Among the more than five hundred keyboard concertos published in eighteenth-century Britain, the twelve harpsichord concertos of Thomas Chilcot are unique. Their young, poorly educated provincial composer devised a style, form, and instrumentation unprecedented in Britain at the time—a compositional process as mysterious as the composer’s meteoric rise to prestige, wealth, and influence, the disappearance of most documentation surrounding his early years, and the remarkable events following his death. After surveying Chilcot’s life and musical output, this article will consider the publication of his concertos as well as their keyboard style, formal organization, and orchestral parts. An appendix provides a thematic index of the twelve compositions.

Very little has been known about Thomas Chilcot until recently. He was born in the West of England (probably in Bath) in or about 1707. Although his birth records and most other documents relating to his early life and education are now missing, it is known that, in common with his older brothers, he was educated at Bath Charity School whose headmaster, Henry Dixon, had a strong interest in church music. On 6 July 1721 Chilcot (presumably then fourteen, the customary age when boys signed indentures) was apprenticed to Josiah Priest, the organist of Bath Abbey since 1714. It is noteworthy not only that Chilcot did not follow his brothers into their father’s trade of cordwainer but also that he appears to be the only pupil the charity school ever allowed to be apprenticed to a musician. After Priest’s death in 1725, his post (one of the best-paid British organist positions outside the capital) was given to the teenaged Chilcot on a

probationary basis. Three years later, when Chilcot’s apprenticeship should have concluded, he was offered the tenure of the post. As City musician in fashionable Bath, Chilcot rapidly established a remarkable relationship with many noble families, attracting their patronage and subscriptions to his publications. He became a member and subsequently Grand Master of the Royal Cumberland Lodge of Freemasons. He was also among the original members of the Society of Musicians, founded in 1739. As well as his work at the Abbey, Chilcot organized and directed some ambitious choral concerts (at which he played his own concertos) and appears also to have run a small instrument-hire business.

Chilcot died suddenly on 24 November 1766, having occupied a central position in Bath’s music life for half a century and having published some important music. It is therefore extraordinary that the announcement of his death in *Pope’s Bath Chronicle* three days later comprised only nine words and was placed in an insignificant corner of the newspaper. No other public notice of his death seems to have been taken. Chilcot’s large estate, which included a vast library of music and books, was auctioned the following January in a “great Number of Lots.” Before the auction, however, a quarrel erupted between Chilcot’s children and his erstwhile friend and solicitor William Yescombe. The children accused the latter of cheating them not only by undervaluing items that were sold but also by allowing his friends to copy from a manuscript book believed to contain some of Chilcot’s finest unpublished compositions, thereby reducing the volume’s value. Yescombe replied by withdrawing the music from the sale and asking composer-astronomer Sir William Herschel (1738–1822) to catalogue the library of music in order to establish that it was of little value. The disagreement over Chilcot’s estate continued for thirty years, thus making impossible the carrying out of elaborate arrangements the composer had made for his own funeral procession, monument, and memorial trusts.

Chilcot’s unpublished music, none of which survives, includes at least four anthems and a Jubilate as well as music mentioned in Herschel’s catalogue: “Elfrida” (presumably an oratorio), a further 92 songs (unless the latter is a misprint for Chilcot’s published 12 songs), and compositions in the disputed manuscript book described in the catalogue as Chilcot’s “finest pieces of Music . . . never Printed or Sold.” His extant works consist of:


3. Herschel’s catalogue of 253 items has recently been discovered by the Yescombe family and will be the subject of a future article by the present author and Edward Yescombe.
The Twelve Harpsichord Concertos of Thomas Chilcot


Twelve English Songs with their symphonies. The words by Shakespeare and other Celebrated Poets (London: John Johnson, [1744]).

Six Concertos For the Harpsichord Accompanied with Four Violins, Viola, Violoncello, and Basso-Ripieno (London: John Johnson, 1756).

Six Concertos for the Harpsichord with Accompanyments (Bath, privately printed, 1765 [actually 1766 or later]).

Chilcot’s suites are Handelian in style and well crafted; indeed, the first is considered equal in quality to Handel’s suites. The English Songs follow the fashions of British song collections in the 1740s: texts by Shakespeare and Anacreon, preference for binary (sometimes strophic) rather than da capo form, 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.

The history of the British keyboard concerto during the second half of the eighteenth century has been described elsewhere by the present writer. The more than five hundred extant concertos from this period can be grouped into four stylistic categories: “Handelian,” galant, “Scarlattian,” and mixed. Although the Scarlattian style of keyboard concerto never became popular, Chilcot’s twelve concertos well represent the most interesting and successful of this type. Indeed, no lesser authorities than Rosamond McGuiness and H. Diack Johnstone have described Chilcot’s harpsichord concertos as “among the finest English examples of their kind,” adding “but for the fact that the original orchestral parts are lacking, they would surely be better known.”


6. These groupings are discussed in more detail in Rishton, “Chilcot and His Concertos,” chap. 6.

The present study of Chilcot’s concertos is based on the keyboard part-books, which include the customary abbreviated references to instrumentation—mostly “solo” and “tutti” indications but also occasional mention of “violins” and other orchestral instruments. Although it is not possible to reconstruct the precise text of the orchestral score, the keyboard part-books provide clear insight into the concertos’ harpsichord style, thematic content, and formal structure.

Publication of the Concertos

On Monday, 1 April 1754, The Bath Journal carried the following announcement:

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.9

8. This article is based on uncatalogued copies of Chilcot’s twelve harpsichord
concertos in the Bath Public Library.

9. The Bath Journal, 1 April 1754, 50. The announcement was repeated in the
same newspaper on 15 April (p. 57), 29 April (p. 65), 6 May (p. 71), and 13 May
(p. 74).
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 fewer than 278 subscribers for the *English Songs*, buying among them a total of 346 copies. Chilcot evidently hoped this success would be repeated for his first set of concertos. 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* 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. Johnson, one of the most formidably businesslike 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, Johnson did not publish Chilcot’s second set of concertos, although they were privately engraved and printed at Johnson’s workshop. If Johnson declined to publish the set because of Chilcot’s unreliability, his fears were justified; its eventual publication, discussed later, was delayed even longer.

It is interesting to speculate about the identities of the “several eminent masters” whose approbation Chilcot claimed. Handel, the “most excellent Master” to whom Chilcot clearly referred in the dedication to his 1765 concertos (see page 41), 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 eyesight in 1752 and loss of sight by early 1753 would have made unlikely his subscribing to new publications during 1754. But Handel did in fact subscribe to *The Works of Aaron Hill* and to Richard Rolt’s *Memoirs of the Life of . . . John Liniesay* in 1753, to Elizabeth Turner’s *Collection of Songs with Symphonies and a thorough bass* in 1756, and to John Bennett’s *Ten Voluntaries for the Organ or Harpsichord* in 1758. All the same, a number of eminent composers did subscribe to Chilcot’s 1756 concertos, including Charles Avison, William Boyce, Francis Fleming, Maurice Greene, Tommaso Giordani, Thomas Linley, and John Stanley.

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.
Boyce and Greene, two of the most distinguished native British composers of the period, wrote church and organ music that would have been familiar to Chilcot, but no keyboard concertos by either of them survive. Both composers had substantial private libraries of music: Chilcot’s 1756 set of concertos was the last publication to which Greene subscribed, whereas Boyce, who subscribed to four separate items published in 1756 including Chilcot’s, appears to have owned copies of nearly every set of British concertos printed in the second third of the eighteenth century.10

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) circa 1785. Stanley published in 1755 what may be regarded as the finest set of British keyboard concertos of the eighteenth century, following the success of his keyboard arrangements of concertos issued about twenty years earlier. Chilcot’s pupil Linley does not appear to have written any keyboard concertos. All of the above composers may be regarded as “eminent masters” who gave their support to Chilcot’s publication.

Other subscribers to Chilcot’s early concertos included two members of the Broderip family, 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.11 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 as “of Bradford.” Orpin later moved to Bath to succeed Sir William Herschel as organist of the Octagon Chapel. Other subscriptions came from harpsichord makers Joseph Mahoon and Burkat Shudi, West-Country organ builder Brice Seed,12 and the musical societies of Oxford (which took two copies) and Stourbridge.

10. That Boyce owned an extensive collection of concertos is apparent both from the regularity with which his name appears on subscription lists and from the auction catalogue of his books and music, entitled A Catalogue of the Truly Valuable and Curious Library of Music, Late in the Possession of Dr. William Boyce . . . sold by Auction, by Mess. Christie and Ansell . . . April 14. 1779. The volume 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.

11. MS 26, fols. 69r–70v, Pendlebury Library of Music, University of Cambridge.

Many members of the nobility also 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); Lady Chesterfield; Lord Dupplin; Lord Fortescue; the Earl of Northampton; Lady Diana Spencer; and Sir Bourchier Wrey (1714–1784)—the cousin of Chilcot’s second wife, Anne—and Lady Wrey.

Chilcot’s particularly servile dedication of the 1756 concertos to Lady Elizabeth Bathurst suggests not only that he was closely acquainted with her (he speaks of “the many obligations . . . to Your Ladyship”) but also that he may often have 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. Elizabeth was the wife 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: Jonathan Swift, Matthew Prior, and Alexander Pope were all frequent visitors to the house.14

Following the success of his 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.15 It has not been possible to determine why Chilcot chose the Countess as the dedicatee.

The publication of Chilcot’s second set of concertos was beset by difficulties. The collecting of subscriptions dragged on through the winter of 1763–64, and by the summer of 1764 some subscribers who had paid their guinea were growing impatient. It is unknown whether the delay was caused by Chilcot’s not yet having completed the compositions, by his infirmity, by an insufficient number of subscribers, or by Chilcot’s inefficiency as a


14. Information from the present Earl Bathurst, who has also indicated that a tradition of holding concerts at Cirencester Park persisted into the early twentieth century.

15. The arrival of the Earl and Countess was announced in The Bath Journal of 14 May 1744, for example, and Lord Ancram was made an honorary Freeman of the City on 25 September 1752 (Bath City Council Minute Book no. 7 [1751–1761], 12; Bath City Record Office [no catalogue number allocated]).
publisher, but a newspaper announcement dated 29 August 1764 was clearly intended to reassure subscribers:

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, the process took a long time, for the beautifully prepared title page of the publication was dated 1765 and the following pages were delayed even longer. A note at the foot of the list of subscribers excuses the omission of any names due to Chilcot’s sudden death in November 1766. Evidently the page listing subscribers was engraved later, 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, Chilcot refers indirectly both 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

16. Chilcot opted to have his second set of concertos privately printed, though they were obviously engraved by William Clark, the same engraver at John Johnson’s who had produced Chilcot’s previous concerto publication.

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. While hoping for her patronage, he offers no flattery in return and gives no indication of the extent of their acquaintance.

The subscription list for the later concertos includes seventy-two names. 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 complete or not, the list shows every sign of having been hurriedly compiled. “Mr. Broderil, Organist, in Bristol” is presumably Broderip, and “Mr. Joseph Tyler, Organist in Bath” is almost certainly Joseph Tylee, Chilcot’s friend and successor at Bath Abbey.

Other musicians on the list include Capel Bond of Coventry, Thomas Saunders Dupuis, Francis Fleming, Philip Hayes, Keeble, Linley, Orpin, and John Stanley. Mrs Johnson, the publisher’s widow, purchased 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 Observations on the Present State of Music in London (1791), 30 Letters on Various Subjects (1795), and The 4 Ages (1798). “Mr Mahoon, Harpsichord-maker” had subscribed also to the 1756 concertos, and “Mr Kirkman, Harpsichord-maker” and “Mr. Snetzler, Organ-Builder” were among Britain’s most eminent instrument makers. A number of Bath residents also subscribed, including the painters Thomas Gainsborough and William Hoare.
Keyboard Style

Both sets of Chilcot’s concertos are entitled *Six Concertos for the Harpsichord*, a designation that at the time was unique. Of the more than five hundred keyboard concertos published in Britain during the 1700s, the vast majority were 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 the primary or sole performing medium toward the end of the century. Apart from 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 pieces, claim to be “for the organ or harpsichord.”

Publishers evidently encouraged composers to be flexible in giving titles to their works in order to ensure the widest possible market. But it is equally evident that not even the unscrupulous John Walsh and certainly not John Johnson could have given Chilcot’s compositions any other title. They are obviously harpsichord music and would be entirely ineffective played on the organ.

In the preface to his 1765 set, Chilcot refers to the works as being “adapted to an instrument, which without any invidious comparison is one of the noblest, and most ancient of any now in use.” This wording would seem a curious way for an organist to have described the harpsichord, especially since the preface continues by praising Handel for introducing to Britain “that delightful Species of Harmony, the Organ and Harpsichord Concerto” and by wishing that “in these that follow, your Ladyship may find merit. . . .” Nevertheless, both the title page and the nature of the music itself establish that these concertos, like those of 1756, were undoubtedly intended for the harpsichord.

Many of the score or so of young ladies who subscribed to the 1756 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 by the appearance of several earlier English editions, the concertos make extensive use of hand crossing and long

18. For an extensive list of British keyboard concertos in manuscript or in print before 1800, see Rishton, “British Keyboard Concerto,” 131–39.

runs of arpeggios—both features also found in Ciampi’s harpsichord concertos issued by Walsh in the same year.

Within the first one-hundred measures of Concerto no. 1 in Chilcot’s 1765 set, the composer’s characteristically crisp, incisive, and exciting harpsichord writing comes again to the fore. Nevertheless, there is a striking contrast between the two sets. The earlier concertos are full of exuberance, with wild leaps of several octaves and extensive, rapid hand crossings. The later concertos, however, contain no hand crossings and very few leaps of over an octave. Indeed, whereas the opening tutti of the first concerto contains some two-octave leaps, these are suppressed in the corresponding passage in the solo section. Such restraint would have been unthinkable in the earlier works.

The passages of rapid hand crossing found in each of Chilcot’s earlier concertos except no. 3 are a feature hitherto absent from English keyboard concertos. These crossings frequently involve leaps ranging from two to three octaves between successive eighth notes (see exs. 1 and 2).\(^{20}\) This technique is, of course, very characteristic of the early to mid-period works of 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 part (mm. 33–37) develop into full-fledged hand crossings at the equivalent place in the second part (mm. 84–93). Although previously unknown in British keyboard concertos, such hand crossings were extensively adopted by Chilcot’s successors. Two organ concertos survive by Sir William Herschel, who

Example 1. Thomas Chilcot, *Six Concertos for the Harpsichord* (1756), Concerto no. 1, mvt. 1, mm. 64–65.


\(^{20}\) In the music examples, accidentals missing in the original sources have been tacitly supplied and wrong notes corrected.
was appointed organist of Bath’s Octagon Chapel in 1767, the year after Chilcot’s death. The second concerto, 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 of hand crossing. A similar situation obtains in Joseph Dale’s second concerto for “Piano Forte or Harpsichord” (op. 5) of about 1785: right-hand leaps of two-and-a-half octaves do not cross the left hand, which is engaged in a long trill toward the bottom of the keyboard.

More obviously indebted to Chilcot in terms of hand crossings is the opening movement of the first of Philip Hayes’s Six Concertos of 1769 (ex. 3). Among the subscribers to Chilcot’s 1765 concertos, Hayes 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.” The first piece includes some hand crossing reminiscent

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Example 2. Chilcot, *Six Concertos for the Harpsichord* (1756), Concerto no. 6, mvt. 3, mm. 27–28.
Example 3. Comparison of Chilcot’s Concerto no. 5 (1756), mvt. 3, mm. 38–41 (right-hand part), with Philip Hayes’s Concerto no. 1 (1769), mvt. 1, mm. 36-41 (right-hand part).
of Chilcot’s style, though less energetic than many of the latter’s examples. Four other movements from this set employ a similar technique.

Chilcot’s extended arpeggios are also without precedent in British keyboard concertos. Although arpeggios are common in keyboard music of all periods, his four-octave gymnastics are unparalleled (see ex. 4).


Another technique used by Chilcot that appears to be a direct imitation of Scarlatti’s style is the repetition of successive sixteenth notes, which occurs, among other places, in movement two of Chilcot’s second concerto.

Orgelmusik,” *Händel-Jahrbuch* 12 [1966]: 65–66.) Whether this concerto was among the ones eventually published is uncertain, however. The “Advertisement” (preface) to the belated 1787 edition records the unfortunate circumstances that delayed publication of the concertos by subscription, namely, Arne’s untimely death, followed by that of his son who had been commissioned by the publishers to supply parts missing from one of the concertos. The eventual discovery of the missing material by a Mr Groombridge (identified in the subscription list to William Smethergell’s *Six Concertos* of ca. 1775 as “Organist of St Stephen’s Coleman Street”), enabled publication of Arne’s concertos some nine years after his death.
of 1756 (ex. 5). The earliest music published in Britain that employs this curious technique is found in early editions of Scarlatti’s sonatas. Example 6 shows his use of such repetitions in K. 24.24

Example 5. Chilcot, *Six Concertos for the Harpsichord* (1756), Concerto no. 2, mvt. 1, mm. 31–32.

![Example 5](image)

Example 6. Domenico Scarlatti, Sonata in A Major, K. 24, mm. 1–2.

![Example 6](image)

Another Italian technique, one unfortunately overused by Chilcot, is the so-called “Alberti bass.” This formula, first encountered in measure 56 of the opening movement of Concerto no. 1 (1756), appears almost continuously in the first (and sometimes the last) movements of the remaining concertos. The composer was seemingly deaf to the damping effect that a surfeit of notes had on some of his purposeful melodies. Like almost all British composers of his time, Chilcot drew heavily on the standard melodic phrases that were an integral part of the musical lingua franca of Europe.

24. Sonata in A Major, K. 24 (Longo 495), was issued in 1738 as no. 24 of the *Essercizi per Gravicembalo* and in the mid-1750s as Sonata no. 31 in the Roseingrave edition (see n. 19).
Despite his dependence on these formulas, Chilcot manipulates much of his material with a skill that eluded many of his English contemporaries. In the Andante of the second concerto of 1756, for instance, an expected A-minor cadence is neatly sidestepped to lengthen the phrase (see ex. 7), while in the pleasant gavotte that follows an unusual twist by the soloist’s brief interjection diverts the tutti from an expected mediant-minor cadence. This practice, 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.


Chilcot is at his best in the slow movements when he is lyrical. For example, in the Andante mentioned in the preceding paragraph and in the attractive Siciliana of the third concerto in the same set the customary lilting rhythm blossoms into sixteenth-note figuration set against a chromatically descending bass (see ex. 8). Some of the other slow movements seem rather bland and directionless in the context of the vigorous faster movements.
Form

The general design of Chilcot’s twelve concertos is remarkably uniform. Each concerto employs the customary eighteenth-century format of three movements (either fast–slow–fast or fast–slow–dance), ends with a major-key movement, and includes a central movement normally in the tonic minor (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, whereas 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. The 1765 concertos conclude with either a gigue (nos. 1, 3, and 5) or a gavotte (nos. 2, 4, and 6).

British concerto composers of the last third of the eighteenth century tended toward a substantial first movement, a perfunctory second movement, and a scrappy or nonexistent third movement. Although Chilcot’s first movements, in accordance with the usual eighteenth-century practice, are 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

The striking structural characteristic of the opening movements is their use of a sophisticated and well-developed binary form. They normally consist of an opening tutti, with a shortened dominant restatement beginning at almost exactly the midpoint of the movement and an even shorter tonic restatement at the end. These restatements frame two long solo passages in which the second halves use parallel (transposed) material. Two features in particular strengthen the binary form: (1) the modulation to the dominant, which occurs roughly halfway through the first solo section and is confirmed at approximately the midpoint of the movement by the tutti “ritornello”; and (2) the extremely lengthy parallelism between the two solo passages.

Regarding the first feature, the central “ritornello” incorporates material from the opening and concludes with a perfect cadence directly abutted by the following solo, which begins in the supertonic minor. A typical example of this procedure may be seen in the fourth concerto of 1756. Here, the central tutti (which begins on measure 72 of a 144-measure movement) concludes with a clear dominant cadence that is followed by an abrupt shift to the super-tonic minor for the beginning of the solo passage (ex. 9).

Although Chilcot was clearly not obsessed with mathematical precision, it appears that his composing procedure began with a clear plan that mapped out the main structural events before the notes themselves were conceived. While the central tutti in his fourth concerto (1756 set) begins on measure 72 of 144, Chilcot was not normally so precise. The central tutti of Concerto no. 2 (1756), for instance, begins on measure 69 of 142, and that of Concerto no. 3 (1756) begins on measure 54 of 103—in both cases two measures removed from the exact center point but close enough to suggest a degree of structural planning. Also, in the 1765 concertos the beginning of the central tutti section, which marks the center of the binary structure, occurs in Concertos nos. 1, 2, and 5 within three measures of the mathematical center of the movement. Chilcot was evidently not trying

25. The average percentages of the lengths of the various sections in relation to total movement length are as follows: opening tutti (14%), first solo (33.5%), central tutti (8%), second solo (41%), and final tutti (3.5%).

26. Exceptions occur in the fifth concertos of both sets, where the second solo begins in the relative minor; in Concerto no. 2 of the 1756 set, which is in a minor key; in Concerto no. 3 of the 1765 set, where the second solo begins in the mediant minor; and in Concerto no. 4 of the 1765 set, which follows a slightly different structural plan.
The Twelve Harpsichord Concertos of Thomas Chilcot


![Example 9. Chilcot, *Six Concertos for the Harpsichord* (1756), Concerto no. 4, mvt. 1, mm. 83–85.](image)

to make a mathematical point here (he could easily have been more precise), but it can hardly be coincidental that in half of his twelve opening movements he located the central dominant cadence so accurately.

On a smaller scale, the harmonic rhythms and patterns in Chilcot’s music are highly organized. The first concerto of the 1765 set, for example, opens with a twenty-four-measure tutti section that falls into perfectly organized two- and four-measure phrases until the penultimate measure, which contains an interrupted cadence that is resolved in the final measure. The interrupted cadence and harmonic pause (marked or otherwise) are procedures also used at the equivalent point in Concertos nos. 2 and 5, but they appear to be practices Chilcot adopted after he had composed the 1756 set, in which neither procedure is apparent. In Concerto no. 1 of 1765 the soloist’s measures leading up to the central tutti section follow the same pattern but without the interrupted cadence.

Although these techniques, together with the orderly harmonic rhythms, strongly suggest that Chilcot’s composing procedure involved making a harmonic and structural sketch which was subsequently 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 was 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 that mark the work of a first-rate composer.

The second structural feature, mentioned earlier, that heightens the binary feeling of Chilcot’s 1756 first movements is the extremely lengthy parallelism between the two solo passages. In Concerto no. 6, for instance, measures 38–84 (m. 38 being only 16 measures into the first solo) are repeated—transposed up a fourth—as measures 119–66 (concluding only four measures before the end of the movement). The one-measure discrepancy results from an altered modulation. The large-scale parallelism between the two solo sections accounts for more than half of the entire movement. In the first concerto, measures 52–66 correspond to measures 117–31, and measures 68–84 to measures 140–56. 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 in the hearer a gradual realization of homecoming as familiar material begins to unfold, this time in (or preparing for) the tonic key. In cases such as Concerto no. 1, where the return to the tonic key occurs a few measures before the start of the parallelism, the effect of “recapitulation” is subtle and may take several measures to appreciate. In instances such as Concerto no. 4, where the beginning of the 35-measure parallelism is marked by a perfect cadence in the relative minor followed by a restatement of the movement’s opening theme in the tonic, clear tonal and melodic signals combine to produce an immediate realization of the return to familiar material. The use above of the term “recapitulation” is a considered one. While binary forms, however sophisticated, exhibit a number of special features that distinguish them from sonata forms, the use of contrasting solo and tutti material in the first part of the movement, the structurally significant tonal shift to super-tonic minor and other remote keys after the central tutti (a tonal “development”), and the clear sense of tonal and melodic recapitulation in the last quarter of the movement all evoke signals that can be described by sonata-form terminology.

In his 1765 concertos, as in the earlier set, Chilcot’s first-movement form is essentially binary, with the midway point marked by a tutti section in the dominant that at least generally refers 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 place where material began to be recapitulated in the second part, the first movements of the second set of concertos do not do this, and only one concerto (no. 2) uses a structural cadence to reinforce return to the tonic. The large-scale
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parallelisms that create the effect of recapitulation are also absent from the 1765 first movements.

Use of binary parallelisms such as those in Chilcot’s concertos is a compositional procedure of indeterminate origin. Chilcot had employed similar binary forms in his suites, which predate the arrival in Britain of continental works, such as Scarlatti’s sonatas, that use this technique. A number of keyboard-concerto composers after Chilcot employed similar structures.

While considering Chilcot’s first-movement designs as sophisticated binary forms exhibiting some 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. Its simple, direct ritornello form—in which several distinctive ideas that comprise 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 survives (albeit in a different guise) as 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 in the first movements. An opening tutti resembling a ritornello, consisting of a gestic initial figure and a number of other ideas, recurs at structural intervals to reinforce the prevailing tonality. These “ritornelli” draw upon material from the opening statement. The central “ritornello” of each of the six initial movements of the 1756 set uses the original opening figure. This material is followed in Concertos nos. 1 and 6 by the original last idea; in Concertos nos. 2, 3, and 4 by a new idea or one loosely based on previous material; and in Concerto no. 5 by the whole of the opening “ritornello.”

The opening tutti of the first 1756 concerto, for instance, contains an assortment of ideas that by no means would have been out of place in a Vivaldi concerto. Chilcot first presents a gestic figure built simply upon a tonic-dominant relationship (see ex. 10a). There follow a brief leaping figure (ex. 10b), a brisk “snap” rhythm (ex. 10c), a gesture familiar from its use by many eighteenth-century composers (ex. 10d), and finally a syncopated figure (ex. 10e). 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; it serves as a “basket” from which ideas are selected at various stages of the movement. Chilcot moves beyond this “ragbag” concept in the opening tutti of his fourth 1756 concerto. Here, except for the figure in measures 14–17, the bulk of the tutti material grows out of ideas presented in measures 1–5 and 7. This type of developmental approach is quite alien to the traditional concept of a “ritornello.”


a. Mm. 1–2

![Example 10a](image)

b. Mm. 5–6

![Example 10b](image)

c. Mm. 10–11

![Example 10c](image)

d. Mm. 13–14

![Example 10d](image)

e. Mm. 18–19

![Example 10e](image)
As discussed earlier, the typical first-movement structure of the 1756 concertos consists of a lengthy opening tutti section (some 14 percent of the movement’s length); a central tutti in the dominant (some 8 percent of the movement); a very brief closing tutti (about 4 percent); and two long solo sections (about 33 percent and 41 percent, respectively) that frame the central tutti. The solo sections are interrupted by occasional tutti interjections. In the 1765 concertos the central tutti has considerably less importance. In Concerto no. 4, for example, it occupies little more than 1 percent of the movement and contains no material directly derived from the opening theme. The tutti’s interjections into the second solo section, however, are increased in frequency and in significance, to the extent that they may almost be described as very short ritornelli. This is particularly the case in Concerto no. 3 in which, after the central tutti, part of the opening material is restated three times (in the dominant, relative minor, and tonic, respectively) before the closing instrumental section. The range of minor keys visited by the soloist after the central tutti is also more restricted in the later works. This practice leads in Concertos nos. 1 and 4 of the 1765 set to a very early return to the tonic (in Concerto no. 1 this occurs at measure 104 of 168, only 60 percent of the way through the movement).

**Slow Movements**

The form of Chilcot’s slow movements bears some resemblance to that of his first movements. After a substantial opening tutti built on two ideas (an opening one ending on the dominant and a slightly shorter one returning to the tonic), the remainder of the movement consists of solo material, punctuated at its halfway point by a single-measure tutti interjection that reinforces a dominant or relative-major cadence. The tutti returns for the last few measures of the movement. 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 and 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 substantially the superficial appearance of the music but repays careful study by performers as an example of keyboard elaboration.

The center point of the solo is marked both by a dominant cadence and—as in some of the first movements—by an abrupt shift in tonality. This moment in the slow movement of the first 1756 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.

In the slow movements of the 1765 set, Chilcot is at his most confident in writing dances, such as the pleasant Siciliana in Concerto no. 6, and in writing highly decorated lyrical movements, such as the Adagio in Concerto no. 5. These movements reveal that his coloratura had become more expansive since 1756, without losing the sense of direction that made his earlier slow movements so successful (see ex. 11).

**Final Movements**

The concluding movements of Chilcot’s concertos fall into two categories. One-fourth of them 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.”

The two sets of variations in the 1756 publication employ precisely the same unenterprising design. The “theme”—a binary dance in regular four- and eight-measure phrases—is followed by the first variation in which the treble part is embellished while the bass part is all but untouched. The second variation presents the original treble part almost unaltered but ornaments the original bass with scales and sixteenth-note figurations. The third (final) variation consists of the original treble part overlaid with eighth-note triplet patterns accompanied by the original bass part.

The last movements of the 1765 set divide into two groups: gigues (in Concertos nos. 1, 3, and 5) and gavottes (in Concertos nos. 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 no. 2 (see fig. 1) is unusual in that, apart from the eight-measure opening phrase and the short tailpiece, the two halves of the movement are virtually identical. Such parallelism 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 taken so far.

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29. 1756 set, nos. 1 and 2; and 1765 set, no. 4.
30. The title “Giga” is used in the 1756 set, no. 5, and in the 1765 set, nos. 1, 3, and 5.
The gavotte in Concerto no. 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 + 12 measures, starting in the tonic and concluding in the dominant. The initial eight measures, repeated in the opening statement, are subsequently restated before and after each of the variations. Variation one leaves the bass part of the theme essentially unaltered but ornaments and elaborates the treble. Conversely, variation two slightly
simplifies the original treble part but decorates the original bass part. After the final repetition of the opening eight measures, the first four measures are stated again—transposed down an octave—to conclude the movement. Chilcot was not at his most imaginative when writing variations.

The gavotte in Concerto no. 6 is a rudimentary rondo. After a four-measure opening solo section, three different eight-measure solos are framed by four identical four-measure tutti phrases in the tonic. The movement concludes with a four-measure tutti tailpiece.

Of the three gavottes, that of Concerto no. 2 is the most interesting. In particular, the derivation of measures 25–30 from measures 9–14 shows Chilcot not simply decorating but stripping down the music to its harmonic framework and then rebuilding.

All three gavottes are tonally restricted: that in concerto 6 reaches a relative-minor cadence at roughly the halfway point of the movement (the end of the second internal solo section); that in the fourth concerto displays tonic-to-dominant movement in each variation; and that in the second concerto makes a small foray into the submediant minor but otherwise remains firmly rooted in the tonic.

The gigues are more substantial than the gavottes, both in character and in length. The gigue in Concerto no. 3, marked *molto allegro*, consists of 174 measures in $\frac{6}{8}$ meter, whereas the gigues in Concertos nos. 1 and 5 are almost equally long with 67 and 69 measures, respectively, in $\frac{12}{8}$ meter. As in the first movements of Chilcot’s 1756 concertos, the three gigues are binary with extended parallelisms between the closing measures of the two parts. Both parts are repeated. The “central” double bar line appears about one-third of the way into the movement, with the “crux” (the point at which the original tonality and material return) occurring about two-thirds of the way through. In each piece, the tonality of the first third of the movement moves from tonic to dominant. The second third explores nearby minor keys before coming to a median-minor cadence, which is directly abutted by the tonic restatement of the opening measures at the beginning of the final third.31

The extent and organization of the parallelisms are, however, different in each case. In Concerto no. 5, all twenty-one measures after the crux—other than a few measures altered to maintain the tonic tonality—are recapitulated from the exposition. In Concerto no. 1, the first three measures

31. In Concerto no. 5 (1756), however, the reappearance of the opening material and tonality is delayed for four measures after the mediant-minor cadence.
of the movement are repeated directly after the crux, whereas the last eleven measures of each part are identical, though transposed. The parallelism in Concerto no. 3 is the most unusual, with three sections of the opening material reappearing during the closing fifty measures (mm. 1–6 reappear as 126–32, 39–53 as 140–55, and 58–67 as 168–77—through the last measure of the movement). The reason for the discrepancy in length between measures 39–53 and the restated version in measures 140–55 is the addition of an extra measure (m. 147). Chilcot’s rationale for this addition is not apparent: it neither effects a tonal or melodic alteration nor has 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 concluding movements of the 1765 set is different, and each has its own interest. In addition to variation form (Concerto no. 4), rondo form (Concerto no. 6), and his own type of binary form (Concerto no. 1), Chilcot includes other movements that are harder to classify. The structure of the gigue in the fifth concerto, for instance, clearly stems from his binary designs with extended parallelisms. Yet the division of the movement into three more-or-less equal sections—delimited by double bar lines, with virtually identical first and last sections and a middle section containing no material that can be said to “develop” from the opening—would normally elicit a designation other than “binary.”

Orchestral Parts

According to the title page, Chilcot’s six concertos published in the 1756 volume were intended to be “Accompanied with Four Violins, Viola, Violoncello, and Basso-Ripieno.” Regrettably, except for a first violin part presently in Glasgow, the orchestral parts have altogether vanished, and even the keyboard part is now a rare volume.

As mentioned earlier in this study, William Boyce purchased by subscription a copy of Chilcot’s 1756 concertos. That Boyce owned a set of the orchestral parts is evident from an entry in the catalogue of his music books auctioned after his death:

32. Item 9113, Kitson Collection, Mitchell Library, Glasgow, Scotland.
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.33

The name of the purchaser of Lot 72 was not recorded, but by the 1920s a collection that presumably can be identified with the above had surfaced in London. In his history of the Royal Somerset House and Inverness Lodge of the Freemasons, Arnold Whitaker Oxford lists “The Music, Minute Books, Etc.,” which he states were “in three wooden boxes.” Box A contained, when Oxford was writing in 1928, a large collection of music that included

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).34

The three wooden boxes are now in the custody of the Library and Museum of the Freemason’s Hall in London. The contents have been catalogued, but “a number of items were missing including the Chilcot scores. To date the missing music has not been traced.”35

It is not known whether instrumental parts to the 1765 concertos were ever printed. The publishing process was sufficiently disrupted to have resulted in their absence, and no trace of any parts exists today.

35. Librarian and Curator of the Freemason’s Hall (London), letter to the author, 21 September 1984. A further unsuccessful search was made in 1997.
It is striking, though hardly mysterious, that Chilcot’s harpsichord style clearly mirrors that of Domenico Scarlatti, some of whose sonatas were published in Britain as early as 1738, eighteen years before Chilcot’s first concertos. Nevertheless, very little music in Scarlatti’s style was ever composed in Britain. More curious is Chilcot’s use of sophisticated binary forms with extended parallelisms. These structures were also introduced into Britain during the late 1730s, both in Scarlatti’s sonatas (1738) and in Handel’s op. 6, no. 1 (1739). How, then, did Chilcot come to use these forms not only in his 1756 concertos but also earlier in his 1734 suites? And how did a poor weaver’s son, who was educated at a charity school and never traveled outside his native provincial town, assimilate the most advanced European styles, preempt the most innovative European forms, and compose with such mastery and confidence? What was the impetus behind the charity child’s remarkable appointment as Abbey organist and his rapid rise to wealth and influence in fashionable, elegant Bath? Why is Chilcot’s name missing from so many otherwise comprehensive documents? Why was his death largely ignored in the local press, and what eventually became of his fortune, library, and unpublished music? Few composers have left such a legacy of enigma.

Chilcot’s concerto 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. Nonetheless, his harpsichord concertos are worthy of performance not only as curiosities—which they certainly are—but also as bold and engaging music.\[37\]

36. See note 19.
37. This article was written in anticipation of the 250th anniversary of Chilcot’s first set of concertos, published in 1756.
Appendix

Thematic Index of Thomas Chilcot’s Twelve Harpsichord Concertos

*Six Concertos for the Harpsichord* (1756)

Concerto no. 1 (C)

Presto ma non troppo

Andante

Tempo di Minuetto

Concerto no. 2 (a)

Allegro

Andante

Tempo di Gavotta

Concerto no. 3 (F)

Allegro
The Twelve Harpsichord Concertos of Thomas Chilcot

Siciliana

Concerto no. 4 (D)

Allegro assai

Adagio

Tempo di Minuetto

Concerto no. 5 (G)

Allegro

Andante

Giga Allegro
Concerto no. 6 (C)

Allegro

Andante

Pizzicato

Allegretto

Six Concertos for the Harpsichord (1765)

Concerto no. 1 (D)

Allegro Pomposo

Adagio

Giga Allegro

Concerto no. 2 (A)

Allegro

Largo
The Twelve Harpsichord Concertos of Thomas Chilcot

Concerto no. 3 (D)

Concerto no. 4 (C)

Concerto no. 5 (F)
Concerto no. 6 (D)

Adagio

Giga Allegro

Allegro

Siciliana

Gavotta