Music for Macbeth

There were no songs and dances in the Tragedy of Macbeth, as it was originally written and performed. There was not much music at all -- only some background music in these two scenes:

(1) In Act 1, scene 7, the king is having a meal in the next room, and some music is being played for his entertainment. "Ho-boyes [and] Torches" is the cue for that.* "Ho-boyes" tells us that the king is eating; "Torches" tells us that he is having his supper ... and will shortly be retiring to bed.

(2) In Act 3, scene 4, as Macbeth's guests assemble for the banquet, again some background music ought to be heard. Folio has no cue for it, but the occasion requires it, and acting editions do mostly provide it.†

That is all. It would not be necessary to go to the expense of commissioning new music: the band could choose some suitable pieces from their repertoire.

* Folio gives the same cue at the start of the previous scene, but that is obviously wrong. The direction needed there (as the king makes his entrance) is "Flourish" (Kemble 1794:17).

† Kemble (1794:38) has "Musick" in this scene; Charles Kean (1853:54) has "Bards, with harps, in gallery".

Eighteenth-century producers would have been glad to add more music, but could not find much scope for it. Might there perhaps be a "March" to announce the arrival of the Scottish army in Act 1, scene 3 -- a piece played by an orchestra, not just a single drum? Garrick approved of that (Bell 1773:8).* Kemble thought that there should also be a "March" for the English army, as it advances on Dunsinane in Act 5, scenes 4 and 6 (Kemble 1794:59-60, 62).

* The music written by Samuel Arnold for a production of Macbeth at the Haymarket theatre in 1778 includes a "March" presumably intended for this scene. There is also a "Menuetto to be Play'd at the Banquet". (Duncan did not get any music with his supper.) These two pieces are original; the other five -- an overture and four entr'actes -- are settings of known Scottish tunes.

That might have been -- ought to have been -- the whole story. Unhappily it was not.

Middleton's Witch

At an early stage (well before 1623), somebody had the bright idea of incorporating some musical episodes into a production of Macbeth. Most of the material he used -- the music, the lyrics for the songs, perhaps the choreography for the dances -- came to him ready-made. They came from a play which had flopped, Thomas Middleton's The Witch.

The Witch was not put into print. And yet, by luck, the entire script survives. Several years after the play had been staged, one of Middleton's friends expressed an interest in reading it; so Middleton borrowed the original manuscript from the theatre to which he had sold it, had a fair copy made, and presented this copy to this friend. Sooner or later, the original vanished ... but the copy survived. It resurfaced in the eighteenth century.*

* By unknown means, it came into the possession of the actor Benjamin Griffin (d 1740), and then of the bookseller Lockyer Davis, who sold it to the collector Thomas Pearson (d 1781). Pearson's library was sold in 1788, and the manuscript of The Witch was bought (for £2.70) by George Steevens (d 1800); Steeven's library was sold in 1800, and the manuscript was bought (for £7.50) by Edmond Malone (d 1812). After Malone's death, his brother, Lord Sunderlin (d 1816), arranged for it to be donated, with many other books and manuscripts, to the Bodleian Library. It arrived there in 1821, and has been there ever since.

Once the connection between The Witch and Macbeth had been recognized, Middleton's play began attracting a degree of attention far beyond what it would otherwise have been thought to deserve. A small edition was printed in 1778, at Isaac Reed's expense -- "a few copies only for his Friends" (Nichols 1812 2:665); large extracts were appended to Steevens's last edition of Macbeth, printed in 1793 (reprinted in 1803, 1813, 1821). The entire text was published in 1810, in a collection of old plays called "The ancient British drama" (Miller 1810), and again in 1840, in Alexander Dyce's edition of Middleton's works. It has been reedited several times since then.

No one has ever suggested that The Witch is a good play. It is billed as a tragi-comedy, but there is nothing at all tragic about it. The title is not apt: the play is a convoluted (in places incomprehensible) tale of sexual intrigue among the upper-class inhabitants of Ravenna. From time to time, however, one of the principal characters feels the need for some magical assistance -- a charm to cause impotence, a charm to make somebody fall in love, or simply a dose of poison -- and the witch is the person they turn to.

The witch's name is Hecate, pronounced as two syllables, Heckat.

She is 117 years old, but still frisky. (She has not lost interest in sex.) She has a son named Firestone, whose main function is to make nasty remarks which only the audience can hear; she also has a retinue of five assistant witches, together with any number of familiar spirits. They all have a jolly time of it. They fly around at night, they sing and dance, and generally enjoy themselves greatly.

These are the musical episodes in The Witch.

(1) Act 1, scene 2 (ed Dyce 259-61). This is our first encounter with Hecate and her companions. The following passage is not marked as a song in the manuscript, nor in any edition that I have seen, but it sounds like a song to me.* (Hecate was played by a man, of course -- a man, I imagine, with a fairly deep voice.)

Hecate. There, take this unbaptised brat;
Boil it well; preserve the fat:
You know 'tis precious to transfer
Our 'nointed flesh into the air.
In moonlight nights, on steeple-tops,
Mountains, and pine-trees, that like pricks or stops
Seem to our height; high towers and roofs of princes
Like wrinkles in the earth; whole provinces
Appear to our sight then even like
A russet mole upon some lady's cheek.
When hundred leagues in air, we feast and sing,
Dance, kiss, and coll, use every thing:
What young man can we wish to pleasure us,
But we enjoy him in an incubus?

* This is the only place where Hecate speaks in rhymed couplets. Normally she speaks in blank verse, or in prose, or in something halfway between.

(2) Act 2, scene 1 (ed Dyce 276). One of the principal characters, Isabella, sings a little song in this scene.

In a maiden-time profess'd,
Then we say that life is best;
Tasting once the married life,
Then we only praise the wife:
There's but one state more to try,
Which makes women laugh or cry ---
Widow, widow: of these three
The middle's best, and that give me.

(3) Act 3, scene 3 (ed Dyce 303-5). None of the principals appear in this scene: it does not advance the plot in any way. Just for fun, the witches are setting out on one of their

moonlight excursions. Music plays; the witches sing; a basket made to look like a cloud descends from above the stage, piloted by Hecate's familiar. Hecate rubs herself with the necessary ointment (the chief ingredient of which is the fat boiled out of the baby in a previous scene), climbs aboard the machine, and rises up into the air until she vanishes from view.

This is Middleton's script, more or less as it was printed by Dyce (I have taken a few liberties with it).

Firestone. Hark, hark, mother! they are above the steeple already, flying over your head with a noise of musicians.
Hecate. They're they indeed. Help, help me; I'm too late else.

Witches (above). Come away, come away,
Hecate, Hecate, come away!
Hecate. (Sings) I come, I come, I come, I come,
With all the speed I may,
With all the speed I may.
Where's Stadlin?
1 Witch (above). Here.
Hecate. Where's Puckle?
2 Witch (above). Here;
And Hoppo too, and Hellwain too;
We lack but you, we lack but you;
Come away, make up the count.
Hecate. I will but 'noint, and then I mount.
I will but 'noint, and then I mount.*
(A Spirit like a cat descends.)
Spirit. There's one comes down to fetch his dues,
A kiss, a coll, a sip of blood;
And why thou stay'st so long I muse, I muse,
Since the air's so sweet and good.
Hecate. O, art thou come? What news, what news?
Spirit. All goes still to our delight:
Either come, or else refuse, refuse.

Firestone. Hark, hark, the cat sings a brave treble in her own language!

Hecate. (Sings) Now I'm furnish'd for the flight.
Now I go, now I fly,
Malkin my sweet spirit and I.
O what a dainty pleasure 'tis
To ride in the air
When the moon shines fair,
And sing and dance, and toy and kiss!
Over woods, high rocks, and mountains,

Over seas, o'er misty fountains,
Over steeples, towers and turrets,
We fly by night, 'mongst troops of spirits:
No ring of bells to our ears sounds,
No howls of wolves, no yelps of hounds;
No, not the noise of water's breach,
Nor cannon's throat our height can reach.
Witches (above). No ring of bells to our ears sounds,
No howls of wolves, no yelps of hounds;
No, not the noise of water's breach,
Nor cannon's throat our height can reach.

Firestone. Well, mother, I thank your kindness: you must be gambolling i' th' air, and leave me to walk here like a fool and a mortal.

* This line is not repeated in the manuscript; I repeat it because it is repeated in the music (see below).

(4) Act 5, scene 2 (ed Dyce 327-9). In this scene Hecate is cooking up a magical potion, and again there is some music to accompany the action. This is Middleton's script.

Hecate. ... And fetch three ounces of the red-hair'd girl I kill'd last midnight.
Firestone. Whereabouts, sweet mother?
Hecate. Hip; hip or flank. ... Stir, stir about, whilst I begin the charm.

(Sings.) Black spirits and white, red spirits and gray,
Mingle, mingle, mingle, you that mingle may!
Titty, Tiffin, keep it stiff in;
Firedrake, Puckey, make it lucky;
Liard, Robin, you must bob in.
Witches. Round, around, around, about, about!
All ill come running in, all good keep out!
1 Witch. Here's the blood of a bat.
Hecate. Put in that, O, put in that!
2 Witch. Here's libbard's-bane.
Hecate. Put in again!
1 Witch. The juice of toad, the oil of adder.
2 Witch. Those will make the younker madder.
Hecate. Put in -- there's all -- and rid the stench.
Firestone. Nay, here's three ounces of the red-hair'd wench.
Witches. Round, around, around, about, about!
All ill come running in, all good keep out!

Hecate. So, so, enough: ...

(5) The same scene ends with a wordless dance in which Hecate

and all the other witches participate.

Hecate. Come, my sweet sisters; let the air strike our tune,
Whilst we shew reverence to yond peeping moon.
(They dance the Witches' Dance, and exeunt.

After that, the play trundles on towards its feeble conclusion without any further input from the witches.

Scot's Discoverie of witchcraft

A sixteenth-century digression. When Middleton was writing The Witch, he made use of an encyclopedia of witchcraft compiled by Reginald Scot. Scot was a decent and deeply religious man: he was horrified by the credulity which he saw around him, and by the cruel miscarriages of justice in which it could easily result. From the books (there were many) written by people who claimed to be experts on the subject, and from his own experience, he put together his exposé of witchcraft (Scot 1584) -- a catalogue of absurdities in which (as it seemed to him) no right-thinking Protestant should ever want to believe.*

* The witchmongers disagreed. One person who fancied himself as an expert on witchcraft was the king of Scotland, James VI; and it was, in part, the "damnable opinions" expressed in Scot's book which goaded him into writing his Daemonologie -- first published in Edinburgh in 1597, but promptly reprinted in London when James became king of England as well as Scotland.

Once the manuscript of The Witch had come to the surface, Middleton's reliance on Scot was soon appreciated. Some passages in the play are taken almost verbatim from Scot's book; others make use of details supplied by it. (It was from Scot that Middleton learned, for example, what ingredients go into the ointment which enables witches to fly.) The borrowings are itemized conveniently in Dyce's (1840) edition of The Witch and in Nicholson's (1886) edition of The discoverie of witchcraft; two are especially notable.

(1) In a chapter headed "Of vaine apparitions, how people have beene brought to feare bugges", Scot has a catalogue of the imaginary monsters with which grown-ups thought it amusing to frighten children. When we were small, he says, we were so much threatened "with bull beggers, spirits, witches, urchens, elves, hags, fairies, satyrs, pans, faunes, sylens, kit with the can[dle]sticke, tritons, centaurs, dwarfes, giants, imps, calcars, conjurors, nymphes, changlings, Incubus, Robin good-fellowe, the spoorne, the mare, the man in the oke, the hellwaine, the fierdrake, the puckle, Tom thombe, hob gobblin, Tom tumbler, boneles, and such other bugs, that we are afraid of

our owne shadowes" (Scot 1584:153). Middleton copied much of this list in a speech that he gives to Hecate (ed Dyce 1840:263-4); he also used some of these names -- Hellwain, Firedrake, Puckey -- as names for Hecate's companions.

(2) Towards the end of his book, in a chapter headed "Of fond witchmongers", Scot takes a parting swipe at a pamphlet which had caused him particular distress. An Essex magistrate, Bryan Darcie, had taken it upon himself to organize a witch-hunt in and around St Osyth's, and the records of that investigation -- statements from the witnesses (small children, some of them) and from those of the accused who were induced (as some were) to confess -- had been put into print in 1582. Quoting some of the ludicrous details from that pamphlet, Scot lets himself explode with indignation: "Now, how Brian Darcies he spirits and shee spirits, Tittie and Tiffin, Suckin and Pidgin, Liard and Robin, &c: his white spirits and blacke spirits, graie spirits and red spirits, divell tode and divell lambe, divels cat and divels dam, agree herewithall, or can stand consonant with the word of GOD, or true philosophie, let heaven and earth judge" (Scot 1584:542). Bathetically, Middleton's silly little song, "Black spirits and white", took its inspiration and some of its wording from that peroration of Scot's.

Music for Middleton's Witch

There is some surviving music which is thought, with greater or lesser confidence, to have been written for The Witch. By those who are competent to judge, it is attributed to Robert Johnson (d 1633). For the five episodes listed above, this is how things stand.

(1) "There, take this unbaptised brat" -- nothing

(2) "In a maiden-time profest" -- setting by Johnson (Cutts 1959, no 5),* with the same lyrics as above

(3) "Come away, come away" -- setting by Johnson (Cutts 1959, no 6),† with almost the same lyrics as above

(4) "Black spirits and white" -- nothing

(5) "The Witches' Dance" -- This is a more difficult case. There are no lyrics to guide us, and I do not see how anyone can say for certain that a particular piece of instrumental music was (or was not) performed in any particular play, or on any particular occasion. Two pieces are known, of about the right date, which are entitled "Witches' Dance", and they are both

thought to have been composed by Robert Johnson. One of them (Cutts 1959, no 7) was published in 1610, in a collection of tunes for the lute put together by Robert Dowland. It is identified there as "The Witches daunce in the Queenes Maske" (Dowland 1610 sig P2v): that is, it came from the masque written by Ben Jonson for queen Anne, performed on 2 Feb 1609, and published (without the music) immediately afterwards (Jonson 1609).‡ The suggestion that this same piece of music was transplanted into The Witch (and subsequently into Macbeth) is, as far as I can tell, no more than a guess -- plausible perhaps, but I am not even sure of that. As for the second piece (Cutts 1959, no 8), that survives only in manuscript, and there is no clear indication where it came from. Only one such piece would be needed for The Witch: possibly it was one of these two, but I should not like to choose between them.

* But Spink (1974:74) is more inclined to attribute the piece to John Wilson. Since he agrees that the following piece is "fairly certain" to be Johnson's, Spink's interpretation involves him in a difficulty which Cutts was able to evade.

† Also edited by Spink (1974:58-61), "probably by Johnson". This piece was first published by John Stafford Smith in his "Musica antiqua" (Smith 1812:48--9), "from a MS. of that age in [his] possession"(now NYPL Drexel 4175).** His only comment was: "Matthew Lock, or whoever was the author of the music to Macbeth, had evidently seen this composition." The same piece was edited again, from the same manuscript, by E. F. Rimbault, in a series of 24 specimen pieces called "The ancient vocal music of England" (1847). It was Rimbault who first attributed the piece to Robert Johnson. I take it that he had acquired the manuscript from Smith's daughter Gertrude, who inherited all his property (see below).

** A copy of these two pages from Smith's edition marked up by Richard Clark was inserted into Clarke's edition (1822) of the music attributed to Locke.

‡ Jonson was very pleased with the way that this scene had played out. As it approached its climax, music struck up -- "a strange, & sodayne Musique" -- and the witches "fell into a Magical Daunce, full of præposterous change, and gesticulation, but most applying to their property: who at their meetings, do all things contrary do the custome of Men, dauncing back to back, and hip to hip, their hands ioin'd, and making their circles backward, to the left hand, with strange phantastique motions of their heads, and bodyes. All which were excellently imitated by the maker of the Daunce, M. Hierome Herne, whose right it is here to be named" (Jonson 1609, sig D1v-2r). The composer of the music does not get mentioned.

Shakespeare's Macbeth

Some plays succeed, and some fail. Some investments pay off, and some do not. The theatre has always been a precarious business. When The Witch flopped, the actors shrugged and forgot about it. But they had paid for some music to go with

this play, and that, they thought, might still be put to use. Was there some other play on their books which had some witches in it? Yes, there was. And so it was decided (alas!) that some of the music written for Middleton's comedy should be added to a new production of The tragedy of Macbeth.

For that to be done, somebody had to write some additional lines, to explain to the audience what was going on. (Who are these characters? Why have we not met them before? Why are we meeting them now?) Somebody was found to do the job. He produced some passages of lightweight verse -- rhymed couplets of octosyllabic lines -- which are thoroughly out of tune with the rest of the play. (We should be grateful, I suppose, that the interpolations are so easy to recognize.)

Who this versifier was I do not think anyone knows. The actors were free to ask for help wherever they thought that they might find it. They could have asked Shakespeare, but it seems clear that they did not (or, if they did, that he refused): it is generally agreed, I think, that the passages in question are not his handiwork. (That is definitely my opinion.) They could have asked Middleton; but I doubt whether they did. To my ear, these lines are too bland to be his.*

* "There, take this unbaptised brat" is the only passage in The Witch which can be compared with the interpolations in Macbeth. The metre is more or less the same; the mood, surely, is different. Are there better parallels to be found in Middleton's other plays? If there are, I would be happy to see them pointed out.

Whoever he was, this versifier was familiar enough with the play, or well enough briefed by his clients, to make the interpolations at suitable points. He chose to introduce a new character, Hecate, who has the same name as her counterpart in The Witch but not the same personality. The lines that she is given make her sound more like a fairy than a witch -- a malevolent version of Titania, not a hundred-year-old crone. She would be played, I suppose, by a boy soprano, her share of the songs being bumped up an octave accordingly.

(1) The larger of the two additions is a whole new scene (Act 3, scene 5). We heard, at the end of the scene before this, that Macbeth plans to visit the witches next day. In this added scene, we meet Hecate for the first time. She reprimands the witches for acting on their own (which explains why we have not seen or heard of her before) and tells them to make ready for a meeting with Macbeth (which she knows is going to happen, because she can see into the future). She understands (the person writing these lines for her understands) that the witches' intention is to drive Macbeth so wild with hubris

("security", she calls it) that he will commit the atrocity which brings about his downfall and death. Once that has all been explained to us, the music starts up. The song "Come away, come away", item 3 above, is sung from over the stage, and the scene culminates, just as in Middleton's play, with Hecate flying up into the air.

(2) The second interpolation was made in the scene where the witches are brewing up their magic charm (Act 4, scene 1). When they have finished their cookery, Hecate appears, as she had said she would, bringing with her three companions. She makes a short speech to congratulate them, and then she and the singing witches launch into a song, "Black spirits and white", item 4 above, contributing some extra ingredients to the cauldron. The weyward sisters are mere spectators.

Some time later (but still before 1623), a further interpolation was made in this latter scene (Act 4, scene 1). It was decided to include a "show of eight kings", a vision of Banquo's descendants. The script for this (I take it) was supplied by Shakespeare himself: if the addition was made with a view to a performance at court, the chances are that he would want to write it, and it sounds like Shakespeare to me. There is some background music ("Hoboyes") to be played -- presumably a slow, stately march -- as the kings advance in single file across the back of the stage.

But that interpolation creates a problem. By letting Macbeth see this vision of the future, the witches have defeated their own purpose. They had meant to whip him up into a mood of utter recklessness; now they have reduced him to a state of despondency. He is more inclined to cut his own throat than Macduff's. The solution for that problem was ... yet another interpolation. It was decided that something would have to be done to cheer him up again. No song was available, but a dance, it was thought, would do the trick. A new piece of music was procured, some new choreography, and another few lines of verse by way of introduction -- lines which are in the same style, and perhaps by the same hand, as the Hecate passages. The dance which follows was, I suppose, performed by some professional dancers. (In a farce the weyward sisters could have done the dancing themselves; in a tragedy surely not.) Whatever is done, it works: Macbeth instantly forgets about the show of kings and loses himself in hubris once again.

The version of Macbeth which was published in 1623 included all of these musical interpolations. What was sent to the printers was the actors' script: the musicians would have had their own scores, and the singers would have had their own songsheets, but

those did not get printed. (As for the choreography, that was written on the wind.) We are given only the briefest of indications, just enough for the actors to know when the orchestra is going to strike up:

(1) Musicke, and a Song. ... Sing within. Come away, come away, &c.

(2) Musicke and a Song. Blacke Spirits, &c.

(3) Musicke. The Witches Dance, and vanish.

It is possible that the words of the songs were altered to some extent, to make them a little less incongruous; it is possible also that the music was reorchestrated. We are never going to know the details. But the big picture is clear. Musical episodes written for The Witch had got themselves embedded in Macbeth; and -- as the rest of this paper will show -- it took a very long time before they could be dislodged.

D'Avenant's Macbeth

Forty years later, a version of Macbeth rewritten by Sir William D'Avenant was premiered at the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields. The dating is a little fuzzy, but the play -- with Thomas Betterton as Macbeth -- was certainly performed in Nov 1664 (which is when Samuel Pepys saw it for the first time), and at intervals again over the next few years. D'Avenant died in Apr 1668,* and his widow, Mary, took over the running of the company. Under her management, a magnificent new theatre was built in Dorset Garden. It was opened in Nov 1671.† Within the next year or two, Lady D'Avenant financed a spectacular new production of Macbeth. A quarto edition of the play in its then current form was published by Philip Chetwin in 1674.‡

* A folio edition of his poems and plays was published five years later (Herringman 1673), with a dedication to the Duke of York signed by Mary D'Avenant. His Shakespeare adaptations are not included. Gerard Langbaine, running through the list of D'Avenant's works, does not mention Macbeth; running through the list of Shakespeare's, he remarks only that the play "was reviv'd by the Dukes Company, and re-printed with Alterations, and New Songs, 4°. Lond, 1674" (Langbaine 1691:460). (The performance at which he says he was present -- when Gervase Scrope and Sir Thomas Armstrong fought a duel in the pit of the theatre -- took place on 28 Aug 1675 (Thompson 1878 1:121, Van Lennep 1965:235).)

† One of the first plays staged at the Duke's Theatre was a tragedy by Elkanah Settle, The empress of Morocco. A quarto edition of that play (Settle 1673) includes, remarkably, six engraved illustrations: a frontispiece showing the theatre facade, and five plates which represent the appearance of the stage at especially exciting moments.

‡ This quarto seems to have been produced in a hurry (it is plain to see that the work was distributed among three compositors), and numerous mistakes were allowed to go uncorrected. (Mostly they persist into subsequent editions, which are all derived from this one.) In the cast-list, for instance, some of the actors' names are out of alignment with the names of the characters they played: "Mr Sanford" appears to be playing "Banquo's Ghost", not "Hecate" one line below. (Chetwin copied this list from a quarto published more than a year before (Cademan 1673), which, though largely just a reprint of the First Folio text, included a cast-list for the current production at the Duke's Theatre. That list has Sandford's name correctly placed. Of course it could never have been thought -- could it? -- that Banquo and Banquo's Ghost were played by different actors. Yes, alas, it could. When people start talking about Shakespeare, there is, it seems, nothing so absurd but someone has gone and said it.)

The printed text includes lyrics for all the songs. (It seems sometimes to be thought surprising that D'Avenant had managed to track down the words which went with the cues in Folio Macbeth. It does not seem particularly surprising to me. Multiple copies of the songsheet would have existed: it is not hard to believe that one of the singers might have kept his copy, and that D'Avenant might have got hold of it.)

(1) At the end of Act 3, just as in Folio Macbeth, Hecate's companions start singing from above the stage.

Musick and Song.

Witches. Heccate, Heccate, Heccate! Oh come away!
Hec. Hark, I am call'd, my little Spirit see,
Sits in a foggy Cloud, and stays for me.
Witches. Come away Heccate, Heccate! Oh come away:
Hec. (sings) I come, I come, with all the speed I may,
With all the speed I may.
Where's Stadling?
2. Here.
Hec. Where's Puckle?
3. Here, and Hopper too, and Helway too.
1. We want but you, we want but you:
Come away, make up the Count.
Hec. I will but 'noint, and then I mount,
I will but 'noint, and then I mount.
[Machine descends.
1. Here comes down one to fetch his dues,
A Kiss, a Cull, a sip of blood.
And why thou staist so long, I muse,
Since th' Air's so sweet and good.
Hec. O art thou come; What News?
1. All goes fair for our delight,
Either come, or else refuse.
Hec. Now I'm furnish'd for the flight

Now I go, and now I flye,
Malking my sweet Spirit and I.
O what a dainty pleasure's this,
To sail i'th' Air
While the Moon shines fair;
To Sing, to Toy, to Dance and Kiss,
Over Woods, high Rocks and Mountains;
Over Hills, and misty Fountains:
Over Steeples, Towers, and Turrets:
We flye by night 'mongst troops of Spirits.
No Ring of Bells to our Ears sounds,
No howles of Wolves, nor Yelps of Hounds;
No, nor the Noise of Waters breach,
Nor Cannons Throats our Height can reach.

That is, very nearly, the same song written by Middleton for The Witch.

(2) At the start of Act 4, after the witches have finished their cookery, Hecate returns, just as in Folio Macbeth, makes a short speech, and then starts to sing.

Musick and Song.

Hec. Black Spirits, and white,
Red Spirits and gray;
Mingle, mingle, mingle,
You that mingle may.
1. Tiffin, Tiffin, keep it stiff in,
Fire drake Puckey, make it luckey:
Lyer Robin, you must bob in.
Chor. A round, a round, about, about,
All ill come running in, all good keep out.
1. Here's the blood of a Bat!
Hec. O put in that, put in that.
2. Here's Lizards brain.
Hec. Put in a grain.
3. Here's Juice of Toad, here's oyl of Adder
That will make the Charm grow madder.
Hec. Put in all these, 'twill raise the stanch;
1. Nay here's three ownces of a red-hair'd Wench.
Chor. A round, a round, about, about,
All ill come running in, all good keep out.

Again that is, very nearly, the same song written by Middleton for The Witch.

(3) In D'Avenant's play, Hecate remains on the stage throughout the witches' interview with Macbeth. (There are no apparitions:

it is Hecate who delivers the prophecies.) Hecate, not First Witch, has the speech about cheering him up; and then she and the witches start dancing .... and dance themselves off the stage, just as in Folio Macbeth.

Musick. The Witches Dance and Vanish.

At the end of Act 2, after Duncan's murder, D'Avenant inserted an entirely new scene, the purpose of which is to set up an encounter between Macduff and three witches. As it was performed in the 1660s, there was, I think, no music in it. Macduff and his wife, escaping separately from Macbeth's castle, meet up on a nearby heath. (Macd. Where are our children? La. Macd. They are securely sleeping in the Chariot.) There they meet some witches travelling (on foot) in the opposite direction.* Macduff accosts them. The witches deliver their enigmatic predictions --

1 Witch. Saving thy bloud will cause it to be shed;
2 Witch. He'll bleed by thee, by whom thou first hast bled.
3 Witch. Thy wife shall shunning danger, dangers find,
And fatal be, to whom she most is kind.

and then exit without another word. Macduff and his wife exchange a few remarks (Lady Macduff is her usual insufferable self), and then they also exit. That is the end of the scene, and the end of Act 2.

* "Enter two Witches" in the quarto printed for Chetwin (1674) and all subsequent editions. But of course there must be three of them. It is not clear whether D'Avenant intended them to be the same three encountered by Macbeth and Banquo. Seemingly not.

By the time that the play came to be printed, a new musical extravaganza had been inserted into the middle of this scene. Four singers are called for. No sooner have Macduff and his wife exchanged greetings than they are interrupted by this:

First Song by Witches.*

1 Witch. Speak, Sister, speak; is the deed done?
2 Witch. Long ago, long ago:
Above twelve glasses since have run.
3 Witch. Ill deeds are seldom slow;
Nor single: following crimes on former wait.
The worst of creatures fastest propagate.
Many more murders must this one ensue,
As if in death were propagation too.
2 Witch. He will.
1 Witch. He shall.

3 Witch. He must spill much more bloud;
And become worse, to make his Title good.

1 Witch. Now let's dance.
2 Witch. Agreed.
3 Witch. Agreed.
4 Witch. Agreed.

Chorus. We shou'd rejoyce when good Kings bleed.
When cattel die, about we go,
What then, when Monarchs perish, should we do?

After a few lines of conversation between Macduff and his wife, the music starts up again. There is another song, a jaunty little number (probably a solo) which hardly seems to fit the mood --

Second Song.†

Let's have a dance upon the Heath;
We gain more life by Duncan's death.
Sometimes like brinded Cats we shew,
Having no musick but our mew.
Sometimes we dance in some old mill,
Upon the hopper, stones, and wheel.
To some old saw, or Bardish Rhime,
Where still the Mill clack does keep time.

Sometimes about an hollow tree
A round, a round, a round dance we.
Thither the chirping Cricket comes,
And Beetle, singing drowsie hums.
Sometimes we dance o're Fens and Furs,
To howls of wolves, and barks of curs.
And when with none of those we meet,
We dance to th' ecchoes of our feet.

and then a short chorus more consonant with the "first song" --

At the night-Raven's dismal voice,
Whilst others tremble, we rejoyce;
And nimbly, nimbly dance we still
To th' ecchoes from an hollow Hill.

Macduff and his wife exchange a few more remarks -- and then they are interrupted for the third time, not by a song but by a dance.

A dance of witches.

All this time, Macduff and his wife are left standing on the stage, ignored by the witches (who show no sign of noticing their presence), just waiting for the music to end.

* The quarto printed for Cademan in 1673 was the first to give the words for this song (p 19). It also gives the words for "Let's have a Dance" (p 24), minus the concluding chorus, and for "Come away Heccat" (p 38). It does not have the song "Black spirits and white": there it just repeats the First Folio cue (p 38).

† There is reported to exist a copy of the words for "Let's have a dance" in D'Avenant's own handwriting (Moore 1961:30n): that would suggest (what seems likely enough) that the song had a separate existence, perhaps as an interlude, before it came to be part of this extravaganza. The lyrics were first published in 1669, in a "collection of the newest and choicest songs à la mode, both amorous and jovial" (Speed 1669:201). (Apparently the reader was expected to know that the song came from Macbeth: anyone ignorant of that would find the second line incomprehensible.) There are two later editions of the same book, printed in 1671 and 1681 (Wing N530--1), and the song can be found there too.

Who wrote these lyrics is hardly even worth asking. The prime candidate, perhaps, might be Charles Davenant, Lady D'Avenant's son. But there were several poets and would-be poets connected with the Dorset Garden company, and I do not know that any one of them is more likely than the others to have written these lines.

Locke's music for Macbeth

More than thirty years later, the Duke's Theatre prompter, John Downes, still had a vivid recollection of this production of Macbeth. He tells us that one of the plays put on at the new theatre, within the first year, was

> The Tragedy of Macbeth, alter'd by Sir William Davenant; being drest in all it's Finery, as new Cloath's, new Scenes, Machines, as flyings for the Witches; with all the Singing and Dancing in it: THE first Compos'd by Mr. Lock, the other by Mr. Channell and Mr. Joseph Preist; it being all Excellently perform'd, being in the nature of an Opera, it Recompenc'd double the Expence; it proves still a lasting Play. (Downes 1708:33)

Three Shakespeare plays, he notes, had been performed previously at the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields: not just Macbeth, "alter'd by Sir William Davenant", but also Lear, "exactly as Mr. Shakespear Wrote it", and The Tempest, "alter'd by Sir William Davenant and Mr. Dryden".

We have Downes's word for it, then, that the music needed for this production was composed by Matthew Locke. (As I understand it, that means specifically a setting for the extravaganza in the last scene of Act 2, "Speak, sister, speak".) Nothing of the sort survives. The instrumental music written by Locke for a new production of The Tempest, one year later, is preserved in its entirety, because he himself arranged to have it printed (Locke 1675:62--76). He did not do the same with the music that he wrote for Macbeth.

But that is not quite the last word to be said on the subject. There is some reason to think that the music used for the original production of D'Avenant's Macbeth, ten years before, was also written by Locke, and that one or two scraps are extant. The evidence comes from contemporary music-books -- collections of practice pieces for different instruments -- published by John Playford, a bookseller who specialized in books of this kind. (They all say that they were "printed for John Playford, and are to be sold at his shop in the Temple", or something to that effect.) Such books were not expected to last; mostly they did not. By the nineteenth century they had become collector's items; some were very rare.

Rimbault (1876) made out the case in detail, citing books which were in his private collection.*

* They were already in his possession in 1840, when Joseph Warren (1840) thanked him for the use of them. They were mentioned also by Rimbault (1843) himself, but only parenthetically. I am guessing that they came from the library of John Stafford Smith (who died in 1836 at the age of 87), and that Rimbault acquired them from Smith's daughter and sole heir, Gertrude Stafford Smith; but I have no proof of that.

(1) "A Jig called Macbeth" was included in a collection of pieces for the cithren published by Playford in 1666 (Wing P2491). It is a dreary little piece -- but do we not suppose that this in just the accompaniment? (The cithren, I take it, was not the sort of instrument on which one would play the melody.) The same tune was reprinted several times, for different instruments, and its name is given either as "Mackbeth" (G1874--5, P2497) or (in the book cited in the following paragraph) as "The Dance in the Play of Macbeth". In one of these books -- first published while Locke was still alive -- the initials "M.L." are attached to the end of this piece (G1874--5).* So it does seem tolerably certain, both that this dance-tune was composed by Locke, and that it was intended for a production of Macbeth.†

* The earliest edition of this book listed in ESTC is dated 1675 (Wing G1874B), but probably that was not the first edition. A book which sounds like this one -- "A Book for the Flagelet, containing many new and pleasant

Tunes, and Instructions for Learners" -- was already "fitted for the Press" in 1669 (advertisement in P2496). (Locke died in 1677.)

† Moore (1961:32--3) suggested that this tune was a setting for the song "Let's have a dance upon the heath". I doubt it. A dance is not the same thing as a song. That song does have a jig-like rhythm, but I do not see that there is any definite resemblance.

(2) The second case is much more doubtful, and Rimbault mentioned it only diffidently ("as the book is before me, ..."). A tune called "The Witches Dance" was included in a collection of pieces for the violin to which Playford gave the title "Apollo's Banquet"; it was (apparently) first published in 1669.* There is nothing to prove that the piece was written by Locke, nor that the witches performing this dance were the witches in Macbeth.†

* From advertisements appearing in other publications of Playford's, it can be seen that the first edition of this book was already "fitted for the Press" in 1669 (P2496), already on sale in 1670 (P2470). The only two editions listed in ESTC are self-described as "The Sixth Edition, with new Additions" (P2444) and "The 7th Edition Corrected; With new Additions" (P2445): they are dated 1690 and 1693 respectively; the National Library of Scotland has a copy of "The 5th Edition, with new Additions", dated 1687.** All of those editions include the previous piece, "The Dance in the Play of Macbeth"; none of them includes "The Witches Dance". Both pieces were included in the first edition, of which two copies are reported to exist. (Since they have both lost their title-pages, there would seem to be some room for doubt.) One is the copy which used to be Rimbault's, now in the New York Public Library; the other is in the Wighton Collection, Central Library, Dundee.†† (The two relevant pages are reproduced by Winkler (2004, plates 1--2). The images are credited to Harvard College Library, but that should not be taken to mean that Harvard has a copy of the book: it has a microfilm of Rimbault's copy supplied by the New York Public Library.)

** https://archive.org/stream/imslp-banquet-playford-john/PMLP218008-apollosbanquet_5th_ed_1#mode/2up

†† http://www.leisureandculturedundee.com/apollo’s-banquet

† The same tune (or a mutated version of it) turns up in some manuscript scores of the music which was being used in productions of the play in the eighteenth century (Fiske 1964:122, Harding 1971:75-7); but that does not prove anything.

Eccles's music

As far as is known (not very far), Locke's music continued to be used in any performance of D'Avenant's Macbeth until the 1690s, and perhaps for longer than that at Drury Lane. In the 1690s -- probably in 1695--6, for a production at the rival theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields -- John Eccles composed a complete new

score. It was not printed at the time,* but several manuscripts survive, one of them reportedly in Eccles's own handwriting.

* Some of Eccles's music for the extravaganza at the end of Act II was printed by Rimbault (1847); the entire score was edited by O'Reilly (1979) and again by Winkler (2004:7--52). There is no recording available, as far as I am aware.

Fiske has this description:

> The Act II music is remarkably elaborate, with a double trio of soloists and a double four-part chorus. Half these forces would have been aloft, three of the soloists singing in their machine. The difficulties of this antiphonal music may well have led to its falling out of use. The vocal items as a whole are not to be preferred to those in the more famous music to be described later, but the symphonies that prelude the music in Acts II and IV are superior, and their macabre atmosphere is remarkable for the time. The Act II symphony has slow 'um-cha' chords for the strings, with a serpent playing four repeated quavers for every crotchet and crotchet rest in the string bass part. The symphony in Act IV is full of chromaticisms that must have seemed strange and weird in their day. There is no symphony at the start of the Act III music, and no dance movement. Considering the lack of success of this music, it is curious that so many scores were made, and equally curious that so many should survive. (Fiske 1964:116)

Having failed to catch on (perhaps because it was too expensive to stage, or just too difficult), Eccles's music was soon superseded and forgotten. William Linley, writing in 1816, seems to be the first person who rescued it from oblivion. He had tracked down two of the manuscript scores, both of which were then in private hands but are now in the British Library.* Comparing this music with the music which had routinely been played in performances of Macbeth, for as long as he or anyone else could remember, Linley concluded that this later music was "a very skilful and ingenious compressment of various parts of [the Eccles score], with, here and there a new melody" (Linley 1816:3).† He thought that Eccles might have done the "compressment" himself, but he had no particular reason for thinking that (except to say "why might he not have?").‡

* One of the manuscripts belonged to the singer James Bartleman, the other to James William Windsor (d 1853), who was an organist and piano-teacher in Bath. The former (supposed to be autograph) is now BL Add 12219; the latter is BL Add 29378, fos 57--95.

† It seemed to him that "even a child with a good ear would remark the similarity" (Linley 1816:3). The music is "in some parts strikingly

similar" (Oliphant 1842). On the contrary, the resemblance is "very slight" (Hughes-Hughes 1908:238). It would be no use asking me who had the best ear.

‡ He was more concerned to make the negative point -- that the current music could not possibly be ascribed to Matthew Locke, nor to Henry Purcell, as "many have been inclined" to suppose. It was, in his opinion, "much too modern for either composer" (Linley 1816:2).

Leveridge's music

The music which lasted -- the music which the audience expected to hear in every performance of the play until the 1870s -- was first used in a production of D'Avenant's (not Shakespeare's) Macbeth at Drury Lane in November 1702. An advertisement for this production promises a novel attraction: the play is to be performed "with Vocal and Instrumental Musick, all new Compos'd by Mr. Leveridge, and perform'd by him and others" (Moore 1961:28 quoting the Daily Courant for 19 Nov 1702). Advertisements of the same kind continued to appear at intervals until June 1714 (Fiske 1964:116). Similarly, a contemporary manuscript copy of the score says in so many words that the music was "sett by M. Leveridge" (Fiske 1964:119--20).

This evidence was first developed in the 1960s, and since then, I think, it has been generally agreed that the music should be credited to the actor, singer and songwriter Richard Leveridge -- Hecate being the part that he wrote for himself. A catalogue of Locke's oeuvre discusses the music for Macbeth but waives any claim on it (Harding 1971);* an edition of Leveridge's songs calls the music for Macbeth "his most important work" (Baldwin and Wilson 1997:xvi).

* The only piece that Harding accepts as Locke's is the "Jig called Macbeth" published in 1666 (see above).

I am not altogether convinced. The wording of the advertisement (which is not likely to be understating the case) is surely a little ambiguous. It does not speak of "new music ... compos'd" by Leveridge but of "music ... new compos'd" by him -- and that might be said of a new arrangement of some preexisting music. Similarly, to say that the music was "sett" by him is not quite the same thing as saying that it was "composed" or "written" by him.

It is not unjust to Leveridge to call him a songwriter: that is what he was, and in that line of work he was successful. But I am doubtful whether he would have thought himself capable of writing operatic extravaganzas on the scale required for Macbeth. Then again, if he had thought that he was entitled to

claim credit for writing the music, there would not have been any mystery about it. He was a famously convivial character; he continued performing till April 1751 and did not die till March 1758. He had all that time to establish his claim, had he been inclined to do so.* And yet, not much later, we find it being taken for granted, by people who ought to have been well-informed, that the music used in performances of D'Avenant's Macbeth was written by Matthew Locke (see below). When the question came in for some serious discussion (Linley 1816) -- Locke? Purcell? Eccles? -- Leveridge's name was never even mentioned.†

* Fiske (1964:118--19) attempted to counter these objections, unsuccessfully in my opinion. In describing the music as they do, Baldwin and Wilson (1997) are making a claim on Leveridge's behalf which he is not recorded to have made for himself. If this was truly "his most important work", why did he not demand the credit?

† His name did briefly resurface later, before being forgotten again. "The music of Macbeth, now popularly known as Lock's, is the composition of Richard Leveridge and was performed for the first time on the 25th January, 1704" (Rimbault 1846:97n). (The date implies that he had come across one of the advertisements mentioned above -- not, however, the earliest of its kind. Just a few years before this, writing a short introduction for Loder's edition of the music (1843), he had suggested a very different interpretation.) We have Cummings's word for it, however, that Rimbault later "gave up the Leveridge theory" (Cummings 1882:261). (Cummings believed that the music was written by Purcell. The manuscript which supposedly proved this (see below) came into his possession in 1873; Rimbault died in 1876.)

Is it possible, I have to ask, that no satisfactory conclusion can be arrived at? Perhaps the music will have to be left in limbo -- so much altered by Leveridge that it can hardly be credited to Locke, yet so much derived from Locke that it can hardly be credited to Leveridge. Though I do not suggest that the analogy counts for much, one might say the same sort of thing about D'Avenant's Macbeth: Shakespeare would not have recognized it as one of his works, D'Avenant did not claim it as one of his.

The score that was eventually published (see below) gives the music as it was being performed in the first few decades of the eighteenth century. The lyrics are largely identical with those quoted above:* the only large difference is the omission of the treble solo "Here comes down one". That is the song sung by Hecate's familiar as it descends in the machine. Leveridge cut it, I suppose, because he preferred to be alone in the machine when it began its ascent.

* Some errors have crept in: "horror" for "former" is the worst. I have provided a songsheet to go with the published score.

At some uncertain date -- probably after 1710, certainly before 1734 -- the lyrics were expanded. New lines and new stanzas were inserted into some of the songs. The music would have had to be adjusted accordingly; but that would not have presented any difficulty.

The new lyrics were first printed in 1734. They appeared initially in a pocket-sized edition of Shakespeare's Macbeth (as recently edited by Theobald) published by Jacob Tonson. There are four unnumbered pages at the back which give the words of all the songs in D'Avenant's play,* in their newly-expanded form. Evidently Tonson had obtained a copy of the songsheet.†

* "Never Printed in any of the former Editions", says the title-page. But of course the songs had been printed several times in editions of D'Avenant's Macbeth.

† Another 12mo edition was published in the same year by the printer Robert Walker, in defiance of the monopoly claimed by Jacob Tonson and his associates. Here too there are four unnumbered pages at the back containing the words of the songs. In layout as well as in substance, Walker's text agrees in almost every detail with Tonson's (except that "Heckat" has been changed to "Hecate"). I am assuming that Walker stole it from Tonson, rather than vice versa; but I cannot say that I am certain of that.

I reproduce the lyrics as they were printed for Tonson (1734), marking the additions and making some obvious corrections.

(1) The extravaganza towards the end of Act 2, "Set by Mr. Leveridge",* now begins like this:

1st Witch. Speak, Sister --- is the Deed done?
2d. Long ago, long ago;
Above twelve Glasses since have run;
3d. Ill Deeds are seldom slow,
Or single, but following Crimes on former wait,
4th. The worst of Creatures fastest propagate.
Many more Murders must this one ensue;
Dread Horrors still abound,
And ev'ry Place surround,
As if in Death were found
Propagation too.
2d. He must!
3d. He shall!
1st. He will spill much more Blood,
And become worse to make his Title good;
Cho. He will, he will spill much more Blood,
And become worse, to make his Title good.
1st. Now let's dance.

2d. Agreed.
3d. Agreed.
4th. Agreed.
All. Agreed.
Cho. We shou'd rejoice when good Kings bleed.
4th. When Cattle die about, about we go;
When Lightning, and dread Thunder,
Rend stubborn Rocks in sunder,
And fill the World with Wonder,
What should we do?
Cho. Rejoice ------ we shou'd rejoice.
4th. When Winds and Waves are warring,
Earthquakes the Mountains tareing,
And Monarchs die desparing,
What shou'd we do? ------
Cho. Rejoice ---- we shou'd rejoice.

The rest is the same as before -- the soprano solo, "Let's have a dance", followed by the short chorus.

* As Tonson's compositor sets it, this statement seems to apply only to the "Music in the Second ACT"; but no doubt it should be taken to apply to all the music. (The same statement appears in Walker's edition, and in later reprints of Tonson's edition. It can never have been a secret that the music was "set" by Leveridge.)

(2) At the end of Act 3 the musical conversation now looks like this:

Spi. Heckat, Heckat, ----- come away
Hec. Hark, hark, I'm call'd
My little merry airy Spirit see,
Sits in a foggy Cloud and waits for me.
Spi. Heckat, Heckat,
Hec. Thy chirping Voice I hear,
So pleasing to my Ear,
At which I Post away,
With all the Speed I may,
Where's Puckle?
Spi. Here.
Hec. Where's Stradling?
Spi. Here,
And Hopper too, and Hellway too.
We want but you, we want but you.
3 Voc. Come away, come away, make up th'account.
Hec. With new fall'n Dew,
From Church-yard Yew,
I will but noint and then I'll mount.
Now I'm furnish'd for my Flight

Symphony whilst Heckat places in the Machine.

Now I go, and now I fly, ...

continuing as before.

(3) In Act 4 the song "Black spirits" remains largely unchanged, but Heckat's last couplet has been given a new twist:

Hec. To add to these and raise a pois'nous Stench
Here -- here's three Ounces of a red haired Wench.

With these new lyrics, and with the music adjusted accordingly, D'Avenant's Macbeth continued to be performed, at least as late as the 1760s. We have Baker's word for that:

> This Alteration is by no Means equal to the Original, yet on Account of the Music, which is entirely fine, being composed by Mr. Locke, it is still very frequently performed at our Theatres instead of the Original! (Baker 1764 sig N2r)

Remarkably, Baker does not just take it for granted that the music was written by Locke: he takes it for granted that the music belongs with D'Avenant's Macbeth. For him, Locke's music and D'Avenant's play were linked together: it was the music, he thought, which was keeping the play afloat. The idea that the music might be extracted from D'Avenant's play and inserted -- anachronistically -- into a production of the "original" seems not to have crossed his mind. But that is just what happened; and once it had happened D'Avenant's "alteration" lost its chief advantage over the "original". Where and when it was last performed, we are unlikely ever to know; but it did, finally, drop out of the repertoire.

By the 1770s, the version of Macbeth which was being performed at Drury Lane (but not at Covent Garden) was David Garrick's adaptation of Shakespeare's play. The earliest "acting edition" of Macbeth (Bell 1773), prepared with the help of William Hopkins, the Drury Lane prompter, gives us a record of the play in its remodelled form. The most striking feature of the script is the scale of the cuts that Garrick allowed himself to make, often in plain disregard of Shakespeare's intention. Some scenes are shortened; some are omitted altogether. Not every word is authentic: here and there, a line or two has been borrowed from D'Avenant's version. At the end of the play, Garrick, like D'Avenant, had Macbeth die on the stage. (He does not get decapitated: it is his sword, not his head, which is carried off as a trophy.) D'Avenant gave him one line to speak before expiring; Garrick wrote a short speech for him.

Willingly or otherwise, Garrick had decided that the musical extravaganzas from D'Avenant's play would have to be incorporated into his production of Shakespeare's Macbeth.* The chorus of witches, "Speak, sister", was put at the end of Act 2 (Bell 1773:29--30): the last scene in Folio's Act 2 became the first scene in Garrick's Act 3. Hecate's ascent into the air, "Come away, come away", was put at the end of Act 3 (Bell 1773:45): the last scene in Folio's Act 3 was omitted.

* Possibly the score was revised for Garrick's production by Thomas Arne -- but I have not seen his name mentioned in connection with Macbeth till later. An edition of Shakespeare's play published in 1785 has the words for "Speak sister" and "Come away" added at the end, prefaced with this explanation: "The following Scenes are not in the original Copies, but have been introduced in Representation, and set to Musick by Mr. Locke, with Alterations by Dr. Arne" (Bell 1785:102).

The song in the cauldron scene, "Black spirits and white", was not made use of by Garrick.* Perhaps he thought that this scene was busy enough already. "A dance of Furies" is called for, just before the witches vanish (Bell 1773:50); but that, it seems, was the only piece of music in this scene. An acting edition published in 1785 includes the words of the song, but marks this as one of the passages which were omitted in performance (Bathurst and others 1785:42)). In 1794, however, in a production staged by John Philip Kemble, "the Chorus of Witches" (and "Spirits" too) are present in this scene. They arrive with Hecate, sing their song, add their ingredients to the cauldron, and vanish (without dancing) just before Macbeth arrives (Kemble 1794:46). From then onwards, "Black spirits" seems to have been regarded as a normal part of the play, no less than the two extravaganzas.

* It is absent from Bell's edition (1773:47). A remark by Gentleman -- "the music also, as in two former scenes, has a very just and pleasing effect" (1770:96) -- should presumably be taken to refer to the "Dance of Furies".

Published scores

The music was published for the first time in 1770. John Johnston (occ 1767--1778), who owned a music shop in York Street, Covent Garden, got hold of a copy of the score -- one which represented the music in its early eighteenth-century state, before the lyrics were expanded.* He submitted it to the composer William Boyce, who "revised and corrected" it for him. And then he had it engraved on copper plates -- one for the title-page,† which states flatly that the music was "composed by Matthew Locke", plus one for Johnston's dedication to David

Garrick, plus 28 for the music. The book was published (price 6s.) in May 1770.‡

* The manuscript used by Johnston does not survive. It is sometimes said -- in defiance of some rather obvious indications to the contrary -- that the published score was based on a manuscript which is now in the British Library (BL Egerton 2957), the first known owner of which was Philip Hayes, professor of music at Oxford, who died in 1797. There is (I gather) a label pasted onto the front of this manuscript which makes some remarkable claims for it: "Purcell's score of the music in Macbeth, also the score from which it was printed under Mat. Locke's name" (Harding 1971:75). Some subsequent owners (T. Oliphant, W. H. Cummings) were more than willing to believe that this label was written by Hayes; but it sounds to me like a label stuck on at Smart's Music Warehouse, where Hayes's manuscripts were put up for sale after his death. Perhaps George Smart believed all these things to be true, but that does not make them true. According to Joseph Warren, who had seen a copy of the printed catalogue, the identical claim -- "Ditto, from which Dr. Boyce published it as Matthew Locke's composition" -- is made twice, not just with respect to this manuscript, but also with respect to "another copy of the score in the same collection" (Warren 1840:276).

† Because the title-page acknowledges Boyce's assistance, the book has often been referred to as "Boyce's edition", but that is a misconception (and an invitation to further misunderstanding). It is Johnston's edition, not Boyce's. (There is, by the way, no reason to think that Boyce ever owned, handled or knew of the existence of BL Egerton 2957.)

‡ As was determined by Moore (1961:27), who found the book advertised in the Public Advertiser for 23 May 1770. The plates survived for more than thirty years, handed on in the usual way from one publisher to another, and the edition was reissued several times with some alteration of the imprint. The latest issue recorded in the British Library catalogue is one "Printed by Muzio Clementi & Co." in 1807 (date from watermark). The original edition, "Printed and Sold by IOHN IOHNSTON", is reproduced in facsimile by Baldwin and Wilson (1997). Winkler's (2004:55--95) edition is not based on Johnston's. Unwisely (in my opinion), she chose to work from one of the surviving manuscript scores, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 87, fos 63--98. Since the 1960s, that has been recognized as the earliest and best of the bunch (Fiske 1964:119--20, Harding 1971:75--6, Winkler 2004:99); but I see no reason for thinking that it is more authoritative than the manuscript used by Johnston.

Johnston's edition was behind the times, long before it was published. Since the 1730s -- for D'Avenant's Macbeth at first, then for Garrick's Macbeth as well -- the theatres had come round to using an expanded score, to fit the expanded lyrics. So an opening existed for a new edition of the score, corresponding with the music that was actually being played.* Several composers tried their hands at this task: Benjamin Jacob (1798?), Charles Stokes (1809),† Samuel Wesley (1816), John Clarke (1822), John Addison (1827?). I have not seen Jacob's edition; I have seen the other four. All four agree as to the words. Clarke's edition has the two instrumental pieces at the end, "Furies' dance" and "Witches' dance":‡ the other three omit

them. There was no choreography in Kemble's version of the cauldron scene, and those two pieces had become redundant.

* A different experiment was tried by Thomas Haigh (1805?), who arranged the orchestral parts for two pianos, omitting all the recitatives and solo songs. (That means, I suppose, that this suite of instrumental pieces was expected to be performed by itself, separately from the play -- in the concert-hall, not the theatre.)

† Stokes's edition advertises itself as "the only Edition Published with the Music Complete". It includes an overture and four entr'actes newly composed by William Henry Ware. It also includes two unattributed pieces of incidental music: "Macbeth's March" for Act 1, scene 3, "Banquet March" for Act 3, scene 4.

‡ According to Harding (1971:72), these two dances were also included in Jacob's edition.

As the number of editions goes to show, the music was greatly admired, not just by ordinary theatre-goers but also by connoisseurs. George Hogarth, writing in the 1830s, worked himself up into raptures on the subject.

> The music composed by Lock for this tragedy, ... is of such transcendent excellence, that its beauties have suffered no decay at the distance of more than a century and a half, and it promises to partake of the immortality of the great work with which it is associated. ... The music in Macbeth, in short, was not only a stupendous effort of genius, ... but is, to this day, one of the noblest and most beautiful works that ever has been produced by an English musician. (Hogarth 1838:127--9, 1851:80--2)

Though possibly few people would have expressed it in such overwrought language, the sentiment was widely shared.* The larger the chorus of witches, the better the audience was pleased: as the number of singers grew, so did the size of the orchestra.†

* The story goes that on one occasion "Mr. Macready went to Mr. Price, ... ready dressed for Macbeth, and said, 'I'm afraid we shall be very late to-night -- had you not better cut out the music?' To which Mr. Price replied, 'I can't very well do that, but I'll cut out the part of Macbeth, if you like!' I don't vouch for the truth of this, from personal knowledge, but I have Mr. Price's word for it" (Bunn 1840 1:284). If this happened, it happened in 1827--28. Stephen Price had the lease of the Drury Lane theatre at the time.

† When Thomas German Reed orchestrated the music for a production of Macbeth at the Haymarket Theatre, he added parts for woodwind, brass and percussion (Winkler 2004:100). (That production starred Charles Kean and Ellen Tree: it opened on 17 May 1841 (Times, 18 May 1841, 6).)

In the 1840s -- this is almost beyond belief -- so popular was the music that a librettist could be found who would write new words for it, a composer could be found who would make the necessary adjustments to the score, and a publisher could be found who would get the thing printed and hope that people would buy it.* The librettist was Alfred Morland (whom I know nothing about); the composer was East John Westrop; and the publisher was Edwin Ransford. In this altered state, Locke's music became a "sacred cantata". The following lines (Morland 1845:10), substituted for D'Avenant's song "Let's have a dance upon the heath", were quoted by a contemporary reviewer (Sunday Times, 2 Feb 1845, col 2d), who described them as "a fair specimen of the poetry":

> Oh! 'tis a happy sound to hear
> The Saviour's pard'ning grace proclaim'd;
> May we be free from doubt and fear
> Where'er redeeming love is nam'd,
> For Christ the Saviour welcomes all,
> And bids us to his presence come;
> Yes, ev'ry creature, great and small,
> To dwell in His celestial home,
> To dwell in His celestial home.

I take it that Morland's cantata was never heard of again. But (who knows?) I could be wrong.

* I am greatly indebted to Jonathan Frank, assistant librarian at the Royal College of Music, with whose help I got access to this piece, and to some other books too (Clarke 1822, Loder 1843, Rimbault 1847).

Not everyone enjoyed being made to sit through Locke's music whenever they went to see a performance of Macbeth. For some theatre-goers, the incongruity was hard to put up with. What justification could there possibly be for including the musical extravaganzas written for D'Avenant's play in a production of Shakespeare's play? The music might be good in itself: good or bad, it simply did not belong. One person who put this thought into print was John Genest, who spoke scathingly of the dancing and singing "which still continues to disgrace this admirable Tragedy" (Genest 1832 1:139).*

* "Locke's Music may be very fine, and it may be very pleasing to the eye to see some of the prettiest women in the theatre come on as singing witches, ... but it is very hard upon an author to have such absurdities foisted into one of his finest Tragedies" (Genest 1832 4:240).

In 1847 a production of Macbeth was staged at the Sadler's Wells theatre which finally took the bold step of dispensing with the chorus of witches.* This production was the creation of Samuel

Phelps, who had made it his policy to perform Shakespeare's plays in a relatively pure form. With Macbeth this meant that he restored some scenes and passages which were normally omitted in acting versions of the play. (Lady Macduff and her son did their tiresome turn. Macbeth, instead of expiring in front of the audience, was killed offstage, and his head was brought in on a pole, as Folio seems to demand.) Phelps's production had its premiere on 27 Sep 1847 (Phelps and Forbes-Robertson 1886:96). It was, by all accounts, a huge success: the critics approved of the absence of singing and dancing, or at least they allowed that the experiment was worth trying.† But Hecate was still part of the play: because she is mentioned in Folio, it would have gone against Phelps's principles for her to be excluded too.‡

* Even then, Locke's music was not abolished altogether. Some of it, in some form, was played during the intervals (Examiner, 2 Oct 1847, 629).

† Not everyone was pleased. "The choruses of 'Macbeth' are too good and too important to be lost. They will live so long as music will remain chronicled -- perhaps so long as 'Macbeth' shall be known among us, and long after it has ceased to be put upon the stage" (Era, 3 Oct 1847, 11d).

‡ So how she was got off the stage at the end of her big scene? If she was not to fly up into the air to join the singing witches, how was she to make her exit?

The singing witches were still not gone for good. Far from it. In 1853, when Charles Kean put on a spectacular production of Macbeth at the Princess's Theatre, he included all the music. The "vocal strength engaged for the occasion" comprised four soloists and fifty other singers (Kean 1853:iii). (Yes, there are fifty: I have counted them.) But he does seem to apologize for the extravaganza at the end of Act 2:

> The Chorus of Witches, which closes the second act, is, as is well known to the Shakespearian reader, an introduction which time and habit have so grafted on the play, that it is very doubtful whether the omission of such a powerful musical effect would not be considered a loss by the general public. (Kean 1853:45)

That means, I take it, that he might have been willing to drop this chorus, if it had been up to him, but did not believe that the audience would stand for it. So "Speak, sister, speak" survived, with as much "vocal strength" as could be budgeted for.* Five years later, during his final season as manager of the Princess's, Kean revived Macbeth again, and the chorus of witches, this time round, was "even more numerous than before" (Times, 2 Nov 1858, 10).

* "The music was a great feature of this production, and the witches were splendidly grouped and arranged. The picture formed by the myriad white arms, which gleamed in the moonlight, bare and beautiful, and uplifted in a Bacchic frenzy at the words 'We should rejoice,' is a thing of beauty to remember even now" (Coleman 1889:226).

The next spectacular production, put on at Drury Lane in 1864, made the same concession to popular taste. Phelps played Macbeth again,* but here he was just a hired actor, and the managers who employed him, Messrs Falconer and Chatterton, were not about to jeopardize their investment by eliminating the music. The critics seem to have sympathized.†

* Helen Faucit as Lady Macbeth was more of an attraction than Phelps was. She did not enjoy working with him.

† "The wild poetic grandeur of the drama is certainly diminished by the introduction of a hundred or more pretty singing witches, but trading managers are bound to be practical, and Locke's music ... is found to pay" (Daily News, 4 Nov 1864, 2). One reviewer did notice a change for the better. "Choice dancers used to be engaged for the ballet in the cauldron scene; but while the music remains, the ballet is now reduced to a little modest capering" (Examiner, 5 Nov 1864, 712).

At last, in 1875, Sidney Frances Bateman staged a production of Macbeth at the Lyceum Theatre (with Henry Irving as Macbeth and Kate Bateman as Lady Macbeth) which once again did away with all the superfluous music.* This was Bateman's production, not Irving's: the credit for daring to jettison the music is hers. And this time the experiment took. Though it may have continued to be performed elsewhere -- in the provinces, in the United States, in the outer reaches of the British Empire -- in the London theatres "Locke's music" went extinct. Thirteen years later, when Irving put on his own production of Macbeth (in which Hecate and the witches were all played by women), he reinstated the two songs and the dance that are called for in Folio -- "It is difficult to believe that these musical features and songs were introduced into the play without the sanction of Shakespeare" (Irving 1888:5) -- but had new music composed for them. (All the music for this production was written by Sir Arthur Sullivan.) Ten years later again, Forbes Robertson (1898) took a stronger line.† He expelled Hecate from the play -- and when she disappeared, the singers and dancers all disappeared as well. For budgetary reasons, perhaps for other reasons too, they have never been allowed to return.

* As at Sadler's Wells in 1847, it was still not thought possible to make a clean break: "a fantasia on Locke's famous music" was one of the pieces played between the acts (Era, 26 Sep 1875, 4).

† It is quite irrelevant here, but there is a musical story connected with this production. Forbes Robertson wanted the incidental music to have a Scottish sound to it; so he commissioned a new score from the composer

Hamish MacCunn, who had a flair for writing such music. In the end, unhappily, the promised score failed to arrive, and Forbes Robertson's musical director had to make do with a selection of stock tunes.

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* https://www.naxos.com/catalogue/item.asp?item_code=8.557484

† https://www.notamos.co.uk/index.php?sheet=index

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