Handel and the English Chapel Royal during the reigns of Queen Anne and King George I

Thesis

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HANDEL AND THE ENGLISH CHAPEL ROYAL
DURING THE REIGNS OF QUEEN ANNE AND KING GEORGE I
VOLUME TWO

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Donald Burrows:

Handel and the English Chapel Royal
during the reigns of Queen Anne and King George I

VOLUME 2

SUPPLEMENT - CONDITIONS OF PERFORMANCE
SUPPLEMENT

CONDITIONS OF PERFORMANCE

Arrangement and Contents

The Supplement is in five sections:

SECTION 1: The Singers.

The institutional framework of the Chapel Royal is described: membership, structure and conditions of service. Because many of the singers held several posts in different choirs simultaneously, the parallel institutions at Westminster Abbey, St. Paul's Cathedral and St. George's Chapel, Windsor, are also described.

Handel's music is related to the forces at his disposal, and to what is known of the performing practices associated with the Chapel.

Material from the wider period 1700-1760 is drawn upon for this section, and reference is made to the complete repertoire of Handel's Chapel Royal music, including the works composed during the reign of King George II.

SECTION 2: Orchestral Accompaniment.

The arrangement of this section follows that of Section 1. The institutions which regularly provided instrumentalists to accompany the Chapel Royal are described, and then Handel's use of his orchestral resources. As in Section 1, reference is made to the wider period 1700-1760.

SECTION 3: Buildings.

The sites of Handel's performances of his Chapel Royal music, 1710-1727, are described: St. Paul's Cathedral and the Chapel Royal, St. James's Palace. Two additional buildings, the French
Chapel, St. James's Palace, and St. Lawrence's Church, Whitchurch (Cannons Park) are also included.

SECTION 4: Arrangements for Rehearsals and Performances

Further material, supplementing that in Sections 1-3, on the background to Handel's Chapel Royal performances.

SECTION 5: Pitch

A review of the limited evidence relating to the pitch standards employed in Handel's Chapel Royal performances.
1 I have excluded the Trumpeters from the institutional comparison which follows: their establishment was distinct from that of the Court Musicians and will be described separately in Section 2.

2 The Sub-Lean periodically communicated the admissions for which he had been responsible to the Lord Chamberlain's Department: the Cheque Book entries are repeated in the Appointments Books, LC3/63-65.

3 See Burrows: Dolben, p. 66. Political dismissals from the Chapel had always been rare: in the period 1660-1700 there were two, Blaze White in 1675 (OCR, p. 86) and Bishop Compton ten years later.
SECTION 1: The Singers

A. INSTITUTIONS

THE CHAPEL ROYAL

Performances of orchestrally-accompanied music for Court services relied principally on the participation of musicians employed by the regular institutions of the Court: the Chapel Royal, the Royal Musicians and the Royal Trumpeters,¹ all of them within the Department of State administered by the Lord Chamberlain. The Master of the Musick and the Musicians in Ordinary were among the 'Servants above Stairs' under the direct control of the Chamberlain, but the Chapel Royal was a separate sub-department of the Chamber and had a greater measure of independence. The contents of the Cheque Books are testimony to this, and reveal that the activities of the Chapel were primarily the responsibility of the Dean (officially) and the Sub-Dean (in practice). There is no parallel Cheque Book for the Musicians: matters such as suspensions and dismissals which for the Chapel Royal would have been dealt with internally and recorded in the Cheque Books are, in the case of the Musicians, recorded in the general run of government papers for the Lord Chamberlain's Department. The Musicians, like most Above-Stairs servants, were sworn into their places by the Gentlemen-Ushers: Chapel Royal admissions were in the hands of the Sub-Dean.² The tenure of Chapel Royal posts was almost completely free of political interference during the period 1700-1760, the only suspicious exception being the departure of the Dean and Sub-Dean under mysterious circumstances in March 1717/8.³ Chapel Royal Gentlemen could normally expect to retain their places as long as they lived. Working continuously together, the members of the Chapel formed a close-knit community. There was a general tendency for Court service to become a family business and, although
Examples of inter-married Chapel Royal families included Braddock-Blow, Clarke-Greene-Carleton and Weldon-Baildon-Chamness. For the last-named see Appendix 5. The Boys' list includes at least five sets of brothers, but few sons of Gentlemen. There is only one example of a Gentleman being succeeded in the Chapel by his son: Thomas Baker (45), one of Handel's soloists, and his son Thomas Baker (77).
this was less true of the Chapel than of the Musicians and Trumpeters, a certain amount of inter-marriage and father-son continuity can be traced. 4

The nature of the Chapel changed little from reign to reign, thanks to the overwhelming influence of precedent on the regulation of Court affairs. Once the pattern of the establishment had been settled in the years following the Restoration, it was repeated from generation to generation, new singers coming in to fill vacancies as they arose. There were some minor changes - a reduction in numbers in the 1690's and an expansion again in the following decade - but the basic institution remained the same. Government records and publications based on them did not always catch up with changes in the Chapel immediately: on the whole, however, the compilers of these records and publications were on safe ground in assuming that the numbers and composition of the Chapel were the same from year to year.

One particularly compendious semi-official publication was Chamberlayne's Magnae Britanniae Notitia, which regularly included the following description of the Chapel Royal in a chapter entitled 'Of Particular Government: and first, of the Ecclesiastical...

Government of the King's Household':

For the Ecclesiastical Government of the King's Court, there is first a Dean of the Chapel-Royal, who is usually some Grave, Learned Prelate, chosen by the King, and who, as Dean, acknowledgeth no Superior but the King; for as the King's Palace is exempt from all inferior Temporal Jurisdiction, so is his Chapel from all Spiritual: It is call'd Capella Dominica, the Domain Chapel, is not within the Jurisdiction or Diocese of any Bishop, but as a Royal Peculiar, exempt and reserved to the Visitation and Immediate Government of the
5 op. cit., p. 95-6

6 I have checked the description in detail back to the 18th (1694) edition, but, its general outline goes back much further. The text of the first paragraph remained intact throughout the editions published in Queen Anne's reign, without even the substitution of 'Queen' for 'King'.
King, who is Supreme Ordinary, as it were, over all England.

By the Dean are chosen all other Officers of the Chapel, namely a Sub-Dean or Precentor Capellae: thirty-two Gentlemen of the Chapel, whereof twelve are Priests, and one of them is Confessor to the King's Household, whose Office is to read Prayers every morning to the Family, to visit the Sick, to examine and prepare Communicants, to inform such as desire Advice in any Case of Conscience, or Point of Religion, &c.

The other twenty Gentlemen, commonly call'd Clerks of the Chapel, are with the aforesaid Priests, to perform in the Chapel the Office of Divine Service, in Praying, Singing, &c. One of these being well skill'd in Musick, is chosen Master of the Children, whereof there are twelve in Ordinary, to instruct them in the Rules and Art of Musick for the Service of the Chapel. Three other of the said Clerks are chosen to be Organists.

There are moreover four Officers, a Sergeant, two Yeomen and a Groom of the Chapel.

In the King's Chapel, thrice every Day Prayers are read, and God's Service and worship perform'd with great Decency, Order and Devotion, and should be a Pattern to all other Churches and Chapels of England.

(There then follows a description of offices not directly related to the musical part of the establishment - Almoners, Chaplains and the Clerk of the Closet.)

This version, taken from the 25th. Edition (1718), was a partially revised text of the description which had run through the previous two reigns. By 1718 there were no longer three organists and the number of Gentlemen was out of date; there is no mention of the of-
7 op. cit., p. 123

8 p. 105

9 Beattie: English Court, p. 259

10 Chrysander: Kirchenkannel
fice of Composer, even though the Composers' names appear in the lists of Chapel Royal personnel later in the same volume. However, one significant amendment had been made to the description. The last sentence of the third paragraph read thus up to the 22nd Edition (1708):

Three other of the said Clerks are chosen to be Organists, to whom are joyned upon Sundays, Collar-Days and other Holy-Days, a Consort of the King's Musick, to make the Chapel "Musick more full and compleat."  

This sentence was shortened in the 23rd Edition (1710), a belated admission that regular instrumental participation in the Chapel had become a thing of the past. There is not even a mention of the use of instruments on Thanksgiving days.

Although Navigae Britanniae Notitia was a commercial publication, there is no doubt that it was also regarded as a semi-official one: the volumes bear dedications to the monarch, and King George I, (or his advisers) thought highly enough of its contents to order copies for the use of the King's closest servants as a reference book on English affairs during their first years in England. Chamberlayne's lists of the officers and servants of the Court are very detailed and must have been based on official sources to which the publishers were given access; these lists, like the descriptive texts, seem to have been subjected to varying degrees of revision. They were Chrysander's main source material for an article which remains one of the few published attempts to put together information about Handel's Chapel Royal singers. In the article Chrysander observed that many of Chamberlayne's lists did not square with the information available to him from the printed edition of the Old Cheque Book. With the aid of more refined biographical information on the
11 For example OCB, p. 130 (1669); P.R.O. LC5/153, p. 238 (1702); NCB, p. 15-16 (1727)

12 The Travelling Charges are described in detail infra, under 'Conditions of Service'.

13 OCB, p. 54-55
singers (see Appendix 6) it is possible to subject Chamberlayne's lists to proper critical examination. Source dates can now be given to the lists and occasions when they were compiled from old copy can be identified. Not all of the lists within the same section were revised at the same time. In the 36th. edition (1723) we find a correct record of the membership of the Chapel Royal as it stood on June 1 of that year, at a period when Handel was closely associated with the Chapel. On the other hand, the Boys' list in the 36th. edition (1743 - the year of the Dettingen Anthem and Te Deum) must be dismissed immediately as extremely out of date. This is a reprint of the list found originally in the 32nd. edition (1736, giving the names of the choristers as they stood in mid-1735): it is obvious that in 1743 the Gentlemen's list was brought up to date but the Boys' list was not.

**Gentlemen**

The Chapel Royal establishment included 26 Gentlemen in Ordinary, of whom 10 were priests. This number is consistent from 1715 until 1760. Most of the entries in the Old Cheque Book do not distinguish very carefully between the Priests and the rest of the Gentlemen, but the Priests can be identified in various lists of the Chapel's membership and from the payments of Travelling Charges in those years when the Priests alone accompanied the monarch. Though they gained a little extra in Travelling Charges, the Priests received the same basic remuneration as the rest of the Gentlemen (£73 per annum). From the time of Bayly's appointment in March 1743/4 the move from Gentleman to Priest seems to have been regarded as promotion, involving the resignation of the Gentleman's place and subsequent re-admission. Movements from Gentleman to Priest undoubtedly took
During the year 1716-1718, for example, Carleton, Baker and Chittle moved from Laymer to Aicasts, but there is no record of this in the Cheque Book.

The names of 16 Gentlemen appear in this list, but one of them had been suspended and another held an extra-ordinary (i.e. non-established) place.

I have counted the Clerk of the Cheque as one of the Gentlemen in 1685 but not in 1683, because Braddock (1685) also held a Gentleman's place and Blagrave (1685) did not.

The list in LCS/153 does not include two Gentlemen (William Spalden and John Weldon) who had been sworn into Extraordinary Places in 1701.
place before that date, but apparently without such formalities. Since the Priests had to take their turns at reading weekday prayers, it was probably convenient in any case to have some additional men in orders among the ranks of the Gentlemen, waiting for a Priest's place to fall vacant. Musically speaking the distinction between Priest and Layman was irrelevant: the active musicians included Priests as well as Laymen. Bayly's 'promotion' in 1743/4 did not prevent him from keeping his position as the Chapel's leading Alto soloist of his generation.

Effectively, therefore, there were 26 singers available, at least in theory. Only in the first decade of the century is there any doubt about the number. This is because the Chapel began the century at less than full strength. 12 Priests and 16 other Gentlemen are listed at the 1685 Coronation, but vacancies which occurred were not filled under James II, so that by 1689 the numbers were down to 8 Priests and 12 Gentlemen. By the time of Anne's coronation in 1702 the establishment was somewhat restored: 10 Priests and 13 Gentlemen. The number of Gentlemen seems to have remained at 13 or 14 in the early part of Anne's reign. During the later years of the reign the Cheque Book was not kept very efficiently, a fact which affects the interpretation of several admissions dated 8 August 1715. The 'four additional Gentlemen' named there bring the total back to 26, but the recovery in numbers had been made some years before. The Traveling Charges for 1709 include in the lists four Gentlemen (Laye, W. Battell, Aspinwall and Weely) whose appointments do not receive notice in the Cheque Book immediately, Weely's being as late as October 1714. The 1715 Cheque Book entry, dated exactly a year after George I's accession, was a post facto administrative measure which gave formal approval to the expansion of the estab-
This is confirmed by a Treasury Minute dated 19 July 1715:

"Upon reading a letter from the Bishop of London concerning the Establishment for the Chapel, by Lords direct a letter to be written to the Bishop that they have no objection to the Establishments being made with the allowances settled by the late Queen.'

The Bishop was instructed to prepare lists of the establishment 'according to what they were at the late Queen's demise' (See Shaw: Treasury Books, Vol. 23, p. 201, 643-644). The swearing-in of the new Chapel establishment on the basis of these lists seems to have taken place on 8 August 1715 (F.R.O. 103/63, p. 158-156), and this probably explains the arrangement of the Cheque Book entry.

See GCB, p. 63, paragraph 14.

The last appointment of a Gentleman Extraordinary recorded in the Cheque Book was that of John Weldon (GCB, p. 23-4, 6 June 1701).

Alford: Notebook (IS), p. 41, gives the financial arrangements of the system as it operated in 1665. Promotion was from Gospeller (£45.12. 6 per annum) to Epistler (£50) and thence to Gentleman (£73). The last Epistlers and Gospellers were appointed on 2-3-1699/1700 (GCB, p. 22-23).

Many of the lists of debts in the Treasury papers have simple explanations, such as the final payment from a reign being delayed because the monarch died in mid-quarter. There is not much evidence in 1700-1730 of accumulated delays to the routine salaries. In F.R.O. 21/156(15) there is a claim on behalf of the choir for no less than 27 years' payment 'for attendance on the great annual festivities' between 1684 and 1711; this was not related to the routine salaries and the Chapel's claim may never have been allowed.

The Pension Fund is dealt with later in this Section, and also in Chapter 10.
lishment and protection to the tenure of those who had been appoin-
ted in the mean time. By the time Handel arrived in London in 1710, the full complement of 26 Gentlemen had already been re-
to

The records of new appointments after 1710 appear to be tidi-
er than in previous years because some initiation procedures were discontinued. The practice of appointing Gentlemen to Extra-
ordinary places, presumably on a probationary basis and with the
prospect of a full place when a vacancy occurred, seems to have
been discontinued during Queen Anne's reign, and with it the
path of promotion through Gospeller and Epistler to Gentleman.

In later years, the practice of employing deputies may have removed
the need for a probationary period. It is a tribute to the Chapel's
general independence of political forces that a place in the Chapel
Royal never became a saleable article. There is no evidence that
the reversion of a place in the Chapel could be purchased by a
singer (or, come to that, a non-singer) like so many other offices
within the government's patronage, though no doubt persons in high
places used their influence to help their own candidates where
possible. During Gibson's term of office as Dean, the entries in
the Cheque Book reveal that the Chapel was maintained first and
foremost as a competent professional body, musical and ecclesiastic-
tal, from which the inefficient could face fines or dismissal.

The Gentlemen, Priests and Laymen alike, received an annual
salary of £73, a sum fixed in 1685 on the basis of a daily payment
of 4/- per day throughout the year. Salary payments were made
quarterly. They figure from time to time in the lists of unpaid
government debts, which indicates that the Gentlemen's income suf-
f ered the hazard of occasional delays. The founding of the
Chapel's Pension Fund in 1729 may well reflect a feeling
26 Named in P.R.C. AC/319.

27 The Feast does not figure in the Cheque Books, and references from the newspapers, such as the following, are rare:

On Tuesday the great Feast was held at the Swan Tavern over against Somerset House in the Strand, of all the Clergymen, Choristers and Musicians belonging to the King's Chapell, his Majesty presented them with a couple of Ducks; and there was performed instrumental and vocal Musick.

(WCSE, Saturday, September 7, 1717).

28 Lafontaine: The King's Musick, p. 369;
Sandford: Coronation, p. 69.

29 The £80 allowance is first mentioned in the Cheque Book with the entries for August 1715, (CCB, p. 28-29) and may have been a recent innovation. It is listed in the Establishment Charges at George's accession (P.R.C. LS 13/44); it appears in the 1716 edition of Chamberlayne's Magnae Britanniae Notitia, but not in earlier editions.
of financial insecurity. Royal Funerals and Coronations brought the Gentlemen occasional perquisites, but they received only one regular privilege from the Exchequer: an annual payment of £20 in lieu of deer for their annual feast. Two representatives of the Chapel acted as Stewards for the Feast, which apparently was not limited to the Gentlemen. In 1711, for example, the Stewards were Goodens the Chapel's Violist and Schreider the Royal Organ-Builders, the latter not even a member of the regular Chapel establishment. There is not much information about the Feast during the period under review: it is possible that in some years the members of the Chapel shared out the money rather than having the Feast.

**Boys**

The official numerical strength of the Choristers was 12. Like the Gentlemen, the Boys had been reduced in number at the end of the 17th century, probably in James II's reign: unlike the Gentlemen, the Boys never recovered their former strength. There were 12 children in 1684, and 12 at the 1685 Coronation, but from 1690 to 1760 the Master of the Children consistently received annual payments for liveries for 10 Boys. Chamberlayne's lists reveal that there were occasional gaps in the ranks: even the prestige of the Chapel could not guarantee a continuous supply of young talent. The Boys received free clothing, board, lodging and education. Some of them undoubtedly lived in the 'nouse' of the Master of the Children which, in Bernard Gates' time, was in James Street, Westminster. The Master received £240 per year (£24 for each Boy) for boarding expenses, and an allowance of £80 for teaching the Children to 'Compose, play on the Organ and Harpsichord, read, write and cast accompts'. On leaving the choir, each Boy was quite handsomely rewarded. There are two sets of
The 'allowance of clothes' described on the warrants consisted of '1 suit of plain cloth, 1 hate and band, 2 holland shirts, 2 cravats, 2 pairs of cuffs, 2 handkerchiefs, 2 pairs of stockings, 2 pairs of shoes and 2 pairs of gloves'.

Samuel Arnold's leaving warrant is dated 11-9-1768 and Treasury approval for payment was given 16 days later (T56/19). Roger Gethin, by contrast, had to wait from 8-7-1721 until 21-10-1721 for Treasury approval (T56/18).

This is true even if allowance is made for a later maturation of the Boys' voices in the eighteenth century. On the whole, their voices seem to have broken at 16-17. The Boys' list in Appendix 5 gives ages on leaving, where I have been able to discover them. On the basis of this list, the date of birth given for Samuel Howard in modern biographies (1716) seems to be too early.

This certainly happened at Windsor, where the reasons for the retention of John Goldwin and William Lamb are well documented.
warrants for payments to departing choristers, one to the Treasury for the 'Customary Allowance' of £20 and one to the Royal Wardrobe for a set of clothes. A receipt book for these leaving presents, signed by the Boys, reveals that by 1750, if not earlier, some of the Boys received a money payment of about £10 instead of the clothes. The administrative records in connection with the payments to departing Boys have survived virtually intact at the Public Record Office and they demonstrate the proliferation of paperwork which was generated by even the simplest procedure: there are Original warrants (LC5/126-131), copies of them in the appropriate Copybooks (LC5/18-24, 152-159, 167), and then another set of records among the Treasury Papers dealing with the receipt of the Warrants and their processing by the Treasury. Sometimes the process of payment was completed quickly, but not always.

The list of Boys and their leaving dates which is given in Appendix 5 is derived from these records. I have also included the Boys' ages on departure wherever I have been able to discover them. The warrants for the 'customary payments' begin thus:

Whereas the Sub-dean of his Majesty's Chapel, in the absence of the Dean, has certified that X's voice has changed, who was one of the Children of the Chapel ....

The ages of the Children, particularly from the first decade of the century, point to the conclusion that some Boys were retained after their voices had broken, presumably because they were useful as singers in the lower parts, as organists or even as composers. Several of the Boys returned to the choir as Gentlemen.

The information on the Boys which is provided by the leaving dates can be usefully supplemented by the lists in Chamberlayne's Magnae Britanniae Notitiae, which show the composition of the choir.
For should it be forgotten that the Purcell family had strong connections with court service. One branch of the family had representatives among the servants of George II, both as Prince of Wales and as King, and Henry Purcell's own grandson was a Chapel Royal Boy in the 1730's. (B73).


37 And even then, the duties of Composer and Organist were probably shared: see CCA, p. 51-52.
at identifiable periods. Usually ten children are named in these lists, but there are some exceptions. Only eight names appear in the 23rd. and 27th. editions, with space lines to indicate two un-filled places, and we can safely infer from this that the Boys were depleted in 1710 and 1726. Even when there was a full complement of ten, some of them would have been new to the choir and of limited musical value.

The Boys' origins were diverse. Some were probably relatives of people with Court connections: Joseph Centlivre may have been related to Master Cook and John Luncombe to the Groom of the Vestry of the Chapel. Neal Abington went on to become one of the leading Royal Trumpeters in the next generation, which is no surprise since he came from a family of Royal Trumpeters; John Mason and Edmund Woodeson were sons of Gentlemen of the Chapel. Many other children had no known previous connection with the Chapel or the Court; the Gethin brothers, for example, were the sons of the Parish Clerk of Bridewell Chapel. A certain amount of talent-spotting and auditioning must have taken place. Some Boys were transferred from other choirs to serve their last and, presumably, most useful years before their voices broke: John Mason came thus from Windsor and James Kent from Winchester. Making due allowances for some superannuation among the Boys, the successive treble soloists named 'the Boy' in Handel's autographs can usually be identified from the more senior Boys in the list.

Organists, Composers and Master of the Children

The regular Chapel royal establishment included two Organists and two Composers, each post carrying a salary of £73, identical with that of the Gentlemen. Except for the period 1736-1758, both Organists also held the Composers' places. The office of Com-
According to Hawkins: *History*, ii, p. 74, the office of Composer was suggested by Willetson, Dean of St. Paul's, in the early 1690's with the intention that Blow and Purcell, in alternate months of waiting, should produce a new anthem for the first Sunday of each month. By the time the idea was executed, Purcell was dead.

See Chapter 7.

Although Gates remained Master of the Boys, his work seems to have been performed by William Boyce from 1732: see Burrows: *Foundling Hospital*, p. 273. The reason for this may be that Gates became the Senior Gentleman on the death of John Mason in July 1752 and claimed the privilege of absence thereafter; nevertheless, Gates attended a Chapel Chapter Meeting in 1756 (*OCR*, p. 116).

*OCR*, p. 28

His name also appears in the list for the Establishment of Riding Charges, 1765 (H.R.O. IC3/53, p. 24)

See Plate 1, infra, Section 3.

Now in the British Library, and arranged in chronological sets E1 27. a - E1. 27. h. Their copying covered a wide period from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. See Laurie: *Part-Books*. 
poser was a relatively new one, first created for Blow in 1699/1700. The second Composer does not appear in the Cheque Book until the formal entries dated 8 August 1715, but it is obvious from the Travelling Charges and Chamberlayne's lists that Weldon was appointed to this post much earlier, probably from the time of Blow's death in 1708. Handel's own appointment as Composer was unusual, and an addition to the normal two places.

Croft, who was married but did not have any children of his own, combined the office of Master of the Children with those of Composer and organist, as Blow had done before him. On Croft's death in 1727 Greene did not take on all three posts and the Mastership of the Children passed into the hands of Bernard Gates, a fact which proved to be of some importance to the history of Handel's oratorios in the 1730's. The Mastership was re-united with the other offices in 1757 when Gates resigned in favour of Nares, who had previously taken over Greene's posts as Composer and Organist.

Other Instrumentalists

The general Cheque Book entry dated 8 August 1715, already referred to, also records the addition of the places of Violist and Lutenist to the Chapel establishment. Once again this legitimised existing appointments. John Shore appears in the Travelling Charges lists from 1705 as Lutenist, and Francisco Goodens from 1712 as Violist. Shore is probably one of the two lutenists depicted in a picture of the December 1706 Thanksgiving Service. The surviving sets of Chapel Royal Part Books include 'cello and lute books, the music for both consisting of continuo basses, sometimes figured. The Lutenist and Violist had to be present in the Chapel 'On Sundays and at other times when

P.R.O. LC5/155, p. 122. He also appears, as 'Mr. Francisco' in the list of the Opera House orchestra in December 1707 (LC5/154, p. 208).


Ibid., p. 385; LC5/154, p. 316. He had also been appointed Musical Instrument Maker in 1687/8, but surrendered this place to John Walsh senior in 1692 (Lafontaine, op. cit., p. 385, 410).
any of the Royal Family shall be present'. Both offices were maintained throughout the period up to 1760. The name of Goodsens' successor as Violist, John Gillier, appears on Handel's Caroline Te Deum autograph, presumably in connection with the 1749 performance. By 1767 the Violist was considered dispensable and on Gillier's death the emoluments of the office were annexed to the Master of the Choristers.

Both Shore and Goodsens doubled their Chapel Royal posts with places in the Royal Musicians. Of the two, this combination seems the more natural for Goodsens, a bowed string player. He was appointed to the Queen's Musicians on 19 October 1711, which hints at the true date of his first association with the Chapel.

John Shore had been listed among the Royal Musicians since 1695, and also as one of the Musicians to Princess Anne in 1699, an association which probably put him in a good position for a suitable reward when the Princess became Queen. He was, moreover, well known as a member of one of the great Trumpet-playing families. In 1688 he had been appointed one of the Trumpeters in Ordinary and continued to hold this office in plurality with his other places. He succeeded his uncle as Serjeant Trumpeter in February 1707/8. In processions on great occasions his place as Serjeant Trumpeter took precedence over his other offices, but it is significant that the Serjeant carried a mace rather than a Trumpet in the Coronation processions. There is room for doubt as to whether Shore actually played the Trumpet after 1707, though he presumably carried out the ceremonial and managerial functions of his office. Shore was obviously a versatile professional Court musician. Although he normally played the Lute in the Chapel, he may have gone over to a bowed string instrument when an orchestra
See Plate 1, infra, Section 3.
was used for special services after 1715.

That Shore played the Lute in the Chapel during Anne's reign can not be in any doubt: apart from the evidence of the Chapel Royal Lute parts (which run on well into George II's reign) and the picture of the 1706 Thanksgiving, he is celebrated in a poem, probably written c. 1710 by Richard Roach. This is worth quoting in full, not merely as evidence of Shore's Chapel Royal activites, but also as a reflection of the reputation which he commanded as an artist and an inventor: he is also, it must be remembered, credited with the invention of the tuning fork.

To Mr. Serjeant Shore, on his New-Invented Lute

What mean you, Sir? T'Augment our Joys or Fears?
Already we've Submitted Hearts & Ears;
Charm'd ev'n to Statues by your Magic Airs.
And we suspect, if beyond This you Play,
Airs strain'd too high may waft our Souls away.
Yet what Complaint? Since by Your Hand who Dies
From Heav'n on Earth's Translated to ye Skies.

The Lute transcending in Harmonious Arts,
Before the Queen of Instruments, & Hearts.
But thus Improv'd, its Rivals turn'd to Mutes,
Yours is Queen Regent, both of Hearts, & Lutes.
Form'd in your Head, & manag'd by your Hand,
For Sweet Constraint, & Sovereign Command.

Yet more Exal ted is your Great Design:
As Nature Perfected becomes Divine:
Your Lute is form'd & strung
For Anthems yet Unsung,
And Consecrated in ye Royal Shrine.
49 Ob., LS Rawl. D 832, f. 182. Layout and underlining reproduced from the original. The bottom margin of the page is damaged, rendering part of the last line illegible.

50 The anthems are: Awake, awake, utte a song and Blessed is the man that hath not walked (D minor 'setting'). Blow's anthem Let the Righteous be glad, which appears in an early copy Cfn MS 240 with the first of these, also includes a lute part.

51 The first three, and sometimes all five, were referred to collectively as the Officers of the Vestry.
For This in Service of ye King of Kings,
Your Little Angel spreads his Golden wings;
with Life Inspir'd: And while You Play, He Sings.
So may Davidic Strains again Return;
And Hearts Attun'd in Sacred Ardors burn;
As with ye Royal Quire Your Strings combine,
Vibrant in Golden Wire, & Silver Twine:
And Courtiers, now Devote, be lul'd to Hapts Divine.

* Carv'd on ye Arm (?) of his Lute, & Gilded
* .......... being (?) all of Gold wch express ...... 49

Shore's ingenuity and artistry created a place for him in the Chapel Royal establishment. The musical opportunities provided by the presence of the Lutenist were only taken up during the first decade of the century. Blow's anthems for 1704 and 1706 Thanksgivings contain obbligato lute parts which Shore must have played before his official appointment, but there are few comparable solos in the later repertoire.

Other members of the Chapel Establishment

The Chapel servants consisted of a Serjeant of the Vestry, a Groom, a Yeoman, an Organ-Blower and a Bell-Ringer. Of these, only the Organ-Blower took any part in the performance of the anthems. The Serjeant of the Vestry seems to have been the most important of the servants and in 1720 Jonathan Smith, the current holder of that office, managed to raise its status further by taking on the additional post of Clerk of the Cheque. The Clerk's principal duties involved keeping a register of the Gentlemen, so that appropriate deductions could be made for non-attendance when the salaries were calculated, and maintaining the Cheque Book. The Clerk of the Cheque received a fee for recording the ad-
Thereafter, Williams (who was not a priest) was paid travelling charges even in the years when the monarch was accompanied by the priests only. Williams seems to have been specially favoured by Queen Anne; he was given 70 oz. of gilt plate on the christening of his child in 1766. (LC5/154, p. 166).

**MH, March 31-April 2 1720.**

The rejection of Bowack's petition may be connected in some way with the additional payment of £80 to the master of the boys, dating from the same period: see *supra*, Note 29.

LC5/156, p. 106
mission of the Gentlemen to their places; in addition he qualified for the privilege of special Travelling Charges after December 1712, following a successful petition by Daniel Williams.\textsuperscript{52}

Williams, like his predecessors since 1688 as Clerk of the Cheque, was one of the Gentlemen of the Chapel, and on his death in 1720 it was expected that Thomas Edwards would succeed him as Clerk,\textsuperscript{53} but Smith was given the job instead. I have given Smith a place in the supplementary list in Appendix 5 on the grounds that he took over an office from one of the Gentlemen. He was paid travelling Charges both as Serjeant of the Vestry and as Clerk of the Cheque: in the former role he always received two days' extra payment, presumably because he travelled in advance of the royal party during removes to prepare for the Chapel, and returned after the rest of the Gentlemen.

John Bowack's name appears from time to time in the lists of the Chapel, mainly in the travelling Charges. Unlike Williams, he did not succeed in advancing his status: his petition that he had

"for many years taught the Children of the Chapel Royal writing and accounts under the direction of Dr. Croft in London, also at Windsor and Hampton Court"

and that he had in the past received suitable travelling allowances which he wished to be continued, was rejected by the Treasury on 28 March 1718.\textsuperscript{54} He was not paid for 1716 or 1717 but, in spite of the Treasury minute, his name re-appears for the last time in 1718. The same man had been responsible for supplying the Chapel with 'Anthem Books', presumably copies of \textit{Divine Harmony}, in 1714/5.\textsuperscript{55}
56  There was one exception: Fifield Allen, sub-Zone 1751-1764.

57  Battell's interest in music is outlined in Chapter 2. For Delben, see Burrows: Delben. Carleton's name appears on a Decani Tenor part for Weldon's D major service (c. 1715-1717), Lcn LS 2043.

58  The Play Weeks were those following the festivals of Christmas, Easter and Whitsun. (OCE, p. 89).
The Sub-Dean

After 1732 the Sub-Dean was usually promoted from the ranks of the Priests. Sub-Deans who had previously been Gentlemen or Priests are automatically listed in Appendix 5: I have also included the Sub-Deans from the earlier period in the Gentlemen's list in the interests of consistency. The 'promoted' Sub-Deans included Anselm Bayly, who had been one of Handel's Alto soloists in his earlier days. Whether any of the Sub-Deans, while holding office, took any active part in the musical life of the Chapel (except, perhaps, in the singing of responses) may be doubted, though Battell and Dolben had a positive interest in church music and Carleton seems to have been a singer. No musical activity of this type is associated with the successive Deans. The collections of Anthem words which were published in 1712, 1724, 1736 and 1749 state on their title pages that they were issued under the direction, or approbation, of the Sub-Dean of the Chapels Royal. The 12-year span between publications is noticeably regular and the absence of a publication around 1760 probably indicates that Fifield Allen was not as interested in music as his predecessors: the next issue was in 1769, by which time Bayly was Sub-Dean.

Conditions of Service

Information on the size of the Chapel-establishment must now be supplemented by an investigation of conditions of service: how, in practice, the establishment worked. The Boys seem to have attended all the year round, except for the 'play-weeks' which all of the Choir enjoyed and those summer seasons when they were not required to attend the monarch. Similar continuous attendance can hardly have been the case with the Gentlemen. The theoretical
59 OCII, p. 79. These regulations, dating from 1637 and themselves derived from an earlier formulation (ibid, p. 71-72), were re-stated in 1663 (ibid, p. 82, Paragraph 9.)

60 OCII, p. 130 The lists of the Chapel Royal Gentlemen in Chamberlayne: Magnae Britanniæ Notitia, 32nd. (1736) edition, had been re-arranged to show months of waiting, and this format was preserved, with varying accuracy, in some subsequent editions.


62 Fulham Papers 124
conditions of service were quite clear. For the routine daily services half of the Gentlemen attended on a month-on, month-off rotation, but all members of the Chapel "as well out of there (sic) appointed month as in it" were expected to attend on 'Sundaies, holiadaies and sermon daies', and forfeited a double 'checke' or fine if they failed to appear. By 1743, when the first list giving 'Lorths of Waiting' appears in a Cheque Book, there is no hint of the requirement for all of the Gentlemen to appear on Sundays, and there is no reason to believe that they did so. From 1730 some Gentlemen (the best musicians) were appointed to double places, clearly indicating that the monthly rotation plan was the standard arrangement for all services: no singer could be expected to appear as two persons every Sunday. The first double appointment was of Francis Hughes in 1730, and a marginal note in the New Cheque Book makes the motive explicit:

NB This is the first instance of one gentleman having two places at the same time. But this privilege was granted for his extraordinary skill in singing, & his great usefulness to the choir in the performance of verse Anthems. He is oblig'd the whole 12 months.

Further evidence that the Gentlemen were no longer expected to appear in full force comes from the Rules for Performing due Order and Government in his Majesty's Chapel Royal which was made under Dean Gibson's direction at two Chapter meetings in July and October 1726. A fair copy of these rules appears at the front of the New Cheque Book, and the original draft survives at Lambeth Palace with additions in Gibson's own hand. The Rules re-formulated the regulations found in the Old Cheque Book in the light of current practices, and dealt with a number of current abuses. These abuses apparently included arriving late, leaving
From a memorandum dated 5-4-1693 (CC 2, p. 86) we learn that only the Gentlemen in Waiting were required for the rehearsal of the Anthem on Saturdays, and from this it can be inferred that only these Gentlemen were required to perform it on Sundays.
early, the disturbance caused by sending messages during the service because people do not know what music is to be sung, and occasions when

"one part of the Quire favouring their Voices, & another part not Joining in at all in ye Choral Performance scarce any Voices have been heard in that part of the Choral Service which ought to be more Solemn and full."

The first section of the Rules is a sub-section, Rules for due Attendance in the Chapel, beginning thus:

Every Priest Gentleman and Officer, belonging to his Majesty's Chapel shall constantly Attend Divine Service therein during their Respective Seasons of Waiting.

Gibson obviously thought that this needed further clarification, and on the draft he added the following rider, which was incorporated into the main text in the Cheque Book:

that is to say, The Priests and Gentlemen Six Months of the Year each, according to the appointment of the Sub Dean as hath been accustomed, the Lutanist and Bass Violins (sic) on all Sundays and at other times when any of the Royal Family shall be present and the Serjeant Yeoman and Groom throughout the Year.

The implication of this is that by 1726 the attendance of the full choir on Sundays had ceased to be an established practice: if this were not so, there would have been some specific reference to it in Gibson's amendment. In all probability the lapse in the requirement of full Sunday attendance had taken place before 1700, during the reduced musical activity of William's reign.63

A later part of the same sub-section of Gibson's Rules deals with the arrangements for prolonged periods of absence on account of 'Age, sickness or other Impediment'. If the Dean granted per-
William Webster was paid in March 1743 for work on the Cheque Book. (I.R.O. LC5/21, p. 395). The specific task for which he was paid was that of copying the 'Rule and Orders' (presumably NCB p. 120) but it is clear that many other entries were made at the same time.
mission for an absence, the Gentleman's place had to be supplied by another member of the Chapel (presumably one out of waiting) though difficulties could arise if the absentee was a Priest 'the most necessary parts of whose Duty he [a Layman] is incapable of performing'. We have to look to a later period for further evidence about prolonged absences. A major overhaul of the New Cheque Book took place in 1742/3, with many new entries to bring it up to date, including the lists of Months of Waiting referred to above. A footnote to these lists reveals the current situation:

NB Mr Mason is entirely excus'd from Attendance; it having been customary for the Senior Gentleman of the Chapel to have that Indulgence granted him.

-- Mr Hughes and Mr Young are excus'd on Account of their bad State of Health.

-- The Revd Mr Smith (belonging to the Cathedral of Worcester) is on account of his performing Extraordinary Service in Singing before the Royal Family, allow'd to wait three Months only Viz February, April and May; the other three months viz November, December and January are supplied by a deputy.

It is easy to see how the system of 'Waiting' could break down very quickly: Hughes, with his two places, either required a continuous deputy or left the Chapel numbers one short, and Smith's months cut across the list of Months of Waiting given for the rest of the Gentlemen. Either some members of the Chapel were deputising for their fellows most of the year, or the full muster of 13 per month was not maintained, or deputies were brought in to the Chapel. One, or more, of these 'solutions' must have been in operation from time to time, probably all three, but there is only circum-
William Savage's obituary (Gentleman's Magazine, 1789) mentions that Savage enjoyed the Senior Gentleman's privilege of absence in his last years. This may mean that priests were excluded from the privilege: both Anselm Bayly (Sub-Dean) and Henry Evans were senior to Savage in service to the Chapel.

William Turner was the Senior Gentleman 1712-1740.

COB, p. 50-51

Turner and Hughes, for example, signed for their money in the St. Paul's Cathedral Rent Books up to the last year of their lives: it is almost certain that neither of them sang at the Chapel Royal in their last years, and it may be doubted whether they performed their duties at St. Paul's in person. Compare this situation with the description of Estwick's attendance as Minor Canor in old age, however; Hawkins; History, ii, p. 767.

F.R.C. LC3/53, p. 11, 24-25. The first payments were made retrospectively in 1705 (LC5/154, p. 75.)
stantial evidence. As already noted, the dropping of the probationary arrangements suggests that some singers had a previous acquaintance with the Chapel as deputies.

The reference to the privilege of absence for the senior Gentleman just quoted is the earliest one I have found, though the description of it as a customary privilege suggests, perhaps intentionally, that it was an unwritten practice of some antiquity. By 1717 John Gostling, who, notwithstanding his 'great age and infirmities' was not the senior Gentleman, seems not to have been to London for some time, and the tone of the Cheque Book entry referring to this suggests that his attendance was not expected. Dismissals from the Chapel were relatively rare: in general the Gentlemen kept their places for life. Although many of the Gentlemen collected their own money for attendance in other choirs nearly up to the time of their deaths, their attendance must have been unpredictable and their musical value variable as they grew older.

Some attention must now be given to the lists of Travelling Charges. These were formally established in 1703 and consisted of payments to named members of the Chapel Royal for periods of attendance on the monarch at one of the royal palaces away from St. James's. In Queen Anne's reign this usually meant Windsor, but the principle came to be extended to Hampton Court and even (from 1719) to the much closer Kensington Palace. The payments had been of an occasional nature prior to 1703 and there had always been the opportunity for the Chapel to be given a holiday instead:

When we are absent, as our Expresse pleasure is yt o(ur) Chapell be all the yeare through kept both morning and evening with solemn musique like a Collegiate Church,
71 Alford: Notebook (KS), p. 7n (c. 1675). In 1687 the attendance of the full Chapel was dispensed with when James II was away from London (ibid, p. 26).

72 Sources for the lists of Travelling Charges are given in Appendix 8.
unless it be at such times in ye sumer or other times
when we are pleased to spare it.71

Anne's visits to Windsor with her Chapel became so regular, and
so lengthy during the summer season, that it was necessary to
make some extra financial provision. Payments to the Gentlemen
were made on the basis of 6/- per day for the first week and 3/-
per day thereafter. The lists of payments for these charges tell
us three things: the names of the members of the Chapel who at-
tended, the number of days' attendance for each member, and the
scope of the court activity during each summer season.72 Though
the possibility that some of the named payments may have gone to
deputies can not be ruled out, these lists provide the best evi-
dence for what really happened as regards the attendance of
members of the Chapel. As we have already seen, the Travelling
Charges are more accurate than the Cheque Book for the first
decade of the century, recording the presence of singers and in-
strumentalists who are unknown to the Cheque Book until 1715.

From these lists it appears that up to 1737 (the last year
with a 'full' Chapel list in the Travelling Charges) the Senior
Gentleman of the Chapel usually attended occasionally. There are
altogether very few absentees from the lists of names. The ab-
sentees in 1737 are accounted for by Hughes and Young, which ac-
cords with the 1743 memorandum: Smith put in no appearance in
the 1740's (with the result that there were never 10 Priests in
attendance), but was paid for a week's attendance in 1754 and
again in 1756. To judge from the lists the period from 1737 to
1760 was one of reduced activity: it may have been during this
period that the tradition of acceptable absenteeism grew up.
There is very little evidence from the Travelling Charges that
the Chapel's numbers were regularly depleted.
73  MCB, p. 113-116
The numbers of days' attendance appearing against the Gentle-
men's names in the Travelling Charges appear at first sight to be
haphazard and there are wide variations within each list. This is
one reason for taking the evidence of the lists at its face value,
for there has obviously been no attempt to 'rationalise' the
scheme. Three typical lists are summarised in Table 1, all of
them from years in which Handel had a definite association with
the Chapel. Two important facts emerge. Firstly, the lists pro-
vide confirmation that 'alternate months of waiting' was the general
rule. Even in the earliest list there are not enough 'spare' days
to allow an interpretation that all of the Gentlemen were present
on Sundays. In 1724 and 1737 it is almost possible to work out a
roster, based on a 20/32 day division in 1724 and a 50/62 division
in 1737. Secondly, it becomes apparent from the lists that the
Gentlemen who put in the largest number of days' attendance were
in general the most well-known musicians. Hughes, for example,
was obviously a vital member of the Chapel long before he received
his double place. The picture of the Chapel Royal which emerges
from the lists reveals a number of talented and faithful musicians
at the centre of activity, surrounded by a ballast of less talen-
ted men whose attendance was, perhaps, more of a formality. It
was the musicians, rather than the Priests, who gave the Chapel
Royal its distinctive quality: the active members of the Chapel
can be discerned from the Travelling Charges (See Table 2) and
from the lists of attendance at Chapel Chapter Meetings during
the 1750's. 

It is no accident that newspaper reports of Chapel Royal
services tend to concentrate on the names of the musical
soloists.

The picture of attendance at the Chapel clarified by the
Travelling Charges is confused again by the Gentlemen's habit of
### Supplement Table 1

**Number of Days' Attendance of Members of the Chapel Royal Recorded in Travelling Charges**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub-Dean</th>
<th>Hampton Court &amp; Windsor, 1713</th>
<th>Windsor, 1724</th>
<th>Hampton Court, 1737</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dolben</td>
<td>199 Aspinwall</td>
<td>51 Carleton</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priests</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Hart</td>
<td>115 Gostling</td>
<td>25 Carleton</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trebeck</td>
<td>50 Bentham</td>
<td>32 Baker</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gostling</td>
<td>59 Washbourne</td>
<td>32 Chittle</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodeson</td>
<td>108 W. Battell</td>
<td>32 Pordage</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bentham</td>
<td>59 Aspinwall</td>
<td>51 Abbott</td>
<td>110 (?2 places)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linacre</td>
<td>33 Carleton</td>
<td>32 Powell</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radcliffe</td>
<td>159 Baker</td>
<td>20 Lloyd</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washbourne</td>
<td>92 Chittle</td>
<td>20 Pottell</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Battell</td>
<td>172 Flintoft</td>
<td>32 Higgate</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspinwall</td>
<td>96 Blennerhayset</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gentlemen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turner</td>
<td>62 Turner</td>
<td>20 Turner</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damascene</td>
<td>74 Church</td>
<td>32 Church</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williams</td>
<td>86 Jenings</td>
<td>20 Mason</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church</td>
<td>83 Edwards</td>
<td>32 Gates</td>
<td>62 (?1st place)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jenings</td>
<td>138 Freeman</td>
<td>32 Laye</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edwards</td>
<td>120 Mason</td>
<td>32 Weeley</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freeman</td>
<td>64 Gates</td>
<td>32 Randall</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elford</td>
<td>172 Hughes</td>
<td>51 Chelsum</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mason</td>
<td>120 Laye</td>
<td>20 Bell</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gates</td>
<td>93 Weeley</td>
<td>37 Perry</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hughes</td>
<td>128 Gethin</td>
<td>20 Cheriton</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laye</td>
<td>108 Randall</td>
<td>20 Gates</td>
<td>50 (?2nd place)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weeley</td>
<td>101 Chelsum</td>
<td>20 Rowe</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morley</td>
<td>145 Young</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carleton</td>
<td>94 Bell</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master of Children</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croft</td>
<td>199 Croft</td>
<td>51 Gates</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowack</td>
<td>199</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Children</td>
<td>199 10 Children</td>
<td>51 10 Children</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organists</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croft</td>
<td>93 Croft</td>
<td>32 Greene</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weldon</td>
<td>115 Weldon</td>
<td>20 Travers</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerk of the Cheque</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williams</td>
<td>199 Smith</td>
<td>51 Smith</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutenist</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shore</td>
<td>199 Shore</td>
<td>51 Shore</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violist</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goodsens</td>
<td>178 Goodsens</td>
<td>51 Goodsens</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serjeant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parker</td>
<td>199 Smith</td>
<td>53 Smith</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yeoman</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alford</td>
<td>199 Langhorne</td>
<td>51 Langhorne</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groom</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lenton</td>
<td>199 Duncombe</td>
<td>51 Norton</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Org. Blower</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelley</td>
<td>199 Clay</td>
<td>51 Ray</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bellringer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brooks</td>
<td>199 Brooks</td>
<td>51 Martin</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/Continued
Supplement Table 1 (Continued)

Abstract and Analysis of Attendance by Priests and Gentlemen

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1713</th>
<th>1724</th>
<th>1737</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total attendances</td>
<td>2531</td>
<td>716</td>
<td>1592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maximum possible attendance for each Gentleman</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Gentlemen</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average attendance</td>
<td>101.2</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>72.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If all Gentlemen had attended half of weekdays and all Sundays, the theoretical attendance should have been:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>113.7</th>
<th>29</th>
<th>70.7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Probable rota</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>20+32 (=52)</td>
<td>50+62 (=112)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes concerning the 1737 list.

In this year the Chapel was below strength numerically, hence the need for some men to attend for a larger number of days. Notice the absence of Hughes and Young.

If there had been 25 Gentlemen in attendance, as in 1713 and 1724, the average theoretical attendance (line 5) would have been 63.6.
## Supplement Table 2

### Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal with the Largest Attendances

**Recorded in the Travelling Charges 1711-1737**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1711</th>
<th>1712</th>
<th>1713</th>
<th>1716</th>
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<td>Edwards</td>
<td>Church</td>
<td>Chittle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elford</td>
<td>Elford</td>
<td>Radcliffe (C)</td>
<td>Radcliffe (C)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radcliffe (C)</td>
<td>Morley</td>
<td>Elford</td>
<td>Hughes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hughes</td>
<td>W. Battell</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chelsum</td>
<td>Morley</td>
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<table>
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<td>Gates</td>
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<td>Aspinwall</td>
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<td>Hughes</td>
<td>Gates</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Weeley</td>
<td>Aspinwall</td>
<td>Aspinwall</td>
<td>Hughes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chelsum</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Gates</td>
<td>Young</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hughes</td>
<td>Bell</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carleton</td>
<td>Sharp (C)</td>
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<td>Chelsum</td>
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<td>Bell</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbott</td>
<td>Sharp (C)</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Notes:

1. Names followed by (C) are of Priests who held office as Confessor to the Royal Household

2. The Sub-Dean, Clerk of the Cheque and Master of the Choristers normally each have a double entry in the lists, one of these entries always being for the maximum number of days. Their names have not been included in the list unless the other entry, for their attendance as Gentlemen, also records a large number of days' attendance.

3. The Lutenist and Violist are always shown as having a full attendance: the Organists are not.
Two of Handel's Chapel Royal soloists performed this double duty, though not in years of Handel's association with the Chapel. Baker read prayers at St. James's in 1702 and Abbott in 1710-1723.

Alford: Notebook (US)

Windsor: Chapter Acts VI. 3.5, p. 31, p. 204:

VI.3.6, p. 148

See Appendix 6, sub Elford
taking on other jobs which apparently conflicted with their Chapel duties. Some of the Priests even took on an impossible combination of duties within the Chapel, receiving Travelling Charges for attendance at Kensington, Hampton Court or Windsor and also payments for preaching or reading prayers at St. James's during the absence of the court. More important for the present purpose was the widespread combination of a Chapel Royal place with one in the London choirs at Westminster Abbey or St. Paul's Cathedral, or the choir at St. George's Chapel, Windsor. Before 1700 various attempts had been made to prevent this practice. It was expressly forbidden by the 1663 Chapel Royal Chapter Meeting but with little effect, since the Treasurer's Accounts at Westminster Abbey do not reveal any resignations from the choir which would have been most affected. The reduction of numbers in the Chapel Royal after 1685, achieved by not filling vacancies as they occurred, resulted in a re-distribution of salaries so that the Chapel Royal singers would have 'no dependency upon any other Choirs but Westminster and St. Paul's'. However, the royal association with Windsor ensured that some Gentlemen continued to hold places there as well: members of the Chapel Royal - Woodeson, Laye and Mason among them - are shown by the Windsor Chapter minutes to have occupied houses at Windsor in person. Queen Anne, when Princess, used the Windsor choir as a means of rewarding Elford in the absence of an available Chapel Royal position, securing a place for him with a special augmentation to the normal salary. There is little evidence for similar direct patronage in choir places later. Windsor declined in importance as Anne's successors took less interest in that residence. There was nevertheless a row when a Chapel Royal Gentleman, Thomas Bell, was put into a place at Windsor for which he
Sunday services at Westminster and St. Paul's were at 10 a.m. and 3 p.m. or 3.30 p.m., Chapel Royal services at 11 a.m. and 5 p.m.

(Paterson: *Pictas Londinensis*, p. 220, 244, 108)

Windsor, V.B. 4. The register begins in 1762, and the Clerks' attendances for the first two months are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>June</th>
<th>July</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vanderman (C)</td>
<td>Ladd (C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coster (C)</td>
<td>Denham (C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perry (C)</td>
<td>Westcote</td>
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<td>Westcote</td>
<td>Rutter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rutter</td>
<td>Guise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guise</td>
<td>Buswell (C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ward</td>
<td>Ward</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(C) indicates those Clerks who also held Chapel Royal places.
was not qualified, leading to a court case which seems to have resulted in Bell's removal from the Minor Canonry into the more suitable, though less rewarding, ranks of the Lay Clerks. The Cheque Book reference to John Smith retaining a place at Worcester simultaneously with his Chapel Royal appointment is sufficient to show that a few of the choir had interests further afield: the vast majority, however, seem to have confined their pluralism to the major choirs at London and Windsor.

Motives related to musical variety, personal status and financial rewards probably combined to maintain the habits of pluralism among the choirs. It will be seen from Appendix 5 that no person belonged simultaneously to all four choirs, and that the Gentlemen with two Chapel Royal places did not have a place at Windsor. The timing of the services was so arranged as to allow the men from the London choirs to move from one to another. This double duty would have been easy to manage between Westminster Abbey and St. James's, less easy between St. Paul's and St. James's. The periodic absence of the Court from St. James's must have necessitated the increased employment of deputies. While the Court was in London it was obviously impossible to be at Windsor and St. James's on the same day: a register of the Windsor choir from the period just after 1760 survives and reveals that the Chapel Royal men were present there in alternate months.

The choirs of Westminster Abbey, St. Paul's and Windsor each had a different institutional framework; a short description of each one is necessary to show the demands which they made on the Members of the Chapel Royal who held posts in plurality.

**Westminster Abbey**

In 1700 there were 4 Minor Canons and 12 Lay Vicars, fig-
The Chanters 1700-1760 were Barnes, W. Battell, Carleton, Lloyd and Dayl. All, apart from Battell, are named as singers on musical sources. Battell was probably musical: he was Sub-Dean Battell's brother and has a high attendance in the 1713 Travelling Charges (see Table 2).

VIA2, p. 30

Cheriton took over WA2 in 1734 and, from his very first entries, he recorded dates of admission and dates of installation separately.
ures which had an obvious convenience for a monthly system of rotation. In 1703 one of the Lay Vicars' places was converted into a Minor Canonry, and from then on there are 5 Minor Canons and 11 Lay Vicars. From 1731 there was, following John Abbott's appointment, a tendency to make sure that one of the 11 Lay Vicars was in orders so that he could also perform the office of Minor Canon. One of the Minor Canons was designated Chanter, and each of the Chanters was probably a respectable musician. Lay Vicars' places were sometimes shared between two men for a few years. There is no doubt that a month-on, month-off system was in operation at the Abbey. The Dean of Westminster's orders dated 29 November 1731 give details of the routine arrangements, which can be summarised as follows:

**Minor Canons**: 6 in all, 3 of whom are in waiting every month. 2 of these three have to be present unless the Court is out of London.

**Lay Vicars**: 10 in all, 5 in waiting each month. If 4 are present, the 5th is excused attendance.

The same orders describe arrangements for services which are obviously designed to facilitate the pluralists: the Chapel Royal Gentlemen could leave after the Nicene Creed at the morning service and before the Sermon in the afternoon. There is good evidence from the 1730's onwards that members of the Westminster Choir served a probationary period of one year before installation, and this can be presumed to have been the practice before.

There was one organist. This office was held successively by the Chapel Royal organists Blow and Croft, but on Croft's death in 1727 he was succeeded by John Robinson, an ex-chorister of the Chapel who never held an adult appointment there. The office of Master of the Boys was held by one of the Lay Vicars:
A Court in the Great Abbey, recording the rents of Martin's Rents at Michaelmas 1738 shows that Jonly and Turner occupied a property instead of receiving rent from it. The popularity of the Abbey as a burial ground for the rich and famous, and George I's revival of the Order of the Bath (the Installations for which took place at the Abbey) ensured a steady stream of additional income for the choir.

These included Guestling, Barnes, Estwick, Carloton and four of Handel's Chapel Royal soloists: Baker, Abbott, Hence and Bayly.

An exceptional situation arose between 1708 and 1730, when Charles King appears to have been Almoner/Master of the Choristers but did not have a place as a Vicar Choral. During this period there was consequently slightly less of a drain on the manpower of the Vicars Choral. The income from the 5th Minor Canonry seems to have been surreptitiously diverted to King: he is shown as receiving money from this source in St. Paul's WA 100 and WA 99, but the Canonry is shown as vacant at the Bishop's Visitation in 1724-6. King's supposed non-conformity may account for these unusual arrangements.
from 1740 to 1757 Gates was Master of the Children at the Chapel Royal and also Master of the Boys at Westminster Abbey. 8 Westminster Choristers were named in the lists for the 1665 Coronation; 85 throughout the period 1700-1760 the Treasurers' Accounts record payments to the Master for 10 Choristers, though only 8 were paid for attending Queen Caroline's Funeral. 86 The annual salaries of the choir, as revealed in the Treasurers' Accounts, were as follows:

Minor Canons: £14. 8. 0 (Chantor received an additional £2, and there were additional payments to other Canons for reading prayers in King Henry VII's Chapel.)

Lay Vicars: £10. 0. 0

Master of the Boys: £10. 0. 0, plus £3. 6. 8 per boy.

Organist: £10. 0. 0

There were additional sources of income from the 'Tombs money' (fees for the admission of visitors to see the monuments), rents, and payments for special Abbey services such as installations, weddings and funerals. 87 There was also £1 per year from St. Margaret's, Westminster, which was divided among the Choir.

St. Paul's Cathedral

At St. Paul's the choir had been virtually refounded in February 1686/7 as the new Cathedral building took shape. Here the number of Priests outweighed the lay singers: there were 12 Minor Canons and 6 Vicars Choral. The Minor Canons were nevertheless part of the musical establishment. We might suspect this from the presence of a good number of known musicians in their ranks, 88 and it becomes a certainty when the constitution of the Vicars Choral is considered. Of the 6 Vicars Choral, one had also to be Organist and another Almoner (a post which included that of Master of the Choristers). 89 Discounting the Organist,
One of the few examples of a lapse in the system occurred in the cases of Wase and Bailldon, who joined the Choir in 1763-4. On Bailldon's death in 1762, the Cathedral authorities discovered that the two men had never been admitted to full places and Wase was quickly advanced, having served a probation 26 times as long as usual.

St. Paul's WA 04

loc. cit., 28th edition, p. 216

Information from St. Paul's WA 100 (1875) and WA 58 (1717).

WA 100, WA 84. According to Arnold (Cathedral Music, ii, p. 8), the Organist's salary was augmented at the time of Greene's appointment. I have found no evidence to support this, though some additional income (e.g. from rents) might not appear in the main accounts.

In 1763 he received £47.13.04 for 10 Choristers. (WA 84)

WA 88

These are recorded in WA 86, but no reason for the augmentations is given.
the Vicars Choral provided only five singers and the full complement can only have been present on rare occasions. In the decade 1720-1730, for example, four out of the five were also members of the Westminster Abbey choir as well as the Chapel Royal, so they must have served Westminster and St. Paul's in alternate months. Nevertheless there appears to have been a careful spread of voice ranges in the Vicars Choral, with altos, tenors and basses always represented.

Arrangements for a period of probation before qualifying for admission to a full place seem to have been more rigidly followed at St. Paul's than elsewhere. There was a complicated system of promotions among the Minor Canons, with a Sub-dean and Senior and Junior Cardinals at the top: a new admission to the ranks of the Canons often entailed several re-installations as others moved up the ladder. The Cathedral also had a considerable patronage in vicarages and rectories, the fruits of which were enjoyed by many of the Minor Canons. Accounts from the first decade of the century mention 10 choristers; but 8 are named in 1755 in the first list of the Cathedral choir to appear in Chamberlayne's Magnae Britanniae Notitia.

The Minor Canons were paid amounts varying between about £9 and about £20 per annum, with additional payments for Epistler, Gospeller and Sacrist. The Vicars Choral received £9.14.2½ per annum (£2. 8.6 in most quarters), with the Organist receiving in addition the princely sum of 2/- per year. The Almoner was paid for the upkeep of the Choristers, and a separate schoolmaster was also employed for £10 per year. The Vicars Choral received occasional augmentations to their salaries but their main supplementary income came from rents on various properties in London and in the country, which brought in about another £16 per annum.
Four rent books, and part of a sixth, survive, the earliest entries dating from 1726. The Vicars Choral appointed one of their number annually as Pecuniary to administer the rents. They collected their income from the rents quarterly, assiduously: see supra, Note 59.

In the Chapter Acts the office is usually described as Petit Canon. Fellowes: W.C. uses the title 'Vicar or Minor Canon': in order to prevent any confusion between Minor Canons and Lay Clerks, I have avoided 'Vicar'.

Windsor V.B. 4: see supra, Note 51.

supra, and Note 79

Windsor XII.B. 4
for each man. 98

St. George's Chapel, Windsor

There were 7 Minor Canons 99 and 11 Lay Clerks. A register for 1762 100 shows that there were normally 1 or 2 Minor Canons and 6 or 7 Lay Clerks in attendance at a time, and this was probably the pattern before 1760 as well. No doubt the greater activity at Windsor during Queen Anne's reign, and again during short summer seasons in occasional years during later reigns, brought the Chapel to life more than at other times. The instability of some appointments during the years 1714-1720 suggests that various Chapel Royal singers 'tried out' Windsor appointments but found their London duties too demanding to maintain the Windsor places. The discontent among the Minor Canons over Bell's appointment later in the 1720's has already been referred to, 101 and there may have been other occasions when some of the Windsor singers felt that places in the Choir were being abused by the Court in London. On the other hand, some famous Chapel Royal singers, such as Laye, were intimately associated with Windsor and mainly resident there. In 1700 Windsor had 3 singers in common with the London choirs: in 1760 there were 8, plus one 'Supernumary' Gentleman. The Organists and Masters of the Choristers were independent of their London counterparts. There were 8 choristers, 102 who received £5 each on leaving the choir when their voices broke.

The Minor Canons received £30 per annum, the Lay Clerks £22. The Organist's post counted as a kind of double Lay Clerkship at £44. The Master of the Choristers received about £24, and £7 4. 0 was allowed for each of the Choristers. 102 Various houses at Windsor also went with adult places in the choir.
103 ZA1, entry dated 1737

104 See Chapter 10 for further information on the Pension Fund. The principal early sources for information on the Fund are the original Account Book (CH. XX 1011), a Minute Book and a Receipt Book (St. James's Palace).

105 Wh. Cor. XII.A.8

106 Church's industrious accounting may disguise a certain amount of 'fiddling the books' in his own favour. This is implied by remarks written into the Pension Fund Account Book and ZA1 by Cheriton, but Cheriton's comments may have been inspired by personal animosity.
By accumulating places in the various choirs, singers were able to maintain a fairly comfortable livelihood; we may guess that their lives were stimulating and well-varied, but rather hectic. The principal singers must have been a fairly close-knit body of men who were used to working together: the distinction between Laymen and Priests can not have been much in evidence among them. The annual Feasts no doubt helped to maintain the Choirs as sociable institutions, at least in the first part of the eighteenth century. As already noted, the Feast tradition in the Chapel seems to have died out gradually, though the annual payment of £20 in lieu of Deer was still collected. At Westminster Abbey, the money due to the choir from St. Margaret's, Westminster, was originally used for a Feast 'until Mr. Baker refused to serve as Steward'. As the Feasts declined, the social activity of the Choirs developed in a new, less festive, direction, as the members started benefit schemes to provide for their families. The Chapel Royal Pension Fund started in 1729, at Windsor there was a 'Widow's Fund' and money was also put aside for apprenticing the children of the choir. John Church's management of the accounts for additional incomes for the choir at Westminster Abbey shows an almost obsessive carefulness over accounting for the dues, and the same characteristic is apparent in the opening section of the Chapel Royal's Pension Fund Account Book, which is also Church's work. It is symbolic of the change of emphasis that many entries in the Pension Fund Book are payments 'in lieu of Treat': new members of the Chapel contributed to the Fund instead of holding a party.
In 1736 and 1738, the figure of 24. 14. 6 appears in the Messiah accounts as expenses for 6 boys (Deutsch: Händel, p. 201, 223); the payments of 23. 3. 0 in 1754 (Ibid., p. 751) was therefore presumably for 4 boys.

Some examples of this will be considered in the context of Händel's Choir parts, in Section 2. For the present, bars 43-59 of No. 3 of the A major Te Deum are a clear and convenient example of the Treble /Choe doubling.

Shaw: Messiah Companion, p. 99-100

This must be Thomas Champness 1 (Appendix 5, B53) who left the Chapel in August 1748; identification is confirmed by an entry in the Pension Fund Receipt Book, St. James's Palace, recording payment in 1805 to the executor of 'T.C. Champness'. I have given him a separate place in Appendix 5, 713; see also the genealogical table included in Appendix 5.

See Dean: Oratorios, Appendix 1, p. 651-611 For short biographies of these soloists.

Shaw: Messiah Companion, p. 32-33, 1064112

This happened in Acis and Galatea, Saul, Srsen and Messiah; in Athalia, Joseph, Susanna and Jophtha boys sang solo parts at the first performances, and Händel may have composed them with a specific treble in mind. See Dean: Oratorios, p. 177, 258-262, 300, 353, 407-08, 546, 618. The soloists must usually have been Chapel Royal boys, but the first Joas (Athalia) was an Oxford boy and the 1737 Messiah soloist, 'Mr. Savage's Boy', was from St. Paul's.
D. THE CHAPEL'S RESOURCES AND HANDEL'S MUSIC

Trebles

The *Esther* performances of 1732 coincided with an unusually talented set of choristers, all at their best at about the same time. From the Foundling Hospital accounts for the *Messiah* performances in the 1750's, it appears that 4-6 boys from the Chapel were supplied for the chorus, and this probably gives us a good idea of the number of able musicians in any given year. In this case, the chorus texture would not have been dominated by the top part, and the boys' voices must have blended relatively unobtrusively with the men's parts. Handel frequently uses the Oboe to double the boys' voices and, we may suspect, to fill out their tone. The Foundling Hospital Oboe parts for *Messiah*, which double the treble line consistently through the choruses, were produced for performances involving Chapel Royal boys.

The boys, though few in number, contained many with considerable musical abilities. Many celebrated English musicians began their careers as Children of the Chapel, and some of them became important solo singers. Thomasountier, James Butler, Samuel Champness, Samuel Howard and, above all, John Beard later appeared as soloists in Handel's oratorios. It is possible that two others, William Lamb and John Mason, are identical with the two later gentlemen of those names from the Dublin cathedral choirs who sang solos in Handel's first performance of *Messiah*. Even while they were still choristers, Handel used many of the boys for his London oratorio performances, sometimes in roles which had previously been sung by an adult.

The following treble solos occur in Handel's Chapel Royal music:
114 See Chapter 3, musical example 18; and Burrows: Gothin

115 No. 2, bars 16-23 (treble 1 & 2); No. 4, bars 15-19 (Treble 1); No. 5, bars 8-9 (Treble 1) and 22-23 (Treble 2). Handel may have intended No. 3, bars 51-56 and No. 8, bars 17-22 to have been treated in the same way.

116 This interpretation may be extended to the 'Solo' section beginning at bar 19 of No. 4, which may not have been intended for solo singers. The purpose of the solo indications may have been to draw attention to the absence of orchestral accompaniment: there is no 'tutti' marking in the voice parts at bar 20.

117 On rare occasions they are taken down to d': see No. 6 of the Caroline Te Deum, bar 18.

118 No. 8, bar 21.
c. 1712. The earliest version of *As Pants the Hart* (Anthem 6C) includes a Treble/Alto duet movement for 'The Boy' and Elford. 'The Boy' may have been Thomas Gethin, for whom Croft wrote a solo anthem at this period. ¹¹⁴

1713 *Utrecht Te Deum*. Some passages are marked 'Solo',¹¹⁵ but it is by no means certain that Handel was thinking in terms of treble soloists on each occasion. Some of these markings appear to be warnings to the performers of places where a treble lead receives no support from the rest of the chorus.¹¹⁶

c. 1722 Anthems 6D and 6C have brief solo entries in the first chorus, the music of which is derived from Anthem 6C.

c. 1724 Anthem 5B (*I will magnifie Thee*), No. 3. Lower vocal parts are divided Solo/Ripieno, but there is only one treble part and this is unlabelled. It may have been sung by a soloist but, in view of the small numbers involved, I think it more likely that this part was sung by all of the trebles.

1734 Wedding Anthem *This is the Day*, No. 3. No soloist is named in the Conducting Score, but this movement was certainly intended for a treble and may even have been sung by one of those who featured in the 1732 Esther production. The movement is re-arranged from an aria in Athalia, and Handel's amendments to the vocal part reveal interesting differences between what he expected of a theatre-trained soprano and a Chapel-trained boy. Two extended examples are given in Ex. 1.¹⁷ The version for treble is generally simpler, though it still demands a certain vocal agility and a good sense of line. The range has been lowered as well. The normal range of Handel's Chapel Royal treble parts is e' to g'':¹¹⁷ even in choruses, Handel was not confident of giving them top a'', and provided the lower octave alternative when the note occurred in the A major Te Deum.¹¹⁸
119 The Daily Gazetteer, May 6th, 1749

120 See Burrows: Foundling Hospital, p. 276-8.

The paper characteristics and style of handwriting of the autograph suggest a date c. 1751.

121 See Appendix 5, B85-95
1736 Wedding Anthem *Sing unto God*, No. 2. The autograph is lost, but a good text is available from secondary copies, and this movement must have been intended for a treble soloist.

The two Wedding Anthem movements just described were presumably revived in 1740. The only source for Handel's 1740 Wedding Anthem is the text printed in the newspapers, which includes the words of both treble solos.

1743 *Dettingen Te Deum*. Handel marked the beginning of No. 3 'C(anto) 1 solo', but then crossed out 'solo' in favour of 'tutti'. There is also considerable doubt as to Handel's intentions in No. 2, bars 32-38, where the Alto part is marked solo but the Treble parts are not. As with parallel passages in the *Utrecht Te Deum* (see above) it is possible that the full treble section was intended to balance soloists in the lower parts.

1749 The Peace Anthem *How Beautiful are the Feet*, No. 3, solo for 'The Boy'. Unlike the treble solo movement from *This is the day*, the Soprano aria on which this movement is based was close enough to the style associated with the Chapel trebles to be used with only minor adaptation. The boy might have been Abington or Dupuis.

No. 2 of the Peace Anthem is derived from Anthem 5B, No 3 (see above) and the treble part may either have been sung 'full' or by a treble soloist.

1749-1752 Handel added a movement to the *Foundling Hospital Anthem* for "two boys soprani", almost certainly Chapel Royal boys. They can not be identified since the exact date of this addition is uncertain, but there were a number of excellent musicians among the boys who left the choir between 1749/50 and 1758.
A Chapel Royal list from 1674 shows a precise equal division of voice parts 6/6/6 (l’Infermière: The Infirmary, p. 269). Unfortunately there is no comparable source for the next hundred years. By analysis of selected lists of Chapel Royal Gentlemen yields the following tentative results:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>No. of men</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>A/T</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>U</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1718</td>
<td>LC5/157, p.135</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1724</td>
<td>Travelling Charges</td>
<td>2 rotas of 13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1737</td>
<td>Travelling Charges</td>
<td>2 rotas of 14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1743</td>
<td>NCB, p.130</td>
<td>2 rotas of 13</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1755</td>
<td>Chamberlayne, 1755, p.112</td>
<td>2 rotas of 13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Unidentified voices in column 'U'. Gentlemen who appear to have sung both Alto and Tenor are in column 'A/T'.)

This is particularly true of the repertoire from the first two Chapel Royal periods: examples occur in Anthems 6C, 6B, 63, 11B, and the A major Te Deum.

With the Anglican division of the choir into cantoris and decani sides, it apparently became a principle that both sides should contain both 'firsts' and 'seconds': see Arddran & Wulstan: Alto, p.18. The Chapel Royal Part-Books show that a subtle change of practice took place during the C18: although the books are still labelled 'Cantoris' or 'Decani', the significant division is between 'Chorus' and 'Verse' books, the latter containing all of the solos for the selected voice.
Gentlemen - balance of voices

The lists of the Gentlemen of the Chapel show a fairly equal spread between Alto, Tenor and Bass parts, as far as individual voices can be identified. There is, however, a slight bias in favour of Altos and Basses at the expense of Tenors, and this is increased substantially when account is taken of the fact that the best singers, whose attendance dominated the life of the Chapel, were mainly Altos and Basses.

Handel was aware of the musical strengths of the Chapel singers. The solo work in his Chapel Royal music falls mainly onto Altos and Basses, and he frequently divides Alto and Bass parts in choruses without dividing the Tenors. On the autograph of the Coronation Anthem *The King shall rejoice* Handel specified the number of voices to a part, and he expected Altos and Basses each to have twice as many singers as the Tenors. It would be wrong to infer from this that the Alto and Bass parts in SATB choruses necessarily sounded twice as loud as the Tenor part: other factors may have been involved, and in any case it is still true that a handful of Tenors can hold their own in choral music within a large ensemble because of the relatively favourable carrying power of their head register.

The division of Altos and Basses into 'first' and 'second' parts was a time-honoured practice in the Chapel and had become a matter of subtle practical aesthetics. Singers specialised in one version of their part and maintained it consistently. Bernard Gates, for example, normally took the second bass part, though the music written for him never demands the low notes around D for which Gostling, the principal second bass of the previous generation, was famed. The differentiation of first and second Altos and Basses is a consistent feature of Croft's
In England the alto clef male voice part was normally referred to during the period 1700-1760 as Contre Tenor or Counter Tenor. In solo movements Handel wrote the name of the soloist rather than that of the voice; in choruses he once used the title 'Contra Alto' (Anthem 4A), but otherwise 'A' or 'Alto' on the rare occasions when he found it necessary to provide labels. (Examples in Utrecht Jubilate, Coronation Anthems, Dettingen Anthem). Following Handel's practice I shall refer to all voice parts written in the alto clef as Alto parts, and to their performers as Altos.
larger anthems: it is found in *Blessed be the Lord my strength* (1705) and *O clap your hands* (1706), and in two of his anthems composed at the time of Handel's first contact with English church music, *O sing unto the Lord and Offer the sacrifice of righteousness* (November and December 1710, respectively). All of these anthems were produced for special occasions such as Thanksgiving Services or the Sons of the Clergy festival: the complete flush of the best Altos and Basses was probably not available for routine Chapel Royal services because of the alternating months of 'waiting'. Handel clearly understood the division between 'first' and 'second' voices in the Chapel and put it to good use. As noted in Chapter 3, the disposition of the solo voices at the start of the earliest version of *As pants the Hart* (6C) is exactly the same as that used by Croft at the start of *O praise the Lord, ye that fear him* (1709/10) and *This is the Day* (Utrecht Thanksgiving, 1713).

**Altos**

The Chapel Royal Altos present a particular problem, since the means of tone production which they used would have had a significant effect on the balance of parts. Some modern commentators on the use of the male Alto voice in the music of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries have tried to draw a distinction between the 'Alto' voice, which relied mainly on falsetto techniques, and the 'Countertenor' voice, which mainly did not. Evidence for this distinction has been adduced from contexts in which the two names (or their equivalents) occur side by side, from practical considerations arising from the range and tessitura of the music, and from documentary evidence, though the latter is largely useless because it is insufficient in quantity and frequently ambiguous. The distinction has been challeng-
127 Wulstan: Alto and Countertenor; see also Ardrey & Wulstan: Alto; and Zaclaw: Reute-Contro, p. 540

128 The same considerations did not, of course, apply to the male Altos in Handel's theatrical companies; they were castrati.
ed, with special reference to the traditions of Anglican church music, by David Wulstan.  

Since Handel's two principal Alto soloists, Elford and Hughes, had formed their technique before Handel arrived in England, we can assume that their practice was in the main derived from their Anglican predecessors: it seems almost certain, furthermore, that their successors continued the same vocal traditions. There is no conclusive evidence as to the way the Chapel Royal Altos produced their tone, but Handel's music contains some hints that they were mainly falsettists. Handel's specification for twice as many Altos as Tenors on the autograph of The King shall rejoice suggests that the individual Altos were lacking in volume and carrying power, the characteristic problem of falsetto voices. The consistent use of the fifth between d' and a' as the centre of the voice for Alto soloists, which Handel's Chapel Royal music shares with the music by contemporary native-born Chapel composers, also supports the extensive employment of falsetto techniques: although high Tenors can produce individual notes in this register with ease, a Tenor part which remains in that area most of the time is usually both ineffective and unwelcome. On the other hand, most of Handel's solo parts sit comfortably within the falsetto-alto voice and the chorus parts also seem well suited to falsettists: the holding notes for first altos in Zadok the Priest, No. 3, bars 35-36, for example, seem designed to make the most effective use of falsetto tone. Handel keeps his Alto parts, both solo and chorus, in the higher register, avoiding the low notes which pose problems for falsettists. The overall range of the voice parts does not provide conclusive evidence for the form of Alto tone production used, however, and the range may in any case have been
129 See infra, Section 5.

130 In a recent Radio 3 broadcast, the opera singer Hughes Caenod has described how, in Vienna in the early twentieth century, a baritone was still taught falsetto techniques as a standard resource. See also Appendix 6 for a reference to Bell as a Bass and Counter-Tenor.

131 See Appendix 6

132 Whether Elford ever sang the higher notes in the Caroline Te Deum depends on the interpretation of Handel's alterations to the singers' names on the autograph: see Chapter 5.

133 In Croft's I will lift up mine eyes, for example, Hughes has a greater proportion of solo music than Elford.

134 Lcm LS 224 (Score and parts)
modified by differences in pitch from one performance site to another. 129 It seems more than likely that the use of falsetto techniques was not a serious issue in Handel's time: singers probably used their various registers freely in any way which produced the best artistic result. 130

The possibility that the first and second Altos specialised in different forms of tone production from each other can not be ruled out. In this case Elford would have been, according to the description given above, a 'Countertenor' and Hughes an 'Alto'. Although Handel differentiates between First and Second Altos, the difference in range between the parts is only about a third, less than the difference found in some of the music of Purcell and Croft. 131 Handel never takes Elford's part down to the regions around d and e which are common in Croft's music for the same singer. In Anthem 6C Handel took his part up to c", but this experiment was probably never repeated: 132 the area between b' and d" was Hughes' speciality. Elford's reputation should not blind us to the fact that Hughes must also have been an excellent musician, as is demonstrated by the music Handel wrote for him. The contrast between the two voices seems to have been a stimulant to composers, who did not always treat Elford as the dominant partner. 133

A parallel pair of Alto voices appeared in the 1740's with Bayly and Mence. Bayly's was the higher voice, apparently more lyrical but less agile than Mence's. Greene distinguished clearly between them in the solo movements of his 1745 Te Deum setting, 134 and Handel made appropriate use of the two voices in the Peace Anthem and the accompanying revival of the Caroline Te Deum.

Much of the best music in Handel's church music is given to the Alto soloists. Their music is more restrained than the arias given
The contrast between Handel's treatment of Sopranos and Trebles (see supra, Ex. 1) is exactly paralleled by the contrast between his treatment of operatic and ecclesiastical altos.

See, for example, Anthem 4A, No. 3 or the bass solo section of No. 2 of the Caroline Te Deum.

William Savage, the next most important Handelian Chapel Royal Bass, seems to have given up his career as a soloist when he gained his Chapel Royal place.
to their operatic counterparts, with shorter movements and less florid melodic decoration. Yet it is not deficient in emotional range: contrast, for example, 'Tears are my daily Food' from the Chapel Royal versions of *As pants the hart* with 'The glorious Company' from the *Caroline* Te Deum. The main constriction on the Altos in solo movements (though not in choruses) is one of pitch, for the overall range is rarely much more than an octave. It is remarkable how much expression Handel (and his English predecessors) packed into so small a compass.

**Basses**

Constriction of range was not a feature of Handel's Bass parts. A range from G to e' was taken for granted, and could be extended at the top. In common with the practice of the native-born Chapel composers, Handel's music for the Chapel Royal Bass soloists tends to lie high in the voice. Occasionally a full and equal use of the whole range is called for, especially in Handel's earlier Chapel Royal works. Weely, a First Bass, was the Chapel's foremost Bass soloist up to 1730, though Gates was usually given some share in the solo work. Abbott and Wass, the former a Priest, proved worthy successors in the next generation, and Wass has a special place in Handel's association with the Chapel Royal since he was the only one of the Chapel Royal Gentlemen who became a regular soloist in oratorio performances under the composer.

**Tenors, and the problem of Voice-Changing**

Tenor solos are extremely rare in Handel's Chapel Royal music. There are only two genuine solo movements for this voice, both of them from the Wedding Anthems of the 1730's and both of...
He was still on the Chapel roll as a Scholar at the time of the 1734 Wedding: see Chapter 10.

Händel wrote Alto-clef parts in only two Chandos Anthems, Nos. 7 and 11A. See Chapter 6 Table 1.
them arranged from music originally composed for a different voice. The soloist on both occasions, furthermore, was almost certainly John Beard, who never held a place as a Gentleman of the Chapel. Presumably Handel's avoidance of Tenor solos in the earlier periods is a reflection on the absence of a genuine soloist in this voice, though, no doubt, it would have needed a strong personality to force the established Alto and Bass soloists into accepting a Tenor soloist, such were the ingrained habits of the Chapel. In the 1720's Gethin was given some minor solos by Handel, but of no more than a few bars at a time.

The absence of substantial Tenor parts in the Chapel Royal music is perhaps surprising in view of the dominance of Tenors in the Chandos Anthems. The middle-range parts in the Chandos Anthems are nearly all written in the tenor clef: this must have been a deliberate choice on Handel's part, since he had used both alto and tenor clefs in the conventional way in his earlier Chapel Royal music. It seems very unlikely that all of the solo tenors in England specialising in church music should have been concentrated at Cannons, and concentrated there, furthermore, only during the couple of years which saw the production of the Chandos Anthems. Surely some of them should have spilled over into the London choral establishments. Furthermore, an examination of the wider repertoire of the church music of the period reveals that composers occasionally wrote music for the same named soloist, but using different clefs. This calls into question the whole clef convention: either the vocal distinction between 'Altos' and 'Tenors' was vague or the notational convention of the different clefs was loosely applied.

Composers may have held varying opinions about the range they expected of a Tenor or an Alto. The suggestion that Han-
References for the material on Elford are given in Appendix 6.

In the case of the Chapel Royal, admissions do not seem to have depended on the possession of the same 'voice' as the person replaced. Before 1714 the Cheque Book records the voice of the Gentleman on admission, but not afterwards; the motive for including this information in the early entries is far from clear.
del's inconsistency over Bell's 'clef' may have been the result of an imperfect acquaintance with the singer's voice has been put forward in Chapter 6. Elsewhere, however, the variations in the clefs associated with particular singers suggest that a certain amount of versatility of 'voice' was common in the choirs. The case of Richard Elford himself provides a good example. Before he came to London, Elford seems to have been a 'Tenor': his name appears on the inside cover of a Tenor part-book at Durham Cathedral. His music in the 1702/3 Birthday Ode, composed for him soon after he had established himself in London, is in the tenor clef. Thereafter he normally appears as an 'Alto', though there are occasional lapses: Galliard's I am well pleased (c. 1710) includes substantial solo movements for him in the tenor clef. The ranges of Elford's 'Alto' and 'Tenor' parts are not radically different, and no obvious scribal convenience attaches to using one clef rather than the other. The use of both clefs may support the suggestion that Elford was not primarily a falsettist. Hughes, Elford's complementary 'First Alto', is never given a part in the tenor clef.

Although soloists specialised in one voice, the practical needs of the choirs must have demanded some versatility of the singers especially where day-to-day numbers were low, as at St. Paul's and, to a lesser extent, Westminster Abbey. If only 4 Lay Vicars were present at Westminster, for example, and these were 2 'Altos' and 2 'Basses', for example, one of them would have to convert himself into a Tenor for the occasion. Necessity, personal choice and advancing years all may have played their part in persuading singers to change their 'voice'. Sometimes a complete change seems to have happened very suddenly, as in Bell's change-over from Alto/Tenor to Bass in the
An alteration was made to one phrase of the solo, presumably to assist Wass. It does not alter the range, but it reduces the length of the top f:

Ex. 3

[Score]
1720's. Some of the singers who formed the mainstay of the London choirs seem to have deliberately cultivated a wide range of different 'voices': William Savage, for example, appeared in Handel's oratorios on different occasions as an Alto, a Bass, and possibly a Tenor.\textsuperscript{142}

Within a single work, it was not unknown for a composer to take a soloist into a 'different' part. Two interesting examples are:

(1) Blow: \textit{Blessed is the man} (c. 1698)\textsuperscript{143} This anthem has a large number of short 'verse' sections. Blow wrote the music first and then added the names of the singers, which included 4 Altos. He seems to have taken pleasure in permutating his soloists in different ways. Church, in general used as a 'Tenor' in this anthem, has one low 'Alto' part in an ABB interlude; on the other hand, Freeman, an Alto (he has a solo movement as such in the anthem), is in two places deployed as the 'Tenor' in short ATB sections.

(2) Greene: \textit{Te Deum in D major} (1745) The original performing parts have survived with the score.\textsuperscript{144} The section beginning 'We believe that Thou shalt come to be our judge' appears in Greene's autograph score as a verse section for SATB, laid out in the appropriate clefs. The tenor clef music does not, however, appear in the performing part for solo Tenor ('\textit{Mr Loyd}'): instead, it is included in the part for solo Bass 1 ('\textit{Mr Wass}').\textsuperscript{145}

Handel was alert to the possibilities of using one voice to help out another in concerted movements. In \textit{I will magnify Thee} (Anthem 5B) No. 3, for example, he combines solo Bass with chorus tenors, and solo Tenor with chorus altos in bars 25-7;
In No. 1 sec, for example, bars 46-50 (solo bass) and 59-70 (solo Alto).
in *Let God arise* (Anthem XIII) the solo Alto and Bass are used to link the chorus parts for their own voices with the Treble and Tenor parts respectively.

**Ensembles**

Handel combined the Chapel's Alto and Bass soloists in various ways (AA, AB, SAATBB), many of which can be related to the practice of other Chapel Royal composers. The AB combination seems to have been a particularly favoured one. It is interesting that Handel parted from the traditional Chapel Royal ensemble combinations in the works of the 1730's, but returned to them in the 1740's. The vocal scoring of the choruses in general follows the normal four-part layout, with some division (often more apparent than real) in the Alto and Bass parts. In the Utrecht and Dettingen canticles a rather more unusual division of the Treble parts occurs, probably influenced by the chorus arrangement in Purcell's famous D major *Te Deum* and *Jubilate*.
147 Officially the Queen's musicians or the King's musicians, according to the reign.

148 Only 22 are listed in the 1700 edition of Chamberlayne's Magnae Britanniae Potitiae, but the deletion was due to tardiness in appointments rather than an unwillingness to fill vacancies.

149 See L'infonai: The King's Musick, p. 163, 266-9, 362 & 425. As late as 1699, a group of seven performers are described as 'musicians to Princess Ann' (ibid, p. 434), but these were presumably eventually absorbed into the Royal Musicians. Under Anne's reign the employment of private musicians was individual and casual, not institutionalised.

150 ibid, p. 269
SECTION 2: Orchestral accompaniment

The Royal Musicians

All of Handel's English church music with the exception of two versions of *As Pangs the Hart* (6C and 6D) has orchestral accompaniment. The core of the orchestra for Handel's performances of his Chapel Royal music was provided by the Royal Musicians. These consisted of the Master of the Musick and 24 Musicians in Ordinary: the full roll of 24 was maintained throughout the period 1700-1760. The contraction of musical life at court at the end of the seventeenth century simplifies the position with regard to instrumentalists. The confusing additional lists of 'Wind Musick' and 'Private Musick' which had been part of the court establishment of previous reigns are found no more, and from Queen Anne's reign onwards any court orchestra had to be drawn from the 24 Musicians. The Musicians had also been known during the reign of Charles II as the 'four and twenty violins', and it can be inferred that they were still string players after 1700: supplementary payments for additional players are usually for wind instrumentalists, though double bass players are also named with a regularity which suggests that the '24' did not normally include bassists. There were some families with a tradition of service in the Musicians: the Eccles and Bradley families, for example, seem to have brought up their children as string players so that they could eventually take their places in the ranks. Some of the players, like John Shore, were probably skilled on string and wind instruments, but it appears that their specific duties as members of the band of Musicians were fulfilled on bowed string instruments.

The Master of the Musick received an annual salary of £200,
These payments covered the costs of music copying, hiring a rehearsal room and employing additional performers.

According to Chamberlayne: *Nagae Britannica Notitia*, 2nd Edition (1708), p. 612, they also received £16 annually for livery. Special livery payments were also made to them, along with the other participants, for Royal Funerals and Coronations.

Dates of appointment to the Musicians: Shore 28-3-1695 ('without fee', but in full place by Michaelmas 1697), Goodsen 19-10-1711.

Dates of appointment to the Musicians: Randall 27-6-1712, Young 20-8-1717

P.R.O. LC2/23, Coronation liveries for Chapel Royal and 33 Musicians.

I base this assumption on the fact that many of the Musicians had foreign names, and that the Public Records entries include 'going beyond sea' as one of the main reasons for their absence or resignation.
with additional payments for expenses incurred in connection with music for the Court Odes celebrating the New Year and the Monarch's birthday and Court Balls.\textsuperscript{151} After the death of John Eccles in January 1734/5 the office was held by Greene and Boyce successively, in plurality with Chapel Royal appointments. The Musicians in Ordinary received £40 per year,\textsuperscript{152} with additional payments for their attendance with the Master of the Musick for special events away from London, usually in connection with the Installations for Knights of the Order of the Garter at Windsor. John Shore and Francisco Goodsens, the Chapel Royal's Lutenist and Violist, also held places in the 24 Musicians,\textsuperscript{153} though their successors apparently did not. It is perhaps more of a surprise to find that two of the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal - Peter Randall and Talbot Young - also doubled up with places among the Musicians.\textsuperscript{154} These two men were supplied with liveries for the 1727 Coronation as Musicians and as Members of the Chapel;\textsuperscript{155} for big occasions they must have provided deputies in order to make up the numbers.

The interpretation of the official lists of the Musicians carries the same hazards as those encountered with the Chapel Royal lists. Resignation was more common from the Musicians than from the Chapel, partly because a number of the Musicians had families 'beyond sea'.\textsuperscript{156} Even so, the majority of the Musicians remained in office until their deaths and it is extremely likely that the more senior members were absent with some frequency. It will be remembered that Talbot Young was one of those excused attendance at the Chapel Royal from 1743 on account of his health, so his absence from the Musicians in Ordinary during the same period can also be assumed. Musicians absented themselves for other reasons from time to time, and the
The Master of the Musick himself was ever among those suspended for non-attendance at the Court for the Princess of Wales' Birthday in 1733. (ibid, p. 224).

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Lafontaine: *The King's Musick*, p. 212

*ibid*, p. 223, 237, 243. The 15 named in 1670 are presumably an expansion on the original 10 who were protected as the 'Musick of the Chapel' in 1660. (*ibid*, p. 216).
Lord Chamberlain's records contain notices of suspension from office for non-attendance at some of their Court duties. It may well be that communications with the Musicians, whose functions were occasional, were more difficult than with the Gentlemen of the Chapel, whose office demanded attendance at daily services. The fact that the Master of the Musick rarely had 24 players at his immediate command in practice seems to be reflected by the Lord Chamberlain's request to Greene for:

an exact State of His Majesty's Band of Musick Viz† what instrument or Instruments each Musician plays upon, the Names of such who by old Age or other Infirmitys are unable to do their Duty, and of those that are excused, and also, an Account of the Numbers of different Instrumentalists you think proper to make a set for the Balls.  

A rotating system of 'Months of Waiting' can be assumed for the Musicians, as for the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal. No doubt the arrangements for this were part of an accepted routine and the records, being regarded as insignificant and ephemeral, were discarded.

The conditions regulating orchestral participation in Court services can best be understood in the wider context of the association between the Musicians and the Chapel Royal during the century following the Restoration, and in conjunction with the historical framework presented in Chapter Two. The first precise information on the formal arrangements for the Musicians' participation in Chapel services comes from the period around 1670. The '24 Violins' and the 'Chapel Musick' were specifically protected from the retrenchment of Royal finances in 1668/9, and in the following years 15 Violins were named to serve the Chapel in rotation 5 at a time, the number rising to 6 in 1672.
163 There are no Public Records of agents for these additional performers in the eighteenth century before those for the Chapel Royal service on 15-11-1719.

164 When the musicians were required to attend the Court out of London for an extended period, it is probable that eight were in waiting at a time: see L.R.C.

165 It is also hinted at by the arrangement of various lists of the musicians, such as the 1655 list reproduced in Lafortaire: The King's Music, p. 132.

166 LC5/157, p. 136

167 Ob MS Mus.Sch. d. 296-340. I have made allowance in my calculations for accidental deletions to some sets of parts.
These musicians were even provided with surplices, just like the Chapel Gentlemen. When string players failed to attend for their Chapel duties they were threatened with suspension, a necessary sanction when the numbers involved were so small. It can be assumed that the arrangements remained substantially the same until the extinction of orchestrally-accompanied music in the Chapel after 1689.

When orchestrally-accompanied canticles and anthems reappeared in the Thanksgiving Services of Queen Anne's reign, the scale of these occasions demanded a rather larger number of players. There is nothing in the Public Records of the period comparable to the instructions to the musicians from the 1670's. We must assume that for the Thanksgivings either the full band of musicians was expected to turn out, as happened for Coronations, or that the players who were in waiting were supplemented by additional instrumentalists. The question immediately arises as to how many musicians were normally in waiting. It is probable that the normal routine in London was the same as for the Chapel Royal Gentlemen, half of the players being on call at any time and each man 'waiting' for six months of the year. I have not found any explicit statement of the musicians' duties but there is circumstantial evidence for this arrangement.

A list of the musicians who attended, with the Chapel Royal, for an installation at Windsor in 1718 contains 13 names, one of whom (Goodsens) may have been acting partly in his 'Chapel' capacity. The fortunate survival of sets of the original performing parts for Boyce's Court Odes during the period 1755-1779 enables us to estimate the number of musicians who participated in these Odes. The normal complement of string parts is 3/3/1/1/1, plus one additional bass part which may be for a second
168 For the purpose of calculations I shall assume that the Oboe players doubled on Flute and the Trumpeters on Horn.

169 LC5/167, p. 106. This is one example from many similar ones, chosen because it is less ambiguous than some others in identifying what the payment was for.

170 e.g. LC5/24, p. 60 (payment to Greene).

171 Compare also the list in Lafontaine: The King's Musick, p. 315.

172 LC5/154, p. 288; LC5/155, p. 3

173 LJ, December 3-10, 1720. The 'Musicians' referred to were not necessarily all Royal Musicians, but the report seems to be referring to instrumental rather than vocal performers.
double bass or for a 'cello and bass sharing together. The rest of the orchestra comprised, in addition to the harpsichord, 2 Oboes/Flutes, 1 Bassoon, 2 Trumpets/Horns and Drums. If string players shared two to a part, the complete orchestra numbered about 26 players. In 1758 Boyce was paid £34.10.00 for additional players for the Birthday Ode, a figure which we know from previous payments to represent 14 performers. This leaves exactly 12 players to be made up from the King's Musicians. We can assume that the normal muster of Musicians for routine Court duties, whether Odes or Chapel Royal services, was 12.

Just as the Chapel Royal contained a core of London's professional singers, so the Musicians must have included professional string players with interests elsewhere. Apart from the necessity of augmenting their salaries, there was scarcely enough musical employment at Court to keep the Musicians busy. Many of them also played in the orchestra of the Opera House, and would therefore have been well known to Handel. I have only found one adverse comment on the multi-purpose nature of the instrumentalists' activities, in a newspaper report concerning the 1720 service for the Sons of the Clergy:

some of the Musicians were taken from the Play-House, a thing which we took to be very odd, that the Sanctuary should be served by the same Men that serve the Theatre.

Fortunately, the question of orchestras in church, so important in the sermons of the 1690's, seems to have been a dead issue in eighteenth-century London.

Instrumental resources and Handel's music

Instrumental scorings for Handel's Chapel Royal works are
As noted in Chapter 4, the exact arrangement of some sections of the *Utrecht Te Deum* is ambiguous because Handel did not label the staves, but three violin parts are strongly implied.
listed in the summary table in Appendix 1. Two main levels of orchestral participation can be distinguished in Handel's Chapel Royal music: a 'small orchestra' combination for performances in the Chapel Royal itself, and a 'large orchestra' for big state occasions which were normally held in larger buildings. The former was based around a 12-man contribution from the Musicians as the foundation of the orchestra. On the bigger occasions the Musicians, probably in their full force of 24, were supplemented by a large number of additional instrumentalists. Some works - the Utrecht canticles, the 1734 Wedding Anthem and the Chapel Royal music from the 1740's - may have been performed by an instrumental group of intermediate size, but they can best be understood in the first instance in terms of Handel's 'large' orchestra. Further specific consideration will be given to the size of the performing forces for individual works in the section of this Supplement dealing with buildings: this section is primarily concerned with Handel's musical uses of individual instrumental resources.

String Instruments - Violins and Violas

The strings were the mainstay of Handel's orchestra, in church as in the opera house. No complete movement of his orchestrally-accompanied Chapel Royal music passes without their participation. In the large-scale works the Violins are sometimes divided into three parts (Utrecht and Dettingen canticles, Coronation Anthems), but Handel generally follows the normal division into two violin parts. They are combined to give a unison Violin line from time to time, usually in order to give a stronger effect, as in No. 4 of the Caroline Te Deum, but sometimes to provide a sparser texture, as in No. 8 of the Fun-
Utrecht Jubilate No. 3, and possibly Anthem No. 6; in both cases a solo Violin used in conjunction with a solo Oboe.

This is the limit with the Chapel Royal music. Chandos Anthem 11A goes one note higher, to f'''

A particularly striking example of the immediate contrasting of different registers occurs at the beginning of No. 6 of the Caroline Te Deum.

Wilson: Roger North, p. 221

The interpretation of the ornament is still not certain: I assume here, as I believe to be the case, that the Sinfonia was intended as part of the Anthem. It is interesting to compare the use of the orchestra at the end of the Anthem with the ending to Theodora.
eral Anthem. The full body of unison violins is sometimes employed in the accompaniment to solo music and presumably Handel's violin section, playing softly, did not obscure the soloists. The use of a solo violin is rare: Handel seems generally to have preferred a complete section of violins marked down to the appropriate dynamic level.

D major is a favoured key for much of the Chapel Royal music, partly because of the participation of Trumpets in many works. The sharp-key bias suits the stringed instruments, making good use of the violins' open strings and facilitating the technique in passages of semiquaver figuration. For this reason, the opening movement of Let God arise (Anthem 11B) in A major is much easier to play and much brighter in effect than its earlier counterpart in B flat in Chandos Anthem 11A. Handel's violin parts are highly practical and effective. Though they never go higher than one note above third position (e'''') and there is a natural bias towards the upper two strings in the accompaniments to chorus movements, they make full and varied use of the violin's registers. Movements which call for the "strong snatching way of playing, to make the musick brisk and good", which Roger North saw as one of the strengths of the violin, are contrasted with others which call for a more cantabile treatment. Technical novelties are rare: the Funeral Anthem contains more than usual, from the wavy-line ornament in the opening bars of the sinfonia to the concluding symbolic dissolution of the music in the open G strings which forms the last 'chord' of the last movement.

In arias the Violins provide ritornellos and counterpoints: in choruses they mix these functions with doubling vocal parts, the first violins frequently doubling their chosen part (not al-
It is not really possible to deduce anything further on this matter from Handel's music alone. Re-arrangements such as Arther 112, No. 1, bars 13-14, could have been performed with the violin arranged in opposition, in conjunction, or in no arrangement at all (As in Plates 1 and 5).

For example in 'Augeletti' (Rinaldo) and the second setting of 'Thus long ago' (Alexander's Feast).

See Appendix 13 and the Foundling Hospital Session Account Lists.

Lafontaine: The King's Musick, p. 175
ways the treble) an octave higher. Passages of imitation be-
 tween the violin parts perhaps suggest that some spatial separ-
ation between first and second violins was practised in the in-
strumental layout, as far as conditions permitted. 180

The Violas consistently remain the poor relation of Handel's  
string section. Although providing an essential element of the  
harmonic texture, they never have independent thematic material  
except in passages involving short imitative entries or passages  
where they are called upon to provide a bass to the harmony in  
the absence of a 'cello/bass part. Their most extended 'break'  
of this type comes at the opening of No. 6 in the Utrecht  
Jubilate, where Handel withholds the orchestral basses until the  
tutti chorus entry at bar 12. Thinness of tone was probably a  
feature of Handel's violas: this can be inferred from his use  
of them elsewhere as an effective quiet bass to Recorders. 181

The relative under-employment of the Viola section had one prac-
tical advantage: it released Christopher Smith senior, who played  
the viola for Handel in the Chapel Royal music and probably also  
in the oratorios, 182 to assist in the management of Handel's per-
formances.

Handel always refers to the instrument as the Viola in his  
scores, but the English term 'Tenor' was also in common use.  
Walsh's printed parts for Handel's Op. 3 concerti published in  
the 1730's use the name 'Alto Viola', except in Op. 3 No. 1 where  
the second viola part is named 'Tenor'. No difference in range  
is associated with these names, however, and there is no reason  
to suppose that two separate instruments were in use, though no  
no doubt individual instruments differed from each other. As  
early as 1664/5 the Royal Musicians had been equipped with a  
'Cremona tenor violin' 183 and the Walshes, as Royal Instrument
There is no evidence for the use of a Violine in the Chapel Royal music.

They do appear together in certain of Handel's works from the Italian period, such as Le Resurrezione.

See infra, Section 3.

Goodsens Violist' was paid for a 'Case to Violoncello' for the Chapel (LC5/19, p. 326): this is the earliest mention of the instrument under that name (rather than 'Bass Violin') that I have found in the Public Records.
Makers, supplied 'Tenor Violins' again in 1706 and 1727.

\[ \text{String Instruments} \]
the Bass line and Continuo ('Cello, Double Bass and Lute)

The Walshes also supplied the Musicians with new 'Bass violins' (i.e. Violoncellos), and the 'Cello was probably the standard orchestral bass instrument among the Royal Musicians. For Chapel Royal performances the 'cello part was supplemented by Double Basses, played by extra musicians hired specially.

As already noted, the Chapel Royal's own Violist can not be counted as an additional performer up to 1741, since Goodsens also held a place as Musician in Ordinary. There must be considerable doubt as to whether 'Cellos were ever mixed with Bass Viols in any of Handel's performances of English Church music. Goodsens was obviously 'double-handed' on Viol and 'Cello, and the only bass instrumentalist represented on Plate 1 appears to be playing a 'Cello. Within the routine musical life of the Chapel the change-over from Viol to 'Cello seems to have taken place during the 1720's: the Sub-Dean was paid in 1721 and 1725 for the repair of 'the Great and small Viol used in the Chappell', and in 1726/7 for the repair of 'the Double Bass and Bass Violin used in the Chapple'. The earlier references may have been based on a standard form of words, covering up a change to the violin family which had already taken place. From 1726/7 there is no doubt that Viols were a thing of the past in the Chapel.

Gillier, although he still held office under the title of Violist when he succeeded to the post after Goodsens' death, was responsible for 'stringing and keeping the Violoncelloes in repair & carrying them to & from the Chapel Royal at St. James' Palace'. The regular mention of two string bass instruments for the Chapel
After Imray's death in 1764, the lutenist's place was apparently used to give an extra place for new singers until a Gentleman's place fell vacant. I doubt whether Imray's official successors (Medley and Friend) ever played the Lute.

B.I. R. 27. c. 14, containing music mainly from the 1740's and 1750's.

R. 20. h. 1, f. 21; compare the Arthen conducting score in MS HC/266, f. 16v. Chrysander erroneously reproduces the *Athalia* instrumentation on p. 64 of *HG* Vol. 36.

See infra, Section 3.
in the 1720's is intriguing since only one Violist was employed. One likely explanation is that the ever versatile John Shore, who was in any case one of the court 'Violinists', forsook his Lute in favour of a bowed string bass instrument. This probably happened in the early years of George I's reign. John Immyns, Shore's successor, played bowed string instruments in addition to being a self-taught lutenist, and may have gained his place on the strength of being able to continue Shore's 'double-handedness'.

I have not been able to trace any Chapel Royal anthems written after 1710 which demand the inclusion of a Lute. The continuance of the office of Lutenist is no indication that the holder had to play the instrument. Nor is the existence of a later Chapel Royal part-book labelled 'Chappel-Royal Lute-Book' adequate evidence, since the basses, occasionally figured but usually unfigured, which it contains could equally have been used for 'Cello or Double Bass. The Lute is never specified in any of Handel's English anthem scores. Significantly, the direction for the use of the 'Archilute' which appears on the autograph of 'Gentle airs, melodious strains' from Athalia was omitted when this aria was adapted in 1734 for the Wedding Anthem This is the Day. It is only in the earliest period that Handel's Chapel Royal performances might have included a Lute, and it is perhaps surprising that Handel did not seize the opportunity to use the instrument positively if it was available. The presence of two lutes in the orchestra shown in Plate might perhaps suggest their inclusion in the first performance of the Utrecht Te Deum and Jubilate, even though the organ is the only chord-playing continuo instrument specified by the composer. The short unlabelled melodic instrumental part in No. 3 of the first ver-
Handel's use of 'Verse' is almost completely confined to the first Chapel Royal period; he normally used 'Solo' or 'Soli' thereafter. Handel's markings are not fully comprehensive: he tended to forget them sometimes when the demands of the musical context were obvious.
sion of As Pants the Hart (Anthem 6C) may have been intended for Lute, though Handel’s treble-clef notation, mainly in a high register, is not in line with the Lute music in the Chapel Royal Part-books and in Blow’s anthem scores.

It was Handel’s normal practice to indicate changes in the weight of vocal tone by writing ‘Solo’, ‘Soli’ or ‘Verse’ and ‘Chorus’, ‘Coro’ or ‘Tutti’ next to the continuo bass line. These markings were of practical service to the keyboard player, since they told him exactly where the soloists would need his support and where, if necessary, he might have to assist with chorus leads. They were also a guide for the copyist of the orchestral bass parts, giving simple indications for variations in the scoring of the instrumental bass line. Orchestral ritornello sections and passages marked ‘Tutti’ were normally played by everyone: the ‘Solo’ sections demanded only a single ‘Cello, or sometimes one ‘Cello and one Double Bass. So much must have been a matter of conventional practice that the correct interpretation of Handel’s markings is only brought to our attention by accident. For the 1749 revival of the Caroline Te Deum, for example, someone had to remind an inexperienced copyist that instrumental bass parts for the arias had to be provided for ‘Deidrich’ and ‘Gillier’. Gillier was the Chapel Royal’s Violist (i.e. ‘Cellist) and Dietrich, as we know from the Foundling Hospital Messiah accounts, was a leading Double Bass player. Handel also used different clefs in the basso continuo part to indicate variations in the scoring. Passages in the soprano or alto clefs are cues for the Organ only, and those in the tenor clef are for Organ and ‘Cellos (or ‘Cello, as appropriate) without Double Basses. He sometimes added instrumental specifications next to a change of clef; none of these conflicts with the practice just described and some,
I have transcribed the text from the image in a readable format.
for example those in No. 4 of the Coronation Anthem: The King shall rejoice and No. 7 of the A major Te Deum, explicitly confirm it.

In some movements Handel allocated separate staves in his scores to 'Cellos and Double Basses, mainly where he wished to liberate the 'Cellos from the harmonic bass. In this case, as we might expect, 'Cellos have a 'solo' stave, leaving Double Basses and Organ to share the basso continuo stave. Unless it has a separate solo part, the Bassoon, where employed, is usually cued in onto one of these staves, tending to work more with the 'Cellos than with the Double Basses. Two places where the instrumental bass staves are particularly carefully specified by Handel call for some comment. In the first movement of the Peace Anthem the figured continuo stave is allocated to 'Organo e Violoncello' throughout; the second bass stave is for 'Bassons, Contrabasso', these are given a typical ripieno part, playing in the opening Symphony, resting during the Alto duet and then re-entering with the Chorus. In No. 2 of Let God arise (Anthem 11D), 'Basson e Violoncelli' share one stave in Handel's score, except for a short passage in bars 38-40 where the Bassoon doubles the voice and the 'Cellos join the harmonic bass; and the other stave is, as its cues indicate, for 'Organ' and 'Contrabassi'. Both parts are notated almost in full throughout on separate staves by Handel, in spite of the fact that for much of the time they play the same notes. The general appearance of the music seems to indicate that the complete bass section played almost continuously throughout this movement. Handel only indicates the removal of the Double Basses in one short passage in the tenor clef early in the movement and the simplifications of some later passages seem designed to enable the Basses to keep playing through technically difficult sections. In the accompaniment
203 Caroline Te Deum, No. 3 and Anthem 11E, No. 2
to the first solo voice entries, furthermore, Handel was careful to mark the Gb/organ line down to 'pp' (as against 'p' in the Vc/Bg part) rather than removing the Double Basses altogether. The accompaniment of this particular movement with its continuously rich instrumental bass line may be unusual, but it may alternatively suggest that the bass line elsewhere should be treated more densely than we might guess from the evidence of general continuo practice.

It is difficult to know whether Handel's treatment of the orchestral bass line was the product of the accidents of availability or of his own taste. Presumably he knew what forces would normally be available when he wrote the specifications on the Peace Anthem for a bass line consisting of a single 'Cello, a single Double Bass and at least two Bassoons. The Foundling Hospital Messiah performances from the 1750's used a larger orchestra, but with the same sort of balance: 3 'Cellos, 2 Double Basses and 4 Bassoons. The payments for additional players from 1722-6, on the other hand, suggest a preference for substantial Double Bass tone, and tell us that only one Bassoonist was available. The performing parts for Boyce's Court Odes, already referred to, which commence from the same period as the surviving Foundling Hospital accounts, include parts for 2 or 3 'Cellos, 2 Double Basses and a single Bassoon, so perhaps the Double Bass-biased balance was a common feature of Court occasions. If one of the Chapel Royal's own instrumentalists was a Bassist, the use of 3 Double Basses against 2 or 3 'Cellos in Handel's performances from the period 1722-6 can not be ruled out. Handel regularly demands low D of the Double Basses in the scores of his Chapel Royal music and bottom C in two movements, so it must be assumed that the range of these instruments went down to C.
This may have been copied rather absent-mindedly by Handel from the parallel place in Athem 114.

All of the Chapel Royal autographs with the exception of the Carolina Co fere, Athem 42 and the Funeral Athem include specific references to the organ. The organ is not mentioned in the surviving post-autograph of the 1735 Wedding Athem: we know from the Public Records, however, that a special organ was provided for this Wedding, and for the 1737 Funeral.

The two-stave arrangement of the orchestral bass line which Smith copied is typical of the practice for Handel's oratorio performances, where the Harpsichord was the main keyboard instrument and the Organ had a limited orchestral role. It is noteworthy that, in the conducting score of the Wedding Athem, the Organ alone is named at the start of No. 7 which, unlike No. 1, is not derived from Athelia.

See Section 3, sub 'The French Chapel, St. James's Palace', and Plate 5.
Except for the cue at the start of the Peace Anthem, Handel's markings in the Chapel Royal music seem to point towards the regular employment of more than one Double Bass. Indications of the number of players for the 'Cello parts are less consistent. In the first movement of *Let God arise* (Anthem 113), for example, the score says 'Violoncello' in what appears to be a clear 'Tutti' context. In the second movement he no less clearly specifies 'Violoncelli' in the accompaniment to a solo movement. The 'small orchestra' Chapel Royal music seems to have been written with slender resources in mind, and it is probable that such works as the *Caroline Te Deum* were originally performed with a single continuo/orchestral 'Cellist. There are no 'Cello solos as such in the Chapel Royal music except in one movement of *This is the Day* (No. 2, arranged directly from *Athalia*).

**Keyboard Instruments**

The Organ is regularly specified as the keyboard continuo instrument on Handel's Chapel Royal autographs. Only once is any other keyboard instrument named on a primary manuscript source - a harpsichord on the conducting score of the first movement of *This is the Day* - and this reference is itself suspect, since it may have been copied mechanically by Smith from the score of *Athalia*. The possibility that a Harpsichord as well as an Organ was used for the Wedding Anthem can not be ruled out completely, but it is very unlikely. For the remaining Chapel Royal music, the weight of the evidence is that the Organ, and only the Organ, was used for the keyboard continuo. For some oratorio performances in the 1730's Handel employed two Organs, and 'Organi' appears in the scores, but he apparently never expected to use two for his church music and even large-scale works
208 This organ was subsequently presented to the Abbey by George II and replaced their previously-existing instrument.

209 One eighteenth-century keyboard part, B.I. Add. 58 27745, is provided with an elaborate pedigree supposedly stretching back to Handel's time, but this must be dismissed. The status of the Organ part to the Foundling Hospital Anthem in Doc. MS 2273 can not really be established, but there is a remote chance that it might have been connected with Handel's performances of this work.

210 This seems to me to have been the most likely arrangement, but it raises the question of what part the Chapel Royal Organist played in the performances. It does not seem very likely that he was excused attendance; perhaps the Organist in Waiting joined the singers for Handel's performances, though it seems more in keeping with his office that he should have played the organ while Handel, in some fashion, conducted.
such as the Coronation Anthems have consistent references to the 'Organo'. A special Organ was provided for the 1727 Coronation, apparently for 'Chapel Royal' use and supplementing the Abbey's own Organ. The Chapel Royal organist presumably played the former and the Abbey's organist the latter, but it is doubtful whether the two were used simultaneously.

Specifications of the organs associated with particular buildings are given in Section 3. For the Royal Weddings and Funeral of the 1730's special Organs were provided, and the expenses incurred are recorded in the Lord Chamberlain's papers. In 1734 and 1737 these occasional and temporary organs were required because the sites of performance (The French Chapel and King Henry VII's Chapel) were not equipped with one: in 1736 the provision of a special organ was a consequence of the complete re-furnishing of the Chapel Royal.

Of Handel's use of the Organ, little needs to be said. With the exception of a couple of short passages in the non-orchestral versions of As Fante the Hart there are no written-out solo parts for the instrument. The Organist fulfilled the normal continuo role, filling out the harmonies from a figured bass part and following the hints provided by the 'Solo' and 'Tutti' markings. Continuo cues in the higher c clefs reveal where the organ was used to support exposed chorus entries, but the organist's most important task was to provide inner security to thinly-scored solo movements. No continuo part from Handel's Chapel Royal performances survives, and it is probable that, for many works, a separate keyboard part was never copied. If Handel 'conducted' from the keyboard, he probably had the autographs themselves on his music stand to play from.

If separate Organ parts were prepared for Handel's perform-
212 Op MS 130 164 v.347. Continue parts for four works: Caroline and A major Be Lcns correctly marked for 'Organo', Chandos and Utrecht to Lcns for 'Ombalo'. The last-named is in direct contradiction to Handel's reference to the Organ in the autograph. The Aylesford scores of the Chandos and Utrecht to Lcns are, as yet, untraced.
ances, then the continuo parts from the Aylesford Collection give a good idea of the conventions by which a copyist prepared them. Some of the Aylesford sets of parts seem to have been prepared in the 1740's, and so they are probably representative of the copyists' habits during the period of the Dettingen music. In solo movements the copyist included the music of the voice parts as well as the bass line; in chorus movements a leading voice part was sometimes shown, but more often the figured bass line was all that was provided. Given a part of the 'Aylesford' type, an organist would have been able to rehearse with the soloists, follow and react to any passages that went astray, and even provide some elementary assistance with the direction of the performance. The vocal solo parts from the Aylesford sets contain, in their turn, the continuo bass as well as the voice part in solo movements, so that soloist and organist knew exactly what the other should be doing. That this was normal practice is confirmed by the contemporary set of parts for Greene's Te Deum dating from 1745, and no doubt these highly practical arrangements were evolved much earlier.

The copyist of the Aylesford parts (S2) specified the Cembalo as the continuo instrument in two of Handel's Te Deums, but this must be a mistake arising either from the copyist's own invention or from a defective source score. In As Pants the Hart (Anthem 6B) the same copyist followed the specification of the continuo stave from the autograph score and labelled the relevant part for 'Organo & Contrabasso'. Elsewhere in the sets from the Aylesford Collection there is a remarkable absence of Double Bass parts. This may have been because the copyist worked rather thoughtlessly from the score and saw no need to provide a part when the Double Bass was not specifically named at the beginning.
213 Much would have depended on the location of the Organ. If the keyboard was near the centre of the performing group, the presence of a Bass player might have only served to block essential sight-lines. I doubt whether a Bass player could have managed to stand behind the organist in the crowded gallery at the Chapel Royal, St. James's Palace, but at the same time it must be admitted that we do not even know where the Chapel's Violist and Lutenist performed during the normal Chapel services.


216 John Shore himself may have been appointed in this way: his uncle had been Sergeant Trumpeter since 1689.
of the movement. An interesting alternative possibility is that it was normal practice for the Double Bass player to read over the Organist's shoulder from the Organ part. Since the Bass player had to stand up anyway, this would have been a much more practical arrangement for the Bassist than for the continuo 'Cellist. Such an arrangement fits well with the Organ/Double Bass combination indicated by Handel in several Chapel Royal scores.

**Trumpets and Drums**

Apart from the works dating from 1720-6 and the 1737 Funeral Anthem, all of Handel's Chapel Royal scores include Trumpets. There was no shortage of Trumpet players connected with the Court. They belonged to a separate establishment of Household Trumpeters, described thus by Chamberlayne:

*The Sergeant and Office of Trumpets of the King's Household*

There are in all Sixteen Trumpets in Ordinary, the last of which is in the Power of the Sergeant to place in whom he pleaseth, either his Servant or his Son. The Sergeant Trumpeter received £100 per annum and the rest of the Trumpeters £91.05.00 (i.e. 5/- per day). Doubts as to whether the Sergeant Trumpeter was a musical or ceremonial functionary have already been raised in connection with John Shore, who held the post in plurality with those of Lutenist of the Chapel and Musician in Ordinary. The 16th trumpeter may also have been of dubious musical value, to judge from the description of the method of his appointment. The Trumpeters were even more dynastic than the Chapel Gentlemen and the Musicians, with the great families of Shore, Snow, Goodman and, later, Abington represented in most generations. Some, possibly all, of the
217 John Goodman, for example, who was an additional performer in the special chapel royal services 1719-1721, was also a Trumpeter in the Third Troop of Horse Guards (N.A.C. 105/157, p. 333).

218 LC3/55 - LC3/65

219 This is confirmed by the separate entries which the Trumpeters received in Chamberlayne's Lists.

220 See Alterburg: Trumpeters' Art and music: Trumpet. In eighteenth century England the Trumpeters were administratively part of the Chamber rather than the Stables (Seattle: English Court, p. 270-271), but these associations may still have been relevant.

221 See the acute assessment of the Trumpeters' establishment in Halfpenny: Coronation, p. 168-9.

222 Or. cit., January 1091/2, p. 7

223 I thank David Edwards for sharing many insights on trumpets and trumpet-playing from this period, derived from his own experience as a player and instrument-maker.
Trumpeters also held appointments as Trumpeters in the Guards.\textsuperscript{217} The Trumpeters came under the general control of the Lord Chamberlain and their appointments are recorded in the Lord Chamberlain's records.\textsuperscript{218} Like the Chapel Royal, but unlike the Musicians, they seem to have been independent of the main run of Servants above Stairs.\textsuperscript{219} This may have been because of their historical associations with ambassadorial and military activities, which in German courts linked them with the Stables and with the equivalent of the Master of the Horse.\textsuperscript{220} By the eighteenth century these associations were hardly more than a memory, and in any case the position of Trumpeter seems never to have been as closely defined in England as in other European courts. Most of the English Court Trumpeters' work was straightforward, ceremonial, and probably not very demanding musically. No doubt the sixteen included a few devoted to the art of rough trumpet playing.\textsuperscript{221}

However, some of the Trumpeters took their musical careers seriously. In the 1690's the more adventurous of the Trumpeters were trying out new techniques: in connection with the 1691 St. Cecilia's Day celebrations the Gentleman's Journal announced that the Trumpeters had been taught by Mr. Showers to play softly, and that they played some 'Flat Tunes' by Finger, a feat which was 'formerly thought impossible on an Instrument designed for a Sharp Key'.\textsuperscript{222} The development of what may be distinguished as 'Art trumpeting' was soon sufficiently advanced for Purcell to reward the players with responsible parts in the Court Odes. To the reciprocal stimulus of players and composer was added a third factor: the magnificent silver and silver-alloy trumpets produced at this period by William Bull, the surviving examples of whose work are a pleasure to both the spectator and the player.\textsuperscript{223} In 1710 Handel would have found a highly sophisticated trumpet-
224 My opinion, expressed elsewhere in this thesis, is that Handel expected his music to be performed at St. Paul's. I doubt whether more than three trumpeters took part in the eventual Chapel Royal service.

225 They had an important ceremonial part to play at the Coronation Banquet in Westminster Hall, as well as at the preceding Service.

226 The need for some trumpeters to perform both orchestral and 'fanfare' functions may account for the lighter scoring of Let thy hand be strengthened, which was probably performed at a point in the service when they were needed elsewhere; see Burrows: Coronation.

227 At the beginning of The king shall rejoice Handel labelled the part 'I' (for 'Principal'), but elsewhere he consistently used 'T.3.'
playing tradition among the best players, already exploited by Purcell, Blow and Croft.

Like his English predecessors, Handel normally scored for two orchestral trumpets. There is no evidence that these parts were played other than by soloists, and the additional payments to Trumpeters for services in the Chapel Royal record that two of the best court Trumpeters were frequently employed as 'extras'. Only in Handel's innovatory large-scale church music, the Coronation Anthems and the Dettingen Anthem and Te Deum, may larger forces of Trumpeters have been employed. In the Dettingen music in particular, where Handel included a third trumpet part designated 'Principal' and notated in the soprano clef, he seems to have anticipated the participation of a battery of Trumpeters on an easy fanfare part. At the 1727 Coronation all of the Trumpeters in Ordinary were there in their official capacity, and most of them were probably ranged over the entrance to the Choir in Westminster Abbey, as at the 1685 Coronation. Sandford's pictures of the 1685 ceremony show only twelve trumpeters at this station and at least one other trumpeter is to be seen with the string players in the gallery close to the altar: in 1727, also, 'orchestral' trumpet players may have been separated from the rest for part of the service. On practical grounds it seems very unlikely that either of the upper two parts in Handel's Coronation Anthem would have been doubled: the third trumpet part may have been doubled, though it is written in the treble clef like the other two and Handel labelled the part 'Trombe 3' rather than 'Principal'.

Handel always writes for Trumpet in D in his church music and, in the context of contemporary instruments and technique, his use of the instrument is thoroughly idiomatic. Handel's
228 It is rather reasonable that Handel never wrote the trumpet parts of a floriand comparable with that in the second movement of Scott's oratorio, "O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is gracious" (c. 1718). This nearest approach is the trumpet part in the first movement of Eternal source of light divine.

229 The autograph of this movement is not extant, but the authenticity of the trill is established beyond reasonable doubt by the best sources.

230 No. 11, bar 127.
Trumpet parts are less adventurous than some of Purcell's or Croft's, but they pose fewer problems of balance than those of his predecessors because they are more self-sufficient, standing better by themselves when the accompanying texture is rather thin. There are extended solo passages for the first Trumpet at the start of many movements from the Chapel Royal music, usually introducing the well-tried combination of Solo Trumpet with Solo Alto-voice. Examples include the opening movement of the *Utrecht* Jubilate (following Purcell's model closely here), No. 4 of the *Caroline* Te Deum and the first movement of the *Wedding* anthem *Sing unto God*. Excursions above b'' in the Trumpet parts are rare. The opening movement of the Birthday Ode for Queen Anne includes top d''' and a trill on c#''', a feat demanded only once by Handel in his church music, occurs at bar 52 of *Sing unto God*. Otherwise, the topmost register of the trumpet is represented only by a single top d''' in the *Dettingen* Te Deum. In the *Dettingen* Te Deum the first Trumpet has also to cover a larger part of the lower range than in other works, including a bottom a in unison with the other two parts. This note is never demanded of the first trumpet player in Handel's earlier music.

Although Handel never demands the higher extremities of the range from the Second Trumpet player, the Second parts must also have been written with competent performers in mind. The Second Trumpet part often crosses above the First in orchestral tuttis and there important solos for two Trumpet parts working in tandem. Examples range from the opening of No. 6 in the *Utrecht* Te Deum to the duet passage composed thirty years later to introduce No. 13 of the *Dettingen* Te Deum. The upper limit of the Second Trumpet part is a'' in the earlier years and b'' in the 1740's. The strength of a Second player's technique lay in an
See, for example, the Second Trumpet part in This is the Day, No. 1, bar. 63. There is only one place in the Chapel Royal music where a trumpet part implies that a player might have been expected to modify the natural harmonic. In the Caroline Te Deum, No. 6, bar 26, beat 3, Handel wrote a dissonant d'' which was transmitted unaltered to all subsequent copies, including the conducting score of This is the Day: the player may have been expected to 'lip down' this note to C#, but it is equally possible that the note in the score was a casual mistake for e''.

See IG Vol. 36, p. 22 last bar, and p. 23, bar 2.

See LaFontaine: The King's Musick, p. 435, and subsequent similar entries. In the pictures of the 1685 Coronation procession, the Drum Major appears to be playing a large side drum. (See Halfpenny: Coronation).

The work-list for Greene in The New Grove includes only two anthems and one canticle which include timpani: in addition, the 1745 Te Deum also has a timpani part. All of these works are from Greene's later repertoire, and from an examination of the autographs I would date them all at 1740 or later. Significantly, none of Greene's earlier works for Sons of the Clergy performances at St. Paul's Cathedral include timpani parts.
agility which could encompass the leaps necessary to maintain a good musical relationship with the First Trumpet part, rather than in a command of lengthy solos or the highest register. These leaps are a natural consequence of the limitations imposed by the harmonic series.\textsuperscript{231} The Trumpets are always used by Handel with a concern for sonorous spacing and for maintaining the musical interest of the individual parts, even in the densest tutti passages. The doubling of the Trumpets on the bad note $g^\#$ is a solecism sufficient in itself to case doubts on the authenticity of 'Chandos Anthem 12'.\textsuperscript{232} The limited requirements of the third Trumpet parts in the Coronation Anthems and the Dettingen music have already been mentioned: the range never ventures beyond $a-e'$ and their parts are harnessed rhythmically with the Timpani.

A 'Kettledrummer' was attached to the Trumpeters in Ordinary and there was also a separate Court establishment of 4 drummers (not necessarily playing Timpani) under the Drum Major.\textsuperscript{233} None of Handel's Chapel Royal works before the Coronation Anthems of 1727 include drum parts, and the use of the Timpani in these anthems may have been an original innovation. No English church music by Purcell, Blow or Croft has drum parts, and timpani parts do not appear in Greene's orchestrally-accompanied church music until the 1740's.\textsuperscript{234} Timpani were probably added to Purcell's D major Te Deum and Jubilate in the mid-eighteenth century for large occasions such as the Sons of the Clergy services, though by that time the Dettingen Te Deum, with its integral timpani part, was part of the repertory anyway.\

It has sometimes been suggested, especially in connection with Purcell's canticles, that the absence of formal Timpani parts does not mean that these instruments were not included in
See, for example, Donington: *Performers' Guide*, p. 102-3, and Charles Cudworth's sleeve notes to the Purcell Te Deum recording, ASD 2340 (1967). A Drum part was included in a recent recording of Handel's Utrecht service (DESO 582), against my advice.

Take *bright Cecilia* (1692) and *Come, ye sons of Art* (1694)

B.L. Add. MS 39034, f. 94. The drum part appears to have been added after the rest of the composition had been completed.

It must be remembered that Purcell's *Funeral Music* was performed in an outdoor procession: it is wrong to group it with the 'indoor' anthems and canticles.

Both *This is the Day* and *Sing unto God* have Timpani parts for their first movements, but no parts where we would expect them in subsequent movements which include Trumpets. In both cases the inclusion of the Timpani parts may not have fitted the facts at the performance. Smith copied the first movement of *This is the Day* from the relevant movement of *Athalia*: we have already seen that he failed to remove a redundant 'Cembalo' stave, and the Timpani parts may be in the same category. See also Section 3, Plate 5.

In the absence of the autograph for *Sing unto God* it is impossible to be sure, but I think it likely that the Timpani part to the first movement was added by Handel when the movement was adapted for inclusion in the 1737 version of *Il Triario del Tempo*: it may be significant that two authoritative sources for the movement (P-His Ms H1A/1060 and Tenbury Ms 620) show Trumpet and Drum parts on a single common stave.
the original performances, since improvisation was a recognised part of the drummer's art.\textsuperscript{235} I think that there are two reasons for rejecting this suggestion. Firstly, there exist occasional drum parts in other contemporary compositions: when a composer wished to use drums and a good player was available, it was the conventional practice to provide a written-out part. Of Purcell's six odes whose scoring includes Trumpets, two also have Timpani parts;\textsuperscript{236} Daniel Purcell's Ode for the King's return in 1697 also has a Kettle-drum part.\textsuperscript{237} Secondly, the distinction between 'basic' trumpeting and 'art' trumpeting must be borne in mind. It is clear from Handel's scoring in the Coronation Anthems and the Dettingen music that he regarded the Timpani as the close relation of the 3rd Trumpet or 'Principale' part. Improvisation was appropriate in the context of the 'basic' Trumpeting associated with these players, whether the current repertoire was 'Points of War', 'Levets' or more exalted short ceremonial pieces such as Purcell's \textit{Funeral Music for Queen Mary}.\textsuperscript{238} The extended anthems and canticles in which pairs of solo trumpeters took part were not in this category, and they were not at all the sort of thing on which to let loose an improvising drummer. There is no documentary evidence to support the use of Drums with the Trumpets in any orchestrally-accompanied English Church music composed before 1727, whether performed in one of the Chapels Royal, Westminster Abbey or St. Paul's Cathedral. There is even doubt as to their inclusion in Handel's \textit{Wedding Anthems} of the 1730's.\textsuperscript{239} For the Chapel Royal music of the 1740's there is no doubt that Handel intended to use Timpani, though practical considerations may have eventually prevented their participation. The increasing use of Timpani in his later Chapel Royal music is on a par with the rest of Handel's output: Timpani parts are found in only 5 of
240 Rinaldo (1711), Riccardo Primo (1727), Il Farnazzo
in Festo (1734), Atalanta (1735), Leidafia (1740).
The works from 1734 and 1735 were closely associated
with the Royal Wedding celebrations in those
years.

241 See Dean: Oratorios, p. 628
242 ibid, Plate VIII
243 He appears in the lists as 'Fr. Smith'.
244 P.R.O. 103/65, p. 169, 168

245 It is extremely unlikely that Handel ever employed
the large 'Tower' drums in any performances of his
English church music.

246 Examples occur in No. 3 of the Coronation Anthem The
King Shall Rejoice and in No. 1 of This is the Day,
the latter derived from Athalia.

247 Chrysander's edition shows Horns as well as Trumpets
in the score of the first movement of This is the Day,
but this is a mistake. Although Smith copied some
features of the Athalia source movement rather mechan-
ically onto the conducting score of the Wedding Anthem,
as has already been noted, he was careful to leave
the Horns out.
his London operas, one of them from the year of the Coronation Anthems and three others from the period 1734–40, but they are a consistent feature of his oratorios in the 1730's and 1740's. We may suspect that Handel's increased use of the Timpani was connected with the presence of a particular musician, probably Frederick Smith. He is named on Handel's letter of 1750 requesting the collection of the big drums from the Tower and as the Timpanist for the Foundling Hospital Messiah performances. He was appointed a Trumpeter in Ordinary in 1740, and Kettledrummer four years later on the death of John Vandermande; he may well have been the Timpanist for whom the parts in the Dettingen music were intended.

When Timpani appear in Handel's scores they are always used with the Trumpets, and since the latter are invariable pitched in D in the church music the drums are always tuned A and d. Probably the instruments used did not differ much from the smallish drums illustrated in the pictures of the 1685 Coronation service. Handel used 'tr' to indicate Timpani rolls but they are relatively rare, which makes one wonder whether Handel treated the roll as a special effect and used the sign as a defensive measure to ensure that rolls occurred only where he wanted them. There is no way of being sure whether Handel's Timpanists were in the general habit of rolling long notes, but it would be a brave man who resisted the temptation to fill out the final bars of the first and last movements of the Dettingen Anthem.

No other brass or percussion instruments appear in Handel's church music.
The exception is the *Caroline Te Deum*, originally scored for the Purcellian orchestra of Trumpets and Strings; see Chapter 4. Oboes almost certainly took part in Handel's later revivals of the work and it is likely that, even in the first performance, the Flute player filled in with some sort of editorially-derived Oboe part in the chorus movements.

The Foundling Hospital Messiah accounts show that four players were regularly employed on two Oboe parts; the practice of doubling the woodwind in larger concerted works was probably not new in the 1750's.

His name (as 'Mr. Kytes') appears in the list of the Opera House instrumentalists in January 1709/10, P.R.O. LC5/155, p. 3.

His name, in various spellings, appears in the Cannons records Stowe MSS 44 and 87. See also the reference in Wanley's Notebook, quoted in Deutsch: *Handel*, p. 126-7, which shows that Kyte was an influential member of the Cannons musical establishment.

Cf. MS 254, p. 48 ('Mr. Deutsch')
Woodwind

Oboes

Next to the strings, the double reed instruments are the most essential part of Handel's regular orchestra. All of Handel's Chapel Royal scores except one require one or more Oboes as part of the ensemble. 'Small orchestra' works for performance in the Chapel Royal, (Anthem 4A and the Anthems and Canticles from 1722-6) have a single Oboe part and the later Peace Anthems calls for one Oboe and one Flute. Otherwise, Handel's music normally includes two Oboe parts. Even when Handel must have expected a large body of players to be available, as in the Coronation Anthems, he never divides the Oboes into more than two parts: no doubt the individual parts were doubled by several players.

It is noticeable that most of the Oboe solos in the Chapel Royal music occur in the works composed before the Coronation Anthems. Of the works written in the 1730's and 1740's, only the Peace Anthem has a significant solo part. Handel's use of the Oboe as a solo instrument in the earlier works was almost certainly inspired by the playing of John Christian Kytch. Kytch was part of the orchestra in the opera house when Handel came to London, and he was also the leading Oboist at Cannons during the period of the Chandos Anthems. In the 1720's he is named as the single Oboist employed as an 'extra' for special Chapel Royal services. There can be no doubt that Handel wrote the Oboe parts of the works described in Chapters 8 and 9 with him in mind. Kytch was a versatile musician, and apparently an all-round woodwind performer. He is named as a Bassoon soloist on the autograph of Handel's Rinaldo. In 1719 he was advertised as playing the Oboe and the 'Little Flute' in his own benefit concert, and he
254 See, for example, A major To Dourm, No. 3.

255 For example in Anthem 4A, No. 1, and Utrecht To Dourm, No. 4.
performed on the Oboe and 'German Flute' for a similar occasion the next year. 253

Handel gave Kytch some sort of Oboe solo passage in every orchestrally-accompanied Chapel Royal piece composed before 1727, with the exception of the oboe-less Caroline Te Deum. Most of these passages occur in introductory ritornellos to vocal movements. The Oboe melodies usually begin with the same motifs as the subsequent vocal material, but they do not merely anticipate the singers' themes: the instrumental and vocal melodies develop along subtly different paths, 254 and sometimes the Oboe part continues to develop as a complementary obbligato part after the voice has entered. 255 The types of melodies which Handel introduces with the solo Oboe demand, first and foremost, a good lyrical style of the performer; at the same time, Kytch must have possessed considerable technical agility to cope with the solo semiquaver figuration in the introductory Sinfonia to Anthem 6B and similar passages. In the smaller Chapel Royal works of the Second Period, Kytch represented a complete Oboe section in himself: he was the only treble wind instrumentalist present, and his parts therefore combine 'Solo' and 'Tutti' functions in one. At the opposite extreme are large-scale works, such as the Coronation Anthems, where Handel composed his Oboe parts on a simple orchestral basis, knowing full well that there would be several players to a part: in such circumstances, flexible lyrical Oboe solos were out of the question.

The 'tutti' role for the Oboes (that is, their part within the general orchestral texture) in Handel's Chapel Royal music encompasses four different functions:

(1) **Independent oboe parts.** These are rare and short when they do occur. In general, they consist of the leavings of the
harmony when the melodic parts have been distributed elsewhere, but nevertheless these parts can make a positive contribution to the music. The entry of the Oboes in No. 4 of Sing unto God, for example, enriches the harmony significantly, if also only momentarily; similarly, at bar 116 in No. 2 of the Dettingen Anthem, the additional decorative part for first Oboe fills out the texture at the approach to a structurally important cadence point. The slightly more extended independent parts at bars 19-22 in No. 8 of the Funeral Anthem are an interesting (and almost unique) example of the use of the Oboes in a continuo-type background role. Some independent parts, such as those in No. 5 of the Utrecht Jubilate, are not really in the 'tutti' category, for they are solo parts doubled by all the available Oboes rather than a contribution to the orchestral ensemble.

(2) Doubling another instrumental part, normally the first violin part. Sometimes Handel cues the Oboes onto the First Violin stave, but he frequently writes out their parts in full on a separate stave even when the Oboes follow the Violins closely. Occasionally he seems to have forgotten to put in the Oboe cues, as for example in the last movement of the Utrecht Jubilate, where it is difficult to guess his precise intentions. Where the Oboes do double the Violin lines, Handel's approach is both artistic and practical. He removes the Oboes from the part when the violins have passages on the G string, presumably preferring the resulting drop in volume to the equally feasible alternative of doubling the Violins in the upper octave. In the higher register, the Oboes are usually cued out when the Violins go up to d'\'', though on some occasions again Handel seems to have forgotten to do this. Sometimes the Oboe parts are clearly adapted to avoid the top notes, for example at the beginning of No. 2 of Zadok the
On the other hand, in the companion Coronation

Anthem, the *King shall rejoice* Handel consistently

wrote d''' on the Oboe 1 stave when this note oc-

curred in passages doubling the First Violin part.

See, for example, *Dettingen Te Deum*, No. 1, bars

172-177 and the Coronation Anthem *The King shall

rejoice*, No. 1, bars 17-18.

See Chapter 9.
Priest (top d''' avoided) and No. 1 of My Heart is inditing (top c''' avoided by rests in bars 5-7). On the whole Handel regarded notes above a'' as the province of the Violins rather than the Oboes and Ex. 2 is typical of Handel's scoring of final cadences in his distribution of notes between the Violin and Oboe parts.

In passages for solo Oboe, Handel consistently uses the range d'-b'”. The similarity of this range to that of his Trumpet parts is immediately apparent, and in the larger scale pieces the Oboes are sometimes used to boost the Trumpets. When Handel re-arranged the Utrecht Jubilate as Chandos Anthem 1, a single Oboe took over the former Trumpet parts, with results so natural as to be virtually undetectable. When Handel revived the Caroline Te Deum in the 1720's for a Chapel Royal service in which Trumpets were not employed, the Oboe player was probably given the music of the original First Trumpet part throughout. There is no sign of this adaptation on the autograph score, but this need not surprise us, since no amendment to the Trumpet part would have been required.

(3) Doubling a voice part. Very occasionally the Tenor voice is doubled an octave higher, or the Second Oboe doubles an Alto
Examples of both occur in the Funeral Athenian passages beginning at No. 2, bar 43 and No. 4, bar 9.

See supra, Note 100.
part. The most common procedure, however, is for the Oboe (or Oboes) to double the Treble part, a role which they fulfil far more commonly than the Violins. Reference has been made to the probability that Handel felt that he had to use the Oboe to fill out the Treble tone. There is a noticeable growth in this use of the Oboes in the later music (the *Funeral Anthem*, and most of the works from the 1740's), which may suggest that the Treble section as a whole was not as strong as it had been in earlier days under Croft's tutelage. Nevertheless, the tonal combination of Trebles and Oboes was probably both effective and interesting, the Oboes adding a reedy edge to the boys' tone. The scoring of the solo line for obbligato Oboe and full Trebles against a soft string accompaniment in No. 5 of the *A major Te Deum* (bars 41-47) is so effective in performance that we may be sorry that Handel did not use it elsewhere. On one occasion only, Handel doubled a single Treble soloist with an Oboe, at the start of No. 2 of *As pants the Hart* (Anthem 6B). This is none too effective, and it is probably the fortuitous result of re-arrangement from the parallel movement of the Chandos version of the same anthem. Equally fortuitous is the doubling of the Tenor soloist in No. 4 of *This is the Day*; the original *Athalia* aria, from which this movement was arranged, was for a Soprano soloist and the original scoring cues were retained in the Anthem in spite of the transposition of the vocal part.

(4) **Oboes, usually with Bassoons, as a "Concertato" group.** In the 'large orchestra' anthems the woodwind perform as a separate group in chorus movements, alternately functioning as an independent 'family' and acting in concert with strings or trumpets and drums. Good examples of this treatment occur in the choruses of the *Dettingen Te Deum* and *Anthem*, but it is surpris-
Handel may have intended a similar treatment in No. 3 of the same work, with Bassoons alone playing the orchestral bass part in the opening section of the movement. If so, this is not made sufficiently clear by Handel's 'Sol' marking in the bass at bar 7.

No. 3 of *This is the Day*, arranged from 'Through the Land so lovely blooming' from *Athalia*. 
ingly absent from the Coronation Anthems, where the Oboes hardly have any independent solo parts and the Bassoons are rarely used in tandem with the Oboes except in the first movement of Zadok the Priest. The earliest 'concertato' use of an Oboe/Bassoon group is in No. 6 of the Utrecht Te Deum. The Oboes also have an extended solo-duet role at the beginning of No. 3.

In the Chapel Royal music composed before 1727, Handel's Oboe parts do not follow any one of these four functions consistently for extended periods. In most cases the Oboe parts slip smoothly between doubling voices, doubling other instruments and following an independent path.

**Flutes**

Transverse Flutes are part of the score in six Chapel Royal works; there are no Recorder parts, though Handel used Recorders in his Chandos Anthems. The Flute normally has a solo part: only one movement, of exceptional origin, has two Flute parts. The range of the parts is e' - d'''', with a preference for the higher register. Handel regarded the Flute as a higher instrument than the Oboe: when the two appear together in the Peace Anthem, the Flute is consistently on top. The movements including Flute parts are in a limited range of keys - E, G and D minors, E major - and it is possible that Flutes had limitations in this matter from which the Oboes were free. Within the orchestral texture the Flute was a quiet instrument, and on every occasion Handel arranged the accompaniment to let it through. No. 5 of the Utrecht Te Deum is typical of Handel's 'Flute' movements: the soloist's decorated cantabile melody is accompanied by simple piano repeated-note figures in the strings. Sometimes, as in No. 2 of Anthem 4A, the string parts are broken up by rests to let
263 It is an interesting reflection of Handel's view of the Flute part that he wrote 'Verse' next to the continuo part at bar 94, just as if the Flute was a vocal solo part.

264 Flute players are named in the lists of the Royal Wind Musick in 1663 (Lafontaine: The King's Musick, p. 163), but orchestral scores including Flute parts are rare before 1700. Note also Purcell's preference for the Recorder in his Odes.

265 See infra, Section 5.
the Flute tone through. Handel was careful to apply *piano* markings to repeated-note string accompaniments but not to the solo Flute part: in No. 3 of the *Caroline* Te Deum he went one stage further and marked the strings *staccato* as well: it is clear that this marking is not intended to apply to the Flute part, though this is not apparent from the printed editions.

A curious notational point arises at the end of the same movement in the *Caroline* Te Deum. In the closing ritornello (bars 94–101) Handel consistently wrote the rhythm \( \text{\textbf{J. \text{\textbf{J}}} \text{\textbf{J}}} \) in the Flute part, while giving dotted-note groups \( \text{\textbf{J. \text{\textbf{J}}} \text{\textbf{J}}} \) no less consistently to the basso continuo. It is difficult to believe that the Flute solo should follow a different rhythm from that of the strings, so perhaps Handel regarded the Flute as a more 'Frenchified' instrument than the others and expected the player to 'dot' his part automatically. 263

Handel used the Flute most extensively in his music from the first Chapel Royal period (1712–1714). It was still a relatively new orchestral instrument, 264 and there may have been practical problems in making the pitch of the Flute compatible with the rest of the orchestra. 265 When Handel revived the *Caroline* Te Deum in the 1720's he added a new movement (No. 5B) which included a Flute part, though not, it must be admitted, an outstanding one: the Flute colours the Violin line rather than having an independent part. More generous material is to be found in No. 4 of the *A major* Te Deum from the same period, which includes a substantial movement for solo Flute in partnership with a solo Bassoon. The *Peace Anthem* of 1749 has a solo Flute part, and the accompanying revival of the *Caroline* Te Deum included two pre-existing Flute movements. It appears that the Flute solos in the Te Deum may have been doubled on this occasion,
These pencilled names are not in Handel's hand.
See Chapter 5, *Caroline Te Deum*, sub 'Autographs'.

Hortimer: Director, list of 'Masters and Professors of Music', p. 31 et seq.

Exceptions can be found, for example in Greene's 1745 *Te Deum* (Lcm US 224) or Walsh's printed edition of Handel's Op. 3 Concerti, both of which have separate parts for Flutes and Oboes. Nevertheless, the copyists of the Aylesford parts was part of Smith's circle of scribes, and is likely to have followed the conventions associated with this circle. He no doubt used his own initiative in some matters, but it is quite possible that, for example, his two Oboe/Flute parts for the *Caroline Te Deum* reflect Handel's practice in the 1730's and 1740's. As a rule he only supplied the minimum number of parts (including just one of each Violin part): there was no intrinsic need for the second Oboe/Flute part, which is identical to first Oboe/Flute.

In the Aylesford Flute/Oboe parts referred to in the preceding note, bar 77 of No. 3 is marked 'Tutti fort'. This may indicate that, when several wind players were available, the Oboes entered here, joining the Flute(s).
for the names of two woodwind players (Teede and Richter) appear above No. 3 and No. 5B in the autograph. 256

It is interesting that no Flautist is named in the lists of extra players paid for the Chapel Royal performances of the 1720's. This appears to support the suggestion that the Flute was played by the Oboe player. The Chapel Royal music provides some supporting evidence for this hypothesis:

(1) Handel's leading Oboe players are also known to have been Flautists. The evidence in the case of Kytch, the Oboe soloist from the 1720's, can be found in the concert advertisements quoted above. Teede, one of the Flautists named c. 1749 on the Caroline Te Deum autograph, was described in 1763 as a performer on 'German Flute and Hautboy'. 267

(2) The Aylesford part-books containing Chapel Royal music, in common with the general practice in this collection, do not include separate Flute part-books. Instead, Flute parts are written into the Oboe part-books, Flutes being named in the headings to appropriate movements. By including the Flute parts in the Oboe books the copyist was probably following a normal eighteenth-century convention. 268

(3) With the exception of the Peace Anthem, none of the Chapel Royal scores include Oboe and Flute parts in the same movement: if the Flute is used, there is no Oboe part. 269

The Peace Anthem is not a significant exception, since two separate players were involved: the 'Flute' player may have converted to become second Oboe in the choruses Nos. 2 and 4.

The case for the Oboe player also taking on the Flute parts is thus very strong. It is by no means proven, however, The
convention of including the Flute music in the Oboe part-book does not preclude the temporary participation of an additional player: it was obviously convenient to avoid having stray parts for single movements copied onto separate sheets which could be lost or damaged, and the provision of separate Flute part-books might have added to the copyist's bill needlessly. If Kytch really played all of the Flute and Oboe parts in the Chapel Royal music of the 1720's he would have had to work very hard, possibly unreasonably so. There would have been substantial gaps between movements whilst he put one instrument aside, picked up the other, and adjusted his playing position and embouchure. It is surprising to find a composer like Handel, usually so concerned with practical convenience, failing to give the player a few bars 'rest' at the end of the movements preceding a change of instrument. Inter-movement pauses would have been particularly inartistic in the Caroline and A major Te Deums, which are constructed as a linked series of short movements. Furthermore, we may doubt whether such interruptions would have been treated with indulgence in a court performance. The absence of payments for a separate Flautist for the Chapel Royal services need occasion no surprise, since it would probably have been an unnecessary expense. If Kytch did not want to play the Flute himself, the Royal Musicians contained a few players who were versatile enough to leave their Violins for the occasional movement in order to cover the Flute parts.

Bassoons

The descriptive analysis already given for Handel's 'tutti' Oboe parts can also be applied to his Bassoon parts. There are occasional independent Bassoon parts, or 'concertato' sections
in the large chorus movements where Bassoons are used as a group with the Oboes, but Handel's typical Bassoon parts divide their time between doubling the instrumental bass and an appropriate vocal line.\textsuperscript{270} The latter is usually the chorus Bass part, but occasionally Bassoons are used to strengthen a melodic thread from the Tenor part, as at the final bars of No. 6 of the A major Te Deum\textsuperscript{271} or the first Tenor entry in the Funeral Anthem.

The A major Te Deum and its companion Anthem 11B include extended Bassoon solos. Here Handel provided his Bassoonist with an interesting and demanding part which includes some tricky semiquaver runs and passages which cover the whole range of the instruments (C\textsuperscript{-}a'). Richard Vincent was named Bassoonist in 1724, and Gottfried Karpa in 1726: the A major Te Deum was certainly performed on one of these occasions.

Sometimes the Bassoon is given a separate stave in Handel's autographs, but frequently its path has to be traced from cues next to the appropriate vocal or instrumental lines. Sometimes these cues suggest that the addition of the Bassoon was an afterthought, and this is particularly true of the Funeral Anthem.

No Bassoons are mentioned at all in the scores of the Caroline Te Deum or Anthems 4A, 5B and 6B. All of these, with the possible exception of Anthem 5B, were originally performed without a Bassoon, but Bassoons were almost certainly added to the Caroline Te Deum and Anthem 6B in Handel's later revivals.\textsuperscript{272}

No Bassoons are mentioned on the surviving source material for This is the Day, but the 'large orchestra' scoring of this anthem makes it likely that they were added to the orchestral bass line. There were probably several Bassoon players to a part in the Coronation Anthems,\textsuperscript{273} but the magnificent opening movement to Zadok the Priest is the only place where Handel scored for two separate
Bassoon parts. Having used the Bassoons with remarkable and original effect here, Handel seems to have forgotten about them in other Coronation Anthems and the modern editor has to compensate for his omissions. At the beginning of The King shall rejoice 274 there is no Bassoon stave where we might expect it (with the Oboes) and the orchestral bass line is labelled 'Organ & 12 viol.'. The Double Bass parts may have been included in the '12 viol' (which was presumably an instruction to the copyist as to the number of parts required), but this seems to exclude the Bassoons. In this movement there are no cues next to the voice parts either, but Bassoons are named in a cue next to the basso continuo line at the beginning of movement No. 4. It seems a reasonable assumption that, unless there is any indication to the contrary, Handel normally expected the Bassoons to double the orchestral bass in movements which included Oboes. Attempts to use Handel's apparent carelessness over Bassoon cues as an excuse for a clever editorial Bassoon part are rarely successful: the curious effect of doubling the solo Tenor at the start of My heart is inditing with a Bassoon 275 serves only to confirm that Handel knew when to leave well alone.
Five of the buildings in which Handel's English Church Music was first performed
SECTION 3: Buildings

Introduction

Due recognition must be given to the considerable influence which the sites of Handel's performances had on the composer when he was composing his music. In the case of his church music, Handel must have had an accurate advance knowledge of the physical properties of the buildings in which his music was to be performed, in the same way that he knew in general terms the performing forces that would be available. The occasional miscalculation arose not because Handel misjudged the relationship between his music and the site of performance, but because a service took place in a different building from that which had been anticipated. The influence of the buildings on Handel's music may be summarised under two headings:

1. Acoustic. The 'large orchestra' and 'small orchestra' forces referred to in Section 2 reflect the acoustic demands of different buildings. Even if we accept the general principle that large buildings demand large forces and that small buildings were more suitably served by a more intimate performing group, it is necessary to remind ourselves of the dramatic difference in size between Handel's 'large' and 'small' buildings. (Plan 1) The difference in size had a direct acoustic consequence. The volumes of St. Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey were such that a packed congregation on floor level covered only a small proportion of the reflective surfaces: in the smaller buildings, however, the presence of the congregation made a critical difference.

2. Facilities. The arrangement of the interiors in different buildings controlled the conditions of performance quite closely: they exerted limitations on the layout of the performing group and, in many cases, set an upper limit to the number of
performers who could take part. The presence or absence of an Organ must be considered, and the difficulties which an on-site Organ might put in the way of performing arrangements.

The material in this section does not cover the complete period of Handel's Chapel Royal music. With one exception, buildings solely connected with music from George II's reign have been omitted. The buildings in which Handel performed his Chapel Royal music during the previous reigns are described, along with two additional buildings: St. Lawrence's Church, Whitchurch, and the French Chapel, St. James's Palace. The former is included because it was the site for the original performances of the Chandos Anthems and Canticles, and substantial portions of Chapters 6-9 are concerned with the differences between Handel's Chapel Royal and Chandos workings of the same musical ideas. The French Chapel is included because of the exceptionally full documentation of the first performance of Handel's Wedding Anthem there in 1734: the information gathered here has points of general relevance to Handel's Chapel Royal performances. I have not included the Banqueting House Chapel, Whitehall, in this section. Although Handel held public rehearsals of the Utrecht canticles and some later Chapel Royal works there, it is unlikely that he expected any of his music to be performed there. Accordingly, the influence of the building on Handel's compositions and on his performances does not have to be considered.

It is with some surprise that I have discovered that the buildings in which Handel performed have never been systematically examined in relation to his music. Thanks to their stone construction and the continuous demands of public worship, the original sites of Handel's English church music performances (with the single exception of the Foundling Hospital) are still
available to us today. This is in sharp contrast to the destruction of all of the buildings in London which saw Handel's theatrical performances.
PLAN 2

ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL

Music: Utrecht Te Deum and Jubilate (1713).

It is also probable that Handel expected his Lettingen Te Deum and Anthem to be performed at Paul's in 1743.

Scoring: (Utrecht canticles) 2 Trumpets, Flute, 2 Oboes, Bassoon, Strings (Violins 3), Organ.

Physical characteristics of Building and Performing Area:

Wren's St. Paul's Cathedral was completed in 1710. Its basic structure and plan has not changed, but there has been an important alteration to the interior furnishings. In 1859 the organ screen was removed, opening up the view from the Nave to the East end. The organ case was eventually divided and set up on the north and south walls at the entrance to the Choir in 1871-2. Wren's magnificent choir stalls were preserved but they were moved one bay closer to the Nave in the general re-arrangement. To gain an understanding of the performing area as it existed in 1713, we must therefore look at plans of the Cathedral as it stood before the nineteenth century alterations. Plan 2 is of the complete Cathedral: Plan 3 is a ground plan of the Choir with its original furnishings. Although the surrounding Cathedral is large, the original enclosed Choir was, if not intimate, at least manageable for the celebration of religious services.

Robert Trevitt's picture of the Thanksgiving Service on 31-12-1706 is a most important source of information for the arrangement of the musical performers at the large services at St. Paul's. It was one of a series of pictures of the Cathedral, a series probably stimulated partly by the novelty of the building. The complete picture of the Thanksgiving Service is large and elaborate, giving a panoramic view of the Choir from the North side. Plate 1 is a detail showing the gallery area.
Detail from Robert Trevitt's engraving of the Thanksgiving Service in St. Paul's Cathedral, 31 - 12 - 1706
ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL - THE MUSICIANS' GALLERY

Scale (in feet): 1 = 5

X - Conjectural positions of other performers.

PLAN 1
around the organ, a part of the scene which is described thus in the caption to the picture:

The Choir and other Musitians filled the Organ Gallery and ye Returns of the Galleries adjacent on either Side.

One copy of Trevitt's picture known to me has been coloured in. One copy of Trevitt's picture known to me has been coloured in. 278 Priests in the stalls below are shown in 'black and white', and the musical gallery includes some 'Priestly' singers, as we would expect of the Chapel Royal. 279 Some instrumentalists are dressed in 'red', which may be a representation of the scarlet livery of the Royal Musicians. Reading from the right, the following musicians are shown in the gallery:

6 singers (2 red, 2 blue, 2 unclear)
Violin (red)
Oboe (yellow), with 1 unidentifiable (?singer) behind
2 singers (blue) (?one of them a chorister)
Lute (red)
Violin (blue)
(organ case)
Violin (red)
'Cello (red)
Priest (black)
2 singers (blue)
Large Lute (blue)
Priest (black)
Oboe (red)
Violin (yellow), with 3 singers (?1 of whom blue) behind.

This gives 25 performers in all, 16 of them probably singers. More musicians are probably hidden by the organ cases and the picture naturally does not show those in the North return of the Gallery. On the basis of what is shown in the picture, I estim-
The seating in the stalls and boxes which is shown in the picture and described in the caption also agrees well with the description of the Thanksgiving of 7-2-1704 in Boyer: 

Anne (Annales), iii, p. 96-7.

The Queen's husband is shown in Trevitt's picture but he was not present on 31-12-1706, a fact noted in the caption: 'an Armed Chair was placed on her [the Queen's] Left Hand for his Royal Highness Prince George of Denmark, who (being Indisposed) was not present'. I suggest that the picture was based on sketches made by Trevitt at the previous Thanksgiving (27-6-1706). This in no way reduces the general value of the picture as evidence of the scene at the Thanksgiving Services.

This almost certainly remained the case until the 1730's. In February 1734/5, as part of a general revision of arrangements for the Sons of the Clergy service, 'seats were built up at the Altar, for the Musick to face the Audience, which was never done before'. In pictures of some late eighteenth-century services at St. Paul's it appears that some kind of staging was also built up in the organ loft, presumably covering the stair wells: see, for example, the picture of the 1706 Thanksgiving reproduced in Wren Society xiv, Plate XLVII.
ate the total number of musicians to be in the region of 35-40. On Plan 4 I have reconstructed a plan of the gallery, showing the stations occupied by the musicians. The surviving plans of the organ screen are of the ground floor and do not show the exact arrangement of the staircases above, but it is likely that space in the gallery was limited by four stairwells.

The visual reporting on Trevitt's picture is detailed and, as far as it can be tested, accurate.²⁸⁰ Looking, for example, at the stalls to the east of the organ screen, Trevitt correctly shows two rows of people in the 'boxes' and three rows in the gallery above. Although it is possible that the artist may have skimped on his representation of the musicians, I do not think that this is likely. In the age before photography, this sort of commemorative picture probably erred on the side of making the occasion appear grander than it really was, rather than the opposite.²⁸¹ When Trevitt shows the musicians 2-3 deep and crowded together at the front of the gallery, this was probably in accord­and with the facts. A greater depth would have increased the ensemble problems, and it is doubtful whether there was much room for more in the gallery.²⁸² No Timpani are shown: I have already expressed the opinion that the Te Deum performances before the 1730's did not include these instruments, and their size would probably have made them unwelcome in the gallery. Oboes are shown, but no Trumpets: the latter were essential to the Te Deum performances and were perhaps placed in the North gallery. It is interesting, and a strong confirmation of the accuracy of the picture, that the ensemble includes two lute players: Shore, as previously noted, appears as the Chapel Royal's Lutenist in Travelling Charges for some ten years before his official appointment in 1715.
283 Wren Drawing III.19; reproduced in Wren Society xiii.
Plate XXVII. I examined the original in 1926.

204 See Sumner: St. Paul's, p. 9
If Trevitt's picture is accurate for a Thanksgiving Service in 1706, we may still reasonably question its relevance to the Utrecht Thanksgiving seven years later. Here mention must be made of a manuscript plan of the seating arrangements for the Thanksgiving Services at St. Paul's, now in the collection of Wren drawings at the Codrington Library, All Souls, Oxford. The provision of additional seating was the responsibility of Wren himself, who held public office as Surveyor of the Works. The original ink plan showed exactly the arrangement depicted in Trevitt's picture, and it has been subjected to some minor amendments in pencil, mainly concerning the placing of the benches within the sanctuary rails at the East end. The lower right-hand corner of the plan is endorsed in pencil 'For July 7th 1713'. The obvious interpretation of this document is that in 1713 Wren pulled out the plan of the seating arrangements used for the earlier series of Thanksgiving Services and worked from this, making the minimum alterations necessary for the forthcoming service. This serves to confirm that the Utrecht Thanksgiving service was planned on the same basis as the earlier services, and that the arrangements for the 1702-8 Thanksgivings were followed in 1713. We can safely assume that the musicians occupied the same gallery area as before, with the same constraints on space and communication.

St. Paul's Cathedral remains, as it was in Handel's time, a highly resonant building. In proportion to the reflective surfaces of the walls and roof, the furnishings of the Choir are not sufficient to damp the sound to any noticeable extent. The location and design of the organ had been a matter of some contention between the architect, the Dean and Chapter, and the organ builder: in acoustic terms, Bernard Smith was fortunate that the
See Chapter 4
organ screen was eventually located well into the first bay of the Choir, as far away from the dome as practicable. The organ gallery was therefore removed from the worst of the dome's acoustic problems, and the organ case probably shielded the musicians from excessive direct sound reflections from the dome area. The elevation of the musicians on the screen also helped the diffusion of sound reflections from the barrel roof of the Choir.

If Handel had attended the Sons of the Clergy Festival Services in 1710 or 1712, he might have been able to judge the effect of his music in advance. There is no certain evidence that Handel attended either of these services, or that orchestrally-accompanied music was performed at them; nevertheless, Handel had plenty of opportunities to hear the routine services at the Cathedral.

**Probable size and composition of Handel's Performing group:**

Queen Anne's message to Parliament on the day before the Utrecht Thanksgiving Service expressed the clear intention that the service should proceed as if she was present, and in consequence we can take for granted the attendance of the Court's musicians. Taking the inference of 40 performers from Plate 1/Plan 4 as a starting point, this seems to suggest that only those who were in Waiting (i.e. half of the total force) participated:

**Singers:** Chapel Royal - 5 Priests, 8 Gentlemen, 1 Organist, 26 Boys, Lutenist and Violist.

**Orchestra:** 12 Royal Musicians (?)string players).

Additional wind players required in 1713 - Flute, 2 Oboes, Bassoon, 2 Trumpets.

To these 40 we can add a few string players: a Double Bass or two, and some extra Violins to account for Handel's three-fold division of the violin section.
The St. Paul's Cathedral choir may also have contributed some singers, but this would not have made a significant alteration to the numbers. Of the Vicars Choral only Richard Brind, the Cathedral Organist, was not also a member of the Chapel Royal. Some of the St. Paul's Choristers might have been useful additions and presumably Charles King, the Master of the Choristers, was also available as an adult voice. The caption to the 1706 picture makes no mention of the St. Paul's Choir, but does say that:

The Residentiaries & Prebendaries were seated on Chairs with in ye Rails of ye Alter (sic), except such as officiated in reading Prayers.

Some of the more musical Prebendaries, such as Sampson Estwick and Charles Badham, may have elected to join the musicians in the gallery. Although this caption suggests that the conduct of the service was the responsibility of the Cathedral, a note in the Cheque Book concerning the 1714/5 Thanksgiving reveals that The Chapel Royal claimed this duty: if the monarch was present, the building was the 'King's Chappell upon this occasion', wherever it happened to be. In the 1706 picture the officiating clergy are shown in the normal position halfway along the stalls. They may have been from the staff of St. Paul's or the Chapel Royal: if the latter, it reduced the number of Priests available for musical duties above. The Sub-Dean of the Chapel would certainly have been among those 'below', probably in one of the stalls immediately behind the Queen's seat.

Handel's forces in 1713 for the Utrecht music are more likely to have been in line with the hypothetical figures for the 1706 Thanksgiving than with the innovatory 'large' forces which he gathered for the 1727 Coronation. Expanding slightly
I have based the specification on information from Smith's contract with St. Paul's, reprinted in Freeman: *St. Paul's*, p. 3-4 and Simpson: *Documents*, p. 161-163.
the precedents, but taking into account the practical limitations of the gallery at St. Paul's, a total performing strength of about 50 seems likely.

**Organ:** There is no reason to suppose that a special organ was provided for the Utrecht Thanksgiving nor that the large organ *in situ* was inappropriate for use in 1713. The specification of this instrument, built by Smith in 1694-5, was:

**GREAT CC - c''' (no CC sharp)**
- Open Diapason (west front)
- Open Diapason (east front)
- Stop Diapason
- Principall
- Hol fleut
- Great Twelfth
- Small Twelfth
- Fifteenth
- Cornet (V - from C ?)
- Mixture (III?)
- Sesquialtera (IV?)
- Trumpet

**CHAYRE FF - c'''' (no FF sharp or GG sharp)**
- Quinta Den Diapason
- Principall
- Stop Diapason
- Hol fleut
- Great Twelfth
- Fifteenth
- Cimball (III?)
- Voice Humaine
- Crum horne

**ECIO c - c''''**
- Diapason
- Principal
- Nason
- Fifteenth
- Cornet (III?)
- Trumpet
288 Freeman: St. Paul's, p. 6

289 ibid, p. 6

290 Alexander Ellis estimated that the original pitch was about A 442 (Ellis & Mendel: Musical Pitch, p. 62.)
There can be little doubt of the sharp pitch of this organ. Difficulties over the size of the case for the instrument probably reinforced Smith's apparent policy of sharp pitch. In 1800 Leffler noted the current specification with the comment 'A fine organ all through; sharp pitch' and in 1802 Ohmann and Nutt lowered the pitch by a semitone. If 'a semitone' is to be taken literally, the original pitch would have been sharper than A 440, but not as high as A 474. There is no evidence for transposition of organ parts at St. Paul's.
See Chapter 2, reference at Note 57.
For more than a century before 1700 there had always been more than one royal chapel building in London and indeed several were needed in order to house the various Chapel establishments connected with the Court. There was, naturally, one particular building which was in regular personal use by the sovereign and, except during James II's reign, the musical establishment of the main Chapel Royal was based there. From 1702 this building was the small chapel in St. James's Palace located next to the famous Tudor gateway to the Palace in St. James's Street. The Palace itself was the main London residence of Anne, George I and George II, and the monarch usually attended a service there every Sunday morning when in residence. The routine services were reported in the newspapers, giving the names of the members of the Royal Family who were present, the name of the priest who preached the sermon, and the name of the nobleman who had the honour of carrying the Sword of State to the Chapel before the sovereign. Royal residence at St. James's normally occupied about two thirds of the year, the remainder (usually during the summer) being spent at Kensington, Windsor, Hampton Court or, in the case of the Georges, Hanover. Queen Anne liked to spend more time at Windsor than her successors, though she make a point of returning to St. James's for special occasions like Thanksgiving Days.

The Palace of St. James's included at least three buildings which were used at different times for divine worship, so the title 'Chapel Royal, St. James's Palace' is potentially ambiguous. There is no doubt, however, as to which building was in regular use by the monarch and the Chapel Royal. Of the two other buildings, the small 'German' Chapel can be disregarded:
PLAN 5

St. James's Palace in the Eighteenth Century, showing the location of the Chapel Royal (1) and the French Chapel (2)
any music which may have been performed there had no connection with English church music. The remaining building, the 'French' Chapel, lay empty and unused for most of the period but was put into service under exceptional circumstances for the Wedding of Princess Anne in 1734. It is apparent from the descriptions of Court ceremonial and processions that the Royal Weddings of 1736 and 1740 did not take place in this building, but in the regular Chapel Royal: Handel's 1734 Wedding Anthem is therefore the only work from his Chapel Royal repertoire which was performed in the French Chapel.

The relative positions of the Chapel Royal and the French Chapel within St. James's Palace are shown on Plan 5. It will be noted that they have a different orientation. I shall treat the 'Altar' end as the East End throughout in my descriptions, whatever the geographical facts.
This traditional arrangement was recognised by Burney in his description of the 1734 Handel Commemoration:

The general idea was to produce the effect of a royal musical chapel, with the orchestra terminating one end, and accommodations for the Royal Family, the other. (Commemoration, Introduction, p. 5). See also the picture of 'The Sacred Choir', published as a frontispiece to Weldon's Divine Harmony, (See Smith: Walch 1, p. 143 and Plate 24, and Dearnley: Church Music, Plate 2). Here a Chapel Royal is viewed from the East end: the choir stalls are on the floor and an orchestra in the first gallery. The building represented is not any Chapel Royal which was in use at the time of Weldon's publications (1716). The frontispiece is probably based on a much earlier picture (the coat of arms over the King appears to be the pre-1689 Stuart version, with France Modern in the fourth quarter) and may show the former Whitehall Chapel. As detailed evidence of eighteenth-century musical practice, the picture is only of limited value. The orchestral group is an archaic combination and rather crudely represented: the artist even reversed the players' hand-holds in the right-hand gallery in the interests of symmetry!
THE CHAPEL ROYAL, ST. JAMES'S PALACE

Music: This falls into two groups:

(a) Works requiring small forces

Scorings: (Caroline Te Deum and Anthem 4A 1712-14)
2 Trumpets, Flute, Oboe(s), Strings and Organ continuo.

(A major Te Deum and Anthems 5B, 6B, 11B c. 1720-26)
Flute, Oboe, Bassoon, Strings, Organ continuo

(b) Works requiring larger forces

Scorings: (Dettingen Te Deum and Anthem 1743) 3 Trumpets, Timpani, 2 Oboes, Bassoon (s), Strings (Violins 3), Organ continuo

(Peace Anthem 1749) 2 Trumpets, Timpani, Flute, Oboe(s), Bassoons, Strings, Organ continuo

(Wedding Anthems 1736 and 1740) 2 Trumpets, ?Drums, ?Flutes, 2 Oboes, ?Bassoon, Strings, Organ continuo

Layout for Performance, Physical characteristics of Building and Performing Area:

Chapel buildings which were in regular constant use by the monarch followed a traditional plan. The area used by the royal party, known as the Royal Closet, was always at the West End, facing the Altar; the choir and the organ were towards the opposite end, with the organ in a gallery and choir stalls on the floor below. In the two major chapels in St. James's Palace the Royal Closet was situated on first floor level: this was particularly convenient at the Chapel Royal because it enabled the King's procession to pass from the main state apartments (which were on the first floor) to the Closet without having to enter the main body of the Chapel. The Royal Closet was subjected to occasional alterations in accordance with the changing needs of
The 1837 alterations were the work of Robert Smirke. The only structural alteration, apart from the removal of the organ to a new gallery half way along the north wall, was a small extension to the ceiling at the West end, necessitated by the re-arrangement of the galleries at the expense of space in the Royal Closet.

The original sketch differs in some details, such as the direction of the paving, from the engraving based upon it which was published in Volume 2 of Wilkinson's *Londine Illustrata*. 
the Royal Family, but I have found few references to alterations to the rest of the building in the eighteenth century. For Royal Weddings in 1736 and 1761 this Chapel seems to have been entirely re-furnished, but then restored to its previous condition afterwards. It is probable that the 'normal' state of the Chapel did not alter significantly during the eighteenth century.

We can look first at a description of the Chapel which was published in 1714:

It is a most beautiful and eminent Chapel, becoming the Grandeur of her Brittanick Majesty and Royal Court to which it belongs, paved with black and white Marble, curiously painted in the Roof, well hung, decently pewed, and adorned with a stately Organ, a fine Throne or Gallery for her Majesty's own person, under a Canopy.²⁹³

The Chapel as it exists today is small and, apart from the Royal Closet and Holbein's magnificent ceiling, rather plain: it was not much different in the eighteenth century. There were some significant alterations in 1837, involving the removal of the organ to a different gallery and the 'Gothicising' of the furnishings, but limitations on the site have fortunately prevented major structural changes.²⁹⁴

Unfortunately there are no eighteenth-century pictures of the complete Chapel interior, but a sketch made by R.B. Schnebelle in 1816 gives a view of the building before the alterations.²⁹⁵ (Plate 2) The sketch tallies with the description of the Chapel just quoted and also with the plans of the Chapel made during a survey of the Palace in 1729 (Plans 6a and 6b). It will be noted that the arrangement of the pews on the ground floor plan is exactly that seen in Plate 2. This, therefore, is the Chapel as Handel knew it, with the organ in the East end
These are possibly the 'Closets' provided early in
the eighteenth century after Bishop Burnet's com-
plaints to Princess Anne about the 'ogling and
sighing' in the Chapel. (Sheppard: Memorials ii,
p. 209-211.)

Places for the Boys are shown here on a post-1837 Plan
of the Chapel in Lambeth Palace Fulham Papers 124,
A similar arrangement can be seen in use in the
picture referred to in note 212, supra.

'... an Anthem, composed by Mr. Händel, was sung by
his Majesty's Band of Musick, which was placed in a
Gallery over the Communion Table' DL, 28 May 1736
and Boyer: Political State, Vol. ii, p. 449.
Schreider was paid for 'taking down the great Organ
in St. James's Chapel and for providing a new Organ
and placing the same over the Altar'. (LC5/20, p. 162)

P.R.O. LC2/29
The Chapel Royal, St. James's Palace, from a survey in 1729 by H. Flitcroft. (Plate 2 shows the Chapel viewed towards the left hand side of these plans)
PLATE 2

Sketch of the Chapel Royal, St. James's Palace, in 1816 by R.B. Schnebel
gallery. It is densely furnished with pews, and fairly tall pews at that. There is provision for the choir in the front pews in the centre of the Chapel: the Boys presumably stood on the ledge and used the music desks attached to the front pews.

With one exception, all of Handel's performances in the Chapel Royal took place in the building as it stood, without any alteration to the basic furnishings. The exception was the Wedding service for the Prince of Wales in 1736, for which a temporary musicians' gallery was constructed at the East End. A similar rearrangement was made soon after Handel's death, in 1761 for the wedding of King George III, and from this event there survives a memorandum which tells us the maximum seating capacity of the Chapel. The summary figures from this are reproduced below. The Chapel as then existing was about 60' long overall.

**Seats in the Chapel at St. James's against His Majesty's Wedding**

Below stairs: RH of the isle 102'

LH of the isle 102'

In the Antichapel 123'

164 persons at 2 feet each 328'

Up stairs: In the King's Closet

4 seats 28 feet each 121'

1 seat 9 feet 63'

119 persons at 2 feet each 238'

283 persons at 2 feet each 566'

The Chapel was probably as crowded as this for the 1736 Wedding, but for the other Chapel Royal services at which Handel's music
The Chapel today has a clear but none too resonant acoustic.

There were probably curtains for some of the windows, but payments for redecorating the Chapel refer mainly to whitewashing and painting, so I doubt whether there were extensive drapes except in the Royal Closet.
was performed the building probably could not have accommodated more than 200. The presence of a congregation in the elaborate dress expected at Court in the eighteenth century must have absorbed most of the building's reverberation. Hard furnishings may have helped a little, though it seems likely that the pew seats were upholstered. The description of the Chapel in 1714 as 'well hung' may possibly refer to extra curtains or wall drapes which had vanished from the Chapel by 1615.

The organ loft was very small, only about 14' wide, 13' 6" deep (including the small gallery shown on the plan and on Plate 2) and 15' high. Smith had difficulty fitting an instrument of acceptable size into the space, and so we can assume that the organ filled all the available space at the front of the gallery, leaving a passage for access to the console at the front and enough room for the organ-blower at the side. There may have been a little space to the rear: later in the eighteenth century a 5-stop Swell was added to the original instrument. For the purposes of locating an orchestra for Chapel Royal services, however, the organ loft can clearly be discounted: at most it might have accommodated the Lutenist or Violist, but no more. Most of the orchestra must have been placed in the main body of the Chapel, standing within the pews or in any available aisle areas. There is just one entry in the Cheque Books which mentions the arrangements for instrumentally-accompanied anthems in the Chapel:

**Memorandum concerning His Majesty's Band of Musick**

When any Instrumental Musick is to be perform'd in St. James's Chapel Royal, the Sub Dean applies himself to the Lord Chamberlain's Secretary to desire that the Royal Band of Musick may attend at the Chapel, who sends to the Master
They are not named in any plans of the Chapel which I have found, and Colin Scull, the present Sergeant of the Vestry of the Chapels Royal, tells me that he is not able to identify them either.
of the Band for that Purpose.

When there is a rehearsal at Chapel at Eleven o'clock there are no prayers that the Chapel may not be filled and no Disturbance made.

On the Days of Rehearsal the Voices and Instruments were order'd to attend at the Chapel between ten and eleven o'clock and on Sundays to be there before twelve.
The Honourable Pew and the Back seat were kept for the Instrumental Performers.

It was ordere'd that no Persons should be let into the Gentlemen's seats.  

I have not been able to identify the 'Honourable Pew' and the 'Back Seat': perhaps they were immediately behind the Choir stalls. The memorandum was entered into the New Cheque Book in 1742/3, by which time a routine for the services celebrating the King's return from Hanover was no doubt well established. Arrangements may have been more haphazard in earlier years, although we may guess that whatever arrangements had evolved for the Thanksgiving Services in the Chapel in 1709-10 were repeated on subsequent occasions.

The scoring of the earlier works composed by Handel for services in the Chapel Royal is well matched to the building. At first he tried out the orchestra associated with Purcell's D major Te Deum and Jubilate in his own Caroline Te Deum, but in the 1720's he seems to have made a definite decision to do without the Trumpets, in favour of a more intimate scoring which gave particular scope to the woodwind soloists. The later music, for the 1736 Wedding and the national celebrations of 1743 and 1749, is on a much larger scale. In the Dettingen music especially, Handel's scoring is really too large for the building:
I will give thanks and Rejoice in the Lord, ye righteous: see work-list in The New Grove. Comparable works from the previous decade, for the 1733 Wedding and the 1735 Return of the King, did not include Drums.
the difference in scale is so marked as to make it extremely likely that Handel composed the music with St. Paul's in mind. It must have sounded extremely noisy in the Chapel Royal. Handel had previously re-introduced the Trumpets, and possibly the Drums as well, into the Chapel in an anthem for the 1736 Wedding, for which, as already noted, special galleries were constructed. Once re-established, they remained a feature of later Chapel Royal music: Trumpets are included in Greene's anthems celebrating the King's return in 1740 and 1741, and Handel included Drums as well as Trumpets in his music for 1743 and 1749. No special furnishings were provided for these later services, so space must have been created for the drums, possibly near the altar. Although the score of Handel's 1749 Peace Anthem includes drums, it is not so heavily scored as the Dettingen music, and its performance was paired with revival of one of Handel's earlier Chapel Royal works, the Caroline Te Deum.

In addition to its heavy scoring, the Dettingen Te Deum is also exceptional in Handel's music for this building on account of its length, which is more comparable to the Utrecht music than to the rest of the music composed for St. James's. The Dettingen Te Deum and Anthem together take about an hour in performance, which is nearly twice as long as the Te Deum-Anthem combinations for Chapel services in earlier periods and, indeed, twice as long as Handel's music for the 1749 Thanksgiving. In general, the conditions of Court services in the Chapel seem to have demanded individual works lasting about a quarter of an hour. Calculations were no doubt influenced by royal habits. After the Sunday morning Chapel Royal service the King usually dined in public, and the timing of this must have set a limit to the overall length of the service. George II was in the habit
The musicians were probably divided along the lines of 8 Violins, 2 Violas, 2 Cellos; as noted in Sections 1 & 2, there was some doubling up with laces in the Chapel Royal, so it is doubtful whether 12 independent Royal Musicians were available.

P.R.O. LC3/53, p. 75; Freeman/Rowntree: Smith, p. 73

LC5/153, p. 384
of standing during the anthem. By 1757 the ageing monarch was able to stand for only five minutes, but in earlier years a quarter of an hour had probably been an acceptable duration. I have no doubt that George II, and his father before him, paid particular attention to Handel’s music in Chapel Royal services.

**Probable size and composition of Handel’s performing group:**

Handel’s music from the first two periods utilised the standard force of court musicians in waiting, with certain extra support. Payments for the extra performers from the period 1720-1726 are summarised in Chapter 7, Table 1. The basic force to which these were added was, at most, 5 Priests, 8 Gentlemen, 10 Boys, the Organist, Violist and Lutenist of the Chapel, and 12 Royal Musicians. For the later Weddings and the Dettingen service it is possible that the full forces of the Chapel and the Musicians (26 men and 24 Strings) were expected to turn out, though these numbers could only have been achieved if several deputies were employed. A more realistic estimate is that the total force for these later services was about 50-60 performers, along the same lines as the Utrecht music at St. Paul’s. There is no evidence that the choirs of Westminster Abbey or St. Paul’s participated in any of the Chapel Royal services, though individual singers who were not also members of the Chapel might have been employed as extras or deputies on some occasions.

**Organ:** The removal of the Chapel Royal to St. James’s early in Queen Anne’s reign entailed the provision of a suitable organ for the Chapel. Bernard Smith appears to have supplied a temporary instrument which followed the Queen around to Windsor and St. James’s in the first months of her reign and on 2 July 1703 he was commanded to make ‘a new small organ for St. James’s’.
309 See LaFontaine: *The King's Musick*, p. 431-2 (Whitehall organ, 1694) and P.R.O. LC5/133, p. 250 (Windsor organ, 1702).

310 P.R.O. T 52/22, p. 232; see also Freeman/Rowntree: *Smith*, p. 139


312 Schreider naturally took over Smith's tuning and maintenance work, but there is no evidence to support the oft-repeated statement that he built an organ for the Chapel Royal in 1710. (Sheppard: *Memoria*: ii, p. 332; Freeman: *St. James's*, p. 194)

313 A short-register Trumpet stop appears in Leffler's stop-list of the organ, and it may well have been part of the original instrument. The earlier Chapel Royal organ-books from the period 1700-1740 (RC 27.a. 13 & 14) do not include anthems which have obbligato organ parts for the Trumpet stop, but such parts are a feature of several of the anthems included in the Chapel Royal word-books.

314 P.R.O. LC5/19, p. 190
The limited space in the organ gallery at St. James's was the cause of the 'smallness' referred to in the warrant: the implied comparison is with the larger contracts which Smith already had under way at the Banqueting House Chapel (Whitehall) and St. George's Chapel, Windsor.  

By 3 July 1704 the organ at St. James's was nearing completion and an inspection committee consisting of Ralph Battel (Sub-Dean of the Chapel), John Blow (one of the Chapel's Organists) and Peter Hume (Yeoman of the Removing Wardrobe) reported that they valued:

- the organ at Whitehall at £1500,
- that at Windsor at £990,
- and that at St. James's (when completed by putting in the trumpet stop and that called Cremona and the pipes gilt) at £690.

In July 1706 the same committee reported that all three organs were:

- entirely finished and completed.
- But the organ at St. James's being incapable of containing the Trumpet stop and the gilding and painting of the same being performed at her Majesty's charge in the Office of her Works there is to be abated 100£ of the above sum.

Smith received the final installment of the payment for the organs in July 1707. He died in February of the next year; his post as Organ Builder to the Court passed, with the rest of his business, to his son-in-law Christopher Schreider senior.

It is possible that either Smith or Schreider overcame one of the deficiencies of the Chapel Royal organ by providing a Trumpet stop in the treble register; perhaps the organ was only 'un-capable' of containing the larger trumpet pipes.

In January 1733/4 Schreider was paid for an overhaul of the organ which included 'new gilding' the pipes, but otherwise
315 Sheppard: Memorials, ii, p. 352; Freeman: St. James's, p. 194

316 Pearce: Organs, p. 83; Freeman: St. James's, p. 194

317 Freeman, ibid, p. 195

318 It saw service at the Chapel Royal until the alterations in 1637-8. The Mill and Davidson which replaced it was, as already noted, located in a different gallery of the Chapel.

319 The outer towers of pipes at Crick appear to be later additions, and I have made due allowance for this. Alterations to the interior of the organ and to the sides of the casework render it difficult to make an accurate estimate of the original depth of the case.
the organ seems to have remained much in its original state until the rebuild of 1785, during which the pitch was lowered and a Swell department was added. The organ was subjected to further repair—cur-alteration: in 1802 and Leffler recorded the specification soon after. Leffler described it as "a very good-for-nothing organ", which may be a reflection on its condition rather than on Smith's original workmanship: within 20 years the organ was in need of further major repair. It was bought by Thomas Elliott for £200 in 1819 and found subsequent homes at the Episcopal Chapel, Long Acre (1819-1867) and the Chapel of the Worshipful Company of Mercers, Cheapside (1868-1884) but vanished when the Mercer's Company replaced it with a new instrument in 1884.

There are no pictures of the organ in its subsequent homes, so the distant view of the instrument in the background of Plate 2 is our only guide to the appearance of Smith's case. The organ which Elliott supplied in 1819 for the Chapel Royal in place of the 'Smith' organ is now at Crick, Northamptonshire. It is of some value in confirming the size of organ which it was possible for the original Chapel Royal gallery to accommodate: the organ case is about 10' wide and 14' 6" high.

As previously noted, the gallery in which Smith had to build the Chapel Royal organ was very small, and the figures given by the original inspection committee in 1704 confirm that the instrument was much smaller than his other two contemporary 'Royal' instruments. There was hardly enough height to accommodate the larger pipes of the Great Diapason in the casework above the player's head. The specification of the original can be reconstructed from that recorded by Leffler: I give my version, with two other contemporary organs for comparison, in Table 3.
Supplement Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapel Royal, St. James's Palace</th>
<th>St. Mary, Finedon, Northants</th>
<th>Banqueting House Chapel, Whitehall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Smith 1703-7 (Reconstructed from Leffler's specification)</td>
<td>Schreider 1717, based on Smith (Windsor) 1702-7</td>
<td>Smith 1699</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**GREAT** C - c'''
- Open Diapason
- Stopped Diapason
- Principal
- Twelfth
- Fifteenth
- Sesquialtera III
- Trumpet (treble - from c'?)

**CHAIRE** C - c'''
- Stopped Diapason
- Principal
- Flute
- Cremona

**ECHO** c' - c'''
- Open Diapason
- Principal
- Cornet (?II)
320 Burrows: *Dolben*, p. 66


323 Now at St. Peter-ad-Vincula, Tower of London.

See Freeman: *Whitehall* and Freeman/Rowntree: *Smith*, p. 38

324 The Finedon organ has been fitted with tuning slides, but the large pipes in the case front do not seem to have been altered dramatically. (The largest case pipe is C) The present tuning of the organ is about a quarter of a tone sharp; it agreed well with a Royal Society of Arts tuning fork (A 446) when I visited Finedon in 1978.
The relevance of the Banqueting House organ as a comparison needs no further explanation: the relative values given in the 1704 report, quoted above, suggest that the Chapel Royal organ was about half the size of the Whitehall one. I have included the Finedon organ as well because it represents an instrument built in the same style as the other two and of an intermediate size: I have speculated elsewhere that it might actually be a rebuild of Smith’s Windsor organ.320 The three-tower case of this organ is very similar in pattern to that of the Chapel Royal organ, as far as the latter can be discerned from Plate 2.321

In 1880 Alexander Ellis examined Smith’s Chapel Royal organ in its later home at Mercer’s Hall.322 Ellis measured the original pitch of the organ at A 474.1 and his inspection confirmed the change of pitch to which the organ had been subjected a century before, involving the shifting of the pipes by a semitone. Unfortunately, the comparable organs from the Banqueting House323 and at Finedon have both been subjected to alterations which make it impossible to be certain of their original pitch.324

The composition of the Great Sesquialtera at Finedon is worth recording because it may exemplify Smith’s normal scheme, though the break in the treble may have been shifted in the nineteenth century when the range of the manual was extended to f‴.

**Composition of Sesquialtera**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>C</th>
<th>c'</th>
<th>C'</th>
<th>F'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Octave</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

326 Or, occasionally, as the Queen Dowager's Chapel. Catherine of Braganza remained in residence in London until 1692 before returning to Portugal (Boyce: *Annae (Annales)*, iv, p. 219

327 Sheppard: *Memorials*, ii, p. 246
The French (or Queen's) Chapel, St. James's Palace

Music: Wedding Anthem *This is the Day* (1734)

Scoring: 2 Trumpets, 2 Timpani, 2 Flutes, 2 Oboes,
Bassoons, Strings, Organ continuo.

**Physical characteristics of Building and Performing Area:**

The building was generally known as the French Chapel during the first half of the eighteenth century. It was built in 1623-6 under the direction of Inigo Jones as a Chapel for the use of King Charles I's Roman Catholic wife, and was again used for Roman Catholic services after 1660 for Charles II's Queen, Catherine of Braganza, who may have retained some association with it even after the opening of her personal chapel at Somerset House in 1671. On the death of Charles II the use of the Queen's Chapel at St. James's, again for Roman Catholic services, passed to Mary of Modena, James II's queen. Roman Catholic services ceased there after the departure of James II, though the building was still sometimes referred to as the Queen's Chapel. Under William III and Anne the chapel became the home of the Royal Dutch and French (Protestant) Chapels, provided for foreign nationals who originally came to England in William's service. A completely separate smaller building was put into use at St. James's Palace as a chapel for the use of German Protestants in the service of Prince George of Denmark, Queen Anne's Consort, and the associated establishment was naturally taken over and maintained by the Hanoverians for their own German servants. In 1781 the French/Dutch and German Chapels arranged to exchange buildings, so the building described normally as the 'French' Chapel during Handel's time was known, confusingly, as the 'German' Chapel in the nineteenth century.

The area around the Chapel suffered as the result of a fire
329 Direct comparison may be made between Plate 3 and the modern photograph of the Chapel in Plumb & Weldon:

Royal Heritage, p. 111.

330 It is perhaps necessary to stress that the colours given to the reproduction of Plate 3 on the record sleeve of Argo ZRG 855 are not a feature of the only known copy of this engraving.
The French Chapel, St. James's Palace, c. 1685. Engraving by Jan Kip
in 1609, but the building itself remains in its essential features as it was in the seventeenth century: even the original panelling survived the fire, thanks to the Chapel’s 5-6 feet thick walls. Inigo Jones’ brief for the design of the Chapel was that it had to be ‘of equal bigness with that of the Princes at St. James’s House’. 328 The French Chapel is, in fact, slightly longer than the Chapel Royal and, thanks to its more regular ground plan, wider through most of its length. The intention behind Jones’ instruction was no doubt simply that the two Chapels should be of comparable size. An engraving by Jan Kip of the Chapel viewed from the West end during its period of use for Roman Catholic services, presumably during the 1680’s, shows a building which is structurally identical with the present one: the doors, windows and main features are in identical positions, and the extent of the panelling next to the altar confirms that the altar screen was in the same place as it is today. 329 (See Plate 3). The lavish decorations of pictures (tapestries?) and statuary shown in Kip’s picture were removed in the 1690’s. 330 Otherwise the empty Chapel, pewless but panelled, stood unchanged for forty years, as is confirmed by the plans of the 1729 survey (Plans 7a and 7b). The Chapel has a large gallery at the West end containing the Royal Pew or Closet, though this, naturally, was never occupied by the monarch under normal circumstances in the eighteenth century, since this was not the principal household chapel.

The marriage of King George II’s eldest daughter was a special court occasion, much more lavishly treated than the other two royal weddings of the same period. Extensive alterations were made at St. James’s Palace, including the construction of large galleries outside the Chapel for the wedding pro-
Places in these galleries were allocated to official guests, for only a limited number of those with a right to attend the wedding could be accommodated in the Chapel.

Previously reproduced in Sheppard: Memorials, ii, facing p. 69, from the copy in the Royal Collection, now at the British Library. The picture carries the following dedicatory caption:

Gulielmus Kent Decoravit et Delineavit J. Rigaud Sculpt
Georgio II d Mag Brit Franc & Hibor Regi
Martias Ceremoniales inter Annam Mag Brit
Principissae Regalae et Gulielmus Principem
Arausionensis habitas in Capella Regia Sti
Jacobi apud Londiniun Martis 14° An:° 1733
Devotissime et obligatissimus servus
Gul Kent Humillime offert
dicat, dedicatque.

Hogarth had originally been invited to produce the commemorative picture (WEP November 13-15, 1733)

The gallery is 8' deep at its outer extremities, and about 4' deep in the middle. It is clear from the picture that the first level of the musicians' gallery was built up by taking a platform across the shallower middle section, above the communion table area.
First Floor

Ground Floor

PLAN 7

The French Chapel, St. James's Palace, from Flitcroft's Survey, 1729.
(Plates 3 and 4 show the Chapel viewed towards the left hand side of these plans)
PLATE 4

The Wedding of Anne, Princess Royal, and the Prince of Orange in the French Chapel, St. James's Palace, 14-3-1733/4. Engraving by William Kent
cessions. Inside the Chapel the alterations involved removing the main furnishings, constructing extra galleries and decorating the interior. The scene at the wedding was recorded by William Kent in astounding detail which was reproduced, as far as the chisel would allow, in Rigaud's etching. (Plate 4)

It shows that the main decoration of the Chapel was in the form of drapes and carpets, which would have deadened almost all of the Chapel's normal reverberation. It also shows the additional galleries built for the occasion and, most important of all, the musicians' gallery at the East end above the altar. (Plate 5). The altar screen and the walls adjoining are draped, obscuring the panelling; nevertheless, the distance from the screen to the windows on the north and south walls appears to be the same as in Plate 3, as in Plan 7 and as it is today, so there is no reason to suppose that the screen was moved for the Wedding.

Assuming that the screen remained in its original position, the arrangement of the galleries for the musicians appears, at first sight, highly improbable. The main gallery is about 8 feet deep, which does not seem to allow space either for the number of performers shown on the picture or for staircase access to the higher levels. Many temporary structures were specially constructed for this wedding, including all of the upper galleries for the musicians, and the absence of regular services in the French Chapel gave the Surveyor of the Works the freedom to adapt the building considerably. I think it very likely that the windows at the East end were removed completely and that the upper galleries were built up with access from the rear. The window openings themselves would have added about 5 feet to the depth of the main galleries. This would have enabled sufficient performers to have a place within the Chapel, though
334 The picture of an operatic scene, reproduced
Deutsch: Handel, Plate 9, and elsewhere in various
versions, shows only the singers. It is doubtful
if the picture reproduced and described in Ceci:
Handel and Walpole, p. 18-19, is of one of
Handel's own performances.

335 It is doubtful whether this was the case for the
Wedding celebrations in 1736 and 1740. Eygont's
report of the 1736 Wedding (Deutsch: Handel, p. 405)
almost suggests that only a handful of performers
were involved on that occasion.

336 See supra, Note 239.
hardly in comfortable circumstances. They are obviously packed closely together and their vertical distribution, with the topmost group about 20' above the main gallery (and about 30' above ground level) must have posed considerable communication problems.

Probable size and composition of Handel's performing group:

The importance of Kent's picture hardly needs further emphasis. It is the only known overall view of one of Handel's own performances of concerted music. In spite of the smallness of the figures, most of the musical activity is identifiable. A key to the performers shown on the picture is given in Table 4. Some more musicians, about 15 at the most, are hidden from sight by the chandelier, and this brings the total performing strength to about 75. Some 25 of these were additional performers, and this leaves 50 'regular' musicians to be accounted for. It seems that for this particular Wedding a 'full' turnout of the Musicians and Gentlemen was the order of the day:

Chapel Royal: c. 30 performers (Priests, Gentlemen, Violist, Lutenist) in addition to the boys.

Musicians: c. 20 string players.

As far as one can see from the picture, the additional singers did not include any sopranos. The absence of timpani from the picture is noteworthy. The drums might have been hidden by the chandelier, but it is more likely that they were not included in the orchestra.

Unfortunately, the surviving performing parts for Boyce's comparable Wedding Anthem for King George III (performed 8 September 1761) do not provide any retrospective assistance in assessing the balance of the parts. Coincidentally, the surviving parts are adequate for about 70 performers, but the set must be
Supplement Table 4

The Wedding of Princess Anne, 1734:

Key to Kent's picture of the Musicians' Galleries

Upper Gallery

7
inc. 1 wind (?Ob.), 1 Vn/Va, 1 Boy

Side Gallery

?4

Side Gallery

?4
inc. 1 Vc

Organ

Organ

Second Gallery

6 6 6
inc. 1 Vc, 2 ?Ob inc. 1 Vc inc. 1 Vn/Va, 2 Tpts.

Main Gallery

8 6 4 8
2 Ob, 1 Keybd, 3 Singers, inc. 1 Boy inc. 1 Fl, 3 Vn/Va, 2 Boys
2 Vn/Va, 3 Boys
3 Singers

Total number of performers: 61

Identifiable performers:

1 Flute, 23 Oboes, 2 Trumpets, 7 Violins/Violas,
3 'cellos, 2 Double Basses, 1 Keyboard.
8 Singers, 7 Boys.
The surviving parts tally with the list (made at the time of the sale of Byss's music) on the Organ part, MS Mus. Sch. c.117c. There are 12 Violin parts but only four Treble parts.

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No organist is listed in the Establishment of the French and Dutch Chapels.

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The 1734 wedding followed closely after Handel's visit to Oxford, in the course of which he may have encountered a Claviorganum (Dean: Cratorios, p. 110), but the complexities of the arrangements in the musicians' galleries probably precluded the use of anything so complicated.
seriously depleted, and the payments for the 1761 Wedding reveal that about three times as many additional performers were hired as in 1734. Furthermore, the Wedding of 1761 did not take place in the French Chapel but in the Chapel Royal.

**Organ:** The organ shown in Plate 3 was given to St. Anne's Church, Soho, in 1699 and no organ replaced it, presumably because the French and Dutch congregations managed without. Nothing is known about the special organ which Knoppell provided for the 1734 Wedding, but we may guess from the payment he received that it was quite small, as it would need to have been in the cramped spaces of the gallery. In Plate 5 it is by no means clear whether the organ is represented by the pattern on the right or left of the picture. Uncertainty also attaches to the keyboard player in the picture: he may be playing a harpsichord, but it seems much more likely that his keyboard is connected to the organ. It is not impossible that the player was Handel himself. Very little is known of Knoppell: presumably he was the organ builder of that name who was responsible for alterations to the Smith organs at Canterbury Cathedral in 1713 and St. James's, Garlickhithe in 1718. The 1734 Wedding Anthem was the only Chapel Royal work of Handel's which did not employ an organ from the Smith/Schreider stable at the first performance. As Schreider was the Royal Organ Builder this seems rather strange. Perhaps Knoppell was a Dutchman and had some influence with the bridegroom, the Prince of Orange.
The practical observations in this section are made on the experience of two Handel performances which I attended at St. Lawrence's in June 1977 and June 1978, sitting in the pews on the first occasion and in one of the Duke's galleries on the second.
PLAN 8

St. Lawrence’s Church, Whitchurch (Cannons Park), Stanmore, Middlesex
During the period in which Handel was associated with him, James Brydges was one of the richest men in England. The building of the large house at Cannons and the rebuilding of the adjacent parish church were examples of conspicuous consumption, a demonstration to the world of the possession of wealth and power. It is perhaps hardly surprising that the church was rebuilt to the same plan as a chapel royal, with first floor box closets for Brydges and his family at the West end. The church of St. Lawrence, as rebuilt, was comparable in size to the French Chapel at St. James's: of similar length and breadth, but with a lower roof and furnished with pews. The walls are decorated with paintings, which form good reflective surfaces. The ceiling is not continuous, the area at the East end having a higher and flatter ceiling than the Nave. Assuming, as seems probable, that the musicians were located with the organ at the East end of St. Lawrence's, they would almost have been in a separate acoustic room of their own. (See Plan 8). This would suit the chamber group which performed the Chandos Anthems quite nicely: the singers and players would have been able to hear each other clearly, thanks to the partial screening from the Nave. Nearly all of this performing space is now taken up with a large organ, but at modern performances solo singers located at the Nave end of the eastern area can be heard clearly throughout the church without having to force the volume. There is a pleasing 'bloom' to the sound, but it dies quickly and there are no noticeable echoes. Performances of orchestrally-accompanied music employing large choral forces are rather overpowering in this building: performances of the Chandos Anthems in a 'cathedral' type acoustic generally confirm that Handel's Chandos music is not
A good demonstration of this lies in the deceptively

effect of the reverberation on No. 6 of Chando's Anthem
10, in the otherwise excellent Argo recording ZRG 541.

Based on the information from the Cannons Receipt Book
Stowe MS 57, interpreted with some help from Graydon
Books. There are no surviving documents in the
Stowe collection which provide similar information
about the period immediately before June 1716.

The Cansnon and the Double Bass are named on eight and
six Chando Anhems autographs, respectively.

The autograph of his 'Artifex' The Lord of Light is
headed 'Cannons 1717' (Cf., MS 177). I have identi-
fied two similar Cannons works by Haym: see Barrows:

\textit{Unattributed Anthems. Stowe ST 37 records payments
to Haym up to Michaelmas 1716.}

\textbf{350} See Chapter 6, Note '43

\textbf{351} \textit{Stowe ST 44}, Part 1, p. 28

Rowe, named on the autographs of the Chando Te Deum
and \textit{Acis and Galatea}, does not appear in any of the
surviving Cannons accounts and lists. He is presumab-
ly to be identified with Francis Rowe, Chapel Royal
Gentleman 65.

\textbf{353} I owe this suggestion to Graydon Becks.
suited to reverberant buildings. These circumstances provide a twofold demonstration of the match between Handel's music, his performing forces and the building.

All of Handel's Chandos Anthems and Canticles were probably composed in the years 1717–8. The musical establishment at Cannons in Jun 1713 stood as follows:

- 3-4 Violins; 1 'Cello, possibly 2 on occasion.
- 2 Oboes (presumably doubling recorders), Trumpet
- 2 Trebles, 3 Tenors, 1 Bass

Handel's Chandos Music also demands a Double Bass and a Bassoon. Of the soloists named in Handel's Cannons autographs, Blackley appears in the accounts but Rowe does not. Handel presumably directed the performances of his music himself from the organ. Haym, who was still the Duke's resident Composer in 1717 presumably played the 'Cello for Handel and may have been in charge of the other musicians. Haym and Handel both appear to have left the musical life of Cannons in 1718.

Their place was eventually taken by Pepusch, who was appointed Composer/Musical Director in 1719. The Duke's musical establishment had probably expanded gradually since 1716, and this trend continued for a time. Among those who entered the Duke's service were several associated with the music of the Chapel Royal. In the 'List of His Grace the Duke of Chandos's Family at New Years Day 1720/1, we find Chapel Royal Gentlemen Gethin and Bell sharing the 'Counter Tenor' place and William Perry as one of the Basses. George Angell, employed as a Double Bass player for Chapel Royal services in the 1720's, is named as the Cannons 'Cellist. Handel's Utrecht Te Deum and Jubilate may have been performed (under Pepusch's direction) at the opening of the Cannons house chapel in 1720 with forces
which included these musicians and, perhaps, a few Chapel Royal 'extras'. During the 1720's the Duke's musical establishment declined as quickly as it had grown at the end of the previous decade, cutbacks probably being forced on the Duke as a result of his losses on South Sea and Mississippi Stock. Of the Chapel Royal Gentlemen, only Perry had some connection with Cannons after 1721: he was paid in 1725 for 'his performances (in singing) at Cannons'.

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354
355 See Chapter 4, and in particular the reference at Note 11.

356 Letter, Mrs. Fendarves to Mrs. Granville [November 1729], Delany: *Autobiography*, i, p. 223. The established tradition of public rehearsals was put to good use by the Sons of the Clergy at St. Paul's, who made a collection at the rehearsals for their annual Festival Service.
SECTION 4: Arrangements for Rehearsals and Performances

Two or three rehearsals seems to have been the normal allocation for orchestrally-accompanied Chapel Royal music in the period under review. Political events, such as the protraction of the peace negotiations or delays in the timetable for the King's return to England, could force substantial alterations to rehearsal schedules. Frequently, as with the Utrecht service, it paid Handel to be ahead of events: only in 1737 was he apparently taken by surprise, along with the best-informed people at Court, with the result that the Funeral Anthem for Queen Caroline had to be prepared within a fortnight. On the other hand, Maurice Greene appears to have been the loser by his over-preparation in 1733: his Wedding Anthem for the Prince of Orange was composed well in advance of the expected wedding day, only to be displaced by Handel's music.

Payment was apparently expected of the audience at one rehearsal of the Utrecht music, perhaps as a form of self-protection for the performers since it is doubtful whether, at that stage, Handel's music had received official blessing from the Court. In the case of Handel's later Chapel Royal music it is unlikely that there was any charge for the rehearsals: the fees for additional performers were calculated on the basis of the rehearsals attended as well as the performance, and presumably attendance at rehearsals was one of the routine duties of the King's Musicians. There is no doubt that public rehearsals were often regarded as important social events: they were reported as such by the newspapers and Mrs. Pendarves made reference to a rehearsal of one of Greene's anthems with an obvious sense of 'occasion'.

Not all of the rehearsals for Court services took place at
The keyboard players' parts from the Aylesford Collection, which gave voice parts as well as the bass line in solo movements, have a format which would have been perfectly adequate for individual rehearsals.
the site of the performance. The music for the larger services—Thanksgivings, Weddings and Funerals—often had to be rehearsed elsewhere, usually because temporary building operations put the main site out of commission until the day of performance. The Banqueting House Chapel, Whitehall, was a useful stand-by building for off-site rehearsals: Handel's first public rehearsals for the Utrecht service were held there. The Funeral Anthem for Queen Caroline was rehearsed in the French Chapel: Schreider was paid for the full cost of putting up an organ for the rehearsal, taking it down again and re-assembling it at Westminster Abbey. Not only did the rehearsals receive financial backing of this sort from the Court, but the Royal Family themselves supported some of them with their presence.

There is no evidence that Handel held separate rehearsals with his Chapel Royal soloists, as certainly happened with his operas. Soloists' rehearsals may have taken place, but we need not necessarily assume that they did. The demands on the Chapel Royal men were different from those placed on Handel's opera soloists: the Chapel men did not have to act, they probably did not have to memorise their parts, and their church music was on a much smaller time-scale than an opera. If necessary, the Chapel soloists could have arranged their own rehearsals with continuo players. A high standard of musical literacy can in any case be assumed for the best of the Gentlemen. The nature of some of the complaints in Gibson's Rules for the Chapel in 1726 suggests that, in the normal course of events, the men put great reliance on their powers of sight-reading.

Plates 1 and 5 give a good idea of the conditions under which the musicians performed at the larger court services. Fortunately, in both cases the artists seem to have provided
360 See Harley: Court Music, p. 339, Note 47
an accurate representation of the musicians' galleries, as far as technical limitations would allow. One rather startling feature common to both pictures is that there is no sign of 'block' arrangements among the performers: singers and instrumentalists are mixed up together with no apparent system governing the layout. As a result, people playing or singing the same part must have been relatively dispersed. Probably soloists and continuo players were grouped together as far as possible: in Plate 1 the Lute players are not too far from the Organist. No doubt the leading Violinist had a conspicuous place. In Plate 5, although the violinists are not all together, there is some concentration of this section in the lower galleries: the Double Basses, as we would expect, are shown well to the side where they would not obscure other people's sight lines. Sight lines must have placed particular constraints on the placing of the Boys and other practical considerations, such as bowing room for the string players, probably limited the flexibility of the arrangements. Institutional pressures may also have influenced the layout, places being allocated according to seniority. We do not know exactly how each movement was started, but the gallery arrangements for the larger services would not have allowed all of the performers to see some sort of conductor.

Court conventions influenced some practical matters. All musicians at Court were expected to face the monarch and, with the exception of the keyboard players shown in profile in Plate 5, this is how they appear on the pictures. Convention also forbade sitting in the presence of the monarch; this probably coincided with practical needs in any case, since space was at a premium in the crowded galleries. From Plate 1, which gives better detail on this matter than Plate 5, it appears that all of
361 P.R.O. LC2/32 includes several documents relating to Boyce's abortive attempt to alter the traditional arrangements for the performers in time for the 1761 Coronation, demonstrating the reluctance of those in charge of major ceremonies to make extra provision for the musicians.

362 The services celebrating the King's return fall into this category.
the musicians are indeed standing, though 'cellists and lute
players may have found various ways of cheating the system.

It would not have been possible for the performers to memor-
ise their music on two rehearsals, nor have I found any evidence
that this was demanded for Court occasions. It is true that
hardly any music stands are visible in Plate 1, but many of the
players are looking downwards, presumably at music which is hid-
den by the edge of the gallery. In Plate 5 the detail is so
small that it is difficult to be certain on this matter, but some
at least of the singers appear to be holding music. In neither
picture, of course, can we assume that the artist was showing
the scene during the performance of the music: in the case of
Plate 5 the marriage itself is shown, and the musicians did not
perform until the end of the service. In other pictures of Court
services the performers' music is clearly visible: Sandford's
pictures of the 1685 Coronation, for example, show all of the
Westminster Abbey choir holding their music.

The exact arrangement of the performers was controlled by
the facilities of individual buildings, as described in Section
3. For the bigger occasions the musicians had to make the best
of the places to which they were allocated: the leading Music-
ians and Chapel Royal authorities may have had some say in the
arrangement of the galleries, but mostly this was out of their
hands.361 For the smaller services in the Chapel Royal, 362
there was no specialised accommodation for the orchestra and the
instrumentalists must have been squashed into any unoccupied
corners.

Behind all other factors, however, the force of precedent
must always be considered. Experience gained in the seating ar-
rangements for one service was naturally put to good use on sub-
sequent occasions. Although Handel was responsible for a few innovations in the music of services involving the Chapel Royal, these services must still be seen primarily in relation to previous events of the same type - the Utrecht service in relation to previous Thanksgivings, the 1727 Coronation in relation to previous Coronations, and the Chapel Royal services of 1722-1726 in relation to the similar ones for which Croft and Greene had provided the music. Precedent controlled the availability of performing forces as well as the arrangement of these forces in the performance: if the King's Musicians were called upon to accompany the Chapel Royal on one occasion, their participation could be expected on the next similar occasion, and if additional performers were paid for one service, this set a precedent for the future.
363 See Ellis & Mendel: *Musical Pitch*, p. 37

364 ibid., p. 222, Note 79

365 ibid., p. 219-220

366 A single Basso continuo part for *Alexander's Feast* (Hcm MS 900) is the only surviving orchestral part from any of Handel's performances.
Performance are ephemeral if they can not be recorded: musical instruments are subject to alteration and decay. Although the pitch level used for any of Handel's performances is, like his choice of tempi, largely irrecoverable, there is a certain amount of factual evidence in connection with the Chapel Royal music which needs to be considered. One piece of evidence which need not detain us is that of the so-called 'Handel' tuning fork: although its pitch (A 422.5 c.p.s.) is around that now naively designated 'Baroque pitch' the pedigree of the fork is not such as to inspire confidence in its authenticity. Even if it was authentic and unaltered by time and circumstance, there is some doubt as to whether the pitch used by Handel in 1751 has any relevance to the earlier periods of his church music. The notion of a simple 'Baroque pitch' is based largely on the characteristics of surviving wind instruments, which seem to show a general measure of agreement. Orchestral instruments can adjust to a certain extent to different pitches, but there is a practical upper limit, and in the case of most early eighteenth century woodwind instruments, this seems to be about A 430. On the other hand, there is ample evidence of wide difference in pitches from place to place and even between different churches in the same town, as for example in the Hamburg which Handel knew. The original performing parts for J.S. Bach's cantatas and passions reveal that at some stages he had to contend with as many as three different pitches, organ, strings and woodwind each having their 'own' pitch and the problem being resolved in practice by transposition in the parts. Unfortunately performing material of this sort does not survive for Handel's music. His Chapel Royal scores include one transposition instruction, which will
367 Ellis & Mendal: *Musical Pitch*, p. 48-9, 52

368 British Library RL 27.a.1-15: see Laurie: *Part-Books*, p. 35-41

369 The possibility that the Organist transposed his part at sight seems to me to be a very remote one: it would have been more practical to transpose the parts as they were copied, or compose the music in a more useable key, than to rely on the continued diligence of the Organist. With anything other than an equally-tempered instrument, the effects of a semitone transposition of the organ part would have been rather unpleasant.

370 Croft's *I waited patiently*, for example, appears in G major in the Organ Book RL. 27.c.15: compare the original in A major in RL. 27.a.13.
be considered below.

The best sources of evidence for the pitch level of Handel's performances of English church music are the organs. Ellis' exhaustive examination of organ pitches led him to the conclusion that the Smith organs at St. James's Palace and the Chapel of Whitehall Palace, and the Schreider 'Coronation' organ at Westminster Abbey, were all originally constructed at a very sharp pitch - A 474.1 c.p.s., more than a semitone above modern concert pitch.\textsuperscript{367} When the organs at St. James's Palace, St. Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey were subjected to major overhauls in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries their pitch was lowered by a semitone or more, a circumstance which supports the other evidence for the high original pitch of these organs. There is, furthermore, good reason to believe that the Chapel Royal performed at the high pitch given by the organ. The earliest surviving set of Chapel Royal Part-books from St. James's Palace, compiled mainly by John Church during the first two decades of the eighteenth century,\textsuperscript{368} includes part-books for Organ, 'Cello and Lute as well as the normal voice parts. Unlike Bach's instrumental parts, these contain no transpositions,\textsuperscript{369} and it appears that Organ, Lute, 'Cello and Voices all performed at the same notated pitch. Only in some later Chapel Royal parts, dating from the period after 1750, do we find occasional evidence which points to the separate downward transposition of the organ part.\textsuperscript{370}

The established habits of the Chapel Royal therefore seem to point to a sharp pitch, and there is a strong probability that the same applied to the other two major London choirs as well. The Chapel Royal Lutenist and Violist might have used special instruments adapted to sharp pitch when performing in the Chapel
371. This applies to all of the services during the period 1760-1726.

372. A difference of a tone or more would have been well within the tolerance of good gut strings: see Abbott & Segerman: Strings. Re-tuning of this sort would have altered the relationship between the strings and the instruments' natural resonances. It is possible that there was a separate set of 'Chapel Violins', in just the same way that there were separate 'Chapel' instruments later on for the Lutenist and Violist. The trumpets would have been able to match a sharp pitch with the use of suitable crooks: the highest pitch of the natural 'D' trumpets was probably about modern E flat (see Baines: Talbot, p. 20).

373. Information in this section is based on the music texts as printed in the Purcell Society's edition, checked where possible against the best manuscript sources.
Royal, but greater problems must have arisen when an instrumental group of any size participated in Chapel Royal services. The specially-constructed temporary organs for some later services may have been at the contemporary 'orchestral' pitch, and the impracticability of using the permanent organs with a large orchestra may have been a contributory reason for their existence.

For many of the smaller celebrations in St. James's Palace the documentary records make no mention of an organ and it is doubtful whether a special one was provided. The smaller the instrumental group, the more likely it is that the performers would have been able to cope with the sharp pitch of the Chapel Royal organ.

A look backwards to Purcell's anthems is not inappropriate at this point. His instrumentally-accompanied anthems for the Chapel Royal were performed with a small group of strings, and, with the exception of the D major Te Deum and Jubilate, he never added any wind instruments to his church music. No woodwind instruments appear in the scores, although they were used for other contemporary Court performances, such as the Odes, which took place in secular buildings. It may well be that even in Purcell's time, there was a sharp 'Chapel' pitch, presumably related to Smith's organ in the Whitehall Chapel, which the wind instruments were unable to match. The difference in pitch was not such an insuperable problem for the string instruments.

The ranges of the vocal bass parts in Purcell's scores seem to bear out the possibility of different pitch levels. The Welcome Songs from the 1680's, accompanied by strings with the occasional addition of recorders, regularly take the bass parts down to D, but the Odes from the 1690's, accompanied by an orchestra which generally included trumpets and oboes, never demanded anything below F of the basses. However, in his last dated anthem
One work from the 1660's, the Weldon Song Swifter, Isis, included oboes in the orchestra; it may be significant that the lowest vocal bass note in this work is E, rather than the more general D. If my speculations on pitch are correct, the trumpets had no difficulty in adjusting to 'sharp' pitch.

When re-arranging and re-composing from a Chapel Royal work to a Chandos one, Handel generally kept to the original pitch level: O Sing unto the Lord (Anthem 4A) and the Utrecht Jubilate both remained in their original keys for the Cannons versions. Practical problems which might have arisen as the result of a drop in 'real' pitch were, however, mainly avoided in Handel's re-arrangement of the vocal parts. The one transposed movement, 'Let the whole earth' (Anthem 4A/Anthem 4) was transposed up from D major to F major for Cannons, again suggesting a higher Chapel Royal pitch.
The way of God is an undefiled way, composed in 1694 and thus contemporary with the later Odes, Purcell took the bass soloist down to D, so the absence of comparable low notes in the later Odes can not be explained by the absence of a suitable bass soloist. It seems that the addition of oboes to the orchestra had a general effect of pulling the pitch down during the 1690's, but that the Chapel Royal, tied to the sharp pitch of its organ and its own group of instrumentalists, failed to join the general trend.

The group of works which Handel wrote for the Chapel Royal in the early 1720's contains internal evidence that a high 'Chapel' pitch was still in operation. Each of these works includes music which was revised from earlier 'Chandos' material, composed for performance at St. Lawrence's Church, Cannons Park. In most cases the music was re-composed in a lower key for the Chapel Royal:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Cannons</th>
<th>Chapel Royal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>As Pains the Hart</td>
<td>e minor</td>
<td>d minor (N.B. the other Chapel Royal versions, C6 &amp; C8, are also in d minor.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I will magnifie Thee</td>
<td>A major</td>
<td>A major (N.B some early sources, though not Handel's autograph, are in G major).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Let God arise</td>
<td>B♭ major</td>
<td>A major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Deum</td>
<td>B♭ major</td>
<td>A major</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The obvious implication of the transpositions is that the pitch in the Chapel was higher than at Cannons. This difference in pitch might explain the apparent absence of 'Tenors' in the Chandos music, and also explain why Gethin was a 'Tenor' at the Chapel Royal but a 'Counter Tenor' at Cannons. Performances of these Chapel Royal works at something like modern standard concert pitch
376 See Note 372, supra.

377 As already noted, transposition by a semitone would probably have posed problems of tuning, assuming that equal temperament was not used by Smith and Schreider.

378 'This movement must be transposed down one tone in all parts [but] down two tones in the organ part'.
I have assumed, for the purposes of translation, that 'thon' is the same as the modern 'tone', but this may not have been the case.
PLATE 6

The Autograph of Anthem 4A, showing the transposition instructions added by Handel at the start of No. 2
may be more 'authentic' than performances at A 422.

The orchestral musicians may have used separate instruments to accommodate the sharp pitch of the Chapel Royal: this is quite possible, since the string group involved in the services at St. James's Palace before 1727 was small. Only the solo woodwind players would have had to make significant or difficult adjustments, and with the right reeds and a little invention the players involved could almost certainly have found a way of bringing their instruments up to the right pitch. Even so, some downward transposition of the organ part might occasionally have been necessary for concerted performances. There is no doubt that the 'normal' Chapel Royal organ was used for the performances at St. James's prior to 1730.

Unfortunately, the single statement concerning pitch in Handel's Chapel Royal autographs, the composer's annotation to the second movement of Anthem 4A (c. 1714), does not provide much further enlightenment. Handel wrote:

\[ \text{Dieser vers wird einen thon tieffer transposiart in allen Partien. in dem Orgel Part 2 thon tieffer} \]

... (See Plate 6).

Although this implies that the organ was too sharp to be used at written pitch and that a transposed organ part was required, we do not know the reasons which prompted Handel to transpose the movement in question. The motive for the transposition is critical: two alternative hypotheses yield rather different results:

(1) The transposition may have been made for the benefit of the singer. No soloist's name appears on this movement. As it stands, the range of this movement \((a - c''')\) is just right for Hughes, but too high for Elford. If Handel had composed it with Hughes in mind but decided to re-allocate
380 As noted in Chapter 5, Handel at some stage had to replace the solo Flute by an Oboe in the Anthem's companion work, the <i>Caroline</i> Te Deum.

381 The interpretation of Handel's deletion is made difficult because he crossed out No. 3 as well as No. 2. If Handel really intended the removal of these movements, the resulting anthem would have been a poor thing indeed, lacking in variety and tonal contrast: if the deletions were a sign to the corrist, then it is difficult to explain the deletion of No. 3, unless it was simply a mistake on Handel's part.
it to Elford, then the transposition is explained and Handel's instruction can be taken at its face value. However, it is likely that that anthem was composed just before Elford's untimely death\(^37^9\) and in the circumstances we would expect a substitution of Hughes for Elford and not vice versa.

(2) The transposition instruction may have been the result of difficulties with the (Transverse) Flute. This is the only movement of the anthem to include a flute part. The original key of the aria (e minor) does not, as written, present difficulties for the Flute: the key indicated by Handel's transposition (d minor) is neither better nor worse in terms of difficulties of technique or intonation. It may well have happened, however, that at a rehearsal of the anthem, Handel was faced with a flautist whose instrument could not be made to cope with the high Chapel Royal pitch.\(^38^0\) In this case, the transposition instruction reflects Handel's attempt to deal with the situation by keeping the Flute part at written pitch, transposing all of the string parts down, and transposing the Organ part down even further. Handel ended up by crossing this movement out in the autograph: this might mean that in the end he gave up the struggle to reconcile the pitches and deleted the movement altogether, or it might have been Handel's way of reminding the copyist not to copy the movement at the pitch as given in the score.\(^38^1\)

If the second hypothesis is correct, Handel's annotation resulted from particular pitch problems arising from the instrumentation of this movement. The uniqueness of this transposition instruction is remarkable, and I am disposed to regard it as something of an oddity. It would certainly be rather unwise to draw
general conclusions from it, especially with regard to Handel's later Chapel Royal performances.
APPENDIX ONE

HANDEL'S ENGLISH CHURCH MUSIC

A. Summary of Repertoire

This is given overleaf.

B. Schedule of References

See p. 142b
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Scoring</th>
<th>Place of Performance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1712-3</td>
<td>Anthem 6C</td>
<td>S,AA, BB</td>
<td>(Chapel Royal, St. James's Palace)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Org. Viol(?Vc.) ?Lute</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1713</td>
<td>Utrecht Te Deum and Jubilate</td>
<td>2S,AA,T, BB, saatbb</td>
<td>St. Paul's Cathedral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2tpt,fl,2ob,str, bc, org</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1714</td>
<td>Caroline Te Deum and Anthem 4A</td>
<td>AA,T, BB, saatb</td>
<td>Chapel Royal, St. James's Palace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2tpt,fl, str, bc, org</td>
<td>(&amp; 2ob Anthem 4A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1717-8</td>
<td>Chandos Anthems 1-11</td>
<td>S,TT,B</td>
<td>St. Lawrence, Whitchurch (Cannons)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chandos Te Deum (B flat)</td>
<td>stttb (Max.)</td>
<td>St. Lawrence, Whitchurch (Cannons)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2rec.ob,fg,str (no va.),bc,org</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1722-6</td>
<td>Anthem 6D</td>
<td>S,AA, BB</td>
<td>(Chapel Royal, St. James's Palace)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>vc, org</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1722-6</td>
<td>Anthem 6B</td>
<td>S,AA,T, BB</td>
<td>(Chapel Royal, St. James's Palace)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ob, str, bc, org</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1722-6</td>
<td>Anthem 5B</td>
<td>A,T, B</td>
<td>(Chapel Royal, St. James's Palace)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ob, str, bc, (org)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1722-6</td>
<td>Anthem 11B and A major Te Deum</td>
<td>A,T, BB, saatbb</td>
<td>(Chapel Royal, St. James's Palace)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ob, fg, str, bc, org (&amp;fl TD)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1727</td>
<td>Coronation Anthems</td>
<td>(Chos.leaders) saatbb</td>
<td>Westminster Abbey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3tpt, timp.2ob,2fg,str(Vn@3),bc, org</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1734</td>
<td>Wedding Anthem A</td>
<td>S, A,T, B, saatbb</td>
<td>French Chapel, St. James's Palace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2tp , 7timp,2fl,2ob,fg,str, bc, org</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1736 Wedding Anthem B
\[S,A,T,B,\text{satb}\]
\[2\text{tpt, timp, 2ob, str, bc, org}\]
Chapel Royal, St. James's Palace

1737 Funeral Anthem
- \[ssatb\]
\[2ob, 2fg, str, bc, org\]
Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster Abbey

1740 Wedding Anthem -
See (2) below
Chapel Royal, St. James's Palace

1743 Dettingen Te Deum and Dettingen Anthem
\[2S,A,T,B,\text{ssatb}\]
\[3\text{tpt, timp, 2ob, fg, stgs, bc, org}\]
(vns @ 3 in TD)
Chapel Royal, St. James's Palace

1749 Peace Anthem
\[8,AA,?T,?B,\text{ssatb}\]
\[2\text{tpt, timp, fl, ob, fgs, str, bc, org}\]
Chapel Royal, St. James's Palace

Foundling Hospital
Anthem
\[2S,A,T,\text{satb}\]
\[2\text{tpt, timp, 2ob, str, bc, org}\]
Foundling Hospital Chapel

Revivals

1. Caroline Te Deum revived 1722-6, with one new movement (Alto & Flute).
   This version then revived again 1749.

2. 1740 Wedding Anthem - a conflation of movements from Wedding Anthems A & B.
   All three revivals performed in The Chapel Royal, St. James's Palace.

For the system of abbreviations used to indicate scoring, see Chapter 4, Table 1. Principal soloists are underlined.
B. Schedule of References

Individual works are identified by reference to the collected editions (HG, and HHA where available). As far as possible the numbering of movements from published editions has been followed, identified in each case as 'Reference Source'. Where 'D. Burrows' appears instead, I have adopted my own numbering.

Separate instrumental movements are described by the title 'Sinfonia', whether so entitled by the composer or not.

This list does not include 'Chandos Anthem 12' or Handel's three settings of Charles Wesley's hymns.

Works are arranged by period, following the repertoire outlined in Chapter One. Handel's secular Birthday Ode for Queen Anne, Eternal Source of Light Divine, is included at the end of the Church Music of the First Chapel Royal Period.

FIRST CHAPEL ROYAL PERIOD

Anthem 6C (HG vol. 34, p. 277; HHA III/4)
Reference source: HHA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Length</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>As pants the hart</td>
<td>55 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Tears are my daily food</td>
<td>55 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Now when I think thereupon</td>
<td>29 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>In the voice of praise of thanksgiving</td>
<td>29 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Why so full of grief?</td>
<td>77 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Put thy trust in God</td>
<td>44 bars</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Utrecht Te Deum (HG Vol. 31)
Reference source: ed. Watkins Shaw (Novello, Vocal score)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Length</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>We praise Thee, O God</td>
<td>101 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>To Thee all angels cry aloud</td>
<td>38 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>The glorious company of the Apostles</td>
<td>158 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>When Thou took'st upon Thee</td>
<td>66 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>We believe that Thou shalt come</td>
<td>29 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Day by day we magnify Thee</td>
<td>32 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>And we worship thy name</td>
<td>19 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Vouchsafe, O Lord</td>
<td>33 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>0 Lord, in Thee have I trusted</td>
<td>29 bars</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Utrecht Jubilate (HG Vol. 31)
Reference source: ed. W.T. Best (Novello, Vocal Score)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Length</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>O be joyful in the Lord</td>
<td>46 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Serve the Lord with gladness</td>
<td>58 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Be ye sure that the Lord he is God</td>
<td>39 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>O go your way into his gates with thanksgiving</td>
<td>162 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>For the Lord is gracious</td>
<td>50 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Glory be to the Father</td>
<td>48 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>As it was in the beginning</td>
<td>96 bars</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Caroline Te Deum (HG Vol. 37, p. 1)

Reference source: D. Burrows, partly based on ed. Hans-Ulrik Barfoed (Musikhøjskolens Forlag, full score)

No. 1 We praise Thee, O God  83 bars
No. 2 The glorious company of the Apostles  99 bars
No. 3 When Thou took'st upon Thee  101 bars
No. 4 Day by day we magnify Thee  25 bars
No. 5 Vouchsafe, O Lord Version 'A' (Accomp. recit) 18 bars
   Version 'B' (Aria)  28 bars
No. 6 O Lord, in Thee have I trusted  29 bars

Anthem 4A (HG Vol. 36, p. 219; HHA III/3)

Reference source: D. Burrows

No. 1 O sing unto the Lord  37 bars
No. 2 Sing unto the Lord and praise his name  47 bars
No. 3 The Lord is great  15 bars
No. 4 Glory and Worship are before him  88 bars
No. 5 O worship the Lord HG ending 'A'  33 bars
   HG ending 'B'  32 bars
No. 6 Let the Heav'n's rejoice  22 bars

Birthday Ode for Queen Anne - 'Eternal Source of Divine'
(HG Vol. 46A; HHA I/6)

Reference Source: HHA The movements are identified separately but the bars are numbered continuously; this arrangement is followed here.

No. 1 Eternal Source of Light Divine (bars. 1-38)
No. 2 The Day that gave great Anna birth (Solo and Chorus) (bars 39-100)
No. 3 Let all the winged Race (bars 101-201)
No. 4 Let Flocks and Herds (Alto or Soprano) (bars 202-262)
No. 5 Let rolling Streams their gladness show (bars 263-341)
No. 6 Kind Health descends on downy Wings (bars 342-371)
No. 7 The Day that gave great Anna birth (Duet and Chorus) (bars 372-429)
No. 8 Let Envy then conceal her Head (bars 430-549)
No. 9 United Nations shall combine (bars 550-624)
## CHANDOS ANTHEMS AND CANTICLES

### Anthem 6A (HG Vol. 34, p. 207; HHA III/4)

Reference source: HHA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Bars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sinfonia (2 movements)</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>As pants the Hart</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tears are my daily food</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Now when I think thereupon</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>In the voice of praise of thanksgiving</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Why so full of grief?</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Put thy trust in God</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Anthem 4 (HG Vol. 34, p. 109; HHA III/3)

Reference source: HHA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Bars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sinfonia (2 movements)</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>O sing unto the Lord</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Declare his honour</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>The waves of the sea</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>O worship the Lord</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Let the whole world stand in awe</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Let the heav'n's rejoice</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>For he cometh to judge the earth</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(No. 8 For he cometh to judge the earth - in HHA appendix)

### Anthem 7 (HG Vol. 35, p. 1; HHA III/5)

Reference source: HHA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sinfonia</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>My song shall be alway</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>For who is he?</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>God is very greatly to be fear'd</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>The heavens are thine</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Righteousness and equity</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Blessed is the people</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Thou art the glory of their strength</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Trio 'Thou rulest the raging of the sea' of dubious authenticity - in HHA Appendix)

### Anthem 11A (HG Vol. 35, p. 211; HHA III/6)

Reference source: HHA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Bars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sinfonia (2 movements)</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Let God arise</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Like as the smoak vanisheth</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Let the righteous be glad</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>O sing unto God</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Praised be the Lord</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>At thy rebuke, O God</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Blessed be God</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Anthem 1 (HG Vol. 34, p. 79; HHA III/3)
Reference source: HHA
No. 1 Sinfonia (2 movements) 86 bars
No. 2 Have mercy upon me 47 bars
No. 3 Wash me thoroughly 85 bars
No. 4 For I acknowledge my faults 8 bars
No. 5 Against Thee only have I sinned 27 bars
No. 6 Thou shalt make me hear of joy 55 bars
No. 7 Make me a clean heart, O God 33 bars
No. 8 Then shall I teach Thy ways 48 bars

Anthem 1 (HG Vol. 34, p. 1; HHA III/3) (= Jubilate)
Reference source: HHA
No. 1 Sinfonia (2 movements) 51 bars
No. 2 O be joyful in the Lord 46 bars
No. 3 Serve the Lord with gladness 58 bars
No. 4 Be ye sure that the Lord he is God 39 bars
No. 5 O go your way into his gates 162 bars
No. 6 For the Lord is gracious 50 bars
No. 7 Glory be to the Father 48 bars
No. 8 As it was in the beginning 92 bars

Anthem 2 (HG Vol. 34, p. 37; HHA III/3)
Reference source: HHA
No. 1 Sinfonia (2 movements) 115 bars
No. 2 In the Lord put I my trust 154 bars
No. 3 God is a constant sure defence 54 bars
No. 4 Behold the wicked bend their bow 114 bars
No. 5 But God who hears the, suffering poor 37 bars
No. 6 Snares, fire and brimstone 42 bars
No. 7 The righteous Lord 69 bars
No. 8 Then shall my song 51 bars

Anthem 54 (HG Vol. 34, p.133; HHA III/4)
Reference source: HHA
No. 1 Sinfonia (2 movements) 79 bars
No. 2 I will magnifie Thee 46 bars
No. 3 Ev'ry day will I give thanks 118 bars
No. 4 One generation shall praise thy works 53 bars
No. 5 The Lord preserveth all them that love him 38 bars
No. 6 The Lord is righteous in all his ways 114 or 116 bars
No. 7 Happy are the people 132 bars
No. 8 My mouth shall speak the praise of the Lord 64 bars
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chandos Te Deum in B flat major (HG Vol. 37, p. 25)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reference source: ed. Barnby (Novello, Vocal score)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 1 We praise Thee, O God 53 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 2 All the earth doth worship Thee 123 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 3 The glorious company of the apostles 109 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 4 Thou art the King of Glory, O Christ 73 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 5 When Thou tookest upon Thee 83 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 6 When Thou hadst overcome 7 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 7 Thou didst open the kingdom of heaven 18 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 8 Thou sittest at the right hand of God 227 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 9 We believe that Thou shalt come 35 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 10 Day by day we magnify Thee 69 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 11 And we worship Thy name 42 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 12 Vouchsafe, O Lord 40 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 13 O Lord, in Thee have I trusted 256 bars</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anthem 8 (HG Vol. 35, p. 41; HHA III/5)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reference source: HHA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 1 Sinfonia (2 movements) 162 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 2 O come let us sing unto the Lord 83 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 3 O come, let us worship and fall down 104 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 4 Glory and worship are before him 49 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 5 Tell it out among the heathen 247 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 6 O magnify the Lord 56 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 7 The Lord preserveth the souls of the saints 49 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 8 For look, as high as the heaven is 30 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 9 There is sprung up a light 63 bars</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anthem 2 (HG Vol. 35, p. 98; HHA III/5)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reference source: HHA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 1 O praise the Lord with one consent 132 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 2 Praise him, all ye that in his house attend 117 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 3 For this our truest interest is 63 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 4 That God is great 108 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 5 With cheerful notes 102 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 6 God's tender mercy knows no bounds 79 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 7 Ye boundless realms of joy 63 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 8 Your voices raise 52 bars</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Anthem 10 (HG Vol. 35, p. 151; HHA III/5)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reference source: HHA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 1 Sinfonia (2 movements) 59 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 2 The Lord is my light 57 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 3 Though an host of men were laid against me 123 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 4 One thing have I desired of the Lord 43 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 5 I will offer in his dwelling 82 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 6 For who is God but the Lord? 36 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 7 They are brought down and fall'n 29 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 8 O praise the Lord with me 51 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 9 The Lord is my strength and my shield 51 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 10 It is the Lord that ruleth the sea 51 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 11 Sing praises unto the Lord 86 bars</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SECOND CHAPEL ROYAL PERIOD

Anthem 6D (HG Vol. 36, p.233; HHA III/4)
Reference source: HHA ("No.2a" added by D. Burrows)

- No. 1 As pants the Hart 52 bars
- No. 2 Tears are my daily food 44 bars
- No. 2a Now when I think thereupon 10 bars
- No. 3 In the voice of praise of thanksgiving 44 bars
- No. 4 Why so full of grief? 85 bars
- No. 5 Put thy trust in God 45 bars

Anthem 6B (HG Vol. 34, p.239; HHA III/4)
Reference source: D. Burrows

- No. 1 Sinfonia Version 'A' 1 movement: 52 bars
  Version 'B' 2 movements: 129 bars
- No. 2 As pants the hart 56 bars
- No. 3 Tears are my daily food 66 bars
- No. 4 Now when I think thereupon
  Version 'A' (Accomp. recit): 11 bars
  Version 'B' Recit. & Canto-Fermo: 36 bars
- No. 5 In the voice of praise of thanksgiving 36 bars
- No. 6 Why so full of grief? 99 bars
- No. 7 Put thy trust in God
  Version 'A' short ending: 44 bars
  Version 'B' with Alleluia: 108 bars

Anthem 5B (HG Vol. 34, p.169; HHA III/4)
Reference source: HHA

- No. 1 I will magnifie Thee 52 bars
- No. 2 O worship the Lord 63 bars
- No. 3 Glory and worship are before him 44 bars
- No. 4 Tell it out among the heathen 158 bars
- No. 5 Righteousness and equity 63 bars
- No. 6 My mouth shall speak the praise of the Lord 63 bars

A MAJOR Te Deum (HG Vol. 37, p. 109)
Reference source: D. Burrows

- No. 1 We praise Thee, O God 23 bars
- No. 2 To Thee all angels cry aloud 16 bars
- No. 3 To Thee Cherubim and Seraphim 16 bars
- No. 4 The glorious company of the Apostles 43 bars
- No. 5 When Thou tookest upon Thee 87 bars
- No. 6 We believe that Thou shalt come 62 bars
- No. 7 Vouchsafe, O Lord 59 bars
- No. 8 O Lord, in Thee have I trusted 30 bars

Anthem 11B (HG Vol. 35, p. 263; HHA III/6)
Reference source: HHA

- No. 1 Let God arise 103 bars
- No. 2 Like as the smoke vanisheth 102 bars
- No. 3 O sing unto the Lord 24 bars
- No. 4 Blessed be God 72 bars
Zadok the Priest:

No. 1 Zadok the Priest 30 bars
No. 2 And all the people rejoiced 32 bars
No. 3 God save the King 59 bars

The King shall rejoice:

No. 1 The King shall rejoice 74 bars
No. 2 Exceeding glad shall he be 115 bars
No. 3 Glory and great worship 7 bars
No. 4 Thou hast prevented him 94 bars
No. 5 Alleluja 71 bars

Let thy hand be strengthened:

No. 1 Let thy hand be strengthened 84 bars
No. 2 Let justice and judgment 78 bars
No. 3 Alleluja 52 bars

My heart is inditing:

No. 1 My heart is inditing 100 bars
No. 2 King's daughters 46 bars
No. 3 Upon thy right hand did stand the Queen 101 bars
No. 4 Kings shall be thy nursing fathers 73 bars
### Wedding Anthem 'A' (HG Vol. 36, p. 27)

**Reference Source:** D. Burrows

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>This is the day</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Blessed is the man</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>A good wife is a good portion</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Strength and honour are her clothing.</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>As the sun</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Her children arise up</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>We will remember thy name</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>We will remember thy name</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Alleluja, Amen</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Wedding Anthem 'B' (HG Vol. 36, p. 80)

**Reference Source:** ed. Steinitz (O. U. P., Vocal score)

<table>
<thead>
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<th>No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Bars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sing unto God</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Blessed are all they</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Thy wife shall be as the fruitful vine</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Lo, thus shall the man be blessed</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Blessed be the Lord God of Israel</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>And let all the people say</td>
<td>97</td>
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</table>

### Funeral Anthem for Queen Caroline (HG Vol. 11)

**Reference source:** ed. Watkins Shaw (Novello, Vocal score)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Bars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sinfonia</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>The ways of Zion do mourn</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>She put on righteousness</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>When the ear heard her</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>How are the mighty fall'n</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>She deliver'd the poor that cried</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>How are the mighty fall'n</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>The righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Their bodies are buried in peace</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>The People will tell of their wisdom</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>They shall receive a glorious kingdom</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>The merciful goodness of the Lord</td>
<td>50</td>
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</table>
**FOURTH CHAPEL ROYAL PERIOD**

**Dettingen Te Deum (HG Vol. 25)**

Reference source: ed. Walker (Bulenberg, miniature score)

No. 1 We praise Thee, O God . 196 bars  
No. 2 To Thee all angels cry aloud . 26 bars  
No. 3 To Thee Cherubim and Seraphim . 72 bars  
No. 4 The glorious company of the Apostles . 52 bars  
No. 5 Thou art the King of Glory, O Christ . 62 bars  
No. 6 When Thou tookest upon Thee . 118 bars  
No. 7 When Thou hadst overcome . 38 bars  
No. 8 Thou sittest at the right hand of God . 150 bars  
No. 9 Day by day we magnify Thee . 109 bars  
No. 10 Vouchsafe, O Lord . 18 bars  
No. 11 O Lord, in Thee have I trusted . 142 bars

**Dettingen Anthem (HG Vol. 36, p. 111)**

Reference source: D. Burrows

No. 1 The King shall rejoice in Thy strength . 54 bars  
No. 2 His honour is great . 146 bars  
No. 3 Thou shalt give him everlasting felicity . 106 bars  
No. 4 And why? . 89 bars  
No. 5 We will rejoice in Thy salvation . 48 bars

**Peace Anthem**


No. 1 How beautiful are the feet . 150 bars  
No. 2 Glory and worship are before Him . 44 bars  
No. 3 The Lord hath given strength unto his people . 208 bars  
No. 4 Blessing and Glory, Power and honour . 47 bars

**Foundling Hospital Anthem (HG Vol. 36, p. 154)**


No. 1 Blessed are they that considereth the poor (Tenor solo) . 88 bars  
No. 2 Blessed are they (Chorus) - They deliver the poor  
Version 'A' (Cantus firmus ending) . 104 bars  
Version 'B' (short ending) . 59 bars  
No. 3 O God, who from the suckling's mouth . 149 bars  
No. 4 The charitable shall be had in everlasting remembrance . 123 bars  
No. 5 Comfort them O Lord . 102 bars  
No. 6 The people will tell of their wisdom . 107 bars  
No. 7 Halleluja . 94 bars
APPENDIX TWO

HANDEL AND 'ENGLISH RELIGION'

It is difficult to assess the relationship between a composer's beliefs and his music, and it is rare that the two can be linked coherently. In Handel's case any assessment is inhibited by the almost complete lack of reliable evidence about the composer's religious convictions. The best source seems to be Hawkins:

In his religion he was of the Lutheran profession; in which he was not such a bigot as to decline a general conformity with that of the country which he had chosen for his residence; at the same time he entertained very serious notions touching its importance. These he would frequently express in his remarks on the constitution of the English government; and he would often speak of it as one of the great felicities of his life that he was settled in a country where no man suffers any molestation or inconvenience on account of his religious principles. This sounds a plausible enough sentiment to have come from a composer whose works encompassed Latin psalms for performance in Rome and settings of Charles Wesley's hymns.

In matters of religious practice Handel was in much the same position as the first two Hanoverian kings, who were obliged by law to conform to the Church of England. The Hanoverians do not seem to have experienced any difficulties in resolving their Lutheran upbringing with the demands of Anglicanism: this is in sharp contrast to the unresolved conflict between Roman Catholicism and Anglicanism which bedevilled James II's reign. James maintained a Roman Catholic Chapel, and the Hanoverians maintained a Lutheran German Chapel, but there was a great difference in the significance of these institutions. James worshipped in his Roman Catholic Chapel throughout his reign, at the expense of the Chapel Royal: the Hanoverians were content to take their places regularly at Anglican services in the Chapel Royal, leaving the German Chapel for their non-English visitors and servants. Like his Kings, Handel seems to have been perfectly at home with the Church of England.
It would be rather naive to suggest that an artist, and particularly a natural dramatist like Handel, always works within watertight theological statements: complete conviction on points of theological detail is not a necessary pre-condition for producing an effective and committed musical setting of a text. Bach's circumstances were no less ambiguous than Handel's: the weekly production of a new cantata in time for the next Sunday service would not have left much time to raise theological issues with the Leipzig city fathers. We may take it that both Bach and Handel were generally concordant with the prevailing theological background to their work, though not necessarily without reservations on points of detail. Whether or not Handel actually said, 'I have read my Bible very well, and shall choose for myself', he seems to have been sensitive to the textual arrangement of his anthems to an extent which suggests at least a knowledge and appreciation of the content of the scriptures.

The Anglican background to Handel's music has been described and investigated by Paul Henry Lang in his biography of the composer. Much of what Lang says is extremely perceptive, but some of his statements, such as, 'There can be no question that the Church of England in Handel's time was bereft of the spirit of any holy tradition', betray a strong subjective bias. In his description of the Church of England Lang gives the general impression that, in his opinion, it had ceased to be religious, but at no stage does he clarify what he intends by the connotation 'religious'. English religion in the eighteenth century, like any other 'religion', can best be described in terms of its own beliefs and practices. What follows is by way of a critical commentary on Lang's work, suggesting where his analysis needs to be modified in order to gain a better understanding of the Anglican tradition and a more accurate picture of the background to Handel's music. Two particular subjects raised by Lang provide convenient starting-points for a more general commentary.

1. The Relationship between Religion and Politics

Lang rightly draws attention to the national character of the Church of England, and I have given some attention to the
historical background to this in Chapter Two. The nature of the English Reformation made some ecclesiastical involvement with politics inevitable, and the path of English history in the seventeenth century served to reinforce this. It followed naturally that the characteristic philosophy of the Church of England, generated at the national centre, always tended towards the expression of a 'collective' sense as much as of a personal one. The relationship between religious and political institutions in England was not rigid, and indeed the topic was a controversial one in the early eighteenth century. The upper and lower houses of Convocation tended to divide along party lines, and it may be argued that the suspension of Convocation after the Bangorian Controversy occurred because it had become too political. The Court's attempt to influence the Universities by providing additional ecclesiastical patronage with the establishment of the Whitehall preachers was ineffective as a political measure: the Universities accepted the patronage but remained sceptical towards the Court party. To say that English religion 'was a system of organised life that under its theocratic exterior was essentially political' is an over-simplification. Certainly the Bishops were political figures, and many of them neglected their pastoral duties in order to keep up various political roles. It is also true that their attitudes were instinctively protective of the social order. Among the higher ranks of the metropolitan clergy, who were among the best-educated people in the country, some individuals were more interested in political activity than others: but the merest glance at any of their sermons will reveal that they were consistently disposed to take their Christian religion seriously. The 'London religion' centring on the Court did not, of course, reflect what went on elsewhere, but many of its practitioners clearly regarded it as a model which should be followed by the rest of the country. It is easy to see the political aspects of the English ecclesiastical system, but that need not in itself prevent it from being 'religious'. The biographies of such men as William Wake and Edmund Gibson do not lead us to the conclusion that their lives were governed mainly by political considerations, even though they were at the centre of political activity.
2. The emphasis on the Old Testament

Two important factors deserve consideration. Firstly, it was natural that in the Anglican liturgies created after the Reformation the Psalms became the most appropriate focus for musical treatment, and such was the poetic and dramatic content of the Psalms that this was quickly discovered to be a positive advantage. Musical reliance on Psalm texts was not a circumstance unique to England: Handel's major contribution to church music in Italy had been in settings of psalm texts. To draw conclusions from the fact that English composers set so few New Testament texts is to miss the point that there were so few texts from that source which had comparable musical possibilities, particularly when collective utterances suitable for choral treatment were required.

Secondly, the New Testament says comparatively little about government and kingship. It was inevitable that at the English Court, where religion and politics met, appropriate biblical texts on these subjects would be sought, and most of these were to be found in the Old Testament. The same limitation applied to biblical references to music: sermons in defence of church music had to rely largely on Old Testament texts because the New Testament is almost completely silent on this topic - hence the reason for some attacks on the principle of music in church. When New Testament references were lacking, it was better to use the authority of the Old Testament than to expand the literature: the English religious tradition relied on the Bible and the Prayer Book and was reluctant to add to them. Many of Bach's most characteristic works were stimulated by independent subjective poetry which had no proper parallel in early eighteenth-century England. If Handel, in England, lacked the best of Bach's poetic stimulus, he was also spared the sentimentality of the worst of it.

The fact that most of Handel's English church music is predominantly cheerful in tone reflects the liturgical accident that it was, on the whole, the more optimistic celebrations that called for music. There may appear to be something Jewish rather than Christian in the alternate Fasts and Thanksgivings that went with the military campaigns of Anne's reign, but the Thanksgivings appear to have been excuses for celebration as much as
causes. Some deep-seated need was evidently fulfilled by these large ceremonial outlets for religious exuberance: the English seem to have preferred this exuberance to be collective, perhaps because of a general temperamental aversion to individual religious enthusiasm. An outbreak of cheerfulness, rather than of sacramental intensity, was one characteristic and genuine sign of English Christianity: an indulgence in sermons was another. To say that 'there is no need to search in the Te Deums for any religious sentiment' is to avoid the real issue. Although the music may have been prompted by a public occasion, the expression of faith (directly Christian in this case) can have a universal quality. The amount of 'religion' present depends on the extent of the composer's interest and involvement with the music. There is no case for arguing a greater personal involvement when the subject of the text is less cheerful, as in the Funeral Anthem or the Foundling Hospital Anthem; these may or may not be personal statements, on the same terms as the Te Deums. To relate the Funeral Anthem to German traditions as well as English ones does not make it more 'religious': there is in any case a corner of the English tradition represented by Purcell's Funeral Music and Croft's Burial Service which is, if anything, more individual and less 'collective' than Handel's Funeral Anthem for Queen Caroline.

For Handel's English contemporaries, the power of music to heighten optimistic religious celebrations was one of the main defences for the employment of the art in church services. Some of them were well aware that cheerful church music was undervalued: the preacher of one of the first sermons in defence of church music from the Three Choirs meeting felt the need to begin by asserting 'the excellency of Praise and Thanksgiving, above and before, tho' not exclusive of Prayers, Supplications and Intercessions'. 'The End of Church Musick', wrote one newspaper correspondent in 1735, 'is to relieve the Weariness of long Attention; to make the Mind more cheerful and composed, and to endear the Offices of Religion'. The musicians themselves seem to have shared the need to take part in celebratory church music: when they received insufficient opportunity through the official channels, they took their music to the St. Cecilia Festivals or the Festivals of the Sons of the Clergy.
Appendix 2 - Notes

(1) Hawkins: *History*, ii, p. 911

(2) Burney: *Commemoration, Sketch*, p. 34

(3) Lang: *Handel*, especially Chapters IX and XIV.
    See also Lang: *Civilisation*, p. 515-529

(4) Lang: *Handel*, p. 211

(5) *Ibid*, Chapter IX


(7) Both by Norman Sykes

(8) Playford's *Harmonia Sacra* included a number of chamber works, apparently intended for private devotional performance, composed to texts which are in some ways similar to the creations of the Lutheran Pastors, but there was no English literary verse comparable in scale to the German cycles of cantata texts. Contemporary metrical psalm paraphrases are not at all in the same category: England had to wait until the age of Charles Wesley for the efflorescence of subjective Christian poetry.

(9) Lang: *Handel*, p. 227

(10) *Ibid*, p. 226

(11) Bisse: *Rationale*, p. 7

(12) *The Weekly Oracle*, November 25 1735
APPENDIX THREE

CONTENTS OF CHAPEL ROYAL WORD-BOOKS, 1712-1749

The four collections of Anthem texts published in 1712, 1724, 1736 and 1749 originated from the Chapel Royal circle: their title pages said that they were published 'with the Approbation' or 'by the Direction' of the Sub-Dean of the Chapel. Regular payments are recorded in the Public Records for the provision of these books for the Royal Chapels, along with Bibles and prayer-books; the bindings of many copies now in library collections carry Royal insignia and were clearly formerly in use in these Chapels. The 1712 word-book, Divine Harmony, was the first such publication since Clifford's Divine Services and Anthems (Two editions, 1663 & 1664). Although it was centred on the repertoire and needs of the Chapel Royal, it was also a commercial publication and was advertised in the newspapers. In the two or three years after publication, two supplements were added giving the texts of anthems 'omitted in the preceding Collection or composed since the printing of it'. The compilation of the collection was probably the work of John Church: see Chapter 3, Note 66. Although centred on the Chapel Royal repertory, it also included some texts contributed by provincial musicians.

The arrangement of the texts was changed slightly in the subsequent Collections. The main part of these volumes was devoted to anthems 'as they are now perform'd in his MAJESTY'S Chapels Royal, &c', followed by appendices giving the anthems used 'in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London; in the Collegiate Church of St. Peter, Westminster; and in the rest of the Cathedral and Collegiate Churches of England and Ireland'. The 'Chapels-Royal' were added to this title in the Appendix to the 1749 edition, and it is probable that the division in the earlier editions was not quite watertight. My guess is that the first sections of the Collections were based on the current repertoire of the Chapel Royal part-books: the Appendices probably included, among other things, a few anthems which had fallen out of the repertoire completely, but were kept in the publication for commemorative reasons.

The object of the following table is to give a general picture of the repertoire contained in the word-books. I have counted the handful of texts included in the supplements to Divine Harmony into the main totals. For the Collections, I give separate figures for the anthems in the main 'Chapel Royal' section and in the Appendices. The word-books distinguish between Verse Anthems and Full Anthems: this distinction is beyond the scope of the present table, but it may be mentioned that Verse Anthems are more numerous.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>1712</th>
<th>1724 Appendix</th>
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</table>

**Notes to the Table**

(P) after a composer's name indicates the organist of a provincial cathedral.

The 1712 word-book includes an index, and the totals given there do not agree with the contents. Figures in the 1712 column are based on contents: where there is a discrepancy in the index, this is indicated by * next to the figure. The discrepancies are no more than a single anthem in each case.

Figures for Aldrich include his arrangements of anthems by Carissimi, Palestrina and Lawes. Figures for Farrant include one altered by Aldrich.

The 'Club Anthem' by Humfrey, Blow and Turner occurs in all editions and has been counted into Humfrey's total only. The 1712 edition (only) also includes a joint anthem by Blow, Clarke and Croft: this has been added into Blow's total.
APPENDIX FOUR

REGULAR PERFORMANCES OF CHURCH MUSIC IN LONDON 1690-1760:

THE PROGRAMMES OF ST. CECILIA FESTIVAL SERVICES

AND FESTIVAL SERVICES OF THE SONS OF THE CLERGY

A ST. CECILIA FESTIVAL

Music performed at services on St. Cecilia's Day
(November 22nd)

<table>
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<th>Year</th>
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<tr>
<td>1693</td>
<td>St. Bride's Church</td>
<td>?None</td>
<td>Battell: Church-Musick</td>
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<tr>
<td>1694</td>
<td>St. Bride's Church</td>
<td>Purcell: Te Deum &amp; Jubilate in D</td>
<td>Husk: St. Cecilia, p.34; Luttrell: Relation, iii, p. 410</td>
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<tr>
<td>1695</td>
<td>St. Bride's Church</td>
<td>Blow: Te Deum &amp; Jubilate in D</td>
<td>Husk, p. 36; B.L. Add. MS 31457</td>
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<tr>
<td>1697</td>
<td>St. Bride's Church</td>
<td>Purcell: Te Deum &amp; Jubilate in D</td>
<td>Heptinstall/Playford publication of Purcell canticles; Husk p. 39; B.L. Harl. MS 7339</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1698</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1699</td>
<td>St. Paul's Cathedral</td>
<td>'an unparalleled performance'</td>
<td>Husk ;. 47; BMARC i, p.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1700</td>
<td>St. Bride's Church</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Husk p. 48-9</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Notes: All of the musical works listed above have orchestral accompaniment.

There is no information for years beyond 1700, though performances of the Cecilian Odes continued until 1703 or later, and sermons continued (without the musical performance) in St. Bride's Church. See Husk, p. 50-55.

There is some uncertainty about the arrangements in 1696. In that year St. Cecilia's Day fell on a Sunday and the Ode was performed on the following day. There are no documentary references to the service, and a puzzle surrounds Estwick's sermon (Estwick: Church-Musick) preached on November 27. The title-page and the List of Stewards clearly connect the sermon...
with the London Festival, but the sermon was 'Preach'd at CHRISTCHURCH', presumably Christ-Church Oxford, where Estwick was Chaplain. There can be little doubt that Turner's music was composed for the St. Cecilia Festival in this year: Zimmerman: Costling p. 60 is wrong in stating that Turner received his Cambridge Doctorate on 23 November.

B. FESTIVALS OF THE SONS OF THE CLERGY

Nothing is known of any music performed at the early series of services, which took place in old St. Paul's Cathedral (1655), St. Michael's, Cornhill (1674-5) and Bow Church (1676-1696). In 1697 the service took place at the new St. Paul's Cathedral, within a week of the opening of the Cathedral for public worship, and the building remained the home for the Festival Service throughout the period. Early historical sources giving information about the services are Freeman: Compleat List; and Hamilton: 1787 Sermon, though these give little or no information on the music. The earliest announcement of a rehearsal for the music of the service comes from 1717: the music of the Festival soon took on a regular pattern, with rehearsals on Tuesdays and the Service on Thursdays. The collection made at rehearsals soon became an important source of income for the Corporation's charitable funds. There are some years for which I have been unable to find any details of the musical programme at the Festival services.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Music</th>
<th>Sources and Commentary</th>
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<tr>
<td>1697</td>
<td>7 Dec</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>First Festival service in new St. Paul's Cathedral.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1698</td>
<td>? Dec</td>
<td>Blow: Blessed Case B. 13 (autograph, undated). Blow was one of the Stewards of the Festival in this year.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1699</td>
<td>5 Dec</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Stewards included 'Mr. Matt. Shore'</td>
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<td>1700</td>
<td>3 Dec</td>
<td>?</td>
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<td>1701</td>
<td>? Dec</td>
<td>?</td>
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<tr>
<td>1702</td>
<td>3 Dec</td>
<td>?</td>
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<td>1703</td>
<td>2 Dec</td>
<td>?</td>
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<td>1704</td>
<td>20 Nov</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1705</td>
<td>6 Dec</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1706</td>
<td>26 Nov</td>
<td>* Clarke: O be joyful in God</td>
<td>B.L. Add. MS 31821</td>
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<td>1707</td>
<td>2 Dec</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Stewards included Richard Elford</td>
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<td>1708</td>
<td>2 Dec</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Stewards included Richard Brocas</td>
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</table>
1709 6 Dec.  *D. Purcell:  Tenbury MS 310
The Lord gave the Word  Sermon by Atterbury
?Purcell: Te Deum &  See Chapter 2, reference
Jubilate  Notes 78 & 79.

1710 5 Dec.  *Craft: Offer the  Lambeth Palace Library
Sacrifice  H.5133.776(6)
*Craft: 0 praise the
Lord, ye that fear Him

1711 6 Dec.  ?

1712 4 Dec.  

1713 10 Dec.  *Croft: I will  Lom MS 839;
lift up  B.L. Add. MS 17844
*Croft: Offer the sacrifice
'Two proper anthems PB Dec. 12-15
exquisitely perform'd'.

1714 2 Dec  ?

1715 8 Dec.  'Te Deum was sung,  WP Dec. 3-10
play'd to by the
Organ, Trumpet,
Hautboys and Violin ..
and an Anthem was sung'

1716 6 Dec.  Purcell: Te Deum  LG Dec. 1 Stewards
included Sir John Dolben

1717 5 Dec.  Croft: Te Deum  EP Nov. 14-16,
also Nov. 28-30

1718 4 Dec.  Croft: Te Deum  WJSP Dec. 6;
Purcell: Anthem  PD Nov. 30-Dec. 2
(?'Blessed is he that considereth)

1719 10 Dec.  Purcell: Te Deum  WJSP Nov. 28; PB Dec. 1-3
Greene: I will
magnifie Thee  Ob MS Mus.d.44

1720 8 Dec.  Purcell: Te Deum  WEP Nov. 17-19;
Greene: The Lord is  WEP Dec. 1-3
our light  Smith: Walsh 1, p.167, No.595
Ob.MS Mus.d.45
(The Church-man, Nov.26-Dec.3
erroneously attributes
Te Deum to Greene)

Jubilate and Anthem  from some other reports
whose Te Deum setting.
WJBG Dec.16: 'Purcell's
Te Deum' - doubtful.
PB Nov.28-30 & WJSP Dec.
16: 'Te Deum lately
perform'd before his
Majesty' - See Chapter
7, Table 2.
1722 13 Dec. Purcell: Te Deum
Purcell or Greene: Jubilate
Greene: The Lord is our Light
Some papers, e.g. EP Dec.8-11, have Jubilate
by Greene; others, e.g. PB Dec.8-11, by Purcell.
Smith: Walsh 2, p.280, No.1254, Ob. MS. Mus.d.45

1723 12 Dec. Greene: Te Deum & Jubilate
Greene: Open the gates of righteousness
B.L. Add. MS 17853

1724 10 Dec. Greene: Te Deum, Jubilate and an
Anthem 'all newly composed'
PB Nov. 17-19

1725 9 Dec. Purcell: Te Deum & Jubilate
Greene: New Anthem
PB Nov.30-Dec.2

1726 8 Dec. 'Te Deum, Jubilate and the new Anthem, Not clear whether Canticles
composed by Mr. Green' by Greene.
Sermon by Sir John Dolben

1727 PB Nov. 16-18: 'The Annual Feast of the Sons of the Clergy, which
used to be kept the first Thursday in December, but was since altered to the second, is, for the better Conveniency of the Nobility, to be deferred to the 15th of February next.'

1727/28 15 Feb. Purcell: Te Deum & Jubilate
Greene: Anthem
WEP, Feb.13-15. Stewards included John Arbuthnot, M.D.

1728/9 13 Feb. Purcell: Te Deum
Greene: New Anthem
Greene: Jubilate
SJEP, Feb.11-13
Hamilton: 1767 Sermon

1729/30 5 Feb. Greene: Te Deum
Purcell: Jubilate
Greene: New Anthem
DPB Jan.12, DPB Feb. 4

Handel: 2 Coronation Anthems
DPB Feb.24; Deutsch: Handel, p.271
First known Handel performance at this Festival.
Stewards listed at end of Appendix.

Handel: Coronation Anthem
Handel: Anthem for King George I
Deutsch, p. 284-5
<table>
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<th>Year</th>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event Details</th>
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| 1732/3 | 1 Feb. | Handel: Utrecht Te Deum & Jubilate  
Handel: 2 Anthems | LDP Feb.1; Deutsch, p.305-7 |
Handel: 2 Anthems | Stewards included  
Deutsch p.358  
Rev. John Abbott M.A. |
| 1734/5 | 13 Feb. | Handel: 'Te Deum in Airy'  
Handel: Jubilate  
Handel: Coronation Anthem - 'God save the King'  
Greene: New Anthem | DFH Feb.3; SJEP Feb.11-13  
Handel Esther overture played before the service.  
Performers included  
Greene (Organ), Powell (Voice) and Carbonelli (Violin). Full reporting of service. |
| 1735/6 | 19 Feb. | Greene: New Te Deum  
Handel: Utrecht Jubilate  
Handel: Zadok the Priest  
Greene: Praise the Lord, ye House of Aaron | Deutsch, p. 400  
LDP Feb.18 (Printed Anthem texts - soloists Laye, Abbot, Weely, Rowe, Chelsum)  
Stewards included Greene |
| 1737 | 21 Apr. | Handel: Anthem | SJEP Apr. 21-23 |
| 1738 | 13 Apr. | Handel: Utrecht Te Deum & Jubilate  
Handel: Coronation Anthem  
Greene: New Anthem | LDP Apr. 10 |
Handel: Coronation Anthem  
Greene: New Anthem | LDP Feb. 15 |
| 1740 | 17 Apr. | Handel: Te Deum, Jubilate & Coronation Anthem  
Greene: New Anthem | LDP Apr.12  
Orchestra provided by Society of Musicians for this and subsequent services. |
| 1741 | 16 Apr. | Handel: Utrecht Te Deum & Jubilate  
Handel: Coronation Anthem  
Greene: New Anthem | DP Apr. 3 |
<p>| 1742 | 6 May | ? | No music mentioned in Festival announcement |
| 1743 | 14 Apr. | ? | DA Apr. 9 |</p>
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<td>Apr. 11</td>
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<td>but Boyce: 'An Anthem'</td>
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<td>1755</td>
<td>Apr.</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Purcell: Te Deum &amp; Jubilate Palm Sunday, 10; Programme also included Handel: Esther overture&lt;br&gt;Handel: Coronation Anthem&lt;br&gt;Boyce: New Anthem</td>
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<td>1756</td>
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<td>Handel: Grand Te Deum&lt;br&gt;(Utrecht) Te Deum&lt;br&gt;Handel: Jubilate&lt;br&gt;Handel: Coronation Anthem&lt;br&gt;Boyce: New Anthem Palm Sunday, 10; with Handel: Esther overture</td>
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<td>?&lt;br&gt;No announcement of service in Palm Sunday</td>
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<td>Handel: Dettingen Te Deum&lt;br&gt;Handel: Jubilate&lt;br&gt;Handel: Grand Chorus from Messiah&lt;br&gt;Handel: Coronation Anthem&lt;br&gt;Boyce: Anthem particularly composed for this Charity Palm Sunday, 11; with Handel: Esther overture</td>
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<td>1759</td>
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<td>1760</td>
<td>May</td>
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<td>Programme as 20-4-1758 Palm Sunday, 28</td>
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Notes: Anthems marked * do not have orchestral accompaniment. Purcell's Te Deum and Jubilate is presumably the D major setting on all occasions. Croft's Te Deum is presumably his orchestrally-accompanied D major setting. I have tacitly interpreted Handel's 'Great' or 'Grand' Te Deum as the Utrecht setting, and from 1744 his 'New' Te Deum as the Dettingen setting.

Stewards for the Festival 25-2-1730/1

<table>
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<tr>
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<td>Richard Creake, Esq. (Treasurer)</td>
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<td>Mr. John Cooke</td>
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<td>Mr. Saml. Sandeforth</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr. Richard Scafton</td>
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<td>Mr. Abrah. Winterbottom</td>
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APPENDIX FIVE

MEMBERSHIP OF THE CHOIRS OF THE CHAPEL ROYAL,
WESTMINSTER ABBEY AND ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, 1700-1760

1. Table of Singers and Instrumentalists

**Arrangement**

Members of the Chapel Royal are listed first, in order of appointment. The order follows the evidence of the Cheque Books, even where a member of the Chapel appears in Travelling Charges in preceding years. The list includes Gentlemen, Organists (prefix 'O'), Composers (prefix 'C'), Masters of the Choristers ('MCh'), Lutenists ('L'), and Violists ('V').

Supplementary lists give the names of those members of the parallel institutions at Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's Cathedral who were not also members of the Chapel Royal (prefixes 'W' and 'P', respectively).

The Chapel Royal Boys (prefix 'B') are listed by the leaving dates given on the Warrants in the Lord Chamberlain's papers. I have extended the starting-point of this list to 1699, in order to include Croft.

Many members of the London Choirs also held appointments at St. George's Chapel, Windsor. These I have shown in the main table, but I have not provided a separate list of those members of the Windsor choir who did not have London appointments.

Unless otherwise shown, the members of the Choirs continued in their places until their deaths. 'Res.' without further qualification means that all offices in that institution were resigned. Otherwise, resignation affected only the office named: 'Res. MCh', for example, indicates that the office of Master of the Choristers was resigned without affecting any other concurrent appointments.

Where sources give slightly conflicting evidence on dates, I have selected the one that seems most likely.

Gentlemen whose reference numbers are underlined have fuller entries in Appendix 6.

This Appendix supplements the information on the institutions given in the Supplement Conditions of Performance, Section 1.
Abbreviations used

General:  b. - before
         v. - place vacant by date stated
         Res. - Resigned
         Dis. - Dismissed

Chapel Royal:  P - Priest (all entries not so modified are for Gentlemen)
                       SD - Sub-Dean
                       MCh - Master of the Choristers
                       O - Organist
                       C - Composer
                       TC - Entry in Lists of Travelling Charges
                       Cl. of Ch. - Clerk of the Cheque

Westminster Abbey:
                       LV - Lay Vicar
                       MC - Minor Canon
                       O - Organist
                       MBo - Master of the Boys

St. Paul's Cathedral:
                       VC - Vicar Choral
                       MC - Minor Canon
                       A/LCh - Almoner and Master of the Choristers
                       VC(O) - Organist, holding Vicar Choral's place

St. George's, Windsor:
                       LC - Lay Clerk
                       VMC - Vicar or Minor Canon
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<th>No.</th>
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<th>Chapel Royal</th>
<th>Westminster Abbey</th>
<th>St. Paul's Cathedral</th>
<th>Windsor</th>
<th>Death</th>
<th>Boys' Life</th>
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<td>Edward BRADDOCK</td>
<td>c. August 1660</td>
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<td>Nathaniel WATKINS</td>
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<td>1640 LC</td>
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<td>John GOODGROOME</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Blase WHITE</td>
<td>14-3-1663/4 (P?) (rep. as Confessor 1-11-1675)</td>
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<td>Stephen CRESPION</td>
<td>13-5-1673 v. 1-4-1697 (Chanter to 1694)</td>
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<td>16-3-1673/4 MCh. 1 23-7-1674</td>
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O: Ordained, A: Appointed, M: Married, MC: Minister at Church, LV: Left Vicar, VC: Vacant Clerk, MC: Minister at Church, LV: Left Vicar, VC: Vacant Clerk
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**PERSONS LISTED OCCASIONALLY WITH THE GENTLEMEN, THOUGH PROBABLY NOT APPOINTED AS SUCH**

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<td>In Travelling Charges lists with the Gentlemen 1711-13, 1718. Probably schoolmaster for the Boys and supplier of books.</td>
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ORGANISTS

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<td>C3 John WELDON (=33)</td>
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<td>Appointed as Organist, to perform part of Composer's duties</td>
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MCh. 3 Bernard GATES 4-9-1727 (37)  
Res. b. 18-3-1757  
(15-11-1773)

NCh. 4 James MARES 18-3-1757  
(-010) Res. b. 1-6-1780  
(10-2-1783)

LUTENISTS

L1 John SHORE 8-8-1715  
TC from 1705  
20-11-1752

L2 John IMMINS 13-12-1752  
15-4-1764

VIOLISTS

V1 Francisco GOODSENS 8-8-1715  
TC from 1712  
b. 18-11-1741

V2 Peter GILLIER 18-1-1741/2  
b. 22-10-1767

SUPPLEMENTARY LISTS - MEMBERS OF THE OTHER LONDON CHOIRS 1700-1760 WHO DID NOT HOLD CHAPEL ROYAL OFFICES DURING THE SAME PERIOD WESTMINSTER ABBEY

W1 Littleton TAYLOR 1693 LV  
10-11-1701

W2 Josia BOUCHER 1699 LV  
1714

W3 John BOWYER 1702 (Nov.1701?)LV  
1703 MC  
1709

W4 Joseph HALLETT 1709 (?1708) LV  
1709 b. 25-11-1710

W5 Humphrey PERSEHOWSE 1710 MC  
26-1-1762
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<td></td>
<td>30- 9-1727</td>
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<td>30- 4-1762</td>
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<td>W7</td>
<td>James RICHARDS</td>
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<td>26- 2-1739/9</td>
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<td>W8</td>
<td>John HADLOW</td>
<td></td>
<td>17- 1-1739/40</td>
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<td>20- 4-1755</td>
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<td>W9</td>
<td>David JONES</td>
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<td>8- 5-1743</td>
<td>LV</td>
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<td>4- 1-1750/1</td>
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<td>Mayo TIMS</td>
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2. Relationship of the Weldon - Champness - Baildon families

- John Weldon (55) m. Mary Champness
  - Thomas Champness m. Mary Weldon
    - Samuel (c. 1735-1805)
      - Edward Thomas (c. 1775-1841)
    - Thomas Weldon (c. 1775-1841)
  - Weldon (P26) m. (1) Amy Baildon
    - John Weldon (Champness) born c. 1769
    - Edward Thomas (Champness) born c. 1806

Children of Weldon Champness and Second Wife (Frances Power) not included.
A. 1713 - Period of the 'Utrecht' Te Deum and Jubilate

Chapel Royal

Dean: Henry Compton, Bishop of London (until July)
Sub-Dean: John Dolben (from March)

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Others appearing in Travelling Charges List:

Samuel Weely, William Morley, George Carleton (John Bowack)

Children: Chamberlayne: *Magnae Britanniae Notitia*, 1710 edition lists:

- Henry Franks, Edmund Baker, William Pyne, Benjamin Jackson,
- John Williams, Thomas Brignall, Joseph Centlivre, John Duncomb,
2 vacancies.

The first four of those named had left the choir by mid-1713.

Organists: William Croft, John Weldon

Master of the Children: William Croft

Composers: William Croft, John Weldon

Lutenist: John Shore (from Travelling Charges)

Violist: Francisco Goodsens (from Travelling Charges)

Clerk of the Cheque: Daniel Williams

Serjeant of the Vestry: Henry Parker

Yeoman Marmaduke Alford

Groom: John Lenton

Organ Blower: Matthew Shelley

Bell-Ringer: Thomas Brooks

Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's Cathedral choirs included a further 2 and 9 singers, respectively, who were not also members of the Chapel Royal.
B. 1723 - Period of Handel's appointment as Composer for the Chapel Royal

Chapel Royal

Dean: Edmund Gibson, Bishop of Lincoln
Sub-Dean: Edward Aspinwall

Priests
John Gostling
Samuel Bentham
William Washbourne
William Battell
Edward Aspinwall
George Carleton
Thomas Baker
Samuel Chittle
Luke Flintoft
Thomas Blennerhayset

Gentlemen
William Turner
John Church
Thomas Jenings
Thomas Edwards
John Freeman
John Mason
Bernard Gates
Francis Hughes
George Laye
Samuel Weely
Thomas Gethin
Peter Randall
James Chelsum
Talbot Young
Thomas Bell
William Perry

Children:
Joseph Dean, William Jones, Charles Stroud, John Barker,
Samuel Shackleton, William Barrett, John Mason,
William Lamb, Hildebrand Hinchley, Thomas Skelton

Organists: William Croft, John Weldon
Master of the Children: William Croft
Composers: William Croft, John Weldon

Lutenist: John Shore
VioList: Francisco Goodens

Clerk of the Cheque: Jonathan Smith

Serjeant of the Vestry: Jonathan Smith
Yeoman: Thomas Langhorn
Groom: William Duncombe
Organ Blower: Samuel Clay
Bell-Ringer: Thomas Brooks

Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's Cathedral choirs included a further 1 and 8 singers, respectively, who were not also members of the Chapel Royal.
APPENDIX SIX

HANDEL'S CHAPEL ROYAL SOLOISTS

This Appendix gives full biographical details on the soloists named on the autographs of Handel's Chapel Royal music from the period 1710-1726. The music allocated to each soloist is listed with the vocal range of the part, and the ranges of selected works by other composers for the same soloist are given for comparison.

In the case of the later Chapel Royal music (1727-1749), no biographies of the soloists are provided, and Handel's music is listed in summary form.

The soloists are arranged alphabetically.

John ABBOTT (58)

Named on Handel's Chapel Royal music 1734-1743: Wedding Anthem This is the Day, Dettingen Anthem and Te Deum.

Voice: Bass, range B - e'  

Regular soloist in Court Odes, 1735-1743.

Thomas BAKER Senior (45)

Born c. 1686 or 1689 (?son of William, cleric, of Lichfield) Chorister, Christ Church, Oxford 1700-March 1705. (Head chorister from 1703). Lay Clerk, Christ Church, Sep. 1707-1711; Chaplain 1712-1716 (left after six weeks of third quarter). Oxford University, matriculated 6-4-1704 (?1705) BA 1708, MA 15- 1-1710/11. Incorporated MA Cantab. 1714 Sub-Preceptor to the Royal Princesses, appointed Nov. 1714 (see EP 18-20 Nov.)

Member of the Oxford Music Club 1712-14. Founder-member of Academy of Vocal Music and member 1725/6-7

Chapel Royal: Admitted Gentleman by 8-8-1715. (TC from 1716) Priest from March 1716/7, acting for Sub-Dean 1743-4 (died before vacancy?).

Westminster Abbey: Minor Canon 11-10-1728, installed 18-10-1728 ('M.A.') Before 1737 refused to be steward for the Annual Feast.

St. Paul's: Minor Canon, 7th. Prebend, Probation 15-7-1716, Collated 4-7-1717. 6th. Prebend Collated 27-3-1739, and admitted Sub-Chanter.

Vicar of Mucking, Essex 30-6-1714, vacant by 16-4-1736. Rector of Nailstone, Leics. 1735/6 to death.


Another Thomas Baker was a contemporary professional musician, named as Timpanist in Galliard's "Merlin" (Durham MS E30), and on the lists of the Society of Musicians.
Music:

Voice: Bass (2nd Bass)

Handel: c. 1714 Caroline Te Deum ('Baker')
No. 1 (semi-chorus) D-d'
No. 2 (bar 55 et seq.) G-e'

Handel: c. 1714 Anthem 4A ('Baker')
No. 3 E-e'
No. 4 B-e'

c. 1722-6 Anthem 6B
No. 2 (Bass 2) A-a
No. 5 (Bass 2 chorus - transferred from Bass 1) c-d'
No. 7 (Solo) A-d

Other MSS:
Lcm MS 2043 Weldon: Service in D major (c. 1715-17)
Cantoris bass G-f'
Lcm MS 995 Croft: Come all ye tuneful sisters (Dolben Wedding, Sept. 1720) Bass G-f' (one E, possibly an error.)

Anselm BAYLY (69)

Named on Handel's Chapel Royal music of 1749: the Peace Anthem and revival of the Caroline Te Deum.

Voice: Alto (Alto 1), range a - d''
(Compare Lcm MS 224 Greene: 1745 Te Deum, 'Contratenor'.
Solo movement 'Vouchsafe, O Lord' range c#-c#''

Regular soloist in performances of Court Odes, 1741-1749.
Thomas BELL (53)

Chapel Royal: Gentleman 14-3-1719/20, ex Bristol Cathedral.

Cannon's: In lists and account-books, 1 June 1720-New Year 1720/1. Absent from list, New Year 1721/2. Place as 'Counter Tenor' shared with Thomas Gethin (48).

Westminster Abbey: Lay Vicar 1720 (after 12-3-1720). Part of income shared with Gethin during 1720's.

Windsor: Elected 19-4-1721 to Minor Canon's place, sworn 29-6-1722. Not ordained; complaints by the other Minor Canons that he was improperly appointed. Led to a court case, as a result of which Bell was removed to Lay Clerk (before 5-9-1733). (Windsor Chapter Acts VI B 6 records the events leading up to the hearing before the Lord Chancellor but not the result.) Money paid from Windsor fund for sons' apprenticeships (1730, 1749).

Died 7-5-1743, at Windsor (LEP, May 7-10)

Wife Elizabeth. Son James (1725), daughters Elizabeth (1728, d. 1730), Elizabeth (1731, d. 1737), son & executor Herbert.

Other references: Egmont Papers (B.L. Add 47029 p.15) Letter of 1st Lord Egmont to his brother, dated London, 2 Feb. 1719/20:

'I was told lately by one of the Kings Quire, that one Bell who is in pursuie of a place in the Chappel was offred a hundred a year if he would go to Ireland to Sing in the Cathedrals of Dublin. Pray write me if it be trew. It seems to me there is no vacancy here at this time, and he finds it difficult to obtain a Supernummary place, which is what he aims at. There is not Such another voice in the Kingdom, for he has an excellent base & yet Sings a high Counter-Tenor which is with all natural & not forced. His Manner for a Quire is also good, and his Voice Sweet & mellow. If I knew the utmost wou'd be done for him in Ireland, and had proper Authority I would send him & propose his going'.

SJP March 18-20: [Daniel Williams] is succeeded as one of the Singing Men of the Chappell, by Mr. Bell from the Cathedral of Bristol'.

ACWJ March 26, 1720:

'The famous Mr. Bell, who was lately sent for from Bristol, and was entertain'd in his Majesty's Chapel as a Supernumary for his extraordinary Qualifications in Singing, is now put into the Place of Mr. Williams, deceas'd, late one of the Singing men there.'

Music:

Voice: Alto, Tenor and Bass

Handel: c. 1722-6 Anthem 6D
No. 1 Alto (Alto 2) d' - a'
No. 4 Alto 2 g - b'6

No. 5 Chorus Tenor g - g'
No. 6 Tenor (Changed from Alto clef) f - g'

No. 2 Alto 2
John CHURCH (24)


?Married Elizabeth Wood, of Boughton Aluph, Kent, St. Paul's Cathedral, 11-4-1700.

Richard Church (1699-1776) (Organist of New Coll. and Christ Church, Clerk of Magd. Coll. Oxon, etc. from 1732) probably his cousin. John Church (soloist in first performance of Messiah) possibly related.

Chapel Royal: Gentleman extraordinary 31-1-1696/7; Full place 1-8-1697.

Westminster Abbey: Lay Vicar 1697; Master of the Boys 1704; resigned Mastership of Boys Michaelmas 1740

In charge of Account Books for Chapel Royal Pension Fund and Westminster Abbey 'Tombs Money'.

Probable compiler of Divine Harmony (1712). Author of An introduction to Psalmody (1723) Supplied Tudway with church music (c. 1716) - Tudway MSS show that he performed at Sons of Clergy (B.L. Harl. MS 3782, f.88) Main copyist for Chapel Royal part-books (R.M. 27 a.1 et seq.). Subscriber to Croft's Musica Sacra (c. 1724)

Some friction between him and Cheriton (59) - at Chapel Royal and Westminster Abbey.

At least 4 children - 2 surviving sons John (d. Norwich 1785) and Ralph (d. 1787, ed. Spencer's "Fairy Queen"). Wife died 19-12-1732.

Admitted Society of Musicians, April 6 1740

Died 6 (or 5)-1-1740/1, buried Westminster Abbey 10-1-1740/1.

Music:

Voice: Tenor

Handel: 1727 The King Shall Rejoice (Coronation Anthem)

No. 1 Tenor Chorus leader g - g'
No. 3 Tenor Chorus leader f# - g'

(Possibly also sang opening Tenor part in My heart is inditing)
Other MSS: B.L. Add. 31457 Blow: Te Deum and Jubilate in D major (1695) Alto 2 f# - a' Tenor a - f#

St. Paul's Cathedral Case B.13 Blow: Blessed is the Man (1698). Basically tenor g - f' plus a little Alto a - d'

US-Texas 'Gostling' MS Blow: O sing unto the Lord (Cavendish Weedon, 1702) Tenor e - f#'

Lom MS 839 Croft: Blessed be the Lord my strength (Dec. 1705) Tenor g - f'

Birmingham, Barber Institute MS 5009 Croft: O clap your hands (1706?) Tenor f# - a b'

Lom MS 840 Croft: Te Deum in D major (Feb. 1708/9) Tenor f - g'

B.L. Add. MS 41847 Weldon: O sing unto the Lord (Jan. 1708/9) ('Mr. O') Tenor e - g'

Lom MS 839 Croft: This is the day (1713) Tenor 2 (to Freeman's 'Tenor 1') g - e b'

Thomas EDWARDS (27)

Born c. 1659. ?Chorister Chapel Royal, left 12-8-1664

Chapel Royal: Epistler 2-3-1699/1700; no record of admission to full place, probably before 1700.

Westminster Abbey: Lay Vicar 1709 (from July 1708?)
St. Paul's Cathedral: Vicar Choral: Probation 4-1-1696/7; Admitted 21-10-1698

Member of Academy of Vocal Music Nov. 1726 (only?)
Subscriber to Musica Sacra (Croft) c. 1724

Children born c. 1697, 1700 etc. Son Thomas executor for his estate. Wife (Mary) died 30-6-1738, age 67 (had moved to Greenwich after husband's death?).

Died 18-8-1739, buried Westminster Abbey 22-8-1730.

Music:

Voice: Bass

Handel: c. 1722-6 Anthem 6B No. 5 Chorus Bass (Bass 2) c - d'

Other MSS: Ob MS Mus. c. 26, B.L. Add. 31453 Purcell: Hail, Bright Cecilia (composed 1692, repeat performance c. 1699?) Bass A - e'

US-Texas 'Gostling' MS Blow: O sing unto the Lord (Cavendish Weedon, 1702) Bass 1 G - d'
Richard ELFORD (35)

Born Lincoln 1676. Chorister, Lincoln Cathedral.

Singing-man, Durham Cathedral, 1695-9; name in Tenor part-book.

Short career on London stage: 'His person being awkward and clumsy, and his action disgusting, he quitted the theatre'. (Hawkins: History, ii, p. 718)


Windsor: Admitted Lay Clerk 29-12-1701 'having been recommended by the Princess Anne, and to have augmentation of £18 p.a.' Nov. 3 1709: 'Clerk's place to be left void during Mr. Elford's receiving £40 p.a.' (Windsor, Chapter Acts III B5, p. 177, 238)

Chapel Royal: Not in Coronation list (April, 1702). Gentleman, 'additional place to be added to the establishment', 2-8-1702. Elford's appointment restored Chapel Royal to former numbers, so not strictly additional.

Westminster Abbey: Lay Vicar 1712 (probably from Jan 1710/11)

Individual Travelling Charges to Bath 17 Aug-19 Oct. 1703 (LC5/153p. 451)


Died 29-10-1714, buried 1-11-1714 Westminster Abbey.

Newspaper obituary: PB Sat. 30 October, 1714.

On Friday last about Two in the Afternoon, the justly celebrated Mr. Richard Elford died of a Fever at his House in Queen-Street, Westminster, in the 38th Year of his Age, and was buried last Night in the Abby Cloisters; his Corps being attended by the Gentlemen of his Majesty's Chapel and the Choir of Westminster. He was bred a Chorister at Lincoln; after which he serv'd in the Church of Durham; and upon his coming to London, he was (within a little while) received into the Choir of St. Paul's, from whence he was invited to the Choir of Windsor and Eaton; and being recommended to Her late Majesty, She was pleased to make him one of the Gentlemen of Her Chapel, and distinguished him by a particular Mark of her Royal Favour, with an additional Pension of 100l. per Ann. The Places he last enjoy'd, were those in the Chapel Royal and the Choirs of Westminster and Windsor: His voice had all the Advantages Man could wish for, or Nature bestow, which, together with his excellent Acquirements of Manner and Judgement, render'd him the most complete and agreeable Performer produced in this Age, whether among his own Countrymen or Foreigners. His singular Humanity, Paimness and Good-Nature, made him universally belov'd; and his Musical Qualifications rarely found so consummate in one Person; and having as yet no apparent View of being equall'd, renders his loss as universally lamented.

Other references: July 10 1713. Performed in Croft's Od at the Oxford Act (BM, July 15)

?6 July 1714 'At the Commencement at Cambridge, the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Houses made large Presents to Mr. Elford, and others of Her Majesty's Musick for their fine Performance of the Te Deum of the late Mr. Purcell.' (WF July 10-17)
William Croft: Preface to *Musica Sacra* i (1724):

'I must acknowledge the great Advantages the several Anthems here published have received from the great Skill and fine Voices with which they have been performed, Mr. Elford's Name upon this Occasion must not be forgotten, who was a bright Example of this Kind, excelling all (so far as is known) that ever went before him, and fit to be imitated by all that come after him, he being in a peculiar Manner eminent for giving such a due Energy and proper Emphasis to the Words of his Musick, as rendered it serviceable to the great End of its Institution.

**Music:**

**Voice:** Alto (Alto 2, occasionally Tenor clef)

**Handel:** c. 1712 *Anthem 6C* ('Eilfort')

- No. 1 Alto 2  
  a' - b'
- No. 2 Alto solo  
  e' - c''
- No. 3 Alto solo  
  b - c''
- No. 5 Alto (Duet with Treble)  
  d' - b'b''
- No. 6 Alto 2 (Solo/Chorus)  
  g - c''

- C. 1714 *Caroline Te Deum* ('Eilfort')
  - No. 1 Alto Semi-chorus and solo  
    b - b'
  - No. 2 Alto solo (b' in chorus)  
    a - b'b''
  - No. 3 Alto solo (possibly re-allocated to Hughes)  
    b'b - c''
  - No. 4 Alto not named - more probably for Hughes  
    c# - b'"

- C. 1713 *Eternal source of Light Divine*  
  (Birthday Ode) ('Eilfort' and 'Eilfort')
  - No. 1 Alto solo  
    a - b'
  - No. 2 Alto solo  
    a - b'
  - No. 4 Alto solo version B  
    f - b'b''
  - No. 9 Alto solo  
    a - b'

- 1713 *Utrecht Jubilate* ('Eilfort')
  - No. 5 Alto solo in trio; written on Alto stave, but lower range than other Alto (Hughes)  
    g - b'b''

- C. 1714 *Anthem 4A*
  - No. 1 Alto solo (b' in chorus)  
    g - a'
  - No. 2 Alto solo, no name, more probably for Hughes?  
    a - c''"
  - (No. 5 Alto (Duet with Bass) no name, probably Elford)  
    a - b'b''
  - No. 5, Bar 16 Alto solo (b'b' in chorus)  
    b'b - a'
  - No. 6 Alto solo (b' in chorus)  
    d' - a'

**Other Sources:**

I have identified parts for Elford in 27 works by other composers. The following 12 have been selected to give a good chronological range, and with a bias towards the Chapel Royal works performed at the Thanksgiving Services (See Chapter 2 Table 1).
B. L. Add. MS 31456. Eccles: *Inspire us, genius* (1702/3 Birthday Ode) Alto g - a'; one movement Tenor d - a'.

Lcm MS 839. Croft: *Blessed be the Lord my strength* (1705) Alto 2 g - a'; Alto 1 d - a'.

Birmingham, Barber MS 5009, Tenbury MS 1031. Croft: *O clap your hands* (June 1706) Alto e - a'.

Tenbury MS 798. Croft: *The Lord is my Light* (December 1706) Contratenor Decani (Alto clef) c - b' (solo movements f#{9} - a')

Lcm MS 840, Birmingham, Barber MS 5007a/b. Croft: *Te Deum and Jubilate in D major* (February 1708/9) Alto d - b'.

Ob MS Mus. Sch.b.7. Croft: *Sing unto the Lord* (February 1708/9) Alto 2 a - a'.

B. L. Add. MS. 41847. Weldon: *Rejoice in the Lord* (?12-2-1708/9) Alto g# - a'.

Lcm MS 839. Croft: *O praise the Lord, ye that fear Him* (November 1709) Alto 2 a - b'.

Ob MS Mus.c.2. Galliard: *I am well pleased* (?7-11-1710) Tenor f# - a'.

Lcm MS 839. Croft: *This is the Day* (1713) Alto 2 g - a'.

Lcm MS 839. Croft: *I will lift up mine eyes* (1715) Alto 2 f# - b'.

B. L. RM.24.d.5 Croft: *Prepare, ye Sons of Art* (?1714) Alto d - a'.

**John FREEMAN (32)**

Named on Handel's Coronation Anthem *The King shall rejoice* (1727)

Voice: Alto (Chorus leader), range a - b'.

Named as a soloist on other musical sources; 1695-1730.
Bernard GATES (37)

Born the Hague, April 23 1686, 2nd son of Bernard Gates.


Lived in James St., Westminster (house of Chapel Royal Master of Boys?)

Resigned Master of the Children before 18-3-1757 (Retired to North Aston, Oxon., but retained his two Gentlemen's places).


Windsor: Chosen (Lay) Clerk 4-11-1714. Sworn 8-12-1714. Paid for c. 7 months. Not in 1715-6 list.

Subscriber, Musica Sacra (Croft), 1724

Founder Member, Academy of Vocal Music 1725/6-1730 (Chapel Royal Boys also in list later 1725/6). Named to examine music copyists' bills May 1731.

Arranger of the Esther performances, 1732 (Rehearsal/performance in his house).

28-8-1739: one of the founders of the Society of Musicians.

Subscriber to Greene: 40 select anthems in score (1743) and Boyce: Cathedral Music Vol. i (1760) and Vol. iii (1773 - 'late Mr. Bernard Gates').

Wife Elizabeth died 10-3-1736/7 (age 48) (Brought up by Mrs. Atkinson, servant to Queen Anne). Children buried 1737-39/1736 Westminster Abbey.


Other references:

July 10 1713, performed in Croft's Ode at the Oxford Act.

Full obituary in PA Nov. 20 1773, from which much biographical information given above is taken. According to this, Gates' father came to England at the Revolution and was Page of the Back Stairs to King William III: he was probably, nevertheless, an Englishman.

The obituary also states that Bernard Gates junior, the singer, held a supernumary place at St. Paul's from c. 1715 until receiving his second Chapel Royal place in 1734, but this is not supported by surviving records of the St. Paul's choir.

Regularly named as a soloist in performances of the Court Odes, 1719-1745.

Music:

Voice: Bass (Bass 2)
Handel: c. 1712
Anthem 6C
No. 1 Bass 2 ('Mr. Gates') (g-d' in Chorus) A - a
No. 5 Chorus Bass A½ - d'

c. 1713
Eternal source of light divine (Birthday Ode)
No. 8 Bass ('Mr. Gates') A - e'

1713
Utrecht Jubilate
No. 5 Bass ('Mr. Geatz' - altered from Whely) G - d'

No. 1714 Caroline Te Deum ('Mr. Gaitzl')
No. 1 Bass (Semichorus) d - d'

No. 1722-6 Caroline Te Deum revival ('Mr. Gates')
No. 2, bar 55 et seq. G - e'

No. 1720-5
Anthem 6D ('Mr. Gates')
No. 1 Bass 2 A - a (Chorus G - d')

No. 1722-6
Te Deum in A Major ('Mr. Gates')
No. 1 Bass 2 A - d'
No. 4 Bass 2 B - d'
No. 6 Bass 2 B - e'

1727 The King shall rejoice (Coronation Anthem)
No. 1 Bass 2 Chorus leader A - e'
No. 3 Bass 2 Chorus leader A - e'

1734 This is the Day (Wedding Anthem)
No. 6 Bass solo (Not named - but see Deutsch:
Handel, p. 405) G - e'

Other MSS:
B.L. Add MS 17847. Croft: I will alway give thanks (1708)
Bass G - d' (G - e' if he also sang the unnamed bass solo in No. 4)

B. L. Barber MS 5007 a/b Croft: Te Deum and Jubilate in D
(Original performance, 1708/9) Bass A - e'

Lcm MS 839 Croft: O Praise the Lord, ye that fear him
(1709) Bass 2 A - e'

Lcm MS 839 Croft: Offer the sacrifice of righteousness
(1710) Bass B - e'

Ob. MS Mus.c.2 Galliard: I am well pleased (c. 1709-11)
Bass G - eb (lower than Whely)

Lcm MS 839 Croft: This is the day (1713)
Bass (Bass 2, Bass 1 and solo) A b - eb

Lcm MS 839 Croft: I will lift up mine eyes (1713)
Bass A - d'

B. L. RM. 24.d.5 Croft: Prepare, ye sons of art (?1714)
Bass B - e'

Ob. MS Don.c.19 Croft: Praise the Lord, O my soul (c. 1714?)
Bass G - d'

Ob. MS Mus.b.15 Croft: Praise God in his sanctuary (1717)
Bass G - e'

Ob. MS Mus.d.44 Greene: I will magnify thee (1719)
Bass A - d'

Ob. MS Mus.d.45 Greene: The Lord is our light (1720 & 1722)
Bass 2 G - e'

Ob. MS Mus.d.36 Greene: Descend, ye nine (1730) Bass A - e'

B. L. Add. MS 17845 Croft: Te Deum and Jubilate in D major
(Perf. c. 1730) Bass A - d'

B. L. Add. MS 17851 Greene: All thy works praise Thee (n.d.)
Bass B b - f'
Thomas GETHIN (48)

Born 1696? (baptised Bridewell Chapel 30-12-1696), eldest of 4 surviving sons of Roger and Mary Gethin (nee Gartrill). Father chapel clerk at Bridewell Chapel. Younger brother Roger (B58) bapt. 6-8-1702/3, left Chapel Royal (chorister) 8-7-1721. Younger brothers Nicholas and Peter.

Chapel Royal: Chorister, left 24-3-1715/6. Gentleman 9-11-1716 (Scribal error 'John' in Cheque Book) Dismissed at Chapter Meeting 3-5-1731

Westminster Abbey: Lay Vicar from (March) 1717. Resigned 1-12-1731 'going abroad to the West Indies'.

Windsor: Lay Clerk (Probation) admitted 12-10-1716. Never proceeded to place; succeeded by Prince Gregory 15-11-1717. Re-admitted Lay Clerk 22-1-1718/9. House (at Windsor) 'to be repaired and a cellar made'. Again did not proceed to place - name not in lists by 24-5-1720.

Cannons: In lists and account-books 20 April 1720 - New Year 1720/1. Absent from list, New Year 1721/2. Place as 'Counter Tenor' shared with Bell (53).

Married Elizabeth Lloyd (born c. 1690) 21-12-1718 (St. Bride's). Daughter Elizabeth d. 5-6-1721 aged 5 days. Wife died 10-10-1725. Possibly another daughter Mary (c. 1722-1741)

'Voted in' to Royal Academy of Music February 1731 (newspapers) - probably in a managerial capacity.

Dismissal from Chapel Royal suggests some unreliability prior to 1731. Left London for Barbados 26-2-1732. Nothing further known of him.

Other references: London Stage II/2. p.786 'Gething, Sr.' one of 3 singers at Drury Lane season 1724/5. Later refs. to Gething Jr., p. 789/790 possibly refer to Roger, and to the "Singing in Italian and English" (p. 820,822) See also Burrows: Gethin.

Music:

Voice: Tenor

Handel: c. 1722-6 *Anthem 6B* ('Getting')

- No. 2 Tenor (Named as soloist, but no solo music to sing) Chorus g - g'
  (In Nos. 5 and 7 Bell is named as leader of Chorus Tenors)

- c. 1720-5 *Te Deum in A major* ('Mr. Gething')
  - No. 2 Tenor a# - g#
  - No. 4 Tenor d' - g'
  - No. 6 Tenor b' - g

- c. 1720-5 *Anthem 5B* ('Getting')
  - No. 3 Tenor (mostly high) a - a

Other MSS: B.L. Add. MS 17847 Croft: *I waited patiently* (c. 1712)

- 'Boy' (Treble) e' - f#
Francis Hughes (38) (Spelt 'Hughes' throughout by Handel)

Date of birth uncertain - ?c. 1666 or c. 1680.

Appeared at Drury Lane and concerts 1700 onwards. Named as soloist in songs from Clayton's Arsinoe published in Walsh's Monthly Maske of Vocal Musick, July-August 1703. Left the stage 1708, possibly under pressure of competition from castrati and Italian operas.

Chapel Royal: Gentleman 17-9-1708. Second place (privilege granted for his 'extraordinary skill in singing': in waiting all 12 months) 1-10-1730.

St. Paul's Cathedral: Vicar Choral Probation 28-9-1708; admitted 2-6-1710

Westminster Abbey: Lay Vicar 1715 (from Oct. 1714?)

Founder member, Academy of Vocal Music 1726-1730 and probably later. Subscriber, Musica Sacra (Croft) 1724

By Feb. 1742/3 excused Chapel Royal attendance on account of the state of his health. In October 1743 he was 'in the Country' (St. Paul's Account Books).

Died 16-3-1743/4 at his lodgings in Hammersmith (?Age 77); buried Westminster Abbey 21-3-1743/4

Other references:
Possibly identical with 'Hews' named on 'Again the Welcome Morn' (Ode for Princess Anne's Birthday 1699/1700, B.L. Add. MS. 30934). July 10 1713 performed in Croft's Ode at the Oxford Act.
Frequently named as soloist for concerts, and for Court Odes. The leading Alto Soloist after Elford's death. The latest reference I have found to Hughes as a soloist is in connection with the New Year Ode, 1733/4, by which time Rowe (65) was taking over the leading parts.

Music:

Voice: Alto (Alto 1)

Handel: c. 1712 Anthem 6C
No. 1 Alto 1 (c'' in chorus) d' - b'
No. 6 Alto 1 b' - c''

No. 1 Alto 1 (c'' in chorus) d' - b'
No. 6 Alto 1 b' - c''

No. 5 Alto (Duet with Bass) g - c''

1713 Utrecht Jubilate
No. 5 Alto (Duet with Bass) c - d''
No. 5 (Alto 2)(Trio), but range higher than Alto 1
bb' - d''

No. 1 Semi-chorus and solo c'' - b'
(No. 3 Alto solo bb' - c'')
(No. 4 Alto solo c# - b')
No. 5 Alto solo b - c#'

No. 1 Alto 1 (c'' in chorus) d' - b'
No. 2 Alto solo b - c''
No. 4 Alto 1 a - c''
c. 1722-6 Anthem 6B
No. 2 Alto 1  \quad d' - b''
No. 3 Alto solo \quad g' - b''
No. 5 leader of 'Contralto' chorus  \quad c' - c''
No. 6 Alto \quad a' - b''
No. 7 Alto \quad c' - b''

1722-6 Caroline Te Deum (Revival)
No. 1, named 1714 and No. 2, not named a' - b''
No. 3 Alto solo  \quad b' - c''
No. 4 Alto solo \quad c' - c''
No. 5 Alto solo  \quad c' - b''
No. 6 Alto solo \quad b' - c''
No. 7 Alto solo (N.B. alternative, bars 25-6) a' - b''

1722-6 Te Deum in A major
No. 1 Alto solo  \quad d' - c''
No. 2 Alto (l) \quad g' - c''
No. 3 Alto (a in chorus) \quad c' - c''
No. 5 Alto solo \quad b' - c''
No. 6 Alto solo \quad b' - c''

1727 The King shall rejoice (Coronation Anthem)
No. 1 Alto 1 (Chorus leader) \quad c' - b''
No. 3 Alto 1 (Chorus leader) \quad b - c''

1727 My heart is inditing
No. Alto (Semichorus with 'Lee') \quad a - b'
N.B. Hughes was regularly paired with Weely (Bass), Eiford (Alto 2, to 1714) and Bell (Alto 2/Tenor, after 1714)

Other MSS:
Lcm MS. 840, B.L. Add MS 17845 and Birmingham Barber
MS 5007 a/b Croft: Te Deum and Jubilate in D major
(1708/9 and 1715) Alto a - c''
Ob.MS. Mus.Sch. B.7 Croft: Sing unto the Lord (1708/9)
Alto 1 g - b'
Lcm MS.839 Croft: O praise the Lord, ye that fear him
(1709) Alto 1 c' - b
Ob.MS. Mus.c.2 Galliard: I am well pleased (c.1709-11)
Alto a - c''
Lcm MS.839 and B.L.Add. MS 31405 Croft: This is the day
(1713) Alto 1 b' - b'
Lcm MS.839 Croft: I will lift up mine eyes (1713)
Alto a - c'' (d in semi-chorus)
Ob.MS.Don.c.19 Croft: Praise the Lord, O my soul
(c. 1714) Alto a - b'
Lcm MS.1064 Croft: O give thanks unto the Lord and call (1715/6) Alto b' - b''
Ob.MS.Mus.b.15, Croft MS 262 Croft: Praise God in his
sanctuary (1717) Alto g - b''
Lam MS. 666 Croft: O give thanks unto the Lord, for he (1719) Alto a - b'
Ob. MS. Mus. d. 44 Greene: I will magnify Thee (1719)
Alto g- b'
Lam MS. 995 Croft: Come all ye tuneful sisters (1720)
Alto a - d''
Ob. MS. Mus. d. 45 Greene: The Lord is our light (1720-1722)
Alto 1 g - b'
Ob. MS. Mus. d. 36 Greene: Descend, ye nine (1730) Alto a - c''
Ob. MS. Mus. c. 18, B.L. Add. MS. 17851 Greene: All thy works praise thee (n.d.) Alto a b - b''

George LAYE (40)

Laye is named on one work by Handel before 1727, the Caroline Te Deum. The entry of the name 'Mr. Leigh' was, however, added by Handel for a revival of this work in 1749 or later. He is also named on the 1727 Coronation Anthem My Heart is inditing ('Mr. Lee') in a semi-chorus section, paired with Hughes (38). He also sang in This is the Day (1734 Wedding Anthem - see Egmont Diary, Deutscht Handel, p.405), possibly singing the Alto solo in No. 1 (range b - b').

Voice: Alto (Alto 1) Range: a - b', possibly a - d''. This agrees with the range of his voice from other sources (Services, anthems and ode 'by Weldon, Croft and Greene).

I include biographical details of Laye in this section for two reasons. Although not named as a soloist by Handel before 1727, there is no doubt that Laye was nevertheless one of the most important singers in the Chapel Royal. Secondly, the Windsor records give particularly full details of Laye's early years, and provide a valuable picture of the transition from Chorister to adult member in one of the major choirs.

Born 27-2-1684/5, baptised Windsor 12-3-1684/5. Father Thomas Laye, Lay Clerk of Windsor. Admitted to whole chorister's place at Windsor 13-7-1696 ('George Lee'). Left choir from 24-11-1703 to have £5 'as usual'. (His brother Thomas dismissed 26-12-1705, with £5 to Mr. Croft to buy a spinet as a leaving present.)

Windsor: 6-2-1705/6 'To wear a surplice in the Choir and to have the profits of a Clerk's place until the General Chapter when, with the consent of the rest of the Canons, he may be admitted if they think fit'.
23-7-1709 Lay Clerk - sworn in to place. Allowed seniority above John Mason.
2-12-1755 given 10 gns. in consideration of his age and his constant attendance in his duty.

Chapel Royal: Travelling Charges from 1708, but not in Cheque Book until July 1712 - Gentleman 'a Country Tenor from Windsor'.


28-8-1739 One of founder members of The Society of Musicians.

Died 5-9-1765, buried 12-9-1765 (Windsor)

Benjamin MENCE (75)

Named on Handel's Chapel Royal music of 1749: the Peace Anthem and revival of Caroline Te Deum.

Voice: Alto (Alto 2), range g - b'. His name appears to have been deleted from No. 3 of the Caroline Te Deum, which has c' as the top note. (Compare Greene: 1745 Te Deum, 'Contratenor' Lcm MG 224. Solo sections 'Thou sittest' and 'When Thou tookest' range a - b').

Regular soloist in performances of Court Odes, 1745-9. Often paired/contrasted with Bayly (69). Presumably Mence can be identified with the soloist of that name for the 3 Choirs performance of Messiah in 1759, unless this was his son Samuel (born c. 1743, Chapel Royal Gentleman 1762-1786)

Francis ROWE (65)

Not named on any of Handel's Chapel Royal music, but presumably identical with the 'Mr. Row' named on the autographs of the Chandos Te Deum and Acis and Galatea. Tenor 2 in these works (range a - a' in Te Deum), but probably an Alto in the Chapel Royal. Named as soloist for performances of Court Odes, 1732-1742.

Robert WASS (74)

Named as soloist for Handel's 1749 revival of the Caroline Te Deum.

Voice: Bass (probably Bass 1). Range: d - d' (named section of Te Deum). He may also have sung the solo in No. 2 of the same work, range G - a'.

The only Chapel Royal Gentleman to become a major oratorio soloist whilst retaining his place in the Chapel. He sang for Handel's performances, and also at Oxford and the Three Choirs Festival. Soloist for performances of Court Odes, 1748-1759.
Samuel WEELY (42)

Chorister, Chapel Royal, left 5 -2-1701/2
Related anecdote re Blow to Hawkins (See MT Dec. 1937, p. 1027)

Chapel Royal: paid Travelling Charges from 1709, but no record of admission as Gentleman until 29-10-1714 ('A base from St. Paul's').


Founder Member, Academy of Vocal Music 1725/6-1730 and later.
Subscriber to Musica Sacra (Croft) 1724
28-8-1739 Founder member of the Royal Society of Musicians
Subscriber to 40 Select Anthems (Greene), 1743

July 10 1713 Performed in Croft's Ode at the Oxford Act.

'Died 2-11-1743'

Other references:

Weely's name occurs in Hawkins' History in connection with anecdotes about Blow, Jeremiah Clarke and Handel. (Vol. ii, p. 743, 784,852). Hawkins seems to have received these stories from Weely himself.

Obituaries in DA, 1743

Nov. 8: Last Week died Mr. Samuel Weely Sen. one of the oldest gentlemen belonging to his Majesty's Chapel Royal; as also the Choirs of St. Paul's and Westminster-Abbey. A few Years ago a gentleman, who was of his Name, left him an Estate of several Hundred Pounds per Annum.

Nov. 9: Mr. Weelely, a Gentleman late of the three choirs, died at Weely-Hall (his Seat) in Essex. He had distinguish'd himself, by his great skill in Choir-Musick, of which he was a perfect Master. When 'tis affirm'd that he was a most agreeable Companion, a true Friend, and inspired with an universal Benevolence towards Mankind, his numerous Acquaintance will bear Witness to the Truth of this Character.

(Samuel Weely, presumably his nephew, is described in the subscription list to William Hayes: Cathedral Music in Score, 1795, as "Samuel Weely Esq., Weely Hall near Colchester". He also subscribed to Boyce's 15 Anthems (1780) and A Collection of Anthems (1790)

Named as a soloist in London concerts from 1708 (RMARC, i,p.71), and also as a singing teacher (ibid, p. 84). The latest reference I have found to Weely as a soloist is in connection with Greene's anthem celebrating the King's return, 2-11-1735.

Music:

Voice: Bass (Bass 1)

Handel: c. 1712 Anthem 6C ('Mr. Whely')
No. 1 Bass 1 (chorus G - d)
No. 6 Bass (Chorus) a - e'
Ab - d'
C. 1713 *Eternal Source of light divine* (Birthday Ode)
('Mr. Whaly'/'Whely'?)
No. 5 Bass (Duet with Alto) ... d - e'

1713 Utrecht Jubilate ('Mr. Whaly')
No. 3 Bass (Duet with Alto) ... c - e'

C. 1714 *Caroline Te Deum* ('Whely')
No. 1 Bass (chorus B - e') ... d - d'

C. 1722-6 *Anthem 6D* ('Mr. Whely/Mr. Wheely')
No. 1 Bass (Chorus A - d') ... a - e'
No. 2A Bass Solo ... c - d'

C. 1722-6 *Anthem 6B* ('Mr. Whely')
No. 2 Bass (Chorus A - d') ... g - e'
No. 4A Bass Solo ... c - d'
No. 5 Bass (with chorus) ... c - d'

C. 1722-6 *Te Deum in A major* ('Mr Wheely')
No. 1 Bass 1 ... f# - e'
No. 4 Bass 1 ... d - e'
No. 6 Bass 1 (Chorus B - f#) ... d - f#'

C. 1722-6 *Anthem 11B* ('Mr. Wheely')
No. 1 Bass (Chorus lowest note F#) ... B - e'
(No. 2 Bass (no name) ... c - f#'
No. 3 Bass (Duet with Alto) ... e - e'
(No. 4 Bass (no name) ... B - e'

C. 1722-6 *Anthem 5B* ('Mr. Wheely/Mr. Whely')
No. 2 Bass (Duet with Alto) ... A - f#'
No. 3 Bass (Semichorus) ... A - f#'
No. 4 Bass (begins Duet with Alto) (solo section e - f#')
No. 6 Bass (begins Duet with Alto) (solo section e - f#')

1727 *The King shall rejoice* (Coronation Anthem) ('Whely')
No. 1 Bass 1 Chorus leader ... c# - e'
No. 3 Bass 1 Chorus leader (Alleluja G-f 'B - f#'

1727 *My Heart is inditing*
No. 1 Bass semi-chorus (Chorus A - e') ... d - d'
No. 3 Bass semi-chorus ... f# - e'

1727 *Let thy hand be strengthened*
No. 1 Bass semi-chorus ... d - d'

N.B. In all Alto/Bass duets listed, Hughes (38) was Weely's partner.

Other MSS: Lcm MS. 840, Birmingham Barber MS.5007 a/b
Croft: *Te Deum and Jubilate in D major* (1708/9)
Bass B - e'

Ob. MS Mus. Sch. b. 7 Croft: *Sing unto the Lord* (1708/9)
Bass B - f#'

Lcm MS.839 Croft: *O praise the Lord, ye that fear him* (1709) Bass l d - f' (?g') One movement in tenor clef
Ob. MS. Mus. c. 2 Galliard: *I am well pleased* (?1710)
Bass A - e'
B.L. Add MS 41847 Weldon: *Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous* (before 1712) Bass G - e'
Lem MS. 839 and B.L. Add.MS 31405 Croft: This is the day (1713) Bass A - f#''
B.L. RM. 24.d. 5 Croft: Prepare, ye sons of art (?1714) Bass A - e''
Lem MS.1064 Croft: O give thanks unto the Lord and call (?1715/6) Bass B - e''
Lem MS. 2043 Weldon: Service in D major (c.1715-1717) Decani Bass Verse A - e''
Ob. MS. Mus.d. 44 Greene: I will magnify Thee (1719) Bass B - e''
Ob. MS. Mus.d. 45 Greene: The Lord is our light (1720/2) Bass c - f''
Ob. MS. Mus.d. 36 Greene: Descend ye nine (1730) Bass and Tenor B - g''
Ob. MS. Mus.c. 18, B.L. Add. MS 17851 Greene: All thy works praise Thee (n.d.) Bass c - f''
APPENDIX SEVEN

SYSTEM FOR DESCRIPTIONS OF AUTOGRAPHS
AND COPIES OF HANDEL'S MUSIC

In describing musical manuscripts I have followed, as far as possible, the classifications already familiar from Larsen: Messiah and Clausen: Direktionspartituren. In the case of some MSS I have not been able to discover or to identify some features, but in general I have attempted to deal consistently with the characteristics referred to below.

I have not included one characteristic in my descriptions, that of paper sizes. The essential information on this topic is covered jointly by Squire: Catalogue, Fuller-Maitland & Mann: Catalogue and Larsen: Messiah (p.274-6, 288-303). I have only two reservations about this published material, both of them concerning autographs of paper size Larsen II. The size for RM.20.d.7, a volume of Chandos Anthems, was wrongly given by Squire (pp. cit., p. 10), and resulted in false entries in Larsen's table (p. 300, Nos. 79 and 80): this volume is uniform with the other 'Chandos' volumes RM.20.d.6 and 20.d.8, and should therefore be Larsen size I. The autograph of Anthem 6C (BA. Add. M 30308 f.17-26) is shown by Larsen (p. 300, No. 80) to be size II: it is, in fact, a large upright folio MS, Larsen size III.

Identification of sources: Where convenient, I have employed the RISM codes for Library collections. (See Bibliography).

Wake-up of Manuscripts: This information is given for the composer's autographs, but not for manuscript copies unless there are significant reasons for doing so. Lacunae are recorded in the initial description of contents, and the paper gatherings are described following the system used by Clausen, with some adaptation where necessary. The most common unit in Handel's autographs is the Binio, consisting of two bifolia folded to give four leaves or folios (eight sides or pages). Other units are also found, however, with gatherings of up to five bifolia.

Copyists: Scribes from the 'Smith' circle are identified using the symbols evolved by Larsen (p. 260-274) and Clausen (p.269-270): S1-S13, Hbl & Hb2, H1-H12, RM1-RM10, RM1-RM6. J.C. Smith the younger is rarely involved in the manuscripts with which this thesis is concerned, but his father was responsible for many important copies. The identification of 'early Smith' copies, i.e. those made by J.C. Smith senior before 1720, is still a matter for some controversy (see Chapter 5, Note 34), but fortunately few copies of the Chapel Royal music are directly affected by this.

Where I have been able to identify other scribes, by name or by reference to other MSS, I have done so. For copies from the Wynn Collection, now at Rutgers University Library, I have used the letter-symbols assigned to scribes in Picker: Rutgers (Picker A - B+).

Watermarks: Once again, I have based my system on that evolved by Larsen (p. 276-284) and Clausen (p. 249-266). The Chapel Royal sources include a number of watermarks which are not covered by their work, and Handel's autographs include two sub-types of the 'B' class watermarks which are unknown to Clausen; the dating implications of the latter are investigated in the chapters dealing with the works
concerned (Caroline Te Deum and Anthem 6B). The watermark of the main part of the autograph of Anthem 4A is a variant on Clausen's Cb type which occurs consistently in Handel's autographs during the period 1714-1718: I have designated this Cba.

Two autographs of works from Handel's First Chapel Royal Period, the Birthday Ode for Queen Anne and Anthem 4At, contain insertions on paper which is outside the run of the Larsen/Clausen classification. These papers, of poorer quality, are unique in Handel's autographs, but occur quite frequently in contemporary manuscripts of works by English composers such as Croft. I have designated these papers 'Eng. 1' and 'Eng. 2' for reference purposes, without intending to imply that they were manufactured in England. Their characteristics are as follows:

**Eng. 1, (Birthday Ode):** Main mark Lion, somewhat as Heawood; Watermarks No. 3136. (The insertion is a single sheet, so no countermark is available).

**Eng. 2, (Anthem 4A):** Main mark Arms of Amsterdam, similar to Heawood No. 358. Countermark: IV

Where possible, I have identified the watermarks of secondary manuscript copies with reference either to the Larsen/Clausen classification or to Heawood's watermark types (Pro patria, etc.).

Rastography: Here it has been necessary to devise my own system.

For the operas the usual format in Handel's autographs is oblong quarto, ruled with 10 staves. This is relatively rare in the Chapel Royal autographs, for which Handel generally preferred an upright format ruled with 12 or 16 staves; his choice was no doubt largely influenced by the need to accommodate a larger number of vocal staves on the page in choral movements.

It was unusual for all of the staves to be ruled simultaneously: the instrument used for the rulings normally produced between two and five staves at a single sweep. A page with twelve staves may therefore have been produced by six rulings of 2-stave units, four rulings of 3-stave units, or various less regular combinations.

I list the number of staves first, followed by the measurements of the individual rastra making up the page. For example, '12-stave, @4 72' means that the pages are ruled with 12-staves, each page being produced by 3 applications of a 4-stave rastrum with a span of 72mm.

Where a Handel autograph is composed of papers with several different rastographical characteristics, details are given of the distribution of the various rastra within the manuscript.

Manuscript Copies: These are listed and described in approximately chronological order. Many manuscripts formed part of one of the larger eighteenth-century Collections described in Appendix 8, and in these cases the name of the Collection is given as part of the description. Under 'Relationship of Copies' I describe the relationship of the source manuscripts to the autograph and to each other. For most works in the Chapel Royal repertoire I have used a 'family tree' stemma to summarise the descent of secondary and tertiary copies from the autograph. Where a secondary copy formed the source for subsequent ones, I give one characteristic reading of the source copy at
the appropriate place on the stemma. In the cases of Anthem 6B, Anthem 11B and the A major Te Deum I have dealt separately with groups of copies which share corrupt readings from sources which now seem to have vanished. My method of approach to the question of manuscript copies owes much to that outlined in Chapter 7 of Shaw: Messiah Companion ('Textual Authority').
APPENDIX EIGHT

MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS OF HANDEL'S MUSIC

Many of the copies of Chapel Royal works described in this thesis are part of larger manuscript collections of Handel's works formed in the eighteenth century. Fortunately, most of these collections have survived intact until the present day, with only occasional and casual losses; the one major collection which has been dispersed in the present century can, as far as the church music is concerned, be reconstructed fairly easily. The motives of the original collectors were various, but they all shared some connection with the composer or some musical interest in his works. I have referred to the collections by the names which have now become accepted, but it is necessary to bear in mind that these names often reflect a collection's later provenance rather than its original ownership.

In the following brief notes on the collections I shall deal with them in chronological order, as far as this can be ascertained. Each entry begins with select references to previous descriptions of the collection.

Aylesford Collection

(Squire: Catalogue, 1, Introduction, p.x; Larsen: Messiah, p. 325-6)

Collected by Charles Jennens, Handel's friend and oratorio librettist. Jennens began the collection in the 1730's; he had the benefit of the composer's assistance in securing copies of Handel's music - see Handel's letter of 28-6-1735 (Deutsch: Handel, p. 394). Some of Jennens' scores of Chapel Royal music were copied in the 1730's (Utrecht Jubilate, Caroline Te Deum), but the vocal and orchestral parts seem to have been copied in the mid-1740's. Jennens seems to have had a simple, compendious, attitude to his collection: he wanted a copy of everything by Handel that could be found, and a set of parts to accompany each score. The parts were never used for performances and, indeed, we may doubt whether this was ever part of Jennens' intention.

The Aylesford Collection was sold in 1918 and dispersed among several purchasers. The bulk of Handel's church music fortunately remained fairly well together: today it can nearly all be accounted for in the collections at Manchester Public Library (Flower Collection) and the Library of the University of Chicago, supplemented by a few isolated volumes now in the British Library. Part 1 of the catalogue of the Manchester Collection (Walker: Manchester), although entitled 'The Aylesford Manuscripts', includes a few volumes which are not of Aylesford provenance, among them one particularly important early score of Chapel Royal music from the 1720's.
Goodson/Fawcett Collection

(Burrows: Oxford)

In contrast to the Aylesford Collection, this was essentially a practical collection connected with performances in Oxford during the period c. 1735-1750. The Oxford performers were able by some means to acquire scores of Handel's music from the Smith scriptorium, and the associated performing material includes a few parts in the hands of 'Smith' copyists as well as some in the hands of Richard Fawcett, Richard Goodson, Richard Church and William Hayes. The most interesting Chapel Royal source is a score of Anthem 68 in the hand of S4, now surviving only in a fragmentary form. It is perhaps inevitable that a 'practical' collection should suffer more losses than a 'library' one.

Lennard Collection

(Larsen: Messiah, p. 213; Clausen: Direktionspartituren, p. 55; King: Collections, p. 37-8)

The name of the collection refers to the last private individual owner, Henry Barrett Lennard, who presented it to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, in 1902. The 'Collection' as it now stands is apparently not in its original state; some volumes of the original set seem to have been lost and others, including a copy of the Coronation Anthems, do not seem to belong. The church music volumes with which this thesis is concerned, however, are clearly part of the original run of 'library' scores.

Nothing is known for certain about the provenance of the Collection until its appearance with the 'Handel Bookcase' in the sale of the property of Thomas Greatorex in 1832. However, the Lennard volumes were used as printer's copy for Wright and Wilkinson's edition of Handel's Anthems in 1784 (see Chapter 9, Anthem 11B, sub Printed Edition 1) and some other volumes show signs of similar use. I have no hesitation in identifying the main Lennard Collection with that described thus by Burney:

The late Mr. Walsh, of Catherine-Street, in the Strand, purchased of Handel, for publication, transcripts of the Manuscript scores of almost all the works he had composed in England; and Mr. Wright, of the same place, successor to Mr. Walsh, is still in possession of these Manuscripts, many of which have never yet been published.

(Burney: Commemoration, Sketch, p. 44)

At present, there is no evidence to support or disprove Burney's assertion that the scores were originally copied for Walsh. They were not all copied at the same time, but Larsen's date of 1760-1770 for the creation of the collection is certainly too late; many of the volumes, including those of Handel's church music, have paper characteristics which tie them to the period 1736-1740.
Granville Collection

Library collection of scores prepared for Bernard Granville, c. 1740-1745, from the Smith scriptorium; the church music volumes confirm these dates.

Smith Collection

In this case, the name of the collection is rather misleading. It was given by Squire, who believed that the set of large folio volumes which constitute the collection accompanied the Handel autographs into the Royal Music Library as part of J.C. Smith junior's presentation to King George III. Some of the volumes are dated 1766-1770 by a copyist who signed himself 'R.S.' A volume of Chandos Anthems which had apparently strayed from the collection ended up in the hands of Robert Smith (no relation of J.C. Smith, as far as we know) in 1803, and King (Collectors, p. 26) appears to identify this person with the copyist 'R.S.', an identification which is in the highest degree unlikely since Smith's handwriting is distinctively dissimilar from that of the copyist. The Smith title has thus proved doubly confusing, especially since some of the volumes are undoubtedly in the hand of J.C. Smith the elder.

An inspection of the collection reveals that it contains at least two groups of volumes, copied at different periods. My interpretation of the collection, with special reference to the church music volumes, is as follows:

The original collection was prepared in the 1740's for Frederick, Prince of Wales. These volumes bear his coat of arms and are in a slightly smaller format than the later ones. They include RM. 18.f.9 (Utrecht and Dettingen Canticles) and RM.19.g.1, Vol. 3 (Chandos Anthems), both in the hand of Smith senior. On the evidence of the surviving volumes, the Prince did not own a 'complete' set of Handel's scores, as Jennens and Granville had done; no doubt the church music volumes were regarded as a relatively high priority since the music was not available in published form.

After the Prince's death in 1751, his library presumably passed into the hands of his widow, Augusta. At some stage two or more of the Prince's volumes of Handel's church music (now RM.19.g.1 a/b) left the collection, possibly given away by Augusta or her son, who became King George III in 1760. Smith junior was employed in Princess Augusta's household and, although his own hand does not appear in the collection, we may guess that he organised the additions to the collection which took place in the 1760's. The intention appears to have been to bring the collection more up to date by adding copies of Handel's Odes and Oratorios. Some attempt was made to make good the missing church music volumes by providing two new ones, now RM. 19.g.1, Vols. 1 and 2. The new volumes were in a rather larger
format than the old, and no coat-of-arms appears on the binding. Some attempt was made to unify the new and the old by providing an engraved decorated title page to each volume, the work of 'I. Bulley'. Thus RM.19.g.l vol. 3, although it has a different binding and format from its companions, has the same title page. It hardly seems an accident that this title page is dated 1773, the year after Princess Augusta's death. In all probability Smith quickly carried forward the work on the collection to some form of completion so that it could be passed on to the King. Whether Smith himself ever owned any of the volumes himself may be doubted. I think it likely that 'R.S.' (Larsen's Copyist S. 10) was Redmond Simpson, a Kettledrummer for state occasions and an Oboe player in the Queen's Band during the 1760's, and one of the musical sub-directors of the 1764 Handel Festival.

Hayes Collection

This originated from the same circle of Oxford musicians as the Goodson/Fawcett Collection, but a generation later, and with a rather different purpose. The intention appears to have been to produce sets of reference scores of unpublished music, mainly English church music. The collection seems to have originated with William Hayes and John Awbery (B.C.L. New College, Oxon., 1748; died 1775), who were responsible for a five-volume set of Croft's church music, now Ob. MS Mus.d.27-31. One of the copies in Awbery's hand in the first volume is dated August 18, 1745, and at much the same period he also copied Handel's Chandos Te Deum, Dixit Dominus and Laudate Pueri (now Ob. MS Mus.d.56-58). About 1760 a similar set of volumes of Handel's English church music was produced, this time apparently under the direction of Philip Hayes, who worked with one major assistant and a number of other copyists, all of them presumably Oxford musicians. This collection reached eight volumes, of which No. 8 is now at the Bodleian Library (MS Mus*d. 57) and Vols. 2, 4, 5, 6 and 7 at the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Hamburg (MS MA/177). A copy of the Chandos Te Deum in the hand of Philip Hayes also at Hamburg (MA/204) appears to be connected with the collection.

The provenance of Oxford MSS from the Hayes circle in the later eighteenth century is at present obscure: it is unclear who actually owned the music which passed around between William and Philip Hayes, John Awbery, Richard Church and others, and the evidence which can be drawn from the sale catalogue of the Hayes' music, or from the collection which Osborn Wight eventually left to the Bodleian Library only seems to increase the obscurity.

Many of the works in the Croft and Handel volumes have music texts which have been subjected to editorial 'improvement'.

Wynn Collection

Our evidence for the contents of the collection comes from Burney: Commemoration, Sketch, p. 45-6. Burney begins his description thus:

Sir Watkins Williams Wynn, besides the printed OPERAS, ORATORIOS, and TE DEUMS, of HANDEL, is in possession of the following Manuscript Scores:
- and his subsequent list, mainly of English church music, tallies with the indices to the manuscript volumes now in the Rutgers University Library and described in Picker: *Rutgers*. The hand of S10 appears in these volumes, and he may also have been responsible for the indices. I have no hesitation in identifying these MSS as formerly part of the Wynn collection. Sir Watkin was an enthusiast for Handel's music and one of the Directors of the 1784 Festival.
APPENDIX NINE

SOURCE REFERENCES FOR LISTS OF

CHAPEL ROYAL TRAVELLING CHARGES, 1700-1760

All references are to documents in the Public Record Office.

In the entries marked 'P' a reduced Chapel establishment is
recorded, consisting only of the Priests and the Officers of the
Vestry.

The King was abroad for part or all of the summer season in
the years marked 'A'.

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<td>1725</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>Kensington (attended the Princesses)</td>
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<td>1726</td>
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<td>1727</td>
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<td>1728</td>
<td>Hampton Court</td>
<td>LC5/18, p.73</td>
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<tr>
<td>1728</td>
<td>Windsor</td>
<td>LC5/18, p.75</td>
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<td>LC5/18, p.211</td>
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<td>1736</td>
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<td>LC5/20, p.162</td>
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<td>1737</td>
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<td>1737</td>
<td>(Queen Caroline died November 1737)</td>
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<td>1744</td>
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<td>1748</td>
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<td>Kensington</td>
<td>LC5/23, p.149</td>
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<td>1751 (P)*</td>
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<td>1759</td>
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<td>1760</td>
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<td>LC5/167, p.325</td>
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* Confessor, two Priests, Yeoman and Groom of the Vestry only.
APPENDIX TEN

HANDEL'S BORROWINGS AND SELF-BORROWINGS

IN HIS CHAPEL ROYAL MUSIC

This list is not intended to be exhaustive: it is a check-list of borrowings which were either substantial in extent or, if fragmentary, easily recognisable to the ear.

Where no composer is named, the borrowing is from Handel's own works.

Anthem 6C (Chapter 3)

No. 1 'L'occas ha nell' aurora', Italian Trio Quel fior che all' alba ride. See also Chapter 3, Ex.13 (b-e)
No. 2 'Tu sei la bella', Donna che in Ciel. See also Chapter 3, Note 85.
No. 5 'A chi spera', Italian Duet Troppo crude, troppo fiera

'Utrecht' Te Deum (Chapter 4)

No. 2, bar 16. Italian Duet Se tu non lasci amore, 1st movement
No. 8 'Muora si muorà', Italian Cantata Ero e Leandro: 'Ahi crudel', Rinaldo
No. 9 Corelli: Trio sonata Op. 3 No. 2, First movement. See Chapter.9, Ex. 14

'Utrecht' Jubilate (Chapter 4)

No. 1 Laudate Pueri Domum (D major setting), 1st movement

Eternal Source of Light Divine (Birthday Ode) (Chapter 4)

No. 3 'Ricco piano', Il trionfo del Tempo
No. 4 'Non si puo dar un cor', Italian Cantata (instrumental)
Chi ben ama non parea
No. 7 'Maria, salute e spera', Donna che in Ciel

'Caroline' Te Deum (Chapter 5) (As composed)

No. 6 Utrecht Te Deum No. 3, bar 142 et seq.

Anthem 4A (Chapter 5)

No. 4 ?'Vanum, vanum' Nisi Dominus
No. 6, bar 8 ?Laudate Pueri Domum (D major), closing bars

Anthem 6D (Chapter 8)

No. 1 Anthem 6C No. 1
No. 2 Solo Sonata Op. 1 No. 7, 3rd. movement (may postdate Anthem 6D)
See also Op.1 No. 5, 3rd. movement
No. 3 Anthem 6C No. 4; Chandos Anthem 6A, No. 5
No. 4 Chandos Anthem 6A No. 6; Trio Sonata Op. 2 No. 1, 4th movement (may postdate Anthem 6D)
No. 5 Anthem 6C No. 6
Anthem 6B (as composed) (Chapter 8)

- No. 1: Sinfonia first movement, Chandos Anthem 6A No. 1
- No. 2: Anthem 6D No. 1
- No. 3: Chandos Anthem 6A No. 3
- No. 4A: Anthem 6D No. 2
- No. 5: Anthem 6D No. 3
- No. 6: Anthem 6D No. 4
- No. 7: Chandos Anthem 6A No. 7

'Caroline' Te Deum (1720's revival) (Chapter 9)

- No. 5B: Utrecht Te Deum No. 8; Chandos Te Deum, No. 12

Anthem 5B (Chapter 9)

- No. 1: Sinfonia first movement, Chandos Anthem 5A No. 1, Sonata a 5 (Violin Concerto) 1st Movement; see also Chapter 9, Note 10
- No. 2: Chandos Anthem 4 No. 5
- No. 3: Chandos Anthem 8 No. 4
- No. 4: Chandos Anthem 8 No. 5
- No. 5: Chandos Anthem 7 No. 6
- No. 6: Chandos Anthem 5A No. 8

Te Deum in A Major (Chapter 9)

- No. 1: Chandos Te Deum No. 1
- No. 2: Utrecht Te Deum No. 2: Bass aria, 'Mein Vater', Brockes Passion
- No. 4: Bar 35 Chandos Te Deum No. 4
- No. 5: Chandos Te Deum No. 5
- No. 6: Chandos Te Deum No. 9
- No. 8: Caroline Te Deum No. 6

Anthem 11B (Chapter 9)

- No. 1: Chandos Anthem 11A No. 2
- No. 4: Chandos Anthem 11A No. 8; see also Chapter 9 Ex. 14 and Chapter 6 Ex. 7

Zadok the Priest (Coronation Anthem)

- No. 1: Opening, Nisi Dominus; Chandos Anthem 10 No. 11
- No. 3: bars 22-24, Anthem 4A No. 6, bar 8 (q.v.)

The King shall rejoice

- No. 3: Utrecht Jubilate No. 6
- No. 4: Utrecht Te Deum No. 4, bar 26 ('Thou sittest at the right hand of God')

This is the Day (Wedding Anthem A)

- No. 1: 'The mighty Pow'r', Athalia
- No. 2: 'Gentle Airs, melodious Strains', Athalia
- No. 3: 'Through the Lapse', Athalia
- No. 4: 'My vengeance awakes me', Athalia
- No. 6: 'Ah, canst thou but prove me', Athalia
- No. 8: Sonata, 'Taci, qual sono ascolto', Il Trionfo del Tempo
- No. 9: Caroline Te Deum, No. 6

Note: The terms 'evocation' and 'call' are used to denote the act of calling or invoking something or someone.
Sing unto God (Wedding Anthem B)

No. 2 Graun: Brunswick Passion 'Ihr Jünger Jesu lernt die Tücke'.
No. 3 'Io vorrei', Il Trionfo del Tempo
No. 4 Graun: Brunswick Passion 'Lasset uns aufsehen auf Jesum'
No. 6 'Lunga seria', Il Parnasso in Festa

The ways of Zion do mourn (Funeral Anthem)

No. 2 German chorale: 'Herr Jesu Christ, du höchste Gut'
No. 3 J.P. Krieger: Organ Fuge (Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern Jg.18, p. 192)
No. 6 German chorale: 'Du Friedeirst Herr Jesu Christ'
No. 9 Jacob Handl: Motet 'Ecce quomodo moritur justus'

Anthem 6B (1738 Oratorio Version)

No. 4B German Chorale: 'Christ lag in Todesbanden'
No. 7 (additional 'Alleluja') Athalia, final chorus of Part 1

Sing unto God, 2nd Version (Wedding Anthem C, 1740)

No complete musical source of this work survives, but the text printed in the newspapers reveals that the Anthem was made up of movements from Wedding Anthems A and B as follows:

No. 1 Wedding Anthem B, No. 1
No. 2 Wedding Anthem B, No. 2
No. 3 Wedding Anthem A, No. 2
No. 4 Wedding Anthem A, No. 3
No. 5 Wedding Anthem A, No. 4
No. 6 Wedding Anthem B, No. 4
No. 7 Wedding Anthem B, No. 5
No. 8 Wedding Anthem B, No. 6

'Dettingen' Te Deum

Several movements based on music from Te Deum by F.A. Urio: see Seiffert's 'Vorwort' to HG Supplement Vol. 2 (1902)

No. 8, Bars 98-100 Messiah, 'The Trumpet shall sound', opening theme.

The King shall rejoice (Dettingen Anthem)

No. 4 'And to that pitch', Semele (final chorus, Act II)

How beautiful are the Feet (Peace Anthem)

No. 1, bars 1-24 Anthem 6B No. 1
No. 1, remainder 'How beautiful are the Feet' (Duet version)
Messiah
No. 2 Anthem 5B No. 3
No. 3 Stradella: 'Amor sempr'e avezzo', Serenata Qual prodigio;
aria and chorus, 'Be wise at length', Occasional Oratorio
No. 4 Chorus 'Blessing and honour, glory and power', Messiah
Blessed are They (Foundling Hospital Anthem)

No. 3 Funeral Anthem No. 6
No. 3 (Ending B) German chorale: 'Aus tiefer Not'
No. 5 Funeral Anthem No. 8
No. 6, bars 1-23 Lotti: 'Qui Tollis'
No. 6, remainder 'Virtue shall never long be oppossed', Susanna
No. 8 'Hallelujah', Messiah
APPENDIX ELEVEN

HANDEL'S RE-USE OF CHAPEL ROYAL MUSIC

This list does not include the re-use or adaptation of Chapel Royal music for other works in Handel's repertoire of English church music, information on which can be found in the preceding Appendix, supplemented by Chapter 6 for those Chandos Anthems which were re-worked from Chapel Royal material. Where similar material was used by Handel for Chandos and Chapel Royal works, no listing is given for music which was derived from the former to the exclusion of the latter, such as the opening movements of Trio Sonatas Op. 5 Nos. 1 and 3.

Where no specific feature of a movement is indicated, the complete movement was drawn upon. If no alternative title is given, the movement retained its original text.

Dates given for Oratorios refer to the earliest inclusion of the relevant music; most of the movements were also included at subsequent revivals of the same work.

Entries shown in parentheses are Oratorio insertions dating from Handel's last years, or the seasons soon after his death, which were probably made on the initiative of J.C. Smith junior.

Anthem 6C

No. 1 (and subsequent versions in 6A, 6D and 6B)
1740 L'Alegro, Chorus 'These pleasures, Melancholy, give' (Theme) (Compare also 1743 Joseph and his Brethren 'And grant us aid' from chorus 'Eternal monarch')

No. 2 c. 1717 Brockes Passion, 'Hail! du Schaum!' c. 1718 Esther, 'How art Thou fall'n' (Bass theme)
No. 6 final bars: 1741 Messiah, 'Let us break their bonds' (stretto theme for 'And cast away')

'Utrecht' Jubilate

No. 6 1741 Messiah, 'Glory to God' (Treatment of text)

Eternal source of Light divine (Birthday Ode)

No. 2 c. 1730 Concerto Grosso Op. 3 No. 2, 2nd. movement (Themes re-worked)
1733 Deborah, First chorus, text '0 grant a leader' (Themes re-worked)

No. 5 1732 Esther, 'Through the Nation'
No. 6 1732 Esther, 'Blessings descend'
No. 7 1732 Acis and Galatea, 'Contento sol promette'
No. 8 1733 Deborah, 'Awake the ardour'

Anthem 4A

No. 1, bars 29-30: 1724 Tamerlano, 'Vedrò ch'un dì', bars 17-18

Anthem 6D

No. 2 c. 1737 Trio Sonata Op. 5 No. 6, 3rd movement (Themes re-worked)
Anthem 6B

Complete Anthem, with additional movement to Sinfonia, new version of No. 4 and additional final 'Alleluja', used in Part 1 of An Oratorio (March 1738)

No. 3, bars 26-7 1746 Occasional Oratorio 'Jehovah, to my words give ear', bars 33-4.

No. 3, bars 32-33 1745 Joseph 'Be firm, my Soul', bars 5-6 (Note the similarity in character of text in both examples.)

(No. 1 c. 1767 Esther, chorus introduced into revival: see Chapter 8, Anthem 6B, Copy D)

Anthem 5B

No. 4, Nos. 1 & 6 1744 Belshazzar, Part 3.
(No. 6 1756 Athalia, Part 3)

Te Deum in A Major

No. 2 Compare Deborah 'Doleful tidings', Israel in Egypt 'The People shall hear' and Jephtha 'How dark, O Lord' (accompaniment rhythm)

No. 6 Athalia 'O Lord whom we adore' (G minor setting, 1735)

Anthem 11B

No. 3 1736 Arminio 'Il fuggir'; 1750 Alceste 'Ye fleeting shades'; 1750 The Choice of Hercules 'Lead, Goddess'

No. 4 1738 Oratorio, conclusion of Part 1

Zadok the Priest (Coronation Anthem)

No. 1 and 3, 1732 Esther, End of Part 2. Text of No. 1 'God is our hope'; from 1751, text of No. 1 'Blessed are all they'.

No. 1 and 3 1738 Oratorio. End of Part 3. Text of No. 1 'Blessed are all they'.

No. 1 and 3 1746 Occasional Oratorio End of Part 3. Text of No. 1 'Blessed are all they'.

The King shall rejoice (Coronation Anthem)

No. 1 1733 Deborah, Part 2 'The great King of Kings'

Nos. 4 and 5 1733 Deborah End of Part 3. 'O celebrate his sacred name - Alleluja'.

Let Thy Hand be strengthened (Coronation Anthem)

No. 1 1733 Deborah. Part 1 'Let thy deeds be glorious'

Nos. 2 and 3 1733 Deborah Part 1 'Despair all around them - Alleluja'.

No. 1 1738 Oratorio Part 2 'Let thy deeds be glorious'.

My Heart is inditing (Coronation Anthem)

Complete Anthem 1732 Esther, Part 1

Complete Anthem 1738 Oratorio, Part 3.
This is the Day (Wedding Anthem A)

No. 1 1738 *Oratorio*, Part 2 (Shortened form, *Athalia* text)
No. 4 1738 *Oratorio*, ?Anthem (Tenor) version of movement but *Athalia* text; similarly also ?1744 *Deborah* (See Clausen: *Direktionspartituren*, p. 130-1)

Sing unto God (Wedding Anthem B) (See also Appendix 10, Wedding Anthem C)

No. 1 1737 *Il Trionfo del Tempo* Part 1 'Solo al goder'
No. 2 1737 *Il Trionfo del Tempo* Part 1 'Posco genic'
No. 4 1737 *Il Trionfo del Tempo* Part 2 'Pria che si converte'

(These three movements revived with English texts for *The Triumph of Time and Truth* (1757) - 'Time is supreme', 'Pensive sorrow', 'Ere to dust')

The Ways of Zion do mourn (Funeral Anthem)

Nos. 1, 2, 4-6, 9 and 12 1738 *Saul*, planned as 'Elegy', Part 3, but not used. (Pronouns of text changed)

Complete Anthem, 1739 *Israel in Egypt*, as Part 1. (Pronouns of text changed)

The King shall rejoice (Dettingen Anthem)

No. 5 1743 *Joseph and his Brethren* End of Part 3.
(No. 1 1756 *Athalia*, Part 3)

How beautiful are the Feet (Peace Anthem)

(No. 3 1756 *Israel in Egypt*, Part 1)

Blessed are they (Foundling Hospital Anthem)

(No. 6 1757 *The Triumph of Time and Truth*, Part 3)
APPENDIX TWELVE

THANKSGIVING SERVICES, 1714-1789

The information in this Appendix is taken mainly from the officially-published liturgies. The list begins with the first Thanksgiving of George I's reign, and is a continuation of that given in Chapter 2, Table 1. The King attended St. Paul's Cathedral for a Thanksgiving Service on 20-1-1714/5; as far as I have been able to discover, no similar Royal service was held there until the last one on the present list, 23-4-1789. Between those two occasions the King normally attended the Chapel Royal on Thanksgiving Days.

I have not included routine annual Thanksgiving liturgies (e.g. for Accession anniversaries) in the list.

Chapter 7 Tables 1 and 2, and Appendix 14 include information about the music provided for some Thanksgivings.

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<td>George I</td>
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<tr>
<td>20-1-1714/5</td>
<td>Bringing his Majesty to a Peaceable and Quiet Possession of the Throne, and thereby Disappointing the Designs of the Pretender and his Adherents.</td>
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<tr>
<td>7-6-1716</td>
<td>Blessing on His Majesty's Counsels, and Arms, in Supressing the late unnatural Rebellion.</td>
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<tr>
<td>25-4-1723</td>
<td>Preserving his Majesty and His Subjects from that Dreadful Plague with which the Kingdom of France was lately Visited; and for putting an End to the same.</td>
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<td>George II</td>
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<td>*17-7-1743</td>
<td>Late Glorious Victory obtained by His Majesty at Dettingen, and for imploring the Divine Blessing for the Preservation of His Majesty's Sacred Person, and upon the Future Progress of his Arms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*4-5-1746</td>
<td>Complete Victory vouchsafed to His Majesty's Forces under the conduct of the Duke of Cumberland over the Rebels in Scotland.</td>
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<tr>
<td>9-10-1746</td>
<td>Suppression of the late unnatural Rebellion and Deliverance of these Kingdoms from the Calamities of an Intestine War.</td>
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<tr>
<td>25-4-1749</td>
<td>Putting an end to the late bloody and expensive War, by the Conclusion of a Just and Honourable Peace.</td>
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<td>*2-7-1758</td>
<td>Victory over the French at Crevelt on 23 June</td>
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<tr>
<td>*20-8-1758</td>
<td>Taking of Louisbourg</td>
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<tr>
<td>6-9-1758</td>
<td>Taking of Louisbourg</td>
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<td>*18-2-1759</td>
<td>Ceasing of the Distemper, which lately raged amongst the Horned Cattle in this Kingdom</td>
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<td>*12-8-1759</td>
<td>Victory on August 1st at Dodenhausen</td>
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<tr>
<td>*21-10-1759</td>
<td>Defeat of French Army in Canada, and the taking of Quebec</td>
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29-11-1759  Success by Sea and Land, the defeat of the French in Canada, the taking of Quebec, and for a plentiful Harvest.

* 9-12-1759  Victory of the Fleet under Sir Edward Hawke on November 20th.

12-10-1760  Success of his Majesty's Arms in North America, and the surrender of Montreal, and all Canada.

George III

26- 7-1761  Surrender of Pondicherry and the Islands of Belleisle and Dominica

28- 3-1762  Success of Army and Fleet against the Island of Martinico

15- 8-1762  Safe delivery of the Queen and the birth of a young Prince

3-10-1762  Success of Arms against the Havannah

5- 5-1763  Putting an end to the late bloody and expensive War, and Peace with Spain

25- 8-1765  Safe delivery of the Queen and happy birth of a Prince

5-10-1766  Birth of a Princess

13-11-1768  Birth of a Princess

27- 5-1770  Birth of a Princess

9- 6-1771  Birth of a Prince

31- 1-1773  Birth of a Prince

27- 2-1774  Birth of a Prince

9-11-1777  Birth of a Prince

28- 2-1779  Birth of a Prince

1-10-1780  Birth of a Prince

26- 5-1782  Success of his Majesty's Arms in various parts of the World

17- 8-1783  Birth of a Princess

29- 7-1784  Putting an end to the late bloody and expensive War

1- 3-1789  Recovery of the King

23- 4-1789  Delivery of our most gracious Sovereign from the severe Illness with which he hath been afflicted

Notes:

I have been unable to find a liturgy for 6- 9-1758, but the Thanksgiving was reported in the newspapers. On this occasion a service was held at St. Paul's: the King did not attend, but he reviewed the Colours taken from the French at Kensington before the service.

The entries marked * in George II's reign are not full liturgies, but merely a single occasional thanksgiving prayer. No full thanksgiving liturgy seems to have been published in 1743; the King was still abroad on 17- 7-1743.
APPENDIX THIRTEEN

TRANSCRIPTS OF PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE DOCUMENTS RELATING TO HANDEL AND THE CHAPEL ROYAL, 1723-1726

1. Warrant Book LC5/158, p. 140

These are to Pray and require You to Pay or Cause to be paid to Mr. William Keitch Hautboi, Mr. Pessenwolt David and Henry Rosha Double Base the sum of seven Pounds Eleven Shillings and Six Pence for their attending one Practice of the Te Deum and performing in the same before his Majesty at St. James's, And for so doing this shall be your Warrt. Given under my hand this 12th day of Febry 1722/3 in the Ninth Year of His Majesty's Reign.

To Charles Stanhope Esq. & a. Holles Newcastle

Marginal entry: Hautboi & Double Base for performing in the Te Deum at St. James's £7.11.6

2. Appointments Book LC3/63, p. 282 (See Chapter 7, Plate 1)

These are to require You to Swear and Admit Mr. George Hendall into the place and quality of Composer of Musick for his Majesty's Chappel Royal. To have hold Exercise, and Enjoy the said place together with all rights, Profits, Privileges, and Advantages thereunto belonging; And for so doing this shall be Your Warrant Given & a this 25th day of Febry 1722/3 in the Ninth Year of his Majesty's Reign.

To His Majesty's Gent Ushers & a Holles Newcastle

Marginal entry: Mr. Geo: Hendall to be sworn Composer of Musick for his Majty's Chapl Royl.


These are & a to Mr. John Kite Hautboi, Mr. George Angels and David Williwald Double Bases Richard Vincent Bason and Christopher Smith Tenor the sum of Twenty Five Pounds Four Shillings for attending three Practices of the Te Deum and performing in the same before His Majesty at St. Jame's. Also to pay them the sum of Three Pounds two Shillings and Sixpence for Office Fees Amounting in all to the Sum of Twenty Eight Pounds Six Shillings and Six Pence. And & a Given & a, this 1st Day of April 1724 in the Tenth Year of his Majesty's Reign.

To Charles Stanhope Esq. & a Holles Newcastle

Marginal entry: Hautboy and Double Base & a for pforming in ye Te Deum at St. Jame's £28. 6.6
These are &c to Mr. George Frederice Handle the sum of Three Pounds Eighteen Shillings and Sixpence for Writing the Anthem which was P'form'd at St. Jame's before His Majty. And &a Given &a this 1st day of April 1724 in the Tenth Year of His Majty's Reign.

To Charles Stanhope Esq. &a Holles Newcastle

Marginal entry: Mr. Handle for writing the Anthem which was P'formed before his Maty £3.18.6d


These are &a to Mr. Christian Kitsh Hautboi Mr. Godfried Karpa Bason Mr. David Beswillibald and Mr. George Angel Double Basses, and Mr. Christopher Smith Tenor the sum of Eighteen pounds Eighteen Shillings for attending two Practices of the Te Deum and P'forming in the same before His Majty at St. James's. Also to pay them the Sum of One Pound Nineteen Shillings for Office Fees. Amounting in all to the Sum of Twenty Pounds Seventeen Shillings. And &a given &a this 1st Day of March 1725/6 in the Twelfth Year of His Majesty's Reign.

To Charles Stanhope Esq., &a Grafton

Marginal entry: Hautboys and double Base &a for Pforming in the Te Deum at St. James's. £20.17

These are &a to Mr. [Space] Smith the Sum of Eight Pounds Thirteen Shillings for Scores and parts &a in the Te Deum performed before His Majesty at St. James's. Also to pay him the Sum of Eleven Shillings for Office Fees. Amounting in all to the sum of Nine Pounds four Shillings and &a given &a this 6th Day of April 1726 in the Twelfth Year of His Majesty's Reign.

To Charles Stanhope Esq. &a Grafton

Marginal entry: Mr. Smith for Scores &a in ye Te Deum perform'd at St. James's £9.4—
APPENDIX FOURTEEN

CHAPEL ROYAL SERVICES WITH ORCHESTRAL ACCOMPANIMENT

DURING THE REIGN OF KING GEORGE II, 1727-1760

(Table overleaf)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Occasion</th>
<th>P.R.C. References</th>
<th>Music</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11-10-1727*</td>
<td>Westminster Abbey</td>
<td>Coronation of King George II</td>
<td>LC5/18 p.15-16,37 (Copying charges, extra performers and organ)</td>
<td>Handel: 4 Coronation Anthems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>and Queen Caroline</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-11-1729</td>
<td>Chapel Royal</td>
<td>Return of King</td>
<td>LC5/18, p.189 (Copying charges, Oboes and Bassoon)</td>
<td>Greene: Te Deum and Anthem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>St. James's Palace</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29-10-1732</td>
<td>Chapel Royal</td>
<td>Return of King</td>
<td>LC5/19, p.64 (Copying charges, Oboe and Bassoons)</td>
<td>Greene: Te Deum and Anthem</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14- 3-1733/4*</td>
<td>French Chapel,</td>
<td>Wedding of Anne, Princess</td>
<td>LC5/19, p.233, 235-6 (Copying charges, extra performers, and Organ; also payment to Greene for Anthem not performed)</td>
<td>Handel: Wedding Anthem A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>St. James's Palace</td>
<td>Royal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-11-1735</td>
<td>Chapel Royal</td>
<td>Return of King</td>
<td>LC5/20, p.68 (Copying charges, 13 extra performers)</td>
<td>Greene: Te Deum and Anthem Blessed is the man whose strength</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>27- 4-1736*</td>
<td>Chapel Royal</td>
<td>Wedding of Frederick, Prince</td>
<td>LC5/20, p.134,182,239 (Copying charges, extra performers, Organ and arrangement of Musick Gallery)</td>
<td>Handel: Wedding Anthem B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>of Wales</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16- 1-1736/7</td>
<td>Chapel Royal</td>
<td>Return of King</td>
<td>LC5/20, p.195 (Copying charges, 18 extra performers)</td>
<td>Greene: Te Deum and Anthem</td>
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<tr>
<td>17-12-1737*</td>
<td>King Henry VII's Chapel, West-</td>
<td>Funeral of Queen Caroline</td>
<td>LC5/20, p.308 (Copying charges, extra performers)</td>
<td>Handel: Funeral Anthem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>minster Abbey</td>
<td></td>
<td>LC5/21, p.5 (Organ - rehearsal and performances)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Place</td>
<td>Service Type</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>8- 5-1740*</td>
<td>Chapel Royal</td>
<td>Marriage of Princess Mary</td>
<td>LC5/21, p.149</td>
<td>Handel: Wedding Anthem C</td>
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<tr>
<td>?19-10-1740</td>
<td>Chapel Royal</td>
<td>Return of King</td>
<td>LC5/21, p.180</td>
<td>Greene: Te Deum and Anthem I will give thanks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?25-10-1741</td>
<td>Chapel Royal</td>
<td>Return of King</td>
<td>LC5/21, p.294</td>
<td>Greene: Te Deum and Anthem Rejoice in the Lord, O ye Righteous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27-11-1743</td>
<td>Chapel Royal</td>
<td>Return of King (No official Dettingen Thanksgiving)</td>
<td>LC5/22, p.30</td>
<td>Handel: Dettingen Te Deum and Anthem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?20-10-1745</td>
<td>Chapel Royal</td>
<td>Return of King</td>
<td>LC5/22, p.216</td>
<td>Greene: Te Deum and Anthem (Te Deum Lcm MS 224)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27- 4-1746</td>
<td>Chapel Royal</td>
<td>Duke of Cumberland's success in Scotland</td>
<td>LC5/22, p.217</td>
<td>Greene: Te Deum and Anthem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27-11-1748</td>
<td>Chapel Royal</td>
<td>Return of King</td>
<td>LC5/23, p.91</td>
<td>Greene: Te Deum and Anthem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25- 4-1749*</td>
<td>Chapel Royal</td>
<td>Thanksgiving for Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle</td>
<td>LC5/23, p.98</td>
<td>Handel: Caroline Te Deum and Peace Anthem</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(No further orchestrally-accompanied services until Funeral of King, 11-11-1760)

Note: All services except those marked * took place on Sundays.
APPENDIX FIFTEEN

THE BRITISH ROYAL FAMILY, 1700-1760

This appendix, which includes only the immediate family circle of the British monarchs, is intended as an aid to identifying the persons referred to in the main text of the thesis. The symbol * indicates that the person named was not born in England.

1. Queen Anne's Family

    Queen Anne, born 1665. Reigned 8-3-1701/2 until death 1-8-1714


    Anne's father, James II of England, was cousin to Sophia, wife of Ernst August of Hanover and mother of King George I.

2. King George I's Family


    Married Sophia Dorothea, daughter of Georg Wilhelm, Duke of Celle, in 1682. Marriage dissolved 1694; Sophia Dorothea was never Queen of England, and did not accompany George I in 1714.

    Two children: (1) George August*, King George II of England, born 1683 - see below.

    (2) Sophia Dorothea*, born 1681. Married, 1706, Friedrich Wilhelm I, King of Prussia, by whom 9 children, including Friedrich II ('The Great').

3. King George II's Family

    King George II* (Georg August), born 1683. Accompanied King George I to England 1714, and created Prince of Wales soon after arrival. Reigned 11-6-1727 until death 25-10-1760. Settled in England from 1714, but visited Hanover 12 times, 1729-1755.


    There were 9 children of George II and Queen Caroline.
Children born in Germany, before 1714

(1) Frederick Louis* born 1707. Created Duke of Gloucester in 1716 and Prince of Wales in 1728. Came to England, 1728, where he remained until his death in 1751. Since he died before his father, Frederick never became King of England. His eldest son and second child, George, (born 1738) succeeded as King George III in 1760. Frederick married Augusta, daughter of Frederick II Duke of Saxe-Coburg, on 27-4-1736 at the Chapel Royal. For that occasion Handel composed Sing unto God, Wedding Anthem B.

(2) Anne* born 1709. Came to England with her mother, October 1714. Princess Royal. Married Willem of Orange-Nassau on 14-3-1733/4 at the French Chapel, St. James's Palace. For that occasion Handel composed This is the Day, Wedding Anthem A. Died in Holland, 1759.


(4) Caroline Elizabeth* born 1713. Too young to accompany her mother to England in 1714; brought over from Hanover, May 1715. Died 1757.

N.B. The three daughters named above were retained at St. James's Palace in December 1717 by King George I, and remained with the King for the period during which their parents were refused residence at the Palace. Handel was appointed Musick Master to these three Princesses, probably c. 1724. This appointment was renewed in 1727 at the beginning of the reign of George II, and he retained the post (to a gradually diminishing number of Princesses) until his death.

There is no evidence that Handel's duties were extended to the other Royal Children, whose Musick Master is named as 'Weber' or 'Webber'.

Children born in England, after 1714

(5) One stillborn son, November 1716

(6) George William, born October 1717, died February 1717/8. An incident at his christening precipitated the rift between King George I and George, Prince of Wales.


BIBLIOGRAPHY
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Introduction

This Bibliography of sources consulted during the preparation of the thesis is arranged in two sections: Musical Sources and Documentary/Literary/Historical Sources. In the Notes to the thesis I have referred to many sources, particularly in the second group, in short title form, which I give in the Bibliography before the full reference. I acknowledge my indebtedness to the Bibliography of Hatton: George I for the application of this system.

The nature of the thesis presents certain potential difficulties of bibliographical reference because it relies equally on musical and non-musical sources. In most cases it is clear from the context whether a Musical or Documentary source is involved, but in cases where doubt seemed possible (mainly in Chapter 2), I have added keys in the Notes to facilitate reference to the appropriate section of the Bibliography:

Suffix '(Mu)' - See Section Two (C) for appropriate cross-reference
Suffix '(Ms)' - Manuscript Documentary or Archival Source, Section Two (A).

For printed material, the place of publication is London unless stated otherwise.

Abbreviations

(a) Libraries

Where convenient I have used abbreviated references for library collections, based mainly on RISM library sigla.

Great Britain

Cambridge:
Cfm Fitzwilliam Museum
Ckc Rowe Library, King's College

Durham:
Drc Durham Cathedral Library

London:
B.L. British Library, Reference Division
Lcm Parry Room Library, Royal College of Music
Lsp St. Paul's Cathedral Library
P.R.O. Public Record Office

Manchester:
Mp Henry Watson Music Library, Manchester Public Libraries
**Oxford:**
- Ob Bodleian Library
- Ooc Library of Christ Church

**Germany**
- D- Hs Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Hamburg

**United States of America**
- US - Cu Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago
  - NBu Archibald Stevens Alexander Library, Rutgers University Library, New Brunswick
  - Wc Library of Congress, Washington

(b) Sources

I have used HC for the Händelgesellschaft edition of Handel's works (ed. Chrysander), and HHA for the volumes of the Hallische Händel-Ausgabe.

The following abbreviations refer to Manuscript Documentary or Archival sources: NCB, CCB, WA1, WA2.

The following refer to musical journals, periodicals or serial publications: GSJ, JAMS, MA, ML, MMR, MO, MQ, MR, MT, PRMA, RMAC. All other references given in initial form only are to Newspapers, which are listed separately in Section 2.
SECTION ONE - MUSICAL SOURCES

A. Manuscript Music

All English and German sources have been consulted directly, the remainder from microfilm or photostatic copies. Full descriptions of the principal Chapel Royal manuscripts are included in the chapters dealing with individual works, and only a summary list of contents is required here. Where a manuscript includes a number of different works, only those relevant to the thesis are listed.

Handel's autographs of his church music, Italian and English

British Library (Royal Music Library)

RM 20.d.6, RM 20.d.7 and RM 20.d.8 Chandos Anthems and Te Deum.
RM 20.d.9 Funeral Anthem.
RM 20.f.1 Laudate Pueri (D); Dixit Dominus
RM 20.f.12 Foundling Hospital Anthem (fragments)
RM 20.g.1 Anthem 6B
RM 20.g.4 Caroline Te Deum; Anthem 11B; A major Te Deum
RM 20.g.5 Utrecht Te Deum and Jubilate
RM 20.g.6 Anthem 4A; Peace Anthem (fragments)
RM 20.g.8 Anthem 5B
RM 20.g.10 Anthem 6D
RM 20.h.5 Coronation Anthems
RM 20.h.6 Dettingen Te Deum
RM 20.h.7 Laudate Pueri (F)

British Library (Additional Manuscripts)

Add. MS 30308 Dettingen Anthem; Anthem 6C; Anthem 6B (fragment)

Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

MS 251 (30.H.1) Wedding Anthem B (fragment)
MS 255 (30.H.5) Chandos Anthem 9
MS 262 (30.H.12) Caroline Te Deum (fragment)

The following Opera autographs were also examined, for comparison of watermarks with undated Chapel Royal works: (all British Library).

RM 20.c.3 (Rinaldo); RM 20.b.12 (Il Pastor Fido); RM 20.c.12 (Teseo); RM 20.c.8 (Silla); RM 20.a.2 (Acis and Galatea);
RM 20.e.7 (Esther); RM 20.c.1 (Radamisto); RM 20.b.7 (Muzio Scevola); RM 20.b.2 (Floridante); RM 20.b.9, RM 20.b.10 (Ottone); RM 20.b.1 (Flavio); RM 20.b.3 (Giulio Cesare);
RM 20.c.11 (Tamerlano); RM 20.c.4 (Rodelinda); RM 20.c.6 (Scipione); RM 20.a.5 (Alessandro); RM 20.c.2 (Riccardo Primo); RM 20.c.9 (Siroe); RM 20.d.1 (Tolomeo); RM 20.b.6 (Lotario)

Other Primary Chapel Royal Manuscripts

British Library: RM 20.g.2 Ode for Queen Anne's Birthday
(Composer's autograph)
Add. MS 31557 Anthem 6B (additions in Handel's hand)

Thomas Coram Foundation, London: MS 114 Foundling Hospital Anthem
(additions in Handel's hand)
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

MS 265 (30.H.15) Anthem 6B, 1738 version (performing material)

Hamburg (D - Hs) MS MC/266 Wedding Anthem A (additions in Handel's hand)

Secondary copies of Handel's music

I have not attempted complete coverage of all copies of the Chandos Anthems or the Chapel Royal music from George II's reign, but I have seen those most easily available. All significant copies of Handel's Chapel Royal works composed 1710-1726 which were known to me and available during the preparation of the thesis have been examined.

Gerald Coke Collection, Bentley, Hampshire

Copies of: Utrecht Te Deum and Jubilate
Utrecht Te Deum (Hiller's arrangement)
A major Te Deum; Anthem 11B ('Rimbault' MS)
A major Te Deum; Anthem 11B (ex libris Picton)
A major Te Deum; Anthem 11B (11B copied by J. Fish)
Coronation Anthem Zadok the priest
Funeral Anthem (Sharp Bookplate)
Dettingen Te Deum
Dettingen Anthem, with set of Chandos Anthems

Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

MS 69 Birthday Ode for Queen Anne
MS 71 Chandos Te Deum
MS 798 Birthday Ode for Queen Anne (Lennard Collection)
MSS 811-814 Chandos Anthems and Canticles, Chapel Royal Anthems and Canticles (Lennard Collection)

Durham Cathedral Library

MS A32 Dettingen Te Deum and Anthem (and performing parts in MS D7)
MS E14, E19, E21, E28 Chandos Anthems
MS E26 Anthem 6B (fragments)
MS E35 Funeral Anthem ('Smith' copyists, performing parts)
MS M172 Utrecht Te Deum and Jubilate

Selected Cathedral part-books containing eighteenth-century arrangements of various works by Handel (including Anthem 6B) for the Choir's service repertoire.

Edinburgh Public Library

W.MA.14C Caroline Te Deum

Hereford Cathedral Library

R.10.XVI; R.10.XVII; R.10.XX Chandos Anthems and Coronation Anthem Let thy hand be strengthened

British Library, London

RM 18.b.7 Anthem 5B
RM 18.f.9 Utrecht and Dettingen Canticles
RM 19. a. 1 Anthem 6B (fragment)
RM 19. a. 11 Dettingen Te Deum (Vocal part) (Aylesford Collection)
RM 19. a. 13, RM. a. 14 Dettingen Te Deum, Utrecht Jubilate (Organ scores)
RM 19. a. 15 Coronation and Funeral Anthems (fragments, Organ scores)
RM 19. e. 1 Birthday Ode for Queen Anne
RM 19. e. 2 Caroline Te Deum
RM 19. e. 6 Teseo
RM 19. e. 8 Foundling Hospital Anthem
RM 19. g. 1 (3 vols.) Chandos Anthems and Canticles, Chapel Royal Anthems and Canticles
RM 19. g. 1a Coronation Anthems
RM 19. g. 1b Chandos Anthems
RM 19. g. 3 Brockes Passion
RM 19. g. 4 Teseo
Add. MS 5061 Funeral Anthem
Add. MS 5323 Utrecht Te Deum and Jubilate
Add. MS 27745 Dettingen Te Deum, Utrecht Jubilate (Organ scores)
Add. MS 29998 A major Te Deum; Anthem 11B
Add. MS 29417-29426 Chandos Anthems
Add. MS 30309 Chandos Anthems; Dettingen Anthem
Add. MS 31557-31559 Chandos Anthems
Add. MS 35347 Birthday Ode for Queen Anne

Egerton MS 2458 Motet Saeviat tellus inter vigores
Egerton MSS 2910-2914 Chandos Anthems and Canticles, Chapel Royal Anthems and Canticles (Granville Collection).

Harley MS 7342 Utrecht Te Deum

Thomas Coram Foundation, London

MS 115-118 Chandos Anthems
MS 135 Chandos Anthems, Foundling Hospital Anthem (Orchestral parts)

Guildhall Library, Corporation of London

Gresham MS 365-366 Chandos Anthems; A major Te Deum; Anthem 5B (Orchestral parts)

Royal College of Music (Parry Room Library)

MS 242-244 Chandos Anthems
MS 245 Foundling Hospital Anthem
MS 888 Utrecht Jubilate
MS 889 Caroline Te Deum
MS 890 A major Te Deum
MS 892 Coronation Anthems
MS 899 Chandos Anthem 5A (?Lennard Collection)
MS 1057 A major Te Deum
MS 2254, 2273 Foundling Hospital Anthem; Anthem 11B (fragments and performing parts)

St. Paul's Cathedral Library

Dettingen Te Deum

Westminster Abbey Library

MS CG 48 Dettingen Te Deum and Anthem
All have MS 130 Hd4 prefix, and all MS are from Aylesford Collection unless stated.

v. 47 A major Te Deum; Anthems 11B and 5B (not Aylesford)
v. 48 Dettingen Anthem
v. 49 Coronation Anthems
v. 50 Chandos Anthems (not Aylesford)
v. 112-115, 214-224 Dettingen Te Deum (performing parts)
v. 134-144, 146-149 Funeral Anthem, as Part I of Israel in Egypt (performing parts)
v. 172 Utrecht Jubilate
v. 325 A major Te Deum
v. 326 Caroline Te Deum
v. 327-347 Utrecht Te Deum, Chandos Te Deum, A major Te Deum, Caroline Te Deum (performing parts)
v. 348 Dettingen Te Deum and Anthem (not Aylesford)

Bodleian Library, Oxford

MS Mus. c. 25 A major Te Deum
MS Mus. d. 57 Caroline Te Deum; Chandos Anthem 1; Anthem 6C
MS Mus. Sch. b. 1 Chandos Anthems 4 and 5A
MS Mus. Sch. c. 104 Chandos Anthems (performing parts)

Christ Church Library, Oxford

MS 68-75, 1082, 1141 Chandos Anthems, 2 Coronation Anthems, Utrecht canticles, Anthem 6B (performing parts, fragments)
MS 615 Chandos Anthem 6A

St. Michael's College, Tenbury (now deposited at the Bodleian Library)

MS 614-617 Chandos Anthems
MS 618 Wedding Anthem B
MS 620 Anthem 5B; Wedding Anthem B (Oratorio versions, fragments)
MS 719 Foundling Hospital Anthem (fragments)
MS 881-883 Chandos Anthems

York Minster Library

MS M75 Coronation Anthem (My heart is inditing)
MS M80, M81, M98-101 Chandos Anthems
MS M96 Utrecht Jubilate
MS M97 Wedding Anthem B; Chandos Anthem 3

Denmark

Margarete Schou Collection (see Larsen: Messiah, p.267)

Chandos Anthems and A major Te Deum

Germany

Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Hamburg

MS MA/177 (5 vols.) Chandos Anthems and Anthem 6B
MS MA/203 Wedding Anthem B
MS MA/204 Chandos Te Deum
MS MB/1659 Funeral Anthem; Chandos Anthem 5A
MS MB/1661 Utrecht Te Deum; Coronation Anthems
MS MC/183 Birthday Ode for Queen Anne
MS MC/259 Coronation Anthems
MS MC/260 Dettingen Anthem
MS MC/265 Birthday Ode for Queen Anne

Conducting scores including Chapel Royal music and related sources:

MS MA/1009 Belshazzar
MS MA/1025 Joseph and his Bretheren
MS MA/1060 II Trionfo del Tempo
MS MC/258 Deborah
MS MC/261, MS MC/261a Esther
MS MC/262a Israel in Egypt
MS MC/264 Athalia

Japan

Nanki Music Library, Tokyo

MS 265 Dettingen Anthem

United States of America

Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago

MS 437 (26 vols), from the Aylesford Collection:
  Vols. 1-9, 11-22 Chandos Anthems; Anthem 6B; Anthem 5B (fragment) (Performing parts)
  Vols. 10, 23, 24 Birthday Ode for Queen Anne (Performing parts)
  Vol. 25 Anthem 5B (Score)
  Vol. 26 Chandos Anthems (Score)

Rutgers University Library, New Brunswick

MS M2038.H14A5 (Wynn Collection):
  Vol. 1 Chandos Te Deum
  Vol. 2 ('Appendix Vol. I') A major Te Deum; Anthem 11B; Anthem 5B
  Vols. 3-5 Chandos Anthems
  Vol. 6 Anthem 6B; Chandos Anthem 9
  Vol. 7 Dettingen Anthem; Wedding Anthem B
  Vol. 8 Foundling Hospital Anthem
  Vol. 9 Chandos Anthem 11A; Anthem 6C
  Vol. 10 Birthday Ode for Queen Anne

Library of Congress, Washington

MS M2.1.H2 (14 Vols.) Birthday Ode for Queen Anne (Performing parts, Aylesford Collection). These complement the isolated parts at Rutgers, and the set is completed by a Trumpet part in the Folger Library, Washington.

Manuscripts of works by other composers (Consulted for stylistic comparisons, or for information on performing practices and the Chapel Royal soloists)
Music Department, Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham

MS 5001 Anthems by H. Cooke, H. Purcell, Turner and Blow
MS 5007a/b Croft: D major Te Deum and Jubilate (Original performing parts)
MS 5009 Croft Anthem

Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

MS 152 Anthems by Clarke, Croft and Blow (Chapel Royal organ book)
MS 238, 239 Anthems by Humphrey and Clarke
MS 240 Anthems by Blow

Rowe Library, King's College, Cambridge

MS 20 Anthems by Croft, Weldon, Galliard
MS 262 Anthem by Croft (composer's organ part)

Durham Cathedral Library

MS D13, 14 Croft Anthems (part-books)

British Library, London

Chapel Royal part-books: I have examined all volumes of the 'First Set' (RM 27.a.1-14) and selected volumes from the later sets, including all of the Organ books.
RM 24.d.5 Croft ode
RM 24.g.2 Croft Anthems

Additional Manuscripts

Add. MS 17841, 17843, 17844 Croft Anthems
Add. MS 17845 Croft Te Deum and Jubilate in D major
Add. MS 17847, 17849 Croft Anthems
Add. MS 17850, 17851 Greene Anthems
Add. MS 17854 Greene Te Deum and Jubilate
Add. MS 17859 Greene Wedding Anthem
Add. MS 17861 Anthems by Croft, Greene, Boyce
Add. MS 19570 Anthems by Nares
Add. MS 28909 Greene Te Deum
Add. MS 30931 Anthems by Croft, Clarke, Greene
Add. MS 30934 Odes by D. and H. Purcell
Add. MS 31405 Anthems by Croft and Weldon
Add. MS 31453 Odes by H. Purcell
Add. MS 31456 Eccles Birthday Ode, 1702/3
Add. MS 31457 Blow Te Deum and Jubilate in D major; Odes
Add. MS 31458 Blow Anthem
Add. MS 31461 Anthems by D. Purcell and Croft
Add. MS 31821 Anthems by Clarke
Add. MS 32588 Greene Te Deum
Add. MS 34076 Weldon Anthem
Add. MS 38668 Croft Service
Add. MS 41847 Weldon Anthems

Egerton MS 2965 Croft Anthem

Harley MS 7337-7342 Thomas Tudway's Collection of English Church Music, with prefaces.
Parry Room Library, Royal College of Music

MS 224  Green 1745 Te Deum (Score and Parts)
MS 666  Croft Anthem
MS 839  Croft Anthems
MS 840  Croft Te Deum in D
MS 995  Croft Wedding Ode
MS 1064 Croft Anthem
MS 1101 Miscellaneous volume, owned by Croft in 1697
MS 2043 Weldon Service (Performing parts)

St. Paul's Cathedral Library

Case B 13 Blow Anthem

Flower Collection, Henry Watson Music Library, Manchester Public Libraries

MS 130 Hd4 v.235 Te Deum, Jubilate and Anthems by Turner

Bodleian Library, Oxford

MS Mus.b.15 Croft Anthems
MS Mus.c.2  Anthems by Galliard and Weldon
MS Mus.c.17,18 Greene Anthems
MS Mus.c.26,27 Odes by H. Purcell
MS Mus.c.58 Anthems by Humphrey, H. Purcell, Blow, Clarke and Croft
MS Mus.d.27-31 Croft Anthems and Canticles
MS Mus.d.33-40 Greene Odes
MS Mus.d.36, 41-50 Greene Anthems and Canticles
MS Mus.e.16 Greene Anthem

MS Mus.Sch.b.7 Anthems by Croft and Weldon
MS Mus.Sch.c.115-117 Boyce Anthems, 1759-1761
MS Mus.Sch.d.298-340 Boyce Odes, 1755-1779

MS Don.c.19 Croft Anthems

Christ Church Library, Oxford

MS 48 Clarke Anthems

St. Michael's College, Tenbury

MS 310 Anthems by Clarke and Croft
MS 788 Anthems by Croft and Weldon
MS 797-803 Anthems by Croft (Part-books)
MS 1031 Anthems by Blow, Croft, Clarke and Weldon

United States of America

University of Texas - The 'Gostling Manuscript' (Anthems by Purcell, Turner, Blow, Clarke etc) - See Section Two, Zimmerman: Gostling, Facsimile.

Library of Congress, Washington - Greene Te Deum (Autograph)
B. Printed Music

Music by Handel

The collected edition of the Händel-Gesellschaft (HG), edited by Friedrich Chrysander (93 vols., Leipzig and Berghedorf bei Hamburg, 1858-1894, 1902, with Supplement 6 Vols., Leipzig 1886-1902, later vols. ed. Chrysander and Seiffert / all reprinted Farnborough, 1965) remains the most complete edition of Handel's works, and I have used HG, where possible when citing references to his music. As far as Handel's church music is concerned, the most serious lacunae of Chrysander's edition are in the area of his Latin Church music, where HG Vol. 38 must be supplemented by the following:

Nisi Dominus, final chorus separately (1891); complete work with final chorus, ed. T.W. Bourne (1898)

Motet Cantatas, Coelestis dum spirat aura, Donna che in Ciel and O qualis de Coelo sonus, ed. Ewerhart (Cologne, 1957, 1959)

One further motet, Saeviat tellus inter vigores, remains un-published, (MS copy British Library Egerton MS 2458), as also does the secular Italian Cantata Ero e Leandro, referred to in connection with the borrowing in No. 8 of the Utrecht Te Deum. Part of the autograph of the latter is illustrated in the published catalogue of the Mary Flagler Cary collection, Plate XXVI.

Of the volumes so far published by HHA (Hallische Händel-Ausgabe im Auftrage der Georg Friedrich Händel-Gesellschaft, Kassel, 1955 and still in progress) only one is of immediate relevance to the Chapel Royal music, the Birthday Ode for Queen Anne, Series 1, Vol. 6, ed. Walther Siegmund-Schultze (1955). Professor Hendrie kindly allowed me access to material for the forthcoming volumes of Chandos and Chapel Royal Anthems which he has edited (HHA Series 3, Vols. 3-6).

References to the appropriate HG and HHA volumes for individual works from the repertoire of Handel's English Church music are given in Appendix One.

The publications of the English Handel Society (16 Vols., 1843-1848, continued by Cramer, Addison and Beale, 1848-1858) included the Coronation Anthems and the Dettingen Te Deum, both of them edited with reference to the composer's autographs.

I have examined at least one copy of the earliest issues of all Chandos and Chapel Royal works published by Walsh, Randall, Wright & Wilkinson, Birchall & Beardmore and Arnold, listed in Smith & Humphries: Handel, p.148-159, from the collections in the British Library, the Bodleian Library and the private collection of Gerald Coke. I have not followed up all later issues from the same plates, nor the various editions published by Harrison & Co.

I have also examined the following modern editions of individual works, all in vocal score unless otherwise stated:

Dixit Dominus - Novello, ed. Watkins Shaw (1979)

- Novello, ed. Watkins Shaw (1968)
Utrecht Jubilate  
- Novello, ed. W.T. Best (n.d.)
- Schirmer/Chappell, ed. Don Smithers, as 'A Canticle of Praise' (1963)
- Musikhøjskoleens Forlag, Copenhagen, ed. Hans-Ulrik Barfoed (1964) (Score)

Caroline Te Deum  
- Novello, ed. Barnby (n.d.)

Chandos Te Deum  
- Christiani, Berlin, ed. Schaum (n.d.) (Scores)
- Merseburger, Berlin, ed. Fiebig and Schneider (1947)
- No. 1 Harmonia-uitgave, Hilversum, ed. Backers (1960)
- No. 8 Novello, ed. Haynes (n.d.)
- No. 9 Novello, ed. Silas (n.d.)
- No.11A Novello, ed. Beat (1978)
- No.12 Harmonia-uitgave, Hilversum, ed. Kiel (1959)

Chandos Anthems  
- Chandos, Te Deum - Novello, ed. Barnby (n.d.)
- Chandos Anthems - Christiani, Berlin, ed. Schaum (n.d.) (Scores)
- Merseburger, Berlin, ed. Fiebig and Schneider (1947)
- No. 1 Harmonia-uitgave, Hilversum, ed. Backers (1960)
- No. 8 Novello, ed. Haynes (n.d.)
- No. 9 Novello, ed. Silas (n.d.)
- No.11A Novello, ed. Beat (1978)
- No.12 Harmonia-uitgave, Hilversum, ed. Kiel (1959)

Anthems 6B/6D  
- Anthems 6B/6D - Schirmer, New York, ed. Adler (1969) (Hybrid edition, 'As longs the Hart for flowing Streams')

Coronation Anthems  
- Coronation Anthems - Novello, ed. Silas (n.d.)
- Schirmer, ed. Herrman (1971)

Sing unto God  
- Sing unto God - Oxford U.P., ed. Steinitz (1971) (Wedding Anthem B)

The Ways of Zion  
- The Ways of Zion - Schirmer, ed. Herrmann (1976) (Funeral Anthem) - Novello, ed. Watkins Shaw (1979)

Dettingen Te Deum  
- Dettingen Te Deum - Novello, ed. V. Novello (n.d.)
- Peters, ed. Straube/Seiffert (1932)
- Novello, ed. Emery (1962)

The Anthem on the Peace  
- Novello Octavo Anthem 1274, ed. Atkins (n.d.) (Hybrid edition of No. 1 and Messiah chorus)

Foundling Hospital Anthem  
- Foundling Hospital Anthem - Peters, ed. Langley (n.d.)

Music by other composers

Arnold, Samuel (ed.)  
- Cathedral Music; being a Collection in Score of the most valuable & useful Compositions for that Service by the several English Masters of the last two hundred years. 4 Vols. (1790) (Includes short biographies of Chapel Royal musicians).

Blow, John  
- Blow, John Amphion Anglius. A Work of many Compositions (1700, repr. Farmborough 1965)

Coronation Anthems and Three Anthems with Strings, ed. Anthony Lewis and Watkins Shaw, Musica Britannica VII (2nd ed. 1969)

Boyce, William (ed.)  
- Boyce, William Cathedral Music, being a Collection in Score of the most valuable and useful Compositions. 3 Vols. (1760, 1768, 1773) (includes short biographies of Chapel Royal musicians)
Cathedral Music, being a Collection ... 3 Vols. (2nd Edition, 1788)

A Collection of Anthems ... Composed for the Use of the Royal Chapels (1790)

Fifteen Anthems, together with a Te Deum and Jubilate in Score ... Composed for the Royal Chapels, ed. P. Hayes (1780)

Caldara

Works. Caldara, Antonio. Kirchenwerke, ed. E. Mandyczewski, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich, XXVI (Jg. XIII/1, Vienna, 1906) D.T.O. IXXV (Jg. XXXIX), containing secular music by Caldara, has also been consulted

Corelli, Arcangelo

Les Oeuvres de Arcangelo Corelli, ed. Joachim and Chrysander, 5 Vols. (1888-1891)

Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe (Cologne 1976, still in progress)

Croft

Musica Sacra. Croft, William. Musica Sacra; or, Select Anthems in Score. 2 Vols. (1724, 1725)


Froberger

Keyboard Music ed. Adler, 3 Vols. Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich, III, XII, XXI (Jg. IV/1, VI/2, X/2, Vienna, 1897-1905)

Greene, Maurice

Forty Select Anthems in Score, 2 Vols. (1743)

Six Solo Anthems performed ... at the Chapel Royal (1748)

Hayes, William

Cathedral Music in Score, ed. P. Hayes (Oxford, 1795)

Humfrey, Pelham

Complete Church Music, ed. Peter Dennison. 2 Vols. Musica Britannica XXXIV-XXXV (1972)

Locke, Matthew

 Anthems and Motets, ed. le Huray. Musica Britannica XXXVIII (1976)

Lully, Jean-Baptiste


Playford, Henry


Playford, John

The Whole book of Psalms ... Composed in three parts, Cantus, Medius and Bassus (1677). In connection with the text of 'As Pants the Hart' I have checked all editions between 1707 (9th ed.) and 1724 (17th ed.)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author/Editor</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Purcell, Henry</td>
<td>The Works of Henry Purcell, Purcell Society Edition. (1878-1965, revisions of earlier vols. in progress). All volumes of orchestra-lly-accompanied Anthems, Court Odes and Welcome Songs have been consulted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walsh, John (Publisher)</td>
<td>Sonnata's of III parts (1683, reprinted facsimile ed. 1975)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weldon, John</td>
<td>The Monthly Mask of Vocal Musick (1703-1711, 1717-1724). Includes songs from Court Odes; edition for July-August 1703 also includes songs from Clayton's Arsinoe, with (Francis) Hughes named as soloist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zachow</td>
<td>Divine Harmony Six Select Anthems For a Voice alone With a Thorow Bass for the Organ, Harpsicord or Arch-Lute Compos'd on several Occasions by Mr. Ino Weldon Organist of his Majesty's Chappell Royal and there Performed by the late Famous Mr. Richard Elford (1716) Includes frontespiece 'The Sacred Chorire'. A Second Collection followed in 1717. 'Compos'd by Several Eminent Masters'. This publication must not be confused with Divine Harmony, the Chapel Royal Word-book published in 1712 (See Section Two)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A. Manuscript Documentary and Archival Sources

Alford: Notebook. Register of Weddings etc. in the Royal Chapels and general common-place book recording the rules and customs governing the life of the Chapel Royal, kept by Marmaduke Alford, Yeoman of the Vestry 1675-1714/5 and Serjeant of the Vestry 1715. P.R.O. RG8/110.

British Library, Reference Division (B.L.)

Add.MS 6336, f.16 Order of service for Queen Anne's Coronation, 1702
Add.MS 11732 Register of the foundation and membership of the Academy of Vocal Music, London, 1725/6-1731
Add.MS 47029 Letter-books of 1st Lord Egmont
Harley MS 3782 Letters, 1714-1725, from Thomas Tudway to Humphrey Wanley mainly about the collection of English Church music that Tudway was making (see Harley 7337 infra)
Harley MS 6116-6117 Ceremonial and order of service for George I's Coronation, 1714
Harley MS 7337-7342 Prefaces to music volumes of Tudway's Collection of English Church music, made for the Edward, Lord Harley, later 2nd Earl of Oxford. They include short biographies of some composers, an account of the introduction of Symphony anthems into the Chapel Royal during Charles II's reign, and critical comments on earlier and contemporary church music.

The Chapel Royal, St. James's Palace

OCB The 'Old' Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal, with entries for years 1561-1744. Maintained principally by successive Clerks of the Cheque of the Chapel. Printed edition (see infra, Rimbault: Cheque Book) is used for page references in the Notes to the Thesis, but all have been checked against the original. I have found the printed edition to be seriously inaccurate only on p.23, where three corrections are required: Blow's appointment (line 11) should be dated Mar 20 1699 (i.e. 1699/1700) Griffiths' appointment should read '1700', not '1699' One entry omitted: Oct: 13 1701 William Spalden appointed Gent. extraordinary

NCB The 'New' Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal, overlapping with and continuing from OCB. Entries for years 1721-1867. All references are to the original page numbers of the MS. Both OCB and NCB are accessible on film at the Public Record Office (P.R.O. PRO 28/1): I have checked any doubtful entries with the originals. NCB has a slightly larger format (c.18½" x 12½") than OCB (c.16¾" x 10½")
Chapel Royal Pension Fund Minute Book
Chapel Royal Pension Fund Receipt Book
Chapel Royal Pension Fund Book of Articles
(The last three commence 1739/1730 and continue beyond 1800)

Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

MS 1011 (23.J.14) Chapel Royal Pension Fund Account Book. This complements the three Pension Fund Books at the Chapel Royal. Like them, it was commenced in 1729/1730 by John Church. Entries continue until 1807.

Colman: Opera Registers. See supra, British Library, Add.MS 11258

Gibson: Rules. 'Rules for Performing due Order and Government in his Majesty's Chapel Royal', 'Rules for due Attendance in the Chapel', 'Rules to render the foregoing Order Effectual'. Prepared by Edmund Gibson and 'made in Chapter' (i.e. Chapel Royal meetings), July/October 1726. Original draft, Lambeth Palace Fulham Papers 124; Copies in NCB AND Windsor RA Establishment Book 36.

Niedersächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Hannover

Hannover, Designation 76C, Nos. 234-240. Hanover Chamber Accounts, 1710-1716
Hannover, Designation 91. Papers of Johann Phillip von Hattorf, including financial accounts of Georg's Ludwig's Hanover court (No. 46) and a diary describing George's journey to London and Coronation in 1714 (No. 54)
Hannover, Designation 91, Grote III 2. Letter (in German) from Thomas Grote to the Hanover Court, London 13-1-1712/3.
Dep. 103 I No. 148 Letter (in French) from Kreyenburg to the Hanover Court, London 5/16-6-1713
Dep. 103 IV No. 319 Reisebuch: details of the journeys of the Hanover Court, 1710-1713

Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, Hannover

LBR 97, f.97-99 Letter in German to Hannover from J.D. Brandshagen, 21-10-1712

Lambeth Palace Library

MS 1079 & 1079a. Wake's draft of the 1727 Coronation Service, and his annotated copy of the printed Order of Service.
Fulham Papers 124. Miscellaneous papers including the draft of Gibson: Rules (signed by Gibson)
Also includes a list of the Chapel Royal (post-1760) and a nineteenth-century plan of the Chapel Royal, St. James's Palace.
Fulham Papers 167. Miscellaneous papers, including some relating to the Thanksgiving on 23-4-1789
Bodleian Library, Oxford

MS Mus.e.17 Thomas Ford's notes on English Musicians, compiled c. 1710-1720
Rawl. MS.c.445 Miscellaneous papers, including Royal Pension List, c.1745
Rawl. MS.d.318, p. 25-47. Chapel Royal Appointments Book, repeating and supplementing entries in OCB, mid-17th century
Rawl. MS.d.832. Roach papers, including poem (c.1710) addressed to John Shore
University Archives W.P.B. 21(6) Vice-Chancellor's Accounts, 1697-1735

Christ Church Library, Oxford

College Account Books (Disbursements), 1700-1760

Codrington Library, All Souls', Oxford

Wren Drawings, Vol. III. Plans and sketches, including a plan of the arrangement of St. Paul's Cathedral for the Utrecht Thanksgiving Service, 1713. (III.19)

Panshanger Manuscripts, Hertfordshire County Record Office

D/EP F.33-35 Diary of Lady Mary Cowper, 1710-1717
D/EP F.205 Diary of Lady Mary Cowper, including the period of George I's Coronation, 1714
D/EP F.207 Transcript of the Diary of Sir David Hamilton, one of the Physicians to Queen Anne.

Royal Society of Musicians of Great Britain, London

Admission Book of the Society of Musicians, 1739-c.1800.

Public Record Office (P.R.O.)

Audit Office

A03/138-139 Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber, 1700-1715
A03/1192 Wardrobe Accounts, 1714 Coronation

Lord Chamberlain's Department

LC1/389 Copy (1882) of 'Historical Events connected with the Royal Palaces of Whitehall' by Richard Massey
LC2/18-32 Expenses for Coronations, Royal Weddings and Funerals, 1714-1761
LC3/33 Papers relating to admissions to offices
LC3/58 Appointments Book 1754-1775
LC3/63-66 Appointments Books, 1714-1760
LC5/3 Extracts from the notebook of Sir Clement Cotterell Dormer, Master of the Ceremonies 1710-1758
LC5/18-24 Warrant Books, Treasurer of the Chamber and Pay Office, 1727-1758; Continued LC5/167, 1758-1761
LC5/44-48 Wardrobe, Copies of Warrants, Particular, 1700-1748
LC5/70-77 Wardrobe, Copies of Warrants, Provisions 1698-1754
LC5/91-94 Receipt Books, 1749-1760
LC5/116 Royal Warrants Original, Anne - George III
LC5/126-129 Lord Chamberlain, Warrants Original, 1704-1757
LC5/131 Vice-Chamberlain's Warrants, Charles II - George III
LC5/152-158 Lord Chamberlain's Warrants, General, Copybooks 1697-1727
LC5/159-162 Lord Chamberlain's Warrants, Particular, Copybooks, 1727-1760. Series continues with LC5/168 (1761) and resumes LC5/162, (1773). (From 1727, business which had previously been recorded in the General Warrant Books was divided between LC5/18-24 and LC5/159-162).
LC5/202-205 Precedent Books, 1697-1820
LC9/347 Miscellaneous documents. Henry VIII - 1726
LC9/348 Warrants, Drafts and Copies
LC9/384-385 Petitions, Bills for Allowances, Charles II - George II
LC9/386-390 Vouchers, Drafts, James I - 1800

Lord Steward's Department

LS13/43-50 Establishments, 1702-1727
LS13/80-81 Expenses for Royal Journeys to Holland and Germany, 1714-1727
LS13/258-264 Warrants of Appointment, Royal and Steward's, 1702-1760

Privy Council Papers

PC1/14/54-55 Mourning for Queen Anne
PC1/14/76 Coronation of George I
PC1/15/6 Coronation of George II
PC1/15/19 King's Absences, 1716-1755
PC1/15/20 Coronation of George III
PC2/82-90 Privy Council Registers (Minutes), 1707-1729

Miscellaneous Classes

PRO/30/26/113/1 Papers of Henry Pelham, Treasurer of the Chamber from 1720
PRO/30/26/113/1 Accounts, Privy Purse, etc., 1721-1725
PRO/30/26/113/3 Expenses of Salaries, 1727

State Papers (Domestic)

(George I) SP35/15 Letter from Archbishop of Canterbury, 16-3-1718/9 re use of Special Liturgies
(George II) SP36/3 Letter from Bishop of Salisbury, 18-8-1727, re appointment of Maurice Greene

Treasury

TI/168, 213, 260 Treasury Papers (Anne-George II, selected dates)
T27/17-27 Letter Books (Out letters) 1706-1759
T29/18-33 Minutes, 1710-1760
T38/194-199 Debts, Pensions and Arrears, 1713-1728
T38/223-225 Pensions and Sums Paid, 1715-1742
T52/20-50 King's/Queen's Warrants, 1700-1760
T53/17-43 Warrants relating to Money, 1704-1751
T54/22-38 Warrants not relating to Money, 1712-1760
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<tr>
<td>T56/18-19</td>
<td>Lord Chamberlain's Warrants, 1715-1760</td>
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<td>T56/34</td>
<td>Queen Anne's Debts</td>
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<td>T56/35</td>
<td>George I's Debts</td>
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<td>T60/5-21</td>
<td>Order Books, 1700-1762</td>
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<td>T61/17-38</td>
<td>Disposition Books, 1705-1760</td>
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<td>T64/4</td>
<td>Appointments Book, 1714-1723</td>
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The earlier years for many of these classes are also covered by the printed Calendars of Treasury Books and Papers (ed. Shaw).

**Board of Works**

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<tr>
<td>Works 4/3</td>
<td>Minutes - 1727 Coronation</td>
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<td>Works 19/47/3(1) and Works 19/384</td>
<td>Papers relating to the Chapels Royal (19th/20th Centuries) and their Organs</td>
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<td>Works 21/1</td>
<td>Arrangements for Coronations, 1714-1761</td>
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<tr>
<td>Works 21/13/1</td>
<td>Abstracts of Minutes, 1727</td>
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<td>Works 21/13/7</td>
<td>Draft of Expenses, 1727 Coronation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Works 34/121-123</td>
<td>Flitcroft's survey of St. James's Palace, 1729 (3 plans, Ground Floor, First Floor, Second Floor)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Works 38/162</td>
<td>Plan of St. Paul's Cathedral (19th century, before 1870)</td>
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</table>

**Schoelcher: Catalogue.** 'Catalogue méthodique; Catalogue, Chronological and Raisonné, of Handel's Works' by Victor Schoelcher. B.L. RM 18.b.2 (French and English). References are to the all-English translation by S.A.A.P. Mann at the Rowe Library, King's College, Cambridge (Mn 17.17 - Mn 17.22)

**St. Paul's Cathedral Library**

<table>
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<th>Reference</th>
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<tr>
<td>WA 84</td>
<td>Account Book, 1703</td>
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<tr>
<td>WA 88</td>
<td>Acquittance Book, 1717-1734</td>
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<td>WA 100</td>
<td>Receipt Book, 1699-1705</td>
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<td>WC 45-49</td>
<td>Muniment Books, 1686/7-1797</td>
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<td>WE 81</td>
<td>Receipt Book, 1699-1721</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Declaration of Assent to Articles, 1686/7-1722</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Vicars Choral Rent Books, commencing c.1730, 5 vols., 1 part-vol.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Pridden's miscellaneous notes on the history of St. Paul's, 3 vols., (19th century)</td>
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**Stowe MSS**

Papers of James Brydges, Earl of Carnarvon and Duke of Chandos.

Now at the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California, U.S.A.

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<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
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<tr>
<td>ST44</td>
<td>Steward's Accounts and Inventory</td>
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<tr>
<td>ST 82</td>
<td>Payments, 1723-1732</td>
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<td>ST 87</td>
<td>Receipts for Wages, 1718-1720</td>
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**Westminster Abbey, Library and Muniment Room**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Description</th>
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| WA1       | Muniments 60020 * Account Book and commonplace book, with entries 1721-1777. Originally an account book kept by John Church (d.1740/1) recording income for the
Choir from Rents, Tombs Money, Funerals, etc., continued after his death, partly by Anselm Bayly, as a record of admissions and deaths of members of the Choir.


Muniments 33726 - 33827 Treasurers' Accounts, 1692-1796

Chapter Minutes, Vols. 7-8, 1721-1735

Essential information from Chester: Westminster Registers has also been checked against the original registers.

Royal Archives, Windsor Castle

RA Establishment Book 36. Record Book, possibly kept by the Yeoman of the Vestry of the Chapel Royal, covering 1721-1747 and 1780-1785. Repeats many entries from NCB.

St. George's Chapel, Windsor

V.B.4 Register of Attendance from 1762, with programmes of music performed at daily services.

VI.B.5 - VI.B.7 Register of Chapter Acts, 1680-1750
(Windsor: Chapter Acts)

XII.A.8 Subscription Book (Widows' Fund) 1715-1750

XII.B.4 Accounts of Precentor, Steward and Treasurer 1712-1724

XII.B.6 Audit Book, 1757-8

XIII.B.3 Treasurers' Accounts, Residences etc., 1690-1760
B. Contemporary Printed Sources (before 1760)

Newspapers

I have relied mainly on two great collections of eighteenth-century newspapers, the Burney Collection at the British Library and Nicholson's Newspapers at the Bodleian Library. I have read Vols. 17-69 of the Bodleian Collection (1710-1729) continuously, supplementing this material where necessary from the Burney Collection. For specific references I have ventured well beyond this period, following up the Thanksgiving Services before 1710 and the obituaries of Chapel Royal Gentlemen beyond 1800, to take two examples.

Many of the entries in Luttrell: Relation are close to the newspapers in the style of presentation, and may have been copied from contemporary newspaper reports. Boyer: Political State and The Gentleman's Magazine provided, among other things, a monthly digest of news from the regular papers throughout most of the first half of the eighteenth century, and the weekly newspapers had a similar relationship to the dailies. Much information on the origins and style of individual papers can be gained from Morison: English Newspaper.

For references to newspapers in the notes I have generally followed the abbreviations used by Michael Tilmouth in 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers published in London and the Provinces (1660-1719)', in RMARC i. I have added other abbreviations of my own for newspapers not included in Tilmouth's list. The newspapers referred to in this thesis are:

- AOWJ Applebee's Original Weekly Journal
- BBEP B. Berington's Evening post
- BM The British Mercury
- BWM The British Weekly Mercury
- CJ The Country Journal or Craftsman
- DA The Daily Advertiser
- Dawks Dawk's News-Letter
- DC The Daily Courant
- DG The Daily Gazetteer
- DJ The Daily Journal
- DP The Daily Post
- DPB The Daily Post-Boy
- EP The Evening Post
- FP The Flying-Post
- GEP The General Evening Post
- GJ The Gentleman's Journal
- GM The Gentleman's Magazine
- LDP The London Daily Post (and General Advertiser)
- LEP The London Evening Post
- LJ The London Journal
- OWJ The Original Weekly Journal
- PA The Public Advertiser
- PB The Post-Boy
- PM The Post Man (and Historical Account)
- SJEP St. James's Evening post
- SJP St. James's Post
- UJ The Universal Journal
- WEP The Whitehall Evening-Post

The Supplement
WJBG  The Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer
WJSP  The Weekly Journal or Saturday's Post
WM  The Weekly Medley (or Gentlemen's Recreation)

The Weekly Oracle

WP  The Weekly Packet
WR  Weekly Remarks

Other Literature

Battell:  Church-Musick.  Battell, Ralph.  The Lawfulness and Expediency of Church-Musick asserted in a Sermon Preached at St. Bride's Church, Upon the 22nd of November, 1693 (1694)


Rationale.  Bisse, Thomas.  A Rationale on Cathedral Worship or Choir Service, a Sermon Preach'd in the Cathedral Church of Hereford... September 7th, 1720 (1720)


Boyer:  Anne.  Boyer, Abel.  The History of the Life and Reign of Queen Anne (1722)

Anne (Annals).  Boyer, Abel.  The History of the Reign of Queen Anne digested into Annals, Vols 1-11 for 1702-1712 (1703-1713)

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