

*Monsieur!*London,<sup>3</sup> 27<sup>th</sup> Novb., 1764

Do not be surprised that my reply to you is somewhat late. I have more to do than some may imagine, although the nobility are not yet in town and *parliament*, contrary to its wont, will not assemble until the 10<sup>th</sup> *January* in the coming year. [5] As a result, there is still nothing to be seen of the stream of *guineas*,<sup>4</sup> and I am stilling living from my purse. But it will soon be time for me to fill it up again, for I have become lighter by about 170 *guineas*<sup>5</sup> between the beginning of *July* and now. Besides all this, I have a large edition of 6 *sonatas*<sup>6</sup> by our Herr Wolfgang to engrave and print, [10] dedicated<sup>7</sup> to the Queen of Great Britain<sup>8</sup> |: at her own request |: a matter which has cost much effort in this large town, since one has to march as far to an engraver |: just as it was in Paris |: as to Hellbrunn, and one must always keep pressing these people, for they have much to do. [15] God be praised that we are all well, as you can deduce from the fact that I took a walk into town to Herr *Teissier's*,<sup>9</sup> which is as far as to Anif or to Hellbrunn.<sup>10</sup> One says into town or, in local parlance, *city*, because I live in the *Westminster* district, where the royal court, the ambassadors and most of the nobility are, [20] and where all the *opera* houses and theatres are too. But *London* consists of three named districts, or 3 separate towns, but which, like one horrifyingly large town, are completely continuous, namely *Westminster*, *London* and *Southwark*. There is the one difference that the streets in the *Westminster* district, like the buildings, [25] are very much larger and more splendid than in London itself, although there are enough impressive buildings to be seen there too, including one of the most impressive, the Royal Exchange<sup>11</sup> or merchant's market. Just imagine a large palace at whose centre there is a courtyard which is larger than the courtyard in *Mirabell*.<sup>12</sup> In the middle of that there is a royal statue, and on the building itself, [30] high up, all the kings of England are to be seen life-size. Besides that, there are passages ten paces wide under the building all round the courtyard so that all can be safe there in the event of rain. All nations now have their places there. Here are the merchants who are born Frenchmen; there the Spaniards; over there the Germans, Italians, Portuguese etc. [35] In a word, every nation has its place where you can find it. Besides that, you can buy a booklet here, which is 2 fingers thick, in which all merchants and their addresses can be found alphabetically. Every day between 1 and 3 o'clock, many hundreds of people, and on Tuesdays and Fridays, since they are post or exchange days, many 1000s go in and out here, [40] and on a Thursday between 2 and 3 o'clock I have been almost unable to push my way

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<sup>1</sup> BD: Original lost. Copyist A, B; NissenB.

<sup>2</sup> BD: Johann Lorenz Hagenauer (1712-1792), Salzburg merchant. Friend of the Mozarts and their landlord 1747-1773.

<sup>3</sup> BD: The Mozarts had returned from Chelsea on 25<sup>th</sup> September and had rooms in the house of corset maker, Thomas Williamson. Cf. Nos. 0099/79-80; 1212/95-96.

<sup>4</sup> BD: Cf. No. 0092/258-259.

<sup>5</sup> BD: ≈ 1360 florins.

<sup>6</sup> BD: For keyboard, violin/flute and violoncello KV 10-15. According to Nannerl in No. 1212/116, composed in London and printed as Opus III (cf. No.0144/11-14).

<sup>7</sup> BD: For the dedication, Wolfgang received "50 guineas" (≈ 400 florins). Cf. No. 0096/145-146. Leopold was the vendor of the publication in London.

<sup>8</sup> BD: Cf. No. 0088/89, 93 etc.

<sup>9</sup> BD: Banker; friend to Leopold, (cf. No. 0092/6).

<sup>10</sup> BD: Salzburg to Hellbrunn ≈ 9 km.

<sup>11</sup> BD: The building which stood from 1666-1838.

<sup>12</sup> BD: A palace in Salzburg belonging to the Prince-Archbishop [Fürst-Erbischof] of Salzburg.

through to get from the entrance to the courtyard to the exit. <sup>13</sup>There are 9 companies or societies of merchants, which constantly maintain 1417 ships and 21797 sailors in their service. On top of that, there are 45 office buildings for the purposes of trade and business. [45] If one stands on *London* Bridge and observes the amount of ships which are always moored in the Thames, it seems, because of the astonishing number of masts, as if one had a thick forest before one's eyes. One can in fact see nothing more splendid. In a description of *London*, which had already appeared in its seventh impression in 1750,<sup>14</sup> I find that *London* consists of more than 95968 dwelling houses; [50] that the number of streets and lanes amounts to more than 6000, not including the vast multitude of so-called courts or little lanes which are plastered with rectangular flat stones over which one is allowed neither to drive nor to ride, but are only for pedestrians |: as short cuts :| and where one will come across the most beautiful shops. [55] But I can see, partly from the old and new street maps and partly as an eye-witness myself, that many 1000s of houses have been built and that *London* has grown by many lanes since the publication of this description, and that this town, so horrifyingly large anyway, is growing every year by a multitude of houses and will in the course of time attain a quite indescribable size, [60] for I have seen not only the foundations laid for many new buildings within an hour of here, but also the astonishing multitude of houses which have gone up since my stay in *London*, that is, since this summer. Many hands bring early completions, and here, as in Paris, work goes on through the whole winter. The lighting here is the most beautiful and largest I have ever seen, [65] with the number given in the description mentioned above being more than 55435, which is being added to endlessly now in that every house on a main street has one lamp in front of it, and every grand one or one lived in by wealthy people has two. Besides that, there are 2 lights in most of the lamps, [70] and in front of grand houses and public buildings there are 3, 4 and 5 lights in one lantern. Nor do I find here such starved lighting as I have found in other places, where namely most of the lights were already burnt out by 1 o'clock in the morning. Here the fellows are still running around with ladders under their arms and fire in their hands in broad daylight, [75] lighting the lamps, and I have seen lamps still burning at 9 o'clock in the morning. Besides this, in winter there are lamps burning on the main roads all round London, in all directions for up to almost an hour's journey beyond the town, for the safety of those coming and going on their way. There are in the main two kinds of building to be seen: the first kind, in the side lanes and courtyards, [80] consist of only 3 floors, besides kitchen and cellar, which are underground. The second kind, namely in quaint streets and lanes, consist of 4 floors etc., and the third kind, in the most noble streets, consists of 5 floors. *N.B.* Kitchen and cellar are always underground, and their first floor is what we call ground level. [85] There are 143 parishes, or departments, 108 large churches and 71 parish chapels. 420 constables, or municipal servants or security *commissarii*, also belong to this, 227 lesser administrative representatives, 58 supervisors, 134 bailiffs and 1318 night-watchmen, who call out every half hour and, after midnight, call out at the same time how the weather is. [90] Then there are 443 street orderlies, to whom 11728 pounds *sterling*<sup>15</sup> are paid annually for cleaning the streets. Here there are 32 foreign churches, 147 chapels and assembly halls belonging to various denominations, and three Jewish synagogues. 38 public free schools, in which more than 3173 children are accommodated; 166 public poor schools, which provide for 5360 children, [95] and besides that over 300 special schools. 27 hospitals for the ill and insane; 14 societies providing for poor widows and 95 poor houses. 51 workhouses, 5 reform houses and 14 prison buildings. The *summa* for maintaining the poor generally amounts to more than

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<sup>13</sup> BD: Leopold of the following statistics owns entirely from this 1760 edition of William Maitland's *Hystory and survey of London from its foundation to the present time*. It is also almost certain that he used *The City Guide, or Pocket Plan of London, Westminster and Southwark, with the new buildings to this present year 1764*.

<sup>14</sup> BD: As yet this book has not been identified.

<sup>15</sup> ≈ 94,000 florins.

250520 pounds *sterling*<sup>16</sup> per annum. The city, or the general *public*, [100] furthermore maintains 5 royal palaces |: but which are fairly civic and do not look at all regal |: 7 learned societies, 18 public libraries, 16 *colleges* for scholars of jurisprudence, 91 companies of tradesmen, of which 52 have their own houses or so-called halls, usually imposing buildings in which they meet and make their business deals, [105] 4 six *opera* houses and theatres, 33 market-places, 2 zoos, 6 public gardens, 50 so-called squares or large rectangular spaces, on some of which there are some of the kings or other statues, 2 large bridges and 8 gates.

*N.B.* Neither in Paris nor here, however, are there such gates as in the towns of Germany, [110] but really only strong barriers. Although the poor here are very benevolently provided for, the number of poor is indeed great. But few dare to beg completely openly, for it is forbidden, but they have another way of asking for alms, namely that one offers you a bunch of flowers in summer, another tooth-picks from feather-quills, [115] another engravings, another sulphur matches, another sewing twine, another ribbons of various colours etc., others sing in the streets and offer you the printed music for it, which is the most common form and is heard every hour until you are sick of it. – I cannot remember all of it. – Here there are more than 1072 bakers, 1515 butchers, 1411 cheese sellers, 159 fish merchants. [120] *N.B.* Although they only eat fish here for show and as a delicacy, and although they are surrounded by the sea, it is abominably expensive. 217 poultry merchants, 171 breweries, 551 coffee houses. *N.B.* Although I have only been in one so far. 447 wine houses, *N.B.* without those wine dealers who have shops. 5975 ale houses, 207 inns, 8659 brandy houses. [125] *N.B.* The common people are in their element here with brandy and beer. 1214 vegetable shops or garden kiosks. *N.B.* without the usual marketplaces. It is calculated that they consume here around 396 636 pecks of wheat flour, 98 244 oxen, although they do not boil beef everyday here as we do. 711123 sheep and lambs. 194760 calves. 186932 pigs. [130] 52000 suckling pigs, 113536 bushels of oysters, which are of a different kind and price here, e.g. of the largest kind 12 are to be had for 4 pence.<sup>17</sup> From one of these you can make 4 Venetian ones, since one cannot eat an oyster without cutting it apart in the middle at least once. Not to speak of the astonishing quantity of large sea crabs, [135] other crabs, sea-snails etc. and things of that kind. From the 26<sup>th</sup> *Maii*, when the so-called mackerel season begins, to the 6<sup>th</sup> *Julii* last year, there arrived at *Billingsgate* |: a gate on the Thames |: 589 boats |: ships |: *böths*<sup>18</sup> full of fish, each of which carried 2 loads; each contains 10 000 fish. [140] From this, it is evident that in this period they landed a total of 14 million, 7 hundred and 40 000 fish, taking only the sort which one calls mackerel and not mentioning cod, shellfish, whiting and other sea fish, along with the astonishing quantity of stockfish, fresh water fish and the multifarious different salted fish. The costs for the butter and cheese brought to *London* amount, [145] for butter, for 2 hundred and 90 thousand, 263 barrels of a quarter of a ton each, are 16 million, 366 thousand, 780 pounds without the fresh butter which is used every day for butter-bread.

Beyond that there are 10533 tons or 21 million, 6 hundred and 60 thousand pounds of cheese, not to mention the many kinds imported from foreign lands. [150] The milk cannot be fitted into any calculation at all. And the brewers distribute annually around one million, 528 thousand, 468 barrels of strong beer and one million, 74000, two hundred and 88 barrels of small or weak beer, without *N.B.* the massive expenditure on beer from the countryside. I have seen an extract from the year 1738<sup>19</sup> in which there was a remark that the following quantity of wine [155] was imported via the port of London alone: 1828 tons from Portugal, 10255 from Spain, 1105 tons from France, 476 tons from Germany and Holland. *Summa* 30040 tons. That they are now importing the same again on top of that is not without grounds,

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<sup>16</sup> ≈ 2,000,000 florins.

<sup>17</sup> ≈ 4 kreuzers.

<sup>18</sup> Presumably Leopold's phonetic rendering of "boats".

<sup>19</sup> BD: Probably the first edition of the work named in line 42 ff.

for everyone swigs wine, although the minimum price of a bottle of wine [160] |: which is even a little smaller than ours :| is 2 *shillings*.<sup>20</sup> – – Then other wines cost between 3 and 20 *shillings*<sup>21</sup> a bottle, which is, incredible as it may seem, the sacred truth. Because the most ferocious excise<sup>22</sup> is imposed on wines, in order to promote the sales of beer, *cider* or must, and brandy wine etc. as domestic products, and although the strong drinks are not considered necessary foodstuffs. [165] Similarly, you can certainly wonder at the quantity of different sorts of strong distilled drink, imported and domestic, in the following extract from an account from the year 1733 which I have seen. 36823 *Gallons Arrack*.<sup>23</sup> *Gallons* is a measure which is still unfamiliar to me. In a book I find that it equals 4 Parisian pints; accordingly, one gallons would be 4 of our bottles. [170] *Arrack* is a kind of brandy which is distilled from an Indian fruit which comes from East India and is a common drink there. It is used for good punch. 1 million 300 and 15000, three hundred and 52, i.e. 1,315,352 *gallons*<sup>24</sup> of brandy. 328¼ *gallons* of citron water. 316 ⅔ *gallons* of cordial water. [175] 3791 *gallons* of juniper brandy. 103½ *gallons* raki. 327703 *gallons* reem, for common punch and ordinary stomach remedy. 12 *gallons* vizney.<sup>25</sup> 154½ *gallons* *usquaebaugh*.<sup>26</sup> 12527 *gallons* *cider* or apple wine. 890319 *gallons* *molasses*. 1,601,293 *gallons* wheat brandy wine. Altogether, this comes to 11,205,627 *gallons*. They reckon that annually 11,644,863 pounds of tallow candles are made in *London*, [180] although everyone who wants to impress even a little burns wax, while absolutely simple people, and others on many occasions, burn oil. Now you know quite a thing or two about *London* again; the next time something different. – – –

I and mine congratulate you and your good wife a [185] million times on your esteemed son *Caietan*'s entry into a new state of life.<sup>27</sup> I have a very high opinion of him and, since you are at all times a good and sensible father, you will no doubt embrace him with open arms and a joyful face whenever he returns home. Since he was always a quiet, peaceful boy, [190] he will do nothing except what he considers most beneficial for the salvation of his soul. That is why there is a year on probation. Wolfgangerl wept when I read to him from the letter, and, when asked why, – – he felt sorry because he believed he would never see him again. But we enlightened him on the matter, and he remembered that he had often caught a fly for him and pumped the organ [195] and also brought him the air-gun.<sup>28</sup> As soon as he gets back to Salzburg he will go to St. Peter's and have Herr *Caietan* catch him a fly and then he must also go air-gun shooting with him. He has thus donned the habit of the order and entered the novitiate on exactly the day on which I entered the Order of the Patched Trousers<sup>29</sup> around 17 years ago and made a [200] profession with my wife at Aigen.<sup>30</sup> We remembered him most diligently on that day and congratulate him a 1000 times, wishing him nothing other than the discernment of his true vocation: may God grant him this and thus lead him on the path to the eternal salvation of his soul. You acted very wisely, after your usual sensible deliberation, [205] in having him travel to Munich and Augsburg so that he can see

<sup>20</sup> BD: ≈ 48 kreuzers.

<sup>21</sup> BD: ≈ 1 florin 12 kreuzers to 8 florins.

<sup>22</sup> BD: Cf. No. 0088/48.

<sup>23</sup> BD: Brandy produced from rice or from palm wine.

<sup>24</sup> BD: 1 gallon = 4.54 litres.

<sup>25</sup> BD: (Irish?) whisky?

<sup>26</sup> BD: (Scottish?) whisky?

<sup>27</sup> BD: Kajetan Rupert (1746-1811), Hagenauer's, entered the Benedictine monastery of Saint Peter's in Salzburg as a novice on 20<sup>th</sup> October 1764 and made his profession of vows on 20 October 1765 (cf. No. 0108/96 ff.). His diary gives information about Mozart's stay in Salzburg January-December 1769 (between the return from Vienna and the departure for Italy).

<sup>28</sup> BD: One of the most popular entertainments in old Salzburg: shooting with air guns at humorously decorated wooden targets, as mentioned frequently in the letters, e.g. No. 0330/5.

<sup>29</sup> BD: A phrase used in the booklet *Gründliche Untersuchung und Beantwortung 7 curiöser und politischer Staats-Fragen*, published in 1700.

<sup>30</sup> BD VIII, p. 99: The start of their engagement, proclaimed in Aigen by Salzburg.

that there are also human beings beyond Salzburg. That the valet of Count *van Eyck*<sup>31</sup> had the courtesy to utter such praise about us is kindness indeed on his part, since the duty of upright people is to live in such a way that one is a shame neither to oneself |: *amor incipit ab ego*<sup>32</sup> :| nor to one's native land, [210] but rather, as far as possible, an honour. But it is most pleasing to hear of the esteemed Count *van Eyck's* marrying the Countess of Königsfeld,<sup>33</sup> for I would have regretted it very much if he had chosen a wife of low standing the second time after having had a wife from such a good family the first time.<sup>34</sup> And that he would not remain long without a wife – [215] that was something I was well able to imagine. But he has not been able to find a wife like his previous one, and no-one can tell me otherwise. I know it, and time will show it. – – – Who ever thought, then, that the Holy Roman King<sup>35</sup> should marry an English princess?<sup>36</sup> – – That is a dream! The present king<sup>37</sup> on the English throne is descended from a female line, [220] as was the case after James II was expelled, whose son-in-law, *William III*, Prince of *Orange*,<sup>38</sup> was placed on the English throne because his wife was the daughter of *James II*. And who would have thought that England would give a princess to a Catholic prince from such a great house, where one would have to fear that some claims will arise, [225] as the same case has arisen twice in succession with the houses of *Orange* and *Hannover*. The information I am presenting will no doubt appear more probable when I say that Prince Carl,<sup>39</sup> his sister and the Holy Roman King were in *Straubingen*<sup>40</sup> on the 2<sup>nd</sup> November to confer with the Elector and Electress of *Bavaria*<sup>41</sup> on the subject of a future *marriage*.<sup>42</sup> Hearty congratulations, with all my compliments, [230] to Herr Wagner<sup>43</sup> from *Tittmoning* and Court *Sculptor* *Hagenauer*<sup>44</sup> on their changes of family status. – – I regret the misfortune of the gentleman.<sup>45</sup> That is how it goes! *Multum clamoris et parum lanae*,<sup>46</sup> or, all that glitters is not gold. We ask that the most devoted *compliments* from all of us be made to Herr Spöckner,<sup>47</sup> and please tell him that [235] although the *contredances*<sup>48</sup> have their home here, the figures are less than pleasing and the dancing itself is even less pleasing. But the *airs* are sometimes good. I will bring a whole book full with me. Is Herr Dellmoz<sup>49</sup> still in good

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<sup>31</sup> “graf van Eyck”. BD: Maximilian Emanuel Franz, Count [Graf] van Eyck (1711-1777), Bavarian ambassador in Paris; the Mozart family stayed in his palace there. During that time his wife died.

<sup>32</sup> = “Love begins with myself.”

<sup>33</sup> BD: Presumably a daughter of Christian Johann August, Count [Graf] Königsfeld zu Alten-Eglofsheim, in 1770 listed as a minister at court in Vienna.

<sup>34</sup> BD: The Salzburg family of Count [Graf] Arco.

<sup>35</sup> “der römische König”. BD: Joseph, eldest son of Maria Theresia, whose wife Maria Elisabeth (Isabella) had died on 23 November 1763.

<sup>36</sup> BD: This marriage did not in fact take place. On 23<sup>rd</sup> January 1765 he married Maria Josepha of Bavaria, sister of the Elector Maximilian III Joseph. Hagenauer had obviously passed the rumour about the English princess on to Leopold in a letter.

<sup>37</sup> BD: Cf. No. 0088/89, 92 etc.; of the house of Hannover.

<sup>38</sup> “Prinz von Oranien”.

<sup>39</sup> “Prinz Carl”. BD: Cf. No. 0067/169, 176 from Brussels.

<sup>40</sup> BD: Straubing in Lower Bavaria.

<sup>41</sup> “dem Churfürsten und der Churfürstin aus Bajern”

<sup>42</sup> Leopold's French.

<sup>43</sup> BD: Probably Anton Kaspar Wagner of Tittmoning, cloth and spice merchant.

<sup>44</sup> “Hofstatuario”. BD: Johann Baptist Hagenauer, distant relative of the recipient of this letter, married the Italian portrait painter Maria Rosa Barducci in Salzburg Cathedral in November 1764.

<sup>45</sup> BD: The Prince-Archbishop?

<sup>46</sup> BD: “Much noise and little wool”.

<sup>47</sup> BD: Franz Karl Gottlieb Speckner (Spoeckner) (1707-1767), son of the Salzburg Court and Parliamentary Dancing Master [Hof- und Landschaftstanzmeister] Johann Lorenz Speckner. In 1747 he was a witness at Leopold's wedding. His house was inherited by his cousin, Maria Anna Raab (“Mitzerl”, mentioned frequently in the letters); the Mozart family stayed there from 1773 until Leopold's death in 1787.

<sup>48</sup> BD: “Contradances” being etymologically derived from “country dances”.

<sup>49</sup> BD: Actually “Dellmor”: Formally a book-keeper with the Hagenauers, now employed in public administration. Leopold also enquired about him in No. 0080/229.

shape? And what is honest Herr Deibl<sup>50</sup> doing? We commend ourselves heartily to these, our honest, dear people, and to all who love us.

[240] *P.S.* Oh, my God, how much I have to write! Please say to Herr Vogt,<sup>51</sup> with my compliments, that I and all of us are endlessly grateful to him. — That Paris and *London* are full of violins from Mittenwald, and that here in particular an astonishing customs charge is imposed on everything, yet I have made arrangements so that in Paris, at least, it may be possible to do something. [245] But I must tell him for the moment that in Paris and here the *violin* is very tightly strung, and the E-strings are like light A-strings. He must set the *violin* up this way, otherwise it cannot be used. On the other hand, in Paris in particular, the pitch or the tuning is low and very deep. I already have plenty of correspondence on this. But, first of all, I must find out how the customs work, which is the most difficult matter. *Adieu.*

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<sup>50</sup> BD: Franz de Paula Deibl (1698? -1783), oboist, also violinist.

<sup>51</sup> BD: Probably the violinist Johann Sebastian Vogt mentioned in No. 0063/84.