William McGibbon and his Sonatas

Elizabeth Ford University of Glasgow

Introduction

William McGibbon (1696–1756) was a leader in musical life in Scottish society in the mid-eighteenth century, yet he is remembered now primarily for his three collections of Scottish tunes with variations. The surviving prints of his other compositions are deteriorating and practically inaccessible, and this has prevented a proper study of his music. His work is of especial interest to flute players because his first set of trio sonatas, *Six Sonatas for two German Flutes, or two Violins, and a Bass*, published in 1729, was the first publication of Italian-style music by a Scottish composer printed in Scotland.¹

Portrayals of McGibbon have tended to be of a composer who excelled more at arranging Scottish tunes than composing Italian-style sonatas. These have stemmed in part from the slant put on his career by the writings of David Johnson, and in part because of the lack of accessibility of the surviving copies of McGibbon's sonatas.²

John Purser is unusually vague in his assessment of McGibbon, describing his style as 'fluent rather than characteristic'. Purser, sadly, does not elaborate on what this means, though it suggests that the while writing is solid, it does not stand out in any particular way from contemporary compositions and composers.

Johnson originally depicted McGibbon as a weak composer who was far superior at arranging traditional Scottish tunes than he was at original com-

McGibbon 1729. Johnson 2000 includes a selection of McGibbon's sonatas, including the sixth sonata from the 1729 publication.

Johnson seems to have felt this way about all eighteenth-century Scottish composers. In Johnson 1972, he characterizes Scottish composers as 'woefully inadequate' at anything other than Scottish fiddle tunes. In reference to McGibbon, Johnson argues that he did not do the necessary 'hard work' required for good counterpoint, and used his colleague Adam Craig's collection of Scottish tunes as the basis for his own three collections. Johnson is less derogatory in his later work, Johnson 2000, yet there is still the sense that he found his subject quaint and more of a musical curiosity than something worthy of serious study. See Johnson 2003, pp. 59, 61, 155.

³ Purser 2007, p. 204.

position,⁴ and this image has prevailed because of a lack of alternative perspectives.⁵ Johnson later changed his mind about McGibbon,⁶ and described him as a 'major-sized composer, whose music has not only variety and range, but a distinct and compelling personality',⁷ but the damage and condescension has remained, especially as he did not edit his original text, which reads:

What is known of his music is disappointing; he seems incapable of writing counterpoint which is also good harmony, and vice-versa, and one's overall impression is of a talent undeveloped through simply not having done the requisite amount of hard work.⁸

Peter Holman, in the preface to his edition of three of McGibbon's trio sonatas, is more guarded in his assessment, saying:

McGibbon could not always handle the harmonic patterns of the Italian style with assurance, and on occasion the part-writing is sometimes weakened by a use of consecutive fifths and octaves. Yet his sonatas are often surprisingly forward-looking for the 1730s, and contain much fresh and inventive melodic writing.⁹

Biographical background

William McGibbon was probably the son of the violinist Duncan McGibbon of Glasgow. This is, however, a relatively recent reassessment of his parentage, based on bond investments made by a Duncan McGibbon, violer, of Glasgow. William Tytler believed him to have been the son of Malcolm McGibbon of Edinburgh, and this is a view shared by Helen Goodwill.¹⁰

-

⁴ He describes the Scottish tune settings as 'the crowning achievement of the period', and conveys an attitude that Scottish composers should only write in a traditional Scottish style. See Johnson 2005, p. 37. Johnson, as noted above, is almost solely responsible for McGibbon's modern reputation. By the second edition of *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, he had reconsidered McGibbon's works and apologized for his earlier condemnation of his music. Johnson 2003, pp. xv-xvii.

⁵ Johnson contends that McGibbon's Scottish tune settings were based on, and deeply indebted to, the work of his slightly older contemporaries. See Johnson 2005, p. 37. Sonia Tinagli Baxter argues that they resemble the Scottish settings of his contemporary and colleague at the Edinburgh Musical Society, Francesco Barsanti. See Baxter 1999, pp. 50–52.

Many of the sonatas were still missing or unknown when Johnson wrote Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century in 1970. See Johnson 2003, pp. xv, 61.

⁷ Johnson 2003, p. xv.

⁸ Johnson 2003, p. 61. This is not unlike James Scott Skinner's comment dismissing eighteenth-century fiddlers as lacking 'good sound training and manual equipment'. See Skinner 1905, p. 33.

⁹ Peter Holman, in McGibbon 1991, p. vi.

Johnson's rationale for reassigning his parentage is explained in the preface to the second edition of *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*. Johnson 2013; Johnson 2003, p. xvii; Johnson n.d.

All biographical study of William McGibbon seems to have begun with William Tytler's 1792 essay 'On the Fashionable Amusements and Entertainments in Edinburgh in the Last Century', in which he says that the oboist Malcolm McGibbon was the father of William. 11 Tytler's essay, which scholars have tended to rely on uncritically for much regarding the history of music in Scotland, contains many pieces of mistaken information, especially regarding the history of the transverse flute in Scotland. Peter Holman, in his article 'An Early Edinburgh Concert', points out many details that Tytler inaccurately reported, including the date of the St Cecilia's Day concert he describes as the subject of his essay. 12 David Johnson's unpublished biographical notes on McGibbon show how he determined that William came from the Glasgow branch of the family, and that the Malcolm McGibbon of Tytler's essay was his uncle, not his father, and possibly named Matthew. 13

McGibbon went to London around 1709 where he studied with the violinist William Corbett. William Corbett was absent from England between 1715 and 1724, when he may have been in Rome spying on James Francis Edward Stuart. It is possible that McGibbon travelled with him; Alexander Campbell thought that he had, and he may have had access to information that either existed only in oral tradition or is now lost. By 1726, McGibbon was in Edinburgh, where he was employed as the first violinist by the Edinburgh Musical Society until his death. If Johnson takes issue with Tytler's assertions regarding the date of McGibbon's study with Corbett: If Tytler's dates were accurate, then McGibbon would have been at the peak of his career when he was supposed to have been in Italy with Corbett. Alexander Campbell had written that it was around 1745, but by then McGibbon was at the height of his career in Edinburgh. Johnson proposes 1715 as a more likely date for a trip to Italy.

Robert Fergusson referred to McGibbon's death in a poem nearly twenty years after the event, writing:

¹¹ Tytler 1792, pp. 508–10.

¹² Holman 2004, pp. 9–17.

Johnson 2013. David Baptie clearly used Tytler as his source. Baptie 1972, p. 108; David Johnson's unpublished notes on William McGibbon were made available to me by John Purser.

¹⁴ Johnson 2000, p. ix; Johnson 2013.

¹⁵ Edwards 2013.

¹⁶ Campbell 1798, p. 13.

¹⁷ Sederunt. Johnson describes his position in Edinburgh as similar to that of Corelli in Rome. See Johnson 2013.

¹⁸ Johnson 2013.

Macgibbon's gane, a' waes my heart: The man in music maist expert, Wha could sweet melody impart And tune the reed Wi' sic a slee and pawky art, But now he's deid.¹⁹

While McGibbon is the only composer Fergusson mentions by name in this poem, Fergusson uses him to express his own distaste for Italianate music, suggesting that McGibbon's fame as a fiddler and composer/arranger of Scottish tunes far exceeded his fame as a composer of sonatas. Due to the continuing publication of McGibbon's three Scottish collections by Robert Bremner, who purchased McGibbon's instruments and books from the Royal Infirmary in 1759, it is easy to see how such could be the case. Bremner must have known that the popular taste was for Scottish tunes, not sonatas, so the sonatas were never reprinted.

'Reed' could be taken to suggest that McGibbon played oboe,²⁰ or that confusion over his identity or his parentage had begun relatively soon after his death. Fergusson was only six when McGibbon died, so the inclusion of him as the only composer named in the poem shows how his fame and reputation survived him. It could be, however, that 'reed' simply provided a convenient rhyme for 'deid'.

McGibbon was active in the musical life of Edinburgh. He was loved and acclaimed as both a concert violinist and as a fiddler.²¹ Of the six original musicians employed by the Edinburgh Musical Society, he served as leader of the orchestra, and was paid more than the other players, and held this position until his death. He also sold violin strings to the Society, which as Jennifer McLeod notes, indicates that professional musicians made their income from as many aspects of the music business as possible.²² His starting salary was three guineas for the season and later increased, with that of Adam Craig, the second violin

_

¹⁹ The poem is Fergusson's 'Elegy, on the Death of Scots Music', which first appeared in *The Weekly Magazine*, 5 March 1772, p. 305. Curiously, even as recently as twenty years after McGibbon's death, his sonatas had been forgotten or ignored in favour of his Scottish tunes. In the 'Elegy', Fergusson is bemoaning that Scottish composers are writing in an Italianate manner rather than their native idiom, and holds McGibbon up as a paragon of the Scottish style. See Fergusson 2007, p. 56.

²⁰ Or possibly bagpipes.

²¹ Johnson describes him as the best of his generation at both styles of playing. See Johnson 2005, p. 2.

²² McLeod 2001, p. 69.

player, to ten pounds per season in 1730, 23 and again to twenty-five pounds in 1737. 24

McGibbon was published in Edinburgh and London, which suggests he had a market in England and Scotland.²⁵ His music was very popular with the Edinburgh Musical Society; in addition to subscribing to his sonatas, their purchases between 1727 and 1729 are balanced between his compositions and those of Italian composers.²⁶

Among McGibbon's activities in Edinburgh was teaching. Edinburgh Assembly Minutes refer to a blind fiddler, Robert Hutton whose playing had improved after having studied with McGibbon and was applying for a pay rise.²⁷ It was William's uncle, Malcolm, who taught flute to Rachel, daughter of Lady Grisell Baillie at Mellerstain in 1711 and 1712.²⁸

McGibbon was a popular figure in Edinburgh, and his funeral was a large and well-attended event.²⁹ The obituary lists Lord Provost George Drummond as chief mourner, and the hierarchy of the Royal Infirmary as well as magistrates, the directors of the Edinburgh Musical Society, the membership of several Masonic lodges, as well as 'a great number of other Citizens of Rank and Fashion' as having been in attendance.³⁰

McGibbon's grave is unmarked. It was located by the staff at the City of Edinburgh burial office as being four double-paces east of Lord Provost George Drummond, in a corner of Greyfriars churchyard near the Flodden Wall. It is in a corner of graves, broken slabs, and skulls carved into the wall supporting the upper level of the graveyard, adjacent to a flight of stairs. Lord Provost George Drummond was a friend of McGibbon, and arranged his funeral and burial, so it is not surprising that he buried McGibbon in his own grave plot.³¹ Johnson speculates in his notes that McGibbon was under some deathbed pressure from Drummond to leave his estate to the Royal Infirmary. McGibbon's will has disappeared, but some sense of the robust health of his finances can be gained from the minutes of Infirmary board meetings in the years following his death.³²

²³ McLeod 2001, p. 140.

²⁴ McLeod 2001, p. 141.

²⁵ His music was also known in the British colonies. See Butler 2007, pp. 23, 24, and 368; Edgar 1998, p. 171.

²⁶ McLeod 2001, p. 100.

²⁷ Edinburgh Assembly Minute Book, quoted in Alburger 1996, p. 51.

²⁸ Goodwill 2000, pp. 113, 117.

²⁹ Johnson 2000, p. ix.

³⁰ Caledonian Mercury 1756, p. 3.

³¹ Though it is perhaps surprising that he did not arrange for a gravestone.

³² Johnson n.d.

Establishing a catalogue of sonatas by McGibbon³³

Confusion has surrounded the number of sonatas McGibbon composed; there are either three or four sets of trio sonatas depending on what reference guide is used, though the number of sets of solo sonatas and flute duets is consistently one each. Table 1 is derived from what David Johnson provides in his Grove article on McGibbon.

Table 1 List of McGibbon's sonatas from New Grove dictionary article by David Johnson

Number (assigned by the author)	Title	Date and place of publication	Johnson's comments	Notes
J1	Six sonatas for two violins or flutes and a bass	1727	Incomplete unpublished manuscript	Johnson accepted the attribution to McGibbon given in a note in the volume by Moffat, and apparently did not challenge it. See Johnson 2005, p. 192.
J2	Six sonatas, 1-5 for violin or flute and bass, 6 for flute or recorder, violin, and bass	Edinburgh, 1729		This set was the first collection of Italianate music published in Scotland, and it sold well. Johnson 2005, p. 192.
J3	Six sonatas for two violins or flutes and bass	Edinburgh, 1734		
J4	Sonatas on John come kiss me now and La folia for violin and bass	1735	Violin parts are located at the National Library of Scotland in the McFarlane Manuscript	
J5	Sonatas on John come kiss me now and La folia for violin and bass	1735	Violin parts are located at the National Library of Scotland in the McFarlane Manuscript	

³³ See McGibbon 2018.

Scottish Music Review Volume 5 (2019)

Number (assigned by the author)	Title	Date and place of publication	Johnson's comments	Notes
J6	Six sonatas or solos for violin or flute and bass	Edinburgh, 1740		
J7	Six sonatas for two violins or flutes and bass	London, 1745	Only the first violin part survives	

The list given in RISM (Table 2) is slightly different:³⁴

Table 2 List of McGibbon's sonatas from RISM

RISM	Title	Date and place	Libraries with	Notes
number		of publication	copies	
M35	Six sonatas for two German flutes, or two violins, and a bass	Edinburgh, Richard Cooper, 1729	Library of Congress: flute I and bass	
M36	Six sonatas for two German flutes, or two violins, and a bass	Edinburgh, Richard Cooper, 1734	King's College Cambridge: flute II and bass; Library of Congress: flute I and bass	A copy of a letter in Kenneth Elliott's papers explains how partial copies of the 1734 sonatas arrived at the Library of Congress. They were purchased in 1925, and were left to the Library as part of the Dayton C. Miller Collection. Letter dated 24 May 1925 to unknown recipient, signed Lewis T. Morre or Rowe.
M37	Six sonatas for solos for a german flute or a violin and a bass	Edinburgh, Richard Cooper, 1740	Library of Congress; Stätsbibliotek, Berlin	
M38	Six sonatas for two german flutes or two violins with a	London, David Rutherford	King's College Cambridge: incomplete;	While the earlier trio sonatas' parts are labeled

³⁴ RISM, p. 385.

-

	thorough bass for the harpsichord		Cambridge University Library: flute I; British Library: flute I	"primo," "basso," and "secondo" at the tops of the pages, the surviving first part from this publication is labeled "Traverso Primo" at the top of each page, showing that either McGibbon or his publisher intended the flute as the primary instrument choice for these sonatas.
				publication date of 1750. See BUCEM.
M39	Six sonatas for two german flutes	London, J. Simpson	Cambridge University Library; Edinburgh Public Library; National Library of Scotland; Edinburgh University Library; University of Glasgow Library	Possible publication date of 1748. See BUCEM.

The lists in Grove and RISM can be correlated as follows, with new identifying numbers (Table 3):

Table 3 Collation of Grove and RISM work lists

New identifying number	RISM	Johnson/ Grove
F1	M35	J2
F2	M36	J3
F3	M37	J5
F4	M39	J7
F5	M40 or M38	J6
F6	Unaccounted for in RISM	J1
F7	Unaccounted for in RISM (exists only in manuscript)	J4
F8	Unaccounted for in RISM (believed to be lost)	Ј8

The set of trio sonatas given the date of 1727 by David Johnson is a partial manuscript bound with the Library of Congress's volume of McGibbon's 1729 sonatas, with a note by Alfred Moffat ascribing them to McGibbon. They have recently been reidentified as works of Alessandro Scarlatti, partly in the hand of a London copyist.³⁵

Table 4 shows the libraries RISM lists as holding copies of McGibbon's chamber works, and what the libraries actually possess, verified by correspondence with staff members at each of the libraries in question.

Table 4 Libraries holding copies of McGibbon's chamber works

RISM no.	Library in RISM	Is it really there?	Notes
M35	Library of Congress	Yes: Flute I and bass	King's College Cambridge also has a copy of Flute II/violin; it was catalogued as M40. See below.
M36	King's College Cambridge Library of Congress	Yes: Flute II and bass Yes: Flute I and bass	
M37	Library of Congress Staatsbibliothek, Berlin	Yes Yes	
M38	King's College Cambridge Cambridge University Library British Library	No: Missing Yes: Flute I Yes: Flute I	
M39	Glasgow University Library Cambridge University Library Edinburgh Public Library Edinburgh University Library National Library of Scotland	Yes Yes No Missing/ not catalogued Yes	The University of Glasgow's copy is incomplete. Sonata VI stops after the first page of the first movement.
			Cambridge University Library catalogue suggests it has a score and parts to the duets, M39, but the print only exists as a score. In fact, they have a complete copy of M39 and the flute I parts to M38.
M40	King's College Cambridge	Yes: Flute II	This is a mistake. The catalogue of Rowe

³⁵ Personal communication, Rosalind Halton. See also Halton 2014, p. 26.

RISM no.	Library in RISM	Is it really there?	Notes
no.			Music Library, King's College Cambridge, confirms that they hold M40, but what they list as M40 is actually M35. (I determined this after ordering copies of all they had listed. I did not receive what I had expected, and upon getting back in touch with Gareth Burgess at
			the Rowe Music Library, established that there is a discrepancy between RISM, the library catalogue, and the BUCEM).

The riddle of the identity of M40 has an easy solution: it does not actually exist. Both RISM and BUCEM suggest that King's College Cambridge holds three different sets of McGibbon's trio sonatas. Its copy of M38 is currently missing, and in any case the library does not appear to hold the three sets the reference guides indicate.

Table 5 RISM, BUCEM, and King's College Cambridge

RISM KCC	BUCEM KCC	KCC
M36/1734 trio sonatas flute II	1734 trio sonatas	Yes
M38/trio sonatas	1745 trio sonatas	Cannot be found
	(not identical to 1734)	
M40/trio sonatas flute II	1750 trio sonatas	No
		M35/1729 trio sonatas

The music King's College Cambridge has catalogued as M40 is actually M35. Gareth Burgess believes the confusion arose from a missing corner of the title page in their copy of M35, which led to its having two entries in RISM.³⁶ It can be

-

³⁶ 'I suspect you are right re the non-existence of RISM A/I, M40. ... The edition listed in RISM A/1 as M35 is not listed in BUCEM as there are no copies in British libraries. Evidently when RISM was compiled, the editors did not notice that our copy listed as M 40

determined from this oversight that there are three sets of published trio sonatas, not four.³⁷

Now that all of the extant published sources have been consulted and reassessed, a complete picture of McGibbon's compositional output and range as a composer can be determined.³⁸ Tables 6 and 7 below represents the complete catalogue of what exists of McGibbon's solo and trio sonatas and a list of contents.

Title	Publication details	Current location	Notes
Six Sonatas for	1729, Edinburgh,	Primo and basso:	Some of the tempo
two German	R. Cooper	Library of Congress;	markings are inconsistent
Flutes, or two		Secondo and basso:	through the three parts;
Violins and a		King's College	Sonata 6 is for a violin and
Bass		Cambridge	a German flute
Six Sonatas for	1734, Edinburgh,	Primo and basso:	These sonatas were
two German	R. Cooper	Library of Congress;	dedicated to the flute
Flutes, or two		Secondo and basso:	player Susanna, Countess
Violins and a		King's College	of Eglinton; Sonata 5 is
bass		Cambridge	subtitled 'In Imitation of
			Corelli'; the Marquess of
			Lothian, father of the flute

Table 6 Catalogue of McGibbon's sonatas

is in fact M35 with a cropped title page, hence the two separate entries. I hope this seems a likely explanation to you. You have helped us to solve a mystery'. Email from Gareth Burgess, 24 June 2013.

David Johnson may have been aware of this problem. His list in Grove shows four sets of trio sonatas, one of which is the incomplete 1727 manuscript at the Library of Congress. Kenneth Elliott almost certainly knew of the confusion. Amongst his papers are parts to the 1729 trio sonatas with 'Library of Congress' and 'KCC' written in pencil at the top of the page. According to RISM, those libraries share the 1734 set. Elliott did not put dates on the music in his papers, but his pencil markings suggest that he was aware of the discrepancy.

There is a hint of one possible additional set of trio sonatas: Montagu Music Collection volume 499, Adam Craig's A Collection of the Choicest Scots Tunes is labeled 'Craig's Scots Tunes and McGiven's Sonatas' on the leather binding. It contains the first part, marked Flauto primo, to six trio sonatas. It is tempting to identify McGiven as McGibbon, and to identify the sonatas as evidence of another unknown set of McGibbon trio sonatas. The music bears a strong resemblance to his published works, and McGiven could easily be a misspelling or misunderstanding of McGibbon, and I have not found any references to a composer named McGiven. The volume was owned by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharp, who was almost certainly responsible for the binding, but not the attribution to McGiven, as that name is written on the music in the same hand as the music itself. Without any other hard evidence of the music's origin, the identity of the composer, and without the other parts to the sonatas, the identity of McGiven as McGibbon must remain inconclusive.

Civ Conneton	1740 Ediahuush	Library of Congress	player Lord Robert Kerr, is among the subscribers. (Kerr studied flute as a student. The only copy of Vivaldi's long-lost flute concerto 'Il Gran Mogol' was discovered in the papers of the Marquess of Lothian and dates from Lord Robert's time in Italy. See Woolley 2010)
Six Sonatas or Solos for a German Flute or Violin and a Bass	1740, Edinburgh, R. Cooper	Library of Congress; Staatsbibliothek	The Staatsbibliothek copy may have been owned by the flute player Lord Robert Kerr; the Library of Congress copy was owned by the antiquarian Charles Kirkpatrick and may have been owned by Niel Gow
Six Sonatas for two German Flutes	1748, London, J. Simpson	National Library of Scotland, Cambridge University, University of Glasgow	Printed in score form; University of Glasgow's copy is incomplete
Six Sonatas for Two German Flutes or two Violins with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord	1745, London, D. Rutherford	Cambridge University, British Library	Only the first part survives; labelled Traverso Primo rather than Primo

Table 7 List of contents

Six Sonatas for two German Flutes, or two Violins and a Bass, 1729 $\,$

Sonata 1, C major: Andante, Allegro, Gigga; Sonata 2, D major: Largo, Allegro, Gigga;

Sonata 3, G major: Largo, Allegro, Adagio, Minuet, Gavotta alla francese;

Sonata 4, E minor: Andante, Gigga, Gavotta; Sonata 5, B minor: Andante, Allegro, Largo, Minuet;

Sonata 6, D Major: Adagio, Allegro ma non presto, Adagio, Allegro

Six Sonatas for two German Flutes, or two Violins and a bass, 1734

Sonata 1, D major: Andante, Adagio, Largo, Minuet;

Sonata 2, C major: Allegro, Largo, Gigga; Sonata 3, B minor: Largo, Allegro, Andante; Sonata 4, G minor: Adagio, Vivace, Largo, Allegro; Sonata 5, G major: Adagio, Allegro, Largo, Allegro; Sonata 6, D major: Largo, Allegro, Largo, Presto

Six Sonatas or Solos for a German Flute or Violin and a Bass, 1740

Sonata 1, C major: Adagio, Allegro, Adagio, Minuet; Sonata 2, D major: Andante, Allegro, Andante; Sonata 3, E minor: Largo, Allegro, Grave, Allegro; Sonata 4, G major: Adagio, Allegro, Largo, Gavott; Sonata 5, C minor: Adagio, Vivace, Grave, Allegro; Sonata 6, B minor: Adagio, Allegro, Largo, Presto

Six Sonatas for two German Flutes, 1748 Sonata 1, D major: Largo, Allegro, Minuetto; Sonata 2, E minor: Largo, Allegro, Minuet; Sonata 3, C major: Allegro, Largo, Giga; Sonata 4, G major: Largo, Allegro, March; Sonata 5, A major: Largo, Allegro assai, Minuet; Sonata 6, F major: Vivace, Adagio, March

Six Sonatas for Two German Flutes or two Violins with a Thorough Bass for the $\,$

Harpsichord, 1745

Sonata 1, C major: Allegro, Andante, Gigga; Sonata 2, G major: Largo, Allegro, Allegro; Sonata 3, D major: Largo, Allegro, Gavotta;

Sonata 4, G minor: Adagio, Allegro, Largo, Largo (key change to G major);

Sonata 5, B minor: Largo, Allegro, Presto; Sonata 6, A major: Largo, Allegro, Minuet

Bibliography

Alburger 1996: Mary Anne Alburger, *Scottish Fiddlers and their Music* (Edinburgh: The Hardie Press, 1996). Cted in note(s) 27

Baptie 1972: David Baptie, *Musical Scotland Past and Present* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1972). Cited in note(s) 13

Baxter 1999: Sonia Tinagli Baxter, 'Italian Music and Musicians in Edinburgh, c.1720–1800: A Historical and Critical Study', PhD thesis (University of Glasgow, 1999). Cited in note(s) 5

BUCEM: *British Union-Catalogue of Early Music*, ed. Edith B. Schnapper (London: Butterworths Scientific Publications, 1957).

Butler 2007: Nicholas Michael Butler, *Votaries of Apollo: The St. Cecilia Society and the Patronage of Concert Music in Charleston, South Carolina, 1766–1820* (Charleston: University of South Carolina Press, 2007). Cited in note(s) 25

Caledonian Mercury 1756: [Author unknown], '[Obituary of William McGibbon]', Caledonian Mercury, (5 October 1756): 3. Cited in note(s) 30

- Campbell 1798: Alexander Campbell, *An Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland, from the Thirteenth Century down to the Present Time, Together with a Conversation on Scottish Song* (Edinburgh: Foulis, 1798). Cited in note(s) 16
- Edgar 1998: Walter B. Edgar, *South Carolina: A History* (Charleston: University of South Carolina Press, 1998). Cited in note(s) 25
- Edwards 2013: Owain Edwards, 'Corbett, William', Oxford Music Online (2013): http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/06448 (accessed 4 April 2013). Cited in note(s) 15
- Elliott n.d.: Kenneth Elliott, Personal papers and correspondence (courtesy of the Musica Scotica Trust).
- Fergusson 2007: Robert Fergusson, *Selected Poems*, ed. James Robertson (Edinburgh: Polygon, 2007). Cited in note(s) 19
- Goodwill 2000: Helen Goodwill, 'The Musical Involvement of the Landed Classes in Eastern Scotland, 1685–1760', PhD thesis (University of Edinburgh, 2000). Cited in note(s) 28
- Halton 2014: Rosalind Halton and Michael Talbot, "Choice Things of Value": The Mysterious Genesis and Character of the *VI Concertos in Seven Parts* Attributed to Alessandro Scarlatti', *Eighteenth-Century Music*, 12 (2014): 9–33. Cited in note(s) 35
- Harris 1899: David Fraser Harris, *Saint Cecilia's Hall in the Niddry Wynd: A Chapter in the History of the Music of the Past in Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderston and Ferrier, 1899).
- Holman 2004: Peter Holman, 'An Early Edinburgh Concert', *Early Music Performer*, 13 (2004): 9–17. Cited in note(s) 12
- Johnson 1972: David Johnson, *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972). Cited in note(s) 2
- Johnson 2000: David Johnson (ed.), *Musica Scotica III: Chamber Music of Eighteenth-century Scotland* (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Music Department Publications, 2000). Cited in note(s) 1, 2, 14, 29

- Johnson 2003: David Johnson, *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, 2nd edn (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 2003). Cited in note(s) 2, 4, 6, 7, 8
- Johnson 2005: David Johnson, *Scottish Fiddle Music in the Eighteenth Century*, 3rd edn (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 2005). Cited in note(s) 4, 5, 21
- Johnson 2013: David Johnson, 'McGibbon, William', Oxford Music Online (2013): http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/17326 (accessed 20 February 2013). Cited in note(s) 10, 13, 14, 17, 18
- Johnson n.d.: David Johnson, '[Unpublished notes on William McGibbon]' (courtesy of John Purser). Cited in note(s) 32
- McGibbon 1729: William McGibbon, *Six Sonatas for Two German Flutes, or two Violins, and a Bass* (Edinburgh: Richard Cooper, 1729). Cited in note(s) 1
- McGibbon 1734: William McGibbon: *Six Sonatas for Two German Flutes, or two Violins, and a Bass* (Edinburgh: Richard Cooper, 1734).
- McGibbon 1740: William McGibbon, *Six Sonatas or Solos for a German Flute or Violin and a Bass* (Edinburgh: Richard Cooper, 1740).
- McGibbon 1745: William McGibbon, *Six Sonatas for Two German Flutes or two Violins with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord* (London: D. Rutherford, [1745]).
- McGibbon 1748: William McGibbon, *Six Sonatas for two German Flutes* (London: J. Simpson, [1748]).
- McGibbon 1991: William McGibbon, *Three Sonatas for two Flutes or Violins and Continuo*, ed. Peter Holman (Edinburgh: The Hardie Press, 1991). Cited in note(s) 9
- McGibbon 2018: William McGibbon, *Complete Sonatas*, ed. Elizabeth C. Ford, Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era, 205 (Middleton, Wis.: A-R Editions, 2018). Cited in note(s) 33.
- McLeod 2001: Jennifer McLeod, 'The Edinburgh Musical Society: Its members and repertoire, 1728–1797', PhD thesis (University of Edinburgh, 2001). Cited in note(s) 22, 23, 24, 26

- Purser 2007: John Purser, *Scotland's Music* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing Company, 2007). Cited in note(s) 3
- RISM: *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales* 25 A/I/5 (Kassel: Barenreiter, 1975). Cited in note(s) 34
- Sederunt: Edinburgh Public Library, Sederunt Books of the Edinburgh Musical Society, 1728–95. Cited in note(s) 17
- Skinner 1905: James Scott Skinner, *A Guide to Bowing* (London: Bayley & Ferguson, 1905).
- Tytler 1792: William Tytler, 'On the Fashionable Amusements and Entertainments in Edinburgh in the Last Century', *Transactions of the Society of Antiquarians of Scotland*, vol. 1 (1792): 499–510. Cited in note(s) 11
- Woolley 2010: Andrew Woolley, 'An Unknown Flute Concerto by Vivaldi in Scotland', *Studi Vivaldiani*, 10 (2010): 3–38.