“My Love to War is Going”: Women and Song in the Napoleonic Era[[1]](#footnote-1)

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**Introduction**

Middling-rank Georgian women were encouraged to be polite, genteel and accomplished in their ornaments, namely piano playing and singing. For long enough, our perception – perhaps influenced by period novels and popular dramatizations – has been that women’s engagement in political debate concerning the naval battles that surged on the seas, and even composing one’s own music were very much discouraged. And yet a closer investigation of the evidence reveals a very different picture indeed. From the instructional materials that formed part of the well-bred young woman’s education, to the contemporary evidence in the shape of the diaries belonging to two well-educated sisters from St Andrews in Scotland, not to mention an examination of some of the music that young women sang and also composed, we are able to construct a much more accurate picture of a middling-ranked woman’s reaction to the times in which she lived.

**Britain during the Napoleonic Era[[2]](#footnote-2)**

Nelson’s Britain had one of the most powerful navies, which ensured the fighting stayed away from the mainland, safeguarding civilians who remained at a safe distance. Despite this the middling-sort and genteel populace were well-informed with discussions appearing almost every day in popular London newspapers such as *The Gazette.*[[3]](#footnote-3)The theatre also proved to be a useful hub in rallying support from the British populace, no matter their class standing. Opera singer Anastasia Robinson who most often performed in prestigious London theatres included the popular song *Hearts of Oak* in her repertoire.[[4]](#footnote-4) Meanwhile satirical farces such as *The Sailor and Soldier* (1805), first performed in Hull adapted lyrics to popular broadside ballads allowing up-to-date commentary on the war, while appealing to the lower classes, who would recognise the familiar tunes.[[5]](#footnote-5) Charles Dibdin, whose initial success was producing theatrical entertainment before his name became synonymous with naval songs, created several one-man shows that engaged with current affairs. One was called after Henry Purcell’s well-known national air *Britons, Strike Home* and centred on a series of war songs and military accompaniments. Though Dibdin’s main motivation for this venture was to dig himself out his disastrous financial circumstance he had to make sure audience responses were favourable. *Britons, Strike Home* not only resonated with Britain’s current political state, but was deliberately titled to ensure its appeal to a mixed audience.[[6]](#footnote-6)

By the latter half of the 18th century, cheaper printing and modernisations in instrument production, had encouraged a culture of domestic music-making. Since the home was the woman’s domain, it was expected that she should have at least some proficiency in musical performance, though her choice of instrument was limited.[[7]](#footnote-7) The harp, English guitar and forte piano were all considered domestic instruments, suitable for a lady of fashion to play.[[8]](#footnote-8) Singing was also a sought-after skill, with many ladies inspired to recreate their favourite songs and arias from the theatre in their own homes.[[9]](#footnote-9)

[Insert A nod to the sex appeal of military men in Playing in Parts (1801) Print by James Gillray, Courtesy of the British Museum]

[Insert A raucous scene depicting domestic music making in A Little Music"-or- The Delights of Harmony (1810) Print by James Gillray, Courtesy of the British Museum]

Two of James Gillray’s satirical caricatures on 18th-century culture best captures Britain’s obsession with domestic music-making and includes references to the nation’s political circumstances. At first glance, *Playing in Parts* (1801) and *A little music – or the delights of harmony* (1810) provide an alternative view of domestic music-making that common-place books and novels might otherwise illustrate as a civilised, female activity.[[10]](#footnote-10) *Playing in Parts* suggests anything but since several military men and shown engaging in dance and music alongside women. There is even a cunning nod to their sexual appeal shown by the woman in the left-hand side of the image who is drawn with a knowing smirk and glimmer in her eyes while grasping the military gentleman’s hand.

While both images depict a raucous gathering, it is the women who are bound to the keyboard, while the men perform on traverse flute, cello and violin – instruments that were most popular among genteel, amateur male musicians.[[11]](#footnote-11) There were of course exceptions, as discussed by Elizabeth Ford and Christina Lindeman who highlighted instances of genteel women playing the flute, though they went against the grain of socially acceptable behaviour.[[12]](#footnote-12) As we shall demonstrate in due course, it was not unheard of for a middling-rank woman to play the flute in Scotland, either. Though the instrument was generally deemed inappropriate as it was considered erotically charged, particularly when played by a woman since it had phallic connotations, which were held by military leaders and monarchs in portraits.[[13]](#footnote-13) *A Little Music* reinforces this idea since it features a military man who proudly stands front and centre playing traverse flute.

**Educating women: understanding politics, practising music**

In creating images that centred on domesticity, Gillray was tapping into a common trope that romanticised both military and naval forces showing them to be gentlemen, enjoying life, a far cry from the realities of the horrific conflict that loomed off-shore. The continued promotion of Britain’s strength and defiance was a topic adopted in the contemporary rhetoric and Maria Edgeworth even stated in her education treatise *Practical Education* (1798) ‘to pretend to teach courage to Britons would be as ridiculous as it is unnecessary’.[[14]](#footnote-14) The sentiment may appear gender inclusive, but Edgeworth’s audience was primarily a female readership, where the statement showed that ‘courage’ was not exclusively a male trait. In her earlier *Letter to Literary Ladies,* Edgeworth had even promoted that the female sex should receive a good, well-rounded education, a controversial issue since it was often debated which subjects areas (including current affairs and politics) were necessary for a middling-ranked woman.[[15]](#footnote-15)

Music education was similarly controversial. The cost alone was enough to make a father reconsider its usefulness.[[16]](#footnote-16) Since hours of practice were required to attain a certain standard of proficiency, if a young woman neglected core areas of domesticity such as literacy, household accounts and sewing she could be blamed for using music to capture a rich husband, without having the necessary skills to run a household. This issue was discussed at length by Jeremiah Whitaker Newman in *The Lounger’s Common-place Book*.[[17]](#footnote-17) The reality was that women of standing were expected to be able to play and sing with some degree of skill since they were often invited to play at parties or domestic gatherings. Public performance for such women was actively discouraged, deemed inappropriate since it could be assumed she was morally corrupt and while this rhetoric was a residual societal notion dating from the time women were banned from performing on the public stage, it also related to the impropriety of women making their own money. Though there were late 18th-century female novelists aplenty, attaching their name to their work was rare. The anonymity protected them from social scrutiny – a trait that extended to music composition.

Though women’s musical education centred on practical application, avoiding any specific discussion on composition practice or technique, a basic knowledge of musical theory was required to adopt conventions of improvisation into playing and singing. Though authors such as Domenico Corri grimaced at the lack of standard when it came to improvised ornamentation, inspiring him to pen *A Select Collection of the Most Admired Songs* with fully written out ornamental passages, most would include rudimentary exercises to better facilitate the practice.[[18]](#footnote-18) Since musically inclined women often dedicated many hours to practice, it is not unreasonable to assume that conventions of compositional style and idiom were recognised, encouraging some to take up their pen and write a song of their own. A few well-known professional female vocalists and players such as Gertrud Mara (1749-1833) and Elizabeth Billington (1765-1818) had already put their name to published compositions, perhaps encouraging the practice among their sex.[[19]](#footnote-19) Famous opera singers often influenced musical fashions, a trait that publishers had capitalised on for almost a century by including ‘as sung by’ on song sheets to ensure maximum sales. Much like the modern pop industry, the composer was rarely known, and the public were more likely to purchase a song ‘as sung by’ their favourite singer.

It comes as no surprise that, amongst the vast output of music published in Georgian Britain, ranging from art music to popular song, there should be a significant number of songs on the subject of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic conflicts, and a sizeable repertoire of regimental marches, quicksteps and ‘troops.’ One question today, of course, is who might have used this music, and especially, whether women took any interest in a body of music ostensibly about wars, battles and generals, victories and defeats, or functional marching music.[[20]](#footnote-20) Interestingly enough, though, some of these patriotic songs were composed by women. Might they have had particular appeal to female musicians? These are the questions we shall address

**Legal deposit music: a not so silent witness**

The Queen Anne Copyright Act of 1710 ruled that copies of everything published in Britain should be registered and deposited in designated legal deposit libraries. This means that musicologists, cultural historians and scholars of publishing history have a vast store of material to interrogate today, all the more remarkable considering that what was registered is now known to cover only a fraction of what was actually published in the Georgian era.

At the University of St Andrews, a remarkable confluence of archival documentation and library materials offers us a unique opportunity to answer the questions posed above. Firstly, the University’s archives offer first-hand evidence in the early 19th-century diaries of two of Principal James Playfair’s daughters. Secondly, we can compare the materials documenting the curation and use of the copyright music collection from the Napoleonic era, with the music volumes themselves, to get a clearer picture of which music was retained in the library, and who used it.

**Women, music and politics: a Scottish university town perspective**

Janet Playfair’s diaries cover the years between 1797 and 1802.[[21]](#footnote-21) During the first three years, when Janet was between 19 and 22 years old, the family was living in the parish of Meigle, where her father, Revd. James Playfair, was a minister. When he became Principal of the United College of St Leonard and St Salvator in the University of St Andrews in 1800, they moved to St Andrews, then a very small town. Library records reveal Principal Playfair – and later, his sons – to have been avid borrowers of books and music. The caveat must be made at the outset, that – quite apart from the items borrowed by the professors on behalf of named acquaintances – it is possible that other borrowings might also have been for general domestic use within their families.

An intelligent young woman, Janet kept diaries in which she logged her reading matter, her musical activities, and a lot of socialising. She doesn’t mention borrowing from the University Library – her father only became Principal in 1800, and binding the library music didn’t commence until 1801. However, music was plainly important to her; she reports family guests playing the harpsichord and the fiddle, singing solo and performing glees, whilst she herself played the piano both alone and for dancing, also enjoying singing and practising the German flute, clearly unconcerned as to whether it was a socially acceptable instrument! Janet mentions going to concerts, social dancing, and going to hear a military band. The Dundee Volunteers were a short-lived two-batallion unit of the Scottish Volunteer Infantry, only in existence from 1797-1801;[[22]](#footnote-22) it would have been a matter of some excitement when, in February 1797, Janet went to see the volunteers off, as they marched to the accompaniment of the Dundee Band. Mr Charles Duff – a musician, music seller, piano tuner and apparently at one point Leader of the Musical Society in Dundee - played for dancing after they returned from this outing. In August 1797, Janet and her family heard the Dundee Volunteer Band in rehearsal, led by the ‘famous musician’, flautist Mr Vogel, whom they heard playing in a concert later that month.[[23]](#footnote-23)

The diaries of Janet’s older sister, Jane, survive from 1807, by which time she was the wife of Mr Patrick Playfair of Dalmarnock. Although in the early years she mentions a concert subscription, and hearing the famous singer Madame Catalani, preoccupation with her ever-increasing family seems to have curtailed such activities. However, what is significant in the diaries is that Jane is well informed about current affairs, regularly using the undated, right-hand openings of her diaries to comment on the progress of the Napoleonic Wars, and, indeed, unrest in South America, reporting the latest news and passing opinion on it. It would be quite erroneous to imagine that women were not interested in what was happening overseas. Take, for example, these two extracts from 1807:-

[June]. Accounts have come of the defeat of our troops in Egypt by the Turks, a very foolish expedition that was in every man’s eyes who view’d things properly…

[August]. Bad account has arrived that Buenos Ayres, Monte Video [Montevideo, South America] our Spanish settlements are given back to the Spaniards a terrible damper to all the fortune hunters who went out there to settle & expected to find gold growing on the trees, so sanguine were they in their ideas of success. The last expedition was the last Ministry’s work, not much to their credit, after all it would have been of great consequence to the country to have kept these newly acquired settlements. That stupid fellow Whitelocke bungled the business completely else they might easily have accomplished their ends. [[24]](#footnote-24)

**Library documentation as cultural history**

Whilst some British copyright libraries were only used for reference, the St Andrews material could be borrowed. The archival records of St Andrews University Library, taken in conjunction with its Copyright Music collection, i.e. the legal deposit music claimed under the contemporary copyright legislation, can be interrogated in considerable detail to establish what was in the volumes, when they were bound, and what kind of people borrowed them.

Between 1795-1801, London’s Stationers’ Hall registered 34 women’s compositions and 2 pieces published by women. Of these 34 compositions, 16 of them ended up in Vol.40 of St Andrews’ Copyright Music collection. Amongst the 16 women’s songs were the ten most recently published, from 1800-1801.[[25]](#footnote-25)

Vol.40 is significant on two counts. Firstly, it contains a high proportion of music by women, far in excess of the usual gender balance in music publishing: the 16 women’s songs are only slightly outweighed by 21 mens’. This suggests a deliberate binding decision. 1801 saw the university embark on a steady programme of binding their loose sheet music, with some effort made to group songs, piano music or other instrumental music in usable volumes.

The second significant factor is that ten of the songs have a war-related theme (six by men and four by women), with a couple more alluding subtly to the ongoing strife. As a proportion of numerous Napoleonic songs written throughout the conflict, the number is insignificant. However, the songs by women are numerically more noteworthy, since a quick glance through Kassler’s *Music Entries at Stationers’ Hall 1710-1818* for the next fifteen years, 1801-1816, reveals as few obviously Napoleonic songs by women, as are contained in the shorter period represented in Vol.40. Although scholars of women’s history recognise that their lives were not in as strictly demarcated ‘separate spheres’ as was at one time imagined, it appears that, with the move towards perhaps a less politically-involved, more domesticated concept of womanhood towards the end of the Georgian era, women were perhaps a little less likely to choose to write or perform songs about wars and battles.

Whatever the circumstances surrounding the volume’s compilation, it provides an interesting sample of this particular repertoire of patriotic songs. This is not to say that other patriotic songs by women cannot be traced; notably, there are others by Margaret Essex, Miss Isabella Mary Scott (later Mrs Patrick Gibson) and other anonymous ‘Ladies’, but the present paper will be restricted to those in Vol.40. (In addition to the patriotic songs, the other non-military or naval women’s songs in the volume adopt typically feminine themes of romance, friendship and the pastoral.)

Vol.40 was not one of the more heavily-borrowed volumes. Although it was borrowed immediately after binding, it fell from use after 1812, as stories of old battles grew dated. With no catalogue yet, it would have been a question of browsing the shelves or asking someone to browse on your behalf. Nonetheless, the book was borrowed by two professors, three male students, and by three unmarried young ladies through professors’ intervention. Undergraduates were young teenagers at this time, and one of the students – a highly prolific borrower – may have been borrowing for his mother, whom we know held many small musical ‘at homes’ in the winter. Another student may have been an older divinity student. One of the young women, borrowing through the kind offices of a professor friend, may have been the daughter or relative of a deceased college Principal. His successor at United College, Principal Playfair, borrowed music for another young woman – not a family member.

Comparing this particular volume with others known to contain patriotic material, the fact that Vol.40 contains patriotic songs and songs by women perhaps boosted its popularity with women, whilst Vol.45, containing marches etc, attracted one more loan to a woman, but was vastly more popular with men.

Some of the women composers’ songs – regardless of whether the lyricist was male or female – clearly focus on the sentimental angle – that of the woman left behind as her brave man went to sea. It is also noteworthy that many of the patriotic songs, whoever composed them, are an immediate response to a particular event, such as the Battle of the Nile in 1798.

The songs with a military or naval focus are not sophisticated, high art works, though the melodies are neatly sing-able and the piano part is in keeping with the style of the period. ‘The French Fraternity’, ‘published by a lady in honour of the naval victories obtained by our three gallant admirals’, obviously adopts a militaristic feel, by including an opening chordal fanfare in the piano accompaniment.[[26]](#footnote-26) The musical style is not uncommon, and the crude militaristic piano introduction is very similar to that of Charles Dibdin’s ‘The Soldier’s Adieu’ and Thomas Arne’s celebrated aria ‘The Soldier Tir’d’.[[27]](#footnote-27) However, in what might be considered un-ladylike fashion, the lyrical content dogmatically dismisses the French as disloyal, vile creatures compared the bravery of The British, insinuating homosexual innuendo with the heavy-handed implication that both French and Spanish were politically and physically in bed with each other. ‘Welcome Nelson Home Again’ has a similar obvious patriotic sentiment, without the damning undertone.[[28]](#footnote-28) This song directly referenced the battle at Aboukir Bay (the Battle of the Nile) in 1798, adding to the societal ideology that Britain’s favourite Naval son was owed love and support from the British people during the time of war.

While these two songs are unusually militaristic in style and content, the four-versed ballad *William and Mary* is much more in keeping with the sentimentality typically expected of a female author.[[29]](#footnote-29) The lilting, waltz-like beating simulates the gentle motion of a calm ocean, while the lyrics tell a sad tale of a woman with babe in arms, desperate to join her husband on board as he heads out to sea. It is not made clear if he is an army or navy man, but as Rowland McMaster asserts ‘the Army allowed wives to follow the army to sea’, though only a few lucky women were chosen via a lottery on the docks.[[30]](#footnote-30) The song ends on happy note with the devasted woman springing into her husband’s arms.

Though these songs relied on common musical themes that obviously depicted their naval connection, the pretty melodies are representative of the popular style. They may lack the sophistication of Dibdin’s lyric and the musical cleverness of Haydn or Mozart, but these women could similarly compose, print and share their ditties leaving us with a rare glimpse that derail assumptions of propriety in this era.

**Conclusion**

Vol 40. is an intriguing example that provides an alternative discussion into previously false assumptions about the lady of fashion and amateur musician. Not only were these women well-informed about political history and current affairs, particularly regarding the Napoleonic wars, some chose to use their musical talents to show their support. Moreover, throughout the war, records show that this volume was continuously borrowed by both men and women, perhaps encouraged to do so by the up-to-date topical content of the songs. Both music and military present a complex dialogue with regards to gender, that demonstrate previous assumptions cannot be relied upon to understand musical, and indeed military history in Nelson’s Britain.

## Appendix

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| Registered | Composer | Title | Comments |
| n.d. | [Anon] | *A Ballad.* ‘Strephon … ‘ | Allusion in verse 2?:  ‘Cruel duty bids me go, Gentle love commands my stay, Duty still to love a foe, Shall I this or that obey!’ |
| 1793 | Camidge, M (of York) | *Antigallican Song, The Old British Lion* |  |
| 1793 | Coleman, J | *Song performed at a Benefit Concert in Gibraltar, Written for the Occasion by an Officer And Composed by J. Coleman. 68th Regt.* |  |
| 1798 | Combe, T | *He’ll never march again: a favorite song.* |  |
| 1798 | Combe, T | *John Bull: A National Cantata* |  |
| 1798 | A Lady, | *French Fraternity, composed in Honor of the most glorious Naval Victories, obtained by our THREE Gallant admirals* |  |
| 1798 | Walker, Thomas | *Britons Beware, Respectfully inscribed to the Volunteer Corps of the Bank of England and the rest of the Military Associations Throughout the Kingdom.* |  |
| 1799 | Westren, Charles | *A much admired Song. Written by Mr Fox and Sung by Mr Dignum. On the Engagement between the COBOURG CUTTER, of twelve Guns, Commanded by Lieutenant Webb, and LA REVANCE, a French Lugger Privateer, of sixteen Guns; which latter, after a severe Contest of two Hours, struck, & afterwards sunk.* |  |
| 1800 | A Lady (Arabella Stables) | *Six Ballads, with an accompaniment for the Harp, the music by A Lady.* | Allusion in ballad no.3:  ‘Dear gentle Maid my adverse fortune calls me/ Far from these shores…’ |
| 1800 | Nelson, Jenny | *Retaliation, or an Answer to Mr Dibdin’s Song of Mounseer Nong Ton Paw* | Anti-French, mocking French manners and Constitution |
| 1801 | A Lady of Fashion | *William and Mary, a favorite ballad, written to commemorate an interesting incident which happened on the Embarkation of the 85 Regt. [Regiment], August 10th, 1799, at Ramsgate* | A different setting of the story first told in Harriett Abrams’ *The ballad of William and Nancy* (1799) |
| 1800 | A Lady of Fashion | *Welcome Nelson home again, a favorite song* |  |

Table , Napoleonic Songs by men & women in Vol.40,

St Andrews University Library s M1.A4M6, 40

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| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Vol. | Contents | Loans to men | Loans to women | Total loans |
| 8 | Instrumental, piano overture arrangements, some “allegorical” overtures, ie programmatic | 5 loans to males (4 to professors, 1 to a student) | 2 loans to unmarried women | 7 total |
| 23 | Songs, including Arnold’s *Cambro Britons* (volume now incomplete; date of damage unknown) | 3 loans to males (2 to professors, 1 to a student) |  | 3 total |
| 37 | Dibdin songs (now missing) | 5 loans to males (4 to professors, 1 to a student | 1 loan to an unmarried woman | 6 total |
| 40 | Songs, a number by women, and patriotic songs by both sexes | 5 loans to males (2 to professors, 3 to students) | 3 loans to unmarried women) | 8 total |
| 45 | Regimental marches | 12 loans to males (8 to professors, 3 to students, 1 to a military man | 4 loans to females (3 to unmarried women, 1 to a married woman) | 16 total |
| 157 | Songs and glees, a handful of patriotic items, probably bound a year or two before December 1816 | 1 loan to a male (professor) | 2 loans to females (1 unmarried and 1 married woman) | 3 total |

Table 2, Borrowing of St Andrews’ music volumes known to contain patriotic material

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1. The title of this paper is derived from a popular poem by Amelia Alderson Opie: ‘My love to war is going, And I am left to mourn, For him my tears are flowing, Who knows when he’ll return? Oh! War creates much sorrow, Makes many a heart to mourn, Who knows but that tomorrow He may a corpse return?’ (1794). [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. The discussion centres on the conflicts taking place in the final stage of the French Revolutionary War until Napoleon’s defeat at the Battle of Waterloo in 1815. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Though contemporary scholarly sources do not provide a comprehensive listing of newspapers and periodicals covering the conflict, regular updates appeared in the news sections of daily papers including *The London Gazette* and *The Times.* [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. *Sun*, July 4, 1794. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. *The Sailor and Soldier* (1805) is said to have been written by ‘a principal low comedian in the York and Hull company’ by the name of Knight. Such entertainments were both cheap and appealing to a lower class populace since they included popular, well-known tunes. See David Erskine Baker. Biographia Dramatica, ([London], Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown: 1812). p. 441. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Martha Vandrei, ‘Britons, strike home’: politics, patriotism and popular song in British culture, c.1695–1900 *Historical Research,* vol. 87, no. 238 (November 2014)pp. 679-702. (p. 679). [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. For a discussion on male domestic purchases see Amanda Vickery’s *Behind Closed Doors* (Great Britain, Yale University Press: 2009). [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Lawrence Libin ‘The Instrument’, *Eighteenth-Century Keyboard Music*, ed. Robert Marshall, (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 1-27. (p. 3). [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Brianna Robertson-Kirkland, ‘Music-making: A fundamental or a vain accomplishment’ *Women’s History: The Journal of the Women’s History Network,* vol. 2. Iss. 10 (2018) 30-35. (p. 30). [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Such examples include Frances Burney’s *The Wanderer* (1814), *Zeluca* (1815) and Barbara Hofland’s *Ellen the Teacher* (1836). [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Richard Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1993). (p. 107). [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Lady Susanna, Countess of Eglinton (1689-1780) was known to have played the flute and was even courted by Sir John Clerk of Penicuik who gifted her a flute with a love letter rolled up inside (see Ford, 2016). [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Christina Lindeman, *Representing Duchess Anna Amalia's Bildung: A Visual Metamorphosis in Portraiture from Political to Personal in Eighteenth-Century Germany*, (New York: Taylor and Francis: 2017). (p. 27) Elizabeth Carey Ford, *The flute in musical life in eighteenth-century Scotland,* (doctoral thesis, University of Glasgow, 2016). (p. 74). [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Maria Edgeworth and Richard Lovell Edgeworth, *Practical Education,* (London, J Johnson: 1798). (p. ix). [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. [Maria Edgeworth] Letter to Literary Ladies, (London, J. Johnson: 1795). (p. 16). [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Robertson-Kirkland, ‘Music-making’, p. 31 [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Jeremiah Whitaker Newman in *The Lounger’s Common-place Book*, (London, Printed for the editor:1799). (p. 303). [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Domenico Corri *A Select Collection of the Most Admired Songs,* (Edinburgh, J. Corri: 1779) (p. i-xxii).Two key examples of treatises with basic theory instruction are Domenico Corri, *The Singer’s Preceptor* (London, Chappell & Co: 1810) & Gesualdo Lanza *Elements of Singing,* (London, S. Chappell: 1813). [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. The compositions in question were two sets of piano sonatas composed and published by Billington (née Weichsell) in 1773-4 and the aria *Say can you deny me*, an adaptation of the aria *Nel cor più non mi sento* by Paisello, composed and published by Mara in 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Emma Hamilton’s (c.1765-1815) songbook is a typically collection of popular songs about the navy including *The Battle of the Nile*. However, it does not include the compositions by women featured in the St Andrews collection that we will profile. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. St Andrews University Library Muniments, PLFR/1B/2 Photocopy of Journal of Janet Playfair (1778- 1864) 3rd daughter of Principal Playfair. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. ‘British Military Buttons’ website [www.asahelena.wixsite.com/militarybuttons](http://www.asahelena.wixsite.com/militarybuttons) [accessed 2018.04.22] [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Louis Vogel, fl. 1781-1798. His Flute duets op.35, published Corri & Dussek 1796, are in St Andrews’ Copyright Music Collection. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. St Andrews University Library Muniments, PLFR/2/1-6 Diaries of Mrs Patrick Playfair of Dalmarnock 1807-1812, Msdep14/25/1-6 Bundle 1 [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Since the online catalogue does not yet list the earliest legal deposit volumes - much of the music dating before 1800 - there could be more women’s songs as yet un-noted. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Lady, *French Fraternity* ([London]: Printed for the author by T. Skillern, ..., 1798. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Charles Dibdin, *The Soldier’s Adieu* (London: Printed & sold by the author, at his music warehouse No. 411 Strand. and Leicester Place[,] Leicester Square., 1796); Thomas Augustine Arne, *The Soldier Tir’d : Sung by Miss Brent in Artaxerxes.* ([London]: [publisher not identified], 1762). [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. Lady, *Welcome Nelson Home Again : A Favorite Song* (London.: Published for J. Dale, ..., 1800) [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. Lady, *William and Mary*, (London: Printed for J. Dale: [1801]). [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. Rowland McMaster, ‘“I Hate to Hear of Women on Board”: Women aboard War Ships’, *JASNA*, Vol. 36. Iss. 1. (2015). [↑](#footnote-ref-30)