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The Celebrated Circus Tunes: Music and Musicians in an Eighteenth-Century Circus

*The early modern circus was not only a feast for the eyes, but also for the ears. Music accompanied the equestrians, tumblers, and dancers (on the rope, horse and stage), and underscored the pantomimes. It came to the fore in the performance of burlettas and in individual songs, often performed by audience request. Sometimes the audience joined in a rousing chorus. The visual spectacle was always 'heard through' music, and popular music from the circus performances (as for the patent theatres of the day), was published for the domestic market, ensuring that some part of the experience could be relived at home. This article examines the function of music in the circus during the late eighteenth-century, considering how it supported the physical performances, and how these functions were underpinned by the embodied practices of the musicians. Kim Baston is a Senior Lecturer in Theatre and Drama at La Trobe University and member of the curriculum advisory group of the National Institute of Circus Arts (NICA). Her research interests include popular entertainments in the eighteenth century, circus history and culture, and the intersection of music and theatre. Her recent publications have appeared in *Early Popular Visual Culture* (2018), *Popular Entertainment Studies* (2016), *The Routledge Circus Studies Reader* (2016) and *Australasian Drama Studies* (2015).*

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In private society the taste for vocal harmony is classical and refined, yet nothing will go down but operas and burlettas on stage. It is this love of music that encourages so many new Theatres upon license for music and dancing.¹

The early modern circus was a feast, not just for the eyes, but also for the ears. Music accompanied the equestrians, tumblers and rope dancers in the ring, and underscored the pantomimes and ballets on the stage. Dance music, favourite songs, burlettas,² rousing audience choruses, orchestral overtures, and military marches accompanied the visual spectacle and formed a

large part of its appeal. This anonymous reviewer of Kean's performance of Hamlet was lamenting (as did many of his contemporaries) the popularity of the musical spectacle in the long eighteenth century, in which the vitality of the minor houses (with their focus on spectacular entertainments) seemed to be threatening the legitimate drama. "Music, such as it is, makes always a part of John Bull's public amusements" noted James Boswell.³

Rather than the brass/wind bands that became prominent during the late nineteenth century (and which now stand as the aural marker for circus music), the eighteenth-century circus utilised what was essentially a small classical orchestra, suitable for a repertoire based in the contemporary *galant* style, including the Italianate song then popular in the London pleasure gardens. The repertoire also included popular social dance music, such as hornpipes and minuets. The hybrid nature of the early circus, with its mixture of acrobatics in the ring and theatrical entertainments on the stage, situates the music on a stylistic continuum with the other theatrical music of the day.⁴ As with much of the theatre music, early circus music was fashionable, interchangeable, and largely ephemeral.

Music was important in the early circus, not solely for its popularity, but because it conferred legitimacy. The threat to the patent theatres with their monopoly of the spoken word, as Joseph Donahue notes, came from the more ambitious and extended dramatic forms, such as burlettas and pantomimes, that became possible in the circus and other minor houses when words could be sung.⁵ As Marius Kwint makes clear, however, the struggle for legitimacy went beyond the purely legalistic. The circus was attempting to become a place of respectable entertainment.⁶

In this article, I will focus on the music performed at the Edinburgh Equestrian Circus which was founded in 1790 by George and James Jones. The new circus quickly established itself as a rival to the patent theatre, the Edinburgh Theatre Royal. Other regular entertainments on offer in Edinburgh at this time included concerts organised by the Edinburgh Musical Society and regular dancing assemblies. During its decade of operation, the Edinburgh circus first exchanged performers and repertoire with Sadler's Wells, and then functioned as an adjunct to the Royal Circus in London, after the Joneses assumed the lease of the Royal Circus in 1794.⁷ Much of the musical repertoire in the Edinburgh circus was derived from London productions and can be traced from surviving London publications of individual songs and overtures. Uniquely, three collections of 'circus tunes' were published in Edinburgh to capitalise on the interest in this new form of entertainment. These collections provide a record of music used for the acrobatic performances, providing, through musical means, indications of the type and style of act that was being performed.

For Christopher Small, music:

establishes in the place where it is happening a set of relationships, and it is in those relationships that the meaning of the act lies. They are to be found not only between those organized sounds which are conventionally

thought of as being the stuff of musical meaning but also between the people who are taking part, in whatever capacity, in the performance.⁸

The ‘musicking’ (to use Small’s term) in the circus was both a social and embodied practice, as well as a negotiated relationship between the performers and the audience. Music in the Edinburgh Equestrian Circus had a practical function to accompany the acts in the ring and provide narrative support to the dramatic entertainments, but it also stimulated an audience engagement that continued beyond the performance itself, as evidenced by publications adapted for recreation at home.

In using this circus as a case study, I am interested in both repertoire and function; in short, what the music was and what it did. Repertoire and function, however, were not solely dictated by fashionable taste, nor by the exigencies of the performance itself, but were also formed by the practices of the circus musicians and their relationship both to the performance and to the audience. The music used in the Edinburgh Equestrian Circus contributed status by its connection to London productions. Yet within a city that was increasingly asserting its regional importance, it was also locally relevant, not just as Scottish music was prominent, but in the relationships that can be demonstrated between the circus music and the wider musical, theatrical and fashionable society of Edinburgh.

Music for ring and stage

On the 30 May, 1791, Neil Stewart published books 1-4 of *A Selection of Favorite Airs as performed at the Royal Circus Edinbr. and Saddlers Wells London*, with promises that a fifth book would be published in the coming days.⁹ Eight short books were published in total. Book 1 was the most extensive, running to six pages and containing eight tunes. Books 2-8 consist of two pages, containing between three and five tunes. Later that year, an Edinburgh musician, John Watlen, published a more substantial collection: *The Celebrated Circus Tunes as performed at Edinburgh this Season*.¹⁰ The bulk of the music in both collections consists of dance music, including marches, presented in a score reduction form consisting of a melody line and either a bass line, block chords, or Alberti bass accompaniment, suitable for piano or harpsichord (or violin and bass), and aimed at the burgeoning domestic market for sheet music. Some music is repeated between the Watlen and the Stewart publications.

Watlen’s collection included other Scottish dance music, some composed by Watlen and some provided by the subscribers to his publication. At least ten editions of his first collection were published and later editions included music used in the pantomime spectacle *Oscar and Malvina*.¹¹ Watlen subsequently produced a second collection, bearing the same title but containing different tunes and further music from *Oscar and Malvina*. The three collections ascribed tunes to the principal performers at the circus; the Stewart collection and Watlen’s first collection links to performers in the 1790 and 1791 seasons at the circus. Watlen’s second collection relates to the 1796 and/or 1797 seasons.¹²

Music is given for the equestrian acts, principally for John Bill Ricketts, the star equestrian at the circus between 1790 and 1792, and Master Giles, a young and talented performer of the 1791 season, known as “The little Devil on Horseback.” Other members of the equestrian company (John Porter, Joseph Jenkinson, Mr King, Mr Sutton and the leader of the troupe, William Parker) were given tunes. The tightrope dancer, Antonio Spinacuta, and the versatile acrobat and strongman, Pietro Bologna, are also represented. One tune attributed to “Little Pierre & Sgnt. Spinacuta” refers to Bologna’s son, John (Jack) Peter Bologna, who was apprenticed to Spinacuta.¹³ Music was also included for the principal dancers: Robert Aldridge, John Holland, James Williamson Lassells, Jean Baptiste Dubois and Sophia Parker.¹⁴ Watlen’s second collection of 1798 similarly gives tunes that accompanied the celebrated equestrians John Crossman and George Smith, star performers of the 1796/97 seasons. This collection contains fewer tunes with direct attributions to performers, but the equestrians Parker, Jenkinson and Sutton are again represented, alongside a young horseman, Master McDonald.¹⁵ Lassells, Sophia Parker and a Madame Fialon have dances, although, reflecting changing fashions, these include waltzes. A dance is also attributed to “Mr Cross.” John Cartwright Cross (the son-in-law of James Jones) had, by 1796, assumed managerial and artistic control of this circus and this is the only indication in the extant records of this circus that he may also have performed.

None of the circus-identified music in either Stewart’s or Watlen’s collections is particularly Scottish in flavour and is more easily classified as English ‘country dance’ music.¹⁶ This is particularly evident in the Watlen collections where the English-sounding pieces are interspersed with more recognisably Scottish dances, such as strathspeys. Amongst the circus-identified music there is only one example of a strathspey, a tune that contains the characteristic ‘Scotch Snap’ rhythm.¹⁷

The dance forms represented in the circus music are jigs, hornpipes, reels and minuets (the minuet is replaced by the waltz in Watlen’s second collection). While some consist of two strains (the binary format (AB) familiar today to performers of jigs and reels), the majority of tunes in the Stewart collection are ternary form (ABA or da capo) pieces. They are in major keys, with two exceptions, and mostly remain within a simple I-IV-V chord structure, with an occasional modulation to the dominant. Many are in the common keys of C, G, D and A, consistent with prevalent keys in contemporary folk music: easy keys for both the fiddle player (as they utilise the open strings and can be played in first position), and for the amateur keyboard player. There are, however, a significant number in flat key signatures, which make it easier to include horns, bassoons and clarinets.¹⁸ There is such a predominance of major modes that there seems to be almost an aversion to minor key pieces, also a feature of galant style.¹⁹ The minor mode might be used to signal antiquity or exoticism, as, for example, in the music given for a “Fandango” used in the pantomime *Don Juan*; or, *The Libertine Destroy’d*, for which the music is baroque in its style and ornamentation and identified as Spanish, from its inclusion in the pantomime narrative.²⁰

As performances on horseback formed the spine of the early circus, this is reflected in the predominance of tunes linked to the equestrian performers.

Equestrian acts of this period fall into three main types: the performance of social dances on horseback; acrobatic performances (such as vaulting over the horse or balancing on a moving horse); and the military inspired act, such as the performance of the Manual Exercise (military drill) with musket or broadsword, an act performed both on horseback and on the rope. The style of tune is sometimes indicated in the title (e.g. described as a march), but it is also possible to distinguish this in the music itself, for those where it is not clearly indicated. The fanfare-like flourishes that open “Mount Your Horses,” performed by Master Giles, suggest a military inspired act despite its unrevealing title.²¹ Its key of Bb also suggests that brass instruments were used. This military flavour can also be found in music given for rope acts, as in “Slack Wire Equilibriums,”²² (a tune included in Watlen’s first collection, with the slightly more revealing title of “Indian March”) (see Figure 1).²³ Even in the reduced published score, the style of accompaniment chosen indicates the nature of the act. The military style tune “Horsemanship” (S7:2), for example, is given a heavy block chord accompaniment, and this accompaniment style is common in the martial tunes. A heavy accompaniment style is also used for the tunes that are given for Pietro Bologna, who performed a strongman act, *The Force of Hercules*.²⁴

The image displays two musical scores. The first score, titled "Mount your Horses" and performed by Master Giles, is in B-flat major (two flats) and 2/4 time. It is marked "Lively" and features a melody in the treble clef and a rhythmic accompaniment in the bass clef. The second score, titled "Indians March" and performed by Sigi Spincuta on the Rope, is in D major (two sharps) and 2/4 time. It is marked "Moderato" and features a melody in the treble clef and a block-chord accompaniment in the bass clef.

Figure 1. W1: 14

Tunes used for dances tend to use a lighter, more graceful, accompaniment style (often Alberti bass). Although the simple, regular rhythms of all the tunes makes them eminently danceable, Watlen usually indicates which were danced in his attributions (Stewart is not so helpful).

Watlen does not distinguish between a dance on the ground and a dance on a horse, but this can be determined from the specialisations of the performers. King and Sutton, for example, were both equestrian performers who specialised in dancing on horseback and the tunes attributed to them are dances. William Parker, the leader of the equestrian troupe, was noted for performances of the Manual Exercise, and for jumping over gates, and his music is that of the hunt. Spinacuta, the rope dancer, performed both dances and the Manual Exercise and music given to him reflects both types of act.

For the music accompanying the acts in the ring, the core elements (as for later circus music) are suitable rhythm and tempo.²⁵ Exact tempo is impossible to determine (the speed of 'lively' for example), and existing scholarship on Scottish music of this period is unfortunately silent on this aspect.²⁶ But the star equestrian, John Bill Ricketts, is usually described as performing his acts with the horse 'at full speed' and the tunes attributed to him are given 'allegro' markings by Watlen. Stewart does not indicate tempo for the tunes attributed to Ricketts in his collection, but they are melodically and harmonically simple, so are effective and easy to play at a fast tempo.²⁷

1 N^o 4
Circus Tunes.

EDINBURGH Printed for & Sold by STEWART & Co. Parliament Square & N^o 40
 South Bridge Street. Where may be had all the Circus Tunes.

Ricketts

The image shows a page of sheet music from a book titled 'Circus Tunes, N^o 4'. The page is numbered '1' in the top left corner. The publisher information at the top reads 'EDINBURGH Printed for & Sold by STEWART & Co. Parliament Square & N^o 40 South Bridge Street. Where may be had all the Circus Tunes.' The first piece is 'Ricketts', which consists of two systems of music. The first system is in 6/8 time and features a fast, rhythmic melody in the treble clef and a simple accompaniment in the bass clef. The second system continues the piece and ends with a double bar line and the initials 'D.C.' (Da Capo). The second piece is 'M^f Sutton', which is in 4/4 time and features a more graceful, flowing melody in the treble clef and a simple accompaniment in the bass clef. The page is framed by a decorative border.

M^f Sutton

Figure 2. S4:1 The graceful melody of Sutton's dance contrasts here with the simplicity and fast pace of Ricketts' tune.

Given that the last decade of the eighteenth century was dominated by the French revolution and subsequent war, militarism was continually evoked in the early circus, not only in the equestrian acts, but throughout the pantomimes and 'grand spectacles.' It is easy, though, to overestimate the extent of military music in the eighteenth-century circus and to consider this as a mark of a certain crudeness.²⁸ Jacob Decastro, for example, stated that "it was the custom then, when they made their *Grand Entrée*," as it is now called, to be preceded by a drum and fife, which, at that time, was the only music which accompanied the performance of their equestrian feats."²⁹ Fife and drum corps, after all, were the music of the battlefield. But 'music for the battlefield' was not the only function of the military band. Bands had many other roles in the ceremonial and social life of a regiment and included a wide range of instrumentation. As tunes identified as

'marches' are often associated with entry or processional stages of the performance, it is possible that the fife and drum combination might have survived solely for the opening act of the circus programme.³⁰

The extent and nature of the surviving music suggests that the limited musical resources of the first circus establishments were swiftly superseded by a more varied musical accompaniment. Charles Dibdin the Elder, at the Royal Circus in London had demonstrated higher ambitions for music, determining "not to introduce fifes or drums, or any other vulgar Bartholomew-fair tricks."³¹ Instead "a classical and elegant turn should be given to exercises of this description."³² The music should "divest it [the circus] of its blackguardism" in order that "it might be made an object of public consequence."³³ Aping the practices of the patent theatres can be seen as part of this ongoing project and clearly, by the last decade of the eighteenth century, the music used in the Edinburgh circus had attained a level of sophistication comparable to the other theatres of the day. The variety of entertainments being presented in the circus demanded a more flexible ensemble of musicians.

The simple tunes for the acts in the ring supported the pace of the physical action and also provided new narrative contexts for the repeated skills by supporting simple character roles, such as the soldier, or the hunter. Also represented in the circus tune collections are selections of music used to underscore the more complex dramatic action of the pantomimes. Michael Pisani's extensive study of music in nineteenth-century melodrama gives many examples of standardised tropes of music accompanying particular types of action and notes that these had their roots in eighteenth-century practice.³⁴ He refers to this stock type of music as *melos* (as in melody), and this term is useful to distinguish this musical function which is also in evidence in the Edinburgh circus.

An extended set of *melos* for the production *Oscar and Malvina* appears in Watlen's two collections, and both the Stewart and Watlen collections contain music for the pantomime-ballet *The Death of Captain Cook*. In the music for these pantomimes there are examples of 'plaintives' and 'hurries' (terms for the stock types of musical accompaniment that became commonplace in melodrama), such as a largo for "Groans of the Wounded" and a furioso for the "General Attack" in *Oscar and Malvina*. The sequence of *melos* for *Oscar and Malvina* are all in the same key, D major, which facilitates segueing from one to the other, and the short forms and repetition also allow for swift transitions of theatrical action to be appropriately accompanied.

The expressive range of this accompaniment is, however, limited in comparison with the music that accompanied melodrama in the nineteenth century. D major, for example, might seem an inordinately happy key to accompany "The Groans of the Wounded," but the emotional response for the contemporary audience was arguably more conditioned by tempo. 'Largo,' for example, appears to have been more suggestive of 'sadness' than the choice of key. A contemporary Italian treatise explains this:

If you want music to be simple and touching, use more melody and less counterpoint. Counterpoint is made up of various parts: one is high and quick paced, the other low and slow, and both must exist together and strike the ears at the same time. How then can counterpoint produce in the soul a given passion, which requires a specific rhythm? Happiness requires a very fast tempo, with an intense and high-pitched tone; sadness requires a slow tempo, with a restrained and low-pitched tone. Melody, on the other hand, always proceeds at the same tempo and with the same tone up to the end, and is thus particularly suited to arousing a given emotion.³⁵

Music could thus be seen to be allied with theatrical gesture in this age when theatrical representation was still governed by the idea of the ‘passions,’ which, as Joseph Roach argues, entailed a gestural language consisting of a “fixed taxonomy of morally universal types – astonishment, terror, pity, rage, and so forth.”³⁶ Within the pantomime form, this gestural taxonomy, supported by a codified musical language, was an important aid to understanding narrative. The music was a particular carrier of emotional meaning, as noted by Charles Avison:

And thus, by the Musician’s Art, we are often carried into the Fury of a Battle, or a Tempest, we are by turns elated with Joy, or sunk in pleasing Sorrow, roused to Courage, or quelled by grateful Terrors, melted into Pity, Tenderness, and Love, or transported to the Regions of Bliss, in an Extacy [sic] of divine Praise.³⁷

The short *melos* given in the collections of circus tunes are examples of single affect music; music exemplifying a single passion. During the nineteenth century, as Pisani notes, there are examples of extended *melos*, that “fluctuate to conform to the rising action and crisis typical of a longer dramatic scene.”³⁸ But while there are no examples of this in the music given in the Stewart and Watlen collections, the overtures for pantomimes contain more extended dramatic material. It is not clearly indicated whether the overture music was used to provide appropriate *melos* for productions, as they were to do in later melodrama, although the musical themes present in the overture could have been easily reused to provide suitably dramatic accompaniment.

Composition and compilation

As was common theatrical practice in this period, music at the circus was usually ‘borrowed’ from existing sources.³⁹ The prevalent use of a compiled score can be attributed to the practical exigencies of hasty rehearsal conditions and the sheer volume of music needed for an evening’s performance, but it also reflects audience demand and local preferences.⁴⁰ References to the use of ‘original music’ that appear in advertisements usually refer to the overture and songs for a popular pantomime. Composers of original music associated with the Royal Circus in London included Charles Dibdin (whose songs remained popular throughout the nineteenth century), William Reeve and James Sanderson, and their music was popular enough for it to be specifically advertised in Edinburgh.⁴¹ Confusingly, the term ‘composer’ was also used for the person whose job it was to ‘compile’ the score. Within the Edinburgh circus it is difficult to untangle the two and the role

of 'composer' was shared around members of the cast, aided by the fact that many of the performers could play musical instruments. Pietro Bologna, in *The Force of Hercules*, carried his whole family and played upon two flutes and a drum at the same time.⁴² Antonio Spinacuta played the violin and the guitar while rope dancing. Playing an instrument as a stunt does not necessarily indicate a high level of musical ability. The dancer John Holland, however, who is often listed as the 'composer,' was a good enough musician to perform in concerts given by the Edinburgh Musical Society. There is no evidence he, or any other circus performer, composed original music.⁴³

By frequent requests for 'favourite' music, the audience encouraged the use of a compiled score. Favourite songs dealt predominantly with pastoral or military/naval themes, including many patriotic singalong choruses. Scottish songs were also frequently requested. 'Scotch' music was popular throughout Great Britain at that time,⁴⁴ but there was a particular charge to the use of Scottish music in Edinburgh at a juncture when Scottish national identity was becoming increasingly important.⁴⁵ Watlen's *Circus Tunes* reflects this with the inclusion of additional Scottish dance tunes and his collection appears within a range of publications from that time which continue to define the repertoire of contemporary Scottish folk music.⁴⁶ Both Stewart and Watlen also published collections of Scottish songs.

A song might also be requested for its association with a favourite performer, rather than for any intrinsic quality of the music. A song titled "No Longer Heave the Heartfelt Sigh" composed by James Sanderson for the London Royal Circus pantomime *Blackbeard; or, The Royal Corsair*, transferred with that production to the Edinburgh circus.⁴⁷ In Edinburgh, it was performed by a Mr and Mrs Herbert. The Herberts reprised the song in the next production in the season, the ballet-pantomime *New South Wales; or, Love in Botany Bay*. The song was presumably reused because its reprise conferred some value in the new production, but its popularity could equally be due to its spirited rendition by the Herberts rather than any particular affection for the song itself. Similarly, talented performers could also determine the type of song that might predominate in a season. Master Standen, a child performer in 1799, appears to have had a talent for virtuosic songs in dialect, given by the number of comic songs present in that season which he performed in 'cod' accents, such as 'negro' songs, or mock-Latin or French. Judging from the number of songs listed in advertisements the 1792 season was graced by two particularly popular singers, Mrs Henley, whose repertoire favoured the pastoral ballad and hunting songs, and Mr Wallack, whose *forte* was the comic romp.

Pantomimes and burlettas were similarly comprised of 'borrowed' music, and even if original music was advertised, there is no guarantee it was performed as written. Productions could also be filled out with other 'appropriate' music as necessary. When productions transferred to the Edinburgh circus from London, the London music, whether composed or compiled, would not necessarily survive unscathed. In the few cases where it is possible to directly compare different iterations of a pantomime, there are some intriguing indications of the reasons for the selection of music for a particular performance.

Don Juan; or, the Libertine Destroy'd, first performed in Edinburgh in 1790, is a useful case as it has fuller documentation than many pantomimes of the period. Description of the action of this pantomime exists in several published versions, most of which are based on a highly successful production at the Royalty Theatre in London that was authored by Carlos Antonio Delpini and included songs composed by William Reeve.⁴⁸ Comparison of the published texts reveal that Reeve's songs continued to be used, but not necessarily the same ones as originally used. Delpini's Royalty production, for example, used Reeve's song "The Jolly Tar," performed during a shipwreck scene.⁴⁹ Delpini remounted his *Don Juan* for Lord Barrymore's private theatre at Wargrave⁵⁰ but in this production another song by Reeve, "The Loyal Tars or Naval Excursion" replaced "The Jolly Tar."⁵¹ The substitution of songs recurs through all other published versions of *Don Juan* and therefore, by extension, through different productions. These two songs seem superficially identical from their subject matter and function within the narrative framework of the pantomime, but they are quite different. "The Jolly Tar" is a celebration of the bravery of the common sailor, while "The Loyal Tars" is instead a patriotic panegyric to the king, a more politic shift of emphasis for an aristocratic private theatre, rather than for a commercial London venue. The simplicity of the melody and verse-chorus structure in "The Loyal Tars" also suggests that it was an occasion for a sing-a-long by the audience while "The Jolly Tar" is more virtuosic in style, presumably to showcase an individual performer. While narratively interchangeable, the songs are not identical in the social and ideological work they perform.

When *Don Juan* was performed at the Edinburgh circus, songs by Reeve were again included but unfortunately these were not individually listed in the newspaper advertisements. Songs by other composers were also used, one of which was "Henry's Cottage Maid" by Ignaz Pleyel, an item which does not appear in any previously published version of *Don Juan*.⁵² The generic theme of love betrayed is an obvious fit for the narrative, and, as the lyrics of "Henry's Cottage Maid" reference a pastoral idyll, the song was probably used in one of the rustic episodes of the pantomime. As with the 'jolly tar' repertoire, there are plenty of available songs with this theme that could have been used for this purpose. The selection, however, of this 'maid betrayed' song was locally pertinent. Pleyel was sufficiently renowned in Edinburgh that he had been commissioned by the Edinburgh Musical Society to arrange Scottish folk songs (along with other eminent composers of the day, such as Haydn and Beethoven).⁵³ Two other tunes by Pleyel are included in Watlen's *Circus Tunes*.⁵⁴ Use of his music at the circus would have had fashionable interest for the local *bon ton*, whose social round would also include attending the regular concerts organised by the Edinburgh Musical Society. Here again, the narrative function of the song remains unaltered, but the selection of song (or in this case, composer), had a specific local resonance.⁵⁵

There are other indications of connections between the music used at the circus and local society. The Death of Captain Cook, a pantomime-ballet presented at the Edinburgh circus in 1790, was derived from a French pantomime (with music by M. Arnould), first performed in England at Covent Garden, where, from the advertisements of the "original French music," it seems at least some of

Arnould's music was used. When performed in Edinburgh, however, there is no mention of any "original French music." Instead, the overture for the Edinburgh performance that is given in Stewart's circus publication was attributed to 'Mr. Urbani.'⁵⁶ Pietro Urbani was an Italian musician active in the concert scene in Edinburgh. It is possible that a greater cachet may have been given to the Edinburgh production by using his music, rather than that of an unknown Frenchman. His status within the Edinburgh musical scene could account for the reason he is the only named composer in Stewart's collection.

Two other pieces in Watlen's first book of Circus Tunes offer another intriguing connection. "Vulcan's March" and "Vulcan's Forge" ("to be Playd Immediately after the March") were composed by the Countess Balcarres.⁵⁷ In the 1791 season a pantomime called *Vulcan's Gift; or Harlequin's Gambols* was performed. There is no further information about this pantomime but it was popular enough to be repeated in the following season. Countess Balcarres contributed five other tunes to Watlen's publication and is listed as a subscriber. These are seemingly additional dance tunes as they are not directly identified with any circus performer and their titles relate instead to members of her family. "Vulcan's March," though short, has elements more usually found in an overture such as the dramatic flourishes of its opening and its strongly marked dynamics. It is only in surviving music for the overtures that dynamic markings are commonly given and they are absent from all the dance-related music in the collections, including the other tunes contributed by the Countess Balcarres. Did the Countess contribute these tunes to the circus pantomime? Women were prominent supporters of the circus; performances were given 'by desire' of the first rank of Edinburgh female society, and these women appear in the list of subscribers to Watlen's Circus Tunes.⁵⁸ Women (and at least one female child) are also named as the composers of many of the additional tunes Watlen included in his collections. "Vulcan's March" and "Vulcan's Forge," however, open the possibility that women, absent from the musical public sphere unless they were singers, might have contributed music to the performances in more informal ways.

Musicians, acrobats and audience were bound together in a complex social network of 'musicking.' The circus brought new and fashionable music from London; the musicians added local repertoire and knowledge. The use of a compiled score conferred other benefits than the purely pragmatic or aesthetic, as the flexibility inherent in the practice allowed the music to be responsive to the local audience and its tastes. And those best-placed to respond to Edinburgh's musical tastes were local musicians.

The Circus Musicians

In Edinburgh on the first night of the newly opened circus, Antonio Spinacuta delighted the audience by playing the fiddle while rope dancing, according to 'a correspondent' to the *Caledonian Mercury*:

The *tightrope dancing* by Signior Spinacuta is a most wonderful performance. ...His performance on the violin on the rope, his descent into the circus (to the terror of the fiddlers [sic] under him) excited the highest approbation.⁵⁹

The writer also noted that the musicians appeared somewhat under-rehearsed. As it was the opening night, it is conceivable that they were witnessing Spinacuta's performance for the first time. Spinacuta's act included a slide-for-life in which he descended a rope fixed diagonally from gallery to stage, passing over the orchestra, so it is conceivable the musicians may indeed have been terrified. But though their performance might not have been the finest, there was at least satisfaction for the correspondent in that the band was "numerous" and that "the music was for the most part Scotch, and well chosen."⁶⁰

This is one of the few direct references to the anonymous musicians who made up the circus band. The predominance of Scottish music would suggest that they were local musicians, brought in for the occasion and bringing their repertoire with them. This marks an early date for the use of 'pick-up' musicians, a common practice in the twentieth century touring circus in which a nucleus of experienced circus musicians would be augmented by the employment of local musicians as required.⁶¹ This practice can be seen elsewhere. In 1805, Charles Dibdin, then working at Sadler's Wells, organised a tour to Dublin and sent the orchestra leader, Mr Lyons, ahead to "engage the best Band of Musicians he could possibly collect."⁶² Lyons managed to secure a band at £5 lower than expected, no doubt to Dibdin's delight.⁶³

The records of a legal battle between an Edinburgh musician, Robert McIntosh, and the Theatre Royal, disputing whether a tour to Glasgow was part of his contract, gives insight into the practicalities of making a living for a musician and the challenges arising from the seasonal nature of public entertainments. McIntosh explained that:

...it is well known the winter and spring season, when the town is full of company, is the *harvest* for the musician; while, in the summer and autumn, he has very seldom occasion to unpocket his *rosin* or draw his *bow*. In the winter and spring, the employment at private dances and other places of merriment, is as great an object, and as beneficial as attending the Theatre; and private dances being so contrived as to be on the nights the Theatre is shut, the musicians of the Theatre are employed at those dances...A person in the situation of the respondent, with a family in Edinburgh, and who has other employments in teaching and dancing, would never engage at the Theatre on such terms as the petitioners pretend.⁶⁴

McIntosh had a strong expectation of other employment outside the theatre and the nature of the petition makes clear that the musician would not tour with a theatre production, unless under very favourable terms, as this would entail giving up more continuous employment, such as teaching. Later in the document, McIntosh argued that the theatre musician's employment was very different than the conditions for other theatre employees, comparing himself

explicitly with what should be expected of the prompter.⁶⁵ McIntosh's legal battle confirms Deborah Rohr's argument that "the careers of orchestral instrumentalists were patchwork affairs that combined numerous forms of employment in an attempt to provide a subsistence."⁶⁶ McIntosh's petition also indicates that while the majority of the physical performers toured to the Edinburgh circus from London, including the director of the music (who would often be one of these performers), the rank and file musicians did not. This casual employment is a possible explanation for why only one musician (Mr Bramah), received a benefit performance at the Edinburgh circus.

The exact composition of the Edinburgh circus band is not known, but comparisons can be made with the London circuses and with the Edinburgh Theatre Royal. A depiction of Astley's Amphitheatre from the early nineteenth century shows a sizeable ensemble (14-16 members) seated between the ring and the stage. This includes violin and viola players, a bass, timpani, two French horns, and the presence of a keyboard instrument, though this is, sadly, concealed by the horse (see Figure 3).



Figure 3. Detail from Thomas Rowlandson, "Astley's Amphitheatre,"
Microcosm of London, 1808-1810

The early-nineteenth-century members of Edinburgh's Theatre Royal orchestra have been provided by James C. Dibdin.⁶⁷ Between 1810 and 1820 the size of the ensemble was between 10 and 12 musicians, usually led by the first violinist, with musicians who doubled on various instruments. The composition of the orchestra in 1817-18 represents the most common instrumental combination over these years: two first violins; two second violins; cello; a musician doubling on 'tenor' (probably viola), clarinet and oboe; a flautist; two horns; and a contra-bassoon. The piano reduction for Urbani's "Favourite March in the Pantomime of Capt. Cook" contains indications of the orchestration, with parts indicated for cornets, French horns and clarinets, indicating a similar ensemble for the circus.⁶⁸ Given that the circus band was "numerous" and that complaints were made about the Theatre Royal orchestra when it was reduced to "seven miserable scrapers" at the end of the decade, a figure of between 8 and 12 circus musicians seems a reasonable estimate.⁶⁹

If they were to secure employment Edinburgh musicians needed to be capable of performing all of the music in circulation, from the fashionable London songs, to Scottish music. David Johnson notes that many of the "great [Scottish]

fiddlers of the 18th Century were leading players and teachers of European art music as well.”⁷⁰ Scottish fiddlers played both in the concert programs run by the Edinburgh Musical Society and in the lower status dance bands with little apparent contradiction.⁷¹ Johnson also considers that the difference in technique between art music (violin) and folk fiddle was far less in the eighteenth century than it is today. Traditional fiddling was infused with influences from art music and musically literate players who could perform across both genres were rewarded.⁷² Watlen’s other surviving compositions contain influences from both art music and folk music.

The exact nature of Watlen’s association with the Edinburgh circus unfortunately remains obscure. Whether he was a musician in the circus cannot be conclusively demonstrated from either the existing biographical information, nor the surviving circus advertising. Within the *Celebrated Circus Tunes*, however, two pieces point to his direct involvement with the circus in that they are both composed by him and linked directly with performers: “Watlen’s Hornpipe” danced by Mr Sutton⁷³ and “Miss Callender’s Minuet” danced by Sophia Parker and Mr Holland.⁷⁴

Little is known about Watlen and his precarious hold on the fringes of music history rests on his self-published compositions, none of which have ever been reprinted. What can be ascertained from existing sources, including information contained in his publications, demonstrates the range of activities that could be included in the ‘patchwork’ career of an Edinburgh musician at this period. Born around 1760, by his own account he had spent some time as an officer in the Royal Navy and was “formerly of Salisbury Cathedral [and] late organist of Bombay.”⁷⁵ In Edinburgh he composed and published music from c1788, initially publishing from his home and then from various commercial premises. He was employed for seven years as both clerk and piano tuner at the music warehouse of Corri & Co. located on Edinburgh’s North Bridge Street, before acquiring his own premises where he also tuned, bought, sold and rented pianos. He taught pianoforte, violin and singing, both privately and at boarding schools, and described himself as “musician to the Fencible Regiments,” supplying them with wind instruments, music and reeds.⁷⁶ He went bankrupt in 1798 and moved to London where he resumed publishing music and selling instruments, before disappearing from the historic record. Circumstantially, then, it is quite possible that he was one of the circus musicians, both from the variety of his professional and commercial activities, and from the fact that he published these tunes in the first place.⁷⁷ He would certainly have been a useful person to have in the circus band, being musically literate, versed in the local repertoire, able to write a tune as required, and able to supply instruments.⁷⁸

He does not appear to have been one of the higher status musicians in Edinburgh. He did not, for example, perform in the concert seasons run by the Edinburgh Musical Society, although he was involved with the Society by acting for a period as the secretary of the Edinburgh Musical Fund.⁷⁹ During his employment with Corri’s firm, a Mrs Watlen was working as a seamstress from rooms above Corri’s warehouse, which, in the likelihood they were related, would also indicate a relatively low social position.⁸⁰ His activities as a music teacher and

regimental musician, however, would have brought him into contact with genteel society, and, as indicated from the many subscribers and contributors to his publication, he was well connected.

Considering the music for the early circus, undistinguished and ephemeral as it is, enriches understanding of both the nature of these circus performances and their appeal to their audience. The music for the circus acts provides an additional dimension to the static iconography of available pictorial representation of acrobatic performances (such as the advertising woodcut) and the limitations of written description. The rhythms of the music are also the rhythms of bodies, both human and animal, in motion. The music shaped the physical performances, added textual support for the narrative entertainments and fuelled the emotional and sensory engagement of the audience. The flexibility of the compiled score allowed an agile response to the specific social context in which the circus performed. More than any other element of performance, the music indicates an audience who were not passive, but actively engaged in shaping the conditions of spectatorship. They influenced the repertoire, they sang along with the choruses, and they took the music home with them.

¹ Review of Edmund Kean's *Hamlet*, 1814, qtd. in Marius Kwint, *Astley's Amphitheatre and the Early Circus in England, 1768-1830* (PhD diss., Oxford University, 1994), 257.

² Burlettas were described by George Colman as "...a drama in rhyme, and which is *entirely musical*: - a short comick piece, consisting of *recitative* and *singing*, wholly accompanied, more or less by the orchestra." (George Colman, the Younger, *Random Records* Vol 1. (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830), 51.) In practice, the form was much harder to define. Joseph Donahue provides a good summary of the difficulties of definition in "Burletta and the Early Nineteenth-Century English Theatre," *Nineteenth Century Theatre Research* 1, no. 1 (1973): 29-51.

³ Frederick A. Pottle, ed., *Boswell's London Journal 1762-1763* (London: Harborough, 1958), 218.

⁴ Roger Fiske has produced one of the few extended accounts of eighteenth century theatre music, although he focuses on the 'legitimate' stage, in *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Oxford UP, 1973).

⁵ Donahue, "Burletta," 41.

⁶ Marius Kwint "The Legitimization of the Circus in Late Georgian England," *Past and Present* 174, no. 1 (2002), 72-115.

⁷ For more detailed history of this circus see Kim Baston, "Transatlantic Journeys: John Bill Ricketts and the Edinburgh Equestrian Circus," *Popular Entertainment Studies* 4, no. 2 (2013), 5- 28.

⁸ Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan UP, 1998), 33.

⁹ Neil Stewart, *A Selection of Favorite Airs as Performed at the Royal Circus Edinr' & Saddlers Wells London Adapted for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte*, Books 1-8 (Edinburgh: N. Stewart, 1791). Advertised in the *Caledonian Mercury (CM)* May 30, 1790. The Neil Stewart referred to here is the son of the founder of the company, also called Neil Stewart.

¹⁰ John Watlen, *The Celebrated Circus Tunes Perform'd at Edinburgh This Season, with the Addition of Some New Reels and Strathspeys Set for the Piano Forte or Violin and Bass by John Watlen* (Edinburgh: self-published. Book 1: 1791; Book 2: 1798). Publication advertised in *CM* December 22, 1791.

¹¹ A tenth edition of the first book was published at the end of 1793 (*CM*, November 25, 1793). A re-publication of the first book by Muir Wood and Co. of Edinburgh appears c1807.

¹² I cite tunes according to the book and the page numbers on which they appear. Tunes from the Stewart collection are cited as S(1-8), Watlen's first collection as W1, and his second as W2.

¹³ S1:1. Jack Bologna later achieved fame as a rope dancer and as acrobatic Harlequin to Grimaldi's Clown.

¹⁴ Sophia Parker was a celebrated Columbine and wife to William Parker, leader of the equestrian troupe.

¹⁵ Jenkinson's music is titled "Jenkinson's [sic] Hornpipe" (W2: 31). The tune is the same as "Astley's Hornpipe." Please check that I am correct to add [sic] here. Yes.

¹⁶ These would be more similar in style, for example, to tunes published in collections such as Michael Raven, ed., *One Thousand English Country Dance Tunes* (Stafford: Michael Raven, 1984).

¹⁷ This is "Mrs Biggs (of Newcastle's) Delight, The Celebrated Strathspey Minuet as danced by Mr Lassells and Mrs Parker at the Royal Circus London and Edin." (W2:6). The 'Scotch Snap' is a sixteenth note on the beat followed by a dotted eighth note. As Roger Fiske notes, this rhythm only became associated with Scotland in the second half of the eighteenth century. (Roger Fiske, *Scotland in Music: A European Enthusiasm* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983), 15.) One other piece, "Mount Your Horses" (W1: 14) is an example of a double tonic tune (A/G), a bi-tonality that had become, by the eighteenth century, particularly associated with Scottish music. But, as David Johnson points out, double tonic tunes had been popular in England in the 16th and 17th centuries, though their use declined by the 18th century. (David Johnson *Scottish Fiddle Music in the Eighteenth Century: A Music Collection and Historical Study* 3rd ed. (Edinburgh: Mercat, 2005), 18.)

¹⁸ Ibid 149.

¹⁹ Daniel Hertz, *Music in European Capitals: The Galant Style, 1720-1780* (New York: W. W Norton, 2003), 1007. Although this is not a causal relation necessarily, it is interesting to note that the wind/brass music traditionally associated with circus is also dominated by major mode music, the minor mode being almost exclusively associated with 'exotic' or animal acts (Kim Baston, "Circus Music: The Eye of the Ear," in *The Routledge Circus Studies Reader*, eds. Peta Tait and Katie Lavers (New York: Routledge, 2016), 117-135.)

²⁰ S1:4-5. *Don Juan* was first performed in Edinburgh January 15, 1791 (*CM* January 13, 1791).

²¹ W1:14.

²² S2:2.

²³ W1:14. This tune was used for the pantomime *The Death of Captain Cook*. "Indians" was a generic term for 'native' applied indiscriminately at this period; here it refers to Hawaiians.

²⁴ W1:4; S2:1.

²⁵ See Baston, "Circus Music."

²⁶ E.g. David Johnson, *Fiddle Music*; George S. Emmerson, *Rantin' Pipe and Tremblin' String: A History of Scottish Dance Music* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 1971).

²⁷ As an experiment, I sat at the piano and sight-read through all the tunes. Some tunes leant themselves naturally to playing fast, others I automatically wanted to play slower. Obviously, this is not a definitive experimental method but it might be possible to pursue practical research in this way, although it is beyond the scope of this paper.

²⁸ This overestimation and judgement is made, for example, in George Speaight, *A History of the Circus* (London: The Tantivy Press, 1980); Bernhardt Paul, *Roncalli und seine Artisten* (Koln: Lingen, 1991); Rüdiger Becker, *Circusmusik in Deutschland* (Munich: Allitera, 2014), 52-62.

²⁹ J. Decastro, *The Memoirs of J. Decastro, Comedian* (London: Sherwood, Jones & Co., 1824), 121.

³⁰ See Raoul F. Camus, *Military Music of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1976); Lewis S. Winstock, *Songs and Music of the Redcoats: A History of the War Music of the British Army, 1642-1902* (London: Leo Cooper, 1970).

³¹ Charles Dibdin the Elder, *The Professional Life of Mr. Dibdin, written by himself* Vol II (London: self-published, 1803), 106.

³² Ibid 105.

³³ Ibid 105.

³⁴ Michael V. Pisani, *Music for the Melodramatic Theatre in Nineteenth Century London & New York* (Iowa City: U of Iowa P, 2014).

³⁵ Francesco Milizia, "Trattato complete, formale e material del teatro" (Venice, 1794) in Enrico Rubini, *Music and Culture in Eighteenth Century Europe: A Sourcebook* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1994), 258.

³⁶ Joseph Roach, "Power's Body: The Inscription of Morality as Style," in *Interpreting the Theatrical Past*, eds. Thomas Postlewait and Bruce McConachie (Iowa City: U of Iowa P, 1989), 110.

³⁷ Charles Avison, *An Essay on Musical Expression*. Facs. 1753 ed. (New York: Bronde Brothers, 1967), 4.

³⁸ Pisani, *Melodramatic Theatre*, 24.

³⁹ Fiske, *Theatre Music*, 274.

⁴⁰ For a comprehensive discussion of music in Edinburgh at this period see David Johnson, *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Oxford UP, 1972).

⁴¹ Charles Dibdin's career and music has received recent scholarly attention in Oskar Cox Jensen, David Kennerley and Ian Newman, eds. *Charles Dibdin and Late Georgian Culture* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2018).

⁴² Rope dancers seemed prone to playing instruments as part of their act. Speaight notes "la belle Espagniola" who "danced a hornpipe and a Spanish fandango, clicking castanets, without a pole" and a Mlle. Charini who "danced with her feet in chains while playing the mandoline." (*History*, 17). Mr Maddox sounded a trumpet and played the violin "in full swing." (Ibid 18).

⁴³ Holland performed in a concert at St Cecilia's and sang at the Assembly rooms (*CM*, March 16 1796).

⁴⁴ The term 'scotch' is used to reflect the fact that much of the music written with Scottish characteristics (e.g. use of the snap rhythm), was written by non-Scottish composers. See Roger Fiske's discussion of the popularity of the 'scotch song' in theatres of the eighteenth century in *Scotland in Music: A European Enthusiasm* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983), 1-30.

⁴⁵ For discussion of the use of Scottish music at the circus see Kim Baston "Harlequin Highlander: Spectacular Geographies at the Edinburgh Equestrian Circus, 1790-1800," *Early Popular Visual Culture* 12, no. 3 (2014): 283-303.

⁴⁶ Both Watlen and Stewart published Scottish tune collections. Some of the tunes contained in Watlen's *Circus Tunes* can be found in other collections of Scottish music of the time, though sometimes with different titles.

⁴⁷ First performed in Edinburgh January 11, 1799 (*CM*, January 10, 1799).

⁴⁸ Performed at the Royalty Theatre in 1787 and published as *Don Juan; or, the libertine destroy'd: a tragic pantomical [sic] entertainment in two acts: as perform'd at the Royalty Theatre, Well-Street, Goodman's Fields. Revived under the direction of Mr Delpini* (London: n.d [c1789]). This production also advertised music by Christoph Willibald Gluck, from his score to the influential ballet produced by Angiolini. Only selections of this score would have been used; his music was not used in Edinburgh.

⁴⁹ *The Jolly Tar. A favorite song sung by Mrs Arrowsmith at the Royalty Theatre in the entertainment of Don Juan. Composed by Mr. Reeve* (London: Longman and Broderip, n.d).

⁵⁰ *Don Juan; or, the libertine destroy'd: a tragic pantomimical entertainment in two acts: as perform'd at Wargrave* (Wargrave: Hopwood, 1790).

⁵¹ *The Loyal Tars or Naval Excursion. A favorite Song sung by Mr Darley at the Theatre Royal Covent Garden in Don Juan. Composed by W.Reeve* (London: W. Campbell, n.d).

⁵² Published as "A Favorite Song Sung by Mr. Davis in the Admired Pantomime of Don Juan at the Circus Edinr." Mr. Davis performed Scaramouch, Don Juan's servant, "with songs in character" (*CM*, January 13, 1791). This publication is in the collection of The British Library. Place of publication is listed as Edinburgh (?), and dated 1800 (?), though its use in the Edinburgh Circus would suggest an earlier publication date. I have found only one other locally published song directly relating to the Edinburgh Equestrian Circus: *The Bonny Bold Soldier. A Favourite Song as Sung by Mrs. Davies at the Circus Royal, Edinr.* (Edinburgh: R & A Mackintosh.) This publication is undated but Mrs Davies performed this song in the circus on April 1, 1790 (*CM*, April 1, 1790). There is a large quantity of uncatalogued music from this period contained in the archives of the National Library of Scotland, so it is quite possible that more exists.

⁵³ Pleyel's first set of 25 songs for this commission was published in 1793. For more information on this project see Fiske, *Scotland in Music*.

⁵⁴ W1: 18; W1: 30.

⁵⁵ For the Edinburgh production of *Don Juan* there is a complicating factor in that the score was described as "composed and compiled by Mr Cubie" (*CM*, January 13, 1791). Stewart's collection includes the music for the "celebrated fandango, with castanets" that was used in this production (S4:1), but as no composer is given, this could be music that had been used in one of the London productions. He wrote a song called "The Wolf" for the 1790 season, and an overture and other unspecified music in 1791. He is also credited as "music by" for a performance of *The Deserter of Naples; or, Royal Clemency* in Edinburgh in 1791. None of his music appears to have survived and there is no indication in advertisements of his exact relationship with the circus. He does not appear in subsequent seasons. It is possible that he was the leader of the band at this period.

⁵⁶ S4:1.

⁵⁷ This pantomime was first performed at the circus March 2, 1791, and repeated the following year. Other tunes attributed to Countess Balcarres are The Earl of Balcarres March and Quickstep

(W1: 26); Lady Eliza Lindsay's Minuet (W1: 24); Lady Eliza Lindsay's Hornpipe (W1: 28). None of these are attributed to a performer or production and are straightforward dance tunes.

⁵⁸ Female patrons of the circus and subscribers to Watlen's publications include The Duchess of Buccleugh, Lady Charlotte Campbell, The Countess of Eglintoune, The Countess of Dalhousie, Lady Augusta Claverring, and the Right Hon. Mrs Dundas of Arniston.

⁵⁹ *Edinburgh Evening Courant (EC)* January 28, 1790.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ For examples of this practice see Baston, *Circus Music*.

⁶² Charles Dibdin, *Memoirs of Charles Dibdin the Younger*, ed. George Speaight (London: The Society for Theatre Research, 1956 [1830]), 70.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 72.

⁶⁴ *Answers for Robert M'Intosh, Musician in Edinburgh; to the PETITION of Mrs Ann Maria Bennet, of Nassau Street, London; and John B. Williamson, designed, late of the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh January 29, 1795.* Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Gale. Accessed January 3, 2018. <http://find.galegroup.com.ez.library.latrobe.edu.au/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=EC&userGroupName=latrobe&tabID=T001&docId=CW124007184&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE>

⁶⁵ The prompter was a vital figure in the theatre of the time, and keeper and recorder of the stage business, cues etc. (Jackie Bratton, *New Readings in Theatre History* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003), 22-25).

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 120.

⁶⁷ James C. Dibdin, *The Annals of the Edinburgh Stage with an account of the Rise and Progress of Dramatic Writing in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Richard Cameron, 1888), 500-502.

⁶⁸ S5:1.

⁶⁹ *Letters Respecting the Performances at the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh, originally Addressed to the Editor of the Scots Chronicle under the signature of Timothy Plain* (Edinburgh: G. Gray, 1800), 58-59.

⁷⁰ Johnson, *Fiddle Music*, 5.

⁷¹ According to Deborah Rohr, theatrical orchestras provided employment for the greatest number of musicians in this period, although this occupation was considered less prestigious than employment within concert orchestras. Playing for dance bands, she considers, was at the bottom of the status pile. (*The Careers of British Musicians 1750-1850: A Profession of Artisans* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001), 132.)

⁷² *Ibid.* 5.

⁷³ W2: 16.

⁷⁴ W1: 6.

⁷⁵ Included on the title sheet of John Watlen, *The Glorious Battle off Trafalgar in Descriptive Music* (London: Watlen, n.d.)

⁷⁶ Charles Humphries and William C. Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1970), 324; James D. Brown and Stephen S. Stratton, *British Musical Biography* (Birmingham: S.S. Stratton, 1897), 435; *CM*, August 5, 1793.

⁷⁷ This question does not arise with the Stewart collection of circus tunes. Neil Stewart established his company c1759, selling and publishing music, and conducting trade in musical instruments. The publishing business was carried on by Neil Stewart's sons, Neil and Malcolm, until it was sold in 1805. There is no indication that they were engaged in professional music making outside the business (see Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing*, 30; John Glen, Foreword to *The Glen Collection of Scottish Dance Music* (Edinburgh, 1891), accessed April 26, 2017, <http://www.ibiblio.org/fiddlers/Glenbios.htm>)

⁷⁸ This would have been convenient for the supply of keyboard instruments, as both the harpsichord and the piano were used at different times in the circus and would have been cumbersome to take on tour.

⁷⁹ "Society formed for Professors of Music to provide relief against distress for their Widows and Orphans," *CM*, April 2, 1791.

⁸⁰ *CM*, January 31, 1793. Corri's were at No. 37 North Bridge St. Watlen opened his own warehouse at No. 34 North Bridge St.