THOMAS CHILCOT AND HIS CONCERTOS

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Part 2: His works

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Frontispiece

Thomas and Anne Chilcot
Photograph of the mural tablet in Tawstock Church

Abbreviations

BL Add.MS	The British Library, London Additional Manuscript
JAMS	*Journal of the American Musicological Society*
M&L	*Music and Letters*
MR	*The Music Review*
MT	*The Musical Times*
NOHM VII	Egon Wellesz and Frederick Sternfeld (eds.), *The Age of Enlightenment: 1745-1790* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973) - (New Oxford History of Music, VII)
PRMA	*Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*
RMARC	*Research Chronicle* (Royal Musical Association)
PRO	The Public Record Office, London

Preface

Introduction

If a well-informed musician were to make a list of Handel's younger English contemporaries, it is likely that Greene, Stanley, Boyce and Arne would feature prominently. It is equally likely that Thomas Chilcot of Bath would not be mentioned.

Chilcot's surviving compositions are few: two sets of concertos, half-a-dozen suites and a volume of songs. The orchestral parts to the concertos are missing. The compositions -- like the majority of eighteenth-century English works -- survive only in print: no autograph copies of music by Chilcot have been found. Nor do any personal papers survive which relate to or even mention the composer.

Almost the only archival materials relating to Chilcot's professional life are the quarterly receipts for wages which he signed in the Chamberlain's Account Book. The composer's death was noted by a single line in one of the Bath newspapers. Even the memorial tablet to Thomas and Anne Chilcot, which Thomas had erected in Tawstock Church at the time of his wife's death, bears an

empty plate onto which details of the composer were never engraved.

In view of this it is not surprising that no serious research into Thomas Chilcot's life and work has ever been attempted. He was mentioned in a history of Bath in 1903 but no details whatever were known about his life until forty years later, when Benjamin Maslen, a one-time organist of Bath Abbey, wrote a short article in *Musical Opinion*, justly entitled 'Thomas Chilcot: a forgotten composer'.

Maslen's research, while limited, was excellent, taking him to the City Council records, newspapers, parish registers, wills and diaries. Unfortunately, several of the findings presented in his one-and-a-half-page article are not entirely accurate. For instance, he misattributes to Thomas three children baptised at Twerton between 1724 and 1727, thus hindering future researchers from finding the date of Thomas's first marriage, which was not until 1729. He says little about the music itself, which is perhaps fortunate as he considers it to 'bear such an unmistakeable affinity to Purcell's' (p.294).

Chilcot's music was first described in an article by Gwilym Beechey in 1973 and has subsequently been mentioned in most accounts of eighteenth-century keyboard music. Beechey was

not able to add any further information about Chilcot's life, so his article simply rewords Maslen's account.

On first sight, Chilcot appears to be a singularly unpromising subject for a doctoral dissertation. A closer examination of his music, however, suggests otherwise. Its quality stands up to that of Chilcot's better-known contemporaries, while the forms and techniques which it employs raise fascinating questions about the training and education of this insular West-of-England musician. Research into Chilcot's life has revealed a remarkable story and raised many more questions as yet unanswered.

It was originally intended to include in this dissertation not only an examination of Chilcot's entire output but also a wide-ranging account of musical life in eighteenth-century Bath. Two factors have argued against this. Firstly, the volume of material unearthed has made it necessary to concentrate on Chilcot's most interesting works, and those which have made the greatest contribution to their respective *genre*, the concertos. Secondly, at the same time as this dissertation was being written, Mr Ken James of Bath has been researching the musical life of the city for a doctoral dissertation at the University of London. His dissertation will complement the present one and render a wide-ranging account

unnecessary. It is understood that Mr James's work is now complete, but the present author has not yet had the opportunity to see a copy.

Appendix 4 and 5 of the present work contain thematic catalogues respectively of the 1756 and 1765 concertos. A similar thematic catalogue of Chilcot's suites is to be found in Gwilym Beechey's article (see bibliography).

Summary of biography

Thomas Chilcot was born in the West of England (probably Bath) in or about 1707. His father, John Chilcot, is thought to have come from Tiverton and was, like many members of the Chilcot family in Tiverton, a cordwainer. He moved to Bath in about 1700 and married Elizabeth Powell there on 4 November that year.

Thomas, like his brothers James and William, was educated at Bath Charity School, whose headmaster, Henry Dixon, had a strong interest in church music. On 6 July 1721 Thomas Chilcot (presumably then aged 14) was apprenticed to Josiah Priest, the organist of Bath Abbey since 1714. After only four years, Priest died and the Bath Abbey post (which had a high salary and standing in relation to West of England Cathedral posts) was given to Chilcot on a probationary basis. At what should have been the conclusion of

Chilcot's apprenticeship, in 1728, he was offered the tenure of the post. As City musician in fashionable Bath, Chilcot established a relationship with many noble families, attracting their patronage and subscriptions to his publications.

Chilcot was a member and subsequently Grand Master of the Royal Cumberland Lodge of freemasons, into which he was initiated on 21 February 1738. Unfortunately, freemasons' records shed no further light on the composer. Chilcot was also amongst the original members of the Society of Musicians, founded in 1739. His membership included the obligation to reside part of the .year in London and to take part in some London events, but there is no evidence that Chilcot ever visited the capital.

Chilcot married Elizabeth Mills of Bath on 28 June 1729 in Claverton Church. They had seven children, of whom four survived infancy. Following Elizabeth's death he married Ann Wrey, a fairly wealthy member of a prominent West-Country family. She died on 30 June 1758, without children.

In the later part of his life Chilcot played an increasing part in Bath's secular music life. He became a Freeman of the city on 2 March 1752, enabling him to trade or run a business. He played in many of Francis Fleming's concerts at

Wiltshire's Room in Bath until the mid-1750s, after which Chilcot began to arrange his own concerts which, from their size and scope were clearly intended to overshadow other musical events in the city and establish Chilcot as Bath's principal musician.

Chilcot died suddenly on 24 November 1766. The lengthy auction of his belongings and music library demonstrates the wealth that this successful musician had created since his days at the charity school. He had occupied a central position in Bath's music life for half a century and had published some important music. Yet the announcement of his death in *Pope's Bath Chronicle* of 27 November 1766 was only nine words long and was placed in an insignificant corner of the newspaper. No other notice seems to have been taken of his death, and the elaborate arrangements made in Chilcot's will for the composer's funeral procession and memorials were not honoured. Even the memorial tablet in Tawstock church which Chilcot had set up at the time of his second wife's death was never engraved with Thomas Chilcot's name. It is difficult to explain this extraordinary neglect.

Chilcot's unpublished music, including at least four anthems and a *Jubilate,* has not survived. His extant output consists of:

Six Suites of Lessons for the Harpsicord or Spinet (London, Wm Smith, 1734). Modern edition by *Le Pupitre* (Paris, Heugel & cie, 1981).
Twelve English Songs with their symphonies. The words by Shakespeare and other Celebrated Poets. (London, John Johnson, [1744])
Six Concertos, for the Harpsichord (London, John Johnson, 1756)
Six Concertos, for the Harpsichord (Bath, privately, 1765/66).

The Suites are Handelian in style and well crafted. Several of them have been recorded and the first is considered equal in quality to Handel's suites. The suites also show Chilcot's first attempts at extended binary parallelisms -- a sophisticated formal technique not popularised before Scarlatti's first publication of 1738. This technique became the cornerstone of the construction of Chilcot's concerto first-movement form.

The *English Songs* follow the fashions of British song collections in the 1740s: texts by Shakespeare and Anacreon, the preference for binary (sometimes strophic) rather than *da capo* form, the pastoral or boozy texts, and even the occasional Scots snap. The songs, printed in full score, employ string trio or quartet, with the addition of wind, percussion and continuo for the last song. The orchestration is imaginative and effective.

Both sets of six concertos are very substantial works, with sophisticated and meticulously-planned formal structures using elements of Italian ritornello and binary forms. The first movements occasionally evoke sonata form concepts. The first set of concertos, like the earlier works of Domenico Scarlatti, is full of frenzied hand-crossings, several-octave arpeggios and other virtuoso techniques. The second set of concertos is calmer and more mature in style. Despite references on the title pages to instrumental parts to the concertos, no copies are extant other than a single violin part to the 1756 concertos, now in Glasgow's Mitchell Library. Parts to the 1756 concertos are known to have existed as recently as 1928, when they were in the library of the Royal Somerset Lodge of freemasons. It is uncertain whether parts were ever published to the 1765/66 concertos, which had a lengthy and troubled publishing process interrupted by Chilcot's death in 1766.

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Chapter One
Tiverton

Introduction

The first decade of the eighteenth century saw the birth in Bath of a Thomas Chilcot. He was the third son of John Chilcot, a cordwainer who had come to live in Bath in about 1700.[1] Although no records relating to Thomas's birth or baptism can now be found, it can be assumed that he was born in 1707, because he was subsequently apprenticed (presumably at the standard age of 14) in 1721.[2]

Unlike his brothers, Thomas Chilcot did not become a cordwainer: he became a church musician and composer. On a number of occasions in his later life, in particular in his will, Thomas Chilcot refers to the town of Tiverton in Devon. Three features of Tiverton suggest that it was the original home of Thomas's family and therefore an influence both on his development and on his decision to embark upon a career in church music.

Firstly, the Chilcot family during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was, as indeed it still is, mainly centred around the town of Tiverton and the village of Witheridge, ten miles

to the west. The registers of both parishes contain hundreds of references to members of the family, who, in accordance with the curious and not yet fully explained West-country habit, were almost invariably styled 'Comins *alias* Chilcot'. Unlike in the various other branches of the Chilcot family,[3] the names Thomas, William and John (names common in the near family of Thomas the composer) constantly recur. In particular, the names Thomas and William Chilcot occur regularly in the churchwardens' accounts of the Parish of St Peter, Tiverton, during this period. In 1701 William Chilcot was paid £2 2s 7d 'for work as p[er] note' and Thomas Chilcot was paid an undisclosed sum 'for shoes'.[4] The latter was paid again for shoes in 1702, and the former received another £1 1s 9d in 1707. In 1705 'Thomas Chilcott Cordwainer' paid £1 3s in pew rent; in 1707 'Thomas Chilcott Jun^{r}' paid 7s 6d for another pew 'for the life of his Son Bartley Chilcott'. 1708 saw a further reference to Thomas Chilcot and a payment to William Chilcott 'for Beer for the Carpenters'.[5] Although these Chilcots could not have been Thomas the composer (who was not born until about 1707) or William his brother (who was born in 1703) a family relationship is likely.

Secondly, the seventeenth-century Chilcots in the Tiverton area were mostly weavers or -- like Thomas Chilcot's father -- cordwainers. For

example, 'William Chilcotts *als* Comyns of Tyverton' left in his will of 6 June 1624 'To my Son Richard Chillcott als Comyins £1 and the formest of my Loomes next into the dire. To my Son William Chillcott als Comyins £3 and 2 Loomes, one which was his grandfathers and alsoe another pare there standing in my house'.[6] In a deed of administration relating to Humphrey Cominge *alias* Chilcott, drawn up on 8 April 1635, reference is made to a 'John Chilcott *als* Comins of Tiverton weaver'.[7] The first of many references to Chilcots as cordwainers is found in an inventory of the goods of William Commyn *alias* Chilcott of Tiverton 'Cordwayner', drawn up in 1644 and presented in connection with the deeds of administration of his estate on 18 January 1646.[8]

Thirdly, Tiverton has also musical connections, being the first provincial non-cathedral parish in Britain to install an organ in its church after the Restoration. This happened in 1696 -- about four years before the presumed removal of John, Thomas Chilcot's father, from Tiverton to Bath, and could therefore have been a significant factor in Thomas Chilcot's subsequent career as a church musician.

The Tiverton organ, and parochial church music

It is therefore worth looking briefly at the circumstances surrounding the installation of the

Tiverton organ, and at the debate over church music which was in progress at the time: a debate which all the parishioners of Tiverton, including the Chilcots, must have followed with interest.

The Rector of Tiverton, John Newte, preached a sermon at the time of the organ's installation. This sermon, which was subsequently published, asserted *The Lawfulness and Use of Organs in the Christian Church.* After lengthy scriptural arguments in favour of music in worship, Newte describes how the organ should be used:

There is, besides at the several Times when the *Psalms* are sung, some other proper Tunes customarily made use of for the Organ to play some taking Lessons of decent Florish or other by it self, which goes by the name of *Voluntaries*; and is chiefly to answer this last Use and Advantage of it.

This sort of Musick, is either made just before the Service begins, which seems a very proper time for it, to engage the Congregation to a serious Thoughtfulness, and to a civil Deportment and Behaviour, when they are taking their Places, and about to enter upon the most Solemn Acts of religion in the Worship of God. Or it is also used at the end of the *psalms*, before the Lessons be read, to strike a reverential awe upon our Spirits, and to melt us into a fit Temper to receive the best impressions from the Word of God. And it is contrived as a new Ornament and Grace to carry us through the whole Service with Seriousness and Devout Attention, with Alacrity, Sobriety and Peace. Or lastly, it is used at the end of the whole, to take off some little whispering Disturbances, through the Levit of some People, ... and the nauseous Rawkings, and unnecessary Coughing and Spitting, which are made by the People.

The Restoration of the British monarchy had had a gradual effect on the music of the country's

churches. At the Chapel Royal, where the surviving King's musicians (many of whom had shared his exile in France during the Interregnum) were rapidly reinstated, there was a more or less immediate revival of sophisticated service music, albeit now with a French flavour. But the provincial congregations, especially those without a great deal of contact with the capital, were much slower to change. A generation had grown up with Puritan ideals and thinking, accustomed to 'the old way of singing' and to whom the idea of an organ in church was either an indefensible heresy or at least an unwarrantable waste of parish money.

The following century was characterised by a protracted controversy about the suitability of the organ in church worship; a dispute which broke into open conflict within many congregations. Often it was the clergy who favoured the use of organs, against strong opposition from their parishioners. A late and particularly amusing example of such a conflict is described by the Revd William Hanbury after he had succeeded in having an organ installed in the village of Church Langton in 1759 in the face of strong local opposition, especially from a local landlady, Mrs Pickering. The arrival of the new instrument signalled Hanbury's victory, but:[9]

> Various were the conjectures of the common people, and many curious reports of various kinds prevailed amongst them. Some said I was to set up the Pretender: others, that the Duke of Cumberland was to be there ... One party affirmed it was a scheme to raise the militia ... The Organ-pipes were really taken for fire-arms ... which occasioned its being credited by some, that Mrs Pickering's house was to be blown up.

The anonymous author of *Thoughts on the Importance of the Sabbath* expresses himself 'extremely shocked at the gross absurdities which many organists introduce. They call them *voluntaries*, that is, something supposed to be played *extempore*, and without study; ... These careless and dissolute players, like young surgeons operating on a *dead body*, seem to have no other view than to try their skill in the Church, by dissonance'.[10] This author, like many others, emphasises that music for the church should be in a completely different or special style. Even as late as 1800, John Simson wrote in the preface to his *Twelve Voluntaries* that 'The Music in this Book being intended for the Organ, the stile is particularly adapted for the Church ... The original intention of VOLUNTARIES in our parish churches being to give the Clergyman an opportunity of finding the Lessons they ought never to exceed ... five minutes'.

Along with several other newspapers and journals, *The Spectator* during the first half of the eighteenth century carried an almost constant stream of complaints against organists and their

abuses. Here too we find many commentators offended by the use of music in an 'improper style' in the churches. For instance, 'Physibulus', writing in *The Spectator*, remarks:[11]

a great many of our Church-Musicians being related to the Theatre, they have ... introduc'd in their farewell Voluntaries a sort of Musick quite foreign to the design of Church-Services, to the great Prejudice of well-dispos'd People. Those fingering Gentlemen should be inform'd, that they ought to suit their Airs to the Place and Business; and that the Musician is oblig'd to keep to the Text as much as the Preacher. For want of this, I have found by Experience a great deal of Mischief: For when the Preacher has often, with great Piety and Art enough, handled his Subject, and the judicious Clark has with utmost Diligence cull'd out two Staves proper to the Discourse, and I have found in myself, and in the rest of the Pew, good Thoughts and Dispositions, they have been all in a Moment dissipated by a merry Jigg from the Organ-Loft.

Unbiased commentators admitted that excesses certainly occurred but that music, if sensitively chosen and presented, could be a useful contribution to a service. The Oxford Professor of Music, William Hayes (who knew Chilcot and his music well), commented in his *Remarks on Mr. Avison's Essay*:[12]

I would advise every young Organist who is desirous of knowing the true Manner of playing a Psalm, to repair as often as it may be convenient, to the various churches; especially when Mr. STANLEY or Mr. KELWAY is expected; he will find the utmost they do to connect one line with the others, is at the End of the *former*, to make an easy Transition of about three Notes, with a Shake so disposed as to naturally lead into the first Note of the *following* Line: ... At the End of the Verse likewise, they play just enough to give the Congregation a little Respite.

This useful mid-eighteenth-century documentation of the practice of the best organists is reinforced by Edward Miller in the Preface to his *Psalms of David* of 1790, where he observes:

> how much it is to be wished that the organist would not indulge himself in extraneous flourishes, or in running up and down the keys at the end of every line ... Nevertheless it is true, that suitable and well connected *short interludes* are useful at the end of each stanza, as they allow the congregation time to take breath, and do not *interrupt*, but *improve* the sentiments to be impressed on the mind.

John Newte, Rector of Tiverton, was evidently determined not to allow the controversy to develop into conflict in his parish, and therefore addressed many of these matters during his sermon at the installation of the new organ there.

Installing and maintaining an organ involves considerable work and expense for a parish, something which normally results in an abundance of documentation in Vestry Minutes and Churchwardens' Accounts. In the case of Tiverton Church, however, ten years elapsed before the Churchwarden's Accounts record any expenditure relating to the instrument. This was in 1706, when 'By Ballance due to the Parish which was Ordered at the Assembly held the 2d Munday in December 1707 To be paid to Mr John Newte then Governor for the Use of Mr Christian Smith Organ Maker £23 - 10 - 1'.[13]

References to organists in Tiverton begin in 1710, when Francis Row, organist, was paid £6 12s and James Britn... [illegible; possibly Britnime], organist, was paid £15. John Johnson was paid a salary for 'attending the Organ Billows' up to 1717 (apart from 1713, when John Rice was paid for the same work), when he bought lifelong rights to a seat in the church and opted for a less strenuous retirement.[14]

'The Organist' was paid £30 a year from 1711 onwards, and was named from 1714 onwards as Sam Smith. Payments of £5 a year, presumably pew rents, were received throughout this period 'for the Organ loft'. Miscellaneous payments for maintaining the organs included £21 'paid for mending the Organ' in 1711, £11 'for Repairing the organ' in 1714 and, also in 1714, a rather unclear entry in the accounts: 6 shillings paid 'ffor Expences when Inspection of the leak was made in order for the sale of them ['them' in this context is not explained: the previous entry in the ledger relates to mending candlesticks] and with the Organ Maker £- 8 -'.[15]

Leaving Tiverton

But life in Tiverton was clouded by one factor: the unhealthy conditions in the town. Only a few years after the Great Plague had devastated

Britain, the west of England and Tiverton in particular faced another threat: typhoid. At the beginning of the eighteenth century Tiverton was a town of about 8000 inhabitants, mostly fairly poor weavers. A series of typhus epidemics culminated in disasters and riots in the 1730s and the death of half the town's population by 1741. Tiverton was less populous at the end of the century than it had been at the beginning.[16]

At the same time, Bath was beginning the development and expansion which formed the basis of its position in eighteenth-century life. The cramped medieval town was beginning to be replaced by an architectural, and sanitary, masterpiece. The opportunities of Bath must have seemed an attractive proposition to many of the poor tradesmen, especially as migration from the countryside towards even quite distant towns was very common at the end of the seventeenth century.[17] Perhaps it was this that prompted John Chilcot to move from Tiverton and embark on a new life in Bath.

[1] The family name is variously spelt 'Chilcott', Chilcutt' etc. but in this work will be standardised to 'Chilcot'. A fuller account of John Chilcot is given in Chapter 2.

[2] See Chapter 2.

[3] Minor branches of the family were widely scattered: the College of Arms contains a pedigree of the Chilcot family of Isleworth in Middlesex, while British Library Add. MSS 36058 (f.129) and 46922 (f.32) refer to a William Comyn *alias* Chilcott of London who was living in the 1620s and 1630s.

Richard Chilcot of Bridgewater (1746-1820) emigrated to Huntingdon in Pennsylvania and founded a large family in Baltimore. His nine children and no less than 56 grandchildren have been researched by his descendant Fred Chilcot of San Diego, California, who has also located Chilcots in the registers and other records of over a hundred parishes in Somerset, Cornwall, Devon, Dorset and Hampshire. (Information in a private letter from Fred Chilcot).

[4] Churchwardens' Accounts, St Peter's Church, Tiverton (Devon Record Office, Exeter, document R4/1/Z/PW3 (1701)).

[5] *ibid.* (dates as given in text).

[6] Devon Record Office, Exeter, reference MOGER / 1553-1554.

[7] Devon Record Office, Exeter, reference MOGER / 1555.

[8] Devon Record Office, Exeter, reference MOGER / 1556.

[9] *The History of the Rise and Progress*, p. 65.

[10] p. 80.

[11] *The Spectator* of Friday 28 March 1712 (issue no. 338).

[12] p. 81.

[13] Devon Record Office, Exeter, document R4/1/Z/PW3.

[14] *ibid.*

[15] *ibid.*

[16] Charles Creighton, *A History of Epidemics in Britain*, 2nd edition (London, 1965) 80-81.

[17] Peter Clark, 'Migration in England during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries', *Past and Present* 83 (May 1979), p.75.

Chapter Two
The Chilcot family in Bath

The wedding of John Chilcot, Cordwainer, and Elizabeth Powell, which took place on 4 November 1700 at Widcombe Church, provides the first record of the Chilcot family in Bath. We can only speculate about the precise date of John Chilcot's presumed move from Tiverton to Bath, but it is reasonable to assume that it nearly coincided with his marriage: indeed, the two events may well have been related.

When, in 1701, John paid the 'fine', or fee, for freedom of the Bath Guild of Cordwainers,[1] he was not required to sign the Freeman's Book and was able immediately to accept an apprentice (William Dowling, on 28 February 1701/2). This ready acceptance shows that John was an established cordwainer who was able to produce letters of introduction from a guild elsewhere. Unfortunately, the records of the Tiverton guild have not survived, and John's name has not been found in the records of any other guilds. Membership of the Guild would have been a priority for an established cordwainer moving to Bath and wishing to establish himself in business,

so it is reasonable to assume that the date of John's arrival in Bath was during the first ten months of 1700. John's progress within the Guild was rapid: an untitled manuscript volume at Bath's Guildhall Archives, which according to a typewritten note contains 'notes of Judgements' from 15 October 1706 to 4 June 1726, records a payment of £10 on 6 November 1711 by Joseph Bush and John Chilcutt, masters of the Bath Guild of Cordwainers.[2]

John and Elizabeth settled in the parish of St Michael, a bustling commercial district of the town. 'Here', according to Sydenham,[3] 'were situated the workshops of flourishing clothiers ... and in Walcot Street were ... tanneries'. A trade token issued by John Foorde -- another resident of St Michael's Parish -- displayed 'The Cordwainers Arms' on the obverse. As Bath's reputation and popularity with visiting gentry grew in the early years of the century, trade expanded and the streets around the Chilcot home grew ever busier.

John Chilcot was acquainted with the Langton family of Newton St Loe.[4] The registers of Newton Church record the burial on 5 July 1733 of 'Chilcot John of Bath, Cordwainer', who it is reasonable to assume was Thomas Chilcot's father. The Langton family held extensive property in Walcot (which was in the parish of St Michael and was the home of the Chilcot family in later years) and in Twerton, and had an extensive business

and social connection with Bath. Unfortunately, the family papers[5] do not include any diaries, personal accounts or domestic papers from which a connection with the Chilcots can be documented.

Thomas Chilcot's mother Elizabeth outlived her husband by 23 years and was buried beside him at Newton Church on 8 January 1756. The church registers for that date simply record the burial of 'Chilcott Widow from Bath'.

John and Elizabeth had at least six children between 1701 and 1710:

1. 'John Chilcutt s. of John & Elizth' baptised at St Michael's Church on 27 August 1701.
2. 'William Chilcutt, s. of John' baptised at St Michael's Church 29 January 1703
3. James (born 1704?)
4. Mary (born 1706?)
5. Thomas (born 1707?)
6. Joseph, baptised at Bath Abbey 13 July 1710, buried the same day at St Michael's.[6]

John Chilcot

Nothing is known of John's childhood before the age of 14, when he was one of two boys apprenticed to his father. An entry in the 'Inrolment of Apprentices Book' dated 16 April 1716 records the apprenticeships of:

John Chilcutt to his Father Cordwainer for 7 years
Thomas Robins to John Chilcut Cordwainer for 7 years.[7]

He subsequently practiced as a cordwainer in Bath, presumably taking over his father's business, for he continued to live in Walcot. Jointly with his younger brother William he leased property in Walcot in 1753[8], and again in 1763, when he is described as 'John Chilcot ... Cordwainer'.[9]

With his wife Elizabeth (ca. 1708-1759) he had at least eleven children, including the following who were baptised at Bath Abbey:

1731	October 11	John s. of John Chilcot
1734	July 11	Anne d. of John Chilcot
1737	May 6	John s. of John Chilcott
1738	August 10	Ladyman s. of John Chilcot
1739	October 7	James s. of John Chilcot
1740	January 25	Elizabeth d. of John Chilcot
1742	March 25	Rebecca d. of John Chilcot
1744	September 5	Rebecca d. of John Chilcot & Elizabeth

The following feature in the Abbey's register of burials:

1732	15 March	John Chilcot's child
1759	20 May	Elizabeth Chilcot
1766	22 April	John Chilcott.

The John Chilcot who was baptised in 1737 followed the family tradition by serving a cordwainer's apprenticeship to his father. This is noted in the 'Inrolment of Apprentices'[10] 21 March 1752: 'John son of John Chilcott of Bath

Cordwainer to his Father for 7 years'. He was sworn freeman on 25 February 1760[11] and paid a freedom fine on the same day.[12] He was appointed Supervisor of Leather (with Laurence Cottle) on 22 September 1766.[13] On 22 March 1776 he married Ann Fonteanu (see page 75 below).

The Rebecca who was born in 1744 appears subsequently to have fallen upon hard times, for weekly payments of 2s 3d to a Becky or Rebecca Chilcot appear in Bath Abbey's poor-relief book for 1785.[14]

John's wife Elizabeth died on 14 July 1759 and was buried at Bath Abbey on the 21st. John himself followed her on 22 April 1766. A manuscript list of 'Inscriptions on the Flat Gravestones in the Bath Abbey Church copied by Charles P. Russell (Parish Clerk) at the time of the Restoration of the Church in 1872'[15] describes on page 271 their joint monument, which read:

Here lyeth the Body
[of E]lizabeth Chilcot
[wif]e of John Chilcot
Cordwainer of this City
[burie]d with her Eight Children
who died young departed
[this] Life July ye 14 1754 Aged 51
[Also] of the said John Chilcot
[Who d]eparted this Life Ap.14 1766
aged 66.

The date 1754 given here for the death of Elizabeth appears to be a transcriber's error and should read 1759.

William Chilcot

In 1711 the eight-year old William was amongst the first intake of pupils to the new charity school at Bath.[16] The institution was founded in order to teach those children who were 'real objects of Charity and ... living in or near the City of Bath'.[17] It is a little curious that William, like his two younger brothers in subsequent years, was considered to be a 'real object of charity' less than three months before his father was elected joint master of the Cordwainer's Guild in Bath.

On 6 March 1717/18 the School Minute Book recorded that it was 'Order'd that W^{m} Chilcot Son of Jn^{o} Chilcot be bound Apprentice to his Father. His Father being content that ye five pounds be lodg'd in some hands for ye advantage & benefit of ye Boy until he has serv'd his Apprenticeship'. The apprenticeship was duly noted in the 'Inrolment of Apprentices' book[18] 'March ye 15th 1718 W^{m} Chilcut to John Chilcut his ffath^{r} Cordwainer for 7 years'. There is, however, no record that he was ever sworn freeman, and the 1763 lease cited above[19] which refers to 'John Chilcot of the said City [Bath] Cordwainer and

William Chilcot of the said City Yeoman' would appear to suggest that William never completed his apprenticeship as a cordwainer. In view of this it is puzzling that the 'Inrolment of Apprentices' book[20] records in 1742 the apprenticeship of 'Ballontine Jas Jas [sic] to Wm Chilcote of Bath cordw £6'. Furthermore, the Council Minute Book for 25 June 1753 notes that the innkeeper Isaac Fisher paid £7 to lease property in Walcot Street for himself together with 'John and William sons of William Chilcot, Cordwainer'.[21]

The registers of St Michael's Church record the baptism of William's son James on 27 November 1726. Forty years later the City Rent Book for June to December 1766 mentions a payment of 9 1/2d by 'Mr W^{m} Chilcott' in respect of 'The Quay' [i.e. Broad Quay at the river] & Amery Yard'. The final known references to this William occur in the City Chamberlain's Accounts on 13 January 1768: 'To cash to W^{m} Chilcott for Sundry Expences of Witnesses, Horse Hire &c. at Wells Sessions [£]05 07 01' and on 2 June the same year 'To do to Chilcot as pr Bill [£] 01 08 00'.

James Chilcot

James began his career at Bath's new charity school on the same day as his brother William, 11 June 1711.[22] He was 'presented' by a Mr Langton, almost certainly the MP Joseph Langton of

Newton Park. As noted above,[23] Langton owned property around the Chilcot's home and James's father was buried at Newton Church.

After his schooldays were over, James did not become a cordwainer like his older brothers. Instead, he was apprenticed to 'Mr Sheyler'. The 'Inrolment of Apprentices Book' notes the apprenticeship of 'James Chilcutt to Mr Thomas Sheyler Chocolate Man. for 7 years'.[24] The Charity School's Minute Book noted that the Treasurer paid 'Five Pounds as usual' for the apprenticeship.[25] It is uncertain whether James Chilcot became in his turn a 'Chocolate Man': he appears to have melted away, neither being sworn a Freeman nor indeed turning up in any official records after 1720.

A tenuous connection can be established between Sheyler, Henry Dixon (Headmaster of the Charity School) and Thomas Chilcot, who was at one point Sheyler's next-door neighbour and was later acquainted with Sheyler's daughter, Elizabeth. The Sheyler family had held property in Bath for some generations. According to a 'Schedule, or Repertory of Deeds, &c. 1776' (commonly known as 'Furman's Catalogue')[26] a Robert Sheyler leased a messuage in Cheap Street called 'Sheyler's Coffee House' in 1699 and 1700. In 1718 an Elizabeth Sheyler also leased this property from the Corporation. Thomas Sheyler

himself leased property 'near the Upper Walks' from mid-Summer 1722 and in 1727 was allowed 'to make 2 Doors from the same whereon a Messuage lately stood', through the Town Wall into the Upper Walks.[27] In connection with the latter he paid 2 Shillings to the Council 'for liberty to make doors into the City wall'.[28] He also had a building in the walks near the Abbey for which he paid between £8 and £8 6s per year to the Chamberlain.[29]

Although the eighteenth-century rate books for the Parish of Walcot have not survived, a transcription by S. Sydenham of extracts from the books is now kept at Bath Reference Library.[30] According to this book, three houses -- numbers 4, 5 and 6 Wood Street -- have connections with Sheyler, Dixon and Thomas Chilcot. Thomas lived in number 4 from before 1734 and for the rest of his life. By 1736 Henry Dixon owned all three houses, letting number 4 to Chilcot. By 1749 Chilcot was paying rates on numbers 4 and 5, while number 6, formerly occupied by Thomas Sheyler, was then occupied by Revd Mr Fothergill, who was married to Sheyler's daughter Elizabeth.

The Bath Journal for 3 July 1749 gives some idea of the family fortune: 'On Thursday last was married in the Chapel in the Square, the Rev. Mr Henry Fothergill, M.A. Rector of Cheriton-Bishop in Devonshire, to Miss Sheyler of this City, an

agreeable young lady with a fortune of 7000 L'. The City Council Minutes for 29 March 1762 refer to the couple and to 'Thomas their Son'[31] whose name derives almost certainly from his grandfather but perhaps carries a small compliment to the Sheylers' neighbour Thomas Chilcot. Elizabeth Fothergill was buried at Bath Abbey on 27 January 1795.

On 4 February 1725 Sheyler was appointed a Trustee of the Charity Schools in the place of Alderman Biggs, a position to which Thomas Chilcot, despite his connection with the School,[32] was never appointed. The School Minute Book[33] records that Mr Dixon the Master was to 'acquaint him with this order'. For some years Sheyler was one of the signatories to the Chamberlain's Accounts, which also contain numerous references to Sheyler's property and interests, as well as to Chilcot's activities.

Mary and Joseph Chilcot

In addition to his three elder brothers, Thomas Chilcot had a sister, Mary. Little is known about her except that she and her husband were still alive in 1766 when Thomas in his will[34] left her 2s 6d a week 'for so long a time that She shall happen to live ... and the same shall not be anyways subject to the Control or Arrangement of her Husband'. A younger brother, Joseph, was born in

1710. He was entered in the baptismal register of Bath Abbey on 13 July 1710 and in the burial register of St Michael's Church, Bath, on the same day.

Thomas Chilcot and the Bath Charity Schools

Thomas Chilcot grew up, surrounded by his elder brothers and sister, in the busy trading district of St Michael's Parish. As noted above[35] the family was not wealthy and Thomas was in due course sent, together with his brothers, to the Charity School, whose Master, according to the School's Statutes, was not to 'Teach any other Children beside the poor'.[36] The family was, however, very healthy: Thomas's parents lived to a reasonable age and only one child (Thomas's younger brother, Joseph) died in infancy.

The records of the Charity School do not record Thomas's entry. It was common practice for the names of children admitted to the school to be recorded in the Minute Book, together with their ages and the names of their sponsors -- as in the case of Thomas's elder brothers. The omission of these details in Thomas's case, however, was by no means unique. As no record of Thomas's baptism has yet been found, his date of birth can only be deduced from references to his subsequent apprenticeship in 1721. Assuming that he was

apprenticed at the normal age of 14, his birth can fairly confidently be placed in 1707.

The Charity Schools in Bath were founded in 1711 at the instigation of Robert Nelson. The precise location of the school is now uncertain, but its first permanent building -- an austerely imposing square-cut mansion of three stories and a basement, built in 1721-22 (Chilcot's last year at school) -- is depicted on the frontispiece to the 23rd and 29th editions of Henry Dixon's *The English Instructor* in 1781 (plate 1).

John Wood, in his *Description of Bath*,[37] writes that the Charity School:

> had its Rise in the Year 1711: For in that Year *Robert Nelson* Esq; and Dean *Willis*, afterwards Bishop of *Winchester*, with divers other Persons of Distinction, raised a Subscription, and opened the School upon the 11th Day of *July*; by whose Institution fifty Boys and fifty Girls are to be Clothed and Instructed: But the present School House, design'd by the above-mentioned Mr. *Kelligrew*, was not erected till the Year 1722. This Edifice is sixty Feet three Inches in Length, twenty two Feet three Inches in Breadth at the West End, and cost about 1000 l. Building; towards which General *Wade* contributed 100 l. Mr *Bell* of *London* 100 l. Mr *Scrine* of *Warley* 100 l. with Ten Tun of Timber, Mrs *Bushel* 138 l. Mr *Hoare* 20 l. and several other Benefactors gave smaller Sums, which made in the whole about 700 l. the rest was defray'd, by Order of the Trustees, out of School Stock.
>
> THE First Stone of this Edifice was laid by Mr. *Hoare*, with great Solemnity, upon the twelfth Day of October 1721, who gave the Workmen Five Guineas to drink, and entertained the Contributors and Trustees afterwards, in a handsome

Plate 1

Bath Charity School

Title page and frontispiece of Henry Dixon's *The English Instructor*

THE

English INSTRUCTOR;

OR, THE

ART of SPELLING Improved:

Being a most Plain, Easy, and Regular

METHOD of TEACHING Young Children,

THE AN ANY EXTANT.

In TWO PARTS.

The *First*,---Containing MONOSYLLABLES expreſſing the moſt natural and eaſy Things to the Apprehenſions of Children; with Common Words, alphabetically ranged, with their proper Accent, and divided according to the Rules of ORTHOGRAPHY.

The *Second*,---Being an eaſy practical INTRODUCTION to ENGLISH GRAMMAR; to which is added, a ſelect Collection of Words, explained and divided into three diſtinct Claſſes, for the more ready and eaſy Inſtruction of Children.

The TWENTY-NINTH EDITION,
With many uſeful Additions.

For the USE *of* SCHOOLS.

By HENRY DIXON, *Schoolmaſter, in* Bath.

LONDON:

Printed for *W. Strahan, J. F.* and *C. Rivington, R. Baldwin, T. Caſſon, S. Crowder, T. Longman*; and *R. Raikes* at *Gloceſter*, 1781.

Manner, at his own Lodgings. The First Stone thus Laid was placed under the North East Corner of the Building, with the following Inscription upon it

God's Providence
is our
Inheritance.

The City Council was evidently interested in the welfare of pupils, for miscellaneous expenses relating to the school appear in the City Chamberlain's accounts from 1711/12 onwards, and most of the children were apprenticed at the customary age of 14 at the council's expense. Particular care appears to have been exercised to chose appropriate trades for the children; unusual and imaginative apprenticeships were made on behalf of the children even where more conventional arrangements might have been cheaper and simpler. Typical of many entries relating to the School in the Chamberlain's Accounts is one in the accounts for 1725/26: 'Paid Mr Alderman fford One Years interest of £200 for the use of the Charity Children £010 - 0 - 0'.[38] Private funds were also collected, as can be seen from many references in the Bath newspapers to public collections in the churches 'for the children of the Charity School'.

Notwithstanding this enlightened policy by the Council and the general ethos of Bath where social distinctions were, within rigorously prescribed limits, levelled, there was a clearly-

marked difference in status between the children of the Free School -- founded in 1552 -- and those of the charitable institution. For instance it was an annual custom, continued until 1834, that a boy from each school should make a Latin speech to the Mayor on Mayor-Making Day and receive in return a gift from the treasury. The Chamberlain's Accounts unequivocally reflect the different standing of the two boys. The entry for 1756, for instance, reads:[39]

> Paid Master Nicholls [of the Free School]
> for speaking speech to the Mayor &c. £1 1s 0d
>
> Paid Charity Boy for Do. £0 10s 6d.

The disparity is manifested here not only in terms of the size of gift but in the treasurer's designation of the two boys: 'Master Nicholls' and the disparagingly anonymous 'Charity Boy'. These differences were repeated each year in the accounts. This was, of course, nothing unusual: 'Charity Boys' were generally considered by the respectable and bigoted to be little better than urchins.

That such a school could have produced a number of talented and successful individuals such as Thomas Chilcot must be in great measure due to the efforts of the first Master of the school, Henry Dixon (1675-1760). He was born in

London, and from before the age of twenty until the time of his appointment at Bath (which was confirmed on 3 June 1712) he was Master of the school attached to St Andrew's, Holborn, London.

Having arrived in Bath he still maintained some connections with London, for he soon applied for permission to visit the city. The Minute Book for 1715/16 records that Dixon was given leave to go to London 'whenever occasions require ... not exceeding one month, unless some very extraordinary occasion requires a long time'. This generous and unusual dispensation implies that the City Council thought very highly of its new Schoolmaster.

Dixon appears to have had a strong interest in music, for amongst his many publications was a tract on the Use and Abuse of Church Music. Unfortunately, an exhaustive search in Britain and abroad has failed to locate any copy of this work.[40] It is mentioned in the eulogistic 'Life of Mr Henry Dixon' which formed an anonymous preface[41] to Dixon's posthumously-published *Parents and Schoolmasters Spiritual Assistant*. Here we learn[42] that it was Dixon's

> greatest Concern, that in a few of his latter Years, he labour'd under a Disorder that disabled him from Attendance on divine Service, where he could not be six Minutes without being troublesome. He was a great Admirer of Church Music, wrote a Tract on its Use and Abuse, and often reflected on some of the Organists in the Metropolis, for

> introducing light Airs into their Voluntaries, which should consist of nothing but what tends to elevate the Soul to the divine Object of Adoration.

According to Sir John Hawkins the 1699 organ at St Andrew's, Holborn, where Dixon worshipped until 1712, was 'shut up' until 1713,[43] but Dixon may well have heard music there during his London visits. There was no official appointment of an organist to St Andrew's until Maurice Greene's appointment in February 1717, which lasted until his appointment as Organist of St Paul's in April the following year.[44] But according to a later report, Daniel Purcell, Organist of St Dunstan-in-the-East, played also at St Andrew's 'without being elected or appointed or without any fixed salary', presumably from about 1713 until his death in 1717.[45]

Another indication of Dixon's interest in music is found in a 'Musical Commonplace Book' inscribed 'Henry Dixon 1759' (the year before his death), which survives as folios 1-19 of British Library Add MS 34,609. This 'Commonplace Book', a collection of jottings and notes about the elements of music, is in the modern sense commonplace and uninteresting, but its final section includes some notes for the instruction of children.

Whether or not the debate surrounding organ music at Tiverton influenced the young Thomas

Chilcot in his choice of career, it is certain that Henry Dixon, the erudite and musical schoolmaster with strong views on the musical education of children and on the role of organists in church music, had a profound effect on him. Dixon became Chilcot's landlord in the 1730s and 1740s, and lived until only six years before Chilcot's own death, so it is likely that this influence remained strong throughout the composer's career.

On 19 April 1739 the School's Minute Book[46] notes Dixon's request to retire on account of his 'ill state of health' -- presumably a reference to the 'disorder' mentioned above. He agreed to remain in the post until a replacement could be found. Despite his ill health he lived for another 21 years, dying on 24 October 1760, aged 87,

> **when he was taken to the heavenly Choir, to be present among the Angels in their harmonious Concerts, and to add his Hallelujah[47]**
>
> **... thou art gone to the happiest of Climes, where thou hast been welcomed by the Hallelujahs of some of those little Ones, whom thy Instructions have assisted in their journey thither[48]**
>
> **... and to join with the whole celestial Choir in singing perpetual Hallelujahs unto Him that sitteth upon the Throne, and to the Lamb for ever and ever[49]**

His other publications, including his *Moral Essays* and his *Disswasive from Lying*, reveal much of his character. In them we find modestly-presented wisdom and godliness, and reading them we can be sure that the eulogies written above were not idly written.

The *Moral Essays*, for instance, were, according to the preface, intended to imprint upon the tender minds of young people 'such plain and practical Truths, as might be of the greatest Use and Service to them, in the future Conduct of their Lives'.[50] The author sets out to 'explain them to open the Nature of them' because he felt that they were originally 'couch'd under hard and obscure Terms'.[51] His care for the children and his humility are both apparent in his choosing to publish his reflections in that form 'Not because they wou'd be of any Use to Men of Letters; but because they might be of Use to Children: to persons of inferior Rank and Abilities; of lower Degrees of knowledge and Experience ... Whether I have answer'd the Expectation of my Friends, I much question: But this much I will venture to say, that I have done my utmost'.[52]

At the close of Dixon's preface, the author wisely points out that a parent or teacher can advise or instruct, but must be resigned to accept that they cannot impose a new character upon a child. If Henry Dixon applied in practice the

principles set out in his writings, Thomas Chilcot could not have had a better grounding anywhere than he received at the Charity School.

> If, notwithstanding the Care, Wisdom, Prudence and Circumspection of Parents, their Prayers, and their Tears ... their Children will run retrograde to all the good and wholesome Advice that is given them ... What remains, but that we leave the Event to Him, who governs all Things?[53] ... For tho' we must never cease, depart from, or give over, our earnest, sincere, and hearty Endeavours; our Importunities, Entreaties, and Admonitions; yet of ourselves, ... we can do nothing: For it is not he that planteth, or he that watereth, but God only, that giveth the Increase, the Blessing, and Success of all our Endeavours.[54]

The earliest surviving document relating to Thomas Chilcot was an entry in the Charity School Minute Book for 6 July 1721:[55]

> Order'd that Thos. Chilcot go on tryal to Josiah [sic] Priest Musician & Organist & if both parties agree that he be bound Apprentice with ye usual allowance.

Although the apprenticeship is not subsequently confirmed in the Minute Book,[56] references in the City Council Minutes[57] show that the arrangements were indeed completed. Parish and public charities were exempt from indenture tax so the apprenticeship is not recorded in the central register of apprenticeships.

Thomas Chilcot must have shown a remarkable musical promise to be offered an apprenticeship to an organist; and even more to have been allowed by his family to accept it rather than follow his brothers into their more conventional trade. Or perhaps Thomas was simply so useless as a prospective cordwainer that he was put to a trade where he could do little damage.

In any event, July 1721 saw the young Thomas leave the Charity School and start his new life, centred around the historic Abbey Church and its Organist and Choirmaster, Josias Priest.

Thomas's new master had been appointed organist of the Abbey on 24 March 1714. However, he received his first payment for playing the organ as far back as 1712: £9 for a quarter's salary 'due at Michaelmas last'.[58] His duties were listed in the City Council Minutes at the time of his appointment:

> **Josias Priest appointed organist at St Peter and Paul's Church, he playing morning and afternoon on every Sunday Saint's day and Wednesday and Friday till the 1st November next, and afternoons till 25th March on every Sunday and Saint's day and on Visitation Day etc. He to receive £37 12s 6d.**

Compared with other churches of similar standing this was a very high salary. The Vestry Minutes of

nearby Tewkesbury Abbey, for instance, reveal that the organist's salary there was only £20.[59]

Within two years, Priest had been dismissed. Political problems relating to dissension from the Hanoverian accession were causing nervousness amongst the City Council, as indeed in the rest of the country. On 2 December 1715 these anxieties surfaced in the form of a vote 'Whether Josias Priest Shall be displac'd from being Organist at the Parish Church of St. Peter and Paul in this City ... [crossed out and mostly illegible, the following two lines include the words 'against the King'] **Yes** (17) **No^{s}** (6). Agreed that he Shall be displaced'.

The full story is unfolded in the Council Minutes for 27 August 1716, when Priest was unanimously reinstated in his post.

> **Whereas Josias Preist [sic] Organist of the Parish Church of Saint Peter and Paul within this City was displaced by vote of this Corporation from being Organist of the s^{d} Church On y^{e} Second day of December last Upon information of his speaking disrespectful words against his [pre]snt Majestie King George and having been tryed for the Same at y^{e} last Assizes held in Wells and found not guilty. Whether y^{e} s^{d} Josias Priest Shall be restour^{d} to his former employment of being Organist of y^{e}. s^{d}. Church.**
>
> **Agreed that he shall be restored to y^{e}. s^{d}. Employm^{t}. of being Organist of the s^{d}. Church.**

This affair was briefly mentioned on page 19 of Benjamin Boyce's biography of Ralph Allen, *The*

Benevolent Man, where the author describes it as 'The only evidence in the minutes of the council that their deliberations ever touched upon the political crisis'. This is not strictly true, for the following year a member of the council was displaced, 'he refusing to take the Oath to King George', although in this case the Council Minutes also assert that he was negligent in his duties.[60]

There are few obvious records of Priest's activities in Bath, apart from the usual family records. Five of his children were baptised at the Abbey between 1720 and 1724.[61] A girl from the Charity School went 'on Tryal to Mrs Priest' in January 1720 and was bound apprentice to her in the following March.[62]

Priest's precise relationship with other eighteenth-century musicians of that name is hard to determine. Undoubtedly the best-known of these is the London dancing master, Josias Priest, who kept a boarding school for gentlewomen in Leicester Fields until November 1680, when he moved the school to Chelsea. It was at this school that Purcell's *Dido and Aneas* is said to have been first performed, having been composed, according to Sir John Hawkins, at Priest's request. Josias Priest died in 1692, but his grandson, also called Josias, was born in 1693. Another musician of the same name was Nathaniel Priest, organist of

Bristol Cathedral and subscriber to Thomas Chilcot's harpsichord suites in 1734.

A more likely possibility is that Josias Priest was related to or indeed was the same man as the 'Mr Priest' who was organist of Bangor Cathedral from 1705 to 1708. The Chapter Minutes of Bangor Cathedral record in June 1705 Priest's appointment there:

> Decimo Quarto dis Junij 1705 in domo Caplasi Emilio Cathedralis Bangor par Decanum et Caplum
>
> It is agreed by the Dean and Chapter ...
>
> It is also agreed upon by the s^{d}. Dean and Chapter that M^{r}. Priest recomended by M^{r}. Hall Organist of Hereford be, and is hereby Chosen and elected Organist of this Church, and his salary to commence the first of August next and y^{t}. if he accept of the s^{d}. plaice and office he be obliged to teach the foar boys, and as many of the singing men at [sic] have need of teaching with great care and diligence *at least* 2 days in the week, and if it apyes att the years end y^{t}. the s^{d}. Mr Priest. hath pformed his duty to general satisfaccon, and done much in way of improvm^{ts}. of the Choir in point of singing, wth. Relation to Services and Anthems & Chants That then the s^{d}. M^{r}. Priest have five pounds given him at the years end by way of gratuity to reward and encourage his diligence.

In addition to the 'foar boys' the cathedral maintained four singing men, paying an annual stipend of £8, which was unchanged throughout the eighteenth century.[63]

It seems likely that this Mr Priest, appointed on the recommendation of the organist of Hereford, subsequently returned to the South West and took the post at Bath Abbey. Unfortunately, documentary evidence of this has proved elusive. Neither has it proved possible to establish a connection between Priest and Hereford Cathedral. It seems probable therefore that Bangor Cathedral had requested a recommendation from Bishop Humphrey Humphreys, who was Bishop of Bangor from 1689 until 1701 when he took the post of Bishop of Hereford. It is therefore quite conceivable that Priest came originally from Somerset or Oxfordshire and, by accepting the Bath Abbey post, was returning to his native area.

The instrument on which Priest (and later Chilcot) played at Bath Abbey was the work of Abraham Jordan in 1703.[64] Jordan continued to look after the instrument throughout Priest's period as organist, and, in as much as he subscribed to Chilcot's two first publications, appears to have maintained a working relationship with Chilcot, too. The Abbey Vestry Minutes for 1718 and 1720 show that Jordan undertook repairs to the instrument immediately before the start of Chilcot's apprenticeship:[65]

Bath City

At a Vestry held this 23rd Day of September 1718 for the parish of St Peter & Pauls with^{n} y^{e} same

... proposed by Mr Abraham Jordan organ maker to amend and Repair the organ in the Abby Church in ye sd parish which he proposes to perform in a months Time and demands for ye doing itt fifty pounds. He likewise proposes to keep and maynteyn y^{e} same in good Repayre att the rate of Tenn pounds a year & payable att the end of every two years ...

Agreed to by a Generall consent and that the Churchwarden shall Article wth ye sd Mr Jordan accordingly

... proposed now to rayse and pay ye same. Agreed Unanimously to be done by a parish rate and that th[ese?] Rates be collected which will to 56^{l} = 11^{s} = 6^{d} out of which ye sd 50^{l} is to be pay^{d}

Bath City At a vestry held this 20th day of September Anno Dom 1720, for the Parish of Saint Peter and Paul within the s^{d}. City —

It is ordered and agreed ... also to pay Mr Abraham Jordan the Sum of Twenty pounds which is due to him for keeping the Organ in the s^{d}. Church, in good order and repair

In the Autumn of 1725 Thomas Chilcot had completed four years of his apprenticeship to Priest. Now aged 18, he must have been settling down to the routine at the Abbey and working hard on perfecting the keyboard technique for which he later became famous. But that Autumn, Priest died, and the post of Abbey organist became vacant. As noted above, [66] the organist of Bath Abbey was well paid in comparison with the organists of nearby cathedrals and collegiate establishments, and the scope for a musical career in the city was steadily increasing as Bath continued to develop its place as the fashionable retreat of the highest in society. Thomas Chilcot

must have been held in very high esteem by the Abbey authorities and the City Council, for the 24 members of the latter at their meeting on 19 January 1725/6 unanimously agreed

> That Thomas Chilcutt late Apprentice to Josias Priest who was Organist at the Parish Church of Saint Peter and Paul in this City Shall play the Organ in the s^{d}. Church during so long time of the remaining part of his Apprenticeship as this Corporation shall think fit And the usual Salary of Nine pounds Eight Shillings each quarter Shall be paid for the same by the Chamberlain for the time being to Elizabeth Priest Relict of the s^{d}. Josias Priest.[67]

This arrangement -- by no means unusual at the time -- continued until Elizabeth Priest's death in 1728.

Chilcot's apprenticeship was due to end during the Summer of 1728, and on 5 August of that year the council voted for

> Who Shall be Organist at the Parish Church of Saint Peter and Paul in this City until Micha^{s}. 1729? Thomas Chilcutt (24 votes). Agreed that Thomas Chilcutt of this City shall be Organist at the s^{d}. Church until Micha^{s} 1729.[68]

The end of this probationary period was not noted in the Council Minutes. Chilcot continued as Abbey Organist until the day he died. That the post was never advertised publicly suggests that the Abbey and City had extraordinary confidence in their young apprentice, for the authorities could have afforded at that time to appoint and pay an

organist of any calibre, and they were never careless in their deliberations. Perhaps for once his humble background and charity-school education may have been of advantage to him, by making the Council (which was strongly influenced by Nash) feel that they were setting an example of social levelling. Or perhaps the forces which later propelled Thomas Chilcot into the circles of highest society had already begun to work.

Nevertheless the council voted at the same meeting on whether Chilcot should enjoy the same high salary as his predecessor or one of two lesser figures proposed. 25 members were present at the meeting, of whom 24 voted on issues relating to Chilcot. Of these, 14 voted in favour of a salary of £37 12s (the same salary as Priest had received), 8 voted for £30 and two for £35. One member, still dissatisfied perhaps by Chilcot's lack of experience, called for a second vote. This had similar results, whereupon it was 'Agreed that the s^{d}. Thomas Chilcutt shall have Seven and thirty pounds and twelve shillings yearly to be Organist afores^{d}.[69]

The appointment of a young charity-school boy barely half-way through his apprenticeship, to a well-paid and highly-respected organist's post, with full salary to boot, was the first of the many extraordinary events by which Chilcot's career was to progress.

[1] Bath City Chamberlain's Accounts, 1701 (Bath Reference Library).

[2] Bath City Record Office (no reference number allocated).

[3] *Bath Token Issues of the 17th Century*, p. 31-32.

[4] John's third son, James, was 'presented' for admission to Bath Charity School in 1711 by 'Mr Langton' (Joseph Langton, MP) of Newton Park. A fuller account of this is given below.

[5] The Langton papers are deposited at the Somerset Record Office in Taunton.

[6] Parish records of Bath churches, including the Abbey, are held at Somerset Record Office (see Bibliography Section 1). Bath Abbey registers have catalogue prefix ba.ab.

[7] 'Inrolment of Apprentices Book' 1706-1776 (Bath City Record Office, ref. 'Freeman's Collection item 121').

[8] A lease for property at Walcot is recorded in Bath City Minutes for 25 June 1753 for 'John Chilcut and William Chilcot sons of John Chilcot late of the said City of Bath Cordwainer deceased'. (City Council Minute Book No. 7, 1751-1761, p.25; Bath City Record Office (no catalogue number allocated)).

[9] City Council Minute Book, 3 October 1763; Bath City Record Office (no catalogue number allocated).

[10] *op. cit.*

[11] Freeman's Roll 1695-1775 (Bath City Record Office, ref. 'Freeman's Collection, item 120')

[12] City Chamberlain's Accounts 1725-1772 p. 192 (Bath Reference Library)

[13] City Council Minute Book no.7 1751-1761 p.51; Bath City Record Office (no catalogue number allocated).

[14] Somerset Record Office, Taunton, ref. D/P/ba.ab.13/2/10 from 9 May 1785 (f 1v) onwards.

[15] Now deposited at Bath Reference Library.

[16] The Charity School's Minute Book 1711-1773 (now deposited at Bath City Record Office, ref. Acc.103) records on 11 June 1711 the admission of 'William son of Jab[sic] Chilcot presented by Alderman Masters'.

[17] School statutes, incorporated in Minute Book: see note 14. A fuller account of the school is given later in this chapter.

[18] *op. cit.*

[19] See note 9.

[20] *op. cit.*

[21] City Council Minute Book no.7, 1751-1761, p.21; Bath City Record Office (no catalogue number allocated).

[22] Charity School's Minute Book (*see note 14*) admissions: 11 June 1711: 'James Son of Jno Chilcot presented by Mr Langton, aged about 7 years'.

[23] See notes 3 & 4 and page 13.

[24] 'Inrolment of Apprentices Book', 1 February 1720 (Bath City Record Office, ref. 'Freeman's Catalogue, item 121').

[25] *loc. cit.*, 2 March 1720.

[26] Bath City Record Office (no catalogue number allocated).

[27] *ibid.*

[28] Chamberlain's Accounts nr. 165 for 29 September 1727 (Bath Reference Library).

[29] *Ibid.*

[30] Reference A605901/B 42.38.

[31] City Council Minute Book no.7 1751-1761, p.12; Bath City Record Office (no catalogue number allocated).

[32] See below.

[33] Charity Schools Minute Book (see note 16), 1725.

[34] See Appendix 2.

[35] Page 17.

[36] See note 17.

[37] Page 321.

[38] City of Bath Chamberlain's Accounts No. 165 (1727) p.7 (Bath Reference Library).

[39] *ibid*, 1756.

[40] It is not included in the 'Eighteenth-century Short Title Catalogue' or other British Library lists; nor can it be located by Lambeth Palace Library, The Royal School of Church Music

Library, The Royal College of Organists Library nor the Library of Congress.

[41] pp. xix - xxiv.

[42] pp. xxi - xxii.

[43] See Dawe, *Organists of the City of London*, p. 28.

[44] *ibid.*, pp. 28 and 104.

[45] *ibid.*, p. 135.

[46] See note 16.

[47] *The ... Spiritual Assistant*, p. xxii

[48] *ibid.*, p. xxii

[49] *ibid.*, p. xxiv

[50] *ibid.*,p. iii.

[51] *ibid.*,p. iv.

[52] *ibid.*,p. v.

[53] *ibid.*,p. viii.

[54] *ibid.*,p. ix.

[55] Charity Schools Minute Book 1711-1773 (see note 16).

[56] See previous note.

[57] City Council Minute Book, 1721 ; Bath City Record Office (no catalogue number allocated).

[58] Chamberlain's Accounts,1712 (Bath Reference Library).

[59] Gloucester Record Office: document P329 CW 2/2 p.198.

[60] City Council Minute Book, 26 August 1717; Bath City Record Office (no catalogue number allocated).

[61] Register of baptisms, Bath Abbey (*loc. cit.*)

[62] Charity School Minute Book, 1720 (see note 16).

[63] M.L. Clarke, *Bangor Cathedral* (Cardiff, 1969) *History of Bangor Diocese;* volume 1 (p.58).

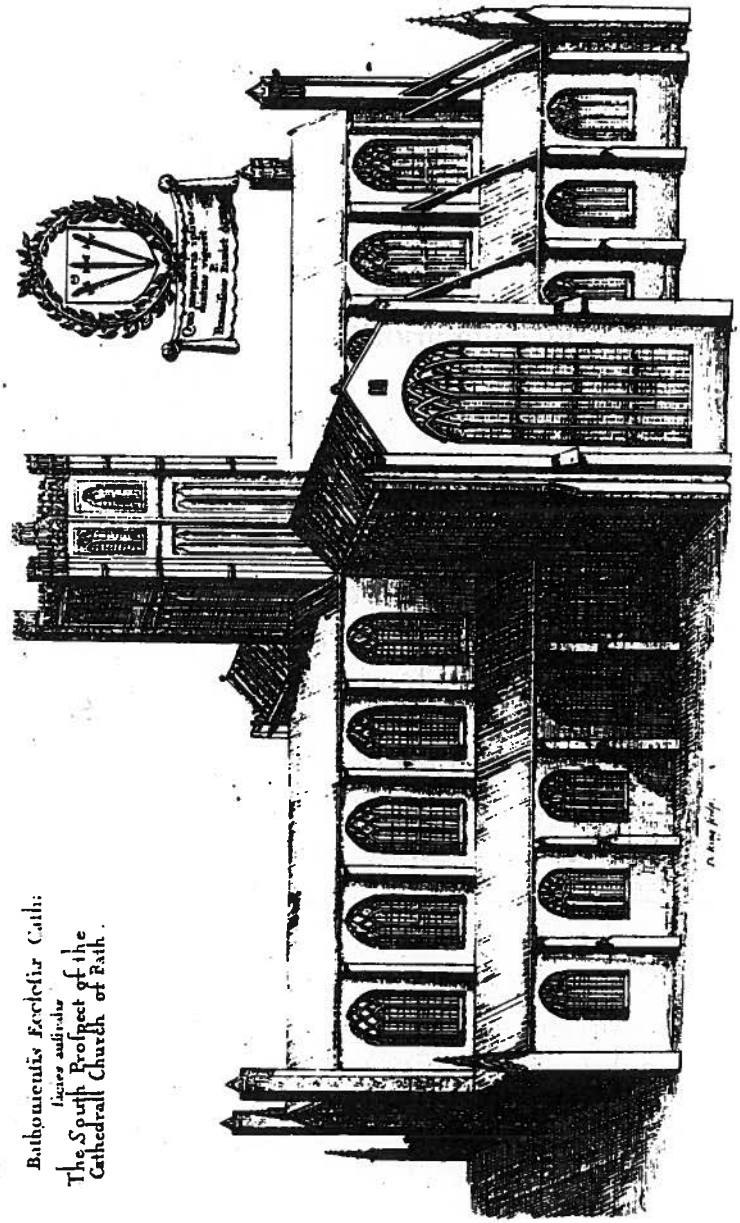
[64] Freeman, *English Organ Cases*, p.50.

[65] Bath Abbey Vestry Minutes, Somerset Record Office, reference D/P/ba.ab 9/1/1.

[66] Page 31.

Plate 2

Bath Abbey
Copy of an undated engraving from the mid-eighteenth century



Chapter Three
The first years at the Abbey

The musical activities of Thomas Chilcot during the first years of his work at Bath Abbey fell into three main groups: his church and civic duties, his private teaching and his freelance performing. Given the circumstances of Thomas's appointment to his post at the Abbey it is natural that he initially gave priority to the first group.

Vocal music

While the Church at all periods of its existence has had both devout, serious worshippers and frivolous hangers-on for whom attendance was a fashionable pastime, at no period was the latter tendency more marked than in the early part of the eighteenth century. The anonymous author of a poetical *Description of Bath* in 1734[1] lamented that 'pure worship' was a feature absent from the Abbey's services, while the Wesley family and their followers considered Bath to be the headquarters of the Enemy. Music in British churches reflected this situation in that the gentry considered singing hymns and psalms to be below their dignity, while people in humbler

walks of life emulated their example and dissociated themselves from singing.[2] This was one of the factors which led to the use of charity-children as a 'choir', which decently excused others from taking a more active part. However Christian and disinterested the motives for endowing the charity schools may have been, a certain satisfaction was undoubtedly derived for many people from seeing the results of public generosity on display, while at the same time thereby being excused the obligation to appear to take too seriously the public worship.

It is clear that under these conditions the music of Bath Abbey during Chilcot's tenure there would have consisted largely of organ voluntaries, hymns and psalms sung mainly or even exclusively by the charity children and, on special occasions, an anthem sung by the children.

In the later part of Chilcot's career, the organist staged a number of grander performances at the Abbey, generally of Handel's vocal works, using performers borrowed from local theatres. For instance, in April 1758 the *Bath Journal* contained advertisements for performances in the Abbey on the mornings of 26 and 27 April:

> A GRAND TE DEUM and two ANTHEMS of Mr. HANDEL's. and an Organ Concerto each day by Mr. Chilcot

employing Signora Passerini and Linley, together with a choir assembled from the cathedrals of 'Oxford, Salisbury Gloucester, Bristol, &c.'. The stewards for the performances included Richard Nash. Evening performances of Handel's works, including *Samson* and *L'Allegro il Penseroso*, were to be given on the same days, with the same singers, at local public rooms. The fact that these are secular performances, entirely distinct from the work of the Abbey, is highlighted by a special newspaper announcement two days before the concerts, instructing gentlemen and ladies to 'dismiss their servants at the Abbey Door'.[3] In May the following year an even more ambitious event was staged (see p. 84 below).

A regular choir was not established at the Abbey until 1798, long after Chilcot's death.[4] If Chilcot, even during the later years of his tenure at the Abbey, wished to perform anything more demanding than simple anthems, he was obliged to draw on outside help.

Organ music

It is impossible to determine precisely what solo organ music Chilcot played at the services. Of the music which Chilcot purchased by subscription, by far the greater part was chamber music and sacred vocal works; the only two organ music publications were Henry Burgess's organ

concertos of 1740 and 'Eight Lessons' for organ or harpsichord composed by the London pleasure-garden organist and composer Thomas Gladwin, and issued in 1750.[5]

The popular organ voluntaries during the years following Chilcot's appointment to the Abbey were those works composed in the new Italianate manner. Widely circulated in manuscript during this period were the voluntaries of John Robinson, to whom Sir John Hawkins attributed the earliest use of the 'solo-stop' voluntary, which in that historian's opinion degraded the organ almost to the level of the harpsichord.[6] These works, however, were not published until after the deaths of both Chilcot and their composer.

The thirty voluntaries of John Stanley, published in three sets between 1748 and 1754, were enormously popular, and their wide commercial success inspired many similar publications by other composers throughout the remainder of the century.

But during Chilcot's early years at the Abbey -- before this dramatic surge in publishing activity -- there was very little printed organ music available. Most organists either extemporised their own voluntaries or maintained manuscript collections of music by various composers. A

number of these manuscripts survive, and give a fascinating insight into the nature of the repertoire and performance practices of the time.[7]

The manuscripts of two mid-eighteenth-century organists give an excellent illustration of the type of organ music Chilcot would have been expected to play during services: the 246-page collection of organ voluntaries discovered at the Royal College of Organists in 1967[8] and the manuscripts of the Dulwich College organist, John Reading.[9] These manuscripts show that at the time of their compilation the two-movement (slow-fast) voluntary had already been established as the standard pattern. The RCO manuscript in particular shows that organists took a good deal of freedom in pairing movements by different composers to form one composite voluntary. This practice was obviously familiar to John Reading too, for in the manuscript now at the Henry Watson Music Library in Manchester he wrote out the introductory movement to a 'Second Voluntary' and noted: 'This Part, was Compos'd to introduce any Fugue, in the Same key'[10]

The Reading manuscripts differentiate between 'first voluntaries' which were played at the beginning of the service or between the Gospel and the sermon, and 'second voluntaries' which were played as postludes. The former start with a slow movement on the diapasons, often in a

Corellian idiom, and continue with a lengthy *vivace* movement usually cast in ritornello form, denoting the contrast between 'solo' and 'tutti' by means of the contrasting timbres of two manuals or solo stops. The latter consist of a slow introduction played on 'full organ' (many of these heavily-dotted introductory movements were in fact organ arrangements of instrumental overtures to cantatas) followed by an Italianate fugue. This differentiation is also reflected in the published volumes of John Stanley's voluntaries, where the 'first voluntaries' (though they are not designated as such) are presented in the first part of each collection and the 'second voluntaries' are printed at the end.

It is likely that Chilcot, even if he usually extemporised his voluntaries, would have kept a manuscript book of this sort, but that it has been lost, together with his anthems and other vocal music for the Abbey.[11]

Chilcot's appointment as Abbey Organist was sponsored and governed by the City Council. Chilcot was therefore partly responsible for music for civic ceremonies. These were a frequent feature of the colourful Bath season, including official state celebrations, civic events such as elections, and marking the arrival of particularly distinguished visitors. Examples of these can be

seen in the City Chamberlain's Accounts for 12 September 1735:

Paid the Ringers when the Princess Amelia came the 2nd time	£4	14	6
Paid for Cheese		8	8
Paid the Musick at the same time	1	1	0
Paid the Musick at the Election of Members of Parliament by Mr. Mayor's Order	2	2	0

A posthumous payment to Chilcot's estate was recorded in the City Chamberlain's Accounts for 2 February 1767 (just over two months after the composer's death) of 4s 'to Chilcot's expences to Shaw', presumably a reference to the Bath violinist whom Chilcot had employed to play at some civic event.[12]

Teaching

Chilcot's private teaching is less clearly documented. His connections with the Bathursts and the Beauforts are discussed later in this chapter, and it is reasonable to assume that Chilcot had other such pupils. Other musicians depended heavily on private teaching for their

livelihood. The organist and composer Thomas Orpin, for instance, advertised in *Pope's Bath Chronicle* on 19 April 1764 that he 'Teaches Ladies and Gentlemen On the HARPSICHORD, In the most approved manner ... N.B. He letts Harpsichords, &c. by the Week. Ladies may depend on punctual Attendance'.[13] The previous year the same organist had held a benefit concert at Devizes Town Hall (advertised in *Pope's Bath Chronicle* 23 May 1763) with 'the best Performers from Bath, Salisbury and other Places.'. William Herschel, who arrived in Bath two weeks and a day after Thomas Chilcot's death and in many ways filled the latter's place in Bath's musical life, was giving many lessons -- up to seven or eight a day -- in the 1770s, and for this purpose travelled many miles on horseback.[14] Herschel regularly taught at Belmont, the seat of the Marchioness of Clannicarde, which involved a return journey of over 140 miles. Chilcot, with his regular income from the city, combined in his later years with his second wife's wealth, was not so dependent on other activities and so does not appear to have advertised his services as a teacher, nor to have held any benefit concerts.

Concerts

It is one of the surprising features of Chilcot's career that there are no apparent references to him

performing outside Bath. Events of his life show that he was no stranger to the Fosse Way up as far as Cirencester,[15] but otherwise there is no evidence that he ever left Bath. The musical events of Bath, Salisbury, Oxford, Gloucester and Wells, to name only a few, are linked with each other in hundreds of newspaper references, concert programmes and contemporary comments, such as the diaries of Claver Morris. Musicians travelled regularly between these various centres, as can be seen from many of the events cited in the preceding pages and in Chapter Five below, yet Chilcot's name is never associated with performances in the other towns.

Marriage and family

Having prematurely concluded his apprenticeship and been installed in a post, Chilcot was free to marry. This he did on 28 June the following year. The wedding was at nearby Claverton -- home and burial place of Ralph Allen -- on 28 June 1729, by licence dated four days earlier.[16] His wife, Elizabeth Mills, had been baptised at Bath Abbey on 30 April 1704, when she was described as daughter of Augustine Mills, who was himself baptised at the Abbey on 6 December 1663 and described as the son of Peter Mills and Alice. Elizabeth had one sister (Susanne, baptised on 16 March 1701) and at least one brother (Henry, baptised on 9 June 1699).[17] This

last is perhaps why Thomas and Elizabeth named three of their sons Henry.

By this time several other Chilcots were living in or near Bath. Amongst these, and causing some confusion in all previous writings on Thomas Chilcot, were another Thomas and Elizabeth, who lived in Twerton (formerly known as Twiverton), a small community directly across the river from Bath. These may perhaps be the Thomas Chilcot and Elizabeth Whitaker who were married at Newton St Loe on 2 September 1717. Their children, who were misattributed to Thomas the composer by previous authors, [18] included James (baptised 8 September 1724) and the twins Betty and Mary (baptised 21 March 1727). James married Elizabeth Browne of Corston on 10 May 1742 and had five children between 1744 and 1757. He died in 1785.

The composer Thomas Chilcot and his wife Elizabeth had seven children during the years which followed their marriage, of whom four survived.[19] Their first child, named Henry after his uncle, was baptised at the Abbey on 17 September 1731 and buried there just twelve days later. A second Henry, baptised at Walcot on 5 April 1733, was more healthy and must have been a source of comfort to Thomas less than three months later when his father, John, died.[20] But this Henry, too, was not destined to live. He died

just before his ninth birthday and was buried in Walcot churchyard on 19 March 1742. A daughter, Elizabeth, was baptised at Walcot on 23 August 1734. She married and was still alive at the time of Thomas's will in 1766, in which she is referred to as his daughter Elizabeth Walker.[21] Two Thomases followed; the first baptised at Walcot on 11 August 1735 and buried at the Abbey on 5 April the following year; the second baptised at Walcot on 22 July 1736. The latter was mentioned in his father's will of 1766, as was the next child, Fanny, who was baptised at Walcot on 10 October 1738. Finally, the second Henry having died seven months earlier, a third Henry was baptised at Walcot on 28 October 1742.

First publication: the suites

Chilcot's first publication, a set of harpsichord suites, was issued in 1734 by the London publisher William Smith. The Suites, described by Philip Radcliffe as 'well-planned works in a solidly Handelian style',[22] show Chilcot's remarkable competence as a composer, as well as an astonishing level of support from the local aristocracy. Among the wealthy and titled represented on the subscription list were Viscount and Viscountess Bateman and the then Lieutenant-General Wade, as well as the composers Handel, Festing, Roseingrave and Stanley. These works are discussed briefly in Chapter Nine below.

The Bathurst family

Another subscriber to this volume was 'Mrs Bathurst', presumably Elizabeth, the young wife (of two years' standing) of Benjamin, eldest son of Sir Allen Bathurst, Bt (1684-1775) who was created Earl Bathurst in 1772. Benjamin was one of the four sons and five daughters of Allen's 1704 marriage with Catherine. The family associated with artists, poets and men of learning: Swift, Prior and Pope were all frequent visitors to the house. Benjamin predeceased his father, so his younger brother Henry (1714-1794) became the second Earl, depriving Benjamin and Elizabeth of any mention in works of biographical reference. But Elizabeth was one of the most socially elevated of Chilcot's harpsichord pupils and was subsequently the dedicatee of his first set of harpsichord concertos. Throughout his career, Chilcot maintained a close connection with the Bathursts, and in the dedicatory preface to his 1756 concertos refers to 'the many obligations to Your ladyship', so it is worth looking briefly at the life of Cirencester Park, their estate.

Cirencester Park lies conveniently by the Fosse Way, the great old road which ran straight on to Bath (28 miles to the South West) and then on past Wells to the coast. To the North East it ran on through Leicester up to Lincoln. Badminton

House, seat of the Duke of Beaufort (another of Chilcot's patrons), lies about half way between Bath and Cirencester.

Partly owing to its convenient location and partly to the hospitable nature of the Bathursts, Cirencester Park was a busy house and often full of visitors. The *Bath Journal* for 23 July 1750 records that the Prince and Princess of Wales had spent a night there. Eleven years later, a visiting clergyman, the Revd James Newton, recorded his impressions of the Park in his diary:[23]

> **June 1761**
> **8. Reach'd Cirencester time enough for M[orning] P[rayer] but Miss Webb was not there. After Br[eakfast] rode in my Lord Bathurst Park & its a very grand One indeed.**

A tradition of holding concerts at the Park with musicians from Bath was continued until late in the last century.[24] Unfortunately, no family papers or other documents survive which can shed any further light on Chilcot's relationship with the family. The Bathurst papers at the British Library are silent on the point.[25]

Among the other major families with whom Thomas Chilcot was associated was that of the Duke of Beaufort, at whose house (according to an account in *The Bath Herald and Register* for 1798 discussed at the start of Chapter Five below) Chilcot first met his subsequent pupil Linley.

Unfortunately, the surviving papers of the Beaufort family deposited in the Gloucestershire County Record Office[26] contain no reference to the composer. These papers include personal and estate accounts and records of payment,[27] and a box tantalizingly mis-catalogued 'music papers' which actually contains 'misc. papers'.[28]

No records of interest were found during an exhaustive search of the personal papers of other local major families.[29]

How Thomas Chilcot, an ex-charity child now in his mid-twenties and only a few years out of his apprenticeship, was able to draw upon such support and elevated patronage is hard to explain. There is no possibility that this and his apparently easy appointment to his post at the Abbey were helped by his masonic membership, for it was not until 1738 that he became a freemason. Freemasonry seems to have been important not only to Chilcot but also to many other eighteenth-century musicians, so a brief account of its background and attraction is called for here.

Freemasonry

Freemasonry seems to have developed from the guilds of stonemasons and cathedral builders of the middle ages, who began to accept 'honorary' members not associated with the trade when the

great epoch of cathedral building drew to a close. According to masonic historians, a poem in the British Library,[29] which dates from the end of the fourteenth century, contains an early account of freemasonry, stressing its secrecy and that every brother should love God and the church. Freemasonry adopted its various trappings in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and codified them with the formation of a 'Grand Lodge' -- an association of some of the existing lodges -- in England in 1717. After this, the religious base of the movement was removed and freemasonry became a non-Christian practice, prescribing belief instead in an unspecified 'great architect of the universe'.

Freemasonry was an attractive proposition for musicians. Not only did it provide them with the basis for a fraternity by which they could co-operate more closely amongst themselves, but it also gave them innumerable opportunities to advance their careers. Most of the major publishers -- including John Johnson, Chilcot's publisher -- were freemasons themselves, and naturally disposed to favour brethren.

In his account of the Royal Somerset House and Inverness Lodge, the Revd Arnold Whitaker Oxford relates that during the late eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth, many celebrated musicians were members or honorary

members of the lodge, paying no fees (even for initiation) or subscription.[30] A special fund to support this practice was formed on 27 April 1829. Examples of this included the London organist and choirmaster Robert Hudson who was proposed on 19 April 1784 for initiation 'free from the fee of initiation and Admission'.[31] On 14 February 1785 the London publisher John Bland presented copies of music by Webbe to the Lodge and a few days later was elected a joining member 'free of all Dues and Subscription'.[32]

Other musicians who were listed by Oxford as being members of the Royal Somerset Lodge include Benjamin Cooke, the diarist John Marsh, Samuel Arnold, Theodore Aylward and Thomas Saunders Dupuis. A resolution of 23 February 1784[33] decided that:

> **Br Dupuis having presented a musical work lately published by Him for the Acceptance of the Lodge ... the Thanks of the lodge be given to Br Dupuis for his polite present and that his Health be now drunk with the usual Masonic Honours.**

Mentioned as a visiting member was Edward Miller, of St George's Lodge, Doncaster, whose *Psalms of David* (1790) attracted thousands of subscriptions including many from the most influential musicians.

These musical members would have contributed to the life of the lodge by singing or

playing instruments during the ceremonies,[34] or writing music for the lodge, or simply by depositing copies of their published works in the lodge library. The music library of the Royal Somerset House, which is catalogued in an appendix to Oxford's book, was vast, owing to the particularly strong musical tradition in the lodge during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The lodge's acquisition of music during the eighteenth century was not merely the result of donations from composers: it will be shown later that the lodge also purchased printed music at the auction of William Boyce's effects in 1779.[35]

Thomas Chilcot was initiated into the Royal Cumberland Lodge (No.41) on 21 February 1738. Like the Charity School records, the lodge minutes are frustratingly silent about his age and background,[36] and the Grand Lodge minutes (which might have provided more information) do not begin until just two years after his death. No-one else from Chilcot's family appears to have been involved with the Masons and Chilcot's own interest may well have been a largely professional one: membership was one of the best available means of promoting his career. Patrons and musicians, nobility and commoners were provided with a solid basis for the kind of relaxation of social distinctions that was soon to become an established feature of the City of Bath itself. No-one considered himself too elevated for

membership, it seems: even the Prince of Wales (the future George IV) was initiated in the Royal Somerset Lodge on 12 February 1787.[38] Chilcot himself was Grand Master of his lodge in 1739, 1741 and 1745.[39]

The Society of Musicians

Freemasonry was not the only organisation to which Chilcot belonged. In April 1738 was established in London a 'Fund for the Support of Decayed Musicians and their Families'. This fund, initially formed to assist the children of the deceased oboist Jean Christian Kytch, soon expanded into a popular 'insurance' scheme for professional musicians. Subscriptions until 1766 were 10s a year; benefits were payable to orphans and widows, or to musicians themselves in case of illness.

Within weeks of establishing the fund a 'Society of Musicians' had been formed, with a board of Governors and a set of regulations to control it. A Declaration of Trust was compiled on 28 August 1739 and signed by 226 members, including the Trust's founders as well as Boyce, Greene, Handel -- who maintained a close connection with the Society throughout his life and bequeathed £1000 to it in his will -- William Hayes, Pepusch, Prelleur, Thomas Roseingrave, Reading, Stanley, Worgan and most of the other leading

musicians of the day. Thomas Chilcot was also a signatory to the Declaration and continued to be a member until at least 1755 (appearing in a published list of subscribers at midsummer that year), despite a ruling adopted by the Society on 20 June 1742 that members were required to reside at least some part of the year in London. The Society's activities were centred around London -- as indeed was its membership -- and members could at times be obliged to attend London events. One such was the annual Sons of the Clergy Festival, for which Society members could be -- and in the 1770s were -- expelled for failing to take part in the Festival if requested.

The Society's Archive contains biographical details of members who joined after about 1776, but records before this date have unfortunately not been kept.[40] Little light is therefore shed on Chilcot. The only real interest in connection with the Society lies in the fact that Chilcot patently did not 'reside in London'. Did he fulfil his obligation to the Society and make regular visits to the capital? If so, no record has apparently survived.

Many aspects of Chilcot's life raise questions. How did his career advance so rapidly from such humble beginnings? How did he attract the patronage of the famous and wealthy while still in his twenties? As will be shown in later chapters, his music raises even more curious questions. Yet

the researcher into Chilcot's life is handicapped by a paucity of information which is itself extraordinary. No record of his baptism can be traced. His name was unaccountably omitted from the Charity School Minute Book. The records of the Tiverton Guild of Cordwainers are lost; and those of the Bath Guild do not contain the expected references to Thomas's father. Neither the archives of the Freemasons nor those of the Royal Society of Musicians contain helpful references to Thomas. The family papers of his patrons do not refer to him, nor is his name to be found in the accounts of West-Country concert life outside Bath. Yet contemporary descriptions of the musician, and even a cursory examination of his works, reveal him to have been a talented and craftsmanlike composer with an occasional capacity for the musical inventiveness which is the hallmark of genius.

[1] See bibliography.

[2] Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, vol 1, 101-102.

[3] *The Bath Journal*, 24 April 1758. The progress of this series of concerts is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

[4] David Falconer, *Bath Abbey*, p.19.

[5] See Appendix 1.

[6] *General History*, p.827.

[7] This practice of keeping manuscript books was maintained by organists of remoter districts well into the nineteenth century. The manuscripts of Llangeinwen organist Miss Wynne Owen, dated 1839 and 1849 (Archives Office, Llangefni, Gwynedd, MS W/DD/1741 and W/DD/1744 respectively) are an interesting blend of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century material, notated and ornamented in keeping with 18th-century practice.

[8] H. Diack Johnstone, 'An Unknown Book of Organ Voluntaries', *The Musical Times* 108 (November 1967), pp.1003-7.

[9] There survive five manuscripts of organ music collected by John Reading. Three of these are now at Dulwich College, London, where they are catalogued as MSS 92a, 92b and 92d; one is at the Henry Watson Music Library in Manchester, where it is catalogued as MS BR.m.7105.Rf.31) and one is at the Nanki Music Library in Tokyo, where it is catalogued as MS N-4/31. The manuscripts are described in more detail in Barry Cooper's thesis, 'English Solo Keyboard Music', pp. 289-296.

[10] Manchester, Henry Watson Music Library MS BR.m.7105.Rf.31 p.314.

[11] For a discussion of Chilcot's lost anthems and other vocal music see Chapter 9.

[12] Chamberlain's Accounts for 2 February 1767 (Bath Reference Library).

[13] *Pope's Bath Chronicle*, 19 April 1764.

[14] Private research notes of Lady Jeans, for her planned biography of Herschel.

[15] Chilcot's frequent visits to the Bathurst family at Cirencester are discussed later in this chapter. His second wife, Anne, who is

discussed in Chapter 4, appears also to have been connected with the Bathursts.

16 Somerset Record Office, marriage licences, Claverton.

17 Baptism registers of Bath Abbey (Somerset Record Office, reference D/P/ba.ab).

18 Maslen, 'Thomas Chilcot: A Forgotten Composer', p.294; reiterated by G. Beechey in 'Thomas Chilcot and his music', p.179.

19 These children are also listed by Maslen/Beechey (see previous note).

20 See page 13.

21 See Appendix 2.

22 *NOHM VII*, p.579.

23 Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Eng.misc.e.251.

24 Information from the present Earl Bathurst.

25 BL Loan 57 no.68. Family papers 1417-1772, including accounts and miscellaneous documents. I am very obliged to Earl Bathurst who searched for material at his home and was generous with information and help.

26 MSS prefix D2700.

27 Gloucestershire Record Office, manuscript references I Shelf 2:12; 107.1. 7-10; 1110.2. 1-5; 300.3.1.; 304.102. 2-7.

28 Gloucestershire Record Office, ref. F Drawer 2: G.C. 2/2. Even the diaries of Elizabeth Beaufort for 1740-1768, which record her visits to Bath on 3 January 1743/4 and 8 October 1745 (D2700 Family Additional Box L.11) contain no reference to Thomas. Elizabeth Beaufort did however write the texts to a number of 'songs' (ref D2700/Box L 19). If she expected Chilcot to set these to music this may explain the lack of other references to the composer in the family papers. For instance, the first of ten verses of one of the 'songs' reads: "I'll Sing you a Song that will grieve you, | The subject is flatt bottom'd boats; | The French are to slide through the water, | And in them to cut all our throats".

29 The following papers were searched:
Blathwayts of Dyrham: family papers in Gloucestershire Record Office, references D1799/E253-256; D/1799/A and D/1799/C.
Codrington: Gloucestershire Record Office, D1610 prefix.
Pembroke of Wilton: Wiltshire Record Office, ref. 2057.

Long of Wraxall: Wiltshire Record Office, ref. 947.
Fortescue: Exeter, Devon County Record Office, ref. 1262M, in addition to searches at the family seat (see Acknowledgements).

30 British Library MS Bibl.Reg.17A, i.

31 Revd Arnold Whitaker Oxford, *No. 4*, p.34.

32 *ibid.*, p.50.

33 *ibid.*, p.50.

34 *ibid.*, p.48.

35 See Morehen, 'Masonic Instrumental Music'.

36 See Chapter 7.

37 Information provided by David Falconer (see acknowledgements).

38 Revd Arnold Whitaker Oxford, *No.4*.

39 Davitt Moroney, *Thomas Chilcot: Six Suites of Lessons*, p.vi.

40 I am indebted to Betty Matthews for information and assistance regarding the Society's records.

Chapter Four
Chilcot's success develops

Chilcot and Linley

In 1903, William Tyte opened the tenth chapter of his book *Bath in the Eighteenth Century: its Progress and Life Described* with the following description of Chilcot and Thomas Linley.[1]

> No doubt the culture of music in Bath was largely promoted by the permanent employment of a band at the Pump Room, composed as it was of skilled musicians. It was further aided by the fact that the organist at the Abbey for a third of the century was not only a distinguished performer, but a composer of repute as well, viz., Thomas Chilcot. He was appointed to the post in 1733, and held it until the 24th of November, 1766, when he died. Among his compositions are twelve songs, the words by Shakspere [sic], Marlowe, Anacreon, and Euripides, and six concertos, which were dedicated to Lady Elizabeth Bathurst. He was a keen musical critic, and a favourite in society from his talents both as an instrumentalist and vocalist. At the Duke of Beaufort's as well as at Earl Bathurst's seat, and at the residence of the country gentry, he was a welcome visitor. It is an interesting fact that he was the means of inspiring the musical aspirations of Thomas Linley, who was the son of a carpenter and was born at Badminton in 1733. Some ten years later the family moved to Bath, where the extensive building then in progress gave ample employment to the father, and the son (according to Mr. E. Green, who with indefatigable zeal has tracked the fortunes of the Linleys), became an errand boy to Chilcott, who soon detected the lad's musical ability, and, with the parent's consent, took him as an articled pupil for five years. Before his apprenticeship expired, the youth was a master of the theory and practice of music.

This account is interesting, as it shows that both Chilcot and Linley were remembered as musicians even at the turn of the present century, when English music of the eighteenth century was not generally held in high esteem. However conjectural and inaccurate the account may be, it does seem certain that Chilcot was largely responsible for the musical education of Thomas Linley.

Seemingly the earliest mention of this occurs in 1772, when *The Craftsman* stated that Chilcot taught Linley 'the rudiments and practice of the art'.[2] Linley's obituary in *The Bath Herald and Register* does not mention Chilcot,[3] but a slightly later report in the same newspaper purports to describe their first meeting:[4]

> Mr Linley, (senior). This excellent Musician was the son of a carpenter, and was designed for his father's business. He was one day at work at Badminton, the palace of the Duke of Beaufort, in Gloucestershire, and was overheard to sing by Mr Chilcot, the organist of Bath, who was so pleased with it, that he prevailed upon him to quit his trade as a carpenter, and to study music.

Second publication: the songs

To what extent Chilcot's involvement with freemasonry did advance his career is impossible to determine, but when his second publication was issued in 1744, six years to the day after his initiation, it was prefaced by a list of 278

subscribers, taking a total of 346 copies, which made it one of the half-a-dozen most popular musical publications of the decade. The list shows Chilcot's influence amongst his fellow musicians, who are represented by Avison, Alcock, Boyce, Burgess, Felton, Festing, Gladwin, Gunn, Handel, William Hayes, Orpin, Stanley, Worgan and numerous organists and music masters around the country. John Robinson, Organist of Westminster Abbey, took a copy, as did Richard Church, the Organist of Christ Church and New College, Oxford; and James Morley, the Organist of Bristol Cathedral. The organ builder Abraham Jordan, and the Royal harpsichord maker Joseph Mahoon (who subscribed to every one of Chilcot's publications, perhaps indicating that Chilcot had a business connection with Mahoon) appear in the list, together with John Hawkins, William Jackson and several artists such as John Cornish and William Hoare, 'Painter in Crayons'. 'Beau' Nash and Samuel Strode each took four copies as a gesture of support to the young composer; perhaps it was the former's Cardiff connections which produced subscriptions from James Nooth, Organist, and 'Mr Bowen', both of Cardiff. The volume was published by John Johnson, who took 24 copies, and was sold in Bath by the booksellers Mr Frederick and James Leake, who each took 6 copies. Leake, who in 1734 was joint publisher of the anonymous *Description of Bath. A Poem*, had also taken six copies of Chilcot's earlier *Suites* to

sell at his Bath shop. Frederick and Leake both maintained a connection with Chilcot for many years and sold tickets for his concerts in the 1750s.

Amongst those absent from the list is William Smith, publisher of Chilcot's *Suites*, and Henry Dixon; the latter a rather more surprising omission, especially as he had taken two copies of the *Suites*. Perhaps this was due to his deteriorating health in the early 1740s.

The Bathurst family is represented; so too is the Hon. Miss Diana Bertie, dedicatee of T. Giordani's six keyboard concertos some thirty years later. The wide selection of other nobility can perhaps in part be attributed to Chilcot's masonic connections.

The move to the publisher John Johnson was significant. This newly-established publisher (Johnson had set up his sign, the harp and crown, at Cheapside only in about 1740) was already establishing what was to become the foremost music publishing house in Britain after the decline of the Walsh empire, and, as already noted, he was a freemason.

An advertisement in the *Gloucester Journal* -- a newspaper which regularly carried Bath news -- announced: 'Last WEEK were Publish'd, Dedicated to Samuel Strode, Esq., TWELVE SONGS, With

their Symphonies. The Words by Shakespear, and other Celebrated poets, set to Musick, by THOMAS CHILCOT, Organist of Bath. The Subscribers are desir'd to send for their Books'.[5]

Residence

Thomas had presumably left his parents' home for the last time in the summer of 1721 when he started his apprenticeship with Josias Priest. He must have continued to live with Elizabeth Priest after Josias's death, for his salary was paid to the widow who in return was responsible for his maintenance.

In 1728 the first of a number of building leases at the Barton Grange Estate was obtained by John Wood the Elder, who, with further leases in 1730 and 1732-34, developed the site during the 1730s. One of the streets in this development was called -- naturally enough -- Wood Street, and it is in this street that Chilcot was living in 1734, when he paid 3d in respect of a 'Threepenny Church Rate' levied that year.[6] The title page of Chilcot's *Suites*, issued in 1734, states that they were sold 'by the Author, at his House, in Barton Fields'. By 1749, Chilcot, while still living at number 4, appears to have acquired number 5 as well, for he advertised in *The Bath Journal* that year:[7]

> To be Sold, Furnish'd, or Unfurnish'd, a Genteel and very convenient HOUSE, situate in *Wood-Street*, near *Queen-Square*, BATH, next Door to Mr. CHILCOT, Organist; of whom further Particulars may be had.

He continued to live in the same house for the rest of his life. In his advertisements of 1754 and 1764 for his sets of concertos he mentioned his house 'near Queen Square' and on his death his goods were auctioned 'at his late Dwelling-House in Wood-Street, near Queen-Square'. The last record of Chilcot in the Bath City Ratebook records the payment by 'Mr Thos Chilcot 0 - 5 - 7 ½ for his house in Wood Street' in 1766, the year of his death.[8]

Thomas's brothers, John and William, lived in nearby Walcot Street. They leased property there in 1753 and 1763.[9] By 1766 this house was occupied by a number of people including one Betty Phillot. A Mrs Phillott took Thomas Chilcot's house in Wood Street after his death, and a Mr Jos. Phillott paid rates on it in 1767-68.[10]

The children of Thomas Chilcot and his wife Elizabeth were born between 1731 and at least 1742, when their son Henry was baptised.[11] At some stage during the seven years following the autumn of 1742, Elizabeth Chilcot died. No record has yet been found of this.[12]

Second marriage

Among the subscribers to Chilcot's first publication, in 1734, was a distinguished clergyman of aristocratic antecedents, '*The Reverend Mr.* Wrey *of* Tavestock [Tawstock] *in* Devonshire', who also took a copy of the *Twelve English Songs* ten years later. Chilcot may well have known the family, for Wrey's wife, Margaret, was a member of the Pyne family, one of whom, Mr Thomas Pyne of Bristol, also subscribed to the *Suites*. In any event, he certainly knew the Wreys intimately by the late 1740s, for on 14 September 1749 he married their 32-year-old daughter, Anne. Curiously, a Thomas Chilcott was buried at Tawstock on 5 June the same year, even more remarkable as the name does not appear elsewhere in the Tawstock registers.[13]

The licence for their marriage at St Mary's or St Peter's Church in Siddington was dated 2 September 1749 and signed by Chilcot and by 'Jos: Harrison Surr[ogate]'. On the reverse of the licence is the date 24 June 1749 and the initials J.H. The significance of the date is unclear, although several other licences in the series also have a penciled date predating the licence by varying amounts. The licence, reproduced in full as Plate 3, reads:[14]

Plate 3

Marriage Licence of Thomas Chilcot and Anne (Ann) Wrey

> Appeared Personally Thomas Chilcot of the City of Bath Widdower and alledged, That he intended to Marry with Ann Wrey of Siddington St. Marys in the Diocess of Gloucester Spinster Aged Upwards of thirty years ... in the Parish Church of Siddington St. Mary's or Siddington St. Peter

According to the registers of the Parish of Siddington St Mary and St Peter:[15]

> Mr Thos. Chilcot of Bath, & Mrs [sic: presumably in error] Ann Wrey of Sidington St. Mary's were married by licence Septr 14th.

The Bishop's transcripts (though not the original registers) make it clear that the ceremony took place at St Mary's Church.[16] Why Anne Wrey was living at Siddington at the time is not immediately obvious. One possible explanation is that the parish of Siddington was part of the extensive estates of the Bathurst family, whose associations with Chilcot are discussed in the previous chapter.

Anne's grandfather, Sir Bourchier Wrey, was a prominent West-country figure. With his wife Florence Rolle, whom he married in 1681, he had three children: Bourchier, who married in 1708, Florence, who married John Cole in 1707 and the Revd Chichester Wrey. Chichester first married Margaret Pyne and had three children: Anne (1716-1758) who married Thomas Chilcot; Chichester (1718-1719) and Elizabeth (1723-1739). He subsequently married Elizabeth Long in 1735 and had a further six children: Margaret (1735),

Charlotte (1736), Elizabeth (1739), Chichester (1740), Juliana (1743) and Florence (1745). He died in 1756, his second wife having predeceased him by a year.

Anne herself died on 30 June 1758. Her death was noted by the *Bath Journal*:[17]

> On Friday last died, (much esteem'd and belov'd by all that knew her whilst living, and equally lamented at her Death) Ann, the Wife of Mr. Chilcot, Organist, of this City, descended from the antient and honourable Family of the Bourchier's, and Wrey's in Devon. - A kind Mistress; a sincere friend: She made Religion her governing Principle; and is gone to that Blessed Place, where all who do well will be rewarded.

Curiously, Anne's will (reproduced as Appendix 3) was enroled in the Chancery Close Rolls, which contain Papists' wills mainly from the eighteenth century. Furthermore, unlike her husband's will (Appendix 2), it lacks the customary Protestant formula at the beginning. Her memorial inscription at Tawstock church does not clarify the matter: 'She was a Woman of Great Piety Constant in the Duties of Religion both Public and Private'. If she were not the daughter of an Anglican clergyman and the wife of the Abbey organist it would be natural to assume that she was a Catholic; under the circumstances, this seems unlikely.

Thomas and Anne had no children and Anne's will suggests that she may have had an uneasy relationship with the children of Thomas's first marriage. Apart from leaving 'unto my Daughter in Law Miss ffanny Chilcot the Sum of fifty pounds' she directs 'that my said Husband do not in any manner whatsoever Give or Dispose of any part of my said Effects to or amongst either of his children Except what I have hereinbefore Given to Miss ffanny Chilcot'.

Anne was both wealthy (as can be seen by the scale of the bequests in her will) and a socially-elevated member of an ancient and well-connected country family. The superiority of her social standing in relation to that of Thomas's first wife reflects the steadily-climbing status of the composer.

Other Chilcots in Bath

Although the Chilcot family was not represented in Bath until 1700, by the middle of the eighteenth century the family had spread in the City to such an extent that it is difficult to establish the precise relationship between the many Chilcots. The Thomas and Elizabeth Chilcot who lived at Twerton and had several children in the 1720s have already been noted above;[18] their son James had five children between 1744 and 1757. A Henry Chilcot of Trim-Street advertised in

Plate 4

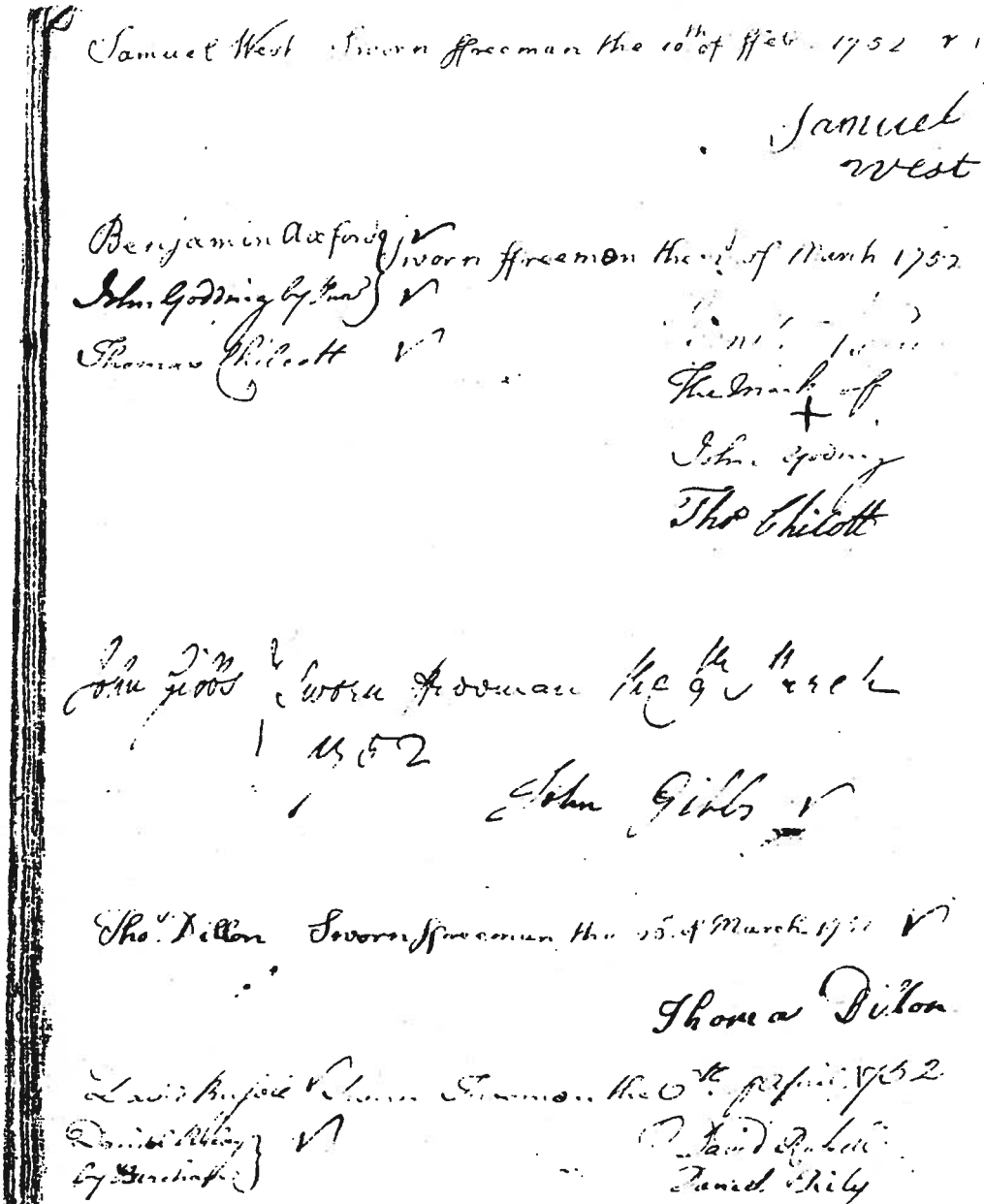
Parish register entry relating to the wedding of John Chilcot and Ann Fonteneau, witnessed by Joseph Tylee

Page 6 (The Year 1776)

N° 10 } John Chilcot of the Pa
of St Clements Danes in the City of Westminster and Ann Fonteneau
of the Parish of St Michael in the same City Spinster
Married in this Church by Licence
this twenty fourth Day of March in the Year One Thousand seven Hundred
and seventy six By me John Clayman Rector
This Marriage was solemnized between Us { John Chilcot
Ann Fonteneau
In the Presence of { Jos Tylee

Plate 5

Extract from the Freeman's Book
(Book 276: record of Freemen sworn 9 March 1712 - 12 June 1775), showing Thomas Chilcot's signature.



The Bath Journal as a 'JEWELLER and GOLDSMITH' who 'Makes, mends, and Sells All Sorts of Jeweller's and Goldsmith's WORK, After the newest Taste, and at the lowest Prices'.[19] Henry's marriage licence bond, dated 12 February 27.Geo II [1754] was countersigned by Thomas Chilcot, cordwainer of Bath: probably the organist's son, especially as his signature is very similar to that of the older Thomas.[20]

Thomas Chilcot's elder brother, John (1701-1766) had at least a dozen children by his wife Elizabeth. Their daughter Elizabeth (baptised 25 January 1740) married James Richard of Widcombe on 21 July 1765; one of the witnesses to their marriage was Mary Bayliss, who also witnessed Thomas Chilcot's will the following year. The fourth son of John and Elizabeth, also called John, was baptised in 1737. In 1776, by then a widower, he married Ann Fonteneau of St Michael's, Bath, on 24 March at Bath Abbey. One of the witnesses to this marriage was Chilcot's successor as organist of the Abbey, Joseph Tylee. Eight months later, 'MRS CHILCOT (late Mrs Fontenau [sic]) who was for many years French Teacher to the late Mrs Emblin's and Mrs Pulleine's School' announced the opening of a new boarding and day school for young ladies 'in St John's Court, Bath; a pleasant and airy situation'.[21] Her advertisement listed the main subjects of study as 'Dancing, Music, Writing and English Grammar,

by approved Masters. French taught by Mrs Chilcot, who will make it the common dialect of her school'. Mrs Chilcot also taught a variety of handicrafts. A further advertisement was placed early the following year, announcing the opening of the school on Monday 20 January.[22] Two years later, Mrs Chilcot repeated her earlier assurances that 'her utmost abilities shall be exerted ... by a constant and watchful care over the morals and behaviour of her pupils'.[23]

John Chilcot, husband of the above, was still alive in 1784, when he paid £3 arrears for his pew rent at Bath Abbey.[24]

Other references to the Chilcot family abound in parish and civic records; some of these are mentioned elsewhere in this dissertation, but most have too remote a connection with Thomas Chilcot the organist to be considered here.

[1] p. 101.

[2] *The Craftsman*, 10 October 1772.

[3] *The Bath Herald and Register*, 28 November 1795.

[4] *The Bath Herald and Register*, 9 June 1798. This report is not referred to in G. Beechey's 'Thomas Linley, Junior'.

[5] *Gloucester Journal*, Tuesday 28 February 1743/4.

[6] The ownership of houses number 4, 5 and 6 Wood Street is discussed in more detail on page 20 above.

[7] *The Bath Journal*, 9 October 1749.

[8] Bath City Ratebook 1766 (Bath City Record Office, no catalogue number allocated); period 24 June to 31 December.

[9] See page 15 above.

[10] Bath City Rate Books, 1766-67; 1767-68 (see note 8).

[11] See pages 50-52 above.

[12] Her death is therefore only presumed. However, there are no references in newspapers or diaries to a divorce (which there undoubtedly would have been), so death is the only tenable theory.

[13] Burial registers, Parish of Tawstock. Devon County Record Office, Exeter.

[14] Gloucestershire Record Office.

[15] *ibid.*, document PMF 293.

[16] *ibid.*, Bishop's Transcripts VI/214.

[17] *Bath Journal*, 3 July 1758.

[18] p. 51.

[19] *The Bath Journal*, 28 April 1755.

[20] Marriage licence Bonds, Somerset Record Office, Taunton

[21] *Bath Journal*, 28 November 1776.

[22] *Bath Journal*, 9 January 1777.

[23] *Bath Journal*,14 July 1779.

[24] Somerset Record Office, document D/P/ba.ab.4/2/1 f [3r].

Chapter Five
The last years

During the twenty years following his appointment as Abbey Organist in 1725, Thomas Chilcot occupied himself with his work at the Abbey, with raising a family, and with his first two publications. The City Accounts and Chamberlain's Receipts show that the organist regularly received his quarterly salary and was not absent from his duties at the Abbey for any appreciable period. Nor, it appears, was Chilcot extensively involved with the concert life of either the West-Country towns or even of Bath itself. Only isolated references are found to Chilcot's other activities, and these only relate to ordinary involvement in public life.[1]

The Grand Concerts

During his last twenty years, however, Chilcot broadened his horizons and increasingly sought attention in the City's secular life. The fact that this trend coincided with his marriage to his wealthy second wife, Anne, in 1749, suggests that it was Anne who provided both the money and at least part of the motivation. The City Chamberlain's Accounts for 2 March 1752 record receipt of 'Thos. Chilcott's Freedom Fees 6s'.[2]

Chilcot signed the Freemen's Book the same day (plate 5),[3] thereby enabling himself to trade or run a business in the City.

During the second half of the 1740s Chilcot worked closely with Francis Fleming and played for many of his concerts at Wiltshire's Room. However, it appears that the two subsequently lost their cordial relationship, for during the period 1755-60 Chilcot was arranging his own concerts, which, from their size and scope, were clearly intended to overshadow all other musical events in the City and to establish the Abbey organist as Bath's principal musician.

This pattern can clearly be seen in the concert announcements in *The Bath Journal.* Fleming used the newspaper to advertise a concert to be held on Wednesday 11 November 1747 at which 'Mr. CHILCOT'S BOY' would participate.[4] The latter may have been the organist's fourteen-year-old son, Henry, or simply a pupil.

BATH.
For the Benefit of Mr. FLEMING.
At Mr. Wiltshire's Room,
On *Wednesday* next, the 11th of *November*, will be a
CONCERT OF VOCAL and INSTRUMENTAL
MUSICK.
The VOCAL to be perform'd by Mr. CHILCOT'S BOY:
And particularly the Ninth Solo of *Corelli* to be surprizingly
perform'd on the *Violin*,
By a Child between nine and ten Years old.
And a single *French* Peasant DANCE by Mrs. FLEMING,

that was M. *Roland*, from *Paris*.
To conclude with a BALL.
[... concert begins at 7pm. Tickets 5s each from the coffee houses]

∴ Mrs FLEMING Teaches young Ladies to Dance, in the Newest and most Easy Method.

Two years later, Fleming used the same newspaper to advertise another concert.[5] This concert took place some seven years before the publication of Chilcot's first set of harpsichord concertos, so bearing in mind the lengthy gestation period of Chilcot's publications,[6] the concerto which he played (see below) could well have been the first performance of one of these works. Fleming reminded the public that his wife gave dancing lessons. During the previous two years the couple had obviously discovered a demand from gentlemen as well, for by this time Francis was also giving lessons.

BATH.
Mr. FLEMING'S CONCERT
OF
Vocal and Instrumental *Musick*,
At Mr. Wiltshire's ROOM,
On *Wednesday* the 25th of this Instant *October*.
The VOCAL by Signiora GIACOMAZZI.
A Concerto on the GERMAN FLUTE, by Mrs WARMAN.
A HARPSICORD-Concerto, by Mr. CHILCOT.
A FRENCH HORN Concerto, by Mr. ANDREWS.
SONG.
Concerto for the VIOLENCELO, by Signior ANTONIOTTO.
The Concert to Conclude with several *AIRS* FOR Four FRENCH HORNS.
And Conclude with a BALL.
[...]
Mr. and Mrs. FLEMING Teach young Ladies and Gentlemen to Dance

A fortnight later, Chilcot was again performing at Wiltshire's Room, this time for the benefit of his fellow performer at the previous concert, the French-horn player:[7]

Mr. ANDREWS, *lately arriv'd from* Ireland;
AND
Mr. LEANDER, *from the Opera-House,* London.

This 'GRAND CONCERT' was held at Wiltshire's Room on Monday 6 November 1749 and included 'A Harpsicord Concerto by Mr. CHILCOT'. The event concluded with Handel's Music for the Royal Fireworks and was followed by a ball.

At a concert in Wiltshire's Room on Wednesday 9 May 1753, Chilcot played the harpsichord[8]

For the BENEFIT of
SIGNOR *and* SIGNORA PASSERINI.
At Mr. *WILTSHIRE'S*
On Wednesday, the Ninth of MAY, will be PERFORM'D
A CONCERT of MUSIC,
VOCAL and INSTRUMENTAL.
[nearly all of the works were composed by Passerini, but also included were:]
Cantata of Signor *Pergolesi*, with the Harpsichord Solo, by Mr. *Chilcot*,
Dalfigre abi mia Dalfigre

As usual, this event was followed by a ball.

From April 1755 we see Chilcot's own grand concerts taking shape. These concerts were

variously held in the Orchard Street Theatre, built in 1750, the music rooms and the Abbey, and included major vocal works by Handel, interspersed with organ concertos played by Thomas Chilcot. This resembles Handel's own practice of playing organ concertos during the intervals at performances of his oratorios. Chilcot's own published concertos, especially the 1756 set, would be very ineffective played on any other instrument than the harpsichord, which suggests that Chilcot was here playing either works by another composer (perhaps Handel) or some lost organ compositions of his own.

The first of Chilcot's own large-scale concerts was in 1755:[9]

On Wednesday, the 30th of this instant April,
At the THEATRE in *ORCHARD-STREET*,
will be perform'd the
ORATORIO of *Judas Maccabeus*.
The principal Vocal Parts by
Signiora *Passerini*, Mr. *Sullivan*, and Mr. *Champnes* -
With several good Voices from
LONDON, SALISBURY, GLOUCESTER, and other cathedrals.
The Instrumental Parts by
Signior Passerini, *and several additional Performers.*
The Whole conducted by
Mr. CHILCOT, who will play a Concerto on the Organ.
And on Saturday, the 3d of May, will be perform'd
The ORATORIO of SAMSON.
Boxes 5s. Pit 3s. First Gall. 2s 6d. Upper Gall. 1s 6d.
(*To begin at Half-an-Hour after six o'Clock.*)
TICKETS to be had of Mr. CHILCOT, at his House near *Queen-Square*: of Mr. LEAKE and Mr. FREDERICK, Booksellers; and at the Pump-Room and Coffee-Houses.

Exactly a year later, Chilcot staged a slightly more ambitious set of concerts, this time in the Abbey, with evening performances in the music rooms, and with the striking addition of Linley to the performers. This time, the build-up was more impressive: *The Bath Journal* carried advertisements on 10 April, 17 April and 24 April 1758 announcing performances in the Abbey on the mornings of Wednesday 26 and Thursday 27 April:[10].

A GRAND TE DEUM and two ANTHEMS of Mr. HANDEL's, and an Organ Concerto each Day by Mr. Chilcot; when a voluntary Collection will be made at the Door for the Benefit of the GENERAL HOSPITAL:

Evening performances were given on the same days; on Wednesday evening Handel's *Samson* was performed at Wiltshire's Rooms and on Thursday evening *L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato* was performed at Simpson's Room (which after the building of the New Assembly Rooms in 1771 became known as the 'Lower Rooms'. The advertisements stated that:[11]

The principal Vocal Performers are Signiora Passerini and Mr. Linley, and the additional Assistance of the Singers from the several Cathedrals of Oxford, Salisbury, Gloucester, Bristol, &c. - the Instrumental Parts by the best Hands.
Stewards for the said Performances are,
RICHARD NASH
GEORGE SCOTT Esqrs.
JAMES ROFFEY

The climax of these concerts occurred in 1759, when it was advertised:[12]

ON Wednesday the 16th, and Thursday the
17th Days of this Inst. MAY, will be Vocally and Instrumentally
performed in the ABBEY-CHURCH, a GRAND TE DEUM; and several
ANTHEMS, of Mr. HANDEL's, with a JUBILATE, composed by
Mr. CHILCOT upon the Occasion.
And on the Evenings of each Day, the ORATORIO's of JUDAS
MACCHABEUS and the MESSIAH, for the Benefit of the GENERAL
HOSPITAL, under the Direction of Dr. HAYE[S], of Oxford.
N.B. No Expence has been wanting to engage the best Voices from
Salisbury, Gloucester, Bristol, and Worcester Cathedrals.
The principal Vocal Part by Miss THOMAS, from London.
A CONCERTO, each Morning, on the ORGAN, by Mr. CHILCOT.

The following two decades saw a series of bitter and acrimonious quarrels between the leading Bath musicians. These centred around ridiculous and trivial incidents: William Herschel left the band at the New Assembly Rooms soon after the appointment of Linley as Director there, supposedly because Linley failed to provide Herschel with a music stand for two nights running; the Shaw family, father and son, sustained their enmity with Linley for over a decade; while Francis Fleming chose to ridicule Linley by writing *The Life and Extraordinary Adventures of Timothy Ginnadrake*. Although Linley was at the centre of all these disputes and attracted widespread criticism for his high-handedness, the real cause of the trouble was that the City's main musicians were competing for the position of most influence and respect in Bath's musical life.

Chilcot's claim to this position was based on his large-scale oratorio performances, and it is notable that Herschel, who arrived in Bath just fifteen days after Chilcot's death, and who after the resignation and departure of Linley in 1776 was generally accepted as Bath's main resident musician, continued this tradition with large-scale performances of the major Handel works.[13]

The instrument business

Not only was Chilcot at this time in competition with Bath's major composers and performers; one isolated newspaper announcement, quoted below, implies that he also attempted for a while to compete with the growing number of shops and individuals who sold and let musical instruments.

The number of such businesses in Bath grew during the 1750s and 1760s to such an extent that a comprehensive discussion of the trade is not possible here. A few random examples serve to illustrate the services offered. Millgrove and Brooks, musical instrument makers and sellers, advertised that they tuned, made and repaired instruments, let out harpsichords, spinets etc. by the week and sold every sort of printed music, together with teaching the guitar.[14] The same day, the organist Thomas Orpin advertised in the same

newspaper that he 'Teaches Ladies and Gentlemen On the harpsichord' and 'Letts Harpsichords, &c. by the Week'.[15] Diversity of activity was evidently an asset in this type of trading: Thomas Underwood, 'MUSICAL INSTRUMENT-MAKER', advertised that he sold and let all sorts of instruments, books, strings etc. and repaired instruments; also sold 'Fine Pickled Mushrooms, at 4s per Quart'.[16] In 1762, 'Thomas Young, Organ-builder, harpsichord and Spinnet-Maker, of Shepton-Mallet, in the County of Somerset' used the same newspaper 'to acquaint the Public' that he 'makes, tunes and repairs Church and House Organs, harpsichords and Spinnets; ... as good and as cheap as in London'.[17]

Thomas Chilcot's contribution to the trade was first noted by Benjamin Maslen, who quoted the following advertisement from *The Bath Journal* of 15 November 1756:[18]

> **Whereas it has been very artfully and very maliciously insinuated that Mr. Chilcot organist of this City, had left off business: This is therefore to certify that the said report is entirely false, Mr. Chilcot being ready at all Times to teach and to let out or tune Harpsichords and Spinets as usual.**

An invoice dating from twenty years after Chilcot's death shows that his successor, Joseph Tylee, also traded in instruments; in this case, of course, pianos.[19] Tylee was Chilcot's successor at

the Abbey; perhaps his music business took over from that of Chilcot, too.

In addition to his secular work, Chilcot naturally continued to fulfil all his Abbey duties during the last two decades of his life. Probably the best attended and publicised event during these years was the lavish funeral of the 87-year-old 'Beau' Nash in 1762, when the former leader of Bath society was carried to the Abbey to the strains of the Dead March from *Saul*.

An anonymous poem, curiously enough emanating from 'Tiverton, Dec 27 1762' says of the Bath Abbey music that 'the Organ breathes seraphic Lays'.[20]

On 6 August 1764, *Boddely's Bath Journal* again carried a tribute to Chilcot's playing:[21]

> **When C____t sits in Paul's great Choir,**
> **And when his Fingers strike the Lyre,**
> **What glorious and seraphic sound**
> **In Flute and Cornet there are found.**

The use of the curious word 'seraphic' to describe the organ's sound in both of these poems suggests that if the authors were not identical, then at least the second author had read the first one's poem.

The concertos

During these last twenty years Chilcot published his most substantial works: twelve harpsichord concertos. These works are powerfully individual and contain many remarkable features which will be discussed in more detail in chapters 7 and 8.

The first set, containing six concertos dedicated to Lady Elizabeth Bathurst, the daughter-in-law of the first Earl Bathurst, was published by John Johnson in 1756. The 101 subscribers, listed in chapter 9, included a number of well-known composers such as Avison (Chilcot in turn subscribed to most of Avison's works), Boyce, Greene, Giordani, Linley and Stanley; numerous organists (mostly from Bristol and the West Country -- none from London), music societies, publishers and instrument makers.

The second set of six concertos, dedicated to the Countess of Ancram, was published privately by subscription. Various difficulties delayed the eventual publication until after Chilcot's death in 1766.

Chilcot's personal library

Amongst the items in Chilcot's personal library (which will be discussed below) were a number of manuscripts bearing his book plate. These include three volumes of Chandos Anthems and Handel's opera *Amadis*, both in the hand of J.C. Smith, now housed at the Bodleian Library, Oxford,[22] and a manuscript copy of Handel's *Deborah* now housed at the British Library.[23]

Despite the assertion that Chilcot took 'the unusual step ... to acquire a coat of arms ... in or about 1757',[24] the arms depicted on the bookplate (which is reproduced as plate 4) were in fact those listed in the Herald's Visitation of Middlesex in 1634 in connection with the Comyn *alias* Chilcot family of Isleworth, and were used by Thomas without authority.[25] The blazon at the College of Arms reads: Or on a pile between two lions rampant Gules three garbs Or. with a crest: On a mount Vert two garbs in Saltire Or. In addition, a supplementary charge, known as an Escutcheon of Pretence, depicting arms from his wife's family, is shown on the bookplate. These arms are in fact those of Anne's maternal grandfather, Roger Pyne, which depict: Gules a chevron Ermine between three pineapples.

Thomas Chilcot's library of music and books was very extensive. The auction of this library

Plate 6

Thomas Chilcot's bookplate

after his death, described later in this chapter, took a full day. Chilcot obvious suffered in this connection a problem not unknown in our day, too, for the advertisement for the auction, quoted in full below, asked that those people 'having borrowed Books of Mr. Chilcot' should return them 'that the Setts may be compleated'.

Apart from the four volumes of Handel manuscripts containing Chilcot's armorial bookplate (discussed above), our only indication of the content of Chilcot's library is given by the books in which Chilcot's name appears as a subscriber. With the exception of Griffith Hughes's *Natural History of Barbados* of 1750, all the books which the present author has been able to trace are musical. A list is given in Appendix 1. It will be seen that Chilcot subscribed to very little keyboard music (although it should be remembered that relatively little keyboard music was issued by subscription). He subscribed to many volumes of instrumental concertos and other chamber music, four volumes of songs and several vocal works. Unfortunately, we can conclude very little from this about what must have been an exceptionally large and fine musical library. Should the catalogue of the Chilcot auction ever be found it will certainly contain much of interest; until then we can only speculate about its contents.

Chilcot's death

Pope's Bath Chronicle of Thursday 27 November 1766 included amongst the Bath announcements, 'Monday last died, Mr. Chilcot, organist in this city'. This curiously brief and bald announcement, sandwiched into the page alongside a rather longer item relating that 'Mrs Plunkett, so eminently distinguished ... has taken a House' in Bath, was the only public notice of the event. It is also the only documentary evidence fixing the date of Chilcot's death as Monday 24 November 1766.

The cause of his death is unknown: the only information we have is the note at the foot of the subscription list to his 1766 concertos, apologising for any omissions 'as Mr. CHILCOTT's Death was so sudden'.

Chilcot's will was drawn up just twenty days before his death. His executor, residual legatee and personal solicitor was his long-standing friend William Yescombe. Yescombe inserted the following announcement at the top of the front page of *Pope's Bath Chronicle* of 11 December:[26]

ALL Persons that have any De-
mands upon the Estate and Effects of Mr.

THOMAS CHILCOT, late of the City of Bath, Organist, deceased, are desired to send an Account thereof to his Executor, Mr. WILLIAM YESCOMBE, of Bath aforesaid. - And all Persons that are in any Ways indebted to the Estate of the said Mr. Chilcot, are desired to pay the same immediately to the said Mr. YESCOMBE, or they will be sued without further Notice.

The will (reproduced in Appendix 2) reveals a great deal about Chilcot. Firstly, very detailed instructions are given for the funeral: the composer wished 'to be buried in a Winding Sheet in a Leaden Coffin to be carried in a hearse and Six Horses to Tawstock attended by our Mourning Coach and which Hearse ... should be dressed with black feathers'. Even at his funeral, the precise Thomas Chilcot is concerned with his image. He gives a variety of small bequests to be distributed during the procession, ensuring not only further attention for the procession but also that his name should be associated with it. The Minister at Tawstock is paid to 'preach a Sermon on Whit Monday in every year for ever on that Day in Memory of me and my dear Wife', the Sexton is left a bequest to ensure that he dusts the Chilcot memorial, and other bequests provide for a public distribution of bread and for the education of poor children. Chilcot was determined that he should not be forgotten or ignored.

The bequests can be summarised as follows:

1s each to 40 poor people during the procession	£2
To the poor of Tawstock	£2 10s
To purchase an estate to provide £5 a year income for permanent bequests to Tawstock	
To purchase estates to provide: (a) £6 a year to his sister (b) a further sum to be divided equally amongst his three surviving children.	

It is difficult to assess from this the precise value of Chilcot's estate; probably the composer himself did not know either. But assuming an annual return of 5% on investments and assuming that Chilcot would want to leave to each of his children at least as much as he left to his sister, the provisions in the will would require an estate of at least £600, in addition to the funeral expenses and legal costs.

It is apparent that Anne, Thomas's second wife, was a very wealthy lady. She came from a wealthy family, and in her will (reproduced in Appendix 3) she left specific bequests of £200, half of which was to pay for the Chilcot memorial at Tawstock, and £20 of which was to her maid. The residue after this £200, presumably a substantial sum, she left to Thomas. It can safely be assumed that this was the source of a significant portion of Thomas's wealth.

Yescombe lost no time in obeying Chilcot's instruction to realise the value of the estate, for he inserted the following advertisement into *Boddely's Bath Journal* of Monday 5 January 1767:

To be Sold by Hand,
This present MONDAY, and following Days,
THE neat Household Furniture,
Plate, China, Linen, Collection of Pictures, Prints, and Library of Books, of Mr.
CHILCOT, organist of this City, deceased, at his late Dwelling-House in Wood-Street, near Queen-Square.
The Doors will be opened for Sale each Day at ELEVEN o'Clock.
N.B. On Account of the great Number of Lots, the Household Goods, Pictures and Prints, will be sold Monday and Tuesday the 5th and 6th; the Plate, China, and Linen, on Wednesday the 7th, and the Library of Books on Thursday the 8th.
Any Person having borrowed Books of Mr. Chilcot, are desired to return them previous to the Sale, that the Setts may be compleated.

Here we may again see some indication of the extent of Thomas's estate: the 'great number of lots' necessitated spreading the sale over three days, including one day for the books alone. It is apparent from this that the list of books purchased by subscription (Appendix 1) and the various Handel manuscripts he is known to have owned (see above) can only have represented a tiny part of his library.

A little over seven years after the auction of Chilcot's goods, his friend and solicitor William Yescombe died. His death was announced in *The Bath Chronicle*:[27] 'Friday last died in London, Mr. William Yescombe, attorney at law, of this city'. An announcement dated 6 April 1774 advertised:[28]

> To be SOLD by Auction, by Wm. CROSS, on Tuesday the 12th of April Instant, and the following days.
>
> All the HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE, PLATE, LINEN, CHINA, BOOKS, &c. of Mr. YESCOMBE, Attorney, deceased, at his late Dwelling house in Monmouth-street; - consisting of ... a quantity of fine music of the late Mr. Chilcot's; ...
>
> Catalogues to be had of W. Cross, Upholder and Undertaker, Milsom-street, and at the place of sale

It is not clear whether the music consisted of music books which had once been owned by Thomas Chilcot, or copies or manuscripts of his compositions. In the latter event, this is the last reference to give any clue to the fate of Thomas Chilcot's missing compositions. No copy of the auction catalogue has yet come to light, nor can the purchasers be traced.

As described above, the bequests in Chilcot's will included the sum of five pounds given to the Churchwardens of the Parish of Tawstock to provide a number of services to the community in memory of himself and his late wife – preaching

an annual sermon, cleaning the Chilcot monument, strewing flowers on Chilcot's grave, giving bread to the poor, and paying a schoolmaster to teach boys to read and write. The surviving records of the Parish of Tawstock include churchwardens' accounts, poor lands accounts, overseers' pay books and vestry minutes,[29] but none of these documents refer to the bequest, nor to any services financed by it.

However, a resolution passed by the vestry a few years later can perhaps be attributed to Chilcot's bequest:

> Jan^{r}y the 20th 1782
> At a vestry held on this Day it is agreed upon by the Minister Churchwardens overseers of the poor and other the principle inhabitants of Tawstock
> That a school for teaching poor children to write and learn Arithmetic be erected in Collibeer and to give the Master thereof the sum of six Guineas a year and a House to teach sixteen children to Read Write and learn the Arithmetical and also a set two Guineas a year to a schoolmistress to teach ten poor Children to read to be set up at Week, ~~and the parish to find a house~~ [deleted]

Although Chilcot's name is not mentioned -- a fact that would probably have caused him acute displeasure -- this project would seem to be a particularly apt memorial to the former charity boy.

The Bath City Council Minutes for 24 February 1767 record:[30] 'Mr Joseph Tylee appointed organist from 25th March next, in place of Mr Thos Chilcot decd. Same salary as mr Chilcot received'. This salary was first paid on 2 April of that year:

> Apr 2
> to Chilcots Exrs [executors] for a quarters
> Salary due Xmas last
> £9 8s
> to Joseph Tylee for do. due Lady day last
> £9 8s

Tylee's salary remained at the same level as that of his predecessor; what appears from the Chamberlain's Accounts to be an increase to £9 18s per quarter from June 1770 in fact merely reflects the amalgamation of the organist's and the organ blower's fees.[31]

Character

It is always very difficult to assess a man's character long after his death, even when his contemporaries left detailed descriptions of their opinions of him. In the case of Thomas Chilcot, it has not been possible to find any contemporary comment on his personality, nor any purely social reference to him whatsoever. Examinations of the surviving papers of most of the major West-

Country families of the time provide occasional references to the Chilcot family, but none to Thomas himself. Walter Long of Wraxhall, for instance -- a wealthy Bath resident with strong connections with the Linley family and a considerable interest in music -- must have often met Thomas Chilcot, but his personal account book,[32] which records not only his frequent concert attendances but also his expenses in entertaining friends, does not refer to Thomas. An expenditure of £11 15s 6d 'For brandy ... at Mr Chilcotts' is dated 29 September 1768 and so cannot relate to the composer, who had died nearly two years before that date. This Chilcot was probably the cordwainer or cobbler of that name from whom Long bought shoes on 26 July 1760.

One of the very few references to Chilcot outside the Abbey and the organ loft occurs in *The Life and extraordinary Adventures ... of Timothy Ginnadrake*, the gossipy and sometimes scurrilous anonymous memoirs of Francis Fleming, leader of the Pump Room band at Bath. This book, much of it an attack on Linley, was advertised as 'This day publish'd' in *the Bath Chronicle* on 30 April 1772.[33]

The lengthy subscription list for the publication includes Chilcot (who did not live to see the book in print), Yescombe, Tylee, the Wreys, Herschel, Linley, Orpin and Shaw. As noted

earlier in this chapter, Chilcot cooperated with Fleming on a variety of occasions, playing in a number of Fleming's concerts. This connection, it appears, dates back some years, for Chilcot is mentioned in *Timothy Ginnadrake* as a member of a band playing for a dance, and according to the author the book describes 'the frolicksome Sallies of his Juvenile Days'. In this incident, C___t [Chilcot; otherwise, Cornet] and Mr Sackbut, the landlord of the inn, are experiencing problems in the musicians' gallery, as a result of a humorous waiter tampering with their drinks:[34]

> Says E___, "George, I believe S___t and C___t have this flatulency too." ___Ay,' replied G-----, and more than that for they have left something behind them that affects my olifactory nerves, and which is diametrically opposite to an odoriferous scent'. He had no sooner finished this observation, than E___ and himself were seized in the same manner, and cried out that they were poisoned. As they were both crippled with the gout, they could not make so much expedition to the temple of Cloacina, as the exigency of their case required, and unfortunately were unable to save *their honour*; for in the hurry old G___'s foot slipping, E___ fell over him, and the suddenness of the fall occasioned an exoneration, the contents of which they would gladly have carried to the before-mentioned temple.
>
> TIM was now left playing by himself, and not a little pleased at the occasion. S___t and C___t soon returned, but were scarce seated in the gallery two minutes before exonoria called on them again, and they retreated with so much precipitation, that they tumbled over the two gouty sofias, and met with the same sudden accident by their fall.
>
> THE whole company by this time being sensible of the reason of Tim's playing alone, left off dancing for that night,

and this frolic of the waiter's afforded much mirth and laughter.

This inconvenient incident, in which we see Thomas in a completely different light, must have occurred (if at all) quite early in his career, and it is likely that marriage to his socially-distinguished second wife put a stop to such antics. In any event, eighteenth-century Bath was alive with scandal, which was enthusiastically recorded in the many diaries, memoirs, magazine articles and letters of its inhabitants. Amidst all this, no mention has come to light of Thomas Chilcot: his character is neither praised nor criticised.

Chilcot's social position was, of course, a difficult one. The ex-charity child, whose relatives such as the cobbler who supplied Walter Long (see above) were well known as workers and tradesmen in the City, had a lowly background of which no-one could have been unaware. Musicians at that time were often regarded by the wealthy and titled simply as tradesmen who came periodically to teach their daughters. Yet Thomas Chilcot was clearly very concerned to promote for himself a completely different image. He adopted and used a coat of arms, thus laying claim to a high social status. Unlike his fellow musicians, he did not supplement his income by giving benefit concerts. His funeral preparations, described above, suggested that Chilcot regarded the event

almost as a state occasion, like the funeral of 'Beau' Nash just four years earlier.

But Chilcot was not entitled to the coat of arms which he used. Like many anxious and embittered people, striving for a higher status or 'better' image, Chilcot may well have isolated himself from Bath society. This would explain why he was not mentioned in contemporary diaries and why news of his death and funeral was not fully reported in the newspapers. This would certainly be consistent with the carefully-planned pomp and show of Chilcot's funeral and bequests.

A further clue to Thomas's state of mind is given in his will, where, discussing the elaborate funeral arrangements, he directed that his hearse should be decorated 'in the same manner as my wife was [sic]'. The family background of Anne Chilcot, who was, as her obituary notice pointed out, 'descended from the antient and honourable Family of the Bourchier's, and Wrey's in Devon', was markedly different from that of her husband. She would certainly have encouraged him to live according to the constraints of her particular class of society, and as her fortune was greater than that of her husband she had the means to ensure that he did so. Even in her will she directs how her husband should use the money which he inherited from her ('and my Will and Desire further is that my said Husband do not ...').

This social ambiguity, coupled with a reticence perhaps caused by Thomas spending his formative years as an apprentice within the Abbey walls while his contemporaries were experiencing a rather different lifestyle in the manufacturing districts of the City, and further heightened perhaps by unpopularity, can probably be held responsible for the fact that Thomas Chilcot remained largely divorced from the extensive social life of Bath.

Some eleven weeks after Chilcot's death, the following glowing tribute to the organist appeared in *The Bath Journal*:[35]

> In Music's World a *Chilcot* late did reign,
> Sole Prince of Organs, King of ev'ry Strain;
> Whose skill majestic! and, whose Notes divine!
> None e'er could equal, e'er like him could shine;
> Bath born to imitate from his high Race,
> A *Tylee* as an Heir supplies his Place;
> Like him, the Coros, like him, the Trumpet sound,
> Now Echos please, then thorough Bass resound.
> One time a *Linley*, then an *Orpen* plays,
> Each shines in his own Sphere with diff'rent Rays,
> Each merits Praise, each has his pleasing Key,
> Tho' Tylee is the Heir, not less are they.

Posthumous reputation

In the years which followed, Chilcot, like many of his contemporaries, was more or less forgotten. Admittedly, many copies of his works had been sold, and these continued to be

circulated for some years. The auction of the 'Truly Valuable and Curious LIBRARY OF MUSIC, Late in the Possession of DR: WILLIAM BOYCE'[36] on 14 April 1779 contained 'Chilcot's and Burgess's six Concertos, wants the Harpsichord Part'.[37] As discussed in Chapter 4 (p.66), Thomas Chilcot was mentioned in newspaper articles in 1772 and 1798 in connection with teaching Linley. His own attributes as composer and performer were not mentioned again until 1903, when William Tyte described him as 'not only a distinguished performer, but a composer of repute as well'.[38] The publication of Benjamin Maslen's article (see bibliography) and the general revival of interest in British music of the eighteenth century during the last fifty years has led to a re-examination of this composer's output but not so far to many performances of his works.

[1] References to Chilcot in the Bath Rate Books etc. are dealt with elsewhere. At the Bath Quarter Sessions on 17 April 1740, 'Mr Chilcot' (who may or may not have been the composer) was sworn a member of 'Grand Jury' (Bath Quarter Sessions Book; Bath City Record Office, no catalogue number allocated).

[2] Chamberlain's Accounts 1725-1772, p.118 (Bath Reference Library).

[3] Freemen's Roll, book 276 (1712-1775). Bath City Record Office, Freeman's Collection, item 120.

[4] *Bath Journal*, 9 November 1747.

[5] *Bath Journal*, Monday 23 October 1749.

[6] See discussion in Chapter 8.

[7] *Bath Journal*, 6 November 1749.

[8] *Bath Journal*, 7 May 1753.

[9] *Bath Journal*, 28 April 1755.

[10] *Bath Journal*, 10 April 1758.

[11] See previous note.

[12] *Bath Journal*, 14 May 1759.

[13] Research notes prepared by Lady Jeans for her planned book on Herschel.

[14] *Bath Journal*, 19 April 1764.

[15] See previous note.

[16] *Bath Journal*, 28 April 1755.

[17] *Bath Journal*, 20 December 1762.

[18] Maslen, 'Thomas Chilcot', p.295.

[19] I am indebted to Mr David Falconer of Bath Abbey for supplying me with a copy of this invoice.

[20] *Bath Journal*, 3 January 1763.

[21] Also cited by Benjamin Maslen; see note 18.

[22] respectively Tenbury MSS 881-3 and 884.

[23] British Library Add MS 34,006.

[24] Gwilym Beechey, 'Thomas Chilcot and his Music', p.184.

[25] Information in a private letter from Windsor Herald at the College of Arms.

[26] Repeated in *Pope's Bath Chronicle* on 18th and 25th December 1766 and 5th January 1767.

[27] *Bath Chronicle,* Thursday 31 March 1774.

[28] *Bath Chronicle,* 7 April 1774. I am grateful to Mr Ken James for drawing this notice to my attention.

[29] Devon Record Office, Exeter, MSS 2288A / PW1V, PW4V, PO3V and PV2B respectively.

[30] City Council Minute Book, 24 February 1767; Bath City Record Office (no catalogue number allocated).

[31] Joseph Tylee was born in 1737. He, like Chilcot, lived in the Parish of Walcot, where he paid rates from January 1754 onwards. His connections with the Charity School and Henry Dixon in particular date from 1760, when the School's Minute Book (Bath City Record Office, ref. Acc. 103) records for 5 December:

> Order'd that Mr Jos Tylee continue in the Apartment Mr Dixon died in 'till the Trustees consider further of it; And that he deliver up to Mr Bally every Room that belongs to him.

On 2 January 1761:

> Order'd that Mr Tylee continue in the Aparm^{t} that Mr Dixon died in upon condition that he keeps good hours and that he deliver up Mr Bally's rooms by this day sen'night.

On 6 February 1761:

> Order'd that Ann Upham be bound Apprent^{e} to Ann Dike, Peter Evans to Mr Tylee ...

On 4 December 1761:

> Order'd that Mr Tylee have leave to make a Way out of Mrs Shugar's stair case into the Room over the Brew House; and That he be allow'd a Guinea towards the Expence of it.

On 21 May 1761 Tylee was married at Bath Abbey to Mary Whittaker of the Parish of St James. They had four children, the first of whom was named Henry Dixon Tylee. In 1761, Joseph Tylee was appointed Thomas Chilcot's Deputy at the Abbey, and on 24 February 1767 he took over as Organist there. He was among the subscribers to Chilcot's second set of concertos, where he was described as 'organist, in Bath'. In addition to his duties at the Abbey, Tylee ran a musical instrument shop near the Pump Room from about 1770. His connections with the Chilcot family continued after Thomas's death, for on 24 March 1776 Tylee was one of two witnesses to the marriage at Bath Abbey of John Chilcot (probably the nephew whom Thomas mentioned in his will) and Ann Fonteneau of the Parish of St Michael, Bath (see plate 4).

Joseph was not the only member of the Tylee family in Bath: a James Tylee advertised in *The Bath Journal* on 13 December 1762 'THAT having lately enter'd into Business, will carry on the Trade of a SHOE-MAKER in all its Branches, at his Shop over the Bridge, Bath (opposite the Pack-horse)'.

The anonymous author of *Bath Anecdotes and Characters* (London, 1782) described hearing the Bath Abbey organ during Tylee's period as organist: 'The organ was sounding a part of a chorus in Judas Maccabeus: my soul was wrapt in meditation, and I entered my pew with devotion'.

Joseph Tylee died on 20 December 1794 and was buried at the Abbey, where can be found a memorial to him in the North Aisle, near the gates to the organ loft.

It was Tylee's successor, Thomas Field, who for the first time established a regular choir at the Abbey, a tradition which, despite various vicissitudes, has remained unbroken to the present day.

The author is indebted to Mr David Falconer for access to his notes for a planned history of the choirs and music of Bath Abbey.

[32] Deposited at the Wiltshire Record Office, document 947.632.

[33] page 3 column 1. 'This day published' does not necessarily mean exactly what it says: this was a common formula in newspaper advertisements and frequently ran unaltered for many weeks.

[34] Fleming, *Timothy Ginnadrake*, pp. 80-81.

[35] *Bath Journal*, 9 February 1767.

[36] see bibliography under *A Catalogue ...*

[37] Lot 72, page 8.

[38] *Bath in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 101 (see Chapter 4 p.65).

Chapter Six
The Keyboard Concerto

So little scholarly attention has hitherto been given to the eighteenth-century English keyboard concerto that in order to establish the significance of Thomas Chilcot's two sets of harpsichord concertos (see chapters 7 and 8) it is necessary to make a brief survey of the purpose, extent and nature of this *genre*.

According to Charles Burney, it was during the performances of the oratorios *Esther* and *Deborah* at the Haymarket Theatre in 1733 that 'Handel first gratified the public by the performance of CONCERTOS ON THE ORGAN, a species of Music wholly of his own invention'.[1] So popular was Handel's first set of organ concertos, published in 1738, that two years later John Walsh issued a collection of keyboard arrangements of his op.6 'Grand Concertos'. Similar arrangements of concertos by Charles Avison and Johan Adolf Hasse were published in 1740 and 1741 respectively, and John Stanley followed suit in 1745.

Handel's practice of playing his concertos at oratorio performances in the theatres was emulated by 'little Harry Burgess at the

harpsichord in Drury-Lane, where, for second-music, he often played concertos, generally of his own, as clean and unmeaning as if set on a barrel';[2] six of his concertos were published in about 1740.

Oratorio performances outside London frequently featured concertos between the acts. During performances of Handel's *Messiah* (both before and after the composer's death) numerous examples are documented. In a Bristol performance of the work on 31 March 1744, for instance, 'Master Charles Wesley performed a concerto on the organ',[3] and again, at the opening of the new music room there fourteen years later an organ concerto was played during the work by the local organist, Broderip.[4] As noted above,[5] Thomas Chilcot played organ concertos during performances of Handel's *Judas Maccabeus* and other works during the 1750s. Among several other examples in Bath was a performance by Thomas Orpin of the 'fourth of Handel's concertos' during a performance of *Messiah* at the opening of the organ at St James' Church on 1 May 1782.[6]

The popularity of keyboard concertos rapidly spread to the pleasure gardens. Thomas Gladwin, organist at Vauxhall, had evidently composed at least one organ concerto by 1742, when *The Gentleman's Magazine* published his 'GREEN-WOOD-HALL: *or* Colin's *description (to his Wife) of the Pleasures* of SPRING GARDENS. *Made to a*

favourite Gavot *from an* Organ-Concerto *compos'd for* Vauxhall'.[7] Gladwin's successor at Vauxhall was James Worgan, who in turn was succeeded by his brother John. John Worgan, 'a learned fughist on the organ, and, as a concerto player, a rival of Stanley', is said to have 'composed innumerable songs and concertos for Vauxhall'.[8] Only one of his concertos survives intact; this was published privately in 1785, near the end of his life. Other gardens where keyboard concertos could be heard included Ranelagh, Cuper's Gardens (where Burgess was playing in 1741) and Lord Cobham's Head. Most prolific of the pleasure-garden composers was James Hook, who played a concerto on the organ almost every night while he was organist at Vauxhall; some twenty-two published concertos by him survive, as well as a further one in manuscript in the Library of Congress.[9]

The anonymous author of *An enquiry into the melancholy circumstances of Great Britain* complained further that 'The love of Musick is now descended from the Opera-house in the *Hay-Market* to the little Publick Houses about this Metropolis, and common Servants may be now met with, who pretend as much Judgement of an Opera Tune as my Lady Dutchess'.[10] Organs were certainly a feature of many London taverns and concerto performances are recorded there. An advertisement in 1750 mentions that 'For the

Benefit of | Sig. SANGUINETTE and Sig: SIPRUTTINI | At the King's Arms Tavern (late the Swan) in Cornhill, this Day, | February 26, will be a concert of Vocal and Instrumental | MUSICK | ... including an Organ Concerto by MR. BURNEY'.[11]

Later in the century provincial music festivals frequently included concertos. For instance, several examples are recorded in Salisbury, including a Handel organ concerto played by Mr Broderip of Bristol in 1756, an organ concerto played by John Stanley in 1770, and a pianoforte concerto promised by 'Master Cramner' [sic] in 1784.[12]

The largest platform for keyboard concertos was provided by the music societies that were to be found in almost every town and large village in the country. Their membership was largely drawn from the local gentry and tradesmen, musical amateurs who were more at home with the relatively simple style of Handel than with virtuoso *galant* music. A useful -- but far from complete -- guide to their interest in concertos are the subscription lists found in many of the earlier publications. The earliest keyboard concerto subscription list is in Henry Burgess's *Six Concertos* of *c.* 1740, to which the music society at Oxford was the only such subscriber. The same society also subscribed for two copies of both sets of

Chilcot's concertos and Felton's op.7, and apparently owned copies of keyboard concertos by Ciampi, Handel, Sammartini, Mudge, Richter and Stanley.[13] Other societies found in the lists include Stourbridge (Chilcot op.1), Maidstone (Chilcot op.2), 'The Musical Society at the old Coffee-House, Manchester' (Felton op.7), the St Cecilia Society at Lichfield (Felton op.7 and Hayes *Six Concertos*), Ely, Haverfordwest, and Thame in Oxfordshire (Hayes), Ashby-de-la-Zouch and both 'senior' and 'junior' societies at Nottingham (Wise *Six Concertos*). The extensive library of the Aberdeen Music Society included copies of Felton's and Handel's organ concertos.[14] A benefit concerto for James Hook given in Norwich (presumably with the musical society there) in 1757 included 'harpsichord concertos' by Handel and Ciampi.[15]

Keyboard concertos were even occasionally performed at masonic lodge meetings.[16] As discussed in Chapter 3, many musicians, including Thomas Chilcot, were attracted to freemasonry, and the masonic lodges in turn encouraged music making. Most of the major music publishers were also freemasons. Keyboard concerto composers other than Chilcot who were freemasons included Samuel Arnold, Benjamin Cooke and Thomas Saunders Dupuis.[17]

The soloist's part in published keyboard concertos invariably included not only figured bass (during the *tuttis*, indicating that the soloist was expected to act as a continuo part) but also a complete keyboard reduction of the orchestral part, to allow the whole concerto -- solo and *tutti* sections alike -- to be performed by a single player. As late as the last decade of the century, the third movement of J.C. Beckwith's *Favourite Concerto for the Organ, Harpsichord or Piano Forte* gives extensive directions about how to play the piece on the organ alone. Many country houses contained chamber organs of one or two manuals, no pedals, and rarely more than half-a-dozen stops, and such instruments are ideally suited to performances of this type.

Most concertos were published, in accordance with the custom of the time, as suitable for organ or harpsichord (with the piano added as a third performing option from about 1770 onwards and displacing the harpsichord by the 1790s). But in the majority of cases -- unlike some of the solo repertoire which was genuinely playable on organ or harpsichord -- these options were offered not as practicable alternatives but merely as a selling point. Felton and Edwards both let their true intentions slip out by printing 'Org:Solo' and 'Senza Org' within movements, and indeed many of their works are ineffective on the harpsichord. In the case of Philip Hayes's *Six Concertos* of 1769

(the earliest to list the piano as a performing option), concertos 2, 5 and 6 are clearly intended for the organ, with registration directions, such as 'Hautboy stop in the swelling Organ' and 'Stopt Diapason Bass' in concerto 2; while the remaining three concertos, in which the solo instrument is referred to as 'Cembalo', are clearly intended for the harpsichord. The second concerto in Arne's set of six, published posthumously in 1787, carries the direction 'NB. When this CONCERTO is performed on an Organ, the three following Solo Movements are intended to be played; but if a Harpsichord be the Instrument, may be left out, or only the last Allegro, in 3/8 played'.

The success of John Stanley's ten organ voluntaries, published in 1748, led not only to further publications of voluntaries by the same composer but also to hosts of published imitations in the same style. It is therefore surprising that of the 500 or so keyboard concertos published in Britain in the sixty years following Handel's concertos, few indeed directly imitated Handel's style.

The styles of the published concertos fall into three main groups, which for the purpose of this chapter may be labelled 'Handelian', Scarlattian' and 'Modern'. A fourth group is formed by those second- or third-rate composers whose basic musical grammar was 'Handelian' but who

attempted to be 'modern'. This group may be designated 'Mixed'.

The 'Handelian' group

The use of the term 'Handelian' to describe this group does not necessarily imply close affinity with Handel's style; rather that, like Handel, these composers were rooted in the eighteenth-century *lingua franca*. Within this group, the concertos of the Tyneside composer and theorist Charles Avison are very conservative in content,[18] and in most respects demonstrate the composer's admiration for, and complete dependence on, the works of Corelli, some of whose concertos also appear in organ arrangements by Obadiah Shuttleworth and others. But the thirty-two concertos for the organ or harpsichord by William Felton[19] -- easily the most prolific concerto composer to be considered here -- are musically far more satisfying. Op.1 no.1 is a crisp and thoroughly Handelian movement, spoilt only by its laboured ritornello form. The tutti's unison opening gesture -- reminiscent of the Vivaldi School -- occurs as a ritornello no less than eight times successively: in the tonic, dominant, tonic, subdominant, tonic minor, relative of tonic minor, tonic and tonic again. Some fourteen years and twice as many concertos later, Felton's melodic style had changed little, though his episodical figuration had become more protracted. Example

1 below is the opening of his op.7 no.2, published in the late 1750s. The similarity of style with that of Handel (for instance his op.4 no.6 of 1738 shown as example 2) and Thomas Edwards (his second concerto, of about 1760, shown as ex.3) can be seen clearly. Curiously, however, one of the few surviving eighteenth-century criticisms of Felton's works remarks that 'The airs of Felton are so uniformly mournful, that I cannot suppose him to have been a merry, or even a cheerful man'.[20]

Example 1
William Felton, Concerto op.7 no.2 (i); opening

Example 2
G.F. Handel, Concerto op.4 no.6 (i); opening

Example 3
[Thomas] Edwards, Concerto no.2 (ii); opening

The form of the later concertos is considerably tighter (though the works are much longer), and the central ritornelli select phrases from the opening *tutti* in the manner of Vivaldi rather than merely repeating the opening gesture as Felton had done earlier. Most of these concertos have three movements: a long ritornello movement and a lighter rondo-like finale framing a very short central slow movement in the tonic or relative minor. Some of Felton's last movements consist of sets of variations, including the celebrated variations on 'Felton's Gavotte' (later known as 'Farewell Manchester') which formed the last movement of op.1 no.3. This was a popular idea, especially later in the century, when Barber, Cogan, Dussek, Hook, Smethergell and others introduced popular tunes into the last movements of their concertos.

The 'Mixed' group

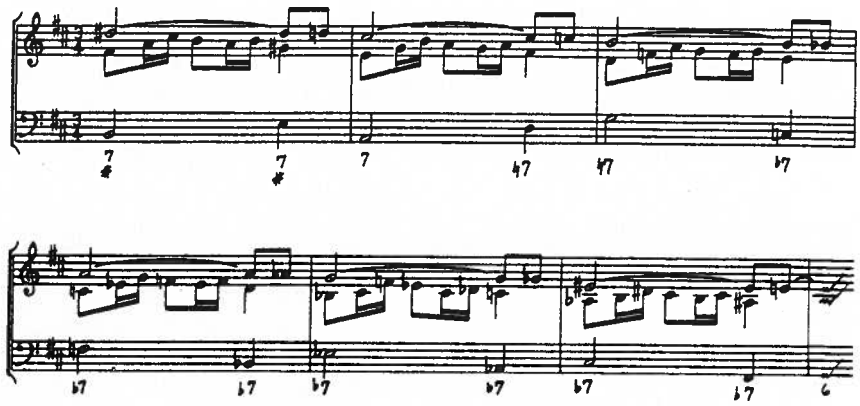
The six concertos of another South-of-England clergyman,[21] Thomas Edwards, are superficially similar but fall into the 'Mixed' category. Roughly contemporary with Felton's op.7, they too employ ritornello structures with Italianate themes (except for the first concerto of the set, which opens with a more conservative 'French overture style' introduction and fugue). The ritornelli vary between more sophisticated structures containing several contrasting ideas,

and simpler ones as in concerto 3, with only one or two ideas. The internal statements of the ritornelli use the opening theme (generally suppressed in the equivalent place in Venetian concertos) and sometimes the following theme too. In no instance is the whole of the ritornello reproduced before the closing *tutti*, nor does Edwards employ the conventional Italian technique of selecting for the internal ritornelli a number of ideas not necessarily consecutive in the initial statement. Furthermore, except in the first movement of concerto 5, all the internal ritornelli are identical -- an unusually unsophisticated arrangement even for an English composer. Edwards's modulations are wide-ranging, often favouring the mediant, but are transitory, and keys other than the dominant are not generally articulated.

The slow movements vary greatly, from the *stile antico* of concerto 1 to the expansive solo melody in concerto 5 and the remarkable tonal sliding in concerto 4 (ex.4 overleaf). Oddest of all is the Andante of concerto 2, with crashing nine-part chords, wild arpeggios and total disintegration of style.

The history of this particular publication is unclear. The volume was issued ambiguously under the name 'Mr Edwards', and the present author's ascription of the work to Thomas Edwards of Coventry (1729-1785) is based on

Example 4
[Thomas] Edwards, Concerto no. 4 (i); bars 17-22



circumstantial evidence too cumbersome to be considered here.[22] The printer, Isaac Tillman, is not known from any other publications, nor is his name traceable in any historical archives (unless he be the Isaac Tillman who was buried at St Vedast, Foster Lane, on 22 April 1751); the engraver too is hard to identify and, judging by his trail of errors, unpractised.

Handel's death left his contemporaries and successors not only without musical leadership but

also in considerable confusion of style. His influence was strong enough to ensure that techniques now regarded as 'Handelian' remained a natural part of composers' expression, despite their attempts to introduce novelties to update their style. These incongruities which so mar the works of the 'Mixed' group are to be found not only in the works of Thomas Edwards but also those of Samuel Wise and others. This 'Handelian' influence endured even into the following century, when Matthew Camidge acknowledged on the title page of his *Six Concertos* of about 1815 that he had 'Endeavoured to imitate the particular Style of Music which has been so long Admired namely that of HANDEL & CORELLI'.

The 'Scarlattian' group

The 'Scarlattian' group of keyboard concertos was less extensive than the 'Handelian' one. The largest group of works in this category is the twelve concertos of Thomas Chilcot, which are dealt with in detail in the two following chapters.

This group is characterised by advanced harpsichord technique, generally unplayable on the organ and beyond the abilities of the amateur gentleman or lady performer. As in the harpsichord works of Scarlatti, hand-crossing, arpeggios and rapid virtuoso figurations abound.

In form, too, the 'Scarlattian' concertos depart from tradition. Ritornello form was replaced in these works by a sophisticated binary form, Chilcot's use of which is described in Chapter 7.

These various features, all present in the concertos of Thomas Chilcot, were not extensively used. A number of composers, such as Herschel, Arne and Hayes, used advanced harpsichord technique and binary forms, but the 'Scarlattian' type of concerto, of which Chilcot's were undoubtedly the finest examples, was introduced too late into Britain to be fully developed. The popular 'Modern' style which we now term 'early-Classical' was to lead the concerto in quite another direction.

The 'Modern' group

A composer of the third, or 'modern' type who also used binary form for his concerto first movements was Philip Hayes. Of his six concertos, every first movement but one (concerto 3) is articulated by a central dominant cadence reinforced by a double bar. The first concerto also contains an extensive parallelism.[23] Hayes's style, however, eludes easy categorisation. The general impression is of a light but busy *galant* texture, in which the few powerful Italianate gestures are habitually bowdlerized by the addition of a fussy 'Alberti Bass' in the keyboard part. The solo part

mostly eschews the copious unthematic figuration of earlier composers in favour of a right-hand melody with neutral left-hand accompaniment. The orchestral role in the concertos is minimal, frequently no more than shadowing the conclusions of the soloist's phrases.

A fairly consistent three-part texture in Hayes's slow movements replaces the predominantly two-part texture of the outer movements. The two types of slow movements used in this set are the stylized dances found in concertos 4 and 6 (in addition to the lilting *Pastorale* in the third concerto) and the *affetuoso* movements, slowly paced and lightly flavoured with chromaticism, which are a feature of the remaining three concertos. Two of the latter are among the organ concertos and contain many graduated dynamics to be produced on the 'Swelling Organ', one of the earliest extensive uses of this device. Equally interesting is the remaining movement of this type (in concerto 1) which carries the direction 'senza cembalo'. Here the keyboard player was expected merely to fill in the figured bass. The *pastorale* gives no directions whatever about the use of solo and *tutti,* but the soloist is evidently expected to play -- perhaps in unison with the *tutti* -- for there is a written-out *ad libitum* bar as well as provision for a cadenza at the end. The remaining two movements (in concertos 4 and 5) are both triple-time dances, although only

one, a minuet, is actually named as such. Structurally, they are typical of their kind: short, well-balanced pieces moving entirely in four- and eight-bar phrases. Only the second maintains enough rhythmic vitality and harmonic interest to distinguish it from the dozens of stylized keyboard dance movements to be found in the plethora of anthologies issued around the middle of the century.

The subscription list to Hayes's concertos shows that it was a particularly popular publication. Not only do most of Hayes's Oxford colleagues and former London acquaintances appear (one of whom, the London organist Peter Valton, had moved five years earlier to South Carolina and collected subscriptions for the publication in Charleston[24]), together with many influential composers, publishers and music societies; but also many amateur musicians and organists of small country churches in the West Midlands.

If Hayes's concertos were the first in this country to nominate the fortepiano as a performing option they were not alone for long. Abel's six concertos of 1774 were next, together with Schroeter's op.3 of the same year. 1775 saw works by Stanley, Giordani, Sayer, Stamitz and Smethergell. Of these, the Stanley concertos, which are some of the finest works in the repertoire, were

conservative and obviously intended for organ,[25] while the most pianistic were the Smethergell pieces. Although Smethergell's six concertos of 1775 do not show the mastery or share the simple charm of his *Favorite Concerto* of ten years later, they do contain some expressive piano writing, including Smethergell's typical fluid right-hand phrases against a rocking left-hand accompaniment.

Like Chilcot and Hayes, Smethergell too used extended parallelisms in his first movements. Some fifty bars of concerto 6 are repeated at the end of the movement, while concerto 2 contains an interesting and unique arrangement in which the material of the first third of the movement is re-presented in reverse order during the last third. Unfortunately, in Smethergell's hands this technique has a serious drawback. The composer returns to the tonic at the start of the parallelism, thereby creating a vast tonal plateau and feeling of anti-climax during the closing stages of the movement. This problem is solved in the *Favorite Concerto* of 1785 by constructing the first movement as a clearly-defined *da capo* form in which the outer sections are structured to create their own internal tensions.

Smethergell was the first British keyboard-concerto composer to respond to the new demand for domestic keyboard music in a simple but

undeniably pianistic idiom; a demand which was created partly by the spread of the new 'square' piano, which supplanted the harpsichord, clavichord and spinet in the affections of the middle classes, and partly by the unprecedented numbers of itinerant keyboard virtuosi. By the 1790s such performers as J.V. Cramer and J.S. Dussek -- both of whom published piano concertos during that decade -- enjoyed the popular acclaim previously accorded in this country only to violinists and singers.

The demands of this new market produced two other results. The traditional three-movement (fast-slow-fast) plan lost favour and was replaced by a long first movement followed by a short (and frequently insipid) stylized dance or set of variations on some popular theme. Also, more and more publications offered themselves expressly to learners, for instance John Worgan's *New Concerto* of 1785 which was composed, according to its title page, 'Purposely for the Practice and Improvement of his Pupils, and others who are attaining a command of that Instru^{mt}'.

The 1790s saw the pianoforte take over as the main instrument for keyboard concertos. Nearly all the published output was by foreign composers, while native British talent declined and gradually fell dormant. Several composers -- Camidge, Crotch and the Wesleys, for instance --

continued to write in a consciously archaic idiom, but there was no-one to keep the concerto alive in Britain into the nineteenth century. Even the undeniable talent of John Field could not revitalise the British concerto tradition, which was to remain in the shadow of continental masters for many years.

[1] *An account of the musical performances*, p. 38. A list of British keyboard concertos composed before 1800 may be found in Timothy J. Rishton, 'The English Keyboard Concerto', p. 63-72.

[2] Charles Burney, *A general history of music*, p.1008 [of Dover edition: see Bibliography].

[3] John Latimer, *The annals of Bristol*, p.308.

[4] *ibid.*, p.407.

[5] p.82*ff*.

[6] Susi Jeans, 'Sir William Herschel, the musician', p.7.

[7] *The Gentleman's Magazine*, August 1742. The song was subsequently issued as a separate song sheet.

[8] Burney, *History*, p. 1009. Worgan's long and distinguished career started as a 12-year-old when he attracted much public sympathy by his unsuccessful application for the post of organist at Christchurch, Spitalfields, which was given to Peter Prelleur. A less polite account of his activities is given in *ABC Dario Musico*, pp.49-50.

[9] This manuscript was formerly owned by William H. Cummings.

[10] Anon, *An enquiry* ... (undated), p.34.

[11] *The General Advertiser*, 26 February 1750.

[12] Douglas Reid, 'Some Festival Programmes ... 1'. Other articles in the same series list many more such performances in other parts of the country.

[13] Mee, *The oldest music room in Europe*, pp.54-59.

[14] Johnson, 'An Eighteenth-century Scottish Music Library', pp.90-95.

[15] Fawcett, *Music in ... Norwich*, pp. 45-46.

[16] Morehen, 'Masonic Instrumental Music', pp. 216-17.

[17] Arnold, Cooke and Dupuis are all listed in Oxford, *No.4*, pp. 267, 271 and 270 respectively.

[18] The various concertos mentioned here are described in more detail in the present author's 'The English Keyboard Concerto 1755-1790'.

[19] opp. 1,2,4,5 and 7, published between about 1745 and 1760.

[20] Beattie, *Essays*, p.179.

[21] William Felton was a Minor Canon at Hereford Cathedral.

[22] See Rishton, 'The English Keyboard Concerto 1755-1790', pp. 12-14.

[23] The term 'parallelism' refers to a section of the first half of a binary structure which is repeated for structural purposes at the equivalent point in the second half.

[24] Seemingly the only account of Valton is Williams, 'Eighteenth-Century organists of St. Michael's, Charleston'.

[25] These are discussed at length in A. Glyn Williams, 'The Concertos of John Stanley'.

Chapter Seven
The 1756 Concertos

Introduction

The Bath Journal for Monday the First of April 1754 carried the following announcement:[1]

BATH, March, 1754
PROPOSALS *for* Printing *by* SUBSCRIPTION,
Six CONCERTOS, for the Harpsichord,
ACCOMPANY'D WITH
Four VIOLINS, an ALTO VIOLA, VIOLONCELLO, and
BASSO RIPIENO.
Compos'd by THOMAS CHILCOT,
ORGANIST of BATH.
CONDITIONS.
THEY are to be neatly Engrav'd, and deliver'd to the Subscribers by *Midsummer* next.
THE Price to Subscribers will be ONE GUINEA for each Set, Compleat, to be paid at the Time of Subscribing.
THE Names of the Subscribers will be Printed.
SUBSCRIPTIONS
Are taken in by Mr. John Johnson, opposite Bow-Church, in Cheap-Side, London; Mr. Cross, Musick-seller, in Oxford; Mr. Wynne, Musick seller, in Cambridge; Mr. Holloway, and Mr. Grenville, Booksellers, in Winchester; Mr. Cadell, Bookseller, in Bristol; Mr. Raikes, in Gloucester; Mr. Goadby, in Sherbourne; Mr. Leake, Bookseller, and by the Author, at his House near *Queen-Square*, BATH.
The Design of these CONCERTOS has had the APPRO-BATION of several EMINENT MASTERS.

Chilcot had used fellow-freemason John Johnson as his publisher for *Twelve English Songs* a decade earlier. Johnson's excellent marketing,

combined with the young Chilcot's growing reputation, had attracted no less than 278 subscribers for the *English Songs*, buying between them a total of 346 copies. Chilcot evidently hoped this would be repeated. Despite 'the approbation of several eminent masters', however, only 101 names eventually appeared in the list of subscribers; far fewer than were attracted to Philip Hayes's *Six Concertos* which were published thirteen years later. Like the Hayes concertos, Chilcot's publication was delayed: those subscribers who hoped to receive their copies 'by *Midsummer*' 1755 had to wait well into the following year. John Johnson, one of the most formidably business-like of London's mid-eighteenth-century publishers, was not likely to have caused the delay, which can probably be attributed either to the slow receipt of subscriptions or to Chilcot's failure to complete the compositions in time. In any event, John Johnson did not publish Chilcot's next set of concertos, although they were privately engraved and printed at Johnson's workshop. If Johnson declined to publish the later set because of Chilcot's unreliability his fears were justified, for its eventual publication was delayed even longer (see Chapter 8).

It is interesting to speculate on the identity of the 'several eminent masters' whose approbation Chilcot claimed. Handel, the 'most excellent

Master' to whom Chilcot was clearly referring in the preface to his 1765 concertos,[2] had subscribed to Chilcot's *Six Suites of Lessons* in 1734, but did not subscribe to the 1756 concertos. It may be argued that Handel's failing sight in 1752, which led to its loss by early 1753, would have made it unlikely that Handel would be subscribing to new publications during 1754, but the composer did in fact subscribe to *The Works of Aaron Hill* and to Richard Rolt's *Memoirs of the Life of ... John Liniesay* in 1753 and to Elizabeth Turner's *Collection of Songs with Symphonies and a thorough bass* in 1756 and John Bennett's *Ten Voluntaries for the Organ or Harpsichord* in 1758. A number of eminent composers did subscribe to the concertos, including Charles Avison, William Boyce, Francis Fleming, Maurice Greene, Tommaso Giordani, Thomas Linley and John Stanley.

Charles Avison, the conservative music critic, author and composer from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, had himself published a number of keyboard concertos, most of which were arrangements of other works. Chilcot in turn subscribed to Avison's *Six Concertos* of 1740, *Two Concertos* of 1742, *Twelve Concertos* of 1744, *Eight Concertos* of 1755 and *Twelve Concertos* of 1766.

William Boyce and Maurice Greene, two of the most distinguished native British composers of the period, both composed church and organ

music which would have been familiar to Chilcot, but no keyboard concertos survive by either of them. Both composers had substantial private libraries of music: Chilcot's 1756 concertos was the last publication to which Maurice Greene subscribed, while William Boyce, who subscribed to four separate items which were published in 1756, appears to have owned copies of nearly every set of British concertos to be published in the second.third of the eighteenth century.[3]

Two members of the Broderip family were subscribers, one of whom, Robert Broderip, issued 'A Favorite Concerto for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte' in about 1785. Another composer of keyboard concertos who subscribed was Thomas Orpin, whose 'Concerto per il Cembalo' survives in manuscript.[4] He is described in Chilcot's list as 'Organist of Taunton', but in the subscription list to Chilcot's *Twelve English Songs* and to the 1765 concertos he was described as 'of Bradford'. He later moved to Bath to succeed Herschel as organist of the Octagon Chapel.

Giordani published six concertos for the piano forte or harpsichord (op.14) in about 1775, a second set of six (op.23) in 1779 and a further three (op.33) in about 1785, while John Stanley published in 1755 what may be regarded as the finest set of British keyboard concertos to be issued during the eighteenth century, following the

success of his keyboard arrangements of earlier concertos, issued about twenty years earlier. Chilcot's pupil Linley does not appear to have composed any keyboard concertos at all. Any of the above may be regarded as 'eminent masters' who gave their support to the publication.

Other musicians who subscribed included the harpsichord makers Mahoon and Shudi, the West-Country organ builder Brice Seed[5] and the musical societies of Oxford (which took two copies) and Stourbridge.

Numerous members of the nobility subscribed, including Earl Brooke, Henry Bathurst (younger brother-in-law of the dedicatee, and subsequently Lord Chancellor) Lady Elizabeth Bathurst (the dedicatee), Dr Barnard (the Bishop of Derry), the Marquis of Carnarvon (i.e. James Brydges (1732-1789), the eldest son of the Duke of Chandos, whom he succeeded in 1771[6]), Lady Chesterfield, Lord Dupplin, Lord Fortescue, the Earl of Northampton, Lady Diana Spencer and Anne Chilcot's cousin Sir Bourchier Wrey (1714-1784) and Lady Wrey.

Chilcot's particularly servile dedication of the work to Lady Elizabeth Bathurst (who was daughter-in-law of Allen, the first Earl Bathurst) suggests that not only was he closely acquainted with her (he speaks of 'the many obligations ... to

Your Ladyship') but that he may well have often ridden the twenty-eight miles up the Fosse Way to Cirencester Park to teach her. If so he had found himself both a useful and a musical family of patrons.

Keyboard style

The publication is entitled *Six Concertos For the Harpsichord ...*, a designation which was at the time unique. Of over 500 keyboard concertos published in Britain during the eighteenth century the vast majority, as we have seen, are styled as suitable for performance on the organ or harpsichord, with the piano forte listed as an additional option from 1769 and taking over as primary or sole performing medium towards the end of the century. Apart from Thomas Chilcot's two sets of concertos, the only publication entitled 'concertos for the harpsichord' (effectively ruling out the organ as a performing medium) was Felice Alessandri's *Six Concertos* of 1769. Even Vincenzo Ciampi's op.6 concertos published by Walsh in 1756, which are clearly harpsichord works, claim to be 'for the organ or harpsichord'.

Clearly, publishers encouraged composers to be flexible in giving titles to their works in order to ensure the widest possible market. But equally clearly, not even the unscrupulous John Walsh and certainly not John Johnson could have given these

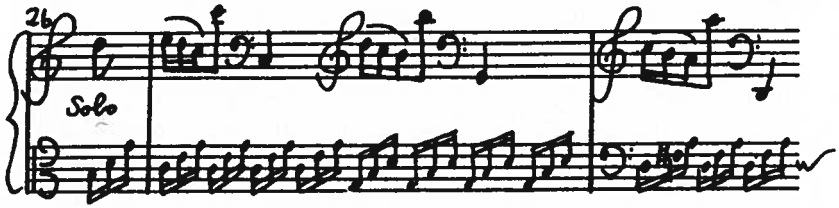
works any other title. They are obviously harpsichord music, and would be entirely ineffective played on the organ.

Many of the score or so of young ladies subscribing to these concertos must have been perturbed by the difficulties they present. Clearly influenced by the style of Domenico Scarlatti's harpsichord sonatas, the popularity of which is attested to by several English editions during the previous years,[7] the concertos make extensive use of hand crossing and long runs of arpeggios, both features also found in Ciampi's harpsichord concertos issued by Walsh in the same year.

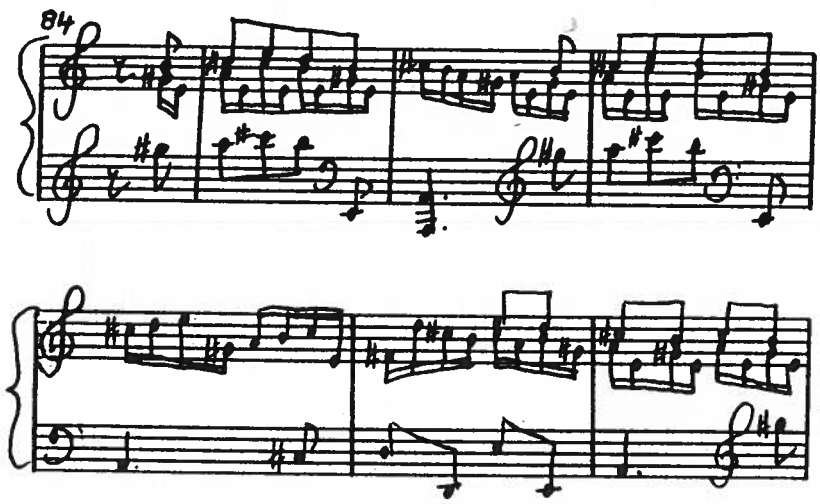
The passages of rapid hand crossing found in each concerto apart from number 3 were a feature hitherto absent from English keyboard concertos. These frequently involved leaps of between two and three octaves between successive quavers, as in Examples 1 and 2 overleaf. This technique is, of course, very characteristic of the early-to mid-period works of Domenico Scarlatti, as seen for instance in his dramatic A minor Sonata K.175, where two-and-a-half octave left-hand leaps in the first half (bars 33-37) develop into fully-fledged hand crossings at the equivalent place in the second half (bars 84-93) (Example 3 overleaf).

Example 1
Chilcot, 1756 Concerto no.1 (i), bars 64-65

Example 2
Chilcot, 1756 Concerto no.6 (iii), bars 26-28



Example 3
Domenico Scarlatti, Sonata K.175, bars 84-90

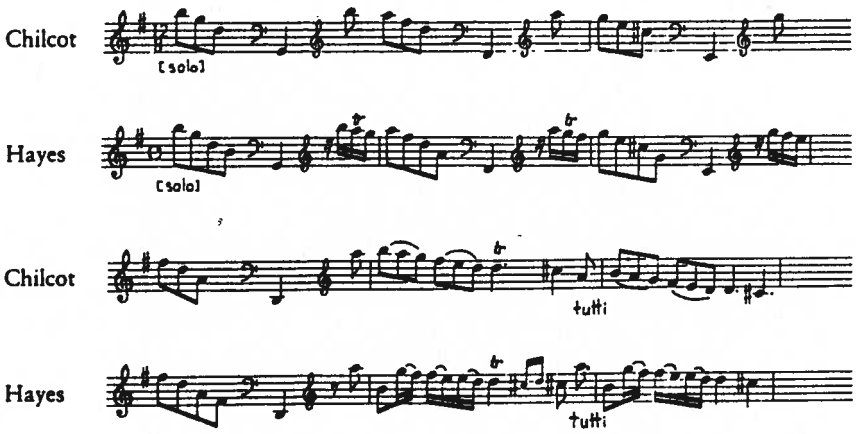


Although such hand crossings had been previously unknown in British keyboard concertos, they were extensively adopted by Chilcot's successors. Two organ concertos survive by the astronomer Sir William Herschel (1738-1822), who was appointed organist of Bath's Octagon Chapel in 1767, the year after Chilcot's death; the second of these, in G major, includes a passage of rapid leaping by the left hand over a range of two octaves. The right-hand figuration, however, is sufficiently high at that point to avoid the necessity for hand crossing.[8] A similar situation obtains in Joseph Dale's op.5 of 1785: right-hand leaps of 2 ½ octaves do not cross the left hand, which is engaged in a long trill towards the bottom of the keyboard.[9]

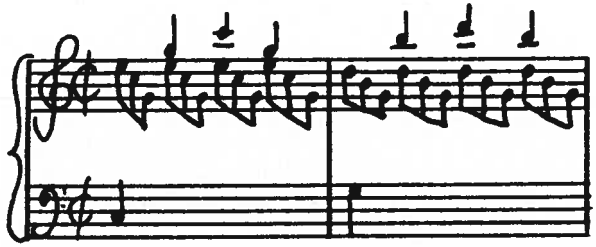
More obviously indebted to Chilcot is the first movement of the first of Philip Hayes's *Six Concertos* of 1769 (Example 4 overleaf). Philip Hayes was amongst the subscribers to Chilcot's 1765 concertos, and was evidently familiar with the 1756 ones, too.

The *Six Concertos* of Thomas Augustine Arne, composed at least a decade before their posthumous publication in 1787, were offered, ostensibly by Arne himself -- to performers on the 'Organ, Harpsichord, or Piano e Forte'.[10] The first concerto includes some hand crossing reminiscent of Chilcot's style, although less energetic than

Example 4
Chilcot, 1756 Concerto no.5 (iii) (right-hand part only)
Philip Hayes, Concerto no.1 (i) (right-hand part only)



Example 5
Thomas Augustine Arne, Concerto no.1 (ii)



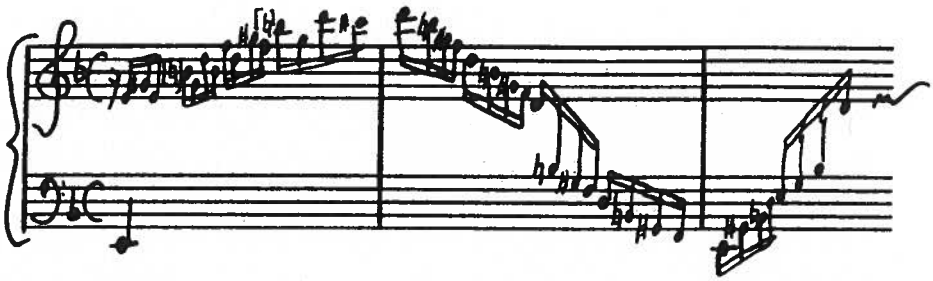
many of the latter's examples (Example 5). Four other movements employ similar techniques.

Chilcot's long arpeggios are also without precedent in British keyboard concertos. While arpeggios are commonplace in keyboard music of all periods, Chilcot's four-octave gymnastics were unparalleled (Example 6).

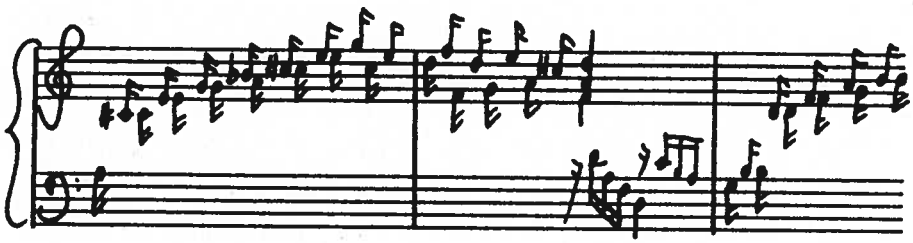
Another technique used by Chilcot which appears to be a direct imitation of Scarlatti's style occurs, amongst other places, in the second movement of Chilcot's second concerto (Example 7). The earliest music to be published in Britain which makes use of this curious repetition of successive semiquavers is found in the early editions of Scarlatti's sonatas (Example 8).[11]

Another Italian technique, which unfortunately was over-used by Chilcot, is the so-called 'Alberti Bass'. This formula, first encountered in bar 56 of the first movement of the first concerto, rattles almost continuously through the first (and sometimes last) movements of the remaining concertos. The composer was seemingly deaf to the damping effect which a surfeit of notes has on some of his purposeful melodies (Example 9).

Example 6
Chilcot, 1756 Concerto no. 3 (i), bars 78-80



Example 7
Chilcot, 1756 Concerto no.2 (i), bars 31-33



Example 8
Domenico Scarlatti, Sonata K.24

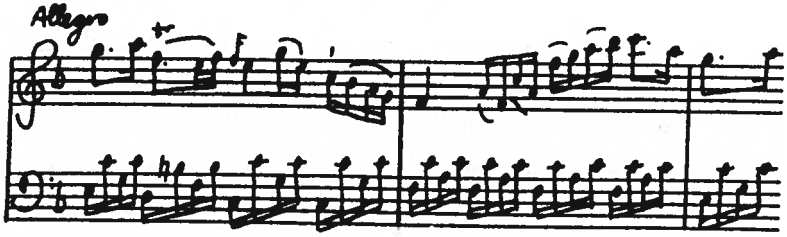
Like almost all the British composers of his period, Chilcot drew heavily on the standard phrases which were an integral part of the musical *lingua franca* of Europe.

Despite his dependence on these formulae, Chilcot manipulates much of his material with a skill that eludes many of his English contemporaries. The expected A minor cadence in Example 10 is neatly sidestepped to lengthen the phrase, while the pleasant gavotte which forms the third movement of the same concerto is given an unusual twist by the soloist's brief interjection which diverts the tutti from its expected mediant minor cadence (Example 11).

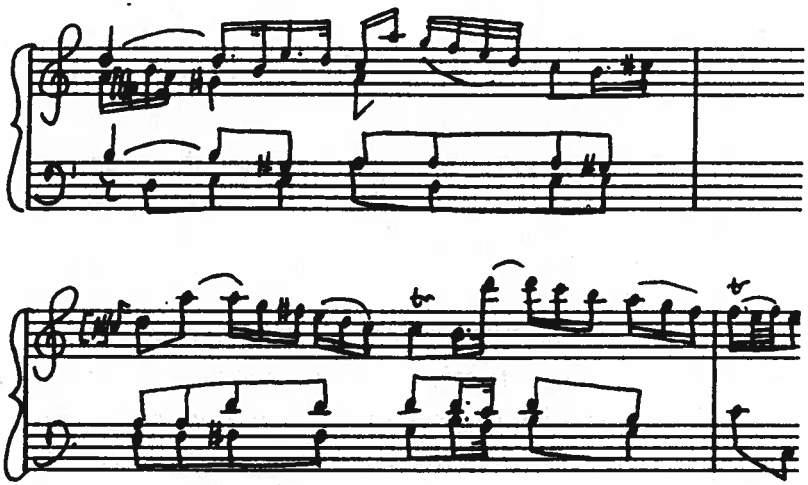
This habit, however, combined with Chilcot's predilection for feminine cadences, is always in danger of producing a sense of restlessness, which is sometimes aggravated by the mixture of styles in the slow movements. The second movement of the second concerto, however, succeeds in combining a long-breathed *galant* melody, a sequence of suspensions, and a strongly-dotted unison gesture to form a particularly effective slow movement (Example 12).

In the slow movements, Chilcot is at his best when he is lyrical, as in the second concerto and in the attractive Siciliana from the third concerto,

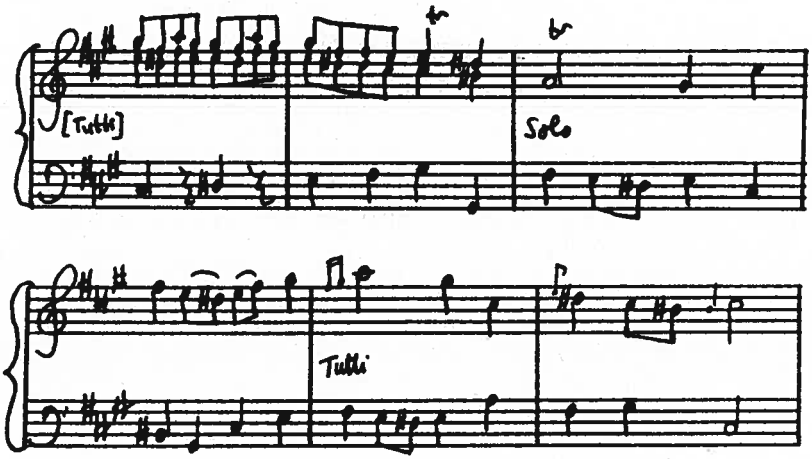
Example 9
Chilcot, 1756 Concerto no.3 (i), bars 21-23



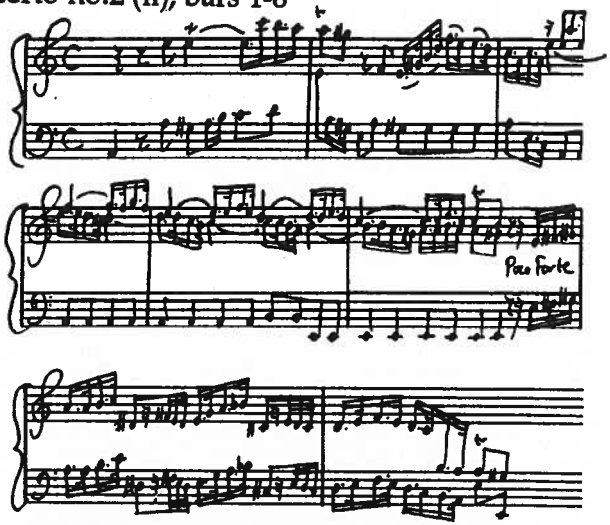
Example 10
Chilcot, 1756 Concerto no.2 (ii), bars 12-14



Example 11
Chilcot, 1756 Concerto no.2 (iii), bars 15-20



Example 12
Chilcot, 1756 Concerto no.2 (ii), bars 1-8



where the customary lilting rhythm blossoms into semiquaver figuration set against a chromatic descending bass. Some of the other slow movements seem rather bland and directionless in the context of the vigorous faster movements.

Form: *Introduction*

The general design of Chilcot's twelve concertos is remarkably uniform. Each concerto embodies the customary eighteenth-century fast - slow - fast-or-dance format, each ends with a major-key movement, and each includes a central movement generally in the tonic minor, although the relative minor is used in three instances to avoid unduly remote keys. One of the 1756 concertos (no.6) concludes with the traditional fast movement, while the remainder all employ dance movements: a Gigue in no.5, 'Tempo di Minuetto' in no.4, a brisk minuet (though not given that title)

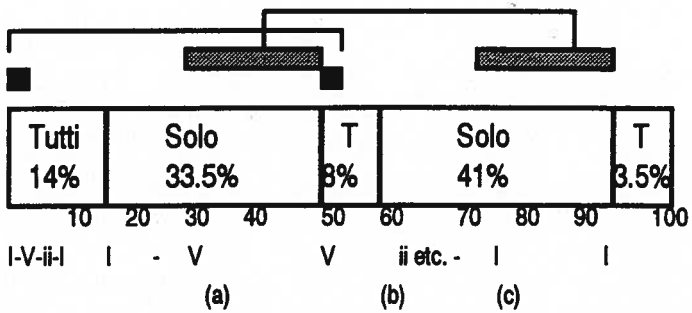
in no.3, a minuet and variations in no.1 and a gavotte and variations in no.2.

First movements

The form of the first movements bears some superficial resemblances to ritornello form. An opening tutti resembling a ritornello, consisting of a gestic opening figure and a number of other ideas, is repeated by the tutti at structural intervals to reinforce the prevailing tonality. These 'ritornelli' select material from the opening statement: the central 'ritornello' of each of the six opening movements uses the original opening figure, followed, in the case of concertos 1 and 6, by the original last idea; in concertos 2, 3 and 4 by a new idea or one loosely based on previous material; and in concerto 5 by the whole of the opening 'ritornello'.

The striking structural feature of these works, however, is their use of a sophisticated and well-developed binary form. The first movements normally consist of an opening *tutti,* with a shortened dominant restatement beginning at almost exactly the mid-point of the movement and an even shorter tonic restatement at the end, framing two long solo passages of which the second halves use parallel (transposed) material. This can be more exactly expressed by means of the following diagram:

Typical Chilcot 1756-type first movement (major key)



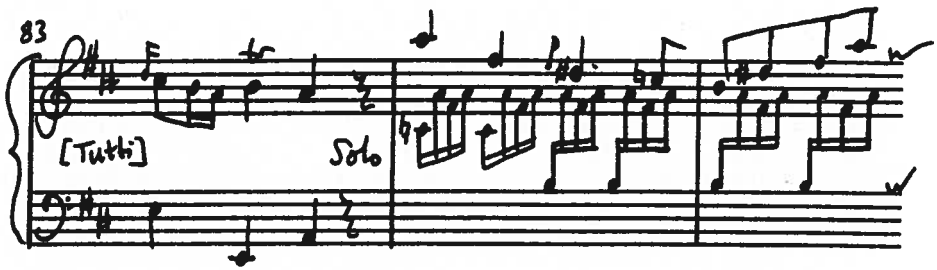
This diagram is a graphic representation of the first-movement form. It.shows the relative proportions of the *tutti* (abbreviated to 'T' where necessary) and solo sections, which are given as percentages and shown graphically with reference to the bar numbers (based on a 100-bar movement) printed below the boxes. It also shows the usual key structure. The modulation from tonic to dominant during the first solo section generally occurs about half-way through the section (letter (a) on the diagram). At the end of the middle *tutti* section (letter (b) on the diagram) there is generally a firm dominant cadence directly abutted by solo material in the supertonic minor. The return to the tonic during the last solo section (letter (c) on the diagram) generally occurs about half-way through the section. In some instances, the return is highlighted by a firm cadence in the minor key followed directly by the start of the 'recapitulated' material in the tonic key. The diagram also illustrates the extent of the parallelisms. Material at the start of the first tutti is restated at the start of the central *tutti* (shown by the two black boxes connected by a line). This gives a 'ritornello' feeling to the central *tutti*. The more extensive and significant parallelism is between the two solo sections (shown in the diagram by the two shaded boxes).

Two features in particular strengthen the binary form. The modulation to the dominant is confirmed at approximately the mid-point of the movement by the *tutti* 'ritornello', which incorporates material from the opening and concludes with a perfect cadence directly abutted by the following solo which begins in the supertonic minor.[12] A typical example of this procedure occurs in concerto 4, in which the central *tutti* (which begins on bar 72 of a 144-bar movement) concludes with a clear dominant cadence and is followed by an abrupt shift to the supertonic minor for the start of the solo passage Example 13 overleaf).

While Chilcot is clearly not obsessed by mathematical precision, it does appear that his composing procedure began with a clear plan, mapping out the main structural events before the notes themselves were conceived. Although the central *tutti* of his fourth concerto begins on bar 72 out of 144, Chilcot was not normally so precise. The central *tutti* of concerto 2, for instance, begins on bar 69 out of 142, and that of concerto 3 begins on bar 54 out of 103 -- both two bars removed from the exact centre point but close enough to suggest a degree of structural planning.

The second feature which heightens the binary feeling of these movements is the extremely lengthy parallelism between the two solo passages.

Example 13
Chilcot, 1756 Concerto no.4 (i), bars 83-85

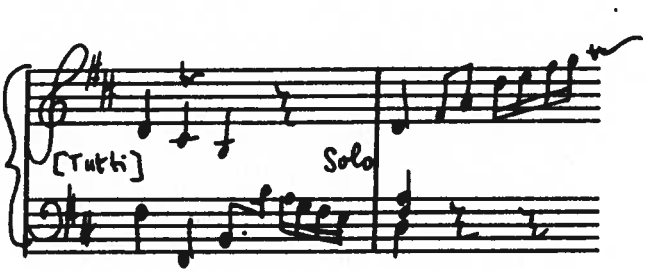


In concerto 6, for instance, bars 38 (only 16 bars into the first solo) to 84 are repeated, transposed up a fourth, as bars 119 to 166 (only four bars from the end of the movement). The one-bar discrepancy is accounted for by an altered modulation. This means that the large-scale parallelism between the two solo sections accounts for over half of the entire movement. In the first concerto, bars 52 to 66 correspond to bars 117 to 131 and bars 68 to 84 correspond to bars 140 to 156. In other words, a similar large-scale parallelism obtains, but additional material has been inserted into the middle.

The parallelism has the effect of producing upon the hearer a gradual realisation of homecoming as familiar material begins to unfold; this time in (or preparing for) the tonic key. In

cases such as concerto 1, where the return to the tonic key is made a couple of bars before the start of the parallelism, the effect of this 'recapitulation' is subtle and may take a few bars to appreciate. In cases such as concerto 4, where the beginning of the 35-bar parallelism is simultaneous with an abrupt change of key from relative minor to tonic, clear tonal and melodic signals combine to produce an immediate realisation of the return to familiar material (Example 14).

Example 14
Chilcot, 1756 Concerto no.4 (i), bars 104-105



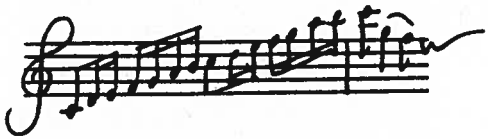
The use of the term 'recapitulation' above is a considered one. While binary forms, however sophisticated, have a number of special features which distinguish them from sonata forms, the use of contrasting solo and *tutti* material in the first half of the movement, the structurally-significant tonal shift to supertonic minor and other remote

keys after the central *tutti* (a tonal 'development'), and the clear feeling of tonal and melodic recapitulation for the last quarter of the movement, all evoke signals which can be described by sonata-form terminology.

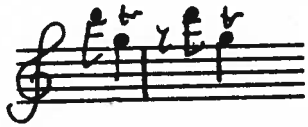
The use of such binary parallelisms is a technique of indeterminate origin which gained wide currency during the eighteenth century. Chilcot had used similar binary forms in his Suites, which predated the arrival in Britain of those continental works such as Scarlatti's sonatas which use similar techniques (see Chapter 9). A number of keyboard-concerto composers after Chilcot used similar structures: some of their works are discussed in Chapter 6 above.

While considering Chilcot's first-movement structures as sophisticated binary forms employing some of the characteristics of sonata forms, it is important to remember that composers and audiences in the middle of the eighteenth century were preconditioned to think of concerto first movements in terms of ritornello form. The Vivaldi model had proved remarkably enduring: the simple direct ritornello form, in which the group of distinctive ideas which form the tutti's 'ritornello' are used as an effective tonal and melodic signal to delineate the music's progress, was indeed such a brilliant concept that it has survived (albeit in different garb) to form the

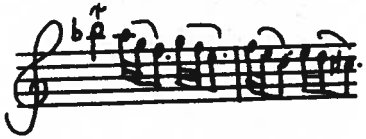
structural basis of most 'popular' music today. Although Chilcot appears to have made a conscious decision to plan his music around carefully laid-out binary structures, many features of ritornello form remain. The opening *tutti* of the first concerto, for instance, contains a collection of ideas which would have been by no means out of place in a Vivaldi concerto. First, a gestic figure built simply upon a tonic/dominant relationship:



Then a brief leaping figure:



a brisk 'snap' rhythm:



then a gesture familiar from its use by many eighteenth-century composers:

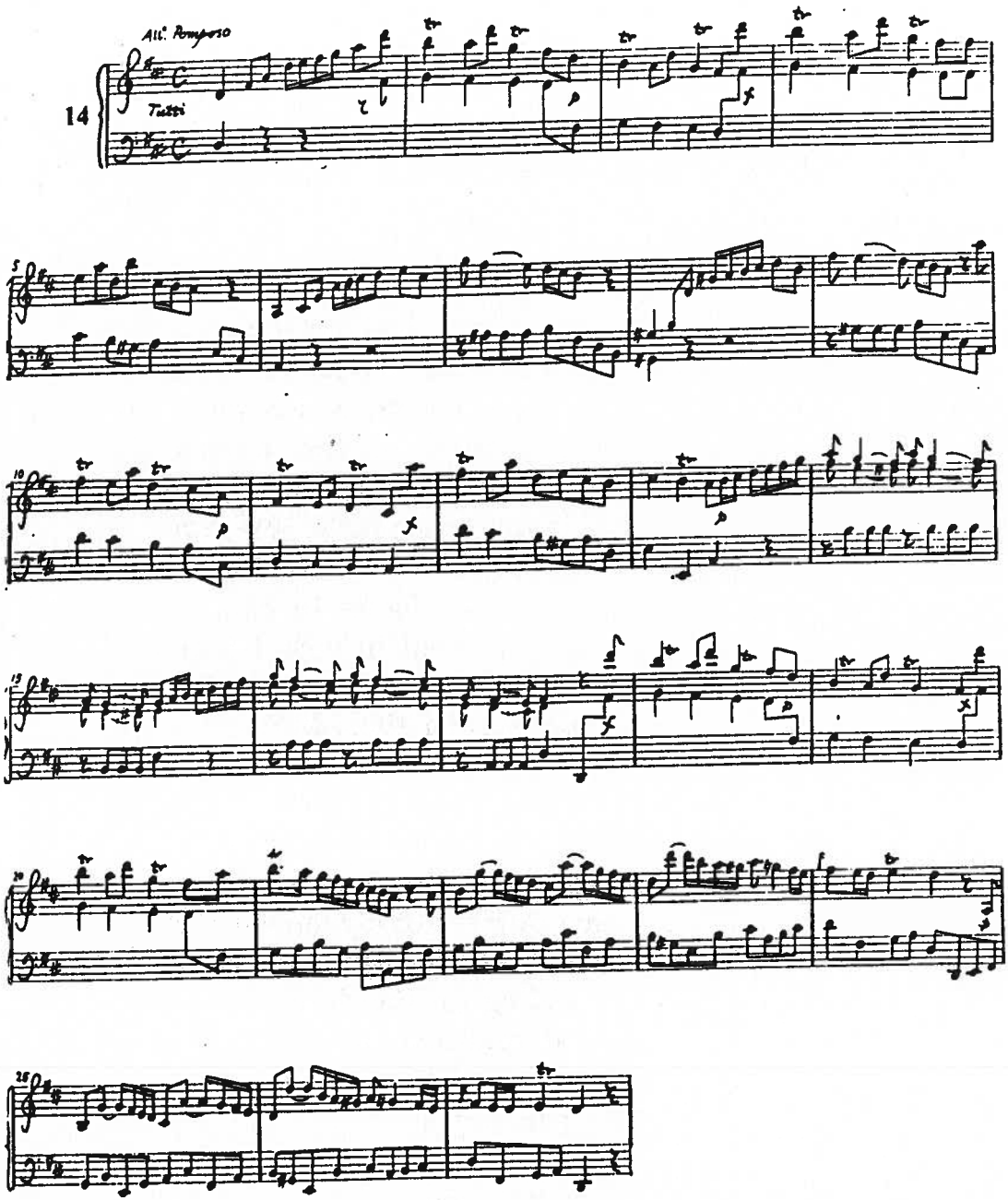
and finally a syncopated figure:

This abundance of material, which no serious composer would attempt to 'develop' in terms of a sonata, is a normal feature of an opening ritornello -- which acts as a basket from which ideas are selected at various stages of the movement. Chilcot moves beyond this 'rag-bag' concept in the opening *tutti* of his fourth concerto (Example 15 overleaf). Here, the bulk of the material presented in the *tutti* (except for the figure in bars 14-17) grows out of ideas presented in bars 1-5 and 7. This type of developmental approach is quite alien to the traditional concept of a 'ritornello'.

Slow movements

The form of the slow movements bears some resemblance to that of the first movements. After a substantial opening *tutti* consisting of two ideas (an opening one ending on the dominant and a slightly shorter one returning to the tonic) the remainder of the movement is solo material, punctuated at its half-way point by a single-bar tutti interjection reinforcing a dominant or relative major cadence. The *tutti* returns for the last couple of bars of the movement.

Example 15
Chilcot, 1756 Concerto no.4 (i), bars 1-27

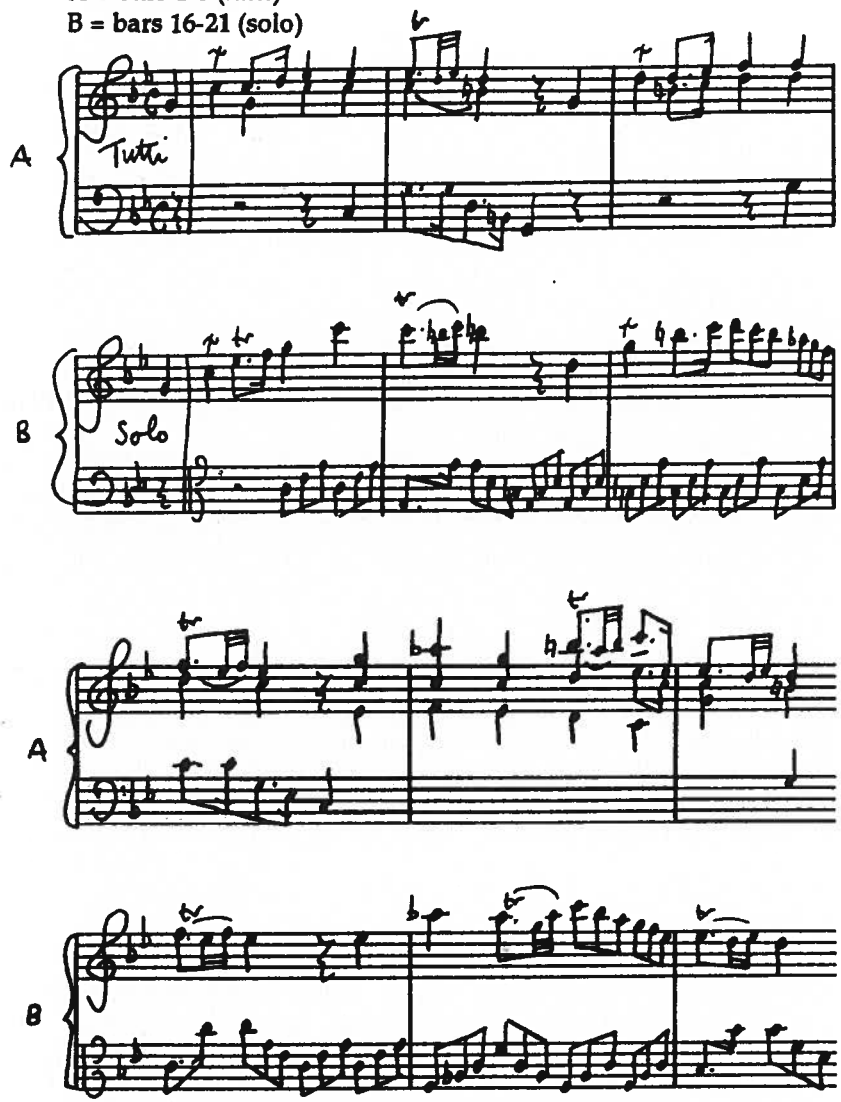


Shorn of the opening *tutti*, this structure would be a fairly typical binary form: two roughly equal sections, the first modulating in a dominant direction, the second exploring a cycle of fifths before returning to the tonic.

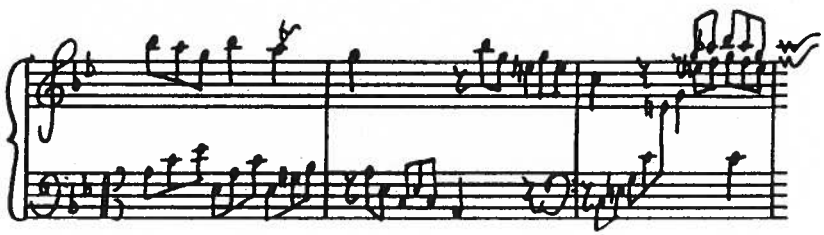
The material presented at the opening of the solo is generally an ornamented and expanded version of the *tutti*'s first figure. This elaboration is sometimes enough to change the superficial appearance of the music substantially, but repays careful study by performers as an example of keyboard elaboration which could be applied in the case of repeated passages (Example 16 overleaf).

The centre point of the solo is marked not only by a dominant cadence but also -- as in some of the first movements -- by an abrupt shift in tonality. This moment in the slow movement of the first concerto, for instance, is handled with elegance and skill: not only does the tonality change but the harpsichord timbre changes simultaneously. Chilcot here marries his understanding of the instrument to his concept of form, underlining the tonal shift by altering the keyboard range and layout and thus evoking the characteristic timbres of the harpsichord (Example 17 overleaf).

Example 16
Chilcot, 1756 Concerto no.1 (ii):
A = bars 1-6 (*tutti*)
B = bars 16-21 (solo)



Example 17
Chilcot, 1756 Concerto no.1 (ii), bars 35-37



Last movements

Discussion of the concluding movements of Chilcot's concertos will be left to Chapter 8. They fall into two categories. One quarter of them[13] consist of a dance and short set of variations, while the remainder are all through-composed fast movements, the majority bearing a dance title such as 'Giga'.[14]

The two sets of variations in the 1756 publication employ precisely the same unenterprising design. The 'theme' -- a binary dance in regular 4- and 8-bar phrases -- is followed by the first variation, which leaves the bass part of the 'theme' all but untouched while ornamenting the treble. The second variation presents the original treble part almost unaltered but ornaments the original bass with scales and semiquaver figurations. The third (final) variation consists of the original treble part overlaid with quaver triplet patterns accompanied by the original bass part.

Orchestral parts

According to the title page, the six concertos published in the 1756 volume are 'Accompanied with Four Violins, Viola, Violoncello, and Basso-Ripieno'. Even the keyboard part of these concertos is now a rare volume: the orchestral

parts have altogether vanished. Save for a stray First Violin part now in Glasgow[15] it has not been possible to trace a single copy.

William Boyce owned a copy of Chilcot's concertos, which he purchased by subscription. The catalogue of the auction of music books following his death makes it clear that Boyce owned a set of instrumental parts:[16]

> PRINTED MUSIC.
> Lot 72.
> Felton's three Sets of Concertos, wants the Organ Part. - Chilcot's and Burgess's six Concertos, wants the Harpsichord Part. - Avison's six ditto, Opera 3d. - Festing's eight ditto, Opera 5th. - Hebden's six ditto, Opera 2d. - Castrucci's twelve Opera 3d. perfect, bound with the above plates, to which Organ parts might very easily be procured at the Shops.

The name of the purchaser of Lot 72 was not recorded, but by the 1920s a collection which presumably can be identified with the above had surfaced in London. In Arnold Whitaker Oxford's history of the Royal Somerset House and Inverness Lodge of the Freemasons, the author lists 'The Music, Minute Books, Etc.', which he states were 'in three wooden boxes'.[17] Box A contained, when

Oxford was writing in 1928, a large collection of music including:

> 5 volumes of orchestral parts of the following:
> (a) 1st, 2nd, 4th, and 5th series of 6 concertos for organ or harpsichord by William Felton.
> (b) 6 concertos for organ and harpsichord by Hen. Burgess, Jr.
> (c) 6 concertos for harpsichord by Thomas Chilcot, organist of Bath, 1756.
> (d) 6 concertos in 7 parts by John Hebden.
> (e) 8 concertos in 7 parts by Michael Christian Festing.
> (f) 10 concerti grossi by Pietro Castrucci.
> 2 additional copies of (a).

The three wooden boxes are now in the custody of the Library and Museum of the Freemason's Hall in London. The contents of the boxes have been catalogued but 'a number of items were missing including the Chilcot scores. To date the missing music has not been traced.'.[18]

Once again, Thomas Chilcot has proved elusive. Records yield tantalising leads, but our search for material is frustrated by accidents of history.

[1] Page 50. The announcement was repeated in the same newspaper on 15 April (page 57), 29 April (p.65), 6 May (p.71) and 13 May (p.74).

[2] see Chapter 8, Introduction.

[3] *A Catalogue of the Truly Valuable ... Library of Music, Late in the Possession of Dr. William Boyce*, which lists keyboard concertos by Abel, Avison, Burgess, Castrucci (op.3), Chilcot, Dupuis, Felton, Festing (op.5), Garth, Gillier, Philip Hayes and Hebden (op.2), as well as many other instrumental concertos.

[4] Pendlebury Library, Cambridge, MS 26 f. 69 - 70^{v}.

[5] See Christopher Kent, 'An introduction to Brice and Richard Seede ...' p.87.

[6] The family's connections with Bath are discussed in Baker, *The Life and Circumstances of James Brydges*, chapter XIII.

[7] *Essercizi per Gravicembalo*[London?, 1738], *XLII Suites de Pieces* (London, B. Cooke, [1739], *Forty two Suits of Lessons* ed. Roseingrave (London, John Johnson, [mid- 1750s]). See Kirkpatrick, *Domenico Scarlatti*, pp.402-403.

[8] These concertos survive in the private collection of Lady Jeans, to whom I am indebted for permission to examine them and quote from them. Herschel's published *Sonate per il Cembalo* are of an even higher degree of virtuosity, including much hand crossing.

[9] *Concerto II for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord* ... op.5 (London [*ca.* 1785])

[10] The date of their composition is uncertain, but a performance of 'an organ concerto by Mr Arne' is recorded on 19 March 1755 during a performance of *Alfred* at Drury lane (see P.F. Williams, 'Handel und die englische Orgelmusik', 65-66). It is not certain whether this was one of the ones eventually published. The 'Advertisement' (preface) to the belated 1787 edition records the series of misfortunes that frustrated Arne's intention of publishing the work by subscription: his untimely death, followed by that of his son who had been commissioned by the publishers to supply parts missing from one of the concertos, and the eventual rediscovery of the missing material by a Mr Groombridge (described in the subscription list to William Smethergell's *Six Concertos* of ca. 1775 as 'Organist of St Stephen's Coleman Street'),

allowing the work's publication some nine years after its composer's death.

[11] Sonata K24 (Longo 495), issued in 1739 as no.24 of the *Essercizi per Gravicembalo* and as Sonata no.31 in the Roseingrave edition (see note 7 above).

[12] Other than in concerto 5, where the following solo begins in the relative minor, and concerto 2, where the whole movement is in a minor key.

[13] 1756 set, numbers 1 and 2; and 1765 set, number 4.

[14] The title 'Giga' is used in the 1756 set, number 5 and in the 1765 set, numbers 1, 3 and 5.

[15] Mitchell Library, Kitson Collection, item 9113.

[16] *A Catalogue of the ... Library of ... William Boyce*, pp. 8-9.

[17] Appendix B of Oxford's *No.4*, p.298.

[18] letter from the Librarian and Curator, 21 September 1984.

Chapter Eight
The 1765 Concertos

Introduction

Following the success of the first set of concertos, Chilcot decided some six or seven years later to publish an 'Opera Seconda' consisting of six more. These works were dedicated to the Countess of Ancram, who was an occasional visitor to Bath. The arrival of the Earl and Countess was, for instance, announced on 14 May 1744[1] and Lord Ancram was made an honorary Freeman of the City on 25 September 1752.[2] It has not been possible to determine why Thomas Chilcot should have chosen her as the dedicatee of these works.

The publication was beset by difficulties. The collecting of subscriptions dragged on through the winter of 1763/4 and by the summer of 1764 some of the subscribers who had paid their guinea were getting impatient. Whether the delay was caused by Chilcot not completing the compositions, by the infirmity of the composer, by an insufficient number of subscribers, or by the inefficiency of Chilcot as a publisher (for the first time he opted to have the concertos printed privately, though they were obviously engraved by William Clark, the

same engraver at John Johnson's who was responsible for producing Chilcot's previous concerto production) is uncertain, but a newspaper announcement dated 29 August 1764 was clearly intended to reassure the subscribers:[3]

BATH, AUGUST 29, 1764.
Now engraving, and very speedily will be
delivered to the Subscribers,
Mr. CHILCOT'S CONCERTOS for
the *Harpsichord* or *Organ*;
Dedicated to the Right Honourable the
Countess of ANCRAM.
Those who are willing to Subscribe may
send their Names to the Author at his House
near Queen-Square. - The Subscription is One Guinea; which will be
finally closed in
one Month's Time.
N.B. The Author humbly hopes the Subscribers
will excuse these Concertos not being sooner publish'd.

If the concertos really were being engraved in August 1764 then the process took a long time, for the beautifully-engraved title page of the publication was dated 1765, while the following pages were delayed even longer. A note at the foot of the list of subscribers excuses the omission of any names 'as Mr. CHILCOTT's Death was so sudden'. Evidently that particular page was engraved after November 1766, well over two years after the publication was announced as 'Now engraving, and very speedily will be delivered ...'. A search of *The Bath Chronicle* and *Jackson's Oxford Journal* to the end of 1767 has failed to reveal any reference to the eventual publication of the works,

which probably took place during 1767, about three years behind schedule.

In his dedication of the work to the Countess of Ancram, Thomas Chilcot refers indirectly to Handel and to the tradition of organ and harpsichord concertos. Chilcot's comments seem to suggest that the works owe less to the Scarlattian tradition and more to the Handelian ethos than do the 1756 concertos:

> Madam
>
> The following Compositions are adapted to an Instrument which without any invidious comparison is one of the noblest and most ancient of any now in use
>
> That Late most excellent Master; to whom we owe if not the Invention, at least the Introduction into this Kingdom of that delightful Species of Harmony, the organ and Harpsicord Concerto; has left but few of his most perfect Models in this sort of Music, which has been deservedly esteem'd, and approv'd by the Judicious
>
> I wish in these that follow, your Ladyship may find merit sufficient to recommend them to your Patronage
>
> And I hope your Ladyship will accept them as a public testimony of that Respect with which I am
>
> Your Ladyships
> most Obedient and most Hum.^{ble} Servant
> Thomas Chilcot

A decade earlier, in the preface to his 1756 concertos, Chilcot had signed himself the 'most

Obedient and most humble Servant' of Elizabeth Bathurst. On that occasion he was able to refer to his pupil's 'eminent ... taste ... the Source of Musical Delight' and also to his 'many obligations' to Lady Bathurst. Chilcot's relationship with the Countess of Ancram, however, appears to be more distant. Chilcot, while hoping for her patronage, offers no flattery in return and gives no indication whatever of the extent of his acquaintanceship with the Countess.

Seventy-two names are found in the subscription list. That the list is incomplete is suggested by the footnote: 'N.B. It is humbly requested that no Subscriber will take it ill whose Name is not inserted, as Mr. CHILCOTT's Death was so sudden'. Whether or not the list is complete it shows every sign of having been hurriedly compiled. 'Mr. Broderil, Organist, in Bristol' is presumably Broderip, while 'Mr. Joseph Tyler, Organist in Bath' is almost certainly Joseph Tylee, Chilcot's friend and successor at Bath Abbey.

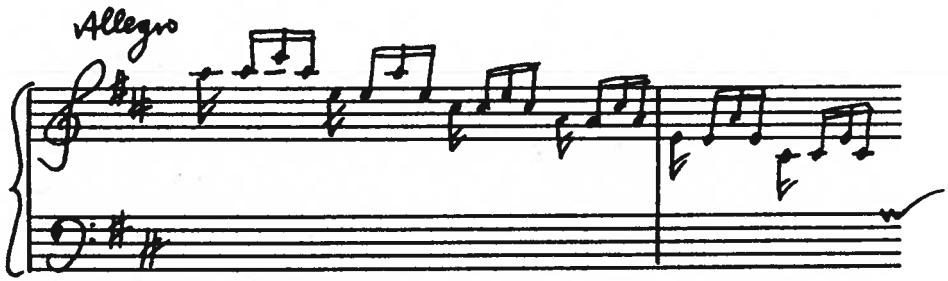
The musicians who are represented on the list, apart from Broderip and Tylee, include Capel Bond of Coventry, Thomas Saunders Dupuis, Francis Fleming, Philip Hayes, Keeble, Linley, Orpin and John Stanley. Mrs Johnson, the publisher's widow, took six copies, while Mr Walsh (presumably the publisher John Walsh

Junior who, like Chilcot, died in 1766) took at least one copy. Another subscriber, Mr Jackson of Exeter, was presumably William Jackson (1730-1803), the author of *30 Letters on Various Subjects* (1795), *Observations on the Present State of Music in London* (1791) and *The 4 Ages* (1798). 'Mr Mahoon, Harpsichord-maker' had subscribed also to the 1756 concertos, while 'Mr Kirkman, Harpsichord-maker' and 'Mr. Snetzler, Organ-Builder' were amongst Britain's most eminent instrument makers. A number of Bath residents subscribed, including the painters Gainsborough and William Hoare.

Keyboard style

Like his first set of concertos, Chilcot's 1765 publication is described on its title page as 'Six Concertos for the Harpsichord with Accompanyments'. Within the first hundred bars of the first concerto, Chilcot's characteristic harpsichord writing comes to the fore (Example 1).

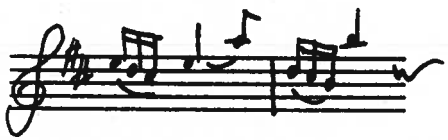
Example 1
Chilcot, 1765 Concerto no.1 (i), bars 80-81



This passage -- and similar ones -- suggests that Chilcot's harpsichord technique was crisp, incisive and exciting. But nevertheless, there is a striking contrast between the two sets. The 1756 concertos, described in the previous chapter, are full of exuberance, with wild leaps of several octaves and extensive rapid hand crossings. The 1765 concertos, however, contain no hand crossings and very few keyboard leaps of over an octave. Indeed, whereas the opening *tutti* of the first concerto contains some two-octave leaps (Example 2), these are suppressed in the equivalent passage in the solo section (Example 3).

Example 2
Chilcot, 1765 Concerto no.1 (i), bars 9-10

Example 3
Chilcot, 1765 Concerto no.1 (i), bars 30-31



Such restraint would have been unthinkable in the 1756 concertos. One is reminded of the tale that Domenico Scarlatti was obliged to curtail the hand-crossings and leaps in his sonatas once it was realised that his royal pupil's developing figure made it uncomfortable or unseemly for her to play them. Perhaps in Chilcot's case, a more prosaic gout or rheumatism was the cause.

In his preface Chilcot refers to the works being 'adapted to an instrument, which without any invidious comparison is one of the noblest, and most ancient of any now in use'. This seems a curious way for an organist to describe the harpsichord, especially as he then extols Handel for introducing to Britain 'that delightful Species of Harmony, the organ and Harpsichord Concerto' and wishes 'in these that follow, your Ladyship may find merit ...'. Nevertheless, both from the evidence of the title page and from the nature of the music itself, there can be no doubt that these concertos, like the 1756 set, were intended for the harpsichord.

Form:
Introduction

Each of the concertos is in a major key and consists of three movements: a common-time Allegro, followed by a lyrical slow movement in the I minor or relative and concluding with either

a Gigue (concertos 1, 3 and 5) or a Gavotte (concertos 2, 4 and 6). British concerto composers of the last third of the eighteenth century tended towards a substantial first movement, a perfunctory second movement and a scrappy or non-existent third movement. Although Chilcot's first movements are, in accordance with the usual eighteenth-century practice, considerably longer than the second or third movements, the latter do retain sufficient vitality and individuality to identify Chilcot in this respect as a conservative composer.

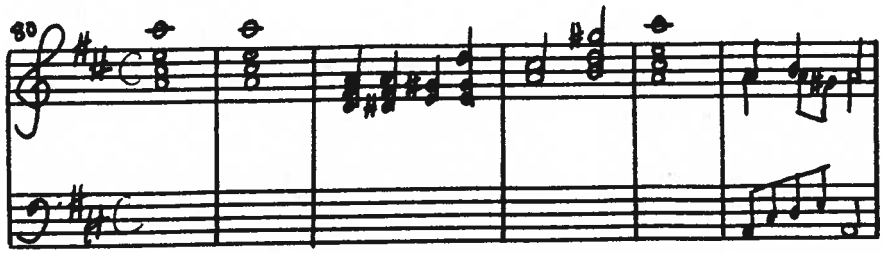
First movements

In his 1765 concertos, as in the previous set, Chilcot's first-movement form is essentially binary, with the mid-way point marked by a *tutti* section in the dominant, generally at least referring to the opening motif. However, whereas in the 1756 concertos the binary form was further heightened by an abrupt return to the tonic at or near the point at which material began to be recapitulated in the second half, in the first movements of the second set of concertos Chilcot does not do this, and in only one concerto (number 2) does he use a structural cadence to reinforce his return to the tonic. The large-scale parallelisms which create the effect of recapitulation are also completely absent from the 1765 first movements.

Evidence of Chilcot's systematic approach to composition is provided by a number of features. Firstly, as in the previous set of concertos, the beginning of the central *tutti* section (marking the centre point of the binary structure) occurs in concertos 1, 2 and 5 within three bars of the mathematical centre point of the movement. Chilcot was evidently not trying to make any mathematical point here (otherwise he could easily have been more precise) but it can hardly be coincidental that Chilcot located his central dominant cadence so accurately in half of his twelve concerto first movements. On a smaller scale, the harmonic rhythms and patterns in Chilcot's music are highly organised. The first concerto of the 1765 set, for instance, opens with a 24-bar *tutti* section which falls into perfectly-organised 2- and 4-bar phrases until the penultimate bar which contains an interrupted cadence, resolved in the final bar. The interrupted cadence and harmonic pause (marked or otherwise) are features also found at the equivalent point in concertos 2 and 5, but appear to be a habit acquired by Chilcot since he composed the 1756 set, in which neither feature is apparent. The soloist's bars leading up to the central *tutti* section in concerto 1 follow the same pattern but without the interrupted cadence (Example 4 overleaf shows a harmonic sketch of bars 80 - 85).

Example 4
Chilcot, 1765 Concerto no.1 (i), bars 80-85 (harmonic sketch)

Allegro Pomposo

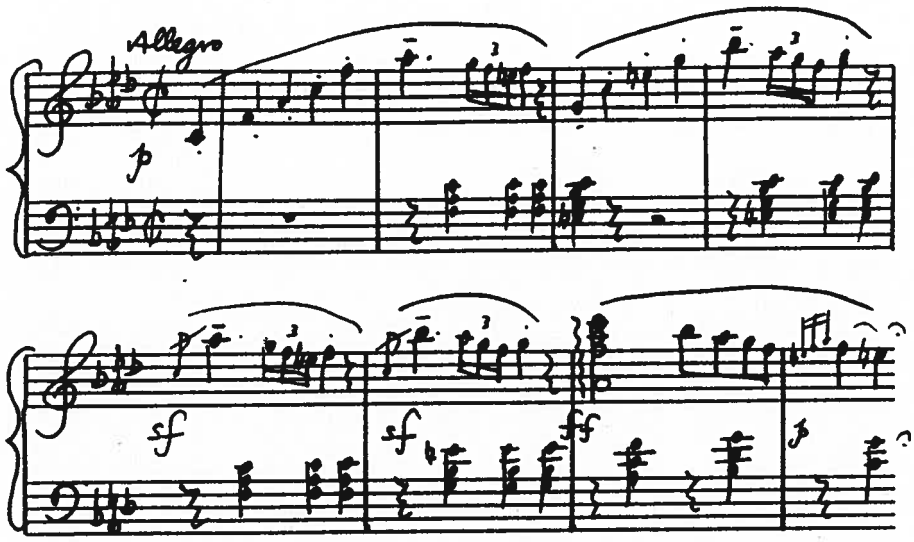


In all respects, the harmonic rhythm of the opening *tutti* section of the first concerto is static, holding back rather than propelling the music. The subliminal effect of the harmonic rhythm:
which pervades the opening bars
is one of restraint, heightened
by the increasing phrase lengths.

The opening gesture of a keyboard work by a far more dynamic composer, Beethoven, shows how the latter uses shortening phrase lengths to increase the tension and accelerate the pace (Example 5 overleaf).

Although the structural features described on pages 141 and 163 above, together with the orderly harmonic rhythms, strongly suggest that Chilcot's composing procedure was to make a harmonic and structural sketch which was subsequently

Example 5
Beethoven, Piano Sonata op.2 no.1 (i), opening



filled out, it is equally apparent that his planning did not take account of the potential relationship between large-scale harmonic rhythm and structure. This alone is sufficient to ensure that however fertile his inventiveness, however masterly his turn of phrase and however exciting his technique, Chilcot could never give his music the power and drive which is the mark of a first-rate composer.

The most obvious structural differences between the first movements of the 1765 set and

those of the 1756 set can be seen in the second halves, both in the keys employed and in the relationship between solo and *tutti*.

Each of the major-key concertos of the 1756 set (that is to say, each concerto except number 2) articulates or at least modulates convincingly to the supertonic minor, as well as in most cases visiting the relative and mediant minor keys. A similar pattern obtains in concerto 2 of the 1765 set, in which bars 69-70 consist of a *tutti* statement of material relating to the opening theme, confirming and articulating a recent modulation to the supertonic minor by the soloist. Similarly, bars 81-82 confirm a modulation to the relative minor and at bar 98 a mediant minor cadence directly abuts a tonic restatement of the opening idea. In the remaining concertos of the set, however, the supertonic and mediant minors are not used, and even the relative minor is but rarely touched upon. This leads in concertos 1 and 4 to a very early return to the tonic (in concerto 1 this occurs at bar 104 out of 168 -- only 60% of the way through the movement).

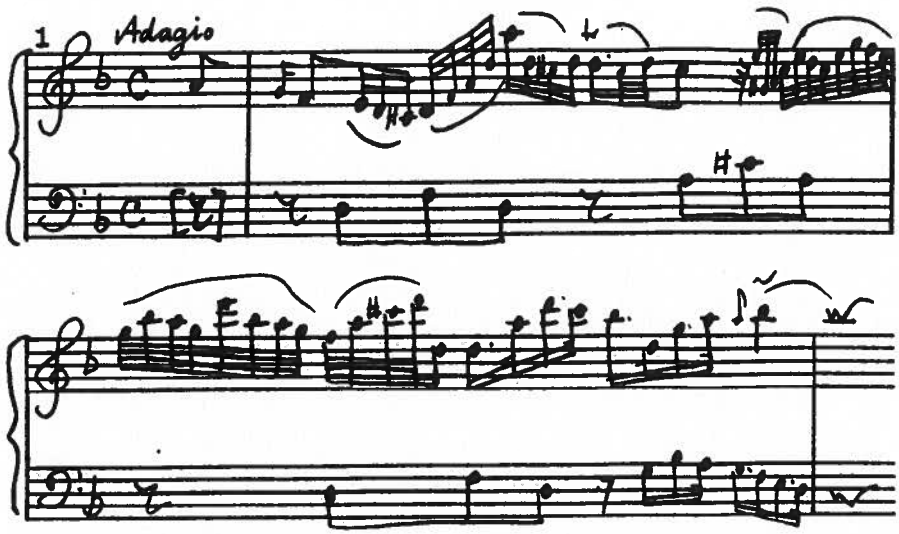
The typical first-movement structure of the 1756 concertos (discussed in chapter 7) consisted of a lengthy opening *tutti* section (some 14% of the movement's length), a central *tutti* in the dominant (some 8%) and a very brief closing *tutti* (about 4%), framing two long solo sections (about 33% and

41% respectively). These solo sections were interrupted by occasional *tutti* interjections. In the 1765 concertos the central *tutti* has considerably less importance. In concerto 4, for instance, it occupies little over 1% of the movement and contains no material directly derived from the opening theme. The *tutti*'s interjections into the second solo section are, however, increased in frequency and in significance, to the extent that they may almost be described as very short *ritornelli*. This is the case particularly in concerto 3, in which after the central *tutti*, part of the opening material is restated a further three times (in the dominant, relative minor and tonic respectively) before the closing instrumental section.

Slow movements

In the slow movements, Chilcot is at his most confident in writing dances, such as the pleasant Siciliana in concerto 6, and in the highly-decorated lyrical movements such as the Adagio in concerto 5. His coloratura had become more expansive since 1756, without losing the sense of direction which made his earlier slow movements so successful (Example 6 overleaf).

Example 6
Chilcot, 1765 Concerto no.5 (ii), opening



Last movements

The last movements fall into two groups: the gigues (concertos 1, 3 and 5) and the gavottes (concertos 2, 4 and 6). If this alternating arrangement is typical of Chilcot's orderly mind, so too are the structures of the various dance movements.

The three gavottes each have a different structure. That of concerto 2 consists of:

8-bar opening phrase, leading to a double bar line with repeat

16-bar phrase, leading to a double bar line

16-bar phrase, consisting of: 6 bars derived from bars 9-14
10 bars exact repeat of 15-24

2-bar tailpiece

This movement is unusual in that, apart from the 8-bar opening phrase and the short tailpiece, the two halves of the movement are virtually identical. This is not unique -- the Allegro fifth movement of Handel's concerto op.6 no.1 is an even more striking example -- but seldom was the concept of parallelism taken so far.

The gavotte from concerto 4 takes the guise of an unsophisticated set of variations, typical of Chilcot's essays in the form. The theme itself is binary, consisting of 8 bars + 12 bars, starting in the tonic and concluding in the dominant. The opening eight bars, repeated in the opening statement, are subsequently repeated before and after each of the variations. Variation 1 leaves the bass part of the theme more or less unaltered but ornaments and decorates the treble. Variation 2 slightly simplifies the original treble part but otherwise leaves it intact, while decorating the original bass part. After the final repetition of the opening eight bars, the first four bars are again repeated, transposed down an octave, to conclude

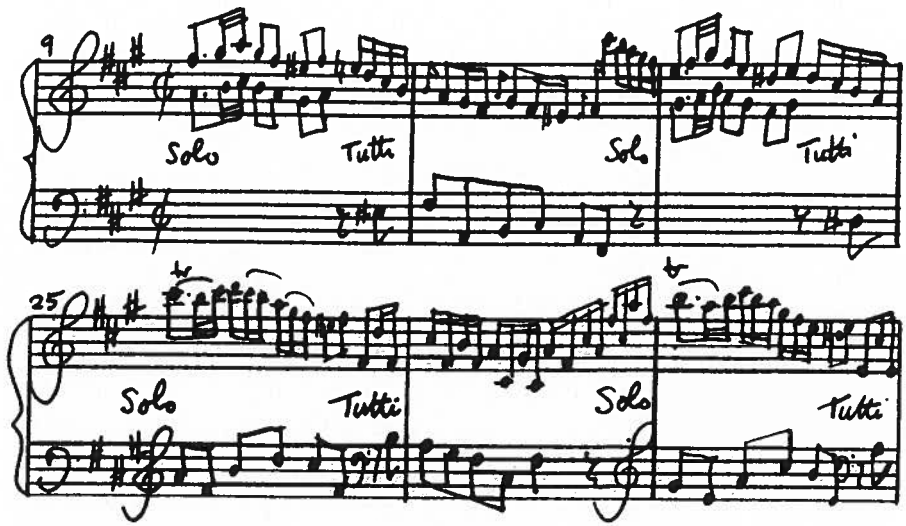
the movement. Chilcot was not at his most imaginative when writing variations.

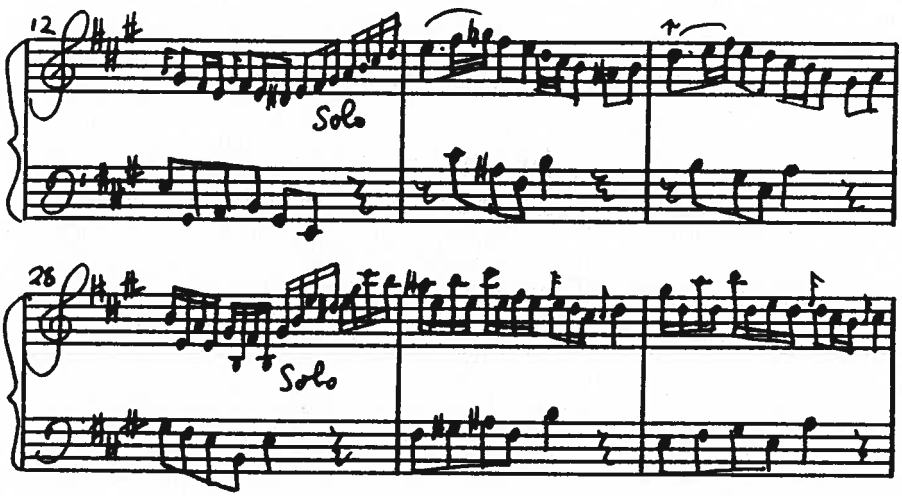
The gavotte from concerto 6 is a rudimentary rondo. After a 4-bar opening solo section, three different 8-bar solos are framed by four identical *tutti* four-bar tonic phrases, and the whole concluded by a four-bar *tutti* tailpiece.

The three gavottes are all tonally restricted. That of concerto 6 reaches a relative minor cadence at roughly the half-way point of the movement (the end of the second internal solo section); each variation in the fourth concerto runs from tonic to dominant; while the gavotte from the second concerto makes a small foray into the submediant minor but otherwise remains firmly rooted in the tonic.

Of the three gavottes, that of concerto 2 is the most interesting. In particular, the derivation of bars 25 to 30 from bars 9 to 14 shows Chilcot not simply decorating, but stripping the music down to its harmonic framework and then re-building (Example 7 overleaf).

Example 7
Chilcot, 1765 Concerto no.2 (ii):
above: bars 9-14
below: bars 25-30





The gigues are more substantial, both in character and length. That of concerto 3 runs to 174 *molto allegro* $^{6}_{8}$ bars, while those of concertos 3 and 5 are almost equally long with respectively 67 and 69 $^{12}_{8}$ bars. Like the first movements of Chilcot's 1756 concertos, the three gigues are all binary movements with extended parallelisms between the closing bars of the two halves. Both halves are repeated. The 'central' double bar occurs about a third of the way through the movement, with the 'crux' (the point at which the original tonality and material returns) about two-thirds of the way through. In each case, the tonality of the first third of the movement moves from tonic to dominant, the second third explores nearby minor keys, coming to a cadence in the mediant minor which is directly abutted by the tonic restatement of the opening bars at the beginning of the final third.[4]

The extent and organisation of the parallelism is, however, different in each case. In concerto 5, the whole of the 21 bars after the crux (other than a couple of bars altered to maintain the tonic tonality) is recapitulated from the exposition. In concerto 1, the first three bars of the movement are repeated directly after the crux, while the last 11 bars of each half are identical (though transposed). Concerto 3 is the most unusual, with three sections of the opening material reappearing during the

closing 50 bars (bars 1 to 6 reappear as 126 to 132, bars 39 to 53 reappear as 140 to 155, and bars 58 to 67 reappear as bars 168 to 177 -- the last bar of the movement). The reason for the discrepancy in length between bars 39 to 53 and the restated version at bars 140 to 155 is the addition of an extra bar as bar 147. The reason for this addition is not apparent: it is not required to effect a tonal or melodic alteration, nor does it have any obvious structural significance. In the works of some composers such unexpected additions are occasionally made to establish mathematical symmetries or proportions, but this does not appear to be the case here.

Structurally, each of the concerto last movements is different, and each has its own interest. As well as variation form (concerto 4), rondo (concerto 6) and Chilcot's own brand of binary form (concerto 1), Chilcot has composed movements which are harder to classify. The form of the gigue in the fifth concerto, for instance, is clearly developed from his binary forms with extended parallelisms, yet the fact that the movement is divided into three more-or-less equal sections, marked off by double bar lines, with a virtually identical first and last section and a middle section which contains no material which can be said to 'develop' from the opening, would normally evoke a label other than 'binary'.

Conclusion

Chilcot's forms are carefully planned, imaginative and frequently sophisticated. Had he been able to combine his extraordinary concept of large-scale musical structure with a real grasp of musical drama he would have been a great composer indeed.

1 *The Bath Journal*, 14 May 1744

2 Bath City Council Minute Book no.7 1751-1761, p.12; Bath City Record Office (no catalogue number allocated).

3 *Pope's Bath Chronicle* 30 August 1764 p.188, repeated on 6 September.

4 In concerto 5, however, the reappearance of the opening material and tonality is delayed for four bars after the mediant minor cadence.

Chapter Nine
The other works

Chilcot's most important published works were undoubtedly the two sets of concertos which have been discussed in chapters seven and eight. His two other published collections, however, contain much which is of interest, and bear closer examination.

The Suites

Chilcot's first publication was *Six Suites of Lessons for the Harpsicord or Spinet*, printed and sold by William Smith of London in 1734. The eighty-four subscribers to the volume included a few well-known composers, many provincial musicians and various members of the aristocracy. Not only did Handel, Festing, Roseingrave and Stanley subscribe, as well as lesser contemporaries such as Barnabus Gunn in Gloucester and Nathaniel Priest of Bristol, but also at least a dozen organists of parishes ranging from Minehead to Aberdeen and from Dublin (home of at least half-a-dozen subscribers) to 'Dullidge'. Chilcot's former headmaster, Henry Dixon, bought two copies to express his support. A number of other subscribers were to play a significant role in Chilcot's career. Abraham Jordan was the organ builder

responsible for maintaining the Bath Abbey organ[1], the harpsichord maker Mr Mahoon subscribed to all of Chilcot's harpsichord music, and the Bathurst family, here represented by '*The Hon. Mrs* Bathurst' was to play a substantial role in Chilcot's life. As noted on page 71 above, the Wreys and the Pynes (the family of Chilcot's future wife, Anne) were also amongst the subscribers.

The Suites themselves are uniform in design, each (apart from the first) consisting of five movements starting with an Allemand and ending with a Jig followed by a Minuet. The first suite is lengthened by replacing the Allemand by a heavily-dotted overture, a fugue, a connecting flourish and two dances.

Like many eighteenth-century collections, the keys of the six suites are arranged in ascending order: G minor, A major, B*b* major, C minor, D minor and E minor.

The suites were issued some 14 years after the publication of Handel's influential first set of suites and some six years after the eight suites of Thomas Roseingrave. Like the suites of J.C. Smith, published in 1732, Chilcot's suites show the overwhelming influence of Handel, together with some traits of Scarlatti and Roseingrave. The various similarities between the Presto of Chilcot's second suite and that of Handel's third suite have

been noted elsewhere,[2] but in some movements, such as the Allegro and the Jigg of his first suite, the young Chilcot's music is fresh, original, and all but matches the quality of the older master.[3]

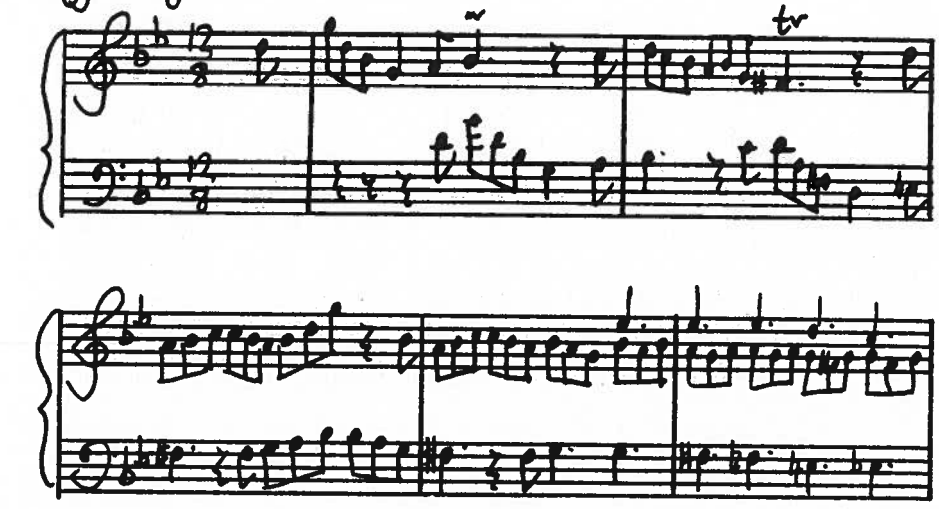
Just as Chilcot used some Handel-inspired material in his suites, Chilcot's own music was borrowed by later composers. The A minor Gigue from Sonata XI (op.12) of Samuel Arnold (1740-1802) is clearly derived from the Gigue of Chilcot's first suite (Example 1 overleaf).

For the work of a young composer to whom formal training was not easily available, the suites show an astonishing level of accomplishment. Occasional lapses such as exposed consecutives in the Minuet of the final suite (Example 2 overleaf) are more than compensated for by the freshness and buoyancy of composition, while the near-identical opening of the Allemanda of the second and third suites (Example 3) does not disguise his overall inventiveness.

Example 1
A Samuel Arnold, Sonata op.12 no.9 (Gigue), opening
B Chilcot, Suite no.1 (Gigue), opening

A Giga Allegro

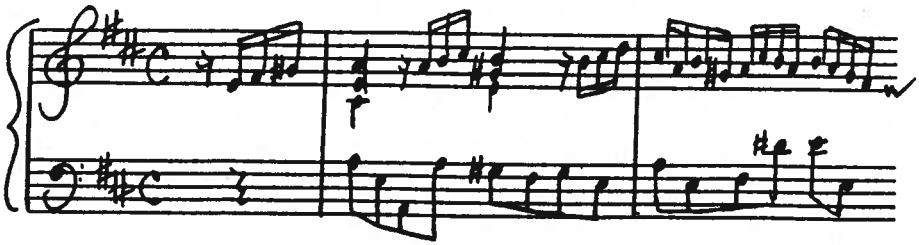
B Jigg Allegro



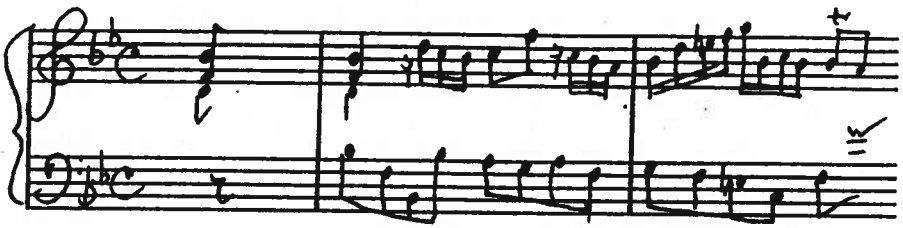
Example 2
Chilcot, Suite no.6

(Minuet), bars 8-9

Example 3
Chilcot, Suite no.2 (Allemanda), opening
Chilcot, Suite no.3 (Allemanda), opening



Suite 3, Allemanda, bars 1-2



In Chilcot's suites the extended binary parallelisms found in the early concertos are all-pervasive -- albeit in miniature and rather less sophisticated. His habitual use of this feature is puzzling. A few isolated examples of brief parallelisms occur in the works of some British and continental composers as far back as the late seventeenth century, but their systematic use is not found before the sonatas of Domenico Scarlatti. These works were not published until 1738 -- four years after Chilcot's *Suites*. Unless Chilcot invented the idea for himself -- which in view of his youth and inexperience in the early 1730s

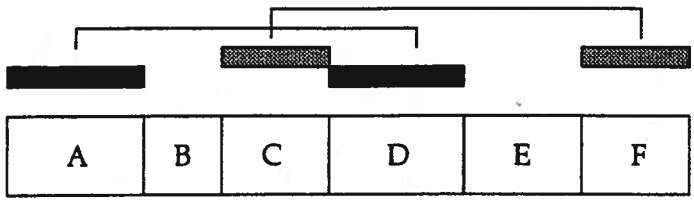
seems unlikely -- he must have been introduced to the concept either by contact with a fellow-composer or teacher or by study of another composer's works. Unlike his schoolteacher Henry Dixon, who had permission from Bath Council to make occasional visits to London, Chilcot does not appear to have been absent from Bath for any substantial period between his appointment to the Abbey and the composition of his suites. The most likely possibility is that while an apprentice he accompanied Dixon on some of the latter's trips to London, perhaps for the purpose of tuition with some of the composers familiar with current Italian thinking. Apart from providing another pointer to the degree of talent demonstrated by the young Chilcot, this would explain how Chilcot, despite an inauspicious background, gained such a sure grounding in sophisticated composing techniques.

Unlike the concertos, the suites do not employ parallelisms to create a 'crux' (a point at which the returning tonic tonality coincides with the return of recognisable material to produce a sensation of recapitulation). In nearly all cases, although the similarity between the material at the opening of the two halves is immediately apparent, the onset of the parallel material in the later part of the second half occurs unobtrusively in the middle of a phrase and is not highlighted by any change in tonality, texture or style.

Furthermore, in three movements (the Allemand from Suite 3 and the Jiggs from Suites 1 and 6) the recapitulated material is half a bar out of step with the original in relation to the barlines, thus obscuring the relationship further.

73% of the movements in the suites employ extended parallelisms. These include all the jiggs, arias and minuets, most of the courants, but only two of the allemands. The table overleaf shows the pattern of the parallelisms in Suite 2, which may be taken as representative of the other suites.

The proportions of the parallelisms vary from movement to movement (as can be seen from the table) and from suite to suite. In the Jigg Allegro from Suite 2 (see table) all but one bar of the first half subsequently reappears in the second. In two movements the first half is re-stated intact in the second, thus changing the form altogether. One of these instances is the Aria Slow from Suite 1, where the 8-bar minor-key opening leads to a double bar line followed by a major-key restatement of the same material and a further 12 unrelated bars. The other is the Saraband from Suite 5, where the opening 8-bar phrase is followed by a double barline and a further 16 bars of material before the movement is concluded by a tonic restatement of the opening 8 bars.



The above diagram shows the parallelisms in a typical binary movement. The labels A to F have no other significance than to identify parts of the movement for the purpose of the statistics given below. Sections A, B and C together form the first half of the movement, and D, E and F together form the second half. It will be seen that the first section of the first half (labelled 'A') is repeated at the start of the second half ('D') and that the closing section of the first half ('C') is repeated at the end ('F'). These parallelisms are indicated by the two black boxes and the two shaded boxes.

The table below shows the length in bars of the relative sections A - F for each movement of Suite 2, with the exception of the opening Allemanda, which contains only the most rudimentary of parallelisms:

Section / Movement	A	B	C	D	E	F
Presto	21	6	19	21	62	19
Aria Slow	7	4	5	7	12	5
Jigg Allegro	7	1	15	7	17	15
Minuet	2	6	8	2	10	8

In most cases, the material leading up to the central double barline is in the dominant key area, so the parallel passage at the end of the second half is transposed to remain within the tonic. In one instance, the minor-key Minuet from Suite 4, the central cadence is in the relative major, which means that the recapitulated material requires adjustments.

An unusual feature is found in the Aria Slow of Suite 6, where an additional bar is interpolated into the middle of the 8-bar recapitulation of the close of the first half. Something similar occurs in the last movement of Concerto 3 of Chilcot's 1765 set.[4]

Clearly, unlike in the concertos a few years later, Chilcot was not using parallelisms as a dramatic adjunct to his binary form, merely as a well-rounded and convenient framework upon which to hang his music.

Space prohibits a full-scale examination of the *Suites* here. Suffice it to say that, while they are a little inconsistent in quality, these works alone would be sufficient to judge Chilcot an imaginative and skilful composer.

Twelve Songs

A decade after the publication of the *Suites*, the *Gloucester Journal* reported that: 'Last WEEK were Publish'd, Dedicated to Samuel Strode, Esq., TWELVE SONGS, With their Symphonies. The Words by Shakespear [sic], and other Celebrated poets, set to Musick, by THOMAS CHILCOT, Organist of Bath. The Subscribers are desir'd to send for their Books'.[5]

The publication is dedicated to that leader of Bath society, Samuel Strode, in terms which suggest that Chilcot had high hopes from Strode's patronage:

To Sam.[l] Strode Esq.[r]

Sir

The great regard you have always shewn for the Polite Arts, particularly that of Musick, will I hope be a sufficient Apology for the Liberty I have taken in prefixing your Name to the following Songs, nor has your Kindness and Humanity left me any Reason to doubt but that the same Benevolence which on all Occasions you shew to Others, and which renders you so conspicuous, will no less dispose you to honour them with your Protection.

There is but one Part of the following Performance, Viz.[t] the Poetry, that Decency will permit me to commend, and to do this effectually I am persuaded nothing more need be said than that the greater Part of it is Shakespear's; It is indeed this Consideration that chiefly encourages me to hope for your Patronage, and which affords me the Satisfaction of thinking that however I might have fared had I ventured to appear alone in the World, I have at this Time done it in so good Company as to insure my self a favourable Reception. The desire of Applause from the many has not been so much my Motive

to this Publication as an Ambition of contributing to the Entertainment of Persons of Taste and Discernment: That you are one of that Number, all that have the Happiness to know you will confess, and it is therefore in Hopes that this Work may afford you some little Amusement in your vacant Hours that I presume to subscribe myself

S.r Your most humble
and Obedient Servant
Thomas Chilcot

The subscribers who were 'desir'd to send for their Books' numbered 278, taking a total of 346 books, so great had been the success of the subscription gathering. The subscribers themselves are discussed on pages 67 and 68 above. This success can be attributed to two factors: the growing reputation of Thomas Chilcot and his music and the fast-expanding market for collections of songs. Some dozens of song books were published in the years following 1738, due in part to the introduction of vocal music to the main London pleasure gardens. Collections with which Chilcot would have been familiar include the *Two Cantata's, And Six Songs* of Barnabus Gunn (1736), John Stanley's *Six Cantata's* of 1742, and various volumes by Henry Carey, including his *The Musical Century* of 1737, to which Chilcot subscribed. 1743 saw the publication of John Alcock's *Twelve English Songs*, with Chilcot among the subscribers.[6]

Like most English songs of the time, Alcock's are set in the 'green fields and gay groves' of

Elysium, peopled by lovers called Phyllis, Strephon, and other names familiar from the pastoral tradition. The songs favour the English strophic layout rather than the Italian *da capo* form, and are set for soloist and bass only, with a transposed solo flute part printed small at the foot of each page.

Another set of 'English Songs', published by John Johnson a few years before Chilcot's, was the 'SIX | English Songs | For two & three Voices | Set to Musick by | Mr James Corfe'. These consist of short unaccompanied binary songs. Four of the songs are in major keys and articulate the mediant minor at the central double bar; three of these start the second half in the tonic, and the other in the supertonic minor. The last song is humorous: it ends in the relative minor on the words 'Give us then a cup of liquour, fill it up unto the Brim | for then Methinks my wits Grow Quicker, when my Brains in Claret Swim'.[7]

Chilcot's collection of songs is altogether more substantial than Corfe's or Alcock's. Seven of the songs have texts by Shakespeare and one by Marlowe; these are all in binary form, some of them strophic. The remaining four songs are longer works, in *da capo* form, three of them on texts by Anacreon and one on a text by Euripides. The set follows all the fashions of song collections from the 1740s: the English preference for binary

rather than the Italian *da capo* form, the pastoral or boozy texts, the inclusion of Anacreontic verses, and even the occasional appearance of a Scots snap (Example 4).

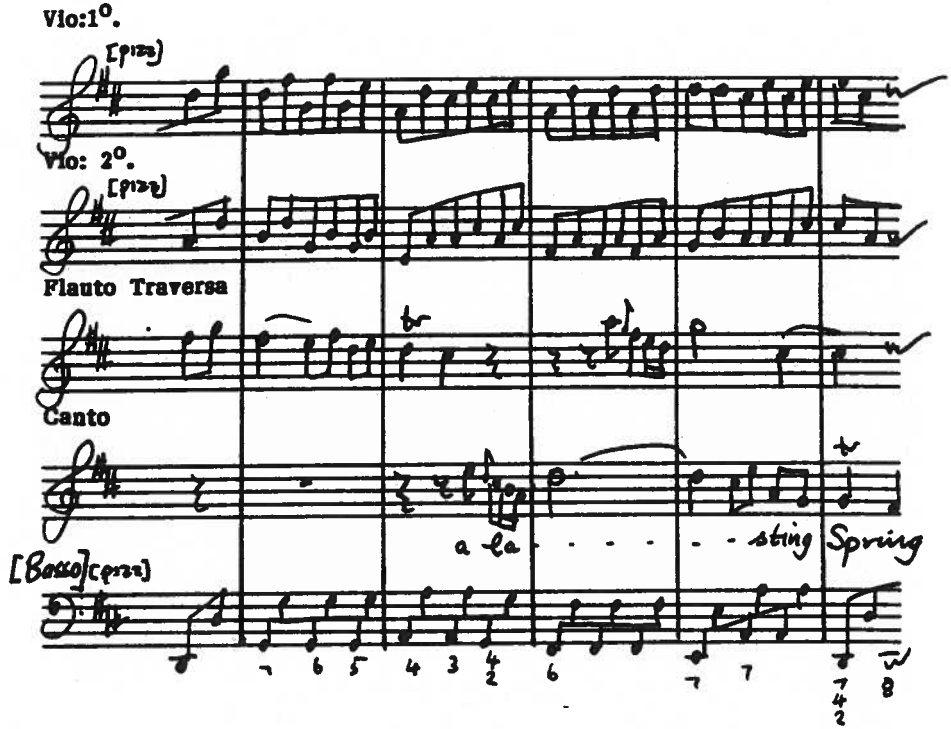
Example 4

Chilcot, Song: 'Place Beneath a Spreading Vine' (First Violin part), bars 1-4

While a detailed examination of the songs themselves falls outside the scope of this dissertation, the works do provide a unique source of information about Chilcot's orchestral writing. Most of the songs, all of which are presented in full score, employ string trio or quartet, but the last song, 'The choir wake', is scored for strings, continuo, two oboes, two trumpets and timpani. The 'fanfare' nature of the orchestral part does not allow Chilcot a great deal of scope for imaginative scoring, but the latter is certainly found in 'Orpheus with his lute' in which pizzicato strings are set off by a lyrical and effective flute part (Example 5 overleaf).

Chilcot could clearly write effectively for the orchestra as well as for the keyboard. If the orchestral parts to his concertos are ever found they will surely repay careful study and performance.

Example 5
'Orpheus with his lute', bars 76-81.



[1] See Chapter 2.

[2] the latter is printed as an appendix in Davitt Moroney's edition of Chilcot's suites (see Bibliography section 2: Editions of Chilcot's works).

[3] A thematic catalogue of the suites is given in Beechey, 'Thomas Chilcot and his music'

[4] See page 178 above.

[5] *Gloucester Journal*, Tuesday 28 February 1743/4.

[6] Chilcot subscribed to Alcock's *Six Suites ... for the harpsichord* in 1741 and to his *Twelve English Songs* in 1743. Alcock returned the compliment by subscribing to Chilcot's *Twelve English Songs* though not, it seems, to Chilcot's *Six Suites*.

[7] The Reverend Charles Soan LLB of Rochester bound up his copy of the Corfe songs with Chilcot's newly-published English songs in 1744; the volume is now at the Henry Watson Music Library in Manchester.

Chapter Ten
Lost works and conclusion

Chilcot's surviving works comprise twelve concertos, twelve songs and six suites. These works survive only as published volumes, not as manuscript autographs or copies. It seems unlikely in the extreme that Chilcot, organist of Bath Abbey for forty years, did not write some organ voluntaries, if only for the use of himself and Tylee. In all probability, Chilcot, like most organists of the time, would have compiled a manuscript book containing some of his own works, together with useful compositions of other composers. He certainly composed a number of anthems for use at the Abbey and elsewhere. John Wood describes the opening of St Mary's Chapel in Queen Square, Bath (a few yards from Chilcot's house) on Christmas Day 1734,[1]

> on which Occasion there was a Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Musick, performed by ten of the best hands at that time in the City: And the Anthem, composed and set to Musick by Mr. *Chilcot*, having been taken from the 84th Psalm, was in the following Words:
>
> O how pleasant is thy Dwelling;
> Thou Lord of Hosts!
> My Soul hath a Desire and Longing
> To Enter

Into the Courts of the Lord;
My Heart and my Flesh
Rejoice
In the Living God.

Chorus with Trumpets

O sing Praises, sing Praises unto our God!
O sing Praises, sing Praises unto our King!

A new organ there was opened in 1740, on which occasion 'several new anthems were sung', including one by Chilcot.[2] Nearly twenty years later, at one of Chilcot's grand concerts at the Abbey in 1759, another of his compositions was sung: 'a JUBILATE, composed by Mr. CHILCOT upon the Occasion'.[3]

Benjamin Maslen also cites a newspaper description of the General Thanksgiving on 29 November 1759 at which 'two Anthems composed by Mr. Chilcot were sung'.[4]

That these, and presumably many other works, are lost, together with Chilcot's manuscripts, suggests that despite the eulogies printed about him after his death, Chilcot's compositions were not regarded as especially remarkable or worth taking trouble to preserve. Just as Chilcot enjoyed astonishing success during the early part of his career, so too did he suffer exceptional neglect immediately after his death. His papers and manuscript copies of his music were discarded, his death provoked the most

skimpy press comment conceivable, the elaborate funeral which he specified in his will does not seem to have taken place, and even the monument at Tawstock which Thomas had designed with such care for his wife and himself was never to be engraved with his name.

Copies of Chilcot's publications remained in circulation for several years, and his name was remembered by enthusiasts of Bath history. But his music, which today receives an occasional airing for its curiosity value, is still awaiting the revival which it deserves.

1 *A Description of Bath*, p.314.

2 *The Bath Herald*, 19 February 1739/40.

3 See page 84 above.

4 Benjamin Maslen, 'Thomas Chilcot', p.294.

Appendix 1
List of publications to which Thomas Chilcot subscribed

Musical works

John Alcock, *Six Suites ... for the harpsichord*, 1741
John Alcock, *Twelve English Songs*, 1743
Charles Avison, *Six concerto's in seven parts*, 1740
Charles Avison, *Two concerto's*, 1742
Charles Avison, *Twelve concerto's in seven parts*, 1744
Charles Avison, *Eight concertos in seven parts*, 1755
Charles Avison, *Twelve concertos*, 1766
William Boyce, *Solomon. A Serenata, in score*, 1743
William Boyce, *Twelve sonatas for two violins*, 1747
William Boyce, *Cathedral music*, 1760
Henry Burgess, *Six concertos for the organ or harpsichord*, 1740
Henry Burgess, *A collection of English songs and cantatas*, 1749
Henry Carey, *The Musical Century, in one hundred English ballads*, 1737
Michael C. Festing, *Twelve solo's for a violin*, 1730
Michael C. Festing, *Twelve sonata's in three parts*, 1731
Michael C. Festing, *Twelve concerto's in seven parts*, 1734
Michael C. Festing, *Eight concerto's in seven parts*, 1734
Michael C. Festing, *Six solo's for a violin*, 1744 (two copies)
Michael C. Festing, *Six solo's for a violin*, 1747
Elisabetta de Gambarini, *Lessons for the harpsichord*, 1748 (two copies)
Thomas Gladwin, *Eight lessons for the harpsichord or organ*, 1750
Maurice Greene, *Forty select anthems in score*, 1743

George F. Handel, *Alexander's Feast*, 1738
William Hayes, *Vocal and Instrumental Music*, 1742
(subscription list reads 'John Chilcot')
William Hayes, *Six cantatas set to music*, 1748
John Hebden, *Six concertos in seven parts*, 1745 (two copies)
Richard Langdon, *Ten songs and a cantata*, 1754
John Pixell, *A collection of songs...*, 1759

Non-musical works

Griffith Hughes, *The natural history of Barbados*, 1750
[Francis Fleming], *The life and Extraordinary Adventures ... of Timothy Ginnadrake*, [1772].[1]

[1] There is no ambiguity whatever in the subscription list: Thomas Chilcot, the organist and composer of Bath, was amongst the subscribers, even though *Timothy Ginnadrake* was published six years after Chilcot's death. Fleming had presumably been collecting subscriptions over a long period.

Appendix 2
The will of Thomas Chilcot

This is the Last Will and Testament of me Thomas Chilcott of the City of Bath Organist made this seventh Day of November one thousand Seven hundred and sixty six that is to say ffirst I Commit my Soul into the hands of an Almighty and most mmercyfull God maker of all things Judge of all Men and hope through the Merits and Mediation of Jesus Christ our blessed Saviour and Redeemer who dyed for our sins and rose again for our Justification that he will pardon all my Sins ffailings and Infirmities and receive my Soul for Christs Sakė into his Everlasting Kingdom at that Great Day of Revelation when the Secrets of all Hearts shall be disclosed my body I Committ to the Earth to be decently buried in the parish Church of Tawstock in Devonshire in that Vault made on purpose for me next to the remains of my dear wife Ann Chilcot are deposited and with whom I hope through the tender mercy of an allgracious and Good God to rise to a Glorious Ressurection which God of his Mercy Grant and I desire to be buried in a winding Sheet in a Leadon Coffin to be carried in a hearse and Six horses to Tawstock attended by our Mourning Coach and which Hearse to be covered with ffeathers and in which Coach I would have the following persons viz$_{t}$. and I desire that the Hearse should be dressed with black fflowers in the same manner as my wife was when passing through the several Towns on the Roads and where my Corps rests upon the Road that is to say at pipers Inn and at Twiverton and I give unto Ten Old Men and ten old Women of those two parishes one Shilling each and

to such people that shall be recommended by the Minister and Church wardens I give at the time of my interment ffifty Shillings to the poor of the parish of Tawstock aforsaid to be laid out in Bread Item I Give to the Church Wardens for the time being of the parish of Tawstock for ever ffive pounds to be applyed and made use of in manner following that is to say to pay the Minister of the said parish half a Guinea for ever in order to preach a Sermon on Whit Monday in every year for ever on that day in Memory of me and my dear Wife Ann Chilcot and to pay to the Clerk and sexton for ever for the time being ffive Shillings each in order that they may keep the Monument clean from dust and strew the Grave Stones with fflowers and also to pay and divide for ever to the poor of [illegible] the said Parish of Tawstock on that very Day the sum of ffive Shillings to be laid out in Bread and which Bread to be Distributed at the Church Door and the overplus of the said Sum of ffive pounds after paying and discharging the Clergyman Sexton Clarks and poor to pay to the Master that teaches the Children of that parish to Read and write to teach as many more Boys to Read and Write as that Money will admitt of Item I give and bequeath unto my Sister the sum of Two Shillings and Sixpence a week for so long a time that She shall happen to live to be paid her by my Trustees and Executor herein after named and her receipt alone be a sufficient discharge for the same to my Trustees and the same shall not be anyways subject to the Control or Arrangement of her Husband Item I give and bequeath unto

Item I Give devise and bequeath unto my good ffriends William Yescombe of the said City of Bath Gentleman and

All the rest residue and remainder of my Estate whàtsoever and wheresoever and of what nature [...] soever they are To hold to them their Heirs Executors Administrators and Assigns in Trust to Sell and dispose of the same immediately and the Moneys arising from such Sale together with any Mortgage Moneys on Trust in the place to pay and Discharge all my Just Debts Legacies and funeral Expenses and from and immediately after that is performed Then in Trust to purchase a piece of Land that shall bring in the said Sum of five pounds so as aforesaid by me given to the said parish of Tawstock for ever for the purposes herein before by me mentioned and declared and the surplus Moneys that shall be and remain in my said Trustees hands after purchasing the aforesaid Ground for the purposes aforesaid In Trust to lay out the same in a purchase of some Estate or Estates and the Rents and profits arising from such Estate or Estates In Trust to pay and equally divide to and amongst my Son Thomas Chilcot and my two Daughters Elizabeth Walker and ffanny Chilcot share and share alike and its my will that neither of them shall mortgage or sell the said Annuity or any part thereof and from and immediately after the several and respective deceases of my said Son and Daughters Then I Give Devise and Bequeath the said Estate so as aforesaid to be purchased by my said Trustees to and equally amongst the Child or Children that shall after the Execution of this my will be lawfully begotten by my Said Son and Daughters share and share alike and that in Case my said Son and Daughters shall happen to dye without any Child or Children that shall [be] lawfully begotten after the Execution of this my will, Then and in such Case I Give Devise and Bequeath the aforesaid

Estate and every part thereof so as aforesaid to be purchased by my said Trustees to my Nephew John Chilcot and his Heirs and I do hereby direct my said Trustees to pay unto mysaid sister the said Sum of two shillings and Six pence a week for her Life Provided also that it shall and may be Lawfull to and for my said Trustees and the survivor of them and the Heirs Executors and Administrators of such Survivor by and out of the Trust Money to reimburse and satisfy and themselves of such Costs Charges Damages and Expenses whatsoever as they or either of them shall or may at any time or times hereinafter pay lay out suffer expend or be in any ways put unto in or about the Executing of the Trust thereby in them reposed or any thing relating thereto and that they or either of them shall not be answerable or accountable for any more moneys nor for any part of the effects than what shall actually come to their hands nor suffer nor be accountable for the involuntary loss or [disbursment?] in putting out any moneys on any Security whatsoever or for the insufficiency of any Security nor shall the One of them be answerable for the Acts Receipts or Defaults of the other of them but each for his own part Receipt and wilfull Default only and Lastly my Express will and meaning is and I do hereby order and appoint that if any difference dispute Question or Controversy shall be moved arise or happen concerning any Gift Bequest or other matter or thing in this my will given and bequeathed Expounded or contained that then no suit or suits in Law or Equity or otherwise but shall be sufferred wholly to the award order and determination of my said Trustees or by any two persons that my said Trustees shall appoint and nominate and what my said

Trustees or the persons chosen by them as aforesaid shall order direct or determine therein shall be bbinding and Conclusive to all and every person and persons therein Concerned In Witness whereof the said Testator hath hereunto set his hand and Seal the day and year first above written and I do hereby appoint the said William Yescombe whole and sole Executor of this my last will - Thomas Chilcot

Signed Sealed published and declared by the above named Testator Thomas Chilcot as and for his Last Will and Testament in the presence of us who at his request in his presence and in the presence of each other have subscribed our names as witnesses there unto - Jane Jarvis - Mary Bayliss - J^{O} Bridges Groomes

This Will was proved at London on the third day of ffebruary in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and Sixty Seven before the Right worshipfull George Asay doctor of Law & Master [...] or Commissary of the perogative Court of Canterbury Lawfully Constituted by the Oath of William Yescombe the Sole Executor moved in the said [...] to whom administration was granted of all and Singular the Goods Chattels and Credits of the said deceased having been first sworn by Commission Duly to Administer.

(Public Record Office:
PRO Legard 1767, probate 11/925)

Appendix 3
The will of Anne Chilcot

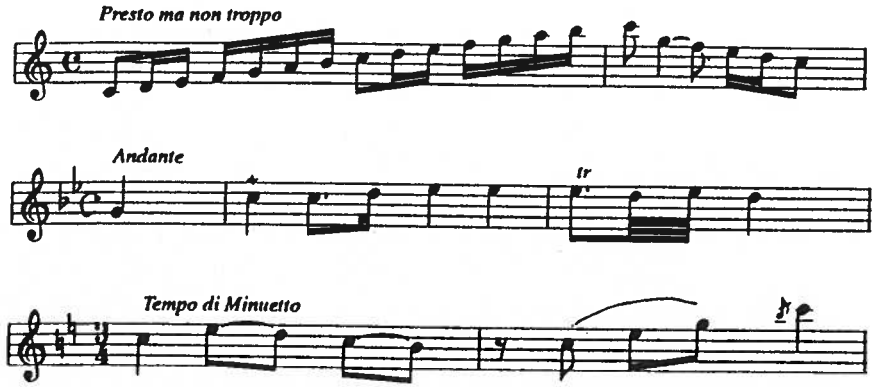
This is the Last Will and Testament of me Anne the Wife of Thomas Chilcot of the City of Bath Gentleman made this Twenty Ninth Day of June in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and fifty Eight in pursuance of all and every the powers and authority whatsoever in me vested and being And I do hereby give and Devise unto my beloved husband his Heirs Executors and Admors respectively all my Estate both real and personal whatsoever and wheresoever Subject and lyable to the payment Legacies and Charges hereinafter mentioned that is to say I Give unto my Daughter in Law Miss ffanny Chilcot the Sum of fifty pounds & Give unto my maid Servant Sarah Babb the sum of Twenty Pounds my Will and Desire is that I may be buried in the parish church of Tawstock in the County of Devon in Linnen and in a Lead coffin and that out of my estate and Effects the Sum of One hundred pounds be laid out by my Said Dear Husband in Erecting a Monument in the Said Church to Serve for me and my said husband and my Will and Desire further is that my said Husband do not in any manner whatsoever Give or Dispose of any part of my Said Effects to or amongst either of his Children Except what I have hereinbefore Given to Miss ffany Chilcot and I Give unto my Cousin Miss Margaret Pine the Sum of Thirty pounds and do make ordain and appoint my said Dear husband executor of this my will

In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal the day and year above written - Ann Chilcot X - Signed Sealed published and delivered by the Testatrix and to be the last Will and Testament in the presence of [blank]
As who at her request and in the presence of her and of each other do attest the same T Naish The Mark of Martha Jones + Alice Babb - Alice Vincent.-.
And be it Remembered that by the Command of the Right Honerable Sir Thomas Clark Knight Master of the Rolls in these Words (20th May 1763 Let this Will be Inrolled for Safe custody only Tho Clarke) the Will aforesaid was Inrolled word for word as it is above written and also the Will aforesaid was Stampt according to the Tenor of the Statute made in the Sixth year of the Reign of the late King and Queen William and Mary of England and So forth Inrolled the Twenty first day of May in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and Sixty three.

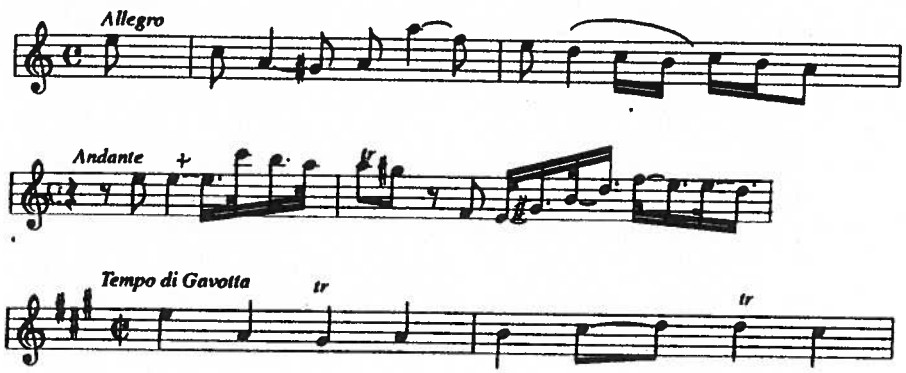
(Public Record Office,
Chancery Close Rolls: PRO C.54, Ref. 6117, no.1)

Appendix 4
Thematic catalogue of the 1756 concertos

CONCERTO 1



CONCERTO 2



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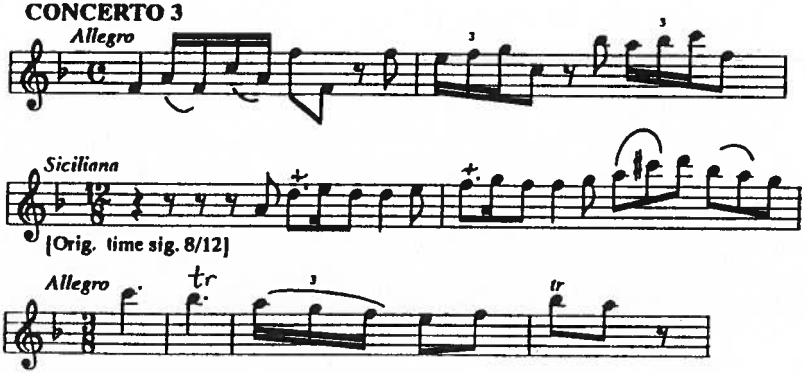

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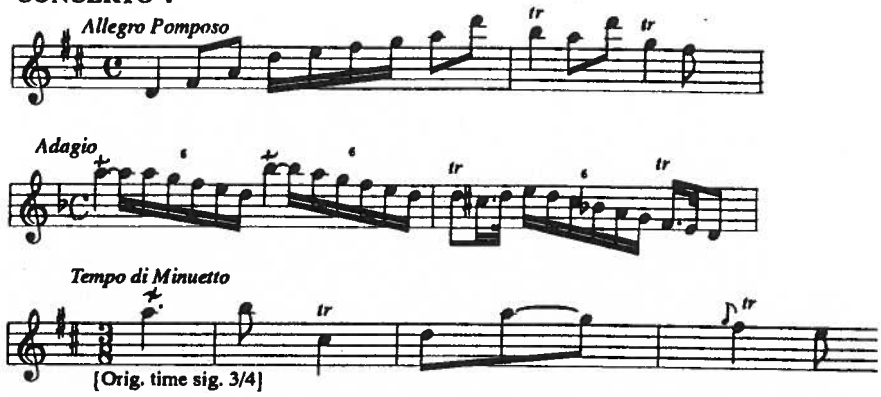

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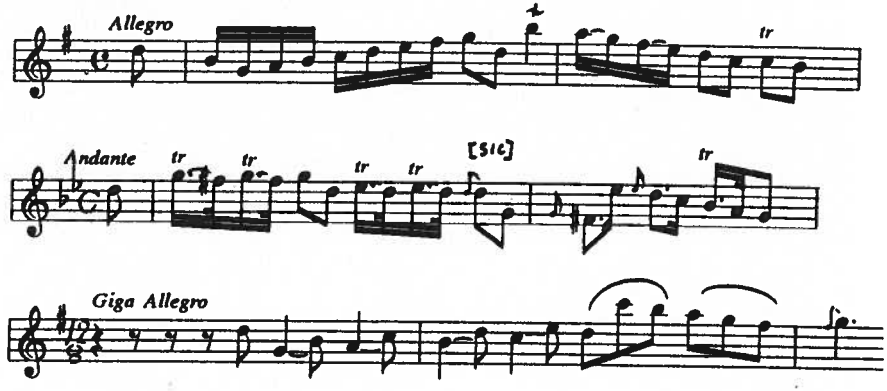

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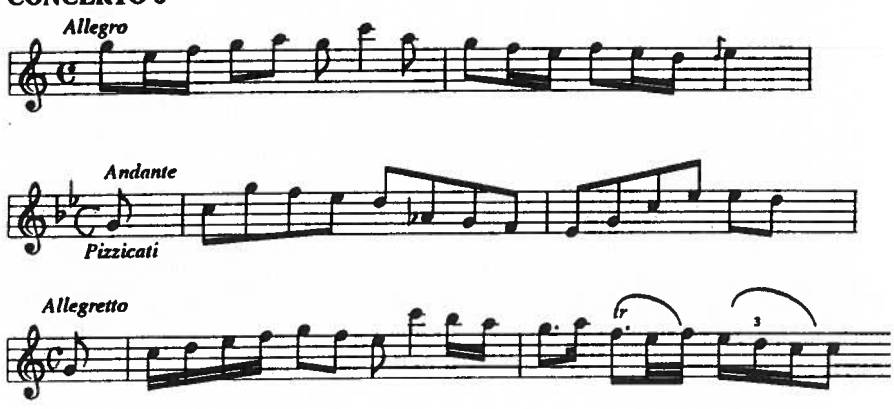

Appendix 5
Thematic catalogue of the 1765 concertos

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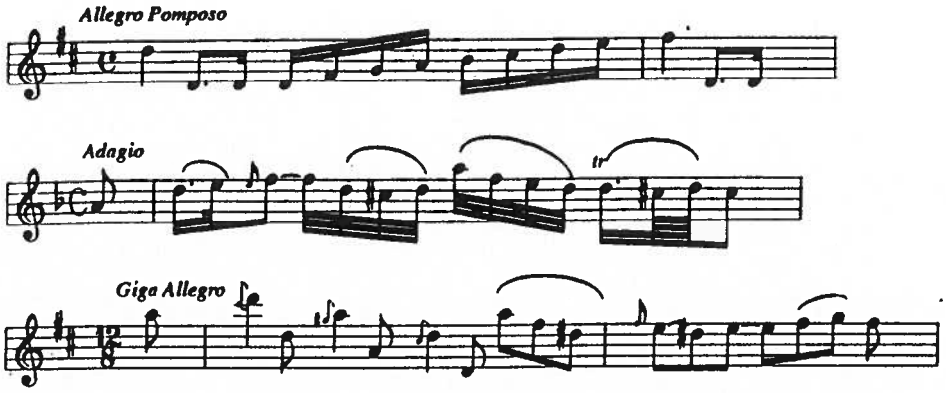

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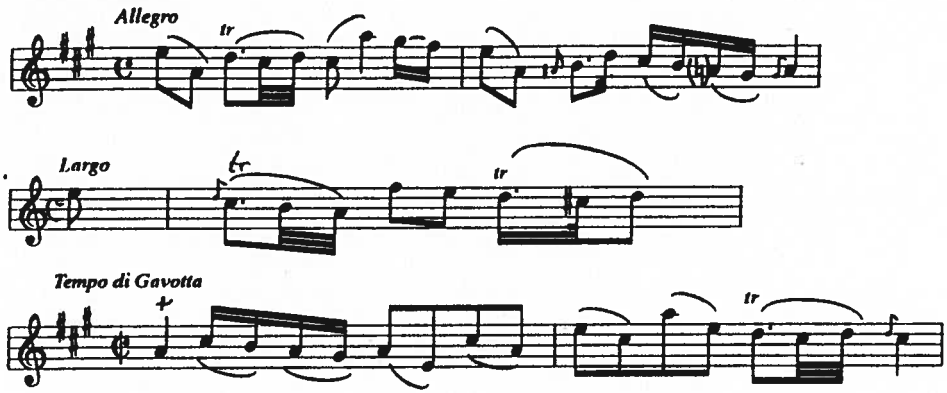

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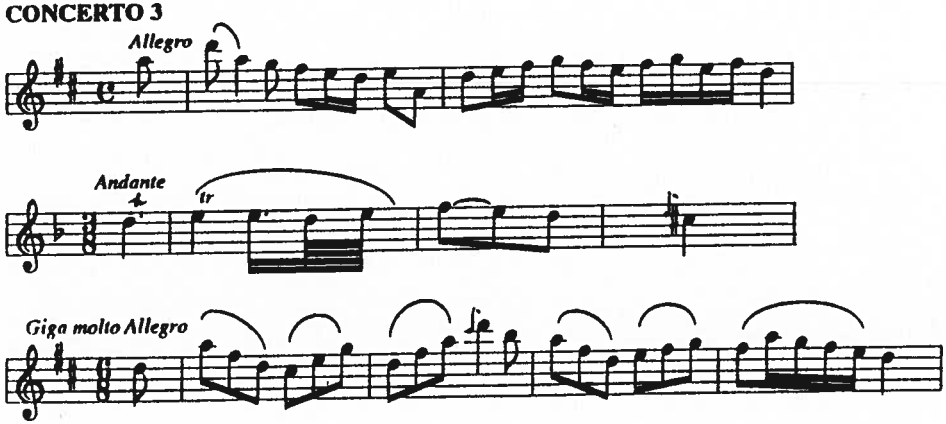

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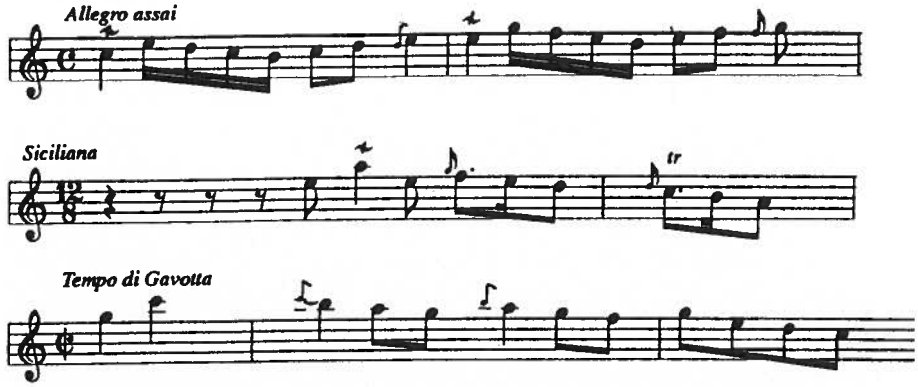

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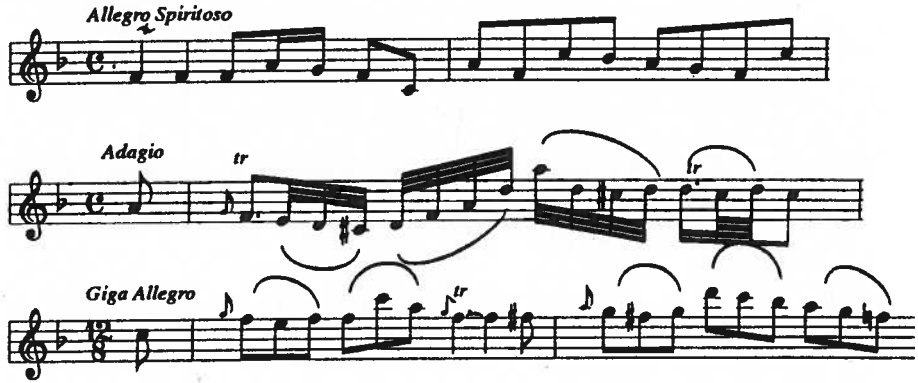

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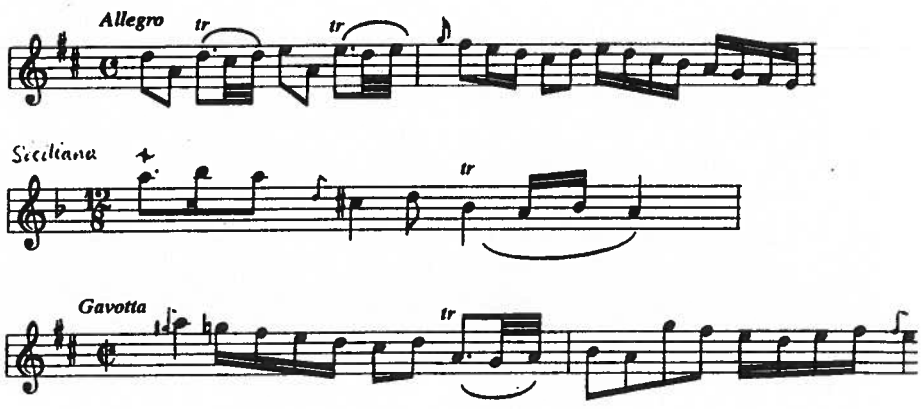

Bibliography and archival sources

1. Archival sources
2. Editions of Chilcot's works
3. Primary printed sources
4. Secondary sources

1. ARCHIVAL SOURCES

The following are the main repositories of archives used in the writing of this work. Many other repositories are mentioned in the footnotes. References to individual documents are also given in the footnotes.

1. Bath and Somerset

Bath City Record Office
Guildhall, Bath BA1 5AW
Official records of the City of Bath. City Council's minute books, Charity School's minute book, Apprenticeship registers, Quarter Sessions books, etc.

Bath Reference Library
Queen's Square, Bath
General documents and manuscripts relating to Bath's history. City Chamberlain's accounts.

Somerset Record Office
Obridge Road, Taunton TA2 7PU
Parish registers and church documents for the diocese of Bath and Wells.

2. Devon

Devon Record Office
Castle Street, Exeter EX4 3PQ
Parish registers and church documents, copies of wills and family papers etc. for Tiverton area and the rest of Devon.

3. Gloucestershire

Gloucestershire Record Office
Worcester Street, Gloucester GL1 3DW
Parish registers and church documents, copies of wills and family papers etc. relating to Gloucestershire.

2. EDITIONS OF CHILCOT'S WORKS

1. The Suites

Six | SUITES of LESSONS | for the | HARPSICORD or SPINET | Compos'd by Mr Thomas Chilcot | Organist of Bath | London: | Printed and Sold by Wm Smith, at Corelli's Head, near St. Clements Church in ye Strand. | and by the Author, at his House, in Barton Fields Bath. as also by Mr. James Leake, | Bookseller in Bath. [1734]

Thomas Chilcot. Six Suites of Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinet (1734), Édition par Davitt Moroney. (Heugel & Cie, 1981) (*Le Pupitre*; L.P.60)

2. The Songs

TWELVE | ENGLISH SONGS | With their Symphonies | The Words by | Shakespeare and other Celebrated Poets | Set to Musick by | Mr. THOMAS CHILCOT | Organist of Bath | London | Printed and sold by John Johnson at the Harp and Crown | in Cheapside, Mr. Leak and Mr. Fredrick Booksellers in | Bath: and by the Author. [1744]

Some undated song sheets. See British Library music catalogue.

3. The 1756 concertos

Six | CONCERTOS | For the | HARPSICHORD | Accompanied with | Four VIOLINS, VIOLA, VIOLONCELLO, and BASSO-RIPIENO; | Dedicated | To the Right Honourable | LADY ELIZ: BATHURST, | By | Thomas Chilcot | ORGANIST OF BATH. | London | Printed for John Johnson, at the Harp & Crown in Cheapside | 1756.

4. The 1765 concertos

Six | CONCERTOS | for the | HARPSICHORD | with Accompanyments | Dedicated | To the Right Honourable | the COUNTESS of ANCRAM | BY | Thomas Chilcot | ORGANIST OF BATH | Opera Seconda | PRINTED for the AUTHOR. | MDCCLXV.
[actually published sometime after November 1766]

3. PRIMARY PRINTED SOURCES

Anon *ABC Dario Musico* (Bath: For the authors, 1780)

Anon *A catalogue of all the Capital Musical Instruments, Extensive and valuable Collection of manuscript, and other Music ... Late the Property of John Stanley ... Which will be Sold by Auction ... By Mr. Christie ... On Saturday the 24th of June, 1786.*

Anon *A Catalogue of the truly Valuable and Curious Library of Music, Late in the Possession of Dr. William Boyce, organist and Composer to his Majesty, And master of his Majesty's Band of Musicians, Deceased; Consisting of all Dr. Green's Curious and Valuable manuscripts, with the greatest Variety of Excellent Compositions for the Church, Chamber and the Theatre, ever yet offer'd to Sale. Also various other Articles specified in the Catalogue, equally Good. Which will be sold by Auction, by Mess. Christie and Ansell At their Great Room, Pall Mall, on Wednesday, April 14. 1779, and The Two following Days.*

Anon *A Description of Bath. A Poem* (London: Printed for J. Leake & J. Gray, 1734)

Anon. *An enquiry into the Melancholy Circumstances of Great Britain: More particularly In Regard to the Oeconomy of Private Families and Persons ... With Observations on the New Methods of Living and Diversions, in both City and Country* (London: W. Bickerton, n.d.)

Anon *The Georgian Era: Memoirs of the Most Eminent Persons, who have flourished in Great Britain, from the Accession of George the First to the Demise of George the Fourth.* 4 vols (London: Vizstelly, Branston & Co., 1832-34)

Anon *An index to the Biographical and Obituary notices in* The Gentleman's Magazine *1731-1780* (London: British Record Society, 1891)

Anon — *Thoughts on the importance of the Sabbath, with a caution not to trespass on the design of it: Also on the use and advantages of music, as an amusement to the polite part of mankind. Likewise on the abuse of music in churches, as practised by many organists. With several religious, moral and political reflections on modern inattention to the true art of living, with regard to some of our most fashionable amusements. In nine letters.* (London: Printed for J. Dodsley, 1765)

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