

Ignatius Sancho (1729-1780), African Composer in England

BY JOSEPHINE WRIGHT

BY THE YEAR 1770, approximately 15,000 to 20,000 black men lived in England.¹ This population consisted of both slaves and free men, who had been drawn not only from Africa, North America, and the Caribbean, but as well from the European continent. Black men in Britannia continued to agitate throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for universal freedom, notwithstanding their legal status as slave or free, as long as the judicial climate in Great Britain condoned slavery. Moreover, the well-connected as well as the poorly connected men of African ancestry zealously maintained their vigil in order to thwart the designs of those who sought to kidnap and re-enslave them.

It was in such an environment that the black musician in England had to forge his career during the eighteenth century.² Although historians of music are almost universally silent about the black presence in England, primary sources of the period show that black men were quite visible in the performing arts in Georgian England. There are reports, for example, of gatherings where amateurs performed African-derived folk and popular music:

Among the sundry fashionable routs *or* clubs, that are held in town, that of the Blacks or the Negro servants is not the least. On Wednesday last, no less than fifty-seven of them, men and women, supped, drank, and entertained themselves with dancing and music, consisting of violins, French horns, and other instruments at a public-house in Fleet Street till four [o'clock] in the morning. No whites were allowed to be present, for all the performers were black.³

Black musicians were recruited—indeed, often forcefully conscripted—for British regimental bands.⁴ A few men succeeded in breaking down racial and social barriers to prosper in aristocratic English society as professional musicians, performing with major symphony orchestras and chamber groups in London. And all this was prior to the 1800s, during a period in history

*Sancho**Alja*

LETTERS
OF THE LATE
IGNATIUS SANCHO,
AN AFRICAN.
IN TWO VOLUMES.
To which are prefixed,
MEMOIRS OF HIS LIFE.

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*Ignatius Sancho.*

Portrait of the late Ignatius Sancho, by Mr. Nichols, Painted from a Sketch by the Author.

Frontispiece and title page of the first edition of Sancho's letters, with signature of his daughter and the Gainsborough-Bartolozzi portrait/engraving of the author. Reproduced by permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

when many individuals of African ancestry were still being bought and sold as slaves in the streets of England.

In addition to the black performer, there was also to be found in Georgian England, the black composer.⁵ This article will focus upon one such individual, Ignatius Sancho (1729-1780), a Renaissance man of learning and apparently the first black composer in history to publish his music. The need and timeliness of such a study as this are obvious, in view of the increase of public interest in African and Afro-American history. Sancho's biography will acquaint scholars, students, and performers with the life and career of a forgotten musician from the African diaspora of the eighteenth century. Moreover, by expanding our present-day knowledge about the musical repertory of black composers from the Classic period, the study will identify materials that can be used for classroom instruction and performed in the concert hall. Finally, this study will identify specific sources for Sancho's music and report their location, thus facilitating acquisition of his music for study and performance.

Ludwig Gerber appears to have been the earliest musical lexicographer to discuss Sancho (see *Neues historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler*, 1812-1814).⁶ Most of the biographical details regarding Sancho that have come down to us, however, are in a memoir prefixed to the first edition of the composer's letters, which were published posthumously in London in 1782 by one Miss F. Crews (a photographic reproduction of the frontispiece and title page of this edition appears in Plate I). According to Miss Crews, Sancho was born in 1729 aboard a slave ship en route from Guinea to the Caribbean port of Cartagena, now located in North Columbia, South America. Orphaned shortly after birth, he was christened Ignatius by the Bishop of Cartagena. At the age of two, his master took him to England and turned him over to three maiden sisters who resided in Greenwich. These ladies gave the child his surname Sancho, deriving it from the squire in Cervante's play, *Don Quixote*.

It was in Greenwich that Sancho first attracted the attention of John, Second Duke of Montagu (1670-1749), an ex-governor of Jamaica. Among the duke's numerous diversions was his interest in testing whether the "African genius" was myth or fact. While governor of Jamaica, he had sponsored the education of Francis Williams (d. ca. 1774), a black native of the island, whom he sent to England for advanced study at Cambridge University.⁷ Ignatius became the second subject of Duke John's experimentation with the intellectual capacity of the black man. It was through this nobleman that the black youth received his first basics of formal education. Montagu frequently took the boy to his home, we are told, where he "indulged his turn for reading with presents of

books, and strongly recommended to his mistresses the duty of cultivating a genius of such apparent fertility.”⁸

After the duke’s death, Sancho abandoned his three mistresses, who reportedly were intent upon curtailing his intellectual ambitions, and appealed directly to the Duchess of Montagu (Lady Churchill) for financial assistance—and, apparently, for help in gaining his freedom.⁹ Though initially reluctant to intervene in his affairs, the duchess eventually took Sancho into her home and appointed him butler of her household, a position that he maintained until her death in 1751. In her will she bequeathed the twenty-one-year-old African an outright gift of £70.00 sterling (approximately \$140.00 U.S.) and an annuity of an additional £30.00 sterling (approximately \$60.00 U.S.), thus freeing Sancho from financial worries and allowing him to pursue his interests in the arts.¹⁰

The theatre was his first love. Sancho reportedly appeared on the London stage in productions of Shakespeare’s *Othello* and Southerne’s *Oronooko*. His appearance in *Oronooko*, which contains minor parts for a group of slaves, might possibly have coincided with the first appearance of his friend David Garrick (1717-1779) in the title role on 1 December 1759.¹¹ Sancho’s theatrical career was short-lived, however, because of a speech impediment and depletion of his funds.

Finding himself once more in financial difficulty, Sancho turned again to the Montagu family for assistance. The new duke, George Brudenell (1712-1790), hired Sancho as a servant and retained Sancho in his household until the year 1773. In that year an attack of gout incapacitated the African and forced him to seek an alternative means of support. Shortly thereafter, Sancho entered the grocery and oil supply business, setting up shop in London at No. 20 Charles Street in Westminster, where he resided with his family until his death on 14 December 1780.¹²

The published letters of Sancho, which date from 1768-1780, reflect their writer’s broad, general knowledge of history and the fine arts. Sancho’s acquaintance with history ran the gamut—from the classic Greek and Roman scholars to Boffeet. He was conversant with the writings of Voltaire, the abolitionist literature of Sterne and Sharp, and as well the poetry of the contemporary Afro-American Phillis Wheatley (ca. 1753-1784). On 27 January 1778 he wrote:

Phyllis’s poems do credit to nature—and put art—merely as art—to the blush. It reflects nothing either to the glory or generosity of her master—if she is still his slave—except he glories in the *low vanity* of having in his wanton power a mind animated by Heaven—a genius superior to himself.¹³

Included among his associates were the sculptor John Nollekens (1737-1823) and the artist Thomas Gainsborough (1727-1788),

who painted a portrait of Sancho in Bath, England, during November 1768 (see the photographic reproduction of Bartolozzi's engraving of this portrait in Plate I).¹⁴

Music held a high place of honor in the Sancho household. From the published letters, we learn of at least two of Sancho's professional musical acquaintances in London. Sancho, for example, was acquainted with the famous Italian violinist Felice de'Giardini (1716-1796), who presented the black man with tickets for his benefit concert in that city during April 1778.¹⁵ The Sancho children and father enjoyed summer evening concerts at the famous Vauxhall Gardens, which were conducted by the French violinist François-Hippolyte Barthélemon (1741-1808), who later became the instructor of the black prodigy George Bridgetower (1779-1860).¹⁶ The nature of the relationship that existed between the Sanchos and a third musician, singer Anna Marie Crouch (1763-1805), is unclear. One finds the English singer engaged in the solicitation of subscriptions for the first edition of Sancho's letters during July 1781 in an effort to raise money for his widow and children.¹⁷

Ignatius Sancho was not merely a spectator when it came to music. Though an amateur in standing, he possessed more than a rudimentary knowledge of the science, as evidenced by his musical offerings. According to the evidence, he published a *Theory of Music*, which he dedicated to the Princess Royal (Charlotte Augusta Matilda, later Queen of Württemberg [1766-1828]).¹⁸ Although this volume has not yet been located we do know where four editions of Sancho's music are deposited—music that can be attributed to him either directly as composer, or indirectly through information contained in dedications (see a listing of Sancho's published music in Appendix A).

A relationship is quickly established, for example, between three individuals cited in the dedications of the three volumes of country dances and songs, "composed by an anonymous African" (and currently located in the British Museum), through examination of *Burke's Extinct Peerage* (1846).¹⁹ The dedicatees—Mrs. James Brudenell, Henry Duke of Buccleugh, and John Lord Montagu of Boughton—were all related to George Brudenell, 1st Duke of Montagu (new creation), Sancho's second patron.²⁰ The identification of the duke's male relatives proved to be particularly useful when it came to assigning a chronology to Sancho's volumes of dances. The dedication, for instance, of the Second Book of Minuets to John of Boughton (ca. 1735-1770), is of historical importance because it pinpoints the year 1770 as the latest possible date that Sancho could have written and published these pieces.²¹ An earlier date should be assigned to the First Book of Minuets, possibly the early or mid-1760s. Inasmuch as this volume was dedicated to Lord Buccleugh (1746-1812), who

married the second daughter of George Brudenell in 1767,²² it is conceivable that Sancho, the grateful servant, might have written this collection of dances as a wedding present for his patron's new son-in-law.

In a similar way *A Collection of New Songs* contains clues to the chronology of extant sources of Sancho's music. In this instance, the poets are our guides. Poets for at least four of the texts employed in this anthology of six songs are identifiable, and are listed below (with text incipits of their works) by order of their appearance in this source:

1. [William Shakespeare] (1564-1616), "Take, Oh Take Those Lips Away," (*The Complaint*), from *Measure for Measure*, Act IV, Scene 1;
2. David Garrick (1717-1779), "Sweetest Bard," from his *Ode*;
3. Anacreon (fl. ca. 521 B.C. in Greece), "If the Treasur'd Gold Could Give," from *Ode* [XXIII];²³
4. David Garrick, "Thou Softly Flowing Avon," from his *Ode*.

The identification of Anacreon and Garrick as authors proved to be useful guides for setting up dates. The present writer began a search for the available translations or editions of their texts that Sancho might have used in *A Collection of New Songs*. Research revealed, for example, that Sancho must have obtained the English translation of Anacreon's ode from the Francis Fawkes's edition of Greek poetry that was published in London in 1760.²⁴ Both of Garrick's texts used by Sancho came from the actor-playwright's *Ode*, written for the Shakespearian Jubilee at Stratford-on-Avon in 1769 and published in London during that same year.²⁵ The years ca. 1760-1769, therefore, become a reasonable period for assigning the composition of Sancho's six songs, and the year 1769 (or shortly thereafter), the probable date of their publication.²⁶ This period takes on added significance as the time of the historic, first flowering of the classic art-song form in the hands of a composer belonging to the African diaspora.²⁷

Turning to an examination of Sancho's extant music, we find that his compositions belong squarely in the early Classic tradition.²⁸ The melodic phrase structures are typically organized in symmetrically balanced two- to four-bar units; the melodies are delicately laced with pauses, as well as trills, appoggiaturas, and other types of ornamentations; I-V tonal goals are emphasized; the surface rhythm activity moves primarily in eighth-note and quarter-note values; and the harmonic rhythm (i.e. the rate of chordal changes per measure) generally is slow, with changes occurring per bar unit, rather than per beat unit, as is common in late baroque music.

Of the published editions, *A Collection of New Songs* is perhaps Sancho's most interesting. Printed on typical late-eighteenth-century broadsheet, these songs were published for soprano voice with figured bass accompaniment. The songs are decidedly suitable for any voice type, however, and may be easily transposed into any key for that purpose. The melodies are tuneful and marked by simplicity in style (see Music Examples 1-3). In general, Sancho adheres to simple binary forms with contrasting *A* and *B* sections; one song, "Take, Oh Take Those Lips Away," is through-composed. The average length of these songs is from twenty-four to forty-two measures. Their harmonic structure is relatively simple and only the major keys of *Eb*, *Bb*, *F*, and *D* are used. The chord vocabulary is conservative by late eighteenth-century standards, consisting primarily of $\frac{6}{3}$, $\frac{6}{4}$, and 7th chords of the key and secondary dominants.

These art songs are well within the technical capability of the beginning student of singing and the amateur, and offer enrichment for the vocal repertory of the trained professional. Similarly, Sancho's books of country dances and minuets offer students and instructors an alternative repertory to the traditional fare of classical music presented in music appreciation courses and in applied classes in keyboard and orchestral music at the elementary and intermediate levels. The first and second books of minuets, which were published between the years 1767-1770, are orchestrated for violin, mandolin, German-flute (transverse flute), harpsichord, and a pair of obligato French horns. With only slight modification—specifically, substituting a second violin part for the mandolin and the addition of the violoncello to the continuo bass line—these pieces can be adapted for performance by either a chamber ensemble or a moderately sized orchestra (see Music Examples 4-7).

In total, the orchestrated books of dances contain nineteen minuets, one gavotte and trio, and twenty-two country dances of English and French provenance. Sancho generally gives his minuets binary structure, rather than grouping them into pairs of dances with a *da capo* return—as Minuet 1, Minuet 2, Minuet 1—which was more conventional for his period. There is one instance of an *ABACA* form, titled "Minuetto rondo," in the first book of dances. Other varieties of dances included in these editions are cotillions, hornpipes, reels, quadrilles, and line or contredances, all of which provide instructions for the dancers. Like the minuets, these dances invariably employ binary schemes.

The set of *Twelve Country Dances for the Year 1779*, which Sancho dedicated to Miss North, was published in quator format by Samuel and Anne Thompson, instrument makers and music sellers.²⁹ (See p. 155 for a facsimile reproduction of the title page

and dances from this edition.) The dances are intended for harpsichord performance and carry titles typical for the period:

1. Lady Mary Montagu's Reel
2. Culford Heath Camp
3. Ruffs and Rhees
4. Bushy Park
5. Lord Dalkeith's Reel
6. Lindrindod Lasses
7. Trip to Dilington
8. Strawberrys and Cream
9. All of One Mind
10. The Royal Bishop
11. Dutchess [sic] of Devonshire's Reel
12. Mungo's Delight

Undoubtedly, the "Miss North" of Sancho's dedication was one of the three daughters of Lord Frederick North (1732-1792), prime minister of England during the years 1770-1782. Sancho would have come in contact with the Norths in the home of his second patron, George Brudenell; Lord North's step-sister was married to Baron Brudenell, cousin(?) of George. It may well be that the dedicatee was Ann (1760-1817), the oldest daughter, who would have been of dancing age.³⁰ The titles of the dances obviously refer to important people, places, events, and things in her everyday life—even including her favorite dessert. But Sancho could not resist placing himself in the picture. The title of the last dance of the set, "Mungo's Delight," has nothing to do with Miss North. Mungo was a slave character in the drama *The Padlock* by Isaac Bickerstaffe (1769). More than likely it was a role played by Sancho during his brief career as an actor. So Sancho had the last word, after all.

There can be no pretense that Sancho's music equals that of the leading composers of his time, but his compositions do reveal the hand of a knowledgeable, capable amateur. His music is of great historical interest, however, in that it documents the achievement of a black composer in the eighteenth century at a time when most men of African descent were chained by the bonds of slavery on both sides of the Atlantic.

THE MUSICAL EXAMPLES

Music Examples 1-3 consist of text and music incipits from Sancho's *A Collection of New Songs*. Music Examples 4-8 consist of modern transcriptions of five orchestrated dances from his second book of minuets, etc., and therefore require a brief explanatory note regarding the editorial procedures that have been employed.

In order that the music might be made readily accessible to the

modern performer, it was necessary for the present author to “realize” the continuo parts of the selected dances and to edit minor typographical errors that were found in the old edition. The continuo (or *basso continuo*) employed in most baroque and early-classic compositions was a kind of musical shorthand which the composer used to indicate the harmonic structure of the composition. Its notation normally consisted of a single bass line with Arabic numerals entered below specific notes to denote the kinds of chords that the performer at the keyboard was expected to “realize” (i.e., play) above the figured notes of the bass. Usually a lower stringed instrument, either the violoncello or string bass, accompanied the keyboard, thus reinforcing the bass line.

The ability to realize a continuo was standard musical equipment for keyboard players of the 18th century, and numerous theoretical treatises were written on the subject as guides to performers.³¹ Inasmuch as none of the editions of Sancho's dances contain figured bass notation, it was necessary that I examine popular theory manuals of the period (especially those that Sancho would have known), in order to review the rules governing the realization of unfigured continuo parts that were in use during the mid-18th century. Of particular importance are Francesco Geminiani's *The Art of Accompaniment* (London, 1756-1757), C. P. E. Bach's *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen*, Parts I & II (Berlin, 1753-1762), and Johann Joachim Quantz's *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* (Berlin, 1752).³²

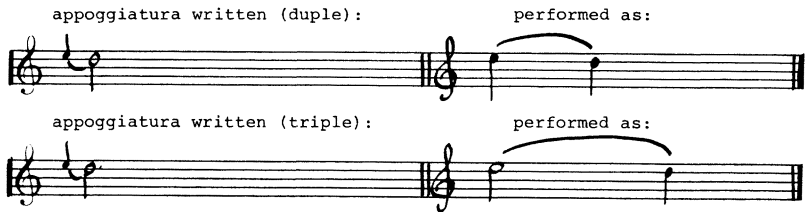
Editorial problems encountered during the course of transcribing Sancho's dances were as follows: A few printer's errors appear in the French horn and violin parts in Music Examples 4, 5, and 7. These errors involve either wrong notes or mistakes in the notation of rhythm. In such cases, I have used brackets to indicate editorial corrections.

Original phrasings have been preserved as they appear in the primary source, except in those few instances where the addition of phrase markings clearly aids in the articulation of melody. Similarly, melodic ornamentations have been retained as they appear in the old edition. Trills have been added sparingly, and only in those instances where analogous passages in the music suggest trills are appropriate.

Notes inégales (unequal notes) have been applied in Music Example 6. This practice refers to the unequal performance of rhythms that are notated equally in the printed source. Quantz advises that the performer should differentiate between the “capital tones” (i.e., notes that are good) and notes that are foreign to the harmony (e.g., passing tones). To emphasize this difference dotted rhythms have been introduced in various

passages in Example 6 and have been identified by the use of asterisks.³³

A passing comment should be made regarding the proper execution of the long appoggiatura in eighteenth-century music. This is an ornamentation that Sancho employed liberally in his compositions. C. P. E. Bach's suggestions on this subject are as follows: "The general rule for the length [of time for the execution] of the appoggiatura is to take from the following note, if duple, half its length; if triple, two-thirds its length."³⁴ Thus, in actual practice, the long appoggiatura in early classic music is performed on the beat—not before it—in the following manner:



NOTES

1. Although no reliable census reports from the eighteenth century exist, according to reports in the *London Chronicle* and *Gentleman's Magazine* the estimated numbers of blacks in England fluctuated from 15,000 to 30,000 individuals. The figure 15,000 was accepted by the Court of King's Bench in 1772 for the Somerset Case, a landmark antislavery trial, and has been generally agreed upon by several historians of English history (especially M. Dorothy George and F. J. Klingberg). See the discussion by James Walvin, *Black and White* (London: Allen Lane the Penguin Press, 1973), p. 46.

2. The following publications provide an introduction to the black musician in England during the eighteenth century: Henry Angelo, *Reminiscences* (London: Henry Colburn and R. Bentley, 1830), v. I, p. 449; *The Autobiography of Sir James Silk Buckingham* (London, 1855), v. I, pp. 165–172; H[enri] Grégoire, *An Enquiry* [sic] *Concerning the Intellectual and Moral Faculties, and Literature of Negroes* . . . Trans. by D. B. Warden (Brooklyn: Thomas Kirk, 1810), pp. 207–208; Michael Kelly, *Reminiscences* (London, 1826), v. I, pp. 343–344; William T. Parke, *Musical Memoirs* (London, 1830), v. I, pp. 263–264, and v. II, pp. 241; and [Eileen Southern, ed.], "Early Black Musicians in Europe," this journal v. I (Fall 1973): 166–177.

3. Quoted from J. Jean Hetch, "Continental and Colonial Servants in Eighteenth-Century England," *The Smith College Studies in History* XL (1954): 49. See also Philip C. York, ed., *The Diary of John Baker . . . (1751–1778) in England* (London: Hutchinson, 1931), p. 201.

4. The thrust for introducing black musicians into British regimental bands came from the Janissary (Turkish band) movement that became fashionable in central Europe during the mid-eighteenth century, and was later imported to England by Frederick, Duke of York (1763–1827). For a contemporary Englishman's report, see William T. Parke, *Musical Memoirs*, v. II, pp. 241–242. See also the following studies by Henry George Farmer that discuss British regiments that employed black musicians: *Memoirs of the Royal Artillery Band* (London: Boosey and Co., 1904); *The Rise of Military Music* (London: William Reeves, ca. 1920); *Military Music* (London: Max Parish and Co., 1950); and *History of the Royal Artillery Band: 1762–1953* (London: Royal Artillery Institute, 1954).

5. See discussions of the London engagements of the Chevalier de Saint-Georges and Bridgetower by Josephine Wright in "George Polgreen Bridgetower: An African Prodigy in England (1789–1799)," forthcoming in the *Musical Quarterly* (January 1980).
6. A Facsimile reprint of the Gerber publication has been edited by Othmar Wessely (Granz: Akademische Druck, 1966), v. III, p. 15.
7. Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica* (London: T. Lowndes, 1774), v. II, pp. 475–485; also Grégoire, *An Enquiry Concerning the Intellectual and Moral Faculties, and Literature of Negroes*, pp. 207–208.
8. *Letters of the Late Ignatius Sancho, An African*. 1st edition (London: J. Nichols, 1782), v. I, p. vii. J. Jean Hetch provides a scholarly, though not always objective, discussion of the education of blacks during Sancho's era in "Continental and Colonial Servants in Eighteenth-Century England," pp. 40–45; see also James Walvin, *Black and White*, pp. 62–64.
9. The circumstances surrounding Sancho's manumission are never explained by his biographer.
10. One gauge for understanding the purchasing power of this bequest is the fact that an eighteenth-century resident in London could rent a well-furnished house of moderate size for one year for approximately £50.00 sterling (about \$100.00 U.S.). Moreover, by today's standards, it has been suggested that each pound sterling should be multiplied times the number ten in order to understand its equivalent value in the eighteenth century. Information based upon discussions with Dr. Edward Gregg at the Royal Archives (Windsor, England) during July 1978.
11. G. W. Stone, Jr., *The London Stage: 1600–1800* (Carbondale: University of Southern Illinois Press, 1962), v. IV, p. 759. Although a search of local newspapers of the period has not yielded any corroborating information regarding Sancho's appearances as an actor, black men were performing on the London stage prior to the 1800s, as indicated by the following excerpt from the *Morning Chronicle* of 14 March 1796:

Among the curiosities of a venerable antiquity lately brought under the hammer were a sculpture of the Venus de' Medici in black marble and a blackamoor's head in alabaster! This is [in] much the same spirit with Sam. Foote's revival of the *Fair Penitent* at the Haymarket Theatre—the part of Calista, for one night only, by a Negro from the coast of Guinea.
12. Ignatius Sancho married a West Indian woman named Anne, by whom he had six children: William (Billy), Kitty, Fanny, Lydia, Mary, and Elizabeth (Eliza). The son continued to operate the family shop on Charles Street as a book-seller after Sancho's death, and was responsible for the printing of the fifth edition of Sancho's letters in 1803.
13. See *Letters of the Late Ignatius Sancho*, v. I, pp. 175–176. Although the quoted passage in itself does not represent evidence of an intellectual exchange between American and European blacks in the eighteenth century, it does suggest that perhaps this is an area of research that needs further examination. In the early nineteenth century, for example, one finds Samuel Cornish, the Afro-American minister, discussing Sancho in *The Weekly Advocate (The Colored American)* of 13 May 1837. Other references to Sancho appear in the American press in the early nineteenth century as follows: Grégoire, *An Enquiry Concerning the Intellectual and Moral Faculties, and Literature of Negroes* (Brooklyn, 1810), pp. 227–234; A [bagail] Mott, *Biographical Sketches and Intersecting Anecdotes of Persons of Color* (New York, 1826), pp. 7–8; and John Mason Good, *The Book of Nature* (Hartford, 1837), p. 209.
14. John Pickford (Woodridge, England) first brought to light information regarding the sale of Gainborough's portrait of Sancho in *Notes and Queries* VII/7 (27 April 1889): 325. Paul Edwards has recently traced the location of this work to the Canadian National Gallery in Ottawa (see Edward's edition of the *Letters of the Late Ignatius Sancho* (London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1968, p. vii).

15. *Letters of the Late Ignatius Sancho* (hereafter the 1st edition, unless otherwise indicated), v. I, p. 183.

16. *Ibid.*, v. I, p. 139.

17. Young, M. J., ed., *Memoirs of Mrs. Crouch* (London: James Asperne, 1806), v. I, pp. 107–108.

18. *Letters of the Late Ignatius Sancho*, v. I, p. xiii.

19. These volumes have been erroneously attributed to George Bridgetower by William Barclay Squire in *Catalogue of Printed Music Published Between 1487 and 1800 Now in the British Museum* (London: Published by Order of the Trustees, 1912), v. I, p. 190, and v. II, p. 134.

20. George Brudenell, 4th Early of Cardigan (1712–1790), married Lady Mary Montagu, daughter and co-heir of John, 2nd Duke of Montagu, in 1730. Inasmuch as the duke died in 1749 without male issue, Brudenell took over his father-in-law's title and family coat of arms, thus becoming the 1st Duke of Montagu of the new creation.

21. The title Lord Montagu of Boughton was created on 4 May 1762 for John, only son of George Brudenell. On 11 April 1770 John died unmarried without legal issue, and the barony became extinct. See Sir Egerton Brydges, ed., *Collin's Peerage of England* (London, 1812), v. III, p. 498.

22. *Dictionary of National Biography* (London: Oxford University Press, 1917), v. XIII, pp. 695–696.

23. In *A Collection of New Songs* this is listed as *Ode XII* (see British Museum, Music Division (H. 1652. f(31), p. 5).

24. See Francis Fawkes, ed., *The Works of Anacreon, Sappho, Bion, Moschus, and Musaeus*. Trans. into English by a gentleman (London: J. Newberry, et al., 1760), pp. 61–62.

25. David Garrick, *Ode Upon Dedication and Erecting a Statue of Shakespeare at Stratford-on-Avon* (London: T. Becket and P. A. Hondt, [1769]).

26. The composer Thomas Arne (1710–1778) published his musical setting of Garrick's *Ode on Shakespeare* ca. 1769. A copy of this edition is found at Harvard University, Music Library (Mus 618.3.685 Cage).

27. From all published reports, the printed vocal music of the Chevalier de Saint-Georges, another eighteenth-century black composer, dates from the mid-1770s (see Neal Zaslaw's listing of his works in *Répertoire international des sources musicales* (RISM) [Single Editions Before 1800] (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1978), pp. 306–307; see also Dominique-René de Lerma, "The Chevalier de Saint-Georges," this journal v. 4, (Spring 1976): 3–21. For a recent discussion of the classic art song, see Josephine Wright's review of the *Anthology of Art Songs by Black American Composers* by Willis C. Patterson, compiler, in this journal 6 (Fall 1978): 238–239.

28. Edwards reports that twentieth-century audiences in England were first exposed to Sancho's music by the B. B. C. public broadcast of Edward Scobie's lecture on "African Composers in Eighteenth-Century London" on 8 August 1958 (see Paul Edwards, ed., *The Letters of Ignatius Sancho*, p. viii). Three Sancho dances—"Bushy Park," "Cuthford Heath Camp," and "Ruffs and Rhees"—are recorded by Ruth Norman in *An Anthology of Piano Music by Black Composers* (produced by Jazz Composers of America, Op. 1, No. 39).

29. Charles Humphries and William C. Smith, *Music Publishers in the British Isles*. 2nd ed. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1970), pp. 308–309; for additional information on the Thompson brothers, see Henry Angelo, *Reminiscences*, v. 1, pp. 278–279.

30. See further in Alan Valentine, *Lord North* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), v. II, p. 504. George Brudenell's appointment in 1776 as governor of the Prince of Wales (later George IV of England) and the Duke of York would have

brought his protégé Sancho in contact with several individuals at the court of George III, including Lord North. There was, at least, some contact with members of the royal family, as suggested by the purportedly published *Theory of Music*, which Sancho dedicated to the Princess Royal, as well as the leather bound volume of Sancho's letters in George III's library (now the King's Library in the British Museum, siglum 91.d.15).

31. Syntheses of the writings of eighteenth-century theorists on the art of realizing continuo parts may be found in the following modern sources: Frank T. Arnold, *The Art of Accompaniment From a Thorough-Bass as Practiced in the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries* (London, 1931; reprint New York: Dover Publications, 1965); Arnold Dolmetsch, *The Interpretation of the Music of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1969); and Robert Donington, *The Interpretation of Early Music* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1974).

32. Bach's treatise was translated into English by W. J. Mitchell (New York, 1969). Quantz's manual was translated by E. R. Reilly as *On Playing the Flute* (London, 1966).

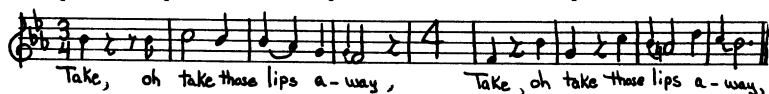
33. See discussion in Donington, *Interpretation*, pp. 458–459.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 203.

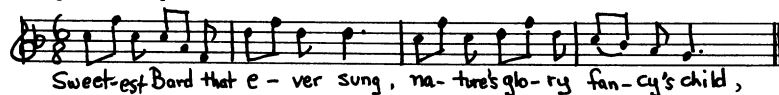
Harvard University

MUSICAL EXAMPLES*

Example 1. Incipit of "The Complaint," text from Shakespeare.



Example 2. Incipit of "Sweetest Bard," text from Garrick.



Example 3. Incipit of "Anacreon Ode XIII."



*Published by permission of the British Museum.

Example 4. Minuet 1 from *Minuets . . . Book 2nd.*

Con spirito
2 French horns in D

2 violins

continuo

The musical score is written for three parts: 2 French horns in D, 2 violins, and continuo. The tempo/mood is marked 'Con spirito'. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The score is organized into four systems of staves. The first system shows the beginning of the piece with a treble clef for the horns and violins, and a grand staff for the continuo. The second system continues the melody and accompaniment. The third system features a repeat sign and a first ending bracket. The fourth system concludes the piece with a final cadence. The continuo part provides a steady bass line with some harmonic support. The violins and horns play a rhythmic melody with some ornamentation. The piece ends with a repeat sign and a first ending bracket.

A handwritten musical score for piano and voice, consisting of 12 staves. The score is written in treble and bass clefs, with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, accidentals, and dynamic markings. The score is organized into four systems of three staves each. The first system shows a vocal line (top staff) and a piano accompaniment (bottom two staves). The second system continues the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The third system shows the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The fourth system shows the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The score concludes with a double bar line and repeat signs.

Example 5. Minuet 4 from *Minuets . . . Book 2nd*.

violin

continuo

The image displays a musical score for a Minuet in G major, BWV 156, from the Notebook for Anna Bach. The score is written for violin and continuo. The violin part is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 3/4 time signature. The continuo part is in bass clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb) and a 3/4 time signature. The score is divided into four systems, each with two staves. The first system shows the beginning of the piece with a treble clef for the violin and a bass clef for the continuo. The second system continues the melody and accompaniment. The third system features a repeat sign and a first ending bracket. The fourth system concludes the piece with a final cadence. The score includes various musical notations such as eighth notes, quarter notes, half notes, and rests, as well as dynamic markings like 'f' (forte) and 'p' (piano).

Example 6. Minuet 11 from *Minuets . . . Book 2nd*.

Plaintive piano

violin or transverse flute

continuo

The musical score is written for two parts: violin or transverse flute and continuo. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 3/4. The score is divided into four systems, each with a flute staff on top and a continuo staff on the bottom. The flute part begins with a half note G4, followed by a half note A4, and then a series of eighth notes. The continuo part begins with a half note G3, followed by a half note A3, and then a series of eighth notes. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and accidentals. There are also some markings above the flute staff, possibly indicating fingerings or breath marks. The score ends with a double bar line.

* Indicates the application of notes inégales.

* Indicates the application of notes inégales.

Example 7. Minuet 13 from *Minuets . . . Book 2nd.*

2 French Horns in E \flat

2 violins

continuo

The musical score is written for three parts: 2 French Horns in E \flat , 2 violins, and a continuo. The music is in 3/4 time and consists of 16 measures. The French Horns and violins play a melodic line, while the continuo provides a harmonic accompaniment. The score is written in a single system with three staves. The French Horns and violins are in the upper staves, and the continuo is in the lower staff. The music features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, rests, and sustained chords. The French Horns and violins play a melodic line, while the continuo provides a harmonic accompaniment. The score is written in a single system with three staves. The French Horns and violins are in the upper staves, and the continuo is in the lower staff. The music features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, rests, and sustained chords.

The image displays a handwritten musical score for Ignatius Sancho, page 151. The score is organized into three systems, each consisting of four staves. The first system includes a treble staff, an alto staff, a tenor staff, and a bass staff. The second system also consists of four staves, with the top staff featuring a treble clef and the bottom staff a bass clef. The third system follows the same four-staff structure. The notation is handwritten and includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and ornaments. The paper shows signs of age, with some staining and wear visible.

The image displays a handwritten musical score for a piano piece, organized into two systems of staves. Each system consists of a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) and a vocal line (soprano and alto clefs). The notation is in a 19th-century style, featuring various note values, rests, and dynamic markings. The first system spans four measures, and the second system spans four measures. The score is written on aged paper with a horizontal line above and below the staves.

System 1:

- Measure 1:** Treble clef has a half note G4, a half note A4, and a half note B4. Bass clef has a half note G3, a half note A3, and a half note B3. Soprano clef has a half note G4, a half note A4, and a half note B4. Alto clef has a half note G4, a half note A4, and a half note B4.
- Measure 2:** Treble clef has a half note G4, a half note A4, and a half note B4. Bass clef has a half note G3, a half note A3, and a half note B3. Soprano clef has a half note G4, a half note A4, and a half note B4. Alto clef has a half note G4, a half note A4, and a half note B4.
- Measure 3:** Treble clef has a half note G4, a half note A4, and a half note B4. Bass clef has a half note G3, a half note A3, and a half note B3. Soprano clef has a half note G4, a half note A4, and a half note B4. Alto clef has a half note G4, a half note A4, and a half note B4.
- Measure 4:** Treble clef has a half note G4, a half note A4, and a half note B4. Bass clef has a half note G3, a half note A3, and a half note B3. Soprano clef has a half note G4, a half note A4, and a half note B4. Alto clef has a half note G4, a half note A4, and a half note B4.

System 2:

- Measure 1:** Treble clef has a half note G4, a half note A4, and a half note B4. Bass clef has a half note G3, a half note A3, and a half note B3. Soprano clef has a half note G4, a half note A4, and a half note B4. Alto clef has a half note G4, a half note A4, and a half note B4.
- Measure 2:** Treble clef has a half note G4, a half note A4, and a half note B4. Bass clef has a half note G3, a half note A3, and a half note B3. Soprano clef has a half note G4, a half note A4, and a half note B4. Alto clef has a half note G4, a half note A4, and a half note B4.
- Measure 3:** Treble clef has a half note G4, a half note A4, and a half note B4. Bass clef has a half note G3, a half note A3, and a half note B3. Soprano clef has a half note G4, a half note A4, and a half note B4. Alto clef has a half note G4, a half note A4, and a half note B4.
- Measure 4:** Treble clef has a half note G4, a half note A4, and a half note B4. Bass clef has a half note G3, a half note A3, and a half note B3. Soprano clef has a half note G4, a half note A4, and a half note B4. Alto clef has a half note G4, a half note A4, and a half note B4.

Example 8. Air from *Minuets . . . Book 2nd.*

transverse flute

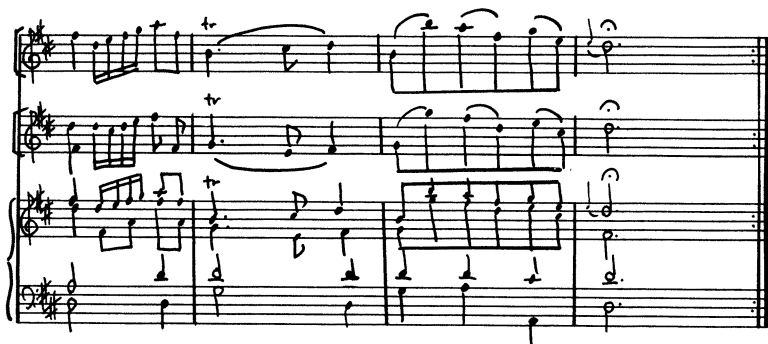
violin

continuo

1)

1) performed as:

The musical score is written for three instruments: transverse flute, violin, and continuo. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The score is divided into three systems. The first system contains four measures. The second system contains four measures. The third system contains four measures. The flute and violin parts are identical and end with a repeat sign. The continuo part is a basso continuo line. A footnote '1) performed as:' is followed by a short musical phrase in the same key and time signature.



APPENDIX A

EDITIONS OF IGNATIUS SANCHE'S MUSIC

VOCAL MUSIC

A Collection of New Songs Composed by an African, Humbly Inscribed to the Honorable Mrs. James Brudenell by Her Most Humble and Obedient Servant (London?: the author, [ca. 1769]).

British Museum (Department of Music),
H.1652.f(31).

INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC

Minuets, Cotillions & Country Dances for the Violin, Mandolin, German-Flute, and Harpsichord [with Obligato French Horn parts]. *Composed by an African, Most Humbly Inscribed to His Grace Henry Duke of Buccleugh* (London: for the author, [ca. 1767]).

British Museum (Department of Music),
a.9.b (1).

Twelve Country Dances for the Year 1779. Set for the Harpsichord. By Permission Humbly Dedicated to the Right Honourable Miss North by Her Most Obedient Servant Ignatius Sancho (London: S. and A. Thompson, 1779).

Library of Congress (Music Division),
M30.S25 (Case).

Minuets, &c., &c. for the Violin, Mandolin, German-Flute, and Harpsichord [with Obligato French Horn parts]. *Book 2nd, Humbly Inscribed to the Right Honourable John Lord Montagu of Boughton. Composed by an African* (London: Printed for the author and sold by Richard Duke at his Music Shop near opposite Great Turn Stile Holborn, where may be had book first, [ca. 1770]).

British Musuem (Department of Music),
b.53.b (1)

Twelve Country Dances

(for the Year 1779. Set for the

HARP SICHORD

*By permission of Humbley Deane & Co
to the Right Honourable Miss NORTH,*

by her most obedient servant

Ignatius Sancho.

LONDON

*Printed for J. and W.
Thompson N^o 75 St.
Pauls Church Yard.*

Price 6s

Lady Mary Montagus Reel.

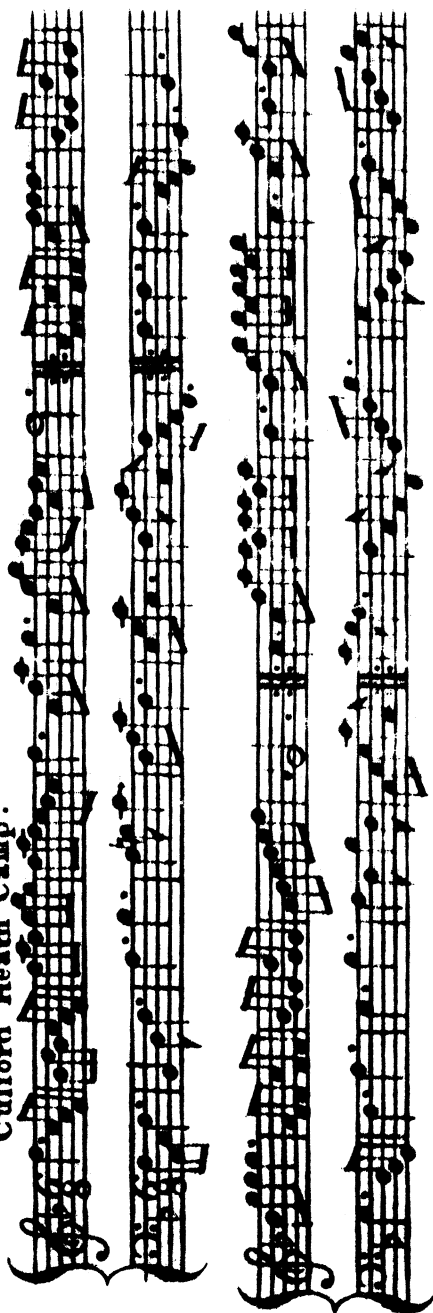
1

The musical score is written on four staves. The first two staves are grouped by a brace on the left and are in treble clef. The first staff contains a melody with eighth and sixteenth notes, and the second staff contains a bass line with similar rhythmic values. The next two staves are also grouped by a brace on the left and are in bass clef. The third staff continues the melody, and the fourth staff continues the bass line. The music is in 2/4 time and features a key signature of one sharp (F#). The score includes repeat signs and first/second endings.

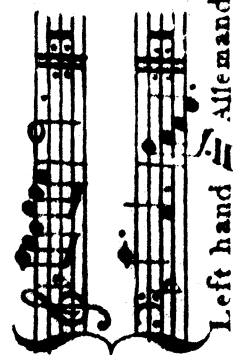
Right hands across ~ Left hands back again ~ cross over one Cu. and turn half round ~ Right and Left at top ~

2

Culford Heath Camp.



The first Lady set to the 2^d Gent^l and turn the 3^d Gent^l & return to her place ♪ the 1st Gent^l set to the 2^d Lady turn the 3^d & remain at bottom ♪ set 3 & 3 top & bottom set 3 & 3 sideways ♪ hands 6 quite round ♪ Allemande with the Corners with the Right hand & with your Partner with the Left hand ♪ Allemande with the opposite corners & your Partner ♪



Ruffs and Rhees.

3



Change fides ♩ back again ♩ lead down two Cu. ♩ up again and cast off ♩
 Le prufsett or the first and second Cu. move intirely round each other till the
 arrive at proper places ♩

Bushy Park.

4



Cast off one Cu foot it and hands four at bottom ̣ Cast up foot it & hands
four at top ̣ lead down two Cu. up again and cast off ̣ hands fix quite
round ̣

Lord Dalkeiths Reel.

5



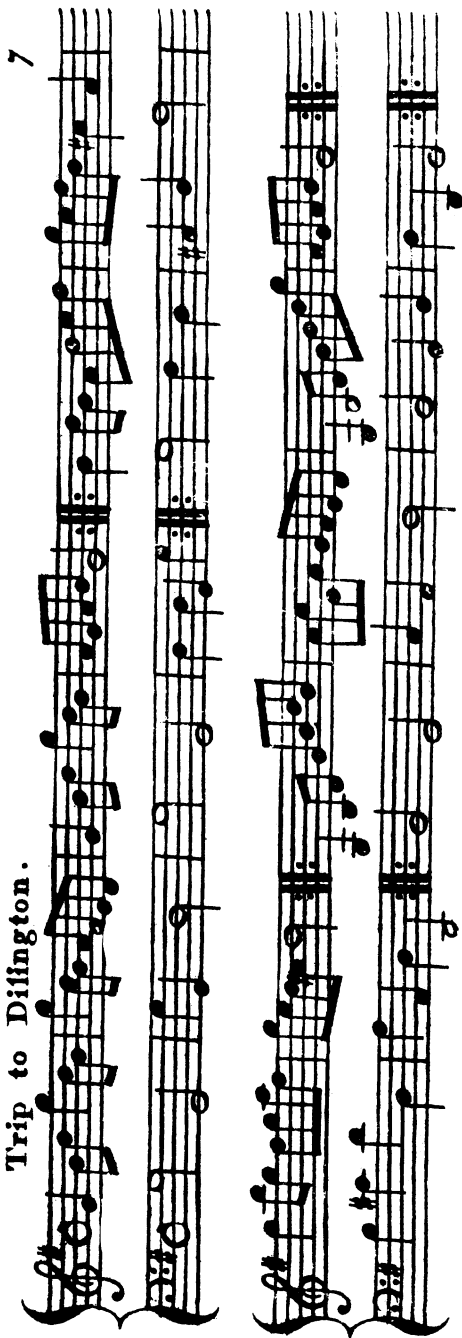
Right hands across ♩ Left hands back again ♩ the two Gent^l lead thro' be-
tween the two Ladies ♩ the two Ladies lead thro' between the two Gent^l ♩
cross over one Cu. ♩ Right and Left at top ♩

Lindrindod Lafses.



Cast off one Cu. crofs over the next Cu. $\dot{\sim}$ cast up one Cu. and crofs over to the top $\dot{\sim}$ lead thro' the third Cu. and come up one Cu. $\dot{\sim}$ lead thro' the top and cast off $\dot{\sim}$ hands four at bottom $\dot{\sim}$ Right and Left at top $\dot{\sim}$.

Trip to Dillington.



The first Cu. hands 3 round with the second Lady ~ the same with the 2^d Gent^l ~ lead down two Cu. up again and cast off ~ Allemande with your partner with the Right hand ~ Allemande with the Left hand ~

8

Strawberries and Cream.

The musical score is written on four staves. The first staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The second staff is a bass clef with a key signature of one flat. The third and fourth staves are also treble clefs with a key signature of one flat. The music consists of a melody and accompaniment. The melody is played on the first and third staves, and the accompaniment is played on the second and fourth staves. The music is in 4/4 time and features a variety of note values, including eighth, sixteenth, and thirty-second notes, as well as rests and accidentals.

Turn your Partner with the Right hand and cast off one Cu. ~ turn your Partner with the Left hand the Gentⁿ cast off the Lady cast up ~ set 3 and 3 top & bottom ~ set 3 and 3 sideways ~ the Gentⁿ strike the whole figure at bottom the Lady at the same time at top and foot to your partner ~

9

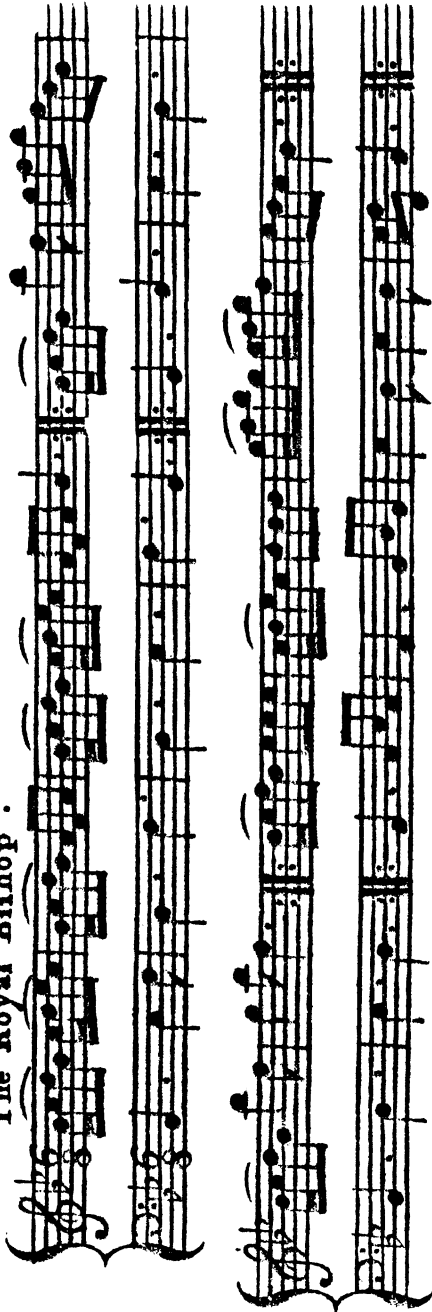
All of one Mind.

The musical score consists of four staves. The first staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). It contains a complex melodic line with many beamed sixteenth and thirty-second notes. The second staff is in bass clef and contains a simpler accompaniment line. The third staff is in treble clef and continues the complex melodic line. The fourth staff is in bass clef and continues the accompaniment line. The piece ends with a double bar line and repeat dots.

Cast off 1st Cu. $\hat{=}$ up again $\hat{=}$ the 1st 2^d and 3^d Cu. Le promenade quite round
 $\hat{=}$ cross over one Cu. and turn half round $\hat{=}$ Right and Left at top $\hat{=}$

10

The Royal Bishop .



Change fides ♯ back again ♯ lead down two Cu. ♯ up again and cast off.
 ♯ hands fix quite round ♯

11
Dutcheys of Devonshires Reel.

The image shows a musical score for a reel. It consists of four staves of music. The first staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The second staff is a bass clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The third and fourth staves are also treble clefs with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The music is written in a style typical of 18th or 19th-century dance music, with many eighth and sixteenth notes, and some triplets. The title 'Dutcheys of Devonshires Reel.' is written above the first staff, and the number '11' is written above the second staff.

The first & second Cu. foot it and half Right and Left $\frac{1}{2}$ foot it and half Right & Left back again $\frac{1}{2}$ cros over two Cu. $\frac{1}{2}$ lead up to the top foot it & cast off $\frac{1}{2}$ cros corners half round (the Gentⁿ going to the bottom the Lady to the top) meet in the middle & turn $\frac{1}{2}$ cros corners the contrary way the Lady going to the bottom the Gentⁿ to the top meet and turn $\frac{1}{2}$

12

Mungos Delight.



Turn your Partner with the Right hand foot it turn back with the Left hand $\hat{=}$
 Lead down two Cu. up again and cast off $\hat{=}$ turn opposite Corners $\hat{=}$ Lead out
 sides $\hat{=}$