

GIOVANNI PUZZI AND HORN PLAYING IN LONDON'S ORCHESTRAS IN THE 1820S

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The “foggy, but profitable, shores of England” were an irresistible magnet to all manner of people optimistically seeking a fortune in music during the first half of the nineteenth century.¹ London's flourishing concert life and its comparatively unrestricted musical marketplace made it a favored and essential destination for many of Europe's most celebrated composers and performers, continuing a tradition begun in the eighteenth century by such luminaries as Handel and J.C. Bach. The prosperity of the 1820s spawned an increasing number of opera, ballet and orchestra performances, subscription series, and benefit and private concerts.² These performances presented a diverse array of opportunities for a select group of orchestral players. Among them was nineteenth-century Britain's most celebrated horn virtuoso, the Italian-born Giovanni Puzzi (1792-1876).

Puzzi's talents as a horn player were manifest at an early age and he embarked upon European tours, performing before the aristocracy of the principal cities while still a young teenager. A more enduring noble attachment was formed when Puzzi was commended to Napoleon Bonaparte by Ferdinando Paer and given a place in the Emperor's private band sometime prior to 1809.³ While in Paris he attracted the notice of the *prima donna assoluto* Angelica Catalani, who invited him to play in her concert series at the Théâtre Italien, which subsequently led to his appointment as solo horn in the theatre's orchestra during the 1815-1816 season. At the end of the Paris opera season, Puzzi was brought to England under the patronage of the Duke of Wellington, possibly as part of the spoils of the victory at Waterloo.⁴ With this auspicious beginning, marked by the recognition of and connection with a prominent group of aristocrats and artists, one might assume that Puzzi arrived in London only to wait for his solo career to unfold before him. Instead, his “monopoly” of the concerts of London's aristocracy for approximately twenty-five years was the result of an intricate network of contacts with London performers and patrons originating largely from Puzzi's association with the city's orchestras.

Although Puzzi is principally noted for his eminence as a soloist, this was only the most visible element of a multifaceted and inter-arching career. Like most of his virtuoso contemporaries such as Liszt and Paganini, Puzzi arranged or composed the majority of his performing repertoire and also produced many short arrangements for voice and piano, dedicated to various patrons. He was also the first professor of horn at the newly founded Royal Academy of Music.⁵ Possessed with a keen awareness of his musical and social environment as well as a strong sense of business acumen, Puzzi served as a “fixer” for private concerts, initiated his own series of chamber music performances and established a short-lived *opera buffa* company. Investigation of his career reveals that Italian opera was at the center of nearly all of Puzzi's activities. Most obviously, it provided the source material for

nearly all of his repertoire. Serving as an operatic agent and impresario developed into a main pillar of Puzzi's career and probably provided him with his single largest source of income. It also guaranteed that the singers so vital in attracting his targeted aristocratic audience were present at his concerts and at those that he fixed for various patrons, ensuring that his services would be engaged repeatedly.⁶

At the foundation of success in these endeavors was an intensive period of orchestral playing from 1821-1826, when Puzzi served as principal horn in London's leading ensembles. During these initial years orchestral playing was a primary source of income for Puzzi, but more importantly, these posts enabled him to cultivate the "professional" patronage with colleagues and the traditional patronage of various aristocratic supporters that was vital to the development of the above mentioned aspects of his career.⁷ Both contemporary and modern biographical accounts say little of these orchestral posts and fail to recognize their importance in ultimately affording Puzzi "the happy position of being able to reserve himself for solo work."⁸

Puzzi's orchestral career embraced the most prominent features of the musical landscape of London in the 1820s and centered around the triumvirate of the Concert of Antient [*sic*] Music—bastion of conservative aristocratic tastes—the progressive Philharmonic Society, and the Italian Opera at the King's Theatre—the focal point of London's fashionable world. It also included participating in orchestras at various benefit and private concerts where a "band" would have been required. Performances at provincial festivals held around the country outside the London social season were also the domain of Puzzi and his colleagues, as London musicians were relied on as a core group to augment the efforts of local "professors" in the mounting of large concerts. The extent of Puzzi's commitment to orchestral playing is evidenced by his participation in less established London orchestras such as the City Amateur Concerts. Despite this broad range of performance situations, these ensembles offered only limited employment opportunities. Personnel rosters reveal that the primary positions in these orchestras—and in the case of brass players, usually entire sections—were filled by the same London players. In the 1820s the main horn players in this group in addition to Puzzi were the brothers Joseph and Peter Petrides (fl. in London 1802-25) and Henry Platt (first horn in London's principal orchestras c.1825-49).⁹

This article will focus on horn playing in this elite group through a study of Puzzi's orchestral career during the period when he served as the section leader of the Philharmonic Society, Concert of Antient Music, Italian Opera, and various provincial orchestras. It will also give peripheral consideration to his participation in less established and more informal ensembles so that the gamut of orchestral engagements pursued by these players can be taken into account. Clearly, even within this select group of horn players who managed to obtain more or less steady employment in London's most prominent orchestras, Puzzi represents the pinnacle of what was possible for a brass player during the period of his professional life in England (1817-ca.1855). As a result, his name appears far more frequently in source materials than those of his contemporaries. His activities can thus be viewed with an unusual degree of scrutiny, thereby providing a window of insight into various aspects of orchestral horn playing at this level, such as salaries, working conditions, repertoire, and the

most desirable posts. Through consideration of these factors, this inquiry will examine the orchestral environment in which Puzzi worked and how it contributed to the development of his career in an arena where so many struggled to enter into the small circle of musicians who achieved prosperity.¹⁰

The prominence that orchestral playing assumed in Puzzi's activities during the 1820s reveals its indispensability as a central ingredient in the formation of a successful musical career and demonstrates that his orchestral involvement extended far beyond the popular portrayal of the white-gloved virtuoso appearing on the platform only to execute solo passages.¹¹

The Italian opera orchestra at the King's Theatre

The season means the opera, the opera means the Italian Opera; the season is when that is and not when that is not. Then comes Jules de Glimes, and many masters of the art of song, with Pinsuiti, Pilotti, Perullo, and Petriefaccio, who will "accompany" at Puzzi's.¹²

The above quotation, which refers to concerts given by Puzzi in 1853, illustrates both the manner in which opera dominated social and musical life in London during the first half of the nineteenth century and Puzzi's power in being able to procure the services of the season's most fashionable singers. Although his background equipped him well for his future role as an agent and impresario, Puzzi's first link with the Italian opera in London was as an orchestral player.

The King's/Her Majesty's Theatre was the center of Italian opera production until the establishment of the rival Royal Italian Opera at Covent Garden in 1847. Although financial and managerial instability at the King's Theatre were chronic, "the home of the Italian opera remained an ever-present, and vitally important source of income and musical experience" to the orchestral player, particularly in light of the "upheavals of failed and brief subscription concerts, unpaid benefits, and fluctuating engagements in the provinces."¹³ It was the most frequently performing orchestra in London and was a cornerstone of every principal orchestra player's career. During the 1820s a typical full season ran from March to early August and consisted of approximately sixty performances, given on Tuesday and Saturday evenings, as well as rehearsals, though the length of the season fluctuated with the Theatre's finances.¹⁴

Paucity of records makes it difficult to ascertain specific details regarding the composition of the horn section at the King's Theatre during the 1820s. Music director William Ayrton's papers appear to be the only source of surviving orchestral rosters from this period. In 1821 he includes Puzzi's name in a list of the Theatre's principal instrumentalists for the season.¹⁵ It is not until 1825 that full details of the section are given. The horns are listed as Puzzi, Rais [Rae], Petrides, and Petrides.¹⁶ A program from an April 1824 benefit concert announced that Puzzi appeared "by permission of the Proprietors of the King's Opera House," thereby confirming his employment during this season. Puzzi continued to play

solo horn in the orchestra until he was dispatched to Paris by the manager of the King's Theatre, John Ebers, in the winter of 1826 to engage singers for the upcoming season. No further information about the section during the 1820s has been located, though the orchestral rosters of the Philharmonic Society and The Concert of Antient Music provide an indication of the likely composition of the section after the departure of Puzzi and the Petrides brothers (see Appendix 1, tables A and B).

Performance of the latest Italian operas was the principal occupation of these players, but this comprised only half of their duties (see Appendix 2, table A, for a full list of works performed during the 1820s).¹⁷ At the conclusion of each evening's opera, the orchestra was called upon to play a full-length ballet. Due largely to the success of Ebers in obtaining the leading dancers from Paris, the King's Theatre became London's principal venue for romantic ballet. In 1821 the Petrides brothers wrote to Ayrton to petition him for help in dealing with the demands that the newly introduced ballet added to their duties, asking "that Mr. Puzzi should be engaged, not only for the operas but now for the Balets too, which is certainly great relief for us" [original spelling retained].¹⁸ Existing orchestra rosters do not specify whether Puzzi played in the ballet, but this is a factor that must be considered in attempting to gain an understanding of the extent of the duties of the horn section on any given evening (see Appendix 2, table B, for ballet repertoire).¹⁹

The strain of such long hours would have been compounded by the poor working and performance conditions that Puzzi and his colleagues encountered during the 1820s. The tone for the upcoming decade was set in 1818 when it was remarked that

the salaries of the musicians had been greatly reduced; in consequence of which several of the most eminent performers had quitted the orchestra.... Any person who attended the Opera must remark how much it had been diminished in effect.... The orchestra was very bad.²⁰

While celebrity players such as Puzzi and the Petrides brothers may have enjoyed a certain degree of negotiating power and security because of their unique status, a constant supply of section players grateful for any employment gave the music director a sharp and merciless negotiating tool and the personnel and size of the orchestra were constantly in flux. Management's approach to the orchestra in the second half of the 1820s was characterized by further reductions in fees and the imposition of ruthlessly restrictive conditions of employment.

A letter written to the *Harmonicon* shortly after the infamous harpist Nicholas Bochsa took up the position of music director is one of many that addresses the grievances of players and reveals much about the poor conditions and musical standards within the orchestra:

Sir, under the head of King's Theatre ..., you pay a flattering compliment to the 'abused and comparatively ill paid' orchestra of that establishment; but perhaps you were not aware of the actual amount of the 'impediments' which it has had to overcome this season. The introduction of a bevy of

boys, to the exclusion of many excellent performers... was the beginning of our troubles: the want of anything like system in the general management of the Theatre: the multitude of directors, not one of whom seemed to have the least knowledge of his duties; and the manner in which rehearsals have been conducted....

It has happened more than once, that but for the promptness shewn by Mr Coccia and Mr Spagnoletti, the performance must have stopped suddenly.... To remove blame from the band, and to throw it on those who really deserve to bear it, is the object of this letter; the insertion of which will much oblige.

[signed] One of the ill paid orchestra, Haymarket.²¹

Ebers himself confirmed the above comments about rehearsals:

The word rehearsal summons up, to all practically acquainted with its meaning, a scene beyond description.... In the midst of the Babel [in reference to arguments between singers] the gentlemen of the orchestra, who wish all the singers at the devil, endeavor to get over the business of the day by playing on without the vocal music. The leader of the orchestra, finding all ineffectual, puts on his hat, and walks away, followed by violins, basses, trombones, and kettle-drums, en masse.²²

The horn section suffered during this period. The Petrides brothers departed for Prague at the end of the 1825 season. "Puzzi played in the orchestra, until ... he made himself indispensable to the management, and laid aside the French horn for more remunerative occupation" in 1826 when he entered into work as an agent for Ebers and was dispatched to the Continent to recruit and engage promising singers for the King's Theatre.²³ Beale's observations leave no question that the financial rewards of this work far surpassed those paid even to an exceptional orchestral player.

While salaries were at the core of these constant disputes and singers' exorbitant fees were a source of much interest, figures for instrumentalists were rare, with none known for any horn players in the 1820s.²⁴ In 1821 rank-and-file violinists received £23.5s.5d for the season.²⁵ Dragonetti, unquestionably the Theatre's most celebrated instrumentalist and an exceptionally shrewd negotiator, was paid £150 each season from 1820-1822 to play in the opera performances and rehearsals but not for the ballet.²⁶ The highest orchestra fee in 1821 was £250, paid to Spagnoletti.²⁷ The lowest and highest of these figures serve only to provide the outer limits of the possible earnings of Puzzzi and his colleagues for a season at the King's Theatre.

For the players who remained in the orchestra after the departure of Puzzzi and the Petrides brothers, conditions at the King's Theatre continued to decline. The nadir was reached in 1829 when Pierre LaPorte, Ebers' successor as manager, and Bochsa stipulated that orchestra members were not permitted to take part in any engagements outside of the

King's Theatre without the management's consent. Not only did this infringe upon players' participation in private concerts when they were lucky enough to obtain these profitable engagements, but it also threatened the existence of orchestras such as the Philharmonic Society and the Concert of Antient Music.

The willingness of players to accept such stipulations and to tolerate the poor working conditions encountered at the opera house indicates both the importance of the King's Theatre to their livelihood and its omnipotent presence in London's musical life. Even powerful players like the Petrides brothers and Puzzi seemed to have had little direct control over their treatment by the Theatre's management and effected the greatest positive change in their situation by leaving the orchestra. Other players, who were not fortunate enough to have alternative opportunities, endured.

Despite the poor working conditions and musical standards, Puzzi's position as principal horn at the King's Theatre was his most important orchestral post, because it was a vital point of contact with all of the elements of London's most dominant musical institution: the Italian opera. The centrality of the Italian opera in all aspects of Puzzi's career was the most important ingredient of his success. Very few of the opportunities that allowed him to pursue a successful career unaided by income from orchestral playing would have arisen without this initial contact with the Italian opera through his position in the orchestra of the King's Theatre. It was through this post that Puzzi would have first had the opportunity to present himself to the managers and patrons of the Theatre and acquaint them with the knowledge and skills that led to his employment as an agent. As a regular assembly point for the most wealthy and fashionable members of London society, the Theatre provided ample exposure to desirable patrons, including the Earl of Lonsdale, a member of the Theatre's aristocratic board of directors who bequeathed £2,000 to Puzzi in 1872. Finally, as his most substantial orchestral post, the King's Theatre was undoubtedly an important source of income while Puzzi established himself in London.

The Philharmonic Society

The Philharmonic Society, founded in 1813, was the most notable and musically important orchestra in nineteenth-century London.²⁸ Its focus on instrumental ensemble music and its organization as a cooperative of professional musicians distinguished it from all other musical institutions of the time. The Philharmonic pooled the talents and resources of an exceptionally prominent and influential group of musical figures, including Sir George Smart, William Ayrton, and Vincent Novello, in addition to the city's most illustrious instrumental performers. The unsurpassed musical quality of the group and its unique organization conferred a new level of stature and professionalism upon its members.²⁹ Puzzi's election as an associate of the Philharmonic in 1824 was the greatest endorsement of his merits as a musician by his colleagues.³⁰ Many excellent performers who were long-time members of the orchestra were never honored with this distinction. The extensive archives of the Philharmonic Society and Puzzi's correspondence with its directors provide the most detailed information about any of Puzzi's orchestral engagements.

Much has been written about the unique musical and professional environment of the Philharmonic Society during its formative years.³¹ The following discussion highlights the features of the Society's views pertaining to repertoire and salary that had the greatest effect on Puzzi and his colleagues. In a musical landscape dominated by oratorio performances, Italian opera, and organizations such as the Concert of Antient Music, the Philharmonic's focus on "modern" orchestral works was unique. Contemporary chamber music, which was largely absent from London's concert series during the 1820s, was also a regular feature of the Philharmonic Society concerts and may have been Puzzi's vehicle of introduction to much of this music. The initial decision to prohibit the performance of vocal and solo instrumental works as outlined in the Society's Foundation book was a drastic and unprecedented decision that even the Philharmonic Society was unable to uphold for any length of time, though expectations for the performance of "serious" solo music did endure even if performers were not always willing to oblige them.³² Through this programming, the Society's directors hoped to create a new atmosphere by attracting a more musically and less socially oriented audience.

The Philharmonic's cooperative structure was equally novel. Management and players were one and the same, with directors drawn from the group of associate members. Professional solidarity was further increased by the original stipulation that members would receive no payment for their services to the Philharmonic as performers or managers, emphasizing that they were a group of professionals dedicated to the ideal of music as an art.³³ By 1816 the majority of the Philharmonic's players were paid, though in keeping with the original ethos of the Society, rates of remuneration remained low and were a constant source of debate. Despite these alterations, the founding attitude prevailed and the Society continued to maintain itself as a dedicated musical enterprise relatively free from the aristocratic influence that dominated other musical institutions. In this respect, it remained a unique fixture in the British musical landscape throughout the first half of the nineteenth century.

Puzzi's solo appearances with the Philharmonic Society

While orchestral playing is the primary focus of this article, Puzzi's solo and chamber music appearances bear consideration, since these were an important component of his post as principal horn of the orchestra from 1821 through 1824.³⁴ Moreover, they were not part of the duties of principal horn at the King's Theatre or the Concert of Antient Music, but a unique feature of Philharmonic Society Concerts (see Appendix 2, table D, for a list of solos and chamber music with horns performed during Puzzi's engagement with the Philharmonic). These additional obligations featured prominently in Puzzi's negotiations with the directors of the orchestra and in part help to explain the disparity between Puzzi's fees and those received by his colleagues.³⁵

The solo appearances are significant, as the horn was the only brass instrument to be featured in this manner until 1853.³⁶ Many of the pieces were written or arranged by Puzzi and bore titles such as "Concertante" and "Fantasia." These vehicles for virtuosity adhered to no formal structure and were often constructed upon a pastiche of the season's most

popular offerings from the Italian opera.³⁷ Performances of this nature were not unique to Puzzi or the horn. Many of the Philharmonic Society's principal woodwind and string players were featured in performances of their own virtuoso solos; "masterpieces" were the domain of women and children.³⁸ Vocal solos also assumed a regular place in the orchestra's repertoire and Puzzi was in a natural position to appear as an obbligato accompanist.³⁹

The inclusion of a concerto by Belloli, though little different from the works written by himself, may have been an ineffectual nod by Puzzi in the direction of the Society's wavering repertoire stipulations. Such deviations in the program of an organization that insisted that its repertoire would consist of "best and most approved instrumental music, consisting of Full Pieces ... excluding Concertos, Solos and Duets"⁴⁰ were sharply noted by the musical press as in this review of Belloli's concerto, performed at the opening concert of the 1823 season:

The first concert did not shew that much effort had been made to give anything that had not been performed most years since the first moment of the Society's existence: except, indeed, a concerto for the horn, played, it must be admitted, with extraordinary ability by Puzzi, but quite unfit for a concert which was established for the purpose of upholding the highest species of music.⁴¹

Chamber music was a common feature of the Philharmonic Society's programs, particularly during its early years when few other groups were performing this repertoire.⁴² These works were also financially attractive to program, as they allowed music of high quality to be presented with a minimum of expense for performers and rehearsal time. The Beethoven quintet and septet were some of the most frequently performed works that included wind instruments. Reicha quintets and Mozart serenades were also popular. The group of players brought together by these performances was formidable. The sixth concert of the 1820 season featured Beethoven's septet with Mori and Spagnoletti (violins), Lindley (cello), Dragonetti (bass), Willman (clarinet), Puzzi, and Mackintosh (bassoon).⁴³

Contact with these colleagues in this intimate way undoubtedly played a valuable role in garnering the professional patronage that Puzzi would have been working to establish during this period. The names of these performers appear in the reviews of Puzzi's benefit concerts and players such Mori and Spagnoletti who were also active as fixers may have been a source of engagements for Puzzi. A remarkably similar group of performers playing much of the same repertoire was assembled by Puzzi for his series of "Classical Concerts for Wind Instruments," which he mounted in 1837 with the hope of profiting from this decade's "rage" for chamber music.

Puzzi was well paid for his performances as a soloist and chamber player, receiving the ten guineas (twenty shillings = one pound, twenty-one shillings = one guinea) for each appearance that he stipulated were his "terms en publique á Londres," insisting "je ne recevrai donc que ce qui m'est du et justement du."⁴⁴ For his 1818 performance of a concerto (possibly of his own composition) and appearance in a Beethoven quintet he

eventually received twenty guineas.⁴⁵ These figures reflect the Philharmonic's set fee of ten guineas for a solo performance. Because of this policy, the Philharmonic Society was the only place in London where a horn soloist received as much money as a singer.

Orchestral playing at the Philharmonic Society

In the 1820s a typical season at the Philharmonic Society consisted of eight concerts and an average of ten rehearsals. They commenced in mid-February and were held fortnightly until the second or third week of June. The format of the concerts was extremely consistent, each being divided into two "acts." The selection and order of the works in the concert program in Figure 1 is representative of what Puzzi and his colleagues would have encountered during a typical evening (see appendix 1, table A, for a full list of the horn section). The Philharmonic prided itself as a promoter of "modern" orchestral music and Beethoven's honored place in its repertoire was perhaps the most musically and historically notable feature of the orchestra's programming. The 1821 season was not unusual in featuring six of his symphonies. Even the Philharmonic could not escape the sway of Italian opera and also presented a selection of overtures and arias from the season's most popular theatre productions (see Appendix 2, table C, for full details on repertoire).

His Majesty.

PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY.

THIRD CONCERT, MONDAY, 22nd of MARCH, 1824.

ACT I.

Sinfonia, No. 4		Haydn.
Duet, Madame CARADORI and Miss CAREW, " Ah guarda Sorella" (Cosi fan tutte)		Mozart.
Quintetto Flute, Oboe, Clarinet, Horn and Bassoon, Messrs. NICHOLSON, CUNNINGHAM, WILLIAMS, PUZZI, and MACKINTOSH		Reicha.
Preghiera, " Dal' tuo stellato soglio," from <i>Mosi in Egitto</i> , Madame CARADORI, Miss STEPHENS, Miss CAREW, Mr. BEGREZ, Mr. HORNCASTLE, Mr. PHILLIPS, and Signor DE BEGNIS—(accompanied on the Harp by Mr. G. HOLST)		Rossini.
Overture, MS. (never performed)		Clementi.

ACT II.

Sinfonia Pastorale		Beethoven.
Song, Miss STEPHENS, " Heart, the seat of soft delight" (Acis & Galatea)		Handel.
Quintetto, two Violins, two Violas, and Violoncello, Signor ESCUDERO, Messrs. WATTS, R. ASHLEY, DANIELS, and LINDLEY		Beethoven.
Sestetto, " Sola Sola," Miss STEPHENS, Madame CARADORI, Miss CAREW, Mr. BEGREZ, Mr. PHILLIPS, and Signor DE BEGNIS (Il Don Giovanni)		Mozart.
Overture, Le Nozze di Figaro		Mozart.

Leader, Mr. MORI.—Conductor, Mr. CLEMENTI.

To commence at Eight o'Clock precisely.

The subscribers are most earnestly entreated to observe, that the Tickets are not transferable, and that any violation of this rule will incur a total forfeiture of the subscription.

It is requested that the Coachmen may be directed to set down and take up with their horses' heads towards Piccadilly.

The next Concert will be on Monday the 5th of April.

The door in Little Argylstreet will be open after the Concert for the excess of the Company.

<p>DUETTO.—(Cosi fan tutte.)—Mozart.</p> <p>Flor. Ah guarda sorella, Se bocca più bella, Se aspetto più nobile Si può ritrovar.</p> <p>Dor. Osserva tu un poco, Che foco ha ne' guardi Se fiamma, se dardi Non sembran accocar.</p>	<p>Flor. Se vede un sembiante, Guerriero ed amante. Dor. Se vede una faccia, Che alletta, e minaccia. a 2. Io sono felice. Se questo mio core Mai cambia detto, Amore mi faccia Vivendo penar.</p>
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Figure 1
Program from an 1824 Philharmonic Society concert

(Photo: Department of Portraits and Performance History, Royal College of Music.)

Puzzi's correspondence with the directors of the Philharmonic Society allows for a detailed view of work conditions at the orchestra. Early in 1821, Puzzi received a letter from the directors offering him an orchestral post for the 1821 season. Puzzi's reply is illuminating, explicitly expressing his terms of employment to the Philharmonic and providing details about his engagement with another orchestra, the City Amateur Concerts. On 9 January 1821 Puzzi writes that he would be "flattered" to accept an engagement for the eight concerts and rehearsals under the same terms as his employment at the "Concerts de la cité," receiving five guineas for each "soirée" and its rehearsal.⁴⁶ Puzzi stipulates an additional two guineas for any solo or obbligato playing, and also for any extra rehearsals required to demonstrate any new pieces that the directors of the Philharmonic might request ("pour faire preuve des nouvelles piece que messieurs les Directors peuvent appeler"). Puzzi justifies this later fee by explaining that extra rehearsals would interfere with his "other engagements in teaching."⁴⁷ This letter reflects the general attitude towards rehearsals during this period. Puzzi's wording, particularly the use of *faire preuve* focuses on the ideas of demonstrating repertoire and proving one's ability as opposed to the notion of ensemble rehearsal or learning. If the above terms were not acceptable, Puzzi also offered his services to the directors in the form of a package: "I would put myself at their exclusive disposition to play, be it accompaniment [obbligato to a vocal work] or be it *Concertante en Solos* as often as they might wish it and as often as it would be within my powers for fifty guineas."

Finally, Puzzi demands that he be able to choose the orchestral part that suits him best and to determine the assignment of parts to the other players. Practical concerns about endurance were a common theme of Puzzi's correspondence with the Philharmonic: "If at least I might be assured for myself to choose the part that suits me, that is an absolute necessity to me if on occasion I have to play solos *en des accompagnement obligato*, the same evening that I have to play orchestral parts."⁴⁸ On an evening such as the first concert of the 1823 season, this seems well justified, as the concert opened with Beethoven's First Symphony followed after the interval by Haydn's "Military" Symphony and a concerto for horn and orchestra by Luigi Belloli.⁴⁹

Nearly all of Puzzi's surviving correspondence with the directors of the Philharmonic Society can be characterized as the collision of the Society's ethos of artistic honor superseding financial gain and Puzzi's natural desire to profit as much as possible from his engagements. Both elements, along with the fear of being seen to offer his services too cheaply, are expressed in the letter Puzzi writes upon deciding to take up a position with the orchestra in 1821:

Although the price which the directors of the *Concerts Philharmonique* have offered me is inferior to what I have received until now, I shall accept the engagement which they were good enough to offer, given that I do not wish to weigh up monetary considerations against the satisfaction of being part of such a distinguished *Concert*. I simply wish that the price I have accepted on this occasion should not be considered my usual fee.⁵⁰

Despite the reluctance over fees expressed in the above letter, the £46.4s. paid to him for the 1821 season is only six guineas short of his original request of fifty guineas. Examination of Puzzi's salary in relation to other principal players having similar orchestral and solo duties and with previous and successive principal horn players reveals that his level of remuneration was comparatively high. The brothers Joseph and Peter Petrides were jointly paid only £51.19s.6d. for their services as first and second horn for nine rehearsals and eight concerts during the 1814 season. For eight concerts and an unspecified number of rehearsals, Puzzi's most immediate predecessor, Charles Tully, received £21.5s.3d. When Puzzi assumed Tully's position in 1821, the fees paid to the principal horn player more than doubled. Puzzi's £46.4s. seems particularly exceptional when compared with the £27.6s. paid to the principal flute, clarinet, and bassoon players for their services at an identical number of rehearsals and concerts during 1821. Prior to Puzzi's arrival, these principal players' fees were generally commensurate with or even slightly in excess of those of the principal horn.⁵¹ In light of the Philharmonic's general attitude towards the payment of players, its directors must have thought Puzzi's abilities to be truly exceptional and his presence in the orchestra indispensable to tolerate his frequent demands and to make concessions to his steep terms as an orchestral player. Puzzi's salaries were the highest recorded in the 1813-66 Accounts Book for a horn player.⁵²

The provision of such generous remuneration was not indefinite, nor was Puzzi exempted from the directors' desire to place all of the players on a standard pay scale.⁵³ A letter written to Puzzi on 13 December 1824 by Philharmonic Secretary W. Watts outlined the specifics of a revision of the payment scheme for the 1825 season:

I am desired by the directors to acquaint you that it is their intention to place all those gentlemen who fill the principal situations among the wind instruments upon the same scale, namely two guineas first night, one guinea the rehearsal, and three guinea[s] additional whenever they shall be required to come forward for a solo performance.

Requesting an early answer informing me whether they may rely on your assistance.⁵⁴

For Puzzi's wind-playing colleagues, this would have represented a significant financial improvement. However, to Puzzi, these same terms represented a substantial reduction from his 1824 fees. On 17 December 1824 he wrote:

I beg leave to state that though it is neither my province nor my wish, to dipreciate [*sic*] the talents of the other gentlemen, nor to extol my own; yet under a recollection of my engagement at the Philharmonic Concerts having been originally made on your own terms; I cannot but consider your present offer, as indicative of a desire to dispense with my services, and which I now beg permission to withdraw.⁵⁵

These fees, amounting to £34.13s. for the 1825 season, were accepted by Henry Platt, who provided his services as principal horn to the Philharmonic Society for the next twenty-four years, finally retiring in 1849.⁵⁶

Monetary dispute presents itself as the immediate cause for Puzzi's decision to terminate his orchestral engagement with the Philharmonic. It is notable that Puzzi expresses his intentions to quit outright, with no qualifications or petitions for further discussion of payment. Most importantly, the notion that Puzzi's relationship with the Philharmonic Society had reached a point of diminishing return would seem to be implicit in his resignation. By this time, continuing his orchestral engagement with the Philharmonic Society had no value for Puzzi. Ostensibly, this decision indicates that Puzzi's finances must have been sufficient, but more importantly it suggests that Puzzi felt he had gleaned all the possible benefits of association with the Philharmonic in terms of "professional patronage" and that this network and the new enterprises it enabled were serving him well.

The Concert of Antient Music

Drawing upon an even more elite audience than the Italian opera or Philharmonic Society, the Concert of Antient Music was the most exclusive member of this distinguished trio of ensembles. The Concert's strict policies, which admitted only aristocracy and nobility to its performances, brought Puzzi and his colleagues into contact with the most prominent and wealthy elements of society (see Appendix 1, table B, for a full listing of the section). Frequent royal patronage and appearances were a marked feature of these concerts, where "archbishops and dukes 'presided' over events which were not remotely democratic but were royalty's principal outlet for public gestures towards music."⁵⁷ An elite cadre of amateurs appeared as musical directors of the concerts; a position never delegated to a professional musician. A description by John Ella illustrates the functioning of these arrangements and the highly exclusive nature of the Concert:

The noble director of each concert usually entertained at dinner, on the evening of the performance, the conductor and a large circle of distinguished guests, who accompanied their Amphytrian to the concert, where he was seated in front of the orchestra. In this exclusive circle I remember having seen Sir W. Scott, Moore and Rogers, the poets, Sir Humphrey Davy, Sir Thomas Lawrence, and the notable political, military, and naval lions of the day.⁵⁸

An essential element of the cachet of the Concert of Antient Music which attracted this aristocratic coterie was the strictly defined repertoire of "ancient" music prescribed by the Concert's founders for the aura of erudition and cultural exclusivity they felt it engendered. This "aggressively conservative" programming stipulated that all music performed must be at least twenty years old. This was a marked contrast from the repertoire performed at the King's Theatre and with the Philharmonic Society. Figure 2 illustrates a typical Wednesday evening concert in the 1820s.

While a brief survey of this concert program would reveal the horn parts of the majority of these works to be minimal, many of the Handel selections that appear on the programs during Puzzi's four-year tenure with the Concert are a formidable exception. The trio and chorus "See the Conquering Hero Comes," from *Judas Maccabeus*, is a well-known example of Handelian horn writing, with its high tessitura and pitching on the G crook requiring exceptional control and endurance of the executant. The obbligato writing in "The Gods, Who Chosen," a chorus from *Athalia*, was even more demanding. This passage consists of twenty-six continuous bars of florid clarino-style writing entirely in the third octave, lying largely between the tenth and sixteenth partials. Similar writing for the horn is to be found in many of Handel's oratorios, including choruses from *Joshua* and *Deborah*. All of the above mentioned works were performed during the 1823 season of the Concert of Antient Music.

The frequent clarino passages in these works would have made highly specialized demands upon Puzzi's technique. They were of an idiomatic style not exploited in any of the modern literature, orchestral or solo, that accounted for nearly all of the performing Puzzi undertook outside of his work with the Concert. Puzzi's own arrangements that he performed as a soloist can be classified as idiosyncratic works for the *cor-basse* and *cor-mixte* player, emphasizing fluid chromatic hand technique within a circumscribed portion of the horn's range. How Puzzi and his contemporaries would have dealt with the demands of clarino horn writing in terms of playing technique, interpretation, and choice of instrument and mouthpiece is an issue that invites further investigation. When formulating any hypotheses about how Baroque music at the Antient Concert might have been performed, Carse's comments about instrumentation merit consideration:

The regular use of clarinets, four horns [though two of the four players listed in the orchestra's roster clearly seem to be indicated as "extras"], and three trombones for music ... by 17th and 18th century composers raises more than a mere suspicion that "additional accompaniments" were largely used, and that the Secretary and Librarian, Mr. W. Greatorex, an incorrigible arranger and adder of accompaniments, was kept fairly busy gilding lilies.⁵⁹

Perhaps Greatorex's industry also extended to the adaptation of horn parts to suit the instruments and technique of a nineteenth-century player. Or, in such an interpretatively permissive environment, the players themselves might have felt free to make such alterations. For the performance of these parts in whatever form they took, surviving receipts indicate that Puzzi received £54 for his services during the 1824 season.⁶⁰ A dearth of records makes salary comparison with any of the ensemble's other horn players impossible, although receipts from other performers provide contextual information valuable in determining the hierarchical prominence of various members of the Concert.⁶¹ The £54 paid to Puzzi by the Concert cannot objectively be compared to any of his other orchestral earnings since it is impossible to know how many performances actually required the presence of horn players. Based upon the original instrumentation, a survey of the twelve concerts of the 1824 season indicates that six clearly included horns. For an additional three concerts, pro-

gram information is insufficient (i.e. “selection from the oratorio of *Sampson*”) to establish whether horns would have been required. Any insight into how much the horn section actually played is further obscured by the possibilities raised by Carse’s assertion that it was “obvious that the Royal and Noble directors of the Antient Concert did not disapprove of the practice of bringing the orchestration of the old masters up to date” with a wide range of added instruments.⁶² No indication of whether the selected works are arranged or “original” versions is made in any of the Concert’s programs.⁶³

The Concert of Antient Music was a dependable source of regular orchestral engagements and clearly offered competitive fees, but its greatest benefit to Puzzi far outlasted the four years of his tenure with the orchestra. This came in the form of exposure to patrons who would support him throughout his thirty-five year career as a soloist. Involvement with the Concert was a very important element of Puzzi’s entry into the lucrative circuit of private concerts.⁶⁴ It served as an invaluable advertisement for Puzzi, placing him before an extremely wealthy and influential clientele intent upon hiring the most fashionable and popular musicians to ensure the success and prominence of their own musical entertainments. Many persons named in the approximately seven hundred aristocratic subscribers listed during this period later appear as prominent supporters of Puzzi, engaging him for private concerts in their London and provincial residences and bestowing upon him the emoluments and perquisites of aristocratic patronage.⁶⁵

[No. 4.]

UNDER THE DIRECTION OF HIS GRACE

THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

Concert of Antient Music,

WEDNESDAY, MARCH the 24th, 1824.

ACT I.

Overture.....(*Esther.*).....*Handel.*
 Selection from the Oratorio of *Judas Maccabæus.* *Handel.*
 Concerto 1st.....(*Opera 3.*).....*Geminiani.*
 Trio and Chorus. Sound the loud timbrel!...*Avison.*
 Song. Tears such as tender...(*Deborah.*)...*Handel.*
 Recit. acc. But bright... } (*Dryden's Ode.*) *Handel.*
 Air & Grand Cho. As from. }

ACT II.

Overture and Chaconne.....*Jamelli.*
 Song. What though I trace...(*Solomon.*)...*Handel.*
 Air and Quartet. In my distress.....*Marcello.*
 Recit. Brethren and friends!... } (*Joshua.*) *Handel.*
 Recit. acc. O thou bright orb! }
 Chorus. Behold! the list'ning. }
 Trio. Fall'n is thy throne.
 Concerto 11th.....*Corelli.*
 Scene from the Oratorio of *Joshua.*.....*Handel.*
 Psalm XXXIV. Thro' all the changing. (*New Version.*)
 Double Chorus. From the censur. (*Solomon.*) *Handel.*

Figure 2
 1824 Concert of Antient
 Music program
 (photo: Department of
 Portraits and Performance
 History, Royal College of
 Music)

Other orchestral activities

Various other possibilities for orchestral performance existed outside of London's three main ensembles, though none was as established or constant. The following examples are limited to groups and instances in which Puzzi could be identified as a member in primary source material. They probably represent only a small segment of the orchestras and festivals in which Puzzi and his London colleagues played but they serve as an indication of the various possibilities.⁶⁶

The City Amateur Concerts

These concerts were described by Carse as a series established by the developing body of mercantile bourgeoisie patrons "in defiance of the principals that music could not exist without the support of the nobility and Quality, and that concerts east of Temple Bar were wrongly situated."⁶⁷ The location of the concerts in the City of London Tavern surely indicates an audience that was largely excluded from the concert rooms of the West End. Reviews from the *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* show that the concerts were very similar in content to those of the Philharmonic Society:

The selections have the predominant characteristics of the time, viz. the leaning to the music of foreign composers amongst whom Mozart in the vocal, and Haydn and Beethoven in the instrumental departments, stand conspicuous.⁶⁸

Some chamber music was also included along with numerous vocal selections from contemporary Italian operas.

Puzzi's mention of the "Concerts de la cité" in a previously cited letter to the directors of the Philharmonic Society provides evidence of his participation in this ensemble and includes details about his fees with the City Concerts. The concerts were "suspended" in 1823 but appear to have been revived in 1830.

Provincial Concerts

The lack of an adequate body of professional musicians in the provinces of England was widely noted by contemporary commentators such as Ella: "With all their love for music, the people of the provinces, and the capitals of Scotland and Ireland, have no opportunity of hearing a satisfactory performance of the symphonies of the great masters."⁶⁹ Thus the core group of London players was in constant demand to enhance the ranks of provincial orchestras, enabling them to satisfy the expectations of an audience anxious to hear Beethoven symphonies and lavishly augmented performances of oratorios. The orchestra assembled for the 1823 York Festival consisted of over 160 instrumentalists, joined by a choir of 240 voices.

In part because of the demand for London players, most provincial engagements took the form of festivals lasting for a few days each year. However, the intensity of programming at these events more than compensated for their infrequent occurrences. Each of the four

days of the Birmingham Festival included two extended concerts. The first was devoted to large-scale sacred works where the horn section would have encountered much of the oratorio literature popular at the Concert of Antient Music. The evening concert featured symphonies and overtures interspersed with numerous vocal selections; programming quite similar to what a London listener would have heard in an evening at the Philharmonic Society.

The provincial benefits of 1823 were particularly well documented in the musical press, providing a glimpse of London horn players' involvement with these orchestras (see Appendix 1, table C, for a list of provincial concerts and their horn sections). At the York Musical Festival, 23-26 September, Puzzi sat at the head of a section with Peter Petrides, Joseph Petrides, C. Tully, and four players from Yorkshire and Derbyshire. In addition to a heavy program of orchestral playing including Beethoven's Symphony in C Minor and many overtures, Puzzi was featured as a soloist playing an unspecified fantasia. Puzzi and the Petrides brothers then traveled to Liverpool for a festival performance on 29 September, conducted by Sir George Smart. These players again appear in Birmingham from 7-10 October, where a performance of a horn trio composed by Puzzi "expressly for this meeting" received enthusiastic praise:

The trio for the horns was singular, and most astonishingly played [by Puzzi, an unspecified Petrides, and Tully]. It must have been remarked that the horn is coming into vogue, and that it was particularly fashionable at the private metropolitan concerts last season. It owes much of its late celebrity to the beautiful execution of Signor Puzzi.⁷⁰

Provincial concerts were an important source of income during the "musical drought" that ensued during the off-season summer and autumn months in London when the aristocracy vacated the city. A search for information about the earnings of horn players at these concerts leads us out of the period proscribed by this survey. Provincial festivals were one of the few instances in which Puzzi still appeared in a horn section after his withdrawal from orchestral playing in 1827, though such occasions were in conjunction with a solo performance at the festival. In his coverage of the Norfolk and Norwich Musical Festival of 1842, the correspondent noted Puzzi's presence in the orchestra and alluded to its rarity: "There was Puzzi, with his burnished horn, wondering how it came into the ranks."⁷¹ On the second evening of the four-day festival "Puzzi's horn solo pleased exceedingly, particularly his vocal rendering of 'O teo cara'."⁷² For this solo and his services as principal horn in the orchestra, Puzzi received the sum of thirty guineas.⁷³

Benefit Concerts

Benefit concerts, also known as "professors' concerts" and "professional concerts," were an ubiquitous part of the musical landscape in the 1820s and 1830s. At these concerts, the *beneficiere* made a direct appeal to the public for support and hoped to reap a handsome profit from the proceeds of the event. It was expected that all the performer's patrons, pupils

and friends would support him through the purchase of tickets. While solo and vocal music were usually the main features of these concerts, performances of large-scale ensemble works were common at benefits and this provided yet another outlet for orchestral players.⁷⁴ The opportunities on offer would have been many, as at the peak of their popularity in the late 1820s and early 1830s, an average of seventy benefits occurred each season.⁷⁵

Symphonies and overtures were often placed at the beginning and end of the benefit concert program. Pianist Lucy Anderson's 1843 benefit included Beethoven's *Grand Choral Fantasia*, *Egmont Overture*, and an unspecified "Finale Instrumental" by Mozart. Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, Weber's *Euryanthe* Overture, and a "Finale (Instrumental)" were the main orchestral selections at pianist Salaman's 1833 benefit. Such concerts also included myriad operatic selections which would have required orchestral accompaniment and a number of instrumental "concertos" and fantasias that also utilized the orchestra.⁷⁶

The present author has not encountered benefit concert programs or handbills that make more than cursory mention of a few select players in these orchestras, but announcements such as "The Band will be numerous and complete in every department, selected from the Philharmonic and Ancient Concerts, Opera Orchestras, and Her Majesty's Private Band" were common. Benefit presenters who could have commanded or afforded the services of the most select orchestral players would have drawn from London's core group of performers. Rehearsal obligations for these players at benefits would have been minimal, in keeping with the widely acknowledged lack of rehearsal time in London but also because much of this repertoire was repeated from the concerts of the above mentioned orchestras. Payment of players, particularly orchestral members, at benefit concerts is a nebulous issue. It would have taken one of two forms: reciprocal repayment in kind or monetary payment. It is most likely that celebrity players such as Puzzi seldom collected fees for performing at his colleagues' benefits; instead, the concert-giver then appeared gratis at Puzzi's benefit. Perhaps these players would have demanded a fee when they knew they would not require or be able to demand the services of the *beneficiere* at their own concert.⁷⁷ It seems logical to posit that lesser players who did not give benefits themselves and whose primary role at the concert was playing in the orchestra almost certainly did get paid. In both instances, the good working relationship with and access to a wide range of colleagues engendered by "professional patronage" were of paramount importance in obtaining suitable performers for one's benefit. Private concerts took the same general form as benefits in terms of repertoire and would have often made use of an orchestra. Players able to gain entry into this circuit of concerts generally profited handsomely.⁷⁸

In reviewing the orchestral environment in which Puzzi and his colleagues circulated and in considering Puzzi's experiences as an orchestral player during the 1820s, various patterns emerge that allow us to draw conclusions about Puzzi's career. In some cases, these can also be extended to explain the nature of orchestral horn playing among top performers during this period. Clearly, enough orchestral opportunities abounded in London for a small group of elite performers to cobble together a full schedule of playing during the London season. Violinist John Ella's account of his engagements provides an excellent summary of how "the best players were engaged during a typical London season."⁷⁹ Although Ella

is writing about the 1834 season, the musical landscape is largely unchanged from that of the 1820s (save for the addition of the Societá Armonica in 1827).

I find during the season in London that my orchestral engagements included twelve Concerts of Ancient Music on Wednesday evenings, and twelve public rehearsals on the Monday mornings previous; six concerts of the Societa Armonica, and eight concerts of the Philharmonic Society, for symphonies, overtures, solos and vocal music. At Her Majesty's Theatre the season included sixty subscription nights—Tuesdays and Saturdays—with a few extra benefit nights on Thursdays. Most of the benefit concerts, too, at the Hanover Square Rooms, were given with an orchestra.⁸⁰

It is noteworthy that some outlets for orchestral playing are conspicuous in their absence and that Puzzi and his colleagues were in a position to be selective about the engagements they pursued. There was a hierarchy among London's orchestras that was defined not only by their audiences but also by the musicians who played in them. The English opera and "oratorio" concerts at Covent Garden, Drury Lane, and the Lyceum English Opera House, as well as posts in the royal private bands were organizations which fell outside the interests of this elite group of performers and were left to a body of players who seldom appeared in the leading orchestras of the metropolis.⁸¹ An interesting indicator of the status of an orchestra was the number of instruments that its performers were responsible for playing. In the royal private bands and at the Theatre Royale at Covent Garden, members regularly played more than one instrument.⁸² It was an exceptional feature of the instrumentalists at the top of London's hierarchy of performers during this period that they had reached such a high level that they could afford to specialize on a single instrument.

Despite the relative success that this group of elite players achieved in London's orchestras, the working conditions that even a performer of Puzzi's stature encountered indicate the difficult and sometimes denigrating environment of orchestral playing in London. While London's finest orchestral players were a select body capable of commanding some negotiating power, they were still not in a position widely to regulate or influence their treatment by employers or patrons. Puzzi was not immune from the vicissitudes and vagaries of inept management at the King's Theatre and the mediocre musical standards that this spawned. While the Philharmonic Society undertook drastic measures to further the cause of musical professionalism on many fronts, payment remained a source of perennial dispute for Puzzi and his colleagues. This study has shown that Puzzi's immediate solution to these issues was to abandon orchestral playing as soon as viable alternatives presented themselves. A solo career sustained by successful benefit concerts and inclusion in the lucrative circuit of private concerts, and most likely by the additional support of some other enterprise in the music business such as Puzzi's work as an agent and impresario, was a financially and socially more attractive route to the few performers who were able to attain this coveted position.

That someone as prominent and well-equipped as Puzzi found it necessary to focus on

orchestral playing for six years at the beginning of his London career demonstrates the importance of the orchestra in the infrastructure of the music business in London. Furthermore, it clearly indicates that involvement in these groups was a key element for wind players wishing to establish a successful long-term career in the early nineteenth century, even if it ultimately excluded orchestral playing. Puzzi arrived in London with numerous aristocratic connections and an unrivaled reputation as a virtuoso performer and links with the operatic world of Milan and Paris, but it was through the orchestras that he gained the wide variety of professional and traditional patronage that was crucial for the development of his career.

Participation in each of London's major orchestras had specific benefits in preparing for and ensuring the success of Puzzi's inter-linked career as a soloist and agent/impresario. Membership of the Philharmonic Society was an endorsement of professional credibility and placed him in the esteem of his colleagues; the Concert of Antient Music was an exceedingly efficient point of contact with the aristocracy, who would be the prime supporters of his activities as a soloist and concert-fixer; and the King's Theatre was his strongest link to the most vital and sustaining element of his career—the Italian opera. In this way Puzzi gained the initiation into and acceptance of London's musical world that laid the foundation for the undertakings which enabled him to leave orchestral playing for greener pastures.

APPENDIX 1

TABLE A: THE PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY HORN SECTION IN THE 1820s

All names are given exactly as they appear in the *Account Book 1813-66* BL Loan 84.9/1

YEAR	PLAYER	SALARY	# of rehearsals/# concerts per season (£.s.d)
1820	Tully	21.5.3	-
	Leander	21.5.3	-
	2 Arnulls	42.10.6	-
1821	Puzzi	46.4	10/8
	Petrides	20.9.6	10/8
	C. Tully	20.9.6	10/8
	Leander	20.9.6	10/8
1822	Puzzi	46.4	-
	Petrides	20.9.6	-
	C. Tully	20.9.6	-
	Leander	20.9.6	-

1823	Puzzi	46.4	10/8
	Petrides	20.9.6	10/8
	P. Petrides	11.16.3	5/5
	C. Tully	20.9.6	10/8
	Leander	8.13.8	5/3
1824	Puzzi	44.2	9/8
	C. Tully	19.13.9	9/8
	Petrides	19.13.9	9/8
	P. Petrides	19.13.9	9/8
1825	Platt	34.13	11/8
	C. Tully	20.9.6	10/8
	Petrides	21.5.3	11/8
	P. Petrides	21.5.3	11/8
1826	Platt	29.8	9/8
	Schunke	26.5	9/8
	C. Tully	19.13.9	7/6
	Rae	19.13.9	9/8
1827	Platt	35.14	9/8
	Schunke	26.5	9/8
	C. Tully	19.13.9	9/8
	Rae	19.13.9	9/8
1828	Platt	27.6	9/8
	Schunke	26.5	10/8
	Tully	20.9.6	10/8
	Rae	20.9.6	9/8
1829	Platt	29.8	9/8
	C. Tully	19.13.9	9/8
	Rae	19.13.9	9/8
	Keilbach	19.13.9	9/8

TABLE B: CONCERTS OF ANTIENT MUSIC HORN SECTION IN THE 1820s
 Section rosters drawn from *The Performances of Antient Music for the Season*, published by permission of the Royal and Noble directors, London: G.Wilding, 4 Little Woodstock Street, St. Mary-le-bone.

Notation and punctuation of names has been maintained here as it appears in the program books. A bullet (•) preceding a name most likely indicates an additional player who was not a full-time member of the section.

1820	[no program available]
1821	Mr. Leander Mr. Petrides Mr. S. Petrides Mr. G. Kellner
1822	Leander Petrides Petrides Kellner
1823	Mr. Puzzi Mr. Petrides • S. Petrides • G. Kellner
1824	Mr. Puzzi Mr. Petrides • S. Petrides • G. Kellner
1825	Mr. Puzzi Mr. Petrides • S. Petrides • G. Kellner
1826	Mr. Puzzi Mr. Rae • Schunke • G. Kellner
1827	Mr. Platt Mr Rae • G. Kellner
1828	Mr. Platt

APPENDIX 2

TABLE A: OPERAS PERFORMED AT THE KING'S THEATRE 1821-1826
 Information taken from John Ebers, *Seven Years of the King's Theatre* (London, 1826).
 All composer names and titles appear as given by Ebers.

COMPOSER	WORK	1821	1822	1823	1824	1825	1826
Generali	L'Adelina					•	
Mayer	Il Nuovo Fanatico per la Musica				•		
Mercadante	Elisa e Claudio			•			
Meyer	Medea						•
Meyerbeer	Il Crociato in Egitto						•
Morlacchi	Teobaldo e Isolina						•
Mosca	I Pretendenti Delusi		•				
Mozart	Così fan tutte					•	
Mozart	Don Giovanni	•	•		•		
Mozart	La Clemenza di Tito	•		•			
Mozart	Le Nozze di Figaro	•	•	•	•	•	
Paçini	Il Barone di Dolsheim		•				
Paer	Agnesc	•					
Paesiello	Nina					•	•
Rossini	Aureliano in Palmira						•
Rossini	Il Barbiere di Siviglia		•		•	•	•
Rossini	Il Turco in Italia	•	•		•		
Rossini	L'Italiana in Algeri					•	
Rossini	La Cenerentola						•
Rossini	La Donna del Lago			•	•		•
Rossini	La Gazza Ladra	•	•	•			
Rossini	Otello		•	•	•	•	•
Rossini	Pietro l'Eremita		•			•	•
Rossini	Ricciardo e Zoraide			•	•		
Rossini	Semiramide				•	•	
Rossini	Tancredi	•		•			•
Rossini	Zelmira				•		•
Rossini	Matilde e Corradino			•	•		
Zingarelli	Romeo e Giulietta				•		•

TABLE B: BALLETS PERFORMED AT THE KING'S THEATRE 1821-1826
 Information taken from John Ebers, *Seven Years of the King's Theatre* (London, 1826)
 and Ivor Guest, *The Romantic Ballet in England* (London, 1954)

COMPOSER	WORK	1821	1822	1823	1824	1825	1826
----	Alcide	•					
----	Finette et l'Eveillé	•					
----	L'Impromptu Allégorique	•					
----	L'Offerande de Terpsichore	•					
----	Le Prix	•					
----	Les Jeux de Flore et Zéphyre	•					
Persuis	Nina	•					
Sor	La Foire de Smyrne	•					
Sor	Le Seigneur généreux	•					
Venua	La Paysanne supposée	•					
----	Cendrillon		•				
----	La Triomphe de l'Amour		•				
Schneitzhöffer	Pandore		•				
Venua	Le Petit Chaperon Rouge		•				
----	Oenone et Pâris	•	•				
Gyrowetz	Les Pages du duc de Vendôme		▪				
----	Justin et Lisette			•			
----	L' Offerande aux Grâces			•			
----	La Noce du Village			•			
Dugazon	Aline, Reine de Golconde			•			
Gallenberg and Dugazon	Alfred le Grand			•			
----	Le Carnaval de Venise	•	•	•			
----	Alphonse et Léonore			•			
----	L'Adoration du Soleil				•		
Gyrowetz	Jadis et Aujourd'hui				•		
Gyrowetz	La Fête Hongroise				•		
Mozart, Beethoven, Gyrowetz	Le Page Inconstant				•		
----	Honneur aux Dames				•		
----	Le Songe d'Ossian				▪		
Kreutzer	Clari					•	

COMPOSER	WORK	1821	1822	1823	1824	1825	1826
Kreutzer and others	Cléopâtre, reine d'Égypte					•	
Lacy	La Coquette Soumise					•	
----	Le Mariage Secret						•
----	Les Noces de Tamar et de Rose Blanche						•
Bochsa	Justine, ou la Cruche Casée						•
Bochsa	La Naissance de Vénus						•
Bochsa	La Temple de la Concorde						•
Bochsa	Le Bal Champêtre						•

TABLE C: ORCHESTRAL WORKS PERFORMED AT THE PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY 1821-1824

Information taken from Miles Birket Foster, *The History of the Philharmonic Society of London 1813-1912* (London, 1812). All composer names and titles appear as given by Foster.

COMPOSER	WORK	1821	1822	1823	1824	Total
Beethoven	Overture "Coriolanus"	1		1		2
Beethoven	Overture "Egmont"	1	1	1	1	4
Beethoven	Overture "Fidelio"		1	1	1	3
Beethoven	Overture "Leonora"		1			1
Beethoven	Overture "Prometheus"	1	1		1	3
Beethoven	Overture (MS)				1	1
Beethoven	Overture in C (MS) [op. 124]			1		1
Beethoven	Symphony, in C minor (no. 5)	1	1	1	1	4
Beethoven	Symphony in A (no. 7)	1	1	1	1	4
Beethoven	Symphony in C (no. 1)	1		1	1	3
Beethoven	Symphony in D (no.2)	1	1	1		3
Beethoven	Symphony in Eb (no.3) "Eroica"				1	1
Beethoven	Symphony in Bb (no. 4)	1		1	1	3
Beethoven	Symphony in F (no.6) Pastoral	1		1	1	3
Bochsa	Symphony (MS)		1			1
Cherubini	Overture. "Anacreon"	1	1	1	1	4

COMPOSER	WORK	1821	1822	1823	1824	Total
Cherubini	Ov. "Le Hôtellerie Portugaise"		1			1
Cherubini	Overture "Les Abencerages"	1				1
Cherubini	Overture "Les Deux Journées"	1	1	1	1	4
Cherubini	Overture "Faniska"				1	1
Cherubini	Overture "Lodoiska"	1		1		2
Cherubini	Overture (MS-comp. for Phil. S.)			1		1
Clementi	Overture (MS)				1	1
Clementi	Symphony (MS)			1		1
Haydn	Symphony "Letter A"		1			1
Haydn	Symph. (no. 3) "The Surprise"				1	1
Haydn	Symph. (no.12) "The Military"			1		1
Haydn	Symphony in A				1	1
Haydn	Symphony in Bb (no. 9)		1			1
Haydn	Symphony in Bb (no.4) "Grand"		1		1	2
Haydn	Symphony in C	1			1	2
Haydn	Symphony in C minor (no.5)		1			1
Haydn	Symphony in D (no.11) "Clock"			1		1
Haydn	Symphony in D (no.7) "Grand"	1		1		1
Haydn	Symphony in D minor		1			1
Haydn	Symphony in Eb (no. 8)	1				1
Haydn	Symphony in G			1		1
Kalkbrenner	Symphony (MS)		1			1
Mazas	Overture "Corinne au Capitole"		1			1
Mehul	Overture. "Le Jeune Henri"	1			1	2
Mozart	Overture "Cosi Fan Tutte"		1			1
Mozart	Overture "Die Zauberflöte"	1		1	1	3
Mozart	Overture "Don Giovanni"	1				1
Mozart	Overture "La Clemenza di Tito"				1	1
Mozart	Overture "Le Nozze di Figaro"			1	1	2
Mozart	Symphony in C		1			1
Mozart	Symphony in C (no. 6) "Jupiter"	1	1	1	1	4

COMPOSER	WORK	1821	1822	1823	1824	Total
Mozart	Symphony in D	2	1		1	4
Mozart	Symphony in Eb	1	1	1	1	4
Mozart	Symphony in G minor	1		1	1	3
Ries	Symphony in F	1				1
Ries, F.	Symphony (MS)		1			1
Ries, F.	Overture. "Don Carlos" (MS)	1	1			2
Ries, F.	Symphony in D minor (MS)	1				1
Ries, F.	Symphony in Eb			1		1
Romberg, A.	Overture "Don Mendoza"		1			1
Romberg, A.	Overture in D		1	1		2
Romberg, B.	Overture in D (MS)	3	1		1	5
Spohr	Overture (MS)	1				1
Spohr	Overture "Alruna"			1		1
Spohr	Overture "Faust"				1	1
Spohr	Symphony in D				1	1
Spohr	Symphony in Eb		1		1	2
Weber	Overture "Der Freischütz"				1	1
Winter	Overture "Calypso"	1		1		2
Winter	Overture "Proserpina"		1			1
Winter	Overture "Tamerlane"			1	1	2
Winter	Overture "Zaira"		1	1		2
Woelfl	Overture in C minor (MS)		1			1

TABLE D: GIOVANNI PUZZI'S SOLO & CHAMBER PERFORMANCES WITH THE PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY 1821-1824

Beethoven	Septet	9 April, 1821
Paër	Scena "Se fur songo"	30 April, 1821
Hummel	Septet	14 May, 1821
Bochsa	Septet	28 May, 1821
Beethoven	Septet	13 May, 1822
Belloli	Concerto for Horn	17 February, 1823
Reicha	Quintet	22 March, 1824

NOTES

¹ Wilbert Beale [Walter Maynard], *The Light of Other Days Seen Through the Wrong End of an Opera Glass* (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1890), p. 75.

² For an overview of concert life in London during Puzzi's career, see Joel Sachs, "London: The Professionalization of Music," *Music and Society: The Early Romantic Era*, ed. Alexander Ringer (London: Prentice Hall, 1990), pp. 201-35.

³ This date has been established from a memoir which states that Puzzi "first entered the band whilst Josephine was still Empress, and he used to say that the difference in the feelings of his two consorts towards Napoleon was clearly obvious to the most casual observer" (Tina Whitaker, *Sicily and England: Political and Social Reminiscences 1848 - 1870* [London: Archibald Constable, 1907], p. 217).

⁴ Wellington also brought other musicians, such as the singing De Lihu sisters, from Napoleon's court to England at this time.

⁵ The Academy opened its doors in 1823 and Puzzi's name appears in its publicity material as late as 1838. Owing to a lack of horn students at the RAM during these years and his limited involvement in teaching, Puzzi's influence on horn playing in England was by way of example, not instruction.

⁶ For a more extensive biography and summary of Puzzi's career, see Bradley Strauchen, "Giovanni Puzzi—A Yardstick for Horn Playing in Nineteenth-Century Britain," *Brass Bulletin* no. 101 (1998): 84-89.

⁷ The various types of patronage affecting musicians during Puzzi's era are discussed extensively in Deborah A. Rohr, *A Profession of Artisans: The Careers and Social Status of British Musicians 1750-1850* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1983).

⁸ Adam Carse, *The Orchestra from Beethoven to Berlioz* (Cambridge: W. Heffer and Son, 1948), p. 178.

⁹ Confusion exists with regards to Platt's first name. Adam Carse and W.F.H. Blandford refer to him as Edward, though Platt himself used the name Henry when signing pay receipts for the Philharmonic Society and his name appears as Henry in contemporary concert programs.

¹⁰ The difficulties of the professional musician during this era are well documented. See Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain Since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985) and Rohr, *A Profession of Artisans*.

¹¹ Both W.F.H. Blandford (*Musical Times*, [August, 1922]: 546) and Farquharson Cousins (*On Playing the Horn* [Stockport: Caron Publications, 1992], p. 71) include popular but apocryphal anecdotes about Puzzi appearing in white kid gloves to execute orchestral solos and then exiting from the platform, leaving the rest of the playing to "humbler persons." While no such incidents have been found in contemporary memoirs, a letter from Blandford to Reginald Morley-Pegge describes the appearance of a white-gloved horn player, supposedly Puzzi, at the opera at Covent Garden in the 1850s (21 October 1922, VII/150, Morley-Pegge Archive, Bate Collection, University of Oxford). Puzzi had largely withdrawn himself from public performances by this time. It is more likely that this might refer to Jullien's principal hornist Henry Jarrett, who was noted for a number of colorful eccentricities, or Eugene Vivier, who occasionally appeared as a soloist at Jullien's *Concerts Monsters* and was also remembered for his lively exploits.

¹² *Musical World* 31/11 (12 March 1853): 55.

¹³ Fiona Palmer, *Domenico Dragonetti in England (1794-1846): The Career of a Double Bass Virtuoso* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 97.

¹⁴ William Ayrton to Paolo Spagnoletti and the Petrides brothers, 21 Jan 1821. British Library, Add. MS 52335, f. 27r. In this letter Ayrton stipulates that rehearsals were required but does not indicate

their number or length. While musicians were contractually obligated to attend rehearsals, deputizing was a common practice so it is impossible to give an exact estimate of a player's time commitment to the orchestra or to know of what other performance opportunities a post at the Theatre might have deprived him. By 1832 a £20 fine was levied on players for any King's Theatre engagements that they missed (Palmer, *Dragonetti*, p. 107). The orchestra was also expected to perform "gratuitously for the house" for various benefits (Add. MS 52335, f. 31v.).

¹⁵ Ayrton Collection, Add. MS 52335, f. 50v. Other principal wind players are named as follows: Schmidt, trumpeter; Griesbach, oboe; Ireland, flute; Thomas Willman, clarinet; Charles Mackintosh, bassoon.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, f. 51v.

¹⁷ Occasional performances of German opera produced in Italian or English, and even less frequently in German, occurred as well.

¹⁸ The Petrides brothers to William Ayrton, 25 May 1821, Add. MS 52336, f. 115v.

¹⁹ No composer has been traced for a number of these ballets and in other cases, multiple composers are given. This reflects the nature of ballet music in the early romantic period of dance. Scores were often a quickly compiled pastiche of popular melodies derived from operas, songs and other sources familiar to the audience.

²⁰ Unidentified newspaper clipping (1 June 1818), King's Theatre press cuttings book, Royal College of Music Department of Portraits and Performance History.

²¹ *Harmonicon* 4/44 (August 1826): 162.

²² John Ebers, *Seven Years of the King's Theatre* (London: William Harrison Ainsworth, 1888), pp. 364-367.

²³ Beale, *The Light of Other Days*, p. 75.

²⁴ For the 1821 season, Ayrton records that the orchestra (save for leader and maestro) was paid £2900; the singers received a total of £7332 (Add. MS 52335, f. 69).

²⁵ Ebers, *Seven Years of the King's Theatre*, p. 218.

²⁶ Palmer, *Dragonetti*, pp. 112-13.

²⁷ Add. MS 52335, f. 70.

²⁸ A comprehensive history and socio-economic study of the Philharmonic Society is found in Cyril Ehrlich, *First Philharmonic: A History of the Royal Philharmonic Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

²⁹ An act that embodied this spirit of professionalism were the plans of the Philharmonic Society to establish a national music school in London. Prior to and independent of any such actions being taken by Lord Burghersh and other aristocracy that led to the foundation of the present Royal Academy of Music in 1822, the Philharmonic wrote a proposal for the foundation of a "Royal Academy of Music" (Smart Papers, Add MS 41,771 vol. I, fol. 44r., British Library). Puzzi was named as professor of horn in the Philharmonic's proposal. This undoubtedly helped him gain this appointment when the Academy opened under the auspices of Lord Burghersh.

³⁰ Recommendations, Royal Philharmonic Society Manuscripts, Loan 48.7/1, f. 90r., British Library. The orchestra's players could be nominated to become "associates" of the Philharmonic. Stringent regulations ensured that only those "bona fide a Professor of Music" (i.e. a professional musician) were considered (Foundation Book, Loan 48.1, p. 1).

³¹ At present, all of the manuscript archives of the Philharmonic Society are held at the British Library as "Loan 48."

³² Vocal solos and duets began to appear on Philharmonic Society programs in 1816, followed shortly by solo concertos with orchestral accompaniment.

³³ Foundation Book, Loan 48.1, p. 6.

³⁴ Despite his brief engagement as principal horn, Puzzi's involvement with the Philharmonic Society as a performer of solos and chamber music spanned twenty years, during which he performed as a soloist and obbligato player eleven times. Puzzi's performance of a concertante for solo horn and orchestra at the Philharmonic on 28 April 1817 marked his public debut in London.

³⁵ After Puzzi's withdrawal from the horn section of the Philharmonic Society, Platt became principal and performed regularly in chamber pieces, though he never appeared as a soloist.

³⁶ On 18 April 1853 W. Winterbottom performed Ferdinand David's trombone concertino. This was the first appearance of a brass soloist other than a horn player with the Philharmonic. While it cannot strictly be considered as a solo performance, the appearance of the *Distin Quintet* on 9 June 1845 is another notable date in the history of brass playing at the Philharmonic's concerts. They performed a fantasia for five saxhorns based on themes from Meyerbeer's opera *Robert le Diable*. (Myles Birket Foster, *The History of the Philharmonic Society of London 1813-1912* [London: The Bodley Head, 1912], pp. 232, 192). This book contains a complete sequence of concert programs from the Philharmonic's first one-hundred years.

³⁷ Editions of these works are part of a dissertation on Puzzi's career and music currently being written by E.B. Strauchen.

³⁸ Ringer, *Romantic Era*, p. 207.

³⁹ A large part of Puzzi's performing repertoire consisted of arrangements of operatic arias accompanied by horn obbligato. Through this ingenious device, Puzzi attached himself to the singers who were the most sought-after performers on London's private concert circuit.

⁴⁰ Ehrlich, *First Philharmonic*, p. 4.

⁴¹ *Harmonicon*, 1/44 (March 1823): 41. This type of criticism was common. It is interesting to note that Puzzi was not performing works such as Mozart horn concertos at the Philharmonic concerts, which would have quelled the reviewer's complaint. Puzzi's choice of music was not for lack of knowledge of classical horn repertoire (he performed Beethoven's Sonata op. 17 at one of Ignaz Moscheles's *Soirées*) but is indicative of his aristocratic audience's fixation on virtuosity and novelty.

⁴² The amount of chamber music performed at the Philharmonic decreased significantly in the 1830s when musicians such as Blagrove and Mori started presenting chamber music series.

⁴³ Foster, *History of the Philharmonic Society*, p. 46.

⁴⁴ Puzzi to the Directors of the Philharmonic Society, 12 August 1819, Loan 48.13, f. 236r.

⁴⁵ Account Book 1813-66, Loan 48.9/1 768d, f. 8v.

⁴⁶ Puzzi to the Directors of the Philharmonic Society, 9 January 1821, Loan 48.13, f. 237r.

⁴⁷ It is unclear who or how much Puzzi was teaching at this time. His students may have included orchestral colleagues. Not until Puzzi's appointment at the Royal Academy of Music in 1823 are there any records of his teaching activities. It is also possible that he was giving singing lessons to the aristocracy, since printed compositions for amateur singers by Puzzi bear dedications to patrons occasionally indicated as students.

⁴⁸ Puzzi to the Directors of the Philharmonic Society, 12 January 1821, Loan 48.13, f. 238r.

⁴⁹ Lack of specific records for rehearsal and performance attendance render it difficult to determine exactly how much playing each member of the section did. From the figures on rehearsal and concert attendance kept in the Account Book (see appendix 1, table A), it would appear that there were at least three horn players present at the concert cited. One of them might have functioned as an "assistant", relieving Puzzi of some of the orchestral playing that evening. Generally, it would appear that the horn parts would have been adequately covered, as literature requiring more than two players was seldom programmed, while the Account Book indicates that the section generally consisted of four players with three usually paid to attend all of the season's concerts and rehearsals.

⁵⁰ Puzzi to the Directors of the Philharmonic Society, 12 January 1821, Loan 48.13, f. 238r.

⁵¹ Account Book 1813-66, ff. 3v. - 13r.

⁵² Account Book 1813-66.

⁵³ For an explanation and comparison of pay scales in the Philharmonic Society during this period, see David Hadley, "The Growth of London Musical Society in the Early Nineteenth Century: Studies of the History of a Profession, 1800-1824" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1972), pp. 496-498.

⁵⁴ W. Watts to Puzzi, 13 December 1824, Loan 48.13, f. 239r.

⁵⁵ Puzzi to the Directors of the Philharmonic Society, 17 December 1824, Loan 48.13, f. 240r.

⁵⁶ Platt was at last obliged to retire from all of his posts in 1850, "having lost, from great and continuous pressure, the whole of his front teeth." (*Musical World* 25/16 [25 April 1850]: 252.)

⁵⁷ Ehrlich, *First Philharmonic*, p. 16.

⁵⁸ John Ella, *Musical Sketches Abroad and at Home* (London: Ridgeway, 1869), p. 33.

⁵⁹ Carse, *The Orchestra from Beethoven to Berlioz*, p. 206.

⁶⁰ Concert of Antient Music receipts, Royal College of Music Department of Portraits and Performance History.

⁶¹ Concert of Antient Music receipts. Noted violinist Nicholas Mori was paid £31.10s. as a section player in 1824, and in 1823 section flautist Willoughby Monzani received £25.4s. Dragonetti's 1827 earnings of £84 represent the highest figure recorded in these receipts for an instrumentalist, but his fee pales in comparison with the remuneration of even the lesser-known principal singers.

⁶² Carse, *The Orchestra from Beethoven to Berlioz*, p. 206. Carse cites the inclusion of harps, ophicleides, cymbals, and triangles in later orchestras, when programs still consisted of music "which could hardly have been written for any of these instruments."

⁶³ For these reasons, no table of repertoire performed has been compiled for the Concert of Antient Music.

⁶⁴ Specific information about the fees instrumentalists received for performing at private concerts is scarce. Moscheles recorded that violinists DeBeriot and Mori were paid five and seven pounds respectively for playing at Madame Rothschild's 1829 private concert (Charlotte Moscheles, *Life of Moscheles, with Selections from his Diaries and Correspondence*, vol. 1 [London, 1873], p. 222). Puzzi may have collected additional fees for his services as a fixer at these concerts. Performance opportunities were many, with popular players being engaged up to three times per week during the social season.

⁶⁵ *The Performances of Antient Music for the Season* (London: n.p., 1785-1848). These program books, containing concert repertoire, performers and a list of subscribers, were produced annually.

⁶⁶ Carse mentions Puzzi in his description of the Societá Armonica, stating that "The same names occur as in the Philharmonic and opera orchestras—Lindley, Dragonetti, ... Puzzi, Harper, and so on" (*Orchestra*, p. 225). While his assumption is logical, he cites no source for this information. Although no early personnel lists have been located by the present author, it is highly unlikely that Puzzi would have played in this orchestra, as its foundation date of 1827 places it outside of the period of his occupation as an orchestral player. Platt would be a more logical candidate.

⁶⁷ Carse, *The Orchestra from Beethoven to Berlioz*, p. 226.

⁶⁸ *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review*, 2/7 (1820): 385.

⁶⁹ Ella, *Musical Sketches*, p. 94.

⁷⁰ *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* 5 [n. n.] (1823): 533.

⁷¹ *Musical World* 17/38 (1842): 297.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 299.

⁷³ Contract between Puzzi and Edward Taylor, 27 April 1842, private collection. It stipulated attendance at a London rehearsal in August and an agreement "not to assist at any other public performance at Norwich, or within thirty miles of the same, for twenty-one days prior to the Festival, nor permit their names to be advertised for any public performance, within a similar distance, till

the festival is ended.”

⁷⁴ Announcements for fifteen benefits appeared in the June 1828 issue of the *Harmonicon*; thirteen of these employed an orchestra (Carse, p. 227).

⁷⁵ Sachs, “London,” p. 219.

⁷⁶ Some of Puzzi’s fantasias and concertos include orchestral scores and parts.

⁷⁷ Examples of instrumental performers receiving payment for performing at benefits are known. In 1829, Dragonetti collected four pounds for “assisting” at the benefit of singer D. Donzelli (Palmer, *Dragonetti*, p. 194).

⁷⁸ In attempting to determine the extent to which performance in benefit concerts contributed to a player’s earnings, it is important to note that a small number of charity concerts were held at which performers usually donated their services. One of the most notable series of benefits of this type were the Royal Academic Concerts held in 1826 in aid of the nascent Royal Academy of Music.

⁷⁹ Carse, *The Orchestra from Beethoven to Berlioz*, p. 227.

⁸⁰ Ella, *Musical Sketches*, p. 70; quoted in Carse, *The Orchestra from Beethoven to Berlioz*, pp. 227-28.

⁸¹ While a post in the private band of William IV or Victoria may at first seem attractive for the security and exposure to patrons that it offered, the full-time commitment required and the low salary offered made it of little interest to musicians who were able to succeed in London’s freelance market. For a vivid description of the working conditions in Her Majesty’s Private Band, see *Musical World* 33/20 (7 April 1855): 216. The most profitable way for these players to reap the value of royal patronage was through private concerts.

⁸² Bishop Papers, Add. MS 29,365, ff. 2-62, British Library.

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