NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Musical Commerce in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia: The Letters of Michael Hillegas

I herewith send you a List of what Musick I now have for Sale If any Suits you, You'll Please let me know, Shall be proud to serve you, Perhaps some of them or their Authors may be known to you or M^r Stattler. (May 5, 1760)

Thus concludes the first of six extant letters written by Michael Hillegas regarding his music store. These documents, housed at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, offer a unique glimpse of the interaction between an eighteenth-century music dealer, his clientele, and his London supplier. Dated between May 5 and June 28, 1760, the letters were composed by Hillegas a few months after he had advertised the opening of a music shop in his home on Second Street in Philadelphia. The correspondence presents an abundance of detail regarding the procurement of merchandise for the music shop; of particular significance are the several letters that outline this process of ordering and shipping musical supplies from England to Philadelphia.

Perhaps best known as the First Treasurer of the United States,¹ Hillegas maintained a number of mercantile enterprises during his

Born and raised in Philadelphia, Michael Hillegas (1729-1804) took over the management of his father's business enterprises at the age of twenty-one, amassing a considerable fortune from his ventures in the fields of sugar refining and iron manufacturing. General biographical information may be found in "Hillegas, Michael," Dictionary of American Biography (20 vols., New York, 1928-1937), 9:51-52; W.H. Egle, "Michael Hillegas: First Treasurer of the United States," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography (hereafter, PMHB) 11 (1887), 406-9; Michael Minnich, A Memoir of the First Treasurer of the United States (Philadelphia, 1905); and Edna St. Clair Whitney, Michael Hillegas and His Descendants (Pottstown, 1891). The official political activities of Hillegas began with his election to the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1765, intensifying with his appointment to the Committee of Forty-Three in 1774, as well as with his duties regarding matters of currency and finance

lifetime, one of which was the music store he operated from approximately 1759 to 1779. His music shop is notable: it was the first business devoted specifically to musical merchandise in Philadelphia, and it evidently was the only specialty store for music in the colonies prior to the Revolutionary war.²

Virtually all printed music had to be imported. Although Philadelphia later developed into a respected center of music publishing in the early nineteenth century, only a few efforts at music printing had been attempted prior to the war. Some regional printers published a few psalters and German hymnbooks for the religious community,³ but almost no other music was published or is known to have been available in Philadelphia until Hillegas established his music shop. In rare instances, printed music and musical supplies could be obtained at booksellers and stationers, but surviving documentation offers little in the way of information regarding the sale of printed music. Broadsides for Philadelphia booksellers advertising current stock displayed only a few isolated musical items: David Hall, located "at the New-Printing-Office, in Market-Street," included some psalm books among his advertisements of 1759 and 1765, but it is not possible to ascertain from his descriptions whether such books would have included printed music or only psalm texts. In 1762 the firm of Rivington and Brown

for the increasingly politically active province. Hillegas was appointed as a co-treasurer of the colonies in July 1775 (along with George Clymer), as Pennsylvania's provincial treasurer in May 1776, and as sole Continental Treasurer (when Clymer assumed a seat in Congress) in August 1776. Other details of his political involvement may be found in Richard A. Ryerson, *The Revolution Is Now Begun: The Radical Committees of Philadelphia*, 1765-1776 (Philadelphia, 1978), especially 83, 136, 141, 221. See also below, fn. 25.

² William A. Fisher, One Hundred and Fifty Years of Music Publishing in the United States (Boston, 1933), 23-24.

³ The majority of psalters were published without musical notation, though a few included both words and music. Most surviving examples printed in the Philadelphia area are listed in Charles Evans, American Bibliography: A Chronological Dictionary of All Books, Pamphlets and Periodical Publications Printed in the United States of America (14 vols., Chicago, 1905), Nos. 7102 (1753), 7181 (1754), 8908 (1761), 9406 (1763), and 9526 (1763), all of which contain music. Numerous other psalters, printed without music, also are catalogued by Evans in his bibliography. Other examples of locally printed music from this period are discussed in Richard J. Wolfe, Early American Music Engraving and Printing (Urbana, 1980), 28-29.

⁴ The two advertisements for the establishment of David Hall may be found in Evans, American Bibliography, Nos. 8362 (1759) and 9997 (1765). In 1759 Hall had included

included only two musical selections in its lengthy Philadelphia and New York catalogue.⁵ The scant information available suggests that general booksellers had but slight interest in providing the amateur and professional musicians of Philadelphia with musical publications.⁶

Hillegas, an amateur musician in his own right,⁷ decided that an audience existed for various types of musical goods, and he set out to obtain and provide the appropriate merchandise. He advertised as early as 1753 the sale of "an excellent good chamber organ, suitable for a gentleman in his house, or a country church," but it was not until 1759 that the first announcement of his music shop appeared in print:

To be sold by MICHAEL HILLEGAS, at his House in Second-street, opposite Samuel Morris, Esq; an extraordinary good and neat Harpsichord with four Stops; a good Violoncello; an Assortment of English and Italian Violins, as well common ones as double lined, of which some extraordinary; a Parcel of good German Flutes, imported here from Italy. Also imported in the last Ships from London, a large Assortment of Musick, of the best Masters, viz., Solos, Overtures, Concerto's, Sonata's and Duets, for Violins, German Flutes, Hautboys,

[&]quot;Scots Psalm Books" in his inventory of "Books Imported in the last Vessel from London," while in 1765 he advertised "psalters" in the list of books "Lately Imported, and to be sold by David Hall."

⁵ This extensive inventory of 1762 comprised ninety pages; the two musical items were "The Bulfinch a very good Collection of the late and best Songs" (item 138) and "The Beggar's Opera, with Musick . . . by Mr. John Gay" (item 296). Evans, American Bibliography, No. 9259.

⁶ This apparent lack of initiative on the part of booksellers, however, is not necessarily reflective of sparse musical activity in Philadelphia during the period. In addition to the evidence provided by the documentation of Hillegas's music shop, announcements of music teachers and performances can be found in newspapers, and well-known Philadelphians such as Francis Hopkinson and Benjamin Franklin chronicled their interest in music with essays and letters. For a recent summary of musical activity in the city during the eighteenth century, see JoAnn Taricani, "Music In Colonial Philadelphia: Some New Documents," *Musical Quarterly* 65 (1979), 185-92. Two earlier publications also provide information on music during the same period: Robert Gerson, *Music in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1940); and Oscar Sonneck, *Early Concert Life in America* (1907; reprint ed., Wiesbaden, 1969).

⁷ John Adams wrote: "Hillegas is one of our Continental Treasurers; is a great Musician—talks perpetually of the Forte and Piano, of Handell, &c. and Songs and Tunes. He plays upon the Fiddle." L.H. Butterfield, ed., *The Adams Papers*, ser. 1, *Diaries: The Diary and Autobiography of John Adams* (4 vols., Cambridge, 1961), 2:187.

⁸ Pennsylvania Gazette, Aug. 9, 1753.

French Horns, Violoncello's and Guittars, Voluntaries, and Lessons for Organs and Harpsichords, ruled Paper of various Sorts for Musick, and Musick Books, Tutors, or Books of Instructions to learn to play on the Violin, German Flute, Hautboy or common Flute, without a Master, Song Books, Cantatas, Songs in Sheets, and a choice Parcel of Violin Strings, &c.⁹

The variety and amount of material presented in this advertisement was indeed "extraordinary." No comparable inventory existed in Philadelphia, or, indeed, anywhere in the colonies. The most remarkable features about this initial announcement are the amount of instrumental music and the number of instruments available. Only vocal music had appeared in the catalogues of other booksellers and in the few religious publications issued prior to Hillegas's advertisement. If Hillegas had correctly ascertained the demand for his supplies, a substantial number of musicians, both professional and amateur, must have required or desired the merchandise advertised. Evidently he had judged accurately, for five months later he wrote to the London publisher and music dealer, John Johnson, requesting further supplies.

The letters concerning the music business of Michael Hillegas, transcribed and printed below, reflect some of his activities over a brief span of time, from May 5 to June 28, 1760.¹⁰ Two of the letters, addressed to a Mr. Steegel, outline negotiations regarding the sale of an Italian violin. In the initial letter of May 5, Hillegas disputes the price offered by Steegel and clarifies the types of violins and accessories currently available. By the middle of June the matter was resolved,¹¹ with Steegel agreeing to pay the amount requested by Hillegas (£ 19) for the Italian instrument. In addition, Steegel made other, non-musical, purchases from Hillegas: the bill for the violin also contained charges for one thousand shingles and six bottles of balsam.

⁹ Ibid., Dec. 13, 1759.

¹⁰ The correspondence regarding the music business was donated to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania between 1905 and 1907 along with other letters written by Hillegas; later, the documents were bound together in two volumes. Am. 0803 (Historical Society of Pennsylvania). Several of the letters not related to the music business were published in "Selected Letters of Michael Hillegas, Treasurer of the United States," *PMHB* 29 (1905), 232-39.

¹¹ Letter of June 19, 1760.

Of far greater historical significance are the other four letters that describe the dealings of Hillegas and the London publisher John Johnson. The only known letters that document colonial-British music transactions in the eighteenth century, they reveal the method by which music was ordered, the ways in which mishaps could occur in transit, and the manner by which the musical taste of Philadelphia was affected by the stock of a specific London publisher. Johnson published a number of musical compositions between the years 1745 and 1762, and he made violins. These four Hillegas letters might be better described as two sets of two letters, with the first set having been composed on May 10 and the second set on June 28. Each grouping contains one letter to John Johnson and one to a ship's captain. All the letters have the appearance of being Hillegas's first drafts, presumably to be copied over before posting.

The two letters of May 10 actually appear to be cancelled by a series of widely spaced diagonal slashes, suggesting that the problems outlined had been resolved before Hillegas had a chance to post the letters; the next two missives, dated June 28, are similar in content to those of May 10, but with no mention of the shipping questions that had concerned Hillegas in the preceding month. On May 10, Hillegas had indicated to Johnson his belief that the previous order of musical supplies had been delayed, as the vessel on which the goods had been shipped had met with an accident and returned to port. He asked Johnson to see after the merchandise and repack it if necessary, and he warned him that "I Suppose I need not Caution

¹² No definite dates of birth or death are known concerning John Johnson, though he is presumed to have died in 1762, for imprints of his music published between 1762 and 1777 bear the name of "Mrs. Johnson" (presumably his widow, who died in 1777) or "R. Johnson." Information on John Johnson, his publishing firm, and the violins he constructed may be found in Charles Humphries and William C. Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles* (Oxford, 1970), 194-95; Jaak Liivoja-Lorius, "Johnson, John," in Stanley Sadie, ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments* (3 vols., London, 1984), 2:331; Rene Vannés, *Dictionnaire universel des luthiers* (Brussels, 1951), 178.

¹³ Though the letters are drafts, they are unquestionably written by Hillegas himself; the handwriting and the signature are identical to other documents and signatures known to have been in his hand. Some examples of his known handwriting can be found in two letters to Benjamin Franklin (April 15 and Nov. 25, 1769), in the Franklin Papers (American Philosophical Society), or in his signature on the founding statement of the American Society, reproduced in facsimile in Mrs. W. Lane Verlenden, "The American Society Held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge," *PMHB* 24 (1900), 13.

you any more how to Pack the Varnish from the other Musical things." This admonition suggests an earlier unfortunate experience. More than that, the reproach informs us that the letter of May 10 is at least the third contact between Hillegas and Johnson: one had produced some mishap with the varnish, and another resulted in the current shipping dilemma. We may infer that the goods listed in Hillegas's advertisement of December 1759 also had been obtained from Johnson. The "English and Italian violins" certainly could have come from his shop, and Johnson published the various genres of music (solos, concertos, sonatas, and duets) mentioned, though the advertisement presents no information regarding specific composers.

The May 10 letter to Johnson includes an elaborate itemized request for more printed music and supplies, and specifies not only composers' names but also individual compositions. Although only a portion of Johnson's musical publications have survived, enough are extant to indicate that Hillegas probably chose his selections from a catalogue of John Johnson's current stock. The solos by "Standly" [Stanley], Cervetto, and Wodizka all were publications of Johnson, as were Corelli's Opus 6 concertos, "Handell['s] Water Piece in 5 pts," duets by Tes[s]erini and "Gerhard" [Gerard], and tutors for harpsichord and violin. Given the wide array of music popular and available in the eighteenth century, so many demonstrably specific requests can be no coincidence.

¹⁴ The surviving exemplars of Johnson's publications (most of which are undated) are listed in the bibliographical inventory of musical sources known as RISM: Répertoire international des sources musicales, ser. A, vol. I, Einzeldrucke vor 1800 (9 pts., Kassel, Basel, Tours, London, 1971-1981). The compositions cited in the text tentatively can be identified as the following publications of John Johnson (sigla in brackets refer to RISM): John Stanley, Eight solos . . . for a german flute, violin, or harpsichord . . . opera prima [S4671], or Six solo's . . . for a german flute, violin, or harpsichord, opera quarto [S4678]; Giacobbe Cervetto ("the elder"), Eight solos . . . for a german flute . . . [C1728]; Wenceslaus Wodizka (or Wodiczka, Vodička), Six solos for a violin and bass [W1720]; Arcangelo Corelli, The score of the twelve concertos . . . for two violins & a violoncello . . . [C3853]; Georg Friedrich Händel, "Water music" (title lacking) [H1321]; Carlo Tessarini, Six sonatas or duets for two violins . . . opera seconda [T548]; James Gerard, Six sonatas or duets for two german flutes or two violins [G1614]. Also requested by Hillegas, and yet extant, are tutors for harpsichord and violin published by Johnson, listed in RISM, ser. B, vol. II, Recueils imprimés XVIIIe siècle (Munich, 1964): The Compleat tutor for the harpsichord or spinnet . . . (ca. 1745), 140; and The Compleat tutor for the violin . . . (ca. 1750), 141.

Considering that Hillegas had opened his music shop with a large inventory only five months earlier, the quantity of merchandise he ordered from Johnson suggests that his initial stock already was being depleted. The compositions described in the May 10 letter are requested in quantities ranging between one and twelve, the tutors are ordered in numbers ranging from fourteen to twenty-four copies, and the supplies are required in impressive amounts—three dozen oboe reeds and six guineas' worth of violin strings.

The musical shipment about which Hillegas expressed concern must have arrived shortly after he composed the letter of May 10, causing him to cancel that communication and write to John Johnson anew on June 28. In the later correspondence, Hillegas made no reference to the formerly pending shipment, but appears to have requested the same "List of Musickal Goods" that he itemized on May 10. In fact, he probably copied the identical list or one very similar, for a later advertisement contains references to most of the composers and compositions outlined in the order of May 10. Also on June 28, Hillegas addressed a second letter to a Captain Bolitho, with whom he entrusted the execution of several financial matters and the delivery of the order to John Johnson. Hillegas cannily enclosed a "Coppy of my Orders to Johnson So that if he should happen to be dead you may (to Oblige me) Apply at any other Musick Shop."

Our knowledge of the music shop after this initial flurry of activity derives from several sources. Advertisements for the shop appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* through 1774. The most extensive of these advertisements contains a much more detailed accounting of the names of the composers, pieces, and supplies mentioned in the first advertisement and in his handwritten order of 1760, yet this lengthy announcement dates from almost four years later:

Imported, and to be sold by MICHAEL HILLEGAS,

At his House in Second-street, between Arch and Race streets, A NEAT Assortment of Music and Musical Instruments, amongst which are, SOLO's by Tartini, Hass[e], Noferi, Alberti, Vincent, Carter, Miller, Balicourt, Tessarini, Reed, Stanley, Viaci, Cervetto, Davis, Quants [Quantz], Martini, Weide[r]man, Hellendaal, Pepush, Triemer, Wodizka, &c. CONCERTO's by Corelli, Stanley, Depuis, Avison, Humphreys, Tessarini, Alcock, Festing, Handel, Vivaldi, &c. SONA-

TA's by Boyce, Ruge, Price, Burney, Carter, Fisher, Ferigo, Tessarini, Flackton, Hass[e], Bates, Quants [Quantz], Retzel, Benegger, Bezozzi, Albinoni, Graun, Martini, Fritz, Barbella, Humphreys, Richter, Stamits [Stamitz], Kleinecht, Lampugnuni, Pasquali, McGibbon, &c. DUETTS by Tessarini, Dottel [Dothel], Gerard, Weide[r]man, Stechway, Battino, Bates, Campioni, Claget, Martini, Agzell [Agrell], Festing, Noferi, Dottel [Dothel], Figlio, Diragini, &c. VOLUNTARIES by Stanley, Walond, and Berg. ----

Lanzetti's Solo's and Cervetto's Lessons for Violoncello. Noferi Solo, Shuman's Lessons; Miss Stevenson's Songs, &c., &c. for Guittar. LES-SONS by Kunzen, Purcel[1], Scarlatti, Handel, Smith, Barbandt, with Stanley's Concerto's, Hasse's Sonata's, Berg's Sonatina's, &c. for Harpsichord. The admired Clio and Euterpe, in 2 Vols, Apollo's Cabinet in 2 Vols. The Comic Tunes in Harlequin China, Harlequin Sorcerer, Queen Mab, Fair Fortunatas; great Variety of Song Books, English and Italian, newest Sheet Songs; Artaxerxes a new Opera, Beggar's Opera, with Music, in Ouarto, the best Edition ever published: Opera of Eliza, Pasquali's Thorough Bass, and Art of Fingering; Variety of Books of Minuets, Hornpipes, Dances, Marches, &c. Tutors for Violin, Harpsichord, Guittar, German Flute, Common Flute, &c. &c. together with a very large Variety of Violins of all Prices, some of which made by the best Hands in Europe, Spinnets, Violoncellos, little Violins, Kitts, Violin d'Amours, Psalters, Guittars, great Variety of German Flutes, Common Flutes, Hautboys, Clarinets, Welch Harp, Monochords, Mutes or Sardines, Rozin, Boxes, Spinnet Hammers, Pritchers, Violin Cases, Hautboy Reeds, a large Parcel of Guittar and Harpsichord Wire, Violin and Violoncello Strings; ruling Pens, ruled Paper, ruled Books, Violin Bows, Violin Bridges, &c. &c. 6W. N.B. The assorted Cannon-stoves are yet sold by him. 15

Between 1759 and 1764, his stock, and presumably his business, had flourished. This comprehensive list includes many of the leading composers in Europe as well as a host of lesser-known musicians whose works were in vogue in London; John Johnson is known to have issued publications of compositions by over half of the seventy-plus musicians mentioned here. Virtually all of the composers listed in Hillegas's letter of May 10, 1760, appear in this announcement, along with many others. That he continued to import new supplies

¹⁵ Jan. 5, 1764.

throughout his years of operation is evident in a later advertisement from 1772, which proclaims that the supplies for sale had been "JUST IMPORTED, and to be SOLD, by MICHAEL HILLEGAS."¹⁶

While operating the music shop, Hillegas also maintained his interest in other areas of music. He continued to play the violin; one of his documented performances was in an orchestra at a funeral service in 1776.17 In 1778 Francis Hopkinson noted that "I was at a Court of Music at Mr. Brown's at the Navy Office. Mr. Bremner, Mr. Hillegas, Bache, Peters and some french Performers made up the Set, and the Music went off better than I expected." In 1769 Hillegas corresponded with Benjamin Franklin (then in London) in an attempt to obtain a glass armonica, the musical novelty designed and promoted by Franklin. By January 1769, Hillegas had already been disappointed in the receipt of one set of glasses from London. Franklin expressed his regret of "your Glasses . . . being broken in going over," and promised that he had "given Orders to have the Loss repair'd, agreeable to the Directions in your Letter." We cannot be certain if Hillegas ever received the glass armonica, for letters written throughout the year gently reminded Franklin about the matter.20 In the last surviving reference, Hillegas asked to "Permitt me of reminding you of my old troublesome Commission, to wit, the Glasses for my Armonica beg you'll send them under particular care. . . . , , , , , , , , , 21

The date by which Hillegas no longer maintained an active music business is difficult to ascertain, but he did sell musical merchandise at late as 1779. For instance, in 1776 a brief announcement appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*: "Just Published and to be Sold by Michael

¹⁶ Ibid., May 21, 1772.

¹⁷ Carl and Jessica Bridenbaugh, Rebels and Gentlemen (1942; reprint ed., New York, 1965), 160.

¹⁸ George E. Hastings, *The Life and Works of Francis Hopkinson* (Chicago, 1926), 275-76.

¹⁹ Michael Hillegas to Benjamin Franklin, Jan. 5, 1769, in Leonard W. Labaree and William B. Willcox, eds., *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* (26 vols. to date, New Haven, 1959-), 16:8.

²⁰ Hillegas to Franklin, April 15, 1769, and Nov. 25, 1769, ibid., 16:111 and 235-36.

²¹ Hillegas to Franklin, Nov. 25, 1769, ibid., 16:236.

Hillegas, A Complete Tutor for the Fife."²² A possible reference to the music store may be found in a military communication of May 14, 1779, requesting supplies for a military band: "the horns may be had at the Q.M. Genl Store at Philadelphia, and English clarinets at the Musick shop."²³ The shop to which the writer referred might well have been that of Hillegas. At any rate, we can be certain that Hillegas was still selling musical items as late as May 1779, for on May 26 Thomas Jefferson noted in his account book a purchase of music from Hillegas.²⁴ Beyond 1779, however, we have no documentation regarding the music shop, and it is probable that Hillegas's duties as Treasurer of the United States (which position he held from 1777 until 1789) required a substantial portion of his time and energy.²⁵

The letters Michael Hillegas wrote in spring 1760 refer only to the initial needs of his new music shop, yet they laid the groundwork for the type of shop he would develop. Thus, the letters offer us an opportunity to witness the nature of his business at that time, and in the later years of its operation. More importantly, the letters evidence the high degree of similarity regarding the musical inventories of two

violin mute. See Helen Cripe, Thomas Jefferson and Music (Charlottesville, 1974), 16.

²⁵ Hillegas assumed the title of "Treasurer of the United States" on Sept. 6, 1777, slightly over a year after his appointment as Continental Treasurer (see above, fn. 1). In addition to consuming vast amounts of his time, his new position also required that Hillegas be away from Philadelphia for extended periods. For example, when the Continental Congress removed itself from Philadelphia to Baltimore in December 1776 as a precautionary measure against the advancing British troops, Hillegas not only accompanied them, but had to remain in Baltimore long after the Congress had returned to Philadelphia in Feb. 1777. See the Franklin Papers, 24:119, regarding the move of Congress to Baltimore and the prolonged residence (at least until June 1777) of Hillegas in that city.

²² Pennsylvania Gazette, June 19, 1776. It is highly unlikely that Hillegas himself published the tutor, though he has been attributed as publisher and even the author in several sources, most notably in Oscar Sonneck and William Upton, A Bibliography of Early American Secular Music (1945; reprint ed., New York, 1964), 85; and Robert Drummond, Early German Music in Philadelphia (1910; reprint ed., New York, 1970), 42. A more probable publisher for the tutor, the firm of Hall and Sellers, has been suggested by Donald Hixon in Music in Early America (Metuchen, 1970), 238. The tutor is cited in Evans, American Bibliography, No. 14686.

²³ Quoted in Raoul F. Camus, *Military Music of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, 1976), 134. Camus suggests that "the music shop was probably that of Michael Hillegas." ²⁴ References to various purchases from Hillegas between the years 1775 and 1779 exist in the account books of Jefferson, for printed music, violin strings, guitar strings, and a

music dealers in London and Philadelphia, illustrating how wholly dependent the colonial city remained on its European counterpart in matters of musical fashion. It has been suggested elsewhere that Philadelphia derived much of its cultural influence from London.²⁶ The letters and advertisements of Michael Hillegas provide a specific, documented instance of such a situation.

Letters Related to the Music Shop of Michael Hillegas: A Transcription²⁷

Letter 1:

May 5. 1760

Mr Steegel Dr Sir

Philip Feyring has just been with me & he delivered a message from you, That If I would take eighteen Pounds for the Violine, the Case & the black fluted screw Bow I might send it up, To which I beg leave to Answer That the Black fluted Screw bow (as I told you when in town) is none of my own, So that I dare not part with it, As to the Price I then Inform'd you should be nineteen Pound which I think really excessively Cheap, for the Person I bough[t] that Violine

²⁶ For example, the dramatic troupe known as the London Company (later renamed the American Company) had a profound influence on the theatrical and musical life of Philadelphia, introducing current London theater to the city as well as ballad opera. Bridenbaugh, *Rebels and Gentlemen*, 138-40, 146-47, and 156-57.

The letters have been transcribed in an orthographically faithful style, according to guidelines set forth by Mary Maples Dunn and Richard S. Dunn. eds., in *The Papers of William Penn* (5 vols., Philadelphia, 1981-1987), 1:15-18. Briefly, the spelling, capitalization, punctuation, contractions, abbreviations, superscript letters, and ampersands of the original sources have been retained, with any editorial clarifications indicated [within brackets]; words inserted into the text by Hillegas are placed {within braces}; deleted words are crossed through; the thorn is expanded as "th," with the superscript letters brought down to the line for the expansion; and the tailed "p" is expanded as "per" (the appropriate expansion in all instances here). Illegible words or letters are indicated as such [within brackets].

of absolutely valued it at thirty Guineas you may remember it is an Italian one, its as well Loud as Bold, If you send for it Shall send a neat screw bow with it which cost me half a Guinea.—

I have here reminded you of its being an Italian Violine because I Imagine Philip must have misunderstood you, because he told me you told him that the Violine you offered so for, was one of this Country make—On which shall remark that If you would rather have one of this Country make, I have one At which I have always valued at Ten Pistoles, It is at Present the Loudest I ever heard & I believe in time will be as Sweet as any, a Neater you never saw however If I say you would rather have this Country make shall be willing to lett you have it for seven Guineas which I think really Cheap, the same Case with it for two Guineas more, This Violine I look on to be twice as good as one I sold since you left Town for Ten Pounds—

Have Answered your draught on me of fifteen Pounds in favour of Philip Feyring

I am with Respects to self & Spouse Yrs &c. M H.

P. S.

Please thank your Clerk in my behalf for the peice Musick he sent {me}

I herewith send you a List of what Musick I now have for Sale If any Suits you, You'll Please let me know, Shall be proud to serve you, Perhaps some of them or their Authors may be known to you or M^r Stattler

Letter 2:28

Philad: May.3 10 1760

Mr. John Johnson

Sir: My {several} Letters per Capt. Budden [illegible word] & others Inclosing Bills of Exchange & Orders for Sundries in your way, I doubt not came safely to hand, & as I desired you would send them per 1st oppertunity or by Capt. Budden who {I now hear}

²⁸ This letter apparently was cancelled by Hillegas by means of a series of widely spaced diagonal strokes; see the accompanying commentary for a possible explanation.

met with an Accident & Oblig'd to {put} back to London & my things not arrived with those Vessels that are Come I am apprehensive they [illegible deletion] were on board of Buddens which if so you'll please see after them, Repack them if damaged & send them as Soon as Possible, I Suppose I need not Caution you any more how to Pack the Varnish from the other Musical things.— Am now Looking out for a {another} Small Bill of Exchange to send you, of about twenty or five & twenty Pounds Sterling & Indeed have the Promise of one in a Month or two, which Intend to send you, If therefore on Credit of that {you'll please} Send me the following things with those already sent for, you will Infinitely Oblige me, but let them be sepperately pack'd they are as follows

Solos

1 Standlys Solos

3 Cervettos Soloes

3 Olio or Medby Solos

1 Sett of Wenceslaus Wodizka {Solos}

Lessons for Harpsichords Standlys Lessons Albertini Lessons DeGeordini Lessons

3 of Hasses Concertoes in Parts

3 of Hasses favourite {french horn} Concerto in F Corellis Concerto Op^a6^{ta}

Sonatas in parts

3 Sett Lampugnanis Sonatas all Op^a 1^{ma} so described

2 Sett Martini Do Opa 1ma

1 Sett Ziani Sonatas

1 Sett Humphreys Sonatas

2 Sett Musica Curioso

⁶ Handell Water Piece in 5 pts

Duetts

- 2 Diraginis Duetts for G F.
- 2 Teserini D.º Book 2d
- 2 Gerhards Do
- 12 6 Figlios Noturnas
- 6 2 Appolos Collection
- 14 Tutors for Harpsichord
- 24 Tutors for Violines
- 18 Tutors for German Flutes
- 4 Tutors for Common Do [i.e., flutes]
- 3 Doz Hautboy Reeds
- 3 Hasses Concerto in F for Harpsichord
- 2 Burk Thurmoths English & Irish Aires
- 2 Do— Scotch & Irish Aires
- 3 Pasqualis ThouroughBass
- 3 D.º Art Fingering
- 1 Musick in Macbeath
- 2 Harliquin Fortunatas wth
- a few others the same way.

about Six Guineas Worth good Violine Strings well sorted, Some Roman strings in Rings, others wher in Bundles whereof the 1st Blew all in all proportioned with silver Bases—

I am honoured {Sir} with Esteem Y^{rs} M H

NB If you are afraid to trust me for a Month or two, ask Capt Budden for my C{h}aracter—

I should be glad to have a line from you now then on board such Vessells as comes Immediately this Way, which you Could easily do by putting it into the Ships Bag at the Pennsylv. Coffee House Birchin Lane.

I am &ca M H

Letter 3:29

May. 10. 1760

Capt. Budden

My Brother Sam¹ Kuhl has wrote {to Jn^o Johnson in Cheapside} for a trifle of Musick & will send for more to {for Sale} more than the Amount of his Bill if therefore Johnson asks a Character of him Please reccommend him strongly as I will be your Security for so doing & shall take it Excessively kind, I mySelf shall take Care to see the Promis'd Bill remitted.

Wishing you a safe Passage I Subscribe MySelf Yrs MH

Letter 4:

June 19. 1760

M. Steegel

Sir—Yours of the 16 Inst.^a have reced & agreeable to y^r request have sent you the Italian Violine Case & Bow—19.—
1000 Shingles 4 £ 6 Bottles Balsom 12s—4.12

1000 Shingles 4 £ 6 Bott per Jn.º Ebys Waggon

23.12

Which have Charg'd to y. Acc. If Sower brings another Waggon will Load it Immediately with the other 1000 shingles Am much hurried so can not be very perticular at present, Only Assure yourself, Shall be glad to serve you at all times—I am with respects to self & spouse

Yrs MH

P S My Compliments to M^r Stattler & Assure him I would Answer his Letter but have not time

Letter 5:

Opposite Bow Church Cheapside London

Philad^a June 28. 1760

M: John Johnson

Sir

Inclosed I send you a List of Musickal Goods which I pray you'll

²⁹ This letter also was apparently cancelled by a series of diagonal strokes.

put safe up in a Box or Trunk & ship them to me per the first Oppertunity hence, so that I may at furthest have them in the fall, doubt not you will {price them so as not only} as to secure my future Custom to you as well as to but also make such Allowances as will make it worth my While in the sale of them here,

The bearer Capt: Bolitho who is good enough to take Charge of {this Letter &} two Bills of Exchange will get them Accepted & out of which you will be paid he will {can} & ean {will} Inform you what Vessell to put them on board off, the Captains of Vessells from hence generally Resort about the Pennsylvania Coffee House in Birchin Lane London & some at your Neighbours Mess. Pavd Barckly & Son,

As I Intend to Continue selling

Should be glad you would write me per every Oppertunity that comes directly hence, [illegible deletion] perhaps it may be well worth your while I Intend in a few Months to send {to} you for more Musick & would now have enlarg'd the Quantity of Several of the Articles which you will find mark'd with red ink {particularly for a large Assortment of Strings} had I not been dissappointed in the purchase of another small Bill.

I am with Respects the unknown Your most Humble serv!

MH

Letter 6:

Philad^a: June 28. 176[0]

Capt : Bolitho

Inclos'd you have first {of a Sett of} Bills of Exchange on the Reverend M. Jn. Waring in Woodstreet Spitalfields London for ten Pounds Sterling—Also the first Bill of a Sett of Bills of Exchange on M. James Russell Merch! in London for Nineteen Pounds sixteen Shillings & 11. which Last Bill If Protested will be paid by Mess. Dav. Barclay & son on the Acc. of the last Endorser Reese Meredith—Those two Bills pray {Please} get Accepted & after paying freight & Charges hence on the Goods John Johnson {(Musick Seller Opposite Bow Church in Cheapside])} Ships per me per first

Vessell (so that I may {have} them this Fall & {in} [illegible insertion and deletion] {I pray} you'll Assist him,) I say after paying Cash freight &c^a Please pay him, Will gladly Satisfie you for your Trouble besides being ready & willing at all times of returning the favour—

I am with Wishing you a Prosporous Voyage—

Your. MHillegas

P. S.

Shall send per next Oppty that follows you send the second {of those} Bills, You have likewise here Inclosed a Coppy of my Orders to Johnson So that if he should happen to be dead you may (to Oblige me) Apply at any other Musick Shop.—

University of Washington

JoAnn Taricani

