coffeehouses were so popular, in part, because they were able to support multiple uses and take on many guises.

Centre and Periphery

Although much of this thesis has been devoted to the performance of music in capital cities, musical activity was not confined to them. Studies have shown extensive musical activity across regional centres, however examples also highlight that purpose-built venues were late to come to such places. Peter Borsay includes many named examples in his study of provincial English towns that suggest a primary focus on music, but these were frequently bestowed at later periods and do not necessarily reflect their original purpose: The Music Room (1730s) in a converted Summer House in Lancaster did not acquire its name until the nineteenth century, and the Music Room of Number 51 Keldgate, Beverly, was rebuilt in 1753 as an appendage to a private home rather than as a public space.[137] Norwich's first purpose-built theatre was renamed the 'Grand Concert-Hall' in 1759 to bypass licensing laws.[138] So while musical culture was clearly active in regional centres, it did not develop architecture for this purpose in the same way as seen in the capitals.

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[134] Gouk, 261.
[135] Gouk, 258–61.
[136] Gouk, *Music, Science, and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England*, 54.
[137] Borsay, 'Concert Topography and Provincial Towns in Eighteenth-Century England', 21–22.
[138] Trevor Fawcett, *Music in Eighteenth-Century Norwich and Norfolk* (Norwich: Centre of East Anglian Studies, University of East Anglia, 1979), 22.

In examining regional music making in England, Michael Tilmouth argues that concerts do not develop outside the capital until *c.* 1720.[139] But this does not account for the established tradition of music meetings and burgeoning societies that were already widespread in regional centres by this time. The cathedral, in particular, had an important role to play in the development of regional secular music performance culture. Hereford and Wells had musical societies before 1705.[140] The Three Choirs Festival grew in the early eighteenth century from local music meetings that included catch singing.[141] By the 1720s, other Cathedral cities also boasted Music Clubs, including Gloucester, Worcester, and York.[142] In the 1720s, Norwich's Musical Society moved around tavern venues, as did Wells' Music Club, which relocated from Close Hall to the Mitre Inn in 1726.[143] In 1735, the Newcastle Music Society established a concert series. Just as early music societies were geographically grouped around Cathedrals within the capitals, so too did they appear in Cathedral cities across England.

The role of the Church in establishing secular music practice is also seen in the strong association between universities and churches, with many graduates becoming vicars. Their placements were often in rural and regional areas and Elizabeth Chevill's thesis is that they formed music societies following the tradition of university music clubs of which they had been a part, perhaps 'to overcome problems of cultural isolation'.[144] Therefore some of the earliest provincial music societies started by clergy in cathedral cities were modelled on Oxbridge societies.[145] Chevill argues that provincial music centres shaped British musical heritage and contributed

[139] Michael Tilmouth, 'Chamber Music in England, 1675-1720' (PhD, University of Cambridge, 1960), https://www.repository.cam.ac.uk/handle/1810/251019; Cited in Chevill, 'Clergy, Music Societies and the Development of a Musical Tradition: A Study of Music Societies in Hereford 1690-1760', 35.
[140] Chevill, 'Clergy, Music Societies and the Development of a Musical Tradition: A Study of Music Societies in Hereford 1690-1760', 37.
[141] Anthony Boden and Paul Hedley, *The Three Choirs Festival a History*, New and revised edition (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017), 1–5.
[142] Chevill, 'Clergy, Music Societies and the Development of a Musical Tradition: A Study of Music Societies in Hereford 1690-1760', 35.
[143] Borsay, 'Concert Topography and Provincial Towns in Eighteenth-Century England', 25.
[144] Chevill, 'Clergy, Music Societies and the Development of a Musical Tradition: A Study of Music Societies in Hereford 1690-1760', 37.
[145] Chevill PhD thesis for other examples.

to the development of the oratorio tradition.[146] She stresses that a difficulty in fully assessing this is the lack of evidence in regional newspapers and sources, although newspaper advertisements for concerts appear by the mid 1720s in Canterbury, Exeter, and Norwich.[147] From the 1730s, music society names (and therefore their repertoire) can be found in subscription lists to music publications. Festings's 'Twelve Sonatas in Three Parts' op. 2 (1731), for example, listed Edinburgh, Norwich, Oxford, Ripon, Oxford Catch Club, and York Music Assembly as subscribers. These lists are therefore evidence for the spread of music societies across the country.[148]

But as Borsay has also noted, a particularly striking feature of regional centres is the scarcity of purpose-built facilities or spaces primarily for music.[149] Borsay's approach examines the 'topography of the concert', noting that the presence of regional concert spaces is not related solely to the presence of musical societies. So although performance practice was spreading to regional centres, it does not seem to have also included performance-centred architecture. This is confirmed by the sheer lack of purpose-built concert halls, which were confined to capital cities (and Oxford) and the presence of Assembly Rooms. Clearly the notion of an architecture for music was not yet inscribed within the national consciousness, even if the public performance of music itself was.

By 1700, 'London had become the largest commercial musical marketplace in Europe'.[150] From 1660-1710 London led the way for music making and public performances in England.[151] In the eighteenth century, a similar blossoming of musical culture and infrastructure is seen with the establishment of the regional centre. Cities like York and Norwich began to develop cultural infrastructure, including assemblies, music societies, coffeehouses and bookshops. Newspapers and

[146] Chevill, 'Clergy, Music Societies and the Development of a Musical Tradition: A Study of Music Societies in Hereford 1690-1760'.
[147] Chevill, 35.
[148] Chevill, 35–36.
[149] Borsay, 'Concert Topography and Provincial Towns in Eighteenth-Century England', 21.
[150] Gouk, *Music, Science, and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England*, 9.
[151] Harley, *Music in Purcell's London*, 13.

printing presses were also set up.[152] Because of this the gentry began purchasing town houses, with some opting to remain in regional centres rather than return to London for the season. Musically, this also had an effect, with professional musicians from the Continent who had been based in London now being recruited to support regional activities.[153] Musicians could be found in London during the season, and on regional tours in the off-season.[154]

But London is not the only city in this study and in theory Dublin and Edinburgh, also both capital cities in their own right, had similar relationships with regional centres in their own countries. Dublin musical and concert life was not representative of the rest of the country, though a polite, secular music culture was also beginning to emerge during the eighteenth century in Cork, Limerick, and Waterford.[155] This is also clearly seen in Belfast where, by the mid-eighteenth century, theatres and assembly halls were venues for secular music entertainment.[156] In Scotland, Aberdeen was the largest musical centre after Edinburgh and had a musical society from 1747.[157] Dundee formed one soon afterwards, and Glasgow too had established one by the 1770s.[158] Clearly the interest in musical performance culture was not one restricted to London or even the capitals, but by the mid-eighteenth century, part of the shared cultural conscious of the British Isles.

The cities discussed in this chapter are the places with a purpose-built venue because they are centres of culture and power as well as music. By examining the spread and

[152] Chevill, 'Clergy, Music Societies and the Development of a Musical Tradition: A Study of Music Societies in Hereford 1690-1760', 38.
[153] For those in York, see Elizabeth Chevill, 'Music Societies and Musical Life in Old Foundation Cathedral Cities 1700-60' (PhD, University of London, 1993), 89–97.
[154] Chevill, 'Clergy, Music Societies and the Development of a Musical Tradition: A Study of Music Societies in Hereford 1690-1760', 39.
[155] Brian Boydell, *Four Centuries of Music in Ireland: Essays Based on a Series of Programmes Broadcast to Mark the 50th Anniversary of the BBC in Northern Ireland* (London: BBC, 1979), 28–29; Susan O'Regan, *Music and Society in Cork, 1700-1900* (Cork, Ireland: Cork University Press, 2018).
[156] Raymond Gillespie, 'Music and Song in Early Eighteenth-Century Belfast', in *Irish Provincial Cultures in the Long Eighteenth-Century: Making the Middle Sort : Essays for Toby Barnard*, ed. Raymond Gillespie and R. F. Foster (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012), 155–69.
[157] Henry George Farmer, *A History of Music in Scotland*, Da Capo Press Music Reprint Series (New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), 194.
[158] Henry George Farmer, *Music in 18th Century Scotland* (Glasgow: W. Maclellan, 1946), 6.

development of music spaces and their associated architecture, I suggest that in the case of musical architecture, London fostered a burgeoning culture of musical activity, but did not set the benchmark for musical architecture. This can be seen in the early construction of purpose-built music venues across the Isles and the proliferation of musical activity in regional centres across the Isles. Furthermore, these developments took place in other major capitals that were not beholden to a London-centric model, despite their cultural and political ties. Edinburgh, in particular, had its own cultural, and more relevant to this thesis architectural, tradition upon which to draw. The exception to this is, however, the pleasure garden, which was modelled both architecturally and programmatically on London exempla.[159]

Conclusion

In Chapters One through Three I showed how social, economic, and political factors shaped the emergence and development of an architecture for music performance. As this chapter has shown, the siting, and subsequent success, of venues for secular music performance were influenced by changes in the urban landscape and the development of the modern city. In the capital cities, an outward movement characterized civic expansion and greater attention was being given to the peripheries over the established medieval centres. Oxford is a contrasting example, further proving the impact urban development had on the fortunes of concert halls and cultural infrastructure. The impact of civic expansion and growth is also seen in the broader move away from capital city centres and the establishment of regional centres that developed their own cultural infrastructure. Although demonstrating a preference for multi-faceted entertainment rather than music as a dedicated cultural activity, the construction of Assembly Rooms and the movement of musicians to perform there is evidence of a further consolidation of musical culture across the British Isles during the eighteenth century. The lack of dedicated concert venues in

[159] Boydell, 'Venues for Music in 18th Century Dublin', 33.

these centres also proves that architecture for music, manifesting in the concert room, was in this period in the British Isles a rare thing specific to larger centres such as capital cities and Oxford. That none of these venues lasted, and that their demise was hastened by civic expansion and urban development, demonstrates that architecture for music was still subject to the whims and changing preferences of the British public and was not yet an established component of the architectural landscape.

CHAPTER FIVE

~ (Re)-Constructing Sound ~

In 1951, acoustician Hope Bagenal raised a perplexing question: Did architecture influence music, or music influence architecture?[1] It is without doubt that different musical styles are better suited to certain architectural environments, but whether one responded directly to the other is less clear. Plainchant, for instance, is most effective within the cavernous and highly resonant space of the stone-vaulted cathedral.[2] By contrast, a baroque string quartet will sound to its greatest advantage in a smaller, more intimate venue with less reverberation.[3] But the true relationship between the development of musical style and changes in the architectural setting for performance is unknown. Some composers are known to have composed their music for specific architectural settings, a practical acknowledgement that architecture influenced music.[4] Monteverdi, for example, wrote about visiting the Teatro Farnese

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[1] Hope Bagenal, 'Musical Taste and Concert Hall Design', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 78 (1 January 1951): 11–29.
[2] Bagenal, 14.
[3] Bagenal, 15.
[4] Thurston Dart, *The Interpretation of Music*, 4th ed.. (London: Hutchinson, 1978), 56–57.

in Parma to check the acoustics of the space before writing music for it.[5] Wagner, as an extreme case, designed his own building for the performance of his works, the Richard-Wagner-Festspielhaus. These examples indicate that at least some composers were aware of the effect architectural space would have on their music. But while they are informative of the compositional process, these few stories shed little light on the construction or creation of architecture for music.

While Bagenal's article focused on the fundamental relationship between architecture and acoustics, it failed to account for the role of the architect. This aspect has since been more fully explored by Howard and Moretti in their study of Venetian churches.[6] They demonstrated that architects such as Sansovino and Palladio had ready access to theoretical knowledge about the effects of architecture on musical performance, as well as practical know-how from musicians.[7] Investigations into this relationship between architects, acoustics, and music has been conducted in secular settings also, but these have focused on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries due to the greater number of spaces, the more prominent role of the architect, and the growth of acoustics as a practical science.[8] Unsurprisingly, little has been written about the acoustic knowledge of architects designing for secular music performances during the eighteenth century. This chapter therefore considers how much architects of the period might have known about acoustics, and whether or not there is evidence for them having factored this in to the design of the spaces discussed in this thesis. It suggests that musicians had a greater influence in the configuration of spaces for music than what has previously been recognized.

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[5] Dorothea Baumann, *Music and Space: A Systematic and Historical Investigation into the Impact of Architectural Acoustics on Performance Practice Followed by a Study of Handel's Messiah*, Natur, Wissenschaft Und Die Künste; Bd. 7 (Bern; Oxford: P. Lang, 2011), 29.
[6] Deborah Howard and Laura Moretti, *Sound and Space in Renaissance Venice: Architecture, Music, Acoustics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).
[7] Howard and Moretti, 196.
[8] The topic receives greater attention in nineteenth and twentieth century studies, when a greater number of buildings specifically for the performance of music are constructed. See, for example, Baumann, *Music and Space*.

This chapter does not set out to provide a solution to Bagenal's musical version of the chicken and the egg. It does, however, contribute to this debate by discussing to what extent architects of spaces for music were aware of the particular acoustic needs of music and musicians and whether they were able to tailor their designs accordingly. The chapter argues that although acoustics were being investigated and debated within scientific and theoretical contexts, especially at the Royal Society, knowledge of how to design a space for music was still embryonic. The chapter begins with an account of the state of acoustic knowledge within the scientific and architectural community at the time. It then presents a case study on Thomas Mace (*c.*1612/13-*c.*1706), a musician, and his plan for a music room, the first known architectural plan for a purpose-built concert space. The second section (sound models) discusses the availability of models for the design of music spaces, be it in the form of a treatise or building. The final section is an assessment of what the acoustics of the spaces discussed in this thesis would have actually sounded like.

Although this thesis refers to a large number of buildings that hosted musical performances, there are very few for which we have a named architect. However, all of the buildings discussed above were purpose-built spaces for music and their architects are known. Michael Wills designed the Crow Street Music Room, the Palladian architect Richard Castle is listed as Fishamble Street Music Room's designer, Thomas Camplin is recorded as the architect of Holywell Music Room, and Robert Mylne was responsible for the conception of St Cecilia's Hall in Edinburgh. St Cecilia's lack of immediate acoustic success can be readily contrasted with Crow Street, Fishamble Street and Holywell, all of which were praised from the outset for their excellent acoustics. Notably, the architects of these buildings did not have the fame or international expertise of Mylne, who had only just returned from Rome prior to the design of St Cecilia's. However, they were connected to musicians and the Musical Societies that hired them. One wonders what types of discussions took place regarding the acoustic needs of these first halls and how to render them architecturally.

Determining to what extent architects factored acoustics in to their designs for music spaces is further complicated by the lack of surviving documentation about the projects. Aside from Hayes' accounts, there is only a single undated plan for Holywell (Figure 31).[9] Fishamble Street and St Cecilia's Hall have no surviving records, and Mylne's only recorded reference to the Hall is in a letter to his brother where he refers to the contract, but mentions no details of the project.[10] Crow Street is a notable exception, as the only document to officially record Wills's involvement also outlines how he designed the building with acoustics in mind. Without such direct evidence, it is impossible to prove exactly what these architects knew about acoustics. However, establishing what was known about acoustics within the broader architectural and scientific community of the British Isles provides an indication of what was likely to have been standard knowledge in the field.

Although the relationship between space and sound has been recognized since antiquity, the scientific study of acoustics only became truly established in the late nineteenth century. Room acoustics, especially for music and architecture, were not fully understood scientifically until the late nineteenth century with Walter Clement Sabine, the architectural acoustician of the Boston Symphony Hall, and John Rayleigh's, a Nobel physicist, publication 'The Theory of Sound'.[11] Sabine suggested that buildings influenced compositional styles and that this explained why different cultures had different musical styles, because each was related to a traditional architecture.[12] Hope Bagenal took this further, suggesting that 'the building itself then is an instrument'.[13] But whilst these works prompted a vast bibliography of the

[9] William Hayes, 'William Hayes's History of the Music Room' (n.d.), Ob. MS. Top. Oxon. d. 337, Bodleian Library; 'Holywell Music Room' (Elevation and Plan, Unknown), Gough Maps 27 fol. 95, Bodleian Library.
[10] Robert Mylne, 'Letters', 13 September 1760, MyFam 4/54, RIBA.
[11] Wallace Clement Sabine, *Collected Papers on Acoustics*, Dover Books on Physics and Mathematical Physics S1196 (New York: Dover Publications, 1964); John William Strutt (Baron) Rayleigh, *The Theory of Sound*, Second edition, revised and enlarged.. (London: Macmillan, 1894).
[12] In Michael Forsyth, *Buildings for Music: The Architect, the Musician, and the Listener from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 3.
[13] Hope Bagenal, 'Influence of Buildings on Musical Tone', *Music & Letters* 8, no. 4 (1 October 1927): 439.

science of acoustics and many handbooks for designers of modern concert halls, few scholars have explored the intersection of sound and space in historical contexts.[14]

Most approaches to historical acoustics focus on acoustic types of space, rather than specific architectural settings. On this model Thurston Dart suggested three acoustic groups: resonant, room, and outdoor.[15] Michael Forsyth too engaged with this type of classification saying there are two generic types of spaces or auditoria: Theatres with the acoustics of the open air, and the concert hall with the acoustics of cave.[16] Thus he suggested that concert halls 'evolved from the acoustically intimate music rooms of the eighteenth century, such as the *Altes Gewandhaus*, Leipzig (where the members of the small audience faced each other across a central aisle), to the boomy halls of the later nineteenth century'.[17] Such an assessment is problematic when related to the historical development of music spaces as it implies different social, architectural, and acoustic origins of the type. It implies that the tavern-based music meeting is unrelated to the concert hall. It separates taverns from the concert hall history and places the origins of the type in a different geographical region and decades after the first examples had already been constructed in the British Isles.

Dorothea Baumann focused specifically on the issue of acoustics in performance settings from an architectural perspective. She identified three aspects that ought to be considered for this type of approach: the shape, decoration, and arrangement of a specific space, whether the specific space is typical for its type, and what category of space it is, for example, a church.[18] Baumann seems to relate spaces primarily based on the footprint of the building, thus drawing an association between the Greek Odeon and the concert hall.[19] Although also engaging specifically with architecture

[14] Notable exceptions are Forsyth, *Buildings for Music*; Howard and Moretti, *Sound and Space in Renaissance Venice*.
[15] Forsyth, *Buildings for Music*, 9.
[16] Forsyth, 8.
[17] Forsyth, 8.
[18] Baumann, *Music and Space*, 13.
[19] Baumann, 21.

and music, her methodology is problematic for the period under consideration in this thesis, since the concert hall was not at this point a standardized, or even necessarily recognized, building type. Such an approach is further complicated by the lack of specific and original details of each individual space. Whilst there is evidence that architecture was modified to suit its acoustic purpose in other contexts, such as the modification of churches to suit a new emphasis on preaching, it is not clear whether this was the case for music.[20]

Constructing Sound

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were a period of enhanced scientific investigation and nowhere did this happen with more intensity than at the Royal Society.[21] The key protagonists of the Royal Society were frequently themselves amateur musicians and connected to musical networks, and these interests are reflected in the discussions and investigations of the group.[22] Since music was a core component of a university education, even those who did not practise the art of music had a firm theoretical grounding in it.[23] This meant that the majority of Royal Society members were, at the very least, fluent in the theoretical approach to musical studies.[24] Many, of course, also played music and it is due to their private accounts that much information on contemporary music practice survives.

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[20] So, for example the changes seen in church architecture and the move to an emphasis on the pulpit: Forsyth, *Buildings for Music*, 9–13; Nigel Yates, *Preaching, Word and Sacrament: Scottish Church Interiors 1560-1860* (London; New York: T. & T. Clark, 2009).

[21] There is a vast bibliography on the 'scientific revolution' of the seventeenth century, for example: Margaret J. Osler, *Rethinking the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Herbert Butterfield, *The Origins of Modern Science, 1300-1800*, Second edition (London: Bell & Hyman, 1957).

[22] On this topic, see: Leta E. Miller, *Music in the Royal Society of London 1660 - 1806,* Detroit Studies in Music Bibliography 56 (Information Coordinators, 1987).

[23] Penelope Gouk, 'Performance Practice: Music, Medicine and Natural Philosophy in Interregnum Oxford', *The British Journal for the History of Science* 29, no. 3 (1996): 260.

[24] For more on this aspect of education for scientists and the division between speculative and practical music, see Gouk, 'Performance Practice'; Penelope Gouk, 'Speculative and practical music in seventeenth-century England: Oxford University as a case study', in *Atti del XIV congresso della Società internazionale di musicologia: Trasmissione e recezione delle forme di cultura musicale*, vol. iii (Torino: EDT/Musica, 1990), 199–205.

Samuel Pepys (1633-1703) filled his diaries with references to musical outings and performances, mostly within the context of the private home or tavern.[25] Roger North (1653-1734), a lawyer and keen amateur musician, wrote treatises on both music and architecture.[26] He even installed an organ into the gallery of Rougham Hall (*c.*1690) in order to conduct his own acoustic experiments.[27] His brother John North (1645-1683), Master of Trinity College, Cambridge (1677-1683), was also a member. Another, not so much concerned with music but certainly with acoustics, was Christopher Wren (1632-1723). His London churches were designed to better accommodate the spoken word, reflecting new liturgical preferences.[28] His library at Trinity College, Cambridge (1676-1695) was also designed with an acoustic aspect in mind, the marble floors dampening the sound of footsteps through the central corridor.[29]

From *c.* 1640/50, Oxford, London, France and Florence all had groups conducting scientific experiments.[30] The Royal Society of London, founded in 1660, was initially a kind of 'informal college' made up of interested and accomplished individuals.[31] It was formally incorporated in 1662 and from that time became increasingly formalized in its approach to membership, meetings, and the dissemination of findings. It was by no means the only such organization in operation during the latter

[25] Samuel Pepys, 'The Diary of Samuel Pepys', The Diary of Samuel Pepys, n.d., http://www.pepysdiary.com.
[26] Roger North, *Roger North on Music : Being a Selection from His Essays Written during the Years c.1695-1728* (London: Novello, 1959); Roger North, *Of Building: Roger North's Writings on Architecture*, ed. Howard Colvin and John Newman (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981).
[27] Roger North, 'Essay of Musicall Ayre' (Master of Arts, The Australian National University, 1977), 13, https://openresearch-repository.anu.edu.au/handle/1885/133223.
[28] Lydia M. Soo, *Wren's 'Tracts' on Architecture and Other Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 109–10.
[29] Margaret Dickens Whinney, *Wren*, World of Art Library, Architecture (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971), 140.
[30] Frederick Vinton Hunt, *Origins in Acoustics: The Science of Sound from Antiquity to the Age of Newton* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1978), 105.
[31] Thomas Birch, *The History of the Royal Society of London for Improving of Natural Knowledge: From Its First Rise. In Which the Most Considerable of Those Papers Communicated to the Society, Which Have Hitherto Not Been Published, Are Inserted in Their Proper Order, as a Supplement to the Philosophical Transactions* (London: AMillar, 1756).

half of the seventeenth century: The French Royal Society was incorporated in 1666, Florence had a short-lived *accademia* from 1657, and the Dublin Philosophical Society was established on the London model in 1684 (although informal meetings were happening before this time). Unlike its French counterpart, the London Royal Society did not receive any financial support from the Crown and its interests and investigations were therefore driven entirely by its membership base.[32]

The archives of the British Royal Society contain direct correspondence between members of the Royal Society and equivalent groups in France and Italy. They reveal a network of intellectuals sharing and spreading the most up-to-date views and ideas not only about science, but also regarding the science of music and sound.[33] They also refer to contemporary works that inspired debate such as Mersenne's *Harmonie Universelle* (1636). Narcissus Marsh, the host of an Oxford music meeting discussed in Chapter One, was in correspondence with the French polymath Marin Mersenne (1588-1648) and wrote an essay in response to Descartes' *Compendium Musicae* (1653).[34] Athanasius Kircher's *Musurgia Universalis* (1650) and *Phonurgia nova* (1673) also attracted attention.[35] Acoustics were a topic of interest to the British Royal Society as well as the French Academy.[36] This topic was taken up in Schott's *Magia Universalis* (1658), which has a section on acoustics (Schott was a pupil and later collaborator of Kircher).[37]

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[32] Miller, *Music in the Royal Society of London 1660 - 1806*, 3.
[33] The creation and consolidation of these networks are topics of research in their own right. See, for example James E. McClellan III, *Science Reorganized: Scientific Societies in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985); Michael Hunter, *Archives of the Scientific Revolution: The Formation and Exchange of Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Boydell & Brewer, 1998).
[34] Andrew Robinson, 'Narcissus Marsh: Ground-Breaking Bishop', in *Music, Ireland and the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Barra Boydell and Kerry Houston, Irish Musical Studies 10 (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009), 141.
[35] For a discussion of these, see: Elizabeth Fletcher, *A Study of the Life and Works of Athanasius Kircher, 'Germanus Incredibilis' with a Selection of His Unpublished Correspondence and an Annotated Translation of His Autobiography*, Aries Book Series; 12 (Leiden: Biggleswade: Brill; Extenza Turpin distributor, 2011) Chapter Three.
[36] Penelope Gouk, *Music, Science, and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999), 170.
[37] Gouk, 108; Fletcher, *A Study of the Life and Works of Athanasius Kircher, 'Germanus Incredibilis' with a Selection of His Unpublished Correspondence and an Annotated Translation of His Autobiography*, 103.

Although music made up only a very small portion of all subjects being considered by the Society, it is still possible to identify some key questions and investigations in the field.[38] Musical theory, the vibration of strings, and the mathematical study of harmony appear frequently throughout the notes and proceedings.[39] Indeed it was during this time that the principles of vibration theory were discovered, with music being the basis for all such investigations into sound at the time.[40] Sound itself was also a topic of study. Questions regarding whether sound travelled in a vacuum, its speed, and its behaviour, recurred throughout the years.[41] The anatomy of hearing was also explored, along with its health attributes and the history of music in ancient societies.[42] Instrument technology was another area of interest.[43]

The science and behaviour of echoes was another avenue of investigation that often appeared in the Society's records. Outdoor echoes were deemed largely a question of sound and how it behaved.[44] Robert Moray (1608/09-1673) was a Scottish soldier, spy, freemason, and key figure in the formation of the Royal Society. He was also a keen amateur scientist and was active throughout the early years of the Society both as a scientific contributor and facilitator.[45] He was so taken with the phenomenon of echoes that he wrote to the Royal Society many times on it. His two main experiments in the field were conducted in a bay near Glasgow and along the Thames

[38] Miller, *Music in the Royal Society of London 1660 - 1806*, 4.
[39] *RSA*: RB/1/41/1, (1664); EL/W1/8: A catalogue of the archival documents consulted at the Royal Society last June is appended to the end of this paper.
[40] Sigalia Dostrovsky, 'Early Vibration Theory: Physics and Music in the Seventeenth Century', *Archive for History of Exact Sciences* 14, no. 3 (1975): 170.
[41] Experiments relating to these questions and the debates surrounding them can be traced through the records. Some of which include: *RSA*: Cl.P.18(i) 87, 120, 121, 122, 124 (*n.d.)*
[42] For more see: *RSA*: Cl.P.2.31/2; Cl.P.7(i).30 (*n.d.)*
[43] An overview of the principal fields of interest relating to music may be found in Miller, *Music in the Royal Society of London 1660 - 1806*, 3–46.
[44] *RSA*: Cl.P.2.35; EL/G1/74 (*n.d.)*
[45] Robert Moray (1608/9-1673) For an overview of his roles within the Royal Society see 'Sir Robert Moray - Soldier, Scientist, Spy, Freemason and Founder of The Royal Society', accessed 1 August 2016, http://www.gresham.ac.uk/lectures-and-events/sir-robert-moray-soldier-scientist-spy-freemason-and-founder-of-the-royal. For his role in the history of freemasonry in Scotland see David Stevenson, *The Origins of Freemasonry: Scotland's Century, 1590-1710* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

(Figure 84).[46] Questions of echoes were also connected to the built environment although this aspect does not seem to have been explored by Moray specifically. Discussions about whispering places, including locations, diagrams, and appraisals, appear in the archives also.[47] It was widely accepted that Gloucester Abbey had the best whispering place, and theories were submitted to the Society demonstrating how the sound became 'trapped' in the space (Figure 85).[48] There is no evidence, however, that this line of investigation was extended into the broader realm of architectural acoustics. The one tantalizing snippet is a comment by Royal Society founding member John Hoskins (1634-1705) who reported a conversation he had with Christopher Wren who 'had told him, that one use of Pillars in great Churches was to facilitate hearing, by breaking the sound and so preventing Echoes'.[49]

Between July 1665 and March 1666, the Society ceased to hold regular meetings. Instead, smaller groups met unofficially in both London and Oxford. Among the archives are passing references to 'diverse Musical Experiments' that took place in Oxford during this time, but the results were not entered into the official records.[50] The references are nevertheless interesting since they confirm an active scientific interest in music, sound, and acoustics in Oxford, a town that had some of the earliest recorded music meetings and would later come to have its own purpose built concert hall.[51] During these same years Narcissus Marsh, who would go on to become one the founding members of the Dublin Philosophical Society, was still in residence and Wood was attending Ellis's meetings.

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[46] *RSA*: Cl.P.2.34, (1662)
[47] See, for example: *RSA*: Cl.P.2.33 (1662); Cl.P.7(i) 29, (*n.d.)*. Further examples are noted in Miller, *Music in the Royal Society of London 1660 - 1806*.
[48] *RSA*: Cl.P.2.33 (1662); Cl.P.7(i) 29, (*n.d.)*
[49] *RSA*: JBC: Vol 7 p. 77
[50] *RSA*: JBO/2/87, (1664)
[51] Wren's Sheldonian Theatre (1664-69) is perhaps an example of acoustically aware architecture. However, the structure was not built for musical purposes and seems to have derived its influences from anatomy theatres and dramatic theatres. Anthony Geraghty, *The Sheldonian Theatre: Architecture and Learning in Seventeenth-Century Oxford* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2013), 54–55.

As can be seen, the Royal Society concerned themselves frequently with investigating aspects of music and sound in the seventeenth century. Acoustics, being at the intersection of speculative and practical music, was one particular area of interest. However, some of the most engaging avenues of acoustic research for the Society during this period were on the otacousticon and speaking trumpet.[52] The otacousticon was a trumpet-shaped device designed to act as a hearing aid. A variant, the speaking trumpet, was also a trumpet-shaped device, but designed to project sound. Both instruments were tried and tested to various specifications including variants in size, material, and shape. Scholars from England, Ireland, France, Italy, and Germany all submitted correspondence or papers regarding these instruments to the Royal Society. From this interest and the experiments undertaken, it is clear that questions of sound transmission and reception were of great interest both in indoor and outdoor contexts and across the Continent. An experiment at the Royal Society that investigated the movement of air and sound in pipes and its potential application to hearing devices may have related directly to these devices.[53] No outcomes were noted, though perhaps this is the 'acoustic tube' noted by William Petty (1623-1687), an Irishman who was the first president of the Dublin Philosophical Society and former Professor of Music at Gresham College, as a future avenue of research.[54]

These devices were not without intrigue. Samuel Morland (1625-1695), a Cambridge mathematician and friend of Pepys, claimed that he had invented the speaking trumpet in 1671. Athanasius Kircher (1602-1680), a Jesuit priest from Rome,

[52] Records in the *RSA* relating to the otacousticon are numerous. For the most thorough, see: Hooke regarding glass and tin examples, Birch Vol. 2, p. 261-3, 271; Wallis (with a sketch), EL:W1.63 (1668); Newton regarding a design by Thomas Mace, EL:N1:49 (1675); Wilkins, Birch Vol 1 p.68. For similar documents relating to the speaking trumpet, see: Samuel Morland 1671, EL.O2.71, 73, 79; Oldenburg writes about it, EL:O2.63 (1671); French replicas 1672, JBC Vol 10 p. 246; Shape variants, EL.P1.77 (1672); Kircher's challenges of invention c. 1647, EL:K.15; EL:D1.29; Tests of effectiveness 1672, EL.V.23,24; Conyers version 1678, Birch Vol. 3 p.51; Hook's review of a later version 1699, CPXX.94; Petty's edict 1685, LBO/10/43.

[53] Birch, *The History of the Royal Society of London for Improving of Natural Knowledge*, 257–58.

[54] *RSA*: LBO/10/43, (1685)

challenged Morland's claim of invention.[55] In his 1650 treatise, *Musurgia Universalis*, he touched upon various aspects of acoustics and included designs for a number of instruments, including designs for types of speaking trumpets (Figure 86).[56] Kircher's works were available for purchase in England from at least 1650.[57] He is one of the few known to have conducted acoustic experiments in an architectural context, although other acoustic experimentation had taken place before this in France.[58] Some of his designs incorporated these trumpets into the fabric of a building, enabling him to transmit sound from an internal room to the outside (Figure 87; Figure 88).[59] It is rumoured that a similar device was actually built into Kircher's cabinet, and modified versions connected to statues so that he could frighten unsuspecting guests (Figure 89).[60]

Kircher's publications indicate a strong interest in the intersection of architecture and music. A section of his *Musurgia Universalis* (1650), republished in 1673 as *Phonurgia Nova*, focused on the geometrical design of rooms for sound-focusing effects (Figure 90).[61] Aside from two drawings by Da Vinci that show an acoustic prescience for audibility from a pulpit (Figure 91), Kircher is the main exponent of

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[55] Fletcher, *A Study of the Life and Works of Athanasius Kircher, 'Germanus Incredibilis' with a Selection of His Unpublished Correspondence and an Annotated Translation of His Autobiography*, 153. On Kircher in general, see: Fletcher, *A Study of the Life and Works of Athanasius Kircher, 'Germanus Incredibilis' with a Selection of His Unpublished Correspondence and an Annotated Translation of His Autobiography*; John Glassie, *A Man of Misconceptions: The Life of an Eccentric in an Age of Change*, First Riverhead trade paperback edition (New York: Riverhead Books, 2013); Joscelyn Godwin, *Athanasius Kircher's Theatre of the World*, First paperback edition (London: Thames & Hudson, 2015).

[56] His works on music are *Musurgia universalis* (1650) and *Phonurgia nova* (1673). The latter was translated into German *Neue Hall- und Thon-Kunst,* fol. (7895.L.13). Music also appears in brief form in *Magnes, sive de Arte Magnetica* (1641) and *Oedipus aegyptiacus* (1652-1654). See also Fletcher, *A Study of the Life and Works of Athanasius Kircher, 'Germanus Incredibilis' with a Selection of His Unpublished Correspondence and an Annotated Translation of His Autobiography* Chapter Three.

[57] Gouk, *Music, Science, and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England*, 102–3. Cf also nt 73

[58] Baumann, *Music and Space*, 32.

[59] Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia Universalis* (Rome: Francisci Corbelletti, 1650).

[60] A supposed account of this is recorded in Johann Kraus, *Geistlich curieuse Nachrichten von Begebenheiten. so sich Meistens von der Zeit dess entstandenen Lutherthums Religions-Sachen betreffend zugetragen, den diese Jahr aussgangenen Leipziger unschuldigen Nachrichten entgegen gestellt T. 1. T. 1.* (Gedruckt zu Prag: In der Crolo-Ferdinandischen Buchdruckerey in Coll. Soc. Jesu, by St. Clement, 1726), 132.

[61] Kircher, *Musurgia Universalis*. Vol 2 Bk 9 p244-46, 243 ff.

applying acoustic focusing effects to architecture.[62] According to Baumann, he is the first in the modern era to write on acoustics and architecture, and apparently describes a good music room:

> Not [too] filled with people and things […] because voices break/bounce back and are stifled.
> Not too narrow […] because the walls reflect too much / and the singers are standing too close together.
> In churches without people / or in halls without tapestries / music resounds better.
> An average space is necessary / not too narrow / nor too wide / the walls should be of heavy plaster / the ceiling either vaulted or plane with panelling / to render absolutely equal reflections.[63]

Despite this detailed description, there is no evidence that such a space was built. His description could well apply to the Rooms discussed in Chapter Three, though it is unclear if his assessment was based on direct experience or theoretical investigation.

Kircher is a rare, though not isolated, example of someone interested in the relationship between acoustics and architecture. Narcissus Marsh (1638-1713), discussed in Chapter One for his weekly music meetings held in Oxford, also helped establish the Dublin Philosophical Society, a counterpart to the London Royal Society. He raised many questions about the science of acoustics, many of which were not solved until the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He is credited as a primary source for the terms 'phonics', and 'microphone'.[64] He was the first to coin the term 'acoustic' in English, in an essay written in 1683, which was sent to London for publication in the 1684 Philosophical Transactions after it had been presented to the Dublin Society.[65] In it he discussed the similarities between sight and sound and

[62] Hunt, *Origins in Acoustics*, 123.
[63] Kircher, *Musurgia Universalis*, Liber IV, Caput 3, Part 1, 154. This passage is produced in English translation from the German edition of 1662 in Baumann, *Music and Space*, 46. The original Latin text has not yet been traced.
[64] Robinson, 'Narcissus Marsh: Ground-Breaking Bishop', 145–47.
[65] Marsh, Narcissus (1638-1713), see H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison, eds., 'Narcissus Marsh', *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 23 September 2004).

the importance of smooth surfaces in conducting and refracting sound.[66] The examples he cites refer to a pastor speaking nearer to a wall and the smooth, curved surfaces of whispering places. He even says:

> …perhaps there could be no better or more pleasant hearing a *Consort of* Musick, then at such a place as this; where the Sounds rouling long together, before they come to the *Ear,* must needs consolidate and imbody into one; which becomes a true composition of Sounds, and is the very life and soul of Confort [sic].[67]

After further discussion about the refraction and reflection of sound, Marsh proposed a type of Music Room that might be designed to naturally send back overtones at thirds, fifths, and octaves. His proposition was set down with a musical and acoustic outcome in mind and shows little consideration of the room as a functioning performance space. It is, nevertheless, evidence that architecture was considered a component of the acoustic experience, even if the primary focus of scientific study was not on the architecture itself.

As this section has shown, acoustics and the relationship between sound (by way of music) and space were common topics of investigation in the scientific community in the seventeenth century. The vast majority of discussions and experiments in this field were taking place at the Royal Society in the 1660s and 1670s. Music and architecture were rarely the principal focus of experimentation, though perhaps this is attributable to the conceptualization of architectural practice at this time.[68] However at the same time that these discussions were taking place, and on the periphery of this community, a little-known Thomas Mace (1612/1613-*c.* 1706) directly addressed the issues of an architecture for music by publishing his own

[66] Narcissus Marsh, 'An Introductory Essay to the Doctrine of Sounds, Containing Some Proposals for the Improvement of Acousticks; As It Was Presented to the Dublin Society Nov. 12, 1683, by the Right Reverend Father in God Narcissus Lord Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin', *Philosophical Transactions* 14, no. 155–166 (1684): 472–88.
[67] Marsh, 7.
[68] On this, see Matthew Walker, *Architects and Intellectual Culture in Post-Restoration England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

design for a musical performance venue: the earliest-known plan for a Music Room and the first representation of an architecture for music.

A Case Study: Thomas Mace

Thomas Mace is best remembered for *Musick's Monument* (1676), a musical handbook of the type common in the late seventeenth century.[69] Mace was born *c.* 1612/1613, probably in York, and likely died in London, at the age of 95 *c.* 1706.[70] On 10 August 1635 he was taken on as a singing man at Trinity College Cambridge, replacing a Stephen Mace who may have been a relative.[71] Records for his life are scarce, though he was known to have visited York and London.[72] He may have been a town Alderman of Cambridge and bailiff of Reach Fair in the 1660s.[73] Mace made at least two trips to London during his lifetime: one in 1676 to arrange for the publication of *Musick's Monument,* and another in 1690 to sell a number of books and instruments.[74] He suffered from deafness later in life, although this did not prevent him from advertising his services as a music teacher.[75]

In 1675, Mace announced the forthcoming publication of his book, *Musick's Monument*, and a description of its contents:

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[69] Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument, or, A Remembrancer of the Best Practical Musick, Both Divine and Civil, That Has Ever Been Known to Have Been in the World Divided into Three Parts* (London: T. Ratcliffe and N. Thompson for the author, 1676).Handbooks and musical publications for amateurs were increasingly available by the end of the seventeenth century due to advents in printing technology. The amateur musician (often of the middle classes) was a popular target audience due to their increasing wealth and concern with acquiring 'polite' skills. For more on these see: H. C. Colles, 'Some Musical Instruction Books of the Seventeenth Century', *Proceedings of the Musical Association* 55 (1928): 31–49.

[70] John Irving, 'Thomas Mace', ed. H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison, *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 23 September 2004).

[71] 'Old Conclusions Book' (n.d.), 140, TCA OCB, Trinity College Cambridge.

[72] Irving, 'Thomas Mace'.

[73] Samuel Newton, *The Diary of Samuel Newton, Alderman of Cambridge (1662- 1717)*, ed. John Ebenezer Foster, Cambridge Antiquarian Society 23 (Cambridge: Printed for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1890).

[74] Irving, 'Thomas Mace'.

[75] *BL*: Harley MS 5936, fol. 129v no. 384 (1690)

> Musick's Monument; OR, A REMEMBRANCER Of the Best Practical Musick, Both DIVINE, and CIVIL, that has ever been known, to have been in the World. Divided into Three Parts. The First PART, Shews a *Necessity of Singing Psalms Well, in Parochial Churches*, or not to *Sing* at all; ... The Second PART, Treats of the *Noble Lute*, (the *Best* of *Instruments*) now made *Easie*; ... In the Third PART, The *Generous Viol*, in *Its Rightest Use*, is Treated upon; with some *Curious Observations*, never before Handled, concerning *It*, and *Musick in General*.[76]

Unfortunately for Mace, psalm singing, the lute, and the viol were all considered out-dated by the 1670s and this probably accounts for the 'few' still for sale in 1690. However, buried in the third section on how to play the viol is, for this thesis, the most notable aspect of Mace's publication: an architectural plan and accompanying discussion on how to build the ideal Music Room (Figure 92).[77]

The plan shows a cross-form space with a central square area of six yards by six yards. Radiating from each wall of this central square is a gallery, each of which is subsequently divided into three, separate, galleries. Every space, Mace writes, should have arched ceilings. But if this is not possible, he dictates that the central room and the middle galleries, which are slightly wider than the others, should have this feature. The central performance space should also be divided from the galleries by a full-height wall, which is wainscoted to half height and in which is placed a smooth-finished double door.

The performance was therefore neither seen, not heard, directly by the audience. Instead, the sound was conveyed to them through small grooves in the surface of the music-room walls, or through pipes that were channeled into various parts of the galleries. These openings, Mace specified, should be at around one foot square in the music room and open directly from the wainscoting. By the time they reach the galleries, they should be no larger than a finger width. Mace believed that this would increase the purity of the music, and subsequently the pleasure it could bring, since it

[76] Thomas Mace, *Profit, Conveniency and Pleasure* (London: s.n., 1675).
[77] Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument*, Collection 'Le Chœur Des Muses' (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la Recherche scientifique, 1958), 239–41.

would convey a more concentrated sound than if the space was entirely open. Moreover, it was designed to ensure that all auditors might hear the music equally and in the same way.

This was a key, motivating factor behind Mace's design: the experience and comfort of the audience and performers. He notes that the small, separate galleries would enable easy separation and segregation of the audience should they be '*Ill at Ease,* or *Unhandsomly Accommodated*, and *Mixt,* &c'.[78] Although his concern here was ostensibly aimed at the comfort of the audience, it was also a declaration that performers and audience members were part of two very distinct groups. The complete physical and visual separation between these two groups is the most extreme expression of what was otherwise a fairly new divide in these roles in the 1670s. In this respect, the plan draws attention to the changing conventions in the physical presentation of musical performances, as discussed in Chapter Two. Mace's plan is quite extraordinary, but also in keeping with the architectural modifications being made to other performance venues at this time such as the York Buildings and Banister's rooms.

Mace envisaged that the Room would be placed on the first floor of a building, with the central room one-step higher than the galleries, but not with too much height. Being on the first floor avoided rising damp, which, as he says, 'is very bad, both for *Instruments*, and *Strings*'.[79] For these same reasons, Mace specified that the room should be constructed somewhere without water, over-hanging trees and '*Common Noises*', ideally somewhere clear and dry. Mace felt part of the room's appeal, aside from the quality of the musical performance that could be obtained, was its versatility and potential social function. He felt that such a room could be easily incorporated into a private home if so desired. Conversely, in a shared block of apartments, it could be adapted from its principle use as a music performance venue, and used

[78] Mace, 241.
[79] Mace, 240.

either for private gatherings or to accommodate large numbers of people in a more publicly accessible setting, all without disturbing others in the building. This was achieved by opening or closing the doors linking the central room to the central galleries as required.

There is no indication to suggest the plan was contrived by anyone other than Mace himself. His own extensive experience as a musician may therefore account for his design choices that are motivated, seemingly entirely, by acoustics. He noted that the separation of audience and performer would cut down additional noise and distraction for the performers, keep the instruments in better condition and in tune, and improve the quality of the sound due to the clear and undisturbed physical space. Mace felt the audience would be happier if they could hear a better quality of music more clearly. Whilst on one hand this demonstrates an egalitarian approach to accessing music, by virtue of the fact that everyone hears the music in the same way regardless of where they are sitting, it also suggests that, to Mace, audiences were attending concerts primarily to hear and enjoy the music. In other words it was the music, and not socializing, which was the primary attraction. Although Mace does not specify, it can be assumed that audiences were then free to conduct themselves however they wished in the galleries, since their behavior would not distract the performers nor other audience members, who could listen via other tubes. With twelve boxes to choose from, and access by way of exterior staircases, audience members presumably could also move boxes mid-performance.

It is unclear how, or indeed where, Mace acquired the knowledge to design such a space, though the potential influence of Trinity College, Cambridge on Mace's development cannot be underestimated. As noted above, Mace was employed as a singing man at Trinity. This is especially important in contextualizing and understanding the possible influences of his Music Room. The head-height panelling and use of sound tubes embedded in walls are both features reminiscent of Kircher's architectural sound tubes in *Musurgia Universalis*, of which there is a first edition in the Trinity College Library. Investigation has revealed no clue as to whether it was

ever consulted by Mace, despite its apparent parallels. Based at Trinity, Mace was certainly in proximity to key Royal Society personalities including the Trinity Professor of Mathematics Isaac Newton (1643-1727). Newton is listed as a subscriber to *Musick's Monument* and was in correspondence with Mace's son, who sent him a drawing of Mace's own design for an otacousticon (Figure 93). Thomas Mace and Newton also appear to have been in direct contact, for Newton writes in a letter to Henry Oldenburg (*c.* 1619-1677), the first Secretary of the Royal Society:

> An ancient Gentleman I met at your assemblies (whose name I cannot recollect,) being thick of hearing desired me to inquire after ye form of Mr Mace's Otocousticon a Musitian here; but he has not been intown since I came from London, but is somewhere in London about printing a book of Musiqs. Yet ye last week I had opportunity to inquire after it of his son and he tells me the form of this. A ye smal [sic] end to put into he ear BC ye length suppose two foot CD ye wide end suppose about eight inches over. The tube BDC tapers all ye way almost ceasinly? Like a cone only at ye great orifice DC widens more like ye end of a Trumpet. He has of several size. The biggest do ye best.[80]

During this same period, Christopher Wren was commissioned to build the new College library and John North (Roger's brother) became Master of the College. No evidence has yet surfaced to prove direct contact between Mace and either of these influential individuals, however the possibility cannot be dismissed since records for informal acquaintances and favours rarely survive.

It was during these same years (early 1670s) that Trinity College might have been exploring the idea of building a dedicated performance space.[81] The idea was eventually shelved, but it does make one wonder if Mace did not prepare the design with the College in mind, for he introduced its description by saying:

> there being likewise a *Great Need* of such a *Thing,* in Reference to the *Compleating* [sic], and *Illustrating* of the *University-Schools;* such a *School*, or *Room*, being greatly wanting with Them There.[82]

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[80] *RSA*: EL:N1.49 (1675)
[81] George Macaulay Trevelyan, David McKitterick, and Robert Robson, *Trinity College Cambridge: An Historical Sketch* (Cambridge: Trinity College, 1990).
[82] Mace, *Musick's Monument*, 1958, 238.

It is unclear exactly what motivated Mace to design such a space and its inclusion in *Musick's Monument* seems almost an afterthought. As seen in Chapter Two of this thesis, funds and financing had a direct and significant impact on the creation and survival of music spaces. These concerns were all too apparent to Mace, who descended into poverty towards the end of his life. He was optimistic about the potential impact of his plan, noting his hope that the public would fund such a room 'for a *Publick Benefit*, and *Promotion* of the *Art*' and that, once built, its merits might be so obvious that it would become the archetype for further such structures. Unfortunately, Mace's Room was never built, and as seen in this thesis, it was not until the eighteenth century that purpose-designed spaces for music would appear again in the British Isles.

Mace's *Music Room* is therefore an anomaly. Although his awareness of acoustics and their application to the built environment appear to be engaging directly with the key scientific investigations of the period, there is no evidence that he himself was involved in such discussions or experimentations. What his plan does show, however, is that musicians possessed practical knowledge about how architecture influenced acoustics and musical performance. This understanding of the relationship between architecture and sound is also seen in the flautist Joachim Quantz's (1697-1773) treatise, which gave specific advice on choosing repertoire depending on the architecture of the venue:

> In the choice of the pieces in which he wishes to be heard in public, the flautist, like every other soloist, must adjust not only to himself, to his powers and capacity, but also the place where he plays, to his accompaniment, to the circumstances in which he plays, and to the listeners before whom he wishes to be heard.
>
> In a large place, where there is much resonance, and where the accompanying body is very numerous, great speed produces more confusion than pleasure. Thus on such occasions he must choose concertos that are written in a majestic style, and in which many passages in unison are interspersed, concertos in which the harmonic parts change only at whole or half bars. The echo that constantly arises in large places does not fade quickly, and only confuses the notes if they succeed one another too quickly, making both harmony and melody unintelligible.

> In a small room, on the other hand, where few instruments are at hand for the accompaniment, the player may use concertos that have gay and *galant* melodies, and in which the harmony changes more quickly than at half and whole bars. These may be played more quickly than the former type.[83]

Mace's plan is therefore indicative of an alternative type of knowledge about architecture and music, one based on experience rather than science, and largely the remit of practising musicians.

Sound models

As this thesis has shown, architecture in the British Isles was adapted and selected for secular music performance well before the first purpose-built concert rooms appeared from the 1730s. It is clear from the experimentation and discussion of the Royal Society that acoustics were understood in a theoretical capacity, even if not always practically applied to performance spaces. Those buildings that already existed were used as scientific models to study, such as the Gloucester whispering wall, rather than as models to replicate. And although there was much crossover between the membership of the Royal Society and the leading architects of the period, it was not only from here that practitioners could source information on architectural acoustics.

With the renewed interest in Vitruvius, the architectural treatise became another source for architectural knowledge. As Howard and Moretti demonstrated in their work on Venetian churches, Renaissance architects were not only aware of the relationship between acoustics and architecture, they were also able to distinguish the acoustic needs of music compared to the spoken word, and to factor these needs in to the design of churches.[84] There were two acoustic architectural features that drew

[83] Johann Joachim Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, trans. Edward R. Reilly, 2nd ed. (London: Faber, 1985), 200: XVI, 17-19. He also discusses how to choose repertoire depending on the audience and their level of connoisseurship.
[84] Howard and Moretti, *Sound and Space in Renaissance Venice*.

particular comment from Renaissance writers: the cornice and the ceiling. The cornice was one of the few architectural features known to have a positive direct affect on the acoustics of a space. Its importance was first noted by Vitruvius in *De Architectura* Book V Chapter II:

> Moreover the interior walls are to be surrounded half way up with cornices of fine joiners' work or plaster at half their height. If this is not done, the voice of the disputants rising upwards cannot be understood by the audience. When, however, the walls are girt with cornices, the voice, being delayed by the lowest parts before it rises into the air and is scattered, will be perceived by the ear.[85]

It is important to note that Vitruvius' initial discussion occurred in a section on the treasury, prison, and curia, rather than in the section on theatres. It is possible that this, in turn, had an affect on the shape of the purpose-built concert space, which in the eighteenth century retained a 'shoebox' shape rather than the horseshoe of the Opera House or amphitheatrical plan of the theatre. This feature was picked up again in the Renaissance and repeated by Alberti, Palladio, and Scamozzi amongst others.[86] Palladio echoed Vitruvius, writing:

> Besides the treasury and the prisons, the curia shou'd be joined to the piazza, which is the place where the senate meets to consult on affairs of state. This must be made of such bigness, as the dignity and number of the citizens shall seem to require; and if it be square, whatever it shall be in breadth, adding one half more, that shall be its height. But if its form shall be longer than it is broad, the length and breadth must be added together, and the half of the whole sum shall be taken for the height to the roof…
> In the middle of the height, large cornices ought to be made round the walls, which must project forward, that the voice of those who dispute, may not be lost in the height of the curia, but reflected back, the better to come to the ears of the auditors.[87]

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[85] *Praeterea praecingendi sunt parietes medii coronis exintestino opera aut albario ad dimidiam partem altitudinis. Quae si non erunt, vox ibi disputantium elata in altitudienem intellectui non poterit esse audientibus. Cum autem coronis praecincti parietes erunt, vox ab imis morata priusquam in aera elata dissipaitur, auribus erit intellecta.* Vitruvius, *On Architecture*, trans. Frank Granger, vol. I: Books 1-5, Loeb Classical Library 251 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931) V, II; Translation taken from: Vitruvius Pollio, *On Architecture*, Loeb Classical Library ; No. 251 (London: Cambridge, London: WHeinemann; Harvard University Press, WHeinemann, 1931).
[86] For an overview, see: Howard and Moretti, *Sound and Space in Renaissance Venice*, 6–9.
[87] Andrea Palladio, *The Four Books of Architecture* (New York: Dover Publications, 1965), Book III, Chpt XVI, p. 73. Translation in Howard and Moretti, *Sound and Space in Renaissance Venice*.

Alberti also wrote on the benefit of the cornice, though his work was not available in an English translation until 1726.[88]

> From what has been said, the differences between a large and a small theatre are obvious. The former has a double external portico at its base, whereas the latter is only single… Another difference is that in some smaller theatres no internal portico is added: the circumvallation consists solely of wall and cornice, so that the task of reinforcing the voice is left not to the circumvallation with its portico, as in a larger theatre, but to the cornice...[89]

> The priestly curia should therefore by vaulted, the senatorial trussed. In either case the consultants being questioned will use words, and the voice must therefore be taken into account. There ought, then, to be some device to prevent the voice from straying too high and, particularly with a vaulted roof, from echoing too harshly on the ears. While no doubt contributing to grace, cornices may be added to the wall primarily for practical reasons.[90]

Although seemingly concerned with the spoken word, these suggestions seem, in principle, to have been applied to at least one of the music rooms discussed in this thesis: the Fishamble-Street Music Room. Henry Flitcroft was a subscriber to the English edition of Palladio by Isaac Ware, which was dedicated to Lord Burlington.[91] Given Castle's connections to Flitcroft and Burlington, it is possible that he had access to this work and that it may have informed his own inclusion of 'The *Cornice, Dentills,* and the curious *Mould*'.[92]

In these same treatises, these authors also noted the benefits of a flat roof in assisting the acoustics of the spoken word.[93] In Renaissance Italy, the ceiling was considered a particularly important feature for acoustics in church interiors. Howard and Moretti suggest that this assessment was made on the basis of experience.[94] Alberti in *De re*

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[88] Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, trans. Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach, and Robert Tavernor (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press, 1988) xx.
[89] Alberti, 276 VIII, vii.
[90] Alberti, 283–84: VIII, ix.
[91] Palladio, *The Four Books of Architecture*.
[92] Laurence Whyte, 'A Poetical Description of Mr. Neal's New Musick-Hall in Fishamble-Street Dublin', in *The Collected Poems of Laurence Whyte*, ed. Michael J. Griffin (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2016), 262–72.
[93] Howard and Moretti, *Sound and Space in Renaissance Venice*, 6–8.
[94] Howard and Moretti, 7.

aedificatoria noted that vaults had excessive reverberation and were therefore unsuitable for public buildings. A flat, wooden ceiling was more favourable to the sound: 'Furthermore, in a timber-roofed basilica the voice of the priest as he preaches may be heard more distinctly than in a vaulted temple.'[95] And also, 'Here is another consideration not to be overlooked: wherever people are to be heard reciting, singing, or debating, [stone] vaulting will not be suitable, because it reflects sound, whereas a composite timber ceiling will be, because it resonates.'[96] Fra Francesco Zorzi, by contrast, said a vaulted ceiling was preferable for singing, though he was probably referring to plainchant rather than polyphony.[97]

But Scamozzi, in 1615, argued that vaults had too much resonance for 'choirs of voices and instrumental concerts, as occurs in many of the principal churches of Italy'.[98] In the domestic and secular context, Serlio noted that the niches in the music room of Odeo Cornaro in Padua improved the sound by interrupting reflections (Figure 94):

[95] Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, 195: VII, iii.
[96] Alberti, 131: V, ix.
[97] Howard and Moretti, *Sound and Space in Renaissance Venice*, 7.
[98] *Oltre à tutte queste cose è da avvertire, ch'alcune forme di Volte risuonano; di maniera che rendono spiacrer grandissimo ad udire in esse I Cori delle voci, & I concerti de'suoni; come interviene in molte Chiese delle principali d'Italia, per la poca intelligenza di quelli, che le ordinarono: e quindi è, che molti à primo tratto sbandiscono le Volte; in tnato ch'essi non vorrebbono, che si facessero, e specialmente nelle fabriche private: di maniera che à fatica habbiamo potuto removerli di cotal parere: mostrando che tutto ciò procede quando il luogo è molto continovato, e senza interrompimento d'apriture, e lumi, ò di Cornici, & imposte; e parimente la Volta senza cavi, e sfondri, e faccie di relieve, e simiglianti cose, e molto più fanno le Cupole; le quali lievano quell rimbombo, e risonar della voce.* Vincenzo Scamozzi, *L'idea della architettura universale*, Fac. Repr. (Ridgewood, N.J.: Gregg Press, 1964), 326: Book VIII, Chpt XV. Translation from Howard and Moretti, *Sound and Space in Renaissance Venice*, 7–8.

> D – its diameter is XVIII feet. Here musicians are to play – this is very suitable since the form is one which tends toward the circular, and the *salotto* is completely vaulted with brick, something which has no humidity in it whatsoever. And the four niches, through their concave rotundity, receive the notes and hold them.[99]

Although Serlio's example does not seem to have inspired equivalent designs in the British Isles, it does show that the performance of music was not a unique attribute of the British Isles. This period was also the era of the Grand Tour and the training of individuals to the profession of architecture through travel to the Continent.[100] This means that British travellers, including architects and tourists, had opportunities to see and partake in musical performances in other contexts (Figure 95). Whilst this would not have occurred in a concert hall per se, this does not exclude the possibility that the architecture or performance contexts of the Continent did not inspire architecture for music back in the British Isles. An obvious, though probably not isolated example, being St Cecilia's Hall.

St Cecilia's is, of course, said to be modelled on an Italian structure and its inspiration is directly attributed to the time Mylne spent in Italy. He was not the only (Scottish) architect to look to Italy for architectural inspiration. In 1755, John asked Robert Adam to look for appropriate designs for concert halls in Rome. Robert replied in January 1755:

> Tell Johnie that I have been much on the observe with respect to Concert rooms etc. But never have seen anything extraordinary in any shape, as they perform mostly on the stages in play houses like the London Oratorio. And the few concert halls are quite plain without any coving at all, which is certainly the right thing, as the cove forms echoes, reboundings & unjust sounds. Pa[torn – patterned?] cornisches won't do, Though I think the real ones [torn]

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[99] D. di forma ottogona. Il suo diametro è piedi 23. Quivi si esserciteranno le musiche, & è molto al proposito per esser forma che tende alla rotondità, & tutta voltata di mattoni, che non tengon punto d'humido. Et I Quattro micchi per la sua rotondità concave ricevono le voci, & le rirengono: Sebastiano Serlio, *Tutte l'opere d'architettura et prospetiva*, Facs. repr. of the Venetia, 1619 ed. (Farnborough: Gregg International Publishers Ltd, 1964), 218: Book VII, Chpt III; English translation, Sebastiano Serlio, *Sebastiano Serlio on Architecture*, trans. Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 1996), 364.

[100] Walker, *Architects and Intellectual Culture in Post-Restoration England*, 40–41.

> no breaking of the Modillions, blocks or even De[torn – dentils?] lack in some degree hurt the sound. I shall not [torn] fail to enquire at Nardini concerning his opinion [torn] this subject, Pasquali should be conversed with [torn] to be as sensible as most of them. I shall communicate [torn] intelligence as soon as get any on this subject…[101]

His response consolidates two important factors regarding the development of architecture for music in the British Isles. Firstly, that there are only a 'few concert halls' and that music is mostly performed 'on the stages in play houses' consolidates the view that the British Isles were at the forefront of developing not only an architecture for music, but a culture around its public performance. Secondly, Nardini (1722-1793) and Pasquali (*c.* 1718-1757) were both practising musicians. Nardini was based in Rome and Pasquali, originally from Cosenza in Italy, came to British Isles and eventually settled in Edinburgh. That Robert says he will 'enquire at Nardini', suggests that it was understood that musicians would have practical knowledge of music-room acoustics. Moreover, the letter suggests that architects, or at least the Adams, consulted musicians for specific advice in this matter.

Clearly concert hall design was beginning to enter the consciousness of architects as a particular building type. This reach even extended to France, where a concert hall was designed, but never built, by the French architect Gabriel Dumont in 1763 (Figure 96).[102] Like Mylne's, the plan-form was vastly different to the shoebox designs of the London and Irish rooms, instead presenting a circular form. But even with such variation in plan-form, it seems apparent that the concert hall was not being designed as a derivative form of other performance venues, but as an individual type with its own set of architectural and acoustic requirements.

The influence of travel to the Continent on architects of the British Isles is of course not restricted to creating an architecture for music. Mylne and Adam both studied there and this had a direct influence on their architectural style. In the eighteenth

[101] As quoted in Joe Rock, 'The Temple of Harmony: New Research on St Cecilia's Hall, Edinburgh', *Architectural Heritage* 20, no. 1 (November 2009): 58–59.
[102] In Forsyth, *Buildings for Music*.

century, many architects travelled to the Continent, and especially Italy, for study and training. The Grand Tour was also instrumental in spreading architectural style and forming new professional networks.[103] This was an extension of the knowledge sharing that had been taking place between scientific communities in the seventeenth century, as seen at the Royal Society.

Reconstructing sound

By all accounts, the architects of the first purpose-built music spaces in the British Isles were probably aware of the importance of acoustics and their relationship with architectural design. They had a number of sources upon which to draw in order to address this aspect of their own designs, even if these sources were not other purpose-built spaces for secular music performance. Without proper documentation for the projects discussed in this thesis, it is impossible to know exactly how the architects of the first purpose-built music performance spaces approached this aspect of their design. It is, however, possible to investigate how successful they were in creating spaces for sound. To intimate the acoustics of an historical venue for musical performance is extremely challenging. However, the advent of modern technology has enabled reconstruction and acoustic analysis of historical spaces to a degree not previously envisaged. Studies such as A. Magrini and P. Ricciardi's acoustic analysis of churches have been illuminating in providing data for the impact of internal modifications on the acoustics of the space.[104] However this type of scientific analysis is hampered when the spaces no longer exist, or have been significantly modified since their date of construction. Such is the case for almost all the buildings included in this thesis.

[103] For example, the friendship between Mylne and Piranesi. See also Walker, *Architects and Intellectual Culture in Post-Restoration England*, 41.
[104] A. Magrini and P. Ricciardi, 'Churches as Auditoria', *Journal of Building Acoustics* 10, no. 2 (2003): 135–58.

Fortunately, it is still possible to formulate an idea of what these venues may have sounded like. This can be done through one of two methods. In some cases first-hand accounts of concerts have survived and so the historical record provides a contemporary interpretation of the venue's acoustics. This approach, however, must take into consideration the inherent biases of an individual listener, as well as an appreciation for *how* audiences in the eighteenth century actually listened to music. It has been suggested that by the late seventeenth century, listeners were able to evaluate music more 'consciously and subjectively', presumably leading to the need for greater acoustic forethought in architecture by way of greater discernment in the types of spaces audiences most enjoyed.[105] Contemporary writings and anecdotes, some are discussed in this chapter, show that some individuals had an appreciation for the acoustic qualities of a space and there is little reason to believe that these accounts are invalid sources. To rely solely on these accounts is problematic, however, since such an interpretation is directly dependent on the writer's own knowledge and appreciation for music.[106]

The second approach involves an analysis of the building fabric, either first-hand or through surviving sources. Such an analysis can also be used to reconstruct a general acoustic impression of the space. This approach is particularly effective when the repertoire and instrumentation of a period is known. Such is the case for the period under consideration in this thesis. Preferences for particular composers show remarkable consistency across the venues discussed in the thesis. The tavern-based musical societies of the seventeenth century frequently referred to performing tunes from Playford's publications. As venues became more specialized, so too did audience tastes, with favour given to Handel, Abel and King, Mozart, and Haydn.[107] Musically, as this period progressed, it became increasingly characterized by fast-

[105] Baumann, *Music and Space*, 51.
[106] Some scholars have taken this further by taking a neuropsychology and psychology of perception approach. See, for example, Baumann, *Music and Space*.
[107] On repertoire and the formation of the canon, see William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

moving lines that required an acoustic clarity and little reverberation. This was not music for stone-vaulted cathedrals, but for smaller, more intimate spaces.

This type of fabric analysis is aided by a scientific analysis of space and acoustics. In the modern era it is possible to separate and define the specific elements that make up an acoustic impression. Acousticians across the years have drawn up varying lists of which acoustic qualities are most important in determining the acoustic success of a space.[108] Bagenal has three main factors in acoustic analysis:

1. Reverberation: 'an energy condition of the whole room for all sounds'
2. Resonance: 'the capacity to select certain tones and to reinforce or to damp them by means of sympathetic vibrations'
3. Selective Absorption: particular tones are naturally picked up or obscured by elements in the space[109]

But the simplest and most accessible of these is by Orlowski, who suggests the following five categories:

1. Clarity – hearing musical detail
2. Reverberance – hearing reverberations
3. Acoustic intimacy – involvement in performance
4. Envelopment – surrounded by the sound
5. Loudness[110]

[108] These have varied in complexity and length over time. Some key theorists are: Sabine, *Collected Papers on Acoustics*; Leo Leroy Beranek, *Music, Acoustics & Architecture* (New York ; London: Wiley, 1962); Murray Campbell, *The Musician's Guide to Acoustics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).
[109] Bagenal, 'Influence of Buildings on Musical Tone', 437.
[110] Raf Orlowski, 'Assessing the Acoustic Performance of Small Music Rooms: A Short Introduction', in *The Music Room in Early Modern France and Italy: Sound, Space, and Object*, ed. Deborah Howard and Laura Moretti, vol. 176, Proceedings of the British Academy (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2012), 157.

Regardless of whether architecture inspires music or music inspires architecture, the acoustic success of a space is determined primarily by its architecture, rather than by the performance.[111] Acousticians have therefore also analysed how surface finishes impact acoustics: coffered ceilings are good for scattering sound, hard floors and walls give reflection, timber panelling can be good for reducing loudness, and tapestries are very sound absorbent.[112] Plaster on wood lathe is good in old halls as it gives a wider band of absorption, thus aiding clarity and loudness.[113] According to Forsyth, theatres and opera houses benefitted from thin wood panelling, whilst concert halls worked best with thick, sound-reflective plaster.[114] Thin wood transmits sound, whilst thicker materials are good for containing sound.[115] The importance of floor materials has also been noted: wood is a good resonator and 'a clear, hard floor space' improves a concert room.[116] Holywell's original oak floor, remaining in 1911 at the time of Mee's publication, certainly enhanced the acoustic qualities of the space.[117] There is no doubt, then, that the architectural features of a space contribute significantly and directly to how a room sounds. What emerges from these observations is that particular spaces are suited to particular types of music and that one concert hall will never be ideal for a whole range of performance types.

Classical music (*c.* 1750-1820) has 'reason and clarity as its basis', a feature that is enhanced in rooms that contain 'short reverberation time and extreme acoustic intimacy'.[118] This is known as acoustic clarity and was shown to advantage at Holywell, the Hanover Square Rooms (1774), which were sometimes lined with thin

[111] Jürgen Meyer, *Acoustics and the Performance of Music*, Fachbuchreihe. Das Musikinstrument, Bd. 33 (Frankfurt/Main: Verlag Das Musikinstrument, 1978), 107.
[112] Orlowski, 'Assessing the Acoustic Performance of Small Music Rooms: A Short Introduction', 158.
[113] Bagenal, 'Musical Taste and Concert Hall Design', 21.
[114] Forsyth, *Buildings for Music*, 13.
[115] Beranek, *Music, Acoustics & Architecture*, 8–9.
[116] Bagenal, 'Influence of Buildings on Musical Tone', 441.
[117] John H. Mee, *The Oldest Music Room in Europe: A Record of Eighteenth-Century Enterprise at Oxford* (London: John Lane, 1911), 12.
[118] Forsyth, *Buildings for Music*, 17.

wood, and the *Altes Gewandhaus* (1781).[119] Such assessments support Bagenal's view that 'between 1600 and 1900 there was a relation between architecture and music in Europe, and that the music of each of the stylistic periods – Renaissance, Baroque, Classical, and Romantic – coincided with a contemporary acoustical environment sympathetic to its performance.'[120] This also explains the modifications built in, or being made to, modern concert halls such as Festival Hall London (1948-1951), which now needs to accommodate a more complex range of musical styles. Whilst it is true to say that these stylistic periods are characterized by musical similarities in harmonic, rhythmic, and structural approaches, this rather neat observation also adheres strongly to the view that musical composition responds to its contemporary architectural setting, rather than making new demands of it.

This second methodology is particularly informative for non-surviving venues, since it enables a 'virtual' assessment of the acoustic nature of the space. This approach is, of course, best applied to rooms about which more is known. The York Buildings, erected in *c.* 1680, was 'the first room in London designed specifically for public concerts'.[121] According to a description in the *Daily Post* of 10 August 1724, it was only '32 Foot 4 Inches long, 31 Foot 6 broad, 21 Foot high', less than half the size of Holywell Music Room. It was said to have had a beautiful ceiling painted by Verrio that had been incorporated from York House and a raised alcove with a semicircle of seats and stands.[122] There are no visual or documentary sources to suggest the final fittings or building materials. However based on the dimensions, a relatively small footprint coupled with a tall ceiling height, the room probably provided a high level of acoustic intimacy.

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[119] Forsyth, 17.
[120] Beranek, *Music, Acoustics & Architecture*, 44.
[121] John Harley, *Music in Purcell's London: The Social Background* (London: Dobson, 1968), 147. Olmsted stresses that it was the first designed 'for commercial concert giving' Anthony A. Olmsted, 'The Capitalization of Musical Production: The Conceptual and Spatial Development of London's Public Concerts, 1660-1750', in *Music and Marx: Ideas, Practice, Politics*, by Regula Burckhardt Qureshi (London: Routledge, 2002), 119.
[122] Austin Brereton, *The Literary History of the Adelphi and Its Neighbourhood* (New York: Duffield, 1909), 247–48.Robert Elkin, *The Old Concert Rooms of London* (London: Arnold, 1955), 29.

The majority of early performances were, as shown, in taverns. Due to a largely wooden construction, the tavern environment would have been highly sound absorbent. This would have been enhanced by the presence of audience, since the human body is also acoustically absorbent.[123] However, due to the low ceiling and relatively small room dimensions the overall acoustic was probably quite loud. This material analysis is consolidated by an account of tavern acoustics by William Hayes, the Oxford Professor of Music 1741-1777:

> It was therefore agreed to have portable Floors to raise the Performers which with proper Desks had a good Effect, the Harpsichord being placed in the Front the Violins on each Side so that all was seen and heard to as much advantage as the scanty Height of the Room would admit of.[124]

In this example, the insertion of a stage to raise the height of the performers, as well as the arrangement of musicians, are key factors in modifying the acoustics. These were easily altered variables, given that the Society had no control over the building itself. Although these modifications seem to have had a strong influence on the acoustics of the space, they were not enough to offset the issues of the room itself, namely, its height. This account also demonstrates that the musicians themselves were adept at modifying the internal arrangement of space to improve the acoustic experience.

Hayes' account of a tavern performance is an anomaly within the documentary sources, especially since it refers specifically to the acoustic effect of architectural modification. Its survival is no doubt due to the links between it and Holywell Music Room, the higher-status structure built specifically for music, which replaced the tavern setting. Indeed it is for these better-known buildings that the documentary approach is best placed. In her diary, Mrs Philip Lybbe Powys refers to a concert in Holywell prior to 1787 when she says 'I must say I've been entertained as *well* at the

[123] Howard and Moretti, *Sound and Space in Renaissance Venice*, 283.
[124] Hayes, 'William Hayes's History of the Music Room'.

music-room in Oxford, where there is not one pillar to deaden the sound, and a less space than Westminster Abbey for the vocal performers to show the compass of their voices.'[125] Her remarks are particularly pertinent to this study, since they indicate not only that she was able to evaluate the relative acoustics of different spaces, but also suggests that she, as a listener, had attributed the acoustic affect to the *architecture* rather than the musicians.

But such first-hand accounts are of greatest use when taken in conjunction with the fabric. Holywell was famed for its excellent acoustics and it has been argued that this contributed to its popularity.[126] Evidence for why it has acquired this status can be found in the Room itself. The Room's dimensions and curved performance end give a reverberation time of *c.* 1.5 seconds at middle frequencies, and 'a powerful, bright tone'.[127] Furthermore, the plastered walls, oak floor, cornice, and high ceiling would have helped to reflect the sound and disperse it across the room.[128] This, combined with its smaller size, resulted in an intimate space that was particularly suitable for conveying the complexity of baroque music.[129] Given that Holywell is famed for its acoustics, it is perhaps especially noteworthy that many of its features (slightly curved performance end, cornices, and flat roof) were espoused by those influential Renaissance writers discussed earlier in this chapter.

A similar combination of documentary and fabric evidence can be used for analyzing the acoustic environment of St Cecilia's Hall in Edinburgh. Leo Beranek suggested that the survival of any early hall was related to its acoustic success, and that the ones

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[125] Caroline Powys, *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs. Philip Lybbe Powys of Hardwick House, Oxon: A.D. 1756-1808*, ed. Emily J. Climenson (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1899), 227.
[126] Susan Wollenberg, '"So Much Rational and Elegant Amusement, at an Expence Comparatively Inconsiderable": The Holywell Concerts in the Eighteenth Century', in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2004), 249.
[127] Forsyth, *Buildings for Music*, 52.
[128] Hayes specifically mentions the cornice in both his accounts: Hayes, 'William Hayes's History of the Music Room'; William Hayes, 'Account of Holywell Music Room', in *The Oldest Music Room in Europe: A Record of Eighteenth-Century Enterprise at Oxford*, by John H. Mee (London: John Lane, 1911), 4–9.
[129] Beranek, *Music, Acoustics & Architecture*, 45.

remaining were among the best ever built.[130] St Cecilia's would appear to be an exception to this rule, since the historical record indicates that a less-than-favourable assessment was given of St Cecilia's acoustic properties when it first opened. The first concert in the hall was in December 1763 and within six months raising the roof was being discussed, probably due to its poor acoustics.[131] In 1767 the Society loaned a carpet to cover the great window (not the cupola, but a window at the southern end) to aid the acoustics of the space and by 1769 the interior of Cecilia's was being modified: 'to highten [sic] the Roof of the Concert Room and Square the End at the door, and support the roof on pillars'.[132] The exact reason for these changes is not made explicit, but as Mackenzie seems to indicate, it was almost certainly related to the acoustics:

> At first it had a defect arising from that form [i.e. the ellipse], as the music of the orchestra, reverberating from the *foci* of the ellipse, struck disagreeably on the ear; but that was cured by the erection of pilasters along the sides, which had the effect of breaking the progress of the sound. After this improvement, I never knew any room in which the music was heard to more advantage.[133]

There is no trace of pilasters now to prove or deny that these were the 'pillars'.[134] Whatever the changes were, they show that issues raised by listeners, and no doubt musicians, were addressed by the Musical Society. Following the architectural modifications outlined above, the Room began to receive favourable acoustic assessments. So successful were they that the journalist and playwright Captain Edward Topham (1751-1820) in the mid-1770s was able to say:

> [The Musical Society] have a weekly concert in an elegant room which they have built for that purpose, and which is styled St. Cecilia's Hall. It is rather too confined, but in every other respect the best accommodated to music of any room I ever was in. The figure of it is

[130] Beranek, 11 in Forsyth, 13.
[131] Rock, 'The Temple of Harmony', 68.
[132] Rock, 68–69.
[133] Deborah Howard, 'St Cecilia's Hall: Architecture and Music in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh', in *The Arts in Eighteenth Century Scotland: Papers from the Symposium in Honour of Basil C. Skinner*, ed. Murdo Macdonald (Edinburgh: Quadriga, 1993), 56.
[134] Howard, 57.

> elliptical, and the roof is vaulted, and a single instrument [as opposed to an orchestra?] is heard in it with the greatest possible advantage.[135]

The poor initial reports suggest that Mylne was not designing his space based on any specialist insight or practical experience of spaces for musical performance. As demonstrated by Kircher in his *Phonurgia nova* of 1673, the oval has an acoustic advantage that enables the sound to be heard equally across the space (Figure 90).[136] Mersenne also explored its relationship with acoustics in *Harmonie universelle* (1627), where he demonstrated sound reflections on an elliptical plan.[137] Theoretically, as demonstrated by Kircher, the elliptical shape of the room should have had an acoustic advantage.[138] But the shape is better for opera than for concert halls, since the tiers of seats reduce reverberation.[139] Although there was no precedent for such a design in the British Isles, it is generally believed Mylne, the architect, sourced his inspiration from Italian exempla during his tour.[140] Whilst Mylne's choice of design might be said to reflect an interest in, and awareness of, musical acoustics, its initially poor reviews can also be read as Mylne's naïvity and lack of practical acoustic know-how. Furthermore, there is no evidence that Mylne was himself a musician of any sort and given that his plans were sent up from London, it seems possible that he may not have conversed directly with those that would have known the space: the musicians.

Unfortunately this type of fabric analysis is not possible for the early Irish purpose-built concert rooms due to their later destruction. Assessment of the Crow Street Music Room relies entirely on an account by its architect, who described a design

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[135] Edward Topham, *Letters from Edinburgh; Written in the Years 1774 and 1775: Containing Observations on the Diversions, Customs, Manners, and Laws, of the Scotch Nation* (London: printed for J. Dodsley in Pall-Mall, 1776), 376.
[136] Howard, 'St Cecilia's Hall: Architecture and Music in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh', 59, 63.
[137] Baumann, *Music and Space*, 31.
[138] Kircher, *Phonurgia Nova* (Campidonae: For R. Dreherr, 1673).
[139] Howard, 'St Cecilia's Hall: Architecture and Music in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh', 64.
[140] This is gleaned by the general consensus that St Cecilia's is modeled on an Italian forerunner, cf: David Fraser Harris, *Saint Cecilia's Hall in the Niddry Wynd: A Chapter in the History of the Music of the Past in Edinburgh*, Second edition (Edinburgh: O. Anderson and Ferrier, 1911); Howard, 'St Cecilia's Hall: Architecture and Music in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh'.

process formulated specifically around musical acoustics. Michael Wills had a particular interest in Vitruvius, creating his own 'unique and eccentric translation' and commentary of the first five books of *De architectura*.[141] Where the Renaissance theorists focussed on the cornice as a feature of acoustics, Wills seems to have paid greater mind to assessing Vitruvius's ideas regarding Greek Theatre design and the use of *echeia* (bronze vases). In Book V, Chapter V, Vitruvius discusses the placement of these bronze vases at various points underneath the seating of theatres to aid in the clarity and transmission of the voice. He also provided guidance on where to place these vases, using harmonic ratios 'in accordance with the method of music'.[142] Wills noted this direct relationship between music and an architecture for music, saying 'Here may be seen the necessity of using some ingenuity or contrivance to help the voice and that the musical numbers must be applied.'[143] He went on to say:

> These brazen vessels are long out of use, and nothing thought of in their stead. I have been many years considering the thing and find no way so rational as that of making the theatre itself in a musical proportion taking the length from the front of the middle box to the first scene. The breadth in the clear of the boxes where widest, two thirds of this length and the height from the stage to its ceiling called the sound board, three fourths of the breadth, consequently half the length.

He does not explain the relationship between his ratios and music directly, but similar parallels between ratios and sound were also being investigated at the Royal Society.[144] Vitruvius's, and Wills's, discussions were based specifically on theatres, which were primarily designed for the spoken word, although music was also performed in them. However, given the presence of music in the theatre, and the lack of an otherwise dedicated space for music during this period, it seems natural that a single theory for the relationship between acoustics and architecture was formulated.

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[141] Christine Casey, '"De Architectura": An Irish Eighteenth-Century Gloss', *Architectural History* 37 (1994): 80–95.
[142] *…diagramma musica ratione designatum*: Vitruvius Pollio, *On Architecture* V, V.6.
[143] *CBL*: W. MS 192: De architectura p.11 in Casey, '"De Architectura"', 88.
[144] This was especially with regard to vibrations and tuning. See, for example, *RSA*: RBO.4.246-267 Item 13.

This lack of differentiation in the needs of spoken or musical sound is further demonstrated by Wills, who notes he applied the same ratios to both the design of the Smock-Alley Theatre in 1735, and to the Crow St Music Room in 1731:

> It was in this proportion I built the theatre at Smock-Alley Dublin in the year 1735, where the voice is heard most distinctly, and in the proportion also I built the musick-hall in Crow-Street where musick was heard in compleat harmony.

Without any additional information on the appearance of the Crow Street Music Room, it is impossible to know how similar these two buildings were. The introduction of typological classification of buildings from the later eighteenth-century has meant that the terms 'theatre' and 'music room' now refer to two different types of architectural expression. Wills's description, however, implies that the label given to a structure perhaps had a greater role in signalling its use, rather than its form. This is, in many ways, unsurprising given the lack of other exempla for purpose-built music spaces during this period. Regardless of its architectural form, the Crow Street Music Room did, at least according to Wills, have favourable acoustics.

Although not by the architect, a relatively informative account of the Fishamble Street Music Room's appearance comes from a poetic description by Laurence Whyte, written to commemorate the Room's opening.[145] The dimensions of the space are not included, but he does inform us that it was oblong shaped (*l.*13). The only other architectural description is a list of features:

> The *Cornice, Dentills,* and the curious *Mould,*
> The *Fret-work,* and the Vaulted Roof behold,
> The hollow Arches, and the bold Design,
> In ev'ry part with Symmetry divine. (*ll.*43-45)

[145] Laurence Whyte, *The Collected Poems of Laurence Whyte*, ed. Michael J. Griffin (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2016), 262–72.

Without further information on the configuration or materials, it is difficult to say much with certainty about how the Room would have sounded. One can surmise that the acoustics would have been favourable since pilasters and cornices break up and reflect sound, a vaulted roof provides resonance, and a symmetrical space aids an even diffusion of sound. Fortunately, there is a first-hand assessment of the Fishamble Street Room's acoustics that confirms the analysis above. Handel visited Dublin in 1741-2 and his *Messiah* was premiered in the Fishamble Street Music Room on 13 April 1742. Prior to this he held some concerts in the Hall in December of 1741 and on December 29 of the same year wrote a letter to his friend and librettist Charles Jennens (1700-1773) in which he praised the acoustics:

> … as for the Instruments they are really excellent, Mr. Dubourgh being at the Head of them and the Musick sounds delightfully in this charming Room, which puts me in such spirits (and my Health being so good) that I exert my self on my Organ whit [*sic*] more then [*sic*] usual success.[146]

Based on the fabric evidence and surviving accounts, it is clear that these early music rooms were, on the whole, well suited to their purpose, bar the need to modify the internal features of St Cecilia's. According to Forsyth, 'acoustic successes, when they occurred, were due to a combination of intuition, experience, and luck, both in overall planning and in the use of construction materials'.[147] But whilst this view might account for Castle or Mylne, neither of whom were known to have musical interests, it downplays the scientific knowledge of architects with regard to acoustic theory, and disregards the knowledge of musical practitioners and their potential role in the formulation of these early projects. The architectural and spatial modifications made in the Oxford tavern and at St Cecilia's demonstrate that musicians and listeners understood the relationship between the built environment and musical acoustics. Moreover, these accounts suggest that musicians had enough practical know-how to modify the space to their benefit. But this analysis and these accounts

[146] W. H. Grattan Flood, 'Fishamble St. Music Hall, Dublin, from 1741 to 1777', *Sammelbände Der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 14, no. 1 (1912): 52.
[147] Forsyth, *Buildings for Music*, 13.

do not, on the whole, indicate to what extent acoustics were factored into the initial design of a space. The account of Michael Wills indicates that some architects were acutely aware of the specific needs for music in designing architecture to accommodate it. This is, however, an anomaly. Despite this array of documentary and fabric evidence, the question therefore still remains as to what extent these buildings' architectural features and designs were chosen specifically for their acoustic effect, or whether good acoustics were a happy coincidence of contemporary practice.

Conclusion

As Mace's Music Room shows, architecture and the acoustics of musical performance were not discrete fields of knowledge, even if surviving records are few and far between. As this chapter has shown, the links between architecture and acoustics were widely recognised in the long eighteenth century. Furthermore, the relationship between the two was not solely the remit of intellectuals and confined to the experiments and debates of the Royal Society. Instead, audience members and musicians were also adept, perhaps to a greater level than architects, at evaluating a space and ascribing its relative success to its architectural form and features. Given this wide-ranging knowledge, it is reductive to think that architects were designing spaces for music performance in isolation. Whilst the examples discussed in this chapter may not have solved Bagenal's conundrum, I believe they have shown that architecture could be, and was, created to accommodate music in this period.

From the types of discussions and experiments taking place within the network of the Royal Society, it is clear that architects in this period had access to scientific knowledge regarding acoustics. But it is also apparent that musical acoustics and architecture did not form a key part of these investigations. Nevertheless, architectural treatises contained information on acoustics and architecture, and musicians themselves appear to have had quite sophisticated knowledge of how to

adapt space for musical sound. In the case of Thomas Mace, this knowledge was even applied directly to the design of a purpose-built space. This chapter has therefore also shown that there was perhaps more dialogue between musical practitioners and architects than has previously been recognised. Certainly performers had an important and practical understanding of the relationship between architecture and music. Given that musical societies were responsible for commissioning the four main architect-designed halls in this chapter, it seems logical that these architects did not rely solely on their own knowledge of musical acoustics, but received input from audiences and performers. In conclusion, architects of this period had knowledge of the relationship between architecture and acoustics, but in designing these first spaces for music, the practical experience of musicians and listeners almost certainly had a more pronounced influence on their design. Together, they brought about the creation of an architecture for music.

Conclusion

By 1754, the performance of music was such a recognizable aspect of British life that the *London Magazine* declared:

> Music [was] never intended… in itself to become the labour, principal attention, great business of a people. Yet, how far, how scandalously it has of late prevailed, as such, in, our country, let the shameful number of concerts now declare.[1]

The 'shameful number' reached by the eighteenth century had grown from the music meetings of the Restoration and was supported by architectural infrastructure, in the form of purpose-built venues for secular music performance. As this thesis has demonstrated, an architecture for music was created in the seventeenth and eighteenth century British Isles, culminating in the construction of the first four purpose-built venues for secular music performance and the first iterations of an architecture designed specifically for music.

The public desire for musical performances continues to this day. In addition to the construction of new venues suited to modern audience numbers and the diversity of musical styles and acoustic needs, historical venues also remain in use. Holywell Music Room continues to operate as a concert venue, following its restoration in

[1] *London Magazine*: November 1754

1959-60. Interest in historical performance settings is also reflected in the recent restoration, based on its original eighteenth-century form, of St Cecilia's Hall in Edinburgh. Reopened in May 2017, it is once again a public concert hall.

This thesis has argued that the development of an architecture for music in the British Isles was intrinsically linked to its socio-cultural context. Rather than examining particularly venues or cities in isolation, this thesis has considered the architecture for music of the British Isles collectively. From music meetings in taverns, to entrepreneurial enterprises, to the construction of purpose-built spaces, this thesis has shown that there was a shared cultural and architectural approach to building space for secular music performance across the British Isles. Although geographically dispersed, the construction of purpose-built spaces across the Isles within a thirty-year period reflects a shared cultural consciousness regarding concert performances in society, and the design of architecture to host them.

This collective approach has proved rewarding for understanding how an architecture for music came about, and how this related to its broader socio-cultural context. The use of primary source material including diaries, newspapers, and even music itself, has supplemented the rare survivals of architecture for music and their associated archives for this period. This has proved fruitful for understanding the importance and ubiquity of music meetings and the tavern environment in consolidating a culture of public music making across the Isles in the aftermath of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms. It has shed light on the adaptations made to spaces in order to accommodate concerts and their commercialization, such as the stage, limited seating, and decoration. It has also provided insight into how these spaces were designed, how they were used, what they sounded like, and how they were valued by their patrons.

In situating these spaces for performance within a broader socio-cultural, and naturally historical, context, this thesis has argued that the commercialization of the concert had a profound and lasting effect on architecture for music: in the

architectural separation of performers and audience members, the emphasis placed on the aesthetic attributes of concert venues, and the siting of venues within the urban landscape. Focusing on the architecture of a cultural activity, rather than a specific building or architectural type, has enabled connections between vernacular and polite building traditions to be drawn out. By drawing upon acoustic studies, musicology, and urban studies, this thesis has demonstrated the potential of interdisciplinary research to the study of architectural history. It has presented an architectural history of the concert hall in the long eighteenth century that explains how architectural forms come to exist, not just how they are used.

Future Avenues of Research

Although drawing inspiration from Pevsner's approach to typological studies, this thesis has not attempted to provide a typological study of the concert hall. Instead, it has focused on the architectural relationships between spaces for sound, and the genesis of an architecture designed primarily for the performance of secular music. In doing so, it presents a complementary approach to typological studies, particularly for typologies that formed prior to the eighteenth century. By investigating how architecture was shaped in response to a particular use, rather than how its design dictated use, this thesis has shown that architectural design in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was not solely the remit of the architect or builder. And as Mace's design for a music room illustrated, designing space for music was not restricted to architectural practitioners. In the case of the concert hall, musicians had practical know-how about acoustics and space that was factored in to the design and modification of architecture for music and only later inscribed in architectural design manuals.

The formal classification of buildings by type was developed by French theorists in the eighteenth century.[2] From the outset there were two different views on how to

[2] For an overview of typology, see Moneo, and Anthony Vidler, 'The Idea of Type', *Oppositions* 8, no. Paris under the Academy: City and Ideology (1977): 95–115.

classify architectural types: by form, or by function. The first nod towards a typology of use was by French architect and teacher Jacques-François Blondel (1705-1774) in 1749 who wrote:

> … all the different kinds of production which belong to architecture should carry the imprint of the particular intention of each building, each should possess a character which determines the general form and which declares the building for what it is…[3]

This was followed in 1771 with his *Cours d'architecture*, which listed types of buildings and their general characteristics.[4] His pupils, Boullée, Ledoux, and Vaudoyer saw 'the amalgam of type as origins, type as characteristic form of a classified species, and type as symbolic mark… held together'.[5] By contrast, architectural theorist Quatremère de Quincy (1755-1849) linked architecture with the past, identifying it with logic of form and connected to reason and use.[6] His ideas were used in the nineteenth century to construct a manual for composition, thus creating a forward-looking concept of typology. This logic of form (i.e. materiality and construction) was also the basis of Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand's *Précis* (1802-5), though he preferred the nomenclature of genre, rather than type.[7]

None of these publications, however, included the concert hall. This was probably due, at least in part, to the fact that such classification was used predominantly as a design tool, an association that has troubled and problematized typological studies ever since.[8] Another contributing factor was that the first examples of the type were only constructed in the mid-eighteenth century. As this thesis has shown, the earliest purpose-built spaces did not exhibit unity in their plan-form, although they all served

[3] Quoted in translation in Vidler, 99.
[4] Jacques-François Blondel, *Cours d'architecture 1771* (Ivry-sur-Seine Cedex; Paris? Phénix Éditions; Monum, Éditions du patrimoine, 2001).
[5] Vidler, 'The Idea of Type', 102.
[6] Rafael Moneo, 'On Typology', *Oppositions* 13 (1978): 28.
[7] Mattias Kärrholm, 'Building Type Production and Everyday Life: Rethinking Building Types through Actor-Network Theory and Object-Oriented Philosophy', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 31, no. 6 (December 2013): 1109; See also: Albena Yaneva, *Mapping Controversies in Architecture* (Routledge, 2016); Moneo, 'On Typology', 29.
[8] On the various historical and current debates surrounding type and typological studies, see: Sam Jacoby, 'Type versus Typology Introduction', *The Journal of Architecture* 20, no. 6 (2015): 931–37; Vidler, 'The Idea of Type'.

the same function. This no doubt contributed to their omission from the vast majority of early publications on typology.

One avenue for further research is therefore in the plan-form of spaces for secular music during this period. The preference for Continental concert halls to use the 'shoe box', in contrast to the variation exhibited in the British Isles, is generally ascribed to the origins of Continental music spaces being in palace ballrooms.[9] The earliest Continental examples of spaces for music, the *Ospedaletto* (1777) and the *Altes Gewandhaus* (1780-1781), however, both had elliptical plans.[10] The association between the ellipsis and music performance spaces is arguably stronger than has previously been given credit, and as Saint George's Hall Liverpool (1839-1854) indicates, not a phenomenon restricted to the eighteenth century. St Cecilia's is, of course, the most famous British example, but it is by no means an isolated case. The other most frequent exponent of the form was Joseph Bonomi (1739-1808), an Italian architect who moved to the British Isles to work for the Adam brothers. Bonomi designed elliptical music spaces for Assembly Rooms and private complexes whilst in the British Isles (Figure 97). It seems likely that this association between the ellipsis and music performance may have a point of origin in Italy, since Bonomi was Italian, Mylne is said to have found inspiration for St Cecilia's whilst in Italy, and the *Ospedaletto* is an early elliptical space. A potential field of enquiry is therefore in the use and inspiration for the ellipsis and its potential prominence in early music spaces, especially those with Italian influence.

Amongst the early publications on type only one, Gabriel Dumont's *Parallèle*, included a plan for a geometrically idealised music space.[11] His unbuilt *c.* 1762 'design for a concert hall' is an early representation of a schema for a concert hall (Figure 96). It bears little resemblance to the structures analysed in this thesis, but

[9] Michael Forsyth, *Buildings for Music: The Architect, the Musician, and the Listener from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 199–200.
[10] Deborah Howard, 'St Cecilia's Hall: Architecture and Music in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh', in *The Arts in Eighteenth Century Scotland: Papers from the Symposium in Honour of Basil C. Skinner*, ed. Murdo Macdonald (Edinburgh: Quadriga, 1993), 64.
[11] Forsyth, *Buildings for Music*, 109.

suggests that by the mid-eighteenth century, the relationship between architecture and music was becoming of greater interest and concern to practitioners and theoreticians both within the British Isles and outside. As this thesis has shown, fruitful investigation can be made into the early history of architectural typologies, especially for the period prior to the publication of these first typological studies. This study therefore makes a tangible contribution to the history of the concert hall as a building type, and contributes to debates about typology and typological studies.

Although not addressed in this thesis, there are other types of buildings in this period that also hosted secular music performance, albeit as a secondary entertainment. These include theatres and opera houses. Each of these spaces has already been the subject of individual study from an architectural perspective.[12] Initial studies into the relationships between these types have already been presented by Beranek and Forsyth.[13] Given the visual similarities in the architectural features possessed by each of these types, and their shared purpose in supporting performances, further work on the architectural relationships between these buildings may prove illuminating, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

A similarly comparative framework may also prove illustrative for further studies of the concert hall. This thesis has focused on the British Isles and demonstrated the potential for examining architectural development within a geographic, and national, region. The thesis has also acknowledged that such developments did not occur within a vacuum, but were influenced by musical, architectural, and scientific movements in other parts of Europe. The British Isles share a classical, western music tradition with the Continent and the role of Continental music and musicians in the development of a concert culture and the creation of an architecture for it has been alluded at various points throughout this thesis. Further contextualization and

[12] Eugene J. Johnson and Ralph Lieberman, *Inventing the Opera House* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018); Donald Mullin, *The Development of the Playhouse* (University of California P, 1970).
[13] Leo Beranek, *Concert Halls and Opera Houses: Music, Acoustics, and Architecture*, 2nd ed. (New York: Springer, 2004); Forsyth, *Buildings for Music*.

comparison with these Continental counterparts may shed further light on the developments that occurred both within the British Isles specifically, and in the broader development of architecture for music. Howard and Moretti have already demonstrated the benefits of investigating architecture and music in domestic and religious settings in France and Italy, but there is scope to bring about further comparisons and investigations into architecture for music in regions that share a musical tradition.[14]

Western concert culture was not confined to Europe in this period, but also extended to New England, where venues and concerts were modelled and named after British forerunners. In Charleston, United States, a 'New Vauxhall' opened in 1767.[15] Continued trade and travel between Old and New England fostered a musical tradition that bridged the Atlantic such that by 1731, concerts were being held in Boston.[16] Peter Pelham (1721-1805) a London-born musician, held concerts in his Great Room at a house near the Sun Tavern in Boston.[17] As in the Isles, this soon grew into a Gentleman's Concerts series.[18] By 1760, subscription concerts were also recorded in New York.[19] Studies that look beyond the geographic limits of Europe and instead focus on a cultural activity abroad, therefore also provide opportunities for further research.

Although this thesis has shown how a shared cultural appreciation of music contributed to the formulation of an architecture for music across the British Isles, it has been unable to fully address the practicalities of how this cultural appreciation spread. Reasons for this have been alluded to in the circulation of music, people, and publications, but there has not been scope in the current project to thoroughly

[14] Forsyth, *Buildings for Music*; Deborah Howard and Laura Moretti, *The Music Room in Early Modern France and Italy: Sound, Space and Object*, Proceedings of the British Academy 176 (Oxford: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 2012).
[15] Brian Boydell, *Rotunda Music in Eighteenth-Century Dublin* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1992), 25.
[16] Percy A. Scholes, *The Puritans and Music in England and New England: A Contribution to the Cultural History of Two Nations* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), 50.
[17] *Boston News Letter*: Dec 16/23, 1731
[18] Percy M. (Percy Marshall) Young, *A History of British Music* (London: Benn, 1967), 104–5.
[19] *New York Gazette*: Jan 6, 1736; Young, 105.

investigate the mechanisms that enabled the spread of cultural ideas. Studies in network analysis would benefit such research, both within the context of the British Isles, and in tracing routes of information to the Americas and the Continent. This type of approach is already being utilized in studies on musicians, and interest in the application of network theory to other disciplines is growing.[20]

This thesis has emphasized the importance of the tavern in the development of an architecture for music, not only to the fostering of musical culture, but also as an architectural structure capable of adaptation to suit multiple uses. As a ubiquitous building type within early modern British (and indeed European) life, the tavern filled an important social and cultural role. Studies have been made into the role of the tavern in early modern life, particularly in connection to drinking and literature.[21] Whilst such studies on the tavern's role in social and cultural life provide insight into the use and functionality of this building, the tavern, like the concert hall, has been largely overlooked within architectural history, especially for the British Isles. A project launched by Historic England in 2014 has acknowledged the potential for this field of enquiry, though at present it focuses on twentieth century public houses.[22]

The principal area for further research that this thesis has generated is, however, in the intersections of cultural and architectural history, and in the potential importance of vernacular buildings in the formation of polite architecture. Whilst not necessarily restricted to music or taverns, these broader methodological approaches leave open many opportunities for future research.

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[20] Mollie Ables, 'Mapping Networks of Musicians in Early Modern Venice' (Mapping the Musical City, Senate House, London, 2018); Stephen Rose, Marnix van Berchum, and Thomas Delpeut, 'Workshop: Network Analysis and New Approaches to Music History' (DHBenelux, Amsterdam, 2018).

[21] Thomas Edward Brennan, *Public Drinking in the Early Modern World: Voices from the Tavern, 1500-1800* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2011) (of which the planned fifth volume on the British Isles was cancelled); Ian Newman, 'Tavern Talk: Literature, Politics & Conviviality' (ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2013); Beat A. Kümin and B. Ann Tlusty, *The World of the Tavern: Public Houses in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot, Hants, England ; Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2002).

[22] Historic England, 'The Public House in England', Historic England, accessed 26 October 2018, https://historicengland.org.uk/research/current/discover-and-understand/urban-public-realm/the-english-pub/.

This thesis has contributed new research to the history of performance spaces in three principal ways: It has filled an existing gap in scholarship by investigating the earliest purpose-built venues for secular music performance in the British Isles as a group, it has also identified the emergence of an architecture for music in the British Isles, and it has situated these architectural developments within a broader socio-cultural and architectural context. In addition to providing an architectural history of the principal secular music performance spaces in the British Isles, the thesis has also contributed to a re-evaluation of the cultural and architectural cohesiveness of the British Isles during the seventeenth and eighteenth century. It has also queried the separation of vernacular and polite building studies by focusing on the emergence of a new building type and bringing to the fore the relationship between these two types of structures in supporting a single activity. Finally, the thesis has contributed to interdisciplinary studies in cultural and architectural history and demonstrated the benefits of such interdisciplinary research.

Encore

Every year on 13 April, Fishamble Street in Dublin is filled with performers and listeners, gathering together to perform Handel's *Messiah* outside the arch that marks the location of the Fishamble Street Music Room where it was first premiered in 1742 (Figure 98). Although the building itself no longer stands, and other concert halls have since been constructed in Dublin, the site of this concert hall has become a place of pilgrimage. What remains of its architecture is representative, both of a cultural and social milestone, and of the transition of architecture from the vernacular to the polite. The yearly gathering on the site of a long-since demolished building also shows that architecture for music can continue to resonate, both socially and culturally, long after the walls have come down.

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The Spectator
The Post Boy
The Caledonian Mercury
The Loyal Post
Faulkner's Dublin Journal
Dublin Gazette
Dublin News-Letter
The London Magazine
Boston News Letter
New York Gazette

Oxfordshire History Centre

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St Patrick's Cathedral Archives, Dublin

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RIBA Archives/Victoria and Albert Museum

CoC/9/3	Notes on Wren and acoustics
E.2124:1-254-1992	Richard Castle drawings
E.3310-1928	Tavern Scene Image
Elton Hall Album	
MyFam 4	Letters
MyFam 5	Letters
SA64/3(1-5)	Design for a monumental 'public building with a memorial gallery to exhibit busts of eminent men' for the Concorso Clementino at the Accademia di San Luca, Rome, 1758
SC23	Bonomi Assembly Room designs
SC50/VI/13	Burlington designs for York Assembly
SD149/VI/13	Burlington designs for York Assembly

Royal Society

The following document descriptions have been taken from Miller's *Music in the Royal Society of London 1660-1806*.[1]

Classified Papers

Cl.P.2.31/2 Hooke, Robert (cover letter by William Derham). A curious Dissertation concerning the Causes of the Power & Effects of Musick.

Cl.P.2.33 Powle, Henry. Describes church and its whispering place, comments on some legends surrounding it and speculates on cause of sounds being carried a great distance.

Cl.P.2.34 Moray, R[obert]. Describes an experiment at a bay near Glasgow in which a trumpet tune played there was followed by three distinct echoes. Includes figure with map and musical notation of the tune.

Cl.P.2.35 Charl[e]ton, Walter. Relates experiments on velocity of sound. Discusses speed of reflected sound as opposed to direct sound and disagreements between Mersenne and Kircher. Author describes own experiments with single and multiple echoes and proposes questions and further experimental ideas. Discusses whether length of initial sound is related to distance at which clear echo is perceived.

Cl.P.7(i) 29 [Aubrey, John?]. Figure of the whispering place described in Cl.P.2.33.

Cl.P.7(i).30 [Aubrey, John]. Includes random thoughts regarding the origin of music and its effects of spirit and health. Aubrey's name derived from table of contents.

Cl.P.18(i) 87 Hauksbee, F[rancis]. An Account of An Experiment made at a Meeting of ye Royal Society at Gresham College May ye 30, 1705 touching ye Propagation of Sound in Condensed Air. Together with a Prepetition of ye same in ye open field.

Cl.P.18(i) 120 Hauksbee, F[rancis]. An Account of An Experiment touching ye Propagation of sound thro Water.

Cl.P.18(i) 121 Hauksbee, Fr[ancis]. An Account of An Experiment showing yt Actual Sound is not to be Transmitted Thro A Vacuum.

Cl.P.18(i) 122 Hauksbee, Fra[ncis]. An Account of an Experiment Touching ye Propagation of Sound Passing from ye Sonorous body into ye Common Air in one direction only.

Cl.P.18(i) 124 Hauksbee, Francis. The Chief Experiments made this year.

CPXX.94 (Book Review): Hautefeuille, Jen de, *Recueil des Ouvrages de M. De Hautefeuille contenant Plusieurs Decouvertes et inventions nouvelles dans la physique et dans les Mechaniques*. Review by Robert Hooke.

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[1] Miller.

The first part deals with the speaking trumpet. Reviews Hautefeuille's previous work, his theories, and his proposed experiments. Hooke emphasizes Morland's priority of invention and feels that Hautefeuille has contributed very little to the field.

Early Letters

EL:D1.29 Dodington, John, to Henry Oldenburg. Quotes a letter from Kircher with a description of a remarkable speaking trumpet he ostensibly had invented 24 years previously. Kircher challenges priority of Morland's invention.

EL/G1/74 Grandi, Guido, to Lorenzo Magalotti.

EL.P1.77 Pardies, Ignace-Gaston, to Henry Oldenburg. Discusses advantage of a hyperbolic shape for a speaking trumpet and presents mathematical discussion. Includes figures.

EL:K.15 Kircher, Athanasius, to John Dodington. Extract of a letter (quoted by Dodington in ref.) that describes a remarkable speaking trumpet in use in Italy.

EL:N1:49 Newton, Isaac, to Henry Oldenburg. Discusses [Thomas] Mace's otacousticon as described to Newton by Mace's son. Includes figure.

EL:OB:17 Oldenburg, Henry, to Robert Boyle. Portion of letter discusses a performance at the October 12 meeting on an Archiviole, an instrument "comprehending both an organ and a concert of 5 or 6 viols in one." The event is not mentioned in the minutes (although Birch adds a footnote about it to his record of the October 12 meeting). Pepys and Evelyn both cite a performance with this instrument at a "musick-meeting" on October 5.

EL:O2.63 Oldenburg, Henry, to Philipp Jacob Sachs. Describes capabilities of Morland's speaking trumpet.

EL.O2.71 Oldenburg, Henry, to Thomas Cornelio. Requests information on tarantula and describes capabilities of Morland's trumpet.

EL.O2.73 Oldenburg, Henry, to [Nicolas] Toinard. Describes Morland's trumpet and its capabilities.

EL.O2.79 Oldenburg, Henry, to René François de Sluse. Provides description of Morland's trumpet.

EL.V.23 Vernon, Francis, to Henry Oldenburg. Describes speaking trumpet made by Jean Denis in Paris after Morland's specifications.

EL.V.24 Vernon, Francis, to Henry Oldenburg. Notes that the speaking trumpet described in EL:V.23 compares favourably to one of Morland's.

EL/W1/8 Wallis, John, to Henry Oldenburg. Discusses tuning of musical intervals to create mathematically pure fifths, fourths, and thirds. Relates consonance to mathematical proportions of intervals. Suggests two sizes of whole steps, etc.

EL:W1.63 Wallis, John, to Henry Oldenburg. Describes an otacousticon, or "ear trumpet", which Wallis had seen 14-16 years previously being used by a partially deaf person to magnify sounds. Includes figures.

Journal Book

JBO/2/87 Account by Dr Wallis regarding music experiments in Oxford.

JBC: Vol 7 p. 77 Hoskins, John, and Christopher Wren. Hoskins states Wren's opinion that a function of pillars in churches is to help the hearing by preventing echoes.

JBC Vol 10 p. 246 Geekie, Alexander. Geekie shows aural device made in France to aid hearing.

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RB/3/5/89 Wallis, to Boyle. Letter describing the dedication of the new theatre, being the Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford.

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An Architecture for Music:
Building spaces for secular music performance in the British Isles *c.* 1660-1800

VOLUME TWO

Sarah P. C. Hendriks

Doctor of Philosophy
University of Edinburgh
2018

APPENDICES

Appendix A

An account of Ellis's music meetings by Anthony à Wood, *The Life and Times of Anthony à Wood*, March 1656,
Transcribed from Bellingham, *The Musical Circle of Anthony à Wood in Oxford during the Commonwealth and Restoration*, p. 32-4.

[I, 204 (72)] March 1655/6
By this time A.W. had genuine skill in musick, and frequented the weekly meetings of musitians in the house of Wiliam Ellis, late organist of S. John's Coll., situat [sic] and being in a house opposite to that place whereon the theatre was built. The usual company that met and performed their parts were:

1) John Cock, M.A., fellow of New Coll. By the authority of the Visitors…
2) John Jones, M.A., fellow of the said College by the same authority.
3) Georg Croke, M.A., [fellow] of the same Coll., also by the same authority. He was afterwards drowned… 1657
4) John Friend, M.A., fellow also of the said house and by the same authority. He died in the country anno 1658.
5) Georg Stradling, M.A., fellow of Alls[ouls] Coll., an admirable lutenist, and much respected by [John] Wilson the [music] professor.
6) Ralph Sheldon, gent. A Roman Catholick… at this time living in Holywell neare Oxon, admired for his smooth and admirable way in playing on the viol. He died in the city of Westminster… 165-
7) Thomas Wren, a younger son of Matthew Wren bishop of Ely, a sojourner now in the house of Francis Bowman bookseller…
8) Thomas Janes M.A. of Mag[dalen] Coll. Would be among them, but seldome played. He had a weekly meeting in his chamber at the Coll., practiced much on the Theorbo lute, and Gervace Westcote being often with him as an instructor, A.W. would sometimes go to their meeting and play with them.

The musick masters, who were now in Oxon and frequented the said meeting, were:

1) William Ellis, bach. of musick, owner of the house wherein the meeting was. He alwaies play'd his part either on the organ or virginal.
2) Dr. John Wilson, the public professor, the best at the lute in all England. He sometimes play'd on the lute, but mostly presided the consort.
3) Curteys a lutinist lately ejected from some choire or cath[olic] church. After his majestie's restoration he became gent. Or singing-man of Ch[rist] Church in Oxon.
4) Thomas Jackson, a bass-violist; afterwards one of the choire of S. John's coll. In Oxon.
5) Edward Low, organist lately of Ch[rist] Church. He play'd only on the organ; so when he performed his part, Mr. Ellis would take up a counter-tenor viol and play, if any person were wanting to performe that part.

6) Gervace Littleton *alias* Westcot, or Westcot *alias* Littleton, a violist. He was afterwards a singing man of S. John's coll.
7) William Flexney, who had belonged to a choire before the warr. He was afterwards a gent. Or singing-man of Ch[rist] Ch[urch]. He play'd well upon the bass viol and sometimes sung his part. He died 6 Nov. 1692 aged 79 or thereabouts.
8) … Proctor a yong man and a new comer. He died soon after as I shall tell you anon.

- John Parker, one of the Universities musitians, would be sometimes among them; but Mr. Low, a proud man, could not endure any common musitian to come to the meeting, much less to play among them.
- Among these I must put John Haselwood an apothecary, a starched formal clisterpipe, who usually play'd on the bass-viol and sometimes on the counter-tenor. He was very conceited of his skil (tho he had but little of it) and therefore would be ever and anon ready to take up a viol before his betters: which being observed by all, they usually call'd him *Handlewood.*"

Appendix B

An account of Ellis's music meetings by Anthony à Wood, *The Life and Times of Anthony à Wood*, March 1659

Transcribed from Bellingham, *The Musical Circle of Anthony à Wood in Oxford during the Commonwealth and Restoration*, p. 32-4.

[I, 273] March 1659

'All the time that A.W. could spare from his beloved studies of English history, antiquities, heraldry and genealogies, he spent in the most delightful facultie of musick, either instrumental or vocal: and if he had missed the weekly meetings in the house of William Ellis, he could not well enjoy himself all the week after. All or most of the company, when he frequented that meeting, the names of them are set downe under the yeare 1656. As for those that came in after and were now performers, and with whome A.W. frequently play'd were these:

1) Charles Perot, M.A., fellow of Oriel Coll., a well bred gent. And a person of a sweet nature. [Violist]
2) Christopher Harrison, M.A., fellow of Queen's Coll., a maggot-headed person and humourous… [Violist]
3) Kenelm Digby, fellow of Alls[ouls] Coll…. He was a violinist, and the two former violists.
4) William Bull, Mr. of Arts, bach of Physic, and fellow of Alls[ouls] coll.; for the violin and viol. He died 15 Jul. 1661, aged 28 yeares…
5) John Vincent, M.A., fellow of the said Coll.; a violist…
6) Sylvanus Taylor, sometimes commoner of Wadh[am] Coll., afterwards fellow of Allsoules; and violist and songster… His elder brother, capt. Silas Taylor, was a composer of musick, playd and sung his parts: and when his occasions brought him to Oxon, he would be at the musical meetings, and play and sing his part there.
7) Henry Langley, M.A. and gent. Commoner of Wadh[am] Coll.; a violist and songster…
8) Samuel Woodford, a commoner and M.A. of the said Coll.; a violist…
9) Francis Parry, M.A., fellow of Corp[us] Chr[istie]coll.; a violist and songster…
10) Christopher Coward, M.A., fellow of C[orpus] C[hristie] coll.; a violist and division violist…
11) Charles Bridgeman, M.A. of Queen coll…
12) Nathaniel Crew, M.A., fellow of Linc[oln] Coll.; a violinist and violist, but always played out of tune, as having no good eare…
13) Matthew Hutton, M.A., fellow of Brasnose Coll.; an excellent violist. Afterwards rector of Aynoe in Northamptonshire.
14) Thomas Ken of New Coll., a junior. He would be sometimes among them, and sing his part.

15) Christopher Jeffryes, a junior student of Ch[rist] Church; excellent at the organ and virginals or harpsichord, having been trained up to those instruments by his father Georg Jeffryes, steward to the Lord Hatton of Kirbie in Northamptonshire and organist to K. Ch. I at Oxon.
16) Richard Rhodes, another junior student of Ch[rist] Church,… a violinist to hold between his knees.

These did frequent the weekly meetings; and by the help of publick masters of musick, who were mixed with them, they were much improv'd.

Appendix C

An account of Britton's Music Meeting by Ned Ward, *Compleat and Humorous Account*, pp. 209-306

The SMALL-COAL MAN'S Musick Club.

This harmonious Society of Tickle-Riddle Gentlemen, has been of long standing at the diminutive Habitation of an honest Small-Cole-Man, who happens to be a near Neighbour to St. *John* of *Jerusalem*, who at present flourishes his Banner before a noted old Tavern in *Jack Adams* his Parish, which serves to shew we have the Happiness to live in so reform'd an Age, that holds it no Scandal for a Saint to invade *Bacchus's* Dominions; nor is the Painter blameable for depicting the holy Champion in a naked Posture, because it serves us as a double Emblem; *First,* to let us see, that by frequenting the Tavern too often, we may bring our selves and our Families to the same Nakedness; and *Secondly*, it imports, that our modern Saints, in the reforming Times, may march in barefac'd to a Bottle Engagement, without the Fear of being claw'd off by their Teachers at the next *Sunday's* Meeting; for the Shepherds, as well as their Flocks, have very wisely considered, that the good Things of this World were given to the godly much rather than the wicked: Excuse the Digression and now again to the Musick Club, which was at first begun, or at least confirmed by Sir *Roger le Strange*, many years before his Knighthood, who was a very musical Gentleman, and had a tollerable Perfection of the Base-Viol, a very fashionable Instrument in those Days; though now hug'd only at Boarding-Schools, between the Knees of young Ladies, lest their Virgin Modesty otherwise should cause their Legs to grow so close together, that whenever they marry, their Bridegrooms should be puzzled to perform the nuptial Ceremony. The reasons that induc'd Sir *Roger*, and other ingenious Gentlemen, who were lovers of the *Muses*, to honour the little Mansion of the black and blue Philomat with their weekly Company, were chiefly the unexpected Genius to Books and Musick that they happened to find in their smutty Acquaintance, and the profound Regard that he had in general to all Manner of Literature, beyond whatever had been found before among the narrow Souls of those grovelling Mortals, who are content to disguise Nature with such crocky colour'd Robes, and to hazard the Welfare of their Eyes in such a dusty Profession; however, like a prudent Man, though he might justly boast a great many Qualifications above any of his Level, yet he never suffered the Flatteries of his Betters to lift him up above the Care of his Employment; for though he always took Delight to spend his leisure Hours in the Studies of a Gentleman, yet he limitted his Industry to the Trade he had been bred to; and though he was Master enough of Musick to play his Part tollerably well, upon several Instruments, yet he would not grow too proud, for the profitable Tune of Small-Coal, or lay aside his Sack till his Day's Work was over, to dance after a Fiddle, having Sense enough to consider, that spare Time and empty Sound were the most agreeable Concomitants, and that Pleasure always ought to be postpon'd to *Business*; This Sort of Diligence recommended him the better to all prudent Gentlemen, who liked his Company the more, when they found themselves out of

Danger of incurring the Curses of his Family, because he would not be tempted into those Neglects that might terminate in his Ruin: Thus the Prudence of his Deportment, among those who were his Betters, procured him great Respect from all that knew him, so that his Musick Meeting improved in a little Time to be very considerable, insomuch, that Men of the best Wit, as well as some of the best Quality, very often honoured his musical Society with their good Company, that in a few Years his harmonious Consort became as publickly noted as the Kit-Cat Club; notwithstanding the former was begun by a Small-Coal-Man, and the latttr by a Bookseller. Sir *Roger* continued to be a constant Meeter in the Zenith of his Glory, and many other Gentlemen, who were fit Companions for so worthy a Person of his Wit and Learning: so that *Briton,* when equiped in his blue Surplice, his Shoulder laden with his wooden Tinder, and his Measure twisted into the Mouth of his Sack, was as much distinguished as he walked the Streets, and respected by the good Hussifs, who were Customers for his Commodity, as if he had been a Noble-Man in disguise, who had only turned Small-Coal-Man, as my Lord *Rochester* did Quack, not out of Necessity, but to humour his Maggot; every one that knew him, pointing as he passed crying, *There goes the famous Small-Coal-Man, who is a Lover of Learning, a Performer in Musick, and a Companion for a Gentleman*. The better to demonstrate his Love of Ingenuity, he has made a very good Collection, to his great Expence, of antient and modern Musick by the best Masters, had, some Years since, picked up in his Walks a very handsome Library, which not long since, was publicly disposed off to a considerable Advantage and has now by him a great many Curiosities, that, by Persons of Judgement are esteemed valuable, yet the Hut wherein he dwells, which has long been honoured with such good Company, looks without Side as if one of his Ancestors had happened to be Executors to old snorling *Diogenes*, and that they had carefully transplanted the *Athenian*-Tub into *Clerkenwell*; for his House is not much higher than a *Canary* Pipe, and the Window of his State-Room, but very little bigger than the Bunghole of a Cask. Tho', sometimes since for the more commodious Entertainment of his *Thursday's* Audience, he had taken a convenient Room out of the next House that the Company might not stew in Summer-Time like sweaty Dancers at a Buttock-Ball, or like Seamens Wives in a *Gravesend* Tilt-Boat, when the Fleet lies at *Chattham*: But a worse use than he expected happing to be made of the additional Liberty he had given to the Company, occasion'd him, for some Reasons best known to himself, to reduce his Society to the primitive Station, who, though they have lost something of their privitive Glory, yet they constantly continue their *Thursday's* Meeting, where any Body that is willing to take a hearty Sweat, may have the Pleasure of hearing many notable Performances in the charming Science of Musick, and among the rest, perhaps the following Song, very applicable to their harmonious Consort, *viz.*

I.

Come all ye merry Beaus and Blades,
Who love the charming Fiddle,
And airy Jades that pass for Maids,
Tho' kind below the Middle.

II.

Upon Thursday*'s Repair*
To my Palace, and there
Hobble up Stair by Stair;
But I pray ye take Care
That you break not your Shins by a Stumble;
And without e'er a Souse,
Paid to me or my Spouse,
Sit as still as a Mouse
At the Top of the House,
And there you shall hear how we fumble.

III.

For tho' I look black
When I carry my Sack
About Streets at my Back,
Crying, Maids do ye lack
Any Char-Coal, or Small-Coal, within*;*
Yet by Fits and by Starts
Do I study all Arts,
And can tickle your Hearts
With my sweet Tenor Parts
Upon Viol*, or crack'd* Violin.

CHORUS.

Altho' disguis'd with smutty Looks,
I'm skill'd in many Trades:
Come hear me Fiddle, read my Books,
Or buy my Small-Coal, Maids.

The Second Part.

I.

We Thrum the fam'd Corrella*'s Aires;*
Fine Solos and Sonettos,
New Riggadoons and Midenfairs,
Rare Jigs and Minuettos.

II.

We can run squeaking up

To the Finger-Board Top,
And from Ela *can drop*
Down to G *with a Swop;*
That would ravish ye were you but near us;
And when cramp'd by hard Tugs
At our Bottles and Muggs,
Then we give you such Fugs,
That would startle your Lugs,
And amaze any Master to hear us.

III.

Sometimes we've a Song
Of an Hour or two long,
Very nicely perform'd
By some Beau that's so warm'd
With the Charms of his Chloe*'s sweet Face,*
That he chooes out his Love
Like the amorous Dove;
Which the Ladies approve,
And would gladly remove
All the Cause of his sorrowful Case.

CHORUS

Altho' disguis'd with smutty Looks,
I'm skill'd in many Trades:
Come hear me Fiddle, read my Books,
Or buy my Small-Coal, Maids.

The Third Part.

I.

Tho' our reforming pious Age
Does so in Grace abound,
And neither Smiles upon the Stage,
Or Musick's charming sound.

II.

Yet a Fool may divine
If his Thoughts are like mine,
That your pious Design,
Is to come at our Coin:
'Tis for that you dissemble and Wheedle.

By your leave master Cant,
Tho' as grave and as quaint,
As the Devil turn'd Saint,
It is Musick I want;
And we must have a Touch at the Fiddle.

III.

Lead away Mr. Prim*;*
Sir do you follow him:
How the Parts sweetly Chime?
Mr. Clod *mind your Time;*
'Tis a wonderful Tune tho' it's plain:
What a Cadence is there!
How it Tickles the Ear!
You're to fast Sir, forbear;
We are all out I swear:
Since 'tis good, let's begin it again.

CHORUS.

Altho' disguis'd with smutty Looks,
I'm skill'd in many Trades:
Come hear me Fiddle, read my Books,
Or buy my Small-Coal, Maids.

Appendix D

An extract from Laurence Whyte, *The Broken Mug. A Tale*, 1740
Transcription from Michael J. Griffin, *The Collected Poems of Laurence Whyte*, Rowman & Littlefield, 2016.

Now we must lead you to a *Club*, 131
Where Men regale themselves with *Bub*,
And very often crack a Joke,
Whilst Mugs, and Cups, and Pipes are broke,
Where each Man's free to tell his Tale,
To feast on Bread and Cheese and Ale,
To smoke a Pipe or two, and then
To drop his Groat like other Men.
For thus it stood some Years ago,
Altho' at present 'tis not so,
Their Rise and Progress you may see
Hereafter in some History,
Their *Humours* we at present trace
Without Regard to *Time* or *Place*,
With what we gather'd hitherto,
From Observations old and new,
While honest *N—l* the Mallet bore,
Who fill'd the Chair in Days of Yore,
There *Lawyers* met, and eke *Physicians*,
Attorneys, Proctors, Politicians,
Divines and *Students* from the *College*,
Men full of *speculative* Knowledge.
Captains and *Coll'nels* all in red,
Who in the School of *Mars* were bred,
Some *Beaux* and *Prigs*, with nice *Tupees;*
With *Wastecoats* lac'd down to their Knees,
Some *Poets, Painters,* and *Musicians,*
Mechanicks and *Mathematicians,*
For *Tradesmen* there give no offence,
When bless'd with *Manners* or good *Sense*,
Some *Gentlemen*, some *Lords* and *Squires*,
Some *Whigs,* and *Tories*, and *Highflyers*,
There *Papists, Protestants, Dissenters,*
Site Cheek by Jole, at all Adventures,
And thus united did agree,
To make up one *Society*,
That some drink Jill, and others Beer,
Was all the *Schism* they had to fear.
The *Governor* in Elbow *Chair,*

Presided with majestic Air,
His *Mallet* with diffusive Sound,
Proclaiming Silence all around,
Hark now my Friends! It is a *Crime*,
That more than one speak at a time.
'Let no Man here hold forth too long,
'That has not *Tully's* gift of Tongue,
'Or with superior *Talents* blest,
'To have more *Sense* than all the rest,
'Whoe'er engrosses our *Discourse*,
'The *Reck'ning* he must pay, of Course,
'Let each Man here observe this *Rule*,
'To guard himself from *Ridicule*,
'That each Man in his turn be heard,
'*And none of liberty* debar'd,
'Nor silenc'd with a *hear him! hear him!*
'Or like the Mob, *cry never fear him!*
'Who open like a pack of Hounds,
'Which all Society confounds,
'The purse proud Citizen, or Clown,
'Have all the Rhet'rick of the Town,
'The brocade Wastcoat and Tupee
'Engrossing all the Energy,
'Or Brazen-head with hollow sounds,
'Where ev'ry Blunder weighs a Pound,
'Let Reason meet a just regard
'*From Rich or Poor it shou'd be heard.*
'Another's *Tale* you must not snatch,
'Nor keep yourself upon the Watch,
'That if your *Neighbour* miss a *Letter,*
'To tell the *Story* for him better,
'Or cry this we have heard before, --
'You need not tell us any more, --
'That you have heard it, may be true,
'To others still it may be new,
'And if my *Counsel* you will take,
'Hear it once more, for *Manner's sake*,
'For *Stories* which we've heard and read
'shall be related when we're dead.
'The Motive of our meeting here
'Is not to guzzle Ale, or Beer,
'Neither to giggle, nor to scoff,
'Nor School-boy like to sneer and laugh,
'For ev'ry pair to have a Chat,
'And rattle out, *the Lord knows what.*
'Is it for this we hither came?

'This sure can never be our aim,
'But *Friendship* and good *Conversation,*
'To give example to the *Nation,*
'To shew Compassion, and good *Nature,*
'For ev'ry *Captive fellow-Creature,*
'Long in Confinement and distress'd,
'Whose *Suff'rings* cannot be express'd.
'The poorest *Objects* to set free,
'*By Gen'ral Jail delivery,*
'And for that purpose, each man here,
'Pays but an *English Crown* a Year,
'Behold you have a spacious *Room,*
'The *Mug,* or *Jorum* to resume,
'Where Mirth, and *Musick's* pleasing sound,
'Accompany the *Mug* around,
'A *Room tripartite*, now but one,
'Yet make sup three when we are gone,
'Here you commodiously may sit
'To drink or chat, as you think fit,
'Be silent – while the *Musick* plays,
'To entertain you with their *Lays,*
'Where you may hear our tuneful *Band*
Play various *strains* with great command,
'Whose *Harmony salutes* your Ear
'And elevates your *Soul* from Care,
'The greatest *Lord* sits side by side,
'To play his *Part*, with Del—d,
'Who sweetest flights of Fancy brings,
'By *Involutions,* from the *strings,*
'The *Seasons* are repeated here,
'The *Cuckow*, warbles all the Year,
'In ev'ry *Month* you hear her sing,
'As sweet in *Autumn* as in *spring,*
'Harmonia Mundi ev'ry Night,
'Affords new changes of Delight.
…
When Fiddle or the German Flute
Requir'd that we shou'd all be mute,
They ne'er cou'd stop the *Mug's* progression,
For none cou'd keep it in possession,
But while he drank or fill'd his Glass,
And to his Neighbour let it pass,
Who handed it to his Com'rade,
But never turn'd it Retrograde,
Diametrically, or Transverse,
Until the Company disperse.

These were our common modes of drinking,
Till some weak Brethren went off winking;
The we came into closer *Orders*,
If fresh *Recruits* fill'd not our Borders,
Who still dropt in, to take their *Potion,*
And help'd to keep the *Mug* in *motion.*

Appendix E

Laurence Whyte, *An Historical Poem On the Rise and Progress of the Charitable and Musical Society*, 1740

Transcription and notes from Michael J. Griffin, *The Collected Poems of Laurence Whyte*, Rowman & Littlefield, 2016.

An Historical POEM,
On the Rise and Progress of the Charitable
and Musical Society, *now assembling at the*
Bull's-Head *in* Fishamble-street, Dublin;
Humbly inscrib'd to all the worthy Members
of said Society. By an old Member.

Musa dedit fidibus divos, puerosque deorum,
Et juvenum curas, & libera vina referre. Hor.

When *Anna* bore the Scepter, to whose sway,
Th' united Pow'rs of *France* and *Spain* gave Way,
When she fixt *Philip* on the *Spanish* Throne,
And ballanc'd *Europe's Powers* by her own,
Give *Charles* an Empire, made him give up *Spain,*
Such were the Glories of Great *Anna's* Reign;
Peace she establsih'd; then each Science throve,
And *Wars* were chang'd to Harmony and Love.
'Twas in those Days *Greg Byrne* was in his Prime,[1]
For Learning fam'd, and other Parts sublime,
Who, for Politeness, Morals and good Sense,
Was deem'd to be Companion for a Prince,
Belov'd and honour'd by all honest Hearts,
Who had a Sense of Merit, Wit or Parts,
With ev'ry social Quality endow'd,
Of neither *Fortune,* nor of *Learning* proud;
To Equals none more candid was than he,
And to Inferiors affable and free.
Hence, those who never saw him must allow,
That he was then like *B_____k* or *F___ll__t__ness*[2]
Too few the Number now, alas! we see,
Who shine like these in our Society.

To sit with jolly Friends, some Nights he fix'd,
Where with his Liquor, Love and Mirth he mix'd,

[1] *Greg Byrne:* a reference to Gregory Byrne, the Dublin shopkeeper who convened the original club in 1710

[2] possibly Richard Burk, Draper, and Lewis Folliot, subscribers

As *D___ll___g, P___k___r, Ed___gton,* and *Reed*,[3]
Your *Bard* made one, for so the Fates decree'd,
That future Ages might not be debar'd,
Of what their Predecessors saw and heard,
And that the latest may as well as we,
Bestow some Time in Works of Charity.
There you might see old Alderman *M__l___ne,*[4]
Who cou'd relate the Feats of forty one.
There sate his Nephews *Ne__lls, Ree___s, T___gs,*[5]
With *Papists, Tories,* and some honest *Whiggs*;
If *F____s* came, then did *Greg Byrne* and he,[6]
Compare their *Systems* of *Philosophy,*
With some Remarks upon the *new* and *old,*
From learned Authors, beautifully told.
In him we had a *Library* compleat,
Who, without *Book,* the Substance did relate,
His Tongue an Index was to all he read,
Referring to th'Abridgments in his Head.

When *Brazil* came (a Favourite of *Byrne*)[7]
Then were the Classicks quoted in their tunr,
Who *Greek* and *Latin* round about cou'd deal,
And *Homer's Iliads* to his Friends retale,
Virgil and *Horace* were his darling Minions,
Jack was a Devotee to their Opinions,
So great Devotion to their Works cou'd pay,
That *Jove,* to Heav'n, their *Manes* must convey,
With them he wish'd to rest where e'er they lie,
In their *Elisium* or *Olympus* high;
And when the Cup went three or four times round,
The *Roman* Language had a sweeter sound,
He told what Bards best tun'd the *Latin* Lyre,[8]
Whom *Phoebus* and the Muses did inspire,[9]

---

[3] unidentified, though P_k_r is possibly George Parker, watchmaker and subscriber
[4] Alderman James Malone (d. 1721), a founding member of the group, had been state printer to James II and a collaborator of the catholic Luke Dowling, one of Whyte's booksellers.
[5] Ree_s, T-gs, unidentified, though Ne-lls are possibly Nevills – Malone's wife was a Nevill of Naas, Co. Kildare.
[6] Possibly a Fergus listed as subscriber – John Fergus, M.D., the Reverend Mr Hillary Fergus, or Captain Patrick Fergus.
[7] Brazil: unidentified.
[8] Latin poets, Virgil, Ovid, Horace, Juvenal, et al.
[9] Phoebus: the sun

And just as he was going to invoke 'em
John Neal starts up and cries out – *habet Locum!*[10]
Who always spoke good *Latin* at eleven,
But cou'd not speak a Word at six or seven.
In any Case where Diff'rence did arise,
Concerning *AEras,* or *Chonologies,*
The honest *John* took up his *German Flute*,[11]
And with a Tune decided to Dispute,
Which was so pleasing unto honest *Greg*,
That for another he was sure to beg,
Then for another, or the same *encore!*
'Till *John* at length exhausted all his Store.

When his Son *Billy*, was a beardless Boy,[12]
Like other Yonkers lov'd to play and toy,[13]
When the Affairs of *Poland, France* and *Spain,*
Gave him no Trouble, nor disturb'd his Brain,
When *London-Porter* was not known in Town,
And *Irish Ale* or *Beer* went glibly down,
When Wine was twelve or thirteen Pence per Quart,
In, or without Doors, to revive the Heart,
With Grapes in Clusters drawn on ev'ry Past,
Whose Juice we purchas'd at a mod'rate Cost,
And did our selves alternately regale,
Sometimes with *Wine*, or good *October Ale.*

'Twas in those happy, *Halycon*, merry Days,
That old *Tom Ryan* liv'd at the *Cross Keys*,[14]
And sold Malt-Liquors that were full as good,
As e'er were drawn by *Potter* or by *Wood*.[15]
Tom was a Scholar, ev'ry one knew that,
For he cou'd speak the *Latin* very pat;

---

[10] Neal (fl. 1714-1740), a printer of music, was a founder member of the group; habet Locum!: have a place!
[11] In 1723, Neal published *A collection of the most celebrated Irish tunes proper for the violin and German flute or hautboy.*
[12] John Neal's son William Neal (d.1769) would collaborate with and succeed his father as Dublin's primary music publisher.
[13] Yonkers: younkers, fashionable young men.
[14] The group assembled at the sign of the Cross-Keys in Christ-Church yard before moving to the George in Fishamble Street
[15] <Mr. Patten's *Predecessors (of happy Memory)* at the Bull's-Head.> Upon the George's closing the group moved to the Bull's Head (though it would subsequently move back to the George and on to the Bear in Christ-church yard periodically). Potter and Patten may have been tavernkeepers at the Bull's Head.

When he was in the Humour to be merry,
He cou'd relate the Siege of *London-Derry*,
Of all the Sieges, he omitted none,
Including *Limerick, Anno* ninety one.
He told the Battles fought by Horse and Foot,
How many slain, how many hack'd and cut,
The Numbers taken, and who ran away,
Which Side was beaten, or who got the Day.

As diff'rent Towns and Countries laid a Claim,
To *Homer*'s Birth, with *Tom* 'twas much the same,
To fair *Momonia*'s Hills we must repair,[16]
Resolv'd to fix him in the clearest Air,
Let it be *Cashel*, *Dingle,* or *Tralee,*
Or thereabouts, 'tis all alike to me.
Tho' some affirm that he was born at *Blarnee*,
Whilst others wou'd derive him from *Killarnee*,
The Hills of *K___y, C___k,* and *T___p___ry*,[17]
Producing *People* like him bright and airy,
And from their Summits they come tripping down,
To fill each City, and each Market-town,
Such as wou'd guard themselves from being bit,
From these may learn Sagacity and Wit,
Who first compil'd the famous *K____y* Bond,[18]
With Points of Law, which none can go beyond.
Each *Sunday* Night we got from that old Trooper,
Good Barn-door Fowl, with Sallad for our Supper,
Or some fine Ribs of roasted tender Beef,
Which to young Stomachs was a great Relief,
With some good eleemosynary Cheese,[19]
And then a Pinch of Snuff that made us sneeze,
At other Times, - if I be not mistaken –
He treated us with Turkey, Sprouts and Bacon.
'This Dish, says *Tom*, which doth so much allure us,
'Was first invented by old *Epicurus*,
'Whose Sect are now the greatest Cooks alive,
'And sweetest Morsels, for themselves contrive,
'In all their Bills of Fare prefer this Dish
'To all the Dainties both of Flesh and Fish,
'Whose *Summum Bonum* is to drink and eat,[20]

---

16 Momonia's: Munster's
17 Kerry, Cork, Tipperary
18 presumably a Kerry bond, a sort of agreement or warrant
19 eleemosynary: given as an act of charity.
20 Highest good

'A Doctrine that will nee'r be out of Date,
'To seek their Ease, to give a Scope to Pleasure,
'And never stint it by too scant a Measure,
'Tis not my Business ever to reflect
'On any of the *Epicurean* Sect,
'Nor with them gravely to philosophize,
'But leave it to the learned and the wise.
Thus far went *Tom,* until the Clock struck one,
Then 'twas agreed that we shou'd all be gone.
As we came out, the Waiters were not slack,
We had an hundred *kindly Welcomes* at our Back.

Then at his Brother *Pat's* we often met,
Who kept the *George*, 'till it was overset,[21]
Leview succeeded, who kept up the Sign,[22]
For Beer and Ale, good Punch, and Brandy, Wine,
This, for a Time, occasion'd some Confusion,
Was like to break our wholsome Constitution,
Some of our Chiefs dispersing here and there,
Some to the *Bull's-Head* to get better Fare,
At length there was a gen'ral Convocation,
And at the *George* once more we fixt our Station;
Dear *Greg*, by this Time left us all in Tears,
And for his Station flew to higher Spheres.

Our Muse was then unfledg'd, and very young,
Rude as she was, his Elegy she sung,
Her Pinions try'd, and at the Subject aim'd,
But came far short of what his Merits claim'd.

About this time, the *Broken Mug* we drew,
Whose Shape and Size at present you may view,
With all the other Canto's added since,
Which now I fear won't balance our Expence;
They, at the Printer's now in *Limbo* stand,
'Till all our Friends give them a helping Hand,
And by Subscription grant them a Release,
Such is the Muses and the Author's Case;
If all our *Bull's-Head* Friends to this agree,
Like other Debtors they may set them free,
Subscribing to their History in Rhime,
They may release five hundred at a Time.

---

[21] <*In* Fishamble-Street.> Overset: subject to a change of management

[22] Peter Leview, flute player and teacher who, as Whyte notes earlier, would become tavernkeeper at the George Tavern.

In *Beahan*'s Days (our Governor for Life)[23]
John play'd the Flute, and *Billy* play'd the Fife,[24]
Some play'd the Fiddle, others vamp'd a Base,
We sung the *Tinker*, or old *Chivy Chase*,[25]
*Pat*smoak'd his Pipe, and gave us laws to boot,
And Discord vanish'd from the Fife and Flute,
Each Night we shook off our domestick Cares,
By *Irish, English* or *Italian* Airs,
Scotch, French, or *Dutch*, sometimes wou'd do as well,
Such as our Favourite Tune the old *Cibel,*
Joys to Great Casesar, with *the Base so bold*,
Old Tollet*'s Ground*, *Sir* Simon, *young* or *old.*[26]

Thus we continued many Years a Club,
And ev'ry Night each dropt a Groat for Bub,
At length *Patt*'s Pipe was out by Fate's Decree,
And when interr'd, we sung his Elegy,
To which our gentle Readers we refer,
Who wou'd inquire into his Character.

When gay *Pat. Beahon* to his rest was gone,
For his Successor chose honest *John*,
Who fill'd our Chair, and long maintain'd his Station,
By musical and mild Administration;
With merry Chat we fill'd some Blanks of Time,
And *C___s* was our Orator sublime,[27]
He in them Days all Arguments cou'd handle,
To him *Longinus* cou'd not hold a Candle;[28]
At which *Tom H__t__ll* fretted not a little,
bUt much diverted *B___ker___ff* and *Whittle*;[29]
The *Sw__ys, L___ches* all admir'd his Graces,[30]
And *Pierce* pick'd up a thousand of his Phrases,
Nor was *Jack B__g___t* idle all along, [31]

---

[23] The Jacobite Patrick Beaghan, the first president of the group.
[24] The Neals
[25] "The Jolly Tinker" and "The Ballad of Chevy Chase," traditional English songs.
[26] Traditional songs or dance tunes, including "All joy to Great Caesar," "Tollet's Ground," and "Old Sir Simon the King."
[27] unidentified
[28] a Greek author of the first century AD, whose *On the Sublime* treated of the effects of good writing and effective rhetoric.
[29] Tom T-h-ll… Whittle, unidentified; B-ker-ff was John Bickerstaff (d.1751), an officeholder in the viceregal household in Dublin.
[30] Sweeneys and Lynches

Who now and then gave us a pleasing Song:
'Twas thus in our Minority we stood,
Inspir'd with Hopes of doing futher Good,
Not like some others, now in Town, God wot,
Who think of nothing but to smoak and sot;
But then, amidst our Harmony and Mirth,
Some pious Thoughts gave CHARITY a Birth,
And fill'd each Head with these exalted Notions;
For her Support, to make new Laws and Motions:
To *Christ-Church-Yard* we mov'd for sake of Room,
Where all our Friends and Followers might come:
A happy Oomen of a approaching Grace,
To fix upon so sanctified a Place,
Where we our new-born Goddess solmniz'd,
And there our grand Society baptiz'd,
Who shall for every glory in the *Name,*
Which does surpass all Epithets of Fame,
A *Virtue* which the Ancients did revere,
And fixt the Goddess in an Iv'ry Chair,
Deck'd with a yellow Robe, and Tire of Gold,
Beset with Diamonds, glorious to behold;
'Tis by the Rich the Poor must hope to live,
And by her Influence, we have Power to give,
All other Virtues, without her are void,
But link'd to her, they may be all enjoy'd,
'Twas there our *Charity* first took its Rise,
'Twas there we did the Scheme and Plan devise,
To free the *Captive Debtors* from a Jail,
Compound, or pay their Debts upon the Nail,
And by Subscription annually set free,
So many Souls from Want and Misery,
Acts worthy of a Monument of Brass,
Which *Time* itself, nor *Death* can e'er deface,
Since all the *Alms*, which to the Poor are given,
Must be rewarded from the Throne of *Heav'n,*
Here did our Numbers and our *Stock* increase,
But finding out a more commodious Place,
We from the *Bear*, unto the *Bull*, remov'd,
Which latter Sign still more auspicious prov'd,
To serve the poor, we wand'red to and fro,
And to their Blessings, we our Progress owe,
Lords, Knights and *Squires* came thronging in a Pace,
And gave our Club a more embellish'd Face,
Our Entertainments grew so mighty grand,

---

[31] Henry Pierce, attorney and John Baggot, subscribers.

That greatest *Peers* cou'd join our tuneful *Band*.

John still presided, but alas! of late,
Grown old and thoughtful of a future State,
Has abdicated and forsook the *Thone*,
And for Succession he has left us none,
Tho' his Son *William* well might claim the Chair,
To be Successor, as apparent *Heir,*
Did Folks regard hereditary Right,
Or faithful Services by Day and Night,
For Recompense some Honours they confer,
Still to continue him their Treasurer,
To run thro' all the Drudgery and Pains,
Whereby a thousand Blessings he obtains,
Who shew'd his Zeal to serve the common Cause,
When we had nought to guide us, but our Laws.

This *Interregnum* caus'd some small Confusion,
But through about a happy Revolution.
M__tg__ry, *W__ts__n,* and *A__gh__ty*'s Scheme,[32]
Augments our Numbers and Records their Fame,
With their Successors likewise worthy Men,
As *F__ll__t, M__l___ss,* and our Steward *B___n,*[33]
Presiding monthly with each other vie,
With Ardor tread the Paths of *Charity,*
Who in Succession gloriously appear,
And like the *Zodiack* shall compleat the Year,
They, for their Fund, a sure Foundation laid,
When they invok'd the Ladies to their Aid,
Who like the brilliant Stars, with native Light,
Dart thro' the Clouds and Hemisphere of Night,
Whilst Musick charms the Ear, they arm the Eye,
As Types of Heav'n, and the Divinity,
Their Faculties of reasoning are so pure,
The World's convinc'd that they can kill and cure,
Who *Plato*'s Doctrine turn to ridicule,
With all th'abstracted Notions of his School,
From them our great Philosophers have sprung,
And all the Hero's that were ever sung,
To them the Saints and Heroines owe their Birth,
With all the Bards and Prophets of the Earth.

---

[32] An unidentified Montgomery; possibly John Watson (d. 1769), publisher of almanacs, including an *Almanack an Gaoidheilg* (an *Irish Almanac*) in 1724; Captain Aughmuty, subscriber.
[33] Lewis Folliot and John Malpass, subscribers; Patrick Beaghan.

Tis strange it shou'd give any Discontent,
Shou'd we set forth each worthy President,
Who boldly put our Laws in Execution,
To keep us from Disorder and Confusion;
We see a Painter often draw the Lines
Of Kings and Queens, on Canvas or on Signs,
He draws the Viceroy, and sometimes the Drapier,
He's free to paint on Vellum, Board or Paper.
Painters and Bards had equal Right of old,[34]
To exercise their Arts, as we are told,
The Poets now many think it very hard,
To be of equal Liberty debar'd,
To paint the inward Beauties of the Mind,
At least when there's no Prejudice design'd;
But o'er their Virtues we must throw a Vail,
Give no Aplause to Charity and Zeal,
Their just Encomiums they can never bear,
But with the Publick take a common Share.

'Twas they first banish'd by a firm Decree,
All wild Disorder and Indecency,
Which like a Weed sprung up in former Times,
When smutty Songs and Tales were thought no Crimes,
When *Minors* babl'd just to shew their Parts,
To sound their own Atchievements and Deserts.

To these our Worthies gave a gentle trip,
And got them voted under Guardianship,
To sit down mute for Contemplation sake,
That by their Guardians they might act and speak.

Silence, though Goddess! whom in Days of yore,
Wise *Romans* and *Egyptians* did adore,
In Courts or Camps 'til Youth they first proclaim,
And all confusion flies before thy Name,
'Tis though alone can'st recommend a Fool,
And guard him from Contempt and Ridicule,
Let him but clap a Finger to his Lip,
Lest incoherent Speeches from him slip,
You vail the Coxcomb's want of common Sense,
And choak the Blunders that wou'd give Offence;
Thus may the Idiot for a Wizard pass,

---

[34] <----*Pictoribus atque Poetis, Quidlibet audendi semper fuit aqua Potestas.* Horace.>: Painters and poets have always ahd equal license to dare anything. Horace, *Ars Poetica*, II.9-10.

If his own Words do not betray the Ass,
Though art a Guard on Wisdom's hidden Store
Whilst you conceal the purest solid Oar;
You, to the Bashful, Modest, and the Coy,
Give Peace of Mind, Tranquility and Joy:
And thus you often regulate the Tongue,
Lest Men grow noisy, or hold forth too long.

These Worthies for a Pattern we might take,
Who well consider when, and what to speak,
Each Word from them deserves a close Attention
From those of nicest Taste and Comprehension;
'Twas they maintain'd our Laws with Trumpets sound,
Which to their Honour, ever shall redound,
J___k___n whose Talents all our Worthies know,[35]
Whost sweet Orations with good Nature flow,
More in one Period, often comprehends,
Than my whole Muse in Favour of my Friends;
His choisest Idioms here let him diffuse,
T'assist in Prose the Weakness of my Muse,
So good a Judge of Merit and good Sense,
Here cannot fail of Wit and Eloquence,
To give Applause hereafter that shall fit
Such worthy Member as I here omit.

As when a Star does from the Zenith steer
It's Course, to set in western Hemisphere,
Thus *F___t* quits the Chair, his Pow'r declines,[36]
Leaves us the second of the northern Signs
For his Successor, to support the Cause
Of Charity, and to maintain her Laws,
Then *Taurus* leaves us *Ryan* in that Station,
An honest Patriot, and a true *Milesian*;
W___k___r succeeds, who fill'd the City Chair[37]
Of late, with Justice and paternal Care.

May all Successors follow their Example,
To suffer none upon our Laws to trample,
And evermore in Harmony agree,
Still to promote the Works of Charity,
That future Ages may with great Surprize,
Admire their Worth, their Progress, Growth and Rise.

---

[35] Possibly George Jackson, attorney, subscriber
[36] Folliot
[37] Possibly Alderman John Walker (d. 1750)

Appendix F

Ned Ward, *The London Spy*, Part XIV, p. 253-6

By this time our punch was exhausted, and remembering we had heard of a famous amphibious house of entertainment, compounded of one half tavern and t'other music-house, it made us willing to dedicate half an hour to what diversion we might there meet with…

As soon as we came to the sign of the spiritual helmet [the Mitre], such as the high priests us'd to wear when they bid defiance to the Devil, we no sooner enter'd the house but we heard fiddlers and hautboys, together with a humdrum organ, make such incomparable music that had the harmonious grunting of a hog been added as a bass to a ravishing concert of caterwauling performers in the height of their ecstasy, the unusualness of the sound could not have render'd it, to a nice ear, more engaging. Having heard of the beauty and contrivance of the public music-room, as well as other parts of the house, very highly commended, we agreed first to take a view of that which was likely to be most remarkable.

So we ascended the stairs and were usher'd into a most stately apartment, dedicated purely to the lovers of music, painting, dancing, and t'other thing too. No gilding, carving, colouring, or good contrivance, was here wanting to illustrate the beauty of this noble academy, where a good genius may learn with safety to abominate vice, and a bad genius (with as much danger) to practise it. The room, by its compact order and costly improvements, looks so far above the use it's now converted to that the seats are more like pews than boxes; and the upper end, being divided by a rail, looks more like a chancel than a music box. I could not but imagine it was built for a fanatic meeting-house, but they have for ever destroy'd the sanctity of the place by putting an organ in it, round which hung a great many pretty whimsical pictures…

There were but few companies in the room; the most remarkable person was a drunken commander, who, plucking out a handful of money to give the music sixpence, dropt a shilling, and was so very generous that he gave an officious drawer, standing by, half a crown for stooping to pick it up again.

Finding we were much pleas'd with the order and beauty of his room of state, the master was so civil as to ask us to see his house, which kind offer we very readily embraced, following him into several cleanly and delightful rooms, furnish'd for the entertainment of the best of company. To render 'em more diverting, they had so many whimsical fancies painted upon the panels that you could look no way but you must see an antic, whose posture would provoke laughter as much as the dumb man in the red cap when his brains were agitated with a cup of porter's comfort…

In this condition we left 'em to dispute the matter and return'd upstairs, where we drank a quart of good red, thank'd the master for his civility, and so departed the house, which may be very justly styled, by such who love good wine and a pleasant room to sit in, 'the Paradise of Wapping'.

Appendix G

William Hayes, *History of the Music Room*, 1753
Bodleian Library: MS. Top. Oxon. D.337

For many years the Music-Club (as it was then called) had been held at the Kings head Tavern. Weekly Concerts were constantly performed and those Performers who were Gentlemen of the University had the sole Management of affairs thereunto relating of whom not a single person now remains in Oxford. It had been customary for the Harpsichord to stand on one side of the Room & at a Table near it sat the Performers on Violins &c, which being on a Level with the auditory Members, was inconvenient. It was therefore agreed to have portable Floors to raise the Performers which with proper Desks had a good Effect, the Harpsichord being placed in the Front the Violins on each Side so that all was seen and heard to as much advantage as the scanty Height of the Room would admit of. At this time all public concerts such as Benefits were had in some College Hall: for the Kings Heard Room would not contain the number assembled on those Occasions & the meeting in College Halls was attended with inconvenience to the Society where it happened to be.
Towards the End of the Year 1741 the Subscribers to the Club being considerably increased occasioned a Proposal to purchase by Subscription one of the Racket courts & to fit it up for private & public Concerts. This Scheme was successfully promoted by Mr. Walter Powell one of the Esquire ?Bindlio noted for a manly & mellifluous Voice of great Compass. His Example stimulated others to exert their Interest till at length the Sum amounted to $490 – S4 – D6 after a long Treaty the Proprietors of the Racket Court determined not to sell on any Terms. They then purchased of Wadham College for £100 –S0 –D0 the Ground whereon the present Music Room stands. By the Time the Walls were raised the Money was swallowed up, & in this state it remained for some years. At length it happened to become the Subject of Discourse at the Club & the Company were of Opinion that a Monthly Meeting for the Performance of Choral Music only, would answer the End of getting Money to finish the Building & would gain Credit to the Undertakers. The Idea was carried into Execution & the Profits amounted to £176-S13-D3. The Workmen were employed, the Floor laid, the Walls stuccoed & corniced, the Orchestra erected with a Ballustrade in front & Benches calculated for 400 Persons commodiously. These were all on a Level & placed across the Room.
In July 1748 the Room was opened with two Oratorios by which was cleared £106 – S1-D5 the whole Sum raised was now 882-19-2 The amount of the Expences was 1263-10-0 so that there remained a Debt of 370-10-10 which Sum & the Expence of raising the Gallery at the End over the Entrance was entirely paid off by the year 1752.

Appendix H

Extract from *Orders of a Music Meeting*, *c.* 1684
Bodleian Library: MS Top. Oxon. A. 76

Orders to be observ'd at the Musick-Meeting.

I. THAT it be kept every last Thursday in the Month at Mr Hall's Tavern at five of the Clock precisely in the Evening, and continue till Ten.
II. THE Club One Shilling each, to be deposited in the Steward's hands for the next Club.
III. EVERY One to stand to his Club, whether he is in Town or not.
IV. IF the Steward be absent, and doth not send the Money; he shall be fin'd Five Shillings.
V. THE Steward is to call for every thing himself; and if he does not so give notice when the Money is expended, to pay ye Overplus himself.
VI. THE Stewards to serve in Order as they are entred of the Club.
VII. WHOEVER does not come before Seven a Clock ~///~///~///~. Is to forfeit Six Pence, besides his Club.
VIII. THE Steward shall have the liberty to bring three Friends, such body else to bring any under the penalty of what the majority of ye Club shall think fit.
IX. THE Steward must give notice to the next who succeeds him of the last Forfeits.
X. ALL the Overplus and Forfeits must be given by the Steward that is going out of his Office, to Mr HALL, and once a Quarter to be Examined and Spent, as the Company shall agree.
XI. THAT this Club shall not exceed the number of Forty One.
XII. THE Steward is obliged to sconce any that makes a noise in time of performance or to be sconced himself.

Appendix I

Laurence Whyte, *A Poetical Description of Mr. Neal's new Musick-Hall*, 1742
Transcription and notes from Michael J. Griffin, *The Collected Poems of Laurence Whyte*, Rowman & Littlefield, 2016.

A Poetical Description of Mr. Neal's new Musick-Hall
in Fishamble-street, Dublin,
being a Supplement to an Historical POEM, wrote in the Year 1740 on the Rise and Progress of the Charitable and Musical Society, formerly kept at the Bulls-head in said Street.
By an old MEMBER.

As *Amphion* built of old, the *Theban* Wall,
So *Neal* has built a sumptuous *Musick-Hall*;
The one by per'rful Touches of his *Lute,*
The other by the *Fiddle* and the *Flute*,
Join'd with some others of harmonick Sound,
He rais'd this lofty Fabrick from the Ground;
Where heaps of Rubbish in confusion stood,
Old walls, old Timber, and some rotten Wood;
From their old *Chaos*, they new Forms assume,
Here stands the *Hall,* and there the *Drawing Room*,
Adorn'd with all that Workmanship can do,
By Ornaments, and Architecture too.

The Oblong Area runs from *East* to *West*,
Fair to behold, but hard to be exprest;
At th'*Eastern* end, the awful throne is plac'd,
With fluted Columns, and Pilasters grac'd,
Fit for the noblest *President* to rest,
Who likes the Arms of *Irleand* for his Crest.
In diff'rent Classes at the *Western* end
Musicians with their Intstruments attend;
While they diffuse their Harmony around,
The concave *Arch* reverberates the Sound;
This charms the Soul, and tunes it to a Pitch,
Gives Emulation to the Poor and Rich,
Exalts their *Virtues* to a high Degree,
And fix their central point in Charity.
Thus do the *Planets* in their *Orbits* move,
As Authors say, in Harmony and Love;
In certain *Periods* they are sure to run,
Mov'd by the attractive Motion of the *Sun.*

Long had the *Goddess* wander'd here and there,
First from the *George* to anchor at the *Bear*,
Then from the *Bear*, she travel'd to the *Bull,*
And there her Train grew numerous and full,
Then hoist her Sails, to find a larger port,
Where she might rest and build a sumptuous Court.
The Goddess here at length her Anchor fixt,
Both Sexes blended, and all Parties mixt,
She, without *Schism,* has brought them to agree,
To join and set the Captive *Debtor* free.
The Architect has here display'd his Art,
By Decorations proper for each Part,
The *Cornice, Dentills,* and the curious *Mould,*
The *Fret-work,* and the Vaulted Roof behold,
The hollow Arches, and the bold Design,
In ev'ry part with Symmetry divine.

There stand fine Mirrors to reflect the Fair,
Lest they forget themselves, or where they are;
The precious *Curl* and *Lappets* to adjust,
And to remind them that they are but Dust.
Here Men may know themselves, and what is more,
They may reflect what they have been before,
That as they've enter'd at the common Gate,
So sure are they to meet the common *Fate*,
How soon, how late, or where, or when, or how,
Are things too serious to dilate of now;
But Thoughts like these have made great *Xerxes* weep,
To think that *Death* shou'd lay his *Host* asleep.
In all *Assemblies* where the brilliant *Fair,*
To hear and see, so eagerly repair,
Where *Beaux* in dress, do with each other vie,
I can't forbear to think, *that all must die.*
When *Man* of all his Wishes is possest,
Cloy'd with Enjoyments, lays him down to rest.

Appendix J

William Hayes, *Account of Holywell Music Room*, 1773
Transcribed from Mee, *The Oldest Concert Room in Europe*, 1911, 4-9.

In this Street (Holiwell) stands an elegant Stone Edifice, appropriated to Music, and therefore called the Music-Room. Its Dimensions are 65 by 32, and 30 Feet high. The North End, being a Segment of a Circle, is occupied by the Performers. The Orchestre rises gradually from the Front, where the Singers stand, partly screened by a Balustrade. On the uppermost Stage, in the Center, stands an excellent Organ built by the late Mr. *John Byfield*; the Bequest of*William Freman*, Esq., of *Hamels*, in *Hertfordshire*. Its Form has been considerably altered since it first arrived, according to a Drawing made and presented, by the Professor Music, to the Rev. Dr. *Ralph Freman* for his Approbation; who so generously assisted, and enhanced his late Brother's Benefaction, that he not only paid the Charge of *packing, carrying,* and *re-erecting* the Organ by the Maker thereof, but also by paying for the additional Ornaments and Improvements. These consist of a widening of the Basement, on which are fixed inverted Brackets, supporting the Body of the Organ, and are so contrived as, occasionally, to be let down to admit of the Sashes or Glass Doors being folded back; and then to resume their Station and Figure.

Above the Cornice, on a Plinth, is raised a Pannel containing an Inscription, supported by Trophies of Musical Instruments rising pyramidally, and finishing with an *Apollo's* Harp, drawn after an antique Form found in *Pine's Horace*.

From the Orchestre, on each Side of the Room, run four Rows of Seats rising gradually from the Floor; on the Left Hand they are continued till met by those on the same Side of the Entrance, to which they are connected by an easy Curve.

Above these rise a considerable Number of others; it having been found necessary to leave Height sufficient for a Passage underneath. On the Right, from the Orchestre, it was not practicable to continue the Side-Seats, on Account of the Fire-Place; nevertheless in Summer, when no Fire is requisite, and the Chimney-Board fixed up, the vacant Space is supplied with three Rows of Seats which are connected on this Side of the Entrance as the former, and have the same Use and Appearance as if they had been originally continued.

The Room is chiefly lighted by two very handsome Lustres of Cut Glass, for which we are indebted to the Ladies; who raised a Subscription of 66*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* for that Purpose. The elegant Stucco-Work in the Cieling, made to receive the Chains by which the Lustres are suspended, was the Performance and Benefaction of the late ingenious Messrs. *Roberts* and *Snetzler*.

Here are weekly Performances of Vocal and Instrumental Music, every *Monday* evening, except in *Passion-Week*, all the Month of *September*, and the Quarterly Choral Performances ; which are usually Oratorios ; and these with very little foreign Assistance. Benefit Concerts are also here for such Performers to whom they are allowed. These formerly were in some College-Hall, which greatly incommoded the society where it happened to be.

The Front is plain, but elegant Architecture, and properly adapted to the South End of the Room, which is square. It was designed (as was the Whole) by the

Rev. Dr. *Thomas Camplin*, sometime Vice-Principal of *St. Edmund-Hall*, now Archdeacon of *Taunton*. – It recedes from the Street about 38 Feet, before which is a spacious Court, guarded by a Pair of genteel Iron Gates in the Center, with Palisades on the Right and Left ; the Donation of the Hon. *Robert Lee.* – Sir *John Shaw,* Bart., also gave a Pair of Iron Gates, out of which those at each End were made. Upon this Account the Crests of both are placed on the Piers of the central Gates. The Whole in a Line with the Street extends 81 Feet 6 Inches.

This Building was begun upon the Strength of a Subscription, set on Foot about the Beginning of 1742, which soon accumulated to the amount of 490*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* of which 100*l.* was laid out in the Purchase of the Ground whereon it stands. Afterwards 120*l.* were raised by two Oratorios performed in *Christ-Church* Hall ; this served only to pay off some of the Arrears due, and not sufficient to encourage a Prosecution of this Undertaking ; So that for some Years the Building stood a mere useless Shell. But the instituting of a separate Society, for a monthly Performance of Choral Music at the *King's Head*, gained new Credit, and induced both the Workmen and the Managers to proceed with Chearfulness ; for such was the Success of this Scheme that by the Opening of the Room in *July* 1748 the Fund was increased to 176*l.* 13*s.* 3*d.*, to which the Profits of the Oratorios, performed at that Time added 106*l.* 1*s.* 5*d.* But still some Arrears remained to be discharged, nor is it to be wondered at, for the whole Cost amounted to 1263*l.* 10*s.* However, by the Year 1752 all was entirely liquidated.

In 1754, the Alteration of the Seats took place ; for they were originally upon a Level. Since then the Walls have been lined behind the Back Seats, and the Whole new coloured.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1: Photograph of Broad Street, Oxford. Ellis's house was probably on the site of the buildings on the right side of the image.

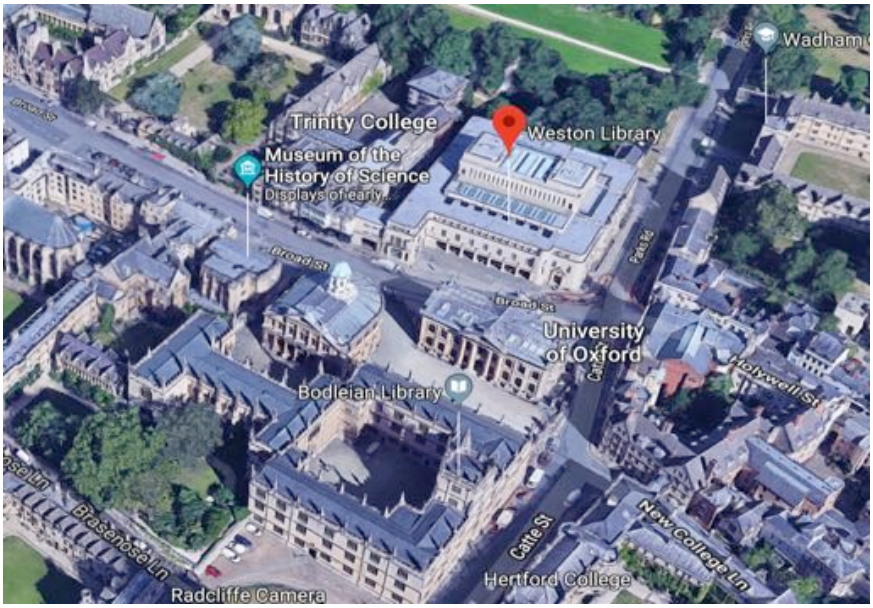


Figure 2: Map showing the location of Ellis's home, now the site of the Weston Library, relative to the Bodleian Library and Sheldonian Theatre. Image: googlemaps

Figure 3: Chamber Organ, *c.* 1680.

Figure 4: British School, *A Musical Party*, *c.* 1750, oil on canvas, image courtesy of Sothedby's and reproduced from Leppert, *Music and Image*, pl. 94

Figure 5: Part books arrangement: image from titlepage of *Thesaurus Musicus* (1693), *BL*: K.2.g.16

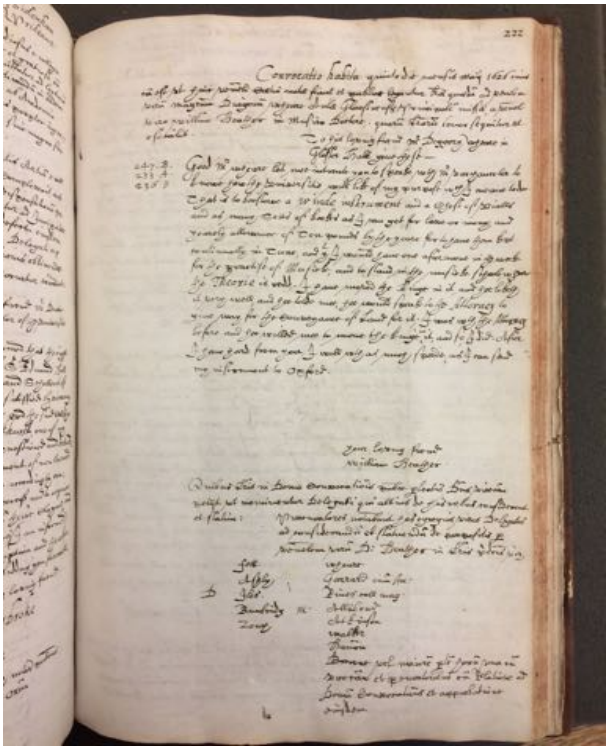


Figure 6: Details of the Heather Bequest for the establishment of a Music Professorship at the University of Oxford. *Bodleian:* Reg. Conv. N 23, fol. 222

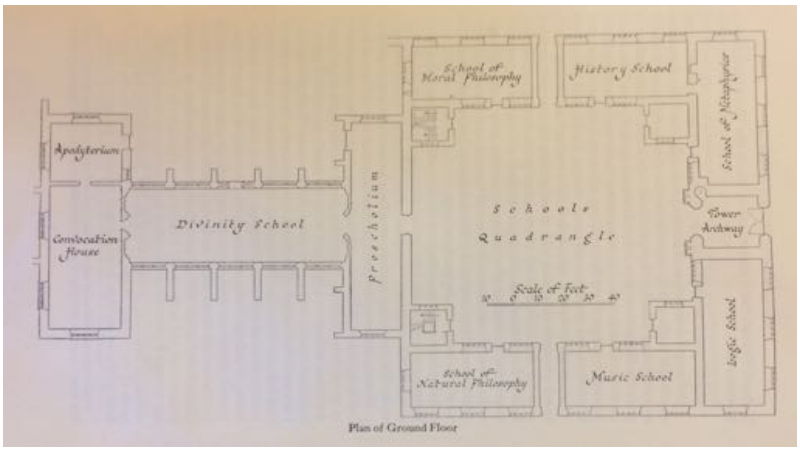


Figure 7: Plan of Ground Floor of the Bodleian Schools, from Sir Edmund Craster, *History of the Bodleian Library*, 1981, pg. 4

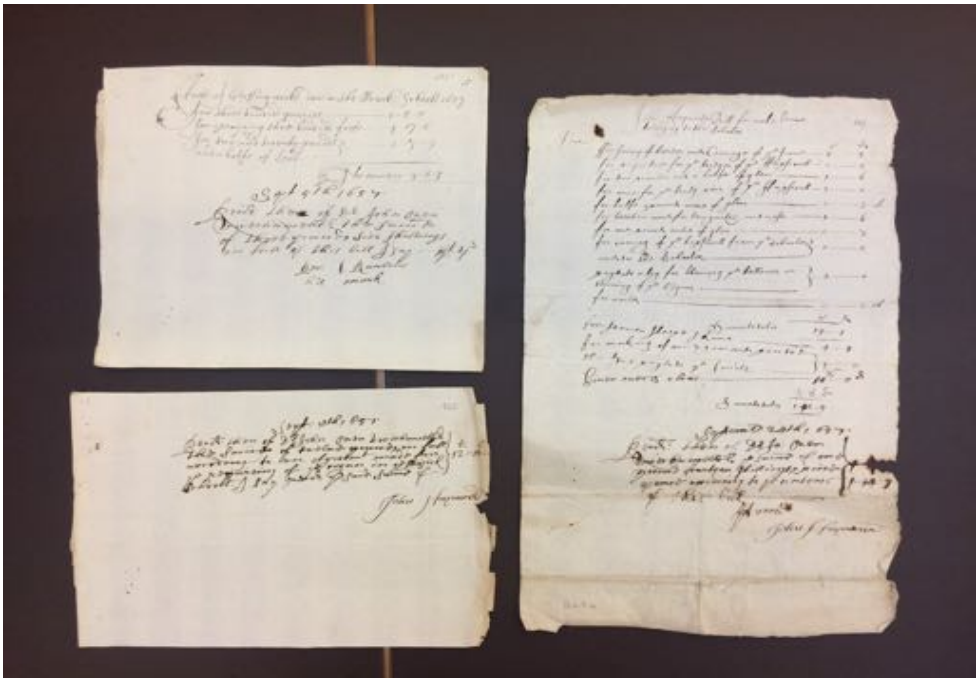


Figure 8: A selection of receipts detailing expenses for restoring the music school in 1657. *Bodleian*: UA N.W.3.4

Figure 9: Detail of John Rocque's 1746 Map of London with red star making the corner of Jerusalem Passage and Aylesbury Street

Figure 10: John Wollaston, *Thomas Britton*, oil on canvas, 1703, National Portrait Gallery, London: NPG 523

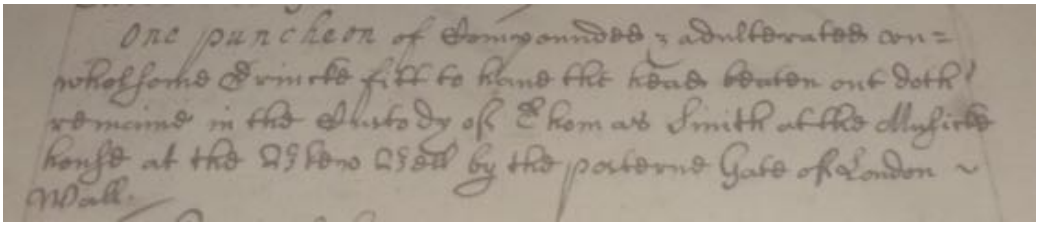
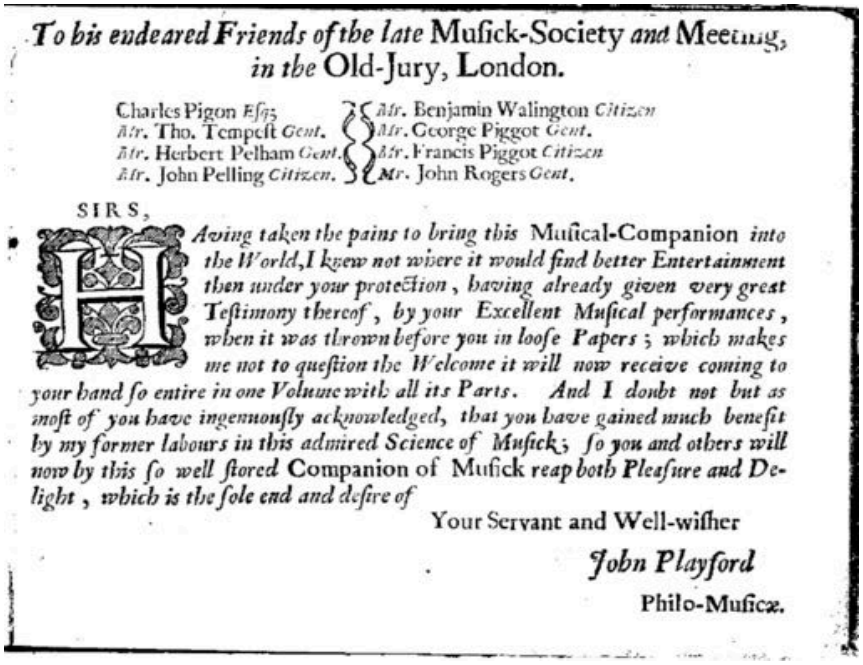


Figure 11: First documented reference to a 'music house', *TMA*: COL/CA/01/01/070



To his endeared Friends of the late Musick-Society *and* Meeting, *in the* Old-Jury, London.

Charles Pigon *Esq;* *Mr.* Benjamin Walington *Citizen*
Mr. Tho. Tempeſt *Gent.* *Mr.* George Piggot *Gent.*
Mr. Herbert Pelham *Gent.* *Mr.* Francis Piggot *Citizen*
Mr. John Pelling *Citizen.* *Mr.* John Rogers *Gent.*

SIRS,

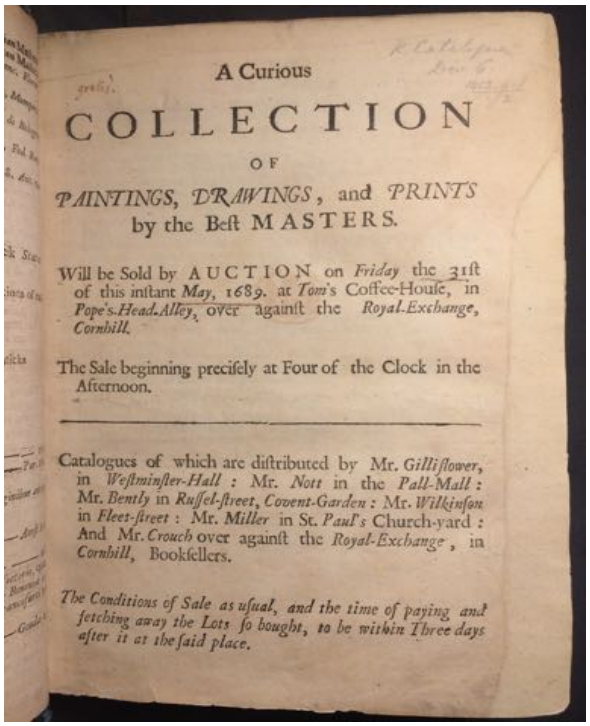
Having taken the pains to bring this Muſical-Companion *into the World, I knew not where it would find better Entertainment then under your protection, having already given very great Teſtimony thereof, by your Excellent Muſical performances, when it was thrown before you in looſe Papers; which makes me not to queſtion the Welcome it will now receive coming to your hand ſo entire in one Volume with all its Parts. And I doubt not but as moſt of you have ingenuouſly acknowledged, that you have gained much beneſit by my former labours in this admired Science of Muſick; ſo you and others will now by this ſo well ſtored* Companion of Muſick *reap both Pleaſure and Delight, which is the ſole end and deſire of*

Your Servant and Well-wiſher

John Playford

Philo-Muſicæ.

Figure 12: Playford, dedication to *The Musical Companion*, 1667



A Curious

COLLECTION

OF

PAINTINGS, DRAWINGS, and *PRINTS*
by the Beſt MASTERS.

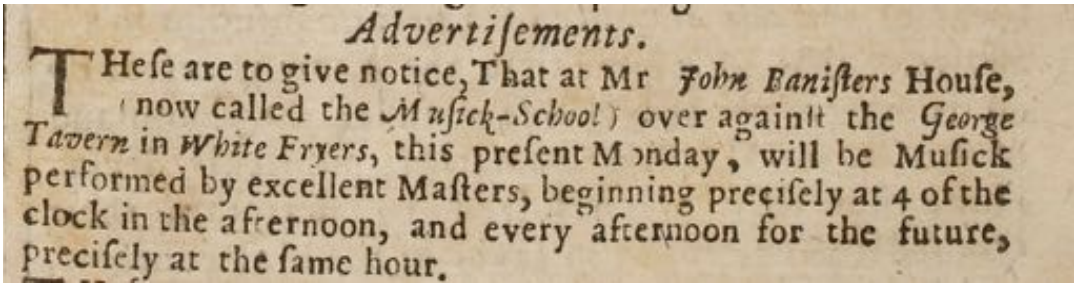
Will be Sold by AUCTION on *Friday* the 31ſt of this inſtant *May*, 1689. at *Tom*'s Coffee-Houſe, in *Pope's-Head-Alley*, over againſt the *Royal-Exchange*, *Cornhill*.

The Sale beginning preciſely at Four of the Clock in the Afternoon.

Catalogues of which are diſtributed by Mr. *Gilliflower*, in *Weſtminſter-Hall* : Mr. *Nott* in the *Pall-Mall* : Mr. *Bently* in *Ruſſel-ſtreet*, *Covent-Garden* : Mr. *Wilkinſon* in *Fleet-ſtreet* : Mr. *Miller* in St. *Paul's* Church-yard : And Mr. *Crouch* over againſt the *Royal-Exchange*, in *Cornhill*, Bookſellers.

The Conditions of Sale as uſual, and the time of paying and fetching away the Lots ſo bought, to be within Three days after it at the ſaid place.

Figure 13: Auction catalogue for a 1689 auction at Tom's Coffeehouse, London. *BL*: 1402 g.1



Advertiſements.

THeſe are to give notice, That at Mr *John Baniſters* Houſe, (now called the *Muſick-School*) over againſt the *George Tavern* in *White Fryers*, this preſent Monday, will be Muſick performed by excellent Maſters, beginning preciſely at 4 of the clock in the afternoon, and every afternoon for the future, preciſely at the ſame hour.

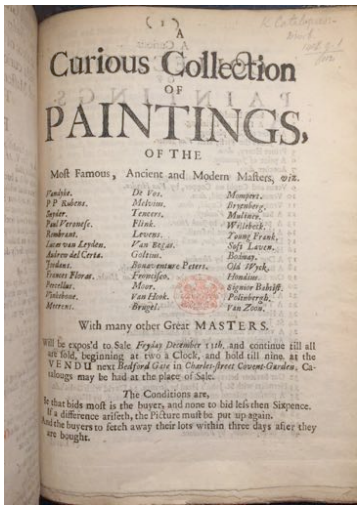
Figure 14: First recorded public advertisement for a concert, London *Gazette*, 30 December 1672

Figure 15: Anonymous (eighteenth century), *An Orchestra Rehearsing*, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, reproduced in Leppert, *Music and Image*, pl. 1

THE
GREAT SALE
OF
Original Paintings,
That were design'd to be Expos'd on *Tuesday* next,
IN
EASTER Week,
AT THE
New AUCTION-ROOM,
NEXT THE
Earl of *Bedfords* Gate, *Charles-ſtreet*, *Covent-Garden*,
Will not be Sold till
Friday, in the ſame Week,
BECAUSE
They may be ſeen by the People of Quality,
That come to the
Weekly Conſort of Muſick on Thurſday.
And may be ſeen at all times till then.
The Sale will begin at Two a Clock preciſely.

Catalogues are deſtributed Gratis, at Mr. Manſhips *at the* Black-Bull *in* Cornhil; *Mr.* Richard Parker's *at the* Piazza *under the* Royal-Exchange; *Mr.* Bullord's *at the Old* Black Bear *in St.* Pauls *Church-yard*; *Mr.* Hargraves *at the* Kings Head *in* Holborn; *Mr.* Ropers *next to the* Devil-Tavern *at* Temple-Bar; *Mr.* Not's *in the* Pall-Mall, *Bookſellers*; *and at the Place of Sale.*

Figure 16: Advertisement for auction of art at a site identifiable as the Vendu also referring to the weekly music meetings. British Library Art Sale Catalogues BL 1402 g. 1, fol. 98



A
Curious Collection
OF
PAINTINGS,
OF THE
Most Famous, Ancient and Modern Masters, viz.

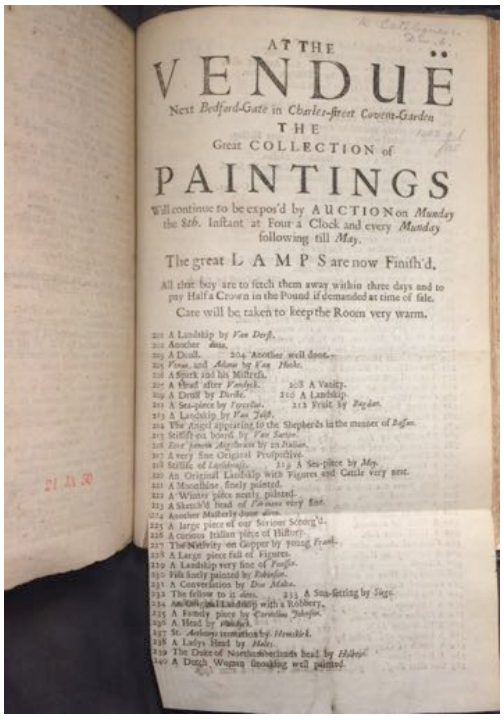
Raphle.	*De Vos.*	*Momper.*
P P Rubens.	*Melcom.*	*Breughel.*
Senier.	*Teniers.*	*Mulnere.*
Paul Veronese.	*Elzek.*	*Wieldoeck.*
Rembrant.	*Leveens.*	*Tenny Frank.*
Lucas van Leyden.	*Van Bregal.*	*Sufs Laven.*
Andrea del Certa.	*Goltzius.*	*Bolnaz.*
Jordans.	*Bonaventure Peters.*	*Old Hyck.*
Frances Flovar.	*Fromiseo.*	*Hondius.*
Porcellas.	*Moor.*	*Signior Rubins.*
Fishbone.	*Van Eyck.*	*Polenbergh.*
Mierevet.	*Breugel.*	*Van Zoon.*

With many other Great MASTERS.

Will be expos'd to Sale *Fryday December 13th.* and continue till all are sold, beginning at two a Clock, and hold till nine, at the VENDU next *Bedford Gate* in *Charles-street Covent-Garden*. Catalogues may be had at the place of Sale.

The Conditions are,

He that bids most is the buyer, and none to bid less then Sixpence.
If a difference ariseth, the Picture must be put up again.
And the buyers to fetch away their lots within three days after they are bought.



AT THE
VENDUË
Next *Bedford-Gate* in *Charles-street Covent-Garden*
THE
Great COLLECTION of
PAINTINGS
Will continue to be expos'd by AUCTION on *Munday* the 8th. Instant at Four a Clock and every *Munday* following till *May*.

The great LAMPS are now Finish'd.

All that buy are to fetch them away within three days and to pay Half a Crown in the Pound if demanded at time of sale.

Care will be taken to keep the Room very warm.

200 A Landskip by *Van Dorf*.
201 Another ditto.
202 A Dutch 204 Another well done.
203 *Venus* and *Adonis* by *Van Hoole*.
206 A Spark and his Mistress.
207 A Head after *Vandyck*. 208 A Vanity.
209 A Devil by *Diedel*. 210 A Landskip
211 A Sea-piece by *Peeseline*. 213 Fruit by *Baydon*.
213 A Landskip by *Van Juliff*.
214 The Angel appearing to the Shepherds in the manner of *Bassan*.
215 Stuff'd on board, by *Van Sartan*.
216 *Ecce homo Augustinus* by *Da Nolan*.
217 A very fine Original Prospective.
218 Stuffe of *Lambrekin*. 219 A Sea-piece by *Mey*.
220 An Original Landskip with Figures and Cattle very neat.
221 A Moonshine finely painted.
222 A Winter piece neatly painted.
223 A Sketch'd head of *Caravaso* very fine.
224 Another Mallery-piece alone.
225 A large piece of our Saviour Scourg'd.
226 A curious Italian piece of Hubert.
227 The Nativity on Copper by young *Frank*.
228 A Large piece full of Figures.
229 A Landskip very fine of *Poussin*.
230 Fish finely painted by *Robusius*.
231 A Conversation by *Don Adabo*.
232 The fellow to it alm. 233 A Sun-setting by *Siegr*.
234 An Old Landskip with a Robbery.
235 A Family piece by *Cornelius Johnson*.
236 A Head by *Vandyck*.
237 St. *Anthony* temation by *Hemskirk*.
238 A Ladys Head by *Mole*.
239 The Duke of Northumberlands head by *Hilbert*.
240 A Dutch Woman smoaking well painted.

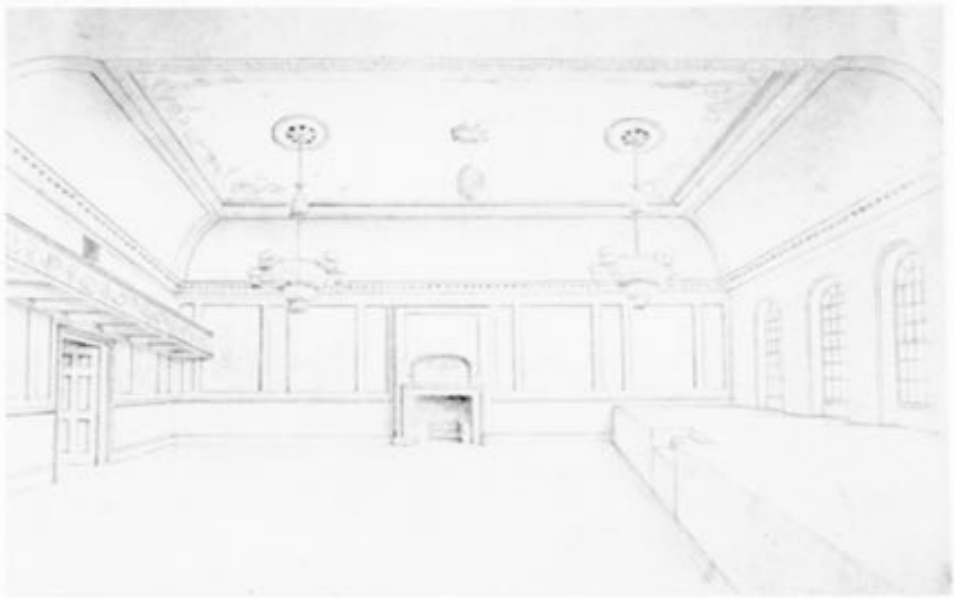


Figure 18: Hickford's Concert Rooms, Brewer Street. A drawing made in 1878. the stage on the right was at that time a recent addition.
In Elkin, *The Old Concert Rooms of London*, facing p.44

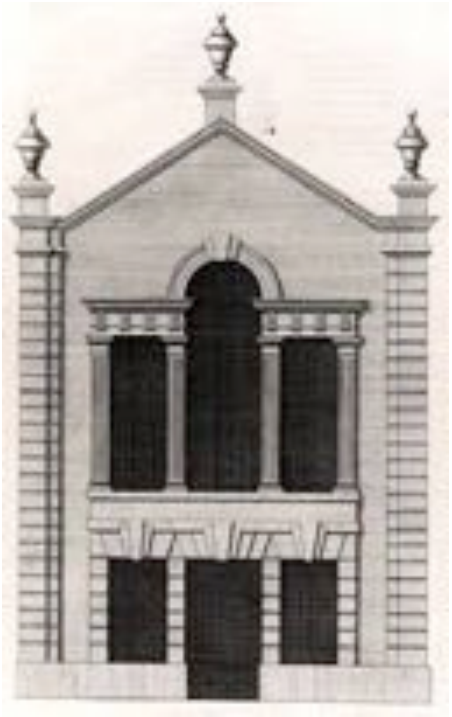


Figure 19: St Mary's Chapel in the Niddry Wynd, From an engraving in Maitland's *History of Edinburgh*

Figure 20: Concert ticket for Marys Chapel

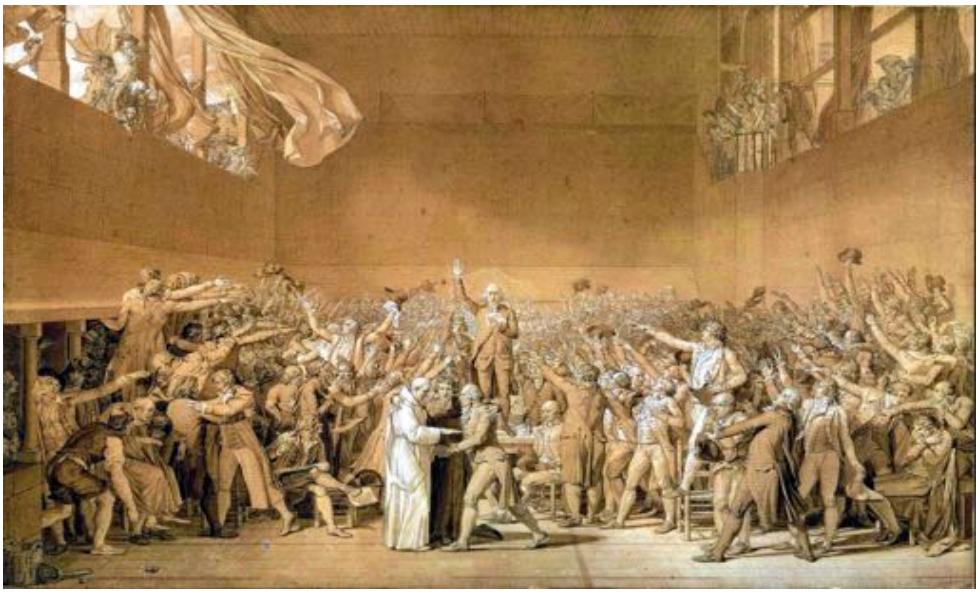


Figure 21: Jacques-Louis David (1748 -1825), The Tennis Court Oath, 1790-91.

Figure 22: Michael Burghers (painter) c. 1684. Image of Club Rules and Regulations from Oxford, Bodleian: MS Top. Oxon. A. 76

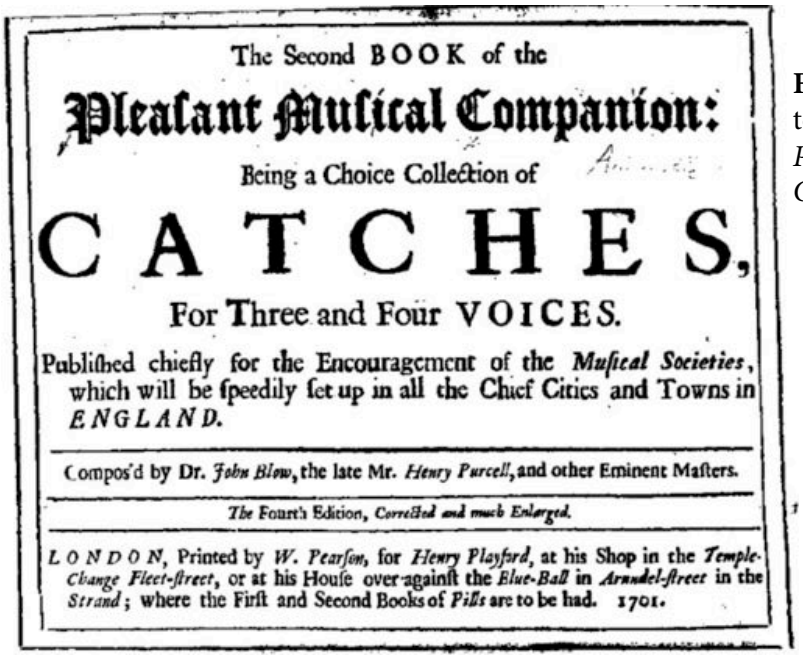


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Figure 23: Frontispiece to Henry Playford's *Pleasant Musical Companion*, 1701

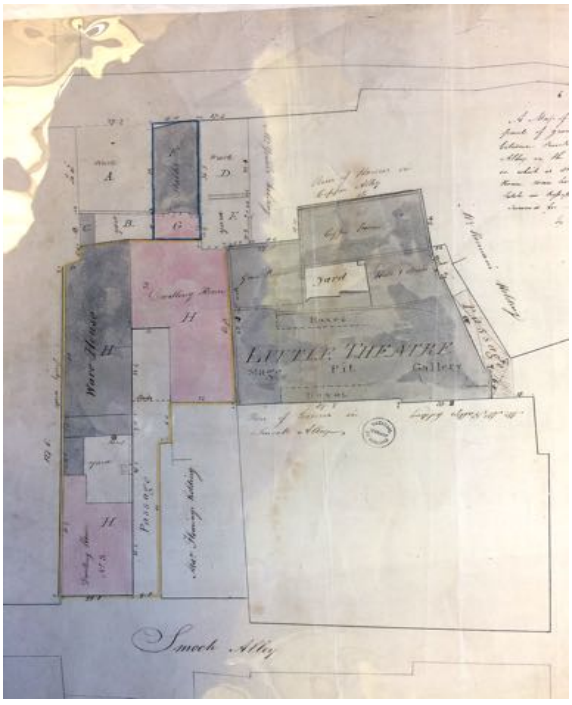


Figure 24: Survey of Fishamble Street showing the Theatre, *NLI*: Longfield maps 21 F.88/ (149) 1804

Figure 25: Satellite image of Fishamble Street above the former Fishamble Street Music Room, approximate outline of the Music Room site in pink, googlemaps

Figure 26: Arch marking the entrance to the former Fishamble Street Music Room, (Photo: S. P. C. Hendriks)

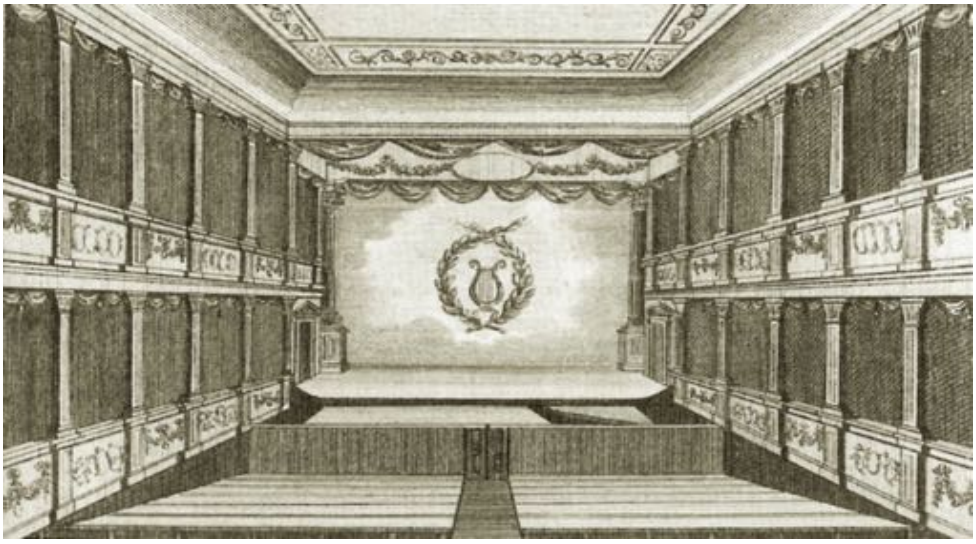


Figure 27: 'An Inside View of the Private Theatre Fishamble Street' Hibernian Magazine, March 1794, Engraving of Fishamble Street after conversion to a theatre

Figure 28: Norfolk House music room, Victoria and Albert Museum (Photo: S. P. C. Hendriks)

Figure 29: Teatro San Carlo, Naples, with the Royal Box in the background, by Giovanni Antonio Medrano and Angelo Caresale, opened 1737: anonymous engraving of a *festa di ballo* (second half of eighteenth century). Victoria and Albert Museum. S.3918-2009

Figure 30: Richard Castle, *Design for the entrance front of Leinster House by Richard Castle, c.* 1745. flap lowered
Irish Architectural Archive 96/68.1/1/9. Photography David H. Davison

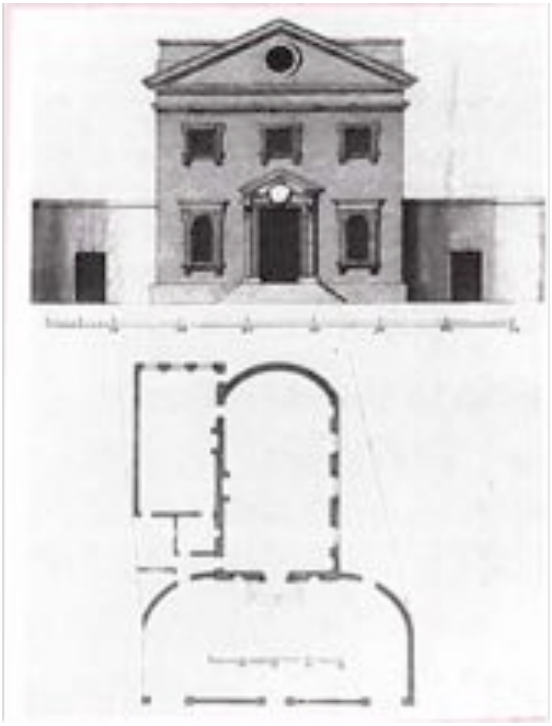


Figure 31:
Elevation and Plan of Holywell Music Room, *Bodleian:* Gough Maps 27 fol. 95

Figure 32: Holywell Music Room, Oxford (Photo: S. P.C. Hendriks)

Figure 33: Serlio, Detail of *Five Books of Architecture*
Book Five, Chapter 14, Fol. 9

Figure 34: The Music Room, Oxford, 1901, From the South. From a photography by Hills & Saunders, reproduced in Mee, *The Oldest Music Room in Europe*, facing p 20. Original and detail

Figure 35: Holywell Music Room Entrance, Oxford
(Photo: S.P.C. Hendriks)

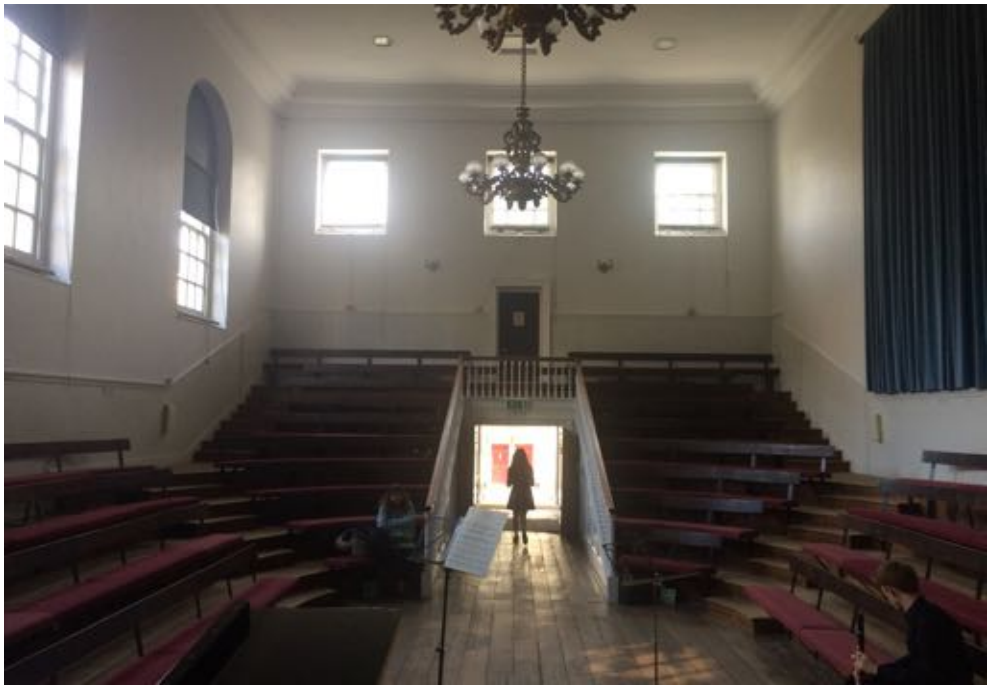


Figure 36: Seating in Holywell Music Room Oxford
(Photo: S. P.C. Hendriks)

Figure 37: Interior of Holywell Music Room showing the space where the fireplace was. (Photo S. P. C. Hendriks)

Figure 38: Holywell Music Room Oxford showing the rear curved wall. (Photo: S. P.C. Hendriks)

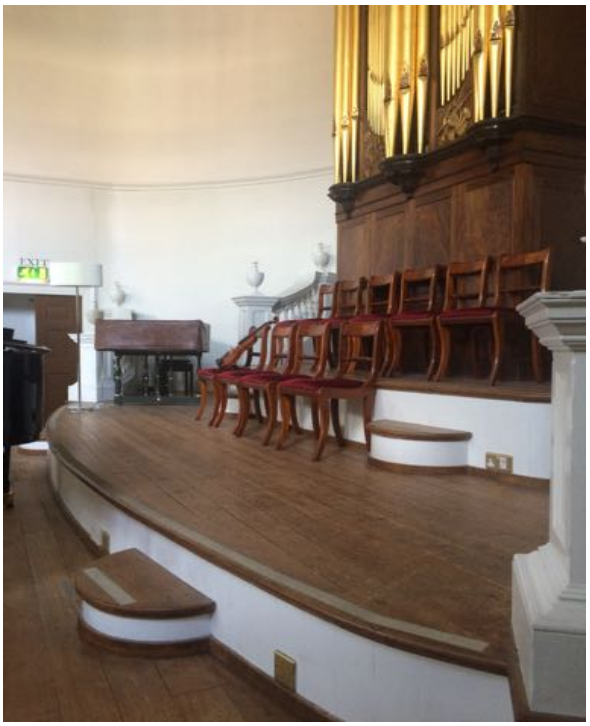


Figure 39: Tiered stage and partial balustrade in Holywell Music Room Oxford (Photo: S. P.C. Hendriks)

Figure 40: Organ on the tiered stage with partial balustrade in Holywell Music Room Oxford (Photo: S. P.C. Hendriks)

Figure 41: Interior of Holywell showing the stage with balustrade an the organ. (Photo S. P. C. Hendriks)

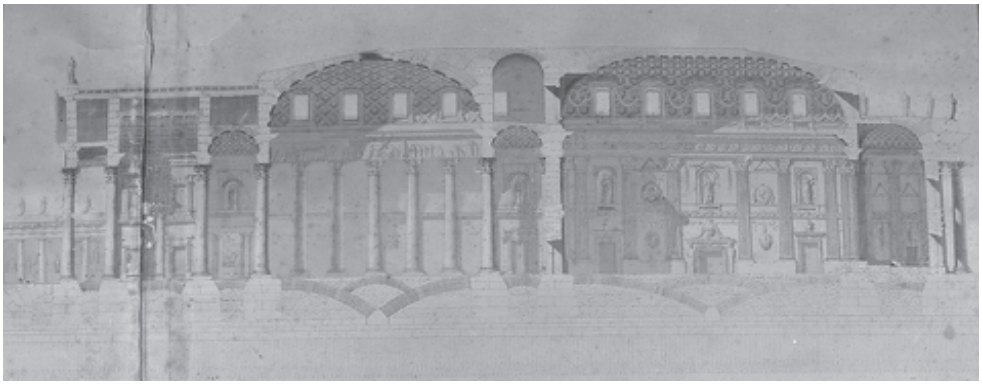


Figure 42: Robert Mylne, *Design for a Public Gallery,* Winner of the first prize at the Academia di san Luca, September 1758. Archivio Storico, Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Rome, image from Rock, *St Cecilia's Hall*, pl. 4.2

Figure 43: Adam brothers South Bridge Concert Rooms, *Soane*:Adam vol. 34/12-15

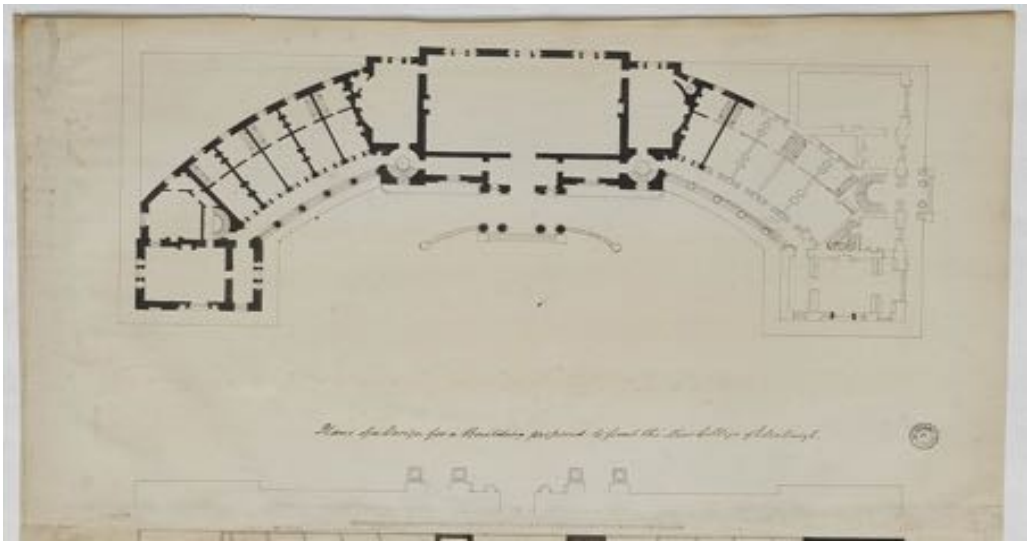


Figure 44: Detail from William Edgar, *Plan of the City and Castle of Edinburgh*, 1765, *NLS:* EMS.s.786. Location of Niddry Wynd is marked by the pink arrow, St Cecilia's is at the South end

Figure 45: Detail from Plan of the city of Edinburgh, 1771, Published in "A Collection of Plans of the Capital Cities of Europe" by John Andrews. Location of St Cecilia's (38) highlighted in pink

Figure 46: Detail from 'Plan of Edinburgh City and Suburbs' by Thomas Aitchison, 1794-1795, showing the new line of the South Bridge. The location of St Cecilia's is marked by the pink square.

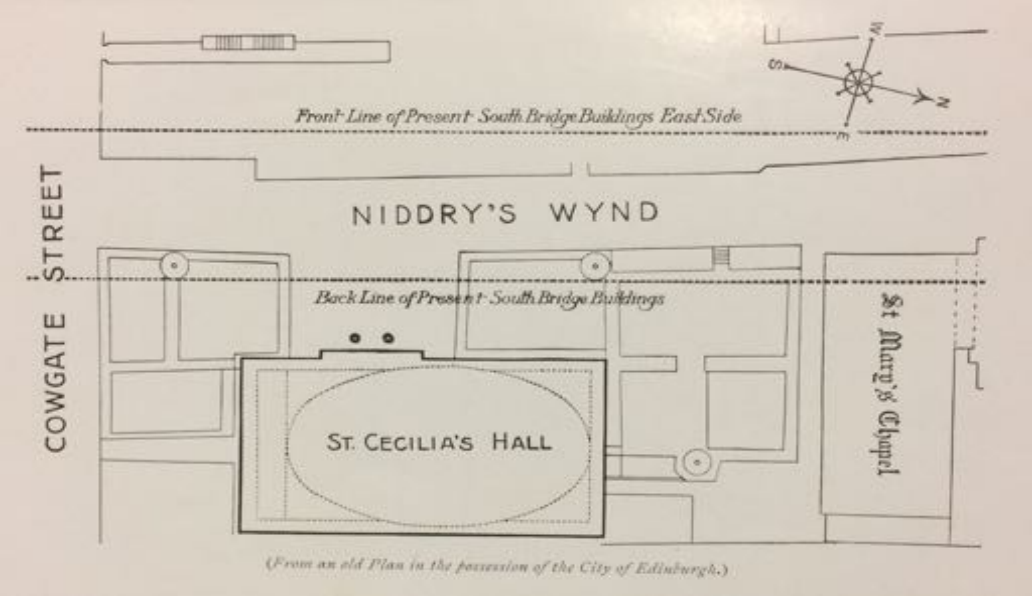


Figure 47: Plan showing alterations to Niddry's Wynd, in Harris, *St Cecilia's Hall*, p.19

Figure 48: Western façade of St Cecilia's Hall, 2018 (Photo: S.P.C. Hendriks)

Figure 49: Old entrance door to St Cecilia's Hall (Photo: S.P.C. Hendriks)

Figure 50: St Cecilia's Music Hall before re-development, showing the internal piers, July 2014 (Photo: University of Edinburgh ID0054493)

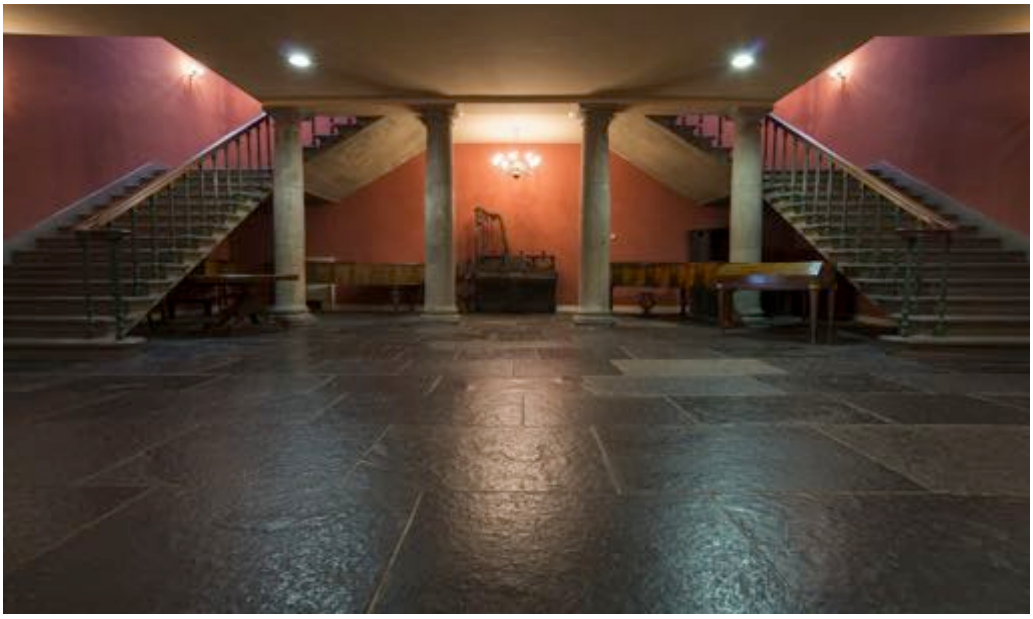


Figure 51: St Cecilia's Music Hall before re-development, July 2014 showing columns and stair to the Music Hall. Photo: University of Edinburgh, ID0054470

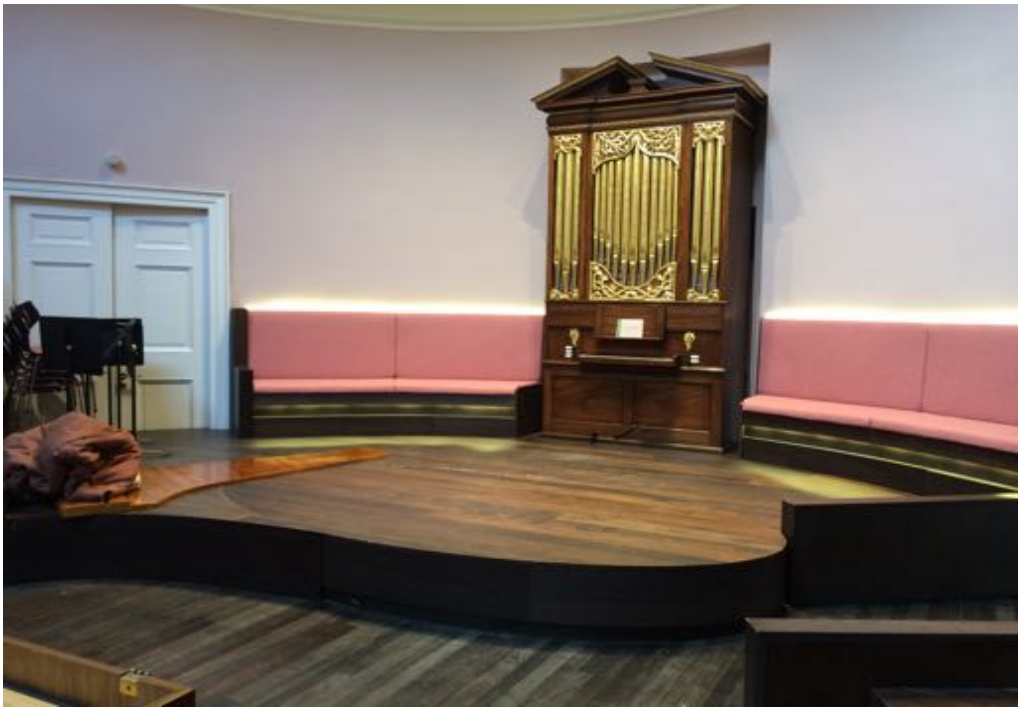


Figure 52: Interior of St Cecilia's showing the newly reconstructed stage (Photo: S.P.C. Hendriks)

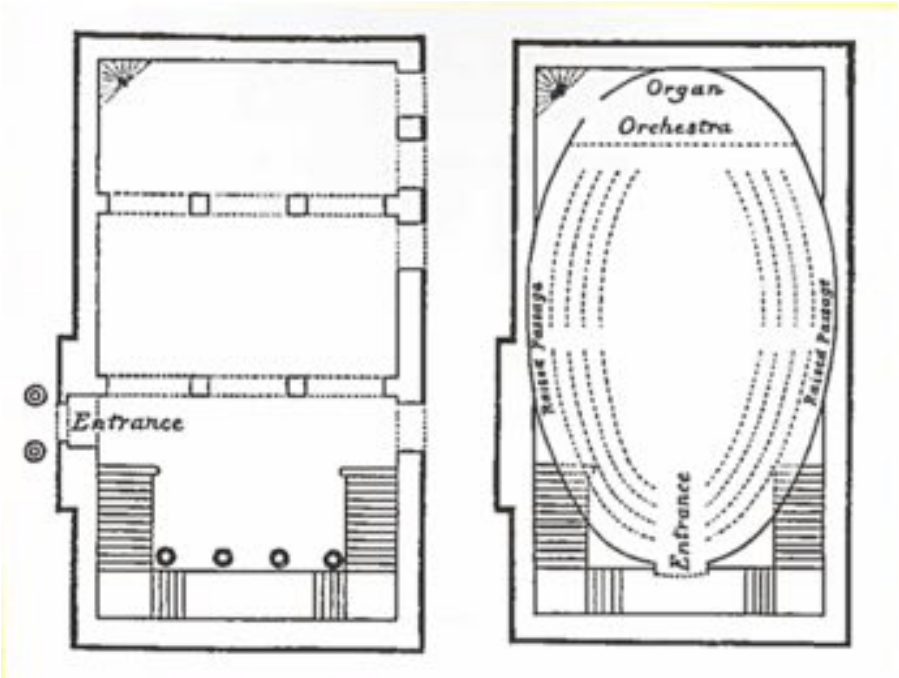


Figure 53: Plans of St Cecilia's Hall, Harris, *St Cecilia's Hall*, pp.28, 31

Figure 54: St Cecilia's Hall after re-development showing the cupola and re-instated amphitheatrical seating, 2017 (Photo: University of Edinburgh

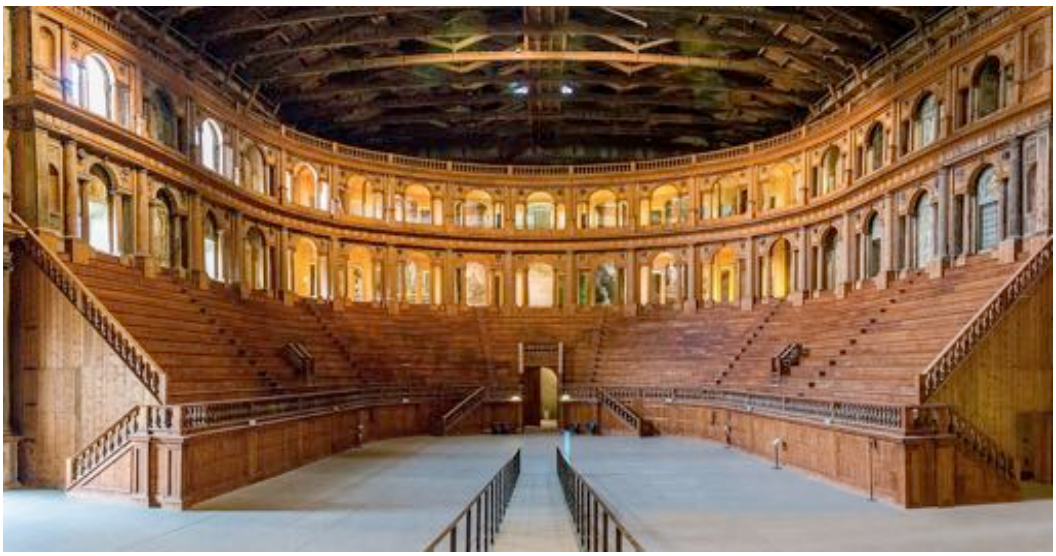


Figure 55: Teatro Farnese, Parma, (Photo: By www.bestofcinqueterre.com - Own work, CC BY-SA 4.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=51681933)

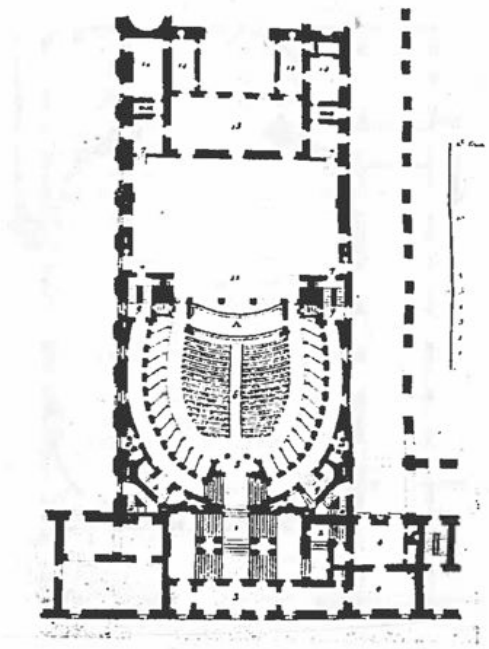


Figure 56: Plan of the Teatro Regio, Turin, 1738-40, An example of the oval plan adopted for the design of a full-scale opera theatre. (Soprintendenza ai Monumenti, Turni) in Howard, *St Cecilia's Hall*, Figure 6.

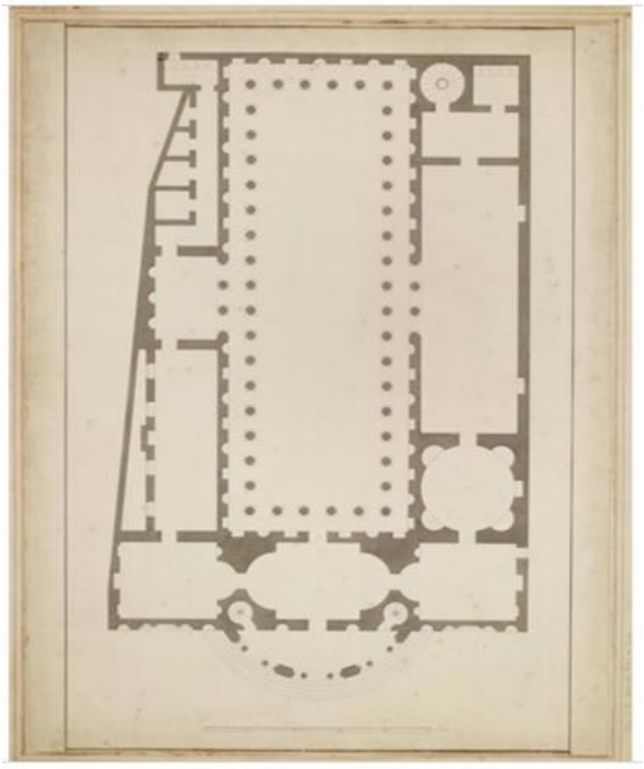


Figure 57: Burlington, Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of, The Assembly Rooms, York, 1730, RIBA: SD149/VI/13(1-2), SC50/VI/13(3) RIBAPIX 29053

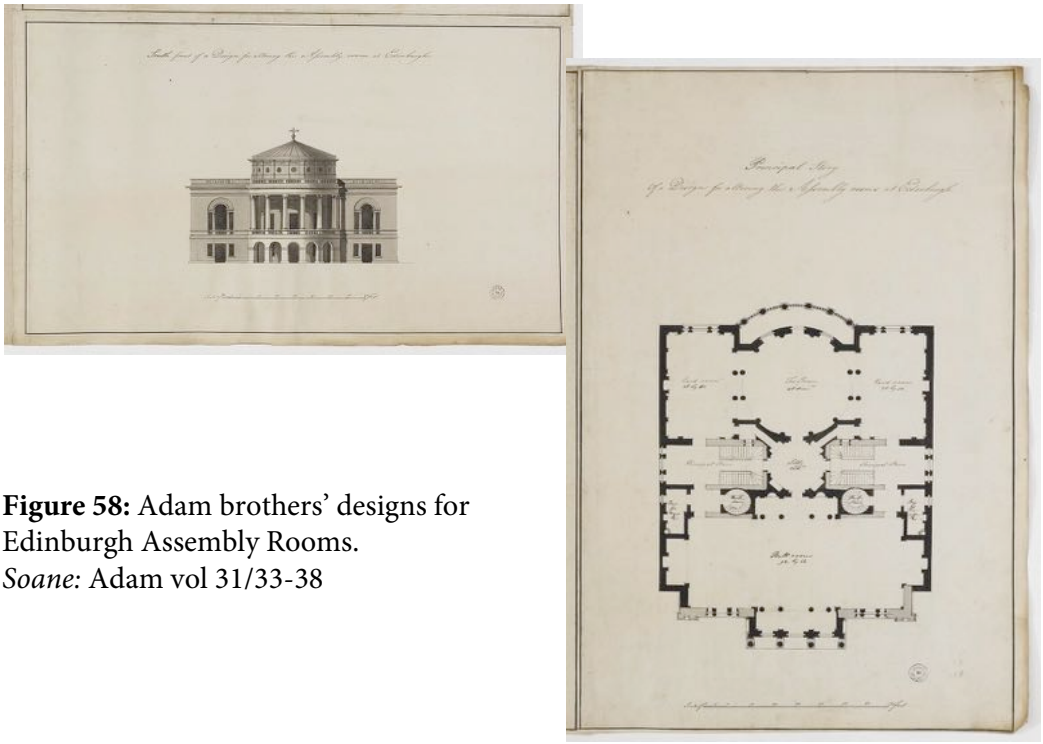


Figure 58: Adam brothers' designs for Edinburgh Assembly Rooms.
Soane: Adam vol 31/33-38

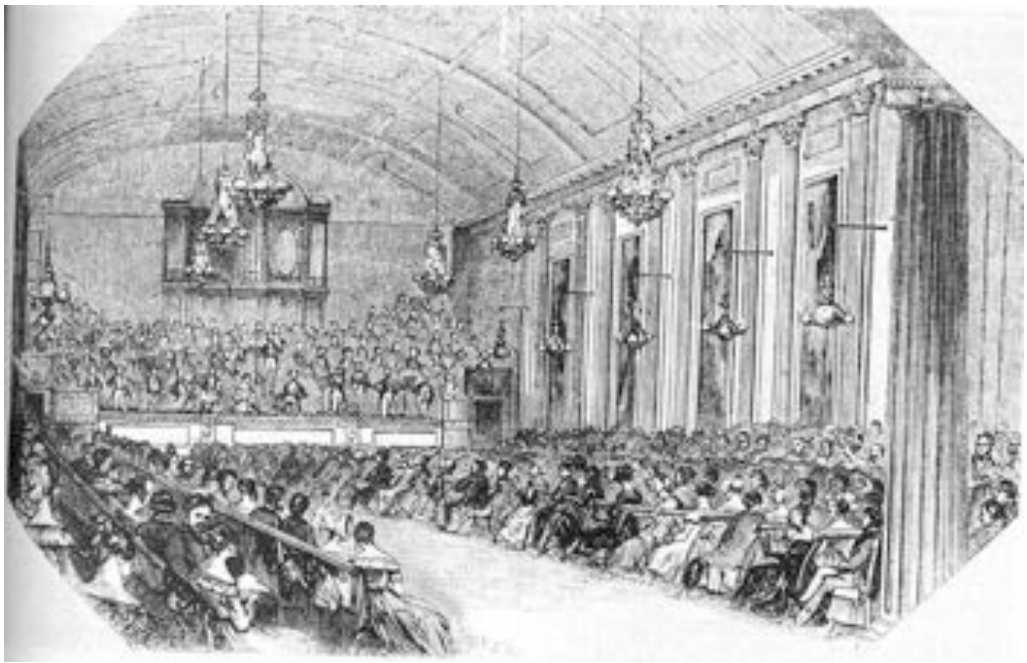


Figure 59: Hanover Square Room. London: engraving of the interior from the *Illustrated London News*, 1843.
Photo: Mansell Collection, London

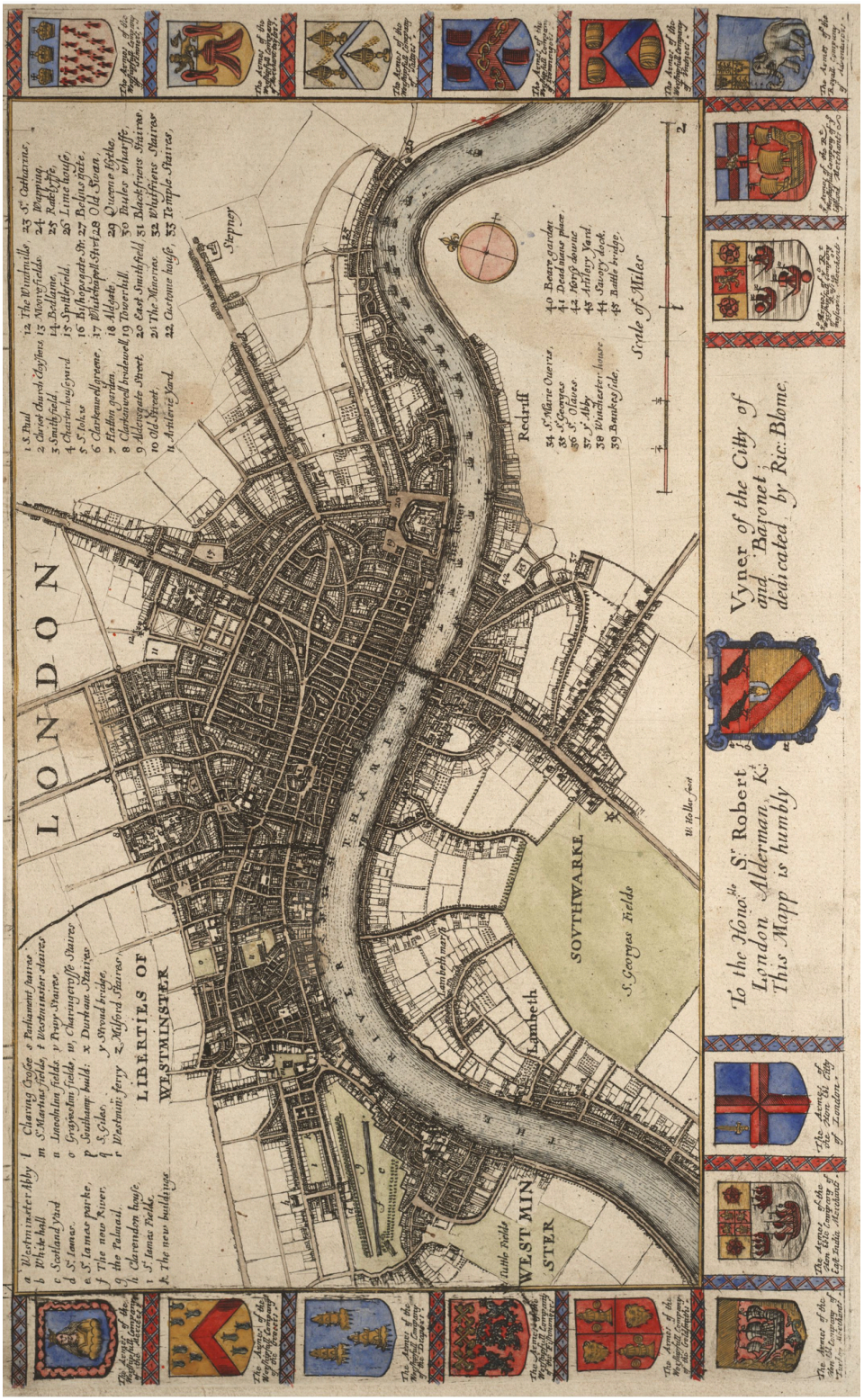


Figure 60: Hollar's map of London c. 1660

Figure 61: Rocque's map of London 1746

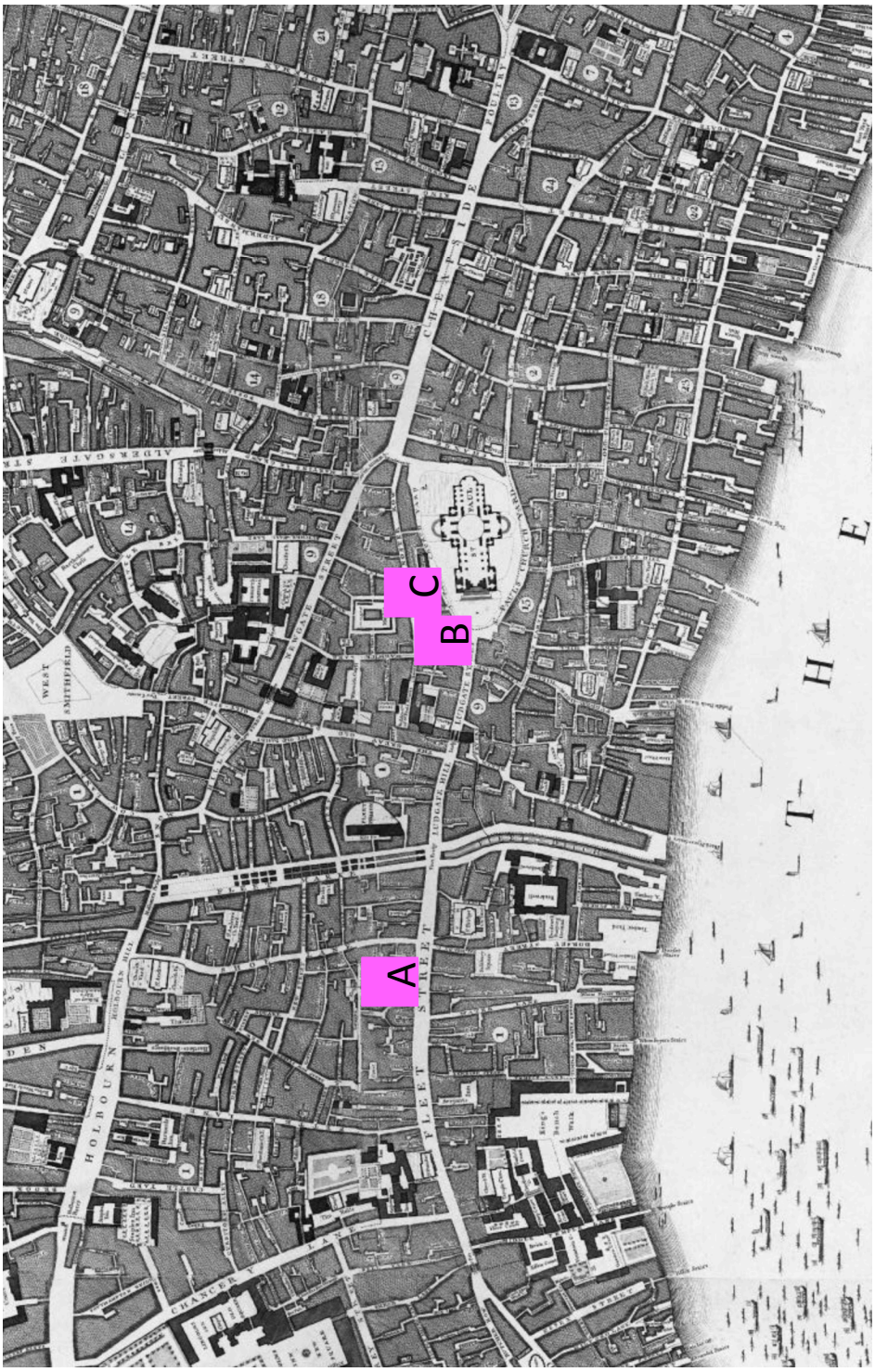


Figure 62: Detail of John Rocque's 1756 Map of London showing approximate location of the Mitre (C), Old Jewry (B), and the Castle (A)

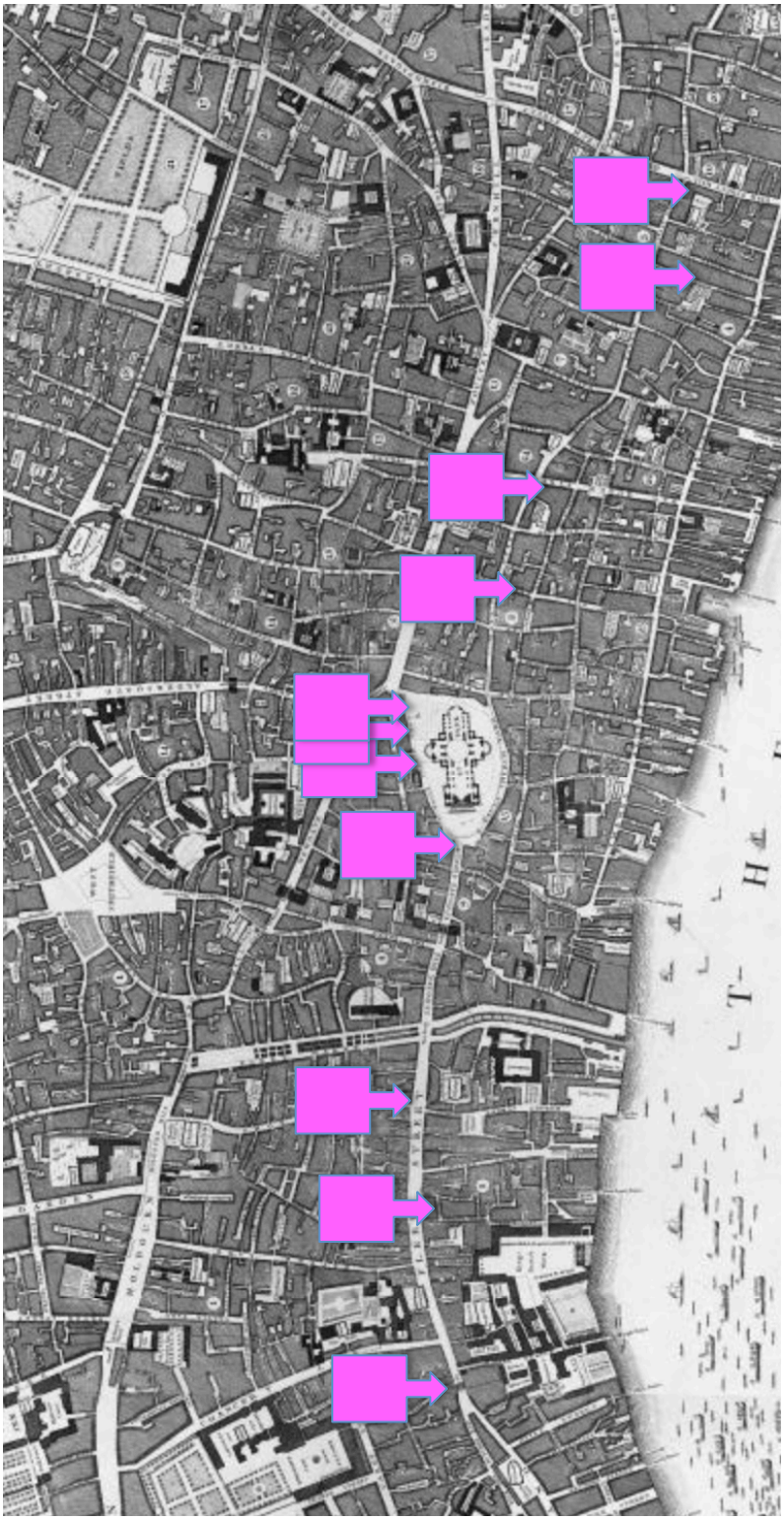
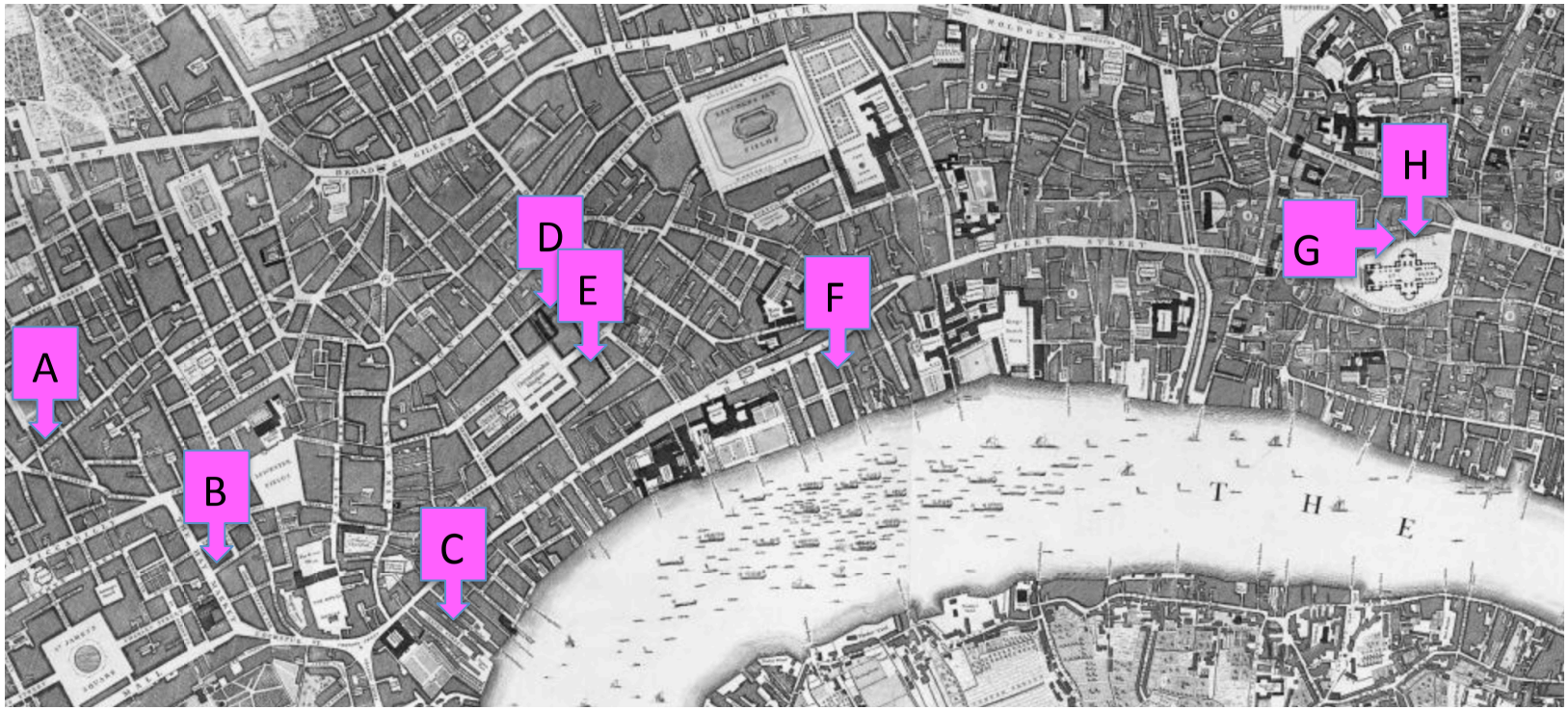


Figure 63: Detail of Rocque's 1756 Map of London showing approximate locations of tavern venues

Figure 64: Detail of Rocque's 1756 Map of London venues *c.* 1700-1720



A – Hickford's Great Room
B – Hickford's Room
C - York Buildings
D – Two Golden Balls
E – The Vendu
F – Crown and Anchor
G – Queen's Head
H – Castle Tavern

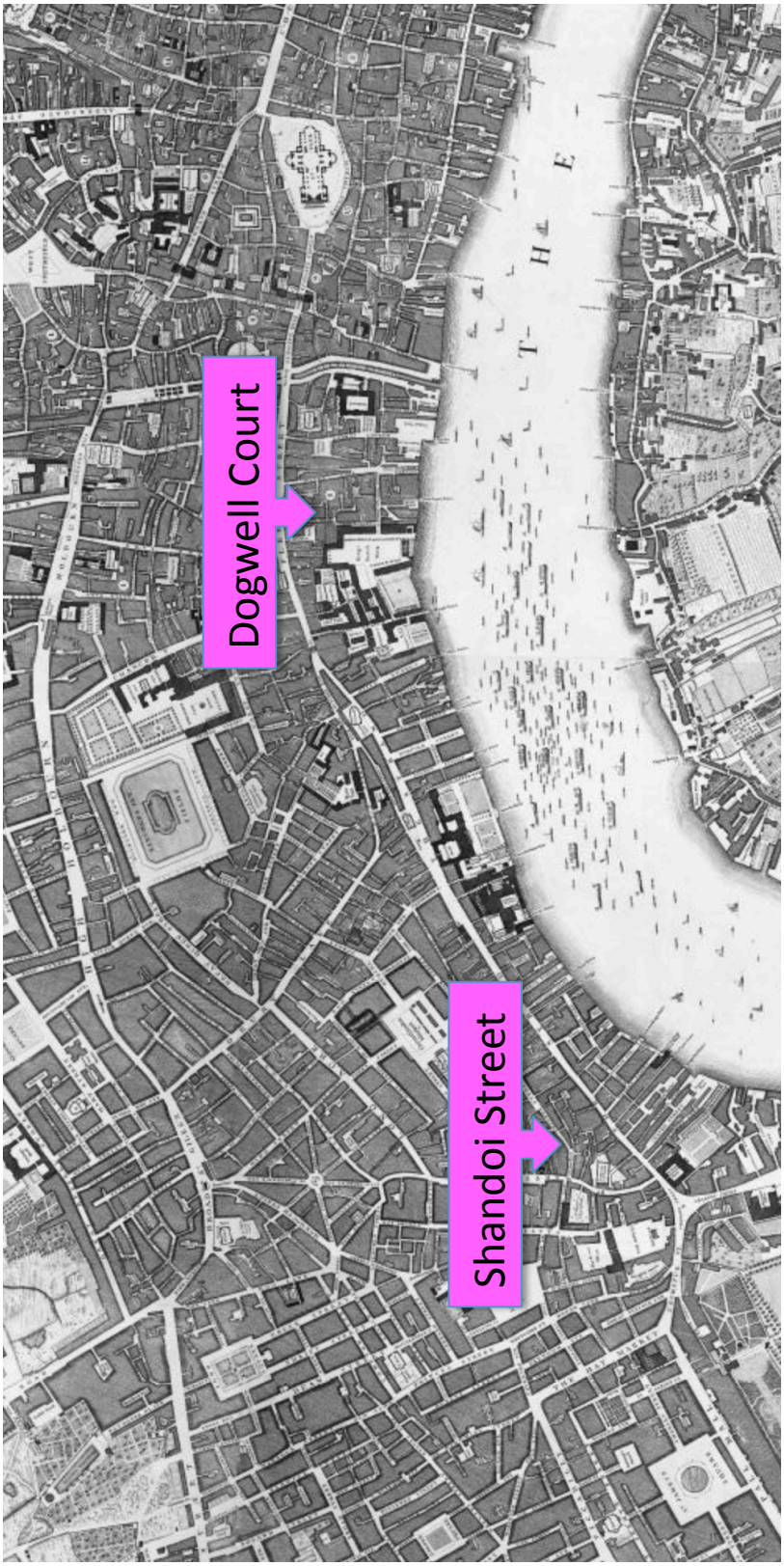


Figure 65: Detail of Rocque's 1756 Map of London showing Banister's venues

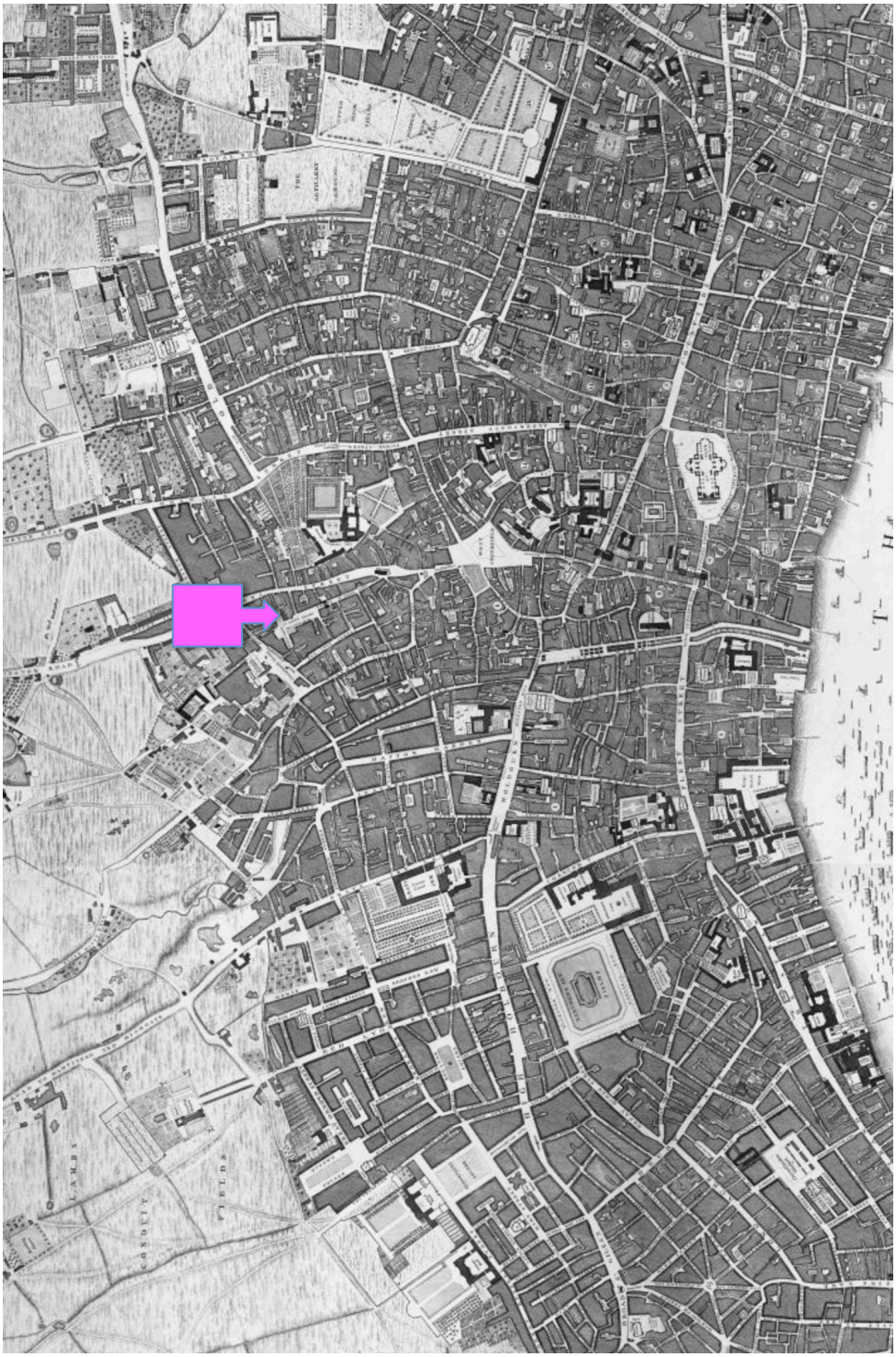


Figure 66: Detail of Rocque's 1756 Map of London showing Britton's approximate Clenkenwell venue

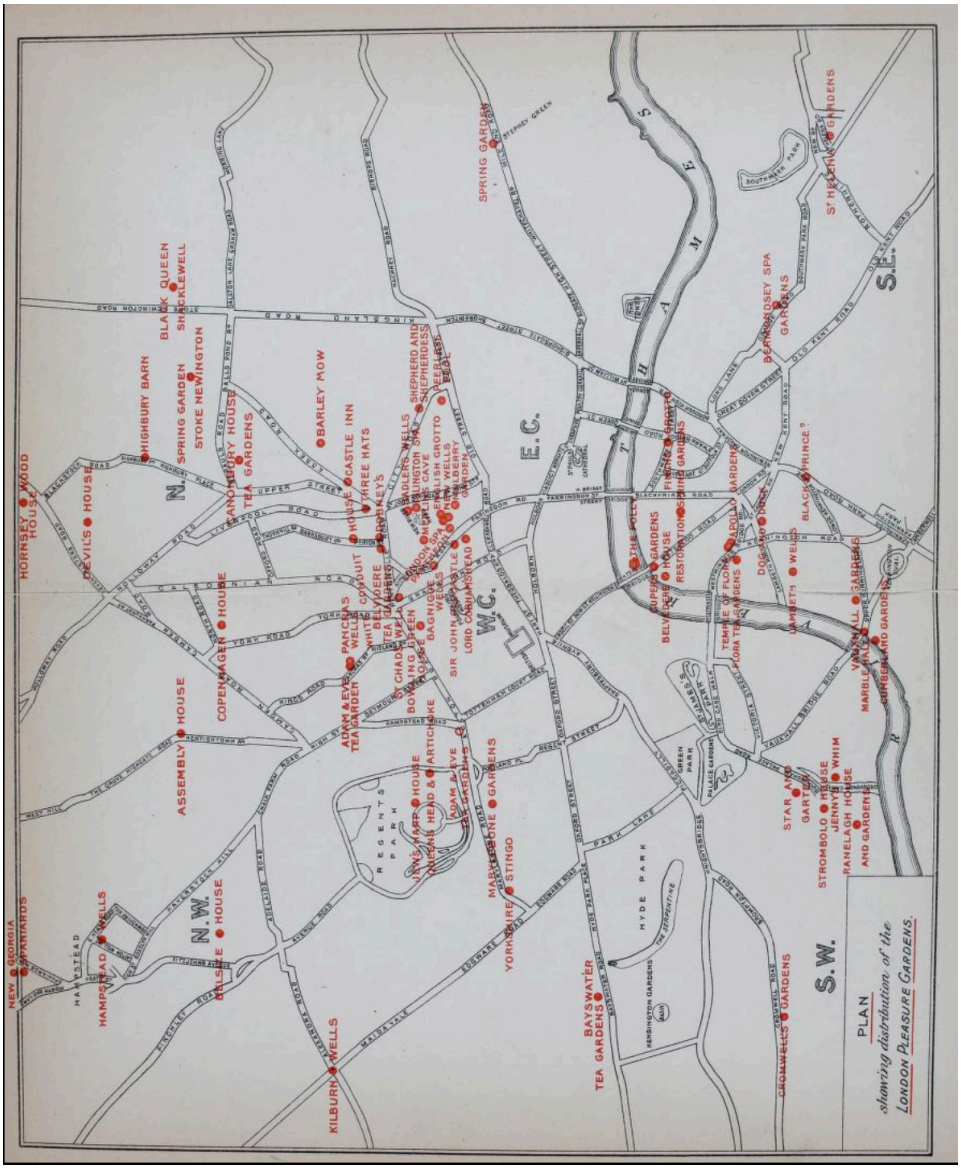


Figure 67: Plan showing the distribution of the Pleasure-Gardens of London, including Wells and Spas

Figure 68: Sadler's Wells theatre, 1731, based on an earlier engraving. University of Bristol Theatre Collection, reproduced in Forsyth, *Buildings for Music*, pl. 2.23

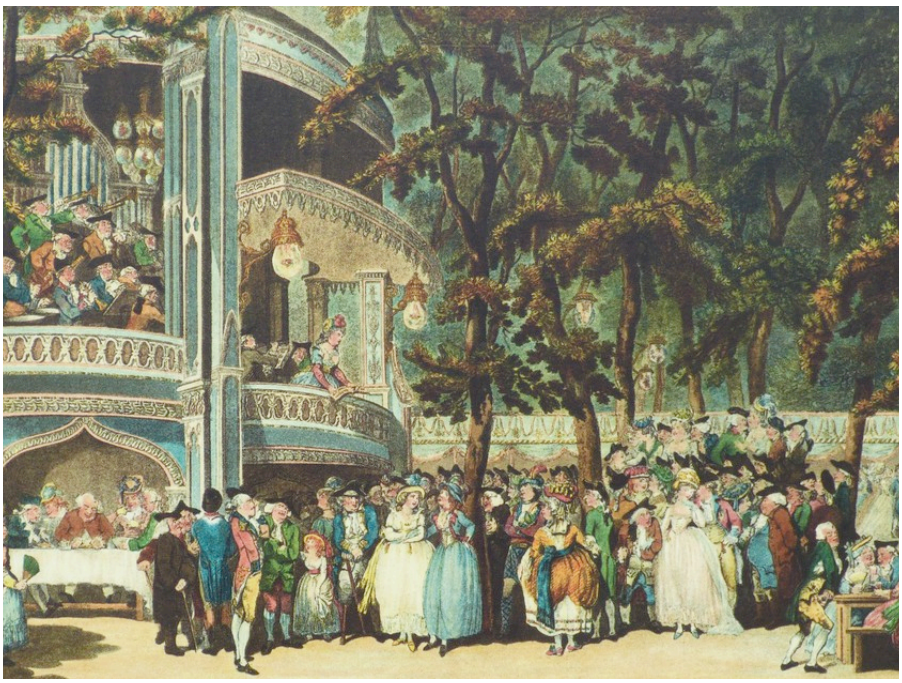


Figure 69: Thomas Rowlandson, *Chinese Pavilion, Vauxhall Gardens,* 1785. Image from regencyhistory.net

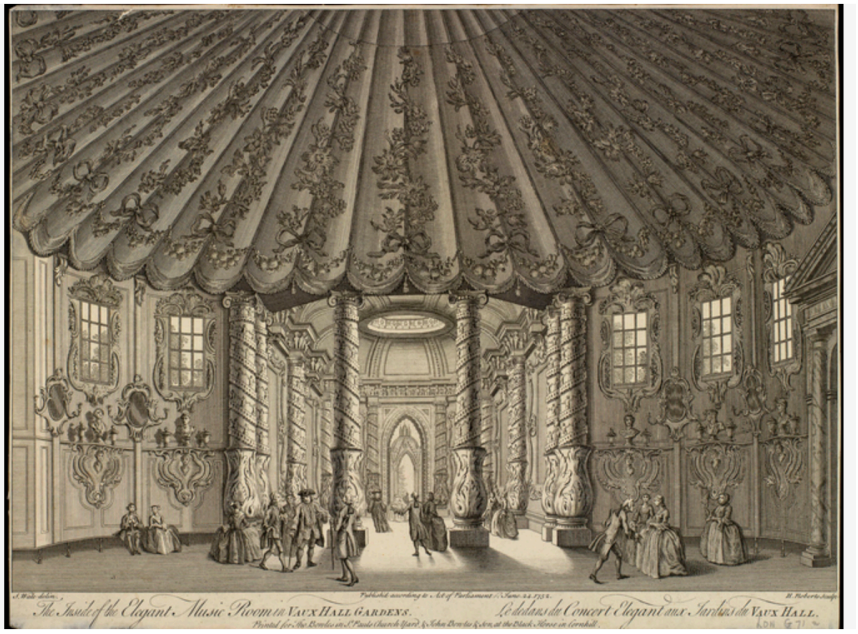


Figure 70: After Samuel Wale *Inside of the Elegant Music Room in Vuxhall Gardens*, 1752, Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 702493

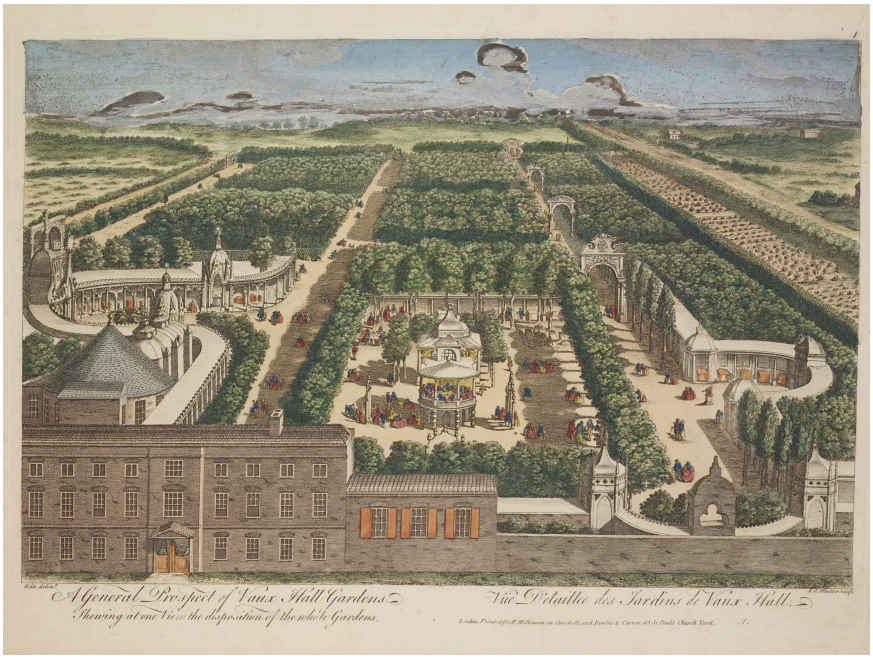


Figure 71: 'A General Prospect of Vaux Hall Gardens', engraving by Johann Sebastian Müller after Samuel Wale, late 18th century. Victoria and Albert Museum London, E.809-1903

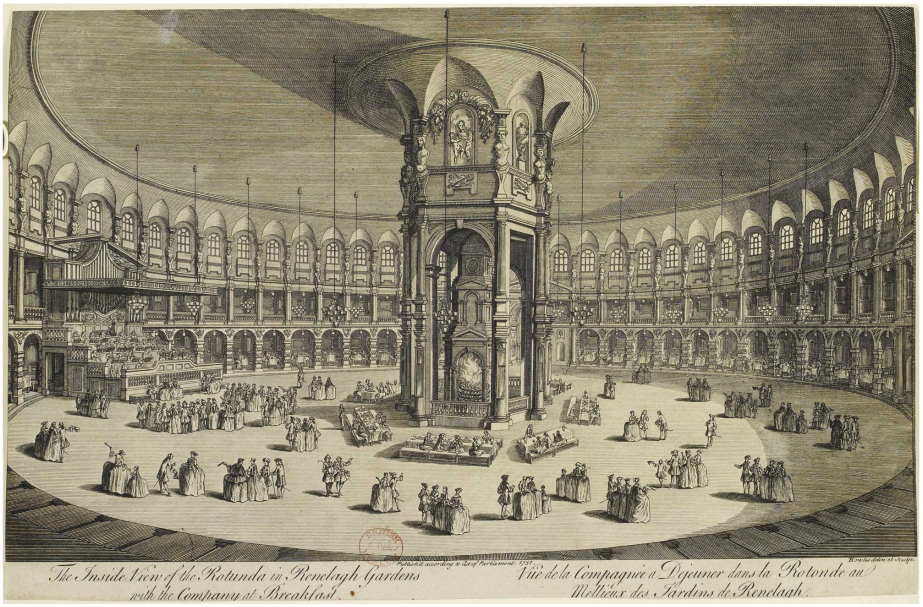


Figure 72: 'The Inside View of the Rotunda in Ranelagh Gardens with the Company at Breakfast', 1751. British Library, C103k.11

Figure 73: John Donowell, *A View of the Orchestra with the Band of Music, the Grand Walk &c. in Marybone Gardens*, published by John Tinney, 1755, etching and engraving, British Museum.

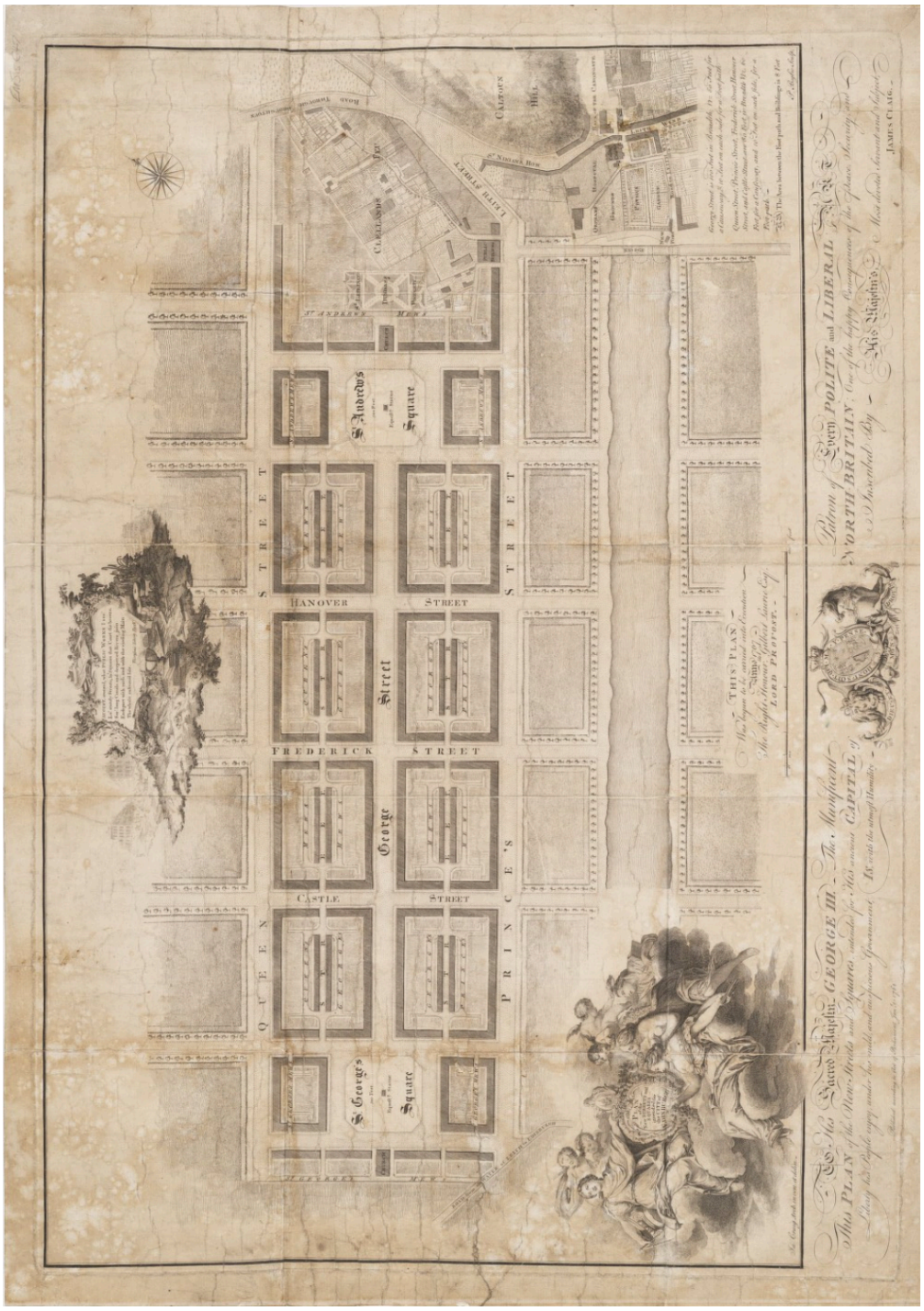


Figure 74: James Craig, Plan of the new streets and square, 1768, *NLS:* EMS.s.647

Figure 75: William Edgar, Plan of the city and castle of Edinburgh, 1765, *NLS:* EMS.s.786

Figure 76: Edinburgh Old Town showing location of music venues

Figure 77: Dublin in 1685, as reconstructed by Leonard Strangways from Thomas Phillips's map, reproduced in Somerville-Large, *Dublin: the fair city*, p. 101

Figure 78: Aerial view of Fishamble Street, googlemaps

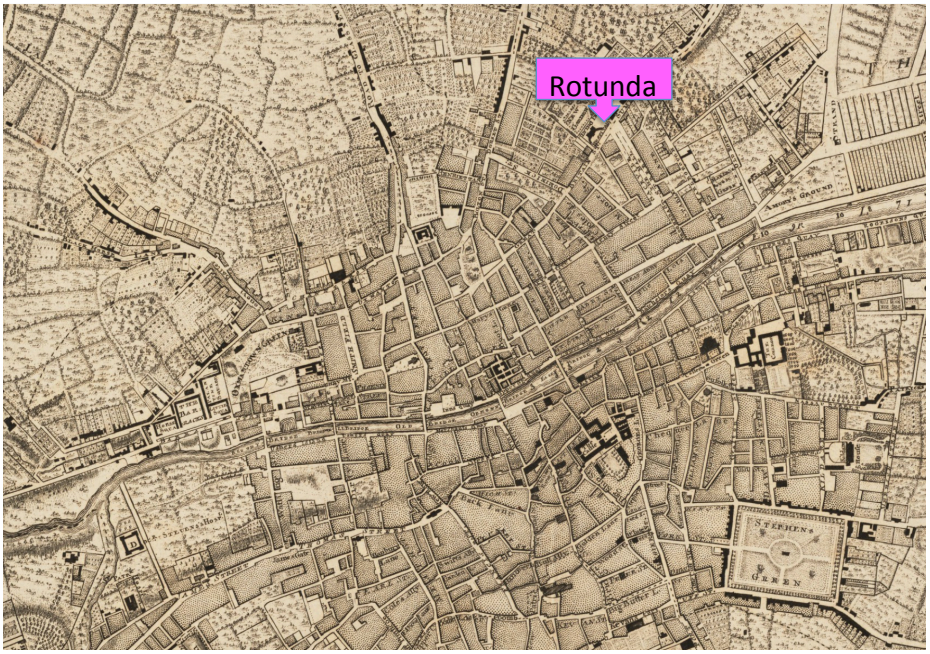


Figure 79: John Rocque's Map of Dublin 1756, showing location of Mosse's Rotunda.

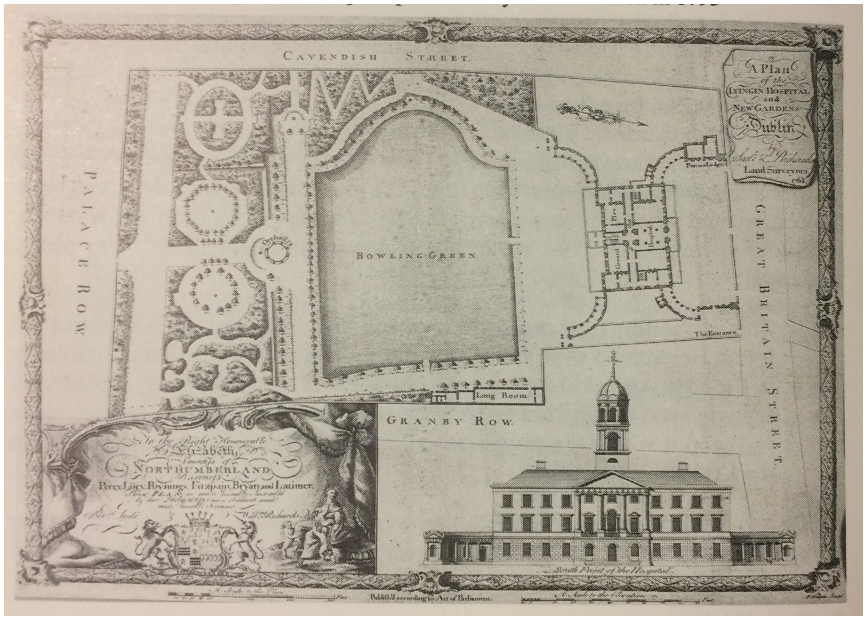


Figure 80: 'The Hospital and New Gardens as shown in a plan of 1764'. The Orchestra is to the left of the Bowling Green. Reproduced from Boydell, Rotunda Music, pl. 3

Figure 81: H. Bartlett. Lying-in Hospital & Rotunda, Dublin, 1830, in Curran, *the Rotunda Hospital*, frontispiece.

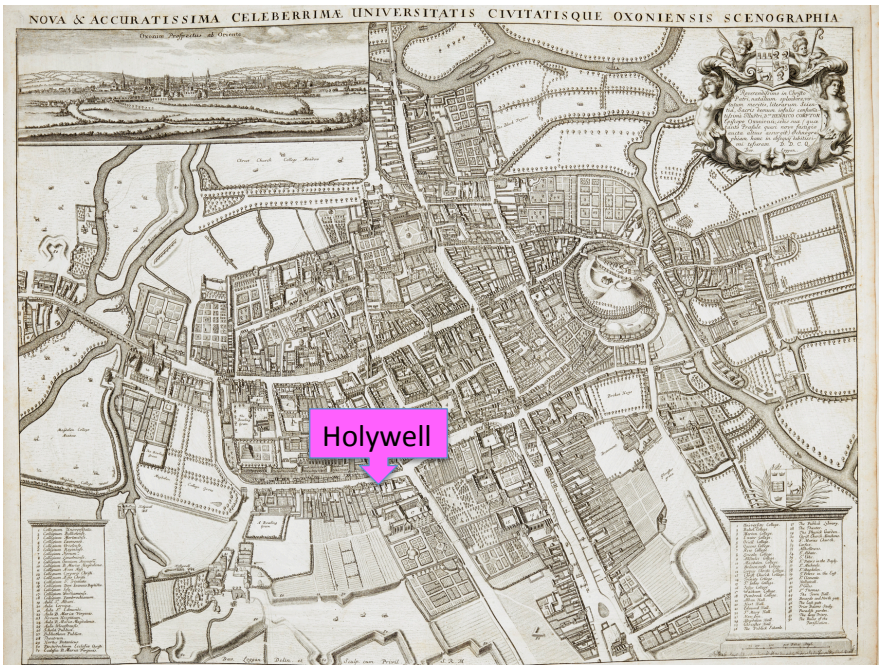


Figure 82: Loggan's Map of Oxford 1675 (south at top), showing location of Holywell

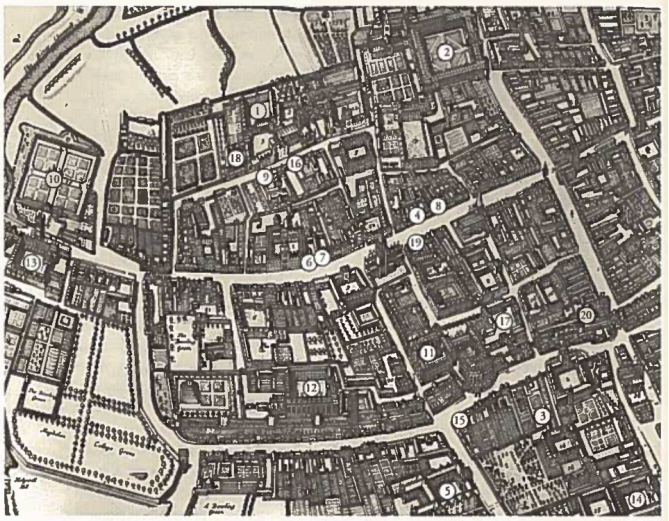


Figure 2.2 Partial view of Oxford city centre from David Loggan, *Oxonia Illustrata* (1675), plate 2.

1 Merton College. Site of William Harvey's medical research in the Warden's lodgings, *c.* 1643–6.
2 Christ Church. Site of Thomas Willis's chemistry meetings *c.* 1648–9. Also site of choral foundation (interdicted 1643–60); venue for Henry Aldrich's weekly consort meeting 1678–1716.
3 Trinity College. Site of Ralph Bathurst's chemistry meetings *c.* 1648–9.
4 'Buckley' or 'Bulkely Hall', 107 High Street. William Petty's lodgings. Site of experimental philosophy meetings 1649–51.
5 Wadham College. Site of regular experimental philosophy meetings in John Wilkins's lodgings 1651–9; virtuoso performances of Thomas Baltzar July 1658.
6 Deep Hall, 88 High Street. Robert Boyle's lodgings. Site of vacuum pump experiments *c.* 1656–8; Peter Stahl's chemistry lectures early 1660s.
7 Arthur Tillyard's Coffee House, 90 High Street. Site of Peter Stahl's chemistry lectures.
8 The Ram Inn, 113-14 High Street. Peter Stahl's chemistry lectures.
9 Beam Hall, St John's Street. Thomas Willis's lodgings to 1666.
10 Physick Garden founded 1621. Site of botanical lectures by Jacob Bobart.
11 Schools Quadrangle, built 1619. Public site of demonstrations in natural philosophy, anatomy and music, astronomical observations. *See also* fig. 2.3.
12 New College. Choral foundation (interdicted 1643–60).
13 Magdalen College. Choral foundation (interdicted 1643–60). Site of Friday meetings of 'scholastical musicians' with Thomas Janes MA, 1656–9.
14 St John's College. Choral foundation (interdicted 1643–60).
15 46-47 Broad Street. William Ellis's lodgings and alehouse 1649–60. Site of weekly consort meetings attended by Wood 1656–9.
16 Anthony Wood's lodgings St John's Street, opposite Merton. Informal music meetings 1657–8.
17 Exeter College. Weekly consort meetings in Narcissus Marsh's rooms *c.* 1663–73.
18 St Alban Hall. Weekly consort meetings in Narcissus Marsh's rooms 1673–78.
19 104 High Street. Dancing academy at tavern of Thomas Wood *c.* 1650.
20 Ship Street. John Newman's dancing academy *c.* 1652.

Figure 83: Map showing the locations of scientific and musical communities in Oxford. Gouk, *Music, Science, and Natural Magic*, p.42

Figure 84: Diagram of acoustic experiments conducted by Robert Moray in a bay near Glasgow. *RSA*: Cl.P.2.34

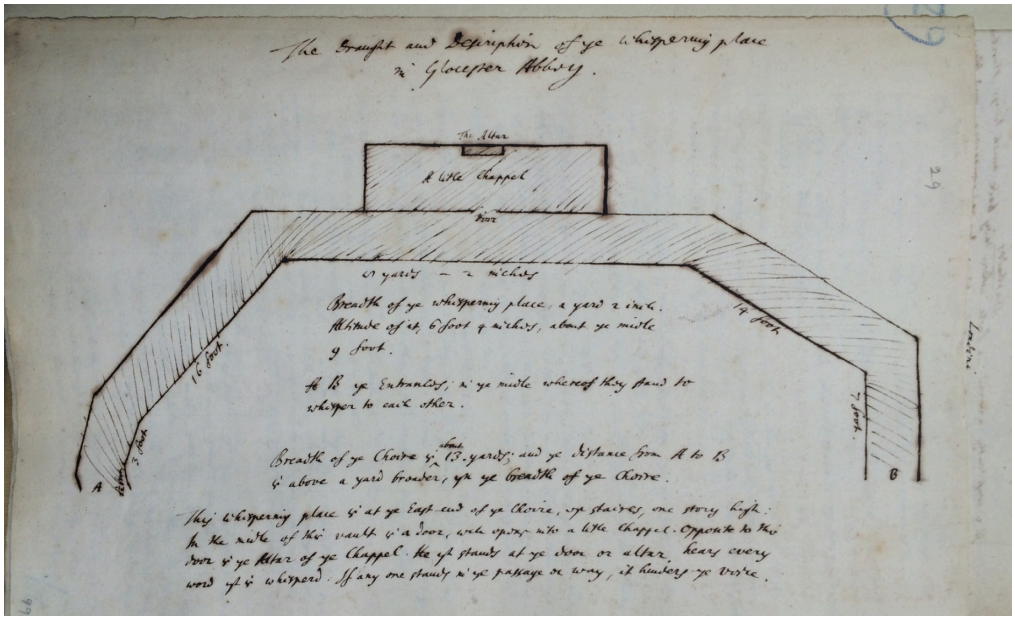


Figure 85: Diagram of Gloucester Abbey whispering place, *RSA:* Cl.P.2.33

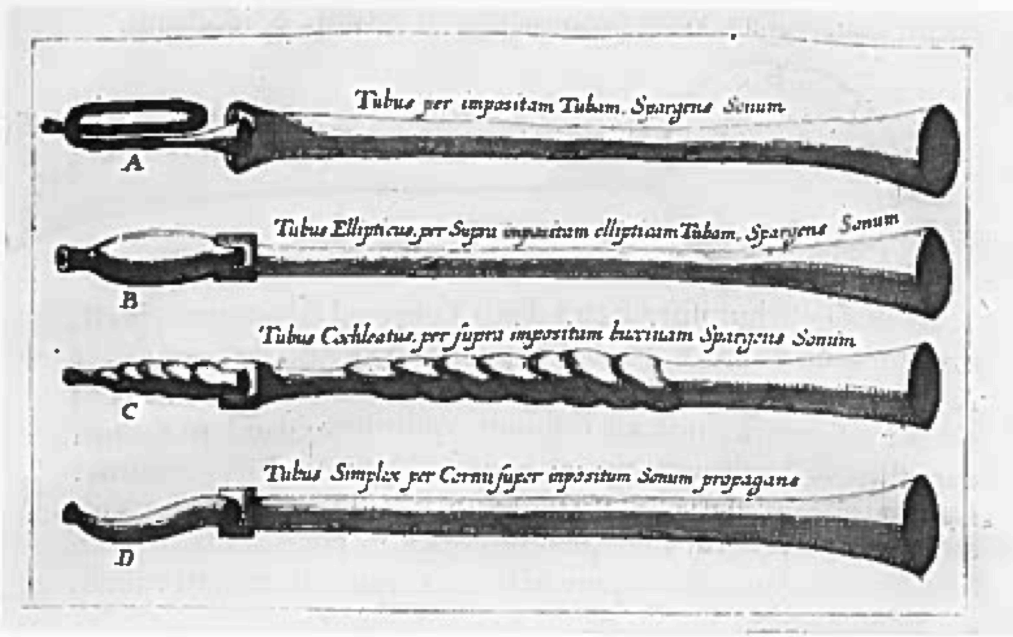


Figure 86: Amplifying devices, Kircher, *Phonurgia Nova,* 138

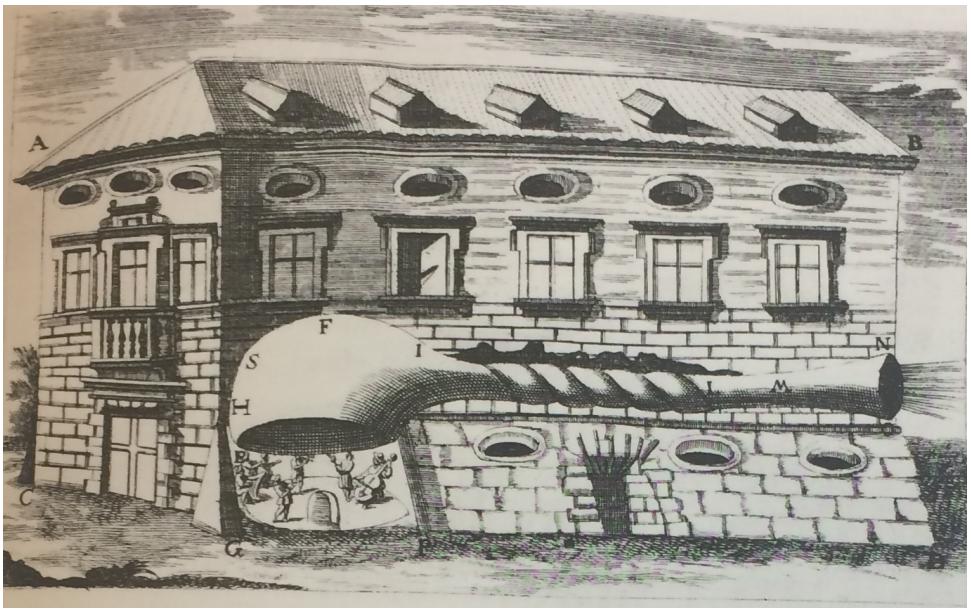


Figure 87: Broadcasting music, Kircher, *Phonurgia Nova*, 143.

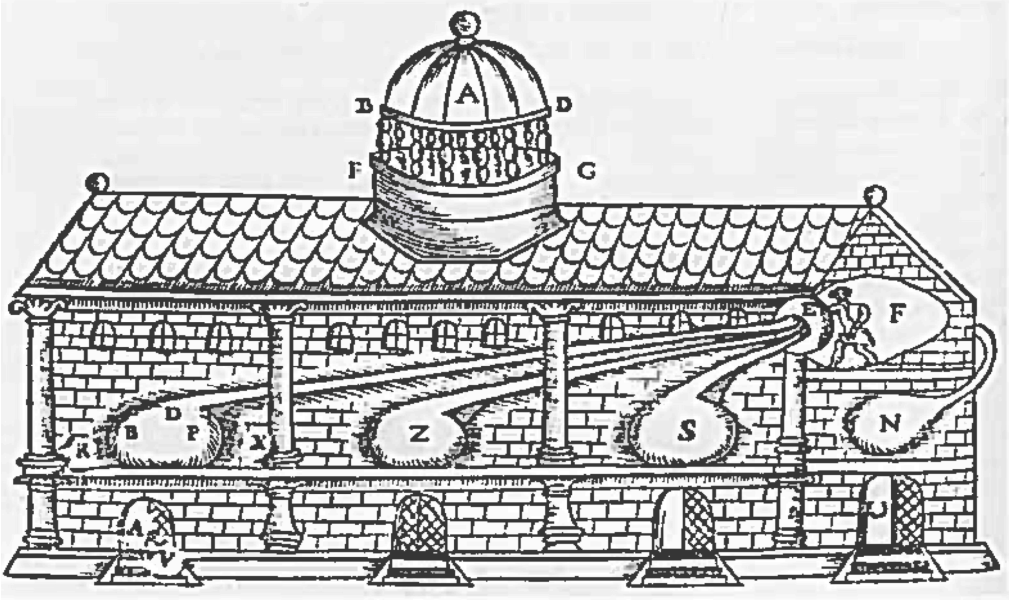


Figure 88: Acoustic system for palaces, a device for eavesdropping on private conversations, Kircher, *Musurgia Universalis*, volume II, 296

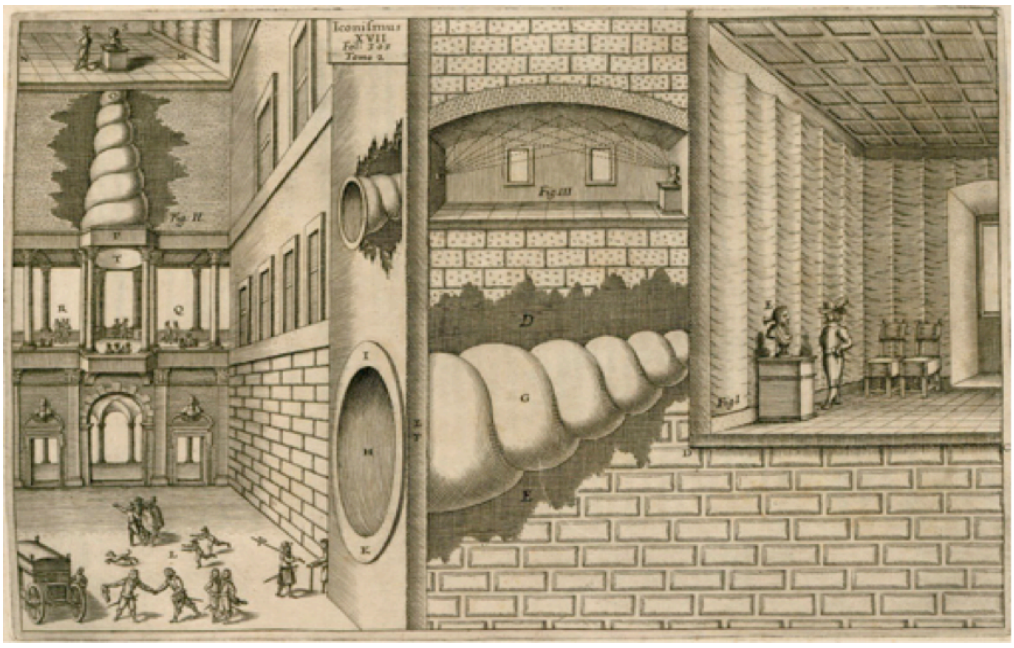


Figure 89: Speaking statue, Kircher, *Musurgia Universalis*, Volume II, opposite 303.

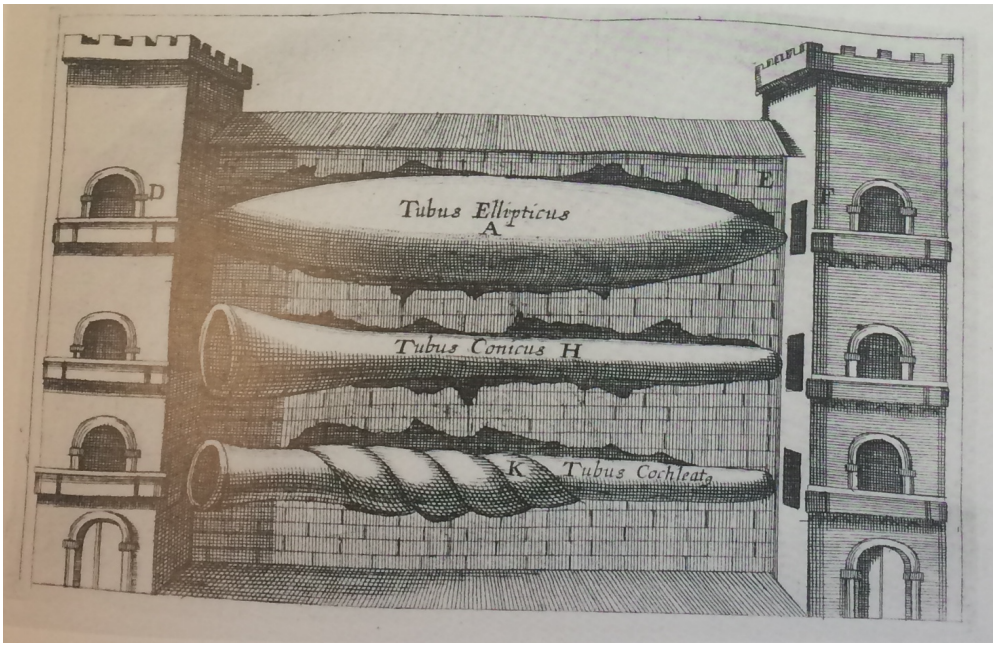


Figure 90: Room shapes and acoustics: an intercom, Kircher, *Phourgia Nova*, 100

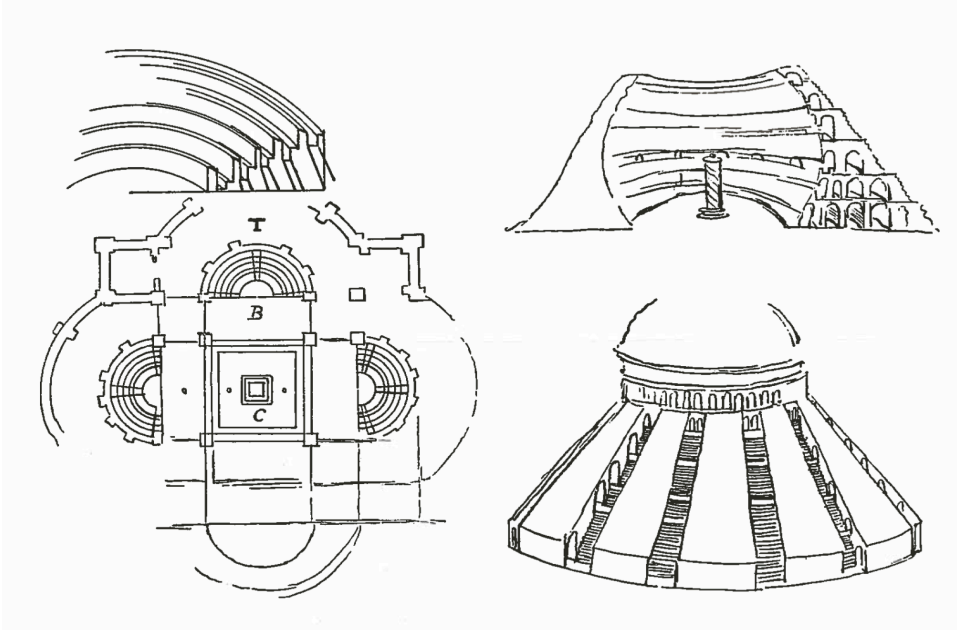


Figure 91: Leonardo da Vinci, Plan for 'theaters for hearing mass' (teatri per uldire messa) (left), Section and exterior view of a 'place for preaching' (loco dove si predica). Institut de France, Paris. Reproduced in Forsyth, *Buildings for Music*, p. 14

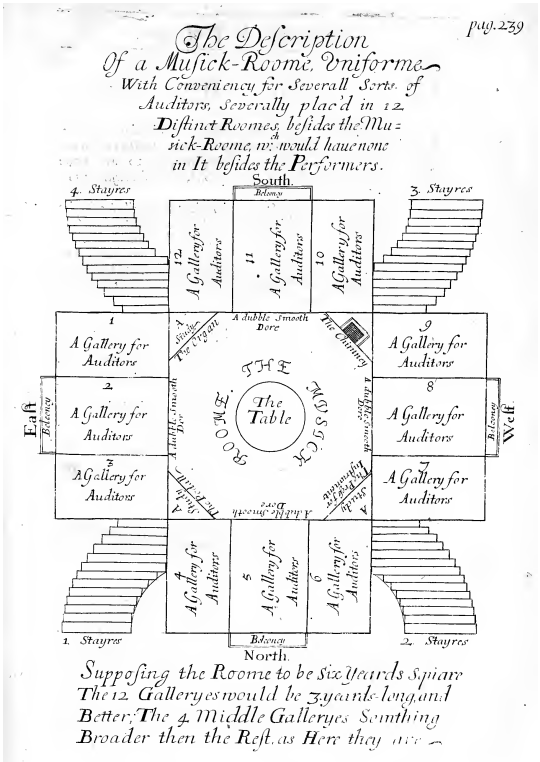
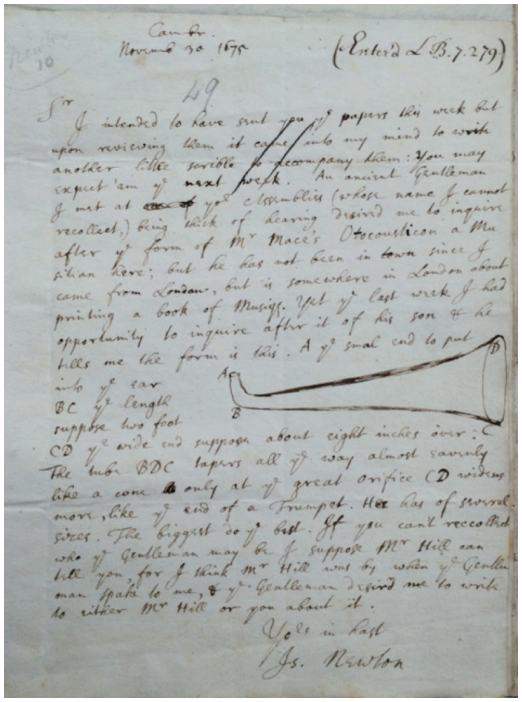


Figure 92: Mace's Musick Room, *Musick's Monument*, 1676, p.239



Camb.
Novemb 30 1675 (Entered L B. 7.279)

49

Sr

I intended to have sent you y^e papers this week but upon reviewing them it came into my mind to write another little scribble to accompany them: You may expect 'em y^e next week. An ancient Gentleman I met at ~~one of~~ y^e Assemblies (whose name I cannot recollect,) being talkt of hearing desired me to inquire after y^e form of M^r Mace's Otacousticon a Mu sitian here; but he has not been in town since I came from London, but is somewhere in London about printing a book of Musick. Yet y^e last week I had opportunity to inquire after it of his son & he tells me the form is this. A y^e small end to put into y^e ear

BC y^e length
suppose two foot
CD y^e wide end suppose about eight inches over:
The tube BDC tapers all y^e way almost insensibly like a cone ~~&~~ only at y^e great orifice CD widens more, like y^e end of a Trumpet. Her has of several sizes. The biggest 20 y^s old. If you can't recollect who y^e Gentleman may be I suppose M^r Hill can tell you for I think M^r Hill was by when y^e Gentleman spake to me, & y^e Gentleman desired me to write to either M^r Hill or you about it.

Yo^rs in hast
Js. Newton

Figure 93: Letter from Newton with diagram of Mace's otacousticon. *RSA* EL: N.1.49

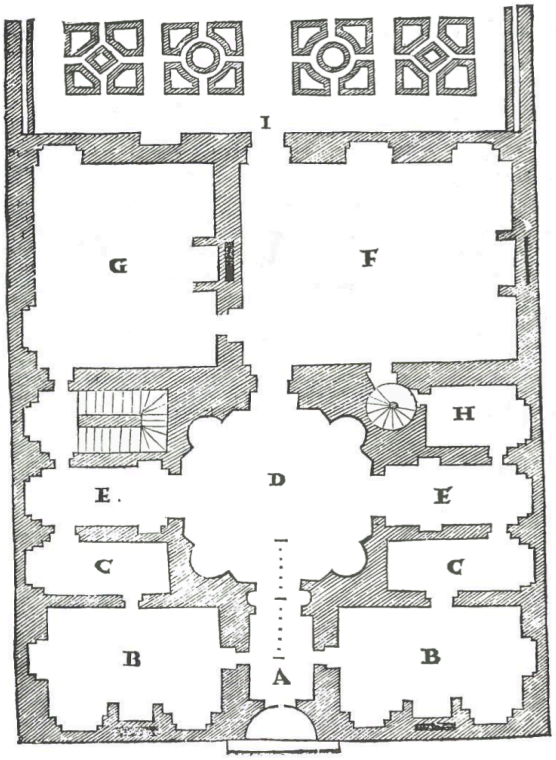


Figure 94: Serlio's Odeo music room − D − *Tutte l'opere d'architettura*, Book VII, Chapt III.

Figure 95: Pietro Fabris, View of the apartment of Kenneth Mackenzie, 1st Earl of Seaforth, 1741-1781, at home in Naples: concert party, National Galleries Scotland, PG 2611

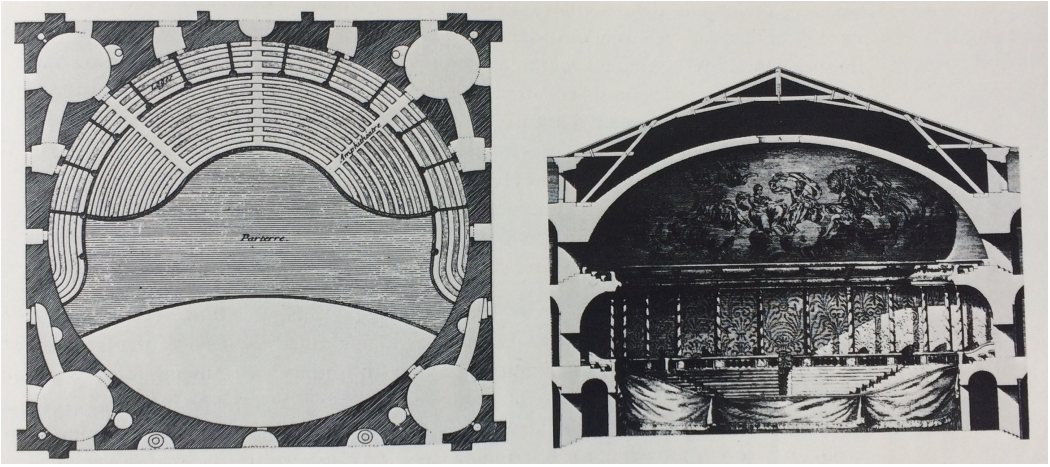


Figure 96: Design for a concert hall. Gabriel Dumont, *Parallèle de Plans des plus belles salles de spectacles d'Italie et de France*, *c.* 1764.

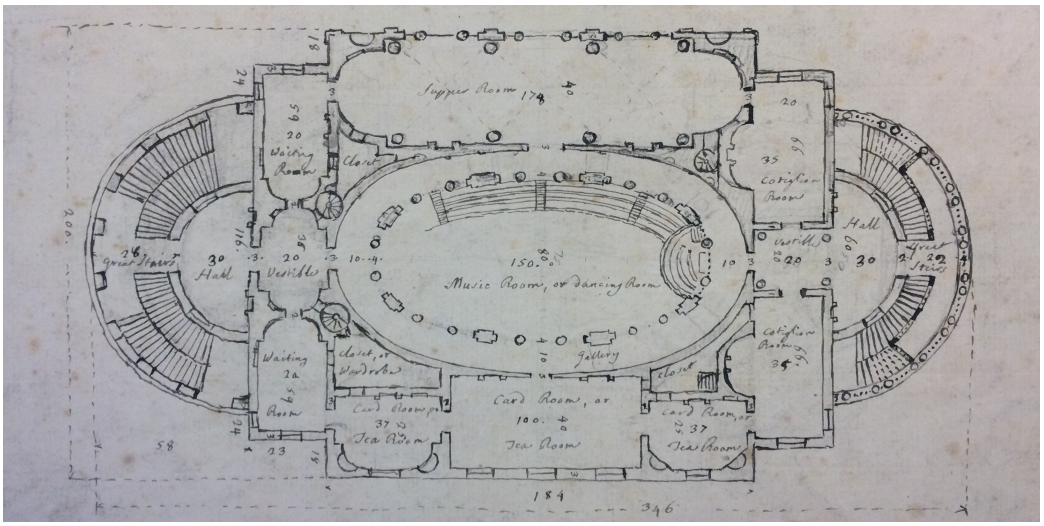


Figure 97: Bonomi, designs for an assembly room. 1776, RIBA Archive SC23/7.

Figure 98: Performance of Handel's *Messiah* on Fishamble Street with the Fishamble Street Music Hall arch in the background. Image from Twitter @events_DCC, 14 Apr 2016