PERFORMANCE POTENTIAL OF STATIONERS’ HALL REPERTOIRE

Brianna E. Robertson-Kirkland

Prelude

Although easily distinguished from performance, which is ephemeral and contingent, the notion of ‘the (timeless) work’, as it has been called, is not easily distinguished from that of the (permanent) text through which it is transmitted.1

Richard Taruskin clearly had a specific ‘work’ in mind: published text that belongs to the canon of Western classical music. Only a few works have transcended their own time, creating a category of music, which is firmly embedded in the Western classical music ‘tradition’. However, the act of publication alone was not the sole catalyst that allowed these works to move from an ephemeral to a preserved status, rather there are several cultural, economic and political factors that had to align to make this possible.2 Throughout the twentieth century, performers have become more dependent on printed notation to accurately interpret the work, believing it to represent the composer’s intentions.3 It is beyond the scope of this article to consider debates in authenticity, but by focusing on these works alone, an issue that is still prevalent in musicology and historically informed performance, the bigger musical picture with regards to the development of practices, popular music and the interdisciplinary links between music and other subjects has been skewed.4 Britain’s musical heritage is particularly challenging to unravel and this is made all the more difficult since much of the music received by legal deposit has not been catalogued in its entirety.5 While scholars such as Michael Kassler6 and Nancy A. Mace7 have carried out data analysis

3 For a fuller discussion on the music score and whether these actually represent the composer’s intentions see: Andrew Parrott, ‘Composers’ intentions, performers’ responsibilities’, Early Music, 41:1 (2013), 37–43, https://doi.org/10.1093/em/cat007.
5 Ibid.
highlighting the cultural impact of this music, the lack of cataloguing has limited its access. As such, it is particularly difficult for musicologists and musicians to analyse and perform this music despite the fact it could further contextualise Britain’s musical culture. In this article, I will outline a few of the reasons why performing the music registered with Stationers’ Hall is a valuable research exercise, which has the potential to reveal new insights into Britain’s cultural history and historical music practices.

Priorities

Kassler was not the first to focus on the music entries included in the Stationers’ Hall register, but he did produce one of the most comprehensive studies, which not only combined previous transcriptions by Don Kummel and Alan Tyson but also made use of a transcription list thought to have been prepared for singer, composer and conductor William Hawes (1785-1846).8 His motivation for producing a book such as this was bibliographically driven and as such he provided essential information which helped to fill in several gaps in the original lists. These included giving the full name of lyricists and composers, holding information such as the library location and shelf mark (though this information was not always available) and an overview of musical entries from 1710-1818. The period covered is certainly one of accelerated growth, where the cost, quality and quantity of printed publications significantly increased to the point where the main methods of communication were transformed but it also changed how print publications were valued by publishers as will be discussed later in this article.9 Kassler thought it redundant to include the earlier period, noting it had already been covered in other publications.10 However, none of these studies focused specifically on music and to date, there is no publication or online searchable database which contains the entirety of the music entries listed on the Stationers’ Hall register.11

Even after Kassler released his work, certain scholars did not agree with his definition of a music entry and opted to prepare an alternative list. Controversially, he had chosen to include all entries that mentioned music, even

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8 It is unclear why this list was prepared for Hawes, but Kassler suggests the list was compiled to help prepare the programme for the Regent’s Harmonic Institution. It is intriguing that one of the first lists of musical entries was driven by a performance agenda rather than a bibliographical or contextual one. Kassler, Music Entries at Stationers’ Hall, xiv.


10 For Kassler’s comprehensive list of publications see: Music Entries at Stationers’ Hall, 1710–1818, xv.

11 There is certainly a scholarly precedence for creating just such a resource. There are several databases dedicated to broadside ballads, Scots tunes, and historical music publications more generally. An open access list of Stationers’ Hall entries is more likely to be seen and used by performers in search of specific repertoire. The use of databases has become so common that there is significant demand from those outside of academia to improve access to research via online searchable databases. See A. Moncaster, D. Hinds, H. Cruickshank, P. Guthrie, N. Crishna, K. Baker, K. Beckman and P.W. Jowitt, ‘Knowledge exchange between academia and industry’, Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers - Engineering Sustainability, 163:3 (2010). 167–174.
those without music notation, but he admitted his approach was somewhat unsystematic since he based his judgement on the ‘titles alone’ rather than analysing the original publication. Mace disagreed with Kassler’s definition and instead considered only those with music notation. She also included seventy-eight musical works and eighty-three works related to music (mainly music treatises) which did not appear in Kassler’s book. ‘Works related to music’ is an ambiguous title, since publications without music notation could easily be included in this category. However, Mace includes several publications intended for musical training, all of which contain music notation. This alternative analysis prioritised publications with music notation and did not allow for any blurred lines. Unfortunately, some musical genres are not strictly defined by music notation alone. Song is a genre that can be represented by text or music alone or text and music notation together; an indistinct state which it has embodied since the earliest days of musical writing and this casts some uncertainty over Mace’s final conclusions, particularly since the analysis highlights theatre song among the most popular publications.

Kassler and Mace’s differing opinions demonstrate a fundamental problem: what constitutes music? Answering the question depends on the priorities of the person carrying out the analysis, and neither Kassler or Mace considered performance in their study. As such, their definition for a music entry and the resulting analysis is very different and if a performer were examining the register, the results could differ once again. For example, music notation can facilitate performance, as can text, but neither is a sole indicator that performance was intended. For example, hastily printed libretti commonly distributed to operatic audiences throughout the eighteenth century are unlikely to have been intended for or utilised in performance.

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12 Kassler, Music Entries at Stationers’ Hall, 1710–1818, viii.
15 It is not uncommon to see broadside ballads and chapbooks printing song lyrics with an indication of the tune, e.g. ‘to the tune of...’ In fact, it is rare to find a broadside with music notation but this does not necessarily mean those printed without music notation were not intended to be sung. In fact, as noted by Adam Fox, it may be assumed that the buyer of these prints would already know the tune and would be able to adapt the lyrics, or could learn it quickly from the ‘criers’ who sold such publications on the streets in Edinburgh. See Adam Fox, ‘The Emergence of the Scottish Broadside Ballad in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries’, Journal of Scottish Historical Studies, 31:2 (2011), 169-194.
16 The analysis also shows that the British public preferred British composers to European ones. I am not suggesting the analysis would significantly change if musical works without music notation were included, but it may give a more accurate representation of Britain’s musical culture. Mace, ‘The Market for Music’, 175.
17 Michael Burden and Christopher Chowrimootoo have highlighted the instability of libretti, which were printed quickly for the purposes of representing the evening’s performance rather than a stable representation of the operatic work. Michael Burden and Christopher Chowrimootoo, ‘A Moveable Feast: The Aria in the Italian Libretto in London before 1800’, Eighteenth Century Music 4:2 (2007), 285–89.
18 I am singling out song and libretti as these two are specifically mentioned by Kassler as the more controversial publications included in his list.
Karen McAulay is the first to question what happened to the music and as such the original publications are prioritised instead of the list. An investigation such as this is not only essential for any subsequent performance projects but also allows for in-depth examinations surrounding the complex national and political issues faced by legal deposit custodians and stakeholders. There is certainly plenty of evidence demonstrating that some of the music has not survived. It is unlikely that those publications registered were not printed since nine copies ‘upon the finest paper’ had to be deposited for the registration to go through; however, what happened to the nine copies thereafter has not been fully interrogated until now. I would argue that the register has more value if all the original sources are analysed, and as such commonalities including genre, layout and performance markings can be investigated within the context of the Stationers’ Hall music collection. Where a source cannot be found, questions can be asked about its value from a publisher’s perspective versus its custodians. If the register is only analysed as a list, and a problematic list at that since it represents a multitude of different priorities from a variety of stakeholders throughout history, then it is difficult to know exactly what the list represents and its value as a historical document.

Popular publications
The list is not a comprehensive catalogue of all music published in Britain, nor does it represent the costliest or the highest quality music. It is perhaps more accurate to describe the list as representing the changing values of its stakeholders from the music’s first printing to its continued existence in legal deposit libraries. Understanding these changing values directly affects how scholars interpret Britain’s performance history including the development of performance practices. Registering a piece with Stationers’ Hall came at a high cost and the 1710 Act only placed the piece of music under copyright protection for a short time. It is understandable then that publishers, music sellers and composers would carefully select music that was worth protecting and this was not necessarily the most carefully composed or original pieces, rather, it was music prioritised as a sellable commodity.

In the latter half of the eighteenth century, theatre songs when arranged

20 As well as McAulay, Albert R. Rice identified several missing music treatises, which were listed on the Stationers’ Hall Register and while he was hopeful these would eventually be identified, it is possible custodians have disposed of them or have not catalogued the sources. See Albert R. Rice. ‘A Selection of Instrumental and Vocal Tutors and Treatises Entered at Stationers’ Hall from 1789 to 1818’, The Galpin Society Journal, v.41 (Oct. 1988), 17.
21 Kassler, Music Entries at Stationers’ Hall, 1710–1818, xvi-xvii
22 Ibid, xvi.
for forte piano, guitar or harp were incredibly sellable and at high risk of being pirated. The reason for their popularity came down to two key factors. In the first instance, the rise in domestic music making as an ornamental accomplishment allowed young ladies to engage in polite conversation as well as giving them a ‘safe’ activity to occupy their free time. Since many ladies were expected to attend the theatre, they would become familiar with the songs and would be more inclined to purchase a copy of their own to perform at home. Theatre songs printed as single sheets were often presented in a format that accommodated a limited skill set, but many also appeared in compilations designed for beginner musicians.

Secondly, the rise in celebrity culture meant that certain singers and their songs reach an unprecedented level of fame and popularity. As such, publishers capitalised on their song publications by brandishing a singer’s name on the title page. These marketing tactics played on the interests and fashions of the day, and while the publications may be defined as ephemera since they were produced quickly to appease the buyers’ market, registering them with Stationers’ Hall suggests they had enough economic value and longevity to require copyright protection. There is also evidence that the buyers purchased the music with the intention of keeping it in their long-term personal collections. Late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century personally bound collections are not uncommon and many contain song sheets and piano pieces registered at Stationers’ Hall. As is suggested by Jeanice Brooks, it is possible the music was bound so it was easier to store and is, therefore, an indication of it no longer being performed. Even so, the owners went to the added effort and expense of binding the music rather than simply throwing it away.

Some examples include: Domenico Corri, A Select Collection of the Most Admired Songs, Duets, etc. (Edinburgh: J. Corri, 1779); The singer’s assistant: containing instructions in the art of singing, with exercises and easy solfeggi, for vocalisation, (London: Chappell & Co., 1822); and The Musical Companion, (Glasgow: T. T. & J. Tegg, 1833).
Mace notes there is a turning point where music sellers thought their music to have more importance than mere ephemera. I do not necessarily agree with this statement and but contextualising it within the performance tradition suggests a more nuanced understanding of how these publications were viewed by different stakeholders. Mace, ‘The Market for Music’, 174-175.
Jeanice Brooks has identified several of these bound volumes in English country houses, but there are hundreds of examples of personally bound printed collections throughout Britain, North America and Australia. Sydney Living Museums have digitised several personally bound collections, which were brought by emigrating families from Britain to Australia. See Caroline Simpson Research and Collection Library, http://collection.hht.net.au/firsthht/welcome.jsp
With the music sitting in this blurred state, it is understandable why legal deposit libraries would be unsure of what exactly to do with it once it was in their possession, particularly since a lot of the music does not represent high art. Christopher Scobie takes a more pessimistic position on the situation and notes that the British Museum ignored the deposited music and instead promoted large-scale European orchestral works, which has perpetuated the twentieth and twenty-first century obsession with the Western Classical music canon. While this may be true, in the last ten years there has been a shift in focus where scholars and musicians are working together to uncover a more comprehensive understanding of Britain’s musical history. Brooks’ AHRC-funded Sound Heritage project has commissioned several historically informed performances, which bring to life the music bound in personal collections found in English country houses, while Kirsteen McCue’s Royal Society of Edinburgh funded Romantic National Song Network is looking at the cultural history of national song from 1750-1850 and has quite deliberately included performance in that process. Even the Royal Society of Edinburgh funded Eighteenth-century Arts Education Research Network is using Britain’s performing arts history as a central focus to facilitate collaborations between heritage professionals, archivists, performers and scholars, with the aim of building a more systematic and comprehensive methodology for historically informed performance practice as well as developing a more nuanced understanding of performance in eighteenth-century Britain. While some sources listed on the Stationers’ Hall register are unaccounted for, most of the music is traceable and useable. Such a contained collection is a rare resource which has the potential to uncover cultural and performance histories previously unknown. However, this is only possible if the infrastructure is in place to facilitate just such a project. Building an infrastructure goes hand-in-hand with scholarly purpose and need, and there are several ways custodians can tap into existing areas of research, particularly in the area of historically informed performance practice, which would make the Stationers’ Hall repertoire publicly visible while also highlighting its potential for several larger areas of investigation.

**Potential**

Throughout history, musicians have constantly adapted, changed and developed their musical practice in response to several factors and the repertoire registered with Stationers’ Hall and is still held by legal deposit libraries

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represents one of the most elusive: cultural fashion. Much of a musician’s advanced musical education is determined by cultural expectations and while historically informed performance practice research has tracked impactful changes occurring over a long period of time, such as the decline in elaborate ornamentation throughout the classical and romantic period to the point where musicians now heavily rely on printed notation above all, other cultural shifts can occur much more quickly. For example, the subject matter and compositional style of songs may link to a specific event or be inspired by a famous singer. Charles Dibdin’s (1745-1814) sea songs inspired a generation of song composed in a similar format and style, though their popularity lasted for a short time. These cultural fads or fashions are more difficult for modern performers to interpret since they tend to pass quickly and are rarely articulated in treatises.

This is part of the reason why Britain’s performance practice history is so difficult to uncover. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, what was most frequently printed was fashionable and popular music, i.e. music that would sell. If the Stationers’ Hall repertoire is, as I have argued, a list of music that was the most fashionable, what we have is a unique body of music that charts a rare performance practice history. Obviously, it is not the performance practice history of Britain, and any study of it would need to contextualise the overlap between the professional and amateur music-making worlds, but it is a document that could potentially demonstrate the rapidly changing expectations of the market.

Performance

Thus far, I have highlighted projects that utilise historically informed performance practice and embed it in the research process, though this is a departure from how performance tends to be employed. It is easy to ask a performer to create content for public engagement which enhances the visibility of a research project or indeed a collection. However, performers can also be partners in the exchange, which allows performance to be built in as a research tool as well as dissemination. Likewise, due to the uniqueness of the

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33 Historically informed performers frequently focus on Bach, Handel, Mozart and composers belonging to their circles, but significantly less work has been carried out on popular music, fashionable in its day. As such, a methodology has been developed for studying composers belonging to the canon, but the wider contextual history (which includes a thorough exploration of popular music outwith the canon) also needs to be considered to build a more comprehensive knowledge of historical practices. See: Nick Wilson. ‘What’s the Problem?: Cultural Capability and Learning from Historical Performance’, Historical Performance 1 (2018), 190-212. Also see John Butt, Playing with history: the historical approach to musical performance (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) and John Butt, ‘Playing with History Again: the historical approach to musical performance’, The Dunedin Consort, (2016). [https://www.dunedin-consort.org.uk/blog/playing-with-history-again/].
Stationers’ Hall repertoire, it can help researcher-performers build an alternative methodology that further informs the performance practice. For example, the style of song publication commonly registered at Stationers’ Hall requires more interpretation from a modern performer, but this is because the sheet was designed for a specific client, who would have been familiar both with the song and the performance practice tradition common during the period. Simply put, these song sheets do not notate everything needed to recreate how the song was first performed and a modern performer does not have the inherent knowledge to instantly recognise the original performance practice conventions. Instead performers must rely on an ‘outside-in’ approach to inform their interpretation and this may include performing the song with period instruments, performing it in an appropriate period venue, or using treatises to investigate expression, ornamentation and tuning. The Stationers’ Hall repertoire allows for an ‘inside-out’ approach allowing performer-researchers the opportunity to investigate changes in musical style based on the music registered, and then compare it to those pieces that were not registered. While this is a very large undertaking, it would build one of the most comprehensive studies on Britain’s music, which would benefit archivists, book historians, heritage professionals, historians, musicians, musicologists, and several others.

Before a large-scale performance-research project is proposed, all of the music needs to be catalogued and made accessible; otherwise the results of any investigation will be skewed. I realise that cataloguing and digitising are expensive investments, which leaves the custodians of this music in a Catch-22 position: the repertoire needs to be accessible to gain the attention of performer-researchers; meanwhile a performance project is required to establish the need for investment in cataloguing and digitising. However, a small-scale performance project could act as a pilot demonstrating the potential of the Stationers’ Hall repertoire as a key research and performance resource.

The Caroline Simpson Research and Collection Library (CSRCL) in Sydney, Australia are undergoing a similar exercise and have received much financial support in recent years to digitise their music collection. The collection mainly consists of personally bound volumes of domestic sheet music such as theatre songs and piano pieces and all of it has been catalogued, with the vast majority also being digitised and made available on the open-access platform archive.org. This would not have been possible without a number of research-based performance-led projects making use of the collection. However, it was actually a small-scale, student-led project that demonstrated the initial need for cataloguing and digitisation.

Research librarian, Dr Matthew Stephens initiated a collaboration with Professor Neal Peres da Costa at the Sydney Conservatorium. Students were...
invited to investigate the *The Dowling Song Book*\(^{35}\), which was found in a Sydney Living Museum\(^{36}\) property in 2011.\(^{37}\) The students were able to perform the music with period instruments and in a period specific location. The CSRCL also made sure the whole process was documented via online blogs and on film, which aimed to show the beneficial impact this project had on the student-learning experience as well as the value of the collection.\(^{38}\) The CSRCL made sure to build on the momentum generated by this first project, and encouraged other performers and researchers to make use of their music collection. They have facilitated concerts and conferences and have continued to maintain collaborative relationships and build new ones with other performers and researchers. As such, the other personally bound volumes of music held by the library have been used in several research projects including the *Curious Caledonians* research project, in which music from Haidee B. Harris’s volume,\(^ {39}\) Miss Margaret Hazlitt’s volume\(^ {40}\) and a handwritten tune book entitled *Receuil*\(^ {41}\) have been recorded for an album due for release in 2019.\(^ {42}\) Some of the volumes are also currently part of the major exhibition entitled *Songs of Home* at the Museum of Sydney.\(^ {43}\)

The CSRCL may not be as large as body of repertoire held by legal deposit libraries, but it is an example of how a small performance project can build into larger opportunities. McAulay has already incorporated performance into the *Claimed for Stationers’ Hall* project, but the repertoire has the potential to facilitate many more research-based, performance led opportunities.

**Postlude**

The Stationers’ Hall repertoire is a hugely valuable resource and it no longer represents genres and styles of music ignored in larger research conversations. Rather, there are multiple projects underway which are examining light

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\(^{36}\) The Caroline Simpson Research and Collection Library is part of Sydney Living Museums, which take care of historic properties throughout New South Wales.


entertainment and music intended for the domestic market. However, the most challenging aspect of drawing attention to its potential is making the repertoire accessible. While the current funding climate does not prioritise cataloguing or digitisation, there are a number of other research-based, performance-led avenues, which could be used to draw attention to the Stationers’ Hall repertoire. But someone needs to take the first step to initiate conversations with performing arts institutions and/or professional musicians and work with them to devise a project which shows the breadth of its potential and documents both traditional and practice-based research strands. McAulay has already taken those first steps and now there is a little momentum, there is a real opportunity to give this music our full attention.

Abstract
With a wealth of early music prints now available online via The Library of Congress digital collections, archive.org, IMSLP, and the National Library of Scotland, many more opportunities have been created for performers and researchers to bring to life musical sources that do not belong to the standard Western classical music canon. Projects such as ‘Sound Heritage’ and ‘Transforming Nineteenth-century Historically Informed Performance Practice’ are actively using these prints, which were primarily produced for a domestic market to consider music-making practices outwith the established musical canon, an area that has only received dedicated investigation in the last five years. In this respect, the vast quantities of music registered with Stationer’s Hall and still held by legal deposit libraries has the potential to uncover further insights into historical performance practices and musical fashions. However, this potential can only be realised if the entirety of the Stationer’s Hall repertoire is made publicly available. In this article, I will highlight possible ways to facilitate cross-collaborative projects between performers and the custodians of this material, which enhance the visibility of the collections as well as performance practice research.

Dr Brianna E. Robertson-Kirkland is Lecturer of Historical Musicology at the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland and she has a particular interest in historically-informed performance practice and singing in the eighteenth century. Brianna is Research Associate for the AHRC-funded project ‘The edited collection of Allan Ramsay’ and is Research Assistant for the Royal Society of Edinburgh-funded Romantic National Song Network. She was also part of the team who established the Royal Society of Edinburgh-funded Eighteenth-century Arts Education Research Network. Her forthcoming monograph is entitled Venanzio Rauzzini and the Birth of a New Style in English Singing: Scandalous Lessons.