Miscellany and Collegiality in the British Periodical Press: The *Harmonicon* (1823-1833)

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Nineteenth-Century Music Review

At the close of 1823, the twelve monthly issues of the *Harmonicon*'s first year were bound together in a large volume, to which was added a prefatory address lauding the success of the new periodical. Amongst the proud ruminations of the editor, William Ayrton (1777-1858),[1] there can be detected a distinct pride in the multifaceted varieties of music covered by the London journal which, he observes, were beneficial for the much-neglected general education of the amateur:

> While there are periodical works in profusion, which communicate the thoughts of the ingenious, and record the results of industrious research, in every other department of the arts, sciences, and belles lettres, the stores of music are either unblocked at an extravagant and almost prohibitory price, or frozen up by the contracted means, or still more contracted views, of their accidental possessors; so as to remain, in effect, "a fountain sealed," to thousands of amateurs, who in vain look for that which taste and reason require, but which circumstances deny.[2]

Many people have been instrumental in the formation of this article, which stemmed from my MPhil dissertation at Cambridge University (2008) under the supervision of Benjamin Walton, who first introduced me to the *Harmonicon*. Thanks also goes to Alan Davison, William Weber, and Leanne Langley for their invaluable comments, conversations and support, and to Lydia Johnson for kindly reading through various drafts of this work. Thank you also to the members of the Yale Department of Music for their very thoughtful and provocative comments on this research as part of a work-in-progress series in October 2011.

[1] Although 'anonymous' in the pages of the journal, Ayrton was so well known in London's musical circles that most professional musicians and critics at the time would have known that it was he who was editing the *Harmonicon*. On this issue, and on the other possible figures who may have been contributors, see Leanne Langley, 'The English Musical Journal in the Early Nineteenth Century' (PhD dissertation, University of Chapel Hill, 1983), 357; and Jamie Croy Kassler, *The Science of Music in Britain, 1714-1830: A Catalogue of Writings, Lectures, and Inventions* (New York: Garland, 1979), 1229.

[2] *Harmonicon*, 1 (1823), 1.

Ayrton's Introduction then comments upon the wide and general scope of literary and musical coverage that his journal was proud to encompass.[3] What is emphasized is not an exclusive specialized approach but, instead, the undiscriminating variety of 'all' types of music: not only did the *Harmonicon* intend to cover the music of 'really eminent' composers, but also that of the 'passing day'.[4] Both the affordability of the journal's sheet music and the aesthetic worth of its astute written criticism are praised.[5] Specifically, the cultivation of taste through the educational lenses of the journal was to be gained not just through the study of great masters, or by an immersion within any one particular style, but through knowledge of the peculiarities of *different* schools of music.[6]

To the modern reader, the use of miscellany as a method of improving taste might seem puzzling in light of the enduring presence of a 'canon' in most musical educational systems.[7] Yet composers from the so-called 'canon' as we now define it are certainly not the only names published in the sheet music component of the *Harmonicon* (see Figure 2), which was debatably

[3] The 'Introduction' states further: 'Influenced by these considerations, and in order to fill up the chasm which appears to be left, this Journal is now offered to the Public. It will be continued monthly, and will generally contain six or seven entire pieces of music, one of which, at least, will be written purposely and exclusively for the work, by some really eminent composer, and the remainder will be selected from the best productions of the great masters; but such music as the taste of the passing day shall decidedly approve, will not be rejected, unless indeed it is more deficient in merit than, when sanctioned by the public voice, is likely to happen. The whole will be adapted to the voice, the piano-forte, the hand, or the organ, and will form a varied collection of novelty and excellence, calculated no less to gratify the accomplished amateur, than to furnish the student with the most perfect models by which correctness of taste, and a knowledge of the style and peculiarities of the different schools, may be attained'. *Harmonicon*, 1 (1823), 1.

[4] *Harmonicon*, 1 (1823), 1.

[5] *Harmonicon*, 1 (1823), 1.

[6] *Harmonicon*, 1 (1823), 1.

[7] As will be explored below, this was not the case at this time, even for educated musicians like Ayrton, who believed in the merits of 'canonical' composers (or as they were called then, the 'Great Masters',) wholeheartedly. However, for the actual practice of musical life in a busy, economically-driven cosmopolitan centre, an allegiance to 'Great Masters' only was already seen as too dry to sell. As Weber maintains, 'A kind of professional collegiality developed during this period … among pieces of diverse age and taste, reaching far beyond the iconic composers'. William Weber, 'Canonicity and Collegiality: "Other" Composers, 1790-1850', *Common Knowledge*, 14/1 (2008), 105.

the major selling point of the journal.[8] It is thus fair to consider whether a conscious application of the aesthetics of miscellany and collegiality, as discussed by William Weber,[9] may prove helpful for a modern reading of the journal's impetus and aesthetic rationale, and whether this may enrich our appreciation of the role of this journal within early nineteenth-century British culture. Concerning its efforts to cover a vast range of musical topics while still having an aesthetic claim to be an arbiter of public taste, I argue that the *Harmonicon* attempted to create a 'miscellaneous collegiality' through the diverse potpourri of its contents. This article also presents a survey of the frequency with which all of the composers of the *Harmonicon*'s sheet music appear, year by year. It is hoped that this information might be a useful reference tool for further research into miscellany and the interplay between 'canonical' and 'other' composers in the popular culture of early nineteenth-century Britain.[10]

The Aesthetics of Miscellany and Collegiality

Miscellany

The term 'miscellany' had deeply rooted and largely pleasing connotations in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The *Oxford English Dictionary* dates the use of the term to 1601, noting that in the eighteenth century the term 'miscellany gentleman' was used to refer to the type of cultivated gentleman who took a broad interest in many things, often including the collection of miscellaneous articles or trinkets. It was further used as a generic term to classify books and publications that contained a wide array of information on any subject.[11]

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[8] The Preface to the *Harmonicon*'s first volume boasts, indeed, that the sheet music in the journal was not only unique and of high quality, but was also a great bargain: 'There is something vulgar and forbidding in alluding, out of market, to prices: nevertheless it is a duty we owe, not only to ourselves, but to our subscribers, to mention, that the music alone contained in this work could not be purchased, in the ordinary way, for less than three times the sum that is paid for the two parts forming the First Volume of the HARMONICON'. *Harmonicon*, 1 (1823), iv.

[9] William Weber, 'Canonicity and Collegiality', in *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste: Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

[10] I use the terms 'canonical' and 'other' here in reference to Weber's subtitle, 'Canonicity and Collegiality', in Weber, *Transformation of Musical Taste*, 105-123.

[11] 'Miscellany', in *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., 1989, OED Online http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/00311009 (Accessed 8 September 2009). In the Elizabethan era, 'Miscellanies' were also forms of poetry anthologies that were widely popular, although the term was not widely used outside of this more specific application to a poetic genre. See the discussion of 'Miscellanies' as a genre of poetry in Elizabeth

With regard to music, Weber asserts that the principles of miscellany and collegiality, as defined in the eighteenth century, 'governed concert programming' for well over a century.[12] Miscellany therefore functioned as what Lydia Goehr would call a 'regulative' principle in musical practice prior to the emergence of the concept of a musical canon as we know it.[13] As a regulative code, miscellany thus had a tangible influence upon the publishing of sheet music in Britain, although its impact on concert programming is better documented.[14]

While Weber and others have applied the term extensively to concert programming, the time is ripe for its application to music publishing, since miscellanies as a broader print phenomenon were a staple of late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century British reading culture. The fact that Britain's most famous author, Charles Dickens, first gained mass popularity through the periodical serializations of the *Pickwick Papers* in the 1830s attests to the fact that the *Harmonicon* was marketed to a reading public already accustomed to not only the purchasing of cheap periodical literature, but also to the miscellany gentleman epitomised by Dickens's Pickwick himself. Mr Pickwick, in the name of miscellaneous self-improvement, rambles about the British countryside and metropolis in an effort to 'extend his researches into the quaint and curious phenomena of life', thereby perceiving the world around him through the broadest and most varied lens possible.[15] In short, it was because of this broad and, significantly, not necessarily musical public that this journal was able to market itself.

W. Pomeroy, *The Elizabethan Miscellanies: Their Development and Conventions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973).

[12] Weber, *Transformation of Musical Taste*, 40.

[13] See Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 102-109.

[14] According to Burchell, 'The cataloguing of repertoire performed in miscellaneous concerts in Britain throughout the eighteenth century reveals an astonishing diversity in all genres and in all parts of the country'. 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: Ashgate, 2004), 93.

[15] Dickens, derided at the time for pandering to a lower-class reading public, was, incidentally, an acquaintance of Ayrton (the British Library has recently acquired their correspondence), since they worked in the same circle of publishers. Indeed, the advertisements which prefaced the serialized *Pickwick Papers*, which ran over 40,000 copies per issue, actually included several advertisements for Ayrton's later musical journals (such as the *Musical Library*) and for the concerts he organized. See the prefatory advertisements for Ayrton's *Musical Library*

Against this backdrop, the impact of miscellany upon the contents of nineteenth-century music publishing warrants scholarly attention. Quite apart from the presence of miscellany in concert programming, its principles were certainly at work in periodical journalism at large. For example, the *Gentleman's Magazine* has been described as the leading 'miscellany journal', encompassing 'a collection of diverse, usually light elements in both prose and verse: odes, songs, fables, dialogues, enigmas, letters, translations, essays on scattered themes, and news'; it was the type of publication that 'appealed to a broad range of readers, including women'.[16] In many respects the orientation of the *Harmonicon* stems from this publishing genre. According to Langley, '[b]etween 1800 and 1845 some 30 periodicals devoted to music were launched in Britain, nearly all of them attributing their appearance to a current "general", "wide", "perfect" or "increasing" cultivation of the subject'.[17] There is also evidence that the *Harmonicon*'s business model was unusually lucrative: the available information concerning the success (or lack thereof) of other journalistic ventures testifies to the fact that, in its enduring legacy and wide readership, the *Harmonicon* was, for a journal of music, extraordinarily successful.[18]

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to the first three numbers of the *Pickwick Papers*, Yale Beinecke Rare Books Library, call no. Gimbel / Dickens D98 Set 2.

[16] Langley, 'English Musical Journal', 6. The public role which these periodicals played served as an accurate indicator of the power that the middle classes could gain through literacy and education, transcending barriers of birth, name and gender, and empowering readers with knowledge. See Shawn Lisa Maurer, *Proposing Men: Dialectics of Gender and Class in the Eighteenth-Century English Periodical* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 16; and Kathryn Shevelow, *Women and Print Culture: The Construction of Femininity in the Early Periodical* (London; New York: Routledge, 1989).

[17] Leanne Langley, 'The Life and Death of *The Harmonicon*: An Analysis', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 22 (1989), 137-163; Langley, 'Life and Death', 137.

[18] Although eleven years may not seem like a great print run when compared with other non-musical newspapers and periodicals such as the *Gentleman's Journal*, the survival of the *Harmonicon* was most unusual for a musical journal, during a time in which many journals never published a second issue. This was due to the difficulty of procuring and maintaining a stable reading audience of musical criticism, which itself was only just beginning to come into its own. As Langley's extensive primary research into the longevity of English music periodicals has shown, the average lifespan of an English musical journal published between 1760 and 1840 was approximately two years and two months: Langley, 'English Musical Journal', xxi. Thus, as Vogan notes with regard to the *Harmonicon* and its rival, the *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review*, the success of 'these two new periodicals within a few years brought about a new interest in music discussion and commentary in England'. William Hamilton Vogan, '"A Rare Union of Literature with Music": Selective Indices to the *Quarterly Musical*

Although in a position of prestige, the *Harmonicon* did have a serious competitor, which departed markedly from the tradition of the periodical miscellany: the *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* (hereafter *QMMR*).[19] Edited by Richard MacKenzie Bacon and published in substantial quarterly volumes from Norwich, this rival periodical held a similarly influential status in British music criticism from its inception in 1818 until its end in 1828.[20] Yet although the *QMMR* was respected for having more sophisticated criticism, it did not publish sheet music, nor did it cover such a wide array of topics. There were therefore considerable differences between the journals in 'format as well as intention',[21] and the marketability of miscellany is perhaps at the heart of these discrepancies. Bacon's overall tone was more exclusionary than open, and the plan of the journal was in bulk 'essay format',[22] far more concerned with theoretical and academic matters in its aim to afford a 'medium for philosophical and technical communications'.[23] Furthermore, Norwich's geographical isolation from London prevented the *QMMR* from being able to report as swiftly on the concert seasons of the capital as the *Harmonicon*, with the result that its tone was more distanced from public life.

Bacon was, moreover, not afraid to discriminate explicitly against periodicals that held a broader appeal.[24] While the *QMMR* engaged in deeper aesthetic polemics through reader

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Magazine and Review and the *Harmonicon*' (Masters dissertation, University of Rochester, 1979), 2. See also Richard Kitson, 'James William Davison, Critic, Crank and Chronicler: A Re-evaluation', *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies*, vol. 1 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 304; and Imogen Fellinger, 'Periodicals', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980), 230-233.

[19] Langley, 'Life and Death', 137.

[20] On this journal see Langley, 'English Musical Journal', 194-281, and Kassler, *Science of Music*, 1237-1240.

[21] Kassler, *Science of Music*, 1230.

[22] The *QMMR* had far longer articles on more scientific subjects, while the *Harmonicon* had shorter articles of more interest to the amateur. For example, a typical issue of the *QMMR* would begin with a lengthy article on vocal performance, usually entitled 'Elements of Vocal Science', whereas the *Harmonicon* would begin with a descriptive and more personal biography of a famous musician and then launch directly into vivid descriptions of London's concerts and musical amusements. The *QMMR* would save any mention of London's concerts until the very end of each volume. Vogan, 'Rare Union', 7-8.

[23] Richard MacKenzie Bacon, quoted in Kassler, *Science of Music*, 1238.

[24] As Bacon was to declare at the outset of the *QMMR*'s publication: 'Music and musicians are almost entirely abandoned to the meagre, hasty, crude, and but too often partial and personal effusions of the journals of the

correspondence, the *Harmonicon*, by contrast, mainly offered more colloquial writings by its editor and his associates.[25] Vogan relates the differing orientations of the journals to the proximity of their editors to London's concert life, noting that '[w]hile Richard Bacon maintained a position of interested onlooker to the musical scene, William Ayrton was very much part of that scene' and therefore, for an impression of the actual musical life of the period, 'the *Harmonicon* is the more useful journal'.[26] Unlike the *QMMR*, the *Harmonicon* was clearly not designed to be a 'platform for the social, literary, or philosophical views of its editor'.[27] Just how much this editorial screen impacted upon the success of the journal would require further study, but what can be said is that the *Harmonicon*'s relative neutrality is a constructive window from which view the operation of miscellany and collegiality in public musical criticism.

Collegiality

Collegiality, or the inclusive and open 'relationship between colleagues',[28] was a concept associated with 'pleasant', 'rational' and 'elegant' culture (or 'amusement') amongst educated circles in the eighteenth century, giving the attendance of polite public music events a communal and even ethical dimension. As Wollenberg observes with regard to early public concerts at the Holywell Rooms in eighteenth-century Oxford, the early collegial audience constituted a 'regular gathering of friends and acquaintances; the mixture of local musicians and visiting performers; the intimate surroundings with seating for only a few hundred'.[29] This form of collegial concert-going had, by the early nineteenth century, permeated the rising middle-class culture of

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day'. Bacon, *QMMR*, 1 (1818), 1. Although the *Harmonicon* was not yet in existence at this time, this more exclusionary attitude prevailed throughout the *QMMR*'s run.

[25] Janet Gromfine King, '*The Harmonicon*: Reflection of a Musical Generation' (Masters dissertation, University of Maryland, 1973), 8.

[26] Vogan, 'Rare Union', 5; 20.

[27] Langley, 'English Musical Journal', 318.

[28] 'Collegiality', in *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., 1989, OED Online http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50043969 (Accessed 8 September 2009).

[29] Susan Wollenberg, '"So Much Rational and Elegant Amusement, at an Expense Comparatively Inconsiderable": The Holywell Concerts in the Eighteenth Century', in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 243.

cosmopolitan public spaces such as coffee houses and concert venues, which provided a place for distinctively 'civilising' and didactic activities.

It was also in coffee houses that multifarious periodicals such as the *Harmonicon* were available to be read.[30] These were relaxed, appropriate public spaces in which popular publications on a broad range of topics were available.[31] A miscellaneous knowledge of the arts was seen as more important than a narrow focus on a specialized national style or national school – an approach that was much aligned with the outlook of Ayrton's *Harmonicon* and its reaction to public attempts to found national schools of music.[32] Thus, the collegial miscellany

[30] By the time of Queen Anne's reign, there were already 'around 2,000 coffee houses in London'. Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 162. The coffee house constituted one of the few public places where periodicals were available for free reading, for only the price of a small drink. The event of coffee house reading culture thus greatly expanded the possible number of readers in relation to subscription numbers. The polite, slightly elite but essentially unrestricted gatherings at London coffee houses at this time were related to the culture of a reading public, since it was at coffee houses that most popular periodicals were available for free reading to any member of the public. See Markman Ellis, *The Coffee-House: A Cultural History* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2004). It is quite likely that the *Harmonicon* was available for reading at many London coffee houses and, given that the same sorts of publics frequented both coffee houses and public concerts, the relation between the two is not insignificant. As Langley posits, 'For those who could read, periodicals were available in a variety of places, including taverns, coffeehouses, social clubs, subscription reading rooms, and private circulating libraries'. Langley, 'English Musical Journal', 33.

[31] If one chose to spend one's time reading miscellaneous periodical literature in a coffee house or going to public concerts, one was likely of a 'gentler' class; the coffee house, indeed, was at this time an ethical antidote to the nineteenth-century version of the pub. See Bernarr Rainbow, *The Land Without Music: Musical Education in England 1800-1860 and its Continental Antecedents* (London: Novello, 1967), 158.

[32] The Royal Academy of Music, England's first school of music that actually taught performance and composition outside of the more theoretical Oxbridge curriculum, was founded in 1822, the year before the first issue of the *Harmonicon*. The foundation of this institution was seen by many as the answer to the lack of a progressive national style, monitored very critically by Britain's leading music critics. See Howard Irving, 'Richard MacKenzie Bacon and the Royal Academy of Music', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 21/1 (1990), 79-90. The *Harmonicon* took an active interest in the foundation of the RAM and its implications for the cultivation of a national style; see especially 'Abstract of the Rules and Regulations of the Royal Academy of Music', *Harmonicon* 1 (1823), 6-7; and 'The Royal Academy of Music', *Harmonicon* 1 (1823), 21. Weber's research has noted that, in part, the lack of respect for the Royal Academy in the wider public later in the nineteenth century was due to the fact that its concerts remained far more miscellaneous than the more homogenous

gentleman, as much as he still existed in the early nineteenth century, would have been the ideal amateur reader for Ayrton's *Harmonicon*.

The *Harmonicon* in Nineteenth-Century British Culture

In its day the *Harmonicon* was arguably the dominant musical periodical, boasting loyal readers from London to Manchester, from Paris to Leipzig, to colonial Kingston, Jamaica, to New York and Boston. The recurring column entitled 'Foreign Musical Report' not only exemplifies Ayrton's awareness of international musical events but also demonstrates the appeal of the journal to foreign readers. It was read more widely and on more parts of the globe than the later *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitiung* of Leipzig or the *Harmonicon*'s contemporary French rival, the *Revue Musicale* of Paris,[33] which disparaged the *Harmonicon* for pandering to the needs and wants of the unmusical and far too variegated British public.[34] Filled with incisive essays,

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curriculum at the later Royal College of Music: see William Weber, 'Miscellany vs. Homogeneity: Concert Programmes at the Royal Academy of Music and the Royal College of Music in the 1880s', in *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914: Essays in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich* (Oxford, 2000), 299-320; and William Weber, 'Concerts at Four Conservatories in the 1880s: A Comparative Analysis', in *Musical Education in Europe (1770-1914): Compositional, Institutional and Political Challenges*, vol. 2 (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2005), 331-350.

[33] This journal ran from 1827-1835 and was continued as the *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* from 1835-1880). See Katherine Ellis, *Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century France: La Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris, 1834-80* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

[34] It is known that the *Harmonicon* was read throughout Europe (due to the number of subscribers and letters to the editor from Continental Europe), as well as in the United States of America. One issue even excitedly boasts correspondence from a subscriber in Jamaica – an interesting testament to just how far this London journal had spread internationally. See Langley, 'Life and Death', 148, who notes that the American book dealer and diplomat Obadiah Rich (1777-1850) bought several hundred copies of the *Harmonicon* to the other side of the Atlantic, although the success of this venture is not known. Also note that in the printed sheet music section of the journal several pieces of music were submitted that were composed 'expressly for the *Harmonicon*' by international subscribers. For example, a Charles Thibault 'of New York' submitted a 'Military Divertimento Composed for the Piano-Forte' in *Harmonicon,* 5 (1827), 81-85, and a 'Waltz-Rondo' in *Harmonicon,* 7 (1829), 162-164. The 'Reader in Kingston, Jamaica', a 'J. F. Eldmann', submitted a composition entitled 'Grand March', which was published in the sheet music section of *Harmonicon,* 8 (1830), 401-405. Many of the journal's foreign subscribers would have been able to purchase the journal in their own countries: Kassler's records maintain that the *Harmonicon* was sold

reviews, gossip, and trivia on all aspects of music and musical life in London and abroad, and categorized as a 'typical musical miscellany', the *Harmonicon* appealed to a wide readership.[35]

The scope of the journal is perhaps daunting for a modern reader, yet in its day the *Harmonicon*'s aim was ambitious but not out of the ordinary. The early nineteenth-century concert-goer, at least in London, would have found it normal to attend some or perhaps nearly all of the number of concerts reviewed in the journal. This lifestyle was to be discouraged by the middle of the century, for the primary reason that the aesthetics of listening had by then undergone a drastic transformation, as the abundant literature on nineteenth-century aesthetics has shown.[36] As Carl Dahlhaus has argued, for example, the aesthetics of monumentality that emerged towards the middle of the nineteenth century required that listeners not stray fleetingly from one concert of entertaining music to another but treat serious music with due respect.[37]

But perhaps Dahlhaus, with his Germanocentric outlook, oversimplified the case. Certainly the roots of the nineteenth-century shift to specialized, non-miscellaneous and serious listening are far more complex than such a simplistic rationalisation. This shift in aesthetics was fast occurring during the *Harmonicon* years, and the journal displays the tensions at the heart of it: the orientation to a collegial reader, yet the presence of an emerging canon; the hailing of miscellany, yet the nostalgic lauding of the 'Great Masters.' The discussion below on the 'Diary of a Dilletante' displays these ambiguities of the marketability of miscellany and at the same time, the ludicrous, almost clownish nature of the miscellaneous gentleman by the 1830s. Ayrton himself was palpably aware that some composers were certainly viewed as 'better' than others. But regardless of acts of serious listening on the part of the editor, it is clear that the

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by printing companies in London, Edinburgh, Dublin, Paris, Rotterdam, Brussels, Rome, Geneva, and Leipzig. Kassler, *Science of Music*, 1228.

[35] Langley, 'English Musical Journal', 55.

[36] See Mark Evan Bonds, *Music as Thought: Listening to the Symphony in the Age of Beethoven* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).

[37] As Dahlhaus has maintained, '[Romantic] Music was not meant to be "enjoyed" but to be "understood." And in order to fulfil its educative function it forced audiences to listen silently, a mode of behaviour which only after a long and tedious process gained ascendancy over the earlier habit of using music as a stimulus to conversation, at least in those moments when the emotions were not being touched'. Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. B. Robinson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 50.

Harmonicon's readership was, for marketing purposes, wider and more varied than any superficial aesthetic categorization could permit.[38]

The *Harmonicon*'s primary intention, according to Langley, was economic, as the publishers aimed to 'create an attractive product that would pull in as many music admirers as possible, from students and accomplished amateurs to the opera-going nobility'.[39] The journal's design features reflecting this aim included its 'monthly interval of publication, large quarto size and equal division into literary and musical parts, its topical breadth and fair-minded tone – stimulating but not too provocative – and, for its day, advanced production and low price'.[40] Names that arise in relation to the journal's publication and readership are those of middle-class musical 'dabblers': those who were educated in music (usually male), but who were interested in the journal more as part of a wider liberal education than because music was necessarily their profession or exclusive interest.[41] William Clowes, the journal's printer, was involved in the project from the point of view of someone who had specialized in publishing lower-class fiction in the form of the *Penny Cyclopedia*, and who had been associated with the famous *Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*.[42] The *SDUK* would have approved of the *Harmonicon*, in attempting to market an awareness of elementary musical discourse to those not educated (or even interested) in formal aesthetic debates. Although on a personal level Ayrton might have cringed at such a 'lowering of standards', he understood through his business ventures with Clowes that selling to a mass market would gain greater readership for the journal.

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[38] Langley's extensive archival work in this area has made much of this information available for future use: see Langley, statistics in Table 2, 'Life and Death', 149; also see 151. Generally, around 70 percent of printed issues of the *Harmonicon* were sold.

[39] Langley, 'Life and Death', 139.

[40] Langley, 'Life and Death', 139.

[41] The *Harmonicon* was mainly sold at William Pinnock's 'Music Warehouse' (276 Strand, close to the City), and also by Samuel Leigh, the polite literature and travel guide specialist (18 Strand, nearer the West End), who agreed to subsidise a small portion of the magazine's cost. Langley, 'Life and Death', 139.

[42] The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge specialised in cheaply producing and disseminating lower-class fiction; in terms of periodicals, they published the *Penny Cyclopedia* and the *Penny Magazine*, which reached an immediate circulation of 70,000. See Harold Smith, *The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge 1826-1846: A Social and Bibliographical Evaluation* (London: Vine, 1974), and Alan Rauch, *Useful Knowledge: The Victorians, Morality, and the March of Intellect* (Durham; London: Duke University Press, 2001).

This large readership was stimulated and guaranteed by the presence of the *Harmonicon*'s sheet music: fairly easy to play and sing, yet representative of all of the current styles and popular composers. Langley argues that by giving exactly equal space to both sheet music and written criticism, the *Harmonicon* became, more than any other, 'the peculiarly English musical journal.'[43] In its varied and practical orientation, it not only embodied miscellany in a successful way but also achieved a level of cosmopolitanism that other British journals did not.[44] Regrettably for this notion of a 'peculiarly English musical journal', the design of the *Harmonicon* was not emulated by any later successful musical journals.[45] It is therefore worth examining what was so important about a very sucessful journal within its own time if its design was later made redundant. Even infamous enemies of British music, such as the infamous Belgian music critic François-Joseph Fétis (1784-1871), conceded that the publishing power of the *Harmonicon* was one avenue through which Britain gained much-needed and much-coveted respect from serious musical critics in Europe and beyond.[46]

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[43] [Emphasis added.] Langley, 'English Musical Journal', 53. Note that prior to the *Harmonicon* and the *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* 'writing about music had been confined to large-scale volumes on historical matters (e.g., the writings of Avison, Burney, and Hawkins) or to short articles in periodicals of a mainly literary nature'. Vogan, 'Rare Union', 1.

[44] The study of miscellany in non-British music periodicals is beyond the scope of the present article, but note that in format the design of other foreign journals was not all that dissimilar. Consider *France Musical*, *Le Ménestrel* and the *Revue at Gazette Musicale* in France, and the German *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, to name but a few. However, direct comparisons would have to take into account a great deal of contextual information about musical criticism in France and Germany: this remains an open field of research.

[45] British musical journals after the *Harmonicon* tended to have either only written criticism or sheet music. One exception to this was also edited by William Ayrton: his *Musical Library* was intended as a successor to the *Harmonicon* but resulted in being a pale shadow of the former journal and failed to ever really get off the ground, lasting only from 1834-1836. In fact, the *Musical Library* was first and foremost a journal that published sheet music, calling the literary portion only a 'supplement'. Ayrton's friend Charles Lamb referred to it as 'his collection of vocal and instrumental music', in contrast to the *Harmonicon*, which he refers to as a proper 'periodical'. See Charles Lamb, *The Letters of Charles and Mary Lamb*, ed. Edwin W. Marrs, vol. 3 (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 1978), 52. For more on the success (or lack thereof) of the *Musical Library*, see Langley, 'English Musical Journal', 314, and 'Life and Death', 154-163.

[46] Fétis and his contemporaries made no secret of their opinion that the state of music in Britain was entirely woeful; however, he was willing to engage with Ayrton in a heated exchange of correspondence, which was published in the *Harmonicon* between 1829-1830. Fétis's overarching claim was that England was so centred on the

Although focusing primarily on concert programming rather than musical journals, Weber's work is particularly helpful here, illustrating the ways in which concepts such as miscellany and collegiality influenced public musical culture and, similarly, the choices of musical critics and editors, who considered themselves to be arbiters of good taste. For example, those critics who at the time argued that 'variety is the soul of a concert'[47] reflected the view, stemming from the eighteenth century, that a truly cultured gentleman or lady in London at the turn of the nineteenth century 'found it convenient to visit parts of several entertainments in one day', rather than attending only one concert and giving it their undivided and sustained attention.[48] These gentlemen and ladies were considered to be part of a 'collegial' culture because, rather than prioritising one type of entertainment over another, they sought both musical and social enjoyment through variety itself.[49] None were specialized professionals; all were amateurs, praising some aspects of one composer and some aspects of another. In this way they did not discriminate one level of taste from another, or alienate their colleagues in doing so, thus creating a sense of 'collegiality'.[50]

The *Harmonicon*, similarly, did not discriminate in scope between what would later be constructed as highbrow versus lowbrow music (although Ayrton was known to have very strong opinions about this), but sought to give the reader the broadest exposure possible to all musical

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business and financial profits of the music industry, and that music was so undervalued and underfunded by the British government, that the country had no way to produce any musical talent. Ayrton's relatively mild replies suggest that, given his promulgation of 'good taste' and 'appreciation of genius' throughout the journal's run, he was happy with London musical life as it was.

[47] Weber, *Transformation of Musical Taste*, 18.

[48] Weber, *Transformation of Musical Taste*, 16.

[49] In this way, a miscellaneous musical education fit into the aesthetics of an Enlightenment education. Such an outlook is also closely related to the aesthetic precedents upon which the *Harmonicon* relied. As King maintains, 'A number of *Harmonicon* entries exhibit a kinship with the Enlightenment. Music, they imply, is a series of immutable laws, discernable by reason'. King, 'Harmonicon', 13-14.

[50] See the discussion of this issue in William Weber, 'The Muddle of the Middle Classes', *19th-Century Music*, 3/2 (1979), 175-185. For statistics and a discussion of the gradually growing literacy levels in Britain between the sixteenth and late eighteenth centuries, see John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1997), 167-169. For further reading, see Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public 1800-1900* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957).

styles, even including articles on and examples of non-Western music.[51] In other words, the journal's choice of repertoire attempted to promulgate a collegial appreciation of music in Britain via constant exposure to broad varieties of styles. This sundry exposure was sought even if (or especially if) a work was not to the listener's taste. As the *Harmonicon*'s review of a Philharmonic Society concert in 1826 noted, a 'harp concerto is not exactly the thing that we wish to hear in a concert-room, but variety must be sought in all shapes'.[52]

The overarching vision, then, was economically driven but also ideologically didactic. The amateur could only be taught musical appreciation by wide exposure to all sorts of music, through which would emerge a more nuanced understanding of taste. The *Harmonicon*'s resolution to hold 'the amateur in the highest esteem',[53] can thus also be linked to the journal's constant offerings of varied, entertaining articles.[54] Any section that delves too deeply into a particular topic is usually followed by a humorous or pithy article, which alleviates sustained or difficult concentration (much as in a modern daily newspaper). It was, in short, a journal of interest to any amateur even remotely interested in any of the topics covered, as long as he or she remained an amateur and did not assume specialized analytical or critical discourse.[55]

This economic caution about constructing hierarchies of taste, felt by many music reviewers, concert managers and editors in Britain at this time, was also related to the fear of excluding any type of reader from buying and reading their works in a competitive market. A

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[51] While the *Harmonicon*'s coverage of Musical 'Chit-Chat' from a vast number of cities on the Continent and occasionally the United States of America is already impressive, it also included descriptions, usually from travellers, of music in various parts of Africa and Asia. See *Harmonicon*, 2 (1824), 195; 3 (1825), 51-54; and 4 (1826), 93-94. For a discussion on representations of the musical 'Other' in the *Harmonicon* and other contemporaneous British periodicals in the early nineteenth century, see Bennett Zon, *Representing Non-Western Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2007), especially Chapter 5, 'From Travel Literature to Academic Writing: Anthropology in the Musical Press from the 1830s to the 1930s', 78-92.

[52] *Harmonicon*, 4 (1826), 129.

[53] King, 'Harmonicon', 8.

[54] 'Miscellaneous articles … are often billed as being of vital interest to the amateur, and assorted topics are not infrequently initiated by readers'. King, 'Harmonicon', 10.

[55] This is even clear from the all-encompassing title of the journal: 'The Harmonicon, A Journal of Music, Containing Essays, Criticisms, Biography, and *Miscellaneous* Correspondence'. [Emphasis added.] This was the full title of the literary part of the journal from 1823-1827; the title changed with the 'New Series' to 'The Harmonicon … containing essays, criticisms, biography, foreign reports, & miscellaneous correspondence'.

contemporary of Ayrton was to remark that 'never was the press more actively employed, or ampler scope allowed for the diffusion of every species of information, than at the present period'.[56] Brewer has described this phenomenon as a reflection of the gradual cultural change from 'intensive' to 'extensive' reading.[57] This has many parallels with collegial and miscellaneous shifts in musical taste, both in concert programming and in periodical criticism.[58] The later nineteenth-century distinction between what we have now been taught are the 'serious, symphonic' or 'vocal/comic' music genres did of course persist during the mid-1830s, but not to such a degree that these genres needed to be separated from each other within a concert.[59]

For journals that struggled financially, as the *Harmonicon* (despite its success) admittedly did, being unappealing to any potential buyer was too great a risk, and thus from the start its visual and material marketability comprised a remarkably 'handsome production' that walked a fine line between accessibility to the amateur and respectability for the professional.[60] In order for the journal to survive at all, the economic viability of the enterprise needed to be taken very seriously. Indeed, the statistics of other surviving music periodicals were so bleak that any mode of dissemination that would appeal to the widest distribution possible was not going to be taken lightly.[61] The humility and self-deprecation of the editorials written by Ayrton hint that in order to gain sales he had to resist the authoritarianism of taste hierarchies that would dominate later nineteenth-century criticism. The prevalence, therefore, of both old and new styles of music in the journal situates the *Harmonicon* within a wider disintegration of the appeal of miscellany in the printing marketplace by the time of the journal's downfall. I do not necessarily claim that it

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[56] Anonymous, 'On Cheap Periodical Literature', *Gentleman's Magazine*, 95 (1825), 483, as quoted in Jonathan R. Topham, 'John Limbird, Thomas Byerley, and the Production of Cheap Periodicals in the 1820s', *Book History*, 8/1 (2005), 78.

[57] Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination*, 169.

[58] This trend of gradual specialisation in criticism has not been much discussed in relation to music periodicals, with the exception of Katherine Ellis' study of the rise of the specialist press in nineteenth-century France. She notes that '[t]he first three decades of the nineteenth century saw music criticism change from a discipline dominated by literary critics to one presided over by trained musicians addressing their readers in technical language'. Ellis, *Music Criticism*, 8. See also Chapter 2, 'The Rise of the Specialist Press from 1827', in Ellis, *Music Criticism*, 33-55.

[59] See Weber, *Transformation of Musical Taste*, 2-5.

[60] Langley, 'Life and Death', 140.

[61] On the *Harmonicon*'s financial struggles, see Langley, 'Life and Death', 138.

failed because of this, but simply that this context of the disintegration of miscellany could be a reason why no periodical in a similarly miscellaneous format survived after this time.

Small wonder, then, that in largely ignoring themes of miscellanea, much of twentieth-century musicology failed to appreciate the complex face of the sheer diversity of musical consumption in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Britain. As Brewer has noted with regard to the scholars who have disregarded works of English composers such as Arne, Dibdin and Storace – all of whom appear in the *Harmonicon* – 'Twentieth-century critics, preoccupied with artistic originality and with the issue of the artist's control over his work, have not always given these potpourris a friendly reception. Their composition seems too commercial, too concerned to popularize music and make it accessible to a large audience'.[62] They have thus been ignored because of the miscellaneous qualities of the music and the collegial context for which it was composed. Yet it was precisely due to the open-market inclusiveness of London's musical world that the pages of the *Harmonicon* are presented in such a varied, entertaining fashion, and that its refusal to claim an overt or very explicit preference for one genre or style over another was itself the editor's agenda.[63]

Ayrton as Miscellaneous and Collegial Editor: The 'Diary of a Dilettante'

William Ayrton was born in London on 24 February 1777, one of the fourteen children of the composer Edmund Ayrton (1734-1808). Among the younger Ayrton's diverse musical activities, he was a founding member of the London Philharmonic Society (1813), and in 1817 became manager of the Italian opera at the King's Theatre, Haymarket, which opened up the possibility for him to travel abroad, notably to Paris, to engage opera singers.[64] Ayrton was responsible for introducing to England works by Paer and Cimarosa, and it was under his management that

[62] This is the case, Brewer argues, even though these composers were men who 'shaped an eclectic popular repertory of old and new music, Italian and English, recitative and ballad'. Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination*, 394; 395.

[63] In this regard, as Weber maintains, the homogeneity of Italian opera at the Hanover Square Room concerts was 'atypical' for their time and, in fact, the 'very hegemony of cosmopolitan taste at the King's Theatre and the Hanover Square Rooms stimulated British musicians to promote their music elsewhere'. Weber, *Transformation of Musical Taste*, 59; 61.

[64] Indeed, the *Harmonicon* was initially conceived to be the unofficial publication of the Philharmonic Society – the play on words between *Harmonicon* and Phil*harmonic* was a clue to this.

Mozart's *Don Giovanni* and Rossini's *La gazza ladra* were premiered in London. He became a fellow of the Royal Society in 1837, and among his many editorial pursuits he was most well known and respected for the *Harmonicon*; his anonymity as editor was probably thus a mere formality.[65]

As an editor who strove for impartiality, Ayrton embraced diversity in the music he wrote about and printed, and often intentionally put personal preferences for certain genres aside to ensure that his journal consisted only of 'impartial and instructive criticisms'.[66] Studies of Ayrton note that despite the inclusiveness of the *Harmonicon* he was a conservative classicist at heart, who actually loathed the idea of making quality business ventures such as the *Harmonicon* cheap, and that in reality he disliked the thought of pandering to the level of the musical amateur merely to gain sales.[67] However, such was Ayrton's familiarity with the demands of the marketplace that he does not complain openly about any lowering of standards due to the presence of amateurish music in the journal.[68] Ayrton knew all too well that within the social contracts of British periodical journalism, over-strong opinions would not sell – nor would a specialist Beethoven journal. It was not actually the lack of a British school of music that worried Ayrton, but instead what he saw as a dearth of good taste and a lack of musical knowledge in Britain. His aim was thus to improve British awareness of music through an international or cosmopolitan exposure to existing styles. Through a miscellaneous approach to

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[65] On Ayrton's biography, see John Warrack, 'Ayrton, William (1777–1858)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/950 (Accessed 17 June 2010), and Langley, 'Ayrton, William', *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/01623 (Accessed August 20, 2009).

[66] William Ayrton, *Harmonicon* (1823), as quoted in Kassler, *Science of Music*, 1229.

[67] As Langley contends, Ayrton was 'in philosophical doubt about anyone's ability to make really good things cheap. For him the thought of a mass reading audience was inevitably associated with the lowering of literary standards which, if allowed to impinge on *The Harmonicon*, would affect literary ones as well. Like the controversial Reform Bill then before Parliament, this development in the bookselling industry threatened a blow to the economic establishment that might in turn erode the entire social fabric of the nation; from Ayrton's point of view it was another sign of the changing times and ought to be resisted'. Langley, 'Life and Death', 153.

[68] See Langley, 'Life and Death', 153, footnote 56, referring to *Harmonicon*, 10 (1832), 137. 'Evidence of Ayrton's conservative temperament, his establishment connections and his general agitation over recent social and political events can be seen in his private scrapbooks and in the *Harmonicon* (for example, his 27 April entry in 'Extracts from the Diary of a Dilettante')'.

the music market, Ayrton hoped, the British public would begin to discover a more nuanced appreciation of music for themselves.

In terms of rising middle-class sociability, moreover, gaining personal musical knowledge through living out a miscellaneous musical life was also an important aspect of being a self-educated and respectable gentleman, both for those who only had a cursory interest in music as well as for serious professional musicians.[69] Brewer describes how British composer John Marsh made a point of enjoying the variety of what London's concerts had to offer:

> Marsh was part of a national music scene. On his annual spring visits to London he regularly attended the concerts staged by Wilhelm Cramer, Muzio Clementi and Johann Peter Salomon at Hanover Square; he also frequented performances at the Philharmonic Society and the Concert of Ancient Music. He attended operas at the Pantheon in Oxford Street, at Drury Lane and at the Lyceum or English opera house. From 1801 he was a member of the Royal Society of Musicians, and he made a special point of attending benefit concerts for musical societies and individual performers.[70]

In posing as the anonymous author of the 'Diary of a Dilettante' series,[71] Ayrton similarly embodied the musical miscellany gentleman; King has even described him as a nineteenth-century version of a 'Renaissance man'.[72] Indeed, despite his experience and knowledge Ayrton only ever referred to himself as a musical amateur – as many British critics were wont to do.[73]

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[69] As King has maintained, the *Harmonicon* arose at a time that heralded the 'emergence of music as a respected, legitimate activity'. King, 'Harmonicon', 5. The music critic 'himself', furthermore, also began to be greeted with acceptance, recognition and praise in wider literary circles at this time because of being associated with knowledge of music. Consider the wide respect for the earliest of these, the great music historian Burney: 'Charles Burney's unprecedented success as a professional musician in the republic of letters made him a model for a generation of rising talents who were encouraged to follow his lead and aspire to the moral and intellectual rank conferred by the study of the liberal arts'. Howard Irving, *Ancients and Moderns: William Crotch and the Development of Classical Music* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 146.

[70] Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination*, 537-538.

[71] Although this series was supposedly written by an anonymous author, it is unanimously accepted in recent scholarship that the author was Ayrton. Jamie Croy Kassler, *The Science of Music in Britain, 1714-1830: A Catalogue of Writings, Lectures and Inventions*, Vol. 2 (New York; London, 1979), 1229.

[72] King, 'Harmonicon', 5.

[73] 'He was never known as an executant musician or serious composer'. Langley, 'Ayrton, William', *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/01623 (Accessed August 20, 2009).

This is most likely why he achieved the humble tone of a self-professed 'dilettante' so successfully; he had the miscellaneous resources to do so, above and beyond personal preferences. Ayrton's eclectic editorial and musical expertise has been summarized by Langley, who notes that he was 'an inveterate book and music collector, antiquarian note taker, newspaper clipper, scrapbook maker and letter writer'.[74] Ayrton's personal musical library was itself vast and truly miscellaneous.[75] Moreover, his employment at the King's Theatre for many years, his connections with London's premiere newspapers, and his association with the London Philharmonic Society clearly qualified him for the range of musical knowledge expressed in a humble and amateurish manner in the 'Diary of a Dilettante' series of the later *Harmonicon* years.[76]

This series of musical 'chit-chat' and its entertaining observations from a so-called 'idle man' brought the later issues of the *Harmonicon* to a more accessible and often humorous level. Unfortunate personal management of the *Harmonicon*'s finances, resulting in severe loss of profits for the journal, required the launching of a 'New Series' in 1828, subtly reformatted. Langley relates the alterations in the 'New Series' to the gradual lowering of the more scholarly standard of the journal to appeal to an even broader market: 'The length of many miscellaneous articles became shorter and their topics more directly relevant to a popular audience, for example descriptions of musical instruments or the history of London concert life'.[77] Moreover, the series of biographical memoirs of famous composers, found on the first page of each issue, began to include 'more native musicians and contemporary performers, and a larger portion of the music in Part II was written by contemporary composers specifically for domestic use'.[78] The memoirs

[74] Langley, 'Life and Death', 139.

[75] Refer to Pamela Willets, 'The Ayrton Papers: Music in London, 1786-1858', *British Library Journal*, 6 (1980), 7-23. See also the appendix listing the catalogue for and contents of this library in King, 'Harmonicon', 82-113.

[76] As Vogan notes, 'Ayrton's involvement in the professional music world (King's Theatre, etc.) made him more aware of the responsibilities and problems of performers. This is reflected in his journal, for there are many references to salaries, contractual commitments and working conditions that do not appear' in contemporary periodicals. Vogan, 'Rare Union', 6.

[77] Langley, 'English Musical Journal', 341.

[78] Langley, 'English Musical Journal', 341.

also became more concise, often divided into brief sections, including short biographies of several composers at once rather than a long article on one person.

The 'Diary of a Dilettante' accordingly begins with the publishing of a letter from Ayrton (anonymously) to himself:

> SIR - I HAVE for some years past amused myself by making notes - (not crotchets and quavers) - of all I hear or read concerning music, an art to which I devote a full fourth of my time, being what is called an idle man; that is, one who has no professional occupation whatever, and who therefore finds it expedient, in order to keep off ennui, to have one fixed pursuit, at least.[79]

Crucially, this notion of the collegial 'idle man' or 'full-time amateur' assumes no negative connotations here as it does later in the nineteenth century. Note in particular that an idle man here does not indicate an uneducated one, whereas later times, including our own, would inevitably bring those associations to it.[80] As an example of the varieties of miscellaneous topics printed in this 'Diary', here are several extracts from the month of January 1828:

> 5th. I am much diverted by some remarks on musical albums, in the *Harmonicon* for this month. An album full of jet-black notes, covered all over with the filthy ink used by music-printers, is a striking example of antiphrasis. It reminds one of saying well known in quarters of the town not remarkable for ultra-polish, "Black is the colour of the white of my eye."
>
> 7th. A letter on opera matters appears in the *Courier* of this evening, signed "An old Subscriber," – which signature, being interpreted, signifies, *a new manager* – wherein it is said, that "engagements of the first consequence have been accepted from characters of known private worth and respectability." Bochsa, the notorious Bochsa, made the engagements, whose matchless *private worth* and

[79] *Harmonicon*, 6 (1828), 4.

[80] Later in the nineteenth century there was a less collegial and more divisive separation between the professional and the amateur, with one being viewed as successful and the other, the amateur, falling behind. Thus, representations of the idle man or the amateur in later nineteenth-century discourse become increasingly negative. The extent of this change is reflected probably most famously by Dickens in his *Bleak House*, in which the idle character of Skimpole is presented as the most negative embodiment of an idle amateur, in his hopelessness being a man who is actually harmful to those around him. What is interesting is that in the *Harmonicon* none of these connotations of the amateur as an immature, selfish or lazy person ever arise. On this issue see Phillipa Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians and Archaeologists in Victorian England 1838-1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), and Chris R. Vanden Bossche, 'Class Discourse and Popular Agency in "Bleak House"', *Victorian Studies*, 47/1 (2004), 7-31.

> unparalleled *respectability* are now known full well to every body; even to those who never saw the *Moniteur*, who never heard of his bankruptcy, and who are quite ignorant of his expulsion from the Royal Academy of Music, &c. &c. &c.
>
> 8th. Moscheles gave a concert in the Assembly Rooms this evening, but the company scarcely filled one-fourth of the seats. He played many things, and amongst these, "Anticipations of Scotland," a new composition ... But, seriously, I did expect than an artist of such very rare talents, a man so justly celebrated all over Europe, would have met with a kindlier welcome. The plague of fashion has, I fear, spread even to the intellectual city, the modern Athens.
>
> 10th. In the *Post* of this day, is a rigmarole letter of near a column, the object of which does not appear till the reader gets nearly to the end, when he perceives that it is for the purpose of inserting a puff in favour of a Signor Negro, Negri, or Niger, I forget which, a gentleman who, having taken his flight from Milan rather suddenly, is about to open an academy for music, in all its branches here in London.[81]

Presented here in the space of one page are ostensibly random descriptions of topics as diverse as the problems of the quality of black ink used for printing the *Harmonicon*, to the scathing comments about the French musician Boscha, whom Ayrton detested.[82] These extracts supplied a quotidian quality to what was the more formal monthly format of the journal. Note that the concept and style of 'daily' versus 'monthly' journalism were quite distinct modes of journalism at the time, and that by having a 'daily' style within a monthly periodical the tone of the *Harmonicon* was altered.[83] A more serious tone did still pervade the regular concert review series, especially in any Philharmonic Society review.[84] In conforming to the ideal of a collegial gentleman, Ayrton the classicist thus successfully masked the more canonical leanings of his own musical preferences. As Langley puts it, the tone Ayrton adopted throughout the pages of

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[81] *Harmonicon*, 6 (1828), 35.

[82] The *Harmonicon* volumes frequently burst with scathing and bitter references to Boscha's musical teaching in London, being one case where Ayrton did not try to be democratic, collegial or objective in his musical criticism. This, however, should not immediately be construed to mean that Ayrton was greatly prejudiced against the French, since this is the only name of a Frenchman in the *Harmonicon* treated in this manner. See Langley, 'English Musical Journal', 394. On the role of Boscha in London, see James Davies, 'A Musical Souvenir: London in 1829' (PhD dissertation, Cambridge University, 2005), 196-204.

[83] On daily versus monthly forms of periodical criticism, see Langley, 'English Musical Journal', 9.

[84] Perhaps to distance institutions such as the Philharmonic Society from other musical activities in London, Ayrton provided a clearer format to the Philharmonic reviews and, as a general rule, engaged in fewer digressions within them.

the magazine 'functioned like a screen', hiding from the public the editor's 'real personality' and degree of involvement with the project.[85]

Miscellaneous Editorials; Miscellaneous Sheet Music

The typical format of the *Harmonicon* featured regular 'Departments': each issue contained 'Biographical Memoirs' of dead and living composers (starting with more famous names such as Handel, Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven, and Rossini in the first year and moving to more obscure names in subsequent volumes).[86] It also included 'Miscellaneous Essays, Correspondences, Notices, &c', which incorporated musical 'Chit-Chat' from around the globe and commentary on interesting trivia and anecdotes.[87] Other regular features included a 'Review of New Music' (a summative description of new publications of printed music), 'London Concerts' (concert reviews of all of London's varied musical entertainments), 'The Drama' (reviews of music in operatic and theatrical productions), and the 'Foreign Musical Report' (detailing concert events, music criticism, and musical gossip from Europe and beyond).[88] Each issue also included 'Part the Second', containing 'A Collection of Vocal and Instrumental Music, By British and Foreign Authors'.

A Miscellany of Written Criticism

The written portion of the journal covers an extraordinary range of musical topics, as is evident from a cursory perusal of the indices. Over the *Harmonicon*'s decade, it produced numerous series of articles and reviews, interspersed with letters and essays on topics ranging from discourses on the 'vibrations of a tuning fork' to the state of tribal music in Central Africa, the 'utility of music for sailors', the 'mode of communication of musical sounds to deaf persons'

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[85] Langley, 'English Musical Journal', 318.

[86] See the section 'Biographical Memoirs' in the Table of Contents in each volume of the *Harmonicon* for a list of these names.

[87] These included interesting features such as tales of music in Africa by a 'Traveller' and a letter from Fanny Burney ('Madame D'Arblay') detailing a 'Day With Beethoven'. See 'A Day With Beethoven', by an 'English Lady', *Harmonicon,* 3 (1825), 222.

[88] As well as covering concert life and musical news in the main European centres, the 'Foreign Musical Report' also had frequent notes on concert life in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia.

and the latest gossip about popular opera singers.[89] This was part of the journal's initiative to report on all aspects of musical life, which 'could be made popular only through the agency of such a publication as the present'.[90]

One attempt to increase variety and access to playable 'amusements' was the effort in 1830 to publish the printed sheet music supplements scattered amongst the literary component of the journal rather than bound separately. Naturally this had practical limitations: for those who wanted to place the music on a piano stand, the pages of 'Chit-Chat' and 'Miscellaneous Essays' would have been in the way. Also, as is evident in Figure 1, this was such an impractical design that only half the quantity of sheet music was presented in the 1830 issues as compared to the other years of the journal. Nevertheless, it is indicative of an effort to increase sales, since the inclusion of compositions amidst literary discourse emphasized the journal's close correlation of commentary and music. George Hogarth, for instance, described the 1830 design as a 'great improvement'.[91] Many found the design completely impractical for actually playing the inserted music, however, and the old format was restored by the following year.[92]

What the proprietors of the *Harmonicon* would have thought about the concept of miscellany as a regulative aesthetic principle on a conscious level is difficult to know. What can be said is that on some level miscellany, and what lay behind it – the drive to appeal to the public through variety rather than homogeneity – is a factor that is both explicitly and implicitly alluded to throughout the years of the journal. For example, in the journal's first issue, the Concerts of Ancient Music – one of the very few specialized concert genres in existence in London at the time – were scathingly critiqued for their lack of variety and their connotations of aristocratic snobbery:

> It is much to be lamented that the direction of these concerts should be left entirely to noblemen, who, without considering the general disappointment it occasions to a great body of the subscribers, are

[89] On the 'vibrations of a tuning fork', see *Harmonicon*, 1 (1823), 137; on music in Africa, see *Harmonicon*, 2 (1824), 195; *Harmonicon*, 3 (1825), 51-54; and *Harmonicon*, 4 (1826), 93-94; for the 'utility of music for sailors', see *Harmonicon*, 11 (1833), 171; and for the 'mode of communication of musical sounds to deaf persons', see *Harmonicon*, 1 (1823), 139.

[90] *Harmonicon*, 1 (1823), iv.

[91] George Hogarth, letter in *Harmonicon*, 8 (1830), 97.

[92] See Langley, 'English Musical Journal', 336-337.

> satisfied with a repetition, from year to year, of the very same pieces of music, both vocal and instrumental. There is less excuse to be made for such supineness and indifference, when we know that they are in possession of a very scarce and valuable musical library, from which a constant variety of the finest compositions of the best masters might be selected. We mean no disrespect to the noble directors; on the contrary, we applaud them for the patronage they have so long bestowed upon this excellent institution; but the superintendance [*sic*.] of such concerts should be intrusted [*sic*.] to a professional man, who should have authority to recommend, at least, the pieces to be performed, thus varying the performances of each season.[93]

This sentiment was similarly expressed in one of the *Harmonicon*'s 1831 reviews of the Philharmonic concerts, an article proposing that, regardless of whether one genre was superior than the other, the solution to the problem of too much Italian vocal music was not to replace it entirely with German symphonies, but to have an equal variety amongst the different styles.[94]

Miscellany was thus in fact operative in concert programming even for such an elite an organisation as the London Philharmonic Society, the institution that ruled out much music performed elsewhere, such as the Hanover Square and Argyll Room concerts.[95] For although the Philharmonic Society initially set out to perform only orchestral music, it ended up giving way to formats of miscellany in programming its concerts well into the nineteenth century, inserting the odd Rossini or Mozart aria to break up the weighty tones of a Beethoven symphony.[96] In an 1831

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[93] *Harmonicon*, 1 (1823), 56.

[94] 'Sometimes the vocal compositions here are all Italian. This is complained of, and, straightaway, Messieurs the Directors rush into the other extreme, giving nothing but German. Are they not aware that *variety is the soul of a good selection*, and that it is very possible to supply eight concerts with an abundance of that desirable quality, from the best works of the best composers?' [Emphasis added.] *Harmonicon*, 9 (1831), 70.

[95] Burchell has argued convincingly that orchestral repertoire was indeed more prominent and consistent a presence in eighteenth-century British miscellaneous concerts at large, providing a sound framework against which the later development and prominence of the Philharmonic Society in London's varied nineteenth-century concert life can be understood: 'Orchestral repertoire … [was] a ubiquitous genre; no miscellaneous concert programme for the entire period [1730-1799] has been discovered which does not include at least one overture; whereas innumerable programmes are devoid of concertos, chamber or solo items'. Jenny Burchell, *Polite or Commercial Concerts? Concert Management and Orchestral Repertoire in Edinburgh, Bath, Oxford, Manchester, and Newcastle, 1730-1799* (New York; London: Garland, 1996), xi.

[96] Notably, the 'democratic ideals of the Society's founders had 'an awareness of the practical business side of music; their common aim was to promote musical taste in a city in which the potential for doing so was so rich

review of a Philharmonic Society concert, the *Harmonicon* stated that in order to be able to appreciate works by the 'three great masters' (Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven), one should compare them with less significant works:

> It is necessary for the sake of variety, and to prevent the too frequent recurrence of works of high art, which are, unhappily, very limited in number, to introduce now and then a symphony not standing in the same rank with those of the three great masters; and this will account for the occasional performance of Spohr's in E [flat], which is a production of labour not of genius …[97]

Thus we can understand why Ayrton advocates listening to Spohr even though he finds the symphony in question 'an unintelligible mass', and accuses the composer of having a 'dry, unfruitful manner' of putting the work together.[98]

A Miscellany of Sheet Music

Since the *Harmonicon* was directed towards the amateur, the overall tone and format of the journal aimed to be very practical – 'at times aggressively so', as can be seen not only in the reviews of music but in the large space given to sheet music.[99] Indeed, the practicality of incorporating sheet music, likely pulled out from the binding and separated from the literary part of the journal upon purchase, has meant that finding entirely intact volumes of the journal is very difficult today.[100] Regrettably, this lack of availability has exacerbated the problem of the *Harmonicon's* sheet music being too often denigrated as less interesting than the journal's written criticism.[101] However, the sheer diversity of these scores is significant because it reflects

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but hitherto undeveloped'. Cyril Ehrlich, *First Philharmonic: A History of the Royal Philharmonic Society* (Oxford: Clarendon; New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 1.

[97] *Harmonicon*, 9 (1831), 153.

[98] *Harmonicon*, 9 (1831), 153.

[99] King, 'Harmonicon', 9.

[100] As Kassler notes, 'Research into the history of the *HARMONICON* is made difficult by the fact that so few copies now preserved are in their original form, complete with wrappers, advertisements, and other matter'. Kassler, *Science of Music*, 1228.

[101] See Leanne Langley, 'The English Musical Journal'; 'The Life and Death', 137-163; 'Music', in *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society*, ed. J. Don Vann and Rosemary T. VanArsdel (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 99-126; King, 'Harmonicon'; Vogan, 'Rare Union'; Beth Shamgar, 'Perceptions of Stylistic

the *Harmonicon*'s willingness to embrace miscellany as a guiding force in publishing works for the public's enjoyment, and also shows the close relationship of the journal to a wide variety of active composers. As Figure 2 displays, numerous works were composed, arranged for, and/or dedicated to, the journal.

In Figure 1 (below), I have formulated a numerical demonstration of the international varieties of sheet music published in the *Harmonicon*. The numbers of foreign-versus-local compositions appear to resist undue tension, as Ayrton often intermixes their order so that works by British and foreign composers occur interchangeably. There seems to be an almost intentional refusal to make distinctions between the local and the international, or amateur and professional compositions; rather, the journal often rated 'amateur composers favourably in comparison to certain professionals'.[102] Figure 1 also displays the percentages of different categories of sheet music in the *Harmonicon* for each of its printed volumes.[103] In each case, the percentage was calculated in relation to the number of works published during the entire respective years. The number of British composers in relation to foreign composers is interesting, for, during 1829 and 1830, they made up almost half of the entire output of the *Harmonicon*'s sheet music.

Works by non-British composers living in England at the time of composition are placed in a separate category from the British composers since, although composed in Britain, these works by and large retained Continental musical styles.[104] The publication of foreign music in Britain had, indeed, been an 'established practice long before the middle of the eighteenth

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Change: A Study of the Reviews of New Music in the *Harmonicon* (1823-1833)', *Current Musicology*, 42 (1986), 20-31; 'Romantic Harmony through the Eyes of Contemporary Observers', *The Journal of Musicology*, 7/4 (1989), 518-539; Michael Bar-Shany, 'Beethoven in the Eyes of the Harmonicon (1823-1833), The Reviews of the Philharmonic Society Concerts', *The Beethoven Journal*, 16 (2001), 12-19; and Alexander Rice, 'On the Clarionet from the Harmonicon', *Clarinet*, 11 (1984), 34-35.

[102] King, 'Harmonicon', 12.

[103] Note that in the *Harmonicon*'s unsuccessful successor, the *Musical Library*, the literary portion of the journal was directly related to discussion of that issue's sheet music. These descriptions sometimes appeared in the *Harmonicon*, particularly in the later issues, but the direct relation between the two parts of the journal did not exist to the extent it did in the *Musical Library*. Perhaps this even more extreme pandering to the amateur in the successor to the *Harmonicon* was not, after all, the way to make sales, as Ayrton was to discover.

[104] 'Although composers of European origin who were resident in Britain unquestionably had the tastes of their immediate audiences in mind, and had no particular interest in leaving the country, many of them clearly remained essentially cosmopolitan in outlook'. Burchell, 'British Music Printers and Publishers', 107.

century',[105] and was prevalent in the *Harmonicon* in order to mix and counterbalance foreign music with local talent to ensure variety. That said, the sheer extent of the measures Ayrton took to include works of British composers was comparatively unusual for its day. A tendency of other British publishers to overlook or 'disparage their own composers'[106] is noted by a 'Constant Reader': 'I cannot help feeling pleased whenever I take up your valuable work to perceive that you have not escaped the fashionable influenza – a malady which prevails to a considerable extent, in this country – that of admiring only foreign music'.[107] The high level of the inclusion of British compositions for the sake of miscellaneous variety is likely a testament to Ayrton's initiative to cater to the wide variety of music that would be attractive for the amateur to collect and play, and, judging by the high number of compositions dedicated to the journal, a forum for his musical friends and colleagues to publish their music.

[INSERT FIGURE 1].

Rather than a dramatic or even gradual change in taste over the years, the one steady factor in all of the numbers in Figure 1 is the fact that the journal's music was consistently miscellaneous. Works composed or arranged expressly for the *Harmonicon* waned, perhaps because composers were aware of the financial troubles of the journal. Yet through its struggles the journal never changes from miscellany to anything more homogenous: the vast majority of music is always suitable for the amateur. It is almost always written for the keyboard or for the voice and keyboard, and fairly easy to play and sing, with piano writing that usually fits nicely under the hand, particularly in arrangements of operatic or symphonic repertoire.

In terms of genre there is a preference for the type of piano music produced by or associated with the London Pianoforte School: composers such John Baptist Cramer (1771-1858) and Johann Nepomuk Hummel (1778-1837) were, for the *Harmonicon*, synonymous with good taste because of their ability to encompass stylistic variety within their compositions themselves. As King posits, 'their music … tempers modern mannerisms with some admirable features of the Classical, or "ancient" style'.[108] The accessibility of such works conformed to

[105] Burchell, 'British Music Printers and Publishers', 110.

[106] King, 'Harmonicon', 46.

[107] *Harmonicon*, 1 (1823), 22.

[108] King, 'Harmonicon', 19.

Ayrton's aesthetic ideals: works that emphasized clear, fine melodies but which were also applicable to a modern style were suitable for the amateur.[109] Such preferences for amateur-appropriate music also enabled Ayrton to avoid much of the modern virtuosic pieces that he so disliked.[110] However, semi-virtuosic works are occasionally present, demonstrating just how much Ayrton wanted the sheet music portion of the *Harmonicon* to function as an 'objective' exposé of all the music he could access, both locally and internationally.

A Miscellany of Composers

Regarding the range and diversity of the composers represented in the *Harmonicon*, consider the information summarized in Figure 2, which lists every composer published in all eleven years of the journal's existence (anonymous works are not counted as they are in Figure 1.)

[INSERT FIGURE 2]

Each year displayed in Figure 2 has roughly the same number of works published (around 80), with the exception of the re-formatted 1830 volume (note that 1833 would have had a similar number of works to the other years, but the journal only published issues until September of that year). Moreover, during all eleven years Ayrton reliably continued to introduce works by a large number of new composers. It would appear that, in being 'miscellaneous', the journal was consistently indiscriminate in its choice of works for publication, particularly when it came to the lesser-known composers. By and large, most of the composers presented only had a work published once or twice. The composers most widely featured are usually either 'canonical' composers or names that nineteenth-century music specialists would recognize, which suggests that Ayrton had an awareness of an emerging canon despite his inclination to cover it up through miscellany. There is also a nod here in the direction of two different emerging aesthetic categories: the opera, and works for the concert stage. The appearance of these two categories side by side within the journal's sheet music must have been an intentional and possibly

[109] For Ayrton (and, consequently, the *Harmonicon*), melody itself was the most sublime or expressive element of music. King, 'Harmonicon', 30. See *Harmonicon*, 11 (1833), 145, where harmony is described as too intellectual a feature of music, whereas the study of melody was more appropriate for the amateur.

[110] As King maintains, 'Pure modern virtuosity is indicted throughout *The Harmonicon*. Frequent cases are cited where it interferes with the form of a piece', and where 'brilliant passages … lack musical substance'.

contentious act, given the acknowledgement of the aesthetic discrepancies between these two styles in the journal's written criticism.

The 'canonical' or at least fairly well-known names who appear frequently in the graph are as follows: Attwood (only in the early years), Auber, Beethoven (extremely popular, 35 in total), Boieldieu, Czerny, Diabelli, Handel, Haydn (quite popular, 16 in total), Hummel (very popular, 20 in total), Mehul, Meyerbeer (although all 14 works were published in the same year), Moscheles, Mozart (very popular, 26 in total), Purcell, Ries (only in the early years), Rossini (very popular, 30 works in total), Spohr (11 in total), Weber (the most popular, 47 in total), and Weigl (11 in total). It is interesting to see just how early in the nineteenth-century this was, since J. S. Bach is nowhere listed, although C. P. E. Bach occurs once.[111] The 'canonical' composers that one might expect to be popular are, indeed, Beethoven, Mozart, Rossini and Weber, and Weber's higher number of publications than Beethoven probably attests to the fact that he visited and died in London in 1826 (an event well-marked by the *Harmonicon*),[112] as well as to the fact that he was an opera composer, and his works were more easily reducible to playable reductions than those of Beethoven. Rossini is second to Beethoven in popularity, and the prevalence of Mozart, although no longer living, is no surprise given both the popularity of Mozart in London and Ayrton's personal adulation of this composer.[113]

It is the lesser-known composers, many of them living in England, who composed, arranged, or dedicated their works for the *Harmonicon* (represented by bold numerals in Figure 2), and it is in this category also that most of the female composers appear. Many of the works 'arranged for' the *Harmonicon* are possibly re-worked by Ayrton himself, especially when the composer was no longer living at the time of publication.[114] However, the number of works expressly 'written for' or 'dedicated to' the *Harmonicon* by living composers suggests not only the many friends and connections that Ayrton had in London, but also the national and international prestige of the journal, as certain dedications or 'presentations' are from subscribers

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[111] This was not so surprising for the time, although J. S. Bach's biography was discussed at great length in the *Harmonicon*'s first year: see *Harmonicon*, 1 (1823), 75; and Michael Kassler, *The English Bach Awakening: Knowledge of J.S. Bach and his Music in England, 1750-1830* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

[112] See *Harmonicon*, 4 (1826), 146-147.

[113] Langley, 'English Musical Journal', 70.

[114] On Ayrton's compositional skills see Warrack, 'Ayrton, William', http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/950 (Accessed 17 June 2010).

living abroad. The fact that both Figures 1 and 2 reflect the decline in the number of works composed or arranged for the *Harmonicon* in the later years of the journal is a probable indication of the journal's failing popularity towards its end. At the same time, it can be said that many composers, including names such as Ferdinand Ries (son of Beethoven's teacher Franz Ries), saw the *Harmonicon* as a good avenue for publication of works – hence Ries' stipulation on all of his works listed here that they were specifically 'composed for' the journal.

However, many well-known composers of the day such as Clementi and Mendelssohn are barely represented, which is especially surprising given Mendelssohn's presence in London in 1829. It is even more surprising that there are only two works by Paganini, given the overwhelming attention lavished upon his sensational tours in the literary part of the journal in 1829. Then there is the high percentage of works by dead composers, revealing Ayrton's awareness of history and a certain consciousness about making deliberate decisions concerning precisely what a miscellany of published works should cover. He appears to want to include a tangible sense of the classics – for example, in presenting a work each by Lully, Pergolesi, Purcell and Morley, which both correlates with the aim of the journal (to introduce the music of different schools, including those of the past) and goes against the aim of the 'New Series' (to embrace articles and music that are light in tone).

While all of this information does evidence a 'miscellany' of works, there are nonetheless also elements of canon-formation. Yet despite the fact that Ayrton would himself have been entirely happy to have shown a preference for Mozart, Beethoven and Rossini, the argument for the journal as an example of miscellany becomes even stronger considering that no one composer was featured in *all* of the eleven years. Even though Beethoven, Hummel, Mozart, Rossini and Weber come close, Ayrton omitted works by all of these men periodically. There is thus no sense that any one composer 'absolutely must' be included all of the time, despite the obvious popularity of a few pivotal names.

The Disintegration of Miscellany after the *Harmonicon*

Six months before the final issue of the *Harmonicon* in September 1833, the *Westminster Review* published a paean for the journal:

> At the head of the list of periodical works, for the extent of information and comprehensiveness of aim, necessarily stands the Harmonicon. He is the *chef d'état-major* of the musical forces. Nothing is too much

> for him, or too little. He can tell all operas, that were performed at all seasons, at every court from Petersburgh to the Tagus. He knows the Professor in Denmark, who plays the best fantasia in 5/4; and commemorates the first public concert ever performed in Australasia. Of all musical speculations he is the great repository, from the gnarled mysteries of the scale, to the pin of a clavichord. Finally, he has the reputation of being the only English power that could rule the microcosm of the Opera.[115]

Throughout its entire print run, the *Harmonicon* had cherished its 'great repository' of sundry topics and diverse music, and had remained staunchly unreconciled to the swiftly homogenizing concert culture of early romanticism (although its immediate failure was for more pecuniary than aesthetic reasons).[116] This transformation resulted in the rapid commodification of what later became the nineteenth-century specialized types in London's concert life: the very separate realms of the solo virtuoso concert, the benefit concert, the intimate seriousness of the string quartet, or the more introspective, sustained listening required for a performance of the romantic symphony. All of these genres required increasingly specialized audiences, which began to threaten the popularity of miscellaneous concerts by constructing new and unprecedentedly draconian aesthetic hierarchies of taste. The *Harmonicon*'s presentation of an eclectic interest in so many facets of London's musical life would not have offered sufficient depth for the serious, specialized devotees of the genres of opera, symphonic music and chamber music respectively, as did later nineteenth-century concert structures. Despite the fact that many long-standing principles of miscellany, such as relatively equal exposure to vocal and instrumental music, remained in place well into the nineteenth century, emerging specialist concert forms, such as the string quartet, exacerbated taste hierarchies and changed the concept of collegiality at concerts.[117]

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[115] See T. P. Thompson, 'Musical Periodicals: *Harmonicon-Giulianiad*', *Westminster Review*, 18 (1833), 471-72.

[116] This has been well researched already by Langley, 'Life and Death', 154-163.

[117] For example, while it is known that the 'string quartet's evolution as a musical genre coincided with an unprecedented profusion and diversification of London's public concert life', and that the genre was borne out of a culture of miscellany, the aristocratic face given to eighteenth-century quartet concerts in London had evolved. By the time of the birth of very specialised new concert societies, such as the Beethoven Quartet Society in the 1840s, the string quartet became in the public eye an aesthetically elite genre, distinguishing itself as being superior to other musical styles. Quote from Meredith McFarlane and Simon McVeigh, 'The String Quartet in London Concert Life, 1769-1799', in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (Aldershot:

Weber identifies the disintegration of miscellany, followed by 'Classical music achieving hegemony', as occurring decisively from the Revolutions of 1848, after which emerged a 'new social order'.[118] Although concert programmes tended to remain slightly more miscellaneous in London than in Vienna or Paris, 'classical music (in London) was viewed in just as strict terms ideologically'.[119] By the second half of the century, the term 'miscellany' itself was becoming taboo in the public press; instead, the word 'serious' became dominant.[120] 'Miscellany' began to adopt connotations of the un-serious or the ephemeral that it still carries today – connotations that are at odds with the didactic, measured and educated efforts of Ayrton's editorial decisions.

In conclusion, the *Harmonicon* was an enormously successful journal with implicit, encrypted didactic and sub-canonical leanings, all of which were presented under the guise of avoiding specialization. The subscribers to the *Harmonicon* gained from the journal not only a 'who's-who' of British and foreign musicians, but also a guide to understanding music through inclusive variety. Unfortunately for the journal, this collegial-cosmopolitan outlook began to wane as a marketable ploy towards the middle of the 1830s, due to the homogenization of concert and print genres of music. Consequently, no similarly structured musical journals would ever succeed the *Harmonicon* in influence. Although London's musical life was to retain remnants of miscellany throughout the rest of the nineteenth century, the widening gap between the types of audiences attending different varieties of concerts, and an increasing hierarchical construction of musical taste, caused the simpler outlines of a journal like the *Harmonicon* to lose its direct appeal.

Ashgate, 2004), 161. Note that the string quartet had traditionally been an elite genre in the sense of its historical association with chamber music for the upper classes, but the public performance of specialised string quartet music apart from other varieties of music marks the beginning of the disintegration of miscellany. For further reading on the rise of this genre, see Ivan Mahaim and Evi Levin, 'The First Complete Beethoven Quartet Cycles, 1845-1851: Historical Notes on the London Quartett Society', *The Musical Quarterly*, 80/3 (1996), 500-524.

[118] Weber, *Transformation of Musical Taste*, 235. Weber notes that although Britain experienced no revolutionary upheaval in 1848, 'labor unrest and the Chartist movement had unsteadied the political order, and musical life underwent a set of changes similar to those in Paris or Vienna'. Weber, *Transformation of Musical Taste*, 242.

[119] Weber, *Transformation of Musical Taste*, 243.

[120] Weber, *Transformation of Musical Taste*, 238.

Thus, what might appear on the surface to be a disjuncture between the undiscriminating variety of music covered in the journal and Ayrton's personal adoration of Mozart and Beethoven is in fact the very thoughtful process of an editor under the constraints of what I would like to call the 'polite miscellaneous marketing' of early nineteenth-century British culture. It would not have been collegial or financially lucrative to turn the *Harmonicon* into a Beethoven journal. However, by the time the periodical ended, miscellany was a dying principle, and publishers (musical and non-musical) gradually began to desire specialization. Perhaps the social context of the *Harmonicon* can help us to reassess the implicit politics of music writing and publishing throughout the rest of the nineteenth century and beyond. One wonders, for example, what Ayrton would have thought of the extreme disjuncture between our overspecialized music writing versus our even more radically miscellaneous music consumption today. Tensions regarding how to write about and experience canonical versus miscellaneous repertoires are arguably still just as prevalent.

Figure 1. Percentages of genres of national and international music printed in the *Harmonicon*

	1823 74 works	**1824** 88 works	**1825** 84 works	**1826** 84 works	**1827** 85 works	**1828** 81 works	**1829** 80 works	**1830** 39 works[121]	**1831** 83 works	**1832** 80 works	**1833** 57 works
Non-British Composer living in England at time of Composition	12 %	6%	18%	9%	2%	3%	5%	3%	1%	2%	14%
British-born Composer	27%	21%	20%	21%	32%	36%	48%	46%	43%	35%	29%
Composed / Arranged Especially for *Harmonicon*	30%	16%	18%	28%	13%	31%	22%	18%	33%	14%	7%
Voice(s) and Keyboard Accompaniment	53%	43%	54%	45%	45%	44%	45%	44%	43%	41%	55%
Keyboard and other Instrument	0%	1%	0%	3%	4%	14%	16%	6%	1%	0%	0%
Keyboard only	38%	40%	45%	50%	40%	43%	38%	44%	51%	46%	38%
Other Solo Instrument (non-keyboard)	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%
Non-Keyboard Instrument and Voices	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%
A Capella Voices	5%	0%	0%	3%	2%	0%	0%	4%	0%	4%	9%
Keyboard Reductions / Arrangements of Larger Operas / Ballets	34%	34%	38%	47%	36%	13%	21%	31%	39%	25%	34%
Anonymous works	15%	14%	2%	5%	5%	7%	4%	2%	5%	1%	2%

[121] See my discussion above, to the effect that in 1830 the sheet music was published within the body of the written criticism, and the practical limitations of this design led to there being less published music during this year.

Figure 2. Frequency of Publication of Composers' Works in the *Harmonicon*

- This graph covers all of the composers of the sheet music published in the *Harmonicon*, 1823-1833.
- Composers are listed alphabetically.
- Each numeral indicates the number of times the given composer's work(s) was or were published in the relevant year.
- A numeral in **bold** indicates that the work was composed or arranged expressly for the *Harmonicon* (if rearranged, this was often done by someone other than the composer, most obviously if the composer was dead before the *Harmonicon* was ever published). Therefore, if only the text of a song has been translated for the *Harmonicon*, but none of the music changed, the numeral will not be in bold.
- If only a portion of the works by a given composer were composed or arranged for the *Harmonicon*, for example 2 out of 5, then they will be listed as follows: 5(**2**)
- Blank boxes indicate that no works were published by a given composer during that year.

Composer	**1823**	**1824**	**1825**	**1826**	**1827**	**1828**	**1829**	**1830**	**1831**	**1832**	**1833**
Adam, Adolphe (1803-1856)									1	1	
Andre, Jules [unknown]										1	
Arne, Thomas A. (1710-1778)			2								1
Arnold, Dr Samuel (1740-1802)			1					1			
Asioli, Bonifazio (1769-1832)	1		1								
Attwood, Thomas (1765-1838)	3(**1**)	2(**1**)	**1**	**1**	2(**1**)						
Auber, Daniel-François-Esprit (1782-1871)			3	2	1	1	2	2	4		
Avison, Charles (1709-1770)											1
Bach, C. P. E. (1714-1788)							1				
Baquoin [unknown]					1						
Barnett, John (1802-1890)						**1**	**1**		1		
Basili, Francesco (1767-1850)			1								
Bassi, N. [unknown]						1					
Bayly, T. Haynes (1797-1839)									1		
Bedard, Jean Baptiste (1765-1815)					1						
Beethoven, Ludwig van (1770-1827)	4	3	3	5	2	1	4			9	4
Bellini, Vincenzo (1801-1835)								2	4	1	1
Bennett, John (1725-1784)											1
Berger, Louis (1777-1839)										1	
	1823	**1824**	**1825**	**1826**	**1827**	**1828**	**1829**	**1830**	**1831**	**1832**	**1833**
Beriot, Charles									1		

Augustus de (1802-1870)											
Bishop, Sir Henry (1786-1855)	1						3(**1**)			1	
Blangini, Felice (1781-1841)	2			1			1				
Boccherini, Luigi (1743-1805)				1							
Boieldieu, François-Adrien (1775-1834)	1	2(**1**)		7							
Bononcini, Giovanni Maria (1687-1753)											1
Boyce, William (1711-1779)		**1**									
Braham, John (1777[?]-1856)	**1**										
Buchmann, E. [unknown]										2	
Burghersh, Lord, 11th Earl of Westmorland (1784-1859)									**1**	1	
Burney, Dr Charles (1726-1814)										1	
Bull, Dr John (1559-1628)					1						
Byrd, William (1539-1623)				1							
Caldara, Antonio (1671-1736)											1
Camera, Gago Da (fl. 1810-1832)										1	
Carafa, Michele (1787-1872)	1	**1**									
Carey, Henry (1687-1743)							1				
Carnaby, William, Mus. D. (1772-1839)				**1**					**1**		
Carulli, Gustave (1797-1877)			2								
'Castello, Miss' [unknown]	**1**										
Chaulieu, Charles (1788-1849)							2		1		
Cherubini, Luigi (1760-1842)				1				1			
Choron, Alexandre (1771-1834)						1					
C. L. H. [unknown]								1			
Cimarosa, Domenico (1749-1801)		1									
Clares, J. P. [unknown]										1	
	1823	**1824**	**1825**	**1826**	**1827**	**1828**	**1829**	**1830**	**1831**	**1832**	**1833**
Claudius, G. K.					1						

(1758-1815)											
Clementi, Muzio (1752-1832)									1	1	2
Clifton, John Charles (1781-1841)									1		
Coccia, Carlo (1782-1873)			**1**	**1**							
Collier, Susannah [dates unknown; RAM pupil]							**1**	1	**1**		
Conversi, Girolamo (fl. 1572-5)											1
Cooke, Benjamin (1734-1793)									1		
Cooke, Robert (1768-1814)						1					
Corelli, Archangelo (1653-1713)	**1**									1	1
Cralieu, C. [unknown]										1	
Cramer, Johann Baptist (1771-1858)	**2**							1			
Crescentini, Girolamo (1762-1846)					1						
Czerny, Carl (1791-1857)			2	1	3	3	1		1	1	
Daniel, John (1803-1881)									**1**	**1**	
Deare, Edward [unknown]							**1**				
Dessauer, Josef, (1789-1876)				1							
Diabelli, Anton (1781-1858)	1		1	1	1		1				
Dibdin, Charles (1745-1814)		3(**1**)	**1**	2(**1**)	1	1	1				
Dressler, Raphael (1784-1835)							**1**				
Donizetti, Guiseppe (1788-1856)						1			2		
Dugazon, Gustave (1782-1826)		2									
Dussek, Jan Ladislav (1760-1812)		1									1
Edelmann, Jean-Frédéric (1749-1794)					1						
Eisenhofer, Franz Xaver (1783-1855)											1
Fischer, Anton (1778-1808)									1		
Flower, Eliza (1803-1846)									1		
	1823	**1824**	**1825**	**1826**	**1827**	**1828**	**1829**	**1830**	**1831**	**1832**	**1833**
Foreith, Anton				1	**1**						

[unknown]											
Gabrielski (1795-1846)							1				
Gabussi, Vincenzo (1800-1846)						1					
Gail, (Mlle) [unknown]						1					
Gates, Bernard (1686-1773)	1										
Gauntlett, Henry John (1805-1876)						**1**					
Geary, Thomas Augustine (1775-1801)							1				
Gelinek, Abbé Joseph (1758-1825)	1										
Geverardi, Fiorentio [unknown]										1	
Gluck, Christoph W., (1714-1787)							1			1	1
Gerke, Augustus [unknown]				1							
Green, Maurice, Mus. D. (1696-1755)				1			2				
Grétry, André-Ernest-Modeste (1741-1813)									1		
Goss, John (1800-1880)				**1**							
Graham, Thomas (1800-1867)					**1**						
Giuliani, Mauro (1781-1829)									1	1	
Haite, John James (1808/9-1874)									**2**		
Handel, George Frederick (1685-1759)	1					1					6
Hargreaves, George (1799-1869)				**1**	**1**	**1**					
Harrington, Henry (1727-1816)								1			
Haydn, Franz Joseph (1732-1809)	3	3(**1**)	2			2	3			1	2
Heinrich, Anthony Philip (1781-1861)										1	
Herold, Ferdinand (1791-1833)							3				
Heyden, George (1710-1732)						**1**					
Hewitt, Miss H. [unknown]					**1**						
Herz, Henri (1803-1888)		1				2	2	1			
	1823	**1824**	**1825**	**1826**	**1827**	**1828**	**1829**	**1830**	**1831**	**1832**	**1833**
Hickson, T.									**1**		

[unknown]											
Hills, John [unknown]										1	
Himmel, Friedrich Heinrich (1765-1814)		1	1		1		2				
Hindle, John, Mus. Bac. (1761-1796)					1						
Hogarth, George (1783-1870)							1	2	**1**	2	
Hogg, James (1770-1835)							2				
Holtei, Karl von (1798-1880)							1				
Horncastle, Frederick William (1810-1850)							**3**			**1**	**1**
Hullman, G. B. [unknown]										1	
Hummel, Johann Nepomuk (1778-1837)	**1**	3(**1**)	**2**(1)	**2**	2	4	1	3	1		1
Humphrey, Pelham (1647/8-1674)											1
Hünten, Franz (1793-1878)						2	1		1		
Jolly, John (1794-1864)								1			
Jones, Reverend William [unknown]		**1**				1					
Kauer, Ferdinand (1751-1831)									1		
Keiser, Reinhard (1674-1749)											1
Kerr, Mrs. Alexander [unknown]									2(**1**)		
Kirnberger, Johann Philipp (1721-1783)											**1**
Klein [unknown]					1						
Kozlowski (1757-1831)									1		
Kuhlau, Frederich (1786-1832)						1		2		4	
Kulenkamp, Georg Carl (1799-1862)										1	
Küffner, Joseph (1776-1856)		1		1	1		1			1	
Kummer, Gaspard (1795- 1870)							2				
Labarre, Theodore (1805-1870)											1
Latour, Jean T. (1766-1840)							1				
Leidesdorf, Marcus (1787-1840)				1							
	1823	**1824**	**1825**	**1826**	**1827**	**1828**	**1829**	**1830**	**1831**	**1832**	**1833**
Lennon, Lady								1			

William [unknown]											
Lickl, Karl Georg (1801-1877)									1		
Lindpainter, Peter Joseph von (1791-1856)	**1**								1	2	
Linley, Thomas (1733-1795)			1								
Linley, William (1771-1835)	2		1	1	1						
Linwood, Mary (1755-1845)						**2**				**2**	
Ludwig, Fr. [unknown]						**1**					
Lully, Jean Baptiste (1632-1687)	1										
Locke, Matthew (1621-1877)							1				
Lodge, John [Ellerton] (1801-1873)										**1**	
M'Ewan, W. [unknown]						**1**				**1**	
Macdonald, S. A. [unknown]								1			
Malibran, Maria (1808-1836)								1			
Marchesei, Lully (1676-1725)					1						
Marshner, Heinrich (1795-1861)									1		
Martini, Giovanni (1706-1784)									1		
Mayr, Simon (1763-1845)				6							
Mayseder, Joseph (1789-1863)	1										
Mehul, Etienne-Nicolas (1763-1817)	1	1	1		1				2	1	
Meissonnier, Jean Antoine, (1783-1857)		1									
Mendelssohn, Fanny (1805-1847)										1	
Mendelssohn, Felix Bartholdy (1809-1847)								2			
Mercadante, Giuseppe Saverio (1795-1870)	1		1					1	1	2	
Metz, Julius (1819-1860)							1				
Meyerbeer, Giacomo (1791-1864)			14								
	1823	**1824**	**1825**	**1826**	**1827**	**1828**	**1829**	**1830**	**1831**	**1832**	**1833**
Millard, Mrs. Philip									1	**1**	

[unknown]											
Moralt, Johann Baptist (1777-1825)		2(**1**)									
Morley, Thomas, Mus. B. (1556/7-1602)				2							1
Mornington, Earl of (aka Wesley Garrett), (1735-1781)								1			
Moscheles, Ignaz (1794-1870)	**2**		2(**1**)	2(**1**)	1		1		2		
Mozart, Wolfgang (1756-1791)	2(**1**)	3(**1**)		1	4	4	2	1	1	3	5
Murray, Alexander [unknown]									1		
Nares, James (1715-1783)	2(**1**)						2				
Nelson, Sydney (1800-1862)										1	
Neilson, Edwin John (b. 1812)									**1**	2(**1**)	
Neukomm, Sigismund Ritter von (1778-1858)									**1**		
'O. B.' [unknown]										1	
Oginsky, Count (1765-1833)		1									
Onslow, George (1784-1853)		2	1				2				
Orme, Mrs. [unknown]									**1**		
Ouseley, Frederick Arthur Gore (1825-1889)											1
Pacini, Giovanni (1796-1867)									4		
Paer, Ferdinando (1771-1839)								1			
Paganini, Nicolò (1782-1840)								1	1		
Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi (1525-1594)											1
Paradies, Pietro Domenico (1707-1791)											1
Parry, John (1776-1851)		**1**			1	**1**					
Payer, Hieronymus (b. 1787)		1				4				1	
Pergolesi, Giovanni Battista (1710-1736)				**1**							
	1823	**1824**	**1825**	**1826**	**1827**	**1828**	**1829**	**1830**	**1831**	**1832**	**1833**
Piccinni, Niccolò				1							

(1728-1800)											
Pigott, George [unknown]								1	1		
Pinto, George Frederick (1785-1806)		**1**			**1**						
Pixis, Johann Peter (1788-1874)			2		1		1	1			
Plachy, Wenzel (1785-1858)			1		1						
Plantade, Charles-Henri (1764-1839)										1	
Playfair, John [unknown]						1					
Pleyel, Ignace Joseph (1757-1831)									1		
Potter, Cipriani (1792-1871)		**1**	**1**								
Prati, Alessio (1750-1788)											1
Purcell, Henry (1659-1695)		1			12						1
Pye, Kellow John (1812-1901)										**1**	
Rameau, Jean-Philippe (1683-1764)			1								
Rawlings, Thomas (1703-1767)	**1**	**1**				**1**					
Ries, Ferdinand (1784-1838)	**1**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**						
Reisinger, C. G. [unknown]						1	1				
Rigel, Henri-Jean (1770-1852)	1		1								
Righini, Vincenzo Maria (1756-1812)	1										1
Robinson, Francis James (1799-1872)											1
Roche, Alexander D. (1810-1868)									**1**		
Rode, Pierre (1774-1830)						2					
Romagnesi, Antoine Joseph Michael (1781- 1850)		2	1	1	2						
Romberg, Andreas (1767-1821)								1	**1**		
Rossini, Gioachino (1792-1868)	10	9		1	6	**1**			2	1	
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques (1712-1778)	1			1	4						
	1823	**1824**	**1825**	**1826**	**1827**	**1828**	**1829**	**1830**	**1831**	**1832**	**1833**
Röhner, J. C.							1				

[unknown]											
Salieri, Antonio (1750-1825)			5								
Salomon, Johann Peter (1745-1815)								1			
Sarti, Giuseppe (1729-1802)				1							1
Satchell, James [unknown]				**1**						**2**	**1**
Scarlatti, Domenico (1685-1757)											1
Schiedermair [unknown]						1					
Schneider, Frederick (1786-1853)											1
'Scott' [unknown]										**2**	
Seymour, Charles A. (1810-1875)										**1**	
Shield, William (1748/9-1829)							4				
Simms, George Frederick [unknown]								1			
Severn, Thomas Henry (1801-1881)						**1**					
Smart, Henry (1813-1879)									**1**		
Smith, John Christopher (1712-1795)											1
Smith, John Stafford (1750-1836)	1										
Smith, Lydia B. [unknown]									1		
Spohr, Louis (1784-1859)		1	1			2	2		3(**1**)	1	1
Spontini, Gaspare (1774-1851)				4	7					1	
Stegmann, Carl David (1751-1826)											1
Steibelt, Daniel (1765-1823)		1		1		2	1				
Storace, Stephen (1762-1796)						3					
Strauss, Johann (1804-1848)									1		
Suett, Richard (1755-1805)			1								
Szymanowska, Maria Aghate (1789-1831)				1							
Taws, J. C. (d. 1833)						1					
Thibault, Charles (d.1853)			1		1	2	1				
	1823	**1824**	**1825**	**1826**	**1827**	**1828**	**1829**	**1830**	**1831**	**1832**	**1833**
Thompson, John						**1**	**2**	1	**2**	**3**	

[unknown]											
Thomson, William [unknown]							**2**				
Topliff, Robert (1789-1868)	1										
Torre, Carlo Della [unknown]						**1**					
Tulou, Jean-Louis (1786-1865)						2					
Turner, 'Dr' William (1651/2-1740)	1										
Vaccaj, Nicola (1790-1848)				1	2		1				
Venini, P. [unknown]									1		
Villeblanche, Armande de (1786-1812)											1
W. P. S. [unknown]										**1**	
Wade, Joseph Augustine (1800/01-1845)									1		
Wallis, R. A. [unknown]										**1**	
Webbe, Samuel (1768-1843)											**1**
Weber, Carl Maria von (1786-1826)	5	13	17	9		1	1		1		
Webster, Richard (1783-1848)									**1**		
Weigl, Joseph (1766-1846)						9				2	
Weischaupt [unknown]					**1**						
Wensley, Frances Foster (fl. 1828)							**1**	1			
Weyse, Christoph Ernst F. (1774-1842)								2			
Wilbye, John (1574-1638)											1
Wilde, Joseph [unknown]							1				
Wilkinson, James [unknown]										**1**	
Wilms, Johann Wilhelm (1772-1847)	1		1	1							
Wilson, [Margaret] Mrs. Cornwell Baron (1797-1846)									2		
Winter, Pietro (1755-1825)				9							
Worzischek, Johann Hugo (1791-1825)		1	1	1							
	1823	**1824**	**1825**	**1826**	**1827**	**1828**	**1829**	**1830**	**1831**	**1832**	**1833**
Wustrow, A. F.									2	1	

(1786-1852)											
Zelter, Carl Frederich (1758-1832)											1
Zimmermann, Pierre-Joseph-Guillaume (1785-1853)		1	1			1					
Zingarelli, Nicolò Antonio (1752-1837)		2									