

## ARTICLES

# ANN FORD REVISITED

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### ABSTRACT

*Twentieth-century accounts of the life and musical activities of Ann Ford, later Mrs Thicknesse (1737–1824), have largely relied on the entry for her in the Victorian Dictionary of National Biography. The rediscovery of a fifty-four-page article on her in Public Characters (London, 1806) has led to a re-evaluation of other sources of information, including her semi-autobiographical novel The School for Fashion (London, 1800), the pamphlets published in the course of her dispute with the Earl of Jersey and her treatises on playing the English guitar and the musical glasses. These throw new light on her musical activities and help us to understand the context and significance of her public concerts in 1760 and 1761. Her public persona and her preference for soft, exotic instruments such as the viola da gamba, the archlute and the guitar are seen as embodying the cult of sensibility, at its height during her period of fame around 1760.*

Look through virtually any book on Thomas Gainsborough and sooner or later you will come across an arresting image. A young woman, dressed in the height of fashion, sits at a table covered in books and music holding an English guitar (see Figure 1).<sup>1</sup> Gainsborough's subject, the musician, writer and artist Ann Ford, was already attracting attention when he painted her in Bath in 1760. Mary Delany, writing on 23 October that year after a visit to Gainsborough's studio, thought 'Miss Ford's picture – a whole length with her guitar, a most extraordinary figure, handsome and bold', but added, perhaps thinking of the pose with crossed legs, 'I should be sorry to have any one I loved set forth in such a manner'.<sup>2</sup> Crossing the legs above the knee was deemed 'a masculine freedom' by Wetenhall Wilkes, who wrote in his *Letter of Genteel and Moral Advice to a Young Lady* that 'such a free posture unveils more of a masculine disposition than sits decent upon a modest female'.<sup>3</sup>

A problem any research on Ann Ford will have encountered is that modern accounts of her life do not give contemporary sources for their information and seem to be essentially based on Lydia Miller Middleton's entry in the Victorian *Dictionary of National Biography*.<sup>4</sup> Richard Leppert did find a passage

1 See Ellis Waterhouse, *Gainsborough* (London: Edward Hulton, 1958), 92, catalogue no. 660. The best discussion of the painting is in Michael Rosenthal, *The Art of Thomas Gainsborough* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), 167–173. See also Susan Sloman, *Gainsborough in Bath* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), especially 20, 73–75, 193.

2 Mary Delany, *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs Delany*, ed. Augusta Hall, Baroness Llanover (London: Richard Bentley, 1861–1862), volume 3, 605.

3 (Dublin: Oli. Nelson, third edition, 1751), 139; quoted in Rosenthal, *The Art of Thomas Gainsborough*, 167.

4 *The Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. Leslie Stephen (London: Smith, Elder, 1885–1903); reprinted as *The Compact Edition of the Dictionary of National Biography* (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), volume 2, 2067. See also Olga Racster, *Chats on Big and Little Fiddles* (London: T. Werner Laurie[, 1924]), 239–247; 'Ann Ford, later Mrs Philip Thicknesse', in *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers and Other Stage Personnel*



relating to her in Seymour's 1839 biography of the Countess of Huntingdon,<sup>5</sup> though it turns out merely to have been lifted from a central source that seems to have been unknown to virtually all twentieth-century authors, despite the fact that it appears in the bibliography of *The Dictionary of National Biography* article.<sup>6</sup> The source is an anonymous fifty-four-page article entitled 'MRS. THICKNESSE', published in *Public Characters of 1806*.<sup>7</sup> Thicknesse was her married name: she became the third wife of the writer and adventurer Philip Thicknesse (1719–1792) in 1762.<sup>8</sup> *Public Characters*, an annual compilation of biographies of people in the public eye, appeared between 1798 and 1809. The series seems to be largely unknown to musicologists, despite the fact that it contains articles on a number of musicians, including William Jackson, Charles Burney, William Herschel, Samuel Arnold, William Shield, Elizabeth Billington and Thomas Busby.

The biography of Ann in *Public Characters* is particularly valuable in that the information seems to have been acquired at first hand. The writer had clearly met her, for towards the end there is a striking description of her appearance in 1806:

Mrs. Thicknesse is in many respects the most singular, and, it may be added, perhaps the most accomplished woman of her day. She has attained the period of sixty-eight years, without any of the marks usually accompanying old age. Her teeth are as sound and to the full as white as those of a girl of nineteen. Her light-brown hair is braided around her head, without the least admixture of grey, or any appearance of change; while an uninterrupted series of health and a happy flow of animal spirits almost entitle her to expect that she will attain the age of the celebrated Countess of Desmond.

She still writes a fine, clear, intelligible *Italian* hand, that bespeaks vigour and strength of nerve; and such is the goodness of her eye-sight and her powers of execution that she has lately, in the way of trial, inscribed the Lord's Prayer in distinct characters within the circumference of a wafer.

[127–128]

Another source that has been ignored by Ann's twentieth-century biographers is her autobiographical novel *The School for Fashion*.<sup>9</sup> In the novel she appears as the heroine Euterpe, and many of the other characters are clearly based on members of her circle. Furthermore, the author of the *Public Characters* article wrote: 'We have been assured, that all the anecdotes mentioned there [in the novel] are founded on fact, and contain an exact transcript of what occurred in the history of the *bon ton* of a former day' (132). Although *The School for Fashion* contains many episodes that are not in *Public Characters*, some of which may be fiction, the two narratives essentially agree when they run in parallel. We shall see that, where the information they contain can be checked against other sources, they prove to be essentially accurate, though

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in *London, 1660–1800*, ed. Philip H. Highfill Jr, Kalman A. Burnim and Edward A. Langhans (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973–1993), volume 5, 364–366; Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985; reprinted 1988), 6–7; Richard Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-Cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988; reprinted 1993), 40–42; Judith Davidoff, 'Ann Ford: An Eighteenth-Century Portrait', *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America* 30 (1993), 50–66; Michael Rosenthal, 'Thomas Gainsborough's Ann Ford', *The Art Bulletin* 80/4 (1998), 649–665; Michael Rosenthal, *The Art of Thomas Gainsborough*, 167–173.

5 Aaron Crossley Hobart Seymour, *The Life and Times of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon* (London: William Edward Painter, 1839), volume 2, 203–205.

6 To my knowledge, the only recent work that makes use of the *Public Characters* article is Kenneth Edward James, 'Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Bath' (PhD dissertation, Royal Holloway, University of London, 1987), 256.

7 (London: Richard Phillips, 1806), 84–137. Copy consulted: London, British Library, 613.h.1.

8 For Thicknesse see in particular Philip Gosse, *Dr. Viper: The Querulous Life of Philip Thicknesse* (London: Cassell, 1952).

9 (London: Debrett, Fores, Hookham and Robinsons, 1800). *English Short Title Catalogue (ESTC)*, N36333, reproduced in *The Eighteenth Century*, reel 10535, no. 3.



Figure 1 Thomas Gainsborough, *Portrait of Miss Ann Ford later Mrs. Philip Thicknesse*, Cincinnati, Cincinnati Art Museum, Bequest of Mary M. Emery



it is not surprising that Ann sometimes confused details and compressed sequences of events; she was almost seventy when the *Public Characters* article appeared, and was recalling her life nearly fifty years earlier. The purpose of this article is to use these narratives and other sources to throw new light on her early life and her musical activities.

According to *Public Characters*, Ann Ford was born ‘in the vicinity of the Temple, in a house afterwards inhabited by Chief Justice Willes, February 22 1737’ (87). Her father was ‘a solicitor, equally celebrated for his eminence and his extensive practice’, while one of her uncles was physician to the queen and another was Attorney-General of Jamaica. She was an only child, and was educated ‘with uncommon care, and at no small expence’; we are told that ‘it was *then* estimated by her father at from four to five hundred pounds *per annum*’. The author goes into detail: ‘she at an early period obtained a proficiency in the languages’, and she ‘attained such a degree of perfection in dancing, as to draw forth the praises of the polite and accomplished Earl of Chesterfield, who dedicated some stanzas to the express purpose of celebrating her excellence in this art’. She also ‘obtained a happy facility’ as an artist: ‘the author of this article has lately seen some slight and unstudied sketches from her pencil, that would not have disgraced the labours of a great master’ (87–88).

However, it is clear that Ann’s greatest talent was for music. *Public Characters* tells us that she was ‘taught music by the most eminent professors of the day’, had ‘an exquisite voice and a good face’ and was painted by Nathaniel Hone (who, we are told, was considered to be ‘the Sir Joshua [Reynolds] of the day’) in ‘the character of a muse playing on a lyre, sweeping the strings of the viol di gamba, and *expressing*, if not uttering, melody’ (88). The painting seems to be lost, but it is clear that the viola da gamba was Ann’s first instrument. In his pioneering *Sketch of the Life and Paintings of Thomas Gainsborough, Esq.* Philip Thicknesse mentioned that her ‘fingers from a child had been accustomed’ to playing the viola da gamba,<sup>10</sup> while, as we shall see, she played it in her private and public concerts. A viol hangs on the wall in the Gainsborough painting of her, and she is portrayed playing the instrument in a drawing by Susanna Duncombe, dating from soon after her marriage in 1762 (see Figure 2).

As an adult she also played the wire-strung English guitar (the instrument she holds in Gainsborough’s painting and in Giovanni Battista Cipriani’s drawing (1760–1762); see Figure 3),<sup>11</sup> the gut-strung Spanish guitar (shown in a preliminary drawing for Gainsborough’s painting; see Figure 4),<sup>12</sup> the archlute and the musical glasses; she plays the glasses in James Gillray’s cartoon ‘LIEU<sup>T</sup> GOVER<sup>R</sup> GALL-STONE, INSPIRED BY ALECTO; - OR - THE BIRTH OF MINERVA’, dated 15 February 1790.<sup>13</sup> In addition, she is depicted playing a six-course lute-like instrument (an English guitar in lute shape?) in a drawing by William Hoare of Bath (?1762) (see Figure 5),<sup>14</sup> and there is a reference to her playing the harp in *Public Characters*: the author mentions that ‘some years after Gainsborough, an artist who possessed better founded pretensions to genius, also employed his pencil on her portrait; on which occasion she was represented tuning her harp, and leaning

10 (London: author, 1788), 26. *ESTC*, T85246, reproduced in *The Eighteenth Century*, reel 5666, no. 5.

11 See Rosenthal, *The Art of Thomas Gainsborough*, 173. For the English guitar see Philip Coggin, ‘“This Easy and Agreeable Instrument”: A History of the English Guitar’, *Early Music* 15/2 (1987), 204–218.

12 See Rosenthal, *The Art of Thomas Gainsborough*, 172–173. For the Spanish guitar in eighteenth-century Britain see James Tyler and Paul Sparks, *The Guitar from the Renaissance to the Classical Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 206–208.

13 Mary Dorothy George, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, volume 6, 1784–1792 (London: British Museum, 1938), 719–722, no. 7721. For the musical glasses see Alec Hyatt King, ‘The Musical Glasses and Glass Harmonica’, *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 72 (1946–1947), 97–122.

14 See Evelyn Newby, *William Hoare of Bath R. A. 1707–1792* (Bath: Victoria Art Gallery, 1990), 44–45. Similar instruments are illustrated in Anthony Baines, *European and American Musical Instruments* (London: Batsford, 1966; reprinted 1983), figures 251, 252; Anthony Baines, *Victoria and Albert Museum Catalogue of Musical Instruments*, volume 2, *Non-Keyboard Instruments* (London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1968), figure 75.

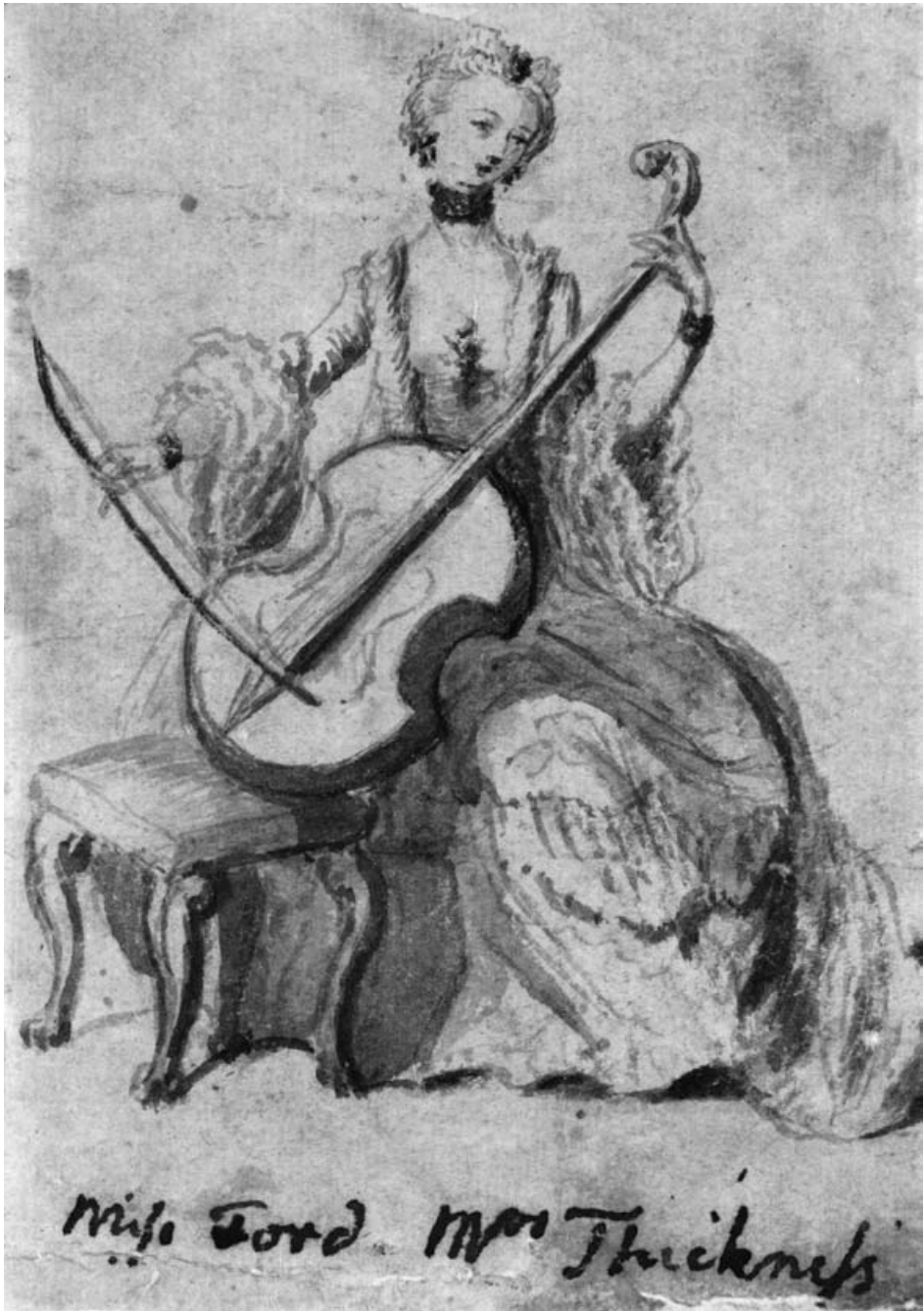


Figure 2 Susanna Duncombe, *Miss Ford / Mrs Thicknesse*, London, Tate Gallery. © Tate, London 2004





Figure 3 Giovanni Battista Cipriani, *Miss Ford, afterwards Mrs Thicknesse*, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum

on her own compositions' (88).<sup>15</sup> When Philip Thicknesse put his Bath house up for sale in March 1775 the contents were auctioned, including 'a fine Milanese fiddle, a treble [triple?] Welch harp, a guitar, and other musical instruments.'<sup>16</sup>

The account in *Public Characters* of the private concerts just mentioned gives us a fascinating insight into the social and musical circles that Ann moved in as a teenager. We are told the concerts took place on Sundays and 'attracted the notice of all the gay and fashionable world' (89). The account includes two lists,

<sup>15</sup> I am grateful to Mike Parker for informing me that a painting conforming to this description and said to be of Ann Ford exists in a private collection.

<sup>16</sup> William T. Whitley, *Thomas Gainsborough* (London: Smith, Elder, 1915), 102–103.



Figure 4 Thomas Gainsborough, *Study for the Portrait of Ann Ford*, Sudbury, Gainsborough's House. © Gainsborough's House Society



Figure 5 William Hoare, *Ann Ford, Mrs Thicknesse*, London, British Museum. © British Museum

one apparently of the audience, or at least of her social circle, obtained ‘at great pains’ by the editor of *Public Characters* (see Figure 6), and the other of seventeen participants, divided into nine ‘AMATEURS’ and eight ‘PROFESSORS’ (see Figure 7). It was clearly a distinguished group. The violinists were the composer Thomas Erskine, sixth Earl of Kelly (1732–1781),<sup>17</sup> pupil of Johann Stamitz, and Charles Froud or Frowd (died 1770), organist of St Giles, Cripplegate, from 1736; he was listed as ‘Organist and Teacher on the Harpsichord.

<sup>17</sup> For Kelly see David Johnson, *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), 68–84, 211–214; David Johnson, ‘6th Earl of Kelly’, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, second edition, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), volume 13, 464–465.





*King-street, Bloomsbury* in Mortimer's *London Universal Dictionary*.<sup>18</sup> The cellist was Stephen Paxton (1734–1787),<sup>19</sup> the harpsichord players were the composers John Burton (1730–1782) and Thomas Arne (1710–1778),<sup>20</sup> while the professional singers were one of the Baildon brothers, Joseph (c1727–1774) or his brother Thomas (died 1762), and the great castrato Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci (c1735–1790).<sup>21</sup>

A striking feature of Ann's private concerts is the concentration on exotic instruments. By the time she was a teenager the viola da gamba had passed out of general use, yet there were two players in the group, Ann herself and Lord Bateman.<sup>22</sup> Giuseppe Passerini (1716–1783) played the viola d'amore, as he is known to have done in public concerts, rather than his main instrument, the violin,<sup>23</sup> while two people, Philip Thicknesse and the otherwise unknown 'Saltero', played members of the lute family – another instrument supposedly at a low ebb in England at the time.<sup>24</sup> In view of Gainsborough's drawing of Ann playing a Spanish guitar it is interesting that Saltero and Leoni also played the instrument; perhaps one of them was her teacher.

Leoni is probably the Signor Leone who played mandolin solos in a benefit concert for the Society of Musicians at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket on 25 April 1763 and in a number of concerts in the spring of 1766, including his own benefit at Hickford's Room on 17 March.<sup>25</sup> He may have been the Gabriele Leone who arrived in England in September 1762, who recruited opera singers for Felice Giardini in Italy in the summer of 1763, and who was involved in litigation and a public row with Giardini on his return to London.<sup>26</sup> According to a deposition made by the cellist Carlo Graziani in the course of the affair, Leone 'lived for some years in Paris before leaving for London', so this person is presumably also the same as the Leoni or Leoné who published a number of collections of mandolin music in Paris and is described on the title-page of his

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- 18 (London, 1763). For Froud see 'Charles Froud', in *A Biographical Dictionary*, volume 5, 419; Donovan Dawe, *Organists of the City of London 1666–1850* (Padstow: author, 1983), 99; 'An Eighteenth-Century Directory of London Musicians', *The Galpin Society Journal* 2 (1949), 28.
- 19 For Paxton see 'Stephen Paxton', in *A Biographical Dictionary*, volume 11, 239–40; Brian Crosby and Stanley Sadie, 'Stephen Paxton', in *The New Grove*, second edition, volume 19, 255; Brian Crosby, 'Stephen and Other Paxtons: An Investigation into the Identities and Careers of a Family of Eighteenth-Century Musicians', *Music & Letters* 81/1 (2000), 41–64.
- 20 For Burton see 'John Burton', in *A Biographical Dictionary*, volume 2, 439; Gerald Gifford, 'John Burton', in *The New Grove*, second edition, volume 4, 647. For Arne see 'Thomas Augustine Arne', in *A Biographical Dictionary*, volume 1, 108–117; Peter Holman and Todd Gilman, 'Thomas Augustine Arne', in *The New Grove*, second edition, volume 2, 36–46.
- 21 For the Baidons see 'Joseph Baildon' and 'Thomas Baildon', in *A Biographical Dictionary*, volume 1, 212–213; Percy M. Young, 'Joseph Baildon', in *The New Grove*, second edition, volume 2, 488. For Tenducci see 'Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci', in *A Biographical Dictionary*, volume 14, 392–398; Roger Fiske and Dale E. Monson, 'Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci', in *The New Grove*, second edition, volume 25, 281–282.
- 22 For the viol in eighteenth-century England see Peter Holman, 'A New Source of Bass Viol Music from Eighteenth-Century England', *Early Music* 31/1 (2003), 81–99.
- 23 For Passerini see 'Giuseppe Passerini', in *A Biographical Dictionary*, volume 11, 233; Winton Dean, 'Christina Passerini', in *The New Grove*, second edition, volume 19, 199; James, 'Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Bath', 145–161; Simon McVeigh, *The Violinist in London's Concert Life 1750–1784: Felice Giardini and his Contemporaries* (New York and London: Garland, 1989), 93; Jenny Burchell, *Polite or Commercial Concerts? Concert Management and Orchestral Repertoire in Edinburgh, Bath, Oxford, Manchester and Newcastle 1730–1799* (New York and London: Garland, 1996), especially 84; Simon McVeigh, 'Italian Violinists in Eighteenth-Century London', in *The Eighteenth-Century Diaspora of Italian Music and Musicians*, ed. Reinhard Strohm (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), 171.
- 24 For instance, Matthew Spring, *The Lute in Britain: A History of the Instrument and its Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 450, asserts that 'by 1720 the decline was nearly complete. The native Englishman with any proficiency on the lute as a solo instrument after this point was rare indeed.'
- 25 *The Public Advertiser*, 25 April 1763; 11, 13, 19, 20 March; 5 and 8 April 1766. See Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 246.
- 26 Curtis Price, Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, *The Impresario's Ten Commandments: Continental Recruitment for Italian Opera in London 1763–1764* (London: Royal Musical Association, 1992).



to this, a chariot, coachman, and footman, were always kept expressly for her use, she was introduced to the best company, and visited the first people in the metropolis.\* They returned the compliment on an afternoon expressly fixed upon for this purpose, and Miss Ford's Sunday concerts attracted the notice of all the gay and fashionable world. The following list of her occasional performers (of which the accomplished hostess is, we believe, the only one that

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\* The editor has been at great pains to obtain a list; and it is not without some melancholy reflections that he now publishes it, as not above two or three survive at the present day!

- 1 Duke and Duchess of Montague.
- 2 The present Earl of Aylesbury, then Lord Bruce.
- 3 General Irwin and Lady.
- 4 Lady Jane Scott.
- 5 Lord and Lady Tankerville.
- 6 Lady Lucy Boyle, afterwards Torrington.
- 7 The Dowager Lady Powerscourt, her Son Lord Powerscourt, and her Daughter.
- 8 The Honourable Miss Wingfield.
- 9 Lord and Lady Litchfield.
- 10 Earl of Tyrawley.
- 11 General Guise.
- 12 The present Lord Somers.
- 13 Lieutenant-Governor the Hon. Daines Barrington.
- 14 Lady Betty Thicknesse.
- 15 Two Earls of Jersey and the Old Countess.
- 16 Lord and Lady Dowager Bateman.
- 17 Sir Richard Fowler.
- 18 Lady Barrington.
- 19 Sir William and Lady Young.
- 20 The present Lady Laforey.
- 21 Lady Hescotté.

survives)

Figure 6 *Public Characters of 1806* (London: Richard Phillips, 1806), page 89



survives), will perhaps be considered by some as curious, if not interesting :

AMATEURS.	INSTRUMENTS.
1 Late Earl of Kellie,	the violin.
2 ——— Countess of Tankerville,	the German flute.
3 ——— Lord Dudley and Ward, ( <i>vocal</i> )	
4 ——— Lord Bateman, . . .	the viol di gamba.
5 ——— Sir Charles Bingham, . . .	the German flute.
6 ——— Marchioness of Rockingham, ( <i>vocal</i> )	never sang but once.
7 ——— Governor Thicknesse, . . .	theorb, or lute.
8 ——— Miss Ford (now Mrs. Thicknesse),	the viol di gamba.
9 ——— Saltero, Spanish guitar, arch-lute,	and the piano-forte.
 PROFESSORS. 	
1 ——— Burton, . . . . .	the harpsichord.
2 ——— Froud, . . . . .	2d violin.
3 ——— Baildon, ( <i>vocal</i> )	
4 ——— Leoni, . . . . .	the Spanish guitar.
5 ——— Paxton, . . . . .	the violoncello.
6 ——— Dr. Arne, . . . . .	the harpsichord.
7 ——— Signior Tenduci, ( <i>vocal</i> )	
8 ——— Signior Passerini, . . . . .	the viol d'amour.

A little anecdote which occurred somewhat anterior to this period, may not be considered as unworthy of insertion in this place. Miss Ford having been introduced by Mr. Ford the attorney-general, alluded to above, to the late Lady Huntingdon, they were both invited to dinner on a day and at a time fixed. When the period arrived, Miss Ford was ushered with the rest of the company out of the drawing-room into the parlour; where to her surprise, all the ladies and gentlemen, instead of sitting down to the repast, stood behind their respective chairs, with their faces inclined to the ceiling, while  
the



*Complete Introduction to the Art of Playing the Mandoline*<sup>27</sup> as ‘Sigr. Leoni of Naples . . . Master of the Mandoline to THE DUKE DE CHARTES’.<sup>28</sup> It is interesting that Saltero is listed as playing the ‘piano-forte’, since only a few pianos are recorded as existing in England before manufacture started in London in the 1760s.<sup>29</sup> *Public Characters* does not date Ann’s private concerts, but since Tenducci arrived in England only in October 1758 and they occur in the narrative before the description of her public concerts which began in March 1760, they presumably took place at least partly in 1759.

There is evidence that Ann was also involved in private theatricals. We know from a letter dated 2 October 1758 from Frances Greville to Charles Burney that she appeared in an amateur production of Shakespeare’s *Julius Caesar* at the Grevilles’ country seat, Wilbury House in Wiltshire. Frances Greville told Burney that ‘they introduced a procession of vestals to Mourn over Caesar’s body’ and that:

[O]ne of them Sang a Dirge divinely well. She is, I think, take her for [what] she is . . . the most pleasing singer I ever heard I dont dare say the best because I have not judgment enough to decide, but I know that I would rather hear her than any Italian I have yet heard. She is a Miss Ford, daughter of a sort of Lawyer in the city. [John] Gordon, the Violoncello, & Barton [John Burton?] the Harpsichord Man, accompanied her . . .<sup>30</sup>

There is a version of the same episode in *The School for Fashion* (volume 1, 7–15). It takes place in the ‘magnificent mansion’ Bon Ton Hall, seat of Sir William Bon Ton. Sir William borrows ‘all the paraphernalia necessary for the performance’ from the theatre manager John Rich in London, purchases ‘some beautiful scenes for the occasion’ and sets off ‘immediately to his country seat to make the necessary arrangements’. We learn that the ‘grand saloon was turned into a theatre’, that there were ‘not less than seventy *rational* Beings in the house’, including ‘a number of musicians of the very *first class*’ and a cast consisting of ‘the first nobility in the country’, who were ‘*all* entertained for many weeks, in a most princely style’. We are told that Euterpe did not come on until the fourth act, but in fact the obvious place for the procession of vestals is in Act 3 Scene 1, after Mark Antony’s lament over Caesar; presumably Ann sang the dirge over the body and the vestals accompanied it at the stage direction ‘Exeunt with Caesar’s body’. We also learn that Euterpe played the part of Lady Loverule in the afterpiece, Charles Coffey’s ballad opera *The Devil to Pay*.<sup>31</sup>

*Public Characters* does not mention this production, but it does contain a description of ‘a theatrical entertainment at the hospitable mansion of the late Sir William Young’. Ann was invited to choose the play; she chose *Romeo and Juliet* and played Juliet herself (92–93). She was evidently well qualified, for we are told that ‘she had been taught to read by [Thomas] Sheridan, the father of the present orator’; she was ‘well acquainted with, and often heard Garrick recite in private’; and that ‘Mrs. Cibber, with whom she lived on good terms, gave her lessons to qualify her to shine on the stage’. Susanna Maria Cibber (1714–1766) was

27 (London: Longman and Broderip, 1789).

28 Price, Milhous and Hume, *The Impresario’s Ten Commandments*, 73. For Leoni of Naples see James Tyler and Paul Sparks, *The Early Mandolin: The Mandolino and the Neapolitan Mandoline* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), especially 87–88, 90–92, 94–95, 148–150, 152, 156. Copy of *A Complete Introduction* consulted: London, British Library, b. 123. The edition is dated 1785 in Tyler and Sparks, *The Early Mandolin*, 156, but was entered at Stationers’ Hall on 16 November 1789; see *Music Entries at Stationers’ Hall 1710–1818*, compiled by Michael Kassler (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), 138.

29 Michael Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 22, 43–46.

30 Extract from a letter in the James Marshall and Marie-Louise Osborn Collection, Yale University Library, New Haven, printed in ‘Ann Ford, later Mrs Philip Thicknesse’, in *A Biographical Dictionary*, volume 5, 365; see Roger Lonsdale, *Dr Charles Burney: A Literary Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965; reprinted 1986), 52. For Gordon see ‘John Gordon, in *A Biographical Dictionary*, volume 6, 275–276.

31 For *The Devil to Pay* see Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century*, second edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), especially 112–113, 115–117, 598.





Thomas Arne's sister, had been one of Handel's solo singers and was the greatest tragic actress of her day.<sup>32</sup> Unfortunately, while rehearsing the balcony scene, Ann 'fell from a screen placed on a table, and instead of a mimic death, stood no small chance of being buried in reality'. Essentially the same story is told in *The School for Fashion* (volume 1, 98–99), though it is again placed in the household of Sir William Bon Ton. It occurs ten chapters later than the account of the production of *Julius Caesar*, so it apparently took place some time later.

Ann Ford was a talented young woman, but she caught the attention of English society around 1760 mainly for her relationship with William Villiers, third Earl of Jersey (1706–1769), who appears in *The School for Fashion* lightly disguised as the Earl of Guernsey.<sup>33</sup> *Public Characters* states that he was 'a constant attender at her concerts' and, although old, was 'extremely agreeable, gay, and rich'. He was married, though he 'still presumed to talk of love'; his wife 'being supposed to be attacked by an incurable malady, which soon after actually put an end to her life, he was already looking out for a successor'. He offered to marry Ann on his wife's death, settling £800 a year on her in the meantime, but this 'coronet in expectancy had no charms' for her, and she rejected him (91–93).

At least some of these events took place in Bath. It is said in *Public Characters* that 'Miss Ford paid a visit to her friend Lady Betty Thicknesse [Philip Thicknesse's second wife], at Bath' (92), while in *The School for Fashion* Euterpe stays in Bath with Lady Betty's fictional persona, Lady Elizabeth Tudor, 'during a part of the winter', where she is introduced to the Earl of Guernsey (volume 1, 66–67). Two letters dated 16 November and 16 December 1758 from the poet William Whitehead (1715–1785) to George Simon Harcourt, Viscount Nuneham (1736–1809), show that Ann was well established in Bath society and in the Jersey circle – of which Whitehead was a member as the tutor to the Earl of Jersey's son George Bussy Villiers (1735–1806) and Viscount Nuneham.<sup>34</sup> In the first he writes:

I have seen Miss Ford, nay almost lived with her ever since I have been here. She has a glorious voice, & infinitely more affectation than any Lady you know. You would be desperately in love with her in half an hour, & languish & die over her singing as much as she does herself in the performance. A Cottage with the man she loves is the height of her ambition.

In the second he repeats his opinion – 'She is excellent in music, loves solitude, & has immeasurable affectations' – and goes on to reveal that:

She is unfortunately in love already, but there are some objections to her present passion. The man is indeed six foot high, is an officer & has a charming Person, but having a wife & three children, &, what is worse, being at present on an expedition to Senegal, we are in hopes we may prevail. Painting is likewise her most favourite amusement, & for Poetry she has herself translated most of Metastasio's operas.

There is no mention of the Earl of Jersey as Ann's suitor in these letters, which suggests that the affair started after December 1758. Equally, her love for the officer in Senegal is not mentioned in *Public Characters* or *The School for Fashion*, presumably because Ann was concerned to depict herself as a virtuous and innocent young woman, wronged by Lord Jersey.

The next stage of the affair is summarized in *Public Characters*:

At this critical period, finding herself closely pressed by her father respecting some proposals about settling in life, she was reduced to the disagreeable necessity of flying from the paternal mansion,

32 For Cibber see 'Susanna Maria Cibber, née Arne', in *A Biographical Dictionary*, volume 3, 262–282; Molly Donnelly, 'Susanna Maria Cibber', in *The New Grove*, second edition, volume 5, 832–833.

33 For the Earl of Jersey and his circle see Sloman, *Gainsborough in Bath*, 38–43.

34 Volume of Whitehead letters, Stanton Harcourt Manor, Oxfordshire. I am grateful to Susan Sloman for providing me with transcriptions, and to the Hon. Mrs Gascoigne for permission to quote from them.



and taking refuge in the house of a lady of quality. Here she deemed herself equally secure from enquiry and pursuit: but she proved to be mistaken; for the premises were surrounded by the myrmidons of Sir John Fielding [the Bow Street magistrate], whose very name carried terror along with it; and a warrant, granted under the signature of that magistrate, having been presented, all resistance proved vain, so that the young lady was taken prisoner and carried home!

While in the carriage, in her way back, she found herself in company with a gentleman whom she had before seen, who was particularly attentive to her, and soon after seized an opportunity to disclose his passion to her in due form; but he met with a rebuke instead of a kind return, on account of his ill-timed intervention. Mr. Ford, however, deemed him a proper person to be a suitor to his daughter, and his addresses were accordingly encouraged. It was even hinted, that marriage might conquer any *affected* dislike; and that before their arrival in Jamaica, where he possessed large estates, which he was about to visit, they would become a happy couple!

The idea of an union with a man she could not love, and being sent into exile in the West Indies, at a distance from all her friends, appeared intolerable to a young lady possessed of sensibility. She accordingly eloped a second time, and having taken a lodging at Kensington, happily eluded all pursuit. In this situation, instead of resigning herself to grief and melancholy, she determined to turn her talents to advantage, and by one bold effort render herself independent. As she had lived in habits of familiarity with the first nobility, she conceived the idea of rendering their patronage subservient to her scheme. The Opera-House was accordingly hired, and a fine band of music prepared for three nights only. Every one was eager to subscribe; and the young performer was wooed, like Danaë of old, in a shower of gold. [93–95]

It is clear from the much longer version of the same episode in *The School for Fashion* (volume 1, 134–178) that Ann's father approved of the Earl of Jersey's approaches, that Elizabeth Thicknesse was the 'lady of quality' who took her in, and that the second suitor was a 'Mr. A—d', described as 'a man of letters' and 'a man of large fortune' (volume 1, 156).<sup>35</sup> The novel also contains an interesting account of the process of organizing the concerts and collecting subscriptions. Euterpe tells an unnamed countess of her intentions:

My plan, Madam . . . is to hire the little Opera house for three nights only, and a band of the very best musicians in town, when I will perform myself upon four different instruments, and sing some English and Italian airs; but I do not intend to have any vocal performer. – I am advised to have no Ticket under half-a-guinea, which will of course conduct those who honour me with their presence, to any part of the house, as gallery and boxes will be put at equal price, for which reason I have ordered a thousand Tickets to be printed. [volume 1, 172–173]

When the tickets were ready, the countess took her 'to make a round of visits'; they found that 'she seldom had less than five guineas, and oftener twenty, for a single ticket!', with the result that she made forty guineas in a morning and £1,500 overall (volume 1, 173–174) – a figure also mentioned in *Public Characters* (96).

At this point we do not need to rely just on *Public Characters* and *The School for Fashion*, for Ann's public concerts in 1760 and 1761 are also documented in advertisements in *The Public Advertiser* (Appendix 1).<sup>36</sup> These advertisements confirm the essential accuracy of the two narratives of Ann's life: the concerts were in the Little Theatre in the Haymarket; the tickets were priced at half a guinea; the pit, boxes and gallery were at the same price; and she did sing in English and Italian. Furthermore, she could have played four instruments: the 1760 advertisements mention her playing only the viola da gamba and 'Guittar' (that is, the English guitar), though she played the arclute in a concert on 23 January 1761, and the evidence of her portraits suggests that she also played the Spanish guitar and the harp; as we shall see, she added the musical

35 A search through the *ESTC* failed to find any published author of the period with a surname fitting 'A—d'.

36 Many of the references were initially located from the database *Calendar of London Concerts 1750–1800*, compiled and maintained by Simon McVeigh, Goldsmiths College, University of London.



glasses to her repertory in 1761. To judge from the names mentioned in the advertisements, her fellow performers were distinguished: they included the oboist Redmond Simpson (died 1787), the violinist Thomas Pinto (1714–1783) and the bassoonist John Miller (died 1770).<sup>37</sup> The one detail that is wrong in *Public Characters* and *The School for Fashion* is that the concerts were not a series of three on successive nights, but a subscription series of five, spread over more than a month. Ann presumably compressed them for dramatic effect.

*Public Characters* tells us that Ann's father attempted to disrupt the first concert:

He was still vexed, and angry at her having left his house; and he abhorred the idea that his daughter should appear on the stage for any period, however short, or under any circumstances however favourable. He accordingly applied to the same magistrate who had before assisted him, and all the avenues to the Haymarket were occupied by Sir John's runners. But these myrmidons were dispersed by the late Lord Tankerville, then an officer in the Guards, who threatened to punish any interposition on their part, at a time *when some of the royal family* were expected to be present; and to enforce his declaration, determined to send for a detachment of horse and foot. On this they immediately disappeared. [95]

The reference to members of the royal family is explained in the next paragraph, which contains an interesting description of the concert:

The timidity incident to a first performance, was in some measure repressed by the kindness and support of her friends. Prince Edward condescended to drink a cup of tea with her in the green-room; on which occasion his equerry, Colonel Brudnel, brother to the Duke of Montague, stood behind his chair, and soon after handed her to the stage door, where she was received with bursts of applause. Nor was the audience disappointed; for when Miss Ford, who was dressed in white satin and pearls, sang one of Handel's oratorio songs, beginning

'Return, O God of Hosts!  
Relieve thy servant in distress!'

she displayed such exquisite sensibility, that many of her friends actually burst into tears. [95–96]

The *Public Advertiser* confirms that she did sing 'Return, O God of Hosts', from Handel's *Samson*, in the second part of the first concert on 18 March 1760.

The final chapter in the Earl of Jersey saga came when Ann published a pamphlet entitled *A Letter from Miss F—d, Addressed to a Person of Distinction*; it was advertised in *The Public Advertiser* on 23 January 1761, and a copy in the British Library is annotated 'Purchas'd January 22. 1761', the previous day; it supposedly sold five hundred copies in five days.<sup>38</sup> It justifies her actions point by point, and ends with 'A NEW SONG TO THE TUNE of CHEVY CHACE' ridiculing the earl, supposedly 'Sent to the AUTHOR by an UNKNOWN HAND' (49–55). The second edition contains a fold-out plate (see Figure 8) with a crude caricature showing the gouty earl kneeling at the feet of Ann, who is seated holding what looks like a lute-shaped English guitar.<sup>39</sup> Her father looks on approvingly on the left, while there is a boar's head on the table – a reference explained by Ann's remark that the earl sent her 'a present of a boar's head' and that it was 'an odd, first, and only present, from a L—d to his beloved mistress' (15). The earl is singing 'Believe my sighs my Vows my dear &c', a snatch identified by Michael Rosenthal as deriving from the song 'Believe my sighs my

37 For Simpson see 'Redmond Simpson', in *A Biographical Dictionary*, volume 14, 94–95. For Pinto see 'Thomas Pinto', in *A Biographical Dictionary*, volume 12, 3–4; Nicholas Temperley, 'Thomas Pinto', in *The New Grove*, second edition, volume 19, 762. For Miller see 'John Miller', in *A Biographical Dictionary*, volume 10, 231.

38 British Library, 1080.i.20.(10.); ESTC, T6316, reproduced in *The Eighteenth Century*, reel 10181, no. 8; Gosse, *Dr. Viper*, 130.

39 ESTC, T67742, reproduced in *The Eighteenth Century*, reel 10526, no. 8.

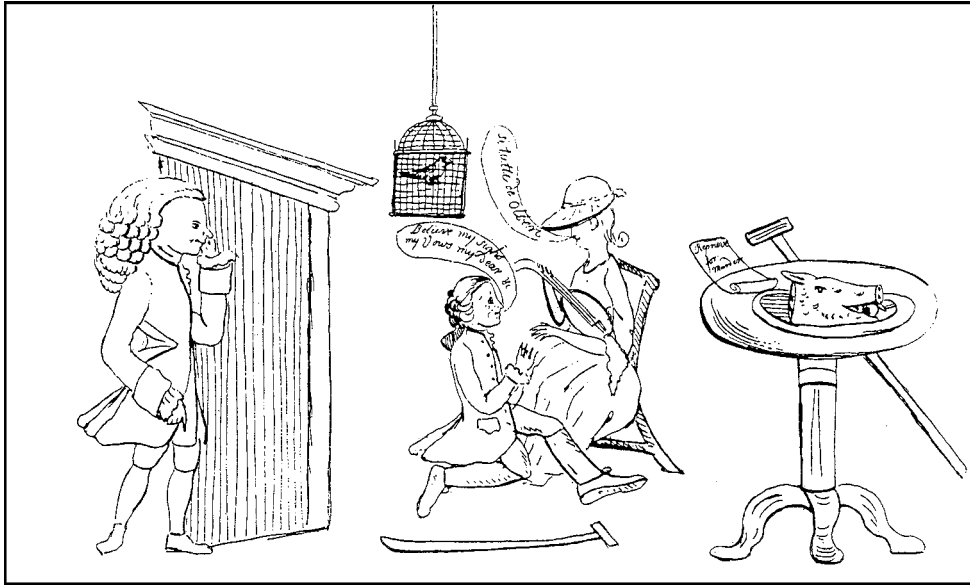


Figure 8 Plate from *A Letter from Miss F—d* (London, second edition, 1761)

tears my dear' from George Bickham's *Musical Entertainer*.<sup>40</sup> She replies with 'Si tutti de Olberi', which mystified Rosenthal but is in fact a reference to her song 'Se tutti gli alberi dell mondo', printed in the appendix to her treatises on playing the English guitar and the musical glasses – to be discussed below.

Ann's pamphlet prompted three responses. *A Letter to Miss F—d*, clearly by the Earl of Jersey himself, was advertised in *The Public Advertiser* on 4 February 1761 and is a well argued and dignified rebuttal of her accusations. Two anonymous pamphlets, *A Dialogue Occasion'd by Miss F—d's Letter, Address'd to a Person of Distinction* and *A Dialogue Occasioned by Miss F—d's Letter to a Person of Distinction*, were published in the same year, though I have been unable to find newspaper advertisements for them.<sup>41</sup> In the first, Mr. Allsworthy and Miss Chatterbox take the sides of Ann and the earl respectively, with Lady Remnant as the referee; as can be guessed from their names, it defends her and was probably written by her or one of her supporters. In the other, George takes her part and Frank his; it is much more balanced, seeing merit in both sides:

Will you give me leave to bring this dispute to a conclusion, by proposing, that if you will admit that Miss F—d has taken unwarrantable and unjustifiable liberties with the noble L—d, and that he is by no means so culpable, as she would persuade the world to believe, I will on my part readily allow that Miss F—d is a young woman of uncommon virtue and honour; and of the most determined and unshaken chastity. [43–44]

Both *Public Characters* and *The School for Fashion* give the impression that Ann ceased giving concerts immediately after her success in the spring of 1760. The former states:

Some relaxation, after such an exhausting effort, now became necessary, and the town itself henceforth ceased any longer to have charms. Miss Ford accordingly left the great world divided

40 (London: author, 1737), volume 1, 6. See Rosenthal, *The Art of Thomas Gainsborough*, 168.

41 (London, 1761); ESTC, T131717, reproduced in *The Eighteenth Century*, reel 7583, no. 18. (London: M. Cooper, 1761); ESTC, T145292, reproduced in *The Eighteenth Century*, reel 12518, no. 8.





into parties concerning her conduct; and having accepted an invitation on the part of Governor and Lady Betty Thicknesse, accompanied them into Suffolk. [96]

However, that is not exactly what happened. It is likely that she went to Bath after her concerts in 1760, for that seems to have been when Gainsborough painted the picture of her that Mrs Delany saw at his house in the city on 23 October. Furthermore, she continued to give concerts in London in 1761, though there are signs that they were no longer so successful. On 10 January she began to advertise 'MISS FORD's Subscription Concert' at the Little Theatre on 23 January, though from 19 January it is said that it would be 'the last Time of her appearing in Public' and the phrase 'The Instrumental Parts by the best Performers' that she had used until then is omitted; it is promised only that she will provide the 'Vocal Part' and will 'play a Solo on the Viol di Gambo; a Lesson on the Guittar; and sing the 104th Psalm, accompanied by herself on the Arch Lute'. It looks as if she had planned a second series – hence the phrase 'subscription concert' – but was forced to change her plans when the subscriptions failed to materialize.

That autumn she tried again, but in a less prestigious venue, on a different basis and with a new instrument. The venue was 'the large Room late COX's Auction Room, over the great China-shop near Spring-Garden' – that is, the Spring Gardens bordering on the eastern side of St James's Park.<sup>42</sup> The room, used at various times in the eighteenth century for auctions, concerts, exhibitions and a museum, was not one of London's major concert venues, and Ann was clearly anxious about attracting an audience – hence the reassuring phrases in the advertisements about the room being 'fitted up in a proper Manner for the Reception of genteel Company' and being 'well aired, and a constant Fire kept'. It looks as if she was not trying to put on formal concerts as such, but was just offering to sing and play to anyone who dropped in 'between the Hours of One and Three'. She started on 15 October 1761 and evidently continued until Saturday 7 November; the advertisement on that day is headed 'This being the last Day of Performance'.

In the advertisements she promises to sing and play the musical glasses, the viola da gamba and English guitar. A German visitor to London, Count Friedrich von Kielmansegge, who attended on 7 November, gives the impression that there was only one other performer, a cellist:

In the morning of the 7th of November I went to hear Miss Four's [Ford's] concert. She is a pupil of Schumann, and has performed here for some time on musical glasses. She plays entire concerts with one finger, on a row of tuned wine-glasses, and is accompanied by a violoncello; she sings well, and has a good voice, accompanying herself on the 'viola di Gamba' and guitar, and gives her audience a varied entertainment.<sup>43</sup>

It was certainly a come-down from the concerts eighteen months earlier.

Earlier discussions of Ann Ford took these advertisements at their face value, but we can now begin to understand why the autumn 1761 concert events took the form they did, and why they eventually failed. First, as Simon McVeigh has pointed out, the years 1761 to 1764 'saw a spate of daily exhibition performances given by young ladies and by self-publicising teachers', several of them, like her, playing 'novelty' instruments such as the musical glasses and the English guitar.<sup>44</sup> Second, we have seen that Ann was 'taught to read' – meaning taught to read in public – by the actor Thomas Sheridan (1719–1788).<sup>45</sup> Sheridan had been giving lectures on elocution and the English language in Cox's Room since 23 February 1759. At the beginning of December 1761 he advertised a new course of lectures there, pointing out that 'In the mean time Miss *Lloyd* succeeds Miss *Ford*, in performing on the *Musical Glasses* – (as the Lady herself expresses it) *for the Amusement of genteel*

42 *The London Encyclopaedia*, ed. Ben Weinreb and Christopher Hibbert (London: Macmillan, 1983; reprinted 1987), 206, 809–810.

43 Friedrich von Kielmansegge, *Diary of a Journey to England in the Years 1761–1762*, trans. Sophia Philippa Kielmansegge (London: Longmans, 1902), 147–148.

44 McVeigh, *Concert Life in London*, 91.

45 For Sheridan see 'Thomas Sheridan', in *A Biographical Dictionary*, volume 13, 336–357.



*Company*'.<sup>46</sup> Thus it looks as if Ann's performances in Cox's Room had some connection with Sheridan's lectures – a conclusion strengthened by the fact that Miss Lloyd altered the time of several of her performances so that they came immediately after Sheridan's, doubtless catering for the same clientele. On 9 and 10 December her advertisements carried the note: 'On Account of Mr. Sheridan's Lectures, Miss Lloyd will begin near Two o'Clock, and Perform till Half an Hour after Three.'<sup>47</sup> Lloyd performed 'several Lessons on the Harpsichord' and played 'in two Parts on the Musical Glasses', while a Mr Aynscombe sang 'several favourite Airs'.

Third, there is a connection between Ann and the German composer, guitarist and performer on the musical glasses Frederic Theodor Schumann.<sup>48</sup> According to Count Kielmansegge, Ann was a pupil of Schumann, and it is clear from advertisements for Schumann's own performances, also in Cox's Room from 6 August to 7 October 1761, that hers were an imitation of his. He also promised to play 'UPON THE GLASSES' and to attend there 'every Day (except Sunday) from One to Three, and Likewise from Six till Eight, to play to company'.<sup>49</sup> It looks as if Schumann took offence at competition from a pupil, for soon after Ann's concerts began at Cox's Room he started a rival series at his house in Bury Street, off Jermyn Street in Piccadilly. Starting on 27 October, he promised music 'every Day upon the GLASSES, between the Hours of One and Three'.<sup>50</sup> He seems to have won the contest, for on 7 November, the day Ann gave up for good, he wrote triumphantly: 'AS Mr. SCHUMANN's Performances on the MUSICAL GLASSES have given so great Satisfaction to the Public, he now begs Leave to return his grateful Thanks for the Encouragement he has met with.'<sup>51</sup> As well as announcing his concerts, Schumann's advertisements tell us that he made sets of musical glasses 'in the most perfect Manner', intended 'teaching to play' them, and also taught 'the Harpsichord, German Flute, and Guittar'. Playing the musical glasses was an increasingly crowded field: in addition to Ann Ford, Schumann and Lloyd, in late November and early December a Mr Drybutter offered 'Ten Tunes to each Set of Company' for only a shilling per person at his house in Pall Mall.<sup>52</sup> No wonder Ann called it a day.

The episode is a good example of the jealousy that an upper-class female amateur musician could arouse in a male professional. I suspect that Schumann also found it difficult to deal with the fact that around this time his pupil or ex-pupil published treatises on two of the instruments he played and taught. I have been unable to discover exactly when *Lessons and Instructions for Playing on the Guitar*<sup>53</sup> was published, but it was clearly before *Instructions for Playing on the Musical Glasses*<sup>54</sup> was advertised on 2 November, for the title-page of the latter contains an advertisement for the former.<sup>55</sup> Also, Ann stated in *Instructions for Playing on the Musical Glasses* that it was 'not above four Weeks since I first heard them, and little more than a Fortnight since I made my first Attempt to play',<sup>56</sup> whereas she had played the English guitar in her first public concerts and played a concerto on the instrument on 25 March 1760.

The English guitar treatise is practical, well thought out and clearly expressed. She begins with the way of holding the guitar in the most graceful position, asserting that 'the Attitude this Instrument almost naturally throws the Performer in, is very graceful, and forms the Line of Beauty' described in William Hogarth's

46 *St James's Chronicle*, 3–5 December 1761.

47 *The Public Advertiser*, 5 and 9–12 December 1761.

48 For Schumann see 'Friedrich Theodor? Schumann', in *A Biographical Dictionary*, volume 13, 234; Ronald R. Kidd, 'Frederic Theodor Schumann', in *The New Grove*, second edition, volume 22, 759.

49 *The Public Advertiser*, 4–8, 10–15, 17–22, 24, 25, 27–29 August; 1, 3, 4, 7–11, 14–16, 19, 21, 24, 25, 28, 29 September; 6 and 7 October 1761.

50 *The Public Advertiser*, 27, 29, 30 October; 2, 4 and 6 November 1761.

51 *The Public Advertiser*, 7 November 1761; also 11, 13 and 16 November 1761.

52 *The Public Advertiser*, 27 and 30 November, and 4 December 1761.

53 Copy consulted: London, British Library, i.160.c; ESTC, T190771.

54 Copy consulted: photographs in London, British Library, b.5 of the apparently unique copy in Cambridge, MA, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Mus 372.2F; not in ESTC.

55 *The Public Advertiser*, 2 November 1761.

56 *Instructions for Playing on the Musical Glasses*, 3.



*Analysis of Beauty*.<sup>57</sup> Other topics covered include ways to prevent the strings jangling when playing, playing ornaments borrowed from Thomas Mace's *Musick's Monument*<sup>58</sup> and developing correct left-hand fingering. Despite the fact that Ann had been playing the musical glasses for only a short time when she wrote it, her treatise on the instrument is also interesting and well conceived. It deals with tuning the glasses with water, producing the best tone, producing 'a very fine Chromatic' by rolling the water around the sides of the glasses, obtaining and setting up a set of glasses and, most interestingly, the possibility of developing 'an Organ with Glass Notes, instead of Pipes' played from a keyboard.

A strange feature of the treatises, to my knowledge not noticed before, is that they contain an identical musical supplement, printed from the same plates (Appendix 2). The music, all in C major and in treble clefs, was clearly conceived for the English guitar; there are solos, duets and vocal pieces with accompaniment, in one case with a flute part as well. Ann evidently thought that the pieces would suit the musical glasses equally well and that people would not notice the duplication. It is difficult to tell in most cases whether they are her own compositions. Some of them, such as 'Lovely Nancy' and 'Lady Coventry's Minuet', are clearly popular tunes to which she has added simple variations. Others may be original compositions, and in two cases there is evidence that this is so.

We have seen that Ann is singing the Italian air 'Se tutti gli alberi dell mondo' in the caricature of herself, her father and the Earl of Jersey in the second edition of *A Letter from Miss F—d*. The air is printed on pages 4–5 of the musical supplement, and its text appears in *Public Characters* with the comment that it was an 'extravaganza, written by her and set to music' that 'gave great delight to the beautiful Lady Coventry, to whom it was presented' (129). An amusing anecdote in *Public Characters* tells how at a dinner the Methodist leader Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, 'drawled out or rather sung a long methodistical grace, with strange intonations, and so uncommon a cadence' that, although the rest of the company 'retained all due gravity and decorum . . . [it] proved too much for the young lady, who actually *tittered* aloud' (90–91). To make amends, Ann set the hymn 'All ye that pass by, to Jesus draw nigh'; 'we understand', the author of the *Public Characters* article added, that it is 'still used in the chapels of this persuasion' – that is, in the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion.<sup>59</sup> This is presumably the setting of those words found on page 5 of the music supplement, and is perhaps the 'Hymn set by herself' referred to in the advertisements for her concert on 22 April 1760; as we shall see, it was certainly one of the pieces sung by her in 1787.

The rest of Ann's long life can be summarized briefly. As already mentioned, she accompanied Philip Thicknesse and his wife to Suffolk, presumably soon after her last performance at Cox's Room in November 1761; at that time Philip was Governor of Languard Fort near Felixstowe. She was there when Lady Elizabeth died in childbirth on 30 March 1762. She married Philip on 27 August 1762 and subsequently moved with him to Welwyn in Hertfordshire, and then to a farm she had inherited in Monmouthshire. In 1766 they visited France, settling in Bath on their return. In 1775 they embarked on a year's journey through France and Spain, followed in 1782–1783 by a similar trip to the Netherlands. In 1789 they moved from Bath to Sandgate near Hythe in Kent, and in 1791 they went on another trip to France. In 1792 they decided to settle in Italy, but Philip died suddenly on 19 November near Boulogne; Ann was subsequently arrested and imprisoned by the revolutionary authorities, narrowly escaping the guillotine. She was released in July 1794 and returned to London, where she lived quietly until her death on 20 January 1824.

Ann seems to have performed in public only once after her marriage, in an event in aid of the new Casualty Charity in Bath. We are told in *Public Characters* that she was moved to organize it after hearing that an injured workman had been refused admission to the existing Pauper Hospital because it 'was intended for

57 *Lessons and Instructions for Playing on the Guitar* (London, 1753), 3–4.

58 (London, 1676).

59 For the Countess of Huntingdon and the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion see Boyd Stanley Schlenther, *Queen of the Methodists: The Countess of Huntingdon and the Eighteenth-Century Crisis of Faith and Society* (Bishop Auckland: Durham Academic Press, 1997).



strangers alone' (131). Reports in *The Bath Chronicle* reveal that she was planning the performance as early as July 1787 and that it was advertised for the parish church at Walcot near Bath on 5 December 1787.<sup>60</sup> It was postponed because of repairs to the church roof and finally took place on 12 December 1787 in the Margaret Chapel in Bath. It was in the context of morning service: Ann sang an anthem by John Weldon between the first and second lessons and her own setting of 'All ye that pass by, to Jesus draw nigh' after the prayers, accompanying herself 'on the Viol da Gamba'. There must also have been an accompanist, for we are told in *Public Characters* that the organ of Margaret Chapel was 'accompanied with her voice' (131).

After the event *The Bath Chronicle* reported: 'We are assured that it was the general opinion of the Audience . . . that Mrs. Thicknesse's singing, in point of sweetness and expression, is not excelled even by the first singer of the age.'<sup>61</sup> That opinion is echoed by the remark in *Public Characters* that 'she was considered as one of the finest singers of her day, and in point of compass and sweetness is thought by some, particularly Rauzzini, to have rivalled the Billington' (130). The castrato Venanzio Rauzzini (1746–1810) came to England in 1774, long after Ann's London concerts. He settled in Bath in 1777 and was one of Elizabeth Billington's teachers.<sup>62</sup> A letter by 'A. B.' to *The Gentleman's Magazine* dated Bath, 30 January 1792, emphasized Ann's role as the founder of the Casualty Charity, and asserted that an offer to sing a second time had been rejected 'with an infinite number of civil words and idle excuses', even though her powers were 'no way impaired since she did set on foot so excellent a beginning'; its aggressive tone and anti-establishment stance suggests that it was actually written by Philip Thicknesse.<sup>63</sup>

As the reference to accompanying herself 'on the Viol da Gamba' in the 1787 service makes clear, Ann continued to play the viol long after her London concerts. From a long and rambling anecdote in Philip Thicknesse's *Sketch of the Life and Paintings of Thomas Gainsborough* we know that she owned a viol 'made in the year 1612, of exquisite workmanship, and mellifluous tone' which she gave to Gainsborough in exchange for a painting of her husband that he failed to complete;<sup>64</sup> the story is not dated in the book, but Philip outlined the affair in a letter to his friend John Cooke dated 4 August 1774.<sup>65</sup> On 10 February 1787 *The Daily Universal Register*, the forerunner of *The Times*, ran the first of three news items about Ann, comparing her favourably to Carl Friedrich Abel (1723–1787), who had been London's leading professional viola da gamba player for nearly forty years. It is clear from them that Ann was still a fine player and had written a significant amount of music for her instrument:

That Lady is an elegant, delicate, powerful, and learned performer on several instruments. Her vocal powers have seldom been equalled, and her compositions possess a happy union of taste and science. Her sonatas for the Viol da Gamba, with accompaniments for the harpsichord, &c. would do honour to Abel.

The newspaper returned to the subject on 29 June, nine days after Abel's death:

By the death of Abel there is now but one capital *Viol Di Gambo* player in England, and that is a Lady, whose adagios, if not so highly dressed with graces, are not inferior, in point of sentiment and delicacy of touch, to that great master.

60 *The Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, 19 July, 29 November 1787; *The Bath Journal*, 3 and 10 December 1787. See James, 'Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Bath', 256–257; his assertion that Ann had 'sung and played' on behalf of the Pauper Charity 'some months earlier' is apparently a misreading of *The Bath Chronicle* report for 19 July 1787.

61 *The Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, 13 December 1787.

62 For Rauzzini see William Thomas Parke, *Musical Memoirs* (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830), volume 2, 51–54; 'Venanzio Rauzzini', in *A Biographical Dictionary*, volume 12, 259–262; Kathleen Kuzmick Hansell, 'Venanzio Rauzzini', in *The New Grove*, second edition, volume 20, 860–862; James, 'Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Bath', especially 900–916.

63 *The Gentleman's Magazine* 62/1 (1792), 109; see James, 'Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Bath', 257.

64 Thicknesse, *Sketch of the Life and Paintings of Thomas Gainsborough*, 20–31.

65 Robert R. Wark, 'Thicknesse and Gainsborough: Some New Documents', *The Art Bulletin* 40/4 (1958), 333.





And again, on 3 July:

The best performer on the *Viol di Gamba* now in England, or perhaps in Europe, is Mrs. Thicknesse. She was second only to Abel, as a general player. In more particular points, she was his equal. This accomplished lady has also composed for that instrument, and her compositions possess a degree of science, taste, and delicacy, which the best of Mr. Abel's productions never excelled.<sup>66</sup>

Unfortunately, none of her viola da gamba sonatas appear to have survived.

Why is Ann Ford important? It is clear that her attempts to earn her living by performing in public were remarkable for a woman of her time and social situation, even though they seem to have been driven by short-term expedience rather than by proto-feminist convictions; once she was married and financially secure she conformed to the social norms of the day and essentially restricted herself to performing in private. However, too much has been made of how daring her decision was to promote public concerts and to appear in them as an instrumentalist. Ann was not the only woman promoting concerts in the early 1760s. Marianne Davies (1744–?1816), an exponent of Benjamin Franklin's glass harmonica, sang and played the keyboard and the flute in numerous London concerts from her debut at the age of seven in 1751 until she left with her family for the Continent in 1768.<sup>67</sup> To give some examples, she played the harpsichord, the organ and the flute in a benefit concert at the Great Room in Soho on 15 February 1760 and again at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket on 2 February 1761; she is the only woman listed among the 'MASTERS AND PROFESSORS OF MUSIC' in Mortimer's *London Universal Directory*, and is given as performing 'on the Armonica, German Flute, &c. *King's-square-court, Soho*'.<sup>68</sup> (It was extremely unusual for women to play the flute at the time; the only other example known to me is Lady Tankerville, who is listed in *Public Characters* as playing the instrument in Ann's private concerts.) A Miss Carter, possibly the individual who sang in Arne's *Alfred* at Drury Lane on 23 March 1759 and in Handel's *Acis and Galatea* on 13 November 1765, sang and played the harpsichord in her benefit concerts at Hickford's Room on 27 March 1759 and 5 February 1761.<sup>69</sup> We also have the examples of the female violinists Elizabeth Plunkett (1725–1744), Maddalena Sirmen (1745–1818), Gertrud Elisabeth Schmeling (1749–1833; later the soprano Mrs Mara), Hannah Taylor of Bath (born c1781) and Louisa Gautherot (died 1808); Plunkett appeared in Dublin concerts between 1739 and 1743, and gave two concerts at the Haymarket Theatre in London on 27 January and 27 February 1744.<sup>70</sup>

McVeigh and Rosenthal have argued that Ann challenged the norms of the time by playing the viola da gamba, claiming respectively that it was a 'male' instrument and 'an instrument conventionally reserved to

66 Reprinted in *The Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, 12 December 1787.

67 For Marianne Davies see Betty Matthews, 'The Davies Sisters, J. C. Bach and the Glass Harmonica', *Music & Letters* 56/2 (1975), 150–169; Brian Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar 1700–1760* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1988), 209–211, 276–277; 'Marianne Davies', in *A Biographical Dictionary*, volume 4, 202–203; Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, 'Cecilia Davies', in *The New Grove*, second edition, volume 7, 59–60.

68 *The Public Advertiser*, 28 January and 4, 8, 11, 13, 14, 15 February 1760, and 2 February 1761; 'An Eighteenth-Century Directory of London Musicians', 28.

69 *The Public Advertiser*, 27 March 1759, 4 February 1761. For Carter see 'Miss Carter', in *A Biographical Dictionary*, volume 3, 85.

70 For Plunkett see 'Elizabeth Plunkett, later Mrs Devenish', in *A Biographical Dictionary*, volume 12, 37; Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar*, 65, 67, 88, 95, 287. For Sirmen see 'Maddalena Laura Sirmen, née Lombardini', in *A Biographical Dictionary*, volume 14, 102–103; Elsie Arnold, 'Maddalena Sirmen', in *The New Grove*, second edition, volume 23, 448; Elsie Arnold and Jane Baldauf-Berdes, *Maddalena Lombardini Sirmen: Eighteenth-Century Composer, Violinist and Businesswoman* (Lanham, MD, and London: Scarecrow, 2002). For Mara see 'Gertrud Elisabeth Mara, née Schmeling', in *A Biographical Dictionary*, volume 10, 77–87; Julian Marshall, 'Gertrud Elisabeth Mara', in *The New Grove*, second edition, volume 15, 793–794. For Taylor see James, 'Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Bath', 1001–1003. For Gautherot see 'Louisa Gautherot, née Deschamps', in *A Biographical Dictionary*, volume 6, 130. See also McVeigh, *Concert Life in London*, 85–87.



male performers'.<sup>71</sup> Although we might think that the bass viol was considered unsuitable at the time for women because it normally required the legs to be parted (though the Duncombe drawing shows Ann playing it 'side-saddle'), there is no evidence that this was so, and it is belied by the sizeable numbers of recorded female viol players at the time, on the Continent as well as in Britain.<sup>72</sup> So far I have identified eleven possible candidates in eighteenth-century Britain apart from Ann Ford: Grisie Baillie, Lady Katherine Boyd, Jean Chein, Elizabeth Herbert Countess of Pembroke, Mrs Lowther, Sarah Ottey, Anne Owen, Margaret Sinkler, Lavinia Spencer Viscountess Althorp, Georgiana Countess Spencer and Christina Steffkins.

However, Ann was unusual in that she was interested in a range of exotic instruments. As we have seen, in addition to the viola da gamba, she played the archlute, the English and Spanish guitar, the harp and the musical glasses. None of them was in general use in Britain at the time, and the viol and the archlute were particularly identified with the past. But this does not mean that she played them because she was interested in old music, or because she wanted to be thought an antiquarian. For Ann and her contemporaries, old instruments were a fashionable novelty, chiming to some extent with the contemporary pre-Romantic enthusiasm for the past in all artistic fields. Although the revival of old vocal music was developing in Britain in the 1760s, with projects such as Boyce's *Cathedral Music*, there is no evidence that she or anyone else at the time played old music on their viols and lutes. The beginnings of the revival of old music played on old instruments lay more than eighty years in the future, with the Ancient Music concert instigated and supported by Prince Albert on 16 April 1845.<sup>73</sup>

Finally, I would like to suggest that Ann fascinated her contemporaries in part because she exemplified the cult of sensibility, at its height during her period of fame around 1760. We have seen that William Whitehead thought that she had 'infinitely more affectation than any Lady you know', that Lord Nuneham would 'languish & die over her singing as much as she does herself in performance' and that she 'loves solitude, & has immeasurable affectations'. Similarly, *Public Characters* describes her at one point as 'a young lady possessed of sensibility' (94) and reports that in her first concert she 'displayed such exquisite sensibility' singing Handel's 'Return, O God of Hosts', that 'many of her friends actually burst into tears' (96).

Ann seems to embody the cult of sensibility on several levels. First, in her portrayal of herself as an innocent and virtuous woman at the mercy of an unscrupulous aristocrat, she is a sentimental heroine in the mould of Richardson's Pamela or Clarissa.<sup>74</sup> Second, in her affected style of performance, moving her audience to tears, she exemplifies the display of direct and sincere emotion and artless self-absorption that is central to the cult. Third, the instruments she played – soft, refined, plaintive and exotic – imply a Rousseauesque rejection of brilliance, virtuosity and the musical mainstream. Significantly, she seems to be virtually the only female instrumentalist appearing in public in London at the time who did not play the harpsichord, the standard vehicle for female virtuosity. Of course, that rejection of the mainstream brought with it the danger of being thought a dilettante, which is probably what Gainsborough had in mind when he wrote to James Unwin on 1 March 1764 about the education of his daughters as artists: 'I don't mean to make them only Miss Fords in the Art, to be partly admired & partly laugh'd at at every Tea Table; but in case of an Accident that they may do something for Bread.'<sup>75</sup> As Ann doubtless discovered when her concerts lost their fashionable appeal, exquisite sensibility could easily seem like amateurish affectation.

71 McVeigh, *Concert Life in London*, 87; Rosenthal, *The Art of Thomas Gainsborough*, 167.

72 Annette Otterstedt, *The Viol: History of an Instrument* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2002), 84–89, mentions some female viol players and reproduces on the cover Jean-Marc Nattier's painting of Madame Henriette de France playing the viol (1754); see also Anet Marie Pierre Girould de Nolhac, *Nattier, peintre de la cour de Louis XV* (Paris, 1925), 166–169.

73 John R. Catch, 'Prince Albert's Early Music', *The Galpin Society Journal* 42 (1989), 3–9.

74 For sensibility see in particular Janet M. Todd, *Sensibility: An Introduction* (London and New York: Methuen, 1986); John Mullan, *Sentiment and Sociability: The Language of Feeling in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988; second edition, 1990; reprinted 1997).

75 *The Letters of Thomas Gainsborough*, ed. John Hayes (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), 26.



## APPENDIX 1

## ADVERTISEMENT FOR ANN FORD'S LONDON CONCERTS

**18 March 1760:**

MISS FORD's first Subscription Concert / will be To-morrow, the 18th instant, at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket. As the Pit, Boxes and Gallery, are the same Price, the latter will be equally illuminated with Wax-Candles. / First Part. Overture of Pasquali; Song by Miss Ford, Voi Legete; Concerto Hautboy, Mr. Simpson; Song, Miss Ford, Gentle Youth, &c. Solo, Miss Ford, on the Viol di Gamba. / Second Part. Concerto Bassoon, Mr. Miller; Song, Miss Ford, Sparge Amar; Solo Violin, Mr. Pinto; Song, Return O God of Host. Full piece of French Horns. / Tickets at Half a Guinea each, to be had at the Theatre; at Mr. Deard's; at Mr. Gardens, in St. Paul's Church-yard; and at Mr. Walsh's, in Catharine-street. No persons to be admitted behind the Scenes. / To begin at Seven o'Clock. / No more Tickets will be delivered than the House will contain.

—*The Public Advertiser*, Monday, 17 March 1760; also 4, 5, 8, 11 and 18 March 1760

**25 March 1760:**

MISS FORD's second Subscription Concert will be This Day the 25th Instant, at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket. The Vocal Parts by Miss FORD, who will play a Solo on the Viol di Gambo, and a Concerto on the Guittar. Pit and Boxes are laid together, at Half a Guinea each Ticket; Gallery 5s. / Tickets to be had at Mr. Deard's Toy-shop, at Mr. Garden's in Saint Paul's Church-yard; and at Mr. Walsh's in Catharine-street. / To begin at Seven o'Clock.

—*The Public Advertiser*, Tuesday, 25 March 1760; also 20, 22 and 24 March 1760

**8 April 1760:**

MISS FORD's Third Subscription Concert will be This Evening at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket. The vocal Parts by Miss FORD, who will play a Solo on the VIOL DI GAMBO; and a Lesson and Song accompanied with the Guittar. Signor Gwkottowsky will play a Concerto on the German Flute. / SONGS. / Non sai qual pena. / Hush ye pretty warbling Choir. / What tho' I trace each Herb and Flower. / Ah se un Cor Barbaro. / Tickets to be had at the Theatre; at Mr. Deard's Toy-shop, and at Mr. Walsh's, at Half a Guinea each. Gallery 5s. To begin at Seven o'Clock.

—*The Public Advertiser*, Tuesday, 8 April 1760; also 3, 4, 5 and 7 April 1760

**14 April 1760:**

MISS FORD's Fourth Subscription Concert will be This Day the 14th Instant, at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket. / The vocal Parts by Miss Ford, who will play a Solo on the / VIOL DI GAMBO. / OVERTURE. / Non sai qual paza sia. Song. / Concerto Traversa, by Sen. G. / Sweet Bird. Song. / Solo Viol di Gambo. / Concerto Violoncello, sen. Pasqualina. Hush ye pretty warbling Choir. Song. / Solo, Violin, Mr. Pinto. Duetto, Caro Spiegar Vorrei. / Lesson on the Guittar, and (by particular Desire) the 104th Psalm. / FULL PIECE. / Tickets to be had at the Theatre; at Mr. Walsh's, in Catharine Street in the Strand; and at Mr. Garden's, in St. Paul's Church-Yard. / Pit and Boxes laid together at 10s. 6d. Gallery 5s. / To begin at Seven o'Clock.

—*The Public Advertiser*, Monday, 14 April 1760; also 11 and 12 April 1760

**22 April 1760:**

MISS FORD's fifth and last Subscription CONCERT, will be This Day the 22d instant, at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket. The Vocal Parts by Miss Ford, who will play a Solo, and accompany a Song, (Oh Liberty, thou choicest Treasure) on the Viol di Gambo; a Lesson on the Guittar, and sing a Hymn set by herself. / Pit



and Boxes laid together at Half a Guinea each; Gallery 5s. / Tickets to be had at Mr. Walsh's, in Catharine Street; at Mr. Garden's, in St. Paul's Church-yard; and at the Theatre. / To begin at Seven o'Clock.

—*The Public Advertiser*, Tuesday, 22 April 1760; also 17, 18, 19 and 21 April 1760

### 23 January 1761:

MISS FORD's Subscription Concert will be at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket, on Friday the 23d instant. The Vocal Part by Miss Ford, who will also play a Solo on the Viol di Gambo, and a Lesson on the Arch-Lute and Guittar. / The Instrumental Parts by the best Performers. / Pit and Boxes laid together, at Half a Guinea each. Gallery 5s. Places to be taken and Tickets to be had at the Snuff-shop adjoining to the Theatre. / To begin precisely at Seven o'Clock.

—*The Public Advertiser*, Saturday, 10 January 1761; also 13, 15 and 17 January 1761

MISS FORD's Subscription Concert will be THIS DAY, the 23d Instant, (being the last Time of her appearing in Public) at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket. The vocal Part by Miss Ford who will play a Solo on the Viol di Gambo; a Lesson on the Guittar; and sing the 104th Psalm, accompanied by herself on the Arch Lute. / Pit and Boxes laid together at 10s. 6d. Gallery 5s. / Places to be taken and Tickets to be had at the Snuff-shop adjoining to the Theatre. To begin at Seven o'Clock.

—*The Public Advertiser*, Friday, 23 January 1761; also 19, 20 and 22 January 1761

### from 15 October 1761:

MISS FORD having engaged the large Room late COX's Auction Room, over the great China-shop near Spring-Garden, (which will be fitted up in a proper Manner for the Reception of genteel Company) proposes To-morrow, the 15th Instant, between the Hours of One and Three, to sing some favourite English Songs, and accompany herself on the Musical Glasses; she will also play a Lesson on the Guittar, and a Solo on the Viol di Gambo. / The Room will be opened at Twelve o'Clock, which is well aired, and a constant Fire kept in it. / Admittance Two Shillings and Sixpence.

—*The Public Advertiser*, Wednesday, 14 October 1761; also 15 October 1761

MISS FORD having engaged the large Room, late Cock's Auction-Room, over the great China-Warehouse, Spring-Gardens, (which is fitted up for the Reception of genteel Company) proposes singing a few English Airs, and accompanying herself on the Musical Glasses; she will also (if desired) play a Solo on the Viol di Gambo, and a Lesson on the Guittar. / The Room will be opened at Twelve o'Clock, which is well aired, and a constant Fire kept. The Performance will be every Day between the Hours of One and Three. / Admittance Two Shillings and Sixpence.

—*The Public Advertiser*, Saturday, 17 October 1761; also 19–24 and 26–31 October 1761, 2–7 November 1761

## APPENDIX 2

### INVENTORY OF THE MUSICAL SUPPLEMENT TO LESSONS AND INSTRUCTIONS FOR PLAYING ON THE GUITAR AND INSTRUCTIONS FOR PLAYING ON THE MUSICAL GLASSES

All the music is in C major; it is on a single treble clef stave unless otherwise stated.

Page

- 1–2 Example I / Example 2<sup>d</sup> / Example 3<sup>d</sup> / Example 4<sup>th</sup> / Example V / Example 6<sup>th</sup> / Example 7<sup>th</sup> / Example 8<sup>th</sup>  
[2/4; arpeggio exercises]



- 3 Lesson I / Allegro  
[C; a binary movement]
- 4 *Minuet*  
[3/4; a binary movement, possibly part of Lesson I]
- 4–5 *An Italian Air* / Accompany'd with the GUITTAR / *Se tutti gli alberi dell mondo*  
[C; two staves, labelled 'VOICE' and 'GUITTAR'; an echo song for voice and guitar, with guitar passages marked 'Sym']
- 5 *A Sacred Hymn* / All ye that pass by, to Jesus draw nigh  
[3/4; two unlabelled staves, evidently for voice and guitar; a binary hymn with the text of the second verse printed below the music]
- 6–8 *An Italian Air* / Accompany'd with the GUITTAR and FLUTE / *Care luci che regnate*  
[3/4; three staves, respectively 'FLAUTA', unlabelled voice part and 'GUITTAR'; a da capo aria, evidently for voice, flute and guitar]
- 9–10 *A Little Italian Ballad* / after the manner of Venetian. / *Se lontano ben mio tu sei*  
[3/4; two unlabelled staves, evidently for voice and guitar; a binary song with guitar passages marked 'Sym:']
- 11 Lesson II / Presto  
[2/4; a binary movement]
- 12 *Minuet*  
[3/4; a binary movement, possibly part of Lesson II]
- 12–13 *A Hymn* – accompany'd with the GUITTAR / *O Love Divine how sweet thou art*  
[C; two unlabelled staves, evidently for voice and guitar]
- 13 Lesson III / DUETTO / *Siciliana*  
[6/4; two unlabelled staves, evidently for two guitars; a single-section movement]
- 14–15 *Jigg* / DUETTO  
[12/8; two unlabelled staves, evidently for two guitars; a binary movement, possibly part of Lesson III]
- 15 *Minuet* / DUETTO  
[3/4; two unlabelled staves, evidently for two guitars; a binary movement, possibly part of Lesson III]
- 16–17 GUITTAR / *Andante* / *Parto se vuoi cosi ma questa crudelta*  
[3/4; two staves, the upper labelled 'GUITTAR' with the text underlaid, the lower labelled 'Guittar'; evidently for voice and two guitars; a da capo aria with a contrasted middle section marked 'Allegro', C]
- 18–19 A COUNTRY DANCE with VARIATIONS  
[C; a binary dance similar to 'Shepherd's Hey' with four variations]
- 19–20 *Lovely Nancy* / with Variations  
[3/4; a binary minuet with three variations]
- 20 LADY COVENTRYS MINUET with Variations  
[C; a binary minuet with three variations]