Marie-Agnes Dittrich,
Martin Eybl,
Reinhard Kapp (Hg.)

# Zyklus und Prozess
## Joseph Haydn und die Zeit

ZYKLUS UND PROZESS

böhlau

MARIE-AGNES DITTRICH · MARTIN EYBL
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VII

Sarah Day-O'Connell

# "THE CLOCK STILL POINTS ITS MORAL TO THE HEART"

## Singing about Time in Haydn's London

In the story of Haydn's life, Johann Peter Salomon plays a particular and pivotal role: an enterprising violinist, composer, and impresario, he triumphed spectacularly in bringing Haydn to London during the 1790s, and he enjoyed prestige and financial gain as a result. If thereafter Salomon typically falls out of the picture, it is because he is concealed by our customary historiographical perspective. Adjusting that perspective – in particular, retraining our focus from public-sphere concerts to the equally active realm of amateur and domestic-sphere music making – we find that Salomon pops clearly back into view, indeed still riding Haydn's coattails towards commercial success. In 1801 and 1804 he published two sets of "canzonets," or solo songs for domestic entertainment, a genre that Haydn had brought to significant heights of popularity during his London visits. Salomon followed Haydn in his choice of texts, setting several by Anne Hunter, who was known not only as Haydn's poet but also his muse and friend.[1] One of these, "When Hawthorne Buds Bloom Sweetly," even includes a brief allusion to Haydn's famous canzonetta "A Pastoral Song."[2]

The present essay begins by turning the tables on Salomon and taking advantage of the entrepreneur. The trend-spotter is made historical informant: Salomon's nose for the popular and lucrative directs our attention to musical and cultural contexts in which Haydn's canzonettas were originally sung and heard. "Hawthorne Buds" (Fig. 1) proves to be a profitable starting place in this venture, for in this case Salomon was doubly enterprising. In addition to sporting the Haydn/Hunter connection, the song also partakes of a vogue that has since gone largely unexplored: the practice of women

1 Anne Hunter was the poet and dedicatee of Haydn's first set of canzonettas (1794) and may have also chosen the texts (one was her own) for his second set (1795). Hunter's "O Tuneful Voice" has been described as a farewell poem to the composer; Haydn published his setting of it in 1806. See H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*. Vol. 3, *Haydn in England 1791–1795* (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1976), 315.

2 Measure 42 of "Hawthorne Buds" recalls the triadic figure in m. 8 of "A Pastoral Song." On Anne Hunter's interaction with Salomon, see A. Peter Brown, "Musical Settings of Anne Hunter's Poetry: From National Song to Canzonetta," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XLVII/1 (Spring 1994), 77–87.

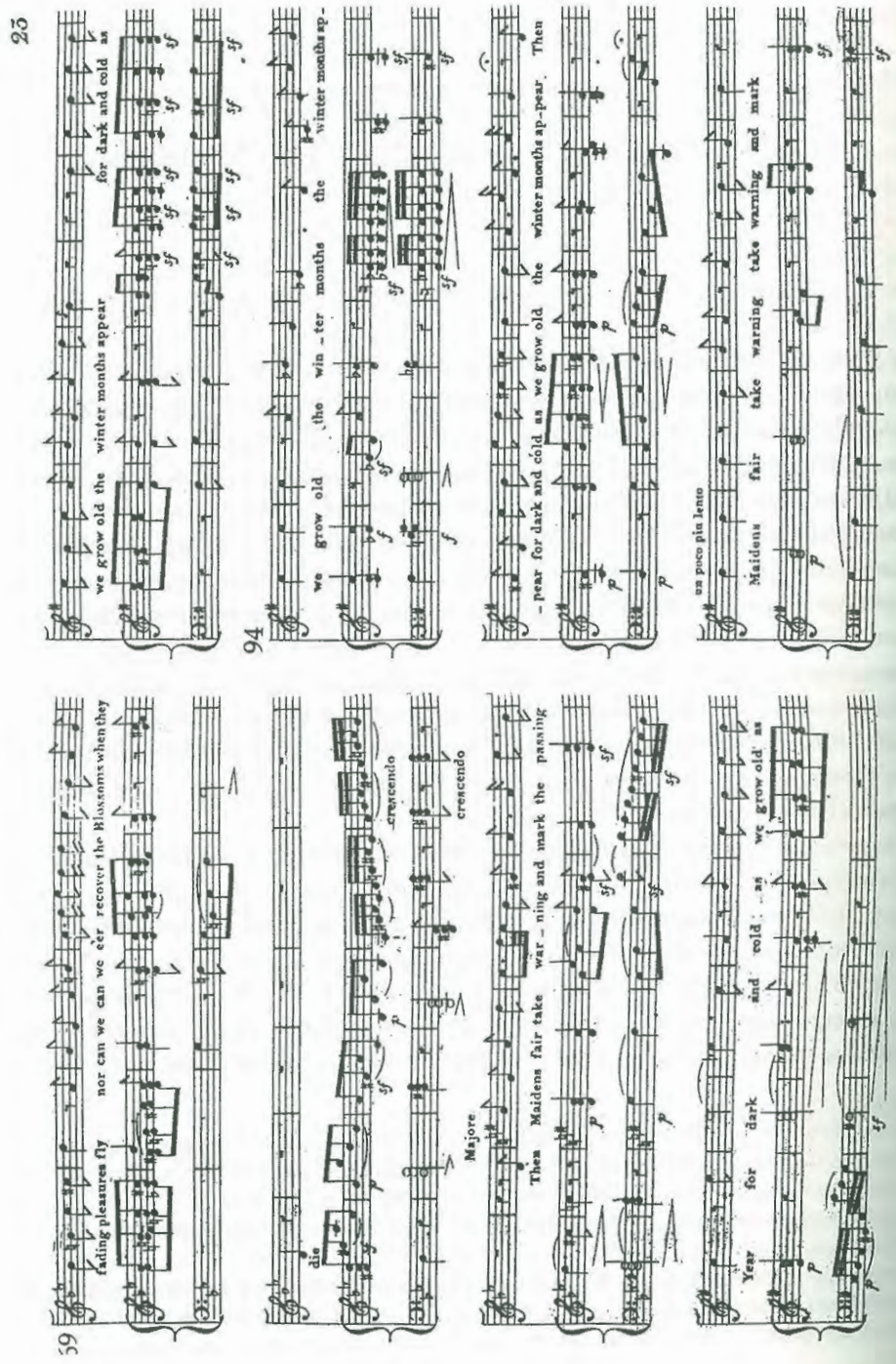


FIGURE 1A: J. P. Salomon, *Six English Canzonets* [1801] "When Hawthorne Buds," mm. 69–109. © British Library Board. All Rights Reserved H.1683.(13).

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mark the pas - - sing year Maidens fair take

warning take warning and mark the passing Year

crescendo

and mark and mark the passing Year mark mark

the passing Year

Figure 1b: "When Hawthorne Buds," mm. 110–32.

singing songs about time. (The trend is catalogued in Table 1, and the texts of all the songs discussed in this essay appear in the appendix.[3]) The first two sweetly pastoral verses (with birdcalls, rolling triplet accompaniment, and straightforward modulation to the dominant) connect "village maids" with springtime. The second half of the song, however, takes a dark turn:

> Yet soon the spring time over
> The fading pleasures fly
> Nor can we e'er recover
> The blossoms when they die.

Spring's end comes "soon" in the text, but in musical performance it happens in an instant, when the portentous third verse begins abruptly in G minor. After vacillating between the major and minor mode it launches what will prove to be an ominous two-octave descent after the word "die." Should there linger for the listener any doubt about the allegory operating here, the fourth verse makes it plain, even plainly menacing:

> Then maidens fair take warning
> And mark the passing year
> For dark and cold as we grow old
> The winter months appear.

In performance, a singer might emphasize the major-mode opening of this final verse (for example with a brighter timbre) which happens to bear a motivic relationship to the happy first verse – thereby not only recalling the blithe ignorance of the village maids, but also lulling the listener into expecting passive, pleasing listening. The listener, then, would have the actual experience of being shaken out of complacency. For what follows is a descending scale in the left hand at m. 84, which, perhaps with the addition of a slight retard, could sap the vigor of the accompaniment, while a slightly slower tempo could cause the voice to really languish at the word "dark" for two bars (m. 86), and then slump listlessly between C and B as if approximating an indolent, stretched-out trill (m. 89–94). Awkward off-beat accents that fall on the "wrong" words ("and" and "as" rather than "dark" and "cold") and the presence of a maladroit extra syllable would need little further emphasis to communicate that coherence is waning. At

3 Others of these songs are discussed in a companion essay entitled "Watches Without Pockets: Singing About Minutes in a London Drawing Room, Circa 1800," *Coll' astuzia, col guidizio: Essays in Honor of Neal Zaslaw*, ed. Cliff Eisen (Ann Arbor: Steglein, 2009), 268–85.

this point, lacking an impetus to melody, the vocal style might become markedly more declamatory, and the warning of the text made more ominous by pedaling the repeated Neapolitan 6th chords at m. 98, commonly a signifier of mourning or lament. The fermata and tempo marking *un poco piu lento* further deplete the energy. At the final vocal cadence at the end of the song, the elided slippery chromatic descent confirms the message: the maidens, like the music, have simply run out of momentum.[4] Village maids don't simply dance during spring – in essence, they *are* spring, and as such, they are fleeting pleasures that fade quickly and irreversibly.

While seasons and other natural markers of time had served for centnries as an analogy for the human life cycle,[5] my purpose here is to explore time's frequent connection to women in terms of new conceptions of time characteristic of this period – conceptions closely related to the burgeoning disposition toward production, entrepreneurship, and capitalism displayed by Salomon and indeed the middle class at large.[6] Whereas time was commonly construed by earlier generations as belonging to God, the eighteenth-century merchant made profit from time (measuring it to coordinate commercial trade or to increase efficiency) and ultimately linked time to human commodity. As Benjamin Franklin declared, "time is money"[7]; both were quantifiable, both were "spent" or "saved." From this period on, even private life was regimented by

4 The conclusion on a first inversion chord is almost certainly a misprint. In any event, some (though perhaps only the least sophisticated) performers would probably have played the notation literally, a faltering conclusion to a disquieting song.

5 For an historical view of the Ages of Man trope, see Elizabeth Sears, *The Ages of Man: Medieval Interpretations of the Life Cycle* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).

6 Scholars have described the decades from 1660 to 1760 as the "temporal revolution" or "horological revolution," a period when clocks became sufficiently precise, accessible, and practical to support the needs of urban society. Time keeping became a matter of broad public concern. Calendar reform finally arrived in Protestant Europe; England joined suit in 1753. The quest to accurately determine longitude at sea by means of an accurate and resilient horological device was finally concluded in 1773. 1784 saw a concerted and successful effort to unify the public mail system, also based on strict time keeping. Key works that document and explain shifting perceptions of time from an historical perspective include: *Chronotypes: The Construction of Time*, ed. John Bender and David Wellberry (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991); David S. Landes, *Revolution in Time: Clocks and the Making of the Modern World* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1983); Samuel L. Macey, *Clocks and the Cosmos: Time in Western Life and Thought* (Hamden: Archon Books, 1980); Lewis Mumford, *Time and Civilization* (New York: Harcourt, 1964); Stuart Sherman, *Telling Time: Clocks, Diaries, and English Diurnal Form, 1660–1785* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); Anthony Sinclair, "Time and Class," *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 6, no. 1 (1987); G. J. Whitrow, *Time in History: The Evolution of Our General Awareness of Time and Temporal Perspective* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988). For a broad philosophical investigation of changes in the shape of musical time, see Karol Berger, *Bach's Cycle, Mozart's Arrow: An Essay on the Origins of Musical Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

7 "Remember that time is money" is the first line of Franklin's *Advice to a Young Tradesman*, written in 1748.

the watch in the pocket or the clock on the wall or mantle.[8] The commodification of time, and its constant presence even in ostensibly non-commercial spaces, increased its perceived value. "In a commercial country," Samuel Johnson observed, "[...] time becomes precious."[9] Lord Chesterfield instructed his son in a similar vein: "there is nothing which I more wish that you should know [...] than the true use and value of Time.[10]" So, given an ethos that esteemed the best possible use of valuable time, how shall we account for spare time spent singing? And why, in particular, did women pass time by so often singing *about* time?

* * *

We can begin to explore these questions by imagining a London drawing room of one of Haydn and Salomon's contemporaries, in which a young lady accompanies herself singing one of several dozen "time" songs by James Hook. On this particular occasion (inspired perhaps by the company, or a novel she is reading), our lady is feeling playful, even flirtatious. She begins by singing "Morning" (Fig. 2), which allows her to exchange the distanced voice of a narrator for the direct, first-person voice of a lover: she utters active, sensual verbs and evokes vivid images of frolicking lambs and, significantly, charming birds that sing of love. It is clear from the first line that she is headed toward lovemaking, even though she will "blush" and merely "taste sweets" along the way. At the keyboard, she renders an imitative prelude that beckons "come, follow me." Steady rhythmic motion follows through the first two verses, but when she exploits the fermata at m. 60 to its fullest effect, lingering and delighting in the moment when the *songbird* "charms the list'ning Swain to love," even the most oblivious of her listeners can't help but notice the twinkle in her eye – "Aha," they surmise, nodding, "quite the charming songbird is *she*."

And on this particular evening, she is not about to demur. She turns immediately to singing Hook's "Spring," appealing for a few eligible men of the party to join her on the (optional) accompanying string parts; at once flustered and eager, they agree. "Spring" also has a flirty text and sensual imagery: flower buds swell and open, lovebirds sing duets with their mates, and, significantly, the Cuckow (sic) proclaims in the second verse, "nature marks this for the season to woo." While spring is evocative of love, it is a fair maid who stands for the "yonth of April" or the "blooming of May," and likewise it is feminine Daphne "whose charms are like spring in their prime." The singing lady

8 Clock designs for private spaces are described and analyzed in Gavin Lucas, "The Changing Face of Time: English Domestic Clocks from the Seventeenth to Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Design History* 8, no. 1 (1995).

9 James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson* (London: Printed by Henry Baldwin for Charles Dilly, 1791), 365.

10 *Letters to His Son by the Earl of Chesterfield: On the Fine Art of Becoming a Man of the World and a Gentleman*, ed. Oliver H. Leigh, (New York: Tudor Publishing Co., 1937), 37.

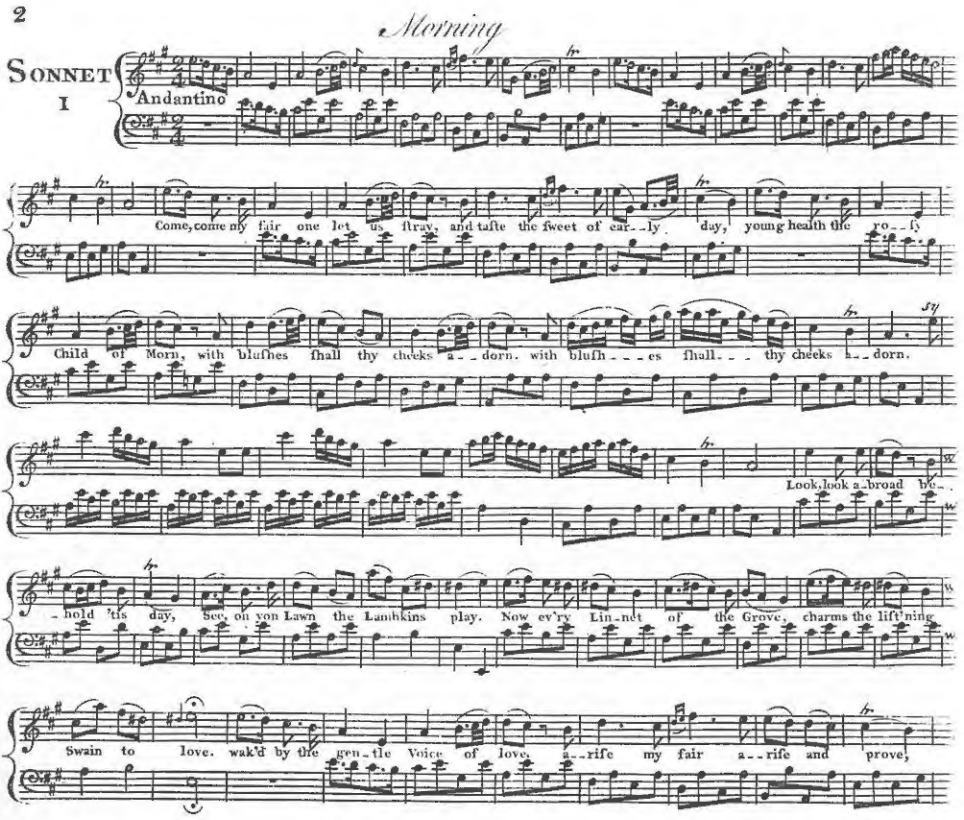


Figure 2: James Hook, *The Hours of Love* [ca. 1780] "Morning," mm. 1–68. Courtesy of the Cox Library of Music and Dance, Cornell University ++M1621.3.H78.

is first conflated with times of the day or seasons, and then, precisely through this connection, with love and courtship. On this occasion, our singer brazenly adopts an exaggeratedly eager delivery and mock wide-eyed innocence at the words like "faithfull" and "alone." The unspoken punchline of her theatricality is the female cuckoo's well-known habit of leaving eggs in others' nests, the source of the term "cuckolding," female infidelity that causes the male mate to raise offspring other than his own. The wooing cuckoo is hardly faithful, but crafty. Our lady's performed connection with time, together (in this instance) with her tongue-in-cheek praise of fidelity and her coquettish musical "winking," is a connection that teases her listeners, and allows them to imagine her privately as amorous, available, and inviting.[11]

11 Because it would disrupt the more conventional female gender role of sincere singing about love, such a

Taking a break from this titillating music, the lady and her gathered friends turn, as is their custom, to passing around collections of prints obtained with the evening's entertainment in mind. The first set to circnlate depicts courting couples, fashionably dressed according to the changing seasons. "Summer" (Fig. 3) describes a half-naked, ruddy maid who "swells," her cheeks burning, upon seeing the healthy, rustic youths who toil in the meadow.[12] The composure of the illustration's not-at-all-naked couple keeps the image within the bounds of propriety for the company that admires it. But the depiction of the peeking escort admits the image's connection to the accompanying, fragmentary text, which is conspicuously arousing: less sophisticated than her poised younger charge, she is in thrall to her fantasy as she gazes smilingly on the gentleman. Among the less abashed, another collection makes the rounds. In John Collet's print, "Autumn" (Fig. 4), the female exposes her leg seductively as she descends a ladder from an apple tree drooping with ready fruit; her companion, one hand resting on a gun, feigns helpfulness by grasping toward her bosom where she clutches her yield. Signs of readiness, maturity, and harvest are everywhere (the tree, the hare, the grapes), but only the African servant, taking advantage by eating a freshly-picked apple, misses the point that this scene is not about "reaping the bounty" in an agricultural sense. It is the lady who is ready to be picked. In this drawing room gathering, then, songs and images conspire to make time serve as the common currency between women and love. Natural markers of time evoke love; women are associated with seasons and times of day, and thereby, with love.

In the drawing room, a new mantle clock strikes. Guests look up from the prints, gather their music books, pause their conversations, and take note of the time. Parties have always come to an end, but not always by the decree of the clock. Ladies had sung about both love and time for centuries, but they did so at the end of the eighteenth century in a context where the meaning of time had dramatically changed. The drawing room, a locus of private life, had been infiltrated by the demands of clock-measured time; it had seen time take on associations with productivity and features of commodification for consumption. In this context, women's conflation with time through song and visual image, could, despite being an old convention, take on new shades of meaning. Passing the time by singing about time effectively reified the singing ladies as products, too – products ready for, indeed made for, love.

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performance would amount to a "resistant reading" of the sort originally set forth by Judith Fetterley in *The Resisting Reader: A Feminist Approach to American Fiction* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978). Systematic speculation about the possibilities of such resistant performances have been taken up more recently by musicologists. See, for example, Matthew Head, "If the Pretty Little Hand Won't Stretch: Music for the Fair Sex in Eighteenth-Century Germany," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 52, no. 3 (1999).

12 The texts are excerpts from James Thomson's *The Seasons* (1730).


Figure 3: *Summer* [1794]. Courtesy of the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University 794.5.12.42.

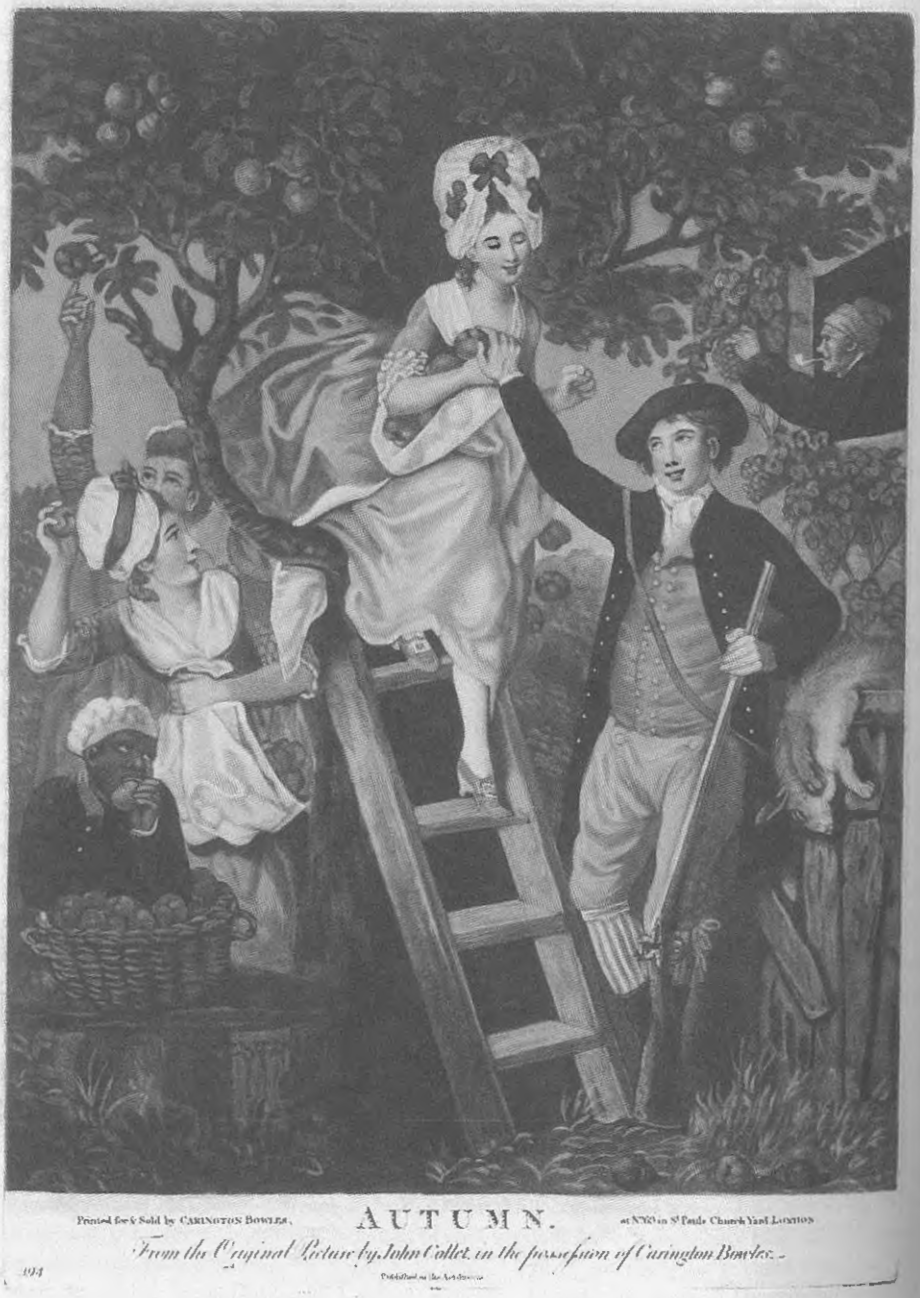


FIGURE 4: John Collet, *Autumn* [1779?]. Courtesy of the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University 779.1.1.5.

In his study of illustrations for James Thomson's poem *The Seasons*, Ralph Cohen argues that the late eighteenth-century connection of women and natural markers of time was characterized by an urge toward simplification.[13] In the early decades of the century, illustrations of *The Seasons* had depicted multiple moments from the poem within a single visual scene and mythical figures were employed in an effort toward "universalizing" the subject matter. In the last decades of the century, the number of actions and detail were reduced, and illustrations became overwhelmingly feminine, considered "merely" decorative, as opposed to interpretive, of the poem's text. This transformation took place in tandem, in Cohen's reading, with increased production and lower artistic standards. Decorative illustrations were sentimental, domesticated; allegories were "supplanted by a naturalistic and prettified view." The domestication of *The Seasons* affected literary criticism of it: whereas commentators had traditionally held that the poem possessed weighty moral value, by 1785 John Scott denounced its "moral sentiment [which] is the cheapest product of mankind."

Meanwhile, through increased popular interest in the field of geology, the seasons took on even darker shades of meaning. Geologist John Whitehurst, for example, held that when God sent the great Biblical flood to wash the earth of evil, He also ended the universal temperature and "perpetual spring and harvest" the pre-flood earth had enjoyed. The new cycle of seasonal change served, Whitehurst claimed, as a reminder of humanity's intrinsically sinful nature. Whitehurst's views on geology had a broad readership that included scholars like Erasmus Darwin and Benjamin Franklin, but his diverse interests – as painter, flutist, and indeed clockmaker – made him well known and accessible to the public. Josiah Wedgwood consulted Whitehurst on his stylish ceramics known as Black Basaltes that capitalized on public fascination with his archaeological discoveries. One of his purposes in his geological studies, a purpose that he admitted forthrightly in print, was to contribute to the "entertainment" of the learned reader. But there was a sense of outrage contained in this amusement. Lost forever, according to Whitehurst, was the temperate climate that promoted health and long life, while the earth's compromised fertility and shortage of vegetation necessarily caused inequalities and jealousies that would last for perpetuity. "Hence commenced property," bemoaned Whitehurst; "hence the necessity of law, dominion, and subordination" to combat "dishonesty, fraud, and injustice."

In popular scientific, visual, and literary culture, then, seasons were deprived of their broad allegorical force and their participation in comprehensive moral formation (as in later illustrations of Thomson's poem), and reinterpreted as directly indicative of humanity's sinful state (as in Whitehurst), but they took on a significant role in defining

13 Ralph Cohen, *The Art of Discrimination: Thomson's* The Seasons *and the Language of Criticism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964), 248–80. Quotes appear on 268 and 270.

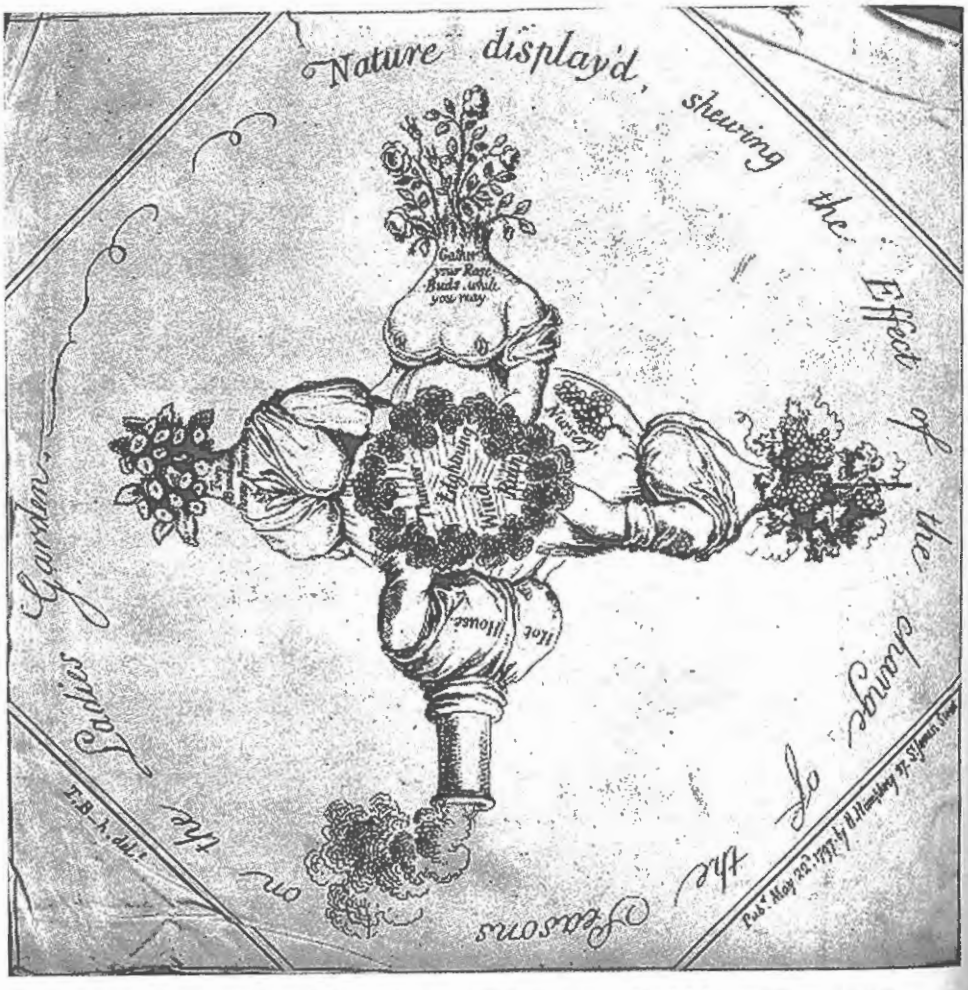


FIGURE 5: [James Gillray?], *Nature Display'd* (1797). Courtesy of the Wellcome Library 26648i.

femininity. In *Nature Display'd* (Fig. 5), a 1797 print attributed to James Gillray,[14] women's heads are replaced with seasonally appropriate plants.[15] The "garden" is slang for a female pubic area – the seasons affect her sexuality such that in spring she is "cheap" and "easy" like penny primroses, in summer she has reached her prime and by fall she

14 Mary Dorothy George, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires* (London: British Museum, 1942), 7:395.

15 On this print in particular and on the late-eighteenth-century relationship of science and gender in general see Ludmilla J. Jordanova, *Nature Displayed: Gender, Science, and Medicine 1760–1820* (London: Longman, 1999).

yields a harvest. By winter she is still sexual, though only in an artificial sense – a "hot house" where plants are grown and gardens tended by force of effort, not of nature. The effect is obviously contrary to the weighty messages of early illustrations of Thomson's poem. Framing her life in terms of the seasons reduces her to sexual productivity alone. But the misogyny at work here goes beyond the sentimental and decorative aspects of drawing room illustrations. What these women have in common is a "garden" area affected by unpredictable, stormy effects; it is therefore no compliment to be likened to seasons, even in a (to quote Cohen) "naturalistic and prettified" illustration. Women connected to time suffer from time's increasing associations with productivity, for her seasonally-dependent productivity is unpredictable and troublesome.

The improved ability to measure time had led to an increased sense of power over time. With time itself now commonly conceptualized as a quantifiable object, the equation in song of women and time could imply the concretizing, defining, and subjugating of the fair sex. The terms of such an association could be negative because in the context of burgeoning urbanization and industrialization, seasons were losing some of the relevance they had held in the more agrarian-based economies of past generations – indeed, seasons could be considered an irksome obstacle, for while work happens in a rural economy according to, and on account of, the seasons, industrial work takes place despite them. Absent their wholesome associations, seasons' depiction potentially insinuated trivialization and deprecation. Specifically, references to time in terms of its new valences could reduce Woman to sex, a reduction that was negative not only in its one-sidedness but in its very tone, for it depicted female sexual function as troubling and problematic. Being defined by new understandings of old markers of time meant that women could be answerable to new time's demands: their connection to time amply colored by time's commodification, they were subject to its pressure – pressure to be productive in the face of "winter months" that would claim their usefulness all too soon.

* * *

In another drawing-room gathering, the evening's entertainment commences. The repertoire is similar – time is again a topic of the sung texts – but the meaning and significance is different. In Salomon's "Say Not That Minutes Swiftly Move" (Fig. 6), the singing lady boldly rejects the contention expressed in an idiom of then very recent origin, "time flies when you're having fun,"[16] and asserts an alternative interpretation: happy times are actually a lengthy "age of bliss," while sadness takes the time of a short "pang"

16 *American Heritage Dictionary of Idioms* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997). s.v. "time flies," http://www.credoreference.com/entry/637985/. Accessed 31 December 2008.

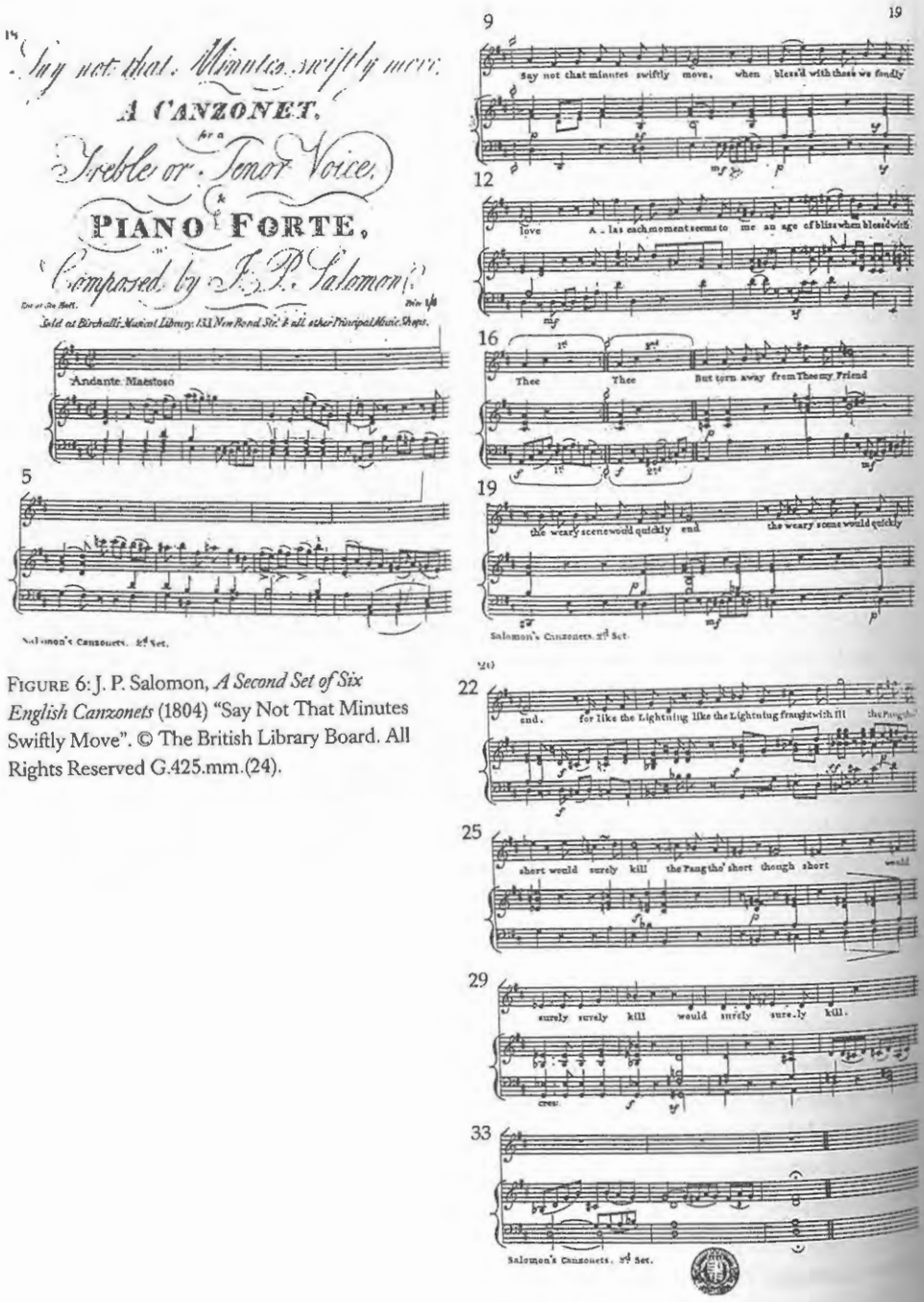


FIGURE 6: J. P. Salomon, *A Second Set of Six English Canzonets* (1804) "Say Not That Minutes Swiftly Move". © The British Library Board. All Rights Reserved G.425.mm.(24).

that ends in death. Like the familiar idiom, her version is an acknowledgement that time is in fact externally determined and measured in intervals of fixed length – but she offers, and prefers, her own conception of how time can nevertheless *seem* relative. This is plainly apparent in her contrasting performance of the first and second stanza: the first (referring to happy time) is pleasing and lyrical while the second (referring to sad or painful time) is dramatic, with repeated lines, a wider range, and exaggerated dynamics that heighten the effect of the accompanied recitative. But her interpretation is also subtly unified in a focus on the idea of relative time, time that is experienced in different ways depending on its context. When the text enters on a new melody after the introduction, the lady clarifies that these melodies are related in the pitch content of each respective first two phrases and their harmonic support. She draws out the circling chromatic figure (first heard as E-D#-E-[G]-D in m. 2), not only when it reappears plainly (mm. 10 and 20) but also in its several new guises brought about by new contexts in mm. 5–6, 8, 16, 19, 22, and 32; a shortened version (mm. 12 and 18) ends up lending its unique articulation (wedges on the last two eighth notes) to one of the transformations (m. 22).

Time's relativity is further conveyed in the inconclnsive treatment of the tonic in the second half of the piece, and, thereby, the elusiveness of the ending. After the dramatic climax in m. 24, the final line, "the pang tho' short would surely kill," pauses first on a deceptive cadence (m. 26), then on an ethereal and mournful Neapolitan chord (m. 29), repeated, chorale-like, before settling on D minor (m. 32). In m. 33 a G minor harmony over a D pedal serves as an antithesis to the searing high G of the climax in m. 24. The F# of the penultimate measure sounds less like a convincing D major conclusion than a Picardy third closing a piece set in the minor mode: the "structural cadence" (mm. 31–32) resolved unequivocally – and unusually – to D minor. But this ambiguity began in m. 22: a D major tonic, or dominant of iv? Measure 28 slips almost listlessly from D major to D minor – the F# perhaps a passing tone between dominant and tonic. Even m. 32, after the structural cadence, fleetingly raises the question again with the addition of F# in the tenor, though the resulting chord quickly becomes the dominant of the upcoming G minor. The canzonet ends in the "correct" key, bnt does so plagally. In a canzonet depicting time as relative to and dependent on its context, the home key remains non-committal and leaves the listener with little sense of the "time" of the piece – how long the piece will last, or when it will end.[17]

17 In *Bach's Cycle, Mozart's Arrow* (fn. 6) Karol Berger suggests that before the eighteenth century music was "in time" or "took time" but did not require of the listener an orientation towards understanding music in terms of past and present. From this perspective, "Say Not That Minutes Swiftly Move" suggests a rejection of a new distinction between earlier and later musical time – that is, of location within a linearly conceived musical whole.

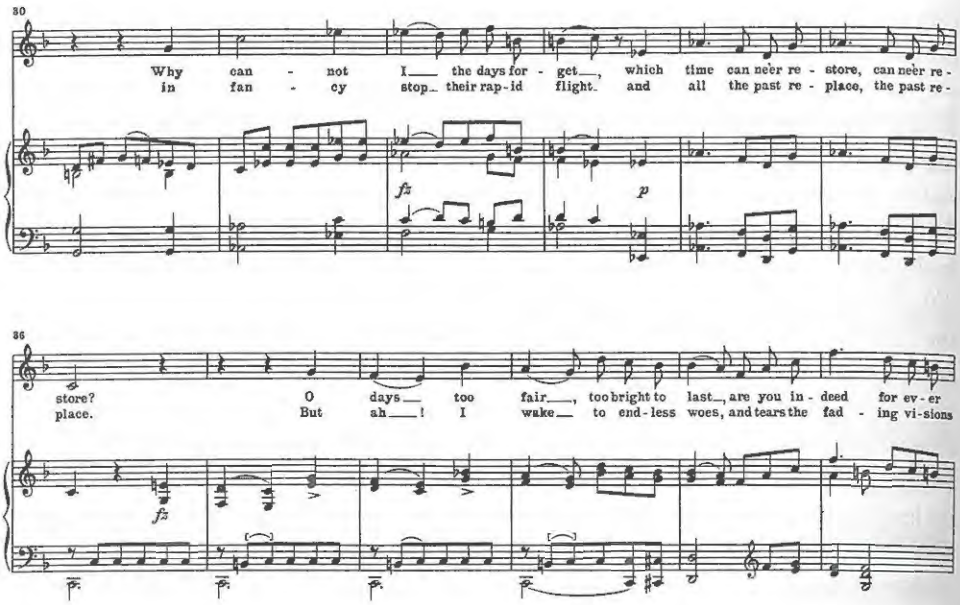


FIGURE 7: Joseph Haydn, "Recollection," mm. 30–41. *Joseph Haydn Werke,* series 29, volume 1, *Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Klaviers,* ed. Paul Mies (Munich: Henle, 1960). Used by permission.

Emboldened by her intrepid challenge to time's regularity, the lady turns her attention to defying time's forward motion. By way of Haydn's canzonetta "Recollection" (Fig. 7), she broaches the possibility of revisiting past time. In the first verse, alas, "time can ne'er restore" the lovers' delightful days spent together; that is, time, pushing forward, prevents a return of what is past. But in the second verse, the protagonist uses her powers of memory and "fancy" (imagination) to combat this unrelenting forward motion of time. In her memory she revisits her past delight; in her imagination she rewrites past time according to her fondest longings. It's true that in the end she wakes; her visions fade and she returns to endless woes, answering in the affirmative the question of the first stanza ("O days too fair, too bright to last, are you indeed forever past?") – the past is indeed the past despite the combined efforts of memory and imagination. But the most gripping and memorable moment in the midst of the lady's performance is an imaginative passage that offers a glimpse of what it would be like to thwart time's perpetual forward motion: the haunting unison (octave tripling) of mm. 34–35. Played with the dampers up on an English fortepiano, the timbre here would contrast starkly with the rest of the piece. This brief passage, itself "outside of time" with respect to the character and phrase rhythm of the rest of piece, sets both

"which time can ne'er restore" in the first stanza and "all the past replace" in the second – crystallizing the contrast between time that moves independently forward and time that can be relived.

Guests in the drawing room take a break from the music, but the themes of time and memory are firmly ensconced in their minds. They take turns reading aloud from Samuel Rogers's poem *The Pleasures of Memory* (1792), which is at once a dramatic story and a thoroughgoing, multifaceted exposition on memory's abilities.[18] Rogers describes what he calls the "perfect degree of memory" – figured feminine throughout – which combines acts of "preservation" (that is, preserving the past) with "inspiration" (a creative impulse):

> Entranced she sits; from youth to age,
> Reviewing Life's eventful page;
> And noting, ere they fade away,
> The little lines of yesterday.[19]

These "little lines" that Memory preserves are not limited to individual stories of separated lovers. Those lines document all of human culture and history. The task of preservational memory, according to the poem, is no less than to defend "the treasures of art, science, history, and philosophy."

But what is most profound about Memory – and most surprising to us 21st-century observers – is not her ability to preserve past time but her ability to re-imagine it. "On [Memory's] agency depends every effusion of the Fancy," Rogers writes. Memory can "compound or transpose, augment or diminish the materials which she has collected." To remember, then, does not only mean to keep what is already present, but also to create. To create is to remember and then alter and revise. This is different from "reviewing" and "noting" in the passage quoted above: Memory not only preserves what is written, but she herself, with the help of inspiration, writes. This representation of imagination broaches the possibility that originality is overvalued, possibly problematic, even impossible. It celebrates an alternative to the capitalistic idea that newness is the requisite measure of quality in creative works. Inspiration creates, it says, but not out of nothing.[20]

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18 Samuel Rogers and Edward Bell, *The Poetical Works of Samuel Rogers* (London: George Bell, 1875).

19 This text was set "By a Lady" as a canzonet entitled "Inscription on a Grotto" (1803).

20 Meyer Howard Abrams's famous formulation is, though very generalized, still relevant here. Abrams described a change in emphasis from imitation to natural genius, creative imagination and emotional spontaneity – terming it a Romantic "cult of originality." According to Abrams, early Romantic critics sought to shine light upon something new, whereas earlier critics hoped to closely reflect something already there. See Meyer Howard Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1953), especially 21–23.

This understanding of imagination interwoven with memory is suggestive for our historical imagining, too – so we return for a last time to the drawing room to hear a lady singing Haydn's "Pleasing Pain" (Fig. 8). Each of the three verses deals with a different duration of time: days, hours, and moments. Its title notwithstanding, the song is less about "pleasing pain" than it is about memory's power to overcome it. The singing lady could embody Memory herself, or a woman in solitude exercising her memory: she rewrites time as it occurred in her life, replacing "anxious days" with "smiling hours" and gaily gliding "moments." She issues imperatives that banish doubts and fears, and replaces them with "fairy joys and wishes gay." She is assisted by her servant, Imagination: "But ah! Return ye smiling hours, / By careless [i.e. carefree] fancy [i.e. imagination] crown'd with flow'rs." Memory's "moments" avoid life's "tumultuous tide" – the 1804 edition of the poems calls these "varied," not "various," suggesting that what the speaker wishes to do away with is changeability, variability, tumult. In this reading, what glides undisturbed toward oblivion (a condition defined by Johnson's dictionary as a sort of forgetting) is not the moments, but the regrets. Memory promotes a preservation that is not simply a non-forgetting, but a rewriting.

We can imagine a performance that not only asserts but also reinforces Memory's power to tell her own story about time. Our singer rushes, as with exasperation, the "flight" motive in the keyboard part, m. 18, accompanying the command to "fly", but lands on, and sustains, the fermata-marked "fly," m. 20, with the air of an aristocrat (perhaps from Baroque opera) used to issuing demands. Her forceful rendering of the strong cadence (m. 22) leaves no room for dissent. She is accessing Memory in order to direct the removal of pain in her retelling of her life. The second verse is set to a

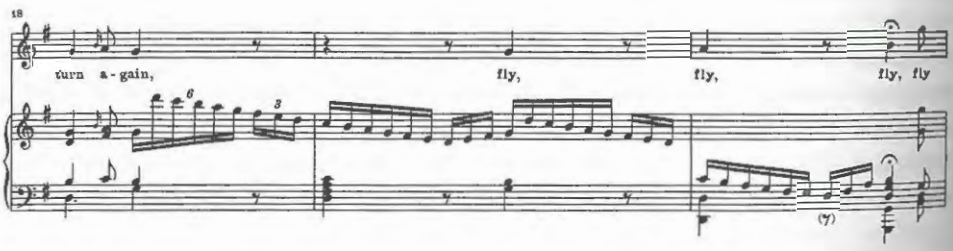


FIGURE 8A: Joseph Haydn, "Pleasing Pain," mm. 18–20. *Joseph Haydn Werke*, series 29, volume 1, *Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Klaviers*, ed. Paul Mies (Munich: Henle, 1960). Used by permission.

The valorization of memory apparent in canzonets on the subject of "old" time, which date from precisely the era that hosted the paradigm shift, rub against the then-incipient pressure to be original rather than reflect; these songs ally themselves with older models of creativity.

21
nev - er to re - turn a - gain.

25 2d Verse
But ah, re - turn ye smil - ing hours, by care - less fan - cy. crown'd with flow'rs;

29
come, fair - y joys and wish - es gay, and

33
dance in spor-tive rounds a - way, and

37
dance in spor - tive rounds a - way.

Figure 8B: Joseph Haydn, "Pleasing Pain," mm. 21–40.

new, busier accompaniment appropriate for a newly rewritten experience of past time through memory. The lady pedals the figuration, indicating the dreamy, recreative efforts of Memory, especially at the extended pedal of mm. 28–32. The memory of dancing in sportive rounds that follows (mm. 34–40) is (thanks to Imagination) especially vivid, with sprightly grace notes, clear articulation, and peppy emphasis on the bass suggesting a *passamezzo*. The flight motive makes a final appearance in the third verse at m. 51, setting up the endless forgetting of "calm oblivion's peaceful source" that concludes the piece. Emphasizing the conclusion's strokes and dancing motives underscores that Memory has won out – time is rewritten, and "smiling hours" have successfully replaced "anxious days."

The guests in the drawing room return one last time to Rogers's poem. The narrator, upon returning to the home of his distant past, comes across an old clock.

> On the dim window glows the pictured crest.
> The screen unfolds its many-coloured chart.
> The clock still points its moral to the heart.
> That faithful monitor, 'twas heaven to hear,
> When soft it spoke a promised pleasure near;
> And has its sober hand, its simple chime,
> Forgot to trace the feathered feet of Time?
> That massive beam, with curious carvings wrought,
> Whence the caged linnet soothed by pensive thought;
> Those muskets, cased with venerable rust;
> Those once-loved forms, still breathing thro' their dust,
> Still, from the frame in mould gigantic cast,
> Starting to life – all whisper of the Past![21]

The narrator loves the clock. He is unconcerned with, of all things, its lack of accuracy, for he does not even fault it for having stopped. Instead, he celebrates its appearance and sound, its appeal and simplicity – and he even praises its faithfulness. That it no longer tells time is unimportant. Its value lies in what it tells *about* time.

Ladies who sang about time sang about themselves, for they partook of an activity intended for women. And often, like so many dusty-yet-venerable, stopped-yet-still-breathing clocks, they sang *about* time – about the multiple, competing conceptions circulating in a period that had not yet finished marveling, arguing, and worrying about the new temporality that organized work and life. When they sang about time, women could be adored and desired, they could be constant and devoted, and they could serve

21 Rogers and Bell, *The Poetical Works of Samuel Rogers* (fn. 18), 5, Part I, ll. 56–68.

to admonish or instruct. They gained the power to rewrite time, to thwart its perpetual forward motion, and to undermine the incessant demand for originality characteristic of the industrial age. With the compass of a pendulum (if not its regularity) they swung back and forth: consumable objects, products of fleeting and ephemeral value, to powerful preservers of past history and cultural accomplishment, able to rewrite the past according to present purposes. The canzonet of old time, like the stopped clock, "still point[ed] its moral to the heart" – using new time to tell about the women who sang and played.

Table 1: Selection of Songs About Time, Published in London, 1770–1820

| Composer | Short Title of Collection | Date | Title |
|---|---|---|---|
| Abington, William | *Six Favorite Canzonets… Opera 1mo* | 1795 | "The Country" |
| Bridgetower, Frederic | *Six Pathetic Canzonets* | 1815 (ca.) | "A Shepherd Who Grav'd" |
| Carter, T[homas] | *Days of Love in Four Pastoral Songs* | 1784 | Complete set |
| Dussek, Jan Ladislav | *Six Canzonets … It. & Eng. Op 52* | 1804 | "Now While the Moment" |
| Edwards, Mrs [Elizabeth Edwards] | *A Selection of Favorite Canzonetts and Glees… and One Arranged for a Full Military Band* | 1820? | "How Happy the Season" |
| Ferrari, Giacomo Gotifredo | *Six English Canzonets and a Favourite Canzone of Petrarca* | 1795? | "The Rose" |
| Giordani, Sigr | *A Fourth Sett of English Canzonetts… Op. XXII* | 1780? | "Take All the Beauties of Spring" |
| Haydn, Joseph | *Dr. Haydn's VI Original Canzonettas* | 1794 | "Recollection"; "Pleasing Pain" |
| Hook, James | *Six English Canzonetts for Two and Three Voices… Op. XVIII* | 1780? | "When Spring Appears"; "Friendship is the Job of Reason" |
| Hook, James | *The Hours of Love, a Collection of Sonnets, Containing Morning, Noon, Evening, and Night* | 1781 | Complete set |
| Hook, James | *The Seasons, a Collection of Pastorals… Opera XXIX* | 1783 | Complete set |
| Hook, James | *The Days of Delight, A Collection of Canzonets… Opera 98* | 1795? | Complete set |
| Hook, James | *The New Hours of Love, a Collection of Canzonetts… the Words by a Lady. Opera 91* | 1799 | Complete set |
| Hook, James | *The New Year's Gift for the First Year of the Nineteenth Century… Op 97* | 1801 | Complete set |

| Composer | Short Title of Collection | Date | Title |
|---|---|---|---|
| Hook, James | *L'annee, Consisting of Twelve Ariettes Appropriate to Each Month* | 1802 | Complete set |
| Jackson, William | *Twelve Canzonets… Opera Nona* | 1770 | "Time Has Not Thinned My Flowing Hair"; "Alas from the Day That We Met" |
| Jones, Frances Harriet | *Six Canzonets* | 1802 (WM) | "How Sweetly Could I Lay My Head" |
| Lady | *Canzonets. By a Lady* | 1803 | "Inscription on a Grotto" |
| Lyon, Thomas | *Six Canzonets… and a Glee for 4 Voices* | 1795 | "Contentment"; "On a Day, Alack the Day" |
| Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus | *Mozart's Celebrated English Canzonets* | 1802 | "The Heart's True Value"; "The Coquet" |
| Phelps Macdonnell, Edmund | *Six Canzonetts* | 1806? | "An Age is Each Hour"; "Not sort Falling Show'rs"; "When the Maid That Possesses My Heart" |
| Pinto, Geo[rge]. Fred[erick]. | *Six Canzonets* | 1804 | "The Smiling Plains" |
| Salomon, Johann Peter | *Six English Canzonets* | 1801 | "Sweet Maid"; "When Hawthorne Buds" |
| Salomon, Johann Peter | *A Second Set of Six English Canzonets* | 1804 | "Say Not That Minutes Swiftly Move" |
| Shield, William | *A Collection of Canzonets and an Elegy* | 1796 | "When Evening Spreads Her Modest Gray" |
| Slatter, George Maximilian | *Six Canzonets, a Trio… and a Glee for Three Voices* | 1815? | "Morning" |
| Stevenson, J. A. | *Six Canzonets. First set.* | 1815 | "Remember Me My Deliz" |
| Storace, Stephen | *Eight Canzonetts* | 1782? | "Unless with My Amanda" |
| Webbe, The Elder, Samuel | *Six Canzonetts… the Words Taken from Shenstone* | 1789 | "True as the Needle to the Pole" |

## Appendix

### Texts of Songs Discussed, in Order of Appearance

Salomon, "When Hawthorne Buds"

When hawthorne buds bloom sweetly
And vi'lets strew the ground
The village maids dance fleetly
And pleasure reigns around

Then birds sing loud and clearly
On ev'ry blossom'd spray
And April showr's and April flowr's
Lead on the smiling May

Yet soon the springtime over
The fading pleasures fly
Nor can we e'er recover
The blossoms when they die

Then maidens fair take warning
And mark the passing year
For dark and cold as we grow old
The winter months appear

Hook, "Morning"

Come, come my fair one let us stray
And taste the sweet of early day
Young health the rosy child of morn
With blushes shall thy cheeks adorn

Look look abroad behold 'tis day
See, on yon lawn the lambkins play
Now every linnet of the grove
Charms the list'ning swain to love

Wak'd by the gentle voice of love
Arise my fair arise and prove
The dear delights fond lovers know
The best of blessings here below

HOOK, "SPRING"

When approach'd by the fair dewy fingers of spring
Swelling buds open first and look gay
When the birds on the boughs by their mates set and sing
And are danc'd by the breeze on each spray

When the wood pigeons set on the branches and cooe
And the cuckow proclaims with his voice
That nature marks this for the season to woo
And for all that can love to rejoice

In rural delight may I spend all my time
In the fields and the meadows all day
With my Daphne whose charms are like spring in their prime
Young as April and blooming as May

May I listen to all her soft tender sweet notes
When she sings and no sounds interfere
But the warbling of birds who in stretching their throats
Are at strife to be louder than her

When the ev'ning grows cool and the flow'rs hang their heads
O'er the meadows no longer we'll roam
With my arm round her waist in a path thro' the mead
Let us hasten to find our way home

We'll retire to our cottage and free from all noise
So that voices in whispers are known
Let us give and receive all the nameless soft joys
That are mus'd on by lovers alone

Salomon, "Say Not that Minutes Swiftly Move"

Say not that minutes swiftly move
When bless'd with those we fondly love
Alas each moment seems to me
An age of bliss when bless'd with thee

But torn away from thee my friend
The weary scene wou'd quickly end
For like the lightning fraught with ill
The pang tho' short would surely kill

Haydn, "Recollection"

The season comes when first we met
But you return no more
Why cannot I the days forget
Which time can ne'er restore
O days too fair too bright to last
Are you indeed forever past?

The fleeting shadows of delight
In memory I trace
In fancy stop their rapid flight
And all the past replace
But ah! I wake to endless woes
And tears the fading visions close

Haydn, "Pleasing Pain"

Far from this throbbing bosom haste
Ye doubts ye fears that lay it waste
Dear anxious days of pleasing pain
Fly never to return again.

But ah, return ye smiling hours
By careless fancy crown'd with flow'rs
Come fairy joys and wishes gay
And dance in sportive rounds away.

So shall the moments gaily glide
O'er various life's tumultuous tide
Nor sad regrets disturb their course
To calm oblivion's peaceful source.