

**Professional Concert life in 1760s London:
A case study on the Mozart family visit
April 1764 - July 1765**

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the degree of
Master of Arts in Eighteenth-Century Studies
King's College, London

September 2020

I'm now somewhere where no one from the Salzburg court has ever dared to set foot and which no one perhaps will visit in the future.
Aut Caesar, aut nihil.

Leopold Mozart, writing from Chelsea on 13th September 1764

Abstract

The present dissertation presents a contextual interpretation of early commercial concert life in London through a case study of the Mozart family's fifteen-month visit to the capital between April 1764 and July 1765. It opens with an overview of the rapid acceleration of London concert life in the 1760s, fuelled in large part by talented foreign musicians drawn by the promise of greater artistic freedom and significantly higher earnings. The dissertation describes why the influx of musicians was encouraged by London's social élite and argues that collective aristocratic patronage controlled high-end concert life in the mid-eighteenth century, profoundly influencing musical styles, performance formats and venues in the West End. It then examines how London's concert structure impacted three areas of central importance to the Mozart family: Leopold Mozart's attempts to secure private concerts with aristocratic patrons, the promotion and reception of his children as artists and the degree of financial success that he achieved. It is argued that the prevailing social and commercial framework of concert life was ill-adapted to integrate child prodigies, no matter how gifted, into mainstream concert performance and challenges speculation on the extent of Leopold's success in going beyond public benefit concerts to secure private engagements in the West End. The case study concludes with a close analysis of Leopold's surviving letters to determine an approximation of the family's income and expenditure during its time in London. Although the letters present an incomplete picture, the conclusion is that whilst the family's income positioned it in the top bracket of musicians in the capital, it proved impossible to sustain income at that level beyond the first season and expenses were high.

The dissertation offers perspectives on the impact of cultural, social and economic forces on the foundation of modern concert life and fresh insight on influences affecting Leopold's early education of Wolfgang Amadeus.



Figure 1 Leopold Mozart and his two children, Maria Anna and Wolfgang Amadeus

The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Engraving by Jean Baptiste Delafosse dated 1764 of an original watercolour by Louis de Carmontelle painted in 1763. A later 1765 engraving was sold in London with Sonatas K.10-15, of which a copy was donated by Leopold Mozart to The British Museum in July 1765. Unfortunately, the original cannot be found.¹ See also Dexter Edge and Christopher J. Salmon, [‘The earliest known advertisement of the Delafosse engraving of Carmontelle’s portrait of the Mozarts \(21 Jan 1765\)’](#), [Mozart: New Documents](#), ed. by Dexter Edge and David Black (2019) (accessed 1st August 2020).

¹ Alec Hyatt King, *Mozart in the British Museum* (London: Trustees of The British Museum, 1956), p.3.

Table of Contents

ABSTRACT	3
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	6
ABBREVIATIONS	6
INTRODUCTION	7
I. LONDON PROFESSIONAL CONCERT LIFE IN THE 1760S: AN OVERVIEW	10
‘THAT NARRATIVE WEED, THE ‘RISING MIDDLE CLASS’’	10
‘HEAPS OF FOREIGN MUSICIANS’	16
SUMMARY	20
II. RESEARCH METHODS AND SOURCES	23
INTRODUCTION	23
RESEARCH METHODS	24
SOURCES	24
LIMITATIONS AND POTENTIAL PROBLEMS	26
III. THE MOZARTS IN LONDON: APRIL 1764 - JULY 1765	27
THE CONCERTS	27
PROMOTING ‘PRODIGIES OF NATURE’	36
FINANCIAL MATTERS	40
SUMMARY	44
IV. CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS	45
LEOPOLD MOZART – MANIPULATOR OR VICTIM?	45
MUSICIANS AS ENTREPRENEURS IN LATER-EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY LONDON	46
PRIVATE CONCERTS IN LATE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND.....	47
APPENDIX A. ANNOTATED MAP OF LONDON, WESTMINSTER AND SOUTHWARK 1764	48
APPENDIX B. FINANCIAL MATTERS	49
CURRENCIES AND APPROXIMATE EXCHANGE RATES.....	49
MOZART FAMILY’S REPORTED INCOME AND EXPENSES (ESTIMATE)	49
BIBLIOGRAPHY	50
PRIMARY SOURCES	50
<i>Archives</i>	50
<i>Eighteenth-Century Newspapers</i>	50
<i>Books, letters and other materials pre 1825</i>	50
SECONDARY SOURCES	51
<i>Books</i>	51
<i>Articles</i>	53
<i>Websites</i>	54
<i>Unpublished Doctoral Theses</i>	54

List of Illustrations

Figure 1 Leopold Mozart and his two children, Maria Anna and Wolfgang Amadeus	4
Figure 2 The Bad taste of the Town or 'Masquerades and Operas' (1724) - William Hogarth (1697-1764).....	22
Figure 3 First page of Leopold Mozart's London Reisetizen	25
Figure 4 Public Advertiser 11th March 1765	34
Figure 5 J.C. Bach account book at Drummonds Bank Jan-Aug 1774	43
Figure 6 A Map of London, Westminster and Southwark 1764	48
Figure 7 Analysis of income and expenses- Ls.88-96.....	49

Abbreviations

- CME: *The Cambridge Mozart Encyclopedia*, ed. by Cliff Eisen and Simon P. Keefe, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)
- L.x.: Letter from *The Letters of the Mozart Family 1756-1791*, ed. by Cliff Eisen, trans. Stewart Spencer (London: Yale University Press, in progress)
- MDB: Otto Erich Deutsch, *Mozart: A Documentary Biography*, trans. By Eric Blom, Peter Branscombe and Jeremy Noble (Stanford, CA.: Stanford University Press, 1965)

Locations underlined are identified on the map in Appendix A.

Introduction

What made Georgian London so special was the alchemy of money and the masses, its popular commercialism, run by capitalists great and small, from shareholders in Drury Lane theatre, through widows with their chop-houses, to gingerbread-vendors. Some made fortunes, others lost; but always there were plenty to take their place. This enterprise culture produced variety and change. If London did not beget a Mozart, it staged concerts in which he starred.²

Roy Porter (1994)

This dissertation examines how professional musicians managed concert life in London in the 1760s against the background of the city's rapid expansion in the eighteenth century, with particular reference to foreign musicians and the experience of the Mozart family during its visit to the capital between April 1764 and July 1765. Established as the nation's administrative, commercial and manufacturing centre, London's population accelerated rapidly from an estimated 575,000 in 1700 to 675,000 by 1750, reaching around 900,000 by the turn of the century, as local workers drawn by substantially higher wages joined refugees from Europe and provincial manufacturers setting up shop to capitalise on the city's rapid growth. Traditionally immigrants established themselves where they earned their living but, as Porter observed, after the Restoration 'thousands took up residence in the West End because that was the finest place to live - a place to spend money, to entertain or just to bask in being'.³ Financiers, who had started to move west as the City prospered at the end of the seventeenth century, were joined by wealthy landed families from outside the capital, for whom it had become fashionable to own property in the West End.⁴

Musicians too formed an important part of the migration: it is estimated that they numbered some 1,500 in London in 1750.⁵ Increasing numbers arrived from the Continent from the mid-eighteenth century, encouraged by stories of outstanding financial prospects and the absence of centralised control over artistic affairs. Generally accustomed to working

² Roy Porter, *London: A Social History*, new ed. (London: Penguin Books Limited, 2000), p.222.

³ Porter, p.115.

⁴ Paris, London's nearest European rival, attained an estimated population of 500,00 in 1700, and then grew little for a century. For a general review, see Porter, chapters 5-6.

⁵ Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), p.3.

as employees of aristocratic courts or the church, in London they were able to operate essentially as individual entrepreneurs with the support of networks of aristocratic and commercial patronage. The most successful could afford to settle in the West End, where they lived close to the *beau monde*, the narrow élite of patrons on whose support they depended.

Chapter I examines the central importance of subscription series and benefit concerts to the early development of West End concert life. In particular, it discusses how the social élite sought to maintain its cultural superiority by restricting access to the most prestigious performances through market forces and eventually by the withdrawal of events from the public domain altogether. Finally, it considers the social status accorded to musicians, how foreign composers and performers interacted with aristocratic patrons and reviews the professional musician's principal sources of income, major costs and key areas of financial risk.⁶

Chapter II outlines the research methodology applied in this dissertation, and certain areas left for more detailed study. Given the relative absence of systemised academic research on the subject matter to date, the chapter highlights the dangers of inconsistency and bias that invariably arise when analysing information from diverse sources across a timespan of over 250 years and discusses how these have been dealt with.

The central research of the dissertation is the case study in Chapter III, which considers Leopold Mozart's (1719-1787) organisation of concerts performed by his two children, Maria Anna ('Nannerl') (1751-1829) and Wolfgang Amadeus (1756-1791). Although the family spent 15 months in London, the longest time spent in any location during their 1763-1766 European journey (the 'Grand Tour'), contextual coverage of this period is sparse.⁷ Three central themes are examined in turn: uncertainty surrounding apparent

⁶ The term 'professional' is used in this dissertation to mean economically independent, not to mean regulated by a professional body – see further 'Professional status' in Deborah Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750-1850: A Profession of Artisans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp.7-12.

⁷ For an excellent summary of the literature covering the Mozart family visit to London, see Hannah Margaret Templeton, 'The Mozarts in London: Exploring the Family's Professional, Social and Intellectual Networks in 1764-1765' (unpublished doctoral thesis, King's College, London, 2016), pp.13-23. More detail on sources will be found in Chapter II.

setbacks to secure private concerts with aristocratic patrons following the family's initial success with public benefit performances, the logistical and promotional issues faced in presenting child prodigies before a West End audience and finally a preliminary view on the degree of the family's financial success whilst in London.

Chapter IV concludes the dissertation with some closing observations and suggestions for areas for further research.

In analysing concert life in the 1760s, care has been taken in this study to avoid drawing anachronistic conclusions through the adoption of twenty-first century attitudes towards eighteenth-century musical practice. For example, many observers today would interpret the informality of an eighteenth-century audience as a display of musical ignorance or lack of interest,⁸ or would be puzzled at the programming of a concert, which might include an overture, a flute concerto, a *concerto grosso*, a cello duet, a collection of solo arias and conclude with a violin solo.⁹ Similarly, whilst new money undoubtedly led to far greater social mobility than before, the standard short-hand attribution of the development of eighteenth-century London concert life to the rise of a 'middle class' is not only simplistic, but unhelpful. In fact, the increased importance attached to the social standing of certain performers, types of concert and venue had the opposite effect. Access to events was initially controlled by ability to pay but, as income became a less reliable guarantee of respectability, the élite reinforced its position by withdrawing the most prestigious events from the public domain altogether. Simon McVeigh concludes that, faced with the growing influence of financiers and merchants, the nobility attempted not only to reassert its power in the commercial world, but also to cultivate music 'not so much for its commercial potential as for its role in defining a less tangible cultural status and leadership'.¹⁰

⁸ William Weber, 'Did People Listen in the Eighteenth Century?', *Early Music*, Vol.25, No.4 (Nov. 1997), pp.678-691.

⁹ See benefit concert held at [Hickford's Room](#) on 3rd May 1764, Simon McVeigh, *Calendar of London Concerts 1750-1800*, Goldsmiths, University of London <http://research.gold.ac.uk/10342/>, v.02, #898.

¹⁰ Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p.12.

I. London professional concert life in the 1760s: an overview

*If a Parent cannot make his Son a Gentleman, and finds, that he has got an Itch of Music, it is much the best Way to allot him entirely to that Study. The present Taste of Music in the Gentry may find him better Bread than what perhaps this Art deserves.*¹¹

R. Campbell (1747)

‘That narrative weed, the ‘rising middle class’’¹²

Leopold Mozart wrote extensively in his letters from London of his amazement at the grandeur of the city’s architecture, surprise at the informality of the royal court, bemusement at the mix of social classes in the pleasure gardens and astonishment at the excellence, and high cost, of food and clothing.¹³ His reactions were shared: Daniel Defoe’s ‘monster city’¹⁴ had become a world-leading centre of luxury and entertainment that was the wonder of the English and foreigners alike.¹⁵ There were at least a hundred locations in fairly regular use for musical events in London and Westminster alone by the 1730s and 40s,¹⁶ and in a recently published monograph, Cheryll Duncan observes that ‘[b]y about 1750 London was perhaps the most musical city in Europe, to judge from the volume and variety of its musical activity’.¹⁷ World-leading stars of Italian opera regularly performed at the King’s Theatre Haymarket, lenten oratorio seasons, notably those organised by George Handel (1685-1759), were immensely successful and other musical programmes were performed for audiences across the social scale, from exclusive performances attended by royalty to highly popular displays at the pleasure gardens, especially at Ranelagh, Vauxhall

¹¹ R. Campbell, *The London Tradesman* (London: T. Gardner, 1747), p.93.

¹² David Hunter, ‘Patronizing Handel, inventing audiences’, *Early Music*, Vol.28, No.1 (February 2000), pp.32-36+38-49, p.34.

¹³ *Id.* 88-98.

¹⁴ ‘Whither will this monstrous city then extend? ... New squares and new streets [rise] up every day to such a prodigy of buildings that nothing in the world does, or ever did equal it, except old Rome in Trajan’s time’ Daniel Defoe, *A tour thro’ the whole island of Great Britain* (London: Peter Davies, 1927), Vol.I, pp.318,

¹⁵ See Neil McKendrick, ‘The Consumer Revolution of Eighteenth-century England’, in *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England*, eds. Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J.H. Plumb, (London: Europa Publications Limited, 1982), pp.9-33.

¹⁶ *Music in Britain: The Eighteenth Century*, ed. by H. Diack Johnstone and Roger Fiske (London: Blackwell Reference, 1990), p. 38.

¹⁷ Cheryll Duncan, *Felice Giardini and Professional Music Culture in Mid-Eighteenth-Century London* (London: Routledge, 2019), p.1.

and Marybone.¹⁸ Subscription concerts, adapting a business model previously used for book publication, had been held since the turn of the century, and musical productions and interludes were regularly performed at the Covent Garden and Drury Lane playhouses, as well as numerous one-off concerts in taverns, dancing schools and halls. Separately from London and Westminster, wealthy financiers and merchants in the City supported a number of non-profit musical societies focussed on amateur performance of choral and 'ancient' music.¹⁹ Within a month of the family's arrival, Leopold was able to report on two performances that his children had already given at the royal court and a proposed benefit concert for the following month.²⁰ He didn't know it at the time, but his family was to witness the early stages of development of commercial concert life at first hand.

Public concerts had been organised in the City as early as 1672, and were rapidly followed by others at the York Buildings Room in The Strand and elsewhere.²¹ Generally informal, amateur affairs,²² they were ill-suited to meet the growing demand for more up-market gatherings amongst the nobility and the upper reaches of society. This led to the promotion of subscription-concert series in the West End in the early eighteenth century, the most prestigious of which were organised by Francesco Geminiani (1687-1762) at Hickford's Room in Panton Street in the 1730s.²³ Whilst upfront payment was clearly attractive to promoters and musicians, the key marketing advantage of the subscription model was the ability, notwithstanding heavy promotion, to limit access to the wealthy

¹⁸ 'But to return to Vauxhall. Here people pay only *one shilling*, and for this shilling you have the pleasure of seeing many thousands of people and the most beautifully lit gardens and of hearing beautiful music. While I was there, there were more than 6,000 other people there', L.90, 28th June 1764. On garden concerts, see McVeigh, *Concert Life*, pp.39-44.

¹⁹ The first detailed description of London musical life in 1764-5 can be found in Carl Ferdinand Pohl, *Mozart und Haydn in London* (Vienna: Carl Gerold's Son, 1867), pp.1-90. See also William Weber, 'London: A City of Unrivalled Riches', in *The Classical Era: From the 1740s to the End of the 18th Century*, ed. by Neil Zaslaw (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 1989), pp.293-326 and Duncan, *Giardini*, pp.1-4.

²⁰ L.88.

²¹ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, p.2.

²² The following description of a concert at The York Rooms appears typical: 'the whole was without designe or order; for one master brings a consort with fuges, another shews his guifts in a solo upon the violin, another sings, and then a famous lutinist comes forward, and in this manner changes followed each other, with a full cessation of the musick between every one, and a gabble and bustle while they changed places', Roger North, *Memoires of Musick* ed. by Edward Rimbault (London: George Bell, 1846), pp.114-5.

²³ Enrico Careri, *Francesco Geminiani* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p.22-3.

through pricing.²⁴ Tickets for Geminiani's concerts were sold at four guineas for a series of 20 concerts,²⁵ and the standard price for the most prestigious series in the 1750s rose to five guineas.²⁶ Although less expensive than 20 guineas for a season at the opera,²⁷ this pricing level was still squarely aimed at the highest levels of society. As Hunter observes, it is unlikely that subscriptions would have been affordable for many with an income of less than £400, which would have limited accessibility to the top percentile of families across the whole country in 1760.²⁸ Attendance was restricted further by the short season: fashionable concerts were held during the winter season (from Queen Charlotte's official birthday on 18th January to George III's birthday on 4th June), and then only on four nights a week, as concerts were not permitted on Sundays and the opera played on Tuesday and Saturday. The scarcity of performance venues was an additional obstacle. Before the opening of the Hanover Square Rooms in 1775, barely a handful of rooms in the West End was considered suitably distinguished for concerts for elegant society, and their seating capacity was limited.²⁹ Precise details of attendance at concerts in the 1760s are scarce, but the capacity of the halls and such records of subscription numbers that exist suggest a typical attendance of around 300-500.³⁰

Complete accounts of West End subscription series have yet to be discovered.³¹ However, notwithstanding the premium pricing, it appears that profit margins were narrow and financial success was far from assured. McVeigh notes that '[w]hen some 350 had subscribed to Mara's concert in 1787 this was regarded as adequate but somewhat disappointing, and only with a full subscription of 500 were reasonable profits achieved'.³²

²⁴ 'At Consorts of Note the Prices are extravagant, purposely to keep out inferiour People', *The Female Tatler*, 5-7 September 1709, cited in Catherine Harbor, *The Birth of the Music Business: Public Commercial Concerts in London 1660-1750* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Royal Holloway University of London, 2012), p.221.

²⁵ 'Each Subscriber on paying four Guineas is to have a Silver Ticket, by Virtue of which any other Gentleman or Lady will be admitted in the Absence of the Subscriber; and each Lady that subscribes may take in another Lady with her, paying a Crown at the Door; but no Gentleman will be admitted without a ticket', *Daily Post*, 15th November 1731.

²⁶ 3/5 gns for single/double subscription for Ogle's series, *General Advertiser*, 8th February 1752.

²⁷ Curtis Price, Judith Milhous and Robert. D. Hume, *Italian Opera in Late-Eighteenth-Century London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995-2001), p.11.

²⁸ Hunter, p.34.

²⁹ Mainly Hickford's Room, Dean Street Room, Great Room Spring Gardens and Little Theatre Haymarket.

³⁰ See McVeigh, *Concert Life*, p.20 and Hunter, p.35.

³¹ Records of J.C. Bach's account at Drummonds Bank (1767-1780) exist at The NatWest Group Archives – see fig.5.

³² McVeigh, *Concert Life*, p.168.

Their very exclusivity rendered them highly susceptible to changes in musical taste and competition from other entertainment: exceptionally three rival series were able to operate concurrently in 1753,³³ but then only because of the opera's forced closure following bankruptcy, and it was not until the 1770s that the market could regularly support more than one main series in a season.

There was in fact no mainstream subscription series in operation when the Mozarts were in London:³⁴ all four public appearances by the Mozart children were at benefit concerts. Derived from the theatrical tradition according to which the author of a new play would receive the profits from the third night's performance, tickets were priced in line with admission to mainstream West End concerts, and although advertised and sold publicly, were mainly sold in practice to patrons to reward leading musicians. The tickets were transferable and the patrons who would then pass them on as gifts as a mark of their prestige. Benefit concerts could be very lucrative for top performers, especially given that orchestral and accompanying musicians customarily waived their fees, but success was uncertain, as the organisation and commercial risk of performance fell entirely upon the artist's shoulders.³⁵

The economics of mid-eighteenth-century London concert life might have been improved by constructing larger halls, extending performance venues beyond the West End, or more simply by adopting a more flexible pricing policy. However, McVeigh argues that one cannot assume that the musicians' prime motivation was to derive profit from market-expanding opportunity:

It appears ... that, for many musicians, the public concert was not of itself of foremost importance, either financially or artistically. Instead it was typically viewed as a way of establishing and confirming a reputation in order to secure patronage for private concerts and lucrative teaching to the sons or (more usually) daughters of the wealthy. It is true that London's public concert life impresses by both its extent and its vitality, compared to that of Vienna, for example; but this burgeoning of activity

³³ Ogle's at [Dean Street](#), Giardini at [Hickford's Room](#) and Passerini at Dean Street, see McVeigh, *Calendar*.

³⁴ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, p.168. The 1764 Bach Abel concerts at [Carlisle House](#) were not advertised and were more akin to private soirées- see Chapter III.

³⁵ See McVeigh, *Concert Life*, pp.35-8. On benefit concerts generally, see *Music and Benefit Performance in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. by Matthew Gardner and Alison Clark DeSimone (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), especially chapters 10-12.

should not blind us to the essential precariousness of the concert structure and to an apparent reticence on the part of musicians towards its expansion.³⁶

The view that the aristocracy maintained cultural leadership at the expense of commercial profit sits uncomfortably with 'the platitude of music history to equate the expansion of public concerts with the rise of the middle class'.³⁷ The influence of the 'middling classes'³⁸ on London's eighteenth-century cultural life has generated much debate over the last 50 years and is generally framed by Jürgen Habermas's concept of the 'structural transformation of the public sphere',³⁹ the withdrawal of political and cultural power from the court towards the clubs and coffee-houses after the Restoration and more recent scholarship on the influence of newspapers, journals, literary clubs, and encyclopaedias on political and entrepreneurial activity amongst the professional and commercial classes.⁴⁰ Whilst the aristocracy's shared involvement in commercial interests with the emerging mercantile class undoubtedly led to increased influence of the latter in political and financial affairs,⁴¹ the relevance of the concept of the public sphere to the world of letters and music appears less clear: as Terry Eagleton observes, '[t]he bourgeois public sphere of early eighteenth-century England is perhaps best seen not as a single homogenous formation, but as an interlaced set of discursive centres'.⁴² Indeed, Weber considers it unhelpful to position musical life within the scope of the public sphere:

The musical world should be seen not as a constituent member of the public sphere, the forum surrounding authority of the state, but rather as a public world that interacted with that

³⁶ Simon McVeigh, 'The Musician as concert-promoter in London 1780-1850', in *Le concert et son public*, ed. by Hans Erich Bödeker, Michael Werner and Patrice Veit (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2002), pp.71-92, §8.

³⁷ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, p.53.

³⁸ For a general discussion on the middle classes, see William Weber, 'The Muddle of the Middle Classes', *19th-Century Music*, Vol.3, No.2 (Nov. 1979), pp.175-185.

³⁹ See in particular Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: an inquiry into a category of bourgeois society*, trans. by Thomas Burger with the assistance of Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, Mass.: Polity Press, 1989), especially pp.57-67.

⁴⁰ Roy Porter, 'Print Culture' in *Enlightenment: Britain and the Creation of the Modern World* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 2001).

⁴¹ '[T]here is little point in debating whether eighteenth-century Britain ... was essentially a landed society or a commercial society. It was neither of these things alone, because it was both of these things together. It was the relationship between land and trade that is the important issue; and before 1775, that relationship was widely and correctly believed to be a mutually beneficial one', Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, 2nd ed. (New Haven, Ct.: Yale University Press, 2014), p.100.

⁴² Terry Eagleton, *The Function of Criticism* (London: Verso Editions, 1984), p.29.

emerging domain. The sense grew up by the 1720s that musical life was a separately constituted sphere in society and as such had its own civic discourse.⁴³

This 'separately constituted sphere' extended beyond the aristocratic and landed classes to a broader grouping, the *beau monde*, comprising wealthy and influential 'men and women whose professional roles led them into the World- doctors, financial agents, high-level artists and musicians, cultural entrepreneurs, high-tone prostitutes and so on'.⁴⁴ For this narrow concentration of élites,⁴⁵ attendance at the opera house and concert hall was a social act, involving civic discourse that paralleled the discussions in taverns and coffee houses in the public sphere.⁴⁶ Advertisements and diary entries frequently made only the vaguest mention of the works performed, and it was considered perfectly acceptable to mingle and converse during performances or indeed to attend single acts of a number of different performances over the course of a single evening.⁴⁷

Given the *beau monde's* social and financial power, it was perhaps natural that it should extended its control beyond concert formats and venues to influence musical styles to reflect tastes of its own, and the middle of the century saw the enthusiastic adoption of lighter forms and styles introduced by the foreign musicians arriving in London. *Opera buffa* constituted an important element of the programme at the King's Theatre in the 1760-1 season,⁴⁸ and Charles Burney (1726-1814) famously identified the introduction of Italian symphonies in the *galant* style at the 1751 Felice Giardini (1716-1796) subscription concerts and the Carlisle House concerts managed by J.C. Bach (1735-1782) and Carl Friedrich Abel (1723-1787) as turning points for concert life, creating 'schisms' and 'a total revolution in our musical taste'.⁴⁹

⁴³ William Weber, 'The *Beau Monde* in London, 1700-1870', in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. by Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp.83-4.

⁴⁴ Weber, *The Beau Monde*, p.78.

⁴⁵ '[T]hree-quarters of the more than 350 subscribers to box seats at the opera in the season of 1783 alone were cited in Lady Mary [Coke]'s journal at some point in time', Weber, *The Beau Monde*, p.78.

⁴⁶ 'The King's Theatre, Haymarket, was in essence an exclusive club. People went to see and be seen; sour comments about the popularity of the card and coffee-rooms suggest that some of the subscribers paid a minimum of attention to the performances', Price *et al.*, *Italian Opera*, p.9.

⁴⁷ Weber, *Did People listen?*, p.682.

⁴⁸ Baldassare Galuppi's *Il filosofo di campagna*, *Public Advertiser*, 13th January 1761 and Ferdinando Bertoni's *Le Pescatrici*, *Public Advertiser*, 1st June 1761.

⁴⁹ Charles Burney, *A General History of Music*, Vol.4 (London, 1789), p.673.

The argument that London concert life in the mid-eighteenth century was driven by the rise of the commercial classes or the bourgeoisie following the withdrawal of court patronage cannot then be sustained. The *beau monde* carved out opera and West End concert life from the public sphere by replacing direct royal patronage with systems of indirect collective patronage, based more on social status than on commercial rationality and in so doing adapted musical styles, performance formats and venues to its taste. Whilst it is true that ‘London musical life ... grew out of entrepreneurship, rather than state or municipal authority of the sort central to musical life on the Continent’,⁵⁰ musicians in the mid-eighteenth century remained economically dependent upon their networking skills amongst the social élite.

‘Heaps of foreign musicians’

England’s eighteenth-century aristocracy generally held music, and professional musicians, in disdain. Lacking any obvious scientific or commercial value, music was considered superficial and frivolous and even assimilated to effeminacy, unhealthy overexcitement and immorality traditionally associated with the stage.⁵¹ Lord Chesterfield made his views clear to his son in 1749:

If you love music, hear it: go to operas, concerts, and pay fiddlers to play to you; but I must insist upon your neither piping nor fiddling yourself. It puts a gentleman in a very frivolous, contemptible light; brings him into a great deal of bad company; and takes up a great deal of time, which might be better employed. Few things would mortify me more, than to see you bearing a part in a concert, with a fiddle under your chin, or a pipe in your mouth.⁵²

The absence of professional status or requirement for any specific educational qualification to pursue a musical career was treated with particular suspicion, and the assumption that musicians would rarely be financially successful fuelled the presumption that they were necessarily from humble backgrounds. As Ehrlich noted, those families who could afford musical instruments and lessons were ‘unlikely to encourage their offspring to confuse some minor social accomplishment with a potential career’.⁵³

⁵⁰ Weber, *London: A City of Unrivalled Riches*, p.295.

⁵¹ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, p.66, Rohr, pp.15-21.

⁵² *The Letters of Philip Dormer Stanhope 4th Earl of Chesterfield*, ed. by Bonamy Dobrée (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1932), Vol.4, L.1633.

⁵³ Ehrlich, p.6.

Foreign musicians working in London were placed on a superior social footing, however. Writing in 1753, William Hayes observed:

Not only in *Italy* but in most Countries abroad, a thoroughly accomplished Musician is at least equal upon the Footing of a Scholar in any other Science; and is treated with equal Respect: Whereas in *England* we are often too apt to despise the Professors of Music, and to treat them indiscriminately with Contempt.⁵⁴

What were the reasons for this difference of approach? Higher overall levels of virtuosity, reflecting the results of teaching and study at conservatoires not yet available in England, certainly set foreign musicians apart, and aristocrats returning from the Grand Tour were delighted to hear the Italian *galant* style performed in London. However, these elements alone would not have been sufficient to displace the prejudices affecting English musicians and more pragmatic explanations may have come into play. Rohr plausibly suggests that a foreign musician's accent and manners, already honed to the sensibilities of the court, would not only have projected a more cosmopolitan air, but probably also served to disguise humble origins.⁵⁵ In addition, it is suggested that letters of introduction, customary for musicians on the Continent, would have impressed patrons and concert organisers in England, perhaps less familiar with the system of court patronage abroad.⁵⁶

In addition to low barriers to entry and favourable market positioning, a key attraction of London for foreign musicians was the opportunity to make higher earnings in a less regulated environment. Writing in 1713, Johann Mattheson (1681-1764) proclaimed that 'whoever at the present time wants to be eminent in music goes to England. In Italy and France there is something to be heard and learned; in England something to be earned'.⁵⁷ The alleged oversupply of 'heaps of Foreign Musicians'⁵⁸ had been a subject of concern amongst English commentators at least since the creation of the Italian Opera in 1720, and the 1750s saw rapidly increasing numbers arriving in the capital.⁵⁹ Writing

⁵⁴ William Hayes, *Remarks on Mr Avison's Essay on Musical Expression* (London: J. Robinson, 1753), p.92.

⁵⁵ Rohr, p.49.

⁵⁶ Letters of introduction were regularly used by Leopold Mozart- see Chapter III.

⁵⁷ Johann Mattheson, *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre* (Hamburg: 1713), p.211. He went on to say that Germany was best for eating and drinking.

⁵⁸ Defoe, 1728, cited in Rohr, p.13.

⁵⁹ Ehrlich, p.17.

towards the end of the century, a Prussian observer referred to London as a 'PERU' for foreign musicians, noting a 'lucrative monopoly which they there enjoy, in regard to their own profession'.⁶⁰

Although, on the face of it, London offered the prospect of an entrepreneurial, independent career, the differences to a salaried court position on the Continent were not that marked in practice. Ehrlich observed that the musician at court 'was subject to a patron's whim, his bargaining power tempered by immobility and the disciplines of a closely-knit social system which might offer paternalistic benevolence, but exact dire penalties for intransigence'.⁶¹ Similarly, even the best musicians in London continued to operate as service providers. Although Weber implies that some high-level musicians were able to enter the elite social circles of London's *beau monde*,⁶² this would have been exceptional. Rohr concludes that musicians are more accurately seen as a case apart: 'during the social and economic transformation of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Britain, professional musicians occupied a complex and ambiguous social status that did not fit neatly into existing social categories',⁶³ and Rebecca Gribble arrives at a similar conclusion.⁶⁴ It was not until the nineteenth century that the professional and middle classes challenged the oligarchy of the *beau monde*, by which time 'the borderline between music as a profession and music as a business ... ceased to exist ... the wealthy middle classes offered better prospects of a livelihood to musicians than aristocratic support, and it was natural for musicians to win recognition of social equality with the middle classes by the exercise of industry and a good head for business'.⁶⁵

Commercial constraints and social status notwithstanding, it is clear that top-level foreign musicians in the eighteenth century were able to earn considerably higher income in

⁶⁰ Johann Wilhelm von Archenholz, *A Picture of England* (London: Edward Jeffery, 1789), p.235.

⁶¹ Ehrlich, p.3.

⁶² See fn.44.

⁶³ Rohr, p.1.

⁶⁴ Rebecca Gribble, 'The finances, estates and social status of musicians in the late-eighteenth century', in *The Music Profession in Britain 1780-1920*, ed. by Rosemary Golding (London: Routledge, 2018), pp.12-31. McVeigh observes that although Giardini was so successful in cultivating connections that he began to expect a seat at the dinner table, 'in reality dinner invitations were a badge of celebrity, rather than an acknowledgement of equal status', *Concert Life*, p.204.

⁶⁵ Reginald Nettel, *The Orchestra in England: A Social History* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1956), p.95.

London than at home and criticism of extravagant fees paid to the leading opera singers was standard material for the newspapers and cartoonists.⁶⁶ We know from newspaper articles and commentary that, even allowing for exaggeration, a number of leading musicians sat comfortably in the top percentile with an annual income of £400 or more: Leopold reported in February 1765 that Giovanni Manzuoli (c.1720-1782) was to be paid £1,500 to appear at the King's Theatre and, together with anticipated benefit concert receipts, would make 20,000 German florins that winter.⁶⁷ However, attention was inevitably focussed on the outliers. McVeigh has collated a table of fees paid to performers in London from 1754 to the 1790s and, notwithstanding the unavoidable inconsistency resulting from the variety of data sources, the range of earnings is striking. Excluding outlier payments to stars of Italian Opera, which could exceed 1,000 guineas for a season, fees paid from 1754-1775 ranged from £100 to a solo singer at a Bach-Abel concert, to 1-2 guineas a night for leading orchestral performers, dropping to between 8/- and 10/6 for rank and file performers.⁶⁸

Notwithstanding the difficulty inherent in making comparisons given differences in living costs and the fact that payments in kind (accommodation, clothing, medical services etc.) were generally included in court appointments, salaries at court even for top-ranking musicians undeniably fell short of these amounts. By way of example, C.P.E. Bach's salary at the court of Frederick the Great was 300 thalers (£70),⁶⁹ Joseph Haydn received the around 600fl (£75) at the Esterházy Court⁷⁰ and Leopold Mozart was paid 350-450fl (£50) as Deputy Kapellmeister in Salzburg.⁷¹ Accurate assessments of total annual income are difficult, given the multiple sources of income that became prevalent in the second half of the century. In addition to public concerts, the most successful performers made money from private concerts supplemented by revenues from teaching, composition and publication of scores. Patrick Colquhoun's analysis of average annual incomes, published in 1806, ranked musicians alongside actors with an average income of £200.⁷² This would certainly not have

⁶⁶ See figure 2.

⁶⁷ L.95, 8 February 1765. Manzuoli is reported to have made 1,000 guineas from his benefit concert - Pohl, p.76, citing *The Gentleman's Magazine*, March 1765.

⁶⁸ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, pp.191-3.

⁶⁹ Christoph Wolff and Ulrich Leisinger, 'Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel', [Grove Music Online](#) (accessed 27th July 2020).

⁷⁰ Georg Feder and James Webster, 'Haydn, (Franz) Joseph', [Grove Music Online](#) (accessed 27th July 2020).

⁷¹ Ruth Halliwell, *The Mozart Family: Four Lives in a Social Context* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p.29.

⁷² Patrick Colquhoun, *A Treatise on Indigence*, 2nded. (London: J. Mawman, 1815).

been the median amount, given the extremes at both ends of the scale, and as an average it is likely to be on the high side. Rohr estimates that before 1780 an annual income ranging between £100 to £200 would indicate a flourishing career, which is consistent with Joseph Massie's analysis of nationwide incomes conducted in 1759, as revised by Lindert and Williamson in 1982. Massie estimated that some 84% of families in England received an average annual income of less than £50, the top 3-4%, received £200 or more, leaving the remainder, the 'middling classes', on a broad income range of £50-£200, with 9% in receipt of less than £100.⁷³

So, the majority of musicians in mid-eighteenth-century London generated at best a middling income and were forced to rely on multiple sources in the absence of reliable earnings. Their situation was made all the more uncertain against a backdrop of increasing competition, the short season and high living expenses. Accommodation and fine clothing were particularly expensive, but the right postal address and attire were important signifiers of social status, essential when performing and teaching for patrons. In addition, illness posed a constant threat and insurance of musical instruments against damage or loss was not available.

Summary

London in the mid-eighteenth century was the largest and richest city in the Europe, and a leading centre of luxury and entertainment. Leopold Mozart's letters describe the extraordinary range of musical performance on offer, from Italian opera at the King's Theatre for the society élite to the open-air bandstand at the pleasure gardens at Ranelagh and Vauxhall. Musical life in the capital was generally segregated along geographic and social lines. West-End concerts were not financially secure and depended upon the patronage of the social élite, which assumed control over access to venues and performances and exercised increasing influence over musical styles and the commercial fortune of top-end musicians. The most successful musicians managed a range of activities,

⁷³ Peter H. Lindert and Jeffrey G. Williamson, 'Revising England's Social Tables 1688-1812', *Explorations in Economic History*, vol. 19 (1982), pp.385-408.

including performance at public subscription concerts, the organisation of benefit concerts, private performance, teaching and publishing.

Professional concert life accelerated in the mid-eighteenth century, driven by large numbers of talented foreign musicians drawn to the capital by the prospect of greater commercial freedom and higher earnings. They introduced a lighter, *galant* musical style, which was highly popular in fashionable society and were perceived to be more cultivated and cosmopolitan than their English counterparts. Like that of society as a whole, the range of musicians' earnings was very broad, with top performers in the highest percentile, earning more than 1,000 guineas a season. However, most reasonably successful musicians would struggle to reach £200, placing them in the 'middling classes'. Further financial pressure arose from intense competition, the short season and high living expenses, all of which made it difficult for many to earn a comfortable living.



Figure 2 The Bad taste of the Town or 'Masquerades and Operas' (1724) - William Hogarth (1697-1764)

© Victoria and Albert Museum, London

On the left a jester and the devil brandishing a bag of money marked £1,000 lead a roped crowd into the King's Theatre Haymarket. A larger banner, referencing an anonymous print published in 1723 of a scene from Handel's opera Flavio at the King's Theatre that year, depicts the Italian opera stars Gaetano Berenstadt, Francesca Cuzzoni and Francesco Bernardi being offered the excessive sum of £8,000 for their performance. A woman wheels a wheelbarrow containing the 'wastepaper' of plays by Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Congreve, Otway and Dryden, while in the distance the façade of Burlington House is seen as another bastardised form of contemporary taste - the cult for Italian classical art and architecture.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ Image notes taken from the Victoria and Albert Museum website. <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1159950/the-bad-taste-of-the-prints-hogarth-william/> (accessed 5th August 2020).

II. Research methods and sources

*Music, unless it is no more than a purposeless doodling in sounds, has its place in the general history of ideas, for it is, if it is in any sense intellectual and expressive, influenced by what is going on in the world, by political and religious beliefs, by habits and customs or by their overthrow; it has its influence, perhaps veiled and subtle, on the development of ideas outside music.*⁷⁵

Henry Raynor (1972)

Introduction

Henry Raynor emphasised the dangers of historical analysis conducted through the prism of neatly organised topics, and that the history of music is no exception: ‘Music can come to life only in society; it cannot exist, any more than a play can exist, merely as print on a page, for it presupposes both players and listeners’.⁷⁶ It is evident that with the increased fragmentation of mid-eighteenth-century London concert life, it can only properly be understood through an appreciation of the influences affecting society at the time, be they political, financial, cultural or other.

Particular care is required to avoid drawing anachronistic conclusions. Mark Evan Bonds and Lydia Goehr convincingly argue, amongst others, that much of our musical language and ideology today continues to be expressed in terms of a nineteenth-century romantic vocabulary, based on the notion of the artistic creation of a work.⁷⁷ This sits uneasily in an eighteenth-century context. For example, it is particularly important to remember that eighteenth-century composers and musicians were generally paid to write and perform works for identified patrons and audiences- neither was necessarily the case a century later.

⁷⁵ Henry Raynor, *A Social History of Music: From the Middle Ages to Beethoven* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1972), p.5.

⁷⁶ Raynor, p.1.

⁷⁷ See for example, Mark Evan Bonds, *Music as Thought: Listening to the Symphony in the Age of Beethoven* (Princeton, NJ.: Princeton University Press, 2006) and Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

Research methods

The current study places emphasis on the use of primary sources where available, cognisant of the limitations discussed below, and contextualises secondary materials as far as possible. The principal analytical method adopted is the review of documentary sources and objects, concentrated on a case study of the Mozart family's experience in London between April 1764 and July 1765. Primary sources directly relating to the period are more likely to present an accurate picture than the wealth of later secondary source material on the Mozarts, as the family's reputation was only starting to become established in 1764-5. In particular, taking Leopold's letters and travel notes as its starting point, the research aims to focus on subject matter that he considered important at the time, whether by specific reference or omission, thereby reducing the risk of concentrating on issues that became significant only with hindsight.

Sources

Early eighteenth-century accounts of the Grand Tour limit discussion of London to Wolfgang's musical activity and even von Nissen's biography of Wolfgang, with unique claims to authority given the author's access to papers held by Constanze Mozart (1762-1842), adds little in this context.⁷⁸ Many records of meetings with the Mozarts during this period, including those of Charles Burney, Daines Barrington and William Beckford, were in fact written several years, even decades, after the event, and must be treated with caution.⁷⁹

The case study is centred Leopold's letters and travel notes. Unfortunately, only 12 letters written by Leopold to Lorenz Hagenauer (1712-1792)⁸⁰ during the stay in London survive and none received in reply. Standard published editions of the letters were prepared

⁷⁸ Georg Nikolaus von Nissen, *Biographie W A Mozarts* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1828).

⁷⁹ Writing in 1771/early 1772, Charles Burney documents a visit on the family's 'first arrival' in London and later at 'Mr Franks' and subsequently in 1790 refers to a further encounter when 'Master Mozart ... played on my knee' - see Cliff Eisen, *New Mozart Documents: A Supplement to O.E. Deutsch's Documentary Biography* (London: MacMillan, 1991), pp. 4-5. For Daines Barrington, see p.37. For Beckford, see C. B. Oldman, 'Beckford and Mozart', *Music and Letters*, Vol. 47, No.2 (April 1966), pp.110-5.

⁸⁰ The Hagenauers were 'landlords, bankers and close friends of the Mozarts' - see Ruth Halliwell, 'Hagenauer family' in CME, pp.205-6.

in the context of biographical surveys of Wolfgang Amadeus and omit many of Leopold's broader observations on London life, which are of central importance to the present study. This dissertation is based on Eisen's forthcoming edition of the London letters, which annotates the texts in full.

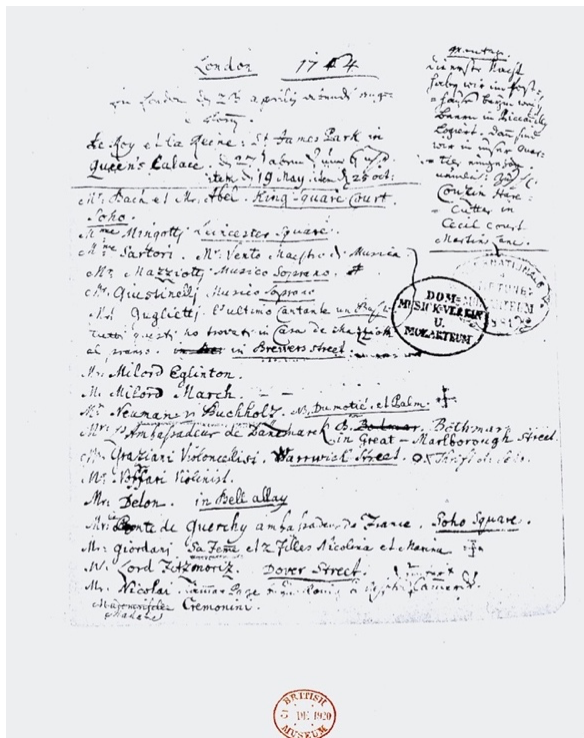


Figure 3 First page of Leopold Mozart's London Reisenotizen

From Leopold Mozart, *Reisenotizen*, ed. by Arthur Schurig (Dresden: Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum Salzburg, 1920).

Leopold's travel notes (the 'Reisenotizen') lack detail and are somewhat haphazardly organised: references here are to the carefully annotated version collated by Hannah Templeton.⁸¹ Other primary contemporary sources include material from historians, critics and diarists, newspaper and other print advertisements and reviews, and documentation held at The British Library and the archives of The Royal Musical Association and the NatWest Group. Further planned physical research at The London Metropolitan Archives, Freemasons Hall, The Royal Collection Trust and The Bank of England was unfortunately impossible as a result of the COVID-19 restrictions.

Secondary academic literature on music in London in the 18th century is predominantly focussed on musical biography, with little coverage of social historical issues and, as Hannah Templeton observes, accounts even from the last thirty years continue in much the same vein.⁸² Simon McVeigh's 1993 work on *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* is an important source and forms the starting point for much of the discussion in this dissertation. More recent scholarship over the last 25 years, notably by William Weber,

⁸¹ Templeton, pp.39-72.

⁸² Templeton, pp.18-19.

Julian Rushton and Deborah Rohr, has examined some elements of the entrepreneurial and financial development of concert life, but none with a focus on foreign musicians in London in the late 18th century or more specifically on the Mozart family's experience.⁸³ A recently published collection of essays on benefit performance in eighteenth-century Britain provides useful elements of social context.⁸⁴

Limitations and potential problems

The relevant material compiled for this dissertation is derived from a wide variety of sources, the majority of which have an indirect or tangential connection with the specific area of study.⁸⁵ Particular care has therefore been taken to avoid the use of information out of context and not to assume that individually expressed opinions are necessarily representative of views generally held. Newspaper reports and announcements are especially valuable. Whilst there is always the danger of inaccuracy, exaggeration and bias, the texts set out key data, typically including the date and time of performance, the venue, programme details (although these can be quite vague), performers' names, the price and other conditions of admission and details on how to obtain tickets. In addition, aside from the content of the source material, the date and title of publication, length, style of wording, placing in the newspaper and frequency of appearance all provide important supplementary information. Newspaper reports and announcements have been collated from the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Burney Newspapers Collection at The British Library.

⁸³ See works previously cited and Julian Rushton, *Mozart* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

⁸⁴ *Music and the Benefit Performance in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. by Matthew Gardner and Alison DeSimone (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

⁸⁵ 'In Britain, it was not until the early decades of the nineteenth century that writing about music became concentrated in magazines and periodicals; in the eighteenth century it is scattered throughout a wide variety of publications, and ranges from the short essay, encyclopaedia article, lecture, sermon or polemic tract, to lengthy discussions in historical, theoretical or philosophical treatises', *Music in Britain: The Eighteenth Century*, ed. by H. Diack Johnstone and Roger Fiske (London: Blackwell Reference, 1990), p.397.

III. The Mozarts in London: April 1764 - July 1765

The greatest Prodigy that Europe, or even that Human Nature has to boast of, is, without Contradiction, the little German Boy WOLFGANG MOZART; a Boy, Eight Years old, who has, and indeed very justly, raised the Admiration not only of the greatest Men, but also of the greatest Musicians in Europe.

Public Advertiser, 9th July 1765

The prevailing narrative of the Mozart family's declining success in London is neatly summarised by Ilias Chrissochoidis: 'marvel gave way to disgust along with the family's dwindling hopes for financial gain'.⁸⁶ Templeton reassess this view by repositioning the *Reisenotizen* and material objects relating to the Mozarts' stay in the context of the prevailing London culture.⁸⁷ This chapter adopts a similar contextual approach in its consideration of three aspects of the Mozart concerts in London: the commercial and social context of the benefit concerts and debates surrounding possible private engagements, the promotion strategies adopted by Leopold and finally what can be determined of the financial outcome of the fifteen months spent in the capital.

The concerts

On arriving at a new destination on the Grand Tour, Leopold's standard procedure was to organise a court performance at the earliest opportunity. The route to Paris had been carefully devised with this in mind and, as Leopold reminded Wolfgang some years later, letters of recommendation were critical to the successful execution of this strategy: 'You have no letters of introduction- whereas I had lots of them. These are absolutely essential if you want to procure patrons and acquaintances at once. A journey of this kind is no joke'.⁸⁸ It is unclear whether Leopold had encouraged Claude Helvétius to write to the 10th Earl of Huntingdon, but a letter requesting an audience at court for 'a little German prodigy' was sent shortly after the family's arrival in London on 23rd April 1764 and the

⁸⁶ Ilias Chrissochoidis, 'London Mozartiana: Wolfgang's disputed age & early performances of Allegri's Miserere', *The Musical Times*, Vol.151, No.1911 (Summer 2010), pp.83-89, p.83.

⁸⁷ Templeton, pp.24-32.

⁸⁸ *The Letters of Mozart and his Family*, ed. by Emily Anderson, 3rd edition (London: Macmillan, 1985), L.248, p.388.

Mozart children were performing at the invitation of George III and Queen Sophia Charlotte on 28th April.⁸⁹

Although the King and Queen continued to play an important role as patrons alongside the aristocracy, court approval was neither critical nor sufficient to secure further invitations to perform before élite society. Leopold had understood the importance of public performance to gain visibility for his children, and so an advertisement placed on 9th May announced that '[Master Mozart] has had the Honour of exhibiting before their Majesties greatly to their satisfaction',⁹⁰ and in his second letter from London Leopold referred to arrangements already being made for a concert to be held for the benefit of his children on 5th June.⁹¹

Benefit concerts were in effect the sole structure available to the Mozarts to stage a high-end public concert performance. The West End subscription-concert series of the early 1750s,⁹² notably at Hickford's Room and Ogle's series at Dean Street, had faded with the resumption of opera in 1753, and were superseded in 1760 by soirées organised by the infamous Teresa Cornelys (1727-1793). 'Opera-singer turned society-queen',⁹³ she had arrived in England in 1759 with her daughter, fleeing creditors and leaving a trail of lovers including Casanova, the daughter's father. Having rapidly built connections with courtiers and society ladies and borrowed money on the credit of John Fermor, wealthy admirer (and married clergyman), Cornelys bought and transformed Carlisle House in Soho Square through a series of bold business and legal manoeuvres to create 'a sort of eighteenth-century nightclub',⁹⁴ admission to which was reserved to previously vetted members of her newly formed assembly, 'The Society'. Carlisle House became the indisputable centre of the fashionable West End in the 1760s: writing in 1764, Lord Barrington remarked that 'Mrs Cornelys has made Carlisle House the most elegant place of public entertainment that ever

⁸⁹ MDB, pp.32-3. The letter is undated, and it is not certain whether this letter instigated the court invitation. The 4th Duke of Bedford and the French Ambassador to London may have exercised influence - Robert W. Gutman, *Mozart, A Cultural Biography* (London: Secker & Warburg, 2000), p.182.

⁹⁰ *Public Advertiser*, 9th May 1765, MDB, p.33.

⁹¹ L.88, 28th May 1764.

⁹² See p.11.

⁹³ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, p.14.

⁹⁴ Nettel, p.67.

was in this, or perhaps any country.⁹⁵ Modelled on the subscription-concert series, there were around 12 assemblies each season, each of which opened with two hours of musical entertainment. In 1764, Cornelys separated the concerts from The Society events and placed them under the direction of Gioacchino Cocchi (c.1712-1796), who was joined by J.C. Bach and Abel the following year.⁹⁶ Although advertised, the evenings were essentially private 'large-scale soirées' rather than public concerts. Neither performers nor programmes were announced, and admission was dependent upon prior acceptance to membership of The Society.⁹⁷

The basic financial principle behind benefit concerts was straightforward: their programming, marketing, organisation and financing fell on the shoulders of the promoter, who retained any resulting profit, but equally bore the risk of significant loss. Even more critically, a failed benefit concert had the potential to inflict irreversible damage on an artist's reputation. Originally promoted as a reward for top performers, benefit performances were often attached to subscription series, and indeed top performers required their inclusion as a condition of participation in a series. Concerts were also promoted to raise money for charitable and philanthropic causes, including for example the annual concert in favour of The Society of Musicians and its 'Fund for the Support of Decay'd Musicians and their Families', in which Handel took part from its inauguration.⁹⁸ Diversity of programming became a hallmark of the concerts, as the beneficiaries were free to hire whoever they thought would be likely to attract sales and could be persuaded to join. Recently arrived foreign musicians seeking to establish themselves were frequent performers,⁹⁹ as were child prodigies.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ 17th December 1764, cited by Ian Woodfield in 'New Light on the Mozarts' London Visit: A Private Concert with Manzuoli', *Music & Letters*, Vol.76, No.2 (May 1995), pp.187-208, p.189.

⁹⁶ Cocchi dropped out after the 1764-5 season.

⁹⁷ See McVeigh, *Concert Life*, p.14. The enterprise was to collapse under a mountain of debt in 1779 and Cornelys died in Fleet Prison eighteen years later. For a colourful, rather than academic, account see Judith Summers, *The Empress of Pleasure* (London: Viking, 2003).

⁹⁸ Now the Royal Society of Musicians <https://www.rsmgb.org/>.

⁹⁹ Alison Clark DeSimone, 'Strategies of Performance', in *Music and Benefit Performance*, Chapter 8, pp.162-184.

¹⁰⁰ On benefit concerts generally, see McVeigh, *Concert Life*, pp.35-8, and Gardner and DeSimone (eds.), *Music and Benefit Performance*.

Wolfgang's first public performance was to take part in a benefit concert for the cellist Carlo Graziani (?1710-1787) held on 22nd May 1764, but the child's performance was cancelled on account of his illness.¹⁰¹ Graziani's name appears on the first page of the *Reisenotizen* just before a number of other foreign musicians, including Clementina Cremonini (fl.1763-1766), François-Hippolyte Barthélemon (1741-1808) and Battista Cirri (1724-1808), all of whom were announced as performers at the Mozarts' benefit concert on 5th June 1764. Frustratingly, there are few dates in the notes, but tying the letters, public concert announcements and other sources together, it is probable that these names were added less than a week after the family's second performance at court, and it appears that the royal performances triggered a series of connections with other musicians and patrons, just as Leopold would have intended.¹⁰²

The benefit performance on 5th June was highly successful. Although Leopold believed somewhat optimistically that he might have secured an audience of 600 if the concert had been held during the season,¹⁰³ the revenues from the 200 or so who did attend were sufficient to defray expenses of 'no more than 20 guineas', half the expenses that Leopold had anticipated.¹⁰⁴ The result was an expected net profit of at least 90 guineas, well over double Leopold's annual salary in a single evening.¹⁰⁵ Leopold had understood the importance of benefit concerts in establishing the reputation and contacts necessary for a musical career, and the concert appears to have been successful in this respect as well. Despite its being held after the close of the season and at less than a week's notice, Leopold proudly reported that those attending 'were the leading persons in the whole of London: not just all the ambassadors, but the leading families of England were present, and there was a universal sense of enjoyment'.¹⁰⁶ The concert had also overcome a number of

¹⁰¹ 'I had declared in the Public Advertiser, of May 17, Mr. Mozard, but as he is sick I cannot promise that he will play', *Public Advertiser*, 21st May 1764, MDB, pp.34.

¹⁰² Although the names may simply have been included as a list of people that Leopold had heard of and hoped to meet, as opposed to having actually met, the latter seems more likely given their range and tying the entries with events recorded in the letters. See Alec Hyatt King, 'Some Aspects of Recent Mozart Research', *Proceedings of The Royal Musical Association*, Vol.100 (1973-4), pp.1-18, p.14. However, there appear to be cases where Leopold made achronological entries -eg. J.C. Bach (see fn.125).

¹⁰³ L.88, 28th May 1764.

¹⁰⁴ The expenses were kept low as the majority of the performers waived their fee, as was common practice for benefit concerts.

¹⁰⁵ For a currency review and approximate exchange rates, see Appendix B.

¹⁰⁶ L.89, 8th June 1764.

additional obstacles: Barthélemon and Cirri had themselves arrived in London only a few months earlier and were relatively unknown,¹⁰⁷ and the admission fee of half a guinea was at the top end of the scale, despite the concert's relatively modest venue and its being the Mozarts' inaugural public performance in London.¹⁰⁸

Successful West End benefit concerts were more difficult to achieve the second time around, and were reserved to top performers, who generally limited themselves to one benefit a year. Leopold organised a benefit concert the following season on 21st February 1765 at the more prestigious venue of the Little Theatre in Haymarket.¹⁰⁹ Postponed twice and held at 6pm so as not to clash with a later event,¹¹⁰ it still attracted an audience of around 260 and netted a profit a little higher than the concert in June the previous year. Leopold was however disappointed with the outcome, which he attributed to the intense competition,¹¹¹ and took on the not insubstantial challenge of organising a second benefit concert later that season. Originally planned for the end of March or the beginning of April,¹¹² it was finally held on 13th May. It is unclear whether the risk paid off, either financially or from a reputational perspective: Leopold makes no mention of the concert in the letters that survive.

The position regarding private concerts is significantly less clear. Writing in September 1764, after recovery from a several weeks of illness, Leopold evidently prepared himself for a busy 1764-5 season. Recognising the importance of establishing and consolidating networks amongst the social élite, he wrote: 'During the coming months I shall have enough to do winning over the aristocracy. This will mean a lot of galloping around and a good deal of effort. But if I achieve the aim that I've set myself, I'll catch a fine fish or,

¹⁰⁷ Neil Zaslaw, revsd. Simon McVeigh, 'Barthélemon, François-Hippolyte' [Grove Music Online](#) and Owain Edwards, revsd. Valerie Walden, 'Cirri, Giovanni Battista', [Grove Music Online](#) (both accessed 8th Sep. 2020).

¹⁰⁸ The Spring Gardens Room, which only cost 5 guineas for its hire – *Public Advertiser* 31st May 1764 and L.89, 8th June 1764.

¹⁰⁹ Wolfgang had also played the organ at a charitable benefit concert at Ranelagh Gardens on 26th June 1764. This was a *pro bono* performance, which Leopold recognised as 'a way of winning the love of this quite exceptional nation', L.90, 28th June 1764.

¹¹⁰ Probably a meeting of The Society at Carlisle House.

¹¹¹ L.96, 19th March 1765.

¹¹² *Public Advertiser*, 11th March 1765, MDB, p.43.

rather, a good haul of guineas'.¹¹³ Views differ on whether he achieved his objective. John Jenkins concludes, apparently on the basis of entries in the *Reisenotizen*, that it was likely he did so.¹¹⁴ Erich Schenk asserted that the Mozarts 'gave a concert at the Earl of Thanet's in Grosvenor Square',¹¹⁵ presumably on the basis of Leopold's reference to the family having been invited there for the evening.¹¹⁶ One might reasonably assume that the evening would have involved music making, but that would not necessarily have included performances by the Mozart children. Certainly, it seems odd for Leopold not to have made any mention of a performance, notwithstanding the length and detail of the letter of 13th September, written when he was much recovered from his illness.

In a carefully detailed study, Ian Woodfield considers whether the Mozarts gave private concerts in London with particular reference to a possible performance at Lady Clive's mansion at 45 Berkeley Square.¹¹⁷ Acknowledging that Leopold was actively seeking opportunities for 'appearances at private concerts in the homes of wealthy aristocrats and merchants', Woodfield observes that '[b]y their very nature, private engagements of this kind leave little impression on the historical record'.¹¹⁸ Whilst a private engagement would evidently not have been advertised, it is questionable whether, at least with regard to Wolfgang, the existence of historical evidence of any such event would remain exceptional. It is arguable that the detail of Leopold's letters and the assorted contemporaneous diary entries and letters of the literate attendees at such gatherings would normally have included some commentary and in addition it is probable that Wolfgang's subsequent fame would provoke subsequent written recollections of any such events. Woodfield's arguments in support of the Berkeley Square performance centre on a letter from Lady Clive to her husband dated 12th March 1765, in which she refers to a concert to be held the following day by Manzuoli and others including 'the little Mozarts, the boy aged 8 and the girl 12 [who] will also play most completely and well'.¹¹⁹ Although Woodfield concedes that 'it is

¹¹³ L.92, 13th September 1764.

¹¹⁴ John Jenkins, *Mozart and the English Connection* (London: Cygnus Arts, 1998), p.20.

¹¹⁵ Erich Schenk, *Mozart and his Times*, ed. and trans. by Richard and Clara Winston (London: Secker & Warburg, 1960), p.73.

¹¹⁶ The reference is to a 'visit': L.92, 13th September 1764. See also Halliwell, p.83, who draws the same conclusion.

¹¹⁷ See fn.95.

¹¹⁸ Woodfield, p.187.

¹¹⁹ Woodfield, p.195.

not possible to claim with absolute certainty that the Mozarts were present at this performance', he maintains that other evidence 'suggests that the invitation was honoured', and concludes that '[t]he Mozarts' performance at Berkeley Square was doubtless only one of many appearances in fashionable London society during the early months of 1765'.¹²⁰ The other evidence referred to is focussed on the inclusion of Manzuoli's name in the *Reisenotizen*, a suggestion that Leopold might have attempted to persuade Manzuoli to appear at the February benefit concert and the fact that Lady Clive possessed a copy of the K.10-15 sonatas. In addition, Woodfield notes Leopold's interest in Indian affairs, as evidenced by a reference to the Battle of Buxar in a subsequent letter,¹²¹ reports of considerable financial success on the Mozart family's return to Salzburg in November 1766 and the inclusion of references to further members of London's fashionable society in the *Reisenotizen*.

Given the typically detailed and scholarly analysis of Woodfield's article, it is surprising that it does not consider why Leopold failed to make any reference to the 13th March concert in his letter of 19th March.¹²² Why would he not have done so? The letter was written, after all, just six days after the concert date.¹²³ It is clear from his letter of 8th February that Leopold was impressed with Manzuoli's success,¹²⁴ and he would surely have been proud to report that his children had performed alongside the great castrato. But far from expressing delight at that concert, Leopold wrote of his regret at what he saw as the limited success of the February benefit concert and of his despair at a more general lack of success in London. He mysteriously attributed this misfortune to his prior rejection of an unspecified proposal, which is generally assumed to have been a refusal to become involved with the Bach Abel concerts recently been spun out from The Society evenings at Carlisle House.¹²⁵ However, given the timing of the letter, it must surely be a possibility that the

¹²⁰ Woodfield, pp.193, 207.

¹²¹ L.98, 9th July 1765.

¹²² L.96, 19th March 1765.

¹²³ Given the contents of the 19th March letter, it is doubtful that an earlier letter describing the concert has been lost.

¹²⁴ See p.19.

¹²⁵ Grimm had written to Ernst Ludwig of Saxe-Gotha that Leopold planned 'to give a subscription concert at each assembly at Mrs. Cornelys's in Soho Square', 13th December 1764, MDB, p.37. Discussion of the Carlisle House concerts tends to be coloured by the knowledge of subsequent events. Although Cornelys's reputation

Berkeley Square concert also had some bearing on Leopold's disappointment at not being treated more generously? What might have happened? We can surely assume that a concert actually took place: if it hadn't, it is likely that Leopold would have mentioned the cancellation, if only to confirm that the children had been invited to take part. Assuming that the children did perform, there are several possibilities. Leopold may simply have considered the concert to be of insufficient interest to report on it to Hagenauer, but this would appear most unlikely given the prestige of the occasion. Alternatively, Leopold may have been reluctant to disclose details of the concert (and possibly of others) in order to maintain discretion over the wealth he was accumulating. A third possibility is that he chose not to mention the concert because the children had not been received (or remunerated) as well as he had hoped, which he then attributed to his rejection of the proposal.

We cannot be certain in the absence of further information why Leopold did not mention the Berkeley Square concert. However, the appearance of an announcement in the

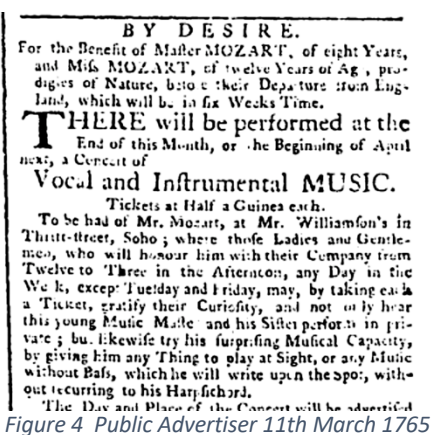


Figure 4 Public Advertiser 11th March 1765

Public Advertiser on 11th March, one day before the date of Lady Clive's letter, may offer a clue.¹²⁶ 'Ladies and Gentlemen' purchasing tickets for the second Mozart benefit concert that season were invited to 'gratify their Curiosity' by paying a visit to the family's lodgings in Thrft Street, where they might put Wolfgang to the test 'by giving him any Thing to play at Sight, or any Music without Bass, which he will write upon the Spot, without

recurring to his Harpsichord'. The announcement marked a significant departure from Leopold's previous practice in two important respects. First, the time and date of the concert were not specified. This was not a positive sign: the implication for all was that Leopold did not wish to incur expenditure for the concert before he could be certain that it attracted sufficient interest. However, the offer of daytime private displays at the family home was arguably much more significant. Formal public daytime concerts required the

significantly diminished in the 1770s, she was still highly regarded when the Mozarts were in London – see p.28. However, it is interesting to note that Leopold mentions meeting J.C. Bach (for the first time?!) as an aside at the end of the 19th March letter, suggesting that he might have recently discussed the Carlisle House concerts – see L.96., fn.159.

¹²⁶ Public Advertiser, 11th March 1765.

approval of The Lord Chamberlain,¹²⁷ and as a result less prestigious daytime performances, unlikely to receive prior authorisation, were often promoted as exhibitions. McVeigh compares the Thrift Street performances with ‘curiosities such as ‘the Learned Pig’ or a mechanical chess-player ... the young Mozart was ... put on display, carrying out keyboard tricks, playing the harpsichord with a handkerchief over his hands, and so on’.¹²⁸ In substance, Wolfgang was not doing anything very different from what had been requested before the King and Queen, where Wolfgang had been requested to play a variety of compositions, in differing performance styles and on various instruments.¹²⁹ However, the active promotion of daytime performances in a domestic setting had repositioned the Mozart children from concert performers to child prodigies, which Rachel Cowgill notes required conformance with a ‘category of public musical spectacle ... with its own set of expectations, norms, and outcomes’.¹³⁰ Perhaps this helps explain Leopold’s weariness at the intensity of the competition.¹³¹ Apart from his irritation at postponements to the February benefit concert, given the shortage of venues and limited opportunity for staging evening concerts Leopold may have felt constrained to rely on daytime performances from a purely logistical point of view. This may also throw light on what happened at Berkeley Square. Leopold’s latest commercial initiative might have been seen as transgressing an important social boundary, resulting in a cool reception at Lady Clive’s concert, with the possible consequence of limiting success in securing further private concerts elsewhere. Certainly, if private concerts had taken place in London, it is surprising that Leopold’s letters only include at best fleeting and obscure mention of them, given the level of detail and wide-ranging descriptions on so many other matters.¹³²

It seems then that Leopold’s strategy to promote his children as musical prodigies played a significant role in shaping their artistic and financial success in London. Cowgill

¹²⁷ Under the provisions of The Disorderly Houses Act, 1751, c.36, now repealed.

¹²⁸ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, p.39.

¹²⁹ L.88, 28th May 1764.

¹³⁰ Rachel Cowgill, ‘“Proofs of Genius”: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and the construction of musical prodigies in early Georgian London’, in *Musical Prodigies: Interpretations from Psychology, Education, Musicology and Ethnomusicology*, ed. by Gary E McPherson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp.511-549, p.511.

¹³¹ ‘the vast number of plaisirs (which are wearisome here)’, L.96, 19th March 1765.

¹³² We may be missing letters that have not survived- there is nothing between 18th April 1765 (L.97) and 9th July 1765 (L.98). It is however interesting to note that after L.89 (8th June 1764), Leopold includes no description of any of the performances by Wolfgang in London, other than to note their occurrence.

considers that ‘for Leopold Mozart it would prove expedient to adapt his customary presentation of his son’s talents in ways that harmonized with the expectations of English audiences’.¹³³ This raises an interesting question: to what extent was London concert structure in 1760s open to the possibility of accepting child performers as ‘serious’ artists, or was it inevitable that their broad appeal to a wide cross-section of the population disqualified their inclusion in the fashionable circles and venues frequented by the social élite?

Promoting ‘Prodigies of Nature’

McVeigh identifies young performers as ‘a constant theme’ of 18th-century concert life, the concerts being generally promoted by musical parents and teachers ‘to give credibility to the performer and publicity to the master’.¹³⁴ In a detailed review of musical prodigies in eighteenth-century England, Cowgill identifies 24 child musicians who gave benefit concerts between 1749 and 1799, six of whom had performed before 1764 and none active whilst the Mozarts were in London.¹³⁵ Commenting on Matthew Crenby’s observation that the developing eighteenth-century culture of childhood ‘should probably be regarded as always effectively separate and distinct from the adults’ socio-cultural mainstream’,¹³⁶ Cowgill suggests that ‘musical performance seems to have been one of the only spheres of activity in London ... [in the 18th century] where children were integrated into adult society’.¹³⁷ One certainly detects a more demanding and increasingly critical approach towards child performers as the century progressed,¹³⁸ but reactions to children’s performances indicate that, up to the 1760s at least, they remained a distinct category in that musical ability was of subsidiary interest to the performer’s age. McVeigh sums it up well as a ‘counterpoint between presentation and performance’, citing the example of a

¹³³ Cowgill, p.512.

¹³⁴ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, p.85.

¹³⁵ Cowgill, pp.516-7. Marianne Davies, who gave annual benefit concerts from 1751 and became a virtuoso on the glass harmonica in 1762, was around 20 years of age when the Mozarts arrived in London.

¹³⁶ M.O. Crenby, ‘Introduction: Children. Childhood and Childrens’ Culture in the Eighteenth Century’ in *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol.29 (2006), pp.313-319, p.314.

¹³⁷ Cowgill, *Proofs of Genius*, p.515.

¹³⁸ See McVeigh, *Concert Life*, p.86.

young musician playing an advanced violin concerto despite being young enough to have to stand on a stool for the performance.¹³⁹

Wolfgang's excellence as a performer and improviser is well documented in Leopold's letters and in contemporary reports,¹⁴⁰ and the dedication of the K.10-15 sonatas to Queen Charlotte and their subsequent sale consolidated Wolfgang's reputation as a composer, rare for a child performer.¹⁴¹ This exceptional musical talent appears only to have generated increased speculation over his age and in a 2010 article, Ilias Chrissochoidis establishes that it had become a matter of open scepticism.¹⁴² A letter published on 10th May 1765 in the *Public Advertiser* from a pseudonymous Recto Rector, presumably with Leopold's cooperation, was forced to decry 'the ungenerous Proceedings of some People, who ... while they reluctantly allow the Merit of [Wolfgang's] Performance, they assert it is not the performance of a Child ... but of a Man ... reduced by some defect of Nature'.¹⁴³ It was against this background that Daines Barrington, gentleman philosopher and keen amateur musician, paid a visit on the Mozarts in June 1765 to conduct an independent investigation. Barrington conducted a series of musical tests on Wolfgang, including sight reading, the extemporisation of a melody, composition, and performance, but it is clear from his report delivered to The Royal Society that the main concern was to establish Wolfgang's age with certainty.¹⁴⁴ The report returns to the central theme of Wolfgang's age: 'Witness as I was myself of most of these extraordinary facts, I must own I could not help suspecting his father imposed with regard to the real age of the boy', and 'I found likewise that most of the London musicians were of the same opinion with regard to his age, not believing it possible that a child of so tender years could surpass most of the masters in that science', and it was not delivered until 1769, mainly because Barrington had 'for a

¹³⁹ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, p.85.

¹⁴⁰ Ls.88,89 and MDB pp.41 and 46-7.

¹⁴¹ MDB, p.38. Leopold had highlighted Wolfgang's gifts as a composer in the first London public announcement on 9th May 1764, MDB, p.33.

¹⁴² See fn.86.

¹⁴³ *Public Advertiser*, 10th May 1765. The reminder of Wolfgang's abilities as a composer as well as a harpsichordist and the use of phrases like 'ungenerous' and defect 'of Nature' certainly suggest Leopold's involvement.

¹⁴⁴ Daines Barrington, 1771 '*VIII. Account of a very remarkable young musician*', in a letter from the Honourable Daines Barrington, F.R.S. to Mathew Maty, M.D. Sec. R.S. Phil.Trans. R.Soc. 60: 54-64. <https://royalsocietypublishing.org/doi/pdf/10.1098/rstl.1770.0008>, accessed 31st August 2020.

considerable time made the best inquiries [he] was able' to establish Wolfgang's date of birth, first in London and finally in Salzburg.¹⁴⁵

McVeigh observes that 'to be worthy of note, the age [of child performers] had to be below fourteen',¹⁴⁶ and on the basis of data collated on child performers between 1749 and 1799, Cowgill notes that interest started to wane once performers reached 10 years of age.¹⁴⁷ Leopold was under no illusion about the importance of Wolfgang's youth: he had deducted a year from his children's ages from the very first announcement for the Graziani benefit concert, as he had done previously on the Tour.¹⁴⁸ Three years after the family's departure from London he made clear his concern that time was not on his side. Questioning whether to accept an opportunity in Italy, he wondered whether, if he were to turn it down, it would be:

with the empty hope of some better fortune, let Wolfgang grow up, and allow myself and my children to be made fools of until I reach the age which prevents me from travelling and until he attains the age and physical appearance which no longer attract admiration for his merits.¹⁴⁹

With the effective shortening of the 1764-5 season by the King's decision to delay the return of parliament by two months until January,¹⁵⁰ the pressure on Leopold to maximise opportunities in London increased and he undeniably adopted an increasingly commercial approach. The original offer of demonstrations in Thrift Street was extended nine days later to those who preferred the purchase of a set of the K.10-15 sonatas to attending the benefit concert,¹⁵¹ and the price for admission to the concert was finally cut from half a guinea to five shillings.¹⁵² As Cowgill observes, the announcements became increasingly theatrical and flamboyant and on 9th July 1765, it was proclaimed that 'The

¹⁴⁵ Barrington, p.62. Ironically, Barrington mistakenly states that Wolfgang was eight-and-a-half years old at the time of the investigation, despite having correctly ascertained his month and year of birth.

¹⁴⁶ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, p.85. By way of comparison, most children at The Foundling Hospital were apprenticed at 14 years of age- London Metropolitan Archives, A/FH/A/12-13 https://search.lma.gov.uk/scripts/mwimain.dll/144/LMA_OPAC/web_detail/REFD+A~2FFH~2FA~2F12-3?SESSIONSEARCH, accessed 31st August 2020.

¹⁴⁷ Cowgill, p.519.

¹⁴⁸ Helvétius described Wolfgang as a child of seven in his letter of April 1764, MDB, pp.32-3 and Leopold was careful to say that Wolfgang was 'in his eighth year' in L.89, 8th June 1764.

¹⁴⁹ Anderson, *Letters*, Vienna, 20th April 1768, p.85.

¹⁵⁰ L.93, 27th November 1764 and L.95, 8th February 1765.

¹⁵¹ *Public Advertiser*, 20th March 1765.

¹⁵² *Public Advertiser*, 9th, 10th and 13th May 1765.

greatest prodigy that Europe, or that even Human Nature has to boast of' was to perform every day from 12 noon to 3pm at The Swan and Hoop Tavern in Cornhill for 2s 6d.¹⁵³ These final performances have generally been viewed as evidence of falling interest in the Mozarts: for example, Halliwell refers to the concerts as 'the final indignity', and to the family's last three months in London as 'perilously close to degradation'.¹⁵⁴ Templeton presents an alternative view, essentially questioning the assumption that the City was less prestigious a concert venue than the West End. As discussed in Chapter II, the gradual recession of the *beau monde* as a separately defined group certainly blurred the distinction from the nineteenth century, but it is difficult to agree that this was already the case in the 1760s. McVeigh's describes the Swan and Hoop in 1765 as 'a minor City venue ... being used for a low-grade exhibition of musical tricks, not for a transfer of West End concert culture eastwards',¹⁵⁵ and refers to the Morning Post's comment on Wilhelm Cramer's proposal to promote two benefit concerts in the City in 1786 and 1788 as 'a quite exceptional initiative, which would surely inspire the "Sons of Commerce" to turn their attention to admirable patronage of the arts'.¹⁵⁶

Cowgill argues that Leopold had successfully bridged the gap between adult and child performance structures and deliberately set out to present Wolfgang 'simultaneously as, on the one hand, a miniature professional with the potential to assume the mantle of Handel, and on the other, a child whose musicality had leapt ahead, but who in all other respects of his persona has remained a child'. In her view, the changes to the arrangements for the second 1765 benefit concert were not made out of desperation, but rather 'simply reflect a greater public demand for ... domestic exhibitions than for the concert, in which case ... demonstrate the fine-tuned commercial instincts of a successful 18th-century London musician', and Leopold's growing preference for informal performance was to enable the public to see and hear prodigies close up 'as a practical response to rumours impugning his honesty in stating the age of his son'.¹⁵⁷ However, this view leaves a number of issues

¹⁵³ *Public Advertiser*, 9th July 1765.

¹⁵⁴ Halliwell, p.88-9. For an overview of the similar views of Pohl, McVeigh, Eisen, Gutman and Sadie, see Templeton, pp.161-3.

¹⁵⁵ Marianne Davies gave glass harmonica demonstrations at the Swan and Hoop in 1763 and 1764, Templeton, p.189.

¹⁵⁶ McVeigh, *Musician as Concert Promoter*, §13, *Morning Post*, 14th December 1786.

¹⁵⁷ Cowgill, pp.527-8.

unresolved. Difficulties remain over the absence of any direct account in Leopold's letters of private performances outside the court, and the information that we do have indicates that Leopold may not have been as commercially successful as Cowgill suggests. Requests to Hagenauer to help manage Leopold's early financial success dry up after the summer of 1764, and in March 1765 Leopold gave the clear impression that matters were not proceeding as well as he had hoped: 'If I'd made as much money here as seemed likely at the beginning, I'd have spent money on lots of curios ... I now need to look after my money'. It seems more likely that Leopold had come up against considerable difficulty in finding a performance structure that would permit child prodigies to be presented in a prestigious concert setting. It is suggested that as a result Leopold was faced with a difficult choice. Whether, notwithstanding the risks of bringing up children 'in such a dangerous place (where most people have no religious beliefs and have nothing but bad examples before them)', he should stay in London and take the chance that Wolfgang would develop a successful adult career in a few years' time, or alternatively he and the family should continue with the journey and return to Salzburg and the relative financial security of Leopold's paid position at court.¹⁵⁸

Woodfield, Cowgill and Templeton all point to the breadth and quality of entries in the *Reisenotizen* to support the view that Leopold was more successful in promoting his children through private concerts than the letters and newspaper announcements would otherwise indicate. What do we know of the financial details of the Mozart family's time in London to help determine whether or not that was the case?

Financial matters

The undeniable attention to financial matters in Leopold's letters and his detailed observations on incomes, prices and expenses, have contributed to the development of an established body of opinion critical of Leopold's conduct on the Grand Tour, accusing him in particular of exploiting his children in the pursuit of financial gain.¹⁵⁹ However, as Eisen

¹⁵⁸ L.96, 19th March 1765 for all Leopold citations in this paragraph.

¹⁵⁹ For a review, see Templeton, pp.17-19.

argues, this to too narrow a view.¹⁶⁰ It ignores the importance that Leopold attached to cultural and educational interests and, as will be discussed further in Chapter IV, possibly even a sense of religious obligation. Whatever the motivation, the Tour was an undeniably audacious and ambitious venture that placed heavy responsibility on Leopold's shoulders as the father of a young family. Conscious of the constant danger that the project be cut short through financial difficulties, it is natural that Leopold should keep a close eye on income and expenditure. Stanley Sadie presented a further suggestion for 'the omnipresent theme of money in Leopold's letters - how much the Mozarts were having to spend and how much they might (or did) earn': it might be explained in part by a specific obligation on Leopold to report back regularly to the Salzburg court 'with potentially useful information about conditions in other countries'.¹⁶¹ It certainly appears that Leopold assumed a quasi-ambassadorial role:

... we need to travel like aristocrats and courtiers in order to stay well and preserve my court's reputation. Conversely, we've had no other contacts apart from members of the aristocracy and other distinguished persons; and although it may not be seemly to say so myself, it is none the less true that I am doing my court great honour in that way and everywhere receive exceptional courtesy and all possible respect.¹⁶²

This could explain why the letters provide detailed accounts of concert, publishing and other miscellaneous receipts and, on the other side of the ledger, wide-ranging descriptions of various expenses, including accommodation, transport, food, clothing, laundry, dining and medical costs.

The Mozarts arrived in London at a time of important changes for finance as well as for music. The 1760s saw trade volumes increase with the end of the Seven Years War, and London's rising importance as a financial centre reflected England's growing military and commercial success. Whilst Amsterdam remained Europe's trade finance capital until the third quarter of the 18th century,¹⁶³ already in the 1760s increasing numbers of lawyers,

¹⁶⁰ Cliff Eisen, 'Mozart, (Johann Georg) Leopold', CME, p.300.

¹⁶¹ Stanley Sadie, *Mozart: The Early Years* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2006), p.35.

¹⁶² L.64, Coblenz, 26th September 1763. Dominicus Hagenauer, abbot of St Peter's Abbey, Salzburg and a son of Lorenz Hagenauer, on receiving news of Leopold's passing noted he was 'a man of much wit and wisdom, and would have been capable of good services to the state beyond those of music', Eisen, CME, p.300.

¹⁶³ See Peter Spufford, 'From Antwerp and Amsterdam to London: The Decline of Financial Centres in Europe', *De Economist* 154, No.2 (2006), pp.143-175, p.166.

bankers and insurers were establishing themselves in the City to service the commercial sector,¹⁶⁴ and goldsmiths and merchants in the West End had offered deposit taking and lending services to wealthy individuals for some time.¹⁶⁵ We know that Leopold had arranged a currency exchange for the benefit of Hagenauer through Loubier & Tessier, bankers in Austin Friars,¹⁶⁶ but as far as we can tell Leopold did not open a private banking account in the West End, which probably reflected the fact that he did not intend, at least initially, to spend as long as he did in London. J.C. Bach held an account at Drummonds Bank, and a copy of entries for January to August 1774, some of which probably relate to the Carlisle House concerts, can be found in Figure 5. Although it is highly likely that Leopold maintained detailed financial accounts, nothing of these has yet been uncovered, either in his personal notes or in banking records.¹⁶⁷

It should also be remembered that the letters naturally reflect the messages that Leopold wanted to convey to Hagenauer and others in Salzburg. Just as a possible failure to arrange private concerts in London might be reflected in the absence of commentary in the correspondence, there is the possibility that Leopold emphasised financial success in the letters at the expense of detail on less profitable episodes. Any conclusion on the financial outcome of the time spent by the Mozarts in London can then be approximative at best, based as it is on the information that Leopold chose to disclose in the letters that survive and on third-party estimates.

Figure 6 in Appendix B sets out an estimate of the family's income whilst in London, net of costs where these have been identified, on the basis of the information described in Leopold's letters. These make no mention of the benefit concert held on 13th May 1765, of the proceeds of tickets sold for performances at Thrift Street or at The Swan and Hoop tavern, of the income derived from the sale of the sonatas and engravings or of any fees

¹⁶¹ Leonard D. Schwarz, *London in the age of industrialisation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p.233.

¹⁶⁵ Frank T. Melton, 'Deposit Banking in London, 1700–90', *Business History*, Vol.28, No.3 (1986), pp.40-50.

¹⁶³ L.90, 28th June 1764.

¹⁶⁷ COVID-19 restrictions have inhibited further research in this area, which would be worthwhile. As a city bank, Loubier & Tessier dealt primarily with commercial matters- for example, it insured cargo for the slave trade – Filipa Ribeiro da Silva, 'Private Businessmen in the Angolan Trade, 1590s to 1780s: Insurance, Commerce and Agency', in *Networks and Trans-Cultural Exchange*, ed. by David Richardson and Filipa Ribeiro da Silva (Leiden: Brill, 2014), p.87.

that may have been paid for private concerts or lessons. On the basis of the incomplete information available, it would appear that the family made a total income net of direct performance costs of at least 300-350 guineas during its stay, a level of income that represented some five to six times what Leopold would have earned in a year at the Salzburg court and, on a recurring basis, would have placed the family amongst the higher earning musicians in London. However, in the absence of fresh evidence, it appears Leopold was not able to sustain this level of income beyond a season and of course this sum does not take account of the family's living expenses. Leopold estimated an annual cost of £300 to live in London,¹⁶⁸ which is consistent with the information provided in L.90. Whilst this would equate to a relatively high standard of living, it would have had to cover the expense and maintenance of clothes to be worn in aristocratic society, the accommodation cost of a fashionable London address and the costs and fees payable by musicians for the hire of instruments, services of copyists and engravers and the like, which Leopold considered considerable.¹⁶⁹ It is unclear when Leopold commented that the family had made 'a few hundred guineas' in London whether he was presenting a gross or net figure, but he admitted that it was less than originally hoped for.¹⁷⁰

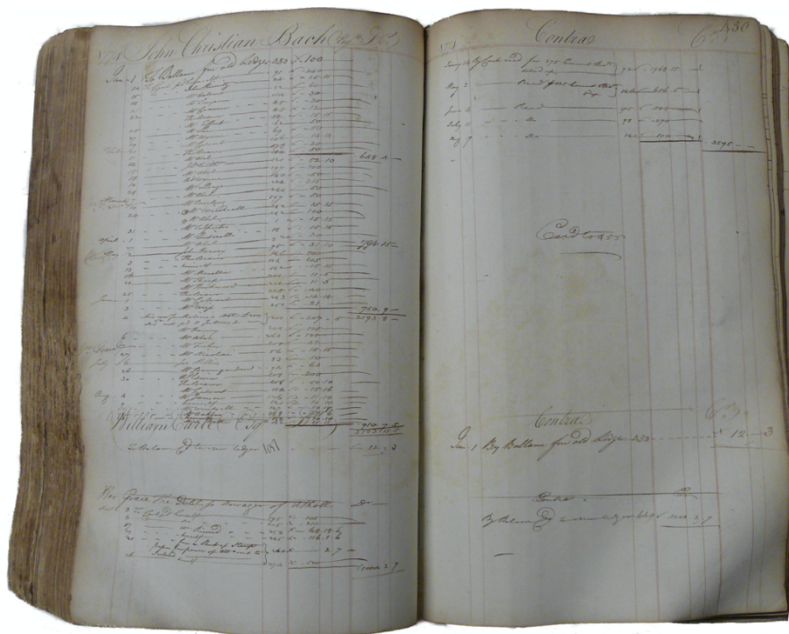


Figure 5 J.C. Bach account book at Drummonds Bank Jan-Aug 1774

By kind permission of NatWest Group ©2020.

¹⁶⁸ L.96, 19th March 1765.

¹⁶⁹ L. 93, 27th November 1764.

¹⁷⁰ L.96, 19th March 1765.

Summary

Within the first two months of arrival in London, the Mozart children had performed twice at the royal court, given a successful benefit concert in the West End and Wolfgang had played the organ at Ranelagh in support of the foundation of a new hospital. The benefit concert was profitable, and Leopold was able to deposit 100 gns. with bankers in London, a sum that exceeded double his annual salary at the Salzburg court.

Benefit concerts, organised by performers at their own risk, were the only means for the Mozarts to perform before a public audience in the West End, as there were no subscription-series concerts in place during the time they were there. Normally leading performers would hold one benefit concert in their name in a season. Leopold organised two benefit concerts in 1765: the first was a success, although Leopold had hoped for more, and we know nothing of the outcome of the second.

After a period of illness over the summer, Leopold was concerned at the amount of money he was spending and set out to organise private concerts for fashionable society. Although there are suggestions that Leopold was successful, it is puzzling that there is no specific mention of any such event in his letters and the evidence available suggests that the family's finances continued to suffer. Leopold altered his strategy and presented the children as prodigies in daytime performances, which were aimed at a different public and took place both at the family's home and in less prestigious venues. It is suggested that this development was incompatible with securing private engagements with élite society.

Regrettably very limited financial data are available. Nevertheless, it appears that whilst the family's income during its time in London would not have placed it amongst the top tier of the most famous musicians, it still amounted to some 300-350 gns., which would generally have been regarded as highly successful. However, this level of income did not appear to be sustainable in the longer term, and the family's annual living expenses in London may have been as high as £300.

IV. Concluding observations

Simon McVeigh's outstanding 1993 study presented new perspectives on eighteenth-century concert life in London through its broad coverage of social and cultural life in the capital, encompassing networks of aristocratic patronage, musical styles, repertoires, audience interaction, concert promotion and the financial workings of the music profession. The fact that it continues to inspire research some twenty-five years after its publication is a testimony to its importance.

Although this dissertation has narrowed its focus to London concert life in the 1760s, it lends perspectives on a number of subjects of broader application which it is felt warrant further research.

Leopold Mozart – manipulator or victim?

It was suggested in Chapter III that the prevalence of financial commentary in Leopold's letters may have contributed to the criticism that Leopold exploited his children for financial gain,¹⁷¹ an allegation expressed in perhaps its most extreme form by Maynard Solomon.¹⁷² This dissertation presents an alternative perspective. It argues that, far from being manipulative, Leopold was the victim in London of economic and social constraints that prevented him from securing proper appreciation for Wolfgang's talent. The difficulties encountered by the Mozarts essentially stemmed from the consequences of the fragmentation of concert life in the capital along social lines, which led to Leopold's frustration and worry over the continued financial viability of the Grand Tour. But, as Sadie convincingly argued, that frustration was much deeper than purely financial: Leopold, a deeply religious man, felt compelled by a sense of Catholic and civic duty to present Wolfgang, a child genius, to the world.¹⁷³ Leopold's difficulties in London would also account in part for his deep-rooted suspicion of the aristocracy, a recurring theme in later

¹⁷¹ See p.40.

¹⁷² 'Leopold ... had seized every opportunity to turn the labours of his miraculous child into a cash equivalent, reaping extraordinarily large sums of money from the family's European tours', Maynard Solomon, *Mozart: A Life* (London: Hutchinson, 1995), p.7.

¹⁷³ '*... if ever I have an obligation to convince the world of this miracle, it is precisely now, when people ridicule everything that is called a miracle and deny the existence of miracles*' (italics in original), Leopold Mozart to Lorenz Hagenauer, 30th July 1768, cited in Sadie, p.33. See also Cowgill, p.522.

life both for him and Wolfgang.¹⁷⁴ Further study on the catalysts for those attitudes and their subsequent influence on Wolfgang's life and work is merited.

Musicians as entrepreneurs in later-eighteenth-century London

Chapter I has described how musicians in the eighteenth century were drawn to London from the Continent by the promise of higher income and greater commercial freedom. However, although London provided the opportunity to earn a living away from the constraints and demands of salaried employment, top-ranking musicians remained dependent upon a narrow network of élite patrons. Raynor's observation that the eighteenth-century musician had 'a clearly defined social function, writing and playing the music he was paid to write and play'¹⁷⁵ remained as valid for those working in London as on the Continent. The difference was that musicians arriving in London had exchanged relative security of employment and modest earnings for the prospect of significantly higher income under more flexible but highly fragile conditions. Their dependence upon aristocratic and commercial patronage placed them at the nexus of financial backers and the arbiters of taste: in Weber's words they had become entrepreneurs 'in cultural and social, as well as economic, terms'.¹⁷⁶

Work published subsequent to McVeigh's *Concert Life*, notably by William Weber and Deborah Rohr, has focussed on social historical aspects of the period and in addition Catherine Harbor has written a detailed study on the development of public commercial concerts in London from the Restoration to 1750.¹⁷⁷ Building on McVeigh's work, this dissertation has offered a glimpse of the complex interaction of financial, legal and social factors affecting professional music life in London in the 1760s. Capital raising, risk sharing and insurance services, bank lending and factoring, contractual arrangements between artists and promoters, copyright protection, instrument manufacture and hire services and growing publishing and distribution networks are just some of the new elements that

¹⁷⁴ 'attitudes towards matters of social class certainly played a part in determining Mozart's and his father's behaviour in many of the situations they were to face', Sadie, p.14.

¹⁷⁵ Raynor, pp.9-10.

¹⁷⁶ *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700-1914: Managers, Charlatans and Idealists*, ed. by William Weber (Bloomington, In.: Indiana University Press, 2004), p.7.

¹⁷⁷ See fn.24.

became increasingly important to the development of the music business in the latter-eighteenth century. Further research is surely justified.

Private concerts in late eighteenth-century England

This dissertation argues that Leopold's decision to promote his children as musical prodigies adversely affected his status and credibility amongst the social élite. As is illustrated by the discussion around the private concerts that may have been given by the Mozarts in London, relatively little is known of the grander formal concerts that took place there at the homes of fashionable society. Inevitably their lack of publicity makes investigation more difficult, but diary entries, biographies and newspaper reports make it clear that private events became more frequent amongst the social élite in the search for greater exclusivity than could be found in public concerts. They also became increasingly important to professional musicians, whether directly by way of payment of a fee or indirectly as a means to advertise their performing skills and the accomplishments of their students. McVeigh touches on the subject in *Concert Life*,¹⁷⁸ but it is suggested that the cultural and commercial importance of their role in late-eighteenth century England is not yet fully understood, and further work along the lines of Mary Sue Morrow's study of private concerts in *Concert Life in Haydn's Vienna*¹⁷⁹ could be fruitful.

It is hoped that this dissertation offers fresh perspectives on how prevailing cultural, social and economic forces affected professional musicians in the 1760s, a decade at the start of rapid acceleration of concert life in London. Its focus on practical issues facing the Mozart family also throws new light on aspects of Leopold's management of the Grand Tour, a journey of critical importance to Wolfgang Amadeus's musical development.

¹⁷⁸ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, pp.44-49.

¹⁷⁹ Mary Sue Morrow, *Concert Life in Haydn's Vienna: Aspects of a Developing Musical and Social Institution* (Stuyvesant, NY.: Pendragon Press, 1989), Chapter 1.

Appendix A. Annotated map of London, Westminster and Southwark 1764

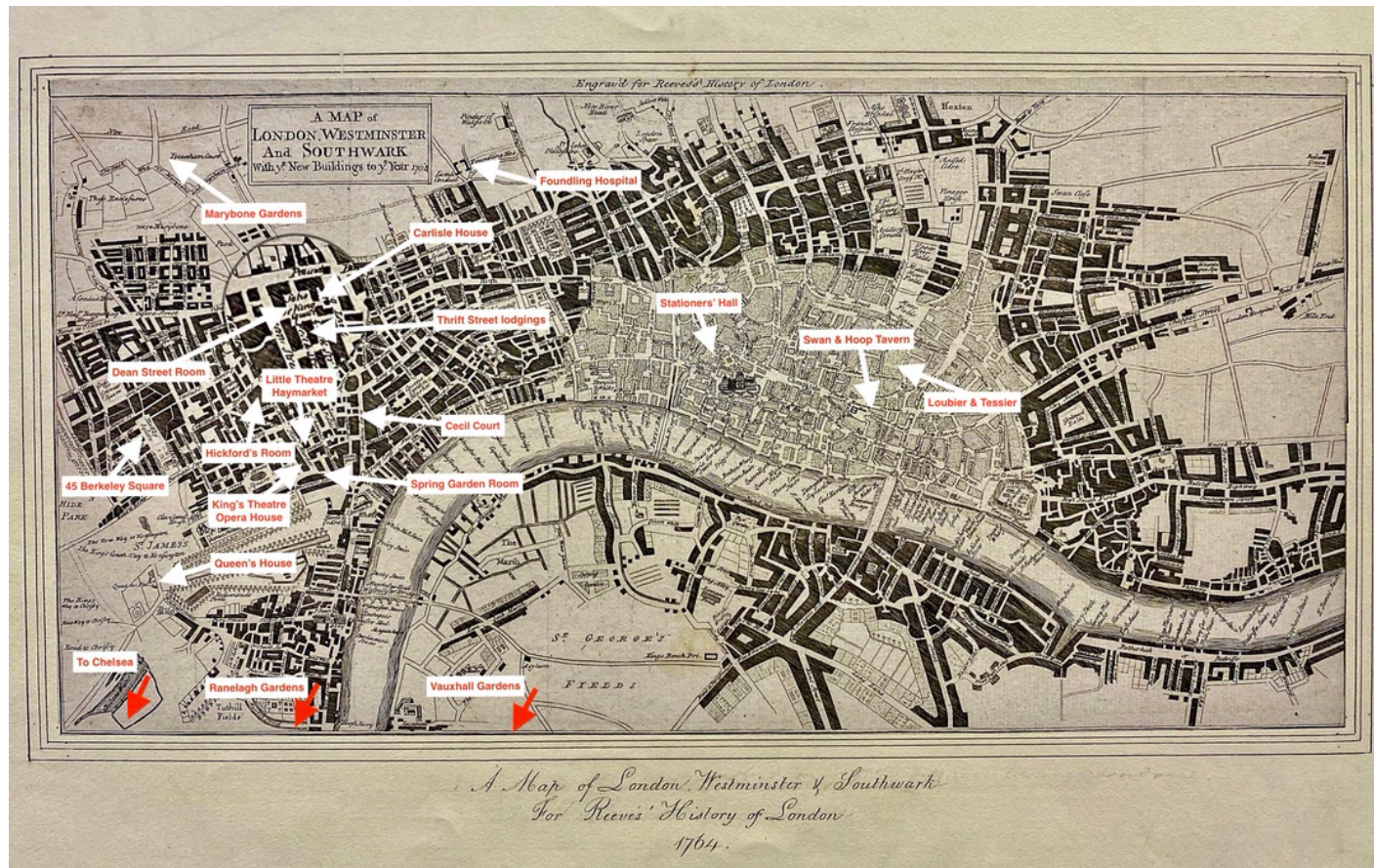


Figure 6 A Map of London, Westminster and Southwark 1764

[Crace Collection of Maps of London](#), The British Library

Appendix B. Financial matters

Currencies and approximate exchange rates

Gulden (Gld.) or florin (fl.) (interchangeable)

Guinea (gn.) = 21 shillings ≈ 10-11 gulden/florins

Pound (£) = 20 shillings (s. or /-) ≈ 8-9 gulden/florins

Shilling = 12 pence (d.)

French louis d'or = 24 livres ≈ 11 gulden

Mozart family's reported income and expenses (estimate)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Gross</u>	<u>Cost</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Source</u>
27 th Apr 1764	1 st royal concert	24 gns 'only'	N/A	£24 4/-	L.88
19 th May 1764	2 nd royal concert	24 gns	N/A	£24 4/-	L.88
28 th May 1764	Clothes for Leopold and Wolfgang and women's hats	N/A	12 gns	N/A	L.88
5 th Jun 1764	Benefit concert Spring Garden	100 gns	(20) gns	£84	L.89
28 th Jun 1764	Description of a range of expenses	N/A	£(250-300)e (annualised)	£(40-50)e (to July – see below)	L.90
25 th Oct 1764	3 rd royal concert	24 gns? (?)	N/A	£24 4/- (?)	L.94
27 th Nov 1764	'I have spent more than 170 guineas since the beginning of July'	N/A	> (170) gns	£(178 10/-)	L.93
18 th Jan 1765	Dedication of K10-15 to Queen Charlotte	50 gns	?	£52 10/-	L.96
21 st Feb 1765	Benefit concert Little Theatre	130 gns	> (27) gns	£105	L.96
31 st Jul 1765	Estimate of continued expenses	N/A	£(250-300)e (annualised)	£(150-200)e (Dec-July)	L.90

Figure 7 Analysis of income and expenses- Ls.88-96

Calculation estimated annualised expenses (L.90)

Lodgings @ Cecil Court 12/- week = £31 4/-

Harpichord rental 1gn. Month = 12gns.

Wine 60/- month = £36

Lunch 4/- day = £73

Supper 2/- day = £36 10/-

Other misc. = ???

Entertainment and travel c.4gns. month = £48

Total £240 + 'clothes, laundry, toiletries, sugar, tea, milk, bread, coal etc' = c£250-300pa

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Archives

London Metropolitan Archives

NatWest Group Archives

Eighteenth-Century Newspapers

Daily Post

The Female Tatler

General Advertiser

Morning Post

Public Advertiser

Accessed via the *Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Burney Newspapers Collection*, Gale Primary Sources in collaboration with The British Library

Books, letters and other materials pre 1825

von Archenholz, J.W., *A Picture of England*, vol. II, trans. from the French (London: Edward Jeffrey, 1789)

Barrington, Daines, 1771 'VIII. Account of a very remarkable young musician', in a letter from the Honourable Daines Barrington, F.R.S. to Mathew Maty, M.D. Sec. R.S. Phil.Trans. R.Soc. 60: 54-64. <https://royalsocietypublishing.org/doi/pdf/10.1098/rstl.1770.0008>

Burney, Charles, *A General History of Music*, Volume the Fourth (London, 1789)
https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CW0103275473/ECCO?u=ull_ttda&sid=ECCO&xid=73bfcc5d

Campbell, R., *The London Tradesman* (London: T. Gardner, 1747)
<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=nNoHAAAQAAJ&pg=GBS.PP1>

Colquhoun, Patrick, *A Treatise on Indigence*, 2nded. (London: J. Mawman, 1815)

Defoe, Daniel, *A tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain* (London: Peter Davies, 1927)

Deutsch, Otto Erich, *Mozart: A Documentary Biography*, trans. By Eric Blom, Peter Branscombe and Jeremy Noble (Stanford, CA.: Stanford University Press, 1965)

Eisen, Cliff, *New Mozart Documents: A Supplement to O.E. Deutsch's Documentary Biography* (London: MacMillan, 1991)

Hayes, William, *Remarks on Mr Avison's Essay on Musical Expression* (London: J. Robinson, 1753)

[https://imslp.org/wiki/Remarks_on_Mr._Avison%27s_Essay_on_Musical_Expression_\(Hayes%2C_William\)](https://imslp.org/wiki/Remarks_on_Mr._Avison%27s_Essay_on_Musical_Expression_(Hayes%2C_William))

The Letters of Mozart and his Family, ed. by Emily Anderson, 3rd edition (London: Macmillan, 1985)

The Letters of the Mozart Family 1756-1791, ed. by Cliff Eisen, trans. Stewart Spencer (London: Yale University Press, in progress)

The Letters of Philip Dormer Stanhope 4th Earl of Chesterfield, ed. by Bonamy Dobrée (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1932), Vol.4

Mattheson, Johann, *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre* (Hamburg: 1713)

[https://imslp.org/wiki/Das_neu-er%C3%B6ffnete_Orchestre_\(Mattheson%2C_Johann\)](https://imslp.org/wiki/Das_neu-er%C3%B6ffnete_Orchestre_(Mattheson%2C_Johann))

Mozart, Leopold, *Reisenotizen*, ed. by Arthur Schurig (Dresden: Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum Salzburg, 1920)

North, Roger, *Memoirs of Musick* ed. by Edward Rimbault (London: George Bell, 1846)

Secondary Sources

Books

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

Careri, Enrico, *Francesco Geminiani* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993)

The Classical Era: From the 1740s to the end of the 18th century, ed. by Neal Zaslaw (London: Macmillan, 1989)

Colley, Linda, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, 2nd ed. (Hew Haven, CT.: Yale University Press, 2014)

Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain, ed. by Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004)

Duncan, Cheryll, *Felice Giardini and Professional Music Culture in Mid-Eighteenth-Century London* (London: Routledge, 2019)

Eagleton, Terry, *The Function of Criticism* (London: Verso Editions, 1984)

- Ehrlich, Cyril, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985)
- Goehr, Lydia, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994)
- Gribble, Rebecca, 'The finances, estates and social status of musicians in the late-eighteenth century', in *The Music Profession in Britain 1780-1920*, ed. by Rosemary Golding (London: Routledge, 2018)
- Gutman, Robert W., *Mozart, A Cultural Biography* (London: Secker & Warburg, 2000)
- Habermas, Jürgen, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: an inquiry into a category of bourgeois society*, trans. by Thomas Burger with the assistance of Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, Mass.: Polity Press, 1989)
- Halliwell, Ruth, *The Mozart Family: Four Lives in a Social Context* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998)
- King, Alec Hyatt, *Mozart in the British Museum* (London: Trustees of The British Museum, 1956)
- Jenkins, John, *Mozart and the English Connection* (London: Cygnus Arts, 1998)
- McKendrick, Neil, John Brewer and J.H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Europa Publications Limited, 1982)
- McVeigh, Simon, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993)
- McVeigh, Simon, 'The Musician as concert-promoter in London 1780-1850', in *Le concert et son public*, ed. by Hans Erich Bödeker, Michael Werner and Patrice Veit (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2002), pp.71-92
- Music and Benefit Performance in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. by Matthew Gardner and Alison Clark DeSimone (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020)
- Music in Britain: The Eighteenth Century*, ed. by H. Diack Johnstone and Roger Fiske (London: Blackwell Reference, 1990)
- The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700-1914: Managers, Charlatans and Idealists*, ed. by William Weber (Bloomington, In.: Indiana University Press, 2004)
- Nettel, Reginald, *The Orchestra in England: A Social History* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1956)
- Pohl, Carl Ferdinand, *Mozart und Haydn in London, Vol I* (Vienna: Carl Gerold's Sohn, 1867)

- Porter, Roy, *London: A Social History*, new ed. (London: Penguin Books Limited, 2000)
- Porter, Roy, 'Print Culture' in *Enlightenment: Britain and the Creation of the Modern World* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 2001)
- Price, Curtis, Judith Milhous and Robert. D. Hume, *Italian Opera in Late-Eighteenth-Century London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995-2001)
- Raynor, Henry, *A Social History of Music: From the Middle Ages to Beethoven* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1972)
- Ribeiro da Silva, Filipa, 'Private Businessmen in the Angolan Trade, 1590s to 1780s: Insurance, Commerce and Agency', in *Networks and Trans-Cultural Exchange*, ed. by David Richardson and Filipa Ribeiro da Silva (Leiden: Brill, 2014)
- Rohr, Deborah, *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750-1850: A Profession of Artisans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001)
- Rushton, Julian, *Mozart* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)
- Sadie, Stanley, *Mozart: The Early Years* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2006)
- Schenk, Erich, *Mozart and his Times*, ed. and trans. by Richard and Clara Winston (London: Secker & Warburg, 1960)
- Schwarz, Leonard D., *London in the age of industrialisation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992)
- Solomon, Maynard, *Mozart: A Life* (London: Hutchinson, 1995)
- Summers, Judith, *The Empress of Pleasure* (London: Viking, 2003)

Articles

- Chrissochoidis, Ilias, 'London Mozartiana: Wolfgang's disputed age & early performances of Allegri's Miserere', *The Musical Times*, Vol.151, No.1911 (Summer 2010), pp.83-89
- Crenby, M.O., 'Introduction: Children. Childhood and Childrens' Culture in the Eighteenth Century' in *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol.29 (2006), pp.313-319
- Hunter, David, 'Patronizing Handel, inventing audiences', *Early Music*, Vol.28, No.1 (February 2000), pp.32-36 + 38-49
- King, Alec Hyatt, 'Some Aspects of Recent Mozart Research', *Proceedings of The Royal Musical Association*, Vol.100 (1973-4), pp.1-18

Lindert, Peter H. and Jeffrey G. Williamson, 'Revising England's Social Tables 1688-1812', *Explorations in Economic History*, vol. 19 (1982), pp.385-408

Melton, Frank T., 'Deposit Banking in London, 1700-90', *Business History*, Vol.28, No.3 (1986), pp.40-50

Oldman, C.B., 'Beckford and Mozart', *Music and Letters*, Vol. 47, No. 2 (April 1966), pp.110-5

Spufford, Peter, 'From Antwerp and Amsterdam to London: The Decline of Financial Centres in Europe', *The Economist* 154, No.2 (2006), pp.143-175

Weber, William, 'Did People Listen in the Eighteenth Century?', *Early Music*, Vol.25, No. 4 (Nov. 1997), pp.678-691

Weber, William, 'The Muddle of the Middle Classes', *19th-Century Music*, Vol.3, No.2 (Nov. 1979), pp.175-185

Websites

Edge, Dexter, and Christopher J. Salmon, '[The earliest known advertisement of the Delafosse engraving of Carmontelle's portrait of the Mozarts \(21 Jan 1765\)](#)', *Mozart: New Documents*, ed. by Dexter Edge and David Black (2019)

McVeigh, Simon, *Calendar of London Concerts 1750-1800*, Goldsmiths, University of London <http://research.gold.ac.uk/10342/>, v.02 (accessed 5th September 2020)

Victoria and Albert Museum, 'Search the Collections', *The Bad Taste of the Town, or 'Masquerades and Operas'* <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1159950/the-bad-taste-of-the-prints-hogarth-william/>, (accessed 5th September 2020)

Unpublished Doctoral Theses

Harbor, Catherine, 'The Birth of the Music Business: Public Commercial Concerts in London 1660-1750' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Royal Holloway University of London, 2012)

Templeton, Hannah Margaret, 'The Mozarts in London: Exploring the Family's Professional, Social and Intellectual Networks in 1764-1765' (unpublished doctoral thesis, King's College, London, 2016)