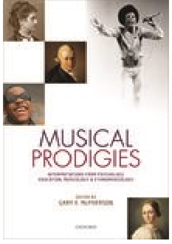

Musical Prodigies: Interpretations from Psychology, Education, Musicology, and Ethnomusicology
Gary E. McPherson (ed.)

https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199685851.001.0001
Published: 2016 **Online ISBN:** 9780191806049 **Print ISBN:** 9780199685851

CHAPTER

23 “Proofs of genius”: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and the construction of musical prodigies in early Georgian London

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https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199685851.003.0023 Pages 511–549
Published: September 2016

Abstract

Extraordinary musicianship in children and notions of genius are closely entwined, but these concepts need historicizing if we are to understand how such connections came about. This chapter explores child performance in the increasingly competitive concert life of 18th century London, examining how juvenile musicians were presented and themes that characterized their reception. Mozart appeared before London audiences in 1764 and 1765; a cosmopolitan virtuoso from Salzburg, he was coached and promoted by his musician father as “a Prodigy of Nature,” a phrase then unfamiliar in English musical discourse. The chapter shows that while the Mozarts’ campaign in London did much to establish a new archetype of “musical prodigy,” this developed in a particular way, in dialogue with local cultural, musical, and intellectual contexts, audience expectations, and the vagaries of the professional environment.

Keywords: prodigy, archetype, Mozart, concert life, reception, genius, London, musicianship, father, Leopold Mozart

Subject: Developmental Psychology, Music Psychology

Introduction

Ideas of Mozart, whether as historical figure or symbolic presence in Western musical culture, have been inextricably linked to changing concepts of musical genius. Mozart as “eternal child”—the miraculous boy who never grew up—has dominated this shifting discourse.[1] As philosopher Peter Kivy observes, “it is the Mozart story—the story of the child prodigy and the childlike man—that gave to the early Romantics an image of musical genius, indeed genius itself,”[2] and he tracks this theme, via Goethe, to its culmination in the second edition of Schopenhauer’s *The World as Will and Representation*, published just over 50 years after the composer’s death: “every genius is already a big child,” claimed Schopenhauer, “since he looks out into the world as into something strange and foreign, a drama, and thus with purely objective interest.”[3]

Mozart’s place in the history of ideas thus seems assured, but what is less clear is the extent to which the nature and promotion of his early musicianship were shaped by notions of musical giftedness already current among his immediate contemporaries. Given musicologists’ habitual focus on the individual and the exceptional, it is easy to overlook how far the Mozart children’s performances fitted into a pre-existing category of public musical spectacle, one with its own set of expectations, norms, and outcomes. This dynamic is most apparent during the family’s 15-month sojourn in London (a stage in their Grand Tour of 1763–6) which began on 23 April 1764, when Mozart was 8 years old and his sister was 12, and ended with their departure for Calais on 24 July 1765.[4]

p. 512 With relatively weak governmental control over public performances and no direct system of royal or aristocratic patronage, English musical culture was distinctive for its flourishing, commercial, and highly competitive concert life. Reflecting a taste for novelty, the capital in particular had developed into a veritable marketplace for child musicians. These included touring virtuosi, as well as children of European immigrants and a number of home-grown performers, among them Cassandra Frederick (*c.* 1741–after 1779), Marianne Davies (1743/4–1818), William Crotch (1775–1847), and sibling pairs such as Elizabeth and Charles Weichsel (1765–1818 and 1767–1850). Child performers, as Simon McVeigh notes, were thus "a constant theme" in 18th-century London,[5] and for Leopold Mozart it would prove expedient to adapt his customary presentation of his son's talents in ways that harmonized with the expectations of English audiences.

According to his sister, Mozart scarcely practiced during their Grand Tour, "for he always had to improvise, play concerts and sight-read in front of people;"[6] and it was in London that Mozart's infant musical abilities were tested most rigorously and in the spirit of empirical scientific investigation. This did not happen in a vacuum, against absolute criteria for judging musical talents in children, but in a context informed by the careers and abilities of other child performers exhibited in the capital up to this time. It also arose from Leopold's developing contacts among English musical, intellectual, and academic circles, and following their advice, his strategic engagement with prominent individuals and high-status institutions. For Leopold, success in these tests (or "proofs of genius") was important for his son, on whose early exposure the prospects of a future court appointment might depend; but in addition they stimulated the exchange of ideas, intersecting ↳ with current educational theory, on the most reliable means of ensuring the continuation of his prodigious musical abilities into adulthood. p. 513

To illustrate these themes this chapter will explore the presentation and assessment of Mozart's abilities in London, and the intellectual and cultural underpinnings of this early manifestation of the "child prodigy." A concern throughout is to establish what these assessments reveal about changing ideas of the gifted child musician that affected the development and prospects of such children in late 18th- and early 19th-century musical culture, and in particular what this can tell us about the emergence of the "musical prodigy" as category and construction.

"Good pasture-land for talent": Georgian London and the child musician

The musical labor of children has yet to figure as a topic of enquiry among musicologists despite burgeoning recent scholarship on the history of childhood;[7] indeed some may baulk at framing "the prodigy" in this way, given the aura of mysticism through which human musicality is often viewed. It is, nevertheless, a useful starting point for any attempt to consider the child prodigy in cultural–historical terms, allowing as it does some understanding of prodigyhood as lived experience.

Notices of concerts published in English newspapers and periodicals over the long 18th century evidence the growing commercialization of child soloists, and of musical performance more generally[8]—one of the Mozart family's early champions commended London as "good pasture-land for talent."[9] Children appeared occasionally, at first, and were differentiated from other soloists in the same concert by being identified only by sex and age: for example, "a young ↳ Gentlewoman" in 1694 and a "Boy" in 1700, both aged 12; a boy of "about Eight" in 1703; and a 9-year-old girl in 1710.[10] Boys usually demonstrated their skills on trumpet or violin, whilst girls were generally vocalists—keyboard instruments had yet to come into their own as a vehicle for the exhibition of infant ability. Instrumental repertoire is generally listed as "solo" or "sonata," with the composer rarely named and no apparent expectation that the child should generate his or her own material, although some evidently did. p. 514

Performances by children were a by-product of the apprenticeship system: a promising young musician articled to a music master would receive bed and board as well as training for the profession, while the master could gain a return on his investment by exhibiting the child in public. Similar but less formal arrangements were made in return for musical tuition; for example, on 22 July 1710 residents of Hampstead were promised a concert in which "Several of the Opera Songs will be performed by a Girl of 9 Years old, a Scholar of Mr Tenoe's."[11] In such cases the teacher's reputation would be judged according to the youth and skill of his pupil.

In musical families the incentives were much the same. According to Deborah Rohr, 80% of musicians' fathers and 71% of their grandfathers in this period were musicians themselves.[12] Exhibiting a young son or daughter whose musical development was unusually advanced—whether through emulation, structured tuition, or a combination of both—could produce a welcome boost to family finances, particularly if the performing abilities of the older generation were beginning to fade. Where more than one child appeared on the same program, as Yvonne Amthor has suggested, "the visual effect of having relatives perform together amplified the extraordinariness"[13]—marked examples of this are the performances given by the Davies family in the 1750s and 1760s (discussed later) and the Linley, Wesley, and Weichsel families in the 1770s.[14]

The first musical child to be named in a London concert notice appears to have been the violinist Matthew Dubourg; he was probably "the wonderfull Youth of 11 Years old" who performed on 1 May 1714, but certainly "the famous Mr. Matthew Dubourg, a Youth of [only] 12 Years of Age" and "that wonderful bright Hand, young Mr. Du Bourg."[15] Claims of merit and celebrity, such as these, were also a new feature in advertisements for child performers. Dubourg (1703–67) was the natural son of a dancing master named Isaacs, and a pupil of Francesco Geminiani, who was probably at least partially responsible for the boy's presentation in the press. However, these were not his first appearances before the public; the historian John Hawkins recorded details of ↳ an earlier performance at Thomas Britton's concerts in Clerkenwell, where Dubourg played a solo (probably by Corelli) while standing on a stool—Hawkins notes that the boy almost fell to the ground with nerves.[16] Charles Weichsel would also stand on a stool to perform on the violin in the 1770s. Presumably this was to give everyone in the room a view of the soloist despite his diminutive stature, but also to highlight the contrast between advanced (adult) performance skills and child-like persona and mannerisms, part of what McVeigh refers to as the "counterpoint between presentation and performance."[17] Dubourg's experiences as a child performer probably informed his teaching of John Clegg (*c.* 1714–*c.* 1750), who made his debut on the violin, aged 9, in Dublin in 1723 and in London less than 2 months later.[18]

Dubourg also appears to have been the first child performer to put on a benefit concert in his own right, rather than limiting himself to offering one or more items on a mixed bill for the benefit concert of another musician or between the acts of an opera.[19] This was another aspect of his presentation that emulated the adult soloist; benefit concerts were held by professionals, usually annually, as a means of showcasing their talents, and relied on other performers to contribute their services without charge in a reciprocal understanding. Dubourg's precedent set the tone for later child performers: Table 23.1 lists those who gave benefit concerts during the period 1749–99 along with their age as it was advertised in the press. The data, taken from surviving newspapers and periodicals, exclude performers who gave benefit concerts outside London (such as Thomas Linley and Thomas Pinto), those who performed only in other musicians' concerts (even those who performed in their parents' concerts, such as Maria Hester Parke, Johann Samuel Schroeter, and the Weichsels), and singers whose early appearances were at the opera or in oratorios rather than in concerts. The emphasis on formal performance, which reflects the nature of the sources, also excludes some private or semi-private performances by William Crotch, the Mozart siblings, and Marianne Davies (discussed later). But taken as a whole, Table 23.1 offers an overview of child musicians whose appearances in mid. to late 18th-century London were presented to the public according to adult performance conventions. Indeed, musical performance seems to have been one of the only spheres of activity in London at this time where children were integrated into adult society.[20] (When newspaper notices credit child performers with presenting their own benefit concerts, it was usually a parent, teacher, or agent behind the scenes who took responsibility for making arrangements.)

Table 23.1 Advertised age and number of benefit concerts given by child musicians between 1749 and 1799

YEAR:	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65
Miss Cassandra Frederick[1]	5½ 1	6½ 1			9 1	– 1		– 1									
Master Jonathan Snow		9 1	10 1						– 1								
Miss Marianne Davies[2]			7 1	8 1	9 1	10 1	11 1	– 1	– 1	– 1	– 1	– 1	– 1	– 6	– 5	– 2	
Master Moore					11 1												
Master Gottfried Wilhelm Palschau[3]						9 1											
Miss Carter										8 1	– 1	– 1	– 1				
Miss Maria Anna Mozart and Master Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart[3]																11/7 1	12/ 4
Miss Matthews 'blind girl'																	
Master D'Arcis[3]																	
'Young Gentleman'																	
'Young French Lady'																	
Messrs Rauppe[4]																	
Master William Crotch																	
Miss Margaret Casson																	
'Young Lady'																	

Master Max Humble[5]	
‘Musical Child’	
Miss Sophia Hoffman	
Master George Polgreen Bridgetower and Master Franz Clement	**Master Appleton, ‘the Warwickshire Apollo’**
Master Julian Baux	
Master Edmond Parker	

1 Became a singer;

2 Became a virtuoso on the glass harmonica and toured the Continent;

3 Returned to the Continent;

4 Included a number of young performers;

5 Following the death of his father;

§ Victim of robbery;

+ Plus brother, aged 6;

* Plus brother, Master Hoffman, aged 4½.

By the late 1740s, the harpsichord had become the most popular instrument for concert performances by child performers, and one of its most celebrated young proponents was Cassandra Frederick, who gave her first benefit concert in London at the New Theatre in the Haymarket on ↳ p. 517

p. 516 ↳

p. 518 ↳

10 April 1749, aged “Five Years and a Half.”[21] At each of her benefits over the next five years, she was billed as “a Scholar of Mr. Paradies”—that is, the Italian composer Domenico Paradies, who had emigrated to London in 1746 and also counted among his pupils the young German violinist Gertrud Schmeling (later the soprano Madame Mara, 1749–1833).[22] Among Cassandra Frederick’s most enthusiastic advocates was the music historian Charles Burney, who may have been responsible for the vivid account of her early public performances that appears in Rees’s *Cyclopaedia*, since as an octogenarian he contributed many unsigned musical articles to this dictionary.[23] She was, according to this memoir:

> the first early player, the neatest, and the best which had ever appeared in our country during infancy, performing at six years old, with the utmost precision and firmness, propped up by cushions, the whole book of her master’s twelve excellent lessons, probably composed expressly as progressive exercises for her use, with many lessons by Scarlatti and Alberti. […] We have often heard her perform at different periods of her life, and continued to think her improved to the last.[24]

It was only for her fourth concert, at Hickford’s on 14 March 1754, that the newspaper notices stated she would play music by Paradies; but given that her choice on this occasion was “several Lessons lately composed" and Paradies published his twelve *Sonate di gravicembalo* in London that same year, the proposed connection seems highly plausible. The relationship between teacher and pupil was certainly close; the *Cyclopaedia* entry records that Paradies was rumoured to be Miss Frederick's natural father, and a letter from Leopold Mozart states that Paradies became guardian to her and her siblings after their mother, a singer named Frau Cronemann, was widowed.[25] The Mozarts must have heard Miss Frederick in London; in the same letter Leopold describes her playing as "faultless," confirms her love of Paradies's London sonatas and variations, and refers to him as "our good friend." She was also a protégée of Handel, whose concertos featured among her early repertoire.[26]

The notices for Cassandra Frederick's 1754 concert are the first that do not mention her age, presumably because as a 10-year-old her talents were no longer considered so remarkable.[27] ↳ As we can infer from Table 23.1, the appeal of a child soloist for London audiences tended to wane beyond the age of 10; for example, the harpsichordist Jonathan Snow, who was described as "a Youth of nine Years of Age" at his first concert on 3 April 1750, appears to have withdrawn from public performance by the end of the following year.[28] The celebration of young musicianship offered to the public on 23 April 1760 at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket, in which the solo instrumentalists were aged entirely between 9 and 13, was highly unusual —perhaps prompted by the death of Handel the previous year—but it was not repeated:

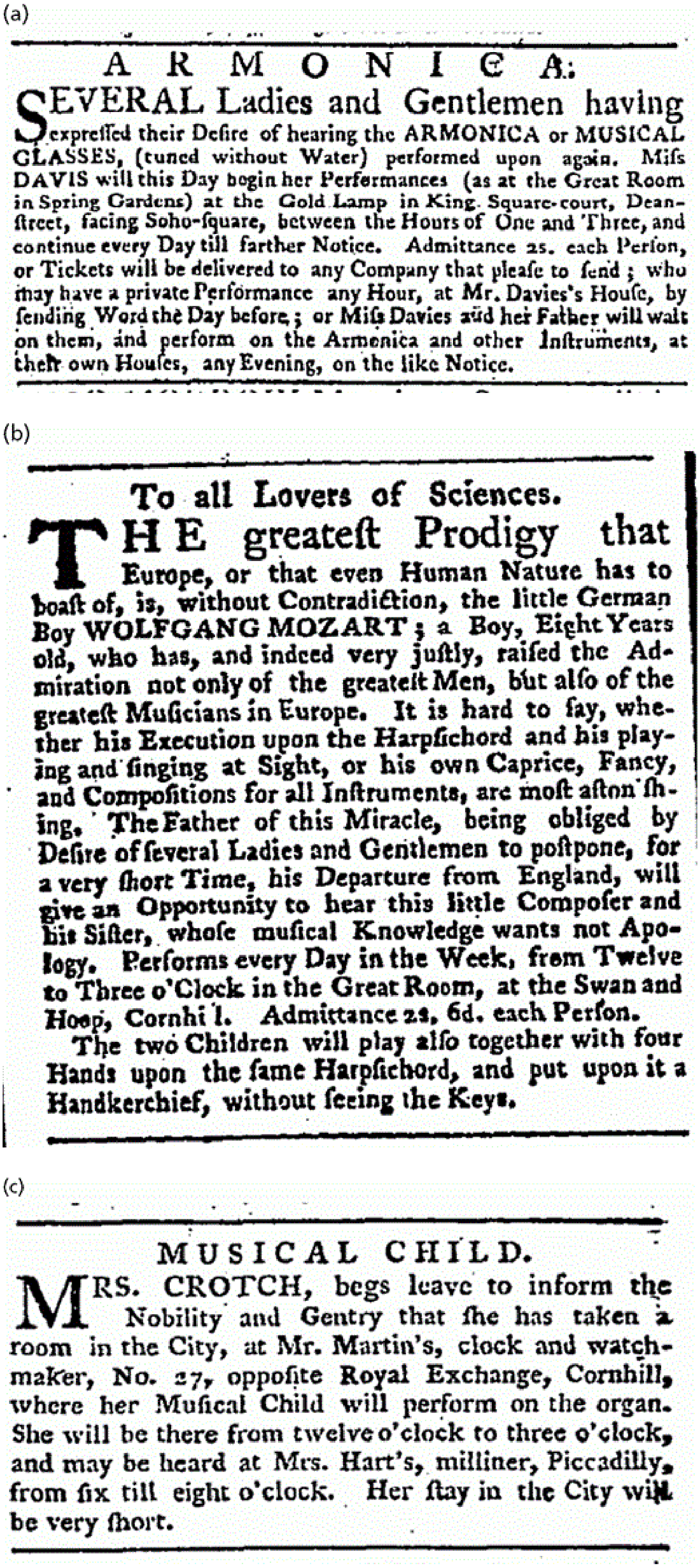
> The Solos by young Performers, who never appeared in Public, as a Solo of Signor Giardini's on the Violin by his Scholar Master Barron, thirteen Years old; a Lesson on the Harpsichord by Miss [Esther] Burney, nine Years old; with a Sonata of Signor Giardini's accompanied by a Violin; a Solo on the Violoncello by Master Cervetto, eleven Years old; a Duet on the Violin and Violoncello by Master Barron and Master Cervetto; a Quartetto by Miss Schmelling [sic, eleven years old], Master Barron, Master Cervetto, and Miss Burney. With several full Pieces by a select Band of the best Performers.[29]

In British society at this time, once a child had reached 14 he or she was considered an adult.

The exertions of child performers in some cases more than matched the expectations audiences had of adult professionals, not only in choice of repertoire and versatility, but also in terms of stamina. For example, Marianne (or Mary Ann) Davies was announced as "A Child of seven Years of Age only, being the first Time of her appearing in Publick" at her benefit concert on 30 April 1751. However, in the course of the evening she played an unspecified flute concerto, a harpsichord concerto by Handel, a flute concerto of her own composition, and the principal flute in "a full Piece for two German Flutes, French Horns, Trumpets, &c."[30] Three years later, the notice for her benefit on 6 February 1754 announced that "Miss Davies, (Who is in Reality no more than Ten Years of Age, […] will perform the First Solo of Mr. Granom's on the German Flute, the First Concerto of Mr. Handel's on the Harpsichord, the Sixth Concerto of Mr. Granom's on the German Flute, and accompany the Thorough Bass in the Performance.)"[31] The flute was a highly unusual instrument for a girl to play at this time, given its association with genteel masculinity. She was probably taught by her father, the flautist and composer Richard Davies, who would often perform a flute concerto at her benefit concerts and sometimes joined her in an extended duet or trio.[32]

Marianne Davies was among those prodigies who were able to make the transition successfully from a child performer into an adult performer. She became a celebrated proponent of the glass harmonica, Benjamin Franklin's version of the musical glasses, and added solos on that instrument to her concerts in the 1760s (see Figure 23.5a). She played for her father and sang to her own accompaniment on the harmonica, and in 1767 they were joined by her young sister, the soprano Cecilia Davies (1756/7–1836). The Davies family counted among the Mozarts' acquaintances in London in 1764, as did Franklin, and the Mozarts probably attended at least one of the Davies ↳ family's performances—Marianne and her family left for Paris towards the end of the year, returning only briefly in 1767 before embarking on a five-year tour of Europe.[33]

Figure 23.5



(a)

ARMONICA:

SEVERAL Ladies and Gentlemen having expreſſed their Deſire of hearing the ARMONICA or MUSICAL GLASSES, (tuned without Water) performed upon again. Miſs DAVIS will this Day begin her Performances (as at the Great Room in Spring Gardens) at the Gold Lamp in King-Square-court, Dean-ſtreet, facing Soho-ſquare, between the Hours of One and Three, and continue every Day till farther Notice. Admittance 2s. each Perſon, or Tickets will be delivered to any Company that pleaſe to ſend; who may have a private Performance any Hour, at Mr. Davies's Houſe, by ſending Word the Day before; or Miſs Davies and her Father will wait on them, and perform on the Armonica and other Inſtruments, at their own Houſes, any Evening, on the like Notice.

(b)

To all Lovers of Sciences.

THE greateſt Prodigy that Europe, or that even Human Nature has to boaſt of, is, without Contradiction, the little German Boy WOLFGANG MOZART; a Boy, Eight Years old, who has, and indeed very juſtly, raiſed the Admiration not only of the greateſt Men, but alſo of the greateſt Muſicians in Europe. It is hard to ſay, whether his Execution upon the Harpſichord and his playing and ſinging at Sight, or his own Caprice, Fancy, and Compoſitions for all Inſtruments, are moſt aſtoniſhing. The Father of this Miracle, being obliged by Deſire of ſeveral Ladies and Gentlemen to poſtpone, for a very ſhort Time, his Departure from England, will give an Opportunity to hear this little Compoſer and his Siſter, whoſe muſical Knowledge wants not Apology. Performs every Day in the Week, from Twelve to Three o'Clock in the Great Room, at the Swan and Hoop, Cornhill. Admittance 2s. 6d. each Perſon.

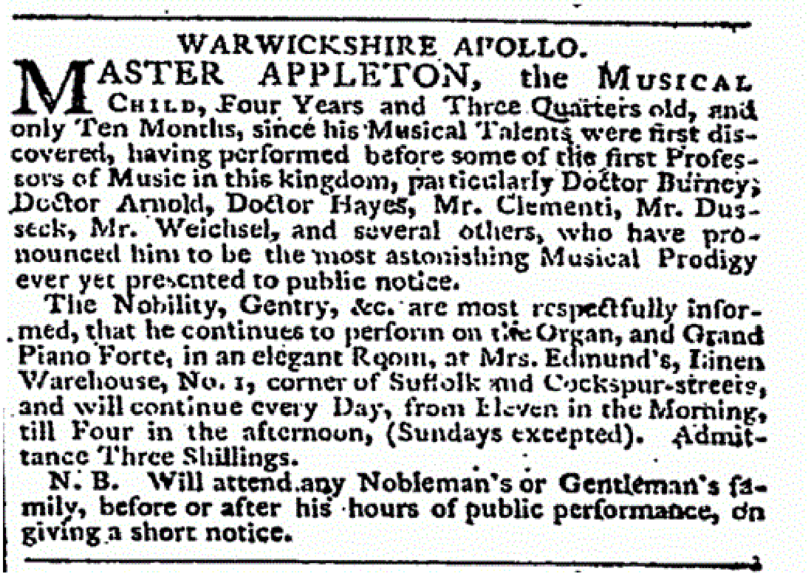
The two Children will play alſo together with four Hands upon the ſame Harpſichord, and put upon it a Handkerchief, without ſeeing the Keys.

(c)

MUSICAL CHILD.

MRS. CROTCH, begs leave to inform the Nobility and Gentry that ſhe has taken a room in the City, at Mr. Martin's, clock and watch-maker, No. 27, oppoſite Royal Exchange, Cornhill, where her Muſical Child will perform on the organ. She will be there from twelve o'clock to three o'clock, and may be heard at Mrs. Hart's, milliner, Piccadilly, from ſix till eight o'clock. Her ſtay in the City will be very ſhort.

(d)



WARWICKSHIRE APOLLO.

MASTER APPLETON, the MUSICAL CHILD, Four Years and Three Quarters old, and only Ten Months, since his Musical Talents were first discovered, having performed before some of the first Professors of Music in this kingdom, particularly Doctor Burney; Doctor Arnold, Doctor Hayes, Mr. Clementi, Mr. Dusseck, Mr. Weichsel, and several others, who have pronounced him to be the most astonishing Musical Prodigy ever yet presented to public notice.

The Nobility, Gentry, &c. are most respectfully informed, that he continues to perform on the Organ, and Grand Piano Forte, in an elegant Room, at Mrs. Edmund's, Linen Warehouse, No. 1, corner of Suffolk and Cockspur-streets, and will continue every Day, from Eleven in the Morning, till Four in the afternoon, (Sundays excepted). Admittance Three Shillings.

N. B. Will attend any Nobleman's or Gentleman's family, before or after his hours of public performance, on giving a short notice.

The development of semi-private musical exhibitions in 18th-century London, as seen in the newspaper notices for (a) a performance by Marianne Davies (1762, aged around 18) (*Public Advertiser*, 15 May 1762), (b) Wolfgang and Maria Anna Mozart (1765, Wolfgang aged 9 years and 5 months) (*Public Advertiser*, 10 July 1765), (c) William Crotch (1780, aged 4 years and 6 months) (*London Courant and Westminster Chronicle*, 18 January 1780), and (d) Master Appleton, the "Warwickshire Apollo" (1790, birthdate around June 1785) (*World*, 13 March 1790).

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Introducing the "prodigy of nature"

What is perhaps most striking about the newspaper and periodical notices relating to juvenile concert performances in London before the Mozarts' arrival is the absence of the word "prodigy." This is despite its documented use in personal communications; the Earl of Chesterfield, writing on 14 April 1750 to Solomon Dayrolles, the King's Resident at the Hague, ahead of Cassandra Frederick's summer concerts in the Hague and Amsterdam, declared "I could not refuse this recommendation of a *virtuosa* to a *virtuoso*. The girl is a real prodigy."[34] Contemporaries understood the term "prodigy" to mean "anything out of the common or ordinary course of nature;"[35] but while it conveyed the sense of something exceptional or surprising in the physical world, it also carried darker overtones associated with omens, horrors, and monstrosities—perhaps these connotations rendered the word less than fitting in a concert notice.

Leopold's preferred term when presenting his children publicly in London was "prodigies of nature," which can be found only rarely in relation to musical performances in English- language sources before 1764. In a 1709 translation of François Raguenet, *A Comparison Between the* French *and* Italian *Musick and Opera's* [sic] attributed to J.E. Galliard, the now forgotten cornettist Galletti is dubbed "the greatest Prodigy in Nature, and the most surprizing Performer that ever was in the World," and 20 years later, Thomas D'Urfey referred, somewhat less respectfully, to "that Prodigy in Nature who acts the *Heroe* in the *Italian* Comedy."[36]
p. 521 But mid-century, the only ↳ example located to date occurs in 1753, in a discussion of pantomimes, where "prodigy of nature" is again associated with the bizarre:

> As […] the curiosity of mankind is perpetually thirsting after novelties, I have been at great pains to contrive an entertainment, in which every thing shall be united that is either the delight or astonishment of the present age: I have not only ransacked the fairs of Bartholomew and Southwark, but picked up every uncommon animal, every amazing *prodigy of nature*, and every surprizeing [sic] performer, that has lately appeared within the bills of mortality.[37]

In other English contexts at this time it was associated with the type of "freakery" considered worthy of exhibition and study: for example, "monstrous" births; children with physical abnormalities, including cases of giantism, dwarfism, and skin conditions; and various wonders of the natural world, such as magnetic needles, sonic phenomena caused by caves and rock formations, meteors, and the volcano of Mount Etna.[38] At best, then, it seems the phrase was ambiguous.[39]

Focus on the curiosity value of the Mozart children's performances was strengthened by other aspects of Leopold's newspaper announcements. He consistently reduced their ages by a year, as he had done at other points in their travels (see Table 23.1), and, probably working with a native English speaker, he larded his prose with superlatives to an extent way beyond the norm established by earlier child performers in London. A direct comparison will serve by way of illustration. The first notice quoted below advertises a concert given by the German harpsichordist Johann Gottfried Wilhelm Palschau (1741–*c.* 1815) who visited England briefly in 1754.[40] Palschau's ↳ notice is already unusual in drawing attention to a particular aptitude—sight-reading—which, this implies, members of the audience would be invited to test (the lack of detail concerning the program to be performed also suggests this). Compared with the Palschau text, the flamboyance of the second notice, which is Leopold's advertisement for the Mozarts' benefit on 7 June 1765, is striking even when taking into account the fact that the two advertisements were written a decade apart.

> For the Benefit of Mr. Godfrey Wm. Palschau, (A Child of about Nine Years of Age, who performs any Piece of Music at Sight on the Harpsichord; not only very justly, but also very surprisingly, as to Neatness and Execution) at the Great Room in Dean-street, Soho, Tuesday, Jan. 29, will be performed a Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Musick. The Harpsichord by Mr. Palschau, and the other Parts by the best Performers. Tickets to be had of Mr. Palschau, at Mr Garling's in Cecil-court St. Martin's Lane; and at the Great Room in Dean-street, at 5s each. To begin at Half an Hour after Six o'Clock.[41]
>
> At the Great Room in Spring Garden, near St. James's Park, Tuesday, June 5, will be performed a grand Concert of Vocal and Instrumental MUSIC. For the Benefit of Miss MOZART of Eleven, and Master MOZART of Seven Years of Age, Prodigies of Nature; taking the Opportunity of representing to the Public the greatest prodigy that Europe or that Human Nature has to boast of. Every Body will be astonished to hear a Child of such a tender Age playing the Harpsichord in such a Perfection. It surmounts all Fantasie and Imagination, and it is hard to express which is more astonishing, his Execution upon the Harpsichord playing at Sight, or his own Compositions. His Father brought him to England, not doubting that he will meet with Success in a Kingdom, where his Countryman, that late famous vertuoso [sic] Handel, received during his Life-time such particular Protection. Tickets, at Half a Guinea each; to be had of Mr. Mozart, at Mr Couzin's, Hair-Cutter, in Cecil Court, St. Martin's Lane.[42]

Leopold's agency in these promotional decisions can only be inferred, of course—newspaper notices in this genre were almost always left unsigned—but he was certainly the architect of his son's professional persona at the outset of his career and supervised all aspects of his early development. It may have been the prospect of hauling in "a good catch of guineas" that tempted him to add London to the family's European Tour,[43] but he was convinced of the uniqueness and indeed the divine origin of his son's gifts, and it was principally this that motivated his actions at a fundamental level. A devout Roman Catholic, Leopold saw his duty as that of a prophet, "to convince the world of this miracle"—and "how," he asked his Salzburg landlord Lorenz Hagenauer, "could it be more visibly manifested than at a public show and in a large and populous town?"[44]

Solomon makes a convincing case that it was only as "begetter, instructor and impresario" of such celebrated musical children that Leopold found his true vocation.[45] Leopold believed his own ambitions as a composer had been thwarted at Salzburg, but he achieved international recognition through the publication of a pedagogical treatise, the *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule* (1756). Now, by meticulously chronicling his son's activities in journals, letters, lists, notebooks, manuscripts, and printed music, he could preserve the image of his divinely gifted child for posterity. In 1767 he told Hagenauer of his plans to write a biography of his son, then aged 11, ↳ and hinted at this project again two years later in the preface to the second edition of his violin treatise.[46] Perhaps his upbringing as the son of an Augsburg bookbinder had instilled in him an appreciation of the power of the written word to lend permanence to human achievement, compensating at least in part for the ephemerality of musical performance; in the end, however, his biography of the prodigy never materialized.

A further tactic of Leopold's in seeking to convince London audiences of the uniqueness of his son was to publicize the patronage he had received from the Royal Family. This he did in the first advertisement placed for Mozart in a London newspaper, which announced his performance of a harpsichord concerto at the benefit concert of cellist and composer Signor Carlo Graziani. Although Mozart's contribution had to be canceled in the end, due to illness, the advertisement itself would have done important work in positioning the child as a fashionable curiosity.

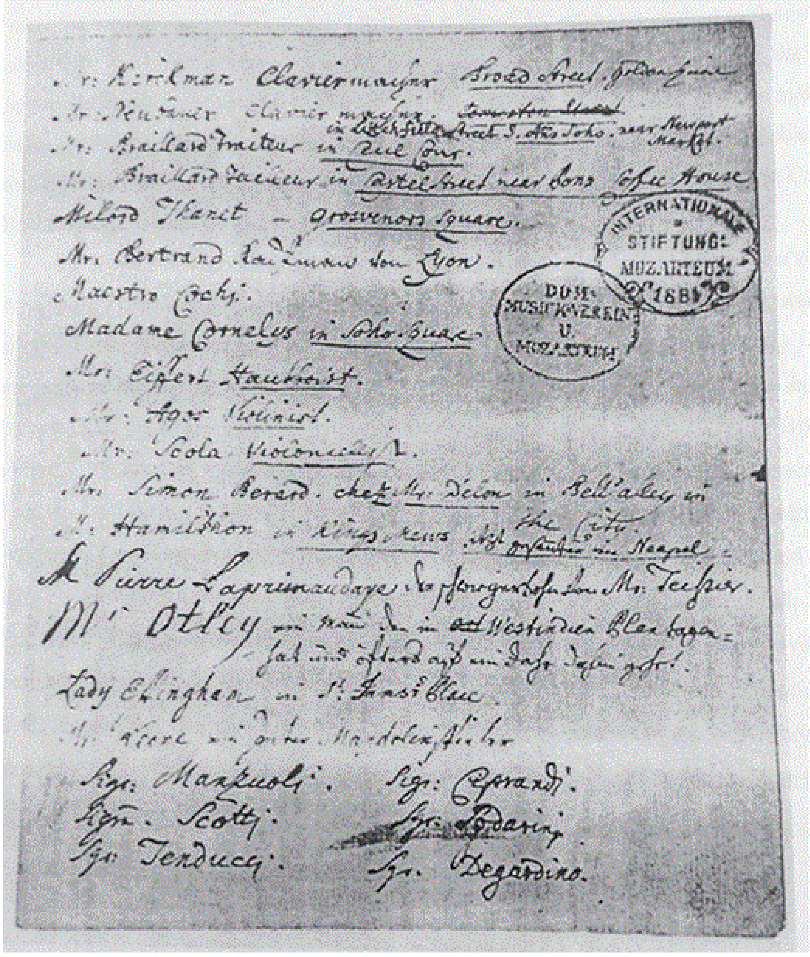
> Concerto on the Harpsichord by Master Mozart, who is a real Prodigy of Nature; he is but Seven Years of Age, plays anything at Sight, and composes amazingly well. He has had the honour of exhibiting before their Majesties greatly to their Satisfaction.[47]

Only four days after their arrival, the Mozart children had been received by George III and his consort, Sophie Charlotte (née Princess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz), at the Queen's Palace, an audience that was facilitated by letters of introduction from friends at other European courts the family had visited, and possibly also by J.C. Bach, who was the Queen's music-master. Bach is known for his generous support of fellow Catholic musicians,[48] and favouring German musicians was something the Hanoverian King and Queen would be known for throughout their reign.

In all, the family gave three performances for the Royal Family during their time in London—27 April, 19 May, and 25 October 1764—all with the informal character of a private musical party and focused around the testing of Mozart's abilities: George examined Mozart's sight-reading with keyboard pieces by Wagenseil, Abel, Handel, and J.C. Bach; Mozart improvised a melody over bass-lines taken from arias by Handel, and accompanied the Queen. J.C. Bach himself may well have been present, since he was engaged as Queen Charlotte's music-master at this time: Grimm relates how "in London Bach took [Mozart] between his knees and they played alternately on the same keyboard for two hours together, extempore, before the King and Queen"—another source notes, possibly of the same event, that Bach initiated a fugue, which Wolfgang took over and completed "after a most masterly manner."[49]

A rare accolade for a musician, royal patronage opened up avenues into London's most fashionable society, and Leopold made the most of every opportunity to collect potentially useful contacts, recording each significant new acquaintance in his *Reisenotizen*, or travel notes, as he did throughout their Grand Tour years. As a measure of his success, by the end of the family's stay in London his list included some of the most illustrious members of English nobility and gentry; diplomats, who might be applied to for assistance in Mozart's future travels; merchants, financiers, and members of other established professions; and well-connected musicians, including Thomas p. 524 ↳ and Michael Arne, and Domenico Paradies (who had taught Cassandra Frederick), music publishers, instrument makers, prominent instrumentalists, and renowned singers (see Figure 23.1).[50]

Figure 23.1

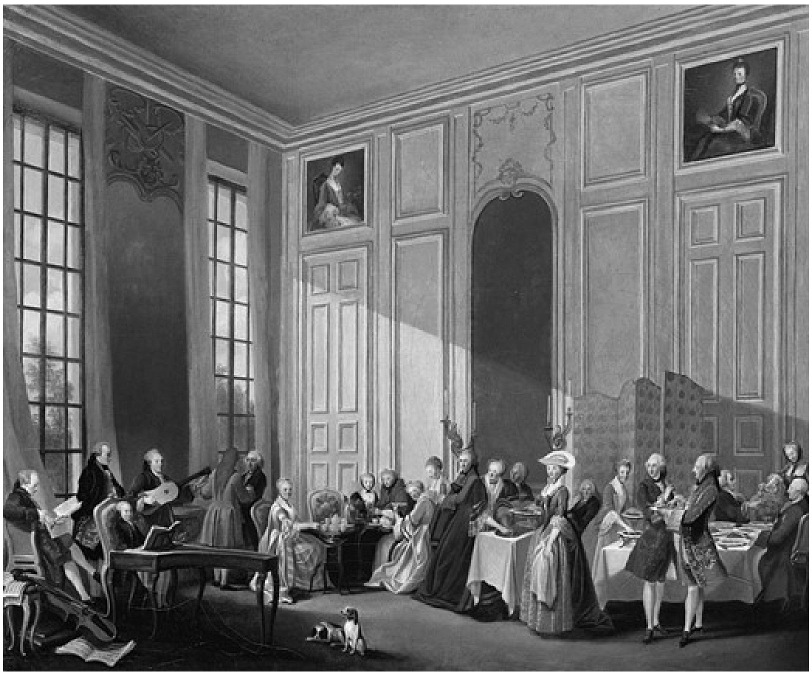


Leaf from the London pages of Leopold Mozart's *Reisenotizen* or travel notes (*LMR*, pp. 33–8 (p. 35)) showing names of some of the family's London associates, including the composer Gioacchino Cocchi, singers from the Italian opera at the King's Theatre (including the castrato Giovanni Manzuoli), the impresario Teresa Cornelys, and other musicians, diplomats, and members of the aristocracy. Paradies is listed on p. 38. Ian Woodfield discusses the chronological interpretation of the London pages of this document in "New Light on the Mozart's London Visit."

The Mozarts gave a total of three benefit concerts in the course of their London visit, and further, semi-public performances that were advertised in the press but were less formal in terms of presentation. Leopold's comments in letters home offer some insight into the response of audiences to the terms of his campaign. For the first of the family's benefits, at the Spring Garden Room on 5 June (see the notice quoted earlier), Leopold was more than gratified by the size and p. 525 ↳ status of the audience, estimating that after paying his expenses the profits would come to at least 90 guineas (the equivalent today of around £11,970 profit, calculated in terms of historic standard of living).[51] This was despite arriving in London towards the end of the season and having only a relatively short period for the sale of tickets. Plans to relocate for the summer to Tunbridge Wells, a fashionable pleasure resort among the aristocracy, were abandoned when Leopold fell ill and had to recuperate for several months. But early in 1765, as the London season started up again, the family was further rewarded by proceeds from a second benefit concert, held at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket on 21 February, to the tune of 130 guineas. Leopold had anticipated taking 150 guineas at this event, and cited competition for audiences as one of the reasons he had not met this target (the concert was postponed twice because of clashes with other entertainments). He also blamed his rejection of a proposal he had received—probably to join J.C. Bach, Karl Friedrich Abel, and/or Gioacchino Cocchi in directing subscription concerts at Mrs Cornelys' musical establishment at Carlisle House—which he felt was blunting enthusiasm among the elite.[52]

In a recent article, Ilias Chrissochoidis argues that the reception of Mozart's performances during his 15 months in London descended from "marvel" to "disgust along with the family's dwindling hopes for financial gain."[53] This distorts the picture, however, since it does not take into account a switch of focus on Leopold's part, early in 1765, away from the public benefit concert to private and semi-private performances. According to his calculations, their February benefit cost him over 27 guineas in assorted expenses, which, according to Simon McVeigh, would typically have comprised "newspaper-advertising, tickets and bills, staging and candles, refreshments for audience and performers, hire and tuning of keyboard instruments, bill-posters, organ-blowers, music-porters, attendances and constables."[54] Private performances, by contrast, carried few such costs and, most importantly, gave more intimate access to the nobility, many of whom were well acquainted with the family by now—for example, Ian Woodfield describes a performance for Lord and Lady Clive at the Clives' home, 45 Berkeley Square, on 13 March, featuring the Mozarts, the castrato Manzuoli, John Burton on the harpsichord, two violinists, and a bass.[55] Without the need to attract an audience, and with strict attention to exclusivity, such performances left little trace in the newspapers of the day; indeed, unless referred to in, for example, surviving private correspondence they are almost impossible to document fully. Although pictorial evidence does not survive either, we can perhaps gain a sense of the atmosphere of these performances from an oil painting by Michel-Barthélemy Ollivier, entitled *Le thé à l'anglaise dans le salon des Quatre-Glaces, au Temple, avec toute la cour du prince de Conti* (English Tea Served in the Salon des Glaces at the Palais du Temple), which includes Mozart seated at the harpsichord and is thought to date from 1766, when the family was in Paris immediately after their departure from London (see Figure 23.2).

Figure 23.2

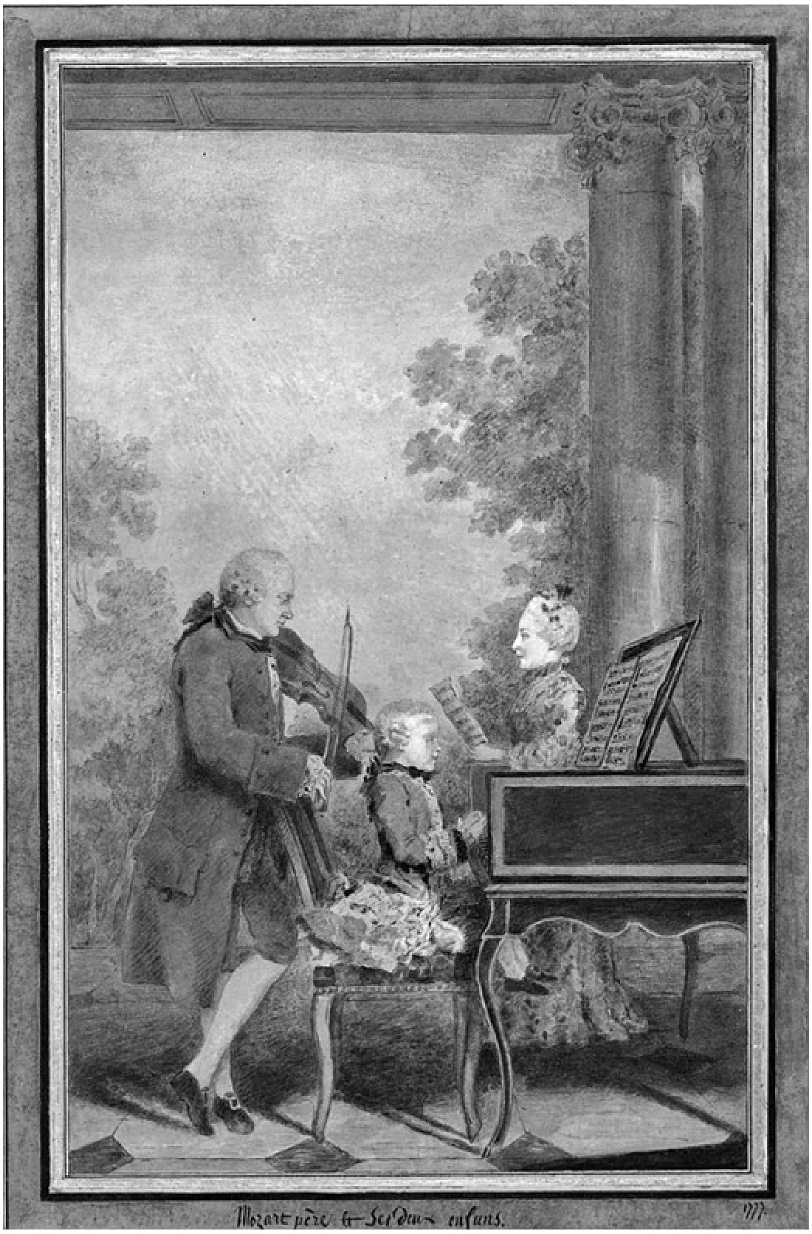


Michel-Barthélemy Ollivier, *Le thé à l'anglaise dans le salon des Quatre-Glaces, au Temple, avec toute la cour du prince de Conti* (English Tea Served in the Salon des Glaces at the Palais du Temple), which depicts a tea-drinking party showing the infant Mozart at the harpsichord. The scene is set in the Temple, which was the residence of Louis François, Prince de Conti (1717–76), in Le Marais, Paris. For identification of features and figures in the painting and a detailed interpretation, see Barbara Russano Hanning, "The Iconography of a Salon Concert: A Reappraisal," in *French Musical Thought, 1600–1800*, ed. Georgia Cowart (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1989), pp. 129–48. Mozart is seated at the keyboard, but the proportions seem strange here (as they are in Figure 23.3), perhaps to emphasize his youth—the chair is too big, and he is too small.

© Heritage Images/Hulton Fine Art Collection/Getty Images.

In mid-March Leopold advertised a farewell benefit concert, announcing his plans to leave British shores for the Continent in May. Chrissochoidis suggests that this was then left "in the air ↳ for weeks" because of a collapse of public support, but this statement, too, is rather misleading.[56] The first advertisement notified readers that tickets were on sale, but also that eight days' notice would be given of the date and venue for the concert, thus reducing Leopold's financial risk: he only needed to finalize the venue and arrangements once he had sold sufficient tickets to guarantee a reasonable profit. In the same advertisement, members of the public were informed that if they visited the family's lodgings to buy a ticket for the concert (as was common practice for benefits) between 12 and 3 o'clock on a weekday, with the exception of Tuesdays and Fridays, then they would be able to hear the children play, and test for themselves the youngest prodigy's precocious musicianship in sight-reading challenges and composing a bass to an unfamiliar melody. Just over a week later, visitors were also invited to buy a copy of Wolfgang's newly published keyboard sonatas Op. 3 (K. 10–15) and, as if completing a souvenir package, a "Family Print" was made available for sale—probably the engraving by Jean Baptiste Delafosse taken from Louis ↳ Carrogis de Carmontelle's watercolour *Mozart père et ses deux enfans* (see Figure 23.3).[57] Some changes had been made to arrangements by 9 April—the price of tickets to the concert had been more than halved, from half a guinea to five shillings, and the children were now making themselves available to perform for visitors every weekday afternoon for two hours.[58] However, rather than indicating desperation on Leopold's part as Chrissochoidis suggests, these amendments may simply reflect a greater public demand for the domestic exhibitions than for the concert, in which case Leopold's adjustments demonstrate the fine-tuned commercial instincts of a successful 18th-century London musician.

Figure 23.3


Mozart père & ses deux enfans.

Watercolour by Louis Carrogis de Carmontelle (1763), entitled *Mozart père & ses deux enfans*, which was engraved by Jean Baptiste Delafosse and reproduced for sale in London. Barrington created a frontispiece for his "Account" using the figure of Mozart from Carmontelle's group portrait under the banner "Theoph: W: Mozart Compositeur, et Maitre de Musique, agé de 7 ans."

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The concert itself took place at Hickford's Rooms on 13 May, but no letters survive from Leopold at this time to tell us how it went. It seems he was preoccupied with other matters; the family's travel arrangements for returning to the Continent were beset by delays, which would have proved costly with living expenses to be met. With the season drawing to an end and the aristocracy leaving town, Leopold opted for a sensible solution—continuing the childrens' afternoon exhibitions, but transferring them from the West End to the City. Their new venue was the Swan and Hoop Tavern in Cornhill (see Figure 23.5b), which McVeigh describes as "decidedly down-market," but was conveniently located opposite the Royal Exchange. A musical society had formed there just a couple of years earlier,[59] but more importantly for the Mozarts, it had been tried and tested by the Davies family, who had themselves given afternoon performances there the previous summer, before crossing the Channel.[60]

Leopold's growing preference for private or semi-private performances, and his decision to allow the public to see and hear the prodigies close up before buying their concert tickets, can also be understood as a practical response to rumours impugning his honesty in stating the age of his son, which have only recently come to light. It seems that some individuals were making it known in London that Mozart was really an accomplished adult performer whose growth had been inhibited to such an extent that he could impersonate an 8-year-old boy. As Chrissochoidis argues, this was potentially extremely damaging to the Mozarts' reputation, not least because Leopold's claims about his son's age would not, in fact, have stood up well to scrutiny. That someone would bother to initiate a smear campaign of this nature, particularly knowing that the family intended to depart at the end of the season, suggests that the Mozarts were still enjoying considerable popularity. It is a measure of his alarm, however, that Leopold himself, or a good friend of the family, penned a vigorous defense against the accusations of charlatanry in the form of a letter to the *Public Advertiser*, which was published just two days ahead of their last benefit concert.

> Sir,
>
> Emulation among People endowed with particular Talents, while it is contained within the Bounds of Decency and Good-manners, is not less rational than advantageous to the Parties concerned; but when by Success of peculiar Merit it degenerates into Envy, there cannot be a more abhorred Principle.
>
> I have been led into this Remark by the ungenerous Proceedings of some People, who have not been ashamed to attempt every thing to the Prejudice of one, whose Excellency in the Knowledge of his Art, is not more wonderful than the early Time of Life he has attained to it. I mean the little German Boy *Wolfgang Mozart*, whose great Abilities, both as a Performer on the Harpsichord and as a Composer, are now so well known to the Public, that the utmost Malice of his Defamers cannot deny them. Therefore what they cannot deduce from Matter of Fact, they labour to depreciate by positive Falsehood; and while they reluctantly allow the Merit of his Performance, they assert it is not the Performance of a Child—a Child Eight Years of Age, but of a Man—a Man reduced by some Defect of Nature to an insignificancy of Person, which conceals from the careless Observer his more advanced Age.—That he is now in his fifteenth, his twentieth or his thirtieth Year, according as the Spirit of his Opponents think fit to place him.
>
> It would be natural to imagine the Absurdity of these malevolent Remarks would carry with it such strong and evident Confutation, that nothing more need to be said to enforce it: Those who [hav]e ↳ seen the Child and honoured him with their unprejudiced Attention, require no Arguments to clear away the Falsehood; but to prevent the Propagation of this Calumny, the Father, as an honest Man and in Vindication of his injured Offspring, thinks it his Duty to declare he can produce such ample Testimony of the Child's Nativity as would convince the most doubting, and at the same time acquit him of any Intention of exhibiting to the Public the Fallacies of an Impostor.
>
> Yours, *&c.*
>
> RECTO RECTIOR[61]

Performing in private or at home, under his father's close supervision, Mozart's childishness would have been far more apparent than when he appeared among professional adult performers in a more formal and relatively remote setting. Furthermore, by offering his visitors—categorized specifically in his final London notice as "Lovers of Sciences" (see Figure 23.5b)—the opportunity to interact directly with his son, and to observe his response to their instructions, tests, and challenges, Leopold was able to confront any latent skepticism with living proof, rendering the miracle more believable. The Delafosse engraving of Carmontelle's stylized family portrait (see Figure 23.3), prepared in Paris before their departure for London and sold in copies at their Soho lodgings, seems to encapsulate this visually: Maria Anna stands singing at the back, somewhat detached from the figures of father and son in the foreground; Leopold stands to the left, a beneficent but slightly overbearing figure, playing the violin and reading music over his son's head, whilst a doll-like Mozart sits at the keyboard, his legs painted unnaturally small and dangling in mid-air (perhaps at Leopold's instruction, to exaggerate his childishness). Alec Hyatt King reports that Carmontelle produced several versions of this watercolour, and describes another that exists without Maria Anna, and with the figures of father and son painted more realistically—Leopold's feet squarely on the ground, and Mozart seated on a backless chair with his feet resting on a stool.[62] While Mozart's capabilities as a performer were not in question, it seems his status as a child was up for negotiation.

In Handel's footsteps

In a quite significant way, as Simon Keefe discusses elsewhere in this volume (Chapter 24), Leopold broke the mold of the traveling infant musician by combining the image of the sensationally gifted performer with that of the aspiring composer whose fast-maturing talents also deserved a public platform. Leopold found the ideal strategy to reconcile these two facets of his son's musical persona, and at the same time to maximize his appeal for English audiences, by drawing a parallel between Mozart and the young George Frideric Handel (see the advertisement for the first benefit concert on 5 June 1764, quoted earlier). In doing so, however, he may have contributed unwittingly to suspicions about the true age of his son, for child composers were exceedingly rare in England and certainly so in the public concert environment—the Earl of Mornington, and Samuel ↳ and Charles Wesley are the only figures who seem to fit the category, all of whom avoided the limelight.[63]

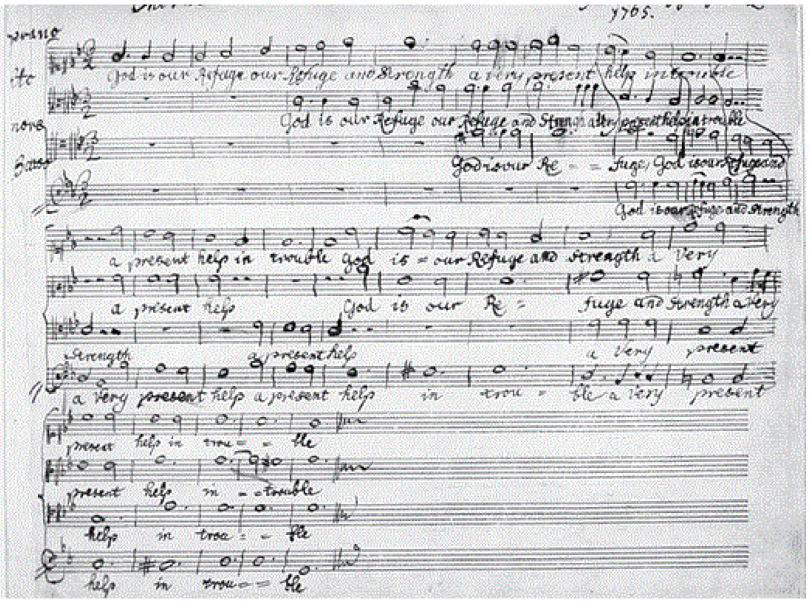
Handel died only five years before the Mozarts arrived in London, and among the family's closest associates and advisers in England were his former patrons, musicians who had played under his direction, or his personal friends, not least of whom was George III himself. Whilst, as William Weber warns, it would be a mistake to read back into the 1760s the passion the English nation exhibited for Handel in the 1780s and 1790s, his memory and music were still very potent in London society at this time.[64]

Interest in Handel had been further enhanced by the publication of John Mainwaring's *Memoirs of the Life of the Late George Frederic Handel* (1760), which, as the first extended biography of any composer in the English language, inevitably established (or confirmed) a template of the creative musician for England in the early 1760s. Mainwaring weighted his narrative towards the first half of Handel's career and the composer's early development; he recounts how, as a child, Handel followed his natural propensity for music by studying in secret, defying his father's wishes by smuggling a clavichord into the attic to practice on at night. (Thomas Arne claimed to have done a similar thing as a child, according to Burney.[65]) Mainwaring cites Blaise Pascal, the 17th-century French mathematician, and Tycho Brahe, the 16th-century Danish astronomer, as other instances of the child prodigy (although Mainwaring does not use this term himself), who "in their very childhood out-did the efforts of maturer age."[66]

Whether Leopold read Mainwaring's biography himself is difficult to ascertain. It was available in Johann Mattheson's German translation by 1761, and Wolfgang seems to have owned a copy in later life which he lent to Michael Puchberg in April 1790.[67] That Leopold at least knew some of Handel's instrumental music before he came to London, however, is evidenced by the music book he presented to his son in 1762; several movements by Handel were among the 126 short pieces that Leopold copied into the book, which was intended to introduce Mozart to a variety of different styles, genres, and composers.[68] As the newspaper notice for their June 1764 benefit concert confirms (quoted earlier), by the end of May Leopold had decided to link his son ↳ with his distinguished predecessor. Mainwaring's praise of Handel's performances of *Messiah* in aid of the Foundling Hospital may also have inspired Mozart's appearance at Ranelagh in June, performing his own concerto on the organ in a program drawn principally from Handel's oratorios *Acis and Galatea* and *Alexander's Feast* for the benefit of the Lying-In Hospital.[69] A further reference to Handel occurs in the preface to the *Six Sonates pour le Clavecin qui peuvent se jouer avec l'accompagnement de Violon ou Flaute Traversiere* […] *Oeuvre III* (K. 10–15), dedicated to (and accepted by) Queen Charlotte on her birthday. In a dialogue with the "Genius of Music," "Wolfgang" plays on his German identity, which he shared with the Queen, and declares "for with thy help I shall equal the glory of all the great men of my fatherland, I shall become immortal like Handel, and Hasse, and my name will be as celebrated as that of [J.C.] Bach."[70] "Genius" is used here in the classical sense to refer to the tutelary god or attendant spirit allotted to individuals at birth, to govern and determine character.[71]

It should be said that Leopold's attempts to encourage Londoners to regard his son as inheritor of Handel's mantle did not extend to questions of musical style—as Simon Keefe shows elsewhere in this volume (Chapter 24), Mozart can be seen in his London works to be absorbing the latest styles to which he was exposed—but there was one exception. In July 1765 the manuscript of a four-part "Chorus, by Mr. Wolfgang Mozart," entitled *God is our Refuge*, K. 20 (see Figure 23.4), was donated by Leopold to the British Museum, along with copies of the 10 sonatas his son had composed to date (Opp. 1–3), and Delafosse's engraving of the Mozart family portrait.[72] This gift followed a visit to the Museum, when the Mozarts had been shown around the exhibits by Andrew Planta, a German-speaking member of staff. The British Museum had only been open to visitors since January 1759, and whilst it already had a sizeable collection of books, it also housed objects of natural and scientific interest collected by Sir Hans Soane. As Hyatt King suggests, it seems likely that this was the spirit in which the library accepted the Mozart gift, since no interest in developing a music collection had been declared at this stage in its history.[73]

Figure 23.4


1765.
God is our Refuge our Refuge and Strength a very present help in trouble
God is our Refuge our Refuge and Strength a very present help in trouble
God is our Re = fuge, God is our Refuge and
God is our Refuge and Strength
a present help in trouble God is = our Refuge and Strength a very
a present help God is our Re = fuge and Strength a very
Strength a present help a very present
a very present help a present help in trou = ble a very present
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A setting of "God is our Refuge and Strength, a very present help in trouble," Ps. XLVI, for four voices in score, headed "Chorus by Mr: Wolfgang Mozart 1765;" partly in his handwriting and partly in that of his father. Written at the age of nine years, and presented to the British Museum during his visit in July 1765. Bound with two printed editions of Sonates pour le Clavecin, Op. 1 and 2, K. 6–9 (Paris, 1763), which were presented to the Museum along with the Carmontelle family print on the same occasion. British Library, K.10.a.17.(3), see *MDB*, p. 46. Leopold probably delivered the Op. 3 sonatas, K.10–15, which completed their donation, at a later date. (Currently downloadable from http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=K.10.a.17.(3).)

© The British Library Board, K.10.a.17.(3).

This was the only occasion on which Leopold memorialized his son's early work by presenting samples of it to a national institution, and it seems unlikely that Leopold would have selected the form it eventually took—a 23-bar exercise in free vocal polyphony on the opening lines of Psalm 46—without some guidance. Newly elected to the Museum Board, on 3 May 1765, was James Harris MP, an amateur musician, member of the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club, and Fellow of the Royal Society. Harris has long been known to have been a friend and supporter of Handel, and it was he who compiled the nine-page catalog of Handel's works that accompanied Mainwaring's biography; shortly afterwards, he prepared a musical pastoral,
p. 532 *Daphnis and* ↳ *Amaryllis*, in which he set his own words to Handel's music.[74] It was probably due to Harris's influence that an essay in sacred choral polyphony—Mozart's first attempt in this learned genre—was chosen to testify to the boy's skill and potential, in preference to the operatic arias and symphonies he had already composed in London. The choice of "chorus" as the title (rather than "catch," "glee," or "canon"), the quasi-fugal opening, and the imitative play on "a present help" in bb. 10–14, all serve to locate the work within a Handelian frame of reference. As Donald Burrows has proposed, *God is our Refuge* could thus be
p. 533 regarded as "Mozart's entry in the autograph album of Handelian ↳ taste in London."[75] Indeed, the idea for the work could have come directly from Mainwaring's statement that "by the time he was nine [Handel] began to compose the church service for voices and instruments," although the manuscript includes neither accompaniment nor suggestion that accompaniment was intended.[76]

From Leopold's point of view, as we have seen, there were clear benefits to be gained from establishing connections between Mozart and Handel in the context of English musical life. But to what extent could these attempts to emulate the Handelian paradigm be reconciled with his tendency to trade on the curiosity value of his son's precocity? An account of Mozart as child musician, written by the Hon. Daines Barrington, helps to answer that question.

“Proofs of genius”

The earliest detailed first-hand study of the infant Mozart to be published by an Englishman was written by Daines Barrington in the form of a report to the Royal Society entitled “*Account of a very remarkable young Musician*;” it was received by the Society on 28 November 1769, read on 15 February 1770, and published that year in the Society’s journal *Philosophical Transactions*.[77] Founded by Charles II in 1660, the Royal Society’s purpose was to promote research into the sciences. Musical papers heard by the Society tended to deal with rather dry and narrow avenues of acoustics and aspects of theory, but Barrington’s perspective was more interdisciplinary.[78] He was an aristocrat—the fourth son of John Shute, first Viscount Barrington—but also a lawyer by profession, and a gentleman scholar, antiquary, keen amateur musician, and scientist. His diverse interests were connected by his fascination for observing, ordering, and classifying nature. It was not until 1767 that Barrington was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, but over the years that followed he generated a substantial body of material covering a wide range of topics and phenomena for the Society’s journal. The enthusiasm for music and the natural sciences that stimulated his interest in Mozart’s precocious abilities would later motivate him to publish one of the earliest English-language investigations of birdsong, as well as studies of 4 other 18th-century English prodigies—Charles Wesley, Samuel Wesley, William Crotch, and the Earl of Mornington.[79]

p. 534 Barrington records that he witnessed Mozart’s musicianship both at the “publick concerts” and “for a considerable time at his father’s house,” and it was in this latter domestic setting that in June 1765 he conducted a series of tests on the child to determine the extent of his musical abilities. Since Barrington’s name does not appear in Leopold’s *Reisenotizen*, his visit was probably one of many that resulted from Leopold’s general invitation to interested parties to call on Mozart at home and put the child’s “Talents to a more particular Proof.” The tests he set for Mozart neatly articulate some of the principal skills required of an 18th-century *Kapellmeister*—composition, sight-reading, performance, extemporization—and they can be summarized as follows:

1. *Sight-reading* a manuscript vocal duet, on a “pathetic” text from Metastasio’s *Demofoonte*, composed by an unnamed “English gentleman,” with accompaniments for violins I and II, and bass (the vocal parts notated in “the *Contralto* cleff”—probably C3). Mozart played it through, and then sang the top vocal line while Leopold sang the other; he accompanied them both at the keyboard, correcting his father’s mistakes.

2. *Extemporising* a love aria (*affetto*) and a rage aria (*perfido*) to match the taste and vocal character of the castrato Giovanni Manzuoli.

3. *Performing* a difficult “lesson” that he had just composed (probably one of the K. 10–15 sonatas).

4. *Composing* a bass line to a given treble.

5. *Modulating* at the keyboard “with a handkerchief over the keys” (pp. 96–8).[80]

According to Barrington, most London musicians doubted whether Leopold had stated the true age of his son during his visit of 1764–65, “not believing it possible that a child of so tender years could surpass most of the masters in that science” (p. 99). This adds weight to the statements made by “Recto Rectior” in the *Public Advertiser* (discussed above), and Barrington acknowledged that he had shared these suspicions himself. He went to considerable lengths to establish biographical facts about Mozart before venturing into print, requesting a transcript from the Salzburg baptismal registers, which he obtained via the Bavarian ambassador and transcribed into the first footnote of the article. This apparently satisfied him that Leopold did not “impose with regard to his age,” although ironically, despite having gone to this trouble, the Englishman appears to have miscalculated Mozart’s years (p. 99). Providing documentary proof of this nature was probably a condition for publication of his account in the official organ of the Royal Society; since its establishment, the Society had learned to be somewhat skeptical about such “tales of wonder.”[81]

Barrington also illustrated his report with anecdotes gleaned from his investigations, seemingly chosen to dispel any doubts lingering in the mind of the reader. He is the only known source of information on the circumstances of the commissioning of the *Grabmusik*, K. 42/35a, for example, which were recounted to him by an unspecified informant during the summer of 1769. Archbishop Schrattenbach of Salzburg had requested an “oratorio” from Mozart, and locked him up for a week in order to satisfy himself that the resulting composition was truly the child’s own work. Barrington pronounced it a “very capital oratorio, which was most highly approved of upon being performed," but it is unclear whether at that stage he had accessed either a score or performance of the work himself (p. 99).

p. 535 That Barrington took great pains to establish Mozart's correct date of birth, which probably caused the delay in publishing his report, tells us a great deal about his perception of the boy; namely, that it was not Mozart's talents per se that were deemed "extraordinary," but the manifestation of these qualities at such a young age. This explains further his decision to present his findings to the Royal Society, which with its traditional bias towards medicine, chemistry, physics, and astronomy would have emphasized the prodigy's scientific rather than strictly musical significance. (Leopold, as has already been observed, followed a similar strategy in his press announcements.) Despite the close relationship between music and the sciences during this period, Barrington found it expedient to use layman's terms in his article to elucidate the nature and difficulty of the practical tests he conducted on Mozart, instead of assuming musical knowledge on the part of the Society's members.

Barrington also drew parallels between Mozart and cases of precocity in other fields, most significantly the "German" prodigy Johann Philipp Baratier (1720/1–1740), who by the age of 14 had earned a Master of Arts degree and Fellowship of one of the Royal Society's sister organizations, the Royal Society of Berlin. Baratier "understood Latin when he was but four years old, Hebrew when he was six, and three other languages at the age of nine," to the extent that he was able to translate the travels of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela when only 11 years old (p. 99).[82] In addition, Barrington proposed hypothetical cases for comparison, as, for example, in the opening sentence of the report, which describes a 7-foot-tall boy, aged "not more than eight years of age," and states "The instance which I now desire you will communicate to that learned body, of as early an exertion of most extraordinary musical talents, seems perhaps equally to claim their attention" (p. 95).

Rather than depicting Mozart simply as an unusually gifted child, therefore, Barrington brackets him with children in whom one aspect of development (in these cases, physical and intellectual growth) appeared to have accelerated almost supernaturally, whilst in all other areas their growth rate remains normal; hence Barrington noted that Mozart's "voice in the tone of it was thin and infantine, but nothing could exceed the masterly way in which he sang," and he observed with interest instances of his childish behaviour away from the keyboard (pp. 96 and 99)—here again is McVeigh's "counterpoint between presentation and performance."[83] Furthermore, Barrington remarked how it was a "common observation" of the time that such children tended to die young, as in the case of Baratier who did not reach his 20th birthday (pp. 99–100). Another Englishman, Joseph Yorke, Baron Dover, had observed in 1765, that "our Professors in p. 536 Physick don't think ↳ [Mozart] will be long lived."[84] Such statements probably stemmed from the belief that extremely rapid growth in one aspect of a personality put too great a strain on the constitution, and it may also reflect the high infant mortality rates of the time. This view was by no means exclusive to the English; the Swiss physician Simon-André Tissot, whose studies included investigation of the nervous system of child geniuses, discussed it in the journal *Aristide ou le Citoyen*, published in Lausanne, 11 October 1766; and Grimm also voiced his "fear that so premature a fruit might fall before it has come to fruition."[85]

Instead of attempting to explain Mozart's precocity, Barrington was content simply to describe it. Despite having plenty of opportunity to talk with Leopold, he does not appear to have quizzed him about Mozart's early musical education, as if he concurred with Leopold's belief that the boy's talents—even his "thorough knowledge of the fundamental principles of composition"—were God-given rather than learned, and therefore beyond human comprehension (p. 98).[86] In their conversation Leopold encouraged this sense of mystery by describing the capriciousness and unpredictability of Mozart's inspiration and the musical ideas that "visited" him, sometimes at night, as if from some external source (heaven, nature, or the spirit realm):

> Having been informed, however, that [Mozart] was often visited with musical ideas, to which, even in the midst of the night, he would give utterance on his harpsichord; I told his father that I should be glad to hear some of his extemporary compositions.
>
> The father shook his head at this, saying, that it depended entirely upon [Mozart] being as it were musically inspired, but that I might ask him whether he was in humour for such composition (pp. 97–8).

Barrington seems to have responded to these cues: he expressed his wonder at the gifts bestowed so miraculously on the child, quoting a passage from the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* beneath his frontispiece (a portrait of Mozart engraved from the Carmontelle–Delafosse group portrait (Figure 23.3)):

> Have these marvellous deeds accompanied you from birth, or did some god or man give the glorious gift and teach you heavenly song? (p. 100)

References to Homeric texts abound in the literature of the time, but Barrington's choice of quotation is surely deliberate because of its reference to innate musical ability. This was Apollo's exclamation on hearing the sound of the lyre invented by Hermes in his honour, with nine strings to represent the nine Muses. Moreover, Hermes was the messenger of the gods.

Barrington may also have been following Leopold's lead when he cited Mainwaring's portrayal of the young Handel for comparison. His discovery that Mozart was often musically inspired after dark reminded him of Handel's nocturnal sessions at the clavichord, as described by Mainwaring (p. 97). But, he suggests, as a prodigy Mozart had the edge over Handel, because he began to compose at a younger age (p. 100); this connection with the long-lived Handel also offered a convenient escape from appearing to prophesy an early death for the child.

One way in which Barrington appears to diverge considerably from Leopold in his perception of Mozart is in his terminology, and specifically in his use of the word "genius." In the notices and advertisements Leopold published in London, Mozart is generally described in relation to precocity, rather than "genius." The only exception is the *Public Advertiser* notice of 26 June 1764, for the Ranelagh charity benefit, according to which Mozart is "justly esteemed [as ...] the most amazing Genius that has appeared in any Age." Barrington, however, bestows the term "genius" on the infant Mozart no fewer that three times in the course of his report: the child is "a very extraordinary genius," and his "extemporary compositions [...] prove his genius and invention to have been most astonishing" (pp. 99–100); indeed, the entire raison d'être of Barrington's Royal Society paper seems to have been to set out "proofs of Mozart's genius" (p. 99).

Mozart's relationship with the concept of "genius" is an important aspect of his reception, and one that is closely bound up with the achievement of canonic status. However, the issues are complex and difficult to pin down because the meaning of the word "genius" has vacillated considerably through the centuries, and critics have tended to invoke "genius" when faced with any work that seems to defy analysis. Therefore, before we consider what Barrington's use of the word "genius" can tell us about his reception of Mozart, we need to establish the spectrum of meanings that were current in mid-18th-century England, since it is by no means certain that all commentators understood and applied the term in the same way.

We have already encountered, in the earlier discussion of the dedicatory preface to K. 10–15, the application to Mozart of one of the earliest senses of the word "genius," that which is derived from the tutelary or guardian spirit of antiquity. However, the term is also derived from the Latin word *ingenium*, which implies a natural disposition or innate ability. It was from this latter sense that the modern concept of "genius," emphasizing originality, spontaneity, and exceptional creativity, began to emerge during the 18th century, anticipating ideas central to Romanticism. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) defines this modern concept as:

> Native intellectual power of an exalted type, such as is attributed to those who are esteemed greatest in any department of art, speculation, or practice; instinctive and extraordinary capacity for imaginative creation, original thought, invention, or discovery.

With this shift in meaning, "genius" began increasingly to be applied to poets and artists whose abilities were thought to supersede mere talent or the proficiency that could be acquired through intensive study alone.

The nature of genius seems to have been a particular preoccupation of mid-18th-century English theorists, whose ideas, prompted by an awareness that Shakespeare's plays transgressed the bounds of Aristotelian literary conventions, were also influential in Germany.[87] It was in their philosophical and psychological investigations that this elite notion of "genius" initially began to merge with the idea of the tutelary spirit and the Renaissance concept of *divino artista* (the divine artist) to signify:

> That particular kind of intellectual power which had the appearance of proceeding from a supernatural inspiration and possession, arriving at its results in an inexplicable and miraculous manner.[88]

p. 538 Although Dr Johnson did not include this sense among the definitions of "genius" in his *Dictionary* of 1755, Edward Young would declare only four years later that "genius" was a fusion of divine inspiration and innate ability in man, which chafed against rules and created as spontaneously as nature itself:

> Learning we thank, Genius we revere; That gives us pleasure, This gives us rapture; That informs, This inspires; and is itself inspired; for Genius is from Heaven, learning from man. [...] Learning is borrowed knowledge; Genius is knowledge innate, and quite our own.[89]

For a model of musical genius, however, Barrington need have looked no further than Mainwaring's account of Handel, and Robert Price's "Observations on the Works of George Frederick Handel" appended to it.[90] As we might expect at this point in time, Mainwaring and Price use the term "genius" in a wide range of different contexts: to suggest a natural disposition; an extraordinary ability; and an attendant spirit. However, in their assessment of Handel, Mainwaring and Price consistently refer to the idea of the "sublime genius;" this was derived almost entirely from equivalent concepts in literary theory, specifically that which was formulated in the treatise *Peri hupsous* ("On the Sublime"), which scholars have traditionally attributed to the ancient Greek rhetorician Dionysius Longinus.[91]

Like their classical predecessor, Mainwaring and Price hinge their discussion of "sublime" genius on a careful (and strongly gendered) distinction between the natural endowments of invention (the source of the sublime) and taste (the source of the beautiful). Invention and taste both start out from a thorough knowledge of the rules of composition, but, Mainwaring argues:

> *Inventive* genius will depart from the common rules, and please us the more by such deviations. These must of course be considered as bold strokes, or daring flights of fancy. Such passages are not founded on rule, but are themselves the foundation of new rules.

Though they are mutually dependent, invention alone is the site of genius, and taste therefore yields a lower form of art. Taste cannot follow the "bolder strokes and rougher dashes which genius delights in," and if it attempts to correct them, it risks destroying their "originality" (pp. 163–4). p. 539 ↳ The role of taste, therefore, is to absorb and beautify the strokes of inventive genius, adjusting the rules of the art accordingly.

Handel's "bold strokes" lead Mainwaring and Price to consider him a sublime genius, but one who is also flawed and erratic; whilst there are "marks of genius" in his instrumental music, for example, there are "likewise some instances of great negligence" (p. 201). However, these lapses of judgment are, they conclude, more than compensated for by his moments of "grandeur," "sublimity," and "heavenly extasy [sic]" (pp. 164 and 191). Price links Handel's natural "grandeur of conception" directly to the Longinian sublime, by alluding to a passage from *Peri hupsous*:

> [Handel is] a down-right prodigy. I use this expression because there are no words capable of conveying an idea of his character, unless indeed I was to repeat those which Longinus has employed in his description of Demosthenes, every part of which is so perfectly applicable to Handel, that one would almost be persuaded it was intended for him. (pp. 192–3)

Price thus suggests that Handel should be considered as one of Longinus's "exceedingly great natures," as epitomized by Demosthenes, the great Athenian statesman and rhetorician, whose life and gifts were devoted to opposing the power of the Macedonians over Greece. Kivy has identified the passage in question from Longinus, which for impact is quoted here in full:

> Whereas *Demosthenes* adding to a continued Vein of Grandeur and to Magnificence of Diction (the greatest Qualifications requisite in an Orator) such lively Strokes of Passion, such Copiousness of Words, such Address, and such Rapidity of Speech, and, what is his Masterpiece, such Force and Vehemence, as the greatest Writers besides durst never aspire to; being, I say, abundantly furnished with all these divine (it would be Sin to call them human) Abilities, he excels all before him in the Beauties which are really his own; and to atone for Deficiencies in those he has not, overthrows all Opponents with the irresistible Force, and the glittering Blaze, of his Lightning. For it is much easier to behold, with stedfast [sic] and undazzled Eyes, the flashing Lightning, than those ardent Strokes of the Pathetic, which come so thick one upon another in his Orations.[92]

The construction of Handel's sublime genius became a touchstone for late 18th- and early 19th-century English musical criticism. Therefore its significance for Mozart's reception during this period can hardly be overestimated.

Although Barrington referred specifically to Mainwaring's Handel in his Royal Society paper, as has been noted, p. 540 his use of the word "genius" in relation to Mozart carries no hint of the rhetoric of ↳ the sublime. Whilst Mozart's extemporization "showed most extraordinary readiness of invention," it did not approach sublimity—it was "not amazingly capital, yet it was really above mediocrity" (p. 98). Perhaps the sheer muscular might of the adult Handel, as he is depicted metaphorically in Mainwaring and Price's account, made it seem absurd to talk of the infant Mozart's "genius" in the same way;[93] although Barrington did observe that whilst extemporizing a rage aria, Mozart "had worked himself up to such a pitch, that he beat his harpsichord like a person possessed, rising sometimes in his chair" (p. 98).

From the meanings of "genius" that were current at the time he was writing, therefore, Barrington seems to have used the word only to imply a high level of inborn musical talent, without suggesting the presence of sublime or transcendent genius. The tests he conducted on Mozart show clearly that his aim was to establish the extent of the child's practical musicianship (see later). Indeed, he referred to such child prodigies as *ingenia praecocia*, thus making explicit this connection with the Latin verb *ingenium*. Furthermore, it seems that as a measure of "genius" Barrington favoured imitation over originality. This is evident not only in his suggestion to Mozart that he imitate Manzuoli in his extemporization, but also from the recollections of Samuel Wesley, whose musical abilities attracted Barrington's attention from the age of 9:

> The late Hon.ble Daines Barrington paid me an unremitting attention for several years [from 1775]: he brought to my father's house, numerous personages of Nobility and Gentry, besides divers excellent Judges of music, and musical Professors, who were accustomed to give me various Melodies, both as Subjects for Fugues and Themes for Variations:–but what Mr Barrington was most pleased with was my imitating the Styles of different Composers and Performers, which I certainly had the Knack of doing, and that successfully.[94]

It is a useful contrast to compare this with what he says on the matter of genius in relation to William Crotch, whose musical aptitudes centered on the quality of his musical ear. Rather than subjecting himself to sight-reading tests, Crotch preferred exercises in playing by ear, and his relative lack of training (when compared with Mozart) meant that the musical ideas he expressed were often surprisingly original and unconventional. Therefore, rather than have him imitate tunes he was hearing, Barrington imagines Crotch relocated to the very edge of civilization, thereby enabling him (like the "noble savage") to channel wild ideas that others cannot access, but which those of a more platonic bent might tame in order to rejuvenate the musical art.

> Many have wished that these early geniuses might be left to themselves, in order perhaps to produce a better stile [sic] of music than we are possessed of at present; a conceit which Dr. Burney hath most ably refuted. I could almost wish however, that little Crotch, who hath not only heard, but can execute, several tunes, should be brought up in a village, where there was neither musician nor ring of bells. For though probably his music would not be absolutely wild; he might perhaps hazard some most singular passages, which might have an amazing effect, when properly introduced by an able composer.[95]

p. 541 We may conclude, therefore, that although Barrington states explicitly his aim of documenting Mozart's "genius," he does so in terms that in their avoidance of references to the "sublime" come closer to Leopold's perception of his son than to the model of the musical genius set up by Mainwaring and Price in their account of Handel. For Barrington, we might add, Mozart retained his appeal primarily as an interesting phenomenon of nature.

p. 542

Conclusion

When the Mozarts arrived in London in 1764, they encountered an established tradition of and accepted conventions for the public exhibition of musical children. While the benefit concert framed a child's musicianship on adult or professional terms, the semi-private or private performance created a less formal, more domestic setting in which they could interact with their adult listeners as both children and musicians. Additionally, being in close proximity to their audience meant it was easier, as prodigies, for them to defuse rumours of charlatanry, as Leopold had felt the need to do just ahead of their third London benefit in May 1765. Figure 23.5 shows how such semi-private performances were presented to the public by a succession of four extraordinary child musicians (the first being Marianne Davies, who was a former prodigy, having just turned 18 years old) and the continuities between them. Afternoon scheduling aligned these performances more closely with the "exhibition market" than an evening benefit performance, and ↳ p. 543 the rhetoric used in advertisements for the former was frequently more flamboyant than for the latter, as was the case with the Mozarts.[96]

In this context Leopold found he was able to present his son simultaneously as, on the one hand, a miniature professional with the potential to assume the mantle of Handel, and on the other, a child whose musicality had leapt ahead, but who in all other aspects of his persona had remained a child. Leopold's use of the term "prodigy of nature," which he applied to both children, but which became particularly associated with the youngest, Wolfgang, helped to constitute a new archetype or benchmark for the child performer.[97] Pio Cianchettini, for example, was billed in the press as "Mozart Britannicus" in 1807,[98] and Barrington records that on visiting the young prodigy Samuel Wesley at home, the composer William Boyce introduced himself with the line "Sir, I hear you have got an English Mozart in your house: young Linley tells me wonderful things of him."[99] Mozart became the standard against which other budding prodigies were measured, and although he never faded from view in that regard, further variant types of the child prodigy would develop alongside his in the course of the next century, as Amthor demonstrates, with the discovery of Carl Filtsch, Joseph Joachim, the sisters Teresa and Maria Milanollo, and Wilhelmine Neruda and her siblings.[100]

Barrington's experience of interacting with the infant Mozart and other child musicians seems to have inspired a sustained interest in the phenomenon of the child prodigy among his peers, including Charles Burney. This was also influenced by a growing interest in children in European society from the 1760s onwards, no doubt stimulated by the publication of Rousseau's *Émile; ou de l'Éducation* (1762). As Anthony Krupp points out, *Émile* "sparked much discussion and reconsideration of children's nature and nurture," that a child is fundamentally good and individual, and environment is important.[101] Increasingly, men like the Wesley brothers and Charles Weichsel, former prodigies themselves, and Charles Burney, father of the prodigy Esther Burney, would become involved as advisers to relatives of prodigious children. For example, Crotch notes in his *Memoirs* that in June 1784 Barrington recommended he be apprenticed to Samuel Wesley, reflecting concerns about the competence of Crotch's mother, in particular, to make judgments pertaining to her son's further training in music.[102] Entries like this one, from Crotch's *Memoirs* for 1791, suggest Barrington kept a weather eye on him for some years to come: "I called on Daines Barrington," Crotch notes, "who took me to Salomon's, S. Wesley's, and Dr Black's."[103]

p. 544 In the absence of recordings, our assessment of child prodigies active in 18th-century London is restricted by necessity to what can be gleaned from contemporary printed and manuscript commentary, and, as Simon Keefe shows, of early compositions where these exist on paper. But perhaps the clearest indication of the impact Mozart and his sister had on their prodigious musical contemporaries comes from the patterns emerging in the data set out in Table 23.1. If we compare the years before the arrival of the Mozart family with the years after their departure, we see a tailing off of the number and frequency of performances given by prodigies—admittedly only slight, but detectable none the less (had the Mozarts set a new standard for child performers or simply exhausted public interest?). Perhaps more significant is a new reluctance to publish the age of a child performer, which seems likely to be a response to the uncomfortable position Leopold found himself in over the matter of Wolfgang's age. Crotch, for example, appears simply with the rubric "Musical Child" (see Figure 23.5c). However, by the time Master Appleton makes his first appearance in London, the trend has swung the other way: for the three performances Appleton gave in 1790 his age in Table 23.1 has been averaged for consistency, coming out as "5 years," but each newspaper notice prints his age precisely, to the nearest quarter.[104] In addition, as Figure 23.5d shows, Appleton takes care to list the endorsements of prominent critics including Dr Burney, and mentions his royal audience with the Duke of

Clarence.[105] His advertisements also become increasingly flamboyant in the style of the Mozart family's notices, and even include the suggestion to parents and teachers that he might constitute an inspiring role model for their children to emulate, which appears to be the first time such pedagogical claims are made in English-language advertisements of this nature. Also seemingly for the first time, we see acknowledgment of the role of sheer hard work, and a sense of the child musician engaging with other children, who, even if they were physically present at earlier afternoon performances, have remained invisible in the sources until this point.

> As emulation is the stimulus towards equalling in any Science, it is presumed that a display of the wonderful talents of Master Appleton may excite a strong propensity to equal or excel him. Such parents as are training their children in Music, can never have a more happy opportunity of setting before them an example how far genius and application may arrive at superior excellence [sic].[106]

This is a single performer rather than a whole sample, so to suggest this represents a "trend" would be misleading. What we see here, though, towards the close of the 18th century, seems to be not only a new generation stepping up to the standards Mozart had set as a child performer, but also crafting an identity based on Mozart's style of presentation, with the intention of launching new and successful careers as musical prodigies in the competitive atmosphere of London's concert life.

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Notes

[1] On Mozart as “eternal child,” see Maynard Solomon, “The Myth of the Eternal Child,” in *Mozart: A Life* (London: Pimlico, 1996), 3–20; William Stafford, *Mozart’s Death: A Corrective Survey of the Legends* (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991), pp. 91–5; Christina Bashford, “Varieties of Childhood: John Ella and the Construction of a Victorian Mozart,” in *Words About Mozart: Essays in Honour of Stanley Sadie*, ed. Dorothea Link with Judith Nagley (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), pp. 193–210.

[2] Peter Kivy, *The Possessor and the Possessed: Handel, Mozart, Beethoven, and the Idea of Musical Genius* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 77.

[3] Arthur Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Representation* (2nd, expanded edition, 1844), trans. E.F.J. Payne, 2 vols (Indian Hills, CO: Falcon’s Wing Press, 1958), vol. 2, p. 395, quoted in Kivy, *The Possessor and the Possessed*, p. 75.

[4] For discussion of the Mozarts’ Grand Tour, see Simon Keefe (this volume, Chapter 24). Generations of biographers have explored the events and circumstances of Mozart’s childhood. See, for example, Carl Ferdinand Pohl, *Mozart und Haydn in London*, 2 vols (Vienna: C. Gerold’s Sohn, 1867); Théodore de Wyzewa and Georges de Saint-Foix, *W.-A. Mozart: sa vie musicale et son oeuvre de l’enfance à la pleine maturité: I. L’Enfant Prodige* (Paris: Perrin, 1912); John Jenkins, *Mozart and the English Connection* (London: Cygnus Arts, 1998); Ruth Halliwell, *The Mozart Family: Four Lives in a Social Context* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998). Primary documentary source materials have been gathered and discussed in the following volumes, and the discovery of previously unknown documents continues to shed light on his activities in London. See Arthur Schurig, ed., *Leopold Mozart Reise-Aufzeichnungen 1763–1771* (Dresden: Oscar Laube, 1920) (hereafter *LMR*); Wilhelm A. Bauer, Otto Erich Deutsch, and Joseph Heinz Eibl, eds, *Mozart: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen. Gesamtausgabe*, 8 vols (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1962–2005) (hereafter *MBA*); *The Letters of Mozart and his Family*, trans. and ed. by Emily Anderson, 3rd edn, rev. by Stanley Sadie and Fiona Smart (London: Macmillan, 1990) (hereafter *LMF*); Otto Erich Deutsch, ed., *Mozart: A Documentary Biography*, 2nd edn, trans. and ed. by Eric Blom, Peter Branscombe, and Jeremy Noble (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1966) (hereafter *MDB*); Cliff Eisen, ed., *New Mozart Documents: A Supplement to O.E. Deutsch’s Biography* (London: Macmillan, 1991) (hereafter *NMD*); Cliff Eisen, ed., *Mozart: Die Dokumente seines Leben: Addenda, neue Folge* (Kassel and London: Bärenreiter, 1997) (hereafter *NMD2*); Ian Woodfield, “New Light on the Mozarts’ London Visit: A Private Concert with Manzuoli,” *Music and Letters*, 76 (1995), 187–208; Ilias Chrissochoidis, “London Mozartiana: Wolfgang’s Disputed Age and Early Performances of Allegri’s *Miserere*,” *Musical Times*, 151 (Summer 2010), 83–9; Dexter Edge and David Black, eds, *Mozart: New Documents*, available online at https://sites.google.com/site/mozartdocuments/home ; Cliff Eisen et al., eds, *In Mozart’s Words,* http://letters.mozartways.com . Version 1.0, published by HRI Online, 2011; Digital Mozart Edition, *Mozart Letters and Documents—Online Edition*, http://dme.mozarteum.at/DME/main/cms.php?tid=110&sec=briefe . See also note 8.

[5] Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 85. London’s concert life is contextualized with that of other European centres in *Man & Music: The Classical Era from the 1740s to the End of the 18th Century*, ed. Neal Zaslaw (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1989).

[6] “da er immer vor dem leuten Phantasiren, concerte und vom blat wek spielen muste, war dieses sein ganzen exercicum,” Maria Anna’s notes for Breitkopf und Härtel [1792], *MBA*, vol. 4, p. 203 (not in *LMF*), my translation.

[7] See, for example, Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*, trans. Robert Baldick (London: Jonathan Cape, 1962); Marjatta Rahikainen, *Centuries of Child Labour: European Experiences from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004); Peter Kirby, *Child Labour in Britain, 1750–1870* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003). A recent exception is Barry Cooper, *Child Composers and their Works: A Historical Survey* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 2009).

[8] The key references are: Michael Tilmouth, “A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers Published in London and the Provinces (1660–1719),” *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* (hereafter *RMARC*), 1 (1961), 1–107; Catherine Harbor, “The Birth of the Music Business: Public Commercial Concerts in London 1660–1750,” 2 vols (unpublished PhD dissertation, Royal Holloway University of London, 2012); Jenny Birchell, *Polite or Commercial Concerts? Concert Management and Orchestral Repertoire in Edinburgh, Bath, Oxford, Manchester, and Newcastle, 1730–1799* (New York: Garland, 1996); Simon McVeigh, *Calendar of London Concerts 1750–1800*, Goldsmiths, University of London, Version 2, http://research.gold.ac.uk/10342/; Rachel Cowgill, “Mozart’s Music in London, 1764–1829: Aspects of Reception and Canonicity” (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of London, 2000). For a later, broader geographical perspective, see Yvonne Amthor, “‘Wunderkinder’: Musical Prodigies in European Concert Life between 1791 and 1860” (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Leeds, 2012). These either constitute or are based on the extensive collation of performance data from newspaper and periodical sources now largely available in the form of online digital archives, particularly in *British Newspapers, 1600–1950* (published by the British Library in partnership with Gale Cengage), the *British Periodicals* collection (ProQuest), and *The Times Digital Archive, 1785–2009* (Gale Cengage). Newspaper and periodical sources cited in this chapter have been accessed by these means.

[9] Description of London in a letter requesting “protection” for Mozart, the “little German prodigy,” from the French writer and educational theorist Claude-Adrien Helvétius to Francis Hastings, 10th Earl of Huntingdon, Groom of the Stole to George III, translated from the French in *MDB*, p. 32.

[10] *London Gazette*, 26 November 1694; *Post Boy*, 24 September 1700; *Daily Courant*, 22 February 1703; *Tatler*, 18 July 1710.

[11] *Tatler*, 20 July 1710.

[12] Deborah Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750–1850: A Profession of Artisans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 22–3.

[13] Amthor, “‘Wunderkinder’—Musical Prodigies in European Concert Life,” p. 119. For more on training, see Rohr, *Careers of British Musicians*, passim.

[14] The Wesley family preferred a more private setting for their concerts, although as Simon McVeigh points out, visitors still paid for admittance and Charles and Samuel played concertos (McVeigh, *Concert Life in London*, p. 85). On the Wesley

family's performances, see Alyson McLamore, "'By the Will and Order of Providence': The Wesley Family Concerts, 1779–1787," *RMARC*, 37 (2004), 71–220, and "Harmony and Discord in the Wesley Family Concerts," in *Music and the Wesleys*, eds Nicholas Temperley and Stephen Banfield (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2010), pp. 164–74. See also Clementina Black, *The Linleys of Bath* (London: Martin Secker, 1911).

15 *Daily Courant*, 1 May 1714, 13 May 1715, and 9 January 1717. Square brackets, here, indicate my best guess where a word has been obscured.

16 John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 5 vols (London: T. Payne, 1776), vol. 5, p. 76.

17 McVeigh, *Concert Life in London*, p. 85.

18 Harbor, "The Birth of the Music Business," vol. 2, pp. 737, 739; for more on these and many other musicians mentioned in this chapter, see Philip H. Highfill, Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward A. Langhans, eds, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800*, 16 vols (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973–93).

19 See, for example, *Daily Courant*, 24 May 1714.

20 M.O. Grenby describes how "the culture of childhood" at this time "should probably be regarded as always separate and distinct from the adults' socio-cultural mainstream," in "Introduction: Children, Childhood and Children's Culture in the Eighteenth Century," *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 29 (2006), 313–19 (p. 314).

21 *General Advertiser*, 1 April 1749.

22 See Donald C. Sanders, "Paradies [Paradisi], Pietro Domenico," *Grove Music Online*, Oxford University Press, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/20867 (accessed 31 August 2015) .

23 See Slava Klima, Garry Bowers, and Kerry S. Grant, eds, *Memoirs of Charles Burney, 1726–1769* (Lincoln, IL: University of Nebraska Press, 1988), p. 132, and Roger Lonsdale, "Dr. Burney's 'Dictionary of Music'." *Musicology*, 5 (1979), 159–71.

24 [Unsigned], "Wynne, Mrs. Cassandra Frederica," in *The Cyclopaedia; or, Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Literature*, ed. Abraham Rees, 39 vols (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1819), vol. 38.

25 Leopold Mozart to Lorenz Hagenauer, 14 September 1768, *MBA*, vol. 2, p. 277 (the translation in *LMF* is abridged).

26 On Handel's support for her, see note 34. Handel would engage her (as Frederica Cassandra) to sing mezzo-soprano/contralto for his 1758 oratorio season at Covent Garden; see Donald Burrows and Rosemary Dunhill, eds, *Music and Theatre in Handel's World: The Family Papers of James Harris, 1732–1780* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 327–8, 331. Miss Frederick continued to appear in London until the 1770s, singing or performing concertos occasionally on harpsichord and organ; Leopold recalls that it was during his visit to London that she married a "Mr Wynne," whom John S. Jenkins identifies as William Wynne, see "Look to the Lady: Leopold Mozart's Madame Wynne," *Musical Times*, 142 (Spring 2001), 29–32.

27 *Public Advertiser*, 8 March 1754.

28 *General Advertiser*, 3 April 1750 and 15 April 1751.

29 *Public Advertiser*, 21 April 1760. The Little Theatre in the Haymarket was an alternative name for the New Theatre. Esther Burney was a daughter of Charles Burney.

30 *General Advertiser*, 30 April 1751.

31 *Public Advertiser*, 4 and 5 February 1754. On Granom and his music, see Helen Crown, "Lewis Granom: His Significance for the Flute in the Eighteenth Century" (unpublished PhD dissertation, Cardiff University, 2013).

32 See, for example, *London Daily Advertiser*, 24 April 1752, and *Public Advertiser*, 18 March 1755.

33 See *LMR*, pp. 37 and 72, and Leopold to his wife, 21 September 1771, *MBA*, vol. 1, 438. On the Davies sisters generally, see Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, "Davies, Mary Ann" and "Davies, Cecilia," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press (hereafter *ODNB*), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7252 (accessed 31 August 2015), and Betty Matthews, "The Davies Sisters, J.C. Bach and the Glass Harmonica," *Music and Letters*, 56 (1975), 150–69. Amthor identifies a tendency among later prodigies to champion newly invented, reintroduced, varied, or improved instruments; see "'Wunderkinder'—Musical Prodigies in European Concert Life," pp. 113–14.

34 He continues: "The great point is to get the Princess of Orange to hear her, which she thinks will *make her fortune*. Even the great Handel has deigned to recommend her there; so that a word from your Honour will be sufficient," *The Letters of Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield*, ed. Lord Mahon, 4 vols (London: Richard Bentley, 1845), vol. 3, p. 374 (italics original). See Richard G. King, "Anne of Hanover and Orange (1707–59) as Patron and Practitioner of the Arts," in *Queenship in Britain 1660–1837: Royal Patronage, Court Culture and Dynastic Politics*, ed. Clarissa Campbell Orr (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2002), pp. 162–93 (p. 175).

35 Francis Allen, *A Complete English Dictionary: containing An Explanation of all the Words Made Use of in the Common Occurrences of Life, or in the Several Arts and Sciences* (London: J. Wilson and J. Fell, 1765). For further discussion of prodigy and related terms, see Amthor, "'Wunderkinder'—Musical Prodigies in European Concert Life," Chapter 1.

36 *A Comparison Between the* French *and* Italian *Musick and Opera's. Translated from the* French*; With some Remarks. To which is added A Critical Discourse upon Opera's in* England, *and a Means proposed for their Improvement* [sic] (London: William Lewis, 1709), p. 51; "Introduction," Thomas D'Urfey, *The* English *stage Italianiz'd*, *In a New Dramatic Entertainment, called* Dido *and* Aeneas: *or, Harlequin, A Butler, a Pimp, a Minister of State, Generalissimo, and Lord High Admiral, dead and alive again, and at last crown'd King of* Carthage, *by* Dido. *A Tragi-Comedy, after the* Italian *Manner; by way of Essay, or first Step towards the farther Improvement of the* English *Stage* (London: A. Moore, 1727), p. v (italics original).

37 Lun Tertius, "On the Absurdity of Pantomimes," *Ladies Magazine*, 4 (6 January 1753), 5–6 (italics added).

38 Examples can be found in: *Whitehall Evening Post*, 10 February 1719; *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, 24 December 1734; *Public Advertiser*, 17 May, 10 June, and 4 July 1758; Madam Roxana Termagant [pseud. Bonnell Thornton], *Have At You All: or, the Drury-Lane Journal* (London: Public Register Office, 1752), p. 22 ("To be seen, without Loss of Time"); "Wonders of the Natural World," *The Winter Evening's Companion: or, Compendious Library*, 3 vols (London: C. Hitch et al.,

1753), vol. 3, pp. 175, 206, 226, and 240; *A Strange and Wonderful Account Of the Appearance of A Fiery Meteor in the Air; Which was seen by many Hundreds of Spectators, at the Town of* Boston *in* Lincolnshire, *on* Thursday *the Nineteenth of March 1718–19* (Stamford: Henry Wilson, 1719), p. 11; William Stukeley, *Stonehenge*[,] *A Temple Restor'd to the British Druids* (London: W. Innys and R. Manby, 1740), p. 64; Philip Thicknesse, *Man-Midwifery analysed: and the Tendency of that Practice Detected and Exposed*, 2nd edn (London: R. Davis, 1763), p. 45; and "The Modern Traveller," *Royal Magazine* (December, 1764), 297–305 (p. 303). Judas is labeled a "Monster of Wickedness and a Prodigy of Nature before God," in Alexander Forrest, *A Eucharistical Psalmody; or, Hymns and Spiritual Songs, Collected from the Holy Scriptures* (London: for the author, 1754), p. xviii.

39 A translated Latin source in *MDB*, p. 27, suggests that the phrase "a prodigy of nature and art" was being applied frequently to Mozart in other European centres by December 1763, but it has not been possible to verify this. My thanks to Catherine Harbor and Rebecca Herrisone for discussion of early usage of these terms.

40 *Public Advertiser*, 28 January and 14 February 1754. Palschau was the son of the violinist Peter Jacob Palschau of Holstein, who played violin and viola in the Royal Opera, Copenhagen. Burney recollects Palschau Junior's performances with admiration, see his "*Account of an Infant Musician* [William Crotch]," *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, 69 (1779), 183–206 (pp. 201–02)—Palschau, he reports, had J.S. Bach's sonatas and double fugues in his repertoire, which was highly unusual for any performer at this time, whatever their age. The historical run of *Philosophical Transactions* (hereafter *PT*) is available online at http://rstl.royalsocietypublishing.org/.

41 *Public Advertiser*, 12 January 1754.

42 *Public Advertiser*, 31 May 1764.

43 Leopold to Hagenauer, 13 September 1764, *LMF*, p. 52.

44 Leopold to Hagenauer, 30 July 1768, *LMF*, p. 89.

45 Solomon, *Mozart*, p. 7.

46 Leopold to Hagenauer, 10 November 1767, *LMF*, p. 77; the preface is translated and quoted in *MDB*, 91–2.

47 *Public Advertiser*, 9 May 1764. Phraseology here and elsewhere was probably refined by one of Leopold's English-speaking London contacts.

48 See Matthews, "The Davies Sisters, J.C. Bach and the Glass Harmonica."

49 Friedrich Melchior von Grimm, *Correspondance littéraire*, 7 ([Paris], 15 July 1766), p. 81, translated and quoted in *MDB*, p. 57. Daines Barrington, "*Account of a very remarkable young Musician*," *PT*, 60 (1770), 54–64 (pp. 61–2), discussed later.

50 For the London pages of Leopold's travel notes—his *Reisenotizen*—see *LMR*, 33–8.

51 Leopold to Hagenauer, 28 June 1764, *LMF*, p. 48; MeasuringWorth, "Purchasing Power of British Pounds from 1270 to Present," http://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ppoweruk/ (accessed 5 September 2015) .

52 Leopold to Hagenauer, 8 February and 19 March 1765, *LMF*, pp. 54–6; see also Cowgill, "Mozart's Reception in London," pp. 32–5, and Woodfield, "New Light on the Mozarts' London Visit."

53 Chrissochoidis, "London Mozartiana," pp. 83, 86.

54 *LMF*, p. 55–56; McVeigh, *Concert Life in London*, p. 177 (quotation).

55 Woodfield, "New Light on the Mozarts' London Visit."

56 *Public Advertiser,* 11 March 1765; Chrissochoidis, "London Mozartiana," p. 86.

57 *Public Advertiser*, 20 March 1765.

58 *Public Advertiser,* 9 April 1765.

59 *Public Advertiser*, 6 September and 12 October 1762; McVeigh, *Concert Life in London*, p. 39.

60 *Public Advertiser*, 21 August 1764. The Mozarts' networks within the City of London and the status of the Swan and Hoop Tavern as a venue for music at this time are discussed in a forthcoming doctoral dissertation by Hannah Templeton (King's College, London).

61 *Public Advertiser*, 10 May 1765 (italics original).

62 Alec Hyatt King, *A Mozart Legacy: Aspects of the British Library Collections* (London: British Library, 1984), p. 23. It has not been possible to locate the version King describes among other copies of this portrait: over 6,000 works by Carmontelle are known, of which less than 10% are held in the main collection at Chantilly and many are in private ownership. Deutsch includes three versions of the Carmontelle portrait, in addition to the Delafosse engraving, in *Mozart and his World in Contemporary Pictures*, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke, Serie X: Supplement, trans. Peter Branscombe (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1961), pp. 5–7.

63 See Daines Barrington's essays, "*Account of Mr.* Charles Wesley," "*Account of Master* Samuel Wesley," and "*Account of the Earl of* Mornington [Garret Wesley, first Earl of Mornington]," in his anthology of his own writings, *Miscellanies* (London: J. Nichols, 1781), pp. 289–90, 291–310, and 317–25.

64 William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual and Ideology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 233–8. See also Donald Burrows, "Performances of Handel's Music During Mozart's Visit to London in 1764–65," *Händel-Jahrbuch*, 38 (1992), 16–32.

65 Charles Burney, *A General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period (1789)*, ed. Frank Mercer, 2 vols (London: G.T. Foulis, 1935; repr. New York: Dover, 1957), vol. 2, pp. 1001–2.

66 [John Mainwaring, James Harris, and Robert Price], *Memoirs of the Life of the Late George Frederic Handel, To which is added a Catalogue of his Works and Observations upon them* (London: R. & J. Dodsley, 1760; repr. New York: Da Capo, 1980), p. 6. For the contributions of Harris and Price to this volume, see discussion later in this chapter.

67 Mozart to Puchberg, *LMF*, p. 936. This volume may, however, have come from the library of Baron von Swieten, who was fueling Mozart's interest in Handel at this time.

68 See Dominique-René de Lerma, "Händel-Spuren im Notenbuch Leopold Mozarts," *Acta Mozartiana*, 5 (1958), 15–16; Hermann Abert, "Leopold Mozarts Notenbuch von 1762," *Gluck-Jahrbuch*, 3 (1917), 51–87. For other Handel items that

Mozart may have known early in his career, see Cliff Eisen, “The Mozarts’ Salzburg Music Library,” in *Mozart Studies*, ed. Cliff Eisen (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 85–138 (pp. 97–8, 133).

69 *Public Advertiser*, 26 June 1764.

70 Deutsch reproduces the whole preface (translated from the original French), in *MDB*, pp. 38–9. For further discussion of this, and the texts and themes highlighted later in this section, see Cowgill, “Mozart’s Music in London.”

71 On this definition of “genius” and its links with the Greek *daimon* and Roman *genius*, see Penelope Murray, “Introduction” and “Poetic Genius in its Classical Origins,” in *Genius: The History of an Idea*, ed. Penelope Murray (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), pp. 1–8 (pp. 2–3) and pp. 9–31 (pp. 26–7).

72 A receipt from Dr Matthew Maty, Secretary to the Standing Committee of the Trustees of the British Museum, is transcribed by Deutsch in *MDB*, p. 46. It is dated 19 July 1765, just five days before the Mozarts’ departure from London.

73 See Alec Hyatt King, “The Mozarts at the British Museum,” in his *Musical Pursuits: Selected Essays*, British Library Occasional Papers, 9 (London: British Library, 1987), pp. 52–72; for King’s summary (to 1987) of different interpretations of the genre of this work, see p. 58.

74 See, Otto Erich Deutsch, ed., *Handel: A Documentary Biography* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1955) (hereafter, *HDB*); Graydon Beeks, “The Memoirs of the Reverend John Mainwaring: Notes on a Handelian Biographer,” in *Festa Musicologica: Essays in Honor of George J. Buelow*, ed. Thomas J. Mathiesen and Benito V. Riviera (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon, 1995), pp. 79–101 (pp. 91–4); Burrows and Dunhill, eds, *Music and Theatre in Handel’s World*.

75 Burrows, “Performances of Handel’s Music,” p. 28.

76 [Mainwaring], *Memoirs of the Life of the Late George Frederic Handel*, pp. 15–16. The interaction between Mozart’s music and the Handelian canon would develop into a major theme in his later English reception; see Cowgill, “Mozart’s Music in London,” Chapter 2.

77 Daines Barrington, “*Account of a very remarkable young Musician* [Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart],” *PT*, 60 (1770), 54–64, is reproduced in *MDB*, pp. 95–100, where the date of publication is given incorrectly as 1771 (see also the *Philosophical Transactions* online at http://rstl.royalsocietypublishing.org/). Subsequent references are to the *MDB* version (in text). Some additions were made to the report when it was republished in Barrington’s *Miscellanies*, pp. 279–88; for discussion of these, see Cowgill, “Mozart’s Music in London,” Chapter 2.

78 On musical articles published in the *PT, s*ee Leanne Langley, “The English Musical Journal in the Early Nineteenth Century” (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1983), pp. 410–12: also Leta E. Miller and Albert Cohen, *Music in the Royal Society of London, 1660–1806* (Detroit, MI: Information Coordinators, 1987).

79 “*Experiments and Observations on the Singing of Birds*,” *PT*, 63 (1773), 249–91. For his further studies of prodigy musicians, see note 63, and “*Account of little* Crotch,” in *Miscellanies*, pp. 311–16. On Barrington himself, see David Philip Miller, “Barrington, Daines,” *ODNB*. Links between the Royal Society and the British Museum were close—Dr Matthew Maty, who received the Mozarts’ gift for the Museum, was the same person who received Barrington’s report.

80 These tests did not differ markedly from those set by Grimm in 1763, see *MDB*, pp. 26–7, which suggests that Leopold exerted a considerable guiding hand on the proceedings.

81 Margaret Lincoln, “Tales of Wonder, 1650–1750,” *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 27 (2004), 219–32 (p. 221).

82 John Philip Baratier [sic], *Voyages de Rabbi Benjamin fils de Jona de Tudele, en Europe, en Asie & en Afrique, depuis l’Espagne jusqu’à la Chine […] Traduits de l’Hebreu & enrichis de notes & de Dissertations Historiques & Critiques sur ces voyages* [sic] 2 vols (Amsterdam: de la Compagnie, 1734). Barrington’s knowledge of Baratier would have been based on Samuel Johnson’s *An Account of the Life of John Philip Barretier* [sic], *who was Master of Five Languages at the Age of Nine Years, Compiled from his Father’s Letters, &c* (London: J. Roberts, 1744) (installments had been published in the *Gentleman’s Magazine* of 1740–42), but another likely stimulus was the publication of Jean-Henri-Samuel Formey, *The Life of John Philip Baratier, The Prodigy of this Age for Genius and Learning; Created, at Fourteen Years old, Master of Arts, and Fellow of the Royal Society at* Berlin. *Translated from the* French (London: J. Robinson, 1745). Formey quotes John Peter Ludewig, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Halle, for whom Baratier was “A sweet, but fading Flower, a Youth, a Boy, mature in Learning, not in Years. You may justly call him a Prodigy of Nature” (p. 311).

83 McVeigh, *Concert Life in London*, p. 85.

84 Joseph Yorke to his brother Philip Yorke, second Earl of Hardwicke, in *NMD*, pp. 9–10.

85 Tissot, “XVIth Discourse,” *MDB*, pp. 61–65; Grimm, *Correspondance littéraire*, 15 July 1766, *MDB*, pp. 56–57. Both translated from the French.

86 This contrasts with the emphasis Johnson placed on the father’s role as educator in his biography of Baratier.

87 See, for example, [Edward Young], *Conjectures on Original Composition* (London: A. Millar and R. & J. Dodsley, 1759); William Sharpe, *A Dissertation Upon Genius* (London: C. Bathurst, 1755); William Duff, *An Essay on Original Genius; and its various modes of exertion in philosophy and the fine arts: Particularly in Poetry*, 2nd edn (London: Edward & Charles Dilly, 1767); Alexander Gerard, *An Essay on Genius* (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1774); Robert Wood, *An Essay on the Original Genius and Writings of Homer* (London: T. Payne and P. Elmsly, 1775).

88 *OED*. Murray links this development with the 18th century’s rediscovery of aspects of classical antiquity, primarily the notion of Socrates as daimonic man. See “Poetic Genius and its Classical Origins,” in *Genius*, pp. 26–29. For further discussion of the history of “genius” and a constellation of associated terms (invention, creation, fancy, imagination, spontaneity, and inspiration), see: Giorgio Tonelli, “Genius from the Renaissance to 1770,” and Rudolf Wittkower, “Genius: Individualism in Art and Artists,” in *Dictionary of the History of Ideas: Studies of Selected Pivotal Ideas*, ed. Philip P. Wiener, 4 vols (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1973), vol. 2, pp. 293–7 and 297–312. Wittkower, in his illuminating survey, traces the theme of the *divino artista* back to two roots: Plato’s doctrine of the *furor poeticus*, in which poetic inspiration is described as a kind of frenzy or enthusiasm (the origin of the connection between madness and genius), and the medieval notion of God the Father as artist and architect of the Universe (p. 308).

89 [Young], *Conjectures on Original Composition*, p. 36. Here Young is discussing literary rather than musical composition, although he draws fleetingly on musical imagery in his discussion of Milton and Homer (see pp. 58–60). Young champions originality against mere imitation, employing metaphors of organicism: on the significance of his ideas, particularly his anticipation of central themes in Romantic aesthetics, see Jonathan Bate, "Shakespeare and Original Genius," in *Genius*, pp. 76–97 (pp. 88–90).

90 Deutsch identifies Price as the author of pp. 165–208 of Mainwaring's book: see *HDB*, p. 529. Price, who died shortly after the publication of the biography, was a keen amateur musician and artist. He was Daines Barrington's brother-in-law.

91 *Peri hupsous* ("On the Sublime") was rescued from obscurity by Boileau in 1674, triggering vigorous discussions of the sublime in art and literature among intellectuals across Europe. It was William Smith's translation that became the standard version of this ancient text in England. For more detailed discussion of the Longinian tradition in English aesthetics, see Roger Barnett Larsson, "The Beautiful, the Sublime and the Picturesque in Eighteenth-Century Musical Thought in Britain" (unpublished PhD dissertation, State University of New York at Buffalo, 1980).

Mainwaring declared his espousal of Longinus's ideas from the outset, printing the following on his title-page as a motto: "I readily allow, that Writers of a lofty and tow'ring Genius are by no means pure and correct, since whatever is neat and accurate thoroughout, must be exceedingly liable to Flatness," William Smith, *Dionysius Longinus on the Sublime: translated […] with notes and observations, and Some Account of the Life, Writings, and Character of the Author*, 2nd edn (London: William Sandby, 1742), pp. 78–9. For precursors to Mainwaring and Price's construction of Handel as "sublime genius," and the perpetuation of that theme in English taste, see Claudia L. Johnson, "'Giant HANDEL' and the Musical Sublime," *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 19 (1986), 515–33. Johnson argues that the development of this theme was central to the dignifying of music in the 18th century, and therefore prerequisite to the idea that a musical work could achieve canonic status. Notions of the Handelian sublime, and their impact on Mozart reception, are discussed in Cowgill, "Mozart's Music in London," Chapter 2.

92 William Smith, *Dionysus Longinus on the Sublime*, pp. 83–4. Kivy, "Mainwaring's Handel," pp. 172–3. For more on Longinus's treatment of sublimity, in the context of ancient literary theory, see Murray, "'Poetic Genius and its Classical Origins," in *Genius*, p. 17. Eighteenth-century theorists may have been alerted to the possibility of a sublime music by Longinus's use of musical analogies in his discussion of rhetoric; see Larson, "The Beautiful, the Sublime and the Picturesque," pp. 34–36.

93 "To conclude, there is in these and other parts of his works, such a fulness, force, and energy, that the harmony of Handel may always be compared to the antique figure of Hercules, which seems to be nothing but muscles and sinews; as his melody may often be likened to the grace of Venus de Medicis, which is all grace and delicacy," p. 204. Kivy speaks from a different but related perspective in *The Possessor and the Possessed*; throughout the book he argues that Western music has swung like a pendulum through the ages between the extremes of the Longinian and the Platonic models of genius; he identifies Handel as a "Longinian natural genius in the British Enlightenment pattern" (p. 45), and states that the shift from Handel to Mozart, as embodiments of genius, represented a shift from the Longinian concept of genius to the Platonic.

94 Samuel Wesley, "Reminiscences" (*c*. 1836), British Library, Add. MS 27593, f. 34.

95 Barrington, *Miscellanies*, pp. 320–21.

96 See advertisement published in the *Public Advertiser* of 6 February 1765, for the second Mozart benefit concert on 21 February. On daytime concerts, see McVeigh, *Concert Life in London*, pp. 38–9.

97 On the subsequent life and career of Mozart's sister, Maria Anna, see Solomon, "Carissima sorella mia," in *Mozart: A Life*, pp. 399–416.

98 *Morning Post*, 23 January 1807.

99 Quoted in Barrington, "*Account of Mr.* Charles Wesley," in his *Miscellanies*, pp. 289–310 (p. 293).

100 See Amthor, "'Wunderkinder'—Musical Prodigies in European Concert Life."

101 Anthony Krupp, *Reason's Children: Childhood in Early Modern Philosophy* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2009), p. 14. *Émile* was available in at least two English translations by 1763, and Burney was strongly influenced by Rousseau throughout his career; see Lonsdale, "Dr. Burney's *Dictionary of Music,*" and Kerry S. Grant, *Dr. Burney as Critic and Historian of Music* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1983), passim. Barrington's report on Mozart had reached a wide readership through several reprints in newspapers and periodicals; see, for example, *General Evening Post*, 3 September 1771.

102 Norfolk Record Office, MS 11244, f. 40.

103 Norfolk Record Office, MS 11244, f. 74 (Salomon was the violinist Johann Peter Salomon; the identity of Dr Black is not clear). On Crotch and Wesley, see Janet Snowman, "The Left and Right Hands of the Eighteenth-Century British Musical Prodigies, William Crotch and Samuel Wesley," *Laterality*, 15(1–2), 209–52; also Burney, "*Account of an Infant Musician* [William Crotch]," and Barrington, "*Account of Master* Samuel Wesley." For biographical accounts, see Jonathan Rennert, *William Crotch, 1775–1847: Composer, Artist, Teacher* (Lavenham: Lavenham Press, 1975), and Philip Olleson, *Samuel Wesley: The Man and His Music* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003). For Burney's reception of Mozart, see Cowgill, "Mozart's Music in London," chapters 2 and 3.1.

104 *World*, 5 May, 28 May, and 9 December 1790.

105 *True Briton*, 4 February 1793.

106 *True Briton*, 7 March 1793 (quotation); *The Times*, 18 January 1793. Appleton seems to have disappeared from view by the mid-1790s. On the construction of Mozart as a role-model for Victorian children, see Bashford, "Varieties of Childhood."