

A Music Library for St Andrews: Use of the University's Copyright Music Collections, 1801–1849

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Both the town and the University of St Andrews were historically small. In 1801, the entire town population was around four thousand. This more than doubled by the end of the nineteenth century, but it is still only about thirteen thousand today. As for the University itself, Samuel Johnson reported in 1773 that there were only one hundred students, and even by 1840, Leighton's *A History of the County of Fife* records only one hundred and thirty Students at United College, with a further forty-seven theological students at St Mary's College – a very small community, with a high ratio of faculty to students.

Book historian Matthew Sangster has epitomised the town as 'a somewhat marginal outpost of the Scottish Enlightenment', during the years preceding the era of the present author's research.¹ He has pointed out that the legal deposit of books in the University Library during the Georgian era brought a richness of material that the University could not otherwise have afforded, and calculates that about 60% of the book stock came via legal deposit, by the year 1800. Additionally, Sangster cites other research noting that the earliest evidence of a commercial circulating library is around 1820. John Wood's *Plan of the City of St Andrews* certainly locates a 'Circulating Library and Stamp Office' in South Street that year.

I have not yet definitively established whether printed music was sold in early nineteenth-century St Andrews. By 1825, there were two bookshops, one of which had only opened the year before, but this does not tell us about the availability of music.² Music could certainly be bought at Charles Duff's shop in Dundee, several decades before Andrew Wighton's music shop opened, but it would have been an arduous trip for a few sheets of printed music.³ The availability of an up-to-date, regularly augmented music collection literally on their doorstep as part of the University's legal deposit entitlement would thus have been a boon to town and gown alike.

The University's library committee began sending its legal deposit music to the bindery in 1801; all the evidence points to the 460 bound volumes having been an invaluable resource for local amateur musicians. In common with a few other legal deposit libraries, St Andrews bound their music into sammelbands – composite volumes comprising as many as a hundred-odd songs, or conversely, just a small handful of bigger books bound together. More will be said of the other libraries in due course, but it should here be noted that the custodians

of St Andrews' music seem to have bound their music more assiduously, chronologically sooner, and more thoughtfully than most. To divide music into volumes for vocal or instrumental use was not uncommon. However, in St Andrews one can discern more careful categorisation. Music for harp, music for piano, or music for ensemble is often bound in these sub-categories. If there were separate parts for flute or violin to accompany songs, the parts were bound in separate volumes, so that they could be used in performance. Sets of piano themes and variations – a very popular musical genre – were often bound in volumes. Similarly, music with a Scottish influence might be bound into volumes of Scottish songs, or volumes of Scottish themes and variations for piano. There are also a handful of volumes in which Napoleonic songs or compositions by women have apparently been deliberately bound together. Lastly, instructional material was sometimes, but not always collated together. One forms the general impression that collation by category tended to take precedence over collation by publication date, particularly in the early years when an accumulation of sheet music needed to be processed.

Until a handwritten catalogue was drawn up, selecting music must have been somewhat serendipitous. Would-be borrowers might well have simply requested that a professorial friend borrow, for example, a recent book of piano music or songs on their behalf. A young woman called Miss Lambert was responsible for the production of a music catalogue in two volumes, being paid a small sum for the second volume in 1826.⁴ It is unknown whether (or how soon) readers had access to either volume of the catalogue prior to this date. Cataloguing would have continued until circa 1836, the year legal deposit ceased in St Andrews, but Miss Lambert married and moved to Islington in 1832, marking the end of any possible involvement by her with the management of the collection. Her listing would have been invaluable; there is evidence of readers borrowing not only the music volumes, but the catalogue itself. We shall return to the Lambert family later in this paper.

British music of this era has traditionally not enjoyed a good press. Indeed, Hans Gal wrote dismissively of the 'gradual decline' of English song in the second half of the eighteenth century, writing of a 'definitive' degeneration of all English music after 1800, adding as consolation his opinion that worldwide, 'the first third of the nineteenth century [...] was an age of the worst general taste in music ever recorded in history, in spite of the great geniuses with which we are accustomed to identify that period.'⁵ Such an opinion is open to debate, of course. Nonetheless, what is of interest in the present study is not the musical *quality* of the surviving copyright music (how can one summarise the quality of such a vast amount of very varied material, containing everything from comparatively trivial songs and dances, to serious sonatas and instructional material?) but the use made of the collection by the professors, their families and friends, using data from the University's own archives.

The University of St Andrews is fortunate indeed in the remarkable collection of archival documentation surrounding the administration of the legal deposit collections, the decisions made by Senate on every aspect of University administration, from fireplaces and leaky library roofs, to library presses, binding consignments, and receipt books detailing every loan by its professors, their students, and ‘strangers’, i.e. the friends and relatives who were permitted to borrow books and music under individual professors’ names.⁶

I have collated details of all music loans from 1801 (when retrospective binding began) to the end of the professors’ receipt book covering the period 1836–1849. The latter volume charts the gradual decline in music borrowing when the regular influx of new music from London dried up. This study was thus effectively self-limiting to the first half of the nineteenth century. During that period, fifty or so professors had borrowed music regularly for their own domestic use and on behalf of around 200 friends and relatives. For a comparatively small town and its environs, this represents a surprisingly large number of amateur musicians. Thirty-six students (at the start of the century, these were mainly adolescent boys) had also made use of the collection, although their interest dried up sooner than anyone else’s. It looks as though virtually no students were borrowing music by 1818, with only a very few music loans to students via the professors’ receipt books.

In a comprehensive spreadsheet, the borrowing of 460 numbered music volumes was tracked, along with a further 135 entries of unbound items and a few notable books on music. A couple of dance instruction manuals were also noted, since books of dance music were very popular. Between 1801 and 1849, a total of 3,659 music loans were recorded, an average of 75 loans a year. (Counting only the 460 bound volumes, there were 3,338 loans, an average of 68 a year.) The bald figures are impressive, but lend themselves to detailed interpretation via a variety of metrics.

Armed with all the data and analysis by volume, borrower type and year of borrowing, it is possible to establish which volumes were the most popular – what they contained, and who borrowed them. Were they borrowed more by the professors or their friends? By men or by women? Could the borrowers be further categorised in any way? And were any categories of music especially popular among particular segments of the readership?

INSTRUCTIONAL MUSIC

An opportunity arose in summer 2016 to participate in a workshop, *Women and Education in the Long 18th Century* (WELEC), organised by Elizabeth Ford and Brianna Robertson-Kirkland.⁷ I hypothesised that, by establishing

precisely which volumes contained instructional music, it would be possible not only to establish which were the most used, but also to make comparisons between materials borrowed by men and women. This particular investigation covered the period 1801–1836, i.e. from the time when composite binding was initiated, to the year when legal deposits ceased. A publication title was considered to be instructional if it specifically mentioned some aspect of learning music, whether how to play a particular instrument; how to perform an accompaniment; how to devise an accompaniment; progressive exercises (i.e., increasing in difficulty, or implying progression from easier to harder material); or concerning the theory or science of music.

It was necessary, of course, to identify which books contained instructional material, but not all of the St Andrews legal deposit music books have been catalogued online. Grant funding a few years ago financed the online cataloguing of a large amount of music dating post 1800; however, music prior to 1800 is currently uncatalogued, as are the latest volumes in the collection, although there is in St Andrews' Special Collections an in-house printout of all copyright collection music catalogued by Elizabeth Frame as part of her earlier researches. Miss Lambert's handwritten catalogue of 1826 facilitated the summarising of each volume's contents. Since the analysis was generally at volume level, any irregularities in the indexing were largely immaterial.⁸

Seventy instructional books were identified by searching on keywords, whether in my summary of Miss Lambert's catalogue, or in a spreadsheet of all the copyright music currently catalogued online. However, as mentioned earlier, there is one major drawback – these materials are not individually bound volumes, but are generally composite volumes collating a number of separate publications. One can identify which volumes have educational material in them; moreover, some either must have been deliberately collated together for their didactic content, or instructional titles formed a significant proportion of a volume. However, one cannot discern which publication(s) particularly attracted the reader within each volume, and this applies whether all or only some of the contents are instructional.

SOME STATISTICAL DATA

Of the 70 volumes containing instructional material, 30 of them contained more than one instructional title. Indeed, 19 contained three or more instructional publications. Nine of the 70 volumes, i.e. just under 13 percent, were solely devoted to instructional material, with one volume consisting solely of Augustus Frederic Christopher Kollmann's unborrowed 195-page, *An Essay on Practical Musical Composition*. The other eight volumes could only have been borrowed for educational purposes, since they contained nothing other than instructional material.

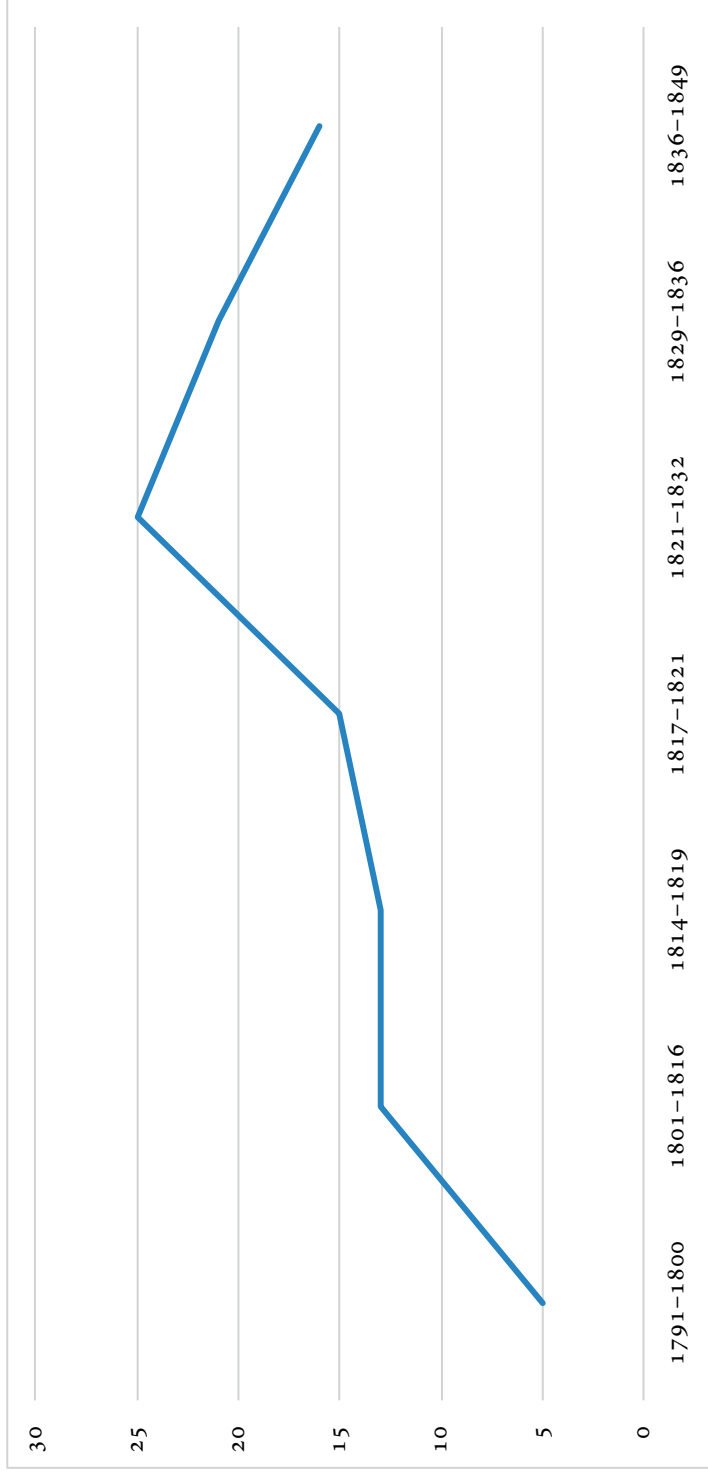


Table 1: Number of Professors Borrowing for Themselves or Friends

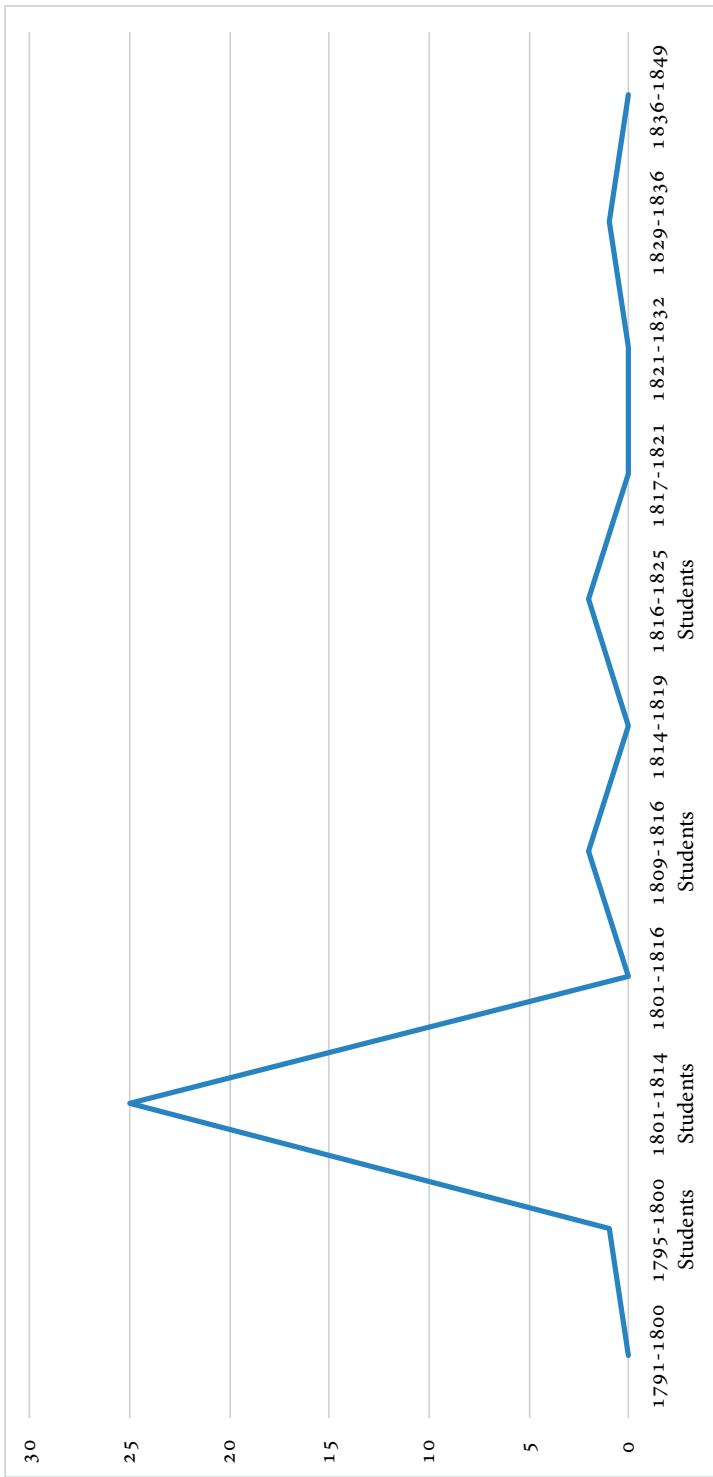


Table 2: Number of Students Borrowing Music

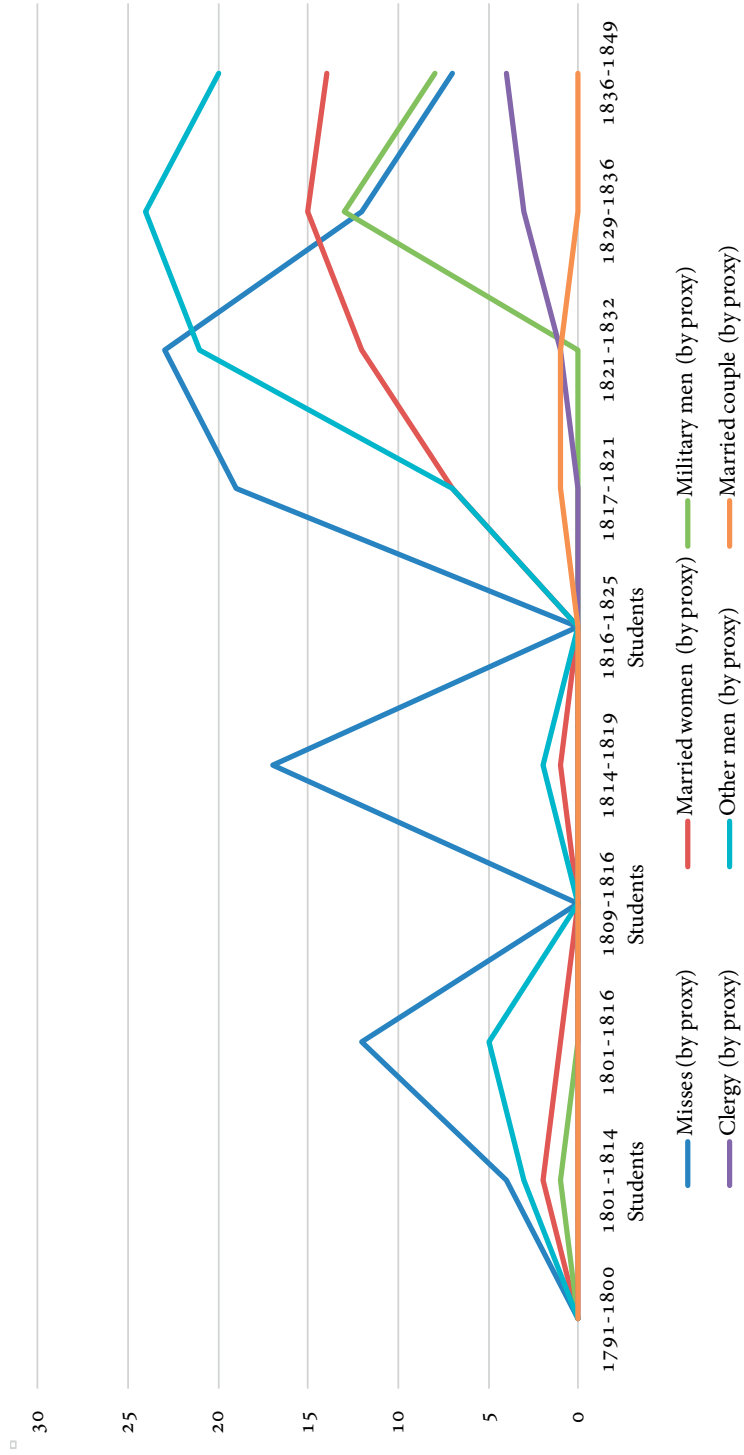


Table 3: Number of Proxy Loans by Professors for Named Individuals

It appears that, as time went by, there was rather more deliberate collation of instructional material. Of the 30 above-mentioned titles, six were in the first hundred volumes bound, five in the next hundred volumes, but then ten were found between volumes 201–300, and nine between volumes 301–400.

TRENDS IN BORROWING INSTRUCTIONAL MUSIC

Of the seventy volumes containing instructional material, sixty-two of them were borrowed. Nine volumes were borrowed ten times each or more. Only one of these popular nine volumes was solely devoted to pedagogy – volume 14, containing two books on thorough bass, one on harmony, and a pedal harp tutor.⁹ Borrowed eleven times, it unequivocally could only have been borrowed with studious intent.

A further twenty-four of these seventy volumes attracted between five and nine loans each. (Five of these contained solely instructional material, and another two were predominantly instructional – so these seven books actually represent ten percent of the seventy containing instructional material, and again, were presumably borrowed with studious intent.)

Attracting three or four loans each, another sixteen loans can be accounted for. Two of these volumes were solely instructional, and one was evenly split between instructional and not overtly instructional content.

Little significance can be attached to the thirteen volumes that only attracted one or two loans each. Only one of them contained predominantly instructional content.

There were distinct trends in terms of who borrowed these particular volumes, whatever their content. Particularly in the second decade of the nineteenth century, there was quite a demand amongst young ladies. (The second decade saw increases in the numbers of both professors and unmarried women borrowing this material, but the increase in unmarried women borrowing was far sharper, since fewer had borrowed in the first decade). In the next couple of decades, more men began to borrow – certainly far more professors, but also more of their male friends, and some military men.¹⁰ There was also a trend for music to be borrowed more by married than unmarried ladies. It seems feasible that some of the married ladies later on might have been the same young ladies who had borrowed earlier in the century; this would mean that the same individuals borrowed over a longer period, rather than a marked change in the social demographic of borrowers. (Collaboration with a local historian might yield answers, though this particular work was outwith the remit of the present project.)

Not surprisingly, volumes containing titles about learning piano or singing, whatever the general composition of the volume and relative significance or insignificance of the pedagogical material, were borrowed a lot; these were probably the most prevalent musical activities, so the volumes would have been in demand whether or not there was educational matter. More surprisingly,

Table 4. Thirty Volumes Containing Two or More Instructional Titles

Vol. no.	Instructional Titles	Non-instructional Titles	Loans to Men	Loans to Women	Total Loans
48	9	1	6	1	7
190	8	0	6	2	8
330	7	4	8	3	11
74	5	0	4	0	4
356	5	0	6	2	8
362*	5	0	4	0	4
260	5	2	1	0	1
319	5	32	9	0	9
14	4	0	8	3	11
72	4	0	4	1	5
75	4	0	4	1	5
191	4	2	5	2	7
276	4	17	1	1	2
343	4	17	3	0	3
381†	3	?	2	2	4
9	3	0	3	4	7
248	3	6	3	1	4
258	3	7	3	1	4
353	3	16	1	0	1
147	2	2	1	3	4
153	2	8	3	2	5
245	2	13	2	0	2
201	2	14	3	2	5
283	2	14	4	0	4
186	2	16	2	4	6
220	2	20	5	1	6
263	2	20	10	5	15
352	2	26	0	0	0
265	2	32	7	5	12
323	2	33	2	0	2

* Contains more items today than originally.

† Not extant.

readers also favoured books about continuo playing (also known as ‘thorough bass’) – playing a keyboard accompaniment to an instrumental or vocal performer, using chord annotations to fill in harmonies only sketched in the bassline (‘figured bass’),¹¹ despite the fact that continuo playing was fast going out of fashion. Earlier books on continuo were more likely to be in dedicated compilations, while the later ones were bound amongst other material.

Books about playing the harp, evenly split between dedicated compilations and more general harp compilations, were particularly popular with both sexes. However, given that the harp was such a gendered instrument – as supported by Pierre Dubois in his book, *Music in the Georgian Novel* - this does reinforce the idea that professors might have been borrowing for their female relatives, even where the loan records didn’t indicate this.¹² Two books of harp music, including instructional material, were borrowed only by ladies, but this is statistically too insignificant to be assigned any meaning.

NATIONAL MUSIC

National music seems to have been very popular amongst the borrowers, particularly George Thomson’s Scottish, Welsh and Irish *Select Collections*; Braham’s settings of Byron’s *Hebrew Melodies*; and Bishop and Stevenson’s settings of Moore’s *Irish Melodies*. Note that borrowing of these collections was often either by the exact title, or some approximation of it, rather than by a volume number. There are at least three possible explanations here: in the first instance, items may have been borrowed before they were bound – this was not uncommon; secondly, some titles may not have been the standard music size. Moore’s Irish melodies were certainly sometimes smaller. Lastly, there is the possibility that some books were bought for the library rather than appearing via the legal deposit route, and might not have been bound in the main copyright music collection.

Both the *Hebrew Melodies* and *Irish Melodies* were originally the titles of poetry collections, before the ‘songs’ (i.e. lyrics) were set to music. The only way to be sure that the borrowing records refer to music is, firstly, if it has a Music volume number; secondly, if the arranger is named (they sometimes are); or lastly, in the case of the *Hebrew Melodies* – if ‘no. 1’ or ‘no. 2’ is mentioned. Sometimes such a collection appears no longer to be in stock. Others were relocated to a different collection – the Finzi Collection – by Cedric Thorpe Davies, the first music professor, who indulged in a little rationalisation of the copyright volumes.¹³

The library held several of George Thomson’s collections: at least four Scottish collections, at least two of the three Welsh, and the two Irish collections, not to mention a book of Scottish songs as theme and variations for flute and piano, and at least one single Scottish song published by him in a bound compilation of assorted songs.

Table 5: Loans of Braham's settings of Byron's Hebrew Melodies

Date	Entry in borrowing records
9 February 1816	'Hebrew Melodies/Braham no. 1'
10 April 1816	'Hebrew Melodies no. 1' (i.e. music)
July 1820	'Hebrew Melodies no. 2' (i.e. music)
19 January 1824	'Vol. 294' (containing Braham's A selection of Hebrew Melodies ancient & modern, and works by other composers)
7 June 1828	'Vol. 294'
12 August 1829	'Vol. 294'
25 May 1831	'Vol. 294'
29 February 1832	'Vol. 294'
4 March 1835	'Vol. 294'

Thomson's national songs and flute variations were borrowed between about 1807 and 1847. There were 106 identifiable loans of Thomson's publications, but this figure includes the compilation with one single Thomson song. We can only say that the compilation was very popular – not that Thomson's song was! Note that 90 of the 106 loans were of numbered, bound volumes. The other loans were presumably when the titles were in unbound state, but they can be identified with reasonable certainty.

- Vol. 102, *Scottish Airs* vol. 3 – 4 loans
- Vol. 113, *Scottish Airs* vol. 4 – 12 loans (initially two parts were borrowed at a time)
- Vol. 137, *Welsh Airs* set 2 – 11 loans (plus 2 loans while sets 1 & 2 were unbound and issued as unnumbered volumes)
- Vol. 296, *Welsh Airs* set 3 – 19 loans
- Vol. 297, *Irish Airs* vols 1 and 2 – 17 loans (plus 8 loans while the two volumes were unbound and issued as unnumbered volumes between 1817 and 1825)
- Vol. 314, *Twelve National Airs with variations for the piano forte and an accompaniment for the flute*, composed by Beethoven – 9 loans
- Vol. 391, A compilation including 'The Highland Laddie' – 18 loans
- *Select Melodies of Scotland* of 1822 – 5 loans (loaned in 1824 as volumes 1–5 and in 1826–27 as six volumes in two, after a sixth volume was published in 1825)¹⁴
- 'Twenty-five additional Scottish airs' (i.e. the second part of *A Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs*) – 1 loan

Scottish, Irish and Welsh airs, whether by Thomson or another compiler, were clearly all popular. If anything, Thomson's Welsh collections were his most popular ones. Thomson's Irish collections were each bound with a volume of Moore's melodies (one arranged by Stevenson, and the other by Bishop), a binding decision which would have guaranteed their popularity.

There were also a couple of other volumes with settings of Moore's melodies, though they do not seem to survive today.

THE MUSIC BORROWERS

Although we know whose name was attached to individual music loans, we obviously do not know for whom the music was intended. Presumably, the professors borrowed for family members as well for their own use. Similarly, we cannot know whether married women borrowed for themselves or their children. Conversely, one young student borrowed music prodigiously, but his mother is known to have held musical soirees, so we can perhaps infer that it was a musical household.

Amongst the individuals defined as 'strangers' (i.e. friends of the professors, or what we'd now call extra-mural borrowers), a few names are recognisable as probably being related to professors, and it is easy enough to find out about the professors themselves. (Indeed, there was also inter-marrying between professorial families.) Moreover, there are a few archival records and historical publications detailing residents, tradespeople or professionals in St Andrews, but we are still left with quite a large majority of 'strangers' about whom we know nothing. They may not have lived within the town, of course. However, we can find out more about a few individuals. It will come as no surprise to learn that these were well-connected, middling-class, educated people, with strong links either to the town or to the university. An examination of their interactions with both the university and its music books provides us with useful insights into their musical experiences and the place of music in the culture of this particular segment of St Andrews society.

GOWN CONNECTIONS: THE LAMBERTS

As mentioned in footnote 4, clergyman's widow, Mrs Dorothea Lambert arrived in St Andrews with her young family in 1789/1800 to live with her brother, Professor John Rotherham. Her eldest daughter, Elizabeth, had been baptised in Lancaster in 1789, and the family seem to have spent their early years in Yorkshire while their father, a Cambridge graduate, continued to minister to his Lancaster church. The widowed Dorothea sold her property in Yorkshire in 1799 before moving to Scotland.

Dorothea and her brother dined with the new Principal, Professor Playfair, on New Year's Day 1801 – as recorded by his unmarried daughter, Janet Playfair, in her diary.

Professor Rotherham died in November 1804, but Dorothea Lambert remained in St Andrews until her death in 1839. Her sons attended the university, but eventually moved away; one of them did use the library until he left. Elizabeth Lambert remained in St Andrews for some time, making steady use of the university library, initially for novels as a teenager, but also for more serious books on travel, divinity, and most particularly, on conchology, botany and horticulture. Indeed, she was cited in several conchology books from 1827 onwards after identifying a particular shell in Dr Fleming's shell cabinet in 1814. She began borrowing music aged about seventeen; at least seven different professors borrowed music on her behalf. While she borrowed an eclectic range of music, she seems to have had a penchant for sacred music, borrowing some books several times, including Mozart masses. She enjoyed reading about music too – we know that she borrowed Stendhal's popular contemporary book on Haydn and Mozart in the English translation published by John Murray in 1818; and was one of many readers regularly enjoying a comparatively short-lived music journal called *The Harmonicon*, which contained biographical articles and reviews, each issue with a printed music supplement. She enjoyed Irish songs, borrowing one volume no less than three times, and she also borrowed Moore's *Sacred Melodies*.

Elizabeth Williams (née Lambert) did borrow a few more items on trips back home after her marriage. There is virtually no trace of her activities in Islington.

TOWN CONNECTIONS: THE BERTRAM LADIES

Jane (Jean) Laurie married John Bertram in Inveresk, near Musselburgh, in 1791. They had five daughters by 1799 and a son in 1803, moving to Kiltearn, Ross and Cromarty in 1794–95. John paid farm-horse tax there in 1797, but they moved to St Andrews between 1803 and 1808. By 1808, John was a corn merchant in St Andrews, and at some stage got into financial difficulties, for a sequestration notice appeared in the *Edinburgh Gazette* that year. Mrs Bertram opened a girls' boarding school in St Leonard's, St Andrews, around 1814,¹⁵ and sold it in 1826 when she bought Newington House in Edinburgh, to open a school there. Four of her daughters taught with her. They were regular music borrowers at the University, Mrs Bertram from 1813 to 1820, and her daughters from 1816 to 1819. At the time when her St Andrews school was on the market, two of her daughters were improving their education in France. Later, she advertised that French was taught by a native French Protestant. She was listed in *Gray's Annual Directory* of 1833–34 amongst the 'Nobility and Gentry', still at Newington House, Blacket Place; and she possibly sold

the property in 1835 (when one of her teachers opened her own school in Perth, offering music lessons by the Logier method, an acclaimed system for piano technique at the time). By 1838–39, Mrs Bertram was living with her daughters, her son and his wife, and several servants. She lived to the ripe old age of eighty-six, and there are photos by an Edinburgh photographer of an elderly Mrs Bertram resting her hand on a pile of books, at Glasgow University Library and in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, the latter reproduced on Scran. So early in the history of photography, and consistent in age and likely interests, it seems probable that this is the same Mrs Bertram.¹⁶

Music was presumably on the curriculum at St Leonard's: it was a desirable social skill for young ladies to acquire, whether they were destined for a life of leisure, or perhaps that of a governess or teacher. Mrs Bertram and her daughters borrowed the whole range of music – songs of all kinds, both national and international, opera arias, piano music, a couple of instructional volumes which included the harp, and a book of harp accompaniments. This does suggest that there was a harp on the premises! They borrowed several books of Scottish and Irish songs, but also some hymns and organ voluntaries. Moreover, in 1816, Mrs Bertram kindly returned library music that had been left on her premises – at least one, and possibly all four volumes had been left there by friends both from and outwith the university. Again, one can perhaps infer that music making was taking place there. Whether her pupils were amongst the music borrowers is currently a matter of pure conjecture.

The idea that women tended to play music solely in the domestic sphere is frowned upon as too simplistic by modern researchers of women's historical place in music, and it is true that women did also have professional roles on the stage and on the music festival circuit. However, amongst the middling classes in St Andrews, women's music making probably was largely domestic or educational – or perhaps a combination of the two.¹⁷ It is also worth remembering that music and dancing were essential social graces at this time. Thackeray's satirical novel, *Vanity Fair*, written in 1847, sums it up neatly:

What causes young people to come out, but the noble ambition of matrimony? [...] What keeps them dancing til five o'clock in the morning through a whole mortal season? What causes them to labour at pianoforte sonatas, and to learn four songs from a fashionable master at a guinea a lesson, and to play the harp if they have handsome arms and neat elbows ...? [...] What causes respectable parents to take up their carpets [etc. ...] an unadulterated wish to see young people happy and dancing? Psha! They want to marry their daughters.¹⁸

In the context of St Andrews, the local newspapers advertised music and dancing teachers, and the latter also promoted balls, possibly taking place in the Town House, or Tolbooth, in the middle of St Andrews.¹⁹

TOWN AND GOWN: THE PLAYFAIRS

Janet (or Jess) Playfair's diaries predate her tragically short marriage; she was widowed, returned to her family, and later took a major role in bringing up a sibling's children.²⁰ Her youthful diaries reveal that musical guests were expected to play when they visited, as she did in turn, so the domestic sphere was not just in her own home, but also those of her friends.

Janet's clergyman father became the Principal of the University of St Andrews, so they held an influential position in the locality. Janet's diaries just before and after her father became Principal, and those of her elder sister, Mrs Patrick Playfair of Dalmarnock, provide a great deal of social commentary, with Janet informing us just how important music was in her life, both as a participant and a listener. She talks of their friendship with Charles Duff, a Dundee music seller, piano tuner and at one point leader of the Musical Society in Dundee. She attended concerts (Dr Grant's violin playing was very 'so-so'), and writes of activities as diverse as following a military band, practising her flute, and accompanying dancing. In 1798, she grumbles that when pressed to play the piano for dancing, the company only wanted reels. On another visit, she danced in a room barely big enough to turn in, to 'execrable Musick'.

Her sister Jane's diaries, on the other hand, show that although she kept up to date with current affairs, she may have had little time for music making.²¹ However, their father borrowed a prodigious amount of music, often before it had even been bound. When his sons returned home from their military duties with the East India Company they, like a number of other retired military men, seem to have been equally enthusiastic in their music borrowing habits, with the statistics showing a significant amount of music borrowing amongst this category of borrowers.

As mentioned already, it is hard to say whether bound volumes were borrowed for their general contents or for particular titles within them. Indeed, it is not surprising that piano and vocal music were popular. Principal James Playfair borrowed so much that it is impossible to categorise – his tastes were eclectic. A Mrs Macdonald (who may or may not have been his daughter, Janet) also borrowed piano music and songs.

Home from service in the East Indies, Hugh Lyon Playfair became Provost in 1842, remaining in office for the rest of his days. He borrowed a few pieces for solo piano, but more often with another instrument (duets for piano and harp, piano and flute, piano and violin); on four occasions, he borrowed national airs arranged for duet. He also borrowed vocal ensemble music, not to

mention sacred material; the very popular *Harmonicon* music magazine; and a couple of didactic books.

Also retired from the East India Company, his brother Colonel William Playfair perhaps borrowed more solo piano music, dance music and didactic volumes than Hugh, but he also borrowed songs and, like his brother, piano duets, piano parts for piano and an instrument, sacred music, and national music.²²

POPULARITY

Having recorded the details of every music loan over half a century, it is clear that there are, indeed, trends to be noted. As already indicated, loans to unmarried women were higher in the 1820s, declining a little after that, with loans to married women increasing. Loans to men continued to grow as long as the copyright music kept arriving, but began to tail off between 1836 and 1849. (Additionally, of course, the University was growing, so there were more professors as time went by.)

In terms of the popularity of different kinds of music, some statistics were quite surprising. Taking in the whole picture, bound and unbound alike, there were at least forty loans of *The Harmonicon* (published 1823-1833), showing a very genuine interest in reading about music. Leaving this title aside, the fifty top music volumes were all borrowed between fifteen and twenty-four times. (With a few exceptions the unbound single sheets, or individually named items, were generally borrowed very little, but some might have ended up in bound volumes.)

The most popular music collection of all was Volume 284, which was borrowed twenty-four times between c. 1823 and 1849. One might have thought that the top favourite would have been piano music or assorted songs, but it was neither: in fact, it was no less than a collection of dance music, predominantly quadrilles. As far as the borrowing records were checked, it was last borrowed on Christmas Eve 1848 by Dr James Hunter, an elderly clergyman and professor of Logic, who was part of a very large family. It is tempting to imagine that it was destined for a family gathering.

He did return it – the volume is crossed out in the ledger – but sometime since then, it went missing, or perhaps it fell apart and was discarded. Maybe it was borrowed again in a subsequent receipt book, but the books are too voluminous to search just in the hope that one particular music book was loaned. Nonetheless, the fact that this book was the most popular demonstrates the massive popularity of the quadrille, introduced into Edinburgh in 1817 by Nathaniel Gow, and still going strong well into the nineteenth century. Quadrilles based on opera themes by Rossini and on Scottish or other national airs appear to have been particularly popular. Music volumes like this were quite possibly used to accompany social dancing in private homes. This was

not the only book containing quadrilles. Significantly, the receipt books also reveal a distinct male interest in instructional books teaching how to perform quadrilles and other dance forms.

The table below illustrates the popularity of different genres of music amongst the library borrowers of St Andrews.

Table 6: The top 22 music volumes

Popularity	Vol. no.	Contents	No. of loans
1	84	Musard, Gow, and other Quadrilles etc.	24
2	38	Waltzes, dances, light piano	23
3	94	Songs	23
4	79	Irish melodies 1-6	22
5	39	Waltzes, quadrilles, other dances as at Assembly Rooms	22
6	4	Mostly Haydn, sonatas	21
7	107	Songs including Scottish and Irish	21
8	375	Orchestral and operatic air arrangements	21
9	44	Piano sonatas	20
10	370	Operatic arias & other songs	20
11	12	No longer extant	19
12	143	Assorted glees, songs, instrumental	19
13	226	Musard quadrilles	19
14	275	Songs	19
15	298	Melodies of many nations	19
16	395	45 songs	19
17	44	National melodies 1-23 (pub Chappell)	18
18	96	Thomson Welsh airs vol. 3	18
19	306	Instrumental, mainly flute and piano, also a piece for harp and strings	18
20	317	Piano, flute harp or similar	18
21	355	Songs (1826-7)	18
22	391	Vocal, including Scottish (c. 1831)	18

AHRC funding was obtained to establish a research network in order to explore the Georgian and early Victorian copyright music collections across the UK and Ireland. The *Claimed From Stationers' Hall* project ran from August 2017 to September 2018, hosting a workshop, a website, and resulting in several conference papers and publications.

It very quickly became apparent that, although several libraries had extensive holdings – perhaps even fuller than those of St Andrews – there was no library with supporting documentation as extensive and informative as the St Andrews collection, whose borrowing records in particular are unique.

Furthermore, it is necessary to take into consideration not only what survives in the various libraries, but also how it is currently documented. As one might perhaps expect, the collection which was first housed by the British Museum, before becoming the British Library, is the most complete, with those at the Bodleian and the University of Glasgow following closely behind, as is evidenced by their presence in online catalogues. Early retention patterns in the other libraries further complicate the picture: it is known that some music was sold in the early nineteenth century in Aberdeen, and again at the University of Edinburgh, while the Advocates Library is on record as having sometimes taken less than diligent care of the music that it received, with only the remainder ending up at the National Library of Scotland. Of all the above libraries, the University of Edinburgh collection is probably the smallest.

Because online cataloguing is currently incomplete, not all the holdings of St Andrews, Cambridge and Aberdeen University Libraries are represented either in their own catalogues or in union catalogues such as Library Hub Discover (the successor to Copac). Like St Andrews, Aberdeen is in a position of having a large proportion of copyright music catalogued online, but certainly not all of it, while Cambridge would appear to have a larger backlog.

In terms of analogue cataloguing, some of Edinburgh University Library's copyright music can be found listed in Hans Gal's 1941 *Catalogue of manuscripts, printed music and books on music up to 1850: in the Library of the Music Department at the University of Edinburgh (Reid Library)*,²³ while a more complete modern spreadsheet is in process of being added to the online library catalogue. However, identifying precisely what arrived at the University of Edinburgh through the legal deposit route is often challenging. Meanwhile, the National Library of Scotland collection is – at the time of writing – only catalogued in the handwritten Victorian Music Catalogue, although a project is currently ongoing which will result in the digitisation of this and other card music catalogues.

Three libraries have not yet been mentioned: Sion College, which was largely a social club for clergy in London; and those at Trinity College and King's Inns in Dublin. The former had a practice of selling library stock when funds were needed – a mere handful of music now survives at Lambeth Palace,

where the residue of the book collection was transferred. Meanwhile, Trinity College had advised their London agent not to collect music or schoolbooks, and consequently barely any music of this era is held. On the other hand, King's Inns library does have a small number of music scores and books, but their provenance cannot be identified as having arrived via legal deposit channels. Donations made up a considerable proportion of their nineteenth century holdings, so it is quite possible that the national songbooks arrived through that route. While the very fact of this material's survival (and similarly the large collection of words-only ballad-opera libretti) is historically interesting in informing us about contemporary musical and reading tastes, it really tells us nothing about legal deposit music.

Statistical big-data comparisons would be inaccurate until more holdings are fully catalogued online, so it is not currently possible to produce meaningful visualisations of the kind of music that was most likely to have been retained, or the more commonly-kept categories in different libraries. It already seems clear that national songbooks – with or without music – were popular, while songs and sacred music marking national events – whether military battles or deceased royalty – had a higher than average chance of survival to the present day. Other interesting statistics, such as the survival of music by women, or music by self-publishers, must wait until the data is fully available. There is already the possibility that nineteenth-century cataloguers at the Bodleian did not always catalogue women's compositions, and failure to make it into the card catalogues obviously has a knock-on effect on the digital successors. Such questions could be asked of any library, but identifying what is not in a catalogue is a difficult and time-consuming challenge!

CONCLUSION

Although the St Andrews Music Copyright Collection contains a plethora of what we might now consider rather middle-of-the-road and often unremarkable music, the collection's value is considerably increased by the wealth of detail lurking in the corresponding archival records. By carefully collating the evidence, we are able not only to learn what middling-class amateur musicians enjoyed in this small, slightly isolated university town, but also to inspect the publications for ourselves, sometimes stumbling across unexpected gems in the process. The collection is certainly large enough, and its documentation extensive enough, to provide conclusive evidence of how it became a truly valuable resource to music-lovers in Regency and early Victorian St Andrews. This corpus of music occupies a significant place in the bigger national picture, and although the time is not yet ripe for a full big-data analysis, the *Claimed From Stationers' Hall* networking project has more than proved its worth in showcasing what, in broad terms, survives, and highlighting the urgency and importance of further work in its documentation.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- ¹ Matthew Sangster, 'Copyright Literature and Reading Communities in Eighteenth-Century St Andrews', *The Review of English Studies*, New Series (2017), 2. <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/res/hgx024>>.
- ² Thanks go to Vivienne Dunstan for this information.
- ³ Charles Duff (c. 1760-1822) was a music teacher and music seller resident in Dundee (and for a while in Montrose), and is on record as having had a shop in Dundee at least between 1818 and 1822. See the *Scottish Book Trade Index (SBTI)*, <<https://data.cerl.org/sbti/002007>>. Wighton's shop is also listed, linked with the date of 1852: *SBTI*, <<https://data.cerl.org/sbti/007966>>.
- ⁴ Miss Elizabeth Lambert (1789–1875) was the eldest daughter of the Rev Josias Lambert and Dorothy Lambert (née Rotherham). Elizabeth and her siblings were brought to St Andrews by their widowed mother between September 1799 and September 1800, where they all lived with Dorothy's brother, Professor John Rotherham, who was to some extent involved with the management of the library.
- ⁵ *Catalogue of Manuscripts, Printed Music and Books on Music up to 1850 in the Library of the Music Department at the University of Edinburgh (Reid Library)*, ed. by Hans Gal (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1941), p. x
- ⁶ Research papers detailing the history of the copyright book collection in general, and the music collection in particular, can be found in Philip Ardagh, 'St Andrews University Library and the Copyright Acts', *Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions*, 3 (1948-1955), 179–211 and Elizabeth Ann Frame, 'The Copyright Collection of Music in the University Library, St Andrews: A Brief Account', *Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions*, 5.4 (1985), 1–9. The reader is referred to this earlier work for information about the legislative background to legal deposit, and the processing of the material from registration at Stationers' Hall to the library shelves at the University of St Andrews.
- ⁷ Elizabeth Ford and Brianna Elyse Robertson-Kirkland, *WELEC (Women and Education in the Long Eighteenth Century) Blog*, 2016 <<https://welecblog.wordpress.com>> [accessed 13 May 2020].
- ⁸ Miss Lambert sometimes entered several related pieces under one heading, and obviously her choice of author/title entry points were not necessarily to modern standards.
- ⁹ G. K. Jackson, *A Treatise on Practical Thorough Bass with General Rules for Its Composition Modulation ... Op. 5*. (London: Printed for the Author, 1791); Instructions for Ye Pedal Harp (no title page when Miss Lambert catalogued this); Jean-Philippe Rameau, *A Treatise on harmony in Which the Principles of Accompaniment Are Fully Explained and Illustrated by a Variety of Examples*. (London: Printed by Longman and Broderip, 1792); William Smethergell, *Rules for Thorough Bass, to Which Are Annex'd, Three Sonatas for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte, with an Accompaniment for the Violin. Opera 7* (London: Printed for the author).
- ¹⁰ By this time the Napoleonic Wars were over; additionally, at least a couple of named individuals are known to have been in the East India Company's private army.
- ¹¹ 'Figured bass' is a principle rather like modern guitar chord symbols, where conventions of coding chords replace the writing out of the entire chord in staff notation.

- ¹² Pierre Dubois, *Music in the Georgian Novel* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015)
- ¹³ No records are known to survive indicating precisely how many music copyright volumes, and of what nature, were disbound and relocated during Davies's tenure.
- ¹⁴ My thanks to Professor Kirsteen McCue of the University of Glasgow for clarifying the timeline for the sixth volume.
- ¹⁵ The school appears on John Wood's 1820 map of St Andrews.
- ¹⁶ Photographs of Mrs Bertram via SCRAN: <<https://www.scran.ac.uk/database/record.php?usi=000-000-145-098-C>> [accessed 13 May 2020]. While John Bertram's date of death has not been ascertained, he was certainly dead by the time of the 1841 census, and could have died decades earlier. A small pastel portrait of the bewigged John Bertram (definitely the same man according to a handwritten note on the back) has recently turned up in private hands, in the USA.
- ¹⁷ Further exploration of contemporary music making in St Andrews is intended in due course.
- ¹⁸ William Makepeace Thackeray, *Vanity Fair* (Penguin Books, 2002), p. 23
- ¹⁹ The St Andrews University Archives hold a manuscript of watercolours by the Rev John Cook (1771–1824), which includes an early picture of such a ball c. 1797, naming local dignitaries including a violinist and dancing master, John Clarkson. *Rev John Cook's Album*, MS 38799.
- ²⁰ Janet married Rev James Macdonald (1772–1810) in 1808 but within weeks, her new husband went on an errand of mercy to Sweden to extricate a son of the Clanranald family from a romantic crisis. After an adventurous trip, Macdonald died in 1810; Janet returned first to her sister Jane (Jean) Playfair, and then to her family in St Andrews.
- ²¹ Janet and Jane's diaries are held in the University of St Andrews Archives, *Papers of Robert Lambert Playfair and other Playfair family members*, msdep14 ms38350.
- ²² Karen E. McAulay, 'Claimed from Stationers' Hall: St Andrews Copyright Music Collection' in *Echoes From the Vault*, 18 August 2016 <<https://standrewsrarebooks.wordpress.com/2016/08/18/claimed-from-stationers-hall-st-andrews-copyright-music-collection/>> [accessed 13 May 2020].
- ²³ Hans Gál, *Catalogue of Manuscripts, Printed Music and Books on Music up to 1850 : In the Library of the Music Department at the University of Edinburgh (Reid Library)* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1941).

