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The Mozarts in London

Exploring the Family's Professional, Social and Intellectual Networks in 1764-1765

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The Mozarts in London:

Exploring the Family's Professional, Social and
Intellectual Networks in 1764-1765

Hannah Margaret Templeton

A dissertation submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Musicology
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Abstract

This dissertation reassesses the Mozarts' stay in London, from April 1764 until July 1765. It explores the family's professional, social and intellectual networks, considering how they were formed, how they functioned, and the interrelationships between them to ascertain the extent of the Mozarts' engagement with both musical and wider cultural life. The first chapter lays out the broad range of primary sources available for studying the Mozarts in London. It includes the first fully annotated edition of Leopold Mozart's London *Reisenotizen*, highlighting several pre-existing networks that the Mozarts engaged with. The four remaining chapters use these networks as a point of departure to provide a fresh perspective on the fifteen months. Chapter 2 explores the Mozarts' navigation of Westminster's musical scene, focusing on public concert life, subscription concerts and private concerts. Chapter 3 examines Leopold's engagement with the knowledge of his patrons, furthering his interests in science and technology. It then situates the Mozart children as *part* of London's scientific culture, themselves an object of curiosity. Chapter 4 considers Leopold's contact with merchants and traders based in the City of London as relationships with potential patrons, offering a revised context for the Swan and Hoop Tavern appearances. Chapter 5 documents the Mozarts' exposure to London's musical club cultures, music by English composers, and the memory of Handel. The number of musicians and patrons whose interests traversed different musical spheres suggests greater degrees of fluidity among London's musical cultures than is typically allowed. This dissertation positions the Mozarts' stay in London as an educational journey for the whole family, of which music was a significant but not the sole focus. Its approach challenges existing narratives of the family's London period and childhood travels, and has implications for understandings of eighteenth-century London's musical life as well as wider Mozart biography.

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Abbreviations

Archives and Libraries

BL – British Library

BM – British Museum

Texts and Databases

CME – Cliff Eisen and Simon Keefe eds., *The Cambridge Mozart Encyclopedia* (London, 2006).

DNB – *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*

GMO – *Grove Music Online*

MDB – Otto Erich Deutsch, *Mozart: A Documentary Biography* (London, 1965).

OED – *Oxford English Dictionary*

P.A. – *Public Advertiser*

MBA – Wilhelm Bauer and Otto Erich Deutsch, *Mozart: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, (Kassel, 1962-1975).

Institutions

RS – Royal Society

RSA – Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce

NGCC – Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club

AAM – Academy of Ancient Music

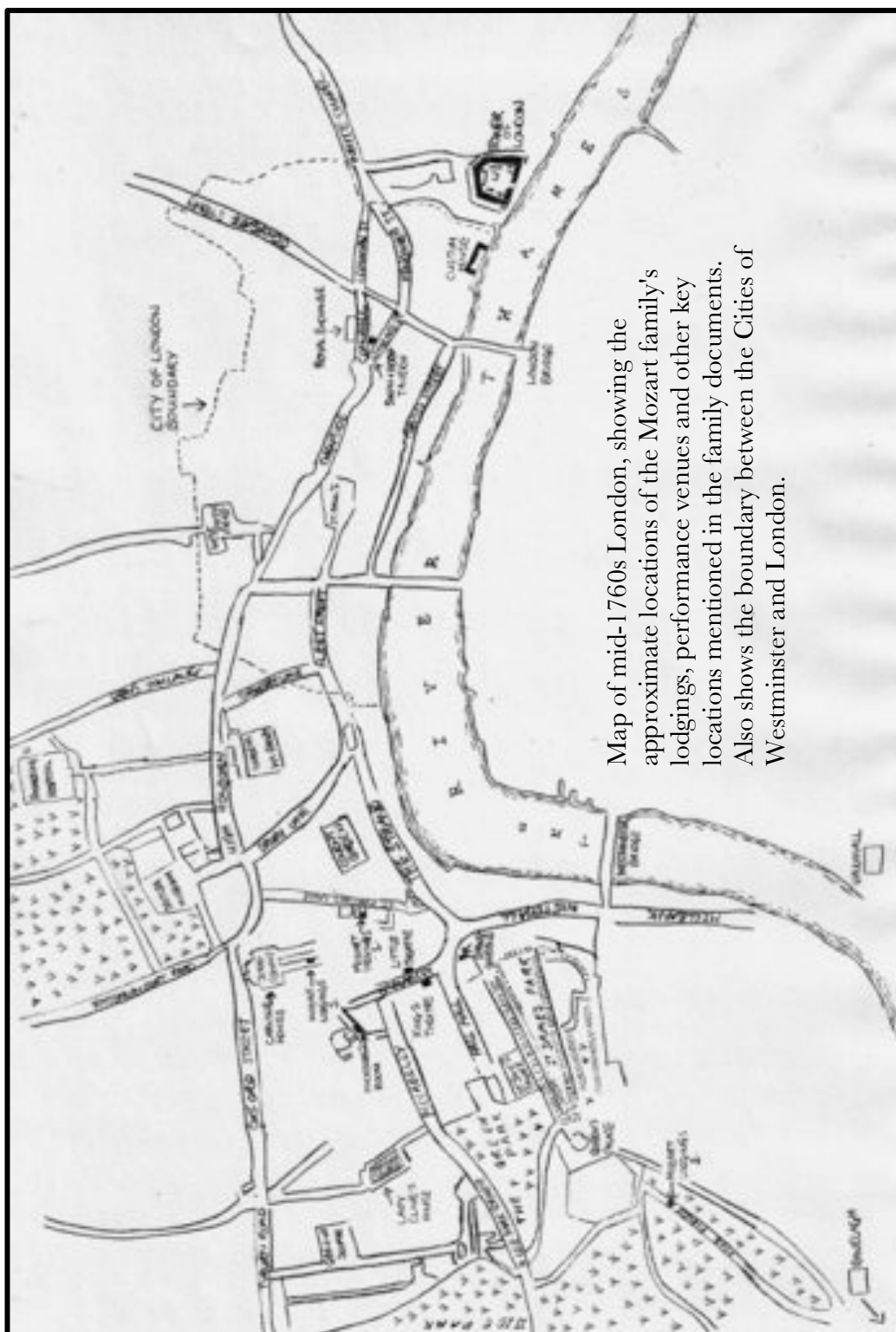


Figure 1: Map of the Cities of Westminster and London in the 1760s identifying key locations relevant to the Mozarts and discussed in this dissertation.

Introduction

On 23rd April 1764 the Mozart family arrived in London. They stayed for fifteen months as part of a three-year tour of Western Europe, undertaken between 6th June 1763 and 29th November 1766.¹ The Mozarts travelled as a whole family: Leopold, his wife Maria Anna, and his two children, Maria Anna ('Nannerl') and Wolfgang. Their fifteen-month stay in England's capital – until late July 1765 – was the longest spent in any single location during their travels. Based primarily in Westminster, the Mozarts met leading musicians such as J.C. Bach and K.F. Abel; they performed for members of the nobility, and King George III and Queen Charlotte; and gave public concerts in some of Westminster's leading concert venues, at their lodgings in Soho, and at the Swan and Hoop Tavern in the City of London. London also saw the rapid development of Wolfgang's compositional abilities: he composed his first symphonies (including K.16 and K.19), a set of keyboard sonatas that were published and dedicated to the Queen (K.10-15), a concert aria (K.21) and a short chorus, 'God is Our Refuge', K.20.²

The London visit, and the family's European tour more broadly, have often loomed large in conventional narratives of Mozart biography. In 2014, BBC Radio 3 presenter Suzy Klein and conductor Christian Curnyn delivered a podcast on the Mozarts' time in London as part of the BBC's *Eighteenth-Century Season*.³ Klein and Curnyn's narrative is driven by a depiction of Leopold as a pushy father who had realised that marketing his talented children to the public would yield greater financial

¹ For an overview of the Mozarts' three year tour through Western Europe, and a complete map of the places they travelled through, see *European Mozart Ways*, http://www.mozartways.com/content.php?m=1&id=1228&m_id=1228&showmap=1&lang=en, accessed 17/07/2014.

² For a more in-depth summary of the Mozarts' time in London, see Simon McVeigh, 'London' in Cliff Eisen and Simon P. Keefe, *CME*, 254-259.

³ Details of the *Eighteenth-Century Season* can be found at, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p01vqxsg>, accessed 20/04/2016. For Klein and Curnyn's podcast, *Mozart The Prodigy*, visit <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p02r5d6j>, accessed 05/07/2016.

rewards than his own career as deputy *Kapellmeister* in Salzburg. They emphasise a gruelling schedule of concert appearances, where Wolfgang and Nannerl's performances amounted to little more than circus tricks. Their narrative is situated in the context of wider Mozart biography: Wolfgang never forgave Leopold for the childhood he was 'robbed' of, and the experiences on tour set him up as the 'eternal child' he remained as an adult.⁴ Klein and Curnyn's podcast echoes the predominant narrative of the Mozarts' London period outlined in most scholarly literature.⁵

Although intended for a general audience, the podcast reflects a scholarly tendency to prioritise Wolfgang Mozart and his music above wider cultural activity and context. For London, scholars typically draw on a limited source base that includes Wolfgang's compositions, music-related passages in Leopold's letters, and newspaper advertisements documenting the family's concert appearances.⁶ This narrow focus has given rise to three narrative patterns: an emphasis on the presumed constant musical activity of the Mozart children and resultant comparisons to a circus act; a loss of interest in the family on the part of the English public; and Leopold as a pushy and exploitative parent, often for his own benefit and recognition. The following section of this introduction traces these narratives chronologically through the literature, before arguing for a revised interpretation of the Mozarts' time in London based on a wider range of available primary sources than has previously been

⁴ There are two categorical inaccuracies in Klein and Curnyn's narrative. First, Curnyn states that Leopold's letters surely play down the children's suffering and hard life on the road because he was writing to his *wife*. Leopold was in fact writing to his friend and landlord Lorenz Hagenauer, while his wife accompanied him on the tour. Second, Curnyn cites a dangerous illness Leopold contracted in the summer of 1764 as the 'luckiest' thing that happened to Wolfgang and Nannerl, suggesting that the break in their schedule allowed Wolfgang to compose and meet other London composers such as Johann Christian Bach and Karl Friedrich Abel. Yet it was Leopold himself who forged the family's contacts, not the eight to nine-year-old Wolfgang.

⁵ For example, Herman Abert, *W.A. Mozart*, ed. Cliff Eisen and transl. Stewart Spencer (London, 2006), 39-47; Stanley Sadie, *Mozart: The Early Years 1756-1781* (Oxford, 2006), 58-89; Robert W. Gutman, *Mozart: A Cultural Biography* (USA, 1999), 180-202; Julian Rushton, *Mozart* (Oxford, 2006), 9-11; Maynard Solomon, *Mozart: A Life*, (London, 1996), 43-54.

⁶ See, for example, Emily Anderson, *The Letters of Mozart and His Family* (London, 1966), 44-57. Contemporaneous newspaper advertisements that document the Mozarts' concert appearances can be found online in the British Library Burney Collection of 17th and 18th-Century Newspapers.

considered. These include Leopold's complete London letters and *Reisenotizen* ('travel notes'), and material culture sources such as prints, objects and other ephemera.

The Mozarts in the Literature

The earliest biographies of Mozart devote little space to London, discussing only key musical activities. For example, Friedrich Schlichtegroll, Thomas Busby and John Sainsbury refer to the Mozarts' appearances before the royal family, Wolfgang's composition and performance of new symphonies and the sonatas K.10-15, and extemporisation and keyboard skills.⁷ They also recount an anecdote of Wolfgang playing the keyboard with J.C. Bach:

...Christian Bach, music-master to the queen, took the little Mozart on his knees, and played a few bars. Mozart then continued the air, and they thus performed an entire sonata with such precision, that those who were present imagined it was played by the same person.⁸

The information provided in these accounts is almost identical, and Busby and Sainsbury most likely copied their information directly from Schlichtegroll.⁹ All three accounts quote the above J.C. Bach anecdote, but only Sainsbury provides a direct citation to scientist and lawyer Daines Barrington's report on Wolfgang's abilities.¹⁰

Leopold Mozart is not mentioned in these biographers' discussion of London, although Schlichtegroll begins his account of Wolfgang's life observing that Leopold

⁷ Thomas Busby, 'Life of Mozart' (1798) in *A General History of Music from the Earliest Times to the Present*, Vol. 2 (1819), 405-406; Stendhal, 'Life of Mozart', in *The Life of Haydn, in a Series of Letters Written at Vienna; Followed by the Life of Mozart; with Observations on Metastasio; and on the Present State of Music in France and Italy* (Translated by L.A.C. Bombet, London, 1817; reprinted, with notes by William Gardner, Boston and Philadelphia, 1839), 273-276; Sainsbury, John. *A Dictionary of Music from the Earliest to the Present Times. Comprising the Most Important Biographical Contents of the Works of Gerber, Choron, and Fayolle, Count Orloff, Dr. Burney, Sir John Hawkins, etc., etc. together with upwards of a Hundred Original Memoirs of the Most Eminent Living Musicians; and a Summary of the History of Music*, Volume 2 (London, 1824), 188.

⁸ Sainsbury, *Mozart*, 188.

⁹ William Stafford, 'The Evolution of Mozartian Biography', in Simon P. Keefe ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Mozart* (Cambridge, 2003), 202. Stafford notes that, up until 1828, biographers discussing Mozart's early life most commonly plagiarized their material from Schlichtegroll.

¹⁰ Daines Barrington, *An Account of a Very Remarkable Young Musician* (Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society, 1770). Reproduced in Deutsch, *MDB*, 95-100.

had the greatest influence over both the destiny and disposition of his son.¹¹ Early references to Leopold are most likely drawn from contemporaneous descriptions, all of which present him in a positive light. For example, music historian Charles Burney described Leopold as 'so able a musician and intelligent a man'.¹² Likewise, upon hearing of Leopold's death in May 1787, abbot of St. Peter's Abbey in Salzburg Dominicus Hagenauer noted Leopold to be 'a man of much wit and wisdom, [who] would have been capable of good services to the state beyond those of music'.¹³ Regarding Wolfgang's education specifically, a letter from musician Johann Adolf Hasse to G. M. Ortes in 1769 stated, 'you will not be displeased to know a father who has the merit of having known how to form and give so good an education to a son'.¹⁴ These accounts all position Leopold as a highly educated man, deserving credit for Wolfgang's education.¹⁵

Georg Nikolaus von Nissen, Constanze Mozart's second husband, was the first biographer to have access to the Mozart family correspondence, among other materials he collated for the first in-depth biography of Wolfgang Mozart.¹⁶ Nissen died before his biography was completed, and this at times results in somewhat chaotic amalgamation of primary source material, but his account of London is the first to be based clearly on Leopold's correspondence. Nissen reproduced the passages of Leopold's letters relating to music matters and the serious illness he contracted in July 1764, alongside Barrington's report in full and a receipt from the British Museum

¹¹ Stendhal's translation of Schlichtegroll, in Stendhal, *Life*, 263.

¹² *MDB*, 125.

¹³ Dominicus Hagenauer was the fifth son of Leopold's friend and correspondent Lorenz Hagenauer. Born Kajetan Rupert Hagenauer, he took the name Dominicus when he entered the Abbey as a novice in 1764. See Halliwell, 'Hagenauer Family' in, *CME*, 206.

¹⁴ For both Hagenauer's and Hasse's references, see Eisen in *CME*, 300.

¹⁵ Cliff Eisen and Viktor Töpelmann both discuss these sources. See Viktor Töpelmann, *The Mozart Family and Empfindsamkeit: Enlightenment and Sensibility in Salzburg 1750-1790* (unpublished PhD dissertation; King's College London, February 2016), 58-58; Eisen in *CME*, 300-301.

¹⁶ Georg Nikolaus von Nissen, *Biographie W.A. Mozarts* (Leipzig, 1828). For a discussion of Nissen's biography see William Stafford, 'The Evolution of Mozartean Biography' in Simon P. Keefe eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Mozart* (Cambridge, 2003), 202-203.

acknowledging Wolfgang's K.20 and printed sonatas.¹⁷ Consequently, the narrative is orientated solely around music making and, although more detailed, does not differ significantly from earlier accounts.

Nissen's work remained the authoritative biography on Wolfgang Mozart's life for the next three decades and, writing in the mid-nineteenth-century, Edward Holmes's biography is based on largely on it.¹⁸ Rather than simply reproducing the documents or reporting factually on the Mozarts' activities, Holmes engages with the sources more critically to provide an interpretation of the London months. He does not consider the European tour to have been a financial success, and believes that the London public tired of the Mozart family. Holmes cites Leopold's letter of 19th March 1765 as an acknowledgement of their failure to sustain public interest:

I know why we have not been more successful here (although we have taken in some hundreds of guineas since our arrival) — I turned down a proposal which was made to me.¹⁹

Holmes believes that Leopold is concealing the true cause of his frustration: declining novelty leading to reduced concert receipts.²⁰

Because Holmes viewed the tour as relatively unsuccessful financially, his account prioritises the intellectual benefits of the tour. He asserts that Wolfgang and Nannerl provided Leopold an escape from his own mediocre career in Salzburg:

To the natural gifts and the affectionate docility of his children, Leopold Mozart was indebted for being no longer in the obscure station of music-master at Salzburg, but in a sphere better adapted to his disposition and talents — travelling and mixing in society which displayed the world under its most interesting aspects of character and manners; and if we would accurately picture to ourselves the state of his mind, it is only necessary to consider how suddenly a death in the family might reduce him to

¹⁷ Nissen, *Mozart*, 66-101.

¹⁸ Stafford acknowledges this in Keefe ed., *Companion*, 203. See also Edward Holmes, *The Life of Mozart* (London, 1845), 238.

¹⁹ Anderson, *Letters*, 56.

²⁰ Holmes, *Mozart*, 28.

his original condition – to retrace the old path, and to contrast amid the miserable realities of age, solitude, and poverty, the glorious achievements of the time present.²¹ Earlier in his account, Holmes shared the view of earlier biographers in stating that Leopold was to be esteemed for the education he gave his son, which he considered largely responsible for Wolfgang's 'perfection'.²² Yet the above account of Leopold's personal gain from the family travels is fairly damning. Holmes believes that Leopold's concern for his children's welfare hinged on the anxiety of being forced to relinquish an apparently newly discovered intellectual life and his 'fascination' with travelling.

Carl Ferdinand Pohl's account of the Mozarts' London months is more substantial than any of the preceding, and in fact is still the most comprehensive description available. Pohl does spend time outlining the diversity of London's musical life, providing an overview of several different clubs, concert locations, the opera scene and oratorios, instrument makers, and concert life in Westminster.²³ However, he then considers the Mozarts separately from this wider musical context, highlighting the same activities as Schlichtegroll.²⁴ Pohl agrees that the London tour was less than successful, referring to a series of newspaper advertisements from March 1765 that apparently shows a marked alteration in the Mozarts' performance circumstances. The advertisements for Wolfgang's sonatas K.10-15 encouraged members of the public to hear him and Nannerl perform at the family lodgings in Soho:

Ladies and Gentlemen, who will honour him with their Company from Twelve to Three o'Clock in the late Afternoon, any Day in the Week, except Tuesday and Friday, may ... gratify their Curiosity and ... hear this young Composer and his Sister perform in private.²⁵

²¹ Holmes, *Mozart*, 31-32.

²² Holmes, *Mozart*, 238.

²³ Carl Ferdinand Pohl, *Mozart und Haydn in London*, Volumes 1-2 (Wien, 1867).

²⁴ For Pohl's account of the London musical scene, see his chapter 'London in den Jahren 1764 und 1765' in Pohl, *Mozart*, 1-90.

²⁵ *P.A.*, 20th March, 1765, Issue 94679.

Pohl then goes on to discuss the Mozarts' appearances at the Swan and Hoop Tavern in the City of London.²⁶ Pohl equates the changes in performance venue – all of the Mozarts' previously documented appearances had been in Westminster concert halls or homes of the nobility – to a decline in public interest.

Pohl is the first scholar to imply that Leopold profited financially from his children. When stating that the wealthy English public had tired of the Mozarts by 1765, Pohl describes Leopold as 'evermore anxious to advertise the wonder of his children, and to try by all means possible to get the greatest advantage out of his unusually long stay'.²⁷ This reference to Leopold tirelessly advertising his children's concert appearances, and the hint at Leopold's financial reliance on his children's talents, paved the way for the subsequent widespread condemnation of Leopold as a parent.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the narrative of Leopold seeking to profit financially from his children is firmly grounded within the literature. Hermann Abert, who revised Otto Jahn's mid-nineteenth-century biography of Wolfgang, sees Leopold as driven by a sense of religious obligation towards his son. According to Abert, the European journeys were largely in pursuit of a worthy career for Wolfgang – a more successful career than Leopold himself had enjoyed. However, Abert describes a 'certain violence' to Leopold's quest, accusing him of placing 'demands upon [his children's] health to which they were simply not equal'. He also referred to the Mozarts' Salzburg living conditions as 'pitiful', concluding that 'it is impossible to

²⁶ For example, see *P.A.*, 9th July 1765, Issue 9627. The biographical narratives surrounding the Mozarts' Swan and Hoop appearances will be discussed in Chapter IV of this dissertation.

²⁷ Pohl, *Mozart*, 112. German original: 'Wir werden ihn im folgenden Jahre immer ängstlicher die Wunder seine Kinder anpreisen und alle Mittel versuchen sehen, den möglichsten Vortheil aus seinem ungewöhnlich langen Aufenthalte zu ziehen'.

criticise Leopold for wanting to profit from his children'.²⁸ Around the same time, Edward J. Dent took a related yet more extreme view, portraying Leopold as a 'rigid disciplinarian' who 'forced' his son onto the world as a miraculous prodigy.²⁹

There is fairly little mid-twentieth century biography on Mozart in London. In 1946, Alfred Einstein completely glossed over the family's stay, merely stating: 'On 9 June 1763, the Mozart family set out on the long trip to France and England from which they were not to return until 30 November 1766.'³⁰ Erich Schenk's 1960 biography provides a more detailed account of London based on Leopold's letters, and is very similar to Pohl's work from a century earlier.³¹ Schenk emphasises the family's declining success, although his argument is fuelled, in part, by a factual error: Schenk states that the Mozarts' second benefit concert returned only fifty guineas. Admittedly, Leopold does indicate disappointment, but his letter actually reports a profit of around one hundred guineas.³² Schenk, too, is among the earliest scholars to refer to the family's performances in the Swan and Hoop Tavern as 'circus tricks'.³³

Among more recent biographies, Maynard Solomon most explicitly condemns Leopold as a parent. London is covered only briefly, but, in focusing solely on the family's musical activities, Solomon concludes that Leopold was abusive and Wolfgang was 'an instrument of patriarchal ambition'.³⁴ He describes Leopold's ever-increasing hunger for the recognition, esteem and money, '[seizing] every opportunity to turn the labours of his miraculous child into a cash equivalent'.³⁵ Solomon's account represents

²⁸ Abert, *W.A. Mozart*, 7. Abert's edition was first published in 1921, and is itself revised from Otto Jahn, *W.A. Mozart* (Leipzig, 1856).

²⁹ Edward J. Dent, *Mozart's Operas: A Critical Study* (London, 1913; reprint 1962), 17, 15.

³⁰ Alfred Einstein, *Mozart: His Character, His Work* (Manchester, 1946), 27. Einstein does refer to Leopold's correspondence from the period in some detail, and this will be discussed on page 21-22.

³¹ Erich Schenk, *Mozart and His Times*, edited and translated from German by Richard and Clara Winston (London, 1960), 67-82.

³² Schenk, *Mozart*, 75. See also Leopold Mozart's letter of 19th March 1765 in Anderson, *Letters*, 55.

³³ Schenk, *Mozart*, 76.

³⁴ Maynard Solomon, *Mozart: A Life* (Michigan, 1995), 7.

³⁵ Maynard Solomon, *Mozart*, 7.

the most extreme convergence of the London narratives: as well as an emphasis on the Mozart children's constant musical activity, he implies that the apparent decline in success forced Leopold to push his children ever harder.

Other recent accounts of the Mozarts in London – for example, Stanley Sadie's 'Playing for the English Court', Robert Gutman's chapter on England in his Mozart biography, and Julian Rushton's 'Travels of a Wunderkind' – are all intended to provide brief overviews of the Mozarts' London period by again focusing on documented concert appearances and Wolfgang's musical compositions.³⁶ Moreover, the primacy that each of these scholars accords to Wolfgang means that their explorations of the London period are largely geared towards establishing key figures of influence on the young composer, such as Karl Friedrich Abel and Johann Christian Bach.³⁷ Sadie, Gutman and Rushton, too, have relied upon Pohl's narrative of declining success. For example, Gutman believes that a smaller audience than anticipated at the Mozarts' Haymarket Theatre concert of February 1765 confirmed the public's waning interest. He also believes that successive newspaper advertisements outlined the family's 'melancholy' situation, and refers to the final appearances and newspaper advertisements as a combination of 'sad and desperate' activities.³⁸ Sadie agrees that the family 'outstayed their welcome', also describing the latter appearances as desperate.³⁹

³⁶ Stanley Sadie, *Mozart: The Early Years 1756-1781* (Oxford, 2006), 58-89; Robert W. Gutman, *Mozart: A Cultural Biography* (New York, 1999), 180-202; Julian Rushton, *Mozart* (Oxford, 2006), 9-11.

³⁷ For a more in depth exploration of the relationship between J.C. Bach and Mozart, see T. De Wyzewa et G. De Saint-Foix, *W.A. Mozart: Sa vie Musicale et son Oeuvre de L'enfance a la Pleine Maturité* (Paris, 1912), 117-137; and Heinz Gärtner, *John Christian Bach: Mozart's Friend and Mentor* (London, 1994).

³⁸ Gutman, *Cultural Biography*, 196-198.

³⁹ Sadie, *Early Years*, 70.

Contextualising Narrative Patterns

Key themes emerge from these existing accounts of the Mozarts' London period. Specifically, there is an emphasis on music at the expense of wider cultural activity and context. This has led to the formation of narratives such as the family's declining success in London. Certainly, there were significant changes in the Mozarts' performance venues. They began their fifteen months with appearances before the royal family and, over the following months, performed in some of the most prestigious concert venues in Westminster. In March 1765 Leopold advertised his children's daily appearance at their lodgings in Soho, and by the July of that year they performed each lunchtime for a week at the Swan and Hoop Tavern. There was also a gradual reduction in public admission prices although, as I will discuss later, this has not been properly contextualised.

Notable, too, is that representations of Leopold Mozart become increasingly negative during the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. At best, he is portrayed as a father who, motivated by religious conviction, is driven to provide the best possible musical education for his son in the hope of securing him a future position worthy of his talents.⁴⁰ At worst, dissatisfied with his career as deputy Kapellmeister and envious of his son's talent, the European tours are driven by the prospect of financial gain.⁴¹ In both scenarios, he is accused of imposing a gruelling schedule of concert appearances on Wolfgang and Nannerl.

Ruth Halliwell attributes many of the assumptions and misconceptions in Mozart biography – including the London months – to the scholarly treatment of the Mozart family correspondence. She argues that such narratives arise from the widespread belief that the family correspondence is important primarily because of

⁴⁰ Abert, for example, held this view. See Abert, *Mozart*, 7.

⁴¹ See, for example, Solomon, *Mozart*, 7.

what it can reveal about Wolfgang Mozart himself.⁴² Scholarly translations of the correspondence reinforce this attitude. For example, Emily Anderson's edition of the letters is the most comprehensive in English translation to date, and yet the coverage of the family's touring period is sparse. Anderson states:

It will be seen that only extracts have been given for nearly all these letters. In performing this pruning operation, the principle followed has been that of removing all purely extraneous and irrelevant matter, such as local gossip, rather tiresome descriptions of illnesses, long lists of greetings and so forth.⁴³

Although acknowledging them as interesting, Anderson dismisses most of Leopold's letters to Hagenauer as largely irrelevant to Mozart scholarship, choosing instead to primarily include music-related extracts. She assumes that musical activity is of primary importance, not only on the tour but also for her intended reader.

Halliwell has argued that it is largely the absence of a complete English translation of the letters that has resulted in scholars focusing solely on material relating directly to the family's musical activities, particularly those of Wolfgang Mozart.⁴⁴ For example, Julian Rushton states that 'Leopold's letters are filled with "our all-powerful Wolfgang"'.⁴⁵ Actually, when the letters are considered as a whole, Leopold's references to Wolfgang are comparatively few. Instead, they offer a lively and engaging account of his family's stay, describing a significant proportion of their activities and the contacts they made.⁴⁶ They offer a glimpse into the Mozarts' navigation of, and position within, the cultural milieu of 1760s London. Significantly, Einstein identified this in 1946. Although he did not discuss the family's stay in London, he said of Leopold's letters:

⁴² Ruth Halliwell, *The Mozart Family: Four Lives in a Social Context* (London, 1998), xxvi.

⁴³ *Letters*, xvii.

⁴⁴ Halliwell, *Social Context*, xxvi.

⁴⁵ Rushton, *Mozart*, 10.

⁴⁶ A full German transcription of Leopold's London letters and travel notes can be found in Wilhelm A. Bauer und Otto Erich Deutsch, *Mozart: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, I (Kassel, 1962), 145-196.

The literary reflections of this long excursion are contained in the letters...of Leopold to his Salzburg friend, landlord, and financial adviser, Lorenz Hagenauer. Of those letters, only those parts have been published which deal with Wolfgang and the personal and musical experiences of the family. But a knowledge of the whole contents of the letters produces an ever new astonishment at the breadth of Leopold's interests, his power of observation, his keen judgement of men and circumstances, obscured only when the estimate of his children's success is concerned.⁴⁷

Einstein was fully aware of the intellectual value contained in Leopold's letters.

Indeed, he identified the same tension that Halliwell later discussed in greater depth, although Einstein himself did not necessarily view the selective use of the letters as a 'problem'. Yet it is revealing that, despite both Einstein and Anderson's admission that the content of Leopold's letters extends far beyond music, scholars still persistently neglect this content.

Notwithstanding the narrow focus on the music itself that persists in much of the literature, other scholars have made an effort to delve more thoroughly into the Mozarts' time in London. Scholars such as John Jenkins in *Mozart and the English Connection* and Halliwell herself in *Four Lives in a Social Context*,⁴⁸ although both focusing primarily on the musical aspects of the family's stay, utilise the full London letters. Halliwell's work comprises a single chapter but, in drawing on the letters as whole, she aims to provide a more nuanced account of the family's London lives in the context of their surroundings and social conditions. She maintains, throughout the whole biography, that engaging with the lives of the other Mozart family members provides a more accurate context within which to situate Wolfgang's life and experiences.

Jenkins's study, which also includes the English connections that Wolfgang maintained later in life, is perhaps the most comprehensive modern exploration of the Mozarts in London, although his purpose of targeting a general, non-specialist

⁴⁷ Einstein, *Mozart*, 27.

⁴⁸ John Jenkins, *Mozart and the English Connection* (London, 1998); Halliwell, *Social Context*, 77-95.

audience often equates to a lack of depth. His chapter 'Mozart family life in London' discusses some of the family's wider, non-musical circles.⁴⁹ However, the extent of Jenkins's overarching argument is that the time spent in London provided Wolfgang with an invaluable musical education, again particularly due to J.C. Bach's guidance and influence, which surpassed that received in any other European city.

To date, Cliff Eisen and Nicholas Till are the only scholars who have looked beyond the Mozarts' musical activities, arguing that the European tour represents a broader educational journey. Eisen's edition of the Mozart letters contains two of Leopold's most culturally descriptive letters from London that cover fashion, the pleasure gardens, English food, architecture, countryside, customs and more.⁵⁰ More specifically, though, Eisen's article 'Mozart's Souvenirs', explores aspects of the London period through objects collected and encountered by the family, helping to document some of their intellectual interests.⁵¹ Till also documents Leopold's own intellectual interests before explicitly stating what he sees to be the dual aims of the tour:

...To display the child to the world (which Leopold conceived as a God-given responsibility) and to give Wolfgang the broadest education possible...Leopold did not confine himself to the boy's musical education. He was an assiduous sightseer, and with the dogged curiosity of an autodidact he sought out the liveliest intellectual company wherever he went.⁵²

For both Till and Eisen, music comprised merely one, albeit important, part of the education the Mozarts sought.

⁴⁹ Jenkins, *English Connection*, 47-54.

⁵⁰ Cliff Eisen, *Mozart: A Life in Letters* (London, 2006), 33-45.

⁵¹ Cliff Eisen, 'Mozart's Souvenirs' in Christoph Hellmut-Mahling ed., *Musiker auf Reisen* (Augsburg, 2011), 79-96.

⁵² Nicholas Till, *Mozart and the Enlightenment* (London, 1992), 12.

New Approaches to Mozart in London

This dissertation provides a thorough reassessment of the Mozarts' London period, building on the belief that the Mozarts' tour holds greater significance for the family than Wolfgang's musical education. I draw upon a wider range of sources that are insufficiently used in Mozart studies. In addition to traditional sources such as correspondence, newspaper articles and musical compositions, these include Leopold Mozart's travel notes and material culture sources such as prints, objects and other ephemera. I analyse the Mozarts' social and cultural networks in London, considering how they were formed, how they functioned, and the interrelationships between them. I consider the scope of the Mozarts' engagement both with London's musical circles and with wider cultural life, showing not only that the family were highly engaged with many aspects of London life, but also the extent to which their musical activities interlinked with other areas of London culture.

Leopold's travel notes, to be discussed in detail in Chapter 1, highlight the variety of people that the Mozarts came into contact with in London, providing an insight into the family's professional and social circles. They function as an address book, representing the network of contacts Leopold himself cultivated over the fifteen-month period. The range of people listed – professional musicians and patrons alongside essential contacts such as tailors, doctors, bankers and music publishers – suggest that the travel notes primarily consisted of people Leopold considered useful for his family in London.

Aspects of social network analysis (SNA), as highlighted by scholar Charles Wetherell, present a possible framework for exploring Leopold's travel notes.⁵³ In reviewing the basic principles of SNA, Wetherell distinguishes two primary modes of

⁵³ Charles Wetherell, 'Historical Social Network Analysis', *International Review of Social History* 43 (1998), Supplement, 125-144.

analysis: an 'egocentric' approach or a 'whole network' analysis.⁵⁴ An egocentric approach considers only the relationships a particular individual – in this case Leopold – maintains and uses. It is this approach that is adopted in Mozart scholarship: most commonly, the travel notes are only briefly referenced to confirm the Mozarts' already well-documented acquaintances.⁵⁵

On the other hand, a whole network approach aims to capture the nature of relationships between every 'actor' within a social system.⁵⁶ Sociologist Christiana Prell argues that understanding interactions, relationships and interdependencies that occur within localised communities can facilitate enhanced understandings of broader yet related networks. This is because ties within localised networks hold further links.⁵⁷ This principle applies to Leopold's travel notes, in that the contacts listed by Leopold held links to many other areas of London society. Therefore, developing an understanding of the interactions and relationships that occurred between Leopold and his specific network of professional contacts, patrons, perhaps friends, can be used as a point of departure for studying the Mozarts' position within some of London's social and intellectual networks.

Despite the relevance of these SNA principles for understandings of Leopold's travel notes, existing gaps in the available source material remain problematic. Leopold's travel notes were kept with an inconsistent level of detail, and there are substantial 'gaps' of information: from Leopold's one hundred and eleven entries, fifty-four people are listed without an address, fifty-nine without an occupation, and

⁵⁴ Wetherell, 'Network Analysis', 127.

⁵⁵ For example, John Jenkins notes that Thomas Arne 'and his much-less regarded son, Michael, met the Mozart family and are recorded by Leopold Mozart in his travel notes.' See Jenkins, *English Connection*, 13. Sadie produced an extended list of the names in Leopold's travel notes. See Sadie, *Mozart*, 73-75. Although this list does identify some lesser-known contacts, Sadie uses the list only to confirm meetings. No further consideration is given to the nature of the acquaintances, or whether the people listed were potentially acquainted with each other.

⁵⁶ Every person listed in Leopold's travel notes, for example, would be considered an 'actor' in his social network.

⁵⁷ Christina Prell, *Social Network Analysis: History, Theory & Methodology* (London, 2012), 1.

twenty-five without either. Indeed, Halliwell has argued that this level of inconsistency has contributed to the document's scholarly neglect. Halliwell believes an implicit assumption exists among scholars that the more frequently utilised sources – such as Leopold's letters, contemporary newspaper articles and memoirs – are self-explanatory to a large degree.⁵⁸ The level of detail that can be found in the letters encourages the belief that they can be interpreted with a degree of immediacy. Missing information in the travel notes renders several people unidentifiable, however, and a variety of different markings and symbols exist to communicate something Leopold kept in mind, rather than explained on paper. Similarly, Wetherell cites the 'formidable' data requirements of SNA as a primary reason why historians have been slow to adopt the method into their research.⁵⁹

The patchy nature of information in Leopold's travel notes highlights the importance of drawing on a wider range of sources, and it is essential that Leopold's travel notes and letters are read in conjunction with one another. Central to this dissertation is a consideration of Leopold's twelve London letters in their entirety. In addition to the musical material usually selected by scholars, Leopold's letters from London contain engaging accounts of the family's stay, including places visited, English customs, and descriptions of fashion, weather and architecture, to name a few. Their detailed documentation and description situates them within the context of 'Grand Tour' travellers and letter writers, and this is how they are treated within this dissertation. In 1763, English traveller Edward Clarke argued that:

To observe the variation of manners, the force of customs, the utility of laws, or the effects of climate, renders a much more essential service to your country than to set a new fashion, teach a new air, or give a new dish.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Halliwell, *Social Context*, xxvi.

⁵⁹ Wetherell, 'Network Analysis', 125.

⁶⁰ Edward Clarke, *Letters Concerning the Spanish Nation* (London, 1763), ii.

Clarke viewed his own writing as a service to scientific and intellectual communities of his home.

Leopold's letters, too, appear to have been written in the same spirit of intellectual observation and inquiry. As was common practice, Leopold intended his letters to Hagenauer to be passed around the family's circle of acquaintances back in Salzburg, regularly distinguishing between portions of letters to be passed around and those meant only for Hagenauer to read. For example, Leopold's letter of 13th September 1764 ends with a section headed 'for you alone', in contrast to the rest of the letter, to be read by others.⁶¹ Relaying information about new things and new experiences to existing circles of acquaintances at home was central to eighteenth-century letter writing and travel and, in accordance with contemporary practice, portions of his letters are supported with statistics from existing published sources.⁶² Leopold's detailed accounts of London culture highlight the extent to which travel in the eighteenth century was intertwined with the acquisition and dissemination of knowledge.

Studying Leopold's London letters in their full form, and in the context of eighteenth-century travel writing, has implications for narratives of the Mozarts' stay in London. Most immediately, the complete letters challenge the notion that the tour was a solely musical venture. They confirm some of the networks suggested by the travel notes, both offering information about Leopold's own cultural and intellectual interests, and about his intellectual networks in Salzburg. The fact that only Leopold's side of the correspondence has survived has meant the letters are rarely treated as a dialogue.⁶³ The limited portions selected for study mean they are usually viewed as a commentary on the family's musical and financial success. Actually, as will become

⁶¹ See *MBA*, I, 169.

⁶² Clare Brant, *Eighteenth-Century Letters and British Culture* (London, 2011), 231-232.

⁶³ Halliwell, *Social Context*, xxx.

clear within this dissertation, Leopold's letters serve, in part, to fulfil the interests and expectations of his acquaintances at home.

The objects, visual material and other ephemera that the Mozarts bought or encountered in London are also essential in understanding their networks: they supplement the information provided by Leopold's letters and travel notes. It is therefore worth considering models such as Bruno Latour's Actor Network Theory (ANT) for the importance and agency it accords to objects and other 'non-human' actors within networks.⁶⁴ Aspects of ANT can be found implicitly within the work of scholars such as Elizabeth Eger and Lucy Peltz in *Brilliant Women*,⁶⁵ and Ludmilla Jordanova in *The Look of the Past*,⁶⁶ who exemplify the effectiveness of drawing on material culture, portraiture and iconography to both establish and confirm network links. Eger and Peltz attempt to trace the spread of 'bluestocking' ideas outwards from a select salon group into wider London society, and their narrative relies heavily on the chance survival of ephemera, for example, keepsakes, satirical prints, literary artefacts and paintings.⁶⁷ Much of Jordanova's research is focused around the insights that portraiture and iconography can provide into the understanding of dialogues and tensions within specific intellectual communities, how particular cultural and intellectual networks functioned, and indeed confirmation of links between people or institutions.⁶⁸

Work such as Eger and Peltz's and Jordanova's highlights the capacity that exists for supplementing and expanding on the information provided by Leopold's letters and travel notes. As mentioned above, Cliff Eisen is the only scholar who has made some use of the objects that the Mozarts acquired in London. Using objects as

⁶⁴ Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford, 2005).

⁶⁵ Elizabeth Eger and Lucy Peltz, *Brilliant Women: 18th-Century Bluestockings* (London, 2008).

⁶⁶ Ludmilla Jordanova, *The Look of the Past: Visual and Material Evidence in Historical Practice* (London, 2012).

⁶⁷ Eger and Peltz, *Bluestockings*, 19.

⁶⁸ See in particular Jordanova's chapter 'Audiences and display' in *Look of the Past*, 154-187.

his point of departure, Eisen's article 'Mozart's Souvenirs' draws upon material culture sources to develop understandings of Wolfgang Mozart's life. Eisen argues that Leopold provided his children with exposure to various aspects of Enlightenment culture throughout their upbringing, specifically through the early childhood travels.⁶⁹

While the letters and travel notes seemingly provide the most comprehensive picture of the family's activities, contemporary portraits and ephemera, and even musical compositions were *all* forms of contemporary representation, holding shared meanings for their direct consumers and owners.⁷⁰ They should all be interpreted with equal caution, but each accorded their own consideration. Therefore, considering Leopold's letters and travel notes in conjunction with the extended range of source materials enables a more nuanced understanding of the Mozarts' stay in London.

Using this expanded source base, I provide an in-depth account of the Mozarts' fifteen-months in London that supports perceptions of the tour as a broader educational journey for the whole family; not just for Leopold's own intellectual benefit or, as Till suggests, the education of Wolfgang alone. As we shall see, Leopold sought to instil his own curiosity for learning in his own children. This is especially evident in the case of Nannerl, who kept her own – albeit less extensive – travel notes throughout the tour. Differing aims of the tour need not be mutually exclusive. I am therefore not arguing for a lesser significance of the musical impact. Wolfgang and Nannerl's musical education remained at the forefront of Leopold's agenda. Rather, the extent to which music was interlinked with other areas of cultural life in London provided multiple opportunities for the family's all-round education.

Chapter 1 lays out the extended range of sources at our disposal for studying the Mozarts in London and, at its heart, is an annotated version of Leopold's travel

⁶⁹ Eisen in Mahling ed., *Musiker auf Reisen*, 79-96.

⁷⁰ See Jordanova, 'Introduction', in *Look of the Past*, 1-12.

notes. Interspersed with transcriptions of Leopold's entries, I lay out the key, relevant information about the people he lists, including extracts from Leopold's letters where appropriate. Explicating the travel notes in this way allows us to better comprehend the patterns of Leopold's networking and highlights several distinct, but overlapping, circles of acquaintances that the Mozarts engaged with. Subsequent chapters are based on these groups.

Much of the Mozarts' London activity was based in Westminster and, as such, people who were highly involved in its musical life feature prominently in Leopold's travel notes. In addition to affluent musical patrons, there are several continental singers, instrumentalists and composers listed. Simon McVeigh notes that, relative to the rest of Europe, the lack of regulation surrounding London concert life positioned London as a 'magnet' to foreign musicians seeking commercial and financial success.⁷¹ This included the Mozart family, and Chapter 2 explores, first, the Mozarts' arrival in London and, second, Leopold's navigation of the city's competitive concert environment. Studying the family's mainstream musical activities from *their* understanding of the situation – rather than the public's reaction to the Mozarts – raises some new questions about their long-term success.

Private concerts were crucial to professional success in Westminster, and Leopold's letters and travel notes both confirm and suggest a number of high-profile appearances, including before King George III and Queen Charlotte. However, the sociability of private concerts allows them to also be understood as an environment ripe for conversation. Several of the musical patrons listed by Leopold shared his intellectual interests, and Chapter 3 explores the possibility that Leopold drew upon these acquaintances to further both his own interests and the education of his children. A selection of prints and objects that Leopold purchased in London and a

⁷¹ Simon McVeigh, 'London' in *CME*, 255.

variety of references in his correspondence with Lorenz Hagenauer in Salzburg present a particularly compelling argument for Leopold's interest in science and technology. This chapter both documents Leopold's interests and suggests that contemporaneous understandings of 'science' provide an additional lens through which to view the Mozarts' performances in London.

As discussed above, one of the central narratives surrounding the Mozarts' time in London is that, by the start of 1765, the public were losing interest in Wolfgang and Nannerl. Without exception, all Mozart scholars view the Swan and Hoop Tavern appearances in 1765 as absolute confirmation of this loss of interest. Yet no one has considered that Leopold actually had a more sustained engagement with the City of London, both as a tourist and with several prosperous merchants, traders and brokers. Although the family did not perform there until the end of their stay, they were personally familiar with the City by the autumn of 1764. Chapter 4 deals exclusively with this narrative, documenting Leopold's City-based acquaintances but also engaging with contemporaneous sources to challenge the notion that the tavern's location was 'downmarket'. Reassessing the final appearances and Leopold's contact with merchants and brokers further questions existing concepts of success.

In suggesting a significant degree of overlap between the Cities of London and Westminster, Chapter 4 has implications for understandings of musical patronage in 1760s London. Chapter 5 argues for a musical overlap. The musical cultures of the City and Westminster are usually considered separately: in contrast to the fashion and excess associated with Westminster, the City of London boasted an exclusively male club culture that met at taverns. Private musical performances, open to members only, meant there were no direct opportunities for the Mozarts to participate within this sphere. However, I argue that patrons with mutual involvement in both spheres, and

the increased commercialisation of musical club culture, meant that the Mozarts were exposed to catches, glees, aspects of England's 'ancient' music scene, and the enduring taste for Handel's music in London that Leopold sought to use to his advantage. The degree of musical fluidity argued for in this chapter highlights the degree to which continental musicians understood the need to be stylistically adaptable.

I: Sources for the Mozarts in London

This chapter lays out the range of sources available for studying the Mozarts' stay in London. The focal point is an annotated edition of Leopold Mozart's London *Reisenotizen* ('travel notes'), a detailed record of Leopold's contacts. I have read the travel notes in conjunction with Leopold's twelve letters from London and other contemporaneous sources, discussed below. Leopold kept his notes – an address book of sorts – throughout the Mozart family's 'Grand Tour' travels of 1763-1766. From the family's fifteen months in London, Leopold lists over one hundred of the people he met, often including details such as their address or occupation: he notes eighteen different occupations and forty-six different locations in total.¹

A previous annotated edition of Leopold's travel notes exists in Wilhelm Bauer and Otto Erich Deutsch's edition of the Mozart letters, but this edition includes only rudimentary annotations, supplementing Leopold's original with the full names of the people he listed, and their occupations if Leopold omitted this information.² I expand on Bauer and Deutsch's existing annotations with information from other documents including contemporaneous newspaper articles, letters and memoirs from London residents, society subscription lists and trade directories.³ When Leopold's letters refer to people listed in his travel notes, I include these extracts in my annotations.

I then document further primary sources that are central to my examination of the Mozarts' London visit. These include more traditional sources such as musical

¹ There are six pages of Leopold's London travel notes, and reproductions can be found in the Appendix on page 243 of this dissertation.

² See *MBA*, V, 133-140.

³ For example, see: list of subscribers to the *NGCC* in Viscount Gladstone, *The Story of the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club* (London, 1930), 108-118; list of subscribers to the *RSM* in Betty Matthews, *The Royal Society of Musicians of Great Britain: List of Members 1738-1984* (London, 1985); a list of fellows of the *RS* in *The Royal Society: A Complete List of Fellows and Foreign Members since the foundation of the Society* (London, 2007); and subscribers to the *RSA* in *A List of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce* (London, 1765). For a list of merchants and tradesmen, see *The London Directory for the Year 1768 containing an Alphabetical List of the Names and Places of Abode of the Merchants and Principal Traders of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and their Environs, with the Number affixed to each House* (London, 1768).

compositions and newspaper articles, but also objects, books and prints collected by the Mozarts. For convenience, and in addition to my discussion of these sources, several summary tables of these sources appear within this chapter. When viewed in conjunction with one another, the complete range of sources provides the opportunity for a more nuanced reading of Leopold's engagement with London life. They highlight several pre-existing networks of contacts that Leopold entered into, which were useful for the family on both a professional and personal level. These networks will form the basis for discussion in the forthcoming chapters.

It is difficult to determine how consistently Leopold updated his travel notes in London. Address books rarely provide a comprehensive record of an individual's acquaintances: they may include or exclude people who are either very close, or not significantly close, to the author. Several people who themselves documented meeting the Mozarts – such as Daines Barrington, Charles Burney and William Jackson – are absent from Leopold's notes. This suggests that Leopold's address book, too, was somewhat incomplete. Leopold's level of detail also varies considerably between the people listed, perhaps depending upon the capacity in which he knew them. Sometimes, an acquaintance's occupation may not have been particularly relevant to their relationship: the occupation of a politician, for example, was not necessarily directly important if Leopold was primarily interested in securing their musical patronage. Alternatively, occupations of particular acquaintances may have been obvious to Leopold, eliminating the need to write them down. For example, Leopold does not note the occupations of musicians J.C. Bach and K.F. Abel. Nevertheless, Leopold's omission of information can make it difficult to identify the acquaintances he lists.

Although Leopold's travel notes can appear cryptic to the modern reader, this does not diminish the potential wealth of information they contain. They become more useful when combined with other sources. The introduction to this dissertation highlighted the pitfalls of assessing certain sources, such as newspaper articles or the musical portions of Leopold's letters, in isolation. Treating the travel notes as a stand-alone resource would result in a similarly incomplete representation of the Mozarts' visit. The travel notes most immediately confirm Leopold's acquaintances with people, whereas other sources, such as Leopold's letters, can indicate the *nature* of his relationship with these individuals.

As discussed in the introduction, twelve of Leopold's letters to Hagenauer from London survive (**Table 1**),⁴ all of which are central to this dissertation due to the wealth of information they contain. There are two different 'types' of letter: sometimes, Leopold wrote little more than a paragraph, usually containing instructions for Hagenauer; the remaining letters are all several-page descriptions of the family's activities and London life. Leopold documents events, encounters and interactions with people that all provide significant insights both into the Mozarts' personal experiences and Leopold's expectations, beliefs and prejudices. They help us to understand the relationships that Leopold forged with other individuals.

Leopold's letters primarily provide descriptions of surroundings, places the family visited, and English customs. Sometimes, Leopold describes these things on a purely factual level, but he most commonly makes his own opinions known. The letters are therefore the only sources that outline the family's personal insights into living in London. Like Leopold's letters, Nannerl Mozart's short diary – translated in full on page 145 of this dissertation – lists places that the family visited. This document

⁴ None of Hagenauer's letters to Leopold survive. Leopold's letters also contain references to correspondence between himself and other Salzburg acquaintances, none of which survives.

helps to establish a picture of the Mozarts' non-musical activities in London. Not one of the places Nannerl lists is music-related; rather, her diary is that of a tourist in London. Nannerl provides no context to the places she lists, with the exception of the British Museum where she lists some of the items she saw on display. My annotations of Leopold's travel notes reproduce only the extracts of Leopold's letters that relate to individuals listed. However, more extensive contextual passages are reproduced throughout this dissertation.

Table 1: Leopold Mozart's surviving letters to Lorenz Hagenauer from London, 1764-1765.

Date	Content	Availability
25/04/1764	Details of journey across the English Channel to London	Translated excerpt in Anderson, <i>Letters</i> , 44-45; full German transcription in <i>Briefe</i> , 145-146.
28/05/1764	Descriptions of English weather; London fashions; produce, such as beer, wine, coffee; verbal abuse of French citizens; mention of first and second palace appearances and friendliness of royal couple; other descriptions, such as architecture, horses and sea.	Full letter translation available in <i>Eisen, Letters</i> , 33-39; full German transcription in <i>MBA</i> , 146-152.
08/06/1764	More details of journey to London; place of worship in London; account of first public concert, of 5th June 1764.	Translated excerpt in Anderson, <i>Letters</i> , 47-49; full German transcription in <i>MBA</i> , 152-154.
28/06/1764	Plans to visit Tunbridge Wells from London; account of London living costs, including lodgings, food, service, travel; lengthy descriptions of Vauxhall and Ranelagh Pleasure Gardens; account of a thunder storm.	Full letter available in <i>Eisen, Letters</i> , 39-45; full German transcription in <i>MBA</i> , 154-160.
3-9/08/1764	Informing Hagenauer about his illness; relocation to the country; request for masses to be said.	Translated excerpt in Anderson <i>Letters</i> , 50; full German transcription in <i>MBA</i> , 160-162.
13/09/1764	Detailed description of his illness, including how he contracted it, symptoms, treatment and recovery; account of attempt to convert a Jewish friend to Catholicism; daily routines of Englishmen, including eating habits; update on wife's English progress.	Translated excerpt in Anderson, <i>Letters</i> , 50-52; full German transcription in <i>MBA</i> , 162-170.
27/11/1764	Acknowledgement of money lost due to illness; account of the City of London, including Royal Exchange; rapid expansion of London; statistics taken from William Maitland's <i>History and Survey of London</i> ;	Translated excerpt in Anderson, <i>Letters</i> , 52-53; full German transcription in

	congratulates Hagenauer on son's ordination; discussion of Count van Eyck's marriage.	<i>MBA</i> , 170-177.
3/12/1764	Instructions for sale of sonatas; mention of high quality English watch mechanisms; reference to third and final palace appearance from 25th October 1764.	Translated excerpt in Anderson, <i>Letters</i> , 53-54; full German transcription in <i>MBA</i> , 177-178.
8/02/1765	Delayed summoning of parliament; success of Manzuoli; new operas due to be performed; instructions for sale of sonatas in Augsburg and Nuremberg; mention of Byron duel.	Translated excerpt in Anderson, <i>Letters</i> , 54-55; full German transcription in <i>MBA</i> , 178-180.
19/03/1765	Account of concert of 21st February 1765; reference to a declined proposition; baptism attended, at which Maria Anna Mozart acted as godmother; description of English Jews; list of topics to expand upon in detail once home; discussion of English watches; Queen's present of 50 guineas for sonata dedication	Translated excerpt in <i>Letters</i> , 55-56; full German transcription in <i>Briefe</i> , 180-185,
18/03/1765	Mention of Lord Byron trial; delay in leaving London, due to complicated practical arrangements.	Translated excerpt in Anderson <i>Letters</i> , 56; full German transcription in <i>MBA</i> , 185-186.
9/07/1765	Silk weavers' riots; significant fires in London; East India Company victory at the Battle of Buxar; request for Masses to be said in preparation for journey home; instructions for selling Carmontelle engravings.	Translated excerpt in Anderson, <i>Letters</i> , 57; full German transcription in <i>MBA</i> , 186-191.

Annotating Leopold's Travel Notes

Leopold's travel notes are a multi-lingual document, with entries in German, French, Italian and English. I have chosen *not* to translate my transcriptions at the risk of masking some of the document's subtleties. Leopold increasingly writes in English as the document progresses, presumably indicating his growing competence in the language. On the other hand, certain entries are still written in German, French or Italian, despite appearing near the end of the document. This may suggest something of Leopold's thought process: when writing about, preparing for a meeting with, or talking to patrons or colleagues, he functioned in their language. While this may be both obvious and expected, it indicates the complexity of the cultural environment that the Mozarts were immersed in.

My annotations appear in indented text so that they are easily distinguishable from the transcription of Leopold's own text. Extracts from Leopold's letters are given a further indentation. Where possible, I provide full names, dates and occupations for Leopold's acquaintances, as well as when they met the Mozarts, or their relationship to other persons in the travel notes. I also note these acquaintances' known cultural interests, and membership of specific clubs or societies. My references to other acquaintances listed in Leopold's travel notes are highlighted in bold, to draw attention to connections between these acquaintances.

I have tried to keep my transcriptions as close to the format of Leopold's original text as possible, in the hope that potential networks may present themselves. It is often ambiguous as to whether Leopold met people individually or in groups: the majority of entries are annotated alone, but if it is likely that Leopold met a group of people together, a longer annotation will appear after the respective group. Suggestions will also be made as to what Leopold's own annotations and markings may have indicated: the horizontal line divisions, italicised or underlined text, and markings that appear next to entries all appear in Leopold's original. Where possible, I suggest a time frame for when Leopold met certain people, or when certain events took place.

Since Bauer and Deutsch produced their edition, there have been in-depth studies on a number of contacts that Leopold listed, and scholarly databases such as *Grove Music Online* or *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* have been instrumental in gathering much of the information. Abbreviated references to these databases (*GMO* or *DNB*) appear directly after my entries where appropriate. All other citations appear in footnotes.

Leopold Mozart's Travel Notes

London 1764

In London den 23 aprilis abends angekommen.⁵

Montag

Die erste Nacht haben wir im Posthause beym weisen Beern in Piccadilly Logiert. Dann sind wir in unser quartier eingezogen. nämlich: Zu H: Couzin Harecutter in Cecil court Martins Lane.

John Couzin (dates unknown) was a hairdresser, whom the Mozarts lodged with after a first night in the White Bear coaching inn at Piccadilly. In

Leopold's first letter to Hagenauer from London, he writes:

My address is:

À Monsieur Mozart, at the house of Mr. Cousin,
haircutter in Cecil Court, St. Martin's Lane, at London.⁶

The family's residency there is also referenced in a letter of recommendation, dated from the end of April 1764, from Claude Adrien Helvetius to Francis Hastings, the Tenth Earl of Huntingdon.⁷ The Mozarts lodged with Couzin until Leopold became ill and the family moved to Chelsea on 6th August 1764 for his recuperation.⁸

Le Roy et la Reine: St. James's Park in Queen's Palace. den 27^{ten} abends um 6 uhr. item den 19 May. item den 25 oct: at 6 o'clock.

King George III (b. London 1738; d. Windsor 1820) and Queen Charlotte (b. Mirow 1744; d. London 1818) met the Mozart family on three separate occasions: the Mozarts appeared at the palace on 27th April, 19th May and 25th October 1764. The couple's position at the start of the travel notes suggests that Leopold considered their acquaintance a priority. Leopold's letter of 28th May 1764 provides a detailed account of his family's appearances before the King and Queen:

From 6 to 9 o'clock on 27 April we were with the queen and king at the Queen's Palace in St. James's Park, in other words, we were already at court within 5 days of arriving. We were given only 24 guineas, which we received immediately on leaving the king's apartment, but the kindness with which

⁵ Arrived in London on the evening of 23rd April.

⁶ *MBA*, 145.

⁷ Reproduced in *MDB*, 32.

⁸ See letter of 9th August 1764, *MBA*, 161.

both their majesties – the king as well as the queen – received us is indescribable. In short, their common touch and friendly manner allowed us to forget that they were the king and queen of England; we have been received at every court with quite extraordinary courtesy, but the welcome we were given here surpasses all the others: a week later we were walking in St. James's Park; the king came driving past with the queen: and although we were wearing different clothes, they still recognized us and not only greeted us but the king opened the window, leant out and, laughing, greeted us and especially our Master Wolfgang as he was driving past, nodding and waving his hand.

...

I can report only that on 19 May we were again with the king and queen from 6 to 10 in the evening, when the only other people present were three princes – two of the king's brothers and the brother of the queen. As we were leaving, we were again handed 24 guineas. If this happens every 3 or 4 weeks, it won't be too bad... The king gave him not only works by Wagenseil to play, but also Bach, Abel and Handel, all of which he rattled off *prima vista*. He played the king's organ so well that everyone rates his organ playing far higher than his harpsichord playing. He then accompanied the queen in an aria that she sang and a flautist in a solo. Finally he took the violin part in some Handel arias that happened to be lying around and played the most beautiful melody over the simple bass, so that everyone was utterly astonished.⁹

It is likely that the Mozarts received the same sum for their final appearance in October, although Leopold does not confirm this. Wolfgang Mozart dedicated his *Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord, With Accompaniment for a Violin or a German Flute*, K.10-15, to Queen Charlotte.¹⁰

The royal couple had many shared cultural interests with the Mozarts: they were devoted musicians – both played the harpsichord, George played the flute, and Charlotte received singing tuition from **J.C. Bach** – and they regularly held private concerts or attended the theatre. They both had further interests in, and were patrons of, art and science. The King was particularly interested in astronomy and clocks, and had a large collection of scientific instruments.¹¹

DNB.

⁹ Eisen, *Letters*, 33-39.

¹⁰ Public Advertiser, 20th March 1765 (London), Issue 94679. For a transcript of the full dedication, see *MDb*, 38-39.

¹¹ Silke Ackermann and Jane Wess, 'Between Antiquarianism and Experiment: Hans Sloane, George III and Collecting Science' in Kim Sloan ed., *Enlightenment: Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 2003), 156.

Mr Bach and Mr Abel. *King's Square Court*.

Johann Christian Bach (b. Leipzig 1735; d. London 1782) and Karl Friedrich Abel (b. Köthen 1723; d. London 1787) were both musicians and composers. Bach became music master to **Queen Charlotte** in February 1764, a position he held until his death in 1782. Abel became one of the Queen's chamber musicians in the same year. The pair had shared lodgings together since Bach's arrival in London in 1762; Abel had arrived in 1759.

Bach and Abel both became good friends of the Mozarts, and their compositional influence over the young Wolfgang is well established in existing scholarship.¹² Leopold's letter of 8th February 1765 mentions Bach's new opera, *Adriano in Syria*, which was premiered on 2nd February 1765 at the King's Theatre. A copy of the aria 'Cara la dolce fiamma' from the opera survives in the Mozarts' Salzburg music library.¹³ While in London, Wolfgang also transcribed a copy of Abel's Symphony No.6, Op.7 that for a long time was mistaken for Wolfgang's own compositions. Finally, Leopold's letter of 28th May 1764, reproduced above, recalls King George presenting Wolfgang with works by both Bach and Abel to sight-read. At the end of the same letter, Leopold wrote:

...What [Wolfgang] knew when we left Salzburg is a mere shadow of what he knows now. You can't imagine it. Together with the rest of us, he sends you his best wishes from the clavier, where he is now seated, playing Kapellmeister Bach's trio, and not a day passes without his speaking at least 30 times of Salzburg and his and our friends and patrons. He now has an opera constantly in his head that he wants to perform with just young people in Salzburg.¹⁴

Together, Bach and Abel ran a series of subscription concerts, hosted by **Teresa Cornelys** at Carlisle House, while the Mozarts were in London. They both appear on the member's list for the Royal Society of Musicians (Abel from 1761 and Bach from 1765), and Abel was a professional member of the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club.¹⁵

GMO; DNB.

¹² See, for example, Herman Abert, *W.A. Mozart*, ed., Eisen (London, 2006), 62-66; Sadie, *Mozart*, 65-67.

¹³ Premiere advertised in *P.A.*, 1st June 1765 (London), Issue 9439. See also Leopold's letter of 8 February 1765 in Anderson, *Letters*, 54. See Cliff Eisen, 'The Mozarts' Salzburg Music Library', in Eisen ed., *Mozart Studies 2* (London, 1991), 130.

¹⁴ Letter of 28 May 1764, see Eisen, *Letters*, 38-9.

¹⁵ Matthews, *RSM Members*, 11, 17. For NGCC members list, see Gladstone, *Catch Club*, 117.

Soho

M^{me} Mingotti. Leicester Square

Regina Mingotti (b. Naples 1722; d. Neuburg an der Donau 1808) was an Italian born singer of German descent. She arrived in London in 1755 and her success on the stage led to her position as London's first female impresario at the King's Theatre, in 1756-7 with **Felice Giardini**.¹⁶
GMO.

M^{me} Sartori. Mr Vento *Maestro di Musica*

Mr Mazziotti. Soprano

Mr Giustinelli Soprano

Mr Guglietti l'ultimo Cantante un Bassita

tutti questi ho trovati in Casa de Mazziotti al pranso. in Brewers street.

Matthia Vento (b. Naples 1735; d. London 1776) was a composer and harpsichord teacher who arrived in London in 1763 at the invitation of **Felice Giardini**. He produced eleven collections of keyboard sonatas with violin accompaniment, spanning from 1764-1776. Leopold's letter of 8 February 1765 makes reference to Vento's new opera *Demofonte*, which was premiered on 2nd March 1765 at the King's Theatre.¹⁷

Angiola Sartori, Antonio Mazziotti and Giuseppe Giustinelli (dates for all unknown) were all Italian sopranos. Mazziotti and Giustinelli were castrati. Sartori and Mazziotti both feature as performers in the newspaper advertisement for the Mozarts' first intended public appearance, scheduled for 22nd May 1764, although this appearance was prevented as Wolfgang was ill.¹⁸ Sartori and Giustinelli sang with the King's Theatre: Sartori from 1763-4 and Giustinelli from 1763-5.¹⁹

¹⁶ See Michael Burden, *Regina Mingotti: The First Female Impresario in London* (London, 2010), 64-81.

¹⁷ Premiere advertised in *P.A.* 1st March 1765 (London), Issue 9464. See also Leopold's letter of 8th February in Anderson, *Letters*, 54.

¹⁸ *P.A.*, 21st May 1764, reproduced in *MDB*, 34.

¹⁹ Curtis Price, Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, *The Impresario's Ten Commandments: Continental Recruitment for Italian Opera in London 1763-64* (London, 1992), 12.

There is no surviving information for bass Domenico Guglietti, other than that he was paid a salary of ninety-five pounds for the 1763-4 season at the King's Theatre.²⁰

Leopold states that he met all of five Italian musicians having lunch at Mazziotti's house in Brewer Street.

GMO.

Mr: Milord Eglington.

Mr. Milord March.

Alexander Montgomerie, Earl of Eglinton (b.1723; d. Ardrossan 1769), and William Douglas, 3rd Earl of March (b. Peebles 1724; d. 1810), both politicians, were among the joint founders of the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club (founded in 1761).²¹ March was also a patron of opera and purchased thirty-six tickets to the Mozarts' first public concert on June 5th 1764. Leopold's letter of 8th June 1764 reads:

June 5th was the only day on which a concert could be attempted, because the King's birthday was on the 4th, and the reason why we gave it then was in order to become known. We had a week, or rather two or three days only, in which to distribute the 'billets', for before that date there was hardly anyone in London. But, although for this kind of concert four to eight weeks are usually necessary for the distribution of the 'billets', which here they call 'tickets', to the amazement of everyone there were present more than a couple of hundred of persons, including the leading people in all London; not only all the ambassadors, but the principal families in England attended it and everyone was delighted. I cannot say whether I shall have a profit of one hundred guineas, as I have not received the money for thirty-six tickets from Mylord March and for forty tickets from a friend in town and from various others.²²

March was appointed to the Royal household as Lord of the Bedchamber in 1761. Eglinton was appointed to Parliament as a Scottish representative peer in February 1761. He was also a Freemason and was Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Scotland from 1750. The title 'Milord' generally referred to a wealthy Englishman, and was often used as a title of respect.²³

²⁰ Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, 'Opera Salaries in Eighteenth-Century London', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 46/1 (Spring, 1993), 41.

²¹ Gladstone, *Catch Club*, 108.

²² As stated by Leopold in letter of 8 June 1764, see Anderson, *Letters*, 48.

²³ 'Milord, n.', *OED Online* (Oxford University Press), <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/118607?redirectedFrom=milord>, accessed June 23, 2014.

There is one other possible reference to Eglinton and March in the postscript of Leopold's letter of 28 June 1764: Leopold states that 'two milords told [him] recently' about the use of lightning rods in China.²⁴ Although Leopold was also acquainted with a 'Milord Thanet', the family did not perform at his house until 7th July, suggesting their meeting came after this date. Eglinton and March's early presence in Leopold's travel notes correspond with the early date of Leopold's letter.

Mr: Neuman v Buchholz. *NB Du motié, et Palm* +

Unidentified. Bauer and Deutsch suggest that Neuman von Buchholz could have been a member of the Royal Hanoverian household,²⁵ although he does not appear in the household records.²⁶

Mr: L'Ambßador de Dänemarck, B. von Böthmar in *Great-Marlborough Street*

Hans Kaspar Graf Böthmar (b. 1727; d.1787, locations unknown) was the Danish Ambassador in London from 1764-1767.²⁷ Leopold's letter of 28th May mentions Böthmar. Discussing other places the Mozart family could potentially travel to, Leopold claimed:

We could go to Copenhagen to the greatest advantage in the world; both the Royal Danish Minister in Paris, Baron de Gleichen, and the Danish envoy here, Count Bothmer, were prepared to guarantee us a certain sum in advance, but it would never occur to me to accept.²⁸

This letter reference presumably dates this entry in the travel notes to shortly before 28th May 1764.

Mr: Graziani Violoncellist. *Warrwick Street* ☉ *Thrift st: Soho*.

Carlo Graziani (b. Asti, early 18thC.; died Potsdam 1787) was a cellist and composer who moved to London in 1762. He had previously lived in Paris from 1747. The Mozarts had to pull out of their appearance at his benefit

²⁴ Eisen, *Letters*, 45.

²⁵ *MBA*, V, 134.

²⁶ The Queen's household records can be found online at the *Institute of Historical Research*, Household of Queen Charlotte, <http://www.history.ac.uk/publications/office/queencharlotte>, accessed 24/06/2014. Written correspondence of 01/05/2013 with Pamela Clark at the Royal Archives, Windsor Palace, suggests there is no information in the King's Household records pertaining to Buchholz.

²⁷ *MBA*, V, 134.

²⁸ See Eisen, *Letters*, 34.

concert on 22 May 1764 due to Wolfgang's illness.²⁹ Leopold has drawn a circle after his name – something he also does for several musicians grouped together on p47. It is possible that he is marked out because of Wolfgang's intended appearance at the benefit concert.

GMÖ.

Mr: Noffari *Violinist.*

Giovanni Battista Noferi (d. London 1782) was a composer and violinist whose name first appeared in London when a set of his violin sonatas were published in 1757. After living in Cambridge for some years, he returned to London in 1762 where he was active mainly as an orchestral violinist. Noferi appeared as a member of the Royal Society of Musicians from 1763.³⁰

GMÖ.

Mr: Delon. *In Bell alley.*

Unidentified. Although his full name and dates are unknown, Mr Delon was an acquaintance of the Mozarts' from Paris and is listed in Leopold's travel notes on two previous occasions. In notes from Brussels ranging in date from 4th October – 15th November 1763, Leopold notes a 'Mr Delon with one short arm on whose hand there is no thumb, the brother of Mademoiselle Delon in Paris'. In notes from Paris ranging in date from 9th January – 10th April 1764, Leopold notes 'Mademoiselle Delon, who sings, and her brother who has left for England'.³¹ Bell Alley's location in the City of London could indicate that Delon was a merchant of some kind, although he does not appear in any of the London trade directories.

Mr: le Comte de Guerchy ambassadeur de France. *Soho Square.*

Claude-Louis-François de Regnier, Count Guerchy (b. France 1715; d. 1767) was the French ambassador in London from 1763 until July 1767.³² Leopold's

²⁹ *P.A.*, 21st May 1764, reproduced in *MDB*, 34.

³⁰ Matthews, *RSM Members*, 107.

³¹ *MBA*, I, 111 and 142. My translation.

³² See *P.A.* 2nd April 1763, Issue 8867; *P.A.* 21st July 1767, Issue 10199. The first news item states that, 'The Nobleman appointed by the Court of France to reside here with the Title of Ambassador upon the Return of the Duke de Nivernois, is Claude Lewis Francis de Regnier, Seigneur de Guerchy...He is about forty-six Years of Age'. The second article confirms his return to France. An *P.A.* article of 29th October 1767, Issue 10295, confirms that Guerchy died on 8th October 1767.

letter of 8th June 1764 states that the family went to Mass at the French Ambassador's Chapel:

Here we go to Mass in the chapel of the French Ambassador, which is the closest to us, and to which we were recommended from the court of Versailles itself, where we have already played.³³

Guerchy and his wife were acquainted with **William Douglas, Earl of March**. A letter of Horace Walpole's from June 1764 recalls having the Guerchys and Lord March (amongst several others) over to his house in Strawberry Hill, Richmond, for the afternoon, at a gathering that included 'French horns and clarionets in the cloister'.³⁴

Mr: Giordani Sa Femme et 2 Filles Nicolina et Marina 

Giuseppe Giordani (b. Naples; fl. 1745-1767) was a librettist, and the remaining members of his family were all singers. Along with other singers, the family formed a small opera troupe and travelled around Europe. They stopped in Ancona, Pesaro, Graz, Frankfurt, Salzburg, Amsterdam and Paris, before arriving in London in 1753. The family moved to Dublin for three years at the end of 1764. After Leopold's illness in the summer of 1764, Giordani helped him to recuperate. Describing his illness, Leopold wrote:

I cannot describe the state I was in: I was always awake, but always felt asleep, and was nothing but certainly not with it. I was not myself. Afterwards, everyone said I was completely unrecognisable. I was completely exhausted and my stomach was completely ruined; and when the physician came on the 25th he was a little embarrassed, and said: I should not have taken so many medicines and I should now eat to gradually recover my strength; and so he left me. But old, honest Giordani, who came to visit me twice a day at the time of my illness, made me get up and led me back and forth in the room and spend some time in my armchair eating my soup.³⁵

The red cross next to the family almost certainly indicates the death of Giordani's wife, Antonia, who died in November 1764.

DNB; GMO

³³ *MBA*, I, 153.

³⁴ Letter from Horace Walpole to George Montagu of 18 June 1764 (Strawberry Hill), in Peter Cunningham ed., *The Letters of Horace Walpole, Fourth Earl of Orford*, Volume IV (London, 1891), 250-251.

³⁵ Letter of 13th September 1764, *MBA*, I, 164. My translation.

Mr: Lord Fitzmoriz. *Dover Street.*

Thomas Fitzmaurice (b. 1742; d. Hampstead, 1793) was the brother of **Lord William Shelburne** and was the Member of Parliament for Calne in Wiltshire from 1762-1774.³⁶ His obituary suggests that he was actively involved in the London cultural scene, noting that 'he formerly lived on the most intimate terms with [Samuel] Johnson, [John] Hawkesworth and [David] Garrick; and his name will long be remembered as a liberal patron of Learning, Genius, and Virtue'.³⁷

Mr: Nicolai. *Cammer Page beym König oder Resptve * unter * Cammerdr:*

Frederick de Nicolay (b. Saxe-Gotha, 1728; d. London, 1809) was a musician, book collector and music librarian in the service of the royal family. He had emigrated to England from Saxe-Gotha in 1736, first entering the royal household as assistant dancing master to **George III**, when he was the Prince of Wales, in 1751. He was appointed a Page of the Backstairs to **Queen Charlotte** in 1762, and was listed as a violinist in her private chamber band from the same year, alongside **John Gordon**.³⁸ He lived at St. James's Palace and was friends with the royal couple.³⁹ A posthumous auction notice for Nicolay's library shows that his intellectual interests extended beyond music:

A Catalogue of the very elegant Library of the late Fred. Nicolay, Esq. of St. James's Palace, consisting of a valuable collection in history, poetry, voyages and travels, British and foreign biography, translations of the classics in English, Italian and French: belles lettres: miscellanies &c: particularly rich in Italian and French literature...which will sold by auction, by Leigh and S. Southeby...on Wednesday November 29, 1809.⁴⁰

Madame Cremonini

Clementina Cremonini (fl. 1763-1766) was a soprano who sang at both the King's Theatre and Drury Lane Theatre from 1763-5. She regularly appeared in benefit concerts and was a named performer in the Mozarts' first benefit

³⁶ See *History of Parliament Online*, <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/member/fitzmaurice-hon-thomas-1742-93>, accessed 13/04/2016.

³⁷ *The Gentlemen's Magazine and Historical Chronicle for the Year 1763*, 63/2 (London, 1763), 1053.

³⁸ *London Evening Post*, 11th March 1762, Issue 5360.

³⁹ Alec Hyatt King, *Some British Collectors of Music 1600-1960* (Cambridge, 1963), 117-129.

⁴⁰ British Museum S.C.S.66(3) Reproduced by Hyatt King, *Collectors*, 118.

concert on 5th June 1764.⁴¹ Leopold's letter of 8th June 1764 contains a brief reference to this:

Each person, of which there were two, namely a female singer and a male singer, received 5 to 6 guineas.⁴²

In 1764, Cremonini performed lead roles in two Drury Lane productions:

Eliza in **George Rush's** *The Royal Shepherd* and Aspatia in **Michael Arne** and Jonathan Battishill's *Almena*.⁴³

GMO.

Mr: Barthelemon *Violinist*. ○

Mr: Tacet *Flautotavers*: ○

Mr: Gordon *Violoncellist de la Reine* ⊙

Mr: Cyri *Violoncellist* ○

François-Hippolyte Barthélemon (b. Bordeaux, 1741; d. London, 1808), Joseph Tacet (fl. 1751-1780), John Gordon (dates unknown) and Giovanni Battista Cirri (b. Forlì, 1724; d. Forlì, 1808) were all musicians and composers active in London. As with Graziani, Leopold has marked each of these musicians out with a circle. This, combined with their positioning relatively early on Leopold's travel notes suggest that all of these musicians may have participated in the Mozarts' early benefit concert. A newspaper advertisement confirms that Cirri and Barthélemon, at least, were involved. Barthélemon was the first violinist and a soloist, and Cirri was a soloist.⁴⁴ Leopold's letter of 8th June confirms how much they would have been paid:

The first violin gets 3 guineas and so on; and all who play the solos and concertos 3, 4 and 5 guineas. The ordinary players receive ½ a guinea and so forth. But, fortunately for me, all the musicians as well as the hall and everything only cost me 20 guineas, because most of the performers would not accept anything.⁴⁵

Barthélemon and Cirri had, like the Mozarts, only arrived in London in 1764. The Mozarts' benefit concert, therefore, marked one of their earliest public appearances. It is unclear why the circle next to Gordon is coloured in.

Tacet frequently appears in newspaper advertisements for benefit concerts alongside the likes of **Abel**, **Eiffert** and **Gordon**. These

⁴¹ *P.A.*, 4th June 1764, Issue 9234.

⁴² *MBA*, I, 153. My translation.

⁴³ *London Evening Post*, 23rd February 1764, Issue 5666; *Lloyd's Evening Post*, end November 1764, Issue 1142.

⁴⁴ *P.A.*, 4th June 1764, Issue 9234.

⁴⁵ Anderson, *Letters*, 48.

advertisements suggest he lived at Meard's Court, Dean Street, in Soho.⁴⁶ Gordon and Cirri were musicians in the royal service: Gordon, as Leopold states, was violoncellist to **Queen Charlotte**,⁴⁷ and Cirri was music master to the Duke of Gloucester, a brother of King George III.⁴⁸ Newspaper advertisements selling Cirri's new symphonies suggest he either lodged, or was good friends with **Tacet**.⁴⁹
GMO; DNB.

Duches of Ancaster in *Barckley Sqair*

Duches de Hamilton.

Mary Bertie, Duchess of Ancaster (d.1793) and Elizabeth Campbell, Duchess of Hamilton (b. Hemingford Grey, 1733; d. London, 1791) were both in the service of the royal household. The Duchess of Ancaster was appointed as Mistress of the Robes and the Duchess of Hamilton was appointed as a lady in waiting, both to **Queen Charlotte** in 1761.⁵⁰ The fact that Leopold lists them together suggests that he met them at the same time, although the circumstances are unknown. Leopold notes the Duchess of Ancaster's address of Berkeley Square, so it is possible they met there. Both duchesses were acquainted with **Eglinton** and **March**: an extract from James Boswell's London journal on 7th December 1762 documents a concert at which all four were present:

In the morning, I went to Lord Eglintoune's where was a Breakfast, a Concert, & a most elegant Company. The Prince of Mecklenburgh...Duke and Duchess of Ancaster, Duchess of Hamilton...Lord March...Mr Harris author of the Essays on Poetry, music and happiness, & a great many more.⁵¹ Boswell was not in London while the Mozarts were visiting, so they were unacquainted, but his diary entry highlights a pre-existing social network

⁴⁶ For example, see *P.A.* advertisement of 25th February 1765 (Issue 9460).

⁴⁷ He is listed as a member of the Queen's chamber band from 1762. See *London Evening Post*, 11th March 1762, Issue 5360.

⁴⁸ For example, stated on the title page of his Opus 7, *Six Easy Solos for a Violoncello and Three Duets for a Violin or German Flute and Violoncello obligato* (London, 1766), which reads: 'Composed by Gianbattista Cirri, teacher to his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester'. BL Music Collections g.280.c.(2.).

⁴⁹ The *P.A.* newspaper advertisement referenced in the previous footnote lists all of Cirri's published compositions 'to be had of the Author, at Mr Tacet's, Meard's Court, Dean Street, Soho'.

⁵⁰ Accounts of Treasurer to the Queen 1761-77: British Library, Additional MSS 17870 f.2.

⁵¹ See Boswell's entry of Tuesday 7th December 1762 in Gordon Turnbull ed., *Boswell's London Journal 1762-1763* (London, 2010) 30-31.

between Eglinton and those who attended his house – a network the Mozart family encountered directly.

DNB.

Comte de Seilern Ambassadeur del Empreur *et la Comteße. St. James Square*

Comte de Haslang ambassadeur de Baviere *et son Fils.*

Comte Carraccioli ambaß: de Naples.

Christian August Seilern (b. Vienna, 1717; d. Vienna, 1801), Joseph Haslang (d. London, 1783) and Domenico Caraccioli (b. Naples, 1715; d. Sicily, 1780) were all foreign ambassadors in London. Again, the fact that Leopold has listed three ambassadors consecutively suggests he may have made their acquaintance at more or less the same time. Seilern had arrived in London as the Imperial Ambassador in October 1763. Haslang had served as the Bavarian Ambassador since 1742. He is mentioned in Daines Barrington's report on Mozart's musical abilities for providing Barrington with a translated copy of the Salzburg Cathedral birth register in the year Mozart was born (1756).⁵² Domenico Caraccioli became the Ambassador from Naples in 1764, after being promoted from Envoy. He became a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1765.⁵³

My Lady Haringthon et sa très jolie Famille. Stable Yard *St. James's Park*

Lady Caroline Stanhope, née Fitzroy (b.1722; d.1784) was married to William Stanhope (b. 1719; d. 1779), a politician and army officer. The couple had seven children; all of who were born by the time the Mozarts were in London. Leopold describes them as a very nice family but, as Bauer and Deutsch note, they had a 'dubious reputation'. On account of their sexual promiscuity, Caroline was nicknamed 'the stable yard Messalina' and William was

⁵² Barrington's report, *An Account of A Very Remarkable Young Musician* (1770), is reproduced in *MDB*, 95–100.

⁵³ For Seilern's biographical information, see Constant von Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Österreich*, Vol 34, (Vienna, 1879), 19. Available online at: <http://www.literature.at/viewer.alo?objid=11782&page=22&scale=3.33&viewmode=fullscreen>, accessed 14/04/2016. For information on Haslang's dates, see British History Online, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vols31-2/pt2/pp167-173>, accessed 13/04/2016. For information on Carraccioli, see Marie Boas Hall, 'The Royal Society and Italy 1667-1795', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, 37/1 (August 1982), 75; 77.

nicknamed 'Lord Fumble'. He was also described by the *Westminster Magazine* as 'a man of the most exceptional immorality'.⁵⁴

DNB.

Mr. Stephan Teißier Banquier *in the Cithy*: Broad Street, austin friars.
et Madame

Stephen Teßier (d. Highgate, 1775) and his partner Charles Loubier acted as Leopold's bankers while he was in London.⁵⁵ Leopold's letter of 28th June 1764 contains instructions for Hagenauer regarding this:

I have just now received the enclosed bill of exchange from Paris and therefore hasten to forward it to you without delay in order that you can make use of it straightaway. I do not really understand how these matters are transacted at a distance and so I spoke with two local bankers, Loubier et Teissier, who are very good friends of mine and who, after seeing the letter I received from Messrs Tourton et Baur and noting the figure of £179½ quoted therein, have agreed that the value of 200 louis d'or is correct, given the difference in the exchange rate. You will not fail, therefore, to send this as soon as possible to Hamburg and, once it has been accepted, credit me with the sum of 2250 f. At the same time I have pleasure in reporting that I have again deposited a small sum of 100 guineas with the afore-mentioned bankers Loubier and Teissier, which I could pay to someone in the service of Salzburg who is currently in these parts. If you yourself can use this sum in Paris, The Hague, Amsterdam, Hamburg etc. or elsewhere, it would be most agreeable to me, and as I see that I shall probably still have to transfer a certain balance to Salzburg, I would ask you to be mindful of this and lend me a hand. In the event that a larger sum is to be paid, I can transfer an extra 30, 40 or even 50 guineas without depriving myself of money. I must also let you know that from now on you should send your letters to the following address: *Monsieur Mozart chez Mrs Charles Loubier et Teissier Banquiers. Austin-Friars. London.*⁵⁶

The fact that Teißier's wife is also listed in this entry could indicate that Leopold also met Teißier in a personal capacity.

Mr: Sipruntini, *Violoncellist* und Frau.

Mr: Zoffani Mahler

} *Lincolns Inn*
} *Fields*

Emmanuel Siprutini (b. Netherlands, 1730; d. London, 1790) was a cellist and Johan Joseph Zoffany (b. Regensburg, 1733; d. London, 1810) was a painter. Leopold seems to have bracketed them together because they both lived on

⁵⁴ Susan C. Law, *Through the Keyhole: Sex, Scandal and the Secret Life of the Country House* (Stroud, 2015), 83-84.

⁵⁵ See Leopold's letter of 28th May 1764 in Eisen, *Letters*, 39.

⁵⁶ Eisen, *Letters*, 39.

Lincoln's Inn Fields. Although the circumstances of this meeting, and whether the Mozarts met both men together, are unknown, both were members of the Old King's Arms Masonic Lodge from 1763 onwards. Zoffany's name first appears in the Old King's Arms Lodge Minute Book on 19th December 1763:

Mr John Soafany was this night received the two Degrees of Masonry afterwards was Desirous to be rais'd Master at the same time as the Lodge was prepared for Mr Adston which was unanimously agreed too [*sic.*] and likewise paid for the usual fee and the remainder of the Annual fee [£3.1.0.].

This was shortly followed, on 3rd January 1764, by:

Mr Soafany has made an offer to draw the picture of a Rev. Dionysius Manasse and to make it a present to this Lodge for which the Lodge return'd thanks unanimously.

Mr Soafany has proposed Man: Siprutigni to be made a Mason the next Lodge Night which was seconded and thirded.

Sure enough, on 17th January 1764, Siprutini was initiated:

This Night Man: Emmanuel Siprutigni was made a Mason & receiv'd the two Degrees of Masonry and was Desirous to be a Member of this Lodge.

Mr Siprutigni has become a Member and paid the usual fee & is become a Member of this Lodge [£3.0.0.].⁵⁷

The lodge minute book confirms that Siprutini and Zoffany were acquainted, which increases the likelihood of them having met Leopold together.

Leopold and Siprutini were evidently good friends. Leopold's letter of 13th September 1764, a continuation of the passage relating to Giordani cited above, reads:

My friend called Siprutini, who was born a Jew, brought his cousin, a doctor who is a Portuguese Jew, and they came with rhubarb powder and mixed it with some things to make the stomach stronger.⁵⁸

Leopold also writes of trying to convert Siprutini, a Dutch Jew, to his own, Catholic faith, but this passage is discussed at length on Chapter 4, page 182-184 of this dissertation.

Zoffany had arrived in London in 1761 after two years working in Trier. He was soon patronised by the Royal Family and painted several conversation pieces of them, including **Queen Charlotte** and her two eldest sons in 1765.⁵⁹ He also exhibited regularly with the Royal Society of Artists, including the years 1764-5 when the Mozarts were in London. In the mid

⁵⁷ *Old King's Arms Lodge Minutes 1756-1774*. On deposit at the Museum of Freemasonry, London, by kind permission of the Old King's Arms Lodge, No. 28.

⁵⁸ *MBA*, I, 164. My translation.

⁵⁹ Zoffany's portrait, 'Queen Charlotte with her two eldest sons' is held in the Royal Collection, RCIN 400146.

1920s, a painting initially thought to be by Zoffany, *Boy with the Bird's Nest*, bearing the inscription 'W.A. Mozart 1764' was sold to the Mozarteum. However, restoration reports in 1928 demonstrated that the inscription had been added at a later date, and now Zoffany has been discredited as the artist.⁶⁰
DNB.

Mr: Randal in Five Field Row in Chelsea wo wir 7 Wochen näml: vom 6. aug: bis Sept: gewohnet samt seiner Frau und Kindern.

More information about the Randal Family could not be found, but the Mozarts stayed at their house in Chelsea from 6th August until late September 1764.

Mr: Humel *Music-seller* and his wife. King's Street. St. Ann's. *Soho*.

Mr: Kirckman *Keyboard-maker Broad Street. Golden Square*

Mr: Neubauer *Keyboard-maker* in Litchfield Street *St. Ann's Soho. near Newport Market*.

John Adolph Hummel (b. Hesse? fl. 1760-1772) was a music publisher, and Jakob Kirckman (b. Bischwiller, 1710; d. Greenwich, 1792) and Frederick Neubauer (dates unknown) were both instrument makers. All three men lived in Soho, and their geographical proximity suggests that this part of London was well populated by music publishers and instrument makers.

Hummel and his Swiss wife Catherina had four young children, Anne, Charles, Adolph and Charlotte.⁶¹ They were evidently on good terms with the Mozarts: Leopold's letter of 19th March 1765 mentions a music-seller from Hesse and his Swiss wife, who asked Maria Anna Mozart to be a godparent for the baptism of their child. Leopold considered the event odd because the father was of no religion, and the congregation was made up of several different denominations.⁶²

⁶⁰ See 'The Mozart Fake', *Stiftung Mozarteum Salzburg*, <http://www.mozarteum.at/en/content/news/142>, accessed 13/04/2016.

⁶¹ Joyce Simlett-Moss, 'Confused identities: the two Master Hummel(l)s', *The Musical Times*, 150/1908 (Autumn 2009), 65. Simlett-Moss confirms that Hummel was active in London from 1760-1772, when he sold his business. His subsequent whereabouts are unknown.

⁶² *MBA*, 181. The extract of Leopold's letter discussing the baptism is relevant to my discussion in Chapter IV, page 181, and will be reproduced there.

Kirckman moved to London in the 1730s and became a British citizen in 1755. In 1764, **George III** purchased two harpsichords from Kirckman, and Kirckman was also employed as **Queen Charlotte's** instrument tuner in the 1760s and 1770s.⁶³

Little is known about Neubauer, although he appears in 1764 newspaper advertisements, selling harpsichords.⁶⁴
GMO, DNB.

Mr: Braillard *Traiteur in Cecil Court.*

Mr: Braillard *Tailor in Castel Street near Pons Coffee House*

Possibly David Braillard (dates unknown). There is little surviving information for Mr Braillard, and it is unclear as to whether the two names are in fact references to the same person in different capacities, or to different people. A newspaper article from 1776 refers to a David Braillard – a fugitive for debt who had surrendered himself to Northgate Prison in Chester – as an innkeeper, 'heretofore of Cecil-court, St Martin's Lane'.⁶⁵ This corresponds reasonably to Leopold's designation, 'traiteur' (caterer). It is possible that the family used him to provide meals while they lodged in Cecil Court. The Mozarts were accustomed to using services of this kind: Leopold's letter of 13th September states that, in Chelsea, his wife had taken over the cooking because the food provided by the restaurant keeper was not good. This suggests they might have used a similar service while lodging in St. Martin's Lane.⁶⁶

A 1773 bankruptcy notice for a Henry Nicholas confirms a partnership with 'David Braillard of Castle-street, Taylor'.⁶⁷ This confirms that there was a tailor named David Braillard in the second location Leopold lists during the period.

⁶³ Information about Kirkman's employment in the royal household can be found on the Royal Collection catalogue entry, 'Bukat Shudi, Two-manual harpsichord', <https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/11896/two-manual-harpsichord>, accessed 13/04/2016.

⁶⁴ For example, see *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 21st June 1764, Issue 10872.

⁶⁵ See *Chester Chronicle*, 13th June 1776.

⁶⁶ *MBA*, I, 168.

⁶⁷ See *Lloyd's Evening Post*, 27th October 1773.

Milord Thanet – *Grosvenors Square*

Sackville Tufton, Eighth Earl of Thanet (b.1733; d. Nice, 1786) was an English nobleman.⁶⁸ He features prominently in Leopold's letter of 13th September 1764: it was at Thanet's house that Leopold contracted his illness:

On July 8th at six in the evening we were to go to Milord Thanet's. Before six I sent out to the stands where carriages are to be found, but not one was to be had. It was Sunday, so all had been hired. It was an exceedingly fine and very hot day. I sent for a sedan chair, and put my two children into it and walked behind, as the weather was unusually lovely. But I had forgotten how fast the bearers stride along here; and I soon had a taste of it. I can walk fairly quickly, as you know, and my stoutness does not prevent me from doing so. But, before we arrived at Milord Thanet's I often thought that I should have to give up; for London is not like Salzburg. And I perspired as profusely as it is possible for a man to do. I had only a silk waistcoat on, though I was wearing a cloth coat, which I buttoned up immediately on arriving at Milord Thanet's. But it was to no purpose. The evening was cool and all the windows were open. We stayed until 11 o'clock and I at once felt ill and engaged a second sedan chair to take me home. Yet until the 14th, although I did not feel well, I went about and tried to cure myself by perspiring, which is the remedy generally adopted here. But it was no good.⁶⁹

James Boswell's diary indicates that Thanet was acquainted with **Eglinton**.⁷⁰

Mr: Bertrand Kaufman von Lyon

Unidentified. Bauer and Deutsch have suggested Mr Bertrand could be a Charles Bertrand, an Italian merchant, although they have not given the source of their identification.⁷¹

Maestro Cocchi.

Madame Cornelys *in Soho Square*

Gioacchino Cocchi (b. Naples, 1712; d. Venice, 1796) was a composer. He had arrived in London in 1757, where he was an opera composer and music director at the Haymarket Theatre until 1762. When the Mozarts were in London, he was especially active as a teacher and had produced several

⁶⁸ Thanet's dates are detailed in John Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage of the British Empire* (London, 1845), 976. His date and place of death are confirmed in his obituary: *London Chronicle*, 8th April 1786, Issue 4586.

⁶⁹ See Anderson, *Letters*, 51.

⁷⁰ Boswell's journal stated: 'I dined with Lord Eglintoune, Lord Thanet, Lord Coventry & his Brother...'. See entry of 29th May 1763 in Gordon Turnbull ed., *Boswell's London Journal 1762-1763* (London, 2010), 233.

⁷¹ *MBA*, V, 135.

instructional works.⁷² He was also the director of Teresa Cornelys's subscription concerts. The consecutive listing of Cocchi and Cornelys, added to their documented professional acquaintance, raise the possibility that Leopold met them at the same time.

Teresa Cornelys (b. Venice, 1723; d. Fleet prison, 1797) was a singer and impresario. She arrived in London in 1759 and leased Carlisle House in Soho Square in 1760. Here, she held regular entertainment evenings of music, dancing and gambling for select individuals of high society. During the 1760s she began her series of subscription concerts, starting with the Bach-Abel concert series in 1764-5. A letter of 13th December 1764 from Friedrich Melchior, Baron von Grimm in Paris to Ernst Ludwig of Saxe-Gotha suggests that Leopold had been hoping to have some kind of involvement at Cornelys's events, although there is no evidence that the family appeared there.⁷³

GMO; DNB.

Mr: Eiffert *Hautboist.*

Mr: Agos *Violinist.*

Mr: Scola *Violoncellist.*

Philipp Eiffert (d. London, 1792; fl.1758-1790), Giuseppe [Joseph] Agus (b. Italy, 1749; d.1803) and Charles Scola (d.1817) were all musicians active in London. Eiffert, an oboist, and Scola, a cellist, were both members of the Royal Society of Musicians, Eiffert from 1750 and Scola from 1760.⁷⁴ Eiffert played in the band for the King's Theatre, and Scola was a musician in **George III's** service: a contemporary newspaper article states that in May 1765 an Earl Gower, Lord Chamberlain to King George, appointed Scola as one of 'his Majesty's Musicians in Ordinary'.⁷⁵ Agus, a violinist and composer, had arrived in London by 1748. He dedicated his Op. III Sonatas, *Six Duets for Two Violins*, to **William Hamilton**.⁷⁶

GMO; DNB.

⁷² For example, Gioacchino Cocchi, *Sixteen Songs and Duets with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord, also Adapted for the Violin, Hautboy, German Flute, Guitar & Violoncello*, Opera lxiii (London, 1763). BL Music Collections A.796.

⁷³ *MDB*, 37.

⁷⁴ Mathews, *RSM Members*, 49, 129.

⁷⁵ *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post* (London), May 18, 1765 - May 21, 1765; Issue 657.

⁷⁶ Philip Highfill et. al., *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers, and Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800* (Southern Illinois Press, 1973), 43.

Mr: Simon Berard chez. Mr Delon in Bell'alley in the City.

Simon Berard (dates unknown) could not be identified. It is unclear whether Leopold's 'chez. Mr Delon' means that Berard lodged with Delon, or whether Leopold just met him at Delon's house. It is possible that he was a merchant, given his residence in the City.

Mr: Hamilton in *Kings Mews. iszt gesannter in Neapel.*

William Hamilton (b. London, 1731; d. London, 1803) was diplomat and art collector. He travelled to Naples in November 1764, so the Mozarts must have met him before this date. Hamilton was a keen amateur musician, having studied under **Felice de Giardini** whilst in the army. He was also a member of the Royal Society and was elected as a fellow in 1766. Hamilton was raised as the foster brother of **King George III**. Wolfgang and Leopold again met Hamilton and his wife Catherine, a talented keyboard player, during their visit to Naples in 1770.⁷⁷

DNB.

Mr Pierre Laprimaudaye der schwieger Sohn von Mr: Teißier

Pierre Henry A. de la Primaudaye (dates unknown), was the director of the French Hospital for poor Huguenots in London from 1761.⁷⁸ Himself a Huguenot, Primaudaye had been a governor of the same hospital since 1740.⁷⁹ Leopold notes that he was **Stephen Teißier's** son-in-law, so it is likely that they were introduced through him.

Mr Otley ein Mann der in Westindien Plantagen hat und öfters auf ein Jahr dahin gehet.

William Ottley (b. Island of St. Christopher, 1680; d. Hengrave, 1774) owned plantations and slaves in St. Kitts. He had estates at Palmetto Point and St. Mary Cayou. Leopold notes that he travelled to his plantations often in a year. Ottley was the father-in-law of **Gilbert Franklyn**, listed later on in Leopold's travel notes.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ See letter of 19 May 1770 in Anderson, *Letters*, 135.

⁷⁸ *MBA*, V, 136.

⁷⁹ Samuel Smiles, *The Huguenots: Their Settlements, Churches and Industries in England and Ireland* (New York, 1868), 416.

⁸⁰ *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership* (UCL), <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146645509>, accessed 15/04/2016.

Lady Effingham in St. Jams's Place.

Elizabeth Howard (née Beckford), Lady Effingham (b. 1725; d. 1791) was the daughter of Peter Beckford who, at his death was the wealthiest plantation owner in Jamaica. Upon her father's death, Howard inherited £5000 of Jamaica money. The shared interests in West Indian plantations, and their proximity in Leopold's travel notes, raises the possibility that Leopold met Howard at the same time as **William Ottley**. Howard was appointed as a lady of the bedchamber to **Queen Charlotte** in 1761.⁸¹ In this context, she must have been acquainted with **Elizabeth Campbell, Duchess of Hamilton**.

DNB.

Mr: Leone a good mandolin player.

Sigr: Manzuoli. Sigr: Ciprandi.

Sigra: Scotti. Sigr. Podarini.

Sgr. Tenducci. Sgr. Degardino.

Gabriele Leoni (fl. 1763-6), Giovanni Manzuoli (b. Florence, 1720; d. Florence, 1782), Ercole Ciprandi (d. Italy, 1794), Sigra. Scotti (unidentified), Sigr. Podarini (unidentified), Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci (b. Siena, 1735; d. Genoa, 1790) and Felice de Giardini (b. Turin, 1716; d. Moscow, 1796), were all Italian musicians active in London. Leopold's grouping of them together suggests he made their acquaintance at the same time, for example, as was likely the case with the musicians grouped together on page 41. Cecil B. Oldman suggested the possibility of a musical gathering at Lady Effingham's house but, aside from their proximity in the travel notes, there is no evidence for this.⁸²

Leoni was active as a mandolin player in London from 1763-6, and later published *A Complete Introduction to the Art of Playing the Mandolin* (1768 in French in Paris, and 1789 in English in London).⁸³

⁸¹ 'Household of Queen Charlotte, 1761-1818', *Institute of Historical Research Online*, <http://www.history.ac.uk/publications/office/queencharlotte#f>, accessed 15/04/2016.

⁸² Cecil B. Oldman, 'Beckford and Mozart', *Music & Letters*, 47/2 (Apr., 1966), 113.

⁸³ Peter Holman, *Life After Death: The Viola Da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge, 2010), 158.

Ian Woodfield has noted that Giovanni Manzuoli (soprano), Ercole Ciprandi, Scotti, and Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci (soprano) were all singers hired by the King's Theatre for the season beginning 24th November 1764.⁸⁴

Manzuoli had arrived in London especially for the 1764-5 season, and took the London scene by storm: Leopold's letter of 8th February details how much money Manzuoli was earning for the season:

This winter, nobody is making much money except Manzuoli and a few others in the opera. Manzuoli is getting 1500 pounds in sterling for this season and the money has had to be guaranteed in Italy, as the previous impresario De Giardini went bankrupt last year; otherwise Manzuoli would not have come to London. In addition he is giving a benefit, that is, an evening recital for himself, so that this winter he will be drawing more than 20,000 German gulden. He is the only person whom they have had to pay decently in order to set the opera on its feet again.⁸⁵

The Mozarts also met Manzuoli at **Lady Margaret Clive's** House in Berkeley Square.⁸⁶ Emily Anderson states the Wolfgang took lessons with Manzuoli while in London,⁸⁷ and, although there is no source that categorically confirms this, their relationship is noted: in a letter of 15 July 1766, Grimm notes the extent to which Wolfgang's own voice benefitted from hearing Manzuoli sing; and Daines Barrington states that Wolfgang was 'very much taken notice of' by Manzuoli.⁸⁸

Giardini had been active on the London scene since 1751 and had managed the Italian Opera at the King's Theatre until 1756. Leopold's letter, quoted above, reports that Giardini had been declared bankrupt the previous year, however, his successful career subsequently continued. Giardini appeared in **Bach** and **Abel's** concert series at Carlisle House, and by 1767 he had been appointed as music master to the Dukes of Gloucester and Cumberland.

⁸⁴ Ian Woodfield, 'A New Light on the Mozarts' London Visit: A Private Concert with Manzuoli', *Music and Letters*, 76/2 (1995), 190.

⁸⁵ See Anderson, *Letters*, 54.

⁸⁶ Woodfield, 'Private Concert', 187-208.

⁸⁷ For example, see Anderson, *Letters*, 54, n.4.

⁸⁸ For Grimm's letter see *MDB*, 56; for Barrington's *Account*, see *MDB*, 95-101. Barrington's reference to Wolfgang and Manzuoli appears on p98 of *MDB*.

Ciprandi, Tenducci and Giardini were all members of the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club, and Tenducci was a member of the Royal Society of Musicians from 1763.⁸⁹
GMO.

Haymarket

Mr: Williamson and his woman in Thrift Street. Soho.

Thomas Williamson (dates unknown), was a corset maker whom the Mozarts lodged with when they returned from Chelsea in September 1764, after Leopold's illness.⁹⁰

Doctor Arne and his son. *Composers*

Miss Brent	}	Singing womans.
Miss Young		

Thomas Arne (b. London, 1710; d. London, 1778) and his son Michael Arne (b. *c.* 1740; d. Lambeth, 1786) were composers, and Charlotte Brent (b. London, 1734; d. London, 1802) and Polly Young (b. London, 1749; d. London 1799) were both singers. The Arnes lived on the Covent Garden Piazza, and Thomas Arne was the composer in residence at the Covent Garden Theatre. His opera *Artaxerxes* was revived while the Mozarts were in London and it is likely that the Mozarts were acquainted with it: upon leaving London, Wolfgang composed the concert aria 'Conservati fedele', K.23 based on Metastasio's libretto for 'By that beloved embrace', one of Arne's arias from the opera.⁹¹ Arne was a member of the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club, of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, and was a founding member of the Royal Society of Musicians.⁹² Brent and Young were both pupils of Thomas Arne's: Young was the niece of Arne's wife, Celia Young.

GMO.

⁸⁹ See Gladstone, *Catch Club*, 117; Matthews, *RSM Members*, 142. Giardini had joined the RSM in 1755, but withdrew his subscription in the same year. See Matthews, *RSM Members*, 58.

⁹⁰ Frederick George Edwards, *Musical Haunts in London* (1895), 46.

⁹¹ This is discussed on page 221 of Chapter V. See also **Table 4** of this chapter.

⁹² See Gladstone, *Catch Club*, 117; Matthews, *RSM Members*, 16.

H: v: Suber

Herr von Suber is unidentified, although Leopold's designation of the title 'Herr' suggests that he was German.

Mr: Ruff. *composer*

George Rush (fl. 1760-1780) was a composer, guitarist and harpsichordist. In the 1764 season two of his operas, *The Royal Shepherd* and *Capricious Lovers* were performed at the Drury Lane Theatre, premiered on 24th February and 28th November respectively.⁹³

GM.O.

Mistrs: Playdell

Elizabeth Playdell (d. by 1798) was a daughter of Bengal Governor, John Zephaniah Holwell. In 1759 she married Charles Stafford Playdell, an East India official, whom she had met while accompanying her father to India. According to the memoirs of Francis Burney, Elizabeth Playdell had once been a student of Charles Burney.⁹⁴

Lady Sophia Carterels in *Arlington Street*

geheyrat an Lord Schelburn in Hill-Street Barckly-Square
--

Lady Sophia Carteret (b. London, 1745; d. London 1771) was the daughter of the deceased John Carteret, second Earl of Granville. She married William Petty, second Earl of Shelburne on 2nd or 3rd of February 1765. This helps with the chronology of the travel notes: Leopold inserted the marriage information (and circled it) at a later date, meaning that the family must have met Sophia Carteret before February 1765.

DNB

Mr Steel. in Hamilton Street, *Piccadilly*.

Joshua Steele (b. c. 1700; d. Barbados, 1796) was a plantation owner and music theorist. Steele had been a member of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce since 1756, and the society members list

⁹³ See *P.A.*, 24th February 1764, Issue 9145; *Lloyd's Evening Post*, 26th November 1764, Issue 1152.

⁹⁴ Lars E. Troise ed., *The early journals and letters of Fanny Burney: 1768-1773*, (London, 1988), 67-70.

confirms his address as Hamilton Street,⁹⁵ as listed by Leopold. Through his membership of the Society, Steele promoted the study of speech as music. Bauer and Deutsch's annotations suggested Leopold's entry referred to William Steel (dates unknown), a landowner in Kent, and that Leopold actually meant to write 'Hamilton Place' rather than Hamilton Street. However, the match with the RSA members list, Leopold's other contacts who were members of the RSA, and the fact that Leopold rarely made address errors, make this error unlikely.⁹⁶ *DNB*.

Mr: Fermor in South Street, near South-Audley Street

William Fermor (dates unknown) was a member of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce. The RSA members list confirms his address. Two portraits of a William Fermor (b. 1737; d. 1806) survive, both painted in Italy in the 1750s while Fermor was on the Grand Tour. The first, by Anton Raphael Mengs, dates from 1757; the second, by Pompeo Batoni, from 1758. Nothing is known about William Fermor, except that he was the son of Henry Fermor of Tusmore, Oxfordshire.⁹⁷

Mazzingi Violinist

Tommaso Mazzinghi (d. London, 1775) was a violinist at Marylebone Gardens and a wine merchant. He published six violin sonatas in 1763 that were dedicated to **William Fermor**. The fact that Leopold lists Mazzingi and Fermor consecutively suggests he met them at the same time.⁹⁸ *DNB*.

⁹⁵ *A List of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce* (London, 1765), 59.

⁹⁶ See *MBA*, V, 137; Joshua Steele, *An Essay Towards Establishing the Melody and Measure of Speech to be Expressed and Perpetuated by Peculiar Symbols* (London, 1775). A selection of Steele's letters on various subjects is held in the RSA archives, listed at: <http://www.calmview2.eu/RSA/CalmViewA/Overview.aspx>, accessed 22/04/2016.

⁹⁷ Information on Fermor found on the Ashmolean Museum's catalogue entry for his portrait of Anton Raphael Mengs:

<http://www.ashmolean.org/ash/objects/makedetail.php?pmu=730&mu=732>y=asea&sec=&dtm=10&sfn=Title&cpa=1&rpos=0&cnum=&mat=&pro=&anum=&art=Anton%20Raphael%20Mengs%20%281728%20-%201779%29&ttl=&sou=>, accessed 22/04/2016.

see also *A List of the RSA* (London, 1765), 24.

⁹⁸ Tommaso Mazzinghi, *Six Solos for the Violin with a Thorough-Bass for the Harpsichord* (Welcker, 1763), BL Music Collections i.15. See also Highfill et. al. *Dictionary*, 161.

Lady Clive. *Berkley Square*

Lady Margaret Clive (b. London, 1735; d. Shropshire, 1817) was the wife of Robert Clive of India. She usually accompanied her husband to India but she was pregnant in 1764 so stayed behind. Clive had interests in astronomy, poetry and French as well as music. Both Margaret and Robert were music lovers and regularly attended concerts while in London. The Mozarts appeared in a private concert at her house on 13th March 1765, alongside **Giovanni Manzuoli** and **John Burton**. Again, this is helpful in dating the travel notes: we know that Leopold had certainly made Clive's acquaintance by this date.⁹⁹

DNB.

M: Welcker, in Gerrard Street St. Ann's. Soho. *Music Shop*.

Mr: Hinz *Cytarren-macher*. Instruments Shop Corner of the Court near Little Newport Street.

Peter Welcker (d. London 1775) was a music publisher and John Frederick Hintz (b. Greifenhagen 1711; d. London 1772) was an instrument maker. In his 1772 catalogue, Welcker advertises himself as 'Music-Seller to their Majesties and all the Royal Family'.¹⁰⁰ Hintz, a Moravian protestant, had begun his career as a furniture maker. It is not known when he first appeared in London, but an advertisement of 1738 confirms his brief return to Germany.¹⁰¹ He returned to London with his second wife in 1747 (after a few years in Leeds), and was active as a musical instrument maker from 1752 until his death. His wife died on 11th April 1764.¹⁰² He was frequently advertised as 'guitar maker to Her Majesty and the Royal Family'.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ Ian Woodfield, 'New Light on the Mozarts' London Visit: A Private Concert with Manzuoli', *Music and Letters*, 76/2 (1995), 187-208.

¹⁰⁰ Peter Welcker, *A Catalogue of Vocal and Instrumental Music printed for and sold by P. Welcker, etc.* (London, 1772). BL Music Collections IV.1112.(11.).

¹⁰¹ *The Daily Post*, 28th May 1738.

¹⁰² L. Graf, 'John Frederick Hintz, Eighteenth-Century Moravian Instrument Maker, and the Use of the Cittern in Moravian Worship', *Journal of Moravian History*, 5 (2008), 38.

¹⁰³ For a detailed discussion of Hintz's life and career, see Peter Holman, "'Awake my Cetra, Harp and Lute": John Frederick Hintz and the Cult of Exotic Instruments' in *Life After Death: The Viola Da Gamba in Great Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge, 2010), 135-168.

Sir Edmond Thomas's in St: James's Street

Sir Edmond Thomas (b. 1712; d. 1767) was an MP for Glamorganshire from 1761.¹⁰⁴ The circumstances of his meeting the Mozarts are unknown.

Mr: Cornwall in Dover Street

Unidentified.

Dr: Macdonnogh. in Bury Street

Felix Macdonough (dates unknown) was a surgeon and male midwife to the lying in hospital in Jermyn Street, and had been its medical officer since its foundation in 1752. He lived at Bury Street during the hospital's early years. Macdonough was also a member of the Company of Surgeons.¹⁰⁵

Captain Bentinck Harley Street. Cavendish Square

John Albert Bentinck (b. 1737; d. 1775) was a British naval officer, MP for Rye, inventor and astronomer. He was a member of the Royal Society and was elected a Fellow on 20th June 1765. His inventions primarily comprised mechanical devices for use in ships.

DNB.

Mr William Groote *Apothecary and Chymist*, the corner of Naßau Street, St: Ann's, Soho.

William Groote (dates unknown) was an apothecary and chemist. Until 9th November 1764 his business on Nassau Street had been a co-partnership with apothecary and male midwife John Homan. However, a newspaper article of 7th January 1765 notes that the partnership was mutually dissolved, and Groote would be carrying on the business alone.¹⁰⁶

Mr: Reynous - in Little Mortimer Street *near Middlesex Hospital*

Isaac Reynous was a broker on Exchange Alley. By 1767 he is listed as bankrupt.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post* (30th April, 1761), Issue 22. See also "Thomas, Sir Edmund, 3rd Bt.(1712-67), of Wenvoe Castle, Glam.', *History of Parliament Online*, <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/member/thomas-sir-edmund-1712-67>, accessed 22/04/2016.

¹⁰⁵ See *An Account of the Rise, Progress and State of the General Lying-In Hospital, the Corner of Quebec-Street, Oxford Road* (London, 1768); Adrian Wilson, *The Making of Man-midwifery: Childbirth in England, 1660-1770* (London, 1995), 151; Sir John Dewhurst, 'Felix Macdonogh, man-midwife. Paragon or charlatan?', *Journal of Obstetrics and Gynaecology*, 8 (1987), 99-103.

¹⁰⁶ *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, Monday, January 7, 1765 (London, England), Issue 11 186.

¹⁰⁷ *The London Magazine or Gentleman's Monthly Intelligence*, Vol. XXXVI (London, 1767), 691.

Mr: and Mrs: Birchs. Nordfolk Street in the Strand.

Unidentified. Scholars have assumed this to be Thomas Birch (b. Clerkenwell, 1705; d. London, 1766), compiler of histories and biographies, member of and secretary to the Royal Society, and trustee of the British Museum. However, Thomas Birch's wife had died shortly after childbirth in 1729. Birch never remarried and lived alone until his death. It would be unusual for Leopold to make a mistake of this nature, more so because he refers to Mr. Birch as his friend. Leopold's letter of 9th July 1765 describes a bad fire, saying:

Although the fire only burnt 6 houses and some stables, the fire was extraordinarily frightening, and it was the greatest luck that the wind was blowing towards the Thames, the place itself was near the Thames and that enough water was available. One of our friends and acquaintances Mr Birch lost 3 beautiful horses, 2 carriages, and most of the equipment and fodder that was in the stable.¹⁰⁸

The identity of Birch is further complicated by the fact that there was a lawyer called William Birch (dates unknown) living on Norfolk Street while the Mozarts were in London.¹⁰⁹

DNB.

Sgr: Paradies.

Pietro Domenico Paradisi (b. Naples, 1707; d. Venice, 1791) was a teacher and composer who had been active in London since 1746/7. After his arrival in London, he became known as Paradies. His most well known work was his *12 Sonate di gravicembalo*, published by John Johnson in 1754. This was reprinted several times during Paradisi's lifetime, in England, Paris and Amsterdam, becoming popular in England and on the continent. Leopold Mozart's letter of 16 December 1774 instructs Nannerl to practise the keyboard diligently and 'especially the sonatas of Paradisi and [J.C.] Bach...'.¹¹⁰

GMO.

Mr: George James. *Mahler*. Dean Street Soho.

George James (fl. from 1755 d. 1795) was a portrait painter who studied in Italy in the 1750s. He returned to London in 1760 with painter Biagio Rebecca, and the two entered into a partnership on Dean Street. James

¹⁰⁸ *MBA*, 189. My translation.

¹⁰⁹ *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, 25th-27th October 1764 (London), Issue 569.

¹¹⁰ See Anderson, *Letters*, 251.

regularly exhibited with the Royal Society of Artists from 1761-1768. Later, in 1770, he was elected as an associate of the Royal Academy.¹¹¹

DNB.

Mr: Kamel *Violinist*

Antonin Kammel (b. Běleč, 1730; d. London, 1784) was a composer and violinist who arrived in London in 1765. He published his first London compositions in 1766 at his own expense. His first known documented public appearance did not take place until 6 May 1768 at a concert organised by **J.C. Bach** and **Abel**.

GMÖ.

Mr: Zappa *Violoncellist*

Francesco Zappa (b. Milan; fl. 1763-1788) was a cellist and composer. His six trios for two violins and bass, published in London, 1765, were dedicated to the Duke of York.¹¹²

GMÖ.

Madame Cobley and Miß:
Colonel Cobley at Chelsea College

Colonel John Cossley (d. London, 1765) was governor of the Royal Hospital in Chelsea from 1748 until his death on 1st November 1765. A newspaper advertisement of 8 November 1764 documents the King appointing Cossley to be Captain of a company in the 41st Regiment on Foot.¹¹³ The identity of his wife is unknown, but a newspaper advertisement from 1767 announced the death of his daughter, Elizabeth.¹¹⁴

John Zumpe at the Sign of the golden guittar in Princes Street, Hanover Square.

John [Johannes] Zumpe (b. Fürth, nr Nuremburg, 1726; d. London, 1790) was a keyboard instrument maker. Zumpe had escaped to London during the

¹¹¹ Edward Edwards, *Anecdotes of Painters who have resided or been in England, with critical remarks on their productions* (London, 1808), 216-217.

¹¹² Francesco Zappa, *Six Trios à deux Violons avec la Basse*, Op.1 (Welcker, 1765). BL Music Collections h.2851.e.(7.).

¹¹³ *London Chronicle*, November 8, 1764 - November 10, 1764 (London); Issue 1231.

¹¹⁴ *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post* (4th August, 1767), Issue 1002.

Seven Years War and, after working for **Burkat Shudi** for a short period in 1760, set up his own business in 1761 where he focused on square pianos. *GMO*.

Mr: Giles Esq^r: in Spital's fields Square.

Daniel Giles (dates unknown) was a silk merchant who appears on the members' list of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce.¹¹⁵

Mr: Franklin in Copthall Court Trogmorton Street.

Gilbert Francklyn (d. London 1799) and his partner Anthony Bacon were slave traders and contractors. Francklyn went on to purchase large estates in Tobago, and he wrote as a pro-slavery polemicist.¹¹⁶ He was also member of the Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce. Francklyn had married **William Ottley's** daughter, Edith, in 1764.¹¹⁷

Mr Durand Mercht: in Great St: Helens Bishopsgate Street.

John Baptist Durand (dates unknown) was a merchant who was declared bankrupt on 5th May 1764. He was granted his certificate in July of that year.¹¹⁸

Mr: Boosenberg. *königl: chyrurgus, oculist etc: operateur etc:* Burry Street. St. Jam'es.

Mr: Boive

Mr Boosenberg and Mr Boive are both unidentified. Leopold lists Boosenberg as surgeon, oculist and operator to **King George III**. In 1793 there is a (presumably posthumous) newspaper article stating that business still carried

¹¹⁵ *List of the RSA*, 27. See also, *The Universal Pocket Companion* (London, 1767), 133.

¹¹⁶ See Gilbert Francklyn, *Observations occasioned by the attempts made in England to effect the abolition of the slave trade, shewing the manner in which negroes are treated in the British colonies* (Kingston, Jamaica: reprinted London 1789).

¹¹⁷ For biographical information about Francklyn, see *Legacies of British Slave-ownership*, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146632169>, accessed 22/04/2016.

¹¹⁸ *London Gazette*, 5th-8th May 1764, Issue 10415. *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, July 7-10, 1764 (London); Issue 522.

on at Bosenberg's site in Bury Street St. James's. However, no details are given that could further identify him.¹¹⁹

Mr: Tschudi *Clavermacher* in Pultney Street near Brewer Street.
Burkat Shudi (b. Schwanden in the canton of Glarus, 1702; d. London, 1773)
was a Swiss harpsichord maker who had been resident in London since 1718.
The Mozart children tried one of his harpsichords in their concert of 13th
May 1765. An article appeared in the *Europäische Zeitung* in August 1765, which
describes both the harpsichord and the performance.¹²⁰
GMO; DNB.

Mr: Rosier –

Unidentified

Mr: Zuns at M. Salter's *the grocer* the corner in Pultney Street. *Brewer Street.*

Mr Liebman in Pultney Street

Mr: de Simon

Mr: d'Almuida in Took's Court, Chancery Lane

Mr: Frenck

} Juden

Mr Zuns (unidentified), Wolf Liepman (d. London 1773), Baron Lyon de Symons (dates unknown), Joseph d'Almuida (dates unknown) and Aaron Franks (d. London, 1777) were all Jewish merchants or brokers living in London. Leopold's bracketing of 'Jews' most likely indicates that he met them altogether.

Wolf Liepman was most likely born in Germany, but he arrived in London directly from St. Petersburg. He was well known in London by 1747 as a prosperous merchant, a generous patron of learning and culture, and a philanthropist.¹²¹ Lyon de Symons was the nephew of Wolf Liepman and he lived with his uncle during the 1760s. He was the son of a successful banker and government agent in Vienna, Samuel Simon [Pressburg], and the family

¹¹⁹ *Morning Post*, Wednesday, November 27, 1793 (London, England); Issue 6428.

¹²⁰ *Europäische Zeitung*, 6 August 1765 (Salzburg), in *MDB*, 48.

¹²¹ Arthur Barnett, *The Western Synagogue through Two Centuries, 1761-1961* (London, 1961), 22; Letter from N.H. Solomon in *The Jewish Chronicle*, 2 (October 1857), 215.

enjoyed a position of social influence. Lyon brought some of his father's social prestige to London, where he worked as a diamond merchant. He took a leading part in the affairs of the community and was a generous benefactor of the Westminster Synagogue.¹²²

Little is known of Joseph d'Almada: Bauer and Deutsch have identified him as a Jewish stockbroker, and he also appears in London trade directories as a wine merchant.¹²³

Nobody has found a name that matches Leopold's entry of 'Frenck', but this is likely to have been Aaron Franks, a philanthropist, jeweller, ship-owner, and governor of the Foundling Hospital.¹²⁴ He was a leading figure in Jewish society and mixed comfortably with upper class Englishmen.¹²⁵ At his country house, he entertained members of high society and gave musical receptions, and was reportedly so wealthy that he donated £5000 annually to charity irrespective of race or creed.¹²⁶ His wealth upon his death was £500,000.¹²⁷ One of Charles Burney's memoirs documents the Mozarts' presence at Franks's house.¹²⁸

Comte de Bruehl *Saxich Ambassador*

John Maurice Brühl (b. Wiederau, 1736; d. London, 1809) a diplomat and patron of science. Brühl was appointed as the ambassador from Dresden in October 1764, and arrived in London in November of that year.¹²⁹ Leopold's letter of 9th July 1765 notes 'we were just having supper with the Saxon Ambassador Count von Brühl' when he heard of the violent fire that destroyed Birch's horses.¹³⁰

Brühl was proposed as a Fellow of the Royal Society by members of the Académie des Sciences in 1760, and was elected with additional English

¹²² Barnett, *Western Synagogue*, 23.

¹²³ For example, see *The London Directory for the Year 1768*, 22. See also *MBA*, V, 139.

¹²⁴ William D. Rubinstein, Michael A. Jolles and Hilary L. Rubenstein eds., *The Palgrave Dictionary of Anglo-Jewish History* (Basingstoke, 2011), 295.

¹²⁵ Todd M. Endelman, *The Jews of Georgian England, 1714-1830: Tradition and Change in a Liberal Society* (Ann Arbor, 1979), 251.

¹²⁶ Rubinstein et. al. eds., *Palgrave Dictionary*, 295.

¹²⁷ Philip Beresford and William D. Rubinstein, *The Richest of the Rich: The Wealthiest 250 People in Britain since 1066* (Hampshire, 2011), 336.

¹²⁸ Discussed on p74-75 of this chapter.

¹²⁹ *Public Advertiser*, Tuesday, October 9, 1764 (London, England), Issue 9340; *London Chronicle (Semi-Annual)*, November 6-8, 1764 (London, England), Issue 1230.

¹³⁰ *MBA*, 189.

support. Upon his arrival in England, he soon became a patron of Thomas Mudge, a horologist working on watches for use at sea. Brühl owned many scientific and astronomical instruments, going on to construct his own small observatory in the late 1780s. He also became a member of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce.

DNB.

M: Horn *Clavecenist*

Ferdinand Horn (dates unknown) was a keyboard player and composer. His *Six Sonatas pour le Clavecin* are in the British Library, and contain a dedication to **King George** and **Queen Charlotte**.¹³¹

Sir Peter Legh in Wigmore Street Cavendish Square

der blinde

Unidentified. This could possibly refer to MP for Newton, Peter Legh of Lyme Park in Cheshire (b.1707; d.1792). However, his London address was at Greek Street Soho, which does not correspond with Leopold's notes.¹³² Leopold's annotation at the edge of his notes suggests that Legh was blind.

Mr: Horatio Man Esqr: at Bourn near Canterbury. Kent.

Horatio Mann (b. Kent, 1744; d. Margate, 1786), politician and patron of cricket, had the same name as his uncle, Sir Horatio Mann (b.1706; d. Kent, 1786), who was British Ambassador in Florence when the Mozarts were in London. This makes clear that Leopold was definitely listing the nephew. Nannerl Mozart's diary notes that they visited Mann on the way to Calais in July 1765.¹³³ When the Mozarts met Mann, he had only recently finished his education at Cambridge. He went on to be knighted in 1772 and became an MP in 1774.

DNB.

¹³¹ Ferdinand Horn, *Six Sonatas pour le Clavecin* (Welcker, 1770). BL Music Collections f.518.

¹³² Derek Robson, *Some Aspects of Education in Cheshire in the Eighteenth-Century*, Vol. 13 (Manchester, 1966), 154.

¹³³ *MBA*, I, 199.

Mr: Arnold. *Clavecinist* at the Orange Coffee House in the Haymarket

Samuel Arnold (b. London, 1740; d. London, 1802) was a harpsichordist and composer. In 1764, he became harpsichordist and house composer at the Covent Garden Theatre. His pastiche opera, *Maid of the Mill*, was a major Covent Garden success in 1765. He also pursued a career as an organist, and was a member of the Royal Society of Musicians. He went on to buy Marylebone Pleasure Gardens in 1769. For the last years of his life, Arnold worked on a complete edition of Handel's works. Although this was never completed, 180 works were published between 1787-1797.

DNB; GMO.

Mr: Spalding in Whit Lyon Court in Cornhill

Abraham Spalding (b. 1712; d. 1782) was a Swedish iron merchant active in London.¹³⁴ He is listed in the London trade directories and appears on the members' list of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce.¹³⁵

Rev: Mr: Planta und seine Familie in Britisch Museo

Andrew Planta (b. Grisons, 1714; d. London, 1773) was the assistant librarian at the British Museum in the department of natural and artificial productions, and pastor of the German Reformed Church in London. He was also a member of the Royal Society, where he was elected as a Fellow in 1770. It is likely that Planta was the Mozarts' guide around the British Museum in July 1765.

DNB.

¹³⁴ Rebekah Higgitt and Richard Dunn eds., *Navigational Enterprises in Europe and its Empires, 1730-1850* (London, 2015), 95.

¹³⁵ For example, *Kent's Directory for the Year 1763*, 114; *List of RSA*, 58.

Mr: Borton *Clavierist*.

John Burton (b. York, 1730; d. Portici, 1782) was a harpsichordist and composer. **Margaret Clive** noted that Burton played the keyboard at her private concert of 12th March 1765, at which the Mozarts also appeared.¹³⁶
GM.O.

Mr: Schuemann. *Glaselspiel*

Frederic Theodor Schumann (fl. London, 1760-1780) was a German musician who, in addition to the musical glasses, also played the guitar and composed. He appeared at court in London in the early 1760s, and performed on the musical glasses there from 1761.
GM.O.

Miß Chudly

Elizabeth Chudleigh (b. Devon, 1720; d. Paris, 1788) was a courtier and prominent figure in London society. She assisted **Teresa Cornelys** in purchasing Carlisle House.¹³⁷ She had a rather dubious reputation, having appeared at Ranelagh Pleasure Gardens as 'Iphigenia undressed for sacrifice', of which there are many surviving prints.¹³⁸ Chudleigh went on to commit bigamy after her secret marriage to Augustus John Hervey in 1744, and her 1769 marriage to the Duke of Kingston. When found guilty in 1775, Chudleigh left England for good.
DNB.

[END OF TRAVEL NOTES]

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¹³⁶ Woodfield, 'Private Concert', 195.

¹³⁷ F.H.W. Sheppard ed., 'Soho Square Area: Portland Estate, Carlisle House, Soho Square', in *Survey of London: Volumes 33 and 34, St Anne Soho* (London, 1966), 73-79. Online at: *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vols33-4/pp73-79>, accessed 20 March 2016.

¹³⁸ For example, see line engraving 'Elizabeth Chudleigh, Countess of Bristol' by Francis Chesham, after Thomas Gainsborough, in the National Portrait Gallery Reference Collection, NPG D1105.

The Mozarts' Additional Acquaintances

There are several people that the Mozarts met in London who, for some reason, are not listed in Leopold's travel notes. Some of these people had direct contact with contacts listed in Leopold's notes. Therefore, in order to establish as complete a picture of acquaintances as possible at this stage, I have included a further annotated list of these additional contacts. This list is primarily compiled from information in later letters of Leopold's, and also other contemporaneous memoirs and documents.

Nils Barck

Source: Leopold Mozart's letter to his wife, Maria Anna Mozart, of 28th April 1770.

Nils Barck (b. Stockholm, 1713; d. Stockholm, 1782) was a Swedish diplomat who served in Vienna from 1747 until 1781.¹³⁹ Writing from Rome, Leopold describes a meeting at the Ambassador of Malta's house at which Barck was present. Leopold notes that Barck first saw the Mozart family in London.¹⁴⁰

Daines Barrington

Source: *An Account of a Very Remarkable Young Musician*, Royal Society, London, 1770.¹⁴¹

Daines Barrington (b. Berkshire, 1727; d. Inner Temple, 1800) was a lawyer and historian. He was a member of the Society of Antiquaries and the Royal Society, and was elected as a Fellow of both in 1767. In 1765, he undertook a scientific study of Wolfgang's musical abilities, conducted at the family's lodgings in Thrift Street, Soho. As part of this study, Mozart completed the following tests for Barrington: read a score at sight; sung a duet with his father, providing the accompaniment simultaneously; extemporised a love song in the style of Manzuoli, and a song of rage, appropriate for the opera stage; harmonised a melody, demonstrating his ability to modulate; and practised with a handkerchief over the keys of the harpsichord. Barrington went to the lengths of procuring a copy of Mozart's birth certificate from Salzburg to prove Leopold was being truthful about his age, accounting for the five-year

¹³⁹ Alberto Basso, *I Mozart in Italia. Chronistoria dei viaggi, documenti, lettere, dizionario dei luoghi e delle persone* (Rome, 2006), 488-9, as cited by Eisen, Cliff et al., 'Nils Barck', *In Mozart's Words* (HRI Online, 2011), <http://letters.mozartways.com>, accessed 05/07/2016.

¹⁴⁰ Anderson, *Letters*, 132.

¹⁴¹ Reproduced in *MDB*, 95-100.

delay in presenting his study of Mozart to the Royal Society. The account was initially sent to Matthew Maty, who was secretary of both the Royal Society and of the British Museum. When the Mozarts presented the musical gift and family portrait to the Museum, it was Maty who wrote to acknowledge their receipt.

DNB.

William Beckford

Source: Leopold Mozart's letter to his wife, Maria Anna, of 19th May 1770.

William Beckford (b. 1744; d. London, 1799), a plantation owner and politician. The identity of Beckford is somewhat confusing, as there were three William Beckfords within the same family. William Beckford (1709-1770), a politician and plantation owner, was the older brother of the **Lady Effingham** listed in Leopold's travel notes. This Beckford's son, also William (1760-1844), later claimed he had received music lessons from an eight-year-old Wolfgang Mozart, when he himself was six, and renewed their acquaintance in Vienna.¹⁴² It is certainly not impossible that the Mozarts met these two Beckfords in London. However, the 'Mr Beckford' Leopold refers to in Italy is William Beckford (1744-1799), the nephew of the former and cousin of the latter. **Charles Burney** documents seeing Beckford in Italy at this time.¹⁴³

Charles Burney

Source: extract from his musical notebook, London 1771 or early 1772 [refers to 1764 and 1765].¹⁴⁴

Charles Burney (b. Shrewsbury, 1726; d. Chelsea College, 1814) was a musician and music historian. He was also a member of the Royal Society and was elected as a Fellow (1773). Burney's eldest daughter, Esther, was exhibited as a prodigy on the harpsichord in 1760, aged eleven. Burney's notebook documents seeing Mozart play upon his first arrival, presumably at their lodgings in Cecil Court, and later at Mr. Frank's house:

Mozart. See Mr. D. Barrington's acct. of him. Phil. Trans. Vol.60. p 54. & MS. Journal. With original Certificate of his Birth, & Letter from Baron

¹⁴² Recounted in Oldman, 'Beckford', 110.

¹⁴³ Oldman confirms the identity of this Beckford in Oldman, Beckford, 113-114.

¹⁴⁴ Reproduced in Cliff Eisen, *New Mozart Documents* (London, 1991), 4.

Hasling to Lord Barrington . Relate what I saw & heard myself at his Lodgings on his first Arrival in England & at Mr. Frank's – Extemporary & sight Playing, Composing a Treble to a given Base & a Base to a Treble, as well as both on a given Subject, & finishing a Composition began by another. His fondness for Manzoli – his imitations of the several Styles of Singing of each of the then Opera Singers, as well as of their Songs in an Extemporary opera to nonsense words – to which were [added] an overture of 3 Movements Recitative – Graziosa, Bravura & Pathetic Airs together with Several accompanied Recitatives, all full of Taste imagination, with good Harmony, Melody & Modulation. After which he played at Marbles, in the true Childish Way of one who knows Nothing.

Again, this Mr Frank is most likely to be Leopold's 'Mr Frencks' – most likely to be **Aaron Franks**, as discussed above. In a letter to his daughter Fanny in 1790, Burney again references meeting Mozart in London, and recalls the young composer playing the harpsichord while sitting on Burney's knee.¹⁴⁵
DNB.

Elizabeth and James Harris

Source: An account book kept by Elizabeth Harris, 2 April – 16 May 1765.¹⁴⁶

April 2nd	4 tickets to Tenducci's benefit a ticket for the Foundling Hospital	£2.2s.0d £0.10s.6d
April 30th	Tickets for Tenducci for Mozart's Concert	£1.0s.0d £0.10s.6d
May 16th	a ticket for Merifield's benefit	£0.5s.0d

Elizabeth Harris (b. Salisbury, 1722; d. 1781) and her husband James (b. Salisbury, 1709; d. Salisbury, 1790) were active patrons of music. James Harris was also a philosopher, politician, Fellow of the Royal Society, elected in 1763, and a trustee of the British Museum, elected in 1765. Both Elizabeth and James had been active patrons of Handel. The account books and letters of Elizabeth Harris document both regular concert attendance and private musical gatherings at their home. Several of the concerts included

¹⁴⁵ See letter of 13 December 1790, also reproduced in Eisen, *New Mozart Documents*, 5.

¹⁴⁶ Donald Burrows and Rosemary Dunhill eds., *Music and Theatre in Handel's World: The Family Papers of James Harris 1732-1780* (Oxford, 2001), 442.

acquaintances of the Mozarts, specifically of musicians engaged for private concerts and concert attendees. It is possible that the Mozarts even attended some of them. For example, on 12th April 1764, shortly before the Mozarts' arrival, Gertrude Harris (daughter of Elizabeth Harris) wrote to her brother, James Harris Jr., to describe a concert at their house attended by sixty-three people including the **Earl of March** and **Sir Edmond Thomas**. On 19th October of the same year, Elizabeth Harris informed her son George that she and her husband had subscribed to the subscription series at Carlisle House, with concerts by **J.C. Bach**, **K.F. Abel** and **Gioacchino Cocchi**.

The Harrises and the Mozarts also shared the mutual acquaintance of **Andrew Planta**, the Mozarts' guide around the British Museum in 1765. The year earlier, Planta had guided the Harris family around the museum, and he also taught the children, Louisa and Gertrude, Italian. While evidence of a concert ticket is no indicator of personal acquaintance between the Harrises and the Mozarts, they are nonetheless significant on account of the considerable overlap in acquaintances.¹⁴⁷

William Jackson

Source: Anecdote from William Jackson's Memoirs, published 1830.¹⁴⁸

William Jackson (b. Exeter, 1730; d. Exeter, 1803) was an organist, composer, author and amateur painter. His anecdote recalls Wolfgang and **J.C. Bach** playing together:

An anecdote of him [Mozart] may be worth preserving. When he was a mere infant (I think under six years of age) he was exhibited as a great performer on the harpsichord, and an extraordinary genius for music. John Bach took the child between his knees and began a subject on that instrument, which he left, and Mozart continued – each led the other into very abstruse harmonies, and extraneous modulations, in which the child beat the man. We were afterwards looking over Bach's famous song "Se spiego" in *Zanardo*. The score was inverted to Mozart, who was rolling on the table. He pointed out a note which he said was wrong. It was so, whether of the composer or copyist I cannot now recollect, but it was an instance of extraordinary discernment and readiness in a mere infant.

¹⁴⁷ The Harris family will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

¹⁴⁸ Reproduced in *MDB*, 571

He was well acquainted with musicians **J. C. Bach**, **Abel** and **Giardini**, through their common friendship with the artist Thomas Gainsborough.¹⁴⁹ Jackson was a member of the Academy of Ancient Music.
DNB.

John Russell, fourth duke of Bedford and Francis Russell, Marquess of Tavistock.

Source: Leopold Mozart's letter of 1st April 1764 from Paris.

John Russell (b. Streatham, 1710; d. Bloomsbury, 1771) and his son Francis (b. 1739; d. 1767) were both politicians. Leopold's letter states that the family were acquainted with all of the foreign ambassadors in Paris, noting that 'the English ambassador, my Lord Bedford, and his son are both very well inclined towards us'. It is surely John and Francis Russell that Leopold refers to, although the Duke of Bedford was not an official ambassador from London. He had been sent to Paris in 1762 to help negotiate peace and the end of the Seven Years War. It is odd that the Russells do not appear in Leopold's travel notes, either from Paris or London.

DNB.

William Vyse

Source: Leopold Mozart's letter to his wife, Maria Anna, of 19th May 1770.

William Vyse (b. 1742; d. 1816) was a clergyman who was a Fellow of both the Society of Antiquaries and the Royal Society.¹⁵⁰ When Wolfgang and Leopold visited **William Hamilton** and his wife Catherine on 18th May 1770, Vyse was also present with William Beckford (listed above). Leopold, who calls him 'Monsieur Weis' refers to him as an acquaintance from England.¹⁵¹ **Charles Burney** documents meeting Vyse in Italy at this time.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ Well-known portraits of Bach, Abel, Jackson, and Giardini by Gainsborough survive. Jackson and Abel used to give the artist musical tuition: see Gainsborough's Letter to William Jackson of 4 June, 1768 (Bath), in Mary Woodall ed., *The Letters of Thomas Gainsborough* (London, 1963), 115; Henry Angelo, *Reminiscences of Henry Angelo with Memoirs of His Late Father and Friends, Volume I* (London, 1830), 190. Additionally, an anecdote indicating a friendship between Bach and Gainsborough can also be found in Angelo, *Reminiscences*, 185-186.

¹⁵⁰ Oldman, 'Beckford', 113-114.

¹⁵¹ Anderson, *Letters*, 135.

¹⁵² Oldman, Beckford, 113-114.

Richard Wynne

Source: Leopold Mozart's letter to Hagenauer of 14th September 1768

Richard Wynne (b. Falkingham 1744; d.1798) bought a position in the military as a lieutenant, before resigning and moving to Venice. He was the sister of Countess von Rosenberg, with whom Leopold was acquainted.

Leopold refers to him as a 'rich private person...my friend in London'.

According to Leopold's letter, Wynne was married to one of **Paradies's** stepdaughters when the Mozarts were in London. Leopold again notes that Paradies was a 'good acquaintance' in London, and it perhaps through this composer that the family made Wynne's acquaintance. The absence of Wynne's name from Leopold's notes was possibly an oversight: Leopold misremembered that Wynne was actually included, saying that he would show Hagenauer the name.¹⁵³

Newspaper Articles

Besides the music-related passages of Leopold's letters, newspaper advertisements (**Table 2**) documenting the Mozarts' concert appearances and composition sales are among the most utilised sources for research on the Mozarts in London. These advertisements identify the dates and locations of the Mozarts' concerts and, on occasion, list the musicians involved.¹⁵⁴ The musicians listed are especially useful for this dissertation as they confirm aspects of the Mozarts' professional music networks. Likewise, groups of musicians listed together in Leopold's travel notes provide further clues as to who may have been involved in the family's public concerts.

¹⁵³ All information for this entry can be found in Leopold's letter: *MBA*, I, 277-278. See also John S. Jenkins, 'Leopold Mozart's Madame Wynne. Look to the Lady', *The Musical Times* 142/1874 (Spring, 2001), 29-32.

¹⁵⁴ Simon McVeigh was the first musicologist to fully realise the value of newspaper archives as a source for studying eighteenth-century musical life. See Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (London, 1993).

Table 2: Newspaper articles/advertisements for the Mozarts in London¹⁵⁵

Date	Paper	Content
17th May 1764	<i>P.A.</i> , Issue 9219	Announcement for Graziani's benefit concert of 22nd May, at which Wolfgang Mozart was scheduled to play a harpsichord concerto. Price 10s 6d.
5th June 1764	<i>Gazetteer and NDA</i> , Issue 10993	Announcing the Mozarts' first benefit concert – a midday concert at the Great Room, Spring Gardens. Tickets 10s 6d.
29th June 1764	<i>P.A.</i> , Issue 9257	Advertising Wolfgang's appearance at a Ranelagh House concert, for the benefit of a 'public useful charity'.
15th February 1765	<i>Gazetteer and NDA</i> , Issue 11220	Announcing forthcoming benefit concert at the Haymarket Little Theatre
21st February 1765	<i>Gazetteer and NDA</i> , Issue 112244	Announcing the Haymarket Little Theatre concert, to be performed that evening.
23rd February 1765	<i>Oxford Journal</i>	Announcing Wolfgang's arrival.
27th February 1765	<i>Caledonian Mercury</i> , Issue 6749	Announcing Wolfgang's arrival; same entry as above.
20th March 1765	<i>P.A.</i> , Issue 94679	Advertisement for sale of sonatas K.10-15, dedicated to Queen Charlotte (10s 6d.), first set of sonatas K.6-8 (price 6s) and family print (4s 6d). Invitation to see Wolfgang perform at family lodgings on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays.
9th April 1765	<i>Gazetteer and NDA</i> , Issue 11254	Further advertisement sonatas K.10-15.
10th May 1765	<i>P.A.</i> , Issue 9523	A report defending doubts about Wolfgang Mozart's true age.
11th May 1765	<i>P.A.</i> , Issue 9624	Announcing benefit concert at Hickford's Great Room for 13th May, tickets 5s. Further advertisement of sonatas K.10-15 (Price 10s 6d), and weekday appearances at family lodgings.
13th May 1765	<i>P.A.</i> , Issue 9623	Further announcement of benefit concert at Hickford's Great Room, to take place that evening.
9th July 1765	<i>P.A.</i> , Issue 9627	Advertisement to 'all Lovers of Sciences' for appearances at the Swan and Hoop Tavern. Price 2s 6d.

Material Culture: Objects, Music, Prints and Books

Physical artefacts, too, can help to indicate areas of the family's musical and non-musical interests that that they perhaps shared with their patrons, highlighting further links between Leopold and his contacts. They can provide further insights into the

¹⁵⁵ N.B. This table only contains one relevant newspaper advertisement for each event. It is therefore a representation of the available source-base, rather than a comprehensive compilation.

Mozarts' London networks; welding together the complete range of sources at our disposal unlocks a level of detail previously missing from accounts of the Mozarts' time in London.

'Objects' are taken to mean the items the Mozarts purchased and took home from London (**Table 3**). These items vary in significance for the Mozarts' networks: items such as telescopes, microscopes, a clock, and perhaps even a pair of bellows, help piece together Leopold's own interests in contemporaneous technology. As such, they are central to Chapter 3, which discusses the Mozart family's engagement with science and technology. On the other hand, the 'painted English cups' (most likely coffee cups), corkscrew, and 'English court plaster' (early sticking plaster) are more likely to be tourist purchases, gifts from patrons, or practical acquisitions, essential for their stay.

In this dissertation musical compositions are also treated as 'objects' of sorts. These include both compositions by the young Wolfgang Mozart and compositions by other London composers that the Mozarts were certainly familiar with (**Table 4**). In dealing primarily with the Mozarts' networks, I do not provide an in-depth exploration of the compositions themselves, as this path is well trodden within Mozart scholarship.¹⁵⁶ Instead, I touch upon musical compositions occasionally for the connections that, as objects, they potentially highlight between both people and places.

A variety of English books owned or consulted by the Mozarts (**Table 5**) also have the potential to reveal information about intellectual interests and practical aspects of the family's stay. Rogissard's *Nouvelle Grammaire Angloise* and an unidentified directory of merchants and traders are likely to have been purely functional,

¹⁵⁶ Abert, for example, discusses Wolfgang's London compositions and influences in detail. See Abert, *Mozart*, 62-66.

facilitating an easier navigation around London and interaction with its inhabitants. However, some items are arguably more indicative of Leopold's intellectual literary interests. For example, an expensive, two-volume English dictionary acquired several years after the Mozarts left London is almost certainly Samuel Johnson's dictionary.¹⁵⁷ Leopold was also familiar, at least in part, with William Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*, as he transcribed the following extract:

Did feign that Orpheus drew trees, stones and floods,
Since nought so stockish, hard and full of rage,
But musick for the time doth change his nature.
The man that hath no Musick in himself
Nor is not mov'd with concord of sweet Sounds,
Is fit for treasons, Stratagems, and Spoils;
The motions of his Spirit are dull as night,
And his affections dark as Erebus: Let no such man be trusted.¹⁵⁸

The passage, transcribed by Leopold in English, appears among his London travel notes. The *Merchant of Venice* was actually performed at the Covent Garden Theatre in London on 9th April 1765, for 'the only time [this] season', and was advertised frequently throughout March of that year.¹⁵⁹ Leopold makes no reference to the play in his letters, and his transcription appears alone with no annotations. This passage nevertheless documents Leopold's acquaintance with the work, whether he saw it in person or read it. Finally, it is also possible that an unidentified prayer book falls into this same category of 'intellectual interest'. There were no *English* Catholic prayer books in official circulation in the eighteenth century; the only widely published prayer book was the *Book of Common Prayer*.¹⁶⁰ This would therefore be the most likely

¹⁵⁷ Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language in Two Volumes* (London, 1755).

¹⁵⁸ William Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice* (1599), Act 5 Scene 1. Reproduced in *MBA*, I, 200.

¹⁵⁹ For example, see *P.A.*, 18th March 1765, Issue 94677.

¹⁶⁰ The British Library catalogue shows the extent to which the *Book of Common Prayer* was reprinted during the eighteenth century, including an edition in 1760, shelfmark: BL General Reference Collection L.12.b.3.(1.).

candidate for an English prayer book owned by Leopold, suggesting he owned it more out of curiosity than religious purposes.

Finally, two different categories of visual media are drawn upon in the following chapters: representations of places and people. Leopold collected prints throughout his journey across Europe; fifteen survive from London, featuring a combination of general views, and specific London locations.¹⁶¹ Some of the locations correspond both to places that Leopold mentions in his letters and Nannerl lists in her diary, such as Westminster Bridge and the Foundling Hospital. Others, such as Lambeth Palace and Alexander Pope's House at Twickenham, are not referenced elsewhere in primary sources. In these cases, the prints can help us to build a picture of places the Mozarts presumably visited as tourists. Alternatively, Leopold maybe collected prints of things he thought would be of interest to acquaintances in Salzburg. Several Salzburg residents, for example, owned literary works by Pope.¹⁶²

Contemporaneous portraits of musicians and music-making are also helpful, both for establishing relationships between individuals and understanding how musicians sought to be represented to society. As far as we know, the Mozarts did not own any prints of London musicians, although they themselves sold and distributed Louis Carmontelle's 1763 portrait of Wolfgang, Nannerl and Leopold in performance. This print, discussed in Chapter 5, represents the impression the Mozarts sought to create of themselves. Although the present chapter lays out the sources that relate

¹⁶¹ The engravings that Leopold collected in London are housed in Salzburg at the former Museum Carolino Augusteum, now the Salzburg Museum. They have been reproduced in Rudolph Angermüller and Gabriele Ramsauer, "'Du wirst, wenn uns Gott gesund zurückkommen läßt, schöne Sachen sehen'. Veduten aus dem Nachlaß Leopold Mozarts in der Graphiksammlung des Salzburger Museums Carolino Augusteum', *Mitteilungen der International Stiftung Mozarteum*, 42/1-2(June, 1994), 1-17.

¹⁶² Viktor Töpelmann discusses the libraries of the Mozarts' Salzburg acquaintances, and notes that Ferdinand Cristoph von Waldburg-Zeil, a Salzburg court canon, Florian Reichssiegel, a Benedictine monk, and Dominikus Hagenauer, also a monk, owned copies of Pope's works. See Töpelmann, *Mozart*, 35, 41, 277.

directly to the Mozarts, portraits of other musicians that the Mozarts came into contact with will also be explored for the above reasons.¹⁶³

Overall, the sources I have described make clear several different types of 'network' the Mozarts engaged with in London. A more developed understanding of Leopold's interactions and relationships can be used as a point of departure for studying the Mozarts' position within, or engagement with, London's broader social and intellectual networks. These include interactions between Leopold and his specific network of professional contacts, patrons, perhaps even friends. The travel notes primarily show relationships between patrons and other musicians (for example, J.C. Bach and the royal couple), friends (such as Bach and Abel), and professional colleagues (the singers at the King's Opera Company). These networks are not limited to musical activity but also include: German-speaking (of which, for example, the royal couple and Bach and Abel are the first examples on Leopold's notes); religious (most obviously, the bracketed Jewish contacts); political (the members of parliament and foreign ambassadors); and scientific (for example, the Royal Society members). Moreover, other sources, such as Leopold's letters, and objects he acquired in London, help to both confirm some of these links and establish a clearer picture of his own interests. This wider source base reveals the Mozart family's multifaceted engagement with London life during their fifteen-month stay.

¹⁶³ In particular, Thomas Gainsborough's portraits of contemporary musicians, with whom the Mozarts were acquainted, will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

Table 3: Objects acquired by the Mozarts in London

Object	Source/Commentary
3ft achromatic telescope from Dollond of London	Auction notice of some of Leopold's effects. <i>Salzburger Intelligenzblatt</i> , 15th September 1787. Reproduced in Deutsch, <i>MDB</i> , 296-297.
Composite Microscope from Dollond of London	As above
Solar Microscope from Dollond of London	As above
2 fine lacquered English cups	<i>Licitations Protocoll über Leopold Mozartische Verlassenschaft ddo 25.26.27.28 Septbris 1787</i> , Seite 22. ¹⁶⁴ Cliff Eisen has noted that, given the other items surrounding these cups on Leopold's estate inventory, the cups were most likely coffee cups. See Eisen, 'Souvenirs', 83.
Pair of English bellows	<i>Licitations Protocoll</i> , 25.
English machine for cutting quills, made of brass	<i>Licitations Protocoll</i> , 12.
An English clock in an enamel case (and English watch chains)	<i>Licitations Protocoll</i> , 15.
An English corkscrew made of copper	<i>Licitations Protocoll</i> , 16.
Various clothes, bought in London; a man's English red/brown suit; A man's maroon English skirt with gold sequins;	Leopold Mozart's letters of 28th May 1764; 11th May 1768; and 25th August 1773. The first of Leopold's letters describes purchasing clothes for his family in London (Eisen, <i>Letters</i> , 35). It is likely that the men's clothes described later also originated from the same time. However, Leopold's letter of 20th August 1763 confirms that Nannerl owned and wore an English hat before the family visited in London.
'The Genuine English Court Plaister'	Mozarteum Collections Database, F 003.074 The <i>OED</i> states that sticking plaister was made of silk and coated with isinglass, used for covering superficial cuts and wounds. The box in the Mozarteum bears the writing 'Wolfgang Amade Mozart had dis nach mit gebracht von England'.

¹⁶⁴ See Rudolph Angermüller, 'Leopold Mozarts Verlassenschaft', *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum*, 41/3-4 (1993), 1-32.

Table 4: Musical Compositions Composed or Encountered by the Mozarts in London

Composer	Work Title	Source/Commentary
Karl Friedrich Abel	<i>Symphony in E-flat</i> , Op.7, No.6	Wolfgang Mozart copied the manuscript of this work, and it was mis-catalogued as his K.18. Wolfgang substituted the two oboes for two clarinets. See Eisen, 'The Mozarts' Salzburg Music Library', in Eisen ed., <i>Mozart Studies</i> 2 (1997), 131.
T. Arne	<i>Artaxerxes</i>	Wolfgang's concert aria 'Conservati fedele', K.23, is based on Metastasio's libretto for 'By that beloved embrace', one of Arne's arias from the opera.
J.C. Bach	<i>Adriano in Syria</i> (25th January 1764).	Leopold's letter to Hagenauer of 8th February 1765. The Mozarts owned a copy of 'Cara la dolce fiamma' from <i>Adriano</i> . See Eisen, 'Salzburg Music Library', 130.
W.A. Mozart	Symphony in C, K.16	The newspaper advertisements for the Mozarts' concerts of 21st February and 13th May stated that all of the symphonies would be Wolfgang's own compositions. Advertisements listed in Table 2 .
W.A. Mozart	Symphony in D, K.19	As above.
W.A. Mozart	<i>Six Sonates pour le Clavecin qui peuvent se jouer avec l'accompagnement de Violon ou Flaute Traversiere</i> , K.10-15	These sonatas were printed and sold in London, and were dedicated to Queen Charlotte. Wolfgang received a present of 50 guineas for the dedication. See <i>Letters</i> , 56.
W.A. Mozart	'God is Our Refuge', K.20	Wolfgang composed K.20 for the British Museum. The Museum's acknowledgement to Leopold is reproduced in <i>MDB</i> , 46. The autograph manuscript is kept in the British Library, K.10.a.17.(3).
W.A. Mozart	'Va, dal furor', aria for tenor, K.21	Composed in London, 1765. The words are from Metastasio's libretto for <i>Ezio</i> , Act 2 Scene 4, which premiered in 1765.
W.A. Mozart	'London Notebook', K.15a-ss.	These keyboard pieces, all written during the family's time in London and not intended for publication, were all in Wolfgang's own hand
M. Vento	<i>Demofoonte</i> (1765).	Mentioned in Leopold's letter to Hagenauer of 8th February 1765.
Pasticcio opera.	<i>Ezio</i>	Mentioned in Leopold's letter to Hagenauer of 8th February 1765. Opera contains music by Vento, Pescetti, De Majo, J.C. Bach and Galuppi.
Pasticcio opera	<i>Berenice</i>	Mentioned in Leopold's letter to Hagenauer of 8th February 1765. Surviving arias by Farradini, Vento, Hasse, J.C. Bach and Galuppi.

Table 5: Books consulted or acquired by Leopold in London

Leopold's Description	Likely title	Source/Commentary
['Ein engl[ische] und französ[ische] Gramaire]	Alexandre de Rogissard's <i>Nouvelle Grammaire Angloise</i> (London, 1763).	<i>Licitations Protocoll über Leopold Mozartsche Verlassenschaft ddo 25.26.27.28 Septbris 1787</i> , Seite 67. Leopold's copy in Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg [A-Su, R 71090 I]. It contains the signature 'Mozart à London le 8 May 1764'.
'A description of London, which had already appeared in its seventh edition in 1750'	William Maitland, <i>The History and Survey of London: from its foundation to the present time</i> (1st. edition 1739).	Leopold's letter to Hagenauer of 27th November 1764 It seems certain that Leopold was referring to Maitland, because soon after referencing the description of London, he quotes extensively from the book. However, Leopold was surely mistaken in his description of the book: Maitland was in fact only in its third edition by 1760.
'[At the Royal Exchange] you can buy a book that is two fingers thick, in which all the traders and their addresses are listed alphabetically.'	Two likely possibilities for this work are: 1) Henry Kent's <i>Directory for the Year 1763</i> (London, 1763). 2) <i>A complete Guide to all Persons who have any trade or concern with the City of London, and parts adjacent</i> (J. Osborn, 1763).	Leopold's letter to Hagenauer of 27th November 1764 The title page of Kent's directory states that it was printed and sold 'in Finch Lane, near the Royal Exchange'.
[An English prayer book]	Possibly <i>The Book of Common Prayer</i> .	Bibliothek Salzburg Museum (lost). Viktor Töpelmann's PhD thesis states that a disused catalogue in the Salzburg Museum notes that alongside Leopold's prints from London was '[Leopold Mozart's] small English prayer book, which he brought in London'. See Töpelmann, <i>Mozart</i> , 163.
'To the book dealer Klett I owe 15 florins for the 2 large parts of the English dictionary'.	Samuel Johnson, <i>A Dictionary of the English Language in Two Volumes</i> (London, 1755).	Leopold's letter to Hagenauer of 13th February 1768. Although it is not possible to identify the dictionary from the brief reference in Leopold's letter, only two English dictionaries had been published in the eighteenth century by 1768. The first was Nathan Bailey's <i>Dictionarium Britannicum</i> (1730) and the second was Johnson's <i>Dictionary</i> . Johnson's was the only dictionary in two and, new, it sold for £4 10s upon its first publication.
[loose leaf of paper]	William Shakespeare, <i>The Merchant of Venice</i> (1599).	Nissen's <i>Biographi W.A. Mozarts</i> (1828) details a passage from Act 5 Scene 1 that was purported to be among Leopold's London documents. See <i>MBA</i> , I, 200.

Table 6: A list of Leopold's London prints

Print	Information	Dimensions
The South West Prospect of London from Somerset Gardens to the Tower.	T Bowles & T Melish Printed for John Bowles at the Black Horse in Cornhill, & Carington Bowles in St. Paul's Church Yard, London.	28.5x42.7cm
A View of the Royal Hospital at Chelsea, & the Rotunda in Ranelagh Gardens.	None provided	19.6 x 24.2cm
A View of the Foundling Hospital.	J. June sculp.	20x25.2cm
The North Prospect of London taken from the Bowling Green at Islington.	T Bowles Printed for John Bowles at the Black Horse in Cornhill, & Carington Bowles in St. Paul's Church Yard, London.	29x34.5cm
The South East Prospect of Westminster from Somerset House to Westminster Bridge	T Bowles & T Melish Printed for John Bowles at the Black Horse in Cornhill, & Carington Bowles in St. Paul's Church Yard, London.	28.6x42.8cm
A View of Fulham Bridge from Putney	None provided	20x25cm
A View of the Bridge at Walton upon Thames in Surry, Twenty Miles from London	Printed for T. Bowles in St. Paul's Church Yard.	19.8x25.2cm
A View of the late Celebrated Mr. Popes House at Twickenham.	None provided	19.7x25.2cm
Lambeth. The Archbishop of Canterbury's Palace.	Sold by P. Fourdrinier, the Corner of Craig's Court Charing Cross.	18.2x25.6cm
A View of St. Mary-le-Bone from the Bason	None provided	19.7x25cm
A View of Richmond Hill from the Earl of Cholmondely's.	None provided	20x25cm
A View of Sion House, over against Richmond in Surry	None provided	19.8x24.5cm
A view of Lord Burlington's House at Chiswick	None provided	19.8x25.1cm
A View of Custom House, and part of the Tower of London	J. June sculp.	20x25.4cm
A View of the New Bridge at Westminster	None provided	19.8x25.1

II

Navigating Concert Life in Westminster

Upon arriving in London, the concert life encountered by the Mozarts would have differed significantly from what they had experienced on the continent. In Europe, concert life was primarily court controlled. This meant that, upon arriving in any given place in Europe, the Mozarts' success was dependent upon making an early appearance with the royal family or aristocracy. In London, however, musical patronage extended to wealthy individuals. This, combined with very limited governmental control over musical activities, provided unrivalled opportunities for individual impresarios and entrepreneurs organising both public and private concerts. The result was a flourishing, commercially driven concert life that was highly competitive.¹

Rachel Cowgill notes that 'generations of biographers have discussed in detail the events and circumstances of Mozart's time in London'.² Certainly, existing accounts focus primarily on the family's activities in Westminster: the appearances for the royal family, public concerts, and private and subscription concerts. However, these accounts predominantly explore Westminster's reception of and reaction to the Mozarts.³ With the existing focus almost exclusively on Wolfgang, there has yet to be a detailed study of *how* the Mozarts established themselves as active musicians in London, including beyond Westminster.

¹ Rachel Cowgill, "'Proof of Genius': Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and the Construction of Musical Child Prodigies in Early Georgian London', in Gary E. McPherson ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Musical Prodigies* (Forthcoming, August 2016). For an in-depth study of concert life in London, see Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century London from Mozart to Haydn* (London, 1993). Concert life in Paris was perhaps closer to London than other places the Mozarts had visited on the continent. Leopold made Versailles the first port of call soon after their arrival, but two months after their arrival Leopold wrote to Frau Hagenauer that Wolfgang 'is always accompanying other performers at public concerts'. See letter of 1st February 1764 in Eisen, *Letters*, 27.

² Rachel Cowgill, *Mozart's Music in London, 1764-1829: Aspects of Reception and Canonicity* (unpublished doctoral thesis; King's College London, 2000), 18.

³ This is reflected in the emphasis many accounts give to the Mozarts' 'success' in London. For example, see the first half of Halliwell's chapter, 'Triumphs in London?' in *Social Context*, 77-89; Sadie, *Mozart*, 58-74; Pohl, *Mozart*, 93-136.

Significantly, this chapter positions the Mozarts within the same context as other continental musicians. Admittedly, Leopold faced an additional set of challenges in marketing child prodigies, but it is important to acknowledge that, to a large extent, the Mozarts were some of many musicians in a similar position. The relative freedom in London musical life in the 1760s meant that it was in a state of constant flux. Indeed, several of the musicians listed in Leopold's travel notes had arrived in London within close proximity to the Mozarts. Violinist François-Hippolyte Barthélemon and cellists Carlo Graziani and Giovanni Battista Cirri had all arrived earlier on in the April of 1764. While the Mozarts were resident in London, others, such as singer Giovanni Manzuoli and violinist Antonin Kammel arrived (both in 1765), and singer Regina Mingotti left in June 1764. In 1763, singers Angelica Sartori, Matthia Vento and Antonio Mazziotti had come, and even J.C. Bach had only arrived in 1762.⁴ The significant musicians on the London scene were constantly shifting and they all had to establish themselves successfully as active professionals, navigating a series of encounters including new people, new musical structures, and new cultures. For the fifteen months the Mozarts were in London, they became part of this competitive environment.

This chapter explores how the Mozarts navigated Westminster's concert scene. First, the Mozarts' appearances for the royal family – being the Mozarts' first known musical engagements – are used as a point of departure for a discussion of the family's arrival in London and the practicalities associated with this. In particular a focus is given to language barriers (resulting in a German-speaking network) and finding a place of worship, both of which may have been key to forming initial acquaintances. Indeed, the family's subsequent success and ability to start making money depended on Leopold's skill in forging new contacts, despite not yet having a firm grasp over the

⁴ The dates for each musician have been collated from their *DNB* or *GMO* entries.

English language. The chapter is then structured according to three different areas of concert life in Westminster: public concert life, subscription concerts, and private concerts.

For clarity within this chapter, it is necessary to define the above areas for exploration. A 'public concert' is taken to mean a concert for which any member of London's widening middle class could purchase a ticket. As this chapter deals exclusively with Westminster concert life, the Mozarts' appearances at the Swan and Hoop Tavern in the City of London will not form part of this discussion. Subscription concerts were still a form of public concert in the sense that tickets were available for purchase. However, Simon McVeigh has noted that the advance expense – purchasing tickets for the whole series – functioned as a form of social screening, maintaining the prestige and exclusivity of the events.⁵ Finally, private concerts were events organised in the homes of London's nobility and gentry, with audiences comprising invited guests only.

The chronology of events discussed throughout the chapter will be familiar: it is the chronology most commonly adopted in narratives of the Mozarts' London concert life. However, in shifting the focus away from Wolfgang towards the family as a whole – but more specifically Leopold as organiser – and expanding the source base accordingly, this chapter challenges some of the existing narratives of the family's success. Ultimately, I demonstrate that Leopold embraced the fluidity of London's musical life: rather than pursuing opportunities in isolation, in order of prestige or financial gain as is often implied, the contacts in his travel notes instead suggest that he exploited chances as they arose.

⁵ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 6.

Arriving on the Westminster Concert Scene

Leopold's letters confirm that certain contacts functioned as an 'international network', assisting with the practicalities of moving from place to place.⁶ Letters and words of introduction were used to arrange initial appearances in new places, and there are several examples of this. Leopold's letter of 21st June 1763, written in Munich, confirms that Friedrich Michael von Birkenfeld-Zweibrücken-Rappolstein (referred to by Leopold as 'The Prince of Zweibrücken') both assisted with the family's introduction to the Munich Elector (Maximilian III Joseph of Bavaria) and agreed to announce their forthcoming arrival in Mannheim. The Munich Elector's cousin, Clemens Franz de Paula of Bavaria, provided a letter or recommendation to the Mannheim court of Karl Theodor, Elector of Palatinate.⁷

Independent letters from the Mozarts' contacts in Paris survive too, and it is likely that the family's initial acquaintance with King George III and Queen Charlotte were the result of such a recommendation. Otto Erich Deutsch cites a letter, written at the end of April 1764, from Claude Adrien Helvetius in Paris to Francis Hastings, the Tenth Earl of Huntington in London:

Allow me to ask your protection for one of the most singular beings in existence. He is a little German prodigy who has arrived in London these last few days. He plays and composes on the spot the most difficult and the most agreeable pieces for the harpsichord. He is the most eloquent and the most profound composer in this kind. His father's name is *Mozart* ; he is maître de chapelle at Salzburg ; he lodges with this prodigy aged seven with Mr. Couzin, *hare cutter in Cecil Court, St. Martin's Lane*. All Paris and the whole French Court were enchanted with this little boy. I do not doubt the King and Queen of England will be charmed to hear him. London is good pasture-land for talent. It is to the Apollo of England that I turn to beg for protection.⁸

⁶ Ruth Halliwell has outlined Leopold's credit network for their tour as one example of an 'international network'. This functioned largely through letters of introduction from Salzburg merchants to merchants in other European destinations, allowing Leopold to draw money when necessary. See Halliwell, *Social Context*, 47.

⁷ Eisen, *Letters*, 10-13.

⁸ Reproduced in Deutsch, *MDB*, 32.

Hastings was Groom of the Stole to George III during this period and this position,⁹ with its close proximity to the royal family, confirms the likelihood that Hastings was the root of the Mozarts' introduction to the royal couple.¹⁰ Another possible source of introduction could have been the Duke of Bedford, whose acquaintance the Mozarts' had made in Paris, although no recommendation letter survives.¹¹

Leopold's travel notes and letters suggest that the family's first musical engagements in London were with the royal family. Leopold's letter of 28th May 1764, quoted on page 38-39 of the previous chapter, confirms that they had performed twice at court before appearing in public. Leopold's travel notes and letter of 3rd December 1764 also confirm that, in addition to the two appearances described above, they appeared for the king and queen again on 25th October 1764. This was the King's Coronation Day, and they were at the palace from six until ten o'clock in the evening once again.¹²

It is interesting that Leopold still seemingly prioritised royal appearances in London; while appearing at court carried an obvious society benefit, the royal family did not control musical life as courts did on the continent. Possibly, the early court appearance in London signifies that Leopold did not yet fully understand the complexities of the city's musical life – that a successful court appearance by no means guaranteed commercial success. However, given the number of people who recommended he travel to London, this possibility seems unlikely. More likely, is that

⁹ The Groom of the Stole was in charge of the Sovereign's bedchamber, and were said to hold a key to every room in the royal household. Hastings held the position from 1761-1770. For more information see R.O. Bucholz ed., *Office Holders in Modern Britain, Vol. 11, Court Officers, 1660-1837* (London, 2006), 13-14. Accessed via <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/office-holders/vol11/pp13-14>, accessed 02/07/2015.

¹⁰ However, this then positions Hastings as a key London contact, and it is hard to reconcile this possibility with his absence from Leopold's travel notes. It is possible, given the nature of the recommendation, that Leopold never actually met Hastings in person and, once this initial recommendation had taken place, he served no further purpose for the Mozart family.

¹¹ Leopold's letter of 1st April 1764 noted that the Duke was 'very well inclined towards us'. See discussion in Chapter 1, p76. Despite this acquaintance, Bedford, too, is absent from Leopold's travel notes.

¹² *MBA*, 178.

the Mozarts' early appearances with the royal family are representative of the social circles they moved within in Paris.

While not strictly necessary for musical success, the Mozarts' early acquaintance with the royal family arguably helped to open up their passage into London's musical life. It is almost certain that the king and queen facilitated the Mozarts' contact with Johann Christian Bach and Karl Friedrich Abel. First, the two composers are listed directly after the king and queen. This alone is not confirmation of the introduction, but Bach had become Queen Charlotte's music master by 1764, and Abel a chamber musician to the queen by the same year.¹³ This suggests that, even if the Mozarts did not meet Bach and Abel at the palace, it is possible that Leopold's contact with them was facilitated through the king and queen.¹⁴

It is significant that these early acquaintances were all native German speakers. When the Mozarts arrived in England, Leopold was the only family member with any grasp of the English language. Although he does not refer to his own English language skills in his letters, his purchase of a French to English dictionary shortly after arriving in London suggests that he was not fluent.¹⁵ Therefore, early meetings with the royal family and these German-speaking musicians would have carried two significant benefits: first, the familiarity of language provided the family with a comfortable environment; secondly, it presumably allowed Leopold to grasp an understanding of London's musical life and make further contacts with a greater degree of ease than would otherwise have been possible.

¹³ For detailed overviews on Bach's and Abel's careers, see: Walter Knappe, et al, 'Abel', *Grove Music Online*, accessed 07/11/2013; Christoph Wolff, et al, 'Bach', *GMO*, accessed 07/11/2013.

¹⁴ If German-speaking musicians such as Bach and Abel kept up with music journalism, it is possible that they knew Leopold by reputation from his widely published *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule* (Augsburg, 1756), and also from his status as a court musician at Salzburg. For example, Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg published both a review of Leopold's *Violinschule* and a report on music at the Salzburg court in Berlin, 1757. Both the review and report are reproduced in Deutsch, *MDB*, 10-11.

¹⁵ Alexandre de Rogissard, *Novelle Grammaire Angloise* (London, 1763). As noted in **Table 5** (Chapter 1, p86), a date of 8th May 1764 exists in Leopold's hand, next to his signature.

Indeed, Simon McVeigh has argued that musical patronage and professional influence largely followed national boundaries in London.¹⁶ For example, the Italian Opera Company, to be discussed later, was notoriously cliquey. According to McVeigh, German musicians were also keen to assist each other,¹⁷ and this is exemplified through the royal family's preference for German musicians. McVeigh notes that Queen Charlotte in particular favoured both modern instrumental music and German musicians. The 'Queen's Band', a private orchestra founded in 1761, consisted of 'Natives of England', but the Queen also formed her own private Chamber Band. As noted above, Bach and Abel were employed as 'chamber musicians to the Queen' as early as 1764.¹⁸

Musicologist Betty Matthews has suggested that the Mozarts' connections with Bach could have been forged, or furthered, through worship at London's embassy chapels.¹⁹ Matthews argues that fellow Catholic musicians were especially keen to assist one another.²⁰ As an example, she draws specifically on the Davies sisters, Marianne and Cecilia,²¹ for whom Bach wrote several letters of recommendation during their European travels. In them, Bach emphasises the good character and Catholic faith of the girls almost as strongly as their musical abilities.²² Matthews has identified Catholicism as a further commonality between the Mozarts and J.C. Bach, who had converted to the faith in Italy during 1761.²³

Certainly, forging contacts that shared his faith would have been important for Leopold. His letters make explicit both the strength of his personal faith and the

¹⁶ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 186. For McVeigh's whole discussion on life as a professional musicians, see *Concert Life*, 182-205.

¹⁷ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 186.

¹⁸ See McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 50 (and endnotes 82-83).

¹⁹ Betty Matthews, 'The Davies Sisters, J.C. Bach and the Glass Harmonica', *Music & Letters*, 56/2 (Spring, 1975), 156.

²⁰ Matthews, 'Davies Sisters', 156; See also McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 186.

²¹ Marianne Davies, the glass harmonica player, will be discussed in Chapter IV.

²² Matthews, 'Davies Sisters', 151-156.

²³ Matthews, 'Davies Sisters', 150-169.

importance that Catholicism held for his family. On numerous occasions Leopold made requests for Masses to be said at specific Salzburg churches or altars, or documents his family having been to Mass. The letters also often contain name-day congratulations, and indications of Leopold's belief in divine providence. The best example of this is Leopold's letter to Hagenauer of 9th August 1764, written in Chelsea during his illness:

I congratulate you on your name-day. I intended to write to you immediately after I received your welcome letter. But I was far too weak... It depends on the grace of God whether He will preserve my life. His most holy will be done. I've only been here [Chelsea] since the evening of the 6th. The pleasure one gets from the free and fresh air here is without contradiction most agreeable; however, I do not know how to come right with the food: I still have a little hope that I can force myself to do better soon. The illness came with the express post, but the recovery comes with the snail-mail. — — — There are no short cuts. I will certainly not fail to give my friends news of my health situation soon. The most necessary thing now is what I'm asking: to have the following Masses said as soon as possible: *7 Masses at Maria Plain. 7 at the Holy Child of Loreto. 2 at St Walpurgis*, because nowhere is there such an effigy, than *in the Church in Nonnberg. 2 Masses in St Wolfgang's Chapel at St Peter's*, and *please organise through a friend in Passau 4 Masses to be said on the hill of Our Lady of Help*.²⁴

Leopold wrote this letter when he was just beginning to recover from a serious illness. Contracted as a cold on 8th July 1764, a combination of the fever and too much medicine given to him by the English doctor left him in a critical condition. In the above letter, the severity of Leopold's illness and corresponding concern for his family prompted the significant number of mass requests, but the practice is characteristic throughout his letters and demonstrates his dependence on his faith.²⁵

Matthews hints at the possibility that the Mozarts and Bach crossed paths through worship. As mentioned above, forging Catholic connections was crucial for the family settling into London. Similarly, the Mozarts' dependence on their faith

²⁴ German transcription available in *MBA*, I, 161.

²⁵ For other examples, see letters of 30th October 1762, 28th May 1764 and 10th November 1767 in *MBA*, I, 57, 150 and 247 respectively.

meant that finding a place of worship would have been high on Leopold's priorities upon arriving in London. While the close relationship the Mozarts developed with Bach has been well documented, though, there is no evidence that this came about specifically through their paths crossing at embassy chapels.²⁶

However, it is likely that the Mozarts' early musical activity and their religious arrangements are linked in a different way: through patronage. Leopold's letter of 28th May 1764 indicates that he made worshipping arrangements prior to arriving in London:

Here we go to Mass in the chapel of the French Ambassador, which is the closest to us, and to which we were recommended from the court of Versailles itself, in which we have already played.²⁷

The French ambassador in London was Claude-Louis-François de Regnier, Count Guerchy.²⁸ He had been resident in London since 1763, at Monmouth House on Soho Square (**Figure 2i**).²⁹ Historian Benjamin Kaplan notes that, although England was a Protestant country, the law allowed ambassadors serving in England to maintain a chapel for private, family use if the religion of their homeland was different.³⁰ According to local newspapers, and in line with Guerchy's recent arrival in

²⁶ For the relationship between the Mozarts and Bach see Heinz Gärtner, *John Christian Bach: Mozart's Friend and Mentor*, ed. G. Pauly (Portland, 1994). See also Wolfgang Mozart's letters of 27 August 1778 and 10th April 1782 in Anderson, *Letters*, 606 and 800 respectively.

²⁷ German transcription in *MBA*, I, 153.

²⁸ Once in London, the Mozarts became acquainted with several of the foreign ambassadors, who would have contributed to his 'international network'. In addition to Guerchy, these were: Baron von Böthmar (Denmark), Seilern (Vienna), Haslang (Bavaria), Carracciolo (Naples) and Brühl (Saxony). Indeed, Leopold's second letter from London, of 28th May 1764, notes that Böthmar was 'prepared to guarantee a certain sum [of money] in advance' for the family to travel to Copenhagen after London. See Eisen, *Letters*, 34. Similarly, William Hamilton, who went on to become the English ambassador to Naples, became one of the Mozarts' contacts when they later visited in 1770. See letter of 26th May 1770: Eisen, Cliff et al. *In Mozart's Words*, Letter 186 (Version 1.0, HRI Online, 2011) <<http://letters.mozartways.com>>, accessed 20/02/2015.

²⁹ F.H.W. Sheppard, *Survey of London, Volume XXXIII, The Parish of St. Anne Soho* (Greater London Council, 1966), 110.

³⁰ Visiting merchants and businessmen would also attend the chapel of their country's ambassador. See Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe*, (Cambridge, MA, 2007), 187.

London, his chapel was newly installed around the time of the Mozarts' arrival. The issue of the *St. James's Chronicle* from 5-7th April 1764 noted that:

A new Chapel is erecting for the Use of his Excellency the Count de Guerchy, the French Ambassador, in Queen-Street, near Thrift-Street, Soho.³¹

The chapel was situated at the south side of Monmouth House, backing onto Queen Street, as illustrated in Figures 1ii.³² The site plan (**Figure 2ii**) suggests a possibility that the chapel was accessible independently of Monmouth House, and was within walking distance of the Mozarts' initial lodgings in Cecil Court, St. Martin's Lane, and their final lodgings on Frith Street, where they lived for around ten months. Guerchy was one of several foreign ambassadors who appeared in Leopold's travel notes. He was important for Leopold both because of the worshipping arrangements, but also because he would almost certainly have acted as one of the family's patrons.³³

³¹ *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post* (5th-7th April, 1764, London), Issue 482.

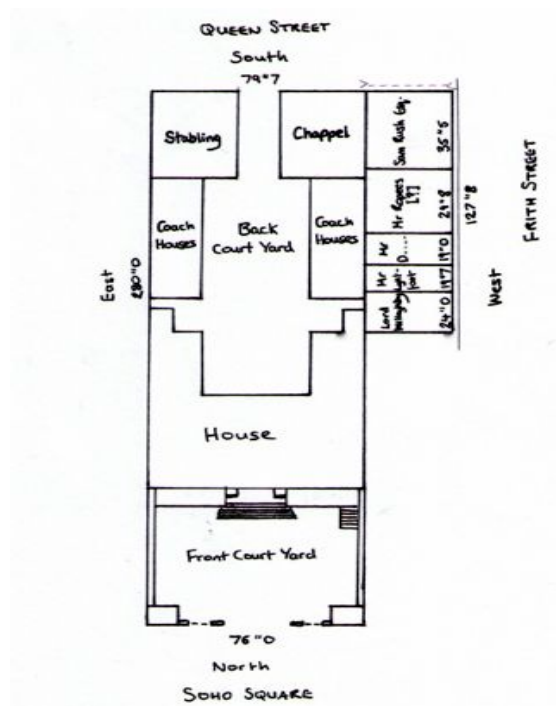
³² Sheppard ed., *Survey of London*, XXXIV, plate 72b.

³³ As discussed in Chapter 1 (p45-46), Guerchy is noted as having appeared at Horace Walpole's house for lunch, alongside William Douglas, Earl of March. The afternoon was accompanied by music from 'French horns and clarionets'.

Figure 2i: John Thomas Smith, *Monmouth House, Soho Square*, (London, 1791), etching, 23cm x 17.8cm



Figure 2ii: 1769 site plan of Monmouth House, Soho Square, transcribed from F.H.W. Shepphard, *Survey of London*, XXXIII.



Networking with people of the same faith was surely important for Leopold, but there is no way to measure the impact Catholic connections had on London concert life.³⁴ If Bach's and the Mozarts' worshipping practices coincided at an embassy chapel, as Matthews has suggested, this was most likely due to coincidence. The French chapel was erected two years after Bach's arrival in London, so it is most likely that he already had arrangements in place. No evidence survives to document his place of worship. Of course, the Mozarts may also have worshipped elsewhere on occasion, and it is entirely possible that they crossed paths with Bach (and the Davies sisters) either there or at another embassy chapel,³⁵ but there is no way of establishing whether Bach was willing to help the Mozarts more because they were Catholics. Most likely, it was their faith combined with their shared German nationality (on top of their professions) that cemented the amicable relationship. Similarly, if Guerchy acted as a musical patron, it is not possible to say whether this was because he was also a Catholic; he may simply have acted upon a recommendation he received from Paris.

*

Most importantly, the Mozarts' acquaintance with the royal family and Bach and Abel opened up other introductions, allowing Leopold to forge his own connections within London's musical scene. Leopold's travel notes list both members of the nobility and aristocracy who acted as musical patrons,³⁶ and other musicians active within Westminster. It seems that Leopold made many of these musical contacts fairly early on in his stay: twenty-nine of the Westminster singers and

³⁴ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 187.

³⁵ For example, the Bavarian embassy (and chapel) moved to Golden Square after the Portuguese embassy moved to South Audley Street in 1747; there was a Sardinian chapel on Duke Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields. For a discussion on Catholic embassy chapels and their music, see Philip Olleson, 'The London Roman Catholic Embassy Chapels and their Music in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', in David Wyn Jones ed., *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot, 2000) 101-118.

³⁶ A discussion of private concerts that took place at the houses of London's nobility and aristocracy will take place on p119 of the current chapter.

instrumentalists Leopold knew are listed within the first three pages of his travel notes, emphasising their importance for the Mozart's initial success on the concert scene.

Wolfgang's first intended public appearance was at Hickford's Great Room in Brewer Street on 22nd May 1764. This was for part of a concert for the benefit of cellist Carlo Graziani who, at the request of violinist and opera house impresario Felice Giardini, had arrived in London around the same time as the Mozarts to assume the role of principal cellist in the Italian Opera band:³⁷

By Permission of the LORD CHAMBERLAIN.

For the Benefit of Sig. GRAZIANI.

HICKFORD's Great Room, in Brewer-Street, Tuesday Morning, May 22nd, at Twelve o'Clock, will be a concert of Vocal and Instrumental MUSIC.

The Vocal parts by the Signoras Sartori, Cremonini, and Signor Maziotti. First Violin, and a Concerto, by Sigr Giardini. Concerto and Solo on the Violoncello, by Sig. Graziani. Concerto on the German Flute by Sig. Florio. Concerto on the Harpsichord by Master Mozart, a Boy, who is Seven Years old, and allowed by every body to be a Prodigy for his Age.

**Tickets, 10s. 6d. each, to be had of Signor Graziani, at Warwick-street Coffee-house. N.B. Signor Graziani is obliged to postpone his Concert to next Tuesday Morning, on account of the Opera Band being engaged for the Night; when Tickets given out for the 13th will be taken on Tuesday next.³⁸

As a benefit concert for Graziani, the proceeds of this concert would all have gone to him, but the event would have served to provide the Mozarts with some initial exposure to Westminster audiences. As it turned out, Wolfgang's appearance was prevented due to illness, but the Mozarts' eventual public debut took place only one week later, on 5th June 1764. There are two different advertisements for this second event, at which both Wolfgang and Nannerl performed. The majority of the first and more extensive advertisement mainly describes Wolfgang's abilities, the only

³⁷ Graziani's first documented London appearance was this benefit concert. Reference to his role as principal cellist of the opera band can be found in Price et al., *Ten Commandments*, 13.

³⁸ *Public Advertiser*, 17th May 1764, reproduced in *MDB*, 33-34.

suggestion of other musicians being implied in the heading, 'a GREAT CONCERT of VOCAL and INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC':

For the Benefit of Miss Mozart, of Eleven, and Master Mozart, of Seven Years of Age, Prodigies of Nature.

At the GREAT ROOM, in Spring-Gardens, near St. James's-Park, THIS DAY, at TWELVE O'CLOCK, will be performed a GREAT CONCERT of VOCAL and INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC. This Method is therefore taken to shew the Public the greatest Prodigy that Europe, or that even Human Nature has to boast of. Every Body will be struck with Admiration to hear them; and particularly to hear a young Boy of seven Years of Age, play on the Harpsichord and Organ with such Dexterity and Perfection. It surpasses all Understanding or all Imagination; and it is hard to say, whether his Execution upon the Harpsichord, and his playing at Sight, or his own Compositions, are most astonishing. His Father brought him to England, not doubting that he must meet with Success in a Kingdom where his Countryman Handel received, during his Life, such particular Protections: their Majesties having already twice seen and admired this young Creature. Tickets, at Half a Guinea each, to be had of Mr Mozart, at Mr. Couzin's, Hair-Cutter in Cecil Court, St. Martin's-Lane.³⁹

However, a much shorter advertisement, appearing for the first time on the day of the concert, and only in the *Public Advertiser*, states:

...Vocal Parts by Signora Cremonini and Sig. Quilici. The First Violin with a Solo by Sig. Barthélémon. Violoncello with a Concerto by Sig. Cyri. Harpsichord and Organ by Miss Mozart and Master Mozart.⁴⁰

This concert was for the benefit of the Mozarts themselves, which meant that they received the total proceeds. Moreover, Leopold's letter of 8th June 1764 notes that most of the performers at the concert were prepared to perform for no fee, allowing the Mozarts to maximise their takings from the event.⁴¹

Significantly, with the exception of the Sig. Florio the flautist, advertised in Graziani's benefit concert, and Gaetano Quilici, a bass, advertised in the Mozarts'

³⁹ *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 5th June 1764 (London), Issue 10993. The reference to Handel will be discussed in Chapter V.

⁴⁰ *P.A.*, 5th June 1764, Issue 9235.

⁴¹ Anderson, *Letters*, 48.

own benefit concert, all of the musicians listed in the above advertisements appear on the first page of Leopold's travel notes.⁴² Particularly prominent among the musicians listed early on by Leopold are singers who were involved with the Italian Opera Company at the King's Theatre. Indeed, all of the musicians listed as participants in Graziani's benefit concert were either singers or instrumentalists involved with the Italian Opera.

The first musician listed after Bach and Abel is soprano, Regina Mingotti. Mingotti was to leave London in only the June after the Mozarts' arrival, but she had been highly successful during the decade she had spent in the capital, and Matthew Darly's 1750s caricature *The Idol* (**Fig.3**) confirms her commercial success.⁴³ In Darly's caricature, Mingotti is pictured standing on her ledger (which is on a table), labelled '2000P^p AN^m [pounds per annum].'. Her aristocratic admirers kneel below her, making comments of adoration, except for the gentleman standing with paper labelled '2000 Sub. [subscribers]' who says 'We shall have but 12 songs for all this money'. Mingotti's success had led to her becoming London's first female impresario to run the opera house, in the 1756-7 season (with Felice de Giardini).⁴⁴ Although it has been suggested that she went on to manage the 1763-4 season,⁴⁵ Curtis Price states that Giardini in fact ran this second season alone, with Mingotti engaged as the *prima donna* for the season.⁴⁶

⁴² Florio and Quilici are absent from Leopold's notes entirely. The other exception is Felice di Giardini, who does not appear until page three of Leopold's notes (presumably the Sgr. Degardino listed, as the musician's name was also spelt this way). As Wolfgang pulled out of Graziani's benefit concert, it is possible that Giardini and the Mozarts did not meet until a later time within the fifteen months. Quilici's absence from Leopold's travel notes is unexplained as Leopold himself presumably engaged him for the concert.

⁴³ A copy of the satire is housed in the British Museum Department of Prints and Drawings: BM Satires 3533. The print appears on plate 34 of Darly's *A Political and Satyrical History of the Years 1756 and 1757. In a Series of Seventy-five Humorous and Entertaining Prints* (London, 1758).

⁴⁴ See Michael Burden, *Regina Mingotti: The First Female Impresario in London* (London, 2010), 64-81.

⁴⁵ See John Rosselli, *GMO*.

⁴⁶ Curtis Price, Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, *The Impresario's Ten Commandments: Continental Recruitment for Italian Opera in London 1763-64* (Ashgate, 1992), 12.

Figure 3: Matthew Darly, *The Idol*, paper book illustration (c.1756-8).
7.9cmx11cm
BM Satires 3533



It is first worth noting that, like the Mozarts' other earliest contacts, Mingotti was fluent in German.⁴⁷ In 1772, Mingotti informed Charles Burney that she was the daughter of a German officer in the Austrian service at Naples.⁴⁸ Although the accuracy of this is doubtful – other sources state she was the sister of composer Michelangelo Valentini (and therefore of Italian descent) – she was said to be fluent in German, Italian, French, and, presumably later in life, English.⁴⁹ At this early stage in the Mozarts' stay, it was important for them to overcome the language barrier of their limited English. As discussed above in relation to Bach, Abel and the royal couple,

⁴⁷ See John Rosselli, *GMO*.

⁴⁸ Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces, or, The Journal of a Tour through those Countries, Undertaken to Collect Materials for a General History of Music*, Volume I (London, 1773), 150-151.

⁴⁹ Burden, *Mingotti*, 1-2.

making contacts with German speakers would have eased their transition, both into society and professional life.

Mingotti's lengthy presence on the opera scene, including periods of considerable influence, meant she was well connected with other musicians, and it is likely that she opened up further introductions for the Mozarts. Leopold writes that he met Angelica Sartori, Matthia Vento, Giuseppe Giustinelli and Domenica Guglietti having lunch with Mazziotti, who was the *primo uomo* [leading man] at the Italian Opera during the 1763/4 season. This group is listed directly underneath Mingotti in Leopold's travel notes, raising the possibility that she was either the source of these introductions, or was even at the lunch herself. Significantly, all of the musicians at the lunch were engaged at the opera house for the 1763/4 season. Of course, it cannot be certain that Mingotti was the Mozarts' primary vehicle for making acquaintances with singers in the opera scene. However, unlike other prominent singers and instrumentalists, she is never named as a performer in advertisements for the Mozarts' concerts. There were reports that her voice was no longer sought after by the time of the Mozarts' arrival in London: Horace Walpole stated in a letter of December 2nd 1763 to the Earl of Hertford that: 'The Mingotti, whom [Giardini] has forced upon the town is as much disliked as if he had insisted on her being first lord of the Treasury'.⁵⁰ Arguably, then, the advantages of her acquaintance were her influence with other singers, and shared language with the Mozarts.

It is perhaps odd that, as the impresario of the Italian Opera for the 1763/4 season, Giardini was not listed early on in Leopold's travel notes. This is true, too, of Gabriele Leone, who had worked closely with Giardini to secure the season's singers. In 1763, Giardini had hesitated in securing the company's principal roles, and Price has suggested this was because he 'aspired to better performers' than London had to

⁵⁰ See Peter Cunningham ed., *The Letters of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford*, Vol. IV (London, 1898), 139.

offer at the time. However, by July 1763, when Giardini started to make arrangements for traveling abroad, he was too busy to leave London. He therefore sent his friend Leone to the continent as his agent, in attempt to recruit new musicians for the season.⁵¹ The result was a disaster: Giardini continued to hire musicians for positions he had sent Leone to recruit for, and the singers Leone did manage to find on the continent, such as Maziotti, were not particularly successful in London.⁵² Although Leopold utilised the principal singers for his own concerts, the opera season actually failed and Giardini went bankrupt.⁵³ Perhaps his failure, then, could account for his late entry in Leopold's travel notes.

Some of the earliest instrumentalists listed in Leopold's travel notes were also involved in the first concerts. These include violinists Giovanni Battista Noferi and François-Hippolyte Barthélemon, flautist Joseph Tacet, and cellists John Gordon, Giovanni Battista Cirri and Carlo Graziani.⁵⁴ With the exception of Noferi and Gordon, these musicians were all named in either Graziani's or the Mozarts' benefit concerts.

There are several possibilities for how Leopold may have made contact with these instrumentalists. Barthélemon and Tacet were regular performers at the Italian Opera; Barthélemon had travelled from France specifically to lead the opera house band.⁵⁵ It is therefore possible that Leopold met these musicians through contacts with opera house singers such as Mingotti. However, there are also links with the royal family. Significantly, Leopold lists Gordon as 'violoncellist to the Queen', while Cirri

⁵¹ Price et al. *Ten Commandments*, 3.

⁵² Price et al. *Ten Commandments*, 2-13. Horace example provides one example of contempt towards Maziotti, writing: '[Maziotti] has so weak a voice that he might as well hold his tongue'. Letter of 9th August 1763 to the Hon. Henry Seymour Conway, reproduced in Price et al. *Ten Commandments*, 7.

⁵³ Price et al. *Ten Commandments*, 18-29.

⁵⁴ The reader will note from the Appendix, p244, that Barthélemon, Tacet, Gordon and Cyri are grouped together by Leopold, each with a circle following their name. This could indicate a professional involvement of some kind, perhaps as instrumentalists in the first concert.

⁵⁵ Thomas Alexander Erskine, sixth earl of Kellie had secured Barthélemon's position with the orchestra. See Palmer, 'Barthélemon, François Hippolyte', *DNB*.

was in the service of the Duke of York, who was one of the King's brothers.⁵⁶ Another possibility, therefore, is that the Mozarts made contact with these two musicians as a consequence of their visits to the palace. Indeed, the Duke of York, Cirri's patron, may have been one of the King's brothers present at the Mozarts' second appearance, as noted by Leopold.⁵⁷ Finally, Barthélemon was also a Catholic and, having recently arrived from France, it is likely that he also worshipped at the French Ambassador's chapel. This could account for him meeting the Mozarts.⁵⁸

Contact with all of these musicians at the start of the London stay was crucial for the Mozarts' early concert success, and Leopold appears to have been pleased with the results:

I have had another shock, that is, the shock of taking in one hundred guineas in three hours...June 5th was the only day on which a concert could be attempted, because the King's birthday was on the 4th, and the reason why we gave it then was in order to become known. We had a week, or rather two or three days only, in which to distribute the 'billets', for before that date there was hardly anyone in London...to the amazement of everyone there were present more than a couple of hundred of persons, including the leading people in all London; not only all the ambassadors, but the principal families in England attended it and everyone was delighted...the profit will certainly not be less than ninety guineas. Now listen to a few details about the expenses. The hall without lighting and music-stands costs five guineas. Each clavier, of which I have had to have two on account of the concerto for two claviers, costs half a guinea. Each person, of which there were two, namely a female singer and a male singer, received 5 to 6 guineas. The first violin gets 3 guineas and so on; and all who play the solos and concertos 3, 4 and 5 guineas. The ordinary players receive ½ a guinea and so forth. But, fortunately for me, all the musicians as well as the hall and everything only cost me 20 guineas, because most of the performers would not accept anything.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ In his letter of 28th May 1764, Leopold noted that two of the King's brothers were in attendance at the family's second court appearance so this could have been one of the links to Cirri.

⁵⁷ Letter of 28th May 1764 in Eisen, *Letters*, 38.

⁵⁸ According to Fiona M. Palmer, Barthélemon was a Catholic until 1790, when he was subsequently baptised at the Swedenborgian chapel on Friar Street, Blackfriars, on 19th September. The religion of his earlier years is unknown. See Palmer, 'Barthélemon, François Hippolyte', *DNB*.

⁵⁹ Anderson, *Letters*, 48.

Although there are specific named performers for the Mozart's benefit concert, Leopold's letter of 8th June 1764 documents the presence of additional performers. Several other singers and instrumentalists, included in Leopold's travel notes, were not named in either advertisement, for example soprano Giuseppe Giustinelli, bass Domenica Guglietti, Tommaso Giordani, his wife and daughters (all singers), violinist Noferi and cellist Gordon.

Finally, the Mozarts' benefit concert is a prime example of foreign musicians' willingness to assist one another. Barthélémon and Cirri had both arrived in London around the same time as the Mozarts; by naming them as key performers in the concert, each with a solo, Leopold may have provided them with the opportunity to become more prominent in the public sphere.⁶⁰ Likewise, as mentioned above, the fact that most performers did not accept a fee allowed Leopold to maximise takings.

Networking with the Italian Opera Company

Studying musicians involved in the Mozarts' first benefit concert highlights the extent to which Leopold relied on musicians involved with the Italian Opera. However, at the end of the 1763/4 season most of the principal performers, including Mingotti, Maziotti, Giustinelli and Sartori, returned to the continent. Additionally, Tommaso Giordani and his family – listed by Leopold but unconnected to the Italian Opera – travelled to Ireland in the autumn of 1764. Consequently, having made so many contacts fairly soon after arriving, by the time Leopold had recovered from his illness and moved back to London in September 1764, most of the vocalists he could engage

⁶⁰ This pattern can be seen at other benefit concerts. For example, Cirri's first actual public appearance was at a concert for the benefit of Giovanni Battista Marella on the 16th May 1764. Cirri again performed a violoncello solo of his own composition, and was described as 'the famous Signor Cirri, lately arrived from Italy'. *P.A.* 16th May 1764, Issue 9217.

for concerts had moved away. Giardini himself had also left London, although his presence later on in the travel notes suggests that he met Leopold first, at least briefly.

Leopold's reliance on the Italian Opera could account for a new set of Italian musicians appearing in his travel notes. In order to secure contacts for possible future concerts, it was necessary to build up his contact with additional musicians. The two distinct groupings of Italian musicians – the first, at the time of their arrival, a combination of singers and instrumentalists and the second, nearing the 1764/5 opera season, mainly singers – confirm that Leopold utilised existing London musical networks for his own benefit. Engaging with the company of high quality, sometimes celebrity-status, musicians, most of whom had been engaged and recruited from the Continent, provided Leopold with a convenient pool of talent to draw upon when arranging his own public concerts. It is likely that Leopold also considered himself to be in the same category as – or, given his status as a court composer, a class above – these continental musicians.

In the 1764/5 season, Leopold was arguably at an advantage, being already established in London from the start of the season. The time of the Mozarts' arrival in London was more than half way through the 1763-4 opera season. There is no mention of the family attending any performances, and Leopold does not comment on the opera in his letters of 1764. Despite Leopold's contact with the singers and musicians engaged for that season, the Mozarts were most likely busy trying to establish themselves as successful musicians on the London scene. However, Leopold's letter of 8 February 1765 mentions two 'pasticcio' operas, *Ezio* and *Bernice*,⁶¹ Bach's

⁶¹ Pasticcio operas consisted of contributions from several different composers. *Ezio* was premiered on 24th November 1764, and *Bernice* on the 1st January 1765. See *P.A.* newspaper advertisements in of 21st November 1764, Issue 9377, and 27th December 1764, Issue 9406 respectively.

Adriano in Siria and Vento's *Demofonte*.⁶² Although Leopold does not specifically state that the family attended the operas, items in the Mozarts' Salzburg music library,⁶³ and the fact that Mozart's 'Va dal furor portata', K.21, uses the text from Act 2, scene 4 of *Ezio* suggest that they did.

The second group of Italian musicians listed by Leopold appears around the time the family moved back to London from Chelsea. Those listed included Lorenzo Ciprandi, Sigra. Scotti, Podarini, Manzuoli and Tenducci. It is here, too, that Giardini's and Leone's names appear for the first time. Although Giardini was no longer the opera impresario for the 1764/5 season, it seems that he and Leone still had a hand in securing its musicians. Giardini's legal disputes from 1763/4 mean that the engagements from that season were particularly well documented. This is not the case with 1764/5, but it is certain that Giardini and Leone secured Manzuoli, and also that Tenducci was engaged for the season.⁶⁴ It is therefore likely that the other Italian singers listed in this space – Lorenzo Ciprandi, Sigra. Scotti, and Podarini – were the other musicians engaged at the opera house for the 1764/5 season.

The actual manager of the opera house in 1764/5 – a potentially useful contact for Leopold – remains uncertain, but two letters from society figure Lady Elizabeth Harris mention a 'Fermier'. Her letter of 29th September 1764 reads, 'Lord Kelly says Fermier, who is Giardini's partner, will carry on the operas this winter at

⁶² *Adriano* was premiered on 26th January 1765 and *Demofonte* on 2nd March 1765. See *P.A.* newspaper advertisements of 23rd January 1765, Issue 9431, and 28th February 1765, Issue 9463 respectively.

⁶³ Cliff Eisen has argued that J.C. Bach's aria 'Non, so d'onde viene', originally written for *Alessandro nell'Indie* (Naples, 1762) but performed by Ercole Ciprandi as part of *Ezio*, was the direct inspiration for Mozart's own setting of the aria, K.294. Additionally, a copy of Giovanni Battista Pescetti's aria 'Caro mio bene, addio' – also used in *Ezio*, survives in Leopold's hand in the Salzburg Museum. Eisen suggests the possibility that the Mozarts even purchased printed music of *Ezio*, for example *The Favourite Songs in the Opera Ezio* (printed by Robert Bremner for 2s 6d in 1765). However, if they did own a printed collection of arias, it does not survive. See Cliff Eisen, 'The Mozarts' Salzburg Music Library', in Cliff Eisen ed., *Mozart Studies 2* (Oxford, 1997), 109.

⁶⁴ See Elizabeth Harris's letters from 29th September 1764 until 20th October 1764, in Burrows and Dunhill eds., *Harris Papers*, 427-430.

the great house in the Haymarket'.⁶⁵ Similarly, her letter of 20th October reads, 'Now to the state of the operas, Giardini is gone quite away; so his partner, one Fermier, and Crawford, will manage it'.⁶⁶ Giardini's letters from 1763 refer to a 'Mr Farmer' dining with him and sending compliments to Leone; presumably this is the same person.⁶⁷ Indeed, it is also possible that the 'Mr Fermer in South-Street, near South-Audley Street' listed by Leopold is the same.⁶⁸ In her doctoral thesis, Saskia Willaert suggest that 'Fermier' is actually John Fermor, a cello and bass player who moved to London from Rotterdam with Teresa Cornelys in 1759. Fermor was supportive of the Cornelys's Carlisle House concerts, and was Cornelys's agent until 1761. His likely involvement in the management of the opera house is further suggested by Manzuoli's opera accounts of 1765, which state that Fermor paid his salary.⁶⁹

The Mozarts gave two further benefit concerts in 1765, but the performers are not as well documented as the concert of 5th June 1764. There are no named performers for the first 1765 concert, on 21st February, which reads:

⁶⁵ Earl of Malmesbury ed., *A Series of Letters of the Earl of Malmesbury from his Family and Friends from 1745 to 1820*, Volume 1 (London, 1870), 111. The 'Lord Kelly' referred to was Edinburgh composer Thomas Erskine, 6th Earl of Kellie. There is no evidence of his acquaintance with the Mozarts, but they may have been acquainted with his music. Erskine composed the overtures for *Ezio*, with which the Mozarts were certainly acquainted and *The Maid of the Mill*, which premiered at the Covent Garden Theatre on 31st January 1765. See David Johnson, 'Kelly [Kellie], 6th Earl of [Erskine, Thomas Alexander]', *GMO*.

⁶⁶ Malmesbury Correspondence, 113.

⁶⁷ See Giardini's letters to Leone of 21st July and 5th August 1763, reproduced in Price et al. *Ten Commandments*, 51 and 55 respectively.

⁶⁸ The 1765 members' list of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufacturers and Commerce lists a William Fermor who lived on South Street. Despite the slight spelling discrepancy – usual for Leopold's spelling of names – this information corresponds with Leopold's travel notes. However, this document provides only a name and street address. See *A List of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce* (London, July 1765), p24.

⁶⁹ Information about Fermor found in Saskia Willaert, *Italian Comic Opera in London 1760-1770* (unpublished doctoral thesis, King's College London, 1999), 124, n.7. Incidentally, a John Fermor also appears in the *RSA* list for 1765, but with an address of Jermyn Street. While it would make more sense for Leopold to list the cellist and bass player, Willaert has not provided the source of her identification. In the absence of professional information about William Fermor, it is not possible to categorically say first, which one (if either) Leopold was acquainted with and, second, which one (if either) managed the Opera House.

HAY-MARKET.

Little Theatre.

THE CONCERT for the Benefit of Miss and Master MOZART will certainly be performed THIS DAY the 21st Inst. and will begin exactly at six o'clock that it may not prevent the Nobility and Gentry from meeting at other Assemblies the same evening [...]

N.B. All the Overtures will be from the Compositions of these little astonishing Composers, who are only Eight Years of Age.⁷⁰

The advertisement for the final benefit concert, on 13th May, is slightly more detailed:

For the Benefit of Miss Mozart of Thirteen, and Master Mozart of Eight years of Age, Prodigies of Nature.

HICKFORD'S Great Room in Brewer Street, This Day, May 13, will be A CONCERT of VOCAL and INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC.

With all the OVERTURES of this little Boy's own Composition.

The Vocal Part by Sig. Cremonini; Concerto on the Violin by Mr Barthélémon; Solo on the Violoncello, Sig. Cirri [*sic.*]; Concerto on the Harpsichord by the little Composer and his Sister, each single and both together etc.

Tickets at 5s each, to be had of Mr Mozart, at Mr Williamson's, in Thrift-street, Soho.⁷¹

It is impossible to identify all of the musicians who must have appeared as part of these performances, beyond Cirri, Barthélémon and Cremonini. As Mozart's own symphonies ['Overtures'] were performed at each event, Leopold must have engaged several more musicians. It is therefore probable that instrumentalists such as Graziani, Noferi, Tacet and Gordon would have contributed to these concerts as instrumental performers. Although no singers are named, the reference to 'vocal music' in the advertisement confirms their presence, and these would most likely have been recruited from the Italian Opera.

⁷⁰ *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 21st February 1765, Issue 112244. The plurals, 'compositions' and 'composers' in the advertisement's *N.B.* are most likely in error. Aside from the fact that Nannerl was thirteen by this time, Leopold's letter of 8th February 1765 notes that 'the symphonies at the concert will all be by Wolfgang Mozart'. See Anderson, *Letters*, 55.

⁷¹ *P.A.*, 13th May 1765, Issue 9525.

There is a widespread perception that the 1765 benefit concerts were less successful and that interest in the family was declining.⁷² Leopold's report of the February concert is taken as a strong indicator of this:

My concert, which I intended to give on February 15th, did not take place until the 21st, and on account of the number of entertainments (which really weary one here) was not so well attended as I had hoped. Nevertheless, I took in about 130 guineas. As, however, the expenses connected with it amounted to over 27 guineas, I have not made much more than 100 guineas.

I know, however, what the reason is, and why we are not being treated more generously, although since our arrival in London we have made a few hundred guineas. I did not accept a proposal which was made to me.⁷³

Compared with Leopold's account of the family's first benefit concert in his letter of 8th June 1764, the above passage is a little contradictory. Leopold's letter of 8th June 1764 expresses both his shock and delight at making 'not less than 90 guineas'. Here, however, he appears to express disappointment in making at least the same amount of money. Admittedly, the first concert was organised at short notice, although Leopold's pleasure does not appear to be 'in spite of' poor circumstances. Perhaps, having lived in London for almost a year by this point, witnessing the likes of Manzuoli making £1500 in one season, Leopold had higher expectations. Nevertheless, a similar profit indicates a similar attendance, which cannot be equated to a 'decline' in interest.

By the time the concert of May 1765 approached, a major factor used as evidence of the Mozarts' declining success is the documented reduction in concert admission charges.⁷⁴ The family's first appearance in June 1764 at the Great Room in Spring Gardens charged half a guinea (ten shillings and sixpence), while the appearance at Hickford's Great Room in May 1765 charged only five shillings.⁷⁵ Admittedly, a fifty per cent decrease appears somewhat drastic. Yet it appears as

⁷² See, for example, Halliwell, *Social Context*, 88; Sadie, *Mozart*, 70; Eisen in Eisen and Keefe, *CME*, 306.

⁷³ Anderson, *Letters*, 56.

⁷⁴ Pohl, *Mozart in London*, 133-134.

⁷⁵ *P.A.* newspaper advertisement of 15th May 1765, Issue 9501.

though this narrative of declining public interest has arisen from the isolated study of newspaper advertisements for these three concerts. A more thorough investigation of contemporaneous advertisements of these London venues offers an alternative interpretation. Reading through advertisements for Hickford's Great Room – the Mozart's final West End concert venue – presents a mixture of either five shilling or half guinea admission charges. A concert 'for the benefit of Miss Formentel', including performers Barthélémon, Graziani, Tacet and Eiffert, charges five shillings.⁷⁶ Differences in admission price could plausibly be based upon the popularity of the respective performers, but a clearer picture is facilitated through two concerts advertised 'for the benefit of Siprutini' (another cellist listed by Leopold). A concert advertised for 3rd April 1764 charges ten shillings and sixpence for a ticket that 'admits a Gentleman and Lady, or two Ladies'.⁷⁷ The second concert, though, advertised for 3rd May 1764, charges the same price for the 'double' ticket, but goes on to specify 'single tickets 5s'.⁷⁸ It is implausible to presume that modern scholars can readily interpret the complex marketing strategies of eighteenth-century concert life by looking only at the advertisements relating directly to the Mozarts. The very possibility that there were unspoken conventions – that perhaps a concert charging half a guinea *automatically* admitted two attendees – suggests that ideas of the Mozarts' popularity demise drawn from this evidence is a misinterpretation.

Subscription Concerts at Carlisle House

The above exploration of the Mozarts' concert life in London has focused primarily on the likely results of Leopold's networking with the Italian Opera musicians.

However, there is evidence to suggest that Leopold sought to involve his children in

⁷⁶ *P.A.*, February 8th 1764, Issue 9131.

⁷⁷ *P.A.*, March 15th 1764, Issue 9162.

⁷⁸ *P.A.*, April 26th, 1764, Issue 9201.

Westminster's culture of subscription concerts in addition to the public concert appearances. These were a driving force in Westminster's musical life, with the most notable being two series run by Theresa Cornelys at Carlisle House: the first was established in 1761 and named 'The Society';⁷⁹ she began to promote the second in 1764, in collaboration with Bach, Abel and Gioacchino Cocchi.⁸⁰ A letter of 13th December 1764 from Friedrich Melchior, Baron von Grimm to Ernest Ludwig of Saxe-Gotha hints at Leopold's intentions:⁸¹

...These children have been in London since last April... but the father had a serious illness, and thought he would die...It is therefore a case of recovering the winter losses...and the father's plan is to give a subscription concert at each assembly at Mrs Cornelys's in Soho Square. Now the Duke of York...is one of the chief members of this assembly, and if His Royal Highness were to patronize these children, whose name is Mozart, their concert would doubtless be welcomed by the whole assembly and their fortune would be made.⁸²

Leopold's intentions correspond with entries in his travel notes: Cocchi and Cornelys are listed consecutively, in close proximity to 'Mr Randal' with whom the Mozarts lodged in Chelsea, and the Earl of Thanet, at whose house Leopold caught his chill. The proximity of these entries suggests that Leopold first began exploring the possibility of involvement with the Cornelys subscription concerts during his recovery. There are also three instrumentalists listed here: Philipp Eiffert (oboist), Giuseppe

⁷⁹ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 14.

⁸⁰ On 19th October 1764, Elizabeth Harris informed her son that she and her husband had subscribed to a concert series run by Cornelys which included seven concerts of Bach's, seven of Abel's and seven of Gioacchino Cocchi's. Letter reproduced in Burrows and Dunhill eds., *Harris Papers*, 429. The subscription series is also confirmed by newspaper advertisements, for example, see the *P. A.*, 28th February 1765, Issue 9463. It is suspected that Cocchi pulled out before the series began, with advertisements instead noting ten concerts on Wednesday evenings between 23rd January and 27th March 1765, directed by Bach and Abel. Bach and Abel's partnership was a huge success, and the joint venture lasted over a decade. Although it is suspected that Cocchi pulled out of the 1765 collaboration, he had directed two series promoted by Cornelys in 1763 and 1764. See Burrows and Dunhill eds., *Harris Papers*, 415.

⁸¹ Grimm, an author and diplomat, was the Mozarts' chief patron during their first visit to Paris. Ernest Ludwig of Saxe-Gotha was presumably one of Grimm's contacts who held connections with the London royal family.

⁸² Reproduced in Deutsch, *MDB*, 37-8.

Agus (violinist) and Charles Scola (cellist). It is possible that these musicians were performers at the Soho Square concerts.

A popular interpretation of Grimm's letter is that Leopold had hoped to give a full subscription series at Carlisle House.⁸³ Certainly, they were key events for Westminster's social elite and, according to McVeigh, Cornelys understood the potential concert life had to flourish within the context of 'socially-screened', fashionable assemblies.⁸⁴ Cornelys's 'Society' meetings mixed music with other fashionable entertainments: 'The vocal and instrumental music, by an orchestra at the end of the room, begins at seven o'clock and lasts until nine; dancing afterwards goes on until one or two'.⁸⁵ Newspaper advertisements for these subscription concerts confirm their fashionable status, and a notice in London's *Public Advertiser*, announcing a concert at Carlisle House, instructed that:

'To prevent Confusion, the Nobility and Gentry are humbly requested to order their own Chairs at the Door in Sutton-street, and the Hackney Chairs at that in Soho-square; and to be positive in their Commands, that the Coachman set them down and take them up (as on former Seasons) with the Horses Heads towards Greek-Street.

N.B. A Lady's Ticket will bring in any two Ladies; a Gentlemen's Ticket is also transferrable, but it will only admit a single Gentleman'.⁸⁶

The address to the 'nobility and gentry' highlights the social class of prospective concert attendees, and the fact that the advertisement takes very specific measures to control the traffic flow is indicative both of how well the concerts were attended and also the emphasis placed on outward presentation and decorum. Significantly, the fact that a lady's ticket admitted two ladies confirms the extent to which such concerts were a key mode of participation in London society.

⁸³ Halliwell, *Social Context*, 68; Sadie, *Early Years*, 68-9.

⁸⁴ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 54.

⁸⁵ Description of a 'Society' meeting on 26 November 1761 in Count Frederick Kielmansegge, *Diary of a Journey to England in the Years 1761-1762*, tr. Countess Kielmansegge (London, 1902), 196, as quoted in McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 14.

⁸⁶ *P. A.*, 4th February 1766, Issue 9754.

The regularity of Cornelys's subscription concerts, and the social status of audiences suggest that they would have been desirable events for the Mozarts to tap into. However, aside from Grimm's letter and the entries of involved musicians in Leopold's travel notes, there is a complete lack of evidence for the Mozarts' participation in these events. This has led to two assumptions from scholars. First, that Leopold's alleged plan to give a complete subscription series was unsuccessful. Robert Gutman suggests that Cornelys 'saw how quickly [the Mozarts'] novelty would wear thin' and therefore 'turned a deaf ear' to Leopold's plan.⁸⁷ Second, scholars such as Rachel Cowgill and Ian Woodfield believe that Leopold may have turned down an opportunity to hold his own subscription series on account of the events' perceived immorality.⁸⁸

Indeed, despite their social standing, Cornelys's subscription concerts did have a somewhat risqué reputation. According to McVeigh, they were widely regarded as 'the focus of aristocratic immorality'.⁸⁹ Two caricatures of a later Cornelys assembly, her 1771 opera initiative known as 'Harmonic Meetings', shed some light on this (**Figures 4i-ii**). Admittedly, these meetings were distinct from the 1760s assemblies, but it is likely that they retained both a similar audience and character. They can therefore still be taken as illustrative. The first print bears the inscription 'Most humbly dedicated to Mrs. C-rn-y, Signor G-dag-ni, and the rest of the Honorable Subscribers to/the Celebrated Vocal Society in S-ho'. The musicians and subscribers are depicted with animal heads. The characters in the foreground play and sing, a conductor stands with a cat and an owl on his shoulders, and figures at the back on the right hand side dance. This scene takes place in front of three paintings: a mother

⁸⁷ Gutman, *Cultural Biography* 194-195.

⁸⁸ Cowgill, *Mozart's Music*, 34; Ian Woodfield, 'New light on the Mozarts' London visit: a private concert with Manzuoli', *Music and Letters*, 76/2 (1995), 190.

⁸⁹ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 54.

and child, a landscape and a classical nude.⁹⁰ The second print depicts the same scene, although the room is different: instead the background shows a fire lighting the room, next to a painting of windmills by some water. The mezzotint technique used for both prints allows a greater degree of shading than an etching might, emphasising the low-lit atmosphere of the gathering. The animal heads suggest an element of wildness to the evening, which could be consistent with ideas of upper class immorality and excess.⁹¹

Both Cowgill and Woodfield link the reputation of Cornelys's gatherings with the following passage of Leopold's letter of 19th March 1765:

...I did not accept a proposal which was made to me...I will not bring up my children in such a dangerous place (where the majority of inhabitants have no religion and where one only has evil examples before one).⁹²

Woodfield suggests that Cornelys's reputation was perhaps 'more than the solicitous Leopold could stomach'.⁹³ Cowgill tentatively agrees, identifying Grimm's letter as the only source referring to the kind of 'prestigious, long term prospect' that Leopold's writing implies.

⁹⁰ For a fuller description, see the British Museum catalogue entry, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=962600&objectId=3346457&partId=1, accessed 08/11/2013.

⁹¹ In part, the negative discourse surrounding continental instrumental music arose from the increasingly commercial currents and consumerism associated with it. For example, writing in 1777, John Hawkins stated: 'Of the instrumental music of the present day, notwithstanding the learning and abilities of many composers, the characteristics of it are noise without harmony, exemplified in the frittering of passages into notes, requiring such an instantaneous utterance, that thirty-two of them are frequently heard in the time which it would take moderately to count four; and of this cast are the symphonies, periodical overtures, quartettos, and the rest of the trash daily obtruded on the world'. He also hints at a moral distaste in further stating that, 'love of pleasure is the offspring of affluence, and, in proportion as riches abound, not to be susceptible of fashionable pleasures is to be the subject of approach', and was of the opinion that artists 'lived by favour of the public...gratifying the many rather than the judicious few'. See John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, II (London, 1777), xli, n; 919.

⁹² For letter, see Anderson, *Letters*, 56.

⁹³ Woodfield, 'Private Concert', 189-190. Given my reading of Grimm's letter, which I believe refers to two individual concerts at each of Cornelys's separate assemblies, I do not share Cowgill and Woodfield's opinion that the passage from Leopold's letter of 19th March 1765 refers to the Cornelys concerts. The same passage is therefore discussed again in Chapter IV of this dissertation, p184.

Figure 4i: Robert Sayer after Egbert van Heemskerck II, *The Harmonic Meeting*, paper mezzotint and etching (1771), 24.8cmx33.8cm. BM, 2010,7081.112



Figure 4ii: Robert Sayer after Egbert van Heemskerck II, *The Harmonic Meeting*, paper mezzotint and etching (1771), 25.3cmx35.5cm. BM, 2010,7081.1123



Crucially, though, Grimm's letter does *not* actually imply that Leopold sought a long-term arrangement, that is, a full subscription series. Rather, the passage reads that Leopold hoped to give 'a [single]' concert at 'each [of]' Cornelys's assemblies. At this time, Cornelys's had two 'assemblies': her longstanding 'Society' series that met every Thursday, and the subscription series, directed first by Cocchi (1764) and then Bach and Abel (1765), that met every Wednesday, both at Carlisle House.⁹⁴ An alternative reading of the letter could therefore be that Leopold had hoped to give one concert at the Cocchi/Bach and Abel subscription series, and one concert at 'The Society' meetings.⁹⁵

Even with this interpretation, there is still no hard evidence that the Mozart children performed at Carlisle House, and Cornelys herself is still absent from Leopold's letters. However, it is odd that the omission of Cornelys and her concerts from Leopold's correspondence is used as evidence that his intentions were unsuccessful. Certainly, Leopold rarely mentions private appearances, despite the patrons listed in the travel notes. Perhaps the most prominent here is the Mozarts' appearance at Lady Margaret Clive's house, alongside the famous castrato Manzuoli.⁹⁶ The event is confirmed by Clive's letter of 12th March 1765, yet is unmentioned in Leopold's surviving correspondence. This should not be surprising: far from discussing every concert in his letters to Hagenauer, Leopold actually only mentions the appearances with the royal family, Thanet's concert (in the context of his

⁹⁴ See *P.A.*, 4th January 1764, Issue 9101 for Cornelys's Thursday assembly and *P.A.*, 14th February 1764, Issue 9136 for a Wednesday subscription concert directed by Cocchi.

⁹⁵ Neal Zaslaw partially supports this view, suggesting the likelihood that the Mozarts attended the Bach and Abel subscription series on account of their amicable acquaintance, and proposing that Grimm's letter actually refers specifically to this subscription series rather than a series of the Mozarts' own. Zaslaw therefore offers the possibility that the Mozarts made a one-off appearance within the Bach-Abel concerts. See Neal Zaslaw, *Mozart's Symphonies: Context, Performance Practice, Reception* (Oxford, 1989), 21.

⁹⁶ This concert is discussed further in Chapter III, p 134, 158-9;. The Mozarts appeared at Clive's House on 13th March 1765, an event described in Clive's letter of 12th March 1765. See Woodfield, 'Private Concert'.

illness) and the family's four publicly-advertised appearances. An appearance as a small part of a larger concert at Cornelys's – beneficial for their public recognition and potential to attract more patrons – would not necessarily have warranted a fuller description in the letters.

Private Concerts

According to Woodfield, Leopold's travel notes show that he subsequently sought alternative engagements for his children in the spring of 1765: private concerts for Westminster's social elite.⁹⁷ Woodfield sees this move, in part, as a direct alternative to the perceptions of immorality attached to Carlisle House. Both he and McVeigh agree that the travel notes can be viewed as a list documenting the private concerts the family gave.⁹⁸ Indeed, the high numbers of aristocracy, nobility, and members of England's political class that appear on Leopold's travel notes confirm his success both in forging contacts with influential society figures, and in the private concert sphere.⁹⁹ The success Leopold anticipated is hinted at in his letter of 13th September 1764:¹⁰⁰

During the coming months I shall have to use every effort to win over the aristocracy and this will take a lot of galloping round and hard work. But if I achieve the object which I have set myself, I shall haul in a fine fish or rather a good catch of guineas.¹⁰¹

Leopold's reference to making money from the family's appearances confirms that some kind of musical performance would have taken place at the houses of the aristocracy.

Woodfield proposes that seeking more opportunities in the private concert sphere was an alternative to the subscription concerts. However, both Leopold's travel

⁹⁷ Woodfield, 'Private Concert', 190.

⁹⁸ McVeigh, 'London' in Eisen and Keefe eds., *CME*, 256; Woodfield, 'Private Concert', 187.

⁹⁹ McVeigh, 'London', in Eisen and Keefe eds., *CME*, 256.

¹⁰⁰ While this passage does anticipate success, it must nevertheless be viewed in the context of Leopold's recovery from his illness. A primary motivation was surely to recoup some of the financial losses that must have occurred over the summer of 1764.

¹⁰¹ Anderson, *Letters*, 52.

notes and letters confirm that he was actively seeking opportunities for private performances from the time of their arrival in London. The above letter of 13th September 1764 is confirmation of this. Most obviously, though, the appearances for the king and queen were private concerts. Indeed, these were the most prestigious performance opportunities the Mozarts were given in London, and McVeigh has identified the royal family as among the most active patrons of private events.¹⁰² Leopold's letter of 28th May 1764 describes the second appearance with the royal family. The level of musical detail provided in the letter – quoted at length on page 39 of Chapter 1 – is fairly untypical of surviving accounts of private concerts and provides possible clues as to the kinds of performances the Mozart children may have given elsewhere.¹⁰³ It is likely that the musical 'tests' described here – for example, the sight reading and extemporising a melody over a bass – were similar to the private appearances advertised at the Mozarts' lodgings.¹⁰⁴

Woodfield has confirmed that the Mozarts also contributed to more substantial private concerts, through his discovery of a detailed third-party account by Lady Margaret Clive, wife of Robert Clive of India. Lady Clive described to her husband a private concert organised at her home in Berkeley Square:

...Tomorrow I shall have a great deal of Company indeed all the people of quality etc I am on an intimate footing with, or that like me and music, to hear Manzuoli sing here, accompanied by Mr Burton on the harpsichord, on which the little Mozarts, the

¹⁰² McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 49-50.

¹⁰³ Letter of 28th May 1764 in Eisen, *Letters*, 38. According to McVeigh, concerts were a regular part of court life with regular musical gatherings. Elizabeth Percy, the Duchess of Northumberland, noted in her diaries that the Queen had concerts every Wednesday, at which the Queen and Lady Augusta would play the harpsichord and sing; the Duke of York would play the violoncello, and Prince William the German Flute. See entry of 3 November 1761 in *The Diaries of a Duchess*, ed. J. Grieg (London, 1926), 41, as quoted in McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 50. It is possible that the flautist mentioned in Leopold's letter was Prince William Henry, Duke of Gloucester and Edinburgh. Although Duke is known to have been a violoncellist and pupil of G.B. Cirri, this confirms that he was an enthusiastic musician so it is possible that he was proficient on both instruments.

¹⁰⁴ These musical tests will be discussed in relation to Daines Barrington in Chapter III, from page 154–159. The musical tests described in Barrington's are comparable with the tests given by the royal family. See Barrington, *Account of a Very Remarkable Young Musician* (1770), reproduced in Deutsch, *MDB*, 95-100.

boy aged 8 and the girl aged 12 will also play most completely well and this together with two good Fidlers [*sic*] and a bass will be all the concert I shall have, & which I hope will be a good return for all the routs I have been invited to.¹⁰⁵

Upon discovering Lady Clive's letter, Woodfield has subsequently viewed Leopold's travel notes as an indicator of the family's success in the private concert sphere.

Although Lady Clive does not list the specific attendees, we can infer that this concert was relatively large in scale and that the musical activity appears to have been the main focus of the event.

A description of a different yet comparable concert indicates a possible scale for Lady Clive's event. Elizabeth Harris's son, George Harris, describes a concert organised by his family in April 1764, recording a total attendance of sixty-three people, including:

Lady Edgcomb [Edhcomb], Lord & Lady Powis, Lord Lithfield, Lord Grantham, Lord Foley, Lord Deleware, Lord Newnham, Lord March, Lord Howe, Lord Shaftesbury, Lady Sophia Thomas &c, Lady Pocock, Lady Windsor &c, Lady and Sir Harry & Miss Moor, Sir Edward & Lady Hulses &c, Sir John Phillips, Sir Edmoun Thomas, Sir John Turner, Mr Robinson, Mrs Cavendish, Mr Penton, Mr Bradshaw, Mr&Mrs Hunter &c. The Duchess of Bedford was to have come but sent an excuse before it begane.¹⁰⁶

The names recorded by Harris represent a similar 'quality' of person to those who most likely attended Clive's concert, and include Lord March and Sir Edmond Thomas, both of whom are listed in Leopold's travel notes. Although Leopold never mentions the Harris family, the Harris family were certainly aware of the Mozarts. This is confirmed by Elizabeth Harris's account book, which confirms that on 30th April 1765 she paid half a guinea for tickets to 'Mozart's Concert'.¹⁰⁷ It is therefore possible that the Harris family's absence from Leopold's documents is because the

¹⁰⁵ Letter of 12 March 1765, discovered by Woodfield and reproduced in 'Private Concert', 195.

¹⁰⁶ Diary entry of 12 April 1764, in Burrows and Dunhill eds., *Harris Papers*, 423.

¹⁰⁷ Appears in entry from period 2nd April – 16th May 1765. In Burrows and Dunhill eds., *Harris Papers*.

Mozart's never performed at the Harris family home. This ties in with Simon McVeigh and Ian Woodfield's view that the travel notes can be viewed, in part, as a list documenting the private concerts the family gave.¹¹²

Contrary to Woodfield's opinion that the private concerts – such as the Clive and Harris concerts – can be set apart from the Cornelys concerts, an emphasis on 'people of quality' links all of these events. Performances for the nobility and gentry were both the most profitable and prestigious for the Mozarts, and Leopold endeavoured to mix with such circles in every European centre visited on the tour. The concerts would have provided clear opportunities for social interaction between hosts, guests and, to an extent, performers, and the focus on the social status of attendees confirms that all of these events were just as important socially as musically.

*

To recap: the most familiar narrative surrounding the Mozart family's experience of Westminster concert life is one of declining success. After a profitable and promising start, the public began to 'tire' of the Wolfgang and Nannerl. Evidence for this perception is often the following: the fact that no more invitations were received to perform for the royal family after October 1764; a reduction in public concert admission prices; failure to secure a subscription series at Carlisle House; and Leopold's letter of 19th March 1765, raising concern at not being 'treated more generously' in London.

This chapter has highlighted potential inaccuracies in the narrative that have surfaced from a limited study of available evidence. Taking the Mozarts' newspaper advertisements at face value, and in isolation, does indeed indicate a fifty per cent reduction in concert admission charges by the time of the Mozarts' final public concert in Westminster. However, the comparison with other contemporaneous

documents – especially those for Siprutini's benefit concerts – suggests that the pricing system was possibly more complex than we now account for. The same applies to the Cornelys concerts: the existing misreading of Grimm's letter and significance currently attached to Cornelys's absence from Leopold's correspondence has led to scholars overlooking the possibility that Leopold actually achieved exactly what he set out to. Finally, Cowgill has critiqued the idea that the royal family tired of the Mozart children. As she notes, there were several factors that may have prevented further appearances after October 1765: the queen became pregnant, George III began to have bouts of illness and was also having trouble with Richard Grenville.¹⁰⁸ If anything, the queen's gift of fifty guineas to the Mozarts for the dedication of Wolfgang's sonatas K.10-15 is evidence of her sustained interest in the children.

The ambiguity of the surviving evidence related to the Mozarts' musical activities means that it is not possible to definitively measure the family's success one way or the other. However, Leopold's contact with patrons and musicians was both calculated and sensible: not only did he move in circles judged to be of the most use for his family's purpose, he did so with as much ease as possible by making contact with German speakers as first points of call. His travel notes also make clear the extent to which he utilised existing networks of musicians and patrons, limiting the time it took for his family to become established on the musical scene in London. That the family were successful in spite of Leopold's fairly lengthy illness at a critical point in the fifteen months is credit to his organisation and networking skill.

¹⁰⁸ See Cowgill, *Mozart's Music*, 31-32.

III

Science, Technology and Engineering: The Mozarts' wider intellectual interests

On 15th September 1787, four months after Leopold Mozart's death, some of the contents of his estate were listed for auction in the *Salzburger Intelligenzblatt*. Items included:

...Various valuables, fancy goods and silver ware, personal and other linen, men's clothing...domestic utensils...together with some books and musical instruments. Among the goods to be sold are: *Firstly* a composite microscope with all appurtenances, made by Dollond of London, still in prime condition... *Secondly* an excellent solar microscope with all appurtenances, likewise made by Dollond. *Thirdly* an achromatic *tubus* [telescope] of *three* feet in length with double objective glass made by the same *Dollond* and in first-rate condition: also *fourthly* a harpsichord by the celebrated *Friderizi* of Gera.¹

Domestic goods, clothes, books and musical instruments are all items you would expect to find in the house of a professional musician. Perhaps more surprising are the scientific instruments – two microscopes and a telescope – all made by Dollond of London. These items were almost certainly purchased during the Mozart family's stay in London.

The auction notice for Leopold's estate is one of several sources documenting his interests in science and technology in eighteenth-century London. Other sources include letter references, prints, and patrons listed in Leopold's travel notes. Indeed, the following people listed in Leopold's notes held some kind of connection with London's scientific culture.² There are several members of the Society for the

¹ *Salzburger Intelligenzblatt*, 15th September 1787. In *MDB*, 296.

² It is worth noting, too, that Daines Barrington – while not listed in Leopold's notes – was acquainted with the Mozarts. His report of Wolfgang Mozart's abilities was undertaken for the scientific community, and was submitted to the RS in 1770. Barrington himself became a Fellow of the RS in 1767.

Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce [RSA],³ the Royal Society [RS],⁴ and also some scientific patrons who did not belong to an organised society:

King George III	[active patron of science and collector of scientific instruments]
William Hamilton	[RS]
Thomas Arne	[RSA]
Lord Shelburne	[RSA]
Joshua Steele	[RS, RSA]
William Fermor	[RSA]
Margaret Clive	[interest in astronomy and sister of Neville Maskelyne, Astronomer Royal]
John Albert Bentinck	[Fellow of RS and inventor of mechanical instruments]
[Thomas] Birch ⁵	[librarian at BM and member of RS]
Daniel Giles	[RSA]
Gilbert Franklyn	[RSA]
Hans Moritz von Brühl	[RSA, Fellow of RS and patron of Thomas Mudge]
Abraham Spalding	[RSA]
Andrew Planta	[assistant librarian at BM and member of RS]

Shared interests in technology and science between Leopold and his patrons are particularly prominent, and suggest that Leopold engaged with these patrons in matters beyond music. As discussed in the previous chapter, private concerts provided opportunities for social interaction between hosts, guests and performers. In many cases, these events were just as important socially as musically. However, implications of this have never been considered in relation to the Mozarts. It is likely that private

³ The name of this society has been abbreviated to 'RSA' to correspond with its modern name: Royal Society of Arts. Founded in 1754, the aim of this institution was to encourage 'social progress' through innovation in the areas of agriculture, manufacture, chemistry, mechanics, polite arts, colonies and trade. Annual premiums were offered to those who were prepared to reveal their innovations to the public. For more information see the 'History' section of the *RSA Online*: <https://www.thersa.org/about-us/archive-and-history/>, accessed 07/05/2015.

⁴ The Royal Society was founded in 1660, and was instrumental in enhancing the communication of science through its publication, *Philosophical Transactions*. See the 'History' section of *The Royal Society Online*, <https://royalsociety.org/about-us/history/>, accessed 07/12/2015.

⁵ The identity of Birch remains uncertain, and will be discussed on p148-150 of this chapter.

concerts provided a forum for discussion about non-musical topics as well, thereby providing a means for Leopold to both further his own interests and the education of his children.

This chapter seeks to explore the Mozarts' encounters with science in London, and important for this exploration is an understanding of the word 'science' in an eighteenth-century context. Francis Allen's 1765 *Complete English Dictionary* gives the following definition:

A system of any branch of knowledge, comprehending the doctrine, reason, and theory, without any immediate application of it to practice. Knowledge.⁶

This is corroborated by the *Oxford English Dictionary*, which lists two definitions common in the mid-eighteenth century:

1. a) The state or face of knowing; knowledge; knowledge or cognizance of something.
 b) Theoretical or intellectual understanding, as distinct from moral conviction. Paired or contrasted with *conscience*.
2. Knowledge or understanding acquired by study; acquaintance with or mastery of any branch of learning.⁷

In the eighteenth century, then, the term 'science' was synonymous with learning and knowledge in their broadest senses, and it is this understanding of the word that this chapter relies on.

A significant part of this chapter documents Leopold's interest in science, which is divided into three areas. The first of these is technology: Leopold collected several scientific instruments in London – watches, telescopes and microscopes – either for himself or for Salzburg friends. The second area is engineering, or urban improvement: Leopold's letters refer to a variety of advances in engineering, such as lightning rods, bridges, and pavements, to name a few. His travel notes also document

⁶ Rev. Francis Allen, M.A., *A Complete English Dictionary: Containing an Explanation of all the Words made use of in the Common Occurrences of Life, or in the several Arts and Sciences* (London, 1765), 399.

⁷ 'Science, n.', *OED Online*.

an acquaintance with several members of the RSA. The third area is natural sciences, or 'curiosities'. Especially notable is the Mozarts' visit to the British Museum, of which Nannerl's diary contains a detailed account. Indeed, Nannerl's diary suggests that Leopold encouraged similar observations and interests in his children. Throughout this chapter, I both examine how Leopold's professional acquaintances helped him acquire knowledge of new scientific developments, and highlight the extent to which the acquisition and dissemination of knowledge motivated eighteenth-century travellers. Examining Leopold's non-musical interests also serves to challenge current understandings of his character, and his motivations for the family's European tours.

Finally, After reviewing the Mozarts' own engagement with aspects of London's scientific culture, this chapter goes on to situate the family itself as *part* of this culture: the young Mozart children can be seen as an object of 'curiosity' themselves. This provides an additional lens through which to consider the public's reaction to the Mozarts.

Leopold's Scientific Instruments

Perhaps the most obvious manifestations of Leopold's interest in science are provided through some of the objects the family brought back to Salzburg from London, for example, the Dollond microscopes and achromatic telescope. At this time, the achromatic telescope in particular was still a relatively recent invention:

By His Majesty's Patent, A New-invented Refracting Telescope, by which Objects are seen much clearer and distincter than by any before made, the Object Glass being made of Mediums of different refractive Qualities, are so adapted as to correct the Errors arising from the different Refrangibility [ability to be refracted] of Light as well as those which proceed from the spherical surfaces of the Glasses. These Telescopes will therefore be found of infinite Advantage to the Public in general, but more particularly to the Navy, where good refracting Telescopes are of the utmost

Importance. To be had of Mr. John Dollond, the Inventor, in Denmark Court in the Strand; and of Mr. Francis Watkins, Optician, at Charing Cross.⁸

Both this public advertisement and Leopold's purchase of such items are symptomatic of the rise in public science, and the particular address in the notice above to the 'public in general' presents the instruments as a useful and appropriate acquisition.

During the course of the eighteenth century, the channels through which science was presented had multiplied. From the mid-seventeenth to early eighteenth centuries – coinciding with the early activities of the Royal Society – experiments were undertaken in a relatively private space. Although findings were communicated to the public through society publications, such as the Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions*, science was considered an irrelevant activity for the wider public.⁹ However, with the eighteenth century came increased accessibility: new theories were published in increasingly accessible books, journals and pamphlets, alongside a rise in public demonstrations at coffee houses and taverns.¹⁰ Additionally, experimental philosophy became increasingly linked to technological advances, such as navigation.¹¹ A combination of these factors led to science becoming fully embedded into English society, as both an accessible and fashionable pastime.

Scientific instruments in the eighteenth century were divided into three categories: philosophical, mathematical and optical, and a 'philosophical instrument' was the term given to an instrument that had the ability to reveal new, previously inaccessible information, for example telescopes and microscopes.¹² Richard Dunne notes that telescopes in particular came to represent accessible scientific interest and learning, and their commercial spread coincided with a growing symbolic value in

⁸ *Public Advertiser*, 26th April 1758 (London), Issue 7331.

⁹ Jan Golinski, *Science as Public Culture: Chemistry and Enlightenment in Britain, 1760-1820* (New York, 1992), 5; Richard Dunn, *The Telescope: A Short History* (London, 2009), 116.

¹⁰ Golinski, *Science*, 6; Dunn, *Telescope*, 116.

¹¹ Golinski, *Science*, 7.

¹² Daniel Rothbart, *Philosophical Instruments: Minds and Tools at Work* (Champaign, IL, 2007), 1.

eighteenth-century culture.¹³ Telescopes were presented to men and women of fashion as instruments that 'revealed truth'.¹⁴ This idea carried religious connotations: scientific instrument maker Benjamin Martin promoted the thought that viewing the universe with the aid of scientific instruments helped to strengthen religious faith.¹⁵ This concept was also conveyed through John Newbury's instructional children's series, authored under the pseudonym 'Tom Telescope,' in which Tom would explain to his students that, by exploring scientific theories, God's universe was also being 'revealed'.¹⁶

The concept of knowledge strengthening faith ties in with some of Leopold's own beliefs. This is demonstrated, in part, in a letter written after the fact, on 30th July 1768, which describes Wolfgang as 'the miracle which God let be born in Salzburg' and explains that Leopold felt it was part of his responsibility towards God to nurture his son's talent and reveal it to others to 'convince the world of this miracle'.¹⁷ Secondly, Cliff Eisen has drawn attention to a children's geography book that the Mozarts owned. Published first in 1750, the book begins by talking of 'the youth attaining a contour or picture of the world on which Adam's children have their place'; the study of geography is presented as necessary for understanding one's 'place' in God's creation.¹⁸ Significantly, the religious connotations surrounding philosophical instruments such as telescopes and microscopes situate them within Leopold's existing

¹³ Dunn, *Telescope*, 110.

¹⁴ Dunn, *Telescope*, 110.

¹⁵ Dunn, *Telescope*, 117.

¹⁶ Dunn, *Telescope*, 116. See also Tom Telescope, *Newtonian System of Philosophy, Adapted to the Capacities of Young Gentlemen and Ladies* (London, 1761).

¹⁷ Eisen, *Letters*, 73.

¹⁸ 'Vilmehr ist das Absehen, daß ein zarte und auch von Jahren mittelmässige, darzu mit nicht wenig anderen Sachen beschäftigte Jugend einen Contour oder Umriß von der Welt bekomme, auf welcher die Adams-Kinder ihren Platz haben...' See Anselm Desing, *Hinlängliche Schul-Geographie vor Junge Leuthe* (Salzburg, 1750), Vorrede. Eisen refers to this book in a panel discussion about the Mozart's European travels in Cliff Eisen et.al, *The Mozart Project* (London, 2014).

beliefs, suggesting that aspects of his interest in science may have reinforced aspects of his faith.

Historian Roy Porter has argued that science, like music and other literary and art forms, was a cultural form that needs to be understood historically in relation to social forces such as emulation and consumerism.¹⁹ The increased interest in public science meant that scientific instruments became readily available from specialist makers.²⁰ Consequently, specialist instrument makers, such as George Adams, Peter and John Dollond, and Benjamin Martin, began to attract support from aristocrats and the middle class. However, historians Alan Morton and Jane Wess have noted that, despite an increased interest in public science, in the mid-eighteenth century the purchase of apparatus was confined primarily to the aristocratic elite.²¹ Dollond's instruments in particular were expensive: by 1760 Peter and John Dollond had gone into partnership with another instrument maker, Francis Watkins and, although their telescopes were widely available for public purchase, they remained one of the most reputable and expensive firms.²²

Figure 5 shows a surviving trade card and bill from Dollond in 1763, listing various items including 'A 5 foot Achromatic Telescope in dog skin Tube' and 'A complete microscope Apparatus'. The five-foot telescope is billed for a price of £5. 15s. 6d., and the microscope apparatus for £9. 9s. The auction notice in the *Salzburger Intelligenzblatt* states that Leopold's telescope was only three feet in length but, given the price of the five-foot telescope, Leopold's smaller model combined with the cost of the

¹⁹ Roy Porter, 'Science, provincial culture and public opinion in Enlightenment England', *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 3/1 (March, 1980), 21.

²⁰ Dunn, *Telescope*, 84.

²¹ Alan Q. Morton and Jane A. Wess, *Public and Private Science: the King George III Collection* (London, 1993), 1.

²² Indeed, Dunn claims: 'The firm was enormously successful and became renowned for the quality of their products...Dollond soon became the only name from whom the discerning customer would buy a telescope.' Dunn, *Telescope*, 81.

two microscopes would also have amounted to a considerable sum of money.

Therefore, the fact that he purchased the Dollond instruments is telling of the extent to which he valued science, and the fact that the achromatic telescope was still a relatively recent invention suggests a desire to have the latest technological advances.

Figure 5: Unattributed trade card (bill and bill head) for Peter Dollond (London, 1763). BM Prints and Drawings: Heal, 105.37



It is likely that Leopold's patrons, some of whom were knowledgeable about scientific instruments, influenced his purchases. George III was among the most significant patrons of science, and he shared Leopold's interest in scientific instruments. Upon becoming King in 1760, George III appointed Adams as his instrument maker, mathematician Robert Smith as 'Master of Mechanicks' and, significantly, Peter Dollond as his optician.²³ The King soon commissioned a number

²³ Morton and Wess, *Public and Private Science*, 18. Actually, Adams had been George's instrument maker since 1756, but the appointment was renewed upon the monarch ascending the throne. See John R.

of instruments from Adams, and his collection was installed in the palace two years before the Mozarts arrived in London.²⁴ Natural philosophy lecturer Stephen Demainbray, who went on to become the superintendent of the King's observatory in 1769, observed that 'His Majesty's Collection of philosophical instruments increases daily and ... is finely chosen'.²⁵ Silke Ackermann and Jane Wess have confirmed that the King's collection marked a new approach: collection for practical use and demonstration rather than for collecting's sake.²⁶ Indeed, Adams's instruments for the King were high quality, made from expensive, sometimes ornate, materials, and were used for entertaining and instructing members of the royal family.²⁷

The King's collections are absent from Leopold's correspondence, but it is possible that their shared interests served as a point of discussion. Leopold is especially enthusiastic about the welcome they received from the royal family; in a letter of 28th May 1764, stating their welcome 'exceeded' that of any other court, he wrote:

...The kindness with which both their majesties – the king as well as the queen – received us is indescribable. In short, their common touch and friendly manner allowed us to forget that they were the king and queen of England; we have been received at every court with quite extraordinary courtesy, but the welcome that we were given here surpasses all the others: a week later we were walking in St James's Park; the king came driving past with the queen: and although we were wearing different clothes, they still recognised us and not only greeted us but the king opened

Millburn, 'Adams Family', *DNB*; June Burrow-Green, "'A Corrective to the Spirit of too Exclusively Pure Mathematics': Robert Smith (1689-1768) and his Prizes and Cambridge University", *Annals of Science* 56/3 (June, 1999), 276.

²⁴ Ackermann and Wess 'Between Antiquarianism and Experiment: Hans Sloane, George III and Collecting Science' in Kim Sloan ed., *Enlightenment: Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century* (London: British Museum, 2003), 156

²⁵ Letter from Stephen Demainbray to John Stuart, third earl of Bute, 5th November 1760. Reproduced in Morton and Wess, *Public and Private Science*, 18.

²⁶ Ackermann and Wess in Sloan, *Enlightenment*, 155.

²⁷ Morton and Wess, *Public and Private Science*, 1. In addition to instructing the royal family, Adams occasionally demonstrated the apparatus to visitors: French astronomer Lalande recorded in his diary that, during his visit to England in 1763, Adams was required to operate the large mechanical pump for him to see, at the King's command. See Lalande, *Astronomie* (1792) in Morton and Wess, *Public and Private Science*, 22.

the window, leant out and, laughing, greeted us and especially our Master Wolfgang as he was driving past, nodding and waving his hand.²⁸

Undoubtedly, part of Leopold's enthusiasm may be due to the fact that both King George and Queen Charlotte were German and, as the Mozarts' English was limited upon their arrival, it is likely that German was the language they conversed in.²⁹ However, the friendliness of the King, given their shared interests, combined with the fact that the Mozarts spent several hours with the family on each of the palace appearances, could tentatively be viewed as an understanding that stretched beyond that of a purely musical patronage.

Aside from Leopold's shared interests with George III, Nannerl's diary also notes that the family went to Greenwich, stating that she visited the park, which had a 'very beautiful view'. Again, while there is no specific reference in Leopold's letters, the family would have at least seen Greenwich Observatory.³⁰ Notable in Leopold's travel notes here is Lady Margaret Clive, who possessed a keen interest in astronomy, music and poetry.³¹ Clive's brother, Nevil Maskelyne, was appointed to the post of astronomer royal by a royal warrant on 8th February 1765.³² This took place only a month before the Mozarts performed at Clive's private concert, and she briefly mentions her brother's position in the same letter of 12th March 1765 that describes the Mozart's concert at her home.³³ The sociability of private concerts raises the possibility of the observatory coming up in conversation at the Clives' house.

²⁸ Eisen, *Letters*, 34.

²⁹ As discussed in Chapter II, page 93.

³⁰ Greenwich Observatory is situated at the top of the hill in the park. In stating that she saw a 'very beautiful view', Nannerl's diary implies that the Mozart family did indeed walk up the hill in the park. It is therefore highly likely that they saw the observatory, even if they did not visit it specifically.

³¹ H.V. Bowen, 'Clive [*née* Maskelyne], Margaret', *DNB*.

³² Derek Howse, 'Maskelyne, Nevil', *DNB*.

³³ The reference is not at all connected to the Mozarts. Clive suggests that her husband, Robert Clive, bestow a living on her other brother, William, in view of the fact that Nevil had recently achieved success attaining the position of Royal Astronomer. It is clear from the letter that Robert Clive had also shown great attention to Nevil. See Margaret Clive's letter to her husband of 12th March 1765: National Library of Wales, Robert Clive Papers, GB 0210 ROBCLI, File R3/2.

In addition to the Dollond telescope and microscopes auctioned after his death, two of Leopold's London letters to his Salzburg friend and landlord Lorenz Hagenauer contain detailed discussions about watches and clocks. Hagenauer and another Salzburg friend and patron, Maria Viktoria Robini, had commissioned Leopold to purchase watches on their behalf. The first extract is from a letter of 3rd December 1764:

What you wrote about the watch has been long in my thoughts. I thought it only to be still too early. They are astonishingly expensive, but also astonishingly good. The repeater watch mechanism is used less here than in Germany or France. But mostly their gold watches cost 20 guineas, the movement and wheels run on diamonds, you can't see anything better or more accurate in the world. I will tell you about all the kinds in your next message. I am not leaving yet.³⁴

The second consists of two separate passages from the same letter of 19th March 1765:

The price of a gold watch here is 12 guineas upwards, as high as you wish to go up. Those that cost 25 or 35 guineas depend on the precious setting and elaborations on the exterior. Usually, a beautiful and good watch will cost between 14 and 20 guineas. For between 14 and 20 guineas one can buy an excellent gold watch. Then it depends on whether you want one with plain or decorated work. Things! They contribute nothing to the intrinsic value of the watch. I tell you in advance that, despite the goodness claimed in advantage of the English, I prefer the taste of the French, and here big watches are preferred to small watches.³⁵ *NB*: ask the clock-maker in Salzburg: *whether he knows what a horizontal clock is*; it is a new invention; the mechanism has one wheel less, and the main wheel runs horizontally. I fear that if we had such a clock and it was ever dropped, we would not be able to fix it in our country. If I had made as much money here as I thought we would in the beginning, I would have bought many curiosities; but *quod differtur non auffertur*,³⁶ I have, and will always have my contacts in London.

...

³⁴ For German transcription, see *MBA*, 178. My translation.

³⁵ From this passage it appears as though Leopold is indifferent to the physicality or object value of the watch; rather its value lies in being a good piece of technology.

³⁶ What is deferred is not lost.

Furthermore, most dear Herr Hagenauer, please report my communication about the gold watches to M:^{me} von Robini, and ask her (because she chose to inform me that I should have the honour of bringing her back a clock) to give me some clue as to how much money I should get involved: that I will buy something good is not a doubt; I have wealthy, respectable and honest people to hand, who know the trade will make it their honour to choose the best for me. One thing is certain, that most of the watches sold as English in Germany have never been seen London.³⁷ — — —

These extracts suggest that clocks and watches seem to have held more than just aesthetic value for Leopold: their 'intrinsic' value lay in the quality of the mechanism, their appearance mere 'elaborations'. He appears to have been particularly interested in the horizontal clock, a new technology that he had never seen before and had evidently taken the time to understand.³⁸ Nevertheless, he was clearly mindful of practicalities: his concern that a horizontal clock might be unfixable should it break suggests that he anticipated the items he purchased would be used regularly.

Leopold's letter confirms that he was prepared to consult local experts before making his purchases. The most likely person in Leopold's notes to have possessed good knowledge of the watch trade is Brühl.³⁹ Leopold's letter of 9th July 1765 states '...we had just had supper with the Saxon Ambassador Count von Brühl...'.⁴⁰ In addition to his role as the Ambassador for Saxony, Brühl was a patron of science. Proposed and elected as a fellow of the Royal Society in 1760, four years before he came to England, Brühl subsequently became closely connected with horologist

³⁷ For German transcription, see *MBA*, 184. My translation.

³⁸ The horizontal escapement in watches was invented in England at the turn of the century. According to later sources, it was 'perfected by Thomas Grignion in 1740'. For example, see Harry Leonard Nelthropp, *A Treatise on Watch-work: Part and Present* (1873), 98. A 1757 trade bill of Grignion's survives in the British Library, detailing the sale of a 'horizontal gold watch' for the price of 'eighteenth pounds, eighteen shillings and a gold watch'. BM Prints and Drawings, Heal Collection 39.45. Once again, it seems that this mechanism was new for Leopold, rather than a 'new invention' as such.

³⁹ Although Brühl is perhaps one of the most likely candidate, it is not clear exactly who the 'wealthy, respectable and honest people...who know the trade' are that Leopold is referring to. It is likely that George III's collection of instruments contained both clocks and watches, and that some of the patrons connected with the RSA and Royal Society may possessed an interest in, and understanding of, the trade.

⁴⁰ *MBA*, 189.

Thomas Mudge upon his arrival in London, soon becoming his patron.⁴¹ Brühl's association with Mudge led to the King buying a gold watch, the mechanism of which included Mudge's detached lever escapement.⁴² It is highly likely that Leopold and Brühl would have talked about watches, given the social situation they were in, Leopold's their shared interest in the technology, and Leopold's stated intention to talk to and take advice from people who knew more than him.⁴³ Admittedly, the dinner with Brühl took place nearly four months after Leopold's letter of 19th March, but there is nothing to suggest either when Leopold made his purchases, or that the July dinner with Brühl was the first time the pair had met.

That we know Leopold sought advice before purchasing watches makes it more likely that he did the same before buying his Dollond instruments or, at the very least, that he chose Dollond because of the connection to the royal family.⁴⁴ In fact, a letter of 17th February 1770, from Leopold to his wife, raises the possibility that Leopold also purchased a telescope for someone else:

I must now reply to your questions...The two telescopes were long – long ago handed over safely.⁴⁵

Leopold talks of two telescopes in this letter; this may distinguish them from the telescope mentioned in the auction pamphlet for his personal effects, in which there was only one telescope listed. While the 1770 letter does not specify whether these telescopes are Dollond instruments, it nevertheless raises the possibility that Leopold purchased the instruments when he had visited London, and either had them shipped to Salzburg or took them home himself. Alternatively, one of Leopold's correspondents from London may have sent them over upon request. Leopold's letter

⁴¹ Anita McConnell, 'Brühl, John Maurice [Hand Moritz]' *DNB*.

⁴² Thomas Seccombe and *rev.* David Penney, 'Mudge, Thomas', *DNB*.

⁴³ Refer to pages 5-6 of this chapter for Leopold's reference to his dinner with Brühl.

⁴⁴ However, if this were the case, it doesn't account for why Leopold chose Dollond over George Adams.

⁴⁵ For German transcription see *MBA*, I, 315.

of 19th March 1765 notes that he would have purchased more had they made more money, but acknowledged that he 'would always have his contacts in London'.

Perhaps, then, one of these contacts assisted Leopold with a purchase at a later date. Significantly, both the watches and possibly these telescopes position Leopold as an extension of his own circle of Salzburg-based scientific patrons: he was clearly both relaying new information to contacts back home through his letters, and making purchases on their behalf.

Encounters with New Technology

Leopold's London patrons also alerted him to developments in urban and 'civic' technology that had not yet reached Salzburg.⁴⁶ For example, both Nannerl and Leopold reference the waterworks at Chelsea: 'a machine that drives the water from the Thames into the whole city'.⁴⁷ Established in 1723, the Chelsea Waterworks Company was built to support the rapid civil expansion, and served Westminster and the west end of the City of London.⁴⁸ It used a series of canals, sluices, and a waterwheel to pump Thames water to both outdoor pumps and homes of wealthy individuals and by 1767, one thousand seven hundred and fifty tons of water was being pumped into London homes every day.⁴⁹ Although there were a few house

⁴⁶ For an overview of urban technology in Salzburg, see Gerhard Ammerer und Jutta Baumgartner 'Bürger, Bader & Co. – Infrastruktur und Getreidegassenalltag im Ancien Régime' in Ammerer und Baumgartner, *Die Getreidegasse: Salzburgs berühmteste Straße, ihre Häuser, Geschäfte und Menschen* (Salzburg, 2013), 36-54. Specific sections of Ammerer and Baumgartner's chapter will be referred for comparisons with London.

⁴⁷ See Leopold's letter to Hagenauer of 19th March 1765. *MBA*, I, 183. The waterworks were established by a letters patent in 1723 'For the better supplying the City and Liberties of Westminster and parts adjacent'. See description of the 'Chelsea Waterworks Corporate Records' at *National Archives Online*, <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/rd/5f7d8b01-3b6c-48b9-8bf5-0451c7721a88>, accessed 6/4/2016.

⁴⁸ Leslie Tomory, 'Water technology in eighteenth-century London: the London Bridge Waterworks', *Urban History* 42/3 (August 2015), 382-384.

⁴⁹ Of course, there were no measures to purify the Thames water at this stage. Robert O. Bucholz and Joseph P. Ward, *London: A Social and Cultural History, 1550-1750* (Cambridge, 2012), 336.

water supplies in Salzburg, this was extremely rare; the majority of households had to rely on public wells.⁵⁰

Of greater interest still was a lightning rod, described in a postscript to Leopold's letter to Hagenauer of 28th June 1764:

On the 18th – it was noon, i.e., 2 in the afternoon – there was an amazing thunderstorm that, among other things, struck a church tower in the part of the city not far from the Thames, toppling a whole block of stone... it also passed along the clock wire. 2 milords told me recently that in China a wire runs down into the earth from each house and that the effect is always that the thunder attaches itself to the wire and travels down into the earth without damaging the houses.⁵¹

The event described was widely reported on in the London newspapers: it was described as 'the most violent Storm of Thunder and Lightning ever known' and the church – St. Bride's on Fleet Street – sustained such extensive damage that estimated costs for repairs were two thousand pounds.⁵² The two 'milords' in question are possibly Milord Eglinton and Milord March. Both were patrons of the Mozarts' – Leopold notes that March sold thirty-six tickets for their first public concert – and are listed together in Leopold's travel notes.⁵³

The second part of Leopold's postscript, describing the wire, refers to the lightning rod. Although the lightning rod was a well-established piece of technology in London – almost fifteen years old – Leopold's letter highlights that, through their travels, the family encountered technological advances far beyond their own, previous experiences.⁵⁴ Leopold's description contains two obvious errors, suggesting just how

⁵⁰ Ammerer und Baumgartner, *Die Getreidegasse*, 47.

⁵¹ Eisen, *Letters*, 45. It is interesting that Leopold describes the 'thunder' – not lightning – attaching itself to the rod. Possibly, this was a word choice error, but it also suggests he may have misunderstood the technology.

⁵² See, for example, *P.A.*, 19th June, 1764, Issue 9248; *St James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, 19th June, 1764, Issue 514.

⁵³ Anderson, *Letters*, 48.

⁵⁴ Benjamin Franklin had invented the lightning rod in 1752, and it was a widely acknowledged piece of technology. There are numerous articles concerning lightning rods in the Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions*, for example, 'A Letter from Mr. Franklin to Mr. Peter Collinson, F.R.S. concerning the Effects of Lightning', *Philosophical Transactions*, 47 (1751), 289-291; Edward Delaval, 'An Account of the

novel the technology was to him. He refers to the *thunder* 'attaching' itself to the wire, rather than the lightning. Likewise, his reference to China must also be in error, as newspaper reports from the time – which are otherwise remarkably similar to Leopold's description – refer to 'Charlestown', South Carolina, rather than China:

In America, where thunder-storms and lightning are more frequent, and infinitely more terrible than in any part of Europe, we seldom hear of any great damage being sustained by this elementary fire, especially in cities and large towns, where the greatest mischief might, with more reason, be expected; whereas, in London, very few thunder-storms happen without being productive of some fatal effects. In Philadelphia, Boston, New-York and Charles-Town, every house, church, and public building, is furnished with an iron rod, ascending about fifteen foot above the roof: When a thunder-cloud advances, this rod attracts the lightning by a natural electricity, and breaks its force, which might otherwise prove fatal.⁵⁵

At this early stage in the Mozarts' stay, it is unlikely that Leopold's English was of a good enough standard to read the newspapers accurately. As he states, he probably only heard the report via the 'two milords'. Despite the similarities between Leopold's description and the newspaper article, Leopold's reference to China is somewhat bewildering. As the lightning rod was no longer a 'new' invention in Britain, it seems unlikely that the milords would have made this mistake. This was therefore probably an error on Leopold's part and he may simply have misheard 'Carolina' as 'China'.

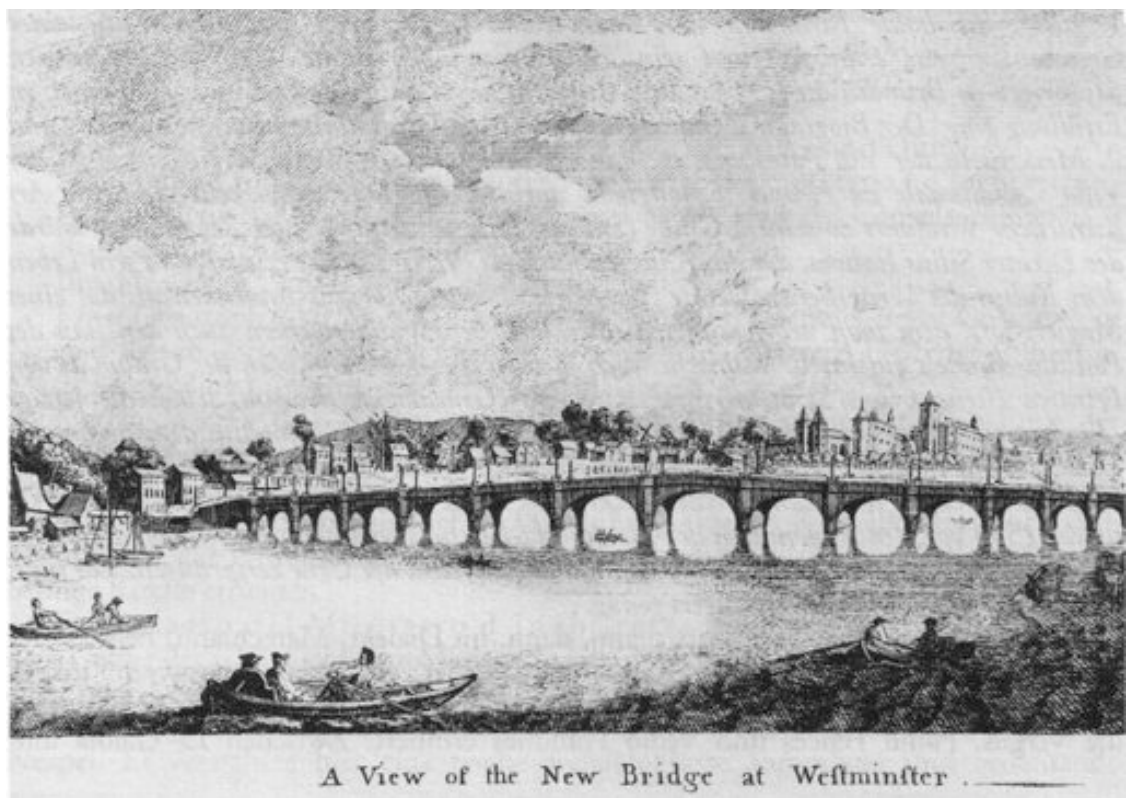
While in London, the Mozarts took the opportunity to observe, visit and comment on aspects of civic development that were more advanced than in Salzburg.

Effects of Lightning in St. Bride's Church, Fleet-Street, on the 18th of June 1764, *Philosophical Transactions*, 54 (1764), 227-234. In Salzburg, Dominicus Beck, a professor of mathematics and experimental philosophy in Salzburg, was said to have erected the first lightning rod. However this was not until the year 1777. Beck had first taken up the chair of theoretical philosophy at Salzburg in 1762, but had left in 1764 to teach at the Benedictine convent in Ochsenhausen. He returned to Salzburg in 1766, resuming his position, and remained until the end of his life in 1791. See, Hugh James Rose, 'BECK, Dominicus' in *A New General Biographical Dictionary* (London, 1841), 476. See also Oliver Hochadel, "'In Nebula Nebulorum': The Dry Fog of the Summer of 1783 and the Introduction of Lightning Rods in the German Empire", in Peter Heering, Oliver Hochadel and David J. Rees eds., *Playing with Fire: Histories of the Lightning Rod* (Philadelphia, 2009), 45-70.

⁵⁵ This description appeared in the *London Chronicle*, 19th June 1764 (Issue 1170); *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, 19th June, 1764, Issue 514. A more detailed explanation of lightning rods, referring to Franklin, was written by a Charles James and appeared in *London Evening Post*, 19th June 1764, Issue 5716.

Nannerl Mozart's diary suggests that Leopold encouraged his children to take an interest in this development too: several places mentioned in Nannerl's diary correspond to the prints Leopold took home from London, intended to show his friends in Salzburg. Leopold and Nannerl appear to have been especially struck by the number of bridges built over the Thames (there was only one bridge in Salzburg at this time).⁵⁶ Nannerl lists in her diary visits to Fulham and Westminster bridges,⁵⁷ built in 1729 and 1750, while Leopold purchased prints of these bridges, and of the bridge at Walton on Thames in Surrey, which was also built in 1750. (See **Figures 6i-iii** respectively).⁵⁸

Figure 6i: Anon., *A View of the New Bridge at Westminster*, 19.8x25.1cm.



⁵⁶ For example see Franz Naumann's 1789 engraving of Salzburg, and Ammerer und Baumgartner, *Die Gebreidegasse*, 48.

⁵⁷ *MBA*, I, 199.

⁵⁸ Leopold also purchased a print of *The View of the Bridge at Walton upon Thames in Surrey*, remarkably similar to Canaletto's *Old Walton Bridge* (1754) although Nannerl does not mention this bridge. Nevertheless, it raises the possibility that the Mozarts visited Walton. The bridge was a timber structure, completed in 1750.

Figure 6ii: Anon., *A View of Fulham Bridge from Putney*, 20x25cm.

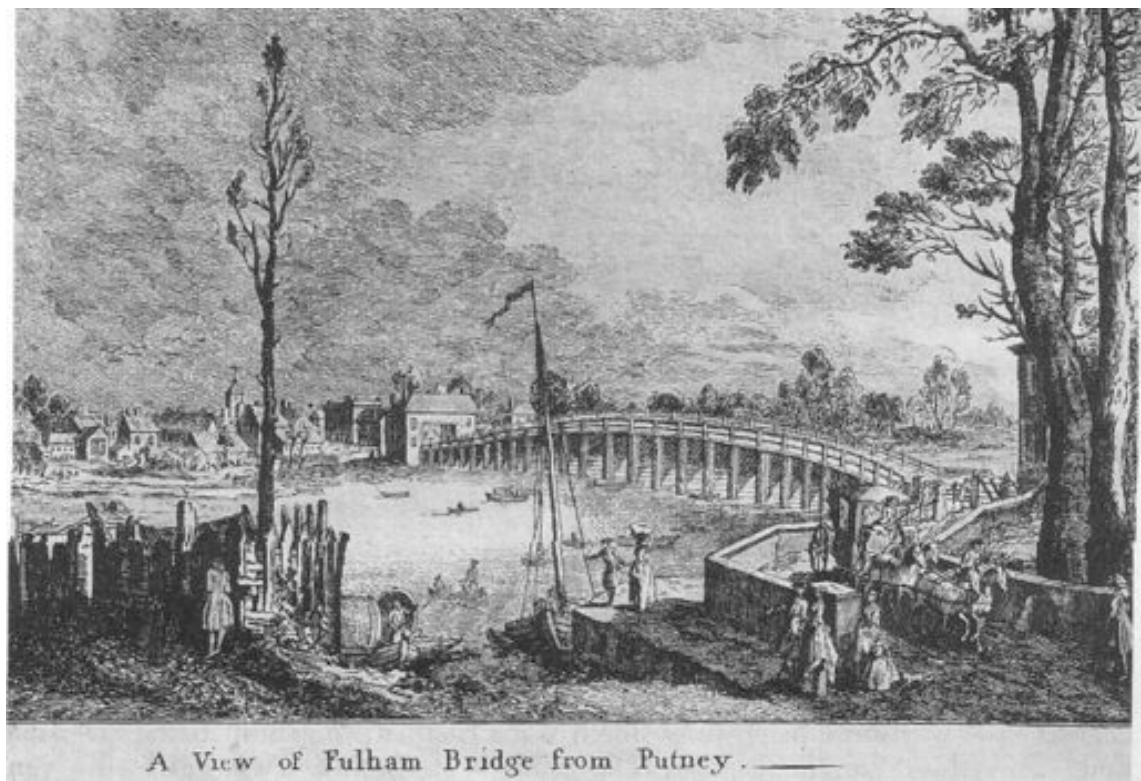


Figure 6iii: Anon., *A View of the Bridge at Walton upon Thames in Surrey*, 19.8x25.2cm.



Westminster Bridge in particular was an object of admiration on account of its stature. Constructed from Portland stone, it was first opened to the public on 18th November 1750:

On Saturday Night, at Twelve o'Clock, the new Bridge at Westminster was open'd, with a Procession by several Gentlemen on that City, the chief Artificers belonging to the Work, and a great Number of Spectators, preceded by Trumpets, Kettle-Drums, &c. with Guns firing during the Ceremony. The first Stone of this Bridge was laid on Monday January 29, 1739, so that it has been eleven Years and nine Months building... 'Tis now allowed by Judges of Architecture to be one of the grandest Bridges in the World. On Sunday Westminster was all Day like a Fair, with People going to view the Bridge and walk over it.⁵⁹

The *Gentleman's Magazine* praised the craftsmanship, the breadth and depth of water covered, and aesthetic beauty, describing it as 'a very great ornament to our metropolis, and will be looked on with pleasure by all foreigners'.⁶⁰ Indeed, the fact that three out of Leopold's fifteen prints featured bridges is evidence of his own interest in the technology and engineering, and he thought the bridges significant enough to discuss with his Salzburg friends upon their arrival home. That Nannerl notes two of the bridges indicates her own interest.

Leopold also comments with enthusiasm on seemingly more mundane things. His letter of 28th June 1764 praises the quality of London's pavements,⁶¹ while a later letter of 27th November conveys his amazement at the rapid expansion of the city into the surrounding countryside, as well as the city's street lamps, which were 'the largest and most beautiful' he had encountered.⁶² The lamps were a source of wonder for other foreign visitors. The German writer Karl Philipp Moritz, visiting in the 1780s,

⁵⁹ *Penny London Post or The Morning Advertiser*, 19th-21st November 1750 (London), Issue 1345.

⁶⁰ Howard Roberts and Walter H Godfrey eds., 'Westminster Bridge', in *Survey of London: Volume 23, Lambeth: South Bank and Vauxhall* (London County Council, 1951), 66-68, via <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol23/pp66-68>, accessed 15/05/2015.

⁶¹ Eisen, *Letters*, 41.

⁶² *MBA*, I, 173.

likened them to a 'festive illumination', and commented that they made his native Berlin look 'most miserable in comparison'.⁶³

Although these comments may initially appear somewhat mundane, they can again be contextualised with comparisons to Salzburg's urban development. For example, in London, the decade leading up to the Mozarts' visit had seen substantial discussion about the poor condition of the city's streets.⁶⁴ In the 1740s, a Bill had failed to be passed in Parliament but, in 1762, the Westminster Paving Act led to replacements in paving stone, and improvements in draining systems, external building pipes, and obstructions from shop signs.⁶⁵ In contrast, Salzburg's paving order of 1697 and its amendment in 1722 led to virtually no improvements until Colloredo became Archbishop in 1770 and, even then, the city remained largely unpaved until the end of the eighteenth century.⁶⁶

Leopold's comments also show the extent to which travel in the eighteenth century was intertwined with the acquisition and dissemination of knowledge. Relaying information about new things and new experiences to intellectual networks at home was central to eighteenth-century letter writing and travel writing. It was therefore knowledge of new technology – not the technology itself – that travelled most effectively through travellers' networks. Leopold's encounter with the horizontal clock in London, for instance, gave him knowledge that even Salzburg's clockmakers may not have possessed. After hearing about it through Leopold and Hagenauer's correspondence, however, the clock maker would be aware of the technology, even if he had never seen such a thing in person. Likewise, Leopold and his acquaintances

⁶³ Karl Philipp Moritz, *Travels in England in 1782* (Salzwasser-Verlag, 2010) 16.

⁶⁴ For example, see Anon., *An Essay on the Present State of our Publick Roads* (London, 1756).

⁶⁵ Discussed in Emily Cockayne, *Hubbub: Filth, Noise & Stench in England 1600-1770* (Bury St. Edmunds, 2007), 181.

⁶⁶ Ammerer und Baumgartner, *Die Getreidegasse*, 48.

became aware of the existence of the lightning rod over a decade before the technology was introduced in Salzburg.

Natural Curiosities and the British Museum

The interconnectedness of knowledge and travel in the eighteenth century is perhaps best encapsulated within Nannerl Mozart's diary:

In London I saw the park and a young elephant, and a donkey that had white and coffee-brown stripes that were so clear that no one could paint them better Chelsea, the invalid house, Westminster bridge, Westminster Church, the Tower, Richmond, where there is a very beautiful view, and the royal garden, Kew and Fulham bridge, the waterworks and a canal; Westminster Hall, Lord Perong's trial [Lord Byron's trial], Marylebone; Kensington, where I saw the royal garden, British Museum, where I saw the library, antiquities, all sorts of birds, fish, insects and fruits, a particular kind of bird called a basson, a rattlesnake, a veil made from the bark of a tree and hair made from the bast-fibre of the bark, Chinese shoes, a model of the Holy Sepulchre; all kinds of things that live in the sea, minerals, Indian balsam, terrestrial and celestial globes and all kinds of other things; I saw Greenwich, the invalid house, the Queen's ship, the park, in which I saw a very beautiful view, London Bridge, St. Paul's, Southwark, Monument, Foundling Hospital, Exchange, Lincoln's Inn Fields, Temple bar, Somerset House.⁶⁷

Notable in Nannerl's entry is the complete absence of music; instead, she documents the places the family visited and interesting things she saw, especially in the British Museum. In addition to the obviously 'scientific' items, such as the globes in the museum, Nannerl also lists biological specimens, and foreign 'curiosities', that would have been encompassed within the broad rubric of eighteenth-century science.

Perhaps the most striking item Nannerl includes is the 'donkey with white and coffee-brown stripes', which can be explained by a newspaper article from June 1762:

The Animal lately presented to the Queen being most probably the African Zebra, the following Description of it, as given by Mr. Edwards, may not be unacceptable to our Readers:

⁶⁷ For German transcription, see *MBA*, I, 199.

"This Animal is about the Size of a Mule, or a middle sized Saddle Horse; its general Shape is that of a well-made Horse...The Head is striped with fine Stripes of Brown and White...the Ears are also variegated with White and a dusky Brown. The Neck has broad Stripes of the same dusky Brown, running round it, which take in the Mane, leaving narrow white Stripes between them. The Body is striped also across the Back with broad Bars, leaving narrower Spaces of White betwixt them, and ending in Points on the Sides of the Belly, which is white, except a brown Line pectinated on each Side, reaching from between the fore Legs along the Middle of the Belly, two Thirds of its Length...The Tail is rather like an Ass's than a Horse's, having short Hair on it, except that at the End it has a Tuft of long Hair: Its under Side is white: The Legs are all encompassed with Rings of white and brown alternately, in an irregular and broken Manner. It is hoofed like a Horse; the Feet are brown a little Way above the Hoof. All the Marks are of a dark blackish Brown, and all the Spaces between them white.: — Thus far Mr. Edwards: To which we shall add, that the Zebra being remarkable for its Swiftnes, the Africans take great Pains in taming it, as it is then infinitely valued. But the great Difficulty attending it renders them so very scarce, that few of the Princes of that Quarter of the World where the Animal is a Native, can procure one. That presented to her Majesty is said to have been found in an Island in the East Indies.⁶⁸

Upon its arrival in London, it was housed in the menagerie of Buckingham House and became hugely popular: as a free attraction it attracted crowds of visitors, inspired songs, and George Stubbs painted a portrait of it (**Figure 7**).⁶⁹ The following year, in 1763, George III was presented with an elephant that joined the zebra at Buckingham House,⁷⁰ so both animals would have been present by the time the Mozarts arrived in 1764.

The Mozarts' early contact with the royal family, and Leopold's letter documenting the walk in St. James's park, means the exotic animals are likely to have been one of the early encounters they had in London. While the animals themselves

⁶⁸ *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, June 22nd–June 24th 1762 (London), Issue 201.

⁶⁹ Catalogue entry, 'George Stubbs, Zebra', Yale Centre for British Art, <http://collections.britishart.yale.edu/vufind/Record/1669240>, accessed 14/05/2015/.

⁷⁰ 'The Elephant lately made a Present to the King, is ordered to be kept where the Queen's Zebra is kept'. *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, September 29th–October 1st 1763 (London), Issue 402.

must have been fascinating for the family, especially Nannerl and Wolfgang, they are more significant in their context of gifts as a result of English colonialism. Purportedly found in the East Indies, the animals were shipped to England via South Africa, and, assuming Nannerl recounted the information in her diary, descriptions of them most likely reached Salzburg via the Mozart family. Links that England forged via colonialism opened up knowledge of new things to Nannerl that her acquaintances in Salzburg had not encountered. This again illustrates the complexity of eighteenth-century knowledge networks that existed as a result of travel.

Figure 7: George Stubbs, *Zebra*, oil on canvas (London, 1763), 102.9x127.6cm.



Nannerl devoted by far the most space in her diary to listing the items she saw in the British Museum, suggesting she was especially captivated by her visit there. The Museum was founded in 1753, when Hans Sloane bequeathed his entire collection to the nation in return for £20,000, believing that scientific knowledge would benefit the

public.⁷¹ Indeed, the Museum was the first museum and library in the world to be open to the general adult public,⁷² and it first opened its doors in 1759, providing free admission to:

...All persons desirous of seeing and viewing the [collections]... that the same may be rendered as useful as possible, as well as towards satisfying the desire of the curious, as for the improvement, knowledge and information of all persons.⁷³

The trustees eventually decided that 'curious' constituted only 'the learned and those of polite behaviour and superior degree', but surviving admissions lists confirm that many people from 'lower' classes did also manage to gain admittance.⁷⁴

In July 1765, Nannerl and Wolfgang Mozart were among the first (if not the first) children to be allowed admittance to the museum. At this time, the museum was not open to children,⁷⁵ so the Mozarts' visit was most likely as a result of contacts Leopold made. The family came into contact with two, possibly three, people connected to the museum while in London: Daines Barrington, Andrew Planta and 'Mr Birch'. It has often been assumed that the Mozarts made contact with the Museum through either Barrington or Birch.⁷⁶ Barrington was a lawyer and an amateur musician with a keen interest in science,⁷⁷ and heard Mozart play at the family's lodgings in Thrift Street (now Frith Street in Soho) to conduct a study of his

⁷¹ The true value of the collection was believed to be closer to £100,000. Kim Sloan, 'Introduction' in Sloan ed., *Enlightenment*, 14.

⁷² Sloan, in Sloan ed., *Enlightenment*, 14.

⁷³ Sloan in Sloan ed., *Enlightenment*, 14.

⁷⁴ Marjorie L. Caygill 'From private collection to public museum : the Sloane collection at Chelsea and the British Museum in Montagu House' in R.G.W. Anderson, M.L. Caygill, A.G. MacGregor and L. Syson eds., *Enlightening the British: Knowledge, discovery and the museum in the eighteenth century* (London 2003), 20-21.

⁷⁵ In the first book of rules and statutes, rule No.12. on 'the manner of admission of view the Museum' stated: 'THAT no children be admitted to the museum'. See *Statutes and Rules to be observed in the Management and Use of the British Museum* (London, 1757), 8. This rule was maintained until 1837. See Caygill, 'British Museum' in Caygill, MacGregor and Syson, *Enlightening the British*, 20-21.

⁷⁶ For example, see Alec Hyatt King, *A Mozart Legacy: Aspects of the British Library Collection* (The British Library, 1984), 15-16; Sadie, *Mozart*, 78; Jenkins, *English Connection*, 52.

⁷⁷ David Philip Miller, 'Barrington, Daines', *DNB*.

musical abilities.⁷⁸ Barrington noted a detailed account of his findings to Matthew Maty, a Fellow of the Royal Society since 1751 and an under-librarian and secretary to the Trustees of the British Museum.⁷⁹ According to Alec Hyatt King, none of the Museum Trustees had any real musical knowledge, leading him to suppose that it was through Barrington's connection with the museum that the choral work 'God is our Refuge', K.20, was solicited.⁸⁰ Barrington, though, did not pass on his account of Mozart until 1770 – five years after the Mozarts' visit – and there is no evidence of any other contact with the Museum.⁸¹ Indeed, it was only in 1767 that Barrington himself was elected as a Fellow of the Royal Society.⁸²

'Mr Birch', too, is somewhat problematic. In Leopold's travel notes, he is listed under the entry 'Mr and Mrs Birches, Nordfolk Street in the Strand'. Mozart scholars have universally identified him as Rev. Thomas Birch who was secretary of the Royal Society until 1765, publishing five communications of natural philosophical enquiry; he was highly involved with the Society of Antiquaries, having been the director from 1737-1747; finally, he was a Trustee of the British Museum.⁸³ Moreover, Leopold's letter of 9th July 1765 refers to 'our very good friend Mr Birch'.⁸⁴ Undoubtedly, this initially appears to be the most likely point of contact between the Mozarts and the Museum. However, while Thomas Birch did indeed live on Norfolk Street in the Strand, he was unmarried when the Mozarts were in London. Additionally, Leopold lists him incorrectly as 'Mr' rather than 'Rev', when correct titles is something that he was evidently quite particular about, judging by his other entries in the travel notes.

⁷⁸ Barrington's *Account* will be discussed in detail later on in this chapter. For Barrington's full account, see *MDB*, 95-100.

⁷⁹ P.R. Harris, 'Maty, Matthew', *DNB*.

⁸⁰ Hyatt King, *Mozart Legacy*, 15.

⁸¹ The publication of Barrington's report was delayed while he spent time tracking down Wolfgang's baptismal records in order to verify his age.

⁸² Miller, 'Barrington', *DNB*.

⁸³ David Philip Miller, 'Thomas Birch', *DNB*.

⁸⁴ *MBA*, I, 189.

The fact that Leopold describes him as a good friend also makes it more unlikely that Leopold would confuse the fact that he was unmarried.

The identity of Birch is complicated further by the fact that there was also a William Birch resident on Norfolk Street during the period, who worked as an 'Attorney at Law'. He appears in newspaper advertisements in the capacity of an estate agent. For example, a notice of 25th October 1764 reads:

To be sold, with the Furniture, in Hartley-Street, Cavendish-Square, opposite the Princess Amelia's, A genteel House, two Rooms and a Closet on a Floor, with a Stone-Stair-Case, a double Coach house and a six-stalled-Stable.
For further Particulars enquire of Mr. William Birch, Attorney at Law, in Norfolk-Street in the Strand.⁸⁵

There are no further details of William Birch, but the fact that two Mr. Birches were living on Norfolk Street during that period mean the connection with Thomas Birch cannot be assumed, especially given the incorrect details of his situation entered into Leopold's travel notes.⁸⁶ It is also worth noting that Leopold never contextualises his relationship with Birch: no occupation is provided for this entry.

Listed near the end of Leopold's notes, Planta is the most credible point of contact for the Mozarts' introduction to the museum. Planta was well acquainted with the Harris family, who attended at least one of Mozart's concerts while in London. Dated 18th December 1764, Elizabeth Harris's account book contains an entry of three pounds and three shillings for Planta to give her daughters Italian lessons, and further entries in 1765 note further payments for Italian lessons for James Harris Jr.

⁸⁵ *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, 25th-27th October 1764 (London), Issue 569.

⁸⁶ Tantalisingly, Thomas Birch kept an almost daily diary from the period 1735-1764. The 425 folios keep a detailed record of his interests, activities, and people he met. Although he had stopped keeping his diary by the time the Mozarts were in London, it is nevertheless noticeable that, unlike his theatre attendance, music is barely mentioned. A.E. Gunther noted that, 'Birch's enthusiasm for the theatre comes through the objective lines of the *Diary*: interest in music fails to...music, Handel's only, is but once mentioned. In 1739, Birch was admitted to the Musical Academy of Apollo, of which there is no further mention. Most of his attendances at musical events were on formal occasions...scarcely more than a dozen occasions.' A.E. Gunther, *An Introduction to the Life of the Rev. Thomas Birch D.D., F.R.S. 1705-1766* (Suffolk, 1984), 9; 62-63.

More significantly, Gertrude Harris, one of the Harris daughters, mentioned in her diary that Planta had conducted their family's visit to the British Museum.⁸⁷ This not only raises the possibility that Wolfgang and Nannerl were not actually the first children to visit the Museum, but also that it was essential to be personally acquainted with a member of staff.

The fact that Planta clearly acted as a guide to other families with children furthers the case for him acting as the Mozarts' guide.⁸⁸ This would have been particularly appropriate for them, as Planta was also a German speaker. Having previously been a Professor of Mathematics at Erlangen in Bavaria, he moved to England with his family in 1752. He worked in the department of natural and artificial productions at the British Museum, as an assistant librarian, until 1765 when he moved to the department of printed books.⁸⁹ While the museum was obviously not aimed at children in the eighteenth century the experience nevertheless appeared to have been a memorable one for them, as evidenced by Nannerl Mozart's travel notes. Her description suggests that she was captivated by the displays and, undoubtedly, the common language would have enhanced her and Wolfgang's interest. It is also that Leopold benefited from Planta's German, as it possibly enabled the two men to engage in a more in-depth discussion than would have been practical otherwise.

It is actually possible to partially reconstruct the tour the Mozarts are likely to have taken around the Museum, due to a 1762 guidebook that set out to '[accompany the reader] through all the Rooms in the same Order they are shewn'.⁹⁰ Although the Mozarts were shown around and almost certainly did not use the guidebook, the book takes the visitor through the Museum rooms in order. The Mozarts probably

⁸⁷ Burrows and Dunhill, *Harris Papers*, 428-429.

⁸⁸ Hyatt King suggests this in, *Mozart Legacy*, 15.

⁸⁹ Harris, 'Planta, Joseph (1744-1827)', *DNB*.

⁹⁰ Edmund Powlett., *The General Contents of the British Museum: With Remarks serving as a Directory in viewing that Noble Cabinet* (London, 1762), xiv.

therefore took a similar path with Planta, as the order of the guidebook broadly corresponds to Nannerl's description. The author acknowledged that the time allowed in each location during the tours was limited and, while the guides themselves were generally 'extremely attentive', it was not possible for them to satisfy everyone's curiosity. The guidebook, then, served to point out key items in each collection.⁹¹ The order of the collections is laid out in the following summary:

Waiting Room: for immediate reception of visitors, containing Egyptian Mummy, a Flamingo, a wasps' nest, and an elephants back bone, among other specimens.

Saloon: for visitors who arrive in advance of their tour, decorated with fresco paintings and containing pleasant views out to Hampstead and Highgate.

Department of Manuscripts, Medals and Coins

Manuscripts from the King's Library, upwards of two thousand, and Cottonian Manuscripts, including damaged section of the Magna Carta

Harleian Manuscripts, English and French medals

Hans Sloane's medals collection, upwards of twenty thousand

Hans Sloane's manuscript collection and Pontifical medals

Department of Natural and Artificial Productions

Various repositories containing Hans Sloane's collection of antiquities, Egyptian antiquities, Etruscan antiquities, Roman antiquities, sacrificing instruments

Collections of American Idols, made of earth and hardened in the Sun

Musical instruments from the East and West Indies and China, including drums, wind and stringed instruments.

A great number of ancient mathematical instruments

Articles donated by T. Hollis, especially thread, corn, hinges and other matters from the Herculaneum ruins.

Egyptian Idols

Hans Sloane's collection of fossils and minerals, including precious stones, fossil shells

Foreign fruits, woods, gum and barks, birds' nests, eggs, sea creatures, beetles.

Birds, insects, reptiles, stuffed animals

Productions of art including glass artefacts, utensils and ornaments of North American Indians, European productions of art, Japan Idols, Chinese figures and utensils (including chopsticks and women's shoes), ivory pieces

Department of Printed Books

⁹¹ Anon., *General Contents*, xv.

Sea compasses, improved by Dr Knight, used in the Royal Navy, several magnets and apparatuses, serving to show the magnetic powers in philosophical uses.

Royal Library, containing collections of past Monarchs, and Hans Sloane's library, including books from all parts of the works on all branches of learning

Hans Sloane's collection of prints and maps

Hans Sloane's collection of natural history drawings

Major Edwards's Library, chiefly a collection of English, French and German books

Modern works of the present time, including books sent in by the Stationers Company and presents given to the museum in the reign of George II.

By the mid 1760s, the tours had relaxed somewhat in that the visitors were able to decide where they spent the most time.⁹² It is also not clear whether the Mozarts were shown around as part of a guided tour open to the general public, or whether they were given individual attention. The inclusion of Wolfgang and Nannerl in the party, when children were still generally excluded from the Museum, increases the likelihood of a private tour. This would also have allowed the conversations to take place in German, as discussed above.

Nevertheless, if Nannerl has listed the items in the approximate order she viewed them, it seems that they followed the route through the museum as suggested by the guidebook. Although she lists 'the library' as the first thing, it is clear from the guidebook description that the Department of Manuscripts, Coins and Medals contained a vast quantity of ancient books. However, as her description is relatively brief, it is possible that 'library' accounted for both the first and last departments. Evidently, from the length of her list, Nannerl was most captivated by the Department of Natural and Artificial Productions.

One 'problem' that visitors noted with the British Museum was its lack of scientific instruments. This is realised by Tobias Smollett's fictional traveller Matthew Bramble, who wrote that '[he] could wish, for the honour of the nation, that there was

⁹² Caygill, 'British Museum' in Anderson, Caygill, MacGregor and Syson eds., *Enlightening the British*, 21.

a complete apparatus for a course of mathematics, mechanics, and experimental philosophy'.⁹³ It seems that Leopold shared this view: he later compared the British Museum unfavourably against the Istituto di Science e Arti in Bologna, commenting that '...what I've seen here surpasses the British Museum, for here there are not only unusual objects from the world of nature but everything that comes under the name of science.'⁹⁴ Certainly, the guidebook description for the Department of Natural and Artificial Productions is primarily focused around natural curiosities and antiquities from different countries. The only scientific instruments noted are the 'ancient' ones, and then the naval instruments in the library. Nevertheless, Leopold's statement is important because, not only does it serve to highlight his interest in *all* aspects of science, it demonstrates another instance of the importance Leopold placed on his children's education: visiting cultural institutions was not something unique to London.⁹⁵

The Mozarts' engagement with science in London can be viewed as typical of their wider travelling experience. The objects listed by Nannerl highlight the extent to which the museum relied on exploration, trade and commerce across the colonies and beyond. The Mozarts themselves became part of this network of learning and passing on the things they experienced. Significantly, too, the museum collections had the same religious connotations discussed earlier: a desire to understand the universe as created by God.⁹⁶ The visit to the British Museum, and Nannerl's description, is among the most compelling evidence of an engagement with wider London culture,

⁹³ It is likely that the fictional Bramble's opinion was based upon Smollett's own observations. Robert Anderson, 'The status of instruments in eighteenth-century cabinets' in Anderson, Caygill, MacGregor and Syson eds., *Enlightening the British*, 55.

⁹⁴ *MBA*, I, 328. Translation from Eisen, *Letters*, 100.

⁹⁵ It is worth noting, too, the adult Wolfgang Mozart's signature in the Mannheim Observatory's visitor book, on 16th November 1778. See *MDB*, 179.

⁹⁶ Marjorie Caygill states that, through his collections, Hans Sloane 'aimed to "promote the good of man" and to "manifest the glory of God", to awe visitors with the sight of nature'. Caygill, 'British Museum' in Anderson, Caygill, MacGregor and Syson eds., *Enlightening the British*, 18.

and encapsulates the unique educational experience the family received on their travels.

Wolfgang and Nannerl as a 'Curiosity'

Towards the end of the Mozarts' stay in London, private appearances at their lodgings in Soho were advertised, offering members of the public the chance to test Wolfgang's musical abilities.⁹⁷ Similarly, for a week in July 1765, the final month of their stay, Wolfgang and Nannerl performed daily at the Swan and Hoop Tavern in Cornhill. The tavern appearances were advertised as follows:

To all Lovers of Sciences.

The greatest Prodigy that Europe, or even 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. It is hard to say, whether his Execution upon the Harpsichord and his playing and singing at Sight, or his own Caprice, Fancy and Compositions for all Instruments, are most astonishing. The Father of this Miracle, being obliged by Desire of several Ladies and Gentlemen to postpone, for a very short Time, his Departure from England, will give an Opportunity to hear this little Composer and his Sister, whose musical knowledge wants not Apology, Perform every Day in the Week, from Twelve to Three o'Clock in the Great Room, at the Swan and Hoop, Cornhill. Admissions 2s.6d. each Person. The two Children will play also together with four Hands upon the same Harpsichord, and put upon it a Handkerchief, without seeing the Keys.⁹⁸

The description of Wolfgang's abilities in this advertisement is remarkably similar to the notice of 5th June 1764, advertising their first concert appearance.⁹⁹ Yet this final advertisement has prompted a resounding criticism of Leopold Mozart's treatment of his children: McVeigh and Julian Rushton have respectively referred to the tavern

⁹⁷ For example, see advertisement in the *P.A.* of 20th March 1764 (London), Issue 94679.

⁹⁸ *Public Advertiser*, 9th July 1765 (London), Issue 9627.

⁹⁹ *Gazeteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 5th June 1764, Issue 10993. Discussed on pages 100-102 of the previous chapter.

appearances as 'shameless circus tricks' and a 'money-spinning...circus act'.¹⁰⁰

Presumably, this is on account of the children performing with a handkerchief over their fingers.

The invitation 'to all Lovers of Sciences' does seemingly equate the Mozart children to one of the 'curiosities' that may have been found in the British Museum. Indeed, the advertisement presents a similar opportunity for members of the public as detailed in the museum's 1753 Act, which stated that the institution existed 'for the Inspection and Entertainment of the learned and curious'.¹⁰¹ In a similar vein, scholar Annette Richards – who makes a fleeting reference to Mozart's childhood travels in her article on the mechanical sublime – compares the young Mozart to Jacques de Vaucanson's 'mechanical duck'. Richards argues the both 'attractions' were 'touted' around the courts of Europe for the 'paying curious'.¹⁰²

Modern scholars readily associate the idea of the Mozart children as 'curiosities', available for public inspection and consumption, with cheap circus tricks.¹⁰³ However, contemporaneous understandings of a 'curious public' potentially complicate existing understandings. For example, turning to Allan's *Complete English Dictionary* again, 'curiosity' is defined as: 'a propensity, or disposition of the soul, which inclines it to enquire after new objects; a nice experiment; a rarity'.¹⁰⁴ Similarly, an *OED* historical definition, obsolete by the end of the eighteenth century, was 'scientific or artistic interest'.¹⁰⁵ These sources suggest that a 'curious' public was tantamount to a 'learned' public in eighteenth-century London. Although Richards's use of the word

¹⁰⁰ Simon McVeigh, 'London', *CME*, 258; Julian Rushton, *Mozart* (Oxford, 2006), 11.

¹⁰¹ Reproduced by Caygill, 'British Museum' in Anderson, Caygill, MacGregor and Syson eds., *Enlightening the British*, 19.

¹⁰² Annette Richards, 'Automatic Genius: Mozart and the Mechanical Sublime', *Music and Letters* 80/3 (August 1999), 381.

¹⁰³ As suggested by the references to McVeigh and Rushton above.

¹⁰⁴ Allan, *Dictionary*, 131.

¹⁰⁵ 'Curiosity, n.', *OED Online*.

'touted' is biographically loaded in terms of Mozart's childhood experience, her brief reference to Mozart as a curiosity is sensitive to historical contexts:

[Mozart] was an object of wonder and, of course, the focus of scientific investigation into his talents and their source. His amazing ability, not just at identifying pitches and performing on a covered up keyboard but also at composition and extemporization, required explanation.¹⁰⁶

As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, 'science' as defined in eighteenth-century terms – and therefore as understood by the eighteenth-century public – encompassed knowledge and learning in any discipline.

The scientific 'status' of the Mozart children as an attraction is suggested by the fact that Barrington considered his investigation to be 'not undeserving the notice of ... the Royal Society'.¹⁰⁷ His presence at the family lodgings suggests that he responded to the *Public Advertiser* notice from March 1765, although the report itself is conducted as a formal investigation. Not only is Barrington careful to corroborate factual evidence such as Mozart's age – the reason for the delay in the report's presentation to the Royal Society – but he also contextualises Mozart as a child prodigy. The main example he draws upon is John Barratier who was a prodigy of languages: '[Barratier] is said to have understood Latin at the age of four, Hebrew at the age of six, and three other languages at the age of nine'.¹⁰⁸ Barrington also compares Mozart's abilities to Handel's, when the latter was of a similar age, taking his account from the John Mainwaring's *Memoirs of Handel*.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, it is clear that Barrington had a sustained interest in musical child prodigies as a subject worthy of

¹⁰⁶ Richards, *Mechanical Sublime*, 382.

¹⁰⁷ Barrington, *Account*, *MDB*, 95.

¹⁰⁸ Barrington, *Account*, 287.

¹⁰⁹ John Mainwaring, *Memoirs of the Life of the Late George Frederic Handel* (London 1760). Incidentally, having already mentioned that Barratier died at the young age of twenty, Barrington hoped that Mozart would 'live to the same old age' as Handel, 'contrary to the common observation that such *ingenia praecocia* are generally short-lived'. Barrington, *Account*, 7. The Mozarts' possible acquaintance with Mainwaring's biography of Handel will be discussed further in Chapter V.

scientific investigation, because he later conducted studies of Charles and Samuel Wesley (1775) and William Crotch (1778/9).

It is likely that the tests conducted by Barrington were representative of the wider public's interest in the Mozart children as 'curiosities'. Indeed, the kinds of tests Barrington conducted – sight-reading, extemporising, modulating, among others – are remarkably similar to Leopold's description of Mozart's second private performance for the royal family.¹¹⁰ It is therefore probable that Mozart would have been subject to similar exercises when appearing privately for some of the nobility and aristocracy listed in Leopold's travel notes, and this may even have been the main enticement of the Mozart family.

Lady Margaret Clive's letter of 12th March 1765, describing the private concert at her house, hints that the Mozart children may not have been the main attraction of the event. Before her description of the concert, at which she predicted 'the little Mozart children...will also play most completely well' (see page 121, Chapter II), Lady Clive writes:

Ned [her son] is this moment come from School, being sent for to stay at home three days for a particular occasion which never will happen again... [Manzuoli's] singing is beyond any thing I have every heard; the compass of his voice is not so great as some others, but his taste and manner exceed everything. I have a mind to have Ned hear him and be seen by the company.¹¹¹

The letter is significant because it clearly states that Lady Clive felt her concert was worth taking her son out of school for, but *not* because of the Mozart children's presence: the important aspect for her was that Manzuoli was to perform. This suggests two things: first, that Manzuoli would also have been the main attraction for

¹¹⁰ See letter of 28th May 1764 in Eisen, *Letters*, 38-39. Leopold recounts Mozart sight-reading works by Wagenseil, Bach, Abel and Handel, accompanying the queen and a flautist, and improvising a melody over a set bass.

¹¹¹ See Margaret Clive's letter to her husband of 12th March 1765: NLW Robert Clive Papers, GB 0210 ROBCLI, File R3/2.

the other 'people of quality' in attendance and, secondly, the possibility that the Mozarts' music-making was not necessarily a significant attraction in itself. Rather, it was their status as a 'curiosity' that sparked public interest – their advanced abilities at such a young age.

Barrington's scientific study of the Mozarts can be viewed as another symptom of the ever-increasing interest in 'public' science. Therefore, the similar features of the performances at the Swan and Hoop Tavern, as stated in the advertisement, allow these appearances to also be considered on these terms. Certainly, historian Constance Lubbock has noted that public lectures in natural philosophy declined significantly after 1760 due to the increased range of competing activities such as displays of 'wonders of the age', public lectures on a wider variety of topics, and, for example, RSA society meetings.¹¹² She confirms that such curiosities included attractions such as 'intelligent dogs' and 'porcupine man and son', and argues that an advertisement of the latter in the *Gentlemen's Magazine* confirms the participation of an 'elite' audience.¹¹³ Clearly, the Mozarts fall under a different category than dogs and porcupines, but Wolfgang and Nannerl were arguably marketable as 'wonders' given their status as child prodigies.

*

While in London, then, the Mozarts both engaged with and became objects of scientific learning and curiosity. A look at the interests and occupations of the Mozarts' potential patrons highlights a significant group of people with interests in science and technology. The sociability of private concerts allows them to be viewed as a possible vehicle through which Leopold could further both his own interests and the broader education of Nannerl and Wolfgang. Significantly, Leopold's letters,

¹¹² Constance Lubbock, *The Herschel Chronicle* (Cambridge, 1993), 68.

¹¹³ Lubbock, *Herschel*, 76.

prints and objects that returned to Salzburg from London position him as an intermediary between intellectual cultures in London and Salzburg. Leopold passed on objects and knowledge to friends and patrons who perhaps held amateur interests in the same way that he did, but advancements in technology (such as the horizontal watch mechanism) also potentially benefitted skilled craftsmen.

As well as allowing the Mozarts to further their own interests in science, private concerts also situate the Mozarts as an object of curiosity amidst the rise in the public culture of science. It is likely that much of the interest taken in the family stemmed from the collective desires of a learned public to satisfy their own knowledge about the nature of child prodigies. Wolfgang and, to a lesser extent, Nannerl, were themselves available for 'scientific study'. Considering private appearances in this broader historical context questions the negative status that is currently accorded to the 'tricks' performed at the Swan and Hoop Tavern, similar to the tests conducted by Barrington. Actually, such appearances contributed to the culture of public learning and knowledge of the time, in which the Mozarts themselves took a significant interest.

IV

Interactions with the City of London: a revised context for the Mozarts' Swan and Hoop appearances.

For a week in July 1765, the final month of the Mozarts' London stay, Wolfgang and Nannerl performed daily at the Swan and Hoop Tavern in Cornhill. The first notice advertising their appearances appeared on 8th July and reads as follows:

Mr. Mozart, the Father of the celebrated young Musical Family, who have so justly raised the admiration of the greatest Musicians in Europe, has been obliged by the Desire of several Ladies and Gentlemen to postpone his Departure from England for a short Time, take this Opportunity to inform the Public, that he has taken the great Room in the Swan and Hoop Tavern in Cornhill, where he will give an Opportunity to all the Curious to hear these two young Prodigies perform every Day from Twelve to Three.

Admittance 2s 6d each Person. He begins To-morrow the 9th instant.¹

A second, more detailed advertisement for the same appearances appeared a day later and is reproduced in full on p155 of the previous chapter. This second advertisement was addressed 'To all Lovers of Sciences', and stated that 'the two Children will play also together with four Hands upon the same Harpsichord, and put upon it a Handkerchief, without seeing the Keys.'²

In 1867, Carl Ferdinand Pohl, in the first significant study of the Mozarts in London, understood these appearances as confirmation of the Mozarts' failure to maintain the interest and support of London's fashionable public:

...The already cooled curiosity of the public could not be recovered. We now see the family leave the fashionable West End and turn to the City to play in one of the lower-ranked halls [Swan and Hoop Tavern], once again for reduced prices... This, too, does not appear to have been particularly successful, because three days later an

¹ Newspaper advertisement from 8th July 1765. Reproduced in *MDB*, 45.

² *P.A.*, 9th July 1765, Issue 9627, in *MDB*, 45-46. The advertisement was reprinted on 10th and 11th July, both in the *P.A.*, Issues 9628 and 9576 respectively.

even more detailed and urgent advertisement appeared in the same paper [the *Public Advertiser*].³

Pohl's views, of the tavern as second rate and the venture as a last attempt to make money at low prices, have been perpetuated throughout Mozart scholarship to the present day. Both Simon McVeigh and Cliff Eisen have described the tavern as 'down-market', with Eisen emphasising the event as evidence of the family overstaying its welcome, 'reduced' to giving such public displays.⁴ Ruth Halliwell, who misquotes the tavern as the 'Swan and Harp',⁵ also notes the performances as 'public exhibitions', referring to the City of London location as 'less than august'.⁶

Accounts also assume that the appearances represent an implicitly rash attempt on Leopold Mozart's part to make enough money to leave London. Stanley Sadie describes the appearances as a 'desperate attempt to extract a few guineas'; Robert Gutman refers to a '[financially] sorely pressed' Leopold 'parting with appearances'; and Halliwell crowns the week as 'a final indignity...[that] must have been perilously close to degradation'.⁷ The apparent desperation of the event is emphasised, in particular, by the admission price of two shillings and six pence, significantly lower than any admission price charged in the Westminster.⁸ In addition

³ 'Doch der bereits erkalteten Neugierde des Publikums war nichts mehr abzugewinnen. Wir sehen nun die Familie bereits das fashionable *Westend* verlassen und sich nach der *City* wenden, um in einem der Säle niederen Ranges [Swan and Hoop Tavern] und zu abermals herabgesetzten Preisen zu spielen... Auch dies scheint keinen besonderen Erfolg gehabt zu haben, denn drei Tage später bringt dieselbe Zeitung [Public Advertiser] eine noch ausführlichere, dringendere und verlockendere Anzeige', Carl Ferdinand Pohl, *Mozart in London* (Wien, 1867), 133-134. My translation. The advertisement that, according to Pohl, appeared 'three days later' is actually the advertisement that first appeared on 9th July. Evidently, Pohl only found that last of the three reproductions.

⁴ McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (London, 1993), 39; Eisen, 'Mozart, (Johann Chrysostom) Wolfgang Amadeus', in Eisen and Keefe eds., *CME*, 306.

⁵ John Jenkins also refers to the tavern as the Swan and Harp in *Mozart and the English Connection* (London, 1998), 30. It seems that both Halliwell and Jenkins must have referred to *MDB*, 45-46, for their source. Interestingly, Deutsch has transcribed *P.A.* notices from 8th-9th July as Swan and Harp, stating specifically that 'Pohl erroneously has Swan and Hoop'. The articles in question, however, reveal that Pohl is in fact correct and Deutsch is in error. The source of this confusion is unclear.

⁶ Halliwell, *The Mozart Family: Four Lives in a Social Context* (Oxford, 1998), 89.

⁷ Stanley Sadie, *Mozart: The Early Years 1756-1781* (Oxford 2006), 72; Gutman, *Mozart: A Cultural Biography* (New York, 1999), 199; Halliwell, *Social Context*, 88-89.

⁸ The best appearances for comparison here are the private viewings at the family's lodgings in Soho, granted to members of the public who purchased either a concert ticket for five shillings, or a set of the

to Pohl's 'reduced prices' (above), both Halliwell and Sadie use words such 'sunk' and 'mere' when describing the admission price,⁹ the implication being that two shillings and six pence was the total amount the public were prepared to pay to see the children perform. Finally, Gutman has also highlighted the 'inappropriate' nature of the Swan and Hoop as a venue for children. He stresses the likelihood of the 'Great Room' being a large bar-room, upholding taproom traditions of drinking, smoking, and sociability.¹⁰ Ultimately, the impression conveyed is that Leopold was prepared to risk the welfare of his children for the (comparatively small) amount of money to be made from the City of London.

Scholars' interpretations of the Mozart family's Swan and Hoop appearances are remarkably bleak. Admittedly, the advertisement, addressed to 'lovers of science' does seemingly present the children as a 'curiosity'. However, allegations of the tavern's downmarket nature lack supporting evidence. Currently, scholars take Pohl's account largely at face value, even though it seems to be based on little but assumption. It is unclear, for instance, whether the labels of 'lower-ranked' and 'down-market' are direct comparisons to West End concert venues, or whether they are ascribed to the Swan and Hoop Tavern independently. While existing accounts imply that the Mozarts 'moved' to the Swan and Hoop tavern as a last resort, there is evidence in Leopold's letters and travel notes of a more sustained engagement with the City of London and individuals involved in 'City life', an area little touched upon in Mozart scholarship. This chapter explores Leopold's experience of the City, and his contact with merchants and traders based there, offering a revised context through which to view the family's appearances at the Swan and Hoop. Through reassessing

Sonatas K.10-15 for six shillings. For example see *P.A.* notice of 20th March 1765, Issue 94679 in *MDB*, 43-44. *N.B.* This advertisement also offers the Carmontelle/Delafose family print, on sale for four shillings and six pence.

⁹ Sadie, *Mozart*, 72; Halliwell, *Social Context*, 89.

¹⁰ Gutman, *Cultural Biography*, 199, including footnote 33.

the Swan and Hoop concert reception, the chapter also considers Leopold's engagement with the merchants as relationships with potential patrons, less typical than the patronage of the nobility and aristocracy found in Westminster.

Reassessing the Swan and Hoop's Location.

There is no evidence that the Mozarts performed in the City of London until their last month in London, but Leopold had certainly visited the area by November 1764. The most comprehensive account of Leopold's experience of the City is in his letter to Hagenauer of 27th November 1764, written after he walked there to visit his banker,¹¹ Stephen Teissier. Leopold begins the passage by outlining his understanding of how London was divided:

One says *in the city* or *city*, according to local language... I live in Westminster where the royal court, the ambassadors and most of the nobility live, and where all the opera and comedy houses are. London, then, consists of three terms or three respective towns which all combine to make one terribly large city, namely: Westminster, London and Southwark. The only difference is that the roads and buildings in Westminster are much greater and more glorious than in London itself, although there are enough handsome buildings to be found in London including one of the most handsome, known as the Royal Exchange or Merchants' Exchange.¹²

The 'local language' that Leopold refers to – using 'the city' to refer to the City of London – is confirmed by contemporaneous guidebooks: for example, Joseph Pote's 1763 issue of *The Foreigner's Guide* is subtitled 'a necessary and instructive companion...through the Cities of London and Westminster'.¹³ Similarly, a 1763 trade

¹¹ Presumably, Leopold means that he walked from the family's lodgings in Thrift Street, Soho, although this is not clear.

¹² For German transcription, see *MBA*, I, 170. My translation.

¹³ Joseph Pote, *The Foreigner's Guide: Or, a necessary and instructive Companion both for the Foreigner and Native, in their Tour through the Cities of London and Westminster* (4th edition, London, 1763), title page. The guidebook is written in both English and French.

directory lists the merchants and principal traders 'of the cities of London and Westminster [and] the Borough of Southwark'.¹⁴

The Royal Exchange, which Leopold goes on to describe, was in the vicinity of the Swan and Hoop Tavern: the tavern is frequently described as being 'opposite the Royal Exchange' on Cornhill, although this entrance may in fact have been a passage leading to the Tavern itself on Lombard Street. Newspaper advertisements from the 1760s concerning the tavern regularly list the tavern as 'in Cornhill' or 'in Lombard Street'.¹⁵ However, documentation of a fire that took place in the alleyways between Cornhill and Lombard Street, on 25th March 1748, further helps with locating the tavern. Referring to **Figure 8**, the buildings between Birchin Lane and Popes Head Alley were all affected by the fire. A plan of every building in this area was drawn up and labelled; the Swan and Hoop is not included, meaning it was not situated within these two passages.¹⁶ Furthermore, newspaper advertisements note tradesman temporarily relocating to residences on Lombard Street, 'opposite the Swan and Hoop Tavern' while their houses were rebuilt. These advertisements note that there 'is a good passage through the Swan and Hoop Tavern...to the Bank'.¹⁷ It therefore seems that the tavern was located either on Lombard Street, or the first alleyway connecting Cornhill and Lombard Street (**Figure 8**):

¹⁴ Henry Kent, *Kent's Directory for the Year 1763. Containing an Alphabetical List of the Names and Places of Abode of the Directors of COMPANIES, Persons in Publick Business, MERCHANTS, and other eminent TRADERS in the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark* (London, 1763), title page.

¹⁵ For example, see *P.A.* notices of 4th March 1760, Issue 7902 and 27th August 1760, Issue 8053. More specifically, when Marianne Davies appears at the Swan and Hoop, her advertisements refer to 'Swan and Hoop Tavern, opposite the Royal Exchange'. For example, see *P.A.* notice of 13th August 1764, Issue 9297.

¹⁶ For the map, see *A plan of all the houses, destroyed & damaged by the great fire which begun in Exchange Alley Cornhill, on Friday March 25, 1748*, on the British Library website: <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/crace/p/007000000000008u00056000.html>, accessed 26/10/2014.

¹⁷ For example, see advertisement for the relocation of Coffee House owner Joseph Wilson, in *The General Advertiser*, 30th March 1748, Issue 4143.

Figure 8: Approximate location of the Swan and Hoop Tavern. Map from William Maitland's *History of London from its Foundation to the Present Time*, engraved by Benjamin Cole, 1756.



Descriptions of the area found in contemporaneous sources challenge both Halliwell's condemnation of the tavern's location, and the more general consensus of the tavern itself as downmarket. The above map (**Figure 8**), for example, is taken from William Maitland's *History of London*, which Leopold was almost certainly familiar with.¹⁸ Maitland describes the area surrounding the Royal Exchange, in particular the passages connecting the main streets, as follows:

...[the passages are] known all over the mercantile World on account of the Business transacted there in Money Affairs, this being the grand Market for buying and selling Stocks, Lottery-Tickets &c. so that the Houses...on this Site are contrived for the Reception and Entertainment of Merchants, Brokers, and others, who assemble here daily in great Numbers from all Parts, not only of these Kingdoms, but from distant Nations, in Pursuit of Riches.¹⁹

Similarly, of Lombard Street, Maitland writes that it is

¹⁸ William Maitland, *The History and Survey of London from its foundation to the present time* (1760, third edition), 735-759. It is almost certain that Leopold read portions of Maitland, as much of the information from his letter to Hagenauer of 27th November 1764, to be discussed later in this chapter, is quoted directly from the source.

¹⁹ Maitland, *Survey of London*, 808.

...throughout graced with good and lofty Buildings, among which are many that surpass those in other Streets; and is generally inhabited by Goldsmiths, Bankers, and other eminent Tradesmen.²⁰

Maitland's accounts are corroborated both by John Northouck's 1773 *New History of London*, which notes that Lombard Street was 'filled with houses of merchants and eminent traders',²¹ and Pote's *Foreigner's Guide*:

Over against the *Exchange* is *Exchange-Alley*, most famous for the Transaction of Business relating to the Publick Funds or Stocks, which occasions a numerous Assembly of Merchants and Brokers between the Hours of Twelve and Three. On the South Side of *Exchange Alley* is *Lombard-Street*, which in regard to the great Number of eminent Bankers and Goldsmiths, and the Money Affairs here also transacted, may be esteemed the most rich Street in the World: In this Street is the grand Office of the Post, called *The General Post Office*.²²

Leopold perceived the buildings in Westminster to be grander than those in the City, but other than that he made no negative comparison between the two Cities. The accounts of Maitland, Northouck and Pote further confirm the respectability of both the area and the 'eminent' people found there. In all likelihood, the Swan and Hoop attracted this type of individual, suggesting it was far from downmarket. It is also important to note that these surveys and guidebooks *do* note the less respectable areas. For example, the *Foreigner's Guide* reassures visitors not to worry about the 'foul language' to be heard at Billingsgate Fish Market, because it is frequented by the 'lowest class' of people.²³

Little information survives concerning the tavern itself, aside from newspaper advertisements. These generally either advertised for concerts, or 'fast food' (portable soup) for visiting merchants and 'gentlemen who use the sea',²⁴ suggesting that the

²⁰ Maitland, *Survey of London*, 996.

²¹ John Northouck, *A New History of London: Including Westminster and Southwark* (1773), 656-661.

²² Pote, *Foreigner's Guide*, 88.

²³ Pote, *Foreigner's Guide*, 100-102.

²⁴ For example, see *P.A.*, 18th March 1761, Issue 8227. The distinction of 'gentlemen' is important here. 'Gentlemen who use the sea' were ship captains, and therefore highly respectable, as opposed to the lower class of seamen one might have found at, for example, Billingsgate.

tavern was frequented by the visiting merchants. It can be no coincidence that the Mozarts held their concerts daily between the hours of twelve and three, the times during which, according to Pote, most business transactions were done, thereby attracting a high number of passing merchants and brokers. The glass harmonica player, Marianne Davies, also frequently performed at the Swan and Hoop during these hours.²⁵ This further suggests that performers ensured their times coincided with the trading hours.

It is unclear whether Leopold visited the Exchange with the whole family or alone; Leopold's letter states that 'I walked' into the City, and the fact that he was going to visit his banker indicates that he may have travelled alone.²⁶ Nannerl's diary, however, notes the 'Exchange' as one of the locations she visited in London.²⁷

Leopold's letter of 27th November 1764 confirms an interest in the Royal Exchange and the merchants who frequented it:

Just imagine a large palace in the middle of a courtyard, which is bigger than the courtyard in the Mirabel. In the middle is a royal statue and at the top of the building itself are life size statues of all the Kings and Queens of England. Additionally there is a ten foot wide covered walkway under the building to stay safe in case of rain. Here every nation has their place. There are traders who are French by birth; here there are Dutch, there are the Spanish; there are the Germans, Italian, Portuguese etc. In a word, every nation has their place where you can find them. In addition to this you can buy a book that is two fingers thick, in which all the traders and their addresses are listed alphabetically. Every day from 1 o'clock to 3 o'clock there are hundreds, and on Tuesdays on Fridays, which are post or exchange days, there are thousands of people coming and going, and I came on Thursday between two and three and could hardly get through from the entrance of the court to the exit. There are 9 companies

²⁵ Davies performed during the hours of twelve and two, and then again from five until six in the evening. For example, see *P.A.* advertisement of 13th August 1763, Issue 9297. Davies will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

²⁶ Bauer and Deutsch suggest that Leopold 'almost certainly' consulted *The City Guide, or a Pocket Plan of London, Westminster and Southwark, with new building to this present year 1764*. As this was a portable map, Leopold may have used it to navigate.

²⁷ For German transcription, see *MBA*, I, 199.

or firms of merchants, who have 1417 ships and 21,797 sailors in their service. There are 45 offices relating to the professions of their operations and business.²⁸ The fact that Leopold refers to both the 'thousands' of people who are there on post days,²⁹ and the fact that his description was from a visit on a Thursday suggest that he went there on numerous occasions. Leopold confirms that the numbers of merchants and traders are greatest between one and three o'clock, which broadly corresponds to Pote. It is also possible that the 'book two fingers thick' alphabetically listing all of the traders was Kent's Directory, which was printed and sold 'in Finch Lane, near the Royal Exchange'.³⁰

The Royal Exchange's inclusion in Pote's *Foreigner's Guide* indicates that it was a regular destination for the 'curious Observer'.³¹ Leopold's description of it corresponds exactly to a floor plan provided in Pote's *Foreigner's Guide*. Pote describes 'distinct Ambulatories or Walks, laid out and distinguished for the particular Resort of Merchants from different parts of the World',³² and his plan lays out all of the different walks (**Figure 9**). It is particularly striking on account of the range of nationalities indicated, including many walks of the 'distant nations' mentioned by Maitland. Leopold's description of the 'French, Dutch, Spanish, German, Italian, and Portuguese' traders corresponds to Pote's diagram of the Walks between the South and East entrances, which show the Spanish, Portuguese, Jewish, French, Italian and Dutch Walks (the Dutch Walk on Pote's plan is just north of the East entrance). The

²⁸ For German transcription see *MBA*, I, 170-171. My translation.

²⁹ Leopold notes that the Post Days are Tuesdays and Fridays. In fact, Pote includes a detailed account of the Post Days in his *Foreigner's Guide*, which confirms that every day of the working week (Monday-Friday) was a 'post day' of some description. However, Leopold's days correspond to the days that letters left London for Holland, Germany, Sweden, Denmark and Muscovy. It seems that he has noted only the post days that are useful for his own letter writing. See Pote, *Foreigner's Guide*, 90.

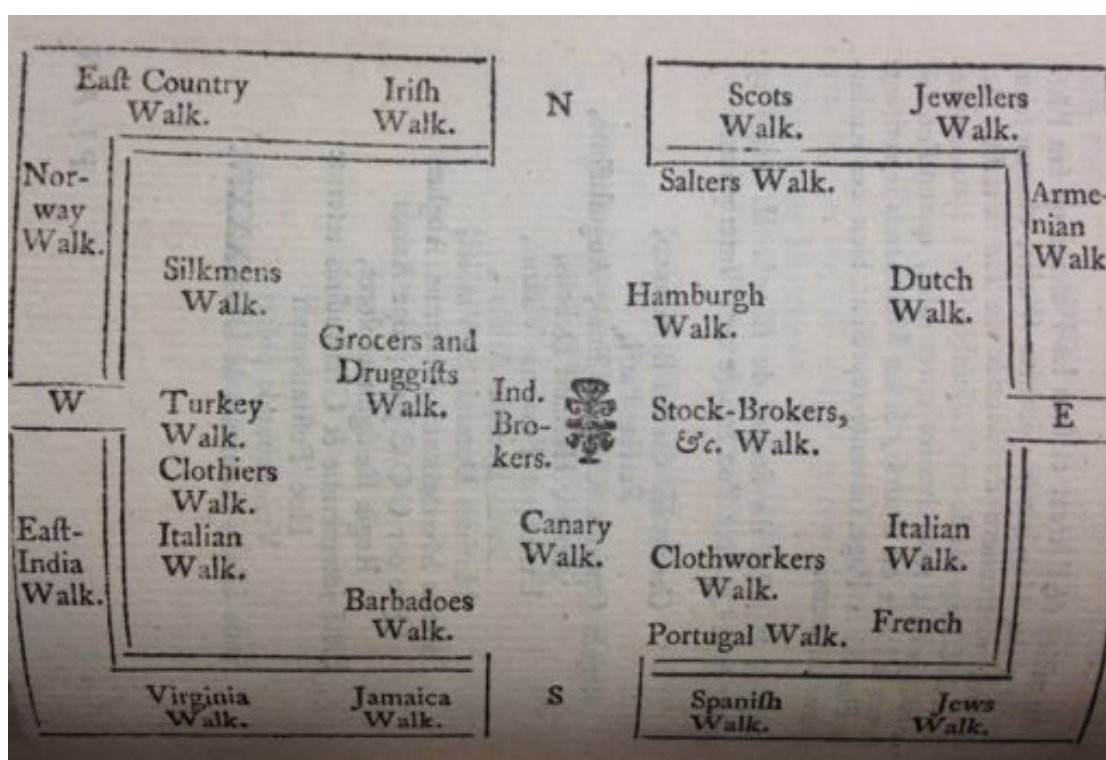
³⁰ The front page of Henry Kent's, *Directory for the Year 1763* confirms the printing and selling location.

³¹ The phrase used by Pote in his introduction. See Pote, *Foreigner's Guide*, v. It is not clear which London guidebook Leopold Mozart used during his stay. Although Pote's English/French *Foreigner's Guide* was sold at the Royal Exchange during the period, there is no evidence that Leopold was aware of it.

³² Anon., *The Foreigner's Guide: Or, a necessary and instructive Companion both for the Foreigner and Native, in their Tour through the Cities of London and Westminster* (4th edition, London, 1763), 84.

only difference is that Leopold lists 'Germans' where Pote maps 'Jews', although Leopold may instead have been referring to the 'Hamburgh [*sic.*] Walk', situated directly to the West of the Dutch Walk. The range of different nationalities on Pote's map are far greater than that described by Leopold, and it is perhaps surprising that Leopold did not include any of the Walks from further afield than Europe in his list to Hagenauer. It is possible, however, that he only described the corner he happened to walk through.

Figure 9: 'A Plan of the Walks upon the Royal Exchange' (1763).³³



The final passage of Leopold's Exchange description refers to the companies of merchants, and their ships and offices. The *Foreigner's Guide* differs from Leopold's statistics. While Leopold writes that there are nine companies of merchants, the guidebook reports a total of sixty-two, of which there are twelve 'principal' companies: Mercers, Grocers, Drapers, Fishmongers, Goldsmiths, Skinners, Merchant Taylors,

³³ Plan reproduced from Pote, *Foreigner's Guide*, 86.

Haberdashers, Salters, Ironmongers, Vintners and Cloth-workers.³⁴ Presumably Leopold was referring only to the principal companies of merchants. Nevertheless, a more specific interest of Leopold's in merchants and their trade is suggested in three of the fifteen prints he took back to Salzburg from London, intended to be passed around friends (**Figures 10i-iii**): '... In due course I shall – God willing – show you some copper engravings...of many other things both in Paris and London'.³⁵

Figure 10i: T. Bowles, *The South West Prospect of London from Somerset Gardens to the Tower* (c.1750), 28.5cm x 42.7cm



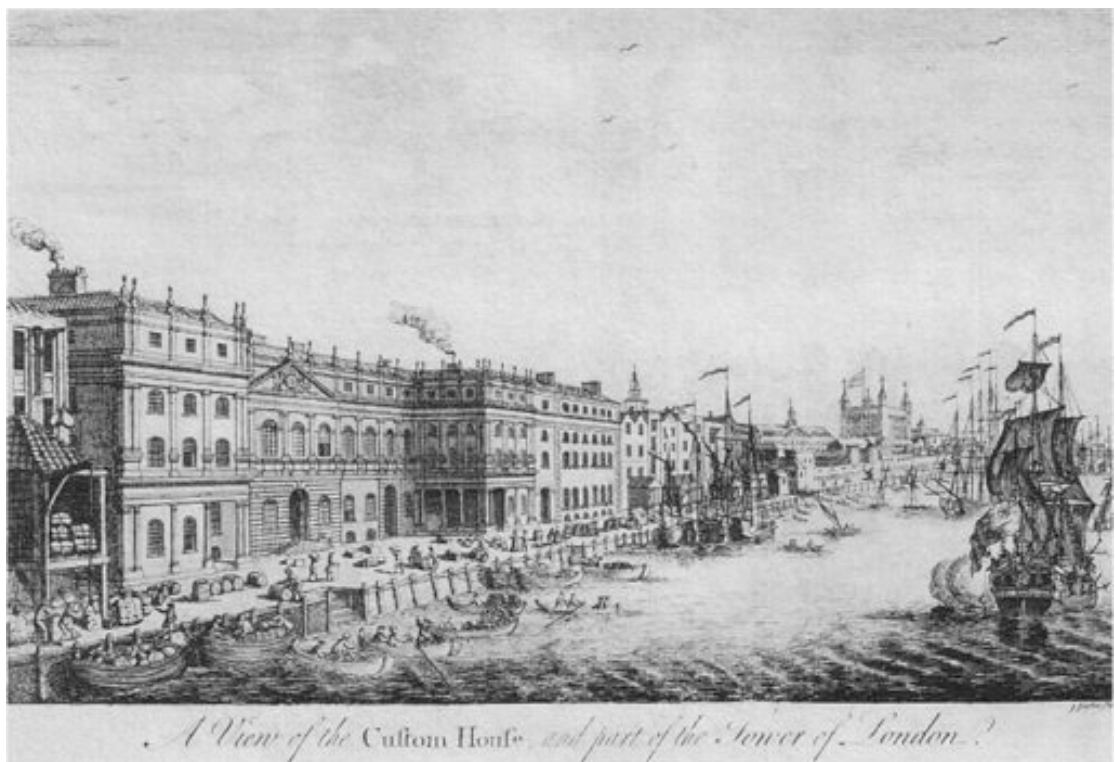
³⁴ Pote, *Foreigner's Guide*, 78.

³⁵ Eisen, *Letters*, 42.

Figure 10ii: T. Bowles, *The Southeast prospect of Westminster, from Somerset House to Westminster Bridge* (c.1750), 28.6cm x 42.8cm



Figure 10iii: J. June, *A view of the Custom House and part of the Tower of London* (c.1750), 20cm x 25.4cm



Each of the engravings above, all common prints from the period,³⁶ represents aspects of London's trade and commerce. The prospect of **Figure 10i** is from Westminster Bridge, taking in the very edge of the City of Westminster, St. Paul's Cathedral amid the City of London, and the farthest buildings, barely visible here, are the Custom House and the Tower of London. **Figure 10ii** looks the other way along the River Thames, towards Westminster, with both engravings depicting large volumes of river traffic. Aspects of custom and trade, nationality, politics and religion can all be detected within the engravings. The river in Leopold's engravings appears to contain a representative sample of crafts: presumably barges, smaller private boats, merchant crafts and perhaps even military boats.³⁷ The third engraving, **Figure 10iii** depicts the merchant ships unloading their goods at Custom House, where taxes were paid on imported goods.

It is likely that Leopold would have anticipated an interest in London's river traffic before his arrival in the city. While in Paris, Leopold advised Hagenauer to buy Johann Peter Willebrandt's *Historische Berichte und praktische Anmerkungen auf Reisen* for the sum of forty-five kreutzer.³⁸ The fact that Leopold states the price in kreutzer suggests that he purchased it before leaving Salzburg to take on their travels.³⁹ Although Leopold advised Hagenauer to buy Willebrandt's *Historische Berichte* when writing from Paris, the travelogue also contains a description of London, which begins with some description of the Thames. Among other things, it mentions the warships and merchant ships that covered the river leading into London, and describes the

³⁶ For example, a search for 'Thames' of 'Custom House' during the relevant period in the British Museum's Collections Database yields a variety of similar prints from the mid eighteenth-century: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx?searchText=Thames&from=ad&fromDate=1750&to=ad&toDate=1770&page=2, accessed 19/09/2014.

³⁷ Linda Colley discusses the expected types of river traffic in *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837* (Reading, 1992, repr. 2009), 64.

³⁸ Johann Peter Willebrandt, *Historische Berichte und praktische Anmerkungen auf Reisen in Deutschland, in die Niederlande, in Frankreich, England, Dänemark, Böhmen und Ungarn* (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1761). See letter of 8th December 1763, *MBA*, I, 114.

³⁹ My thanks go to Viktor Töpelmann for this observation.

'astounding number of ships and crafts, which cover this river'.⁴⁰ Certainly, Leopold expressed his own fascination with the river to Hagenauer:

When you stand on London Bridge and consider the amount of ships that are always in the Thames it seems, because of the masts, that you are beholding a thick forest. In fact, you can't see anything more magnificent...⁴¹

Perhaps a combination of his own interest, and the possibility that Hagenauer had purchased Willebrandt's travelogue and read about the river too, contributed to Leopold collecting three different prints featuring representations of trade and commerce. Significantly, the trade at the Royal Exchange would have all have been fulfilled through boat transport. It is therefore likely that many of the tradesmen who would have comprised the Swan and Hoop audience would have been visiting foreigners.

While Leopold's letter and prints perhaps represent the interest of a 'curious Observer', as described by Pote, his travel notes suggest that he also had a more specific interest in the City of London. Leopold's notes list several people, all based in the City, who worked as either merchants or brokers:⁴²

Isaac Reynous	[Broker (became a merchant in 1769)]
Daniel Giles	[Silk Merchant]
John Baptist Durand	Merchant [was declared bankrupt in July 1764]
Abraham Spalding	[Merchant in charge of the company of Swedish Merchants]
Charles Bertrand	Kaufman [Italian Merchant]
Gilbert Francklyn	[Slave Trader and Army Supplier]

⁴⁰ German original: '...die erstaunliche Menge von Schiffen und Fahrzeugen, welche diesen Fluß bedeckten'. For this description, see Willebrand, *Historische Berichte*, 196-197.

⁴¹ Letter of 27th November 1764, For German transcription, see *MBA*, I, 171. My translation.

⁴² People have been listed here in Leopold's order, but the label of their occupation is not necessarily the same given by him. In most instances Leopold did not list an occupation; in these cases, the occupations are given in square brackets. For further details of each individual, please refer back to Chapter 1 of this dissertation.

It is most likely that Leopold made the acquaintance of Gilbert Franklyn through one of his Westminster-based patrons, William Ottley. Ottley and Franklyn were acquainted through their investments in West Indian plantations and, Franklyn had married Ottley's daughter Edith in the spring of 1764.⁴³ The capacity in which Leopold made the acquaintance of the remaining merchants is unclear: not one of them is referred to in his letters, and the only absolute confirmation of him visiting the City is his letter of 27th November and the newspaper advertisements from July 1765 confirming the family's Swan and Hoop Tavern appearances. Nevertheless, the number of City contacts listed in the travel notes coupled with Leopold's interest confirmed by the three engravings again suggest more frequent visits.

The City of London contacts listed in Leopold's travel notes have been little considered. Along with the scholarly consensus of the Swan and Hoop Tavern and City of London location as downmarket come corresponding assumptions about the types of audience these appearances attracted. The notion of the merchants and brokers as 'less worthy' than London's political and fashionable circles of the West End have arguably contributed to the perception of the Mozarts' eventual failure in London. Certainly, the majority of individuals listed in Leopold's notes suggest that he spent most of his time networking among London's elite – politicians, ambassadors, members of the nobility – and other contemporary musicians. That is, he cultivated acquaintances in the circles he considered would be the most useful to his family professionally.

⁴³ Indeed, several of Leopold's acquaintances had financial interests in the slave trade. William Ottley owned plantations and slaves in St. Kitts; Franklyn was a slave trader and contractor, later owning large estates in Tobago; Joshua Steele was a plantation owner; Elizabeth Howard, Lady Effingham, a lady of the bedchamber to Queen Charlotte, had inherited £5000 of Jamaica money upon her father's death. Her father, Peter Beckford, had been the wealthiest plantation owner in Jamaica. The Mozarts later met up with Effingham's sister, William Beckford, when they were in Rome in 1770.

London's successful merchants and brokers were highly respected individuals. Historian Linda Colley has emphasised the vitality of trade and commerce to Britain's identity, with foreign commerce in particular driving the country's power and wealth.⁴⁴ Contemporaneous sources were also of this view, with Pote's *Foreigner's Guide* claiming that the 'extensive Traffick to all Parts of the World' was the 'great advantage of London'.⁴⁵ Colley argues that Britain's political and upper classes were acutely aware of the indispensability of London's commerce for the wellbeing of the nation,⁴⁶ thus earning the merchants their respectability. Moreover, Colley acknowledges the significant new and 'self-made' wealth that existed among merchants. However, because traditional land ownership remained the most reliable means to ensure wealth and social status, this class of men were often perceived to be 'behind' members of the political class until the nineteenth century, but only to the extent that the political class would not have considered such occupations for themselves or their families. Nevertheless, their wealth was considerable, and there were frequent opportunities for interaction between classes.⁴⁷

Certainly, there existed a class distinction between merchants and politicians or men of land, but negative assumptions about the worth of performing to the merchants appear unfounded. In the eighteenth century, the main distinction appears to have been the prestige of traditional land ownership and wealth versus self-made, new money. For the Mozarts, then, performing to the merchants may have been an astute move and it is entirely possible that, like the upper-class individuals in Leopold's travel notes, the merchants are listed because they, too, engaged with the Mozarts'

⁴⁴ Colley, *Britons*, 60-61.

⁴⁵ Pote, *Foreigner's Guide*, 78.

⁴⁶ Colley, *Britons*, 60-61.

⁴⁷ Colley, *Britons*, 61-64.

musical activities, perhaps also even at private gatherings similar to those that took place among the nobility and aristocracy.

Leopold and London's Jewish Networks

Another group of people listed in Leopold's travel notes, significant for further contextualising Leopold's contact with the City of London, are the following:

Mr Zuns	[Commissary for Paderborn]
Mr Liebman	[Merchant]
Mr de Simon	[Diamond Merchant]
Mr d'Almeida	[Stockbroker and Wine Merchant]
Mr Frenck	[Jeweller and Ship Owner]

Perhaps with the exception of 'Mr Zuns', the professions of those listed would undoubtedly either have been based in, or frequently taken them to, the City, perhaps even the Royal Exchange. However, Leopold does not list them by their profession; instead, he brackets them with the label 'Jews'. Although the group's importance in this chapter is primarily for the potential links they hold with the City of London, it is important to consider the context and experience of Leopold's interaction with them. This is the only group of people in the travel notes categorised according to their religion; he usually either notes a person's occupation, address, or both. Interestingly, though, the 'Plan of Walks of the Royal Exchange' from the *Foreigner's Guide*, also lists a 'Jews' walk. Again, this is the only walk categorised according to religion rather than either a nationality or company of merchants. This indicates that the label of 'Jew', especially in the context of Pote's Exchange Plan, perhaps also referred to race.

Referring back to Pote's plan, the wealth of different nationalities, as well as the Jews, trading and working alongside each other at the Royal Exchange is striking.

The Exchange is illustrative of a social and ethnic diversity that was most likely quite new to the Mozarts. Although the family had visited other European cities before their arrival in London, such as Vienna in 1762 and Paris directly before London, it is likely that the family saw London as a special case due to its 'cosmopolitanism'.⁴⁸ Historian Luís Filipe Barreto has attributed this cosmopolitanism to London's situation as a port city; the frequency with which international river traffic could arrive and leave London resulted in people with diverse languages, religions, cultures and social status living alongside one another.⁴⁹ Adam Sutcliffe presents a similar case for the diversity of port cities, identifying them as areas of 'vigorous' commercial exchange, where people of different cultural and social backgrounds encountered one another more intensely than smaller, provincial cities. In London, different ethnic groups – especially merchants – coexisted in a complex relationship, as both rivals and collaborators,⁵⁰ and Pote's Exchange plan provides one example of this.

The Mozarts became part of the international and intercultural exchange that defined London; Leopold's letters and travel notes indicate encounters with individuals from many different European nationalities, trades and religions.⁵¹ Nevertheless, Leopold's documents specifically identify Jewish acquaintances in a way that he does with no other nationality or religious belief. Direct evidence for Leopold's

⁴⁸ Colley, *Britons*, 64.

⁴⁹ Luís Filipe Barreto and Wu Zhiliang eds., *Port Cities and Intercultural Relations 15th–18th Centuries* (Lisbon, 2012), 7.

⁵⁰ Adam Sutcliffe, 'Identity, Space and Intercultural Contact in the Urban Entrepôt', in David Cesarani and Gemma Romain eds., *Jews and Port Cities 1590–1990: Commerce, Community and Cosmopolitanism* (London, 2006), 93.

⁵¹ Indeed, the Mozarts themselves were seemingly quickly identified as foreigners, and Leopold's letter of 28th May notes that 'Whenever the street urchins see anyone decked out and dressed in a vaguely French way, they immediately call out: *Bugger French! French bugger!* The best policy is then to say nothing and pretend you haven't heard.' See Eisen, *Letters*, 35. This kind of abuse is corroborated exactly by Frenchman Jean-Pierre Grosley who visited London in 1765. Grosley wrote that: 'My French air, notwithstanding the simplicity of my dress, drew upon me, at the corner of every street, a volley of abusive litanies, in the midst of which I slept on, returning thanks to God, that I did not understand English. The constant burthen of these litanies was, French dog, French b———: to make any answer to them, was accepting a challenge to a sight; and my curiosity did not carry me so far.' Jean Pierre Grosley, *A Tour to London* (London, 1772), 84.

views concerning Jews is sparse, which renders an interpretation of the travel notes label challenging. However, Leopold's more frequent reference to Jews perhaps indicates that he was unaccustomed to such close interactions. Certainly, the contrast between the position of Jewish communities in London and Salzburg must have been significant. As an independent Church state, Salzburg was religiously conservative, both under Archbishop Schrattenbach, and Archbishop Firmian before him.⁵² Both Jews and Protestants had been driven out of Salzburg, Jews in 1497 and Protestants in 1732.⁵³ In Vienna, too, Jews were similarly persecuted under the Empress Maria Theresia until her death in 1780.⁵⁴ There is no evidence for Leopold's explicit thoughts about the treatment of non-Catholic denominations in Salzburg, but, as Jewish communities were not largely integrated into Austrian society, it was perhaps unusual for Leopold to find them so in London.

London's religious life and integration reflected its multinationalism, and it was not just Jewish communities that were integrated into society. Another print Leopold collected, *The North Prospect of London* (**Figure 11**) presents a striking skyline of London's churches, indicating the sheer number of religious institutions that existed. In his letter to Hagenauer of 27th November 1764, Leopold noted that London had a grand total of:

...One-hundred-and-forty-three parishes or wards, one-hundred-and-eight big churches and seventy-one parish chapels...thirty-two foreign churches, one-hundred-and-forty-seven chapels and meetinghouses of different denominations, and three Jewish synagogues.⁵⁵

⁵² Leopold Anton von Firmian reigned from 1727 until 1744. See Ruth Halliwell, 'Firmian Family' in Eisen and Keefe eds., *CME*, 176.

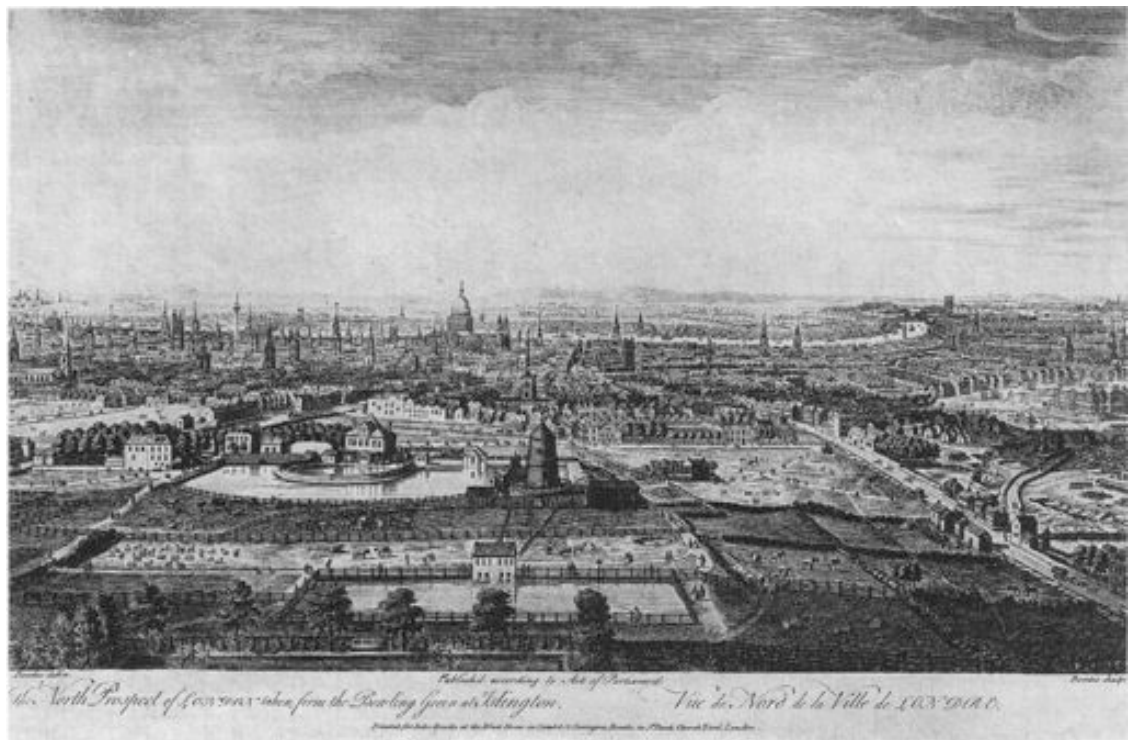
⁵³ Bruce Macintyre, 'Religion in the Mozart Family', in Eisen and Keefe eds., *CME*, 413.

⁵⁴ Eli Valley, *The Great Jewish Cities of Central and Eastern Europe* (Oxford, 1999), 14-15.

⁵⁵ For German transcription, see *MBA*, I, 172. These figures are given as part of an extensive list of facts and figures concerning London society, ranging from the number of streets, houses, and street lights to quantities of food and drink imported. Leopold states that his information came from 'a description of London From 1750 which is already in its seventh edition'. It has not been possible to trace such a book that matches Leopold's description precisely. The vast majority of his figures come directly from Maitland,

Maitland's *History of London* mirrors Leopold's list further, providing further details as to the extent of London's religious diversity. He lists chapels (including prison chapels, alms-house chapels and hospital chapels); Presbyterian meetinghouses; Independent meetinghouses; Anabaptist meetinghouses; Quaker meetinghouses; meetings of 'other denominations'; French chapels; German and 'other' chapels (including Dutch, Danish, Swedish and Russian); and three Jewish synagogues.⁵⁶ This religious diversity must have been astounding for the Mozarts after Salzburg and other Catholic court-ruled European cities they visited.

Figure 11: T. Bowles, *The North Prospect of London taken from the Bowling Green at Islington* (c.1750), 29cm x 34.5cm



Survey of London, 735-759. However, these precise figures for places of worship are could not be traced directly to Maitland.

⁵⁶ Maitland, *History*, II, 1188-1190. Although Maitland does not specify the total numbers of worship places in the format Leopold does, it is certain that Leopold read Maitland. It may be the case that Leopold noted these specific figures from another source, unless he summarised them from Maitland. Maitland, for example, talks through each of the one-hundred-and-forty-three wards individually, discussing the respective churches in each one. It is only after talking through each ward in turn that he proceeds to list the meetinghouses and chapels of 'other' denominations.

The Mozarts experienced aspects of London's diverse religious life first hand, which Leopold occasionally recalled in his letters to Hagenauer. These letters also convey the family's Catholic faith. First, in a letter of 19th March 1765, Leopold describes in detail their attendance at a 'multi-faith' baptism, the child of an unidentified music publisher:

I must quickly tell you a story. Here it is the custom that when a child is baptised then, in addition to all the other good friends, there is *1 Godfather* and *2 Godmothers*. It is customary to stay at home all the time, and it is generally many days, even weeks, after birth before the child is baptised. A German music-seller from Hesse (who also sells instruments) and his Swiss wife asked my wife, with a certain German gentleman and a young German, to stand as godparents at the christening of his child. We excused ourselves constantly until finally the German godfather, a commissary from Brunswick, talked us round. The baptism took place at 5 in the evening 4 weeks after the birth. The oddness of this baptism is that the child's *father* is of no religion, and his reason for baptism was only that *one must worship God, love him and his fellow men and be an honest man*. *The mother*, who was present, is a *Calvinist*, and keeps her religion. *The godfather* is Lutheran, and the young German wife is a Calvinist, my wife, that is the second female Godparent, is a good Catholic from Salzburg, and the Pastor (here they are known as ministers) is Anglican. How do you like this baptismal group? – For us Catholics the baptism itself was nothing unusual; *because the Creed*, and the *Lord's Prayer*, are prayed here in the English Church word for word as they are with us. But the Lutherans and Calvinists had to join in something unusual to them, namely they had to kneel with us all, because in the English church they pray kneeling. Was it not a pity that there was not also a Jew in the group?⁵⁷

As discussed in Chapter 1, the music publisher from Hesse was John Adolph Hummel, a music-seller who lived in St. Anne's Soho. Hummel and his Swiss wife, Catherina, had four young children: Ann, Charles, Adolph and Charlotte. The fact that Leopold and his wife repeatedly sought to excuse themselves from this duty suggests that interacting with such a mixed group in a baptismal setting may have been uncomfortable for the Mozarts due to the strength of their Catholic faith. It

⁵⁷ For German transcription, see *MBA*, I, 181. My translation.

exemplifies a situation they found themselves in as a consequence of forging an acquaintance with the music publisher and his wife in question.

Leopold also writes of another encounter with men of Jewish faith in his letter to Hagenauer of 13th September 1764. Leopold takes care to note to Hagenauer that these acquaintances were Jewish,⁵⁸ and his own faith once again comes through prominently in his attempts to convert Emmanuel Sipurini to Catholicism. Written in Chelsea while Leopold was recovering from his illness, and after describing the failed attempts of an English physician to treat him, it reads:

...My friend Sipurini [sic.], who was born a Jew, brought his cousin, who is a Portuguese Jew, and they came with rhubarb powder and mixed it with some things to strengthen my stomach... I showed the Jewish doctor the side affects of the drugs used [by the English physician]...only after the affects went away did he again insult the medicine he did not know... The other Sipurini is a great virtuoso on the cello and is the son of a Dutch Jew. After travelling through Italy and Spain, he finds the Jewish faith and its ceremonies and commandments ridiculous: he has therefore left such beliefs; but I do not yet know whether he is baptised, and the next time I spoke to him on matters of faith I found out from all of his speeches that he is presently content to believe in *a God*, to promote *this*, to love his *neighbour* as himself, and to live as an honest man.⁵⁹ I took pains to teach him the concepts of our faith, and I took it to the stage that he is now in agreement that, out of all the Christian faiths, the Catholic is the best. Next time I will have another attack: one must go into it very gently. Patience! Maybe I'll become a missionary in England.⁶⁰

The letter suggests a desire to impose Christianity, specifically Catholicism on those who are Jewish. This also indicates that Leopold identifies Jews in the travel notes and letters from a religious stance, rather than that of nationality.

⁵⁸ Leopold does this for other faiths too. For example, his letter of 1st April 1764 refers to two travelling companions who, 'although they are both Lutheran' they were 'honest' men that Leopold had learnt from on account of the honours they had received from courts during their travels. See *MBA*, I, 140.

⁵⁹ This phrasing is remarkably similar to Leopold's description of the German music publisher Hummel's beliefs.

⁶⁰ For German transcription, see *MBA*, I, 164-165. My translation.

Scholar David Conway highlights Leopold's account as an indicator that Sipurutini was relatively freethinking.⁶¹ Indeed, Todd Endelman notes that many upper-middle-class Jews who eventually settled in England, especially Sephardi Jews, had previously lived in Spain, Portugal or southwestern France, adopting European cultural practices and ostensibly living as Catholics.⁶² However, Conway believes that Leopold's letter can also be interpreted on a deeper level, suggestive of 'evasiveness' on the part of Sipurutini. He argues that such encounters were likely to be common for a Jew interacting with the 'Gentile world', who also wished to retain their separate identity.⁶³ Given a complete lack of evidence for Sipurutini engaging actively with the Jewish community or wishing to retain some kind of separate identity, it is perhaps presumptuous of Conway to suggest evasiveness by 'reading between the lines'.⁶⁴ The fact that Leopold refers to him as his 'friend' suggests that these discussions were not necessarily anything more than good-natured theological debates. The fact that the Sipurutini cousins came to visit Leopold on several occasions during his illness is further confirmation of their friendship.

Leopold writes more specifically of the integration of the Jewish community into London society in the same letter of 19th March 1765. After describing the multi-faith baptism at which Maria-Anna was a godmother (see page 181), Leopold writes:

Was it not a pity that there was not also a Jew in the group? If Herr Zunsen, a Jew and commissary from Paderborn who often comes to us, had received a message, he would have come to the baptism supper; but you must know that here, the fine Jews do not have beards, wear velvet clothes or traditional wigs; they, especially the Portuguese Jews who dress like Frenchmen, go to the Synagogue with all of their finery, and hardly any of them look comparable to a Jew. Yes you must also know

⁶¹ David Conway, *Jewry in Music: Entry to the Profession from the Enlightenment to Richard Wagner* (Cambridge, 2011), 70.

⁶² Todd Endelman, *The Jews of Georgian England, 1714–1830: Tradition and Change in a Liberal Society* (Ann Arbor, 1999), 120.

⁶³ Conway, *Jewry*, 70.

⁶⁴ Conway's argument implies that Jews adopting European cultural practices did so as a front, to mask the Jewish identities they wished to retain.

that the great Jews, and others who are fashionably-minded, hold as little to their faith as the large majority of French, English, Italian and Portuguese Christians; like them, they [the Jews] travel out of town the night before their holy days come, that is the Sabbath and Sunday, and remain on their country estates until this sad repentance is over, because on such days there is neither comedy nor opera nor other amusements in the city: and would the common people find a place in the church if the great and rich were also there? – – They stay away out of kindness.⁶⁵

Above all, for Leopold this integration highlights the secularisation of religion, perhaps in part fuelled by the multinational nature of London. In addition to the city's religious diversity, London was also notorious for its secularity. There is further confirmation that Leopold was attuned to this:

I know...why we are not being treated more generously...I did not accept a proposal which was made to me... I will not bring up my children in such a dangerous place (where the majority of inhabitants have no religion and where one only has evil examples before one). You would be amazed if you saw the way children are brought up here; not to mention other matters connected with religion.⁶⁶

It was arguably a perceived 'lack' of religion in others, rather than 'other' religions that Leopold found the most concerning. Both of his letters from 19th March, describing the baptism, and 13th September, recalling his conversation with Siprutini, show that he was attuned to a lack of religious conviction amongst those he met, and the above passage suggests that Leopold's disapproval extended to the extent that he declined an offer to stay in London on a longer-term basis. Roy Porter argues that the eighteenth-century witnessed a rapid demarcation of sacred, religious life against dominant 'every day' life. In cities, churches ceased to be the main meeting places, the clergy were no longer the main sources of authority, and daily life and ritual was becoming increasingly separate from the liturgy and Christian calendar, replaced by the increasing consumption of London's pleasure and entertainment culture.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ For German transcription, see *MBA*, I, 181-182. My translation. It has not been possible to identify Herr Zunsen beyond Leopold's description.

⁶⁶ Anderson, *Letters*, 56.

⁶⁷ Roy Porter, *Enlightenment: Britain and the Creation of the Modern World* (London, 2000), 229-231.

Leopold observes the patterns of secularisation in London's Jewish community, noting that Jews, like European Christians, left town for their country estates over the weekend on account of the lull in entertainments. Endelman notes that this liberal integration with English culture occurred mainly in middle–upper class Jewish circles, by which he refers to loan contractors, merchant bankers, gem merchants and stockbrokers. These ‘great and fashionable-minded Jews’, to use Leopold's wording, embraced the English way of life, with little interest shown in reconciling the differences of English with Jewish tradition.⁶⁸ The Jews listed in Leopold's travel notes were absolutely of this class: Zuns was the commissary for Paderborn, Liepman and Lyon de Symons were both successful merchants, d'Almada was a stockbroker, and Franks a jeweller and ship-owner. Sutcliffe confirms that many of London's wealthy Jews had country ‘retreats’, used primarily as weekend or summer homes, citing d'Almada, who had a country residence in Watford, as a specific example of this. He notes that these Jews chose to live their social lives among members of English high society instead of their Jewish communities.⁶⁹

Significantly, then, the Jews listed by Leopold were likely to have been of the same status as the merchants and brokers discussed earlier in this chapter. Endelman argues that these Jews were driven by a psychological need to feel at home in England, and wished to appear as much like wealthy Christians as possible without having to renounce their Jewish identity. He likens this to the way that other men of ‘unsure status’ – for example, newly prosperous merchants or members of lesser professions, such as the merchants and brokers listed by Leopold – aspired to be ‘English Gentlemen’. Accordingly, the Jews adjusted both their own lives, and the lives of their communities, according to the values of England's upper class. This not only

⁶⁸ Endelman, *Jews*, 121.

⁶⁹ Sutcliffe, ‘Identity, Space and Intercultural Contact’, in Cesarani and Romain eds., *Jews and Port Cities*, 101–102.

meant abandoning the traditional dress, as described by Leopold; it also meant making changes to manners, language, leisure activities, diet, education and literature.⁷⁰ In fact, as early as 1723, an anonymous writer in the *Whitehall Journal* remarked 'they [Jews] are distinguished in nothing from our greatest merchants and gentlemen'.⁷¹

It is important to bear in mind that the vast majority of Jews in London remained extremely poor,⁷² and were therefore of little use to the Mozart family's professional success. It is likely that there was careful reasoning behind the choice of acquaintances listed in Leopold's travel notes. Certainly, the group's successful professional occupations of merchants, gem merchants and stockbrokers confirm that they were a wealthy group of people. Equally important, though, is the fact that they were also leading figures in their community, with interests in cultural activities. Liepman, de Symons and Franks were all generous benefactors of the arts, culture, and their religious congregations. It is likely that they would have had country homes (Leopold implies as much in his letter), and Franks in particular was well known for hosting musical events at his. For example, a later letter of politician Horace Walpole's, referring to Aaron Franks, read: 'this morning I was at a very fine concert at old Franks' at Isleworth, and heard Leoni, who pleased me more than anything I have heard these hundred years'.⁷³ Crucially, Charles Burney's account of witnessing Mozart in London confirms that the Mozarts appeared at Franks's house:

Relate what I saw & heard myself at his Lodgings on his first Arrival in England & at Mr. Frank's – Extemporary & sight Playing, Composing a Treble to a given Base & a Base to a Treble, as well as both on a given Subject, & finishing a Composition began by another. His fondness for Manzoli – his imitations of the several Styles of Singing

⁷⁰ Endelman, *Jews*, 121-122.

⁷¹ *Whitehall Journal* (1723) as cited in Endelman, *Jews*, 122.

⁷² Endelman, *Jews*, 166.

⁷³ Letter included in Hilda F. Finberg, 'Jewish Residents in Eighteenth-Century Twickenham', *The Jewish Historical Society of England: Transactions*. Vol. XVI (London, sessions 1945-1951), 129.

of each of the then Opera Singers, as well as of their Songs in an Extemporary opera to nonsense words – to which were [added] an overture of 3 Movements Recitative – Graziosa, Bravura & Pathetic Airs together with Several accompanied Recitatives, all full of Taste imagination, with good Harmony, Melody & Modulation. After which he played at Marbles, in the true Childish Way of one who knows Nothing.

Burney's account of the appearance at Franks's house confirms that Leopold's interactions with this particular Jewish network would have been resoundingly similar to those with upper class English or political circles.

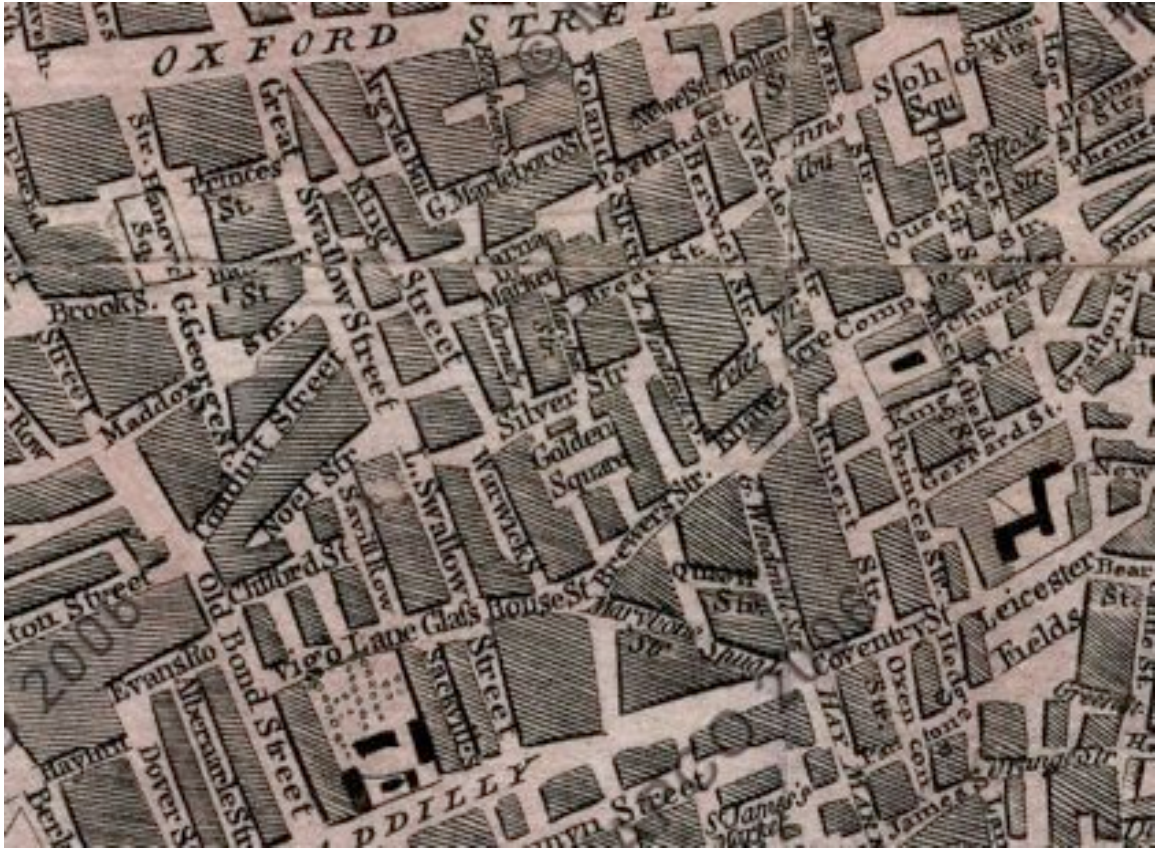
Clues within Leopold's letters also indicate that his relationship with this Jewish network extended beyond the solely professional. We know that Leopold refers to Siprutini as his 'friend';⁷⁴ and in the letter of 19th March, he notes that Herr Zunsen (presumably the Mr Zuns of the travel notes) regularly visited them. In addition to these explicit references, there were other uniting factors between Leopold and those he lists. Leopold's letter mentions that Herr Zunsen was the commissary for Paderborn; Liepman was well known as a merchant in both St. Petersburg and Berlin; and de Symons, Liepman's nephew, was the holder of an Austrian barony.⁷⁵ The German connections held by all of these individuals meant it is likely that they were able to speak German. The presumed common language is then a uniting factor: these were people with whom the Mozart family would have been able to converse easily. The fact that Leopold was evidently on amicable terms with Siprutini and Zunsen at the very least, suggests that his indication of the fact that they were Jewish was in no way a negative label.

Leopold's Jews have one more further significance: their location within in London. Leopold's travel notes list the location of Mr Zuns [Zunsen] and Mr Liebman (Liepman) as Pulteney Street, near Brewers Street, identified in **Figure 12:**

⁷⁴ Admittedly, Siprutini is not listed in the travel notes along with the other Jews. There is no evidence that they were acquainted. Siprutini is included in the discussion here on the basis that he was a friend of Leopold's.

⁷⁵ Conway, *Jewry*, 65.

Figure 12: Outlining the location of Brewer Street on the 1767 *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark*.



Brewers Street is located directly below Golden Square. The unmarked street running parallel to the right of Golden Square is Great Pulteney Street, and the smaller unmarked road continuing on from the right of Brewers Street, directly underneath 'Knave's', is Little Pulteney Street. As Leopold only noted 'Pulteney Street' in his travel notes, the precise location of his meeting place is unknown. However, the significance of the location lies in the fact that it is in the heart of Westminster. Therefore, the Jews can be viewed as representative of interaction between the City of Westminster and the City of London: although Leopold met them, and they presumably lived, in Westminster, their professions would have taken them frequently into the City of London.

The Jewish interaction between the Cities of Westminster and London is important for existing scholars' views on the Mozarts' late performances in the City. Despite the allegations that Leopold only transferred his family to the City as a consequence of a failure to sustain favour with West End audiences, Leopold's acquaintance with the Jews (and, of course, the Merchants discussed earlier) confirm interaction with men involved in *both* spheres. The family interacted with wealthy individuals, for whom they would apparently have given private concerts in the same way they did for members of the upper and political classes. The number of contacts he lists with connections to the City of London allows the decision to appear in the Swan and Hoop Tavern to be considered as a more calculated move on Leopold's part.

The Swan and Hoop and Marianne Davies

Finally, there is one further potential link worth highlighting with regards to the Swan and Hoop Tavern, and that is the glass harmonica player, Marianne Davies. Davies, who also performed on the harpsichord, appeared at the tavern frequently with musical members of her family when she was in London. For example, series of advertisements record daily performances, in the same way that the Mozarts appeared, from 17th August until the end of September 1763, and from the 13th-22nd August 1764.⁷⁶ The notices from 1763 advertise her as 'Miss Davies from the Haymarket', which implies that, like the Mozarts, she also performed in both the West End and to different audiences in the City.

Davies's Swan and Hoop appearances in 1764 took place when the Mozarts had already arrived in London, although there is no evidence that the families were

⁷⁶ For example, see *Gazetteer and Daily Advertiser*, 17th August 1763, Issue 10742; and *P.A.*, 13th August 1764, Issue 9297.

acquainted at this stage; Davies is not listed in Leopold's travel notes, or mentioned in his surviving letters. However, a letter of 21 September 1771 from Leopold to his wife Maria Anna confirms that, by this stage, the family were already acquainted with Davies:

A few days ago Miss Davies arrived here and drove past our house in the mail coach. I recognised her and she saw us, for we happened to be standing on the balcony. A few hours later I went to call on her at the 'Three Kings', which is not very far off, as I guessed that she would be staying there, since it is the most respectable inn. She, her sister, her father and her mother could hardly express their joy...They all asked for you at once and they send you their greetings. Surely you will remember Miss Davies with her armonica?⁷⁷

The two families could have met on two previous occasions, either in London in 1764, or in Vienna in 1768. Marianne Davies and her sister Cecilia lived in Vienna for three years from 1768 until 1771, and the Mozart family stayed in Vienna for most of 1768. While they certainly met on one of these two occasions, if not both, it is unclear which.

If the Mozarts and the Davies family had met in London, it is likely that this could have been another factor behind their appearances at the Swan and Hoop Tavern. Leopold's letter of 21 September 1771 describes Marianne's parents' joy at the meeting, so it is certain that the parents of both families were amicably acquainted. If the initial acquaintance had taken place in London, it is possible that Marianne's father even recommended the Swan and Hoop Tavern as an appropriate concert location for the Mozarts. The fact that the Davies family regularly appeared there (they returned in 1767) suggests that it had been a successful venture for them.

The Davies' Swan and Hoop concerts are also significant for a comparison of admission prices. The Mozarts charged an entrance fee of two shillings and sixpence, which is, admittedly, significantly lower than the five or ten shillings advertised for

⁷⁷ Anderson, *Letters*, 196.

their West End concert appearances. However, it is important that this price is viewed, where possible, in the context of other events taking place at the Swan and Hoop. The Davies family would have held a similar status to the Mozart family as well-respected travelling musicians,⁷⁸ and yet newspaper advertisements for their performances confirm that they charged only one shilling at the Swan and Hoop Tavern.⁷⁹ This is less than half of what the Mozarts charged. The point here is not to attempt a qualitative comparison based on their respective admission prices, but rather to highlight how little benefit there is in comparing practices of concert venues in entirely different areas of London, attracting largely separate audiences. Compared to the Davies family, and other events later in the 1760s, the Mozarts' entrance fee can be viewed as an expensive fee for the tavern.

*

Newspaper advertisements relating to the Mozarts' London performances undoubtedly situate the family primarily within the West End musical scene. This has contributed to the supposition that the final performances at the Swan and Hoop were the low point of the family's gradually declining popularity towards the end of their fifteen-month stay. The lunchtime appearances are typically viewed as absolute confirmation of the upper-class public's loss of interest in the Mozart children, presumably because the intended audiences were not members of fashionable society. However, delving further into Leopold's potential encounters with people who worked in the City of London, and the area itself, potentially adds further complexities to these final performances. Allowing the wealthy merchants and brokers to be viewed as

⁷⁸ The respectable status of the Davies family is also confirmed by the fact that, when the Davies sisters lived in Vienna, they were patronised by the Empress Maria Theresa, and lodged with composer Johann Adolf Hasse. See Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, 'Davies, Mary Ann', *DNB Online*.

⁷⁹ There are no other comparable performances during the early-mid 1760s. A 'Mr Largeau' appeared at the Swan and Hoop in 1763, performing on the musical glasses, but no admission price is given. See *P.A.*, 28th February 1763, Issue 8837.

potential musical patrons sanctions the likelihood of more frequent interaction between the Mozart family and these individuals, suggesting a more prolonged engagement with the City of London, rather than the 'last resort' venture currently presented. Studying some of Leopold's less 'expected' acquaintances provides a deeper insight into his encounters with the complexities of navigating aspects of London society and business. For example, the Jewish contacts in Leopold's travel notes exemplify some of the more heightened cultural encounters. They also confirm that some merchants, at least, lived in the City of Westminster, conducting their business (or parts of their business) in the City of London. This, then, presents the prospect of merchants attending West End concerts, suggesting that interaction between London's two centres was more fluid than Mozart scholars have allowed.

V

The Mozarts and the Diversity of London Musical Life

Previous accounts of the Mozarts' musical activities in London have dealt exclusively with the continental instrumental music prevalent in Westminster, the sphere in which the family was professionally active.¹ However, the London musical scene was infinitely more diverse. In addition to the fashionable culture of instrumental music in Westminster, there existed a musical 'club culture'. Formed of networks of learned men, these clubs were amateur societies, holding evening meetings in London taverns.² As such, London's club culture did not offer any possibilities for the Mozarts' professional advancement: there were no formal performance opportunities. Because the Mozarts' professional musical activities were primarily restricted to Westminster, their acquaintance with other aspects of London's musical life has been little explored. Yet the diversity of Mozart's London compositions, from symphonies and sonatas to K.20, the chorus *God is Our Refuge*, the final piece Wolfgang composed in London, is reflective of London's musical diversity as a whole.

This chapter considers the Mozart family's potential exposure to different areas of London's musical life, through their extended network of musical contacts. First, I provide an overview of the musical club culture with specific reference to the Academy of Ancient Music and the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club. Although there is limited evidence for the Mozarts' own participation in this sphere, many of their patrons and musical colleagues were actively involved in one or both of these societies. For example, Leopold's travel notes list several members of the Catch Club, including continental musicians primarily active within Westminster. I then

¹ The exception to this is the week of performances at the Swan and Hoop Tavern in the City of London, considered as a sign of failure to maintain the interest of Westminster audiences. See previous chapter.

² For a detailed study of London's musical club life, see Brian Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge, 2006).

consider Vauxhall and Ranelagh Pleasure Gardens as spaces of stylistic overlap where audiences, including the Mozarts, could have heard the latest instrumental music by continental musicians alongside music by Handel, Thomas Arne, George Rush and William Boyce. Composers such as Boyce and Arne were also involved in London's club culture (with the Academy and Catch Club respectively). Finally, I explore some of the ways in which Leopold sought to increase his children's prominence in London society. Here, particular attention is devoted to the parallels Leopold sought to draw between Wolfgang and Handel, in a discussion of music and charity. The memory of the latter composer was still fresh in the minds of the London public, as many of the Mozarts' patrons had been active supporters of Handel in the previous decade.

Documenting the Mozarts' knowledge of London's other musical spheres offers a more nuanced context for K.20. More importantly, though, it invites a reassessment of contemporaneous musicians as transnational. Continental musicians in particular – that Mozarts included – moved around a lot, meaning it was beneficial for them to engage in both domestic and foreign styles of music for their own advancement. The significant numbers of professional and amateur musicians and patrons whose interests straddled both musical spheres, combined with overlapping performance spaces, suggests a greater degree of fluidity among London's musical cultures than has typically been allowed.

Exposure to London's Musical Club Culture

In the 1760s, the Academy of Ancient Music and the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club were the two key societies of London's club culture. The club culture sought to escape from perceived immorality, consumerism, and 'empty' compositional

styles associated with the fashion of Westminster's musical life.³ For example, Handel biographer John Mainwaring noted in 1760 that:

Our most fashionable Music of late years carries hardly any appearance of knowledge of invention, hardly indeed any traces of taste or judgment. Light and trivial Airs, upheld by a thin and Shadowy Harmony; an almost perpetual uniformity of style, and sameness of subject; and endless repetition of the same movements and passages, tho' worn to rags; the barren and beggarly expedient of *Passticios* so often practised.⁴

The club culture sought a more intellectual and moral grounding, and was active in constructing an idealised tradition of English ancient music.

William Weber notes that the Academy in particular frequently revived music long since unperformed, successfully establishing a musical 'canon' of past composers that was also 'beneficial to society [as] a means of moral regeneration'.⁵ Certainly, surviving concert programmes and work lists from the Academy show a marked difference in repertoire compared to West End concerts: a selection of concert programmes (**Figure 13**) ranging in date from 1733-1777 list only psalms, madrigals, motets and anthems.⁶ The programmes heavily featured vocal music, only some of which was to be performed 'with instruments'. The music performed was mainly from the Renaissance and Baroque periods, although the inclusion of contemporaneous composers Handel, William Boyce and Giovanni Battista Pergolesi was at odds with this. However, all of the music, largely religious in context or subject matter, is consistent with an ideology of 'moral regeneration'.

³ Timothy Eggington, *Benjamin Cooke (1734-93), Composer and Academician: Science, Ancient Authority and the Advancement of English Music* (PhD Thesis, Goldsmiths, University of London, 2008), 8.

⁴ John Mainwaring, *Memoirs of the Life of the Late George Frederic Handel* (London 1760), 208.

⁵ William Weber, *The Rise of the Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1996), 198.

⁶ The Gerald Coke Collection in London's Foundling Museum holds surviving programmes from 1733, 1744, 1755 and 1777, and a programme from 1757 is provided in McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (London, 1993), 244.

Figure 13: Concert Programmes, Academy of Ancient Music, 1733-1777.
Gerald Coke Collection, Foundling Museum.

1) The Words of the Musick Perform'd by the Academy of Ancient Music on Thursday the 31st January, 1733.

FIRST ACT

- I. Psalm for Four Voiced (P. Alois Praenestini)
- II. Madrigal for four Voices (Luca Marenzio)
- III. Psalm for 5 Voices with Instruments (Paulo Colonna)

SECOND ACT

- IV. Madrigal for five Voices (del. Sign. Paolo Petti)
- V. Psalm for 5 Voices with Instruments (Colonna)
- VI. Mottet for 6 Voices (Edoard Lupi)

2) Messiah: A Sacred Oratorio set to Musick by Mr. Handel and performed by the Academy of Ancient Musick on Thursday 16th February, 1743.

3) Motets, Madrigals and other Pieces performed by the Academy of Ancient Music on Thursday February 27th, 1755.

- III. Canzonet for two Voices (John Travers)

PART THE FIRST

- I. Motet for four Voices – An Ancient Riddle on St. Christopher's Day (the Author Unknown)
- II. Madrigal for five Voices (Luca Marenzio)
- III. Motet for a single Voice with Instruments (Giov. Batt. Pergolesi) [treble solo]
- IX. Motet for four Voices (by an unknown Composer in Dr. Pepusch's Library) [The Words are a Spiritual Enigma or Riddle]

PART THE SECOND

- IV. Motet for four Voices (Baron d'Astorga)

PART THE THIRD

- V. Motet for four Voices (Ludvico de Victoria)
- VI. Madrigal for five Voices (Alessandro Stradella)
- VII. Anthem for four Voices with Instruments (G.F. Handel)

Words: My Song shall be always of the loving Kindness of the Lord's: with my Mouth will I ever be shewing thy Truth from one Generation to another.

4) A Serenata, called Solomon; an Anthem, and OTHER PIECES; performed by the Academy of Ancient Music on Thursday March 27th, 1777.

SOLOMON, A SERANATA: Taken from the Canticles (Dr. Boyce)

MADRIGAL for six Voices (Wilbye)

Anthem for Voices and Instruments (Dr. Howard)

Although London's club culture did not offer much in the way of professional advancement for the Mozarts, the family nevertheless came into contact with several members of the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club, and possibly members of the Academy of Ancient Music. Identifying contacts of Leopold's that were involved with the Catch Club is relatively easy on account of surviving society subscription lists. For the Academy, though, no such lists survive. In their absence, scholar Timothy Eggington has pieced together information from Academy papers to show that membership was based around a network of learned musicians.⁷ For example, members Benjamin Cooke, John Hawkins, William Boyce, Marmaduke Overend, John Keeble and John Travers were all either ex pupils or associates of composer and theorist Johann Christoph Pepusch, and shared his interest in music's theoretical traditions. Church musician and composer William Jackson was Travers's pupil.⁸ With the exception of Hawkins, a lawyer, the members listed above were professional musicians: they composed, played the organ, edited music,⁹ and were all members of the Royal Society of Musicians.¹⁰

The Mozarts' acquaintance with the English royal family suggests that they were aware of, and perhaps even met, Boyce. Boyce held the position of Master of the King's Music from 1755 until his death in 1779, so he was active in that role while the Mozarts were in London.¹¹ Given Leopold's own status as a Salzburg court musician, and the family's three early appearances for King George III and Queen Charlotte, it is inconceivable that the Mozarts were not at least aware of Boyce's court position and his musical output. Likewise, Daines Barrington provides evidence for Boyce's

⁷ For example: Academy of Ancient Music: 'Orders' and other documents relating to the Academy of Vocal Musick 1726-31, BL. Add. 11732; and John Hawkins, *An Account of the Institution and Progress of the Academy of Ancient Music* (London, 1770). See Eggington, *Cooke*, 8.

⁸ Details of Jackson's connection with Travers is outlined in Paul Williamson, 'Jackson, William', *DNB*.

⁹ Biographical information for these people can be found on *GMO*, accessed 09/05/2016.

¹⁰ Full membership lists for the Royal Society of Musicians have been compiled in Betty Matthews, *The Royal Society of Musicians of Great Britain List of Members 1738-1984* (London, 1985).

¹¹ Details of Boyce's appointment can be found in Robert J. Bruce, 'Boyce, William', *DNB*.

awareness of the Mozarts. In addition to his account of Wolfgang Mozart's musical abilities, Barrington also published accounts of William Crotch, the Earl of Mornington, and brothers Samuel and Charles Wesley.¹² Discussing Charles Wesley, and referring to encounter at his own house, Boyce is alleged to have said to Barrington:

Sir, I hear you have got an English Mozart in your house: young Linley tells me wonderful things of him.¹³

The comparison of Wesley to Wolfgang indicates that Boyce was aware of Mozart and the abilities he displayed in London. While this cannot be taken as confirmation that Boyce and the Mozarts actually met, Boyce is likely to have at least witnessed Wolfgang's talents out of curiosity.

Another Academy member who certainly *did* observe Wolfgang was William Jackson. A later first hand account from the latter confirms the meeting:

When [Wolfgang Mozart] was a mere infant (I think under six years of age) he was exhibited as a great performer on the harpsichord; and an extraordinary genius for music, John Bach, took the child between his knees and began a subject on that instrument, which he left, and Mozart continued – each led the other into very abstruse harmonies, and extraneous modulations, in which the child beat the man. We were afterwards looking over Bach's famous song "Se spiego" in Zanaido. The score was inverted to Mozart, who was rolling on the table. He pointed out a note which he said was wrong. It was so, whether of the composer or copyist I cannot now recollect, but it was an instance of extraordinary discernment and readiness in a mere infant.¹⁴

There is no reference to Jackson in Leopold's letters or travel notes. However, the likelihood of his being present for this encounter is increased by the fact that he was a good friend of Bach, Abel and Giardini, all Westminster colleagues of the Mozarts.

¹² See Daines Barrington, 'Account of Mr. Charles Wesley', 'Account of Master Samuel Wesley', and 'Account of the Earl of Mornington', in *Miscellanies* (London, 1781).

¹³ Barrington, *Miscellanies*, 293.

¹⁴ *MDB*, 571.

Jackson's acquaintance with musicians known to the Mozarts, such as Bach and Abel, demonstrates the complexity of interactions within London's musical life, which the Mozarts were very much a part of. Jackson's connection to musicians Bach and Abel was through the painter Thomas Gainsborough, who lived in Bath but travelled frequently to London. Although there is no evidence to suggest that Gainsborough met the Mozarts – he is not listed in Leopold's travel notes and, likewise, there is no mention of the Mozarts in Gainsborough's surviving correspondence – the artist provides a clear point of intersection between London's different musical spheres.

Jackson's account of Gainsborough portrays the artist as a particularly enthusiastic amateur musician.¹⁵ He played several instruments and regularly attempted to purchase the instruments of the musicians he admired.¹⁶ In the 1760s, Gainsborough had a close circle of musical friends, all of whom were known to the Mozarts. This circle included Bach, Abel, Giardini and Jackson; indeed, Jackson wrote, 'his [Gainsborough's] character was, perhaps, better known to me than any other person'.¹⁷ The nature of friendships within this group highlights the overlap of musical spheres: a keen musician, Gainsborough would seek musical tuition from his friends and, in return, would produce paintings for them. For example, a letter from Gainsborough to Jackson reads:

My Dear Jackson,

I am very much obliged to you for your last Letter, and the Lessons received before; I think I now begin to see a little into the nature of Modulation and the

¹⁵ See William Jackson, *The Four Ages; Together With Essays on Various Subjects* (London, 1798), 147-154.

¹⁶ For example, Jackson recalled that, '[A performance by Giardini] made Gainsborough enamoured of that instrument [the violin], and conceiving...that the music lay in the fiddle, he was frantic until he possessed the very *Instrument* which had given him so much pleasure, but seemed surprised that the music of it remained behind with Giardini.' See Jackson, *Essays*, 148.

¹⁷ Jackson, *Essays*, 147.

introduction of flats and sharps; and when we meet you shall hear me play extempore...¹⁸

Similarly, an anecdote from the son of Abel's landlord, Henry Angelo, recalls:

Doubtless, it was in exchange for the notes of his [Abel's] *viol-di-gamba*, that he obtained so many drafts upon the genius of the painter [Gainsborough], whose prolific crayons supplied him with so many specimens of his art, that on his return home my father found the walls of his apartment covered with them...¹⁹

Indeed, thirty-two of Gainsborough's works appeared in a posthumous sale of Abel's effects in 1787.²⁰

Gainsborough's musical circle, then, embodies the interlinking of different musical cultures. Gainsborough himself, a beneficiary of multiple musicians' expertise, with harmonic tuition from Jackson and instrumental tuition from Abel, is particularly representative of this. Significant, too, though, are the interactions amongst the musicians themselves. All of the musicians in the friendship circle were particularly prominent in Westminster's musical life, with the exception of Jackson. Yet it is possible that Jackson himself attended musical performances by these musicians. For example, Jackson's account of Gainsborough refers to a concert featuring an 'excellent' performance by violinist Felice di Giardini.²¹ This compliment is particularly notable: Mainwaring's description of instrumental music quoted on p195 depicts modern instrumental music as a style now considered to have been distasteful to those involved primarily in London's club culture.²²

¹⁸ Letter to William Jackson in Bath, 4th June, 1768, in Mary Woodall ed., *The Letters of Thomas Gainsborough* (London, 1963), 115.

¹⁹ Henry, Angelo, *Reminiscences of Henry Angelo with Memoirs of His Late Father and Friends, Volume I* (London, 1830), 190.

²⁰ Huntington Library,

[http://emuseum.huntington.org/view/objects/asitem/People\\$00403278/0?t:state:flow=d2f4b3c4-3421-49f4-b51f-12aa9c99f70c](http://emuseum.huntington.org/view/objects/asitem/People$00403278/0?t:state:flow=d2f4b3c4-3421-49f4-b51f-12aa9c99f70c), accessed 20/05/2016.

²¹ Jackson, *Essays*, 148.

²² In spite of Jackson's friendships with Bach and Abel, later in the century he published a diatribe against 'modern' instrumental music, not dissimilar to Mainwaring's (see p194). In 1791, Jackson was of the opinion that 'later [i.e. contemporary] composers, to be grand and original, have poured in such floods of nonsense, under the sublime idea of being inspired, that the present Symphony bears the same

Gainsborough's portraits of his musical friends further support the fluidity of musical styles. His portraits of Jackson (**Figure 14**), Bach (**Figure 15**), Abel (**Figure 16**) and Giardini (**Figure 17**) were painted between 1760-1765.²³ They are unrelated to each other and in some instances the circumstances surrounding their production are unknown. This is the case with both Giardini's and Jackson's portraits. Bach's portrait was undertaken as a formal commission for Bach's old teacher, G.B. Martini, but Gainsborough also produced a replica for Bach himself.²⁴ It is likely that Abel's portrait was an act of reciprocity, even friendship, between the two men, as suggested by Angelo's anecdote above. The portraits are significant for their representation of musicians from ostensibly different spheres.

relation to good music as the ravings of a bedlamite do to sober sense'. Charles Burney, in reviewing Jackson's work stated: 'Now, might not the ingenious writer [Jackson] as well have said, at once, that the authors of these floods of nonsense are Haydn, Vanhall, Pleyel, and Mozart, and that the admirers of them are tasteless idiots, as leave us to guess who he means?' See Kerry S. Grant, *Dr Burney as Critic and Historian of Music* (Ann. Arbor, 1983), 215, reproduced in Cliff Eisen, *New Mozart Documents: A Supplement to O.E. Deutsch's Documentary Biography* (London, 1991), 154.

²³ Gainsborough's later portraits of Jackson (1770, Private Collection) and Abel (1777, The Huntington Library) have been excluded from this discussion as they were completed five and twelve years respectively after the Mozarts left London.

²⁴ John Ingamells, *National Portrait Gallery Mid-Georgian Portraits, 1760-1790* (London, 2004), 22.

Figure 14: Thomas Gainsborough portrait of Jackson (1762-5), oil on canvas
Exeter City Museum and Art Gallery



Figure 15: Gainsborough portrait of Johann Christian Bach, oil on canvas (1765)
755 mm x 620 mm. National Portrait Gallery



Figure 16: Gainsborough portrait of Karl Friedrich Abel, oil on canvas (1765)
1267 mm x 1013 mm. National Portrait Gallery



Figure 17: Gainsborough portrait of Felice Giardini, oil on canvas (early 1760s).
Private Collection



The value placed by the Academy on reason and intellect is evident in Gainsborough's portrait of Jackson. Jackson performs on a harp, decorated with laurel wreaths. These are arguably both references to the god Apollo, a lyre player, who was seen to represent the rational, intellectual side of man's character. The Academy of Ancient Music regularly used imagery featuring Apollo – **Figure 18**, for example, an Academy medal, depicts Apollo rewarding a student with a laurel wreath – and members sought to align themselves with these qualities.²⁵ Indeed, as Jackson was an organist, it is most likely that the harp was intended solely as a reference to Apollo, indicating his intellectual prowess, rather than a statement about his practical musicianship. Additionally, Jackson's gaze and the light shining onto him – another signifier of intellect, even genius – suggest that he is poised for inspiration.²⁶ The classical symbolism, such as the curtain draped in the background, assert Jackson's status as a respected musician and intellectual.

Figure 18: Richard Yeo (after Andrea Sacchi), Academy of Ancient Music silver medal (1750), 48mm diameter. BM Coins and Medals MB2p657.362.



²⁵ Similar intellectual connotations are evident in John Keyse Sherwin's 1775 sketch of William Boyce, which contains the same signifiers of status and intellect, as well as Apollo's laurel. An engraving of Sherwin's 'William Boyce' can be found at:

<http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitLarge/mw67219/William-Boyce?LinkID=mp00518&role=sit&rNo=1>, accessed 25/05/2016.

²⁶ In a discussion of Thomas Hardy's portrait of Joseph Haydn, Alan Davison notes the light shining onto the composer's forehead is a sign of his 'creative energy'. See Davison, 'The Face of a Musical Genius: Thomas Hardy's Portrait of Joseph Haydn', *Eighteenth-Century Music* 6/2 (2009), 223.

In contrast to Jackson's portrait, practical musicianship features strongly in the portrait of Abel that appears to be in a more 'domestic' setting, lacking some of the classical symbolism in the Jackson portrait. Abel's clothing is nevertheless elaborate, and the pounce pot and manuscript to the left of the composer indicate his productive activity. The portrait of Bach is more closely aligned with that of the Jackson; in addition to the same classical symbolism, practical musicianship is entirely absent. In these three portraits, the distant gazes and light shining onto the musicians' foreheads situates them as intellectual 'thinkers'. Crucially, Gainsborough has accorded his 'West End' musical friends the same learned status he gave to Jackson. The emphasis placed upon their intellect corresponds to the value placed on learning and intellect by the Academy of Ancient Music, admittedly within a different sphere.²⁷ The Giardini portrait is at odds here: unusually, the musician looks out at the viewer. The composition is less ornate, giving the portrait a more intimate feel. It is possible that the portrait was painted as a private exchange between musician and painter.

Admittedly, with the exception of Bach's portrait, it is unlikely that these Gainsborough portraits were exhibited to the public. For the purpose of the present discussion, though, the portraits as objects illustrate the network of musicians. Jackson's acquaintance with Bach, Abel and Giardini confirms the likelihood of his presence at a private musical gathering with the Mozarts in Westminster – perhaps at the lodgings that Bach and Abel shared.

Although Jackson is absent from Leopold's travel notes, I noted in previous chapters that the document appears to only contain contacts that Leopold considered

²⁷ Significantly, Gainsborough, along with other contemporary painters, later decorated the Hannover Square concert room, used by Bach and Abel for their series of subscription concerts. Details of the decoration are provided in a letter from aristocrat Lady Elizabeth Harris, specifically noting that 'Appolo [sic.] is just behind the orchestra...painted by some of our most eminent hands such as West, Gainsborough, Cipriani &c'. The prominent space accorded to Apollo in the concert room suggests, at the very least, that Bach and Abel also sought to represent their musical scene on the same civilised, intellectual terms. See Letter from Elizabeth Harris to her son, James Harris on 3rd February 1775. In Burrows and Dunhill eds., *Harris Papers*, 799.

useful for the family on a professional or practical level. As English church musicians, involved heavily in amateur musical societies, neither Jackson nor Boyce offered opportunities for advancement within the professional, Westminster scene. It is nevertheless possible that, through mutual acquaintances, the Mozarts were aware of the Academy of Ancient Music, and the music they studied. In fact, a further anecdote from Angelo, referring to Gainsborough and Bach, provides an example of diverse musical performance in an informal setting:

...[Gainsborough would exclaim] "Now for Purcell's chaunt; not a specimen of old Bird." "Dat is debilish fine", cried Bach. "Now for a touch of Kent, and old Henry Lawes", added Gainsborough; when Bach, his patience worn out, would cry, "Now dat is too pad...Why the gompany is to listen to your murder of all these ancient composers"; when, getting up from his seat, he would run his finger rattling along all the keys, and, pushing the painter from his seat, would sit himself in his place, and flourish voluntaries, as though he was inspired.²⁸

It is not clear whether Bach's frustration is mainly due to Gainsborough's poor playing or the fact that the artist was intent on playing the music of ancient composers. It nevertheless suggests a fluidity of musical styles passing between the friends and is a possible medium through which the Mozarts may have been exposed to music by England's ancient composers. Indeed, the following discussion of K.20 suggests that Leopold and Wolfgang had actively studied some of the ancient music that was so prized by its members.

K.20 (**Figure 19**) was donated to the British Museum's collections when the family visited in July 1765. Although only twenty-three bars long, is distinctly different in its character and style from any of the other London compositions. Unlike Wolfgang's compositions for the Westminster music scene, K.20 most immediately appears to be a short pastiche of seventeenth-century English polyphony. It is possible that, as a gift for the British Museum, the Mozarts were attempting to tap into the

²⁸ Angelo, *Reminiscences*, 184.

musical club culture's idealisation of England's musical antiquity. For example, the opening point of imitation is introduced unexpectedly on the F sharp in the tenor part, as opposed to a more typical G that would mirror the initial treble entry. Similarly, the tonic chord is reformulated as a first inversion dominant seventh chord of the subdominant in bar 18, setting up a final cadential progression. Late sixteenth and seventeenth-century composers of English polyphony, such as Purcell, demonstrated these compositional techniques.²⁹

Figure 19: W.A. Mozart, *God is Our Refuge*, K.20 (1765, London). 23x29.2cm, paper. British Library, K.10.a.17.(3).



Compositions by Academy of Ancient Music members frequently drew upon techniques of ancient composers. For example, Boyce's anthem *By the Waters of Babylon* (psalm 137, composed c.1740) draws on compositional techniques used by composers such as Purcell, Byrd, Tallis and Gibbons – ancient composers whose work was

²⁹ Robert Shay has argued that Purcell was in turn imitating his English musical predecessors, such as Tallis and Byrd, in works such as *Hear My Prayer* and in his anthologising of 'ancient' music. See Robert Shay, 'Purcell as a collector of 'ancient' music: Fitzwilliam MS 88' in Curtis Price ed., *Purcell Studies* (Cambridge, 1995), 35-50.

regularly performed by the Academy. Particularly noteworthy is Boyce's use of imitation for the opening phrase 'by the waters of Babylon where we sat down and wept'. Boyce alludes to the expressive action of 'weeping' through the tonal ambiguity in the second half of the point of imitation.³⁰ The music eventually leaves behind the relatively static opening point 'by the waters of Babylon', instead building on the second half of the phrase. The use of this point of imitation increases in intensity towards the cadence at bar 28. This technique can be seen in Purcell's anthem *Hear My Prayer*: the imitation here centres increasingly around the positively dissonant 'and let my crying come unto thee'. Again, this heightens the emotional tension of the text at this point. Interestingly, the rising semitones in Boyce's point of imitation allow him to introduce an English cadence in bar 20 between the treble and alto – an earlier technique frequently used by sixteenth-century composers.³¹

In drawing upon the techniques of ancient composers, Academicians sought to reinforce past musical styles. This also highlights the intellectual value they placed on music: Boyce's *Babylon* is representative of both his intellect and dedication to the study of past composers. Although *Babylon* is thought to have been composed as early as 1740,³² it did not appear in the Academy's list of most usually performed pieces until 1768. While there is no reason the Mozarts should have been acquainted with the piece, it serves as merely one example of a piece by a contemporaneous composer that drew upon past musical traditions in way that Wolfgang and Leopold perhaps sought to emulate in K.20.

³⁰ William Boyce, *By the Waters of Babylon* (arr. J. Clarke, 1868).

³¹ The English Cadence is a juxtaposition of a flattened leading note at the start of a descending phrase that appears in close proximity to the raised leading note of a normal cadence. For example, see the closing bars of the 'Nunc Dimittis' in Tallis's *'Short' Evening Service*. For an overview on the English Cadence, see Stanley Boorman, 'False Relations and the Cadence' in Richard Charteris ed., *Essays on Italian Music in the Cinquecento* (Sydney, 1990), 221-265.

³² Precise dates are unknown but Ian Bartlett and Robert J. Bruce suggest 1740 as an approximate date in 'Boyce, William', *GMo*.

Alec Hyatt King argues that K.20 is composed 'in the manner of a catch', and was intended to show Wolfgang's part-writing skill.³³ Even though the Mozarts were acquainted with several catch club members, and were probably exposed to some catches and glees while in London, the performance conventions for singing catches – each part starts at the top and sings through all three or four vocal parts in a 'round' – do not match that of K.20.³⁴

A surviving Catch Club members list highlights several patrons or musicians well known to the Mozarts. First, two of the earliest patrons in Leopold's travel notes – Alexander Montgomerie, Earl of Eglinton, and William Douglas, Earl of March – are listed as founding members of the society. Second, a list of 'privileged and professional members' includes musicians Abel, Giardini and Thomas Arne, all listed on Leopold's travel notes, and Quilici who, although not listed by Leopold, appeared as a performer in the Mozarts' first benefit concert.³⁵

Like the Mozarts, Abel and Giardini were both continental musicians, and their Catch Club membership necessitated them engaging with a musical style distinct from the fashionable music of Westminster. As with the Academy, the Catch Club also drew on past musical traditions. Eggington notes that 'the growth of glee and catch club culture in the mid eighteenth century (...) was viewed by many as a rekindling of elements of England's glorious past.'³⁶ Jackson confirmed the resurgence of the catch tradition in his *Thirty Letters of Various Subjects*, observing that 'we have gone

³³ Alec Hyatt King, *A Mozart Legacy: Aspects of the British Library Collection* (London, 1984), 22-23.

³⁴ Jackson referenced the performance conventions of a catch in his *Thirty Letters of Various Subjects*, discussed on page 210.

³⁵ For transcriptions of the members lists, see Viscount Gladstone, *The Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club* (London, 1996), 108-118. In the years following the Mozarts' London visit, several more Westminster-based musicians became members of the Catch Club. These included Vento (1766), Ciprandi (1766), Barthélemon (1767), Tenducci (1770), and Leoni (1773). See Gladstone, *Catch Club*, 117. It is also worth noting that Giovanni Battista Cirri, although not a member of the Catch Club, won the society's prize for the 'best canon' in 1775. The composition, *Nos autem gloriamur*, for two sopranos and a bass, can be found in the British Library, catalogue number: GB-Lbl H.2788.w.(25.).

³⁶ Information on Cooke and the Catch Club in this paragraph is adapted from Eggington, *Cooke*, 138-139.

back a century, and catches flourish in the reign of George the third'.³⁷ However, the musical scope of the Catch Club was more diverse than the Academy in that it frequently performed songs by contemporary composers. Catch Club compilations of music by Edmond Thomas Warren (a member of both the Catch Club and Academy) included works by Gibbons and Byrd, but also by Boyce.³⁸ The inclusion of compositions by Boyce in the Catch Club collections is indicative of significant interactions between this society and the Academy.³⁹ While this is to be expected, a degree of antagonism existed between the two societies. For example, William Jackson defined a catch as:

...A piece for three or more voices, one of which leads, and the others follow in the same notes. It must be so contrived, that rests (which are made for that purpose) in the music of one line, be filled up with a word or two from another line; these form a cross purpose or catch, from whence the name. Now, this piece of wit is not judged perfect, if the result be not the rankest indecency...the harmony of catch is nothing more than the common result of filling up a chord...the melody is, for the most part, the unimproved vulgar drawl of the times of ignorance.⁴⁰

Warren's collections show that Catch Club members sang works that both fitted Jackson's stereotype, as well as more esoteric explorations of the genre. In keeping with their Catch Club membership, Abel and Giardini also contributed to Warren's collections: Abel composed a catch called *Dolly's eyes are so bright*, and among Giardini's compositions were *The Quaker's Catch* and *Epitaph to the Earl of Lincoln*.⁴¹ These pieces exhibit a style far removed from that of the West End and, although more in keeping with the 'ancient' style, border on vulgarity in their subject matter

(Figure 20). A comparison of two Boyce catches highlight the diversity within

³⁷ William Jackson, *Thirty Letters on Various Subjects* (London, 1795), 68-69.

³⁸ Edmund Thomas Warren, *A First Collection of Catches, Canons and Glees for three, four, five, six and nine voices* (London, 1763).

³⁹ Additionally, Eggington has noted the substantial number of musicians who were members of both the Academy and Catch Club. Eggington, *Cooke*, 140.

⁴⁰ Jackson, *Letters*, 64-66.

⁴¹ Information taken from each composer's respective entry on *GMO*.

London's musical club culture: the first, *John Cooper* (**Figure 21**), is suggestive in subject matter and revolves around only two chords, while the second, *Tis Thus Farewell* (**Figure 22**) is not only less explicit but the compositional techniques used are more intricate than is usual for a catch. Rather than revolving around only two chords, the piece explores many chords diatonic to the key of F minor, as well as common progressions such as the tonicisation of the relative major, A flat. Boyce also makes use of appoggiaturas and ties across the bar to intensify the piece's rhythmic and textural complexity. Interestingly, when all three parts are singing, the false relation in bar 3 is comparable to the English Cadence in Boyce's *Babylon*.

Figure 20: Felice Giardini, *Epitaph to the Earl of Lincoln* (transcribed from Warren Collection II).⁴²

Figure 20 displays a musical score for three voices (Voice 1, Voice 2, Voice 3) for the piece "Epitaph to the Earl of Lincoln" by Felice Giardini. The score is transcribed from Warren Collection II. The lyrics are: "Be-neath this Stone the Earl of Lin- coln lies who dug who His Fate I en- vy and shall and shall think it hard when I die to be dug his Grave who dug his Grave who dug his Grave be- twixt his bu- ried in a Count in a Count in a Count in a Count in a bu- ried in a Count in a Count in a Count in a Country church Yard when I La- dy's Thighs his La- dy's Thighs his La- dy's Thighs Count in a Count in a Count in a Count-ry Church Yard a Country Church Yard die to be bu- ried in a Country Church Yard in a Country Church Yard".

⁴² Edmund Thomas Warren, *A Second Collection of Catches, Canons and Gleees for three, four, five, six and nine voices* (London, 1764).

Figure 21: William Boyce, *John Cooper*, transcribed from Warren Collection II.

The image displays a musical score for the song "John Cooper" by William Boyce, transcribed from the Warren Collection II. The score is written for three voices (Voice 1, Voice 2, and Voice 3) and includes the following lyrics:

Voice 1: JOHN COOPER was bor-ing a great piece of Tim-ber he bor'd and he bor'd but his

Voice 2: With his Breakfast his Wife came jumping with Glee and cry'd here's a Morsel for

Voice 3: When JOHN had well Feasted he Bor'd with more might his Wife was well pleased and

7

Voice 1: Tool was too lim-ber too lim-ber too lim-ber he bor'd and he

Voice 2: Me and for Thee here's a Morsel for Me for me and for Thee here's a Morsel for

Voice 3: all things went right all things went right he bor'd with more Might his Wife was well

14

Voice 1: bor'd but his Tool was too lim-ber

Voice 2: Me for Me and for thee

Voice 3: pleas'd and all things went right

Figure 22: William Boyce, *Tis Thus Farewell*, transcribed from Warren Collection II.

The image displays a musical score for the hymn "Tis Thus Farewell" by William Boyce. The score is written for three voices (Voice 1, Voice 2, and Voice 3) and includes the following lyrics:

Voice 1: 'Tis thus thus and thus farewell to all which Mortals

Voice 2: the rest an Angels Pen must tell long long

Voice 3: Those Blessings which we high--- est prize are soon-est ra-

Lyrics (continuation):

do per-fect-ion call to Beauty to Goodness to Modes - ty

- be-lov-ed Dust fare-well fare-well fare-well fare-well be -

- -vish'd from our Eyes those Blessings those Blessings which we prize are

Lyrics (continuation):

sweet Tem --- per and true Pi -- e - ty

lo - ved dust be - lov --- ed dust fare -- well

In addition to exploring the Mozarts' possible acquaintance with London's club culture through the professional musicians discussed above, studying the activities of eighteenth-century audiences also highlights the diversity of musical activities and tastes. Musical patron James Harris is an obvious case study here. The Harris family papers identify James Harris and his wife Elizabeth as some of the most active patrons

of Westminster-based musicians.⁴³ As discussed in Chapter III, the pair had attended the Mozarts' last benefit concert at the Hickford Rooms. Yet Hyatt King has identified Harris as an active Catch Club member. He was elected to the club in 1762 and, the following year, it was decided that he should 'examine all the prize catches and give his opinion how far they are consistent with the rules of the competition and counterpoint'.⁴⁴ Harris's involvement in the annual Catch Club competition – at which the best catch, canon, glee and serious glee were selected – suggests that he was perceived as an expert in the composition of catches.

An account from contemporary musicians John Marsh provides further, more detailed, information about audience habits:

In the even'g... I went to Bach's concert (then the 1st. concert in London) at Hannover Square...at w'ch I was highly entertain'd, tho' I was disappointed in Abel's not being there...Having soon finish'd our conference I accompan'd back the ladies after w'ch I went by appointm't to meet Mr Strong at the Crown & Anchor, who introduc'd me to the Concert of Ancient Music... Here I was much pleased with the Allegro Penseroso wh'ch was exceedingly well perform'd, the whole being conducted by Dr Cooke who sat at the harpsichord, upon wh'ch he accompanied the song "Sweet Bird" in a very masterly manner...⁴⁵

The reference to Bach and Abel's concert being in the Hanover Square concert rooms confirms that this anecdote dates from the 1770s rather than the 1760s, but audience activities are comparable between the two decades.⁴⁶ Although Marsh was a professional musician himself, his memoir is written from the perspective of an audience member whose interests straddled both public and club cultures. The Catch Club comprised men who were broadly similar to Marsh on a professional level: there were musicians, politicians, lawyers, artistic and scientific patrons, among many others. On account of their generally high social status and their integration into

⁴³ See Burrows and Dunhill, *Harris Papers*.

⁴⁴ Catch Club minutes from 1765, Gbl H.2788.rr. As quoted in Hyatt King, *Mozart Legacy*, 58.

⁴⁵ John Marsh, *The Life and Times of a Gentleman Composer (1752-1828)*, 197.

⁴⁶ See Simon McVeigh's entry on 'Concert Life' in Nicholas Temperley, et al. 'London (i)', *GMO*.

London's society-led culture, many of them would also have been involved with the Westminster public musical scene to some degree. Given that there were clear overlaps in the musical tastes and practices of London's musical audiences, there is little reason to suppose that the activities of professional musicians should not display similar traits.

The fact that six of Leopold's acquaintances, and Harris, were known members of the Catch Club means that the Mozarts were surely aware of the society. Yet their contact with these men may not have afforded the Mozarts the opportunity to hear catches in performance. The Mozarts encountered March, Eglinton, Abel, Giardini, Arne, Quilici and Harris in the context of Westminster concert life; catch club meetings took place at the St. James's Tavern, Piccadilly, in the evening. Membership was selective and a fee had to be paid to join.⁴⁷ Indeed, the lack of performance opportunities for the Mozarts within these societies make it unsurprising that London's musical club culture has never been considered in relation to the Mozarts. Nevertheless, it is worth highlighting the Mozarts' potential knowledge of both the Catch Club and the Academy. Although their own activities were very firmly rooted in Westminster, the activities of their colleagues and patrons straddled both spheres.

London's Pleasure Gardens and 'English' Music

If the Mozarts heard catches in London, one of the most likely locations for this would have been at London's pleasure gardens. Musical performances at the pleasure gardens helped to popularise forms of music that would otherwise have been unavailable to wider London society. As discussed above, the catch tradition was initially revived exclusively within private, male only spaces, such as the Noblemen

⁴⁷ Gladstone, *Catch Club*, 51.

and Gentlemen's Catch Club. In part, the risqué subjects of many contemporary catches – contributed to collections by musicians from both the club culture and West End – had long ensured that their performance tradition remained within this exclusive sphere.

Pleasure gardens were significant spaces of musical overlap. As well as catches and glees, programmes regularly featured English songs, and other vocal and instrumental music from British and continental composers. McVeigh and Edward Croft-Murray have noted that all musical tastes appear to have been catered for, with 'no distinction between the 'ancient' style (Corelli and Handel) and the 'modern' (J.C. Bach and [later] Haydn), between serious and popular, or sacred and secular'.⁴⁸

Scholar David Coke suggests that Vauxhall's concert programming, introduced in the 1750s, retained a similar – if not identical – character for the next hundred years. Coke identifies four parts to the musical entertainment: dance music, martial airs, pastoral songs, and a wind and brass concerto.⁴⁹ Significantly, Coke draws upon a mid-eighteenth-century season ticket as representative of the music performed. The token, **Figure 23**, once again displays the figure of Apollo, this time with Marsyas, a flautist and follower of Bacchus (God of wine) who represented man's darker, passionate side.⁵⁰ It depicts a naked Marsyas on the left, sitting on a lion's skin. Apollo stands on the right holding his lyre in his left hand, while giving his plectrum to Marsyas's pupil, the kneeling Olympos. Marsyas's flute hangs from a leafless tree in the background.⁵¹ The token makes explicit the diverse musical styles performed at Vauxhall. Coke suggests that the apparent vulnerability of Marsyas represents the

⁴⁸ See McVeigh and Croft-Murray in Temperley et al., 'London (i)', *GMO*.

⁴⁹ David Coke and Alan Borg, *Vauxhall: A History* (London, 2012), 153.

⁵⁰ A detailed account of Apollo and Marsyas can be found in James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art* (London, 1974), 27-28.

⁵¹ Description based on Coke and Borg, *Vauxhall*, 405. Coke and Borg also note that the token closely based on the famous antique intaglio, the *Seal of Nero*, of which several copies and engravings were produced.

perceived 'pernicious and weakening influence' of modern instrumental music, but that Vauxhall's proprietor, Jonathan Tyres, was unswerving in his belief in a balanced programme.⁵²

Nevertheless, owing to the increased prominence of the catch club culture in public life – aided through advertisements, publications, and concerts at locations such as the pleasure gardens – catches began to be marketed towards a broader demographic of society. For example, **Figure 24** shows a title page for a 'Ladies Collection of Catches, Glees, Canons, Canzonets, Madrigals, &c.'. The title page would have been designed to be commercially appealing to society women, presenting the activity as an 'acceptable' pastime. Kevin Edge notes that the 'English guitar' on the right was often associated with women amateurs because it was easily learned.⁵³ Another important feature is the top-centre image, draped with laurel, depicting four classically attired ladies informally gathered. Significantly, this title page presented catches as both an acceptable and *domesticated* activity to appeal to the female market. More broadly, though, through the pleasure gardens, the genre became increasingly accessible, even fashionable, among London's middle and upper classes.

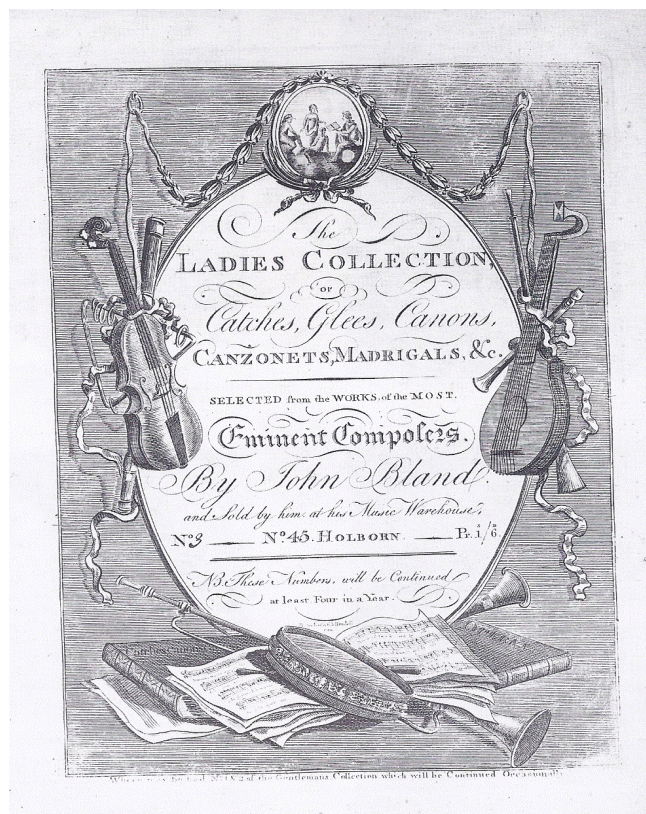
⁵² Coke and Borg even suggest that Marsyas and Apollo can be seen more specifically to represent the extremes between Handel and Arne. This idea stems from Charles Burney's likening of the relationship between Apollo and Marsyas to that of Handel and Arne in *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, II (London, 1789), 1010-1011.

⁵³ Kevin Edge, *The Art of Selling Songs : Graphics for the Music Business, 1690-1990* (London, c.1991), 30.

Figure 23: Anon., Season admission token for Vauxhall Gardens, silver. 3.2cmx4cm. BM, 1867.0318.1



Figure 24: Title page, *The Ladies Collection of Catches, Gleees...*, etching and engraving, mid-eighteenth century. 28.0cmx20.3cm V&A, E.2681-192



It is likely that the Mozarts were fairly frequent visitors to the pleasure gardens. They had certainly been to both Ranelagh and Vauxhall within two months of their arrival to London, as Leopold's letter of 28th June 1764 confirms:

Ranelagh Gardens isn't big, but it's attractive and is illuminated every Monday, Wednesday and Friday. Within it is an amazingly large rotunda that you enter at ground level and that's lit by an incredible number of large chandeliers, lamps and wall-lights. The orchestra is arranged in tiers on one side, with an organ at the top. The music lasts 3 hours, from 7 till 10: then quartets are played on hunting horn, clarinets and bassoon for an hour or more, in other words, until 11 or 12 o'clock. In the middle is a large stove where a fire is lit if it's cold, as these gardens are open in March or April; and most of the entertainments take place in this hall. Around the stove are lots of tables, and along the walls of the whole hall are nothing but niches or a kind of alcove or small chapel, in each of which is a table and from them you go up a flight of steps to a similar number of boxes, just as in a playhouse, with a similar number of tables...Here there is a room to walk in addition to the space in the middle, with 2 to 3 or even 4500 people walking round and round and constantly meeting each other...There is space for at least 6000 people in the gardens and hall. The hall itself holds 3000 people comfortably... Here all men are equal, and no lord will allow anyone to stand before him bare headed: in return for their money, all are equal. *Vauxhall* is every day. Ranelagh will soon stop because as soon as it gets very hot everyone hurries off to Vauxhall. ...

Vauxhall amazed me and is impossible to describe. I imagined the Elysian Fields. Just picture yourself an uncommonly large garden with all manner of tree-lined avenues, all of which are lit as in broad daylight by many 1000s of lamps, all enclosed within the most beautiful glass. In the middle is a kind of tall, open summerhouse, in which can be heard an organ and a full orchestra, with trumpets and timpani and all the other instruments...Here people pay only *one shilling*: and for this shilling you have the pleasure of seeing many 1000s of people and the most beautifully lit gardens and of hearing beautiful music. When I was there, more than 6000 people were there.⁵⁴

A small hint at the diverse styles of music performed is given in the mention of the organ *and* full orchestras in both locations. There is little evidence detailing the specifics of concert programming, but several collections of songbooks survive,

⁵⁴ For Leopold's full account, see Eisen, *Letters*, 42-43.

including books of English songs listing composers from Bach to Boyce.⁵⁵ Meanwhile, Leopold's references to the full orchestras and quartets are more suggestive of the fashionable West End music.

At the pleasure gardens, too, the Mozarts would have heard modern music by English composers. Among the musicians listed in Leopold's travel notes are composers Thomas Arne, Michael Arne, George Rush and Samuel Arnold, and singers Polly Young and Charlotte Brent. Catch Club member Thomas Arne was the father of Michael Arne, uncle by marriage of Polly Young, and teacher of Charlotte Brent, who was also his mistress. The Arnes in particular were closely involved with music at the pleasure gardens: Thomas was the organist at Vauxhall, and arranged the musical performances at Ranelagh, while Michael frequently played the keyboard at various pleasure gardens.⁵⁶ Leopold's travel notes locate the Arnes at the Covent Garden piazza: at this time, Thomas Arne was composer in residence at the Covent Garden Theatre, and Michael Arne was also a regular performer there.

Leopold does not comment specifically on the music of the English composers he lists, despite several of their works being premiered during the family's fifteen-month stay. 1764 was arguably the pinnacle of Rush's career, with two of his operas being premiered at the Drury Lane Theatre: *The Royal Shepherd* was premiered on 24th February, and *Capricious Lovers* was premiered on 28th November, the latter running for nine consecutive nights.⁵⁷ On 2nd November 1764, Michael Arne's *Almena*, a collaboration with composer Jonathan Battishill, was also premiered at Drury Lane. Two of Thomas Arne's operas were premiered at the Covent Garden Theatre in

⁵⁵ For example, see J.C. Bach, *A Second Collection of FAVOURITE SONGS Sung at VAUX HALL* (Welcker, London, 1769); Thomas Arne, *The New Songs Sung at Vauxhall* (1765); William Boyce, *Young Phillis one morning. A New Song [by W. Boyce]. Sung by Miss Davies at Vauxhall* (London, 1763).

⁵⁶ Information about each of the musicians mentioned taken from their respective entries on *GMO*.

⁵⁷ For newspaper advertisements confirming Rush's opera premieres, see *P.A.*, 24th February 1764, Issue 9145; *Lloyds Evening Post*, 26th November 1764, Issue 1152.

1764-5, although these were less successful. *The Guardian Outwitted* (premiered 12th December) ran for six performances, and *L'Olimpiade* ran for only two nights. Nevertheless, Arne's *Artaxerxes* (1762) was successfully revived at Covent Garden in March, April and May of 1764, and January, March, April and May of 1765. Finally, Samuel Arnold, who was the musical director at the Covent Garden Theatre, collated the pasticcio opera *The Maid of the Mill*, which was premiered in 31st January 1765.

McVeigh confirms that locations such as the Theatre Royals in Covent Garden and Drury Lane, and indeed the pleasure gardens, were less prestigious than the fashionable concert halls and King's Theatre of Westminster. He argues that the abovementioned English composers were 'relegated' in favour of the continental musicians also active in Westminster.⁵⁸ Certainly, with performances exclusively in English and tickets at less than half the price of the King's Theatre,⁵⁹ the Covent Garden and Drury Lane theatres represented more accessible locations. The highest social class nevertheless still frequented them. For example, the Harris family papers document attendance at both *Almena* and *The Capricious Lovers* in the winter of 1764.⁶⁰

Even if the Mozarts did not attend these operas, it was important for them to be fully aware of their potential patrons' musical tastes. Despite the music's absence from Leopold's letters, the Mozarts were acquainted with *Artaxerxes* at least. After leaving London in 1765, Wolfgang composed the concert aria 'Conservati fedele', K.23, which is based on Metastasio's libretto for Arne's aria 'By that beloved embrace'. Although Bach had also set an opera to Metastasio's libretto in 1760, the prominence of Arne's *Artaxerxes* during the 1764-5 period suggests that the Mozarts were acquainted with this version, not Bach's. Leopold's letter of 8th February 1765 also

⁵⁸ McVeigh, 'Concert Life' in Temperley et al., 'London (i)', *GMO*.

⁵⁹ McVeigh in Temperley et al., 'London (i)', *GMO*.

⁶⁰ Burrows and Dunhill eds., *Harris Papers*, 433, 436.

references 'a few pasticci' that were due to be premiered in 1765.⁶¹ It is possible that *Maid of the Mill* was among those he was referencing.

Handel and Charity

Many of the Mozarts' patrons – including the royal family, the Harrises, the Clives, and club culture members – had been big supporters of Handel and his music during the latter composer's lifetime. Handel had died just five years before the Mozarts arrived in London, and his memory was still very much present in the minds and musical life of the London public during the 1760s.⁶² In addition to the inherited musical patrons, 'ancient' music enthusiasts, including the Academy and Catch Club, frequently performed Handel's music. Leopold was apparently aware of this, and actively sought to tap into Handel's continuing reputation in England. In the advertisement for the Mozarts' first benefit concert on 4th June 1764, Leopold emphasises the parallels between Handel and his son:

His Father brought him [Wolfgang] to England, not doubting but that he must meet with Success in a Kingdom where his Countryman Handel received, during his Life, such particular Protections: their Majesties having already twice seen and admired this young Creature. Tickets, at Half a Guinea each, to be had of Mr. Mozart, at Mr, Couzin's, Hair-Cutter in Cecil Court, St. Martin's Lane.

Leopold would have known that George III was a big supporter of Handel's music: the King had presented Wolfgang with music by Handel to play during the Mozarts' palace appearances. Indeed, Rachel Cowgill has argued that, given that three generations of Hanoverian royal had patronised Handel, a preference for Handel's music was synonymous with allegiance to the King.⁶³ Although Leopold certainly

⁶¹ Anderson, *Letters*, 54-55.

⁶² Rachel Cowgill, *Mozart's Music in London, 1764-1829: Aspects of Reception and Canonicity* (unpublished doctoral thesis; King's College London, 2000), 40.

⁶³ Cowgill, *Mozart's Music*, 41.

sought royal favour, the strong reference to Handel in the concert advertisement was undoubtedly a marketing strategy.

Rachel Cowgill's thesis contains a discussion of Handel's significance for the Mozarts. Cowgill suggests that Mainwaring's 1760 biography of Handel, heavily weighted towards his childhood and early musical development, possibly contributed to the composer's posthumous legacy, and possibly served as a source of inspiration for Leopold.⁶⁴ Certainly, as noted in Barrington's report on Mozart's abilities, there were parallels: Handel had begun life as a child prodigy, was a native German in England, and had been a favourite with the royal family. Whether or not Leopold had read Mainwaring's biography, he was attuned to the importance of Handel for his son. By positioning Wolfgang almost as a 'successor' to Handel, Leopold was adding credibility to his children's appearance as child prodigies.⁶⁵

Visiting Vauxhall pleasure gardens would have served to raise Leopold's awareness of the status Handel had enjoyed during his lifetime. Leopold would surely have seen Louis-François Roubiliac's full-length marble statue of Handel (**Figure 25**), which was erected in the pleasure gardens in 1738 by the owner, Jonathan Tyers. Handel's statue is the first known example depicting a living public figure without the status of a royal, nobleman or military figure.⁶⁶ The significance of this would surely not have been lost upon Leopold.

⁶⁴ Cowgill, *Mozart's Music*, 40. Cowgill's discussion of Handel and Mozart, 'In Handel's Footsteps' extends from p40-49.

⁶⁵ Significantly, Wolfgang Mozart owned a copy of Mainwaring's biography as an adult. His letter to Michael Puchberg in late March/early April 1790 opens with, 'Herewith, my dearest friend, I'm sending you the life of Handel'. Anderson identifies this as Mainwaring's biography, and Eisen suggests it is Johann Mattheson's, *Georg Friedrich Händel's Lebensbeschreibung* (translated from Mainwaring; Hamburg, 1761). See Anderson, *Letters*, 936; Eisen, *Letters*, 547.

⁶⁶ See Madeleine Mainstone, "'Handel' by Louis François Roubiliac, 1738", *Victoria and Albert Museum Catalogue* (1978, revised 2006), online at: <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/h/roubiliacs-handel/>, accessed 30/10/2015.

Figure 25: Louis-François Roubiliac, *Handel*, marble statue (1738)
V&A A.3-1965



As Handel's life progressed, his name became prominently linked with charitable causes. Handel had been a patron and benefactor of the Society of Musicians, an organisation that maintained a fund for impoverished musicians and their families. More notably, though, his *Messiah* was performed annually at the Foundling Hospital from 1750 until 1777.⁶⁷ During Handel's lifetime, audiences regularly numbered a thousand and, although attendance declined after his death, the annual performances were still key events in the social calendar.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ McVeigh in Temperley et al., 'London (i)', *GMO*.

⁶⁸ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 37.

Handel's association with charity may have accounted for Leopold's interest in the Foundling Hospital. In her diary, Nannerl lists it as one of the places she saw, and Leopold Mozart took home a print of the hospital to Salzburg (**Figure 26**).

Figure 26: J. June sculp., *A View of the Foundling Hospital* (mid eighteenth century) 20x25.2cm



The annual *Messiah* performances accorded the Foundling Hospital a significance in London's Westminster Musical scene, and the 1765 annual performance of *Messiah* took place while the Mozarts were in London:

Hospital for the Maintenance and Education of Exposed and Deserted young Children.

TOWARDS the Support of this Charity, the sacred Oratorio MESSIAH will be performed in the Chapel of this Hospital on Tuesday the 2nd of April next, at twelve o'Clock at Noon precisely, with a Concert on the Organ by Mr. Stanley.

Tickets to be had, at Half-a-Guinea each, of the St**vara [unreadable] of this Hospital; at Arthur's, in St. James's-street; at Basson's Coffee-house, Cornhill; at Tom's Coffee-house, in Devereux-court; and at Will's Coffee-house, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 30th March 1765, Issue 11247.

There were also public Sunday church services in the chapel, which possible associates of the Mozarts, such as the Harris Family, attended.⁷⁰ Finally, referring back to the previous chapter, Aaron Franks – a patron of the Mozarts – was a governor of the hospital. Even if the Mozarts did not attend the hospital themselves, its musical associations were significant in the musical scene they were part of.

Other public institutions began to imitate the Foundling Hospital's annual benefit concerts, most notably the Lock Hospital in Grosvenor Place, and McVeigh has noted that, by 1765, the oratorio had become the established medium for charitable benefit concerts.⁷¹ For example, the Lock Hospital gave an annual performance of *Ruth*, an oratorio collaboration between Felice Giardini and Charles Avison. William Boyce was originally an intended collaborator with the above pair, but had been unable to complete his section of the oratorio. This annual benefit concert, too, was widely attended by prestigious members of society.⁷²

Leopold seems to have identified the public mood for beneficence, because he arranged for Wolfgang to appear as part of a concert at Ranelagh House raising money for a 'Public useful Charity'.⁷³ Leopold's letter of 28th June 1764 identifies the charity as a 'newly established *Hospital de femmes en couche* [lying-in hospital]',⁷⁴ although his letter is the only source that does so. The advertisements note only the 'public useful charity'. Emily Anderson has identified the hospital as the 'Westminster new

⁷⁰ Elizabeth Harris notes her family's attendance at the chapel in a letter to her son of 2nd November 1764. See Burrows and Dunhill eds., *Harris Papers*, 432.

⁷¹ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 37.

⁷² For example, Elizabeth Harris's letter to her son, James Harris Jr., noted that: 'We were much pleas'd with the musick yesterday at the Lock Hospital. Avison's chorus was very fine, the two last acts of Giardini's pleas'd me most, though great praise is due to Mr Avison.' See Burrows and Dunhill eds., *Harris Papers*, 438. Significant about these performances too, was the intended collaboration between Boyce, Giardini and Avison. It again demonstrates the interaction of musicians who were, broadly speaking, active within different spheres of London's musical society.

⁷³ *Public Advertiser*, 29th June 1764, Issue, 9257. It is possible that Leopold managed to arrange Wolfgang's appearance through Thomas Arne who, at this time, arranged many of the concerts at Ranelagh Pleasure Gardens. See Rachel Cowgill, 'Performance Alfresco: Music-Making in London's Pleasure Gardens', in Jonathan Conlin ed., *The Pleasure Garden, from Vauxhall to Coney Island* (Pennsylvania, 2012), 103.

⁷⁴ Eisen, *Letters*, 43.

lying-in hospital' that opened in 1767 and Cowgill agrees, citing that its 'foundation stones had been laid since 1765'.⁷⁵ Actually, though, newspaper articles suggest that the idea for this hospital was not even propositioned until 1765, and the plans were not confirmed until August of that year, after the Mozarts had left London. The *Public Advertiser* published the following notice on 14th June 1765:

NEW LYING-IN HOSPITAL

As it appears that great Numbers of poor Women with Child are disappointed of Admittance into the Lying-In Hospitals already founded, because of the Want of Room; a voluntary Subscription for building a new hospital near Westminster-Bridge, is already begun...⁷⁶

And in August 1765, the plans for establishing the hospital had been finalised, although no work had been contracted:

WESTMINSTER NEW LYING-IN HOSPITAL

Those persons who are inclined to contract for the different branches necessary towards raising the centre building of the said hospital, on the Surrey side of Westminster-Bridge, are desired to deliver their several proposals, sealed, at a General Meeting...⁷⁷

Contrary to Leopold's letter, the Westminster hospital had certainly not been established by the end of June 1764. The other possibility is the 'General lying-in hospital' that had been founded in 1752. The early date does not fit with Leopold's description of the hospital as 'newly established', but there is nevertheless a connection with this hospital: Leopold lists the hospital's medical officer – Felix MacDonough – in his travel notes. Admittedly, the fact that MacDonough is not listed until the fourth page of Leopold's notes questions whether the pair had met by the 29th of June 1764. However, if Leopold's reference to a lying in hospital is correct, then the General Hospital was the only lying-in hospital in Westminster at this time. It is possible, then, that Leopold was simply mistaken in his description, or that he had misunderstood the

⁷⁵ See Anderson, *Letters*, 49, fn.2; Cowgill, *Mozart's Music*, 31.

⁷⁶ *P.A.*, 14th June 1765, Issue 9607.

⁷⁷ *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, August 13th 1765, Issue 11363.

precise nature of these public benefit concerts. For example, it is possible that he assumed the hospital *must* be newly established to receive substantial assistance of his kind when, in fact, such events were a regular feature of London concert life.

The advertisement for the benefit concert, which first lists the concert programme, is addressed to the 'rich, affluent and compassionate', and is particularly effusive in its encouragement of public benevolence. There is a quotation from the parable of 'Jesus and the rich young man', followed by a case for the natural charitable tendency of human nature:

'And Christ said unto him, one Thing thou yet lackest; give Charity to the Poor, and thou shalt have Treasure in Heaven'.

It has been often thought a truth, beyond Contradiction, that if the Rich, Affluent, and Compassionate, were more thoroughly acquainted with the Wants and Distresses of the Poor; if their vast Variety of Miseries and Afflictions were more known to them, it would not be possible in the Nature of Things, for any Person, unless totally divested of every Sympathetic Feeling for their Fellow Creature, to pass them by indifferently, or as altogether unconcerned for their painful agonizing Sufferings. The Almighty Superintendent of all things has wisely and providentially imprinted a compassionate Sense of the Misfortunes of others deeply in our Nature; so that when we once stare them in the Face, we can not avoid being melted to real Pity, and a readiness to relieve and comfort. The Success of the above Benefit depends only upon this Heavenly and Godlike virtue; which Christ himself says, covers a Multitude of Sins.⁷⁸

During this period, conceptions of charity were inextricably linked to religion, and the idea that God favoured those who were charitable. Passages such as the above advertisement were designed to encourage public benevolence. Handel's anthem for the Foundling Hospital, composed for the first benefit concert of the hospital in 1749,⁷⁹ provides another instance of this. For example, the words of the first and second movements – 'blessed are they that considereth the poor' and 'the charitable

⁷⁸ *P.A.*, 29th June 1764, Issue, 9257. The quotation from the parable of Jesus and the Rich Young Man appears in Luke 18:22, Mark 10:21 and Matthew 19:21.

⁷⁹ The last movement of the *Anthem for the Foundling Hospital* was directly lifted from *Messiah*. Handel decided upon *Messiah* for the next year, 1750, and this went on to become the annual event.

shall be had in everlasting remembrance and the good will shine in the brightness of the firmament' – emphasise the importance of charitable activities. Indeed, with a thousand-odd tickets being sold for these performances, the audience were contributing to a charitable cause just by attending.

Persons of a charitable nature were often associated with qualities of nobility. Mainwaring's biography makes this link directly, referring to Handel's 'noble resolution' to assist the hospital. Similarly, the founder of the Foundling Hospital Thomas Coram was frequently depicted as a charitable 'hero'. His biographer and friend Richard Brocklesby remarked that 'when others are remembered by Titles and Adulations, his shall be a nobler Fame, to have lived above the Fear of every Thing but an unworthy Action.'⁸⁰ In the eighteenth century, prevalent understandings of 'noble' included '[a person] displaying high moral qualities' and '[something] characterised by moral superiority or dignity'.⁸¹ Because of their charitable characters and actions, both Coram and Handel had been elevated above the station of ordinary people. Although both men were dead, the annual benefit concerts maintained their presence in the public mind.

Even only two months into their stay, Leopold's description of the Ranelagh House concert to Hagenauer suggests that he sought to situate Wolfgang as charitable benefactor in the eye of the public:

On Friday 29 June – the Feast of St Peter and St Paul – there will be a concert or benefit at Ranelagh for a newly established *Hospital de femmes en couche*, as a result everyone must pay 5 shillings to get in. I have arranged for Wolfgang to play a concerto on the organ and in that way to perform the action of an English patriot who, as far as he can, seeks to further the usefulness of this hospital, which has been

⁸⁰ Richard Brocklesby, *Private Virtue and Publick Spirit Displayed in a Succinct Essay on the Character of Capt. Thomas Coram* (London, 1751), 28.

⁸¹ 'Noble, adj.', *OED Online*.

built *pro bono publico*. This, you see, is a way of winning the love of this quite exceptional nation.⁸²

As with other benefit concerts of this type, the music performed was primarily from oratorios, in this case Handel's *Acis and Galatea* and *Alexander's Feast*. The prominence of Handel's works in this programme would again have served to remind the audience of the deceased composer's benevolence. Moreover, by arranging for Wolfgang to participate in the concert, Leopold was again aligning him with Handel. Referring back to the 1765 *Messiah* advertisement (p225) Wolfgang's role – supporting the oratorio with an organ performance – was comparable to that of Mr Stanley's in the 1765 *Messiah* performance: '[Mozart] will perform several fine select Pieces of his own Composition on the Harpsichord and on the Organ'.⁸³ By performing his own compositions in a concert for public benefit, Wolfgang is being positioned almost as a 'successor' to Handel's place in the public eye.

Finally, the most significant benefit this concert held for the Mozarts was the public exposure they would have received so early on in their stay. The newspaper advertisement states that a porter for the charity had 'a large Packet of 800 Tickets' to be sold in advance of the concert. There is no indication of how many tickets were sold for the event but, assuming the eight hundred tickets were sold, the audience would have amounted to almost four times the number at the Mozarts' first benefit concert of 4th June 1764.⁸⁴ Moreover, the address in the advertisement to the 'rich, affluent and compassionate' signifies that concert was being marketed to London's wealthy public. It would therefore both have presented them to many potential

⁸² Eisen, *Letters*, 43.

⁸³ *P.A.*, 29th June 1764, Issue 9257.

⁸⁴ Leopold's letter of 8th June 1764 indicates that he made a profit of one hundred guineas from an audience of over two hundred. See Anderson, *Letters*, 48. Although this concert was for a more limited audience capacity, Spring Room was at Vauxhall Gardens. The very fact that they were performing at Vauxhall Gardens would have increased their public prominence.

patrons, and would have stirred public interest for those who had not attended the Mozarts' own benefit concert earlier in the month.

That there were eight hundred tickets to be sold suggests the audience would have comprised London's ever-widening middle class, rather than exclusively the fashionable nobility and gentry in Westminster. Crucially, the social diversity at the pleasure gardens raises the possibility that the Mozarts performed for people of different social spheres from very early on in their tour.⁸⁵ As discussed in the previous chapter, wealthy merchants and traders would have been able to purchase a ticket. The admission price of five shillings, rather than the half guinea often charged for Westminster public concerts, would also have increased the event's accessibility. Although the advertisement clearly targeted London's wealthy, such performances would not have been 'socially screened' to the same extent as Westminster subscription concerts. Leopold's letter of 28th June 1764 notes the thousands of people who frequented Vauxhall and Ranelagh at each opportunity.⁸⁶ This suggests that Leopold's decision for the family's second public appearance to take place at Ranelagh was both considered and sensible.

The Mozarts' Musical Gift

This chapter set out to document the Mozarts' awareness of London's alternative musical cultures, and Leopold's interactions with their musicians. It is in these networks that there are apparently the most significant gaps in his travel notes; sometimes people are not listed, despite evidence suggesting the possibility of a meeting. This helps to outline Leopold's thought-process when making and recording contacts. It is evident throughout this dissertation that he endeavoured to mix in the

⁸⁵ Leopold himself comments on the social diversity at Ranelagh stating that, 'here all men are equal...in return for their money, all are equal'. See Eisen, *Letters*, 43.

⁸⁶ Eisen, *Letters*, 43-44.

circles – musical and otherwise – that he considered to be of the most use to his family as travelling musicians. This chapter does not attempt to deny that this was primarily within Westminster's musical life. The dominance of professional musicians and patrons in Westminster confirms that Leopold's travel notes held a primary function as a professional contacts list. For reasons discussed above, it would not have been possible for the Mozarts to participate in London's musical club culture. Therefore, the absence of musicians such as William Jackson and William Boyce from Leopold's travel notes does not necessarily mean that the Mozarts did not interact with individuals from this sphere. It merely suggests that Leopold did not consider them useful for his family's professional and financial advancement

A closer look at K.20 surely indicates some level of interest in, even engagement with, London's musical club cultures. Existing scholarly accounts have highlighted various possible musical contexts in which to situate Mozart's K.20: designated a 'chorus' by Wolfgang, it has been described as a 'motet' and a 'catch'.⁸⁷ On the other hand, Rachel Cowgill and Donald Burrows both consider that K.20 could be modelled on 'Handelian taste in London',⁸⁸ and could signify the influence of Handel supporter James Harris, a British Museum Trustee.⁸⁹ Given Harris's devotion to Handel, Cowgill sees K.20 as another attempt to 'cement the relationship between Wolfgang and Handel in the perceptions of the English'.⁹⁰ Donald Burrows shares this view, in stating that the chorus was 'Mozart's entry in the autograph album of Handelian taste in London'.⁹¹ This seems possible, especially when considered in the

⁸⁷ Hyatt King, *Mozart Legacy*, 21-23.

⁸⁸ Cowgill, *Mozart's Music*, 49. Cowgill quotes this phrase from Donald Burrows, 'Performances of Handel's Music', 28.

⁸⁹ Harris had been a longstanding friend of Handel's during the latter's lifetime. See Rosemary Dunhill, 'Harris, James', *DNB Online*.

⁹⁰ Cowgill, *Mozart's Music*, 48.

⁹¹ Cited by Cowgill in *Mozart*, 48-49.

context of music and charity, discussed above.⁹² Indeed, the subject of Psalm 46 – of God being a source of help in troubling times – has charitable connotations. K.20, however, was never intended for performance. Moreover, the British Museum had never displayed any interest in starting a music collection,⁹³ so it is unlikely that Leopold was still seeking to make any significant impressions on the London *public* by this late stage in their stay.

It is important to remember that K.20 was only part of the gift for the British Museum and, as such, it must be considered in conjunction with the other parts of the gift. It was donated along with a print of Louis Carrogis Carmontelle's portrait of Leopold, Wolfgang and Nannerl, painted in Paris in 1763 (**Figure 27**). In the portrait, Nannerl sings, Wolfgang plays the harpsichord, and Leopold plays the violin while leaning against the back of his son's chair with his legs crossed. The attire of the family, the two pillars in the right-hand-side background, and the trees and sky visible beyond, indicate that this portrait also represents the 'great style'.⁹⁴ The final part of the gift was a copy of Wolfgang's sonatas for piano and violin, K.6-9, composed in Paris, and his sonatas K.10-15, composed in London.⁹⁵ With the exception of K.20, the other parts of the musical gift had been widely advertised and distributed in

⁹² Cowgill, who has made a case for the Mozarts' early acquaintance with John Mainwaring's biography of Handel, believes that K.20 may have been directly inspired by the following quotation: 'by the time he was nine [Handel] began to compose the church service for voices and instruments'. See Mainwaring *George Frederick Handel*, 15-16; and Cowgill, *Mozart's Music*, 49.

⁹³ Hyatt King, *Mozart Legacy*, 15.

⁹⁴ 'Grand Manner' or 'Great Style' was a term used by British artists for this particular style. Although the portrait was printed in Paris, its purpose in London was to represent the Mozart family to the English public. It therefore would have been perceived as a 'grand manner' portrait in London.

⁹⁵ The sonatas are not identified in Leopold Mozart's receipt from the Museum, which reads simply, 'Sir. I am ordered by the *Standing Committee* of the Trustees of the British Museum, to signify to You, that they have received the *present of musical performances of your very ingenious Son* which You were please lately to make Them, and to return You their Thanks for the same. British Museum, *July 19th 1765*'. Reproduced in *MDB*, 46. An article in the *Salzburger Zeitung* of 6th August 1765 claims that the Museum 'asked for the sonatas that were printed in Paris and made known here'. However, Hyatt King confirms that the sonatas K.10-15 were also part of the gift, but were most likely presented by Leopold on a separate occasion. He notes that, due to a different binding, the K.10-15 was not able to be stored with the other parts of the gift and became separated. See Hyatt King, 'The Mozarts at the British Museum' in Alec Hyatt King, *Music Pursuits: Selected Essays* (The British Library, 1987), 65-66.

London. The sonatas and the prints of the portrait were sold together, but Hyatt King also notes that Leopold often sent the portrait prints ahead to be distributed in advance of their arrival in particular locations on their tours.⁹⁶

Taken as a whole, this gift had the capacity to cement perceptions of Wolfgang, and the three parts of the donation are significant because it represents the lasting impression the Mozarts chose to leave of themselves. The print, the sonatas and K.20 complete a tripartite representation of Wolfgang. The sonatas demonstrate his compositional capabilities in the modern, instrumental fashions of Westminster; K.20 represents both his awareness of England's enthusiasm for past musical styles and ability to compose in a more 'intellectual' style. Finally, the portrait serves as a reminder of the family's presence within London's musical scene, and their status as learned, well-respected musicians. Overall, this situates Wolfgang as a modern, cosmopolitan musician in training, aware of the full extent of London's musical diversity, and the varied tastes of his patrons.

Yet again, it seems pertinent to question the concepts of 'success' upon which scholars have typically placed so much emphasis – the financial rewards and patronage the Mozarts, as travelling musicians, received within the City of Westminster. First, the status typically assigned to the Mozarts as 'travelling' musicians is deserving of a re-examination given their extended stay of fifteen months. Rather than being accorded the status of either touring musicians or permanent residents, the Mozarts can instead be viewed as four out of hundreds of transient musical figures, navigating a cosmopolitan centre. As such, part of their job was to successfully assess the tastes of their patrons and adapt accordingly. This is mirrored in the professional activities of the Mozarts' musical contacts in Westminster, as demonstrated by continental musicians who were also Catch Club members, and Giardini's substantial

⁹⁶ Hyatt King, *Mozart Legacy*, 23.

contribution to the oratorio *Ruth* for the annual benefit of the Lock Hospital.

Leopold's arrangement for Wolfgang to perform in the Ranelagh benefit concert, and the composition of K.20, demonstrates his awareness of the family's position in London's constantly shifting and overlapping musical circles.

Figure 27: Jean Baptiste Delafosse after Louis Carmontelle, engraving of Leopold, Wolfgang and Nannerl Mozart, paper etching (1764) 28.2cmx20.2cm. BM, 1864,0611.50.



Conclusion

An in-depth study of Leopold Mozart's travel notes, letters and other contemporaneous documents and iconography has facilitated a detailed reconstruction of several circles of acquaintances, or networks, that the Mozart family engaged with during their fifteen months in London. Understanding the existing connections between the people listed in Leopold's travel notes and other documents and, in turn, how the Mozarts themselves engaged with these pre-existing networks offers the chance for a more nuanced account of the family's time in London.

The variety of people with different skills, interests and professions listed by Leopold all serve to confirm the cultural diversity the Mozarts became part of and embraced in London. Their exposure to new cultures and customs on what was ostensibly a musical tour suggests that the tour was actually intended as a well-rounded educational journey. Significantly, this corresponds to Leopold's parenting approach; later in his life, when offering Nannerl advice about how to bring up her own children, Leopold reflected that:

My whole attention was invariably devoted at my children's education and training. First and foremost are good manners and knowledge, enlightened and sound common sense and skill...these cannot be taken away.¹

This statement confirms that Leopold placed great value upon the all round – not just musical – education of his children, a fact that was surely a driving force behind the early family travels.

My approach to studying Leopold's social and professional networks, by engaging with contemporaneous historical, literary and material culture sources, both challenges the well-trodden narratives of this period and highlights new areas for exploration. For example, Leopold's sustained contact with the City of London, both

¹ Letter [after 21st] November 1784. See Eisen, *Letters*, 495.

as a place and the people who lived and worked within it, has all but been ignored in existing literature, with the exception of the family's performances at the Swan and Hoop Tavern, which are thought to confirm waning interest in Wolfgang and Nannerl. However, understanding the patronage of merchants and traders from the City of London as something Leopold deliberately cultivated over a sustained period of time forces a reconsideration of the family's final months in London. Similarly, considering the Swan and Hoop appearances through contemporaneous understandings of 'science' and 'curiosities' offers an alternative, historically grounded framework for understandings of the event.

The Mozarts' relationship with the City of London is the biggest single 'reassessment' offered in my dissertation, because of the biographical importance commonly placed on the Swan and Hoop Tavern appearances. However, my approach has also challenged many smaller, ostensibly minor, details that significantly alter the overall narrative of their stay when considered as a whole. This is particularly the case within the Westminster music scene, where existing accounts have focused overwhelmingly on Wolfgang's musical compositions, key figures of compositional influence, and public concert appearances. Outlining the broader range of composers, instrumentalists and patrons that the family knew, alongside reassessing certain historical contexts (such as concert admission prices) confirm that Leopold fully understood the complexities of London concert life and planned the family's professional activities accordingly. Rather than pursuing opportunities in order of prestige or financial gain, Leopold embraced the fluidity of London's musical life, exploiting a variety of opportunities as they arose.

My focus on historical contexts, rather than the music itself, does not diminish the validity or quality of existing studies of Wolfgang's music. Rather, it provides

much-needed historical frameworks necessary for understanding his music and its performance. In particular, K.20 highlights the diversity of musical styles that Wolfgang was exposed to in London. Given the overlapping musical interests of the Mozarts' patrons and professional colleagues, Leopold ensured his son was literate in the more 'intellectual' style popular with England's 'ancient' music enthusiasts. This formed a key part of Wolfgang's music training, emphasising the necessity of adapting to the contrasting taste of potential patrons.

Studying the Mozarts' musical activities also draws attention to their wider intellectual interests and concerns. In particular, I have highlighted ways in which Leopold used his relationship with certain patrons as a way into furthering his own interests in contemporary science and technology. He was able to make considered purchases of top-quality scientific instruments, encourage intellectual interest in his children, and relay information about new technologies back to friends and acquaintances in Salzburg. Likewise, engaging patrons in matters outside of music confirmed Leopold's social status as an educated intellectual with a broad range of interests, helping to cement these patronage relationships.

My dissertation is structured around the networks for which the most evidence survives, evidence that the Mozarts' engagement was important for some kind of advancement, musical or otherwise. However, the inherent incompleteness of 'network-based' sources such as the travel notes and letters, and the documentary approach I have taken to research, mean there are both several individuals and groups of people that would still benefit from further study. Such people have been neglected from my chapters where there is not sufficient evidence for their direct relevance to the Mozarts' London experiences. Most fleetingly are the two portrait artists listed: Johann Zoffany and George James. Both were active in 1760s London,

exhibiting with the Royal Academy of Arts in 1764-5. However, they are neither contextualised within Leopold's travel notes, nor mentioned in his letters. Moreover, although Leopold purchased several prints in London, he makes no reference to art. The prints differ in their function of 'completing' Leopold's letters and cultural description. At this time, unfortunately, a more in-depth study of such individuals has not been possible.

Leopold also displayed an interest in contemporary politics. Several patrons listed, both Westminster and City based, were either MPs or maintained active interests in British colonialism, either through plantation ownership or involvement in the East India Company. Leopold's letters suggest that he was tuned into contemporary affairs. For example, he comments on the postponing of Parliament in early 1765, a duel between Lord William Byron and William Chaworth Esq (and the subsequent trial of Byron), the silk-weavers' riots in July 1765, and the victory of Britain and the East India Company at the battle of Buxar.² He also highlights in his travel notes that a 'Mr Ottley' owned West Indian plantations and frequently travelled there.³ Clearly, Leopold was interested enough in these events to either write about them to Hagenauer or to record them in his travel notes. However, unlike with science and technology, there are no detailed discussions or surviving ephemera that confirm a more sustained engagement with politics or colonialism. Therefore, it is likely that Leopold's interests in these areas were merely passing – that of a tourist or a potential topic of conversation with a patron.

² See Leopold's letter to Hagenauer of 9th July, 1765: 'Incidentally, some very welcome news has just arrived here: namely that on the 23 October 1764 the troops of the King and the India Company won a complete victory over the King of Indostan and his vizier (50,000 men in total). A victory for which a Salzburger is not given a pipe of tobacco, and is only pleasant for the English sailors and merchants.' German transcription available in *MBA*, I, 190.

³ As acknowledged in Chapter 4, footnote 42, the finances of several of Leopold's patrons were underpinned with by investment in the slave trade or the East India Company.

Reassessing Leopold's motivations for taking his children on tour directly affects perceptions of him as an exploitative parent, using his children for his own financial gain. Of course, the ambition of providing Wolfgang and Nannerl with an unrivalled education depended on musical and financial success. The Mozarts needed to earn money to maintain their ability to travel. Crucially, this was not money Leopold then profited from personally; rather, it enabled them to be intellectual tourists in any given location, which included purchasing objects of interest. Leopold's letters nevertheless reveal that he cared deeply for his children's wellbeing. Moreover, Leopold still earned his Salzburg court salary throughout these early travels: his employer Archbishop Schrattenbach supported the tour, actively encouraging all of his court musicians to broaden their horizons through extended travel.⁴

Finally, rethinking the Mozart family's travels encourages us to consider the significance of Wolfgang's own wider intellectual pursuits as an adult. On a visit to Mannheim as a young adult, he took time to visit the observatory;⁵ he commented upon Jean-Pierre Blanchard's hot air balloon flight over Vienna and subsequently referenced the event in *Die Zauberflöte*;⁶ he was part of a circle of respected intellectuals in Vienna;⁷ and, as a father himself, owned educational children's books.⁸ Not only was the adult Wolfgang highly engaged with contemporary society, he also highly valued his childhood experiences. Writing to his father in 1778, Wolfgang observed:

⁴ Halliwell, 'Schrattenbach, Siegmund Christoph von', in Eisen and Keefe eds., *CME*, 451.

⁵ *MDB*, 179.

⁶ Mozart referred to Blanchard's balloon flight over Vienna of 6th July 1791 in his letter to his wife of the same day. He then parodied Blanchard's flight in his opera *Die Zauberflöte*, when the three boys descend in a balloon. For letter reference, see Eisen, *Letters*, 560.

⁷ Among Mozart's Viennese acquaintances were Baron Gottfried van Swieten, Ignaz von Born and Josef von Sonnenfels. Brief biographies of each can be found in Keefe and Eisen eds., *CME*.

⁸ For example, a geography book, likely previously owned by the Mozarts in Salzburg: *Atlas des Enfants, ou Méthode nouvelle, courte, facile et démonstrative, pour apprendre la Géographie* (Amsterdam, Schneider, 1760). See Viktor Töpelmann, *The Mozart Family and Empfindsamkeit: Enlightenment and Sensibility in Salzburg 1750-1790* (unpublished PhD dissertation; King's College London, February 2016), 132.

I can assure you that people who do not travel – at least people in the arts and sciences – are pitiful creatures!⁹

⁹ Letter of 11th September 1778. See Eisen, *Letters*, 360.

Appendix I: Leopold Mozart's London *Reisenotizen*.¹

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