

## Contents

---

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	xvii
<i>List of Musical Examples</i>	xviii
<i>List of Tables</i>	xix
<i>A Note on Conventions and Abbreviations</i>	xx
 <i>Introduction</i>	 I
<b>1 Supplying the Market</b>	<b>15</b>
The Export Trade in Instruments	15
The Distribution of Music	32
<b>2 Professional Musicians in India</b>	<b>49</b>
The Governor's Band	49
French Horn Duos and Wind Bands	57
Free-Lance Players	60
<b>3 The Woman Amateur</b>	<b>76</b>
The Transport, Tuning, and Maintenance of Keyboard Instruments	76
The Piano Student	82
The Young Singer	98
The Domestic Concert Party	102
Glee Singing	116
Issues of Gender	121
<b>4 The Male Dilettante</b>	<b>127</b>
String-Playing	127
'Ancient' Music in India	130
The Calcutta Catch Club	139
The Public Concert	142
The 1797 Handel Celebration	145
<b>5 The Encounter with Indian Music</b>	<b>149</b>
The Kingdom of Oudh and the 'Hindostannie' Air	149
Star Performers from Kashmir	154

The Art of Transcription	159
The Translation of Texts	169
The Performance of ‘Hindostannie’ Aires	170
Reception	173
The Study of Indian Instruments	177
<b>6 The Return to England</b>	<b>181</b>
Anglo-Indians on the Grand Tour	181
Nabobs and the Italian Opera	190
The Fashionable Piano Player	198
Anglo-Indian Quartet Parties	211
Burney, Hastings, and Haydn	218
The Next Generation: An Early Nineteenth-Century Musical Education	221
<i>Conclusion</i>	236
<i>Appendices</i>	
1 Examples of Musical Instruments Listed in the Bengal Inventories, 1760–1785	240
2 French Horns in the Bengal Inventories, 1760–1785	246
3 Subscription Series Promoted by William Bird in 1789	248
<i>Glossary</i>	250
<i>Sources</i>	251
<i>Bibliography</i>	257
<i>Index</i>	263

# Supplying the Market

## The Export Trade in Instruments

By the 1780s, supplying Anglo-Indians with music and instruments had become a lucrative business. London publishers and manufacturers recognized the growing value of this market, and special deals for retailers in India were not uncommon. It was easy enough to arrange for the export of small instruments, such as the flute and violin, but keyboard instruments, because of their size and delicacy, posed particular problems. Harpsichords and pianos could be smashed during storms at sea, ruined by the sea air, or damaged during disembarkation. The next stage in the journey was just as hazardous, often involving a voyage up the Ganges. If an instrument survived all this, the Indian climate could still wreck it overnight, as the intense heat and humidity began to affect the soundboard. Armies of termites, which dispatched most of the organs installed in Indian churches, could only rarely have had the chance to get to work on a harpsichord or pianoforte in pristine condition. Yet, although keyboard instruments were frequently advertised as possessing features suiting them to the climate of India, most of the causes of failure were beyond the control of the manufacturer, and firms could thus sell in this market without fear of reproach.

To travel to Calcutta with a functioning keyboard instrument complete with packing case, music drawers, music and replacement wire required no small amount of organization, but some travellers to India opted to take on the challenge of purchasing an instrument in London, rather than wait until their arrival in Calcutta. The main reason for wishing to travel with a keyboard instrument was to facilitate practice. For women sailing to India in search of a husband, regular access to an instrument during the voyage was a matter of real concern. Without it, it might be impossible to maintain a useful level of accomplishment. In the cramped conditions on board, only very small instruments could have been placed in individual cabins; larger harpsichords in active use at sea would have to go in public spaces. Thus, while the gentleman amateur could scratch away on his fiddle in the privacy of his own cabin, women, in an inversion of the usual order, had to practise in public. The

efforts of a woman of modest talent, devoted nonetheless to her daily hours of practice, could cause serious friction. Anticipating that she would travel to India with her husband in 1764, Margaret Clive looked forward to the companionship of a fellow traveller, a Mrs Sumner.<sup>1</sup> In the event, her pregnancy obliged her to remain in England, while Robert Clive was left to endure this woman's practice regime. He was driven to apoplectic rage, made all the more intolerable because etiquette forbade any interference:

**Rio Janeiro, 11 October 1764**

Robert Clive to Margaret Clive

To add still to our misfortunes we found in Mrs Sumner a Woman of a most Diabolical Disposition; ignorant, ill tempered, and selfish to the highest Degree. She seem'd possess'd of every disagreeable Quality which ever belong'd to the Female Sex without being Mistress of one Virtue (chastity excepted) to throw into the opposite Scale. It is with the utmost Difficulty we can behave with common Civility towards her . . . To give you a specimen of this Lady's Natural abilities, she gave us to understand that she understood Music and could play upon the Harpsichord and to convince us of this she has been playing two hum drum Tunes for four Hours every day since she has been on Board (Sunday excepted) without the least Variation or Improvement, notwithstanding the assistance of Groenimeng who is happy for him to have two Guineas a Month instead of two Guineas a Song for teaching her. I am apprehensive you will think me too severe and Satyrical.<sup>2</sup>

Margaret, seemingly sensing that her own 'musical' behaviour on the return voyage from India had not been above reproach, sought to deflect Clive's wrath:

**Berkeley Square, 12 March 1765**

Margaret Clive to Robert Clive

Your letter proves plainly that everything is agreeable in those we love, and everything hateful from those we do not love—else could you have borne the thorough Bass etc. you used to hear from a friend of yours? and if I had gone on the voyage do not you think I should [have] given you harpsichord playing enough?<sup>3</sup>

And it seems that another male passenger on her voyage might have had some cause to complain:

**Berkeley Square, 8 May 1766**

Margaret Clive to John Carnac

I have just received a letter in french from Padre Bento our ship-mate. You remember his occupation on board the Royal George, tuning my harpsichord. Poor man!<sup>4</sup>

At least Margaret was so timid about her playing as to be discreet. She confided to Carnac: 'I was forced to try to amuse myself as well as I could. What signified playing on the Harpsichord when nobody heard me?'<sup>5</sup> As for Mrs Sumner, her harpsichord practice can hardly have helped her husband's prospects. Clive doubtless had

<sup>1</sup> BL, OIOC, Strachey MS F128/27; Margaret Clive to John Carnac: 'A Band of Music and a Music Master, will employ me on this Voyage, and Mrs Sumner will be a very agreeable Companion, I imagine from what I have seen of her.'

<sup>2</sup> BL, OIOC, Clive MS G37/box 15/1.

<sup>3</sup> NLW, Aberystwyth, Powis 1990 Deposit, box marked 'Clive of India', bundle 35.

<sup>4</sup> Strachey MS F128/27.

<sup>5</sup> BL, OIOC, MS B383; 15 Mar. 1761.

the sound of her 'tune' ringing in his memory's ear, when, after arriving in India, he confronted William Sumner with accepting bribes, and forced him to resign rather than face disclosure.<sup>6</sup>

For those who opted to arrange transportation of instruments to India themselves, advice was available. After at least half a century of experience, many of the pitfalls were well known. Captain Williamson addressed himself to the traveller with a keyboard instrument in his *East India Vade Mecum*.<sup>7</sup> Even in the case of instruments made especially for the overseas market, his view was that it was necessary to take radical precautions before taking them on board:

Those ladies who are partial to music should be particularly careful that the piano-fortes they may take with them, be constructed in such a manner as may exempt them from those wondrous effects produced by the climate of India. I have had the pleasure of aiding several friends in this instance, and found that the instruments made for exportation could never be depended upon, unless clamped at every joint with plates of brass, and secured, in the more delicate parts, by means of battens well screwed and cemented to the sound board. Experience has satisfied me, that the pianos most appropriate for hot climates are made by Clementi, Kirkman, and Tomkinson, at their respective manufacturies in London.

A draconian solution might have been to immure all pianos in the hold, clamped, screwed down, cemented, and otherwise entombed securely in their cases, but this would not have done for instruments required during the voyage:

Ladies will derive considerable convenience and gratification from having an exterior case made to enclose the piano-forte, leaving a space of about an inch all round. This outward safeguard should be of planed deal, stained of a mahogany color, or painted; and it should open in front, so as to admit of playing the instrument, while its lid should be fixed upon hinges, that it may be thrown back at pleasure. The lower part of the frame may be packed, and laid by; a spare frame of deal being substituted during the voyage, with a set of shelves below to contain music, books, etc all locked up by means of folding doors. Both the exterior case, and the frame, ought to be furnished with lacquered iron handles, whereby to lift them occasionally; but particularly intended to secure them to the side of the ship, and to the deck; without such a precaution the whole would be tumbled about and shivered to atoms, by the vessel's motion.

This kind of case would allow easy access to the instrument on board, while affording some protection in really rough weather. A respectable piece of furniture of this kind did not come cheap. Longman & Broderip provided one for Edward Clive in 1798:<sup>8</sup>

A new patent Piano forte	31	10	0
A packing case	0	14	0
Tuning and Regulating a Grand Piano	0	7	6
A deal Chest of Drawer with Locks and handles and lifting handles with Case for Piano and other Instruments	6	12	1
a smooth case for piano frame	0	14	6

<sup>6</sup> P. J. Marshall, *East Indian Fortunes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), 169.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas Williamson, *East India Vade Mecum* (London, 1810), 48.

<sup>8</sup> BL, OIOC, Powys MS, Neg 4383.

While it was generally recognized that the essential problem with pianos in India lay with the soundboard, preventative measures, such as attaching supports, could adversely affect an instrument's tone. Williamson recognized this dilemma; all he could suggest was vigilance and the use of heavy blankets:

With respect to what is called 'preparing an instrument for the climate', much may certainly be done, by taking care that only the best seasoned wood is employed, and by clamping the case with metal, both within and without; but all this has little connection with the belly, or sounding-board; which cannot be much strengthened without considerably deteriorating the tone, and causing a piano to be in the first instance condemned, for want of that richness which cannot be given to one whose vibrations are obstructed. The only chance is, to keep a piano well covered with blankets during the heats, as also in very damp weather, and to uncloathe it gradually, when about to be opened for performance. By such precautions, the instrument may remain tolerably in tune, and not sustain much injury from the variations of seasons; after two or three years, the danger may be less; but it will be prudent never to relax in point of prevention, lest the instrument should suddenly fail.

Players of all instruments were strongly recommended to travel with an abundance of spare strings and reeds, as these were very scarce in India:

Gentlemen who perform on string instruments, should be careful to provide an ample supply of strings, firsts and fourths especially; they being not only very dear, and perhaps damaged, when procurable, but at times not procurable in any part of India, for love nor money! Reeds for oboes, clarionets, bassoons, etc. are similarly circumstanced. Nor would it be superfluous for a lady to take with her several sets of wires for her piano; they being very scarce.

In the view of the Fowke family, locally purchased strings were highly suspect, and so they ordered a consignment of replacement strings every year directly from London. In the autumn of 1784, a much-needed box of strings was landed from the *Dutton*, but it did not contain enough. Joseph reprimanded his son for lack of foresight: 'for the future take care to write for a sufficient quantity, that Peggy's harpsichord may not be reduced to silence.'<sup>9</sup>

In his final summary, Williamson depicts the piano market in India, as one very favourable to the sale of the product, but one which was virtually devoid of any after-sales service:

The climate is unfavourable to instruments of every kind, especially to pianos, and offers a most formidable bar to the indulgence of a musical ear. No persons can be more liberal in their purchases of instruments, or of select music, than the ladies of India; they often giving two hundred pounds for a good grand piano; but the incessant apprehension of warps, and cracks, is a tremendous drawback on the interest they feel in the possession of even the best of its kind. Repairs, of every sort, whether of violins, pianos, flutes etc are exorbitantly dear, and, even at Calcutta, not always practicable; either owing to dissipation, the want of some essential article, or the quantity of work in hand. Nor is it easy to obtain the temporary accommodation of an instrument while one is repairing, unless at such a rate as utterly pre-

<sup>9</sup> BL, OIOC, Fowke MS E6B, 80; 19 Oct. 1784.

cludes all of moderate income from availing themselves of such an opportunity, when it may chance to offer.

Ownership was a lottery, and replacement rather than repair was often the only possible response.

The difficulties attendant upon organizing the transport of a harpsichord or pianoforte were such that most Anglo-Indian amateurs opted to purchase an instrument in India. There were two possibilities. It was certainly open to anyone to order an instrument directly from London, and then pay for its shipment to Calcutta. Margaret Clive received a request for assistance from a friend, who wished to do just this:

**Calcutta, 30 January 1766**

Frances Watts to Margaret Clive

The very particular attachment I have to Musick is well known to your Ladyship, and as I am distress'd beyond measure to get a Harpsichord from England, owing to the difficulties of having it brought out, I hope I may be excused in the liberty I take in wishing to avail myself of your Interest in that particular; I have so far presumed in this matter, as to enclose such a memorandum as may be necessary to send to the maker, and if I am so fortunate as to have your Friendship in getting a passage for it, I would beg of you to lay your commands on Mr Kyrkman as soon as this letter shall come to your Ladyship's hands, in which you will highly oblige.

P.S. I would beg the Favour of you to overlook Kirkmans Bill and order it to be sent to Mr Culling Smith who I have wrote to pay it, let it amount to what it may, so as it meets with your Ladyships approbation first.<sup>10</sup>

Perhaps this lady was the widow of William Watts, who died in 1764 with a large fortune.<sup>11</sup> Culling Smith was a council member, who had retired in 1762, supposedly after the receipt of 134,000 rupees as a gift.<sup>12</sup> Lady Clive made the necessary arrangements:

**London, 12 November 1766**

Margaret Clive to Robert Clive

Mrs Watts wrote to me for a harpsichord and everything necessary for the keeping it in order for at least three years. I ordered Kirckman to set about making one; he has just completed it and it is put on board the Lord Holland . . . Captain Nairne . . . has politely taken the charge of the harpsichord without giving me the trouble of applying to India House.<sup>13</sup>

A less troublesome option, but one that left buyers at the mercy of Calcutta retailers, was to purchase an instrument in India. By the 1780s, the Calcutta piano trade was founded on well-established lines of supply. London piano makers would sell, sometimes at a discount for bulk purchases, to officers of East India Company ships, ranging from captains, first and second officers, pursers, down to lesser figures such as third and fourth officers, and even surgeons, who had purchased an 'investment' in a Company voyage. Each officer had an allowance of space on his ship, and his 'investment' would be stored during the voyage. Although London keyboard

<sup>10</sup> Clive MS G37/box 38.

<sup>11</sup> Marshall, *East Indian Fortunes*, 235.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. 169, 236.

<sup>13</sup> Powis 1990 Deposit, box marked 'Clive of India', bundle 37.

retailers could doubtless have purchased space directly, it seems to have been the universal practice to allow East India Company officers to act as middle-men in this way. The advantage from the point of view of the manufacturer was obvious: once sold, the company would have no further responsibility for the condition of its instruments. Upon arrival in Calcutta, a few days would elapse before the cargo was landed to allow the paper work to be completed. Rumours of the contents of the latest ship to dock would circulate fast. Officers would notify by post those for whom they had specific commissions, and then an extraordinary scramble would take place, as they sought to off-load their investments. Sales could take place at bazaars, established auction houses, commission warehouses, public buildings hired for the occasion, or in private homes. In the frenzy of selling that occurred after the arrival of a ship, consignments of instruments might change hands several times, before reaching the amateur players of India. A wide range of selling techniques was deployed: raffle; lottery; auction; auction without reserve prices; private treaty. Multiple transactions steadily diminished any one seller's level of responsibility for the condition of instruments. Nonetheless, for artefacts such as pianos and harpsichords, a quick sale was absolutely essential, because of the speed with which the product could become unsaleable. In the Calcutta keyboard market, the advice *caveat emptor* was well taken.

During the 1780s, a few attempts were made to set up specialist outlets for music and instruments, hitherto sold as part of the general trade. The arrival of an employee of the leading publisher Longman & Broderip to set up his own business in Calcutta is a clear sign that the strength of the Indian market was being recognized in London. Most of these specialist concerns failed to flourish, and a common tendency was for music suppliers to revert quite quickly to commercial activity in a range of other fields as well. Even Stone, the leading music retailer in Calcutta in the mid-1780s, had at times to resort to other commercial interests.

To form some indication of the character of this market, it will be useful to look at musical instruments sold through the Calcutta newspapers. The advertisements usually identify the ship, the ranks of the officers with investments to sell, the names of the firms undertaking the sale, and the categories of goods for sale (Table 1). This was a period of dynamic growth in the Calcutta market for music and instruments. There was a growing perception that the provision of musical supplies to the expanding and affluent European population of India represented a first-class business opportunity, and there was no shortage of entrepreneurs willing to take on the challenge. It is hard to be certain how many instruments were imported overall. The newspapers ran advertisements for large consignments of musical supplies from an average of six to eight ships a year, sometimes more. The number of keyboard instruments per ship can hardly have been less than five or six, which gives a range of about forty to sixty instruments entering Calcutta every year. (As yet there were relatively few grand pianos, which would have taken up much more space.) This may well be an underestimate, as it includes neither instruments in the possession of new arrivals, nor those purchased in London by post from Calcutta, nor smaller stocks on



**Plate 1.** Johann Zoffany, *The Morse and Cator Families*, c.1784

other ships, not identified in the press. As we shall see, violins and flutes, the quintessential instruments of the Anglo-Indian army, poured into Calcutta in very large numbers. Advertisements were evidently drawn up in haste, often with scant regard to the accuracy of spelling. In general, the approach adopted in selling new instruments differs little from what might be encountered in London, with novelty and fashionability as the key marketing concepts. There was intense interest in combination instruments, even in one case, in a combined commode/pianoforte. There are relatively few indications of the Indian context in advertisements for new instruments, apart from occasional references to spare harpsichord bellies for sale; much more attention was paid to local considerations in the second-hand market.

**Table 1.** Music and musical instruments imported on ships in 1786

Ship	Officer	Auctioneer	Instruments
<i>Phoenix</i>	Purser 2nd Mate	Joys	Northumberland bagpipes, Spare reeds
<i>Juliana Maria</i>		Stone & Savory	Musical Instruments, Music
		Mann (recently of Longman & Broderip)	A great quantity of instruments: Harpsichords, Piano Fortes, Organs, both finger and barrel, New Music
<i>Ganges</i>	Captain	Williams & Co.	Piano Fortes complete, Instruction books, Songs, New Lessons, New Music
	3rd Officer 4th Officer	Creighton	Music: New publications, etc.
<i>Earl of Oxford</i>	Captain	Moore, Sanders & Lacey	Musical Instruments: A very curious Organis'd Piano Forte in solid Mahogany case and Dulciana, A new invented Ladies Commode, Solid Mahogany furnished in high stile, and containing a curious Piana Forte to draw out, Piana Forte Guitars, Flutes tipt with silver, with Extra middle Pieces, Quartetto Desks, A Capital Cremona, An assortment of New Music
<i>Walpole</i>	Chief Officer	Wade & Matthews	Music and Musical Instruments by Longman and Broderip: A piano forte, organized, A ditto, with three stops, A ditto with a French frame, A piano forte guitar, A plain ditto, French horns, German flutes,

Table 1. *Continued*

Ship	Officer	Auctioneer	Instruments
<i>William Pitt</i>	2nd Officer	Creighton	A large collection of New Music
	Captain	Moore, Sanders & Lacey	An elegant large Piano Forte A Piano Forte and New Music An elegant harpsichord, Piano-fortes, German Flutes, violins, Guittars, Books of Music
<i>Ravensworth</i>	Captain	Moore, Sanders & Lacey	Musical instruments and Musick
<i>Lansdown</i>	Captain	Ord	Musical Instruments and a Collection of New Music:
	Purser		Portable grand piano fortes, with mahogany desks,
	2nd Officer		Elegant organized piano forte, with stop, diapason and dulciana treble, Patent piano forte guittars, A handsome long three stop piano forte, Violin strings, Several books of instructions for the above
	Officer (drowned at sea)	Burrell & Gould	Violins in cases, A quantity of strings, A large assortment of new music
<i>Foulis</i>	Captain	Joys	An elegant organ, with six stops, and two barrels complete
	Captain	Burrell & Gould	Organized harpsichords, Guittars, Pianoforts, Violins, German flutes, Glassados, French and bugle horns, A great variety of new music

**Table 2.** Second-hand instruments advertised in the Calcutta newspapers, 1787

Owner	Auctioneer	Instruments
Gentleman going to Europe	Williams & Lee	A Piano Forte
	Burrell & Gould	Trumpets and French Horns
	Yeates	A very good Harpsichord
	Williams & Lee	A very good Hand Organ.
	Yeates	A Harpsichord
	Bondfield	New Music
Joseph Fowke [returning to Europe]	Duncan	An elegant guitar, and a good Violin
	Burrell & Gould	A Remarkable fine Toned Harpsichord, Maker Kirkman,
		A very fine Violincello, and some Violins, one a Stradivaries
		Handel's songs in 5 vols, with all the accompaniments, in six parts
Gentleman going to Europe	William Williams	A Harpsichord of an excellent construction
An officer of an Indiaman	William Williams	A Hand Organ
	Morgan, Williamson, Davidson & Co.	Music and Musical Instruments
	Pope, Fairlie & Campbell	Large Organ
	Williams, Tullough & Gardner	A few Violin and Violincello Strings
Mr Wright	Williams & Davidson	Two Harpsichords and a spinet
	Bondfield	Hautboys, Clarinets, Bassoons, French Horns

Retailers of new musical instruments in India had to compete with a vigorous second-hand market. Since it was rather pointless to pay for the repatriation of deteriorating harpsichords or pianofortes back to England, amateur musicians often placed them on the market in the weeks prior to embarkation. Many additional instruments came on to the market from the estates of recently deceased Company employees. In the mid-1780s, up to fifteen keyboard instruments a year were advertised (Table 2). Many must have been in a very poor condition, and indeed some advertisements were run for many weeks. Almost certainly the second-hand market was much larger than this. The Fowke correspondence demonstrates the existence of an informal market, with instruments being lent, borrowed, and given away in purely private transactions. Paxton, Cockrell & Delisle, for example, wrote to Francis Fowke on 22 February 1785 to offer him a harpsichord and music from someone who had died during the voyage out:

I have an Harpsichord the property of the Estate of my late Sister who died on her way out to India with some Music—The Harpsichord is I believe a very fine one and the music I dare say valuable. She was an Enthusiast herself—both must be dispos'd of—Do you or Miss Fowke wish to have them?<sup>14</sup>

It is noticeable that whereas new instruments from Europe were advertised with reference to their appearance ('elegant' and 'handsome' being the buzz words), second-hand instruments with an Indian history were advertised as 'in good condition' or as 'fine ton'd'. Everyone knew what a few years in India could do to the tone of instruments, and repeated reassurances upon this point can have fooled few potential buyers. We know from the Fowke correspondence that the harpsichord in their residence suffered an overnight warping of the soundboard so severe that there was no musical sound at all, merely the clatter of the wooden keys. It proved possible with some *ad hoc* carpentry to restore the action, so that at least a single set of strings could sound. This was presumably the instrument which Joseph Fowke put on the market in 1787 with the glowing recommendation: 'A Remarkable fine Toned Harpsichord, Maker Kirkman'.<sup>15</sup>

An invaluable source of evidence concerning the ownership of musical instruments in the Anglo-Indian community is the sequence of volumes in the India Office Library entitled Bengal Inventories. For several decades, at least during the 1760s and 1770s, it was customary to list the belongings of deceased inhabitants of Calcutta in pedantic detail. The significance of these lists extends well beyond the Anglo-Indian community, for they enable some estimate to be made of the extent of musical instrument ownership (and thus of at least rudimentary musical ability) in the male population at large. Doubtless there were reasons, boredom and perhaps an instinctive need to assert identity in a foreign country, why musical interests among men might have been commoner in India than in England, but it is not likely that it would have been on a wholly different scale. The evidence of the Bengal Inventories confirms what seems certain in any case, that a basic level of interest in music was widespread amongst men. It will be useful to list the instruments that occur in the inventories, and to provide a statistical analysis of the frequency with which the major instruments occur in relation to each other. A small selection of lists of musical holdings, arranged by occupation, rank, and gender, exemplifying the spread of instrument ownership, is given in Appendix 1.

A broad estimate of the overall rate of ownership of musical instruments, as represented in these Anglo-Indian inventories, suggests that 10 per cent, plus or minus 2 per cent, was the norm. Although all ranks of the East India Company army owned instruments, there is an overwhelming predominance among middle-ranking officers, such as captains and lieutenants. Such men had the resources to finance their hobby and the privacy and physical space in which to make music. Dean Mahomet reported of the fort at Monghyr: 'The Officers' apartments in the fort were laid out with the greatest elegance; the soldiers', quite compact.'<sup>16</sup> The

<sup>14</sup> Fowke MS D12, 68.

<sup>15</sup> *India Gazette*, 16 July 1787.

<sup>16</sup> M. H. Fisher, *The Travels of Dean Mahomet: An Eighteenth-Century Journey through India* (Berkeley, California, and London: University of California Press, 1997), 30.

**Plate 2.** Johann Zoffany, *Colonel Blair with his Wife and two Daughters and an Ayah in an Interior*, c.1786

comparatively frequent ownership of a harpsichord or an organ in these ranks certainly seems to point towards a serious approach to musical activity. Among the lower ranks, sergeants, ensigns, and soldiers, instrument ownership usually consisted of a single flute, which could be kept easily in a knapsack. There was plenty of musical activity among the civilian occupations such as factor and writer, with ownership broadly equating to that of the middle army ranks. Among the musicians, the pattern of possessions reflects not only the need for competence on a range of instruments, but also the value of versatility in a musical career. Ownership of duplicate instruments might reflect a prudent desire to have replacements readily available, while large quantities of strings or spare bows could well have been for the use of pupils. Just as music retailers advertised their services as tuners, copyists, and teachers, so musicians often indulged in small-scale retail to help make ends meet. The professions of performer, teacher, retailer in India are so blurred as to be virtually indistinguishable. It is similarly hard to know whether the quite impressive holdings of instruments and music among some of the inhabitants of Calcutta relate to a hobby, pursued with ardour over many years, or to the purchase of one of the many job lots of instruments and music advertised for sale by private treaty. There are few inventories of goods belonging to unmarried women or widows before the

1780s; the small number that there are include women's instruments, keyboards, and English guitars.

The total number of instruments recorded in the inventories in the two decades between 1760 and 1780 is as follows:

Flute	156	Clarinet	4
Violin	91	Bass viol	3
French Horn	53	Dulcimer	3
Harpsichord	14	Viola	2
Oboe	12	Bassoon	2
Guitar	12	Pianoforte	2
Organ	11	Flageolet	1
Trumpet	5	Musical Glasses	1
Fife	4	Handbells	1
Cello	4	Lute	1

The relative frequency of the most significant chamber music instruments remained fairly static, to judge by five-year totals:

	1765	1770	1775
Flute	45	40	45
Violin	23	32	32
Harpsichord	4	4	6
Organ	3	5	3

There were thus approximately six flutes and three to four violins for every continuo instrument. Pianofortes are few in number before the 1780s, but thereafter rapidly replaced the harpsichord in popularity. All the bass viols occur in the earlier inventories of the 1760s, doubtless a distant reflection of the last phase of that instrument's popularity in London. The lack of cellos during the period as a whole is striking, and it strongly suggests that size was a factor constraining which instruments were brought out to India. An inessential accompanying instrument in the sonata repertoire, the cello was still at this stage dispensable. Newspaper advertisements in the 1780s, however, clearly show that larger numbers of cellos were beginning to enter Calcutta, as the quartet and symphonic repertoires started to achieve popularity. Likewise, violas, of which there are none in the 1760s and only two in the 1770s, would have been needed in larger numbers. A measure of the growth in the affluence of the Anglo-Indian community as a whole is seen in the pattern of ownership of wind instruments. The ubiquitous pairs of horns are found throughout, but there is a very marked increase in the number of oboes in the 1770s, and clarinets are found only in the latter decade. The formation of full wind bands lies behind these changes. The only other popular recreational instrument was the

guitar/English guitar. Ownership of non-Western instruments was minimal; only a 'Bengal fiddle' seems an unambiguous example.

If the 1780s represent the Calcutta music market in a period of vigorous growth, the 1790s represent a consolidation. A number of trends are worth reporting. There was an increasing tendency for advertisements to specify the makers of musical instruments, thereby allowing an assessment to be made of the relative interest of different firms in the India market. This was part of a general process, whereby the value of an instrument came to depend more on its maker's name than on any intrinsic merit. The label 'Stradivarius' would already add value to any violin sold in Calcutta. At the start of the decade, Longman & Broderip were in the ascendant, but younger manufacturers of pianofortes, such as Stodart, were challenging this position of dominance, as shown by the frequency of advertisements in the *Calcutta Gazette*:

22 July 1790	Three new Piano Fortes, by Clements.
26 August 1790	An excellent Harpsichord, made by Longman and Broderip, on purpose for this Country.
24 February 1791	A Capital Organized Harpsichord and Piano Forte made by Longman & Broderip, and cost in London 120 Guineas.
12 May 1791	A New excellent Piano Forte, and A Harpsichord, by Longman & Broderip.
8 March 1792	A Patent Double-keyed Harpsichord, made by Shudi & Broadwood, the property of Lady Chambers. Price 800 Sicca Rupees. [£100]
23 August 1792	A handsome grand Piano Forte by Stodart.
21 February 1793	A fine toned harpsichord, by Kirkman. A new Patent Piano Forte, by Broadwood. Piano Fortes by Stodart.
28 November 1793	Grand Forte Pianos, from Stoddart & Co.

In the early 1790s, harpsichords were still regularly advertised, perhaps because India was seen as a convenient market for the now nearly redundant instrument, but by the end of the decade, they were rapidly disappearing. The most highly-prized keyboard instruments in India were now undoubtedly grand pianos, which, by the end of the decade, were being advertised regularly in the *Calcutta Gazette*:

14 January 1796	A Grand Piano Forte, with additional keys by Ganer.
5 May 1796	A Patent Piano by Broadwood.
11 August 1796	A Grand Piano Forte, with additional keys, from M. & W. Stoddart.
9 March 1797	A Grand Piano Forte, Commissioned from Stoddart, made particularly for this Country, and came out on the Nonsuch; is allowed to be a very fine instrument; and its price S[icca] R[upees] 1200. [£150]
16 March 1797	Piano Fortes, a grand one, with additional Keys, made by Broadwood and Son, with an assortment of newest Music—Price 1,000 S[icca] R[upees]. [£125] Two small ditto Patent, with extra Keys, made by Longman & Broderip.



Plate 3. Sir Charles D'Oyly, *The Winter Room in the Artist's House at Patna*, 11 September 1824

- Price each Sicca Rupees 425 [£53. 2s. 6d.], by the Warren Hastings, unopened, packed in Tin and Copper, and presumed to be in excellent order.
- 8 June 1797 A Grand Piano Forte, by Stoddart. Price 1,100 Sicca Rupees. [£137. 10s]
- Grand Piano Forte by Stoddart and Son, with Additional Keys, in High Order and in Tune, price Sicca Rupees 1500. [£187. 10s]
- 28 September 1797 A remarkably fine toned Grand Piano Forte, with additional keys and pedals, particularly secured to stand the climate of this country, built by Broadwood.

A new method of preserving instruments during the voyage was tried out by Longman & Broderip: wrapping them in tin foil. This was also used by Broadwood.<sup>17</sup>

With the decline of Longman & Broderip, the new leaders in the market were Stodart and Broadwood, whose grand pianos were as prestigious in India as in London. Notwithstanding Captain Williamson's comment that the ladies of India were sometimes willing to pay the fantastic price of £200 for such instruments, the average price of a grand piano seems to have been in the range 1,000 to 1,300 sicca rupees (£125–£160). On one occasion, the sum of £130 was charged for a Broadwood grand to the 'only lady' in Canton. The instrument had been ordered for a man in India, but the ship had been ordered to sail directly to China.<sup>18</sup> Even

<sup>17</sup> D. Wainwright, *Broadwood by Appointment: A History* (London: Quiller Press, 1982), 206.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* 102.

allowing for insurance, packing, shipping costs, and import duty, these prices represent a very large mark-up over London levels, considering that Broadwood charged £84 for its most expensive grand piano.<sup>19</sup> Yet Anglo-Indian ladies willing to spend such sums were by no means guaranteed to receive a genuine instrument. In 1803, Broadwood, concerned to defend the firm's reputation in India, inserted the following notice in the Indian press:

John Broadwood & Son, Grand and small piano forte makers to His Majesty and the Princesses having received authentic information that Instruments of very imperfect nature are sent out for sale to India and their name affixed as if manufactured by them think it necessary to acquaint the Gentry in India that none of the numerous Piano Fortes introduced into Asia by officers of Indiamen and others for sale within these 6 years last passed are of their manufacture. They beg to declare that none of the pianofortes that have mahogany fronts or name boards that have any painted ornaments or that have brass clamps on the corners are of their manufacture with the exception of two Grand pianofortes with brass clamps sent out 9 years ago, and one small one sent in 1800.<sup>20</sup>

East India Company officers thus seem to have been guilty of sharp practice, purchasing relatively cheap instruments in London, decorating them, attaching false name-plates, and then selling them at great profit and with little risk in India. One is irresistibly reminded of Ehrlich's characterization of the suppliers of 'meretricious rubbish' in the nineteenth-century piano market, publicans, furniture dealers, and 'professors' of music, who took advantage of high profit margins to undercut reputable specialists, for which they needed only spare cash, knowledge of local demand, and access to suppliers.<sup>21</sup> East India Company captains had all three, and they enjoyed the additional advantage of selling to a market in which there was no access to specialist firms at all. Selling pianos in India was a money-spinner, and everyone knew it.

Large harps do not seem to have been exported to India before the end of the eighteenth century. As in the case of the grand piano and the double bass, their bulk increased transport costs. In a letter to Margaret Fowke, Lady Jones promised to make enquiries about 'a pedal harp', after consulting with Mrs Vansittart, who 'understands them and plays them very well herself'.<sup>22</sup> But harps were still rare in India, and, having made 'every possible enquiry' after one, Lady Jones had to report that her researches had been 'fruitless'.<sup>23</sup> Yet by the 1790s, the desire for these highly fashionable instruments was such that a small export trade began. Before travelling to India in 1798, Edward Clive purchased for his daughter a 'Patent Harp' from Erard & Co. for just over one hundred pounds. Spare strings for the instrument cost a further £19. 3s. 6d.<sup>24</sup> Around 1800, two further instruments were still in India House, awaiting a decision as to whether duty had been paid on them.

The overall volume of the keyboard instrument trade with India in the late

<sup>19</sup> Wainwright, *Broadwood by Appointment*, 103.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. 102.

<sup>21</sup> C. Ehrlich, *The Piano: A History*, rev. edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 43.

<sup>22</sup> Fowke MS E5, 63; 6 Jan. 1785.

<sup>23</sup> Fowke MS E5, 73; 27 Feb. [1785].

<sup>24</sup> Powys MS, Neg 4383.

**Plate 4.** Arthur William Devis, *Emily and George Mason*, c.1794–1795

eighteenth century should not be exaggerated; probably no more than several score of instruments a year were exported. But it was a harbinger of things to come, a fast growing sector of the market, which, when added to other expanding overseas markets, notably in North America, contributed to the dominant position established by London keyboard manufacturers in the early nineteenth century. Piano retail was destined to become the first world-wide music business.

## The Distribution of Music

In the weeks before the sailing of a ship belonging to the East India Company, London publishers could expect good business from amateur musicians among the passengers, as they stocked up with the latest music. Much less bulky than most instruments, small collections of sheet music could easily be stored in trunks of belongings. Making purchases of music shortly before departure was a way of ensuring, temporarily at least, access to fashionable repertoire in distant India. It was also normal to commission agents to forward further consignments of music at regular intervals. Whilst in India, the Clives were supplied, through their agent, by John Stanley.<sup>25</sup> The departure for India, usually a moment of major significance in the life of any family, was also an opportune time to purchase musical 'going-away' presents for female relatives remaining in England.

The correspondence of the Ducarel family in the weeks prior to the departure of James and Gerard Gustavus early in 1765 alludes to this period of musical stocking up. Their sister Maria, resident in Bath but soon to join Lady Clive in London, was a keen young harpsichord player, and it was a point of honour for her brothers to ensure that she was well supplied with the newest music. An attempt was made to arrange keyboard lessons with J. C. Bach, at first apparently without success. Gerard Gustavus wrote on 23 January: 'I pity your disappointment with Bach. He is very well known to the Teissiers. And was desir'd by them to call upon you.'<sup>26</sup> A few days later, he received a list of the music, which would be acceptable to his sister as a present, and he promised to 'run to the Strand' to look for it.<sup>27</sup> He called in at the shop of John Walsh, and in a further letter reported to Maria on the outcome of this visit:

Gravesend, c.30 January 1765

Gerard Gustavus Ducarel to Maria Ducarel

I am glad the musick was pleasing to you. Of Bach I am sure. Walsh told me he had printed Du Pluy at the request & recommendation of Burton & gave me so great a Character of it, that I was tempted to prefer it to a new set of Rameau, which I am apt to think spurious, & a new set of Abel. You have both these names already upon your list & I wished to have something new for you. These are all the new harpsichord Musick that is come out. Rameau himself has been dead above a twelvemonth. I fear they only put his name to it. Otherwise I have the highest respect for his Musick. My Aunt Hasset told me she never playd his Musick or Avisons, nothing but God save great George. I laughd in my sleeve pretty well, knowing the reason . . .<sup>28</sup>

There was some interest in the music of Rameau in Anglo-Indian circles. Encouraged by his father, Francis Fowke ordered 'Rameaus Music in three parts'.<sup>29</sup> Joseph Fowke thought that study of this composer's works would give breadth to his daughter's keyboard curriculum: 'You hinted sometime ago an intention of attack-

<sup>25</sup> BL, OIOC, Clive MS G37/box 7; 30 Mar. 1758.

<sup>26</sup> GRO, Ducarel MS D2091/F10.

<sup>27</sup> Ducarel MS D2091/F10, 4.

<sup>28</sup> Ducarel MS D2091/F10, 6.

<sup>29</sup> BL, OIOC, Fowke MS D17; 20 July 1778.

ing Rameau; I fear his difficulties have discouraged you. I shall not allow you to be a Musician till you are acquainted with all Stiles, and then I will give you leave to decide upon the merit of Composers.<sup>30</sup> In this family at least, it is probable that interest was stimulated by the comment in Hawkins that 'Mr Handel was ever used to speak of him [Rameau] in terms of great respect.'<sup>31</sup>

Ducarel's own musical interests, like those of many Anglo-Indians, included the canzonets and songs of Jackson, but in the rush of departure, he failed to buy enough copies. On 3 March, his ship by now passing down the English Channel, he wrote to Maria to rectify the omission: 'I hum all Day Jacksons songs. I doat on them for your sake. Pray send me one Book. Mr Teissier will forward them by the Ships of this year, as he is to send me News papers from time to time.'<sup>32</sup> His brother James, writing from the next port of call, reported a charming incident:

Portsmouth, 21 March 1765

James Ducarel to his mother

Just as I finished the last paragraph, Gusty humm'd an Air of Jacksons, when such was the Effect of that divine Musick (even from *son gosier barbare*) that a Virginia Nightingale till then mute accompanied him with his delightful pipe. We lik'd the Symphony so well that we ask'd the price in order to have sent it to our dear Maria, but alas it belong'd to a rich old dowager and was invaluable.<sup>33</sup>

A fashionable hobby for women was teaching caged birds, usually linnets or canaries, to imitate music. Flageolets were used for the purpose.<sup>34</sup>

The commercial lines of supply for music were much the same as those for instruments. Ships' officers would purchase consignments directly from London publishers. Special deals were on offer: John Bland, for example, in his catalogue of January 1789 proposed: 'The greatest Allowance to Merchants, Captains of Ships, and Country Dealers, who take Quantities for Sale or Exportation.'<sup>35</sup> As wholesale purchasers of music, East India Company officers were thus ranked with provincial retailers.

A small number of detailed lists of music have survived in the Bengal Inventories, and these provide useful evidence of what was exported to India. The longest by far is a substantial collection of music belonging to Thomas Sheeles of Calcutta and Bridgewater:

*No.1 Music mark'd T Sheeles Esq Calcutta and Bridgewater*

Bach's etc Periodical Overtures in 8 parts  
Overtures for a Horn in 2 parts 2 Books  
Campioni's Sonatas in 3 Books

<sup>30</sup> Fowke MS E5, 50; 4 Sept. 1784.

<sup>31</sup> J. Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (London: Novello, 1875), ii. 919.

<sup>32</sup> Ducarel MS D2091/F10, 13.

<sup>33</sup> Ducarel MS D2091/F9, 6.

<sup>34</sup> R. Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-Cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 150.

<sup>35</sup> Royal College of Music, XVIII E 19.

M<sup>c</sup>Carty's Duets for 2 Violins in 2 Books  
 Abel's Six Symphonies in 6 Books  
 Pugnani's Six Overtures in 7 Books  
 Haydn's Six Quatuor's in Books  
 Bocherinis Six Sonatas in 2 Books

*No.2 Music*

Handel's Overtures in 4 Books  
 Stamsnitz's Trios 3 Books revised by the R<sup>t</sup> Honourable Earl of Kelly  
 Correlli's Sonatas 3 Books  
 The Enchanter a Musical Entertainment by Smith  
 Correlli's 12 Sonatas in 3 Books  
 30 Scots Songs for the Harpsichord and Voice by Bremner  
 The Oratoris of Sampson  
 The Oratoris of Esther by Handel  
 Acis and Galatea a Masque by Handel  
 Handel's 12 Grand Concerts 4 Books  
 L'allegro Il Penseroso ed Il Moderato from Milton the music by Handel  
 Mich<sup>l</sup> Arnis Songs and Ballads  
 Pugnani's Sonatas 3 Books  
 Overend Organist of Isleworth's 12 Sonatas for Harpsichord  
 Earl of Kelly's Six Sonatas in 3 Books  
 Herschel's Six Sonatas 3 Books  
 D<sup>r</sup> Arnes Artaxerxes an Opera /music  
 Campioni's Six Duets 2 Books  
 Abels Sonatas for Harpsichord 3 Books  
 Ciampi's Sonatas for Harpsichord 3 Books  
 Burneys 16 Sonatas for Harpsichord 3 Books  
 S<sup>t</sup> Martinis Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord 3 Books  
 Two Books of Country Dances  
 A Book of Psalms set to Music

*No. 3 Music*

3 unbound Books with Green Covers consisting of Music by diff<sup>t</sup> Composers  
 Granom's Songs Set to Music  
 A large Book of Solos for the Harpsichord and other Instruments by Several Hands  
 Geminiani's Instructions for the Violin  
 Jackson's Elegies  
 D<sup>r</sup> Burneys Sonatas for . . . 3 Books  
 Grosses Concertos 5 Books and a Books of songs set to Music  
 3 Books ruled for Music and contg a few Pieces Marbled Covers  
 2 D<sup>o</sup> Leather Covers  
 Signor Campioni's Six Sonatas 3 Books  
 D<sup>o</sup> four Sonatas or Duets in 4 Books  
 Zinerettis five Quartettis in 5 Books  
 Bach's Periodical Symphonie Periodique  
 Vento's Six Sonatas 3 Books  
 The Fao<sup>te</sup> Songs in the Opera of Tellimes  
 Manfredini's Six Sonatas 3 Books

A Book of Ballads  
 Don Quixote in Spanish  
 Rutherford's Complete Tutor for the Flute  
 Richters Six Sonatas 3 Books  
 Correllis 12 Sonatas 3 Volumes  
 a Book of Songs  
 a Volume of St. Martini's Sonatas  
 Handels 12 Grand Concerts 2 vol<sup>s</sup>  
 Bocherinis Six Sonatas in one Book  
 Telemans Six Sonatas in one d<sup>o</sup>  
 Agus's Six Solos one Book  
 Noferis Six Sonatas 3 Books  
 Geminianis Concertos one Volume  
 The airs and symphonies of Love in a Village  
 A Collect<sup>n</sup> of new Minuets  
 24 Fao<sup>te</sup> Marches  
 Cervetto's 12 Solos  
 Vinci's 12 Solos  
 Tesserini's Duets  
 Zuccari's method of playing an Adagio  
 Valli's Six Sonatas 3 Books  
 Galleoti's Sonatas 2 Books  
 Figlio's Sonatas or Duets 2 Books  
 Albertini's Sonatas 2 Vol<sup>s</sup>  
 Pugnani's Six Sonatas 3 Books  
 Bremner's Harpsichord or Spinet Miscellany  
 De Heiden's Six Sonatas  
 Cirris's Sonatas 3 Books  
 Pugnani's Minuets Composed for the King of Denmark's Masquerade  
 Grassis Duets one Volume  
 Gerrad's Duets one Vol:  
 Agus's Trios Two Books  
 McGibbon's Scots Tunes  
 A Small Book of Music  
 a Book ruled for Music  
 Cocchis Six Quintets  
 Dottels Six Sonatas  
 Six Sonatas by Deff<sup>t</sup> Composers  
 Handels Concerti Grossi  
 Pergolese's Sonatas One Book  
 A Book of Music  
 a Parcel of Loose Music

*No.6 Books*

Dr Burney's Treatise on Music

*No.9 Books*

a Cremona Fiddle sent out to the deceased by Doctor Burney Music Master to the Queen / in a Case / Cost 35 6<sup>s</sup> in England

*No.10*

2 Violins and 2 German Flutes in a Case

*No.13*

a Forte Piano and a Violin in a Case not worth the Package

*No.16 Music*

Symphonies by Abel and other Composers

Quartettors by Haydn and other Composers

three Books ruled for Music

Bremners Collect<sup>n</sup> of Marches

Figlio's 12 Sonatas

Babella's 6 Duets

A Book of Music

Daphne and Amintor a Comic opera

Tunes and Songs in the Harlequin Entertainm<sup>t</sup> of D<sup>r</sup> Faustus by Arnold

Six Sonatas by

Airs in the Hermit by Collet

24 Fav<sup>te</sup> Marches for Horse and Foot Guards

2 Bundles of Loose Music

M<sup>c</sup>Gibbon's Scots Tunes

Minuets for the Haut Boy

2 Books of Fav<sup>te</sup> Marches

The Cure of Saul

a Book of Minuets etc

The Music of Love in a Village

Mozarts Six Sonatas

*No.24*Some Music Books.<sup>36</sup>

Every year, many such collections of music were advertised in India, though usually without details of the individual items. Officers attempting to sell music in the Calcutta auction houses could at least be sure of finding out very rapidly what would attract a buyer and what not. It is arguable that collections of this type, traded in a local market like Calcutta, bring us into more immediate contact with amateur taste than do the all-embracing lists of publishers' catalogues. Analysis of the list points to a number of features compatible with the Indian market. The broad categories are as follows:

Chamber/Keyboard Music	70%
Vocal Music	15%
Ancient Music	10%
Orchestral Music	5%

On the whole, the collection reflects what was available in London in the 1760s and 1770s. As far as can be determined, the publishers represented in it include Walsh, Bremner, Randall, Welcker, Johnson, and Thompson. The limited amount of

<sup>36</sup> BL, OIOC, Bengal Inventories, 1774–1776, P155/4.



orchestral music, only symphonies by Bach, Abel, and Pugnani, is not surprising, since a public concert tradition had yet to emerge in Calcutta. Instrumental chamber music is the dominant category. About 50 per cent of this is by Italian composers, 25 per cent by German and British composers, and 25 per cent consists of 'light' categories, such as minuets, country dances, and marches. The Italian composers represented in the list were of the generation who flooded into London in the mid-century, as suggested by the dates of their first known arrival in England: Giacobbe Cervetto (1738); Vincenzo Ciampi (1748); Giuseppi Agus (1750); Gioacchino Cocchi (1757); Giovanni Noferi (c.1757); Pietro Grassi Florio (1760); Salvatore Galeotti (c.1760); Mattia Vento (1763); Giovanni Cirri (1764); Gaetano Pugnani (1767). All of the remaining Italians had their music published in London. Although it is not always possible to identify the precise publications, it is at least very clear which were the favoured genres: there is in fact a marked predominance of sonata repertoire. The relative paucity of quintets (one volume), quartets (three volumes), and string trios (two volumes) is entirely consistent with the lack of violas and cellos in India at this period, while the dominance of sonatas equates readily with the large number of amateur violin and flute players in India. It is noticeable that, other than keyboard music, there are relatively few items in genres which might be expected to appeal to women, such as accompanied sonatas, English guitar music, and Italian opera songs. Although there are a number of items in the list that might refer either to trio sonatas or accompanied sonatas—the Herschel set, for instance, might be either Jacob's trio sonatas or William's accompanied sonatas—there are few unambiguous examples of the more modern genre, represented by the Mozart sonatas, and perhaps the Abel and Richter sets. Other aspects of this list reflect general London taste. A lack of French music is also characteristic of London publishers' catalogues at this period. In 1762, John Potter characterized the music of 'our inveterate enemies the *French*', as having 'little taste or merit'.<sup>37</sup> The absence of French music in India relates to the prevalence of this view in London, rather than to any local antipathy to Gallic culture in the wake of the Anglo-French conflicts in India. The light instrumental genres represent only a quarter of the total chamber music, but the real deluge of such publications began only during the last two decades of the century. The selection of 'ancient' music, Corelli, Handel, and Geminiani, is as expected, and it probably included recent editions, such as those by Randall of the oratorios *Sampson* (1769), *Acis and Galatea* (1769), and *L'Allegro* (1770).

There is no question that the Sheeles stock represents the interests of the Anglo-Indian violinist. Indeed, more generally, the late flowering of the trio sonata genre in England, amply represented in this inventory, is perhaps as good an indication as any of the strength of the market for amateur violin music and thus of the significant number of dilettante violinists seeking to purchase serious, if not virtuoso, violin music.<sup>38</sup> Despite the size of this library of instrumental music, it is possible that it had been acquired for personal use. It will be useful to compare this list with the one of

<sup>37</sup> S. Sadie, in H. Diack Johnstone and R. Fiske, eds., *Music in Britain: The Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), 337.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid. 336.

music belonging to John Holme in 1771.<sup>39</sup> In this case, the inclusion of several multiple copies of works appears to show that it had been purchased, probably from a ship, for retail:

3 Hand Bells	
2 Violins in Cases	
1 Harpsichord	
3 Stands for Musick Books	
Catalogue of his books	
Brown on Musick	
Musick vols.	
Handles Chamber Airs / half bound	7
Ditto Concertos for the Organ	1
Ditto Minuets	4
Ditto Marches	4
Avisons 12 Sonatas for Harpsichord and Violin	8
Martines 6 Sonatas	3
Ditto 6 Duets	1
Mahauts 6 Duets	1
Girands Ditto	1
Duets by Different Hands	1
Correlles Sonatas	6
Concertos by Several Authors	1
Gronomaris 6 Sonatas	1
Albertis 8 Sonatas	1
Stamitzs' 6 Sonatas / wants primo	2
Granomons' Sonatas Opera 7.8	2
Carusis and Patrules' 6 Sonatas	3
Collections of Odes etc	1
Ditto Duets etc	1
Tassarines' art of playing on the Violin	1
Pasqualis' 12 English songs	1
Ditto Rules for playing thorough Base	1
Ditto Rules for the Harpsichord	2
Pasqualis 6 Sonatas	1
Bremner's Scotch Songs	3
Craigs' Ditto	1
McGibbons' Ditto	1
Bremners' Scotch Dances	1
Ditto Ditto Marches	1
Oswalds' Caledonian Companion	1
Longdons' Songs	1
Arnes Ditto	2
Collections' of Harpsichord Lessons	1
Ditto favorite songs by Bremner	1

<sup>39</sup> Bengal Inventories, 1771, P154/70.

Ditto English songs half bound	3
Ditto Minuets and Country Dances bound	3
Ditto Hymns	1
The Maid of the mill opera	1
Midas Ditto	1
Artaxerxes Ditto	1
Love in a Village Ditto	1
Cymon Ditto	1
Love in a Village Ditto	1
Love in the City Ditto	1
Cymon Ditto	1
Daphne and Amintor Ditto	1
Midas Ditto	1
Cymon Ditto	1
Thomas and Sally Ditto	1
The Jovial Crue Ditto	1
Love in a Village Ditto	1
The Maid of the mill Ditto	1
La Bouna Figliuosla Ditto	1
Comic Tunes in the Ginie	2
Collections of Minutes	2
Instructions for the German Flute	3
Ditto Violin	1
Ditto Harpsichord	1
Collections of Minuets and Country Dances	16
Collections of Songs	6
Stamitz 6 Sonatas	3
Oratorios	3
Geminiani on the Violin	1
Ditto 12 Sonatas in Score	1
Ditto 12 Solas	1
Geminianis 12 Concertas opera 2d and 3d	7
Collections of written musick	12
Ditto of written musick and musick papers	
Catalogue of Books	
Playfords introduction to musick	
Simpsons Compendium of Musick	
Smith on ye Phylosophy of musical sounds	
Pasquals' art of fingering the Harpsichord	
Thorough Bass made easy	
Rudiments of Musick	
Thompsons' collection of 100 Minutes	
Martins' Sonatas	

This list resembles the earlier one, with its strong preponderance of violin sonatas, and the almost inevitable selection of 'ancient' music, but there are some differences of emphasis. Publications by Bremner are prominent. The selection of Scottish

music, songs, dances, and marches, draws attention to the fact that arrangements of national airs from Scotland and Ireland were finding an increasing market in India, as larger numbers of recruits from these countries began to enter the employ of the Company. The list includes a substantial selection of Arne's music from the 1760s. Also worthy of note is the number of instruction books: three for the violin; four for the harpsichord, including one each on fingering and figured bass; and one for the flute. The availability of professional musicians in India to teach was at best uncertain, especially in inland settlements, and this kind of basic self-help instruction manual might have been expected to sell well.

The predominance of violin sonatas in both these inventories raises one interesting question: who played the keyboard parts? In the early 1770s, there were still relatively few amateur women players in India. Keen amateur violinists might therefore have set aside any qualms they felt about the identity of the harpsichord as a woman's instrument, in order to learn the techniques of accompanying. Some published courtesy books openly categorized the harpsichord as an 'effeminate' instrument. John Berkenhout informed his readers: 'As two gentlemen were passing the window, I heard one of them exclaim—"I hate to see a *man* at the Harpsichord!" I had never before annexed the idea of effeminacy to that instrument, but from that moment, I began to be of that gentleman's opinion.'<sup>40</sup> In India, through necessity, many were obliged to set aside this stereotype, even though the shadow of impropriety remained. On one occasion, Margaret Fowke noted with a wry amusement that contains a certain edge that several of her male acquaintances were taking up the study of keyboard accompaniment: 'Playdell is going to study thorough-bass; Morse is writing a treatise upon it; Messink to be independent of all his accompanists is going to study Pasquali. The fellow will get a smattering and be ten times more troublesome than ever.'<sup>41</sup> There are many other reports of men playing the harpsichord in India at this time, for example, John Shore, who assisted Sir William Jones in his studies of Indian music.

On the whole, the Bengal Inventories provide disappointingly few details of small collections of music owned by Anglo-Indian amateurs. It is common to find an entry which simply notes a 'parcell of musick books', usually with a single violin or flute. The contents of these small collections are rarely specified. One exception is the small selection owned by Philip Philpott. His collection consisted of 'Handels Overtures and Concerto, Maid of the Mill, Minuets, Country Dances, Songs etc, Duets for Violin, Bass and Garman Flute.' Even in a tiny collection, the range is still from 'ancient' music to country dances.<sup>42</sup> One interesting statistic is the growing tendency for instrument owners to possess music. In the 1760s, about 20 per cent of estates with musical instruments include music; in the 1770s, this rises to 35 per cent. The increase reflects the growth of a mass market for music of the simplest kinds for male amateurs. The very limited commitment of individuals, most of whose holdings of music would have been limited to a few inexpensive items, was increasingly

<sup>40</sup> Leppert, *Music and Image*, 122.

<sup>41</sup> Fowke MS E4, 87.

<sup>42</sup> Bengal Inventories, 1768, P154/67.

offset by the large numbers involved. Only from the perspective of high culture could this be viewed as a decline in musical taste. What it more fairly represents, at least in the case of the large number of amateur musicians in India, is the expansion of the culture of printed music into new sections of English society.

The quantity of music entering India through Calcutta retailers was large, but even so there are many indications that demand often exceeded supply. One factor was undoubtedly the insatiable appetite for up-to-date repertoire characteristic of any colonial population at this time; any suspicion that music on sale in Calcutta was outmoded in London would cause a rapid loss of appeal. A more common problem, though, was the difficulty of obtaining specific pieces. This was partly a consequence of the length of the supply lines, but the main cause was the lack of a well-established system of distribution. Amateurs in England could order from London publishers, or visit regional retail outlets, or join circulating libraries. In India, the speed with which non-specialist retailers and captains appeared in the market place with music to sell, before setting sail again, militated against the provision of a customer-oriented service. General tastes rather than the specific requirements of individuals were serviced in this manner. Committed amateurs coped with the problem in a variety of ways. It was possible to order directly from London, although a year might elapse between the dispatch of an order and the receipt of the music, or a sought-after piece might be found in one or other of the collections of music constantly being offered for sale by individuals about to return to Europe. Lists of what was available were in informal circulation.

With their precisely focused musical interests, members of the Fowke family made a habit of ordering music directly from London. When his daughter failed to send her list for the following year in time for a departing ship, Joseph wrote to complain of her indolence:

**Calcutta, 12 December 1783**

Joseph Fowke to Margaret Fowke

Your Indent for Musick to be provided by Capt. Cooke arrived after his departure. Most likely you have lost this opportunity by Procrastination, a failing you might easily get the better of by a little practice. Pray do not miss a second opportunity. Write instantly to your Correspondent to provide you Musick, Harpsichord Wires etc. and send them to Capt. Cooke who will find some way of getting them safe to you. You may add to your list the following Articles on my account:

Corelli's Trios

Handels' Concertos for the Violin and Organ

Vivaldi's Concertos called the Seasons

A fine Fiddle Bow—Light, and the Hair round and even as possible

Half a dozen eggs of fine Resin, such as was sent to my Father with his Violins, which do not clog the Bow

A few Rings of Fiddle strings choice and new

A dozen fiddle Bridges

2 dozen fiddle pegs.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Fowke MS E5, 12.

One year later, the music ordered by the Fowkes from London arrived in Calcutta on board the *Cornwallis*. Joseph had in fact ordered a number of musical items on behalf of his son: 'By my letters by the E. Cornwallis I find some things belonging to your Brother were packed up with my Violencello, of which I found no Memorandum. These were some fiddle strings, some Resin, a Violin Bow, and a Sett of Corelli's Trios.'<sup>44</sup> The bill from the London publisher, William Napier, arrived soon after this, and Joseph forwarded it to his son:

London, 19 November 1783

Copy Francis Fowke Esq.

Bo<sup>r</sup> of W<sup>m</sup> Napier

					£	s	d
30	Rings	Violin	firsts	✓		15	
10	d <sup>o</sup>	d <sup>o</sup>	seconds	✓		5	
5	d <sup>o</sup>	d <sup>o</sup>	thirds	✓		3	4
15	d <sup>o</sup>	d <sup>o</sup>	fourths	✓		7	6
	Ball Rosin and best Violin bow		✓			11	6
	Sett Corellis trios		✓		1	1	6
	English opera Rosina		×			8	6
	Gratna Green		×			8	6
	Poor Soldier		✓			6	6
	Spanish barber		×			5	6
	Son in law		×			5	6
	Italian Opera Medionte		✓			3	6
	Il Conisto		✓			3	6
	Il Triomfo		✓			5	6
	L'Olimpiade		✓			4	6
	Zenicra Azore		✓			1	6
	Sett Harps <sup>d</sup> strings N <sup>o</sup> 4 etc Double						
	quantity sent to Peggy by JF					8	6
						6	5 4

N.B. Those mark'd thus ✓ are pack'd in the Violincello and Tenor and sent to your Father. The four with × are inclos'd in your Trunk p<sup>r</sup> the Earl Cornwallis; under the care of Mr Hodgson 2<sup>d</sup> Officer.<sup>45</sup>

A note from Robert Morell, the agent, confirmed that the unbound music would be in 'a Violincello case going to your father', but that 'The Ladies Amusement and Cocchis Duettoes Catches and Glee's' had had to be omitted.<sup>46</sup>

The Fowkes did not neglect the important second-hand market for music. When one of their musical acquaintances, John Shore, decided to leave Calcutta in 1785, Joseph alerted both his children. Margaret was asked: 'Do you want Violin or Harpsichord Music? Of the first there is great Variety in Shore's Collection if your Brother chuses it.'<sup>47</sup> Francis was advised to take first refusal of anything in the list: 'Shore has a fine Collection of Music, and tells me he has had many applications for

<sup>44</sup> Fowke MS E5, 54; 20 Nov. 1784.

<sup>45</sup> Fowke MS E6A, 38.

<sup>46</sup> Fowke MS E6A, 39a.

<sup>47</sup> Fowke MS E5, 60; 5 Jan. 1785.

it. He ask'd me if I thought you would like it. I told him Yes, so you will have the Refusal. It is excessive cheap not the full cost in England, and you can always get the same money for it here—At any rate you can lose nothing by having the Refusal—Shore has promis'd to write to you about it—I have desir'd him to send you a list . . .<sup>48</sup> Francis bought at least some of the music, and the matter was handled by the firm of Paxton & Cockrell, who transferred his payment to Shore, and made arrangements for the dispatch of the music:

**Calcutta, 6 February 1785**

Paxton & Cockrell to Francis Fowke

The Bill in favor of Mr Shore is accepted by us and shall be duly paid. When I dined with Mr Cockrell today, he promised to send the Music books tomorrow and in consequence orders are given to our people to have a boat got with all possible speed on which the Books shall be dispatched under Charge of a trusty Servant who may be depended upon.<sup>49</sup>

A good source of cheap second-hand music in India was the sale of goods from the estates of deceased persons. A number of music books from the estate of John Holme failed even to reach 40 per cent of European prices. The administrator therefore valued them at this level, with the intention that he would 'himself gain any advantage later'.<sup>50</sup>

Faced with long delays in the arrival of orders from London, the Fowkes often borrowed music to have it copied. When he returned to Benares in 1783, Francis was keen that his sister should continue to study the continuo part of some Corelli trios, so that she could accompany him when the two next met. Simply out of affection for her brother, she was willing to countenance this task, but away from his presence she found it hard to sustain any interest. She confessed: 'I have quite neglected Corelli since you left me. I never played them but once, and finding the charm gone, I have not touched them since.'<sup>51</sup> Nevertheless, her brother continued to insist that she study the pieces, and so, reluctantly, she took them up again. In order that both he and his sister should have access to a set of parts, Francis ordered a set from Napier in London, but as this could not arrive in India before 1784 it was now necessary to make arrangements for the distribution of the existing set of parts. What ensued, a small saga of Anglo-Indian musical life, well illustrates the administrative complexity that could easily overtake even the simplest of musical activities.

As it would be much easier to borrow the Corelli trios in Calcutta than in Benares, Margaret first made arrangements to send her brother their existing set:

Merely from forgetfulness I forgot to put up Corelli either in the baggage boats or camp baskets—The next time I send any you will have them—for I can easily get Golding's here.<sup>52</sup>

Having found that her brother's violin would not fit in the camp baskets, she had sent it down to be loaded on the slow baggage boats, but he contacted her just in time to get it sent up more quickly:

<sup>48</sup> Fowke MS E6A, 37.

<sup>49</sup> Fowke MS D12, 66.

<sup>50</sup> Bengal Inventories, 1771, P154/70.

<sup>51</sup> Fowke MS E4, 55–6.

<sup>52</sup> Fowke MS E4, 55–6; 26 April 1783.

Your second letter which I got today arrived just in time to take the violin box out of the baggage boats which were going—I dispatched a man after it without a moment's delay and have written to Cummings with orders to furnish a light boat for this box—I have likewise ordered him to put your other violin which came out of my pinnace into this boat . . .<sup>53</sup>

In the end, Margaret decided to entrust a musical friend with the delivery of the Corelli; it would be slower, but at least he could practise the second violin part.<sup>54</sup>

When, a few months later, it was decided that Margaret herself should travel to Benares to stay with her brother, she knew that she would have to resume practising the continuo part, which, in the absence of her brother, she had put to one side. She now had to borrow a copy from another friend, in order to have them copied:

I have borrowed Golding's solos. I should like to change 6 Trios for 6 solos. The reason is that I should like to take out these basses in order to accompany them exactly, but I wish to return Golding his book as I imagine he will like to practise them. How it will be saving time if Soonder can copy out these and you will take them for trios. There are a great many chords, however, let it be just as you please for I will most exactly perform my promise.<sup>55</sup>

Golding was possibly the Mr Goolden whose house in Bankipore, between Benares and Patna, was described by Dean Mahomet thus: 'It was a fine spacious building, finished in the English style; and as it stood on a rising ground, it seemed to rear its dome in stately pride, over the aromatic plains and spicy groves that adorned the landscape below, commanding an extensive prospect of all the fertile vales along the winding Ganges flowery banks.'<sup>56</sup> Apparently, the idea was to copy out the keyboard part of Golding's set as solo keyboard pieces in the manner of Walsh's *The Score of the Four Operas, containing 48 Sonatas* (London, c.1735), which allowed for the possibility of solo keyboard performance ('they also make compleat Lessons for the Harpsichord'). Margaret was clearly hoping that this would be a more rewarding way of practising this repertoire.

Although the intention was to have the continuo part copied out, there was insufficient time for the Indian servant to make the necessary duplicate score. It later emerged that Margaret had retained the borrowed copy even after leaving for Benares. A letter of remonstrance from her father soon arrived:

Calcutta, 21 September 1783

Joseph Fowke to Margaret Fowke

Dear Daughter,

Mr Golding had applied to me for Corelli's Trios before the receipt of your letters, and was much alarmed at my not being able to give any account of them, as he had taken the liberty of lending to you what did not belong to him, which was certainly a great breach of Trust. He begs you will restore them to Mr Baillie, the rightful proprietor, who is at Mr Cleveland's at Boglipoor. Pray don't fail.

How could you imagine that 48 Trios in three parts cou'd be copied in three days? I will venture to affirm it cou'd not be done with close application, in four months, nor wou'd anybody chuse to be deprived of their Books for half the time. Perhaps

<sup>53</sup> Fowke MS E4, 66.

<sup>54</sup> Fowke MS E4, 87.

<sup>55</sup> Fowke MS E4, 55–6.

<sup>56</sup> Fisher, *The Travels of Dean Mahomet*, 21.



Newman may be able to copy over a few of the Bases for your practice before you reach Boglipoor . . .<sup>57</sup>

With no hint of an apology for this choleric outburst, Joseph then realized that he had misinterpreted his daughter's request:

In reading over your letter a second time I find you only want one Trio copied (if you have carefully expressed yourself,) and this I will endeavour to get done to accompany this.<sup>58</sup>

Meanwhile, Margaret was working hard at her part, to make as much progress as possible before she was obliged to surrender her copy. She suggested that Francis might now send down her part:

I played Corelli yesterday and will do all I possibly can to have my part ready. By the way my father has written to me to tell me that it is Mr Golding's request that I will restore Corelli to Mr Bailey who is the owner and he is at Baglepoor. If boats are as cheap up the country as they are down you might send a hircarrah in a little boat for 8 or 10 rupees with my thorough-bass part. I don't know who Mr Bailey is, but if we stay long enough to make any acquaintance with him, I shall ask to keep his Corelli (the bass I mean) till I get to B[enares].<sup>59</sup>

In the event, she was allowed to keep the copy:

We leave Rajmaul at this instant. I found Bailey here, who has obligingly allowed me the use of Corelli's thorough-bass part, so you need not send it.<sup>60</sup>

This story of the distribution of a set of Corelli across the Gangetic plains is an extreme example of a common phenomenon: the large amount of organization that music-making in India required. The effect of the climate on people and instruments, the large distances between settlements, a mobile style of life with frequent journeys, the scarcity of replacements, often conspired to make the arrangement of even the simplest chamber music a formidable task of organization. From the point of view of the music retailer, this opened up the possibility of the sale of multiple copies (in order to forestall problems) or of replacements sets, when the inevitable losses occurred.

The Fowke family regularly used an Indian to help fill gaps in their library. The use of Indian servants as copyists of Western music was inexpensive, but not without problems. Since the early days of the East India Company, English travellers had marvelled at how adept local craftsmen were at copying any European artefact. Margaret refers to the servant who copied her music as 'Soonder', literally 'soontah burdah' or stick-bearer, an 'official' position. Evidence of Indians actively engaged with European music is extremely rare in the eighteenth century, and the details of Margaret Fowke's musical servant are worth giving. We first encounter him when she reported that she and her father were (as usual) in competition for his musical

<sup>57</sup> Fowke MS E4, 431. Perhaps this was Augustus Cleveland, Hickey's friend. See J. P. Losty, *Calcutta: City of Palaces* (London: BL, 1990), 62. William Baillie, who went to Calcutta in 1777, later published engravings of India. See Losty, *Calcutta: City of Palaces*, 64.

<sup>58</sup> Fowke MS E4, 435.

<sup>59</sup> Fowke MS E4, 463.

<sup>60</sup> Fowke MS E4, 479.

services.<sup>61</sup> Joseph wanted him to copy some manuscript violin concertos of Tartini, while Margaret was anxious that the 'poor youth' should set to work on some Jackson canzonets, that she had mislaid:

**Calcutta, 6 May 1783**

Margaret Fowke to Francis Fowke

G. [Joseph Fowke] has employed Soonder for some time past in copying Tartini. The work will be valuable, as they are esteemed fine pieces, and have never been published. McArthur procured the manuscript by some chance. It is an unlucky interruption however to my work which at best goes on rather slowly. I was endeavouring to finish Jackson that I might return Mrs P[lowden] her book. I always make him do a little that it may not stand quite still. I have never found my set of Jackson. Unless it is in the pinnace it is certainly gone. Messink has given me one of the sets, so that I am only one set the poorer.<sup>62</sup>

It was not long, however, before music copying had to be put aside in favour of more urgent matters: 'Soonder has not been able to be here very constantly. I don't mean that he has been neglectful, but he has had so much business with the accounts, packing up, baggage boats, and other business—besides Tartini.'<sup>63</sup> This servant at least had wide-ranging duties. As time went on, Margaret seemed to become ever more dependent on the copyist, and ever more dissatisfied with the standard of his work:

**Calcutta, 8 August 1783**

Margaret Fowke to Francis Fowke

I am exceedingly vexed at the inaccuracies you mention in the music I sent. I knew that the first essays of the Burrah Soonder were not very elegant but I really thought they were perfectly intelligible and correct or I should have employed the other. In future I will always have your glees copied in the fair and beautiful hand of the Chottah Soonder, for I know how vexatious it must be to have an incorrect copy where you have no other to compare with. Soonder is very idle and often absent. I should think a word or two of reproof from you would improve his industry. At the same time I do not wish his hopes to be checked altogether as I can do nothing without him.<sup>64</sup>

Soonder is so extremely remiss that I must beg your interference. He is a very necessary but an incorrigibly lazy fellow. I made him write those glees for you, and it is almost all he has done a great while past. He makes idle excuses of absence frequently for a whole morning on my father's business, and frequently either himself, his mother, cousin or sister are so ill that it is impossible he can attend here at all.<sup>65</sup>

Her father took a more indulgent attitude, as he often did when commenting on the problems of musicians and musical servants: 'I am very sorry Chootah Sunder has fallen under your displeasure, but you must make some allowances . . . after all perhaps he has never been employed in the same way before.'<sup>66</sup> The Indian copyist accompanied Margaret to Benares, where he was injured in a riding accident.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Fowke MS E4, 15–16.

<sup>62</sup> Fowke MS E4, 79.

<sup>63</sup> Fowke MS E4, 95.

<sup>64</sup> Fowke MS E4, 239.

<sup>65</sup> Fowke MS E4, 285.

<sup>66</sup> Fowke MS F3, 34.

<sup>67</sup> Fowke MS E4, 581.

Whether he was musically trained, understanding what he was copying, or was merely a skilled replicator of what was on the page, is hard to say. So far as is known, no examples of eighteenth-century music made by Indian copyists have survived.

The opening of a specialist music shop early in 1785 was a welcome development for the Fowkes, offering them the prospect of dealing with a more reliable supplier of music. Francis was coincidentally in Calcutta, and Margaret wrote immediately, asking him to look out for a number of items, including 'Metastaseo, the Italian of which is esteemed remarkably easy'.<sup>68</sup> Not surprisingly, Joseph went to see what Handel was available:

**Calcutta, 18 August 1785**

Joseph Fowke to Francis Fowke

Stone has for sale Handel's Overtures in 4 parts for Chamber Concerts; if you shou'd incline to purchase them, I will buy the use of them for a few months till a set of my own arrives which I expect by the Surprit. Stone has been sadly abused for letting you have Handels Songs in parts when there were no other Set to be had in the place.<sup>69</sup>

Stone's most significant import, however, was a consignment of Haydn's harpsichord music, apparently new to Calcutta.<sup>70</sup>

From the mid-1780s, a small number of newspaper advertisements list the individual composers and works in consignments of imported music, and these reflect the newly fashionable composers Haydn and Pleyel, and include genres such as the symphony and quartet, which were now regularly being performed in subscription concerts. On 27 October 1791, for example, Munro & Miller advertised the following new music: 'Overtures, Quartettos, Duets, Trios, Sonatas, and Reels—Airs, Glees and Operas—various Scotch, English and French songs, with music for the Harpsichord, Violin, Flute, etc, by the first Masters.' In a subsequent notice, these masters were named as Ignance [*sic*] Pleyel, Farchi [Tarchi?], Dow, Dunkeild etc etc.' The strong impact made by Haydn's music in Calcutta is very evident from the following advertisement of music imported on the *Berrington* in 1793:

English Operas, of the [P]irate, Enchanted Wood, Surrender of Calais, Harford Bridge and the Prisoner.

New Marches, Glees, English and Italian Songs.

Book of Symphonies by Hayd'n, Pleydel, Boghi etc.

Quartettos, trios, and Duettoes by Hayd'n, Pleydel, Dessek, Elfort, and Kotsuara.

Lessons by Hayd'n, Pleydel, Dessek, Clementi, Attwood etc.

Spelling as usual is haphazard, Pleyel's name being contaminated by the well-known Anglo-Indian family, Playdell.<sup>71</sup> The selection of composers provides a fair reflection of the range of instrumental music being heard in London around the time

<sup>68</sup> Fowke MS E4, 567.

<sup>69</sup> Fowke MS E6A, 66.

<sup>70</sup> Fowke MS E7, 26; Hooghly, 4, Apr. 1785.

<sup>71</sup> *Calcutta Gazette*, 19 Sep. 1793.

of the Haydn visits. Haydn's popularity is further confirmed in a shorter notice by Stewart & Brown, of music to be sold on commission by 'Hayden, Jackson, Clementine [*sic*] and Shield'.<sup>72</sup> In 1794, advertisements start to name the publishers of consignments of new music, from which it is possible to deduce that Napier and Bland were especially active suppliers of the Indian market.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>72</sup> *Calcutta Gazette*, 31 Oct. 1793.

<sup>73</sup> *Calcutta Gazette*, 2, 9, 16, and 30 Oct. 1793.