ENGLISH MUSICAL ANTIQUARIANISM IN THE LONG EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: RELIGIO-POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL UNDERCURRENTS

by

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ABSTRACT

There was little concern in seventeenth-century England for establishing a canonical list of composers of ‘old’ music. Yet this ambivalence to England’s musical past did not go unnoticed by a small number of musicians and antiquarians, scattered over decades, who feared that without receiving the preservation it deserved, early music and its composers would slip irretrievably into oblivion. This thesis identifies those resolute scholars and places them in the context of their roles in the development of English musical antiquarianism during the Long Eighteenth Century, ranging over a period from Elias Ashmole, the seventeenth-century collector and founder of the Ashmolean Museum, to the eighteenth-century musical antiquarian, Johann Christoph Pepusch and the Academy of Ancient Music. These exemplars did not work in isolation, however, but were influenced by the religio-political and sociological undercurrents that prevailed during their times. Some of these underlying trends were less veiled, as with the general need for compliance within the strictures of a contemporary political climate. In contrast, others were quite subtle, notably, the influences on musical antiquarian thought deriving from the ancient Hermetic traditions of alchemy, Rosicrucianism, and Freemasonry. This thesis brings together those disparate undercurrents, personalities and events, and demonstrates that the ultimate result of this mosaic of collective forces was that the Academy’s musical antiquarians were able to attain their primary objective of securing the acceptance of ‘old’ music alongside ‘new’ music into repertoire. Moreover, while the Academy did not succeed in its secondary objective of preparing an inventory of ‘best masters’, due to shifting priorities during its seventy-six-year existence, it nonetheless provided sufficient data through its surviving concert programmes to complete its objective in this thesis of preparing the first canonical list of ‘best masters’ of classical music in England. As a result of the pioneering contribution of these early English musical antiquarians, the avenue was prepared for future music historiographers to craft their respective period canons of composers and their quintessential masterpieces that now represent the classics of Western art music.

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My supervisor, Dr Andrew Kirkman, deserves my thanks in many ways, primarily in his kind and patient guidance of this project. His curiosity inspired me to investigate topics I otherwise would not have considered. His keen eye for detail was a comfort along the slippery path to completion. As my co-supervisor, Dr Amy Brosius deserves acknowledgement for her insight into the treatment of women in music history, an undercurrent important to both of us.

I owe my gratitude to many individual librarians, both in the UK and in the United States: those at the British Library, the Bodleian Library at Oxford, the Chatsworth Archives, the Royal College of Music, the Royal Academy of Music, the Library and Archive of the Freemasons' Hall in London, the Islington Local History Centre in the Finsbury Public Library, London, the Lewis Walpole Library at Yale University, the New York Public Library, the libraries of the University of Texas and the Harry Ransom Research Center in Austin, Texas. Finally, I am indebted to Heather, the librarian in charge of Interlibrary Loan at the Buda (Texas) Public Library, without whose assistance in obtaining research materials during the COVID-19 pandemic lockdown, I would have been at a loss to complete this thesis.

My gratitude goes to Dr H. (Harry) Diack Johnstone for his encouragement, helpful guide to sources and to him and his wife, Christine, for their kindness in providing sanctuary in their home while I was doing research at the Bodleian. For the hours of stimulating and helpful conversation, I thank Dr Colin Timms. Kay Collins of The Rushden History Museum was invaluable in adding to my information on Thomas Britton, 'the musical small-coal man', who hails from Rushden, Northamptonshire, and occupies such an interesting presence in this work.

To my many friends who stood and watched, I offer my sincere apologies for being *non compos mentis* these last years. I thank Julia Walker for her reading of, and comments on Chapter Six, and my dear friend Jean Johnfroe, not only in providing emotional support but also for reading and offering helpful comments on several chapters.

My husband, Warren Donworth, deserves affectionate gratitude for keeping me going, scraping me off the walls during times of frustration, and coming to my rescue when the technology failed me. The star in his crown shines brightly.

DEDICATION

Pour mes parents.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND LIBRARY SIGLA

FRS	Fellow of the Royal Society
Lam	London, Royal Academy of Music
Lbl	London, British Library
Lcm	London, Royal College of Music Library
Lma	London, Metropolitan Archives
Lwl	Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University
Lwa	London, Westminster Abbey Library
Ob	Oxford, Bodleian Library
Och	Oxford, Christ Church

CURRENCY EQUIVALENTS

Because of the changing value of the English pound over the period encompassed by this thesis, the Measuring Worth currency calculator was employed (http://www.measuringworth.com) to determine present-day currency equivalents using the Retail Price Index (RPI). Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century dates were entered into the Measuring Worth calculator, and present-day equivalents were returned, valid as of 2021, the last twelve-month period for which data was available at the time this thesis was concluded. Equivalents are shown in square brackets '[ ]'.

0. INTRODUCTION

0.1. THESIS RELEVANCE

The metamorphosis of early seventeenth-century English musical antiquarianism was neither a collection of isolated, miscellaneous occurrences and personalities nor a spontaneous phenomenon that materialised later at the founding of the Musical Antiquarian Society in 1840. Rather, it was a continuum of events whose aggregate effect can be seen as identifiable landmarks along the progress of English music history. Researchers so far have not traversed this early terrain, concentrating instead on English musical antiquarianism of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. I have embraced the challenge of filling this void by contributing to the body of musicological knowledge through advancing and then validating a Central Premise and four Secondary Premises, as presented at 0.2.1. and 0.2.2. I submit that this is a study in relevance of diverse religio-political and sociological undercurrents, the sum of which can be seen as threads of cross-disciplinary stirrings as early as 1660, weaving together the fabric of English musical antiquarianism as it unfolded during the Long Eighteenth Century.

0.1.1. PRELIMINARY RESEARCH

My interest in musical antiquarianism and the genesis for this thesis was my investigation of the French theoretical music treatise of 1702, British Library Additional Manuscript 4918: *Traité de la Musique Moderne, Avec Quelques Remarques sur la Musique Ancienne*. It was the subject of my Master of Music degree in musicology, for which I prepared an annotated translation of the treatise. It is signed on the frontispiece by the anonymous author, ‘Par A.D.V.’, who was presumably French. The quest to identify A.D.V. led to the search for contemporary personalities who could have been candidates for the work’s authorship, evolving

with the discovery that it, along with several other theoretical music treatises, had been donated to the British Museum in 1778 by Sir John Hawkins. In his *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (1776),[1] Hawkins discusses his acquisition of several treatises from Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667-1752), of which Add. MS 4918 is one in the grouping of Add. MSS 4909-4923. In turn, this clue compelled my broader investigation of the means by which Hawkins would have acquired these treatises from Pepusch, giving rise to several questions:

- Who was Pepusch, beyond his noted fame as the composer of the introduction and the arranger of the music for John Gay's *The Beggar's Opera* of 1728?
- Why did he emigrate to England from Germany around 1700; what of his professional and personal life in his country of adoption; and why was his predilection for collecting music and music treatises important to English music history?
- What distinguished the musical environment in which Pepusch found himself upon his arrival in London? Was it operatic? Orchestral? Were there ample performance opportunities? Was London welcoming to foreign musicians?
- Was Pepusch merely one among the many foreigners who fled the Continent during its ongoing religious upheavals, perhaps in the mass emigration resulting from the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685?

My investigation into the authorship of Add. MS 4918 remains inconclusive. In his preface, A.D.V. states that although he is not a musician by profession, he believes that he has discovered a new method for teaching music. He states that it is

[1] John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music. A New Edition, with the Author's Posthumous Notes* (London: Novello, 1875), 908.

a system less complicated than that currently being taught, despite his incongruent inclusion of many detailed tables on the hexachord, which were very similar to those found in the teaching exercises of Pepusch. Taking A.D.V. at his word, and supposing that he may have been a teacher, my search led me to investigate as possibilities for authorship the musicians, friends, and associates of Pepusch, as well as personalities among the large number of Huguenots who had emigrated to London at this time.

I was perplexed by the physical attributes of Add. MS 4918 and the strange symbols found in its marginalia. Could they be symbols for signifying alchemical, Rosicrucian, or Masonic esoterica? What of its Pro Patria watermark? Could it provide a hint to the date and place of its paper production? These and other questions brought me to appreciate that although dated 1702 and hence only marginally of the eighteenth century, the perspective of the author and content of the treatise were most certainly oriented to the mid-to-late seventeenth century. Probing into the more abstract attributes of the seventeenth-century transitional culture of English music, its musicians, and associated personalities, sharpened my focus on the subject of English musical antiquarianism and the under-investigated arcane and secret societies, with these undercurrents coming to provide the basis for the spiritual and intellectual terrain that transformed seventeenth-century England into the emerging scientific world of the eighteenth century.

As I proceeded to sift the evidence, fragments of elusive information began to surface. A pattern of religious, political, and sociological dynamics emerged, weaving in and out of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English culture. These undercurrents prompted me to explore them for hints regarding their influences on the musical fabric of the time. That exploration evolved into this thesis.

0.2. PREMISES AND DESIGN

After acquiring a sufficient background from reviewing the primary, secondary, and tertiary sources surrounding a proposed thesis topic for studying English musical antiquarianism, I formulated a central premise and four secondary premises.

0.2.1. CENTRAL PREMISE

That English musical antiquarianism had its initial wellspring in 1660 at the Restoration of the Monarchy and the founding of The Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge—180 years earlier than its first recognition by name in 1840 at the creation in London of the Musical Antiquarian Society.

0.2.2. SECONDARY PREMISES

1) That the components of English musical antiquarianism have hitherto not been adequately defined.
2) That many of the practitioners and supporters of English musical antiquarianism have not been recognized as such but, instead, have been regarded as personalities aligned with disciplines often not directly associated with music.
3) That English musical antiquarianism progressed through three stages — Nascence / Development / Attainment — which can be observed through a presentation of direct evidence from the historical records and by examining the religio-political and sociological undercurrents that applied more abstractly towards its development.
4) That an unrecognized importance of the English musical antiquarians, working through the Academy of Ancient Music, was that their cumulative efforts, over time, led ultimately to the acceptance of ‘old’ music alongside ‘new’ music, while secondarily providing through its surviving concert

programs the means for determining England's first canonical list of ‘best masters’.

0.2.3. CROSS-REFERENCING

To facilitate navigating among topics having relevance across multiple areas, I employed the numerical system used in technical and scientific reporting in which numbers extending to the right along a numeric string indicate the increasing specificity of a topic, thereby providing an expedient cross-referencing index embedded within the thesis text:

1. primary topic/chapter title
1.1. secondary topic
1.1.1. tertiary topic

To avoid an overly complex Table of Contents, topics are not shown beyond the secondary level.

0.2.4. TIMELINE AND PERIODIZATION

As I proceeded to collect and assess data, details began to compartmentalize into the three periods cited above in Secondary Premise No. 3: Nascence / Development / Attainment (see Thesis Timeline at Figure 0.1.) These three periods necessarily have some transitional overlap, but they nonetheless have identifiable characteristics that demonstrate causality from one period to the next:

- NASCENCE
  Seventeenth-century English antiquarianism as prelude to English musical antiquarianism
- DEVELOPMENT
  Religio-political and sociological undercurrents contributing to English musical antiquarianism
- ATTAINMENT
  Looking back through the eyes of John Hawkins and Charles Burney

As to the 1660-1776 encompassing dates of this thesis and their timespan within the Long Eighteenth Century, these limits were chosen because, first, before the Restoration of the Monarchy in 1660, contemporaneous with the founding of the

Royal Society, there was only scarce and sporadic interest in English antiquarianism during and prior to the Commonwealth, and certainly little in musical antiquarianism. The latter date of 1776 was selected because, by this time, English musical antiquarianism was reaching its full bloom and was defined under Sir John Hawkins, the inimitable advocate of music of the past, which was signalled in his exhaustive five-volume *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (1776).

Regarding the use of the term 'Long Eighteenth Century' in the thesis title, when referring to Figure 0.1., it will be seen that the first formal occurrence of 'antiquarian' applied to music was at the founding in 1840 of the Musical Antiquarian Society in London. While 1840 is outside the 1776 date for this study, it nevertheless falls within the historical concept of a Long Eighteenth Century, which better describes the overarching religious, political, and social climate of a rapidly changing England that I have proceeded to capture in this thesis. Depending on the historiographical interpreter, the beginning and ending dates vary:

- 1660 - Restoration of the Stuarts under Charles II
- 1689 - Accession of William II and Mary II leading to the Glorious Revolution
- 1815 - Wellington's defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo
- 1832 - Great Reform Act of 1832 (2 & 3 Will. IV c. 45)

For purposes of this thesis, I have assumed the dates of the Long Eighteenth Century to be 1660-1832.

Continued at topic 0.2.4. following Figure 0.1.

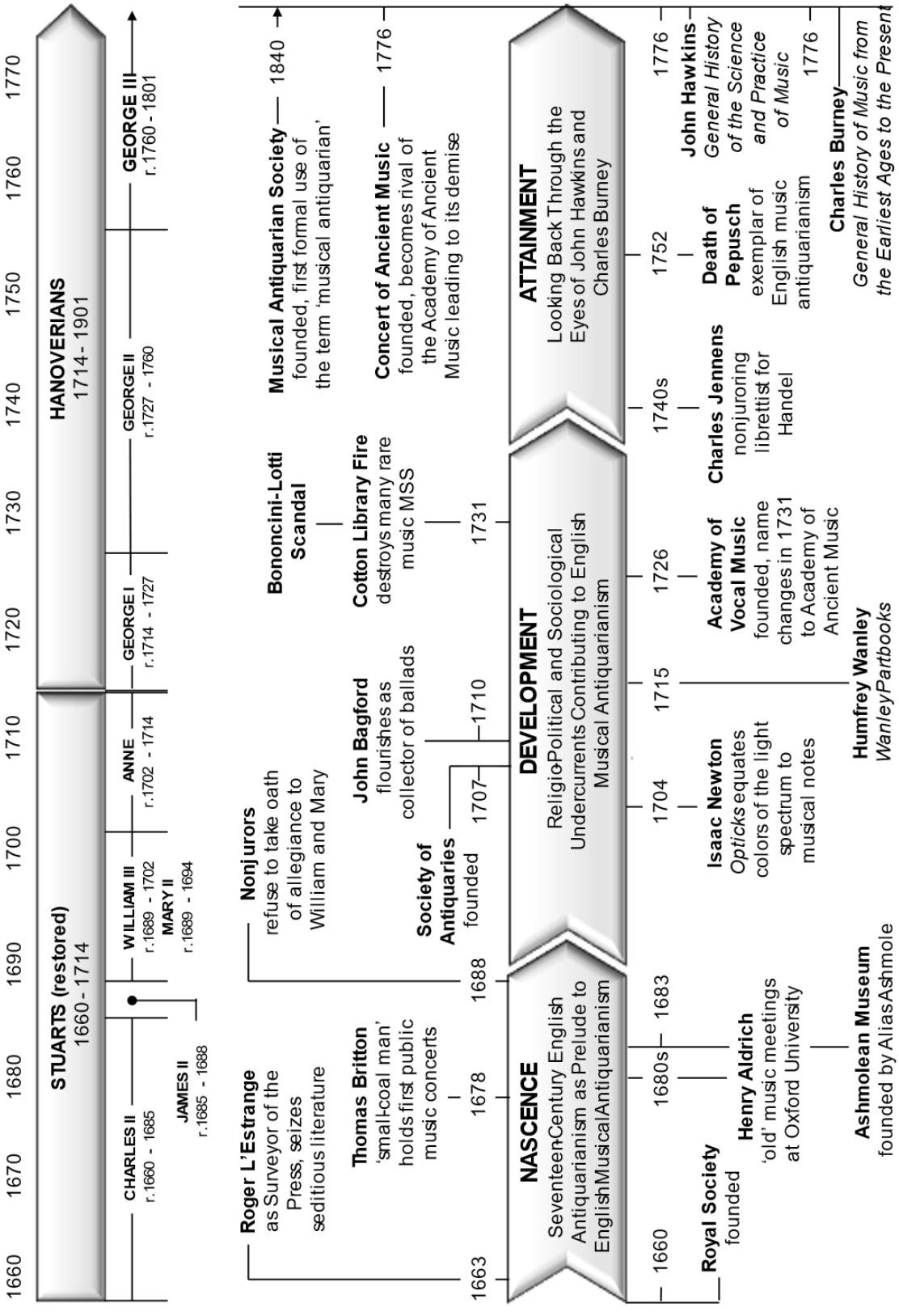


Figure 0.1. — Thesis Timeline: Temporal Markers in the Development of English Musical Antiquarianism

0.2.4. GEOGRAPHICAL LIMITS

During the period under study, musical antiquarian activities and musical societies did exist sporadically among the populace and the noble families throughout Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and somewhat more in the cathedral cities of Durham and York. Musical antiquarianism in England, however, was a distinctly metropolitan phenomenon. I could find no substantive references to an independent, consolidated musical antiquarian movement anywhere but in London, Oxford, and to a lesser degree, Cambridge. Therefore, the geographical limits of this thesis are confined to these three environs.

0.2.6. DEFINITIONS

During my research, I encountered several terms used during the seventeenth- and eighteenth centuries that give rise to what may seem to be synonymous musical concepts. These are clarified as follows:

MUSICAL ANTIQUARIAN

As to nomenclature, it is assumed that the musical antiquarians of this study were active in England (0.2.5.), so the word ‘English’ is only used for emphasis or geographical clarification; otherwise, it has not been employed as a descriptor in order to avoid repetitive syntax.

The principle qualifying trait used in this thesis to define a musical antiquarian is: *one who manifests an active and ongoing interest in music of the past*. ‘Manifest’ is taken to mean expression through the written word, or by collecting, performance, or patronage. ‘Active and ongoing’ refers to demonstrating a serious interest over a period of years, not merely a transient diversion. ‘Music of the past’ applies to music that was not of the time, contrary to the opposing terms for then-contemporary music that was deemed

'new' and 'fashionable'. While the designation 'old music' was cited in the mission statement of the Academy of Ancient Music as applied to the music of the sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-centuries, I saw this as too restrictive for a study of the longer-duration topic of English musical antiquarianism. Instead, the use of 'music of the past' allows for a broader inclusion of works by the English mathematicians who were exploring music theory, as did Isaac Newton (1642-1726/27) in his investigations of ancient Greek harmonics and the intervals of division within the monochord. Johann Pepusch and John Hawkins were proponents of 'music of the past' and can be considered the quintessential English musical antiquarians. However, as discussed in Chapter Eight, Hawkins occupies the transitional position of being both a musical antiquarian and a music historian. The traits of Pepusch as a musical antiquarian are shown in Figure 0.2. and discussed at 2.2.6.

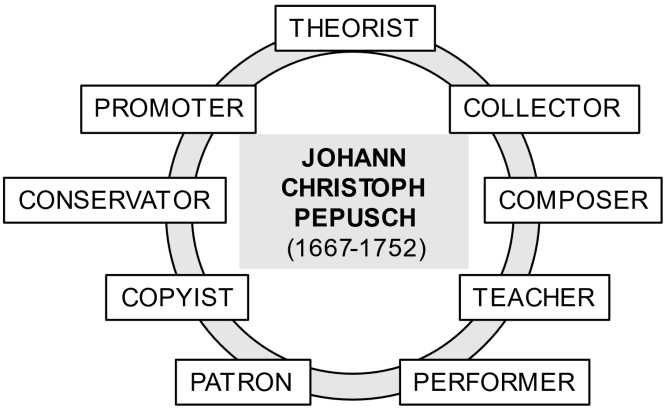


Figure 0.2. — Traits of a Musical Antiquarian Epitomized by Johann Christoph Pepusch

PRECURSIVE MUSICAL ANTIQUARIAN

This is the identifier used in this thesis for those who exhibited one or more of the traits defining an English musical antiquarian but who, by virtue of their divergent circumstances, were not so broadly engaged on as many fronts as Pepusch and Hawkins. I refer to them collectively as 'precursive musical antiquarians', who were important for their pivotal roles in developing English musical antiquarianism. Hitherto, these individuals have not been named and classified in musicological taxonomy, so this thesis takes up their cause.

For example, Thomas Britton was neither a professional musician nor a composer of note. However, by sponsoring the earliest English public concerts that regularly performed music of the past, he qualifies as a precursive musical antiquarian (Figure 0.3.). The same precursive status can also be accorded Henry Aldrich, whose traits as a collector, composer, and conservator of music of the past, qualify him as an active contributor in the development of early English musical antiquarianism (Figure 0.4.).

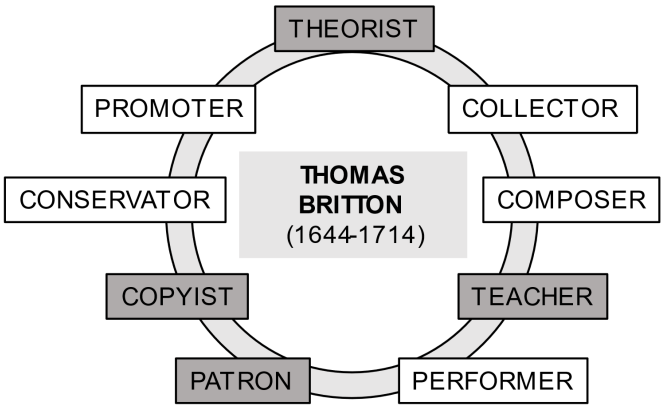


Figure 0.3. — Traits of Thomas Britton
Precursive Musical Antiquarian

MUSICAL ANTIQUARY

A term used in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries synonymous with musical antiquarian, often cited in the pejorative tone of ‘that old antiquary’ (1.2).

MUSIC HISTORIAN

Unlike musical antiquarians—whose interests were broad and could include conducting experiments, participating in learned societies, and acquiring musical artefacts—music historians emerged later as a class of English scholars who were less concerned with the physical aspects of music and more with the cerebral analysis at a distance of music literature, theory,

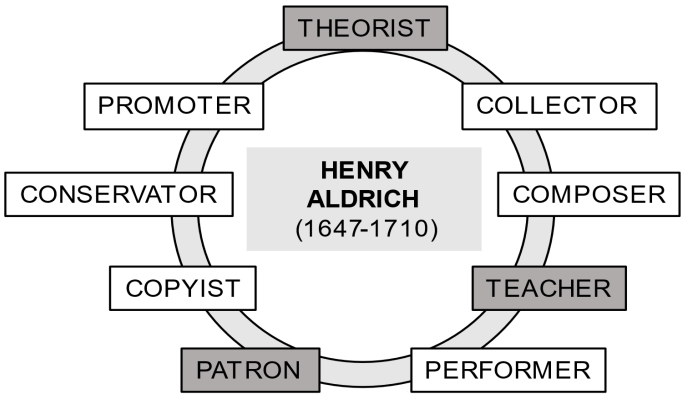


Figure 0.4. — Traits of Henry Aldrich
Precursive Musical Antiquarian

events, and chronologies. By contrast, unlike the musical antiquarians, Charles Burney (1726-1814) is typical of the early English music historians, whose linear methodology is reflected in the title of his comprehensive, four-volume *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*.

CANON

The thesis treats two definitions of the wide-ranging term ‘canon’. Chapter Five discusses the musical form of canon, with an alchemical analysis applied to J.S. Bach’s *Die Kunst der Fuge* (5.8.), whereas the thesis in the main is devoted to the definition of canon as specific to a canonical list of ‘best masters’ of ‘old’ music considered to be preeminent in their class. A list of these composers would evolve, in time, into a canon of specific musical works. A canon of composers necessarily varies by period and aesthetic taste, but within the scope of this thesis, I have concentrated on the actual composers of ‘old’ music, as discussed at 3.7.2., and those composers whose works are in the style o f ‘old’ music. I took my cues from the contemporary writers on music, but foremost, from the founding principles of the musical antiquarians, who used the Academy of Ancient Music as the vehicle for their quest to establish a canon inclusive of those ‘best masters’ destined to save ‘old’ music, particularly that of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

0.3. METHODOLOGY

0.3.1. DECISION PATH FOR ASSESSING EVIDENCE

The preponderance of my research did not require the application of a formal methodology to prove relevance, but instead employed the conventional scholarly process of evaluating facts and then applying empirical assessment to infer conclusions. However, in three particularly involved instances, it became necessary to utilize a system for tracking the ancillary data surrounding these broad topics germane to English musical antiquarianism, previewed at 0.4. For this, I turned to the structure provided in the *British Civil Evidence Act of 1995*.

There can be several dozen classifications of evidence, each having its narrow shadings and permutations. However, the two principal types common to all classifications are direct and indirect evidence, which are the ones I employed. I further selected two categories within each classification, yielding the following subtypes: (1) documentary, (2) testimonial, (3) circumstantial, and (4) hearsay, for which I created a Decision Path for Assessing Evidence (Figure 0.5.)

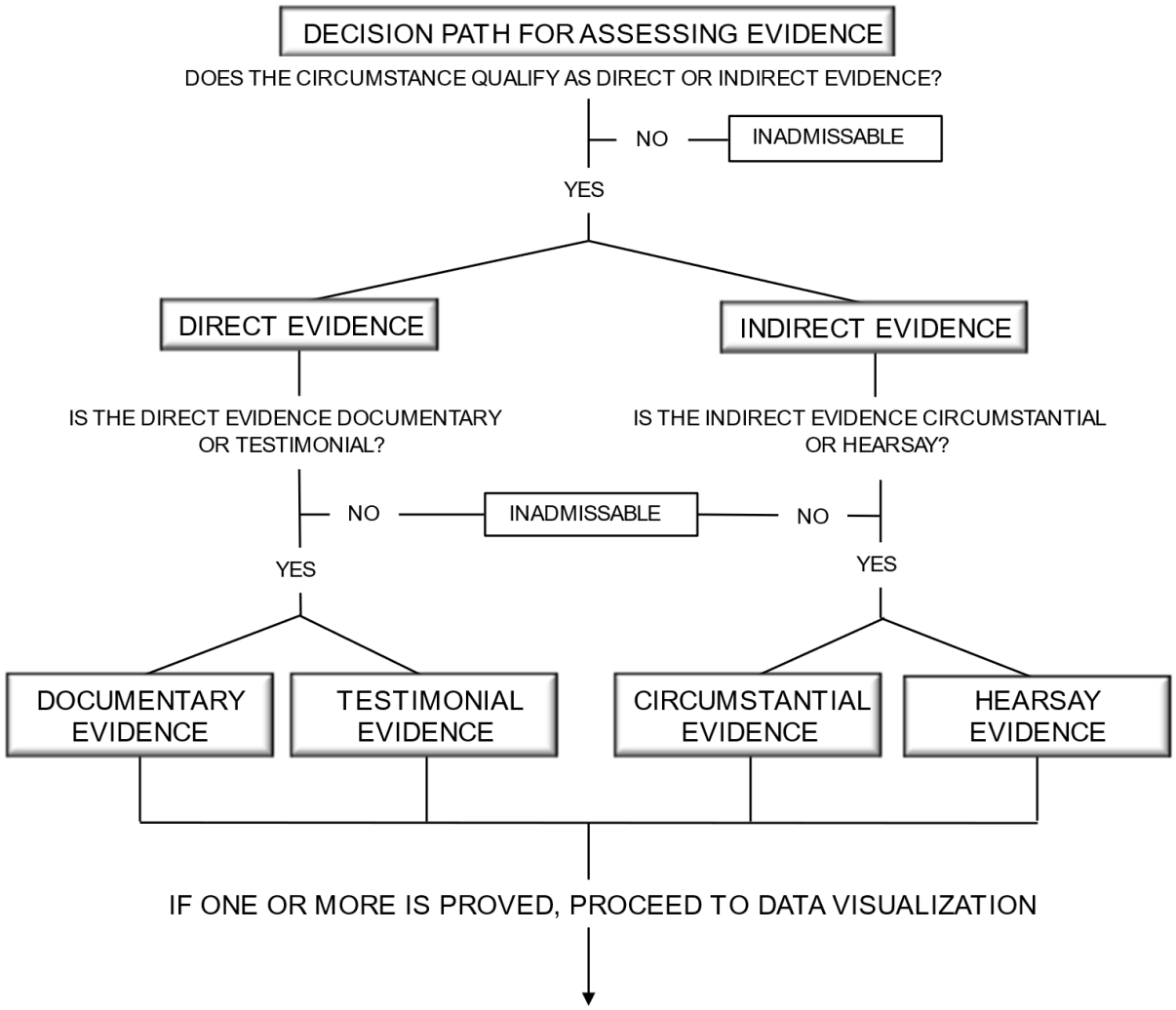


Figure 0.5. — Decision Path for Assessing Evidence

DIRECT EVIDENCE

DOCUMENTARY

To obtain documentary evidence required scouring the primary sources, primarily onsite in the various English libraries, in public and private archives indicated in my bibliography, but also microfilm/microfiche and online scanned documents, for trustworthy evidence in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century contemporary diaries, wills, newspapers, contracts, transcripts, tax receipts, and public filings. This process proved to be the most time-consuming type of direct evidence to obtain.

TESTIMONIAL

More subjective than documentary evidence, testimonial evidence required relying on a single witness, often subject to bias or inaccurate recall. Validating the strength of testimonial evidence, then, meant qualifying the veracity of the historical claimants. An example of faulty testimonial evidence is the dating by Hawkins of the founding of the Academy of Ancient Music at 1710, which was not corrected to 1726 until 1926 by Henry Davey (8.5.).

INDIRECT EVIDENCE

CIRCUMSTANTIAL

Like direct testimonial evidence that relies on the attestation of a witness, circumstantial evidence required making inferences from claims that had first been qualified as facts. This was an arduous process because rarely could an inference be made quickly without first exploring the individual elements of the circumstances. Keeping on track required diligent application of the (1) Decision Path for Assessing Evidence and (2) Data Visualization Using Charting Paradigms, described at 0.3.2. These proved their utility when unravelling the historical challenges clouded by time, yet that were important for demystifying the undercurrents encountered throughout the development of early English musical antiquarianism.

HEARSAY

The most laborious indirect evidence to collect and warrant for reliability was hearsay, though it proved to be among the most rewarding of the types of evidence. As a starting point, I reviewed the numerous legal sources surrounding the *Rules of Evidence* used in the United Kingdom for evaluating evidence and determining points of acceptance for hearsay. I found them in the criteria enumerated in the latest

revised *Civil Evidence Act* of 1995 (*CEA95*)[2]. While these criteria are intended for use in British courts, I discovered that many of the *CEA95* rules and logic filters could also be applied when deciding whether a historical claim rose to the strength of fact, especially when confronted with circumstantial and hearsay evidence.

0.3.2. DATA VISUALIZATION USING CHARTING PARADIGMS

The second step I employed for validating circumstances-rising-to-facts was to assay a prospective circumstance for its potential to be modelled with data visualization using a charting paradigm, which, applying the term 'paradigm' to mean a system of organized thinking on a topic, could be a graph, diagram, table, or one of several of their subset variations. These charting paradigms can be employed spatially to illustrate the complex relationships encountered when investigating the development and influence of early English musical antiquarianism. The following subset charts were used in this thesis, where they are listed as figures:

- Timeline ..... Figure 0.1.
- Distributive Pie..... Figures 0.2., 0.3., 0.4., 3.2.
- Decision Path ..... Figures 0.5.
- Hub-and-Spoke ..... Figures 0.7., 2.1., 2.2., 5.1.
- Tree Map ..... Figure 6.1.

I found the evaluative process for selecting an appropriate subset chart to be an especially beneficial research tool. It caused me to expand the parameters of my thought processes by exploring relationships that could have been overlooked through textual analysis alone.

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[2] *UK Public General Acts, 1995 C. 38: Civil Evidence Act*, Section 1 (1995) https://www.legislation.gov.uk.ukpga.1995.38.

For example, as will be described in Chapter Six, no records exist in the hand of musical antiquarian Thomas Britton attesting that he held music concerts. Yet, Thoresby and Hawkins do indeed assert this, thereby lending strength to the conclusion that Britton was the first to hold dedicated public music concerts in seventeenth-century England. Once this claim was established as fact, I designed a corroborating Tree Map to illustrate Britton's ancillary activities and associates (Figure 6.1.).

Similarly, to illustrate the interlocking relationships of six prominent aristocratic members of Parliament who patronized Christopher Bateman's Bookshop, I created a Hub-and-Spoke chart to illustrate the strong possibility that they would have known Britton and that some of them, perhaps all, were using the Bookshop as a locus for political agentry in support of the prevailing monarch (Figure 2.1.).

0.4. APPLICATION EXAMPLES OF DATA EVALUATION

My methods for evaluating data held up under rigorous scrutiny when applied to three significant quandaries in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English musical antiquarianism that were as yet unsolved to my satisfaction. They are cited here as examples of circumstantial evidence that will be discussed in detail, as shown:

- The Bononcini-Lotti Scandal ..... 3.2.
- The Enigmatic Thomas Britton ..... 6.4.
- Support by the Aristocracy: The Duchess of Queensberry..... 6.6.

My research into these quandaries showed that the accounts told by Hawkins and other contemporary historians and chroniclers had been accepted in the main as fact throughout history by subsequent investigators. Each account has been retold wholesale throughout the intervening years, but no one had performed an exhaustive analysis by applying the cautious methods of investigation cited above. The importance of these three topics to my central premise can be appreciated by their

persistent appearances within the historical records of this period of English music history.

1) The first quandary is the noted Bononcini-Lotti scandal, related in Chapter Three. Not only was it incumbent for me to investigate this affair for its place in English musical antiquarianism, but its resolution could either restore or repudiate the reputation of an eminent composer of the period, Giovanni Bononcini. Dovetailing as this narrative does with the undercurrents involving politics, specious authorship, and personality defects, I determined to scrutinize and explore the records from a different direction.
2) Next, Chapter Six entailed an exploration of the second quandary of the conflicting claims surrounding Thomas Britton, the so-called 'small-coal man', starting with the assessment of him told by Horace Walpole in his *Anecdotes of Painting*,[3] as related to him by the son of Britton's portrait artist, John Wollaston. The commonly reported perception that Britton was a simple, honest man raises the hitherto unanswered question as to why so many disparate aspects of his activities drew conflicting comments from his contemporaries, some of whom suspected him of unsavoury pursuits in the black arts, Rosicrucianism, seditious activities, and of being an undercover political agent. To determine whether these claims rose to the merit of fact, I applied my Decision Path for Evaluating Evidence (0.3.1.) to dig past seventeenth- and eighteenth-century rumours and reach a more accurate evaluation of the enigmatic Britton.

[3] Horace Walpole and George Vertue, *Anecdotes of Painting in England: With Some Account of the Principal Artists, and Incidental Notes on Other Arts. Also, a Catalogue of Engravers Who Have Been Born or Resided in England*. In three volumes, vol. 3. (London, Bohn, 1849), 253.

3) Also in Chapter Six is my presentation of the third quandary regarding the extent to which the aristocratic class of London accepted ‘old’ music. The quandary was created by Hawkins with his statement that this aristocratic acceptance of ‘old’ music was demonstrated by the attendance at the Britton concerts of the Duchess of Queensberry.[4] The various questions arising from Hawkins’ assertion are discussed and resolved at 6.6.

0.4. CHAPTER CONTENTS AND LITERATURE REVIEW

To present my research findings on the personalities, associations, and topics of English musical antiquarianism, I divided the thesis into three parts containing a total of eight chapters. For an overview of the components of these findings without regard to time or place, see Figure 0.6.

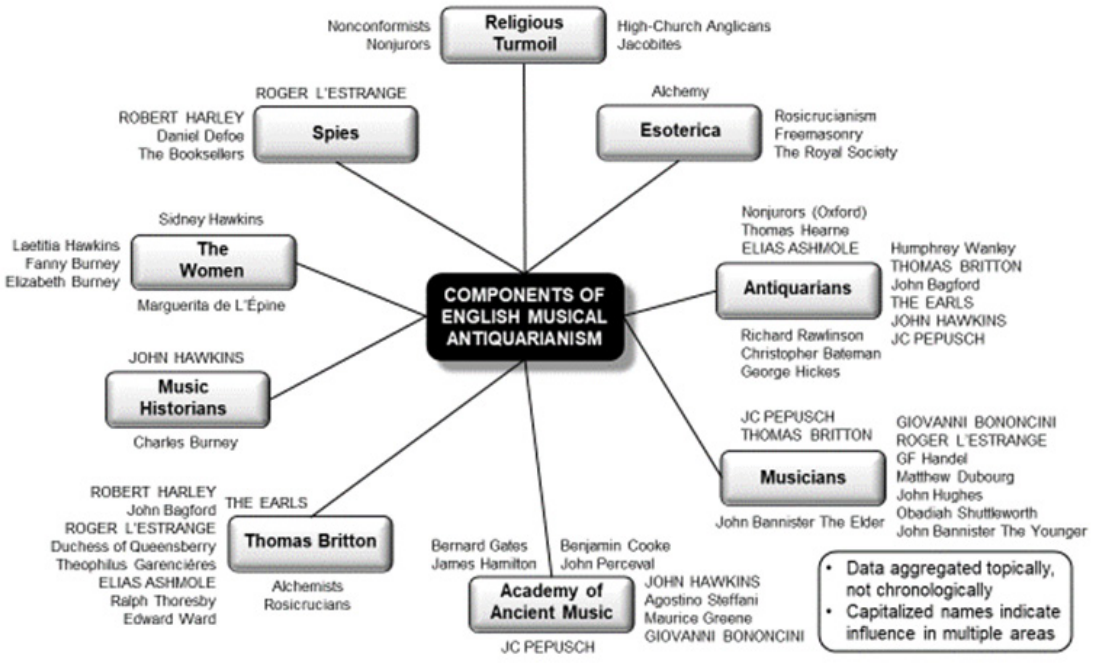


Figure 0.6. — Components of English Musical Antiquarianism

Each of the three parts is essential for a broad understanding of English musical antiquarianism and how the pervasive religio-political and sociological

[4] Hawkins, *History*, 790.

undercurrents defined its progress during the rapid changes occurring in early modern English music history. The inclusive dates of 1660 to 1776 (Figure 0.1.) represent, first, the ascendency of Charles II marking the Restoration of the Monarchy as concurrent with the founding of the Royal Society, and second, the publication date of both of the first two histories of music in the English language: Sir John Hawkins: *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, and Dr Charles Burney: *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period.* The intervening years saw a mixture of constituent activities in England's mid-seventeenth through mid-eighteenth-century musical development that ultimately would foster an accepted musical repertoire, or canon, of music, thereby restoring it as a legitimate academic discipline.

Hawkins' *History* is of seminal value to much of this thesis. He serves as an essential secondary source for the earlier period and a primary authority by virtue of having lived during most of the time covered in this study and described in Chapter Eight. Much of his information comes from his direct familiarity with current events and personalities and his recording of first-hand knowledge related to him by his numerous primary-source contemporaries.

In seeking to glean direct and indirect evidence from the accounts and claims that have come down to us from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century records, I committed the events and personalities to my method for evaluating data. Using Hawkins as my starting point, I scoured the correspondences, journals, and third-party accounts of Charles Burney, John Perceval, Thomas Hearne, the diaries of John Thoresby, John Evelyn, Samuel Pepys, John Aubrey, and other contemporary writers. I employed my Data Visualization Using Charting Paradigms, particularly timelines, to further confirm the veracity of reports on the activities of, especially,

Thomas Britton, the Bononcini-Lotti affair, and the surreptitious use of musical antiquarians and their musician counterparts for political purposes.

In the matter of the enigma surrounding Thomas Britton, I examined anew the quotation from the son of portrait artist John Wollaston, cited by Horace Walpole in his *Anecdotes of Painting*. The quotation suggested, among other curious assertations, that Britton's concerts were 'a cover for seditious meetings' or that he performed conjuring and magic tricks at his concerts (4.3.1.).[5]

[5] Walpole and Vertue, *Anecdotes of Painting, Volume iii*, 253; quoted in Hawkins, *History*, 791.

0.4.1. PART ONE
ENGLISH ANTIQUARIANISM AS PRELUDE TO MUSICAL ANTIQUARIANISM
CHAPTERS ONE THROUGH THREE

OVERVIEW

Part One and its three chapters present the background concepts of antiquarianism, antiquarian practitioners, and the musical antiquarians of the seventeenth- and early-eighteenth centuries. It details their motivations for collecting and preserving musical, physical, literary, historical, legal, and ecclesiastical antiquities.

CHAPTER ONE

Among the works consulted in Chapter One for primary source material on the background of seventeenth-century antiquarianism was Ruth Scurr's *John Aubrey, My Own Life.*[6] The value of this work lies in her presentation of the first-hand accounts of the antiquarian activities of John Aubrey (1626-1697) in the recovery of ancient artefacts at Avebury and his influence on Charles II in halting the scattering and destruction of the Avebury stones, thereby leading ultimately to the parliamentary legislation now protecting this and other ancient monuments. Also helpful was Graham Parry's *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* in providing secondary source material on the English antiquarian impetus for preserving literary and physical antiquities.[7]

Further contributing to an understanding of the background of antiquarianism during this formative period were secondary sources that included Charles Wilson's *England's Apprenticeship,*[8] Johan Huizinga's *Men and ideas: History, the Middle*

[6] Ruth Scurr, *John Aubrey*, *My Own Life* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2016).
[7] Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Sentury* (Oxford University Press, 1995).
[8] Charles Wilson, *England's Apprenticeship, 1603-1763*, 2nd edition, (London: Longman, 1984).

Ages, the Renaissance; Essays,[9] and Arnaldo Momigliano's 'Ancient History and the Antiquarian'.[10] Each of these approaches antiquarianism from distinctly divergent vantage points, yet each is complementary in providing illumination for understanding the past and how it relates to the present. An invaluable background primary source was Elias Ashmole's *The Institution, Laws and Ceremonies of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, 1672.*[11] This work earned Ashmole the title of Windsor Herald bestowed by Charles II, and laid out the antiquarian foundation for the English noble orders still recognized today.

CHAPTER TWO

This chapter frames musical antiquarianism within the broader arena of general antiquarianism, whose practitioners were active in London and Oxford beginning in the late seventeenth century, leading to the great ambitious collectors vying for prominence in the eighteenth century. The chapter shows the links between aristocratic collectors and agent-collectors, primarily of the tradesman class, demonstrating their intertwining with musical antiquarians. Primary sources included the Oxford antiquarian Thomas Hearne,[12] whose *Hemingus* provides the connections among John Bagford, Thomas Britton, and the aristocrat collectors; the

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[9] Johan Huizinga, *Men and ideas: History, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance; Essays* (location unknown, presumed London: Meridian Books, 1960).
[10] Arnaldo Momigliano, 'Ancient History and the Antiquarian', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 13, no. 3/4 (1950): 285-315.
[11] Elias Ashmole, *The Institution, Laws and Ceremonies of the Most Noble Order of the Garter* (London: Nathaneal Brooke*, 1672)*.https://quod.lib.umich.edu>eebo.
[12] Thomas Hearne*, Hemingus. Hemingi Chartularium ecclesiæ Wigorniensis. E Codice MS. penes Richardum Graves, De Mickleton in agro Gloucestriensi, Armigerum, Descripsit ediditque Tho. Hearnius, Qui & eam partem libri de Domesday, quae ad Ecclesiam pertinet Wigorniensem, aliaque ad Operis (duobus Voluminibus comprehensi) nitorem facientia, subnexuit. Vol. 2. Oxonii: e Theatro Sheldoniano, M.DCC. XXIII. [1723]. Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&docLevel=FASCIMILE&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=bham_uk&tabID=T001&docId=CW3319851211&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0.

diarist John Evelyn;[13] and John Perceval, the first Earl of Egmont.[14] The curious similarities of three agent-collectors—Thomas Britton, John Bagford, and Humfrey Wanley—are shown in Figure 2.2.

For developing my presentation of the primary collectors of music and for formulating the definition of a 'musical antiquarian', A. Hyatt King's *Some British Collectors of Music* proved essential.[15] As a musicologist, bibliographer, and the British Museum's Deputy Keeper of the Department of Printed Books from 1959 until his retirement in 1976, King published this work in 1963 based on his years of working with the Museum's extensive music collections and related bibliographic holdings, making it a definitive source.

My research uncovered a progression of musical antiquarianism that began with the informal music meetings held by musical antiquarian Henry Aldrich (1647-1710), Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, and continued onward to include the widespread activities of the exemplar musical antiquarian Dr Johann Christoph Pepusch. Included along this timeline were musical antiquarians John Bagford and Thomas Britton.

CHAPTER THREE

The embryonic beginnings of the English musical antiquarian movement treated in Chapter Two meld into Chapter Three with the founding of the Academy of Ancient Music. This antiquarian organization was formed in 1726, initially under the name The Academy of Vocal Music, but was renamed in 1731 to the Academy of Ancient Music, as related in Hawkins' *History* and the diary of John Perceval.[16]

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[13] John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, vol. 4, ed. E.S. de Beer (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955).
[14] John Perceval, *Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont: Diary of Viscount Percival afterwards first Earl of Egmont*, 3 vols (Historical Manuscripts Commission, 63; London, 1920-1923).
[15] A. Hyatt King, Some *British Collectors of Music. c.1600-1960, The Sandars Lectures for 1961* (Cambridge University Press, 1963).
[16] Perceval, *Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont: Diary.*

Hawkins provides details of the Academy in his *History* and his anonymously-published *An Account of the Institution and Progress of the Academy of Antient Music* of 1770, in which he delivers an overview of the purpose and progress of the Academy since its inception.[17] Originally intended to counter the waning popularity of the Academy, it proved indirectly to be a valuable history of the Academy and its vital role in promoting the inclusion of music of the past in the evolving canon of music.

Invaluable to my assembly of the mosaic of English musical antiquarianism was the article by H. Diack Johnstone, 'Westminster Abbey and the Academy of Ancient Music: A Library Once Lost and Now Partially Recovered', which identifies music in the archives of Westminster Abbey that originated from the library of the Academy.[18] Much of the music is in the original bindings and includes items that had gone unexamined as having belonged to the Academy. Regarding how the works came to be at the Abbey, Johnstone posits that they may have been taken there by various Abbey organists, such as Benjamin Cooke (1734-1793), Samuel Arnold (1740-1802), and his son Samuel James Arnold (1774-1852).

Another Johnstone article, 'The Academy of Ancient Music (1726-1802): Its History, Repertoire and Surviving Programmes', published in 2020 after an almost fifty-year gestation, is a remarkable addition to the corpus of knowledge about the Academy. Johnstone has located and charted for historiographers the extant programmes of the Academy. These reveal the progression of the music genre performed at Academy concerts through the years, thereby confirming that the

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[17] John Hawkins, *An Account of the Institution and Progress of the Academy of Ancient Music. With a Comparative View of the Music of the Past and Present Times. By a Member*. vol. 1, printed in the year 1770, reprinted Cambridge, 1998; also reprinted in Percy Scholes, *The Life and Activities of Sir John Hawkins, Musician, Magistrate and Friend of Johnson*, Appendix 3: 'An Account of the Academy of Antient Music' (Oxford University Press, 1953), 247.

[18] H. Diack Johnstone, 'Westminster Abbey and the Academy of Ancient Music: A Library Once Lost and Now Partially Recovered', *Music & Letters* 95, no. 3 (August 2014): 329-373.

Academy had achieved a balance between ‘old’ and ‘modern’ music by the time of its final meeting in 1802.[19] This forms the basis for my presentation on the canon at 3.7.

Through an analysis of the Academy programme of 7 January 1731, in conjunction with Hawkins’ *History* and reports in John Perceval’s diary, I was led to suspect that something was awry in the historical accounts of the Bononcini-Lotti affair of that year. I discuss this at length in this Chapter Three for its contributory value to the topic of the emerging musical antiquarian quest for accuracy in authorship, aligned with the Academy’s mission of preparing a list of 'best masters’ of music. The affair devolved into the notorious public scandal that occurred in 1731 at the Academy involving the Italian composers Giovanni Bononcini and Antonio Lotti.

A probing of the affair’s below-the-surface minutiae exposes puzzling inconsistencies about the accuracy of the received accounts as they have come down to us. On first perusal, the scandal appears to be simply one of establishing the contested authorship of a madrigal performed at the Academy on 7 January 1731. However, with the application of my Decision Path for Assessing Evidence (0.3.1.), I concluded that the outcome of this saga was actually played out in the context of political partisanship by Academy members within a social undercurrent of personal animosities towards Bononcini. Hawkins and Perceval record basically the same story. Perceval was a contemporary witness to the episode, while Hawkins was informed by some who were actually there. I found two secondary-source articles to be especially helpful: Lowell Lindgren’s ‘“The Three Great Noises’ Fatal to the Interests of Bononcini’,[20] which contributes details to the incidents leading to

[19] H. Diack Johnstone, ‘The Academy of Ancient Music (1726–1802): Its History, Repertoire and Surviving Programmes’, *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 51 (2020): 1-136.
[20] Lowell Lindgren, ‘“The Three Great Noises” Fatal to the Interests of Bononcini’, *Musical Quarterly* 61, no. 4 (1975): 560-583.

Bononcini's downfall, and Stephen Rose's 'Plagiarism at the Academy of Ancient Music',[21] which offered provocative ideas on the emerging eighteenth-century problem of establishing authorship.

Chapter Three also shows how the letters between the Academy and Antonio Lotti, prompted by Bononcini's denial that he plagiarized Lotti's madrigal, had the effect of reinforcing one of the fundamental musical antiquarian purposes of the Academy, which was to produce a list of the 'best masters' of music, and in so doing, to preserve, conserve, and install into accepted repertoire the music of the past. The first of these letters was addressed to Lotti by Academy director Hawley Bishop acting on behalf of the Academy in an attempt to determine the true authorship of the madrigal 'In una siepe ombrosa'.[22] I submit that these letters provide a crucial signpost along the way towards establishing the importance of music of the past.

[21] Steven Rose, 'Plagiarism at the Academy of Ancient Music: A Case Study in Authorship, Style and Judgement', *Concepts of Creativity in Seventeenth-Century England*, Rebecca Herissone and Alan Howard, eds. (Suffolk, Woodbridge, UK: publisher unknown, 2013): 181-198.
[22] *Letters from the Academy of Ancient Musick at London, to Sigr Antonio Lotti of Venice: With His Answers and Testimonies* (London: publisher unknown, 1732); reprinted in Victor Schœlcher as Chapter '1733', *The Life of Handel*, 127–155. Cambridge Library Collection - Music. (Cambridge University Press, 2009), 148-155.

0.4.2 PART TWO
RELIGIO-POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL UNDERCURRENTS
CHAPTERS FOUR THROUGH SEVEN

OVERVIEW

Part Two and its four chapters demonstrate how religio-political and sociological undercurrents—particularly those of the nonjurors, Freemasonry, the arcane elements of alchemy and Rosicrucianism, and the role women played behind the scenes—affected the evolution of musical antiquarianism. William Weber postulates that, unlike other disciplines of literature, sculpture and art, England had no corpus of music repertoire, or canon, before the eighteenth century. He gives as his reasons for this lack of accepted classics the following: (1) the scarcity of extant notated music, (2) most music was written for the celebration of specific events, birthdays, and ceremonial activities, and (3):

> Finally, music had a status within intellectual life that was quite inferior to that of poetry, sculpture, or even the drama. While scientific and metaphysical study of music lay within the medieval quadrivium, it was strictly a theoretical field that involved neither composition nor performance.[23]

The process of developing a canon did not come about easily. Religious and political life were mired in the still-resounding crisis created by Henry VIII's break from Rome, with music being greatly affected by consequent reactions throughout society. These upheavals included: the rise of dissident groups, which abhorred the popish music of polyphony, demanding only metrical psalmody in their worship services; Cromwell's stripping of organs from cathedrals and prohibiting the performance of instrumental music from being played there; and the gradual loss of court patronage for composers and musicians.

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[23] William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (Oxford University Press,1996): 2.

CHAPTER FOUR

This chapter discusses another class of dissidents that influenced church music and eventually affected Handel's music: the nonjurors. This group arose at the deposition of James II in 1688 by William and Mary (in 1689), leading to the Glorious Revolution. Mostly clerics and academics, they refused to take the oath of allegiance to the new monarchs, as required for serving in governmental, academic, and ecclesiastical positions.

This chapter also discusses the cultural atmosphere of the Restoration period that nurtured the progress of musical antiquarianism as it gradually came into its own in the early eighteenth century. Religious, political and sociological dynamics were played out

1) through the activities of this new class of ecclesiastics and academicians, the nonjurors, which expanded from their initial refusal to swear the oath of allegiance, to a hodgepodge of dissident protestants holding conflicting views on the use of church music. The research by Ruth Smith was instrumental to my understanding of nonjuror influence on music, particularly her book *Handel's Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought*, her article 'The Achievements of Charles Jennens (1700-1773)', and her exhibition booklet *Charles Jennens, The Man Behind Handel's Messiah.*[24] For an expanded discussion of the nonjurors, my sources included John Henry Overton's *The Nonjurors: Their Lives, Principles, and Writings*[25]; the nonjuror writer Arthur

[24] Ruth Smith, *Handel's Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought* (Cambridge University Press, 1995); 'The Achievements of Charles Jennens (1700-1773)' *Music & Letters* 70, no. 2 (1989), 161-190. http://www.jstor.org/stable/736884; *Charles Jennens: The Man Behind Handel's Messiah* (exhibition booklet at the Handel House Museum, London, 21 November 2012 to 14 April 2013), Gerald Coke Handel Foundation, 2012.
[25] John Henry Overton, *The Nonjurors: Their Lives, Principles, and Writings* (New York: Whittaker, 1903).

Bedford's *The Great Abuse of Musick;*[26] and Keith A. Schmid's 'Legitimacy and Orthodoxy: The English Nonjurors, 1688-1750'.[27]

2) the rising importance of the conflicting political classes of Whigs and Tories that played out in music with the competing politics among members of the Royal Academy of Music, and later among members of the Academy of Ancient Music. John Perceval, the first Earl of Egmont, a member of both musical groups, wrote about these conflicts in his diary, *Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont.*[28] Thomas McGeary's *The Politics of Opera in Handel's Britain*[29] and Elizabeth Gibson's 'The Royal Academy of Music (1719-1728) and its Directors' were valuable contributions, as well, to my understanding of these subtle political issues.[30]

Chapter Four also addresses the potential for enlistment by Sir Robert Harley (1661-1724), Secretary of State, and Sir Roger L'Estrange (1616-1704) Surveyor of the Press, as political agents (spies) for the government, including potentially the musical antiquarians John Bagford and Thomas Britton. The similar use of Dr Thomas Tudway and Daniel Defoe as surrogates adds further to the story of government officials acting in their positions of authority to identify and prosecute publishers of seditious materials. As to locale, the London bookshop of Christopher Bateman was a popular meeting place for aristocratic collectors and collector-agents. Despite Bateman's stellar reputation as a book merchant, his bookshop was suspected of serving as a meeting place for seditious activities.

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[26] Arthur Bedford, *The Great Abuse of Musick, Etc. (A Canon of Four Parts in One, According to Mr. Purcell's Rule of Fuging.)* (London: John Wyatt, 1711).
[27] Keith A. Schmidt, 'Legitimacy and Orthodoxy: The English Nonjurors, 1688-1750' (PhD diss., Montreal: McGill University Libraries, 1983).
[28] Perceval, *Diary.*
[29] Thomas McGeary, *The Politics of Opera in Handel's Britain* (Cambridge University Press, 2013).
[30] Elizabeth Gibson, 'The Royal Academy of Music (1719–1728) and its Directors', *Handel Tercentenary Collection* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1987), 138-164.

Sources contributing to my discussion of Harley and L'Estrange were Hawkins' *History*; Anne Dunan-Page and Beth Lynch (eds.) of *Roger L'Estrange and the Making of Restoration Culture;*[31] Jonathan Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605-1670);*[32] Roger North in his *Memories of Musick;*[33] and Brian W. Hill, *Robert Harley, Speaker, Secretary of State, and Premier Minister*.[34] Henry L. Snyder's article 'The Reports of a Press Spy for Robert Harley: New Bibliographical Data for the Reign of Queen Anne'[35] added to the issue of spying.

This chapter addresses the many diverse facets of the personality of Thomas Britton. The likelihood of his being a spy for L'Estrange correlates with his long association with L'Estrange, the fact that they were near-neighbours, and that their contemporaries held that it was L'Estrange who first suggested to Britton that he should host music meetings in his home. L'Estrange was known to be a fine viol player and was reported to have played at the Britton concerts.

CHAPTER FIVE

Progressing through the religio-political and sociological turmoil of the seventeenth century were antiquarians and musicians, both professional and amateur, who were full participants in the culture of their time. In this backdrop along the path of the developing enlightenment of musical antiquarianism, the beginning of the century

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[31] Andrew Ashbee, '"My Fiddle is a Bass Viol": Music in the Life of Roger L'Estrange' in Anne Dunan-Page and Beth Lynch, eds., *Roger L'Estrange and the Making of Restoration Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2008).
[32] Johathan P. Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605-1670),* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997).
[33] Roger North*, Memoirs of Musick: Now First Printed from the Original MS. and Edited with Copious Notes* (Cambridge University Press, 2010).
[34] Brian W. Hill, *Robert Harley, Speaker, Secretary of State, and Premier Minister* (Yale University Press, 1988).
[35] Henry L. Snyder, 'The Reports of a Press Spy for Robert Harley: New Bibliographical Data for the Reign of Queen Anne', *The Library* 5, no. 4 (1967): 326-345.

saw England still engaging in alchemy, magic, and associated arcane practices. Medicine, including the curative potions used by housewives, was linked to alchemical treatments. Elias Ashmole, the famous antiquarian, historian, and founder of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, was still casting horoscopes for his friends, with details in his diary recounting the numerous horoscopes he cast throughout his career. His vast collection of antiquities includes many surviving alchemical tracts, poems, amulets, and magical artefacts. Ashmole's fascination with and study of Dr John Dee, physician, astrologer, and advisor to Elizabeth I, led Ashmole to accept communing with spirits, as he described in the Preface to his *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum*.[36] Not that Ashmole's position in society was that of an iconoclast on the periphery: in addition to being an alchemist, Rosicrucian, and Freemason, he was also a founding member of the Royal Society. Indeed, many of his fellow Royal Society members were also Freemasons and had Rosicrucian sympathies.[37] Similarly, in May 1694, the Royal Society member John Aubrey (1626-1697) wrote in his diary that he dispatched his annotated copy of Pliny'*s Natural History* 'to the museum in Oxford. I have carefully distinguished the cures Pliny lists that depend on magic from those that depend on herbal remedies'.[38]

Chapter Five considers the compelling influence of the Royal Society's pivot away from Natural Philosophy—with its inclusion of the tradition of magic, i.e., the alchemy embedded into Rosicrucianism—to embracing the scientific principles of the emerging Enlightenment. At its founding in 1660, the Royal Society's membership consisted of critical thinkers who nonetheless accepted alchemy and the arcane

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[36] Elias Ashmole, *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum,* preface (London, printed by F. Grismond for N. Brooke, 1652).
[37] Robert Lomas, *The Invisible College, The Royal Society, Freemasonry and the Birth of Modern Science (*London: Headline Book Publishing, 2002).
[38] Scurr, *John Aubrey*, 411.

elements of Rosicrucianism. Isaac Newton was one such representative of transitional thought whose investigations impinged on musical antiquarianism. His study of acoustics and optics led him to the Pythagorean principles of music that correlated with the studies of later musical antiquarians, most notably Dr JC Pepusch, his students, and the music theorists in the Pepusch sphere of influence. Pepusch's theoretical letter presented to the Royal Society in 1746, which gained his membership as a Fellow, demonstrates the abiding interest of the Society in the theoretical principles of music, natural harmony, and the music of the ancients.

Additional sources of importance to Chapter Five include the works edited by C.H. Josten, *Elias Ashmole (1617-1692): His Autobiographical and Historical Notes;*[39] Robert Lomas, *The Invisible College, The Royal Society, Freemasonry and the Birth of Modern Science;*[40] Frances Amelia Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment;*[41] Margaret C Jacobs, *The Radical Enlightenment: Pantheists, Freemasons and Republicans;*[42] Isaac Newton, *Opticks;*[43] and JC Pepusch, 'Of the various genera and species of music among the antients, with some observations concerning their scale'.[44]

[39] C. H. Josten, ed., *Elias Ashmole (1617-1692) His Autobiographical and Historical Notes, His Correspondence, and other Contemporary Sources Relating to His Life and Work, Edited, with a Biographical Introduction*, 5 vols. (Oxford University Press, 1966).
[40] Robert Lomas, *The Invisible College*.
[41] Frances Amelia Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (London: Routledge, 1972).
[42] Margaret C. Jacobs, *The Radical Enlightenment: Pantheists, Freemasons and Republicans* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1981).
[43] Isaac Newton, *Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy; Optics;* [and by Christian Huygens:] *Treatise on Light*, Great Book Series, *Encyclopedia Brittanica* (London: William Benton,1952).
[44] Johann Christoph Pepusch, 'Of the Various Genera and Species of Music Among the Antients, with Some Observations Concerning Their Scale', *Philosophical Transactions* 44 (1746): 266-274.

CHAPTER SIX

This chapter examines the multifaceted personality of the musical antiquarian Thomas Britton, the Musical Small-Coal Man. Not only was he a vendor of small-coal (charcoal), but the public music concerts he hosted are considered the first of their kind in England. This chapter explores the early concerts prior to Britton, the amateur and professional musicians who performed at his concerts, and even the culturally diverse attendees who mustered the courage to navigate the outside stairs of Britton's small-coal depot to reach his converted concert room in Clerkenwell on the then-northern outskirts of London. One such was the young Lady Catherine Hyde, later the Duchess of Queensberry, who was said to be one of the aristocratic class to have attended and is the recipient in this chapter of a lengthy examination of her musical connections and her eccentric personality. Contributory sources on the matter of the Duchess include Hawkins' *History*; her friend Mary Granville's *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs Delany*[45]; Lewis Melville's *Life and Letters of John Gay (1685-1732)*[46]; and an unpublished holographic letter from Sarah Churchill, Duchess of Marlborough, to the Lady Viscountess of Longueville, in which Churchill defends the Duchess of Queensberry against claims that she insulted the King while coming to the defence of John Gay.[47]

Included in this chapter is an analysis of Britton's likelihood of being an alchemist and magician. Jamie Croy Kassler's article 'Thomas Britton: Musician and Magician?'[48] and W.A. Campbell's article 'The Chemical Library of Thomas Britton

[45] Mary Granville, *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs. Delany*, Lady Llanover, ed., 3 vols., vol. 1 (London: Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street, 1861).
[46] Lewis Saul Benjamin, *Life and Letters of John Gay (1685-1732): Author of 'The Beggar's Opera', by Lewis Melville* (London: D. O'Connor, 1921).
[47] Lbl Add. MS 63650 S, fols.111-123.
[48] Jamie Croy Kassler, 'Thomas Britton: Musician and Magician?', *Musicology Australia* 7:1, (1982): 67-72.

(1654 -1714)'[49] attempt to conclude that Britton was not an alchemist. However, I demonstrate that their conclusions are flawed based on their misinterpretation of facts and failure to explore the ancillary details adequately.

In this chapter I also relate the background on Britton's trade as a 'small-coal man', with particulars on the intricate seventeenth-century process of manufacturing small coal (charcoal) to show the dichotomy that Britton was not merely a humble, street-bound, small-coal seller, but was a highly skilled specialist whose mentality could plausibly have led him to the technical challenges of music. Primary sources include John Gay, *Trivia; or, the Art of Walking the Streets of London;*[50] Jonathan Swift, '*A Description of the Morning;*'[51] and Lyn Armstrong, *Woodcolliers and Charcoal Burning.*[52]

I continue with a line of inquiry that Britton's association with his neighbour, the diplomat, alchemist, and Rosicrucian Dr Theophilus Garencières (1610-1680), leads to the substantiation of claims that Britton's interest in alchemy developed from Garencières' influence through the practical applications of the art. Sources for this information include Hawkins' *History*; Maurice Crosland's 'Early Laboratories c. 1600-c.1800 and the Location of Experimental Science';[53] and Elias Ashmole's diary in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.[54]

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[49] W.A. Campbell, 'The Chemical Library of Thomas Britton (1654-1714)' *Ambix* 24, no. 3 (1977): 143-148. The date of Britton's birth has been established as 1644. See Plate 6.2. for the entry of his baptism in Rushden's St Mary's Church Register.
[50] John Gay, *Trivia; or, the Art of Walking the Streets of London (1719)*' (London: Ballintine & Law, 1807).
[51] Jonathan Swift, 'A Description of the Morning', *The Poems of Jonathan Swift*, Harold Williams ed., 3 vols, (Oxford University Press, 1966).
[52] Lyn Armstrong, *Woodcolliers and Charcoal Burning* (Horsham, Sussex: Coach Publishing House: The Weald and Downland Open Air Museum, 1978).
[53] Maurice Crosland, 'Early Laboratories c. 1600–c. 1800 and the Location of Experimental Science*', Annals of Science* 62, no. 2 (2005): 233-253.
[54] Ob MS Ashm. 1440, fols. 215-225.

Additional primary sources for this chapter include Samuel Pepys' *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*[55] and Roger North's *Memoirs of Musick*, which were informative on many aspects of concert life and music in the court of Charles II.[56]

CHAPTER SEVEN

Chapter Seven exposes a societal undercurrent that is a primary consideration of this study. My research disclosed a paramount but overlooked factor in the success of three primary personalities of this thesis—Pepusch, Hawkins, and Burney—the influence of women in their lives. This chapter presents these women in the context of their positions in society, the generational differences between the wives and daughters, and how the literary output of their husbands and fathers would have been greatly diminished had it not been for their enabling support. Steven Blakemore's 'Revolution and the French Disease: Laetitia Matilda Hawkins's Letters to Helen Maria Williams' was especially helpful in putting into perspective the division between the then-patriarchal society and the new liberating thought of the evolving modern woman.[57]

Mrs Pepusch (the famed Italian opera singer Marguerita de L'Epine) is described in the histories of Hawkins and Burney and by Alison C. DeSimone in her PhD thesis 'The Myth of the Diva: Female Opera Singers and Collaborative Performance in Early Eighteenth-Century London'.[58] The wife of Hawkins (Sidney

[55] Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (London: Macmillan, 1905).
[56] North, *Memoirs of Musick*; see also John Wilson, *Roger North on Music; Being a Selection from His Essays Written During the Years C. 1695-1728* (London: Novello, 1959).
[57] Steven Blakemore, 'Revolution and the French Disease: Laetitia Matilda Hawkins's Letters to Helen Maria Williams', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 36, no. 3 (1996): 673-691.
[58] Alison C. DeSimone, 'The Myth of the Diva: Female Opera Singers and Collaborative Performance in Early Eighteenth-Century London' (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2013).

Hawkins) and Burney's second wife (Elizabeth Burney) are depicted extensively by biographers Percy Scholes,[59] Roger Lonsdale,[60] and Bertram Davis.[61]

Hawkins' daughter (Laetitia Matilda Hawkins) and Burney's daughter (Frances Burney) were similar in their duties as amanuenses for their literary fathers. Not only were they discussed in the biographies of their fathers, but they also functioned as their own primary sources. Each daughter was a published novelist and diarist and related her life in the first person. Laetitia Hawkins chronicled events of her family in her two biographical works: *Anecdotes, Biographical Sketches and Memoirs* and *Memoirs, Anecdotes, Facts, and Opinions. Vols. 1 and 2*.[62] Frances 'Fanny' Burney (Madame D'Arblay) spared no words in describing her life as a helpmate to her father in her *The Early Diary of Frances Burney, 1768-1778,* vol. 1*,* 1889, and in a later edition in 1913, both edited by Annie Raine Ellis.[63]

0.4.3. PART THREE MUSICAL ANTIQUARIANISM THROUGH THE EYES OF JOHN HAWKINS AND CHARLES BURNEY

OVERVIEW

Part Three presents the circumstances bearing on English musical antiquarianism resulting from the recurrent Ancient versus Modern historical debate. This seventeenth- and eighteenth-century dispute revolved around pre-Reformation versus post-Reformation music. The question was whether the music of earlier centuries, intimately bound with Catholicism, was worthy of preserving in the

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[59] Percy Scholes, *The Life and Activities of Sir John Hawkins, Musician, Magistrate and Friend of Johnson* (Oxford University Press, 1953); *The Great Dr. Burney* (Oxford University Press, 1948).
[60] Roger Lonsdale, *Dr. Charles Burney: A Literary Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965).
[61] Bertram Davis, *Proof of Eminence: The Life of Sir John Hawkins* (Indiana University Press, 1972).
[62] Laetitia Matilda Hawkins, *Anecdotes, Biographical Sketches and Memoirs*. vol. 1 (London: FC and J. Rivington, 1822); *Memoirs, Anecdotes, Facts, and Opinions.* vols. 1 and 2, (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1824).
[63] Fanny Burney, *The Early Diary of Frances Burney, 1768-1778: With a Selection from Her Correspondence and from the Journals of Her Sisters Susan and Charlotte Burney*. vol. 1, Annie Raine Ellis, ed. (London: George Bell and Sons, 1889); *The Early Diary of Frances Burney 1768–1778,* Annie Raine Ellis, vol. 2 ed. (London: George Bell and Sons, 1913).

emerging music repertoire and whether it could be isolated from its religious and political connotations to be appreciated for its intrinsic qualities.

CHAPTER EIGHT

The histories of Sir John Hawkins and Dr Charles Burney, both published in 1776, represent opposite sides of this issue. Hawkins, an unquestionable antiquarian, represented the Ancient view, while Burney aligned with the Moderns. In *An Essay on Musical Expression* of 1752, Charles Avison championed modernist views as being the embodiment of good taste,[64] while in his *Memoires of Music*, Roger North took a neutral position by assuring his readers that when it comes to taste, 'there is no criterion for better or worse'.[65]

Nevertheless, the debate proceeded with continuous attempts by Burney to revile Hawkins personally, besmirch him professionally, and damage his career as a writer, all of which had the effect of creating public preference for Burney's history over that of Hawkins. In this chapter, I also examine the efforts that Burney took to discredit Hawkins through his influence over reviews published anonymously by William Bewley (1726-1783) and Thomas Twining (1735-1804), primarily in *The Critical Review* and *The Monthly Review*, and reflect how Burney's jealousy influenced the negative reception of Hawkins' *History*.

I found the two biographies of Burney, Roger Lonsdale's *Dr Charles Burney: A Literary Biography*,[66] and Percy Scholes' *The Great Dr Burney,*[67] to be beneficial for understanding Burney's achievements as a musician and writer. They provided insight into his desire to be accepted socially, and recounted the dark side of his personality.

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[64] Charles Avison, *An Essay on Musical Expression*, 3rd edition (London: Lockyer Davis, 1775).
[65] North, *Memoirs of Musick*, 3.
[66] Lonsdale, *Dr. Charles Burney*.
[67] Percy A. Scholes, *The Great Dr. Burney.*

The two preeminent biographies of Hawkins, Percy Scholes, *The Life and Activities of Sir John Hawkins, Musician, Magistrate and Friend of Johnson*,[68] and Bertram Davis, *A Proof of Eminence: The Life of Sir John Hawkins*,[69] are uneven in tenor. Each contributes factual biographical material, but with Scholes, one immediately perceives that he does not regard Hawkins highly, and one wonders why he would have devoted himself to authoring a project of such historical import. The reviewer Robert Stevenson questions Scholes' difficulty when writing his biography, feeling as he did toward Hawkins.[70] Davis does not project such bias in his work but presents his biography in a measured and objective tone.

I end with a discussion of the ultimate rehabilitation of the reputation of Hawkins, most eloquently expressed by Vincent Novello, publisher of the second and third editions of Hawkins' *History* (8.11.3).

[68] Percy Scholes, *The Life and Activities of Sir John Hawkins.*
[69] Bertram Davis, *Proof of Eminence*.
[70] Robert Stevenson, review of *The Life and Activities of Sir John Hawkins: Musician, Magistrate and Friend of Johnson* by Percy A. Scholes, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 7 (1) 1954, 82–84.

PART ONE
ENGLISH ANTIQUARIANISM AS PRELUDE TO MUSICAL ANTIQUARIANISM

1. CHAPTER ONE

1.1. Historical Context
1.2. Seventeenth-Century Development
1.3. Origins in the Role of Herald
1.4. Political Influences
1.5. Urgency to Retrieve Threatened Sources
1.6. Destruction and Preservation of Ancient Monuments
1.7. Early Formal Excursions into Musical Antiquarianism
1.8. Antiquarian Repositories
1.9. Summary

> In matters of antiquity, there are two extremes: total neglect and perpetual guessing.[1]

The idea of a pervasive antiquarian impulse within the collective human psyche is a motif familiar to historical investigators: 'Tis opportune to look back upon old times, and contemplate our Forefathers' wrote Sir Thomas Browne to a friend in 1658.[2] This chapter begins the path along the Nascence stage of musical antiquarianism, shown in the Thesis Timeline Figure 0.1.

1.1. HISTORICAL CONTEXT

A study of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English musical antiquarianism calls for its understanding within this period's complex setting of English antiquarianism. Writers used the label ‘antiquarian’ as a term of convenience, albeit imprecisely, to point in the general direction of something old without giving specifics or follow-on explanations. Yet, the components of English antiquarianism, and its derivative musical antiquarianism, consisted of a complex amalgam of personalities, associations, trends, and events. These components ranged through a continuum of

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[1] John Wilson, *Roger North on Music; Being a Selection from His Essays Written During the Years C. 1695-1728* (London, Novello, 1959), 317. Quotation modified to modern usage.
[2] As quoted by Charles Wilson, England’s *Apprenticeship, 1603-1763* (London: Longman, 1984), 2nd edition, ix.

approximately a century, from a nascent period beginning with the Restoration and the founding of the Royal Society in 1660, through a development period by the time of the death of Johann Christoph Pepusch in 1752, and an attainment period beginning in 1776 with the first two music histories in English by Sir John Hawkins and Dr Charles Burney.

1.2. SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY DEVELOPMENT

The words ‘antiquarian’ and ‘antiquary’ have the same meaning, but usage varies according to time and context. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, ‘antiquarian’ was used primarily as a descriptive adjective, whereas ‘antiquary’ was a noun referring to a person. Added to this contextual confusion was that these words were often used pejoratively, meaning ‘old fashioned’, as in ‘that old antiquary’. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, ‘antiquarian’ began to be used as both noun and adjective, so ‘antiquary’ is seldom seen today except in primary source quotations. Therefore, usage in this thesis will vary according to context, but ‘antiquary’ will always refer to a person.

To quantify the emergence of a dedicated musical antiquarian movement, a distinction must first be made between antiquarians, whose collections incidentally included music documents, and musical antiquarians, whose motivations were explicitly directed to collecting music (0.2.5.). In the former group are the noted antiquarians Sir Robert Cotton (1571-1631), Sir Christopher Hatton III (1605-1670), Sir Robert Harley (1661-1721), his son Sir Edward Harley (1689-1741), and Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753), all of whom had interests in antiquities of all types, including music. Many of these antiquaries sought to preserve historical antiquities and enhance their personal status by amassing extensive collections.

1.3. ORIGINS IN THE ROLE OF HERALD

Antiquarian origins can be traced to the role of the herald in early English history. 'Herald' refered to (1) one who 'heralds', or gives official notice of an event of special interest, contrary to the town crier, whose role was to announce routine news, and (2) more importantly, in the genealogical sense, 'herald' applied to armorial matters, as with The College of Arms, established in the twelfth century to designate identity to individuals and corporate bodies. Still functioning today, The College has heraldic jurisdiction over England, Wales, Northern Ireland, and much of the Commonwealth.[3]

Several English antiquarians of the seventeenth century, including William Camden (1551-1623), William Dugdale (1605-1686), and Elias Ashmole (1617-1692), were heralds. Rosemary Sweet points out in *Antiquaries, The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain* that 'heralds were the closest approximation to professional antiquarians because their professional speciality gave them proximity to the resources for following family genealogy and validating the right to bear arms'.[4] Into the eighteenth century, heralds continued to be closely aligned to the antiquarian movement, for example, Peter le Neve, 'Norroy King at Arms', who became the first president of the Society of Antiquaries in 1717.[5] The position of Norroy King of Arms was one of the designations of heraldic authority established by the College of Arms, with jurisdiction from the River Trent to the Scottish border.[6] English antiquarianism, therefore, has its genesis in the quest for discovering genealogical backgrounds, which in turn evolved into the search for the history of

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[3] Rosemary Sweet, *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London: Black, 2004), 47-8.
[4] Sweet, *Antiquaries*, 47-48.
[5] Sweet, 48.
[6] Walter H Godfrey and Anthony Wagner, 'Norroy King of Arms', *Survey of London Monograph 16, College of Arms, Queen Victoria Street* (London, 1963), 101-118. *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/bk16/pp101-118. Accessed 18 May 2021.



Plate 1.1. — Herald Portrait of Elias Ashmole by John Riley, 1681
© Ashmolean Museum
University of Oxford

English localities.

Elias Ashmole's early research produced in 1672 the heraldic work *The Institution, Laws and Ceremonies of the Most Noble Order of the Garter*. This tome so impressed Charles II that he appointed Ashmole the Windsor Herald, a post he held until 1675 (Plate 1.1.).[7]

In Charles Burney's discussion of Greek music in his *A General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, he notes the important use of heralds for giving the critical signals to proceed into battle by quoting Alexander Pope:

> Nestor says to Agamemnon before an engagement:
> Now bid thy Heralds sound the loud alarms,
> And call the squadrons sheath'd in brazen arms.[8]

Burney continues with a further quotation from Pope: 'There was a necessity for cryers [heralds] whose voices were stronger than ordinary, in those ancient times before the use of trumpets was known in their armies.'[9]

Confusion arises when attempting to differentiate among the terms antiquarian, historian, bibliophile, archivist, and collector, as they all appear to be

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[7] C.H. Josten, 'Elias Ashmole, F.R.S. (1617-1692)', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 15 (1960), 221-230. Accessed 5 February 2020, 225. https://www.jstor.org/stable/531041.
[8] *The Iliad of Homer: Translated by Alexander Pope*. vol. 1. Steven Shankman, ed., (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2009); *Iliad*, book ii, translated by Alexander Pope, quoted in Charles Burney, *A General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period* (London: printed for the author, 1776-1789), vol. 1, 274.
[9] *Iliad*, book v (source quoted above) in Burney, *History*.

allied towards the same goal (0.2.5.). Who, then, were the antiquarians and how did they differ from historians? In discussing this quandary, Arnaldo Momigliano suggests the following:

> Historians write in a chronological order, antiquarians write in a systematic order. Historians produce those facts which serve to illustrate or explain a certain situation; antiquaries collect all the items that are connected with a certain subject, whether they help to solve a problem or not.[10]

Tim Murray seeks to dispel the notion that antiquarians were 'in essence amateurs and dilettantes, perfect figures of their age', citing the 'brilliantly scatty' John Aubrey and Walter Scott as examples.[11] As with Momigliano, Murray notes that the antiquarian 'was a link between the past and the present', his task being the collection and management of the remains of antiquity rather than assuming the historian's role of commenting on and interpreting the past.[12]

Rosemary Sweet points out the failure of historians to acknowledge the role of antiquarian scholarship in the development of the history of the rise of nationalism in British culture, especially in the eighteenth century, with its particular preoccupation with the historical origins of national identity: 'The pursuit of classical antiquities, their collection, and their impact on art and aesthetics' have not been well served by the neglect of the antiquarian.[13]

Graham Parry's *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* describes the progress of antiquarianism throughout the seventeenth century and its nexus with universal antiquarianism. The common imperative to publish translations of scholarly works bound antiquarians to each

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[10] Arnaldo Momigliano, 'Ancient History and the Antiquarian', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*s 13, no. 3/4 (1950): 286.
[11] Tim Murray, 'Rethinking Antiquarianism', *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology* 17, no. 2 (2007): 14-22.
[12] Murray, *Rethinking*, 14.
[13] Rosemary Sweet, 'Antiquaries and Antiquities in Eighteenth-Century England', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 34, no. 2 (2001): 181-206, 2-3.

other by their mutual interests. Parry carries the reader through the mire of religious and political influences on English antiquarian studies: High Church versus Puritan tendencies, supporters of the Monarchy versus supporters of Parliament. All had their implacable opinions, and there was no dialogue between them.

1.4. POLITICAL INFLUENCES

Antiquarians were divided in their political loyalties. Many supported the Monarchy, including Sir William Dugdale, Archbishop James Ussher, and William Somner. However, as other scholars studied ancient legal documents, many were convinced that the rights of Parliament superseded those of kingship. These included Sir Robert Cotton, Sir Simonds D'Ewes, and Sir Edward Dering, all of whom leaned toward support of Parliament.[14] Despite historical legal evidence favouring Parliament, many, like Dugdale, continued their support of the Monarchy. Their varying allegiances were reflected in their interpretations of the ancient documents.

1.5. URGENCY TO RETRIEVE THREATENED SOURCES

There was a sense of urgency in the seventeenth century to retrieve materials in danger of being lost. 'Antiquaries hastened to gather them into collections where they would be safe and could be examined. State papers and legal papers were kept in deplorable conditions in their several repositories, disordered, often unregistered, prone to decay.'[15] Because of the neglect of cathedrals and churches since Elizabethan times, ecclesiastical archives were mutilated or destroyed. 'The Civil Wars accelerated the process of destruction. Cathedrals were special targets of malice as [they were] the seats of bishops, and several important cathedral libraries and archives were ransacked, notably Lichfield, Peterborough, Worcester, and

[14] Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford University Press, 1995), 18-19.
[15] Parry, *The Trophies of Time*, 14.

Canterbury.' Priceless manuscripts were used for wrapping fish or burned for kindling in fireplaces, and popish music manuscripts from the cathedrals were thrown on the fire.[16]

The short reign of Edward VI (1547-1553) was consequential to music and literary history. Being the son of Henry VIII, he was the first English monarch to be raised in the Protestant religion. Under his commissions, ecclesiastics and their hirelings were dispatched with orders to purge the English church of all 'superstitious books and images' associated with Roman Catholicism.[17] By the reign of Queen Mary (1553-1558), the purge was so successful that in 1556, Dr John Dee (1527-1608), later physician and advisor to Elizabeth I, appealed to Queen Mary (Tudor) with 'A Supplication for the recovery and preservation of ancient Writers and Monuments'. This appeal included a description of the despoiling of 'so many and so notable libraries' by the destruction of religious houses. It also proposed 'that a commission should be appointed with power to demand that all possessors of manuscripts throughout the realm should send their books to be copied for the Queen's library' in the hope that 'in a very few years [it might] most plentifully be furnished, and that without one penny charge to the Queen, or doing injury to any creature'. Dee then set the example by trying to acquire copies of historical manuscripts from the Vatican, St. Mark's (Venice), Bologna, Florence, and Vienna.[18]

One particularly zealous Edwardian reformer was Richard Cox, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, who in 1550 ordered the despoiling of the library of its many books

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[16] Parry, 14.
[17] Examples of early attempts to preserve Roman music were the partbooks of Roger Gyffard (Lbl Add. MSS 17802-17805), John Baldwin (Och Mus. MSS 979-983), Robert Dow (Och Mus. MSS 984-988), and Forrest-Heather (Ob MSS. Mus. Sch.e.376-381).
[18] William Y. Fletcher, *English Book Collectors* (London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1902), 48-49.

and manuscripts. The antiquarian Anthony Wood (1632-1695) of Merton College wrote that

> some of those books so taken out by the Reformers were burnt, some sold away for Robin Hood's pennyworths, either to Booksellers, or to Glovers to press their gloves, or Taylors to make measures, or to Bookbinders to cover books bound by them, and some also kept by the Reformers for their own use.[19]

John Aubrey, the noted diarist and antiquarian, reported in March 1667 that Wood had observed John Milton's works being burned 'because they defended the execution of the late King. Mr Wood tells me he saw scholars of all degrees and qualities standing around the flames and humming while the books were burning'.[20]

1.6. DESTRUCTION AND PRESERVATION OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS

Such was the wanton disregard for the past that there were reports of the destruction of stones at Avebury being broken up and used for building construction.[21] While investigating these reports, John Aubrey observed this destruction at Avebury and brought it to the attention of Charles II.

In July 1663, after obtaining admittance as a member of the Royal Society the members asked Aubrey and his friend Sir James Long of the Society to investigate the threat to the stone antiquities at Avebury. At an audience with the King, William Brouncker, President of the Royal Society, and Walter Charleton 'discussed my view that Avebury excels Stonehenge as much as a cathedral does a parish church'. The King was surprised to hear that his chorographers[22] had given no regard to Avebury.

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[19] From the blog *Tea at Trianon*: 'Sir Thomas Bodley and the Bodleian Library', 4 February 2015; also see the website of the Bodleian Library, 'The Bodleian Library', Oxford, page 3-4. Accessed 14 April 2020.
[20] Ruth Scurr, *John Aubrey*, *My Own Life* (London: Chatto & Windus: 2016), 167.
[21] Parry, *The Trophies of Time*, 14.
[22] Chorographer: one who describes, or maps, a district or region. Chorography is used in this instance of historical usage as the art of mapping, which is now in the domain of geography or topography; see 'chorographer, n.', OED Online, December 2021. Oxford University Press. https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/32352?redirectedFrom=chorographer. Accessed 5 January 2022).

He then issued a Royal command that the status of Stonehenge and Avebury be investigated.[23]

In his *My Own Life*, Aubrey recounts the episode in September of 1663 of his meeting with the King:

> Today I met His Majesty. Into the King's presence I took with me a draft of Avebury done only from memory, but well enough resembling it, I think. He was very pleased with it. He gave me his hand to kiss and commanded me to wait on him at Marlborough when he travels to Bath with the Queen in about a fortnight's time.[24]

In October, the King and his brother, the Duke of York, met Aubrey at Avebury to examine the stones. Aubrey wrote that both were delighted with the sight of the stones being 'pitched on end, bigger than those at Stonehenge, but rude and unhewn, just as they were when they were drawn out of the earth'. The experience compelled the King to command Aubrey to write a description of the Avebury stones to him formally, and as a result, the King granted protection for the stones from local villagers.[25] In the prefatory comments of her book, *John Aubrey, My Own Life*, Ruth Scurr writes that Aubrey jested that because of the similarity between his name and Avebury, he was indeed the discoverer and saviour of the monument.[26] Villagers ignored the King's charge and continued employing the stones as building materials,

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[23] Scurr, *John Aubrey*, 141.
[24] Scurr, 142.
[25] Scurr, 143.
[26] Scurr, 7; Gillian Fellows-Jensen in 'John Aubrey, Pioneer Onomast?', *Nomina* 23 (2000): 89-106, discusses Aubrey's abiding interest in place names and quotes Aubrey's explanation for the connection between his name and 'Avebury', citing the following entry in Aubrey's diary on October 1664 in which he teased: 'The similarity between the name "Avebury"—"Aubury" (as it is written in the ledger book of Malmesbury Abbey)—and my own "Aubrey" does not escape my notice. "Au" or "Aub" in old French means white and is a translation of the Latin *albus*. The whiteness of the soil about Avebury seems to countenance this etymology'; Scurr (p.154) recounts that Aubrey predicted the very interpretation that would be made: 'But here in my mind's eye I can see the reader of my diary smiling to himself, thinking how I have stretched the place name to be my own, not heeding that there is a letter's difference, which quite alters the signification of the words. I see my reader's scornful smile. I must obviate it with arguments from etymology. I hope no one could think me so vain! I have a conceit that "Aubury" is a corruption of Albury (meaning old-bury, or the old borough)'; Onomast: one who studies the etymology of names; see John M. Anderson, 'Onomastics', *Oxford Scholarship Online*. Accessed 2 January 2020.

and it was not until the nineteenth century that the first legal steps were taken towards the ultimate protection of the stones.[27]

1.7. EARLY FORMAL EXCURSIONS INTO MUSICAL ANTIQUARIANISM

If antiquarianism is the father of the disciplines of archaeology, history, sociology, anthropology, and art history, so it must also be applied to music history. Although an association devoted exclusively to musical antiquarianism was not formed until 1840 in London under the name The Musical Antiquarian Society,[28] seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century musicians and non-musicians alike devoted themselves to the antiquarian activity of preserving the music of past centuries. This spirit of rescuing the past led, as examples, Henry Aldrich, Thomas Britton, John Bagford, and JC Pepusch, to emerge as musical antiquarians. Interestingly, the terms ‘musical antiquary’ and ‘musical antiquarian’ were not in general usage in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries. Rather, the prevailing term was solely ‘antiquarian’, implying a more general impulse that embraced music with other survivors of the past.

Contemporary writers such as Hawkins and Burney used the word ‘antiquary’ to refer to those who engaged in antiquarian activities. Unlike the researchers of physical antiquities, musical antiquarians faced religious and political battles to overcome hostilities towards music associated with the Roman Church. This thesis describes religio-political and esoteric undercurrents that formed the contextual basis for the impact of musical antiquarianism on the development of English music from

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[27] See Simon Thurley, *Men from the Ministry: How Britain Saved its Heritage* (Yale University Press, 2013). The Ancient Monuments Act of 1882 had its origin in 1871 through the acquisition of part of the village by Sir John Lubbock, first Baron Avebury. Lord Avebury, an English banker and fellow of the Royal Society, was instrumental in securing the passage of the Act. Absolute protection of the stones came in 1934, when the wealthy Scottish archaeologist Alexander Keiller bought the village of Avebury, thereby halting once-and-for-all further destruction of the monument.

[28] Richard Turbet, ‘The Musical Antiquarian Society, 1840–1848’, *Brio* 29 (1992): *13–20.*

the mid-seventeenth century to the founding of The Academy of Vocal Music in 1726,[29] with its historical position as the springboard leading to the inclusion of 'old' music in the emergence of an established canon of English music, therein saving it from oblivion.[30]

1.8. ANTIQUARIAN REPOSITORIES

1.8.1. LIBRARY OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM

The momentum for the rising spirit of antiquarianism can be seen through the acquisitions of the great collections of antiquarians Sir Robert Cotton (1571-1631), Sirs Robert (1661-1724) and Edward Harley (1689-1741), and Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753), which form the foundation collections of what is now the British Library. Before he died in 1702, Sir Robert Cotton's grandson, Sir John Cotton (1621-1702), made provision to bequeath the Cotton collection to the nation. Subsequently, the first act of Parliament to address a national library was The British Museum Act 1700 (13 & 14 Will. 3 c.7),[31] which established how the Cotton collection would be preserved for public use. The British Museum Act 1706 (6 Ann. c. 30) expanded on the earlier Act of 1700 by giving the trustees authority to secure the collection, moving it from Cotton House to Essex House and then to Ashburnham House.

The Act of 1753 (36 George II. c. 22) formally established the British Museum and was brought to fruition by Sir Hans Sloane through the sale of his vast collection of books, drawings, manuscripts, and articles of natural history to the nation for the price of £20,000 [£3,240,000].[32] At the same time, the Museum Trustees acquired

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[29] The name of The Academy of Vocal Music was changed to The Academy of Ancient Music in 1731.
[30] William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (Oxford University Press,1996).
[31] Acts of Parliament are cited using the form: title, year of parliamentary session, monarch, chapter number.
[32] P.R. Harris, *A History of the British Museum Library, 1753-1973* (London: British Library Board, 1998), 2.

from the estate of Sir Edward Harley the Harleian Collection of manuscripts for £10,000 [£1,620,000]. The earlier Cottonian Collection, already secured for the nation, added to these collections.[33] These collections were named in the founding Act of 1753. In addition to these three founding collections was the library of Arthur Edwards (?-1743). Edwards had bequeathed his collection to the trustees of the Cotton Library, and it was therefore incorporated into the Cotton collection.[34]

The founding Act created a body of forty-six Trustees. They were charged with finding suitable housing for the museum, and they settled on Montagu House in Great Russell Square.[35] There were 958 original volumes in the Cottonian Collection;[36] the Harleian Collection consisted of '7618 manuscripts, 50,000 printed books, 35,000 pamphlets and 41,000 prints';[37] and the Sloane Collection

> comprised between forty and fifty thousand printed books, three thousand five hundred and sixteen manuscripts, six hundred and fifty-seven pictures and drawings. The coins and metals amounted to thirty-two thousand, and other antiquities to two thousand six hundred and thirty-five.[38]

A survey of the square footage required for housing the collections of books and manuscripts was carried out by two surveyors. They reported that the Sloane required '4,600; Cotton 384; Harley 1,700; and Edwards 576' for a total of 7260 feet.[39]

The British Museum Library functioned within the British Museum until the British Library Act (1972.c.54) separated the two entities and created the British

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[33] Harris*, History*, 2.
[34] Harris, 2.
[35] Harris, *History, Appendix iii, 762-777.* A partial list of holders of readers' tickets from 1759 to 1939 is given in *Appendix iii*, from Lbl Add. MS 45867, Lbl Add. MS 45868, Lbl Add. MS 45869 and Lbl Add. MS 45870. Among the early readers were Sir John Hawkins, composer Thomas Arne, and antiquarian William Stukeley.
[36] Fletcher, *English Book Collectors*, 66.
[37] Nicolas Barker, *Treasures of the British Library*, British Library Board (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1989), 54
[38] Fletcher, *English book collectors*, 146.
[39] Harris, *History*, 3.

Library. A comprehensive act, it created and gave control to the British Library Board all matters dealing with the details of separation and control in perpetuity.[40]

1.8.2. ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM

The museum, founded by antiquarian Elias Ashmole and bearing his name, was the first public museum in the British Isles. Ashmole gave his collection to the University of Oxford in 1683. His gift included the collection of John Tradescant the Elder (ca. 1570s-1638) and his son John Tradescant the Younger (1608-1662). The Tradescants were famous naturalists and gardeners who had amassed 'a collection of rare specimens of natural history and ethnology' from their travels abroad.[41]

Ashmole's grandfather and father were both saddlers. Although Ashmole's background did not conform to that of a gentleman, the civic activities of his grandfather Thomas Ashmole allowed him to enjoy 'the rank and style of a gentleman'.[42] His mother, Anne, *née* Bowyer, was descended 'from many of the gentle families of Staffordshire and Cheshire'.[43] Through these familial connections, Ashmole was sent to London at age sixteen and taken under the sponsorship of James Pagit, Puisne Baron of the Exchequer, who provided for his education after he had excelled at Grammar School and the Music School at Lichfield. Ashmole's affinity for scholarship resulted in his notable collections of natural history and physical artefacts. Recent research by Vittoria Feola has shown that Ashmole's bequest also included a 'huge antiquarian library', hitherto unidentified as belonging to the original collection.[44]

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[40] Harris, 684.
[41] C. H. Josten, 'Elias Ashmole, F.R.S. (1617-1692)', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 15 (1960): 221-230, 224.
[42] Josten, 'Elias Ashmole, F.R.S', 221.
[43] Josten, 221.
[44] Vittoria Feola, 'The Recovered Library of Elias Ashmole for the Ashmolean Museum in the University of Oxford', *Bibliotheca* 1, 2008: 259-278.

The British Library and the Ashmolean Museum are unlike other notable libraries in the British Isles, such as the Bodleian at Oxford and the University Library at Cambridge, in that the former were founded primarily to house the fully-formed collections of specific antiquarian collectors. In contrast, the latter were established to enhance the universities they served while receiving gifts of assorted collections over time.

1.8.3. THE HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION

Following the continuum of the collection of literary antiquities was the Historical Manuscripts Commission, chartered under Royal Warrant in 1869 as the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. In the spirit of the eighteenth-century establishment of the libraries and museums cited above, the Historical Manuscripts Commission recognized the value of seeking out unpublished manuscripts held by private owners 'calculated to throw light on the Civil, Ecclesiastical, Literary, or Scientific History of the Empire'.[45] Rather than functioning merely as a repository of gifted items, the Commission actively sought out materials from the public to be evaluated in consideration for publication. There existed, however, the problem of protecting the privacy and confidentiality of the owners, which the Commission addressed by requiring each person hired

> to inspect a collection of documents to consider it a condition of his employment that all notes made by him…to be regarded as the property of the Commission, and that he is not at liberty to use in any way any information obtained from papers submitted to the Commissioners without their permission: this is never given without the express consent of the owners of the papers.[46]

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[45] John Perceval, *Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont: Diary of Viscount Percival afterwards first Earl of Egmont*, 3 vols. (Historical Manuscripts Commission, 63; London, 1920-1923), appended to end of vol. 2, 3-11.
[46] Perceval, *Manuscripts,* end of vol. 2, page 2.

The Commission aimed to publish materials which would add to the history of the British nation. Commission Secretary A.E. Stamp noted in his memorandum to the Public Record Office in Chancery Lane:

> The work of the Commissioners…has resulted so far in the publication of nearly a hundred and fifty columns of previously unprinted historical materials. The Commissioners also regard it as part of their duty to be ready to give advice as to the housing and keeping of valuable papers, and the repair of any that may be in a state of decay.[47]

The public responded favourably, and by 1923 many owners of valuable manuscripts had responded to the Commission's request. Some of the notables among them were His Majesty Edward VII, the Duke of Rutland, the Duke of Portland, the Duke of Buccleuch, the Marquis of Salisbury, The Marquis of Ormonde, the Marquis of Bath, the Earl of Carlisle, and the Earl of Egmont.[48]

By 2011 the Commission had published over 250 volumes of reports on manuscript collections in private holdings. The value of these materials is incalculable to students of British history, as well as to the advantage of the nation in evaluating the details of its people and events derived from first-hand recollections, as with the diaries and journals of those living at the time.

1.8.4. THE EXEMPLARY DIARY OF JOHN PERCEVAL, FIRST EARL OF EGMONT

An example of the pivotal role of music as an activity in daily life is evident in the diaries of John Perceval, the first Earl of Egmont, published by the Commission. The Earl's recollections of concerts, operas, plays and special events, so thoroughly chronicled soon after the events, document the importance of music to the Perceval family and their musically-enlightened contemporaries. His attendance at the wedding of Frederick, Prince of Wales, to Augusta, Princess of Saxe Gotha on 27

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[47] Perceval, *Manuscripts*, end of vol 2; the memorandum is undated, but Stamp served as secretary from 1912 to 1926, and the three volumes of the Egmont diaries were published by 1923.
[48] Perceval, end of vol. 2, page 2.

April 1736 is recorded in his *Diary*, giving his critical account, albeit disparaging, of the music that was played:

> Over the altar was placed the organ, and a gallery made for the musicians. An anthem composed by Hendel [Handel] for the occasion was wretchedly sung by Abbot, Gates, Lee, Bird and a boy.[49]

Perceval was a member of the Academy of Ancient Music and witness to many of the triumphs and trials of that musical association. From his Diary, we can fill gaps in knowledge about the music programming of the meetings of the Academy, of which there are fortunately some extant programmes. H. Diack Johnstone has tracked down and described these in his extensive article 'The Academy of Ancient Music (1726-1802): Its History, Repertoire and Surviving Programmes' in the *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*.[50] Much of the information Johnstone includes is from Perceval's *Diary*. The chronicles of Perceval's many intimate relationships and knowledge of people and events affecting the Academy provide insight otherwise unavailable, including details of the supposed plagiarism by Bononcini of a Lotti madrigal in 1731 (3.2.).

1.9. SUMMARY

This chapter established the antiquarian antecedents that led to musical antiquarianism. I began with the antiquarian framework of the ancient history of heraldry to provide a context that led to formal recognition of the imperative to preserve physical, literary, and musical antiquities. From the state statutes safeguarding ancient monuments, to the great literary and musical collections of such as Sir Robert Cotton and the Harleys, to the establishment of the repositories—

[49] Perceval, *Manuscripts*, vol. 2, 264.
[50] H. Diack Johnstone, 2020, 'The Academy of Ancient Music (1726–1802): Its History, Repertoire and Surviving Programmes', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 51, 1–136.

British Museum, British Library, Bodleian Library, Ashmolean and Fitzwilliam Museums—all were key to the antiquarian movement.

Background to this study included the actions of the Royal Society that led to Charles II's awareness of the destruction of the prehistoric stones at Avebury. Through the efforts of John Aubrey and other members of the Royal Society, embryonic legislation was introduced that initiated the legal preservation of ancient monuments, followed most recently by the work of the Historical Manuscripts Commission to conserve and publish privately held documents, letters, diaries, and journals. The young Edward VI continued his father's purging of Roman church influences, which included music. Thus began the movement that is one of the subjects of this thesis: the preservation of music of the past and the attempt to legitimize it into a canonical list of the best masters of both 'old' and 'new' music.

2. CHAPTER TWO

2.1. Aristocrats
2.2. Collectors/Agents
2.3. Virtuosi
2.4. Musical Antiquarians
2.4. Summary

> Antiquaries were the founding fathers of modern research; if research had its historians, we would know much more about antiquaries.[1]

For purposes of this study, I have identified three groups of English antiquarians of the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries: aristocrats, collectors/agents, and virtuosi. Each holds a unique position in the Nascence stage, transitioning along the Thesis Timeline depicted in Figure 0.1., into the Development stage. These antiquarians are notable for their contributions to the development of English musical antiquarianism and support my Secondary Premise No. 2—that many of the practitioners of musical antiquarianism have not been recognized as such but, rather, have been regarded as personalities aligned with disciplines often not directly associated with music.

2.1. ARISTOCRATS

In his *Some British Collectors of Music,* A. Hyatt King writes of the emerging class of antiquarians, especially Harley, Cotton, Wanley, and other significant collectors, by analyzing their motivations.[2] While acknowledging their contributions to historical preservation, King does not consider them to be true music collectors, even though they did collect music, music manuscripts, and music treatises. The music they collected was partly obtained by happenstance, as they were casting wide nets for acquiring antiquarian items of any genre, rather than intending to collect music

[1] Peter N. Miller, 'A Tentative Morphology of European Antiquarianism, 1500-2000', *World Antiquarianism: Comparative Perspectives* (Los Angeles: Getty, 2013), 71.
[2] A. Hyatt King, *Some British Collectors of Music. c.1600-1960. The Sandars Lectures for 1961* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), 7.

antiquities specifically. King's criterion of intention as the qualifying motivation for being a music collector ignores the reality that within their collections are works of incomparable value to music history.

Many aristocrats, referred to then as 'men of quality', collected antiquities for their personal libraries, as it was a matter of status to acquire a sumptuous library to enhance their grand estates. Competition among these monied collectors drove up the prices enormously, causing Humfrey Wanley to complain '...that such competition was sending up book prices to unreasonable heights'.[3] This competition for owning rare volumes had as a corollary the advantage of making their libraries available to the convenience of visitors, including visiting scholars. Many aristocrats befriended these scholars, with some taking them into their homes during the times of their research. Notable was Sir Thomas Cotton's patronage of William Dugdale and Sir John Cotton's patronage of Anthony Wood, while Robert Harley 'was the correspondent and benefactor of very many of them, and he deserved their gratitude as surely as he earned through his book-collecting the thanks of posterity.'[4] Contemporary correspondence, for example, in Wanley's diaries, reveals the continuous use by scholars of these renowned private libraries.[5] William Nicholson writes that

> The laudable Emulation which is daily increasing amongst the Nobility of England, vying with one another in the Curiosities and other rich Furniture of their respective Libraries, give chearful Hopes of having the long-hidden Monuments of ancient Times raised out of their present Dust.[6]

David Douglas observes the unique contributions to historical scholarship

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[3] Lansdowne MS 771, fol. 50 [Wanley's *Diary*] quoted in David Charles Douglas, *English Scholars, 1660-1730* (London: Eyre, 1951), 263.
[4] David Charles Douglas, *English Scholars, 1660-1730* (London: Eyre, 1951), 262-263.
[5] Douglas, *English Scholars*, 264.
[6] William Nicholson, *The English Historical Library* (London: Swall, 1736), 263; quoted in Douglas, *English Scholars,* 263.

provided by the aristocratic class, noting by contrast the failure of university libraries to offer liberal access to scholars. University librarians and their assistants often required a gratuity in order to obtain access to materials. To his credit, Wanley refused a gratuity while he was librarian to Robert Harley, saying 'that he would by no means sell his lord's favour'.[7]

The following aristocrats are included here by reason of their being prominent among the aristocratic class of antiquarian collectors, as well as being named by Thomas Hearne in *Hemingi Chartularium*, Appendix VIII[8], and by Hawkins in his *History*[9], as having an affiliation with the musical antiquarian Thomas Britton (Figure 2.1.):[10]

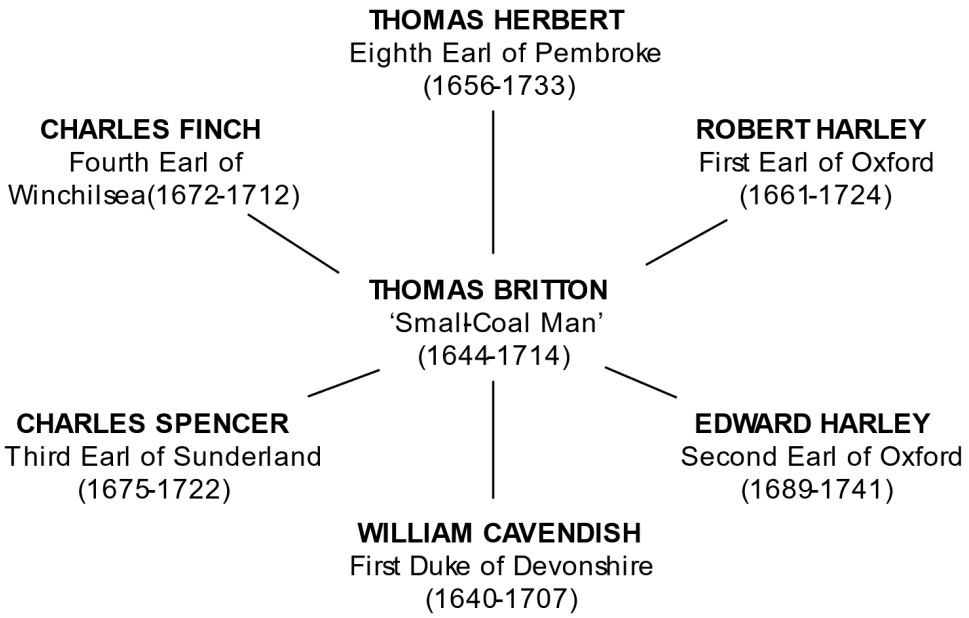


Figure 2.1. — Six Prominent Aristocratic Members of Parliament Linked by Affiliation with Thomas Britton

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[7] Douglas, *English Scholars*, 265.
[8] Thomas Hearne, *Hemingi Chartularium ecclesiæ Wigorniensis. E Codice MS. penes Richardum Graves, De Mickleton in agro Gloucestriensi, Armigerum, Descripsit ediditque Tho. Hearnius, Qui & eam partem libri de Domesday, quae ad Ecclesiam pertinet Wigorniensem, aliaque ad Operis (duobus Voluminibus comprehensi) nitorem facientia, subnexuit*. vol. 2. Oxonii: e Theatro Sheldoniano, M.DCC. XXIII [1723] *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 26 January 2019, 665; also quoted and discussed in John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music. A New Edition, with the Author's Posthumous Notes* (London: Novello, Ewer, 1875), 788-789.
[9] Hawkins, *History*, 788-9.
[10] Britton is discussed more extensively in Chapter Six.

Notwithstanding the collections of these and other aristocrats, for the purposes of this study, the Harleys and the third Earl of Sunderland provide the most outstanding examples of aristocratic antiquarian activities.

2.2.1. ROBERT HARLEY, FIRST EARL OF OXFORD EDWARD HARLEY, SECOND EARL OF OXFORD

The Harleian Collection, now housed in the British Library, is a testament to the dedication to the antiquarianism, scholarship, and learning of Sir Robert Harley (1661-1724) and his son Sir Edward Harley (1689-1741). The Harley family seat was Brampton Bryan, Herefordshire, where the Harley children were schooled by their domineering father in statecraft and to serve their country, which was a contributing factor to the rise of Sir Robert to the apogee of politics as England's first Secretary of State. He was considered 'the most important parliamentarian of his day' until his fall from power upon the death of Queen Anne in 1714 and the accession of George I.[11] In addition to having a reputation for being a devious, scheming politician, Sir Robert was also a lifelong hoarder who saved notes, papers, memoranda, and official documents that formed an unrivalled archive for posterity. His political decline after 1714 afforded him the time to devote to his literary pursuits. This, along with his inheritance of the Brampton Bryan estate, provided him with the time and resources to devote to his collection of manuscripts and books. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1712, and this served to increase his awareness of the new ideas emerging in the fields of science and general knowledge.[12]

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[11] D. W. Hayton, 'Harley, Robert (1661-1724), of Brampton Bryan, Herefs.', *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1690-1715* (2002). Accessed 26 April 2020.
[12] Brian W. Hill, *Robert Harley, Speaker, Secretary of State, and Premier Minister* (Yale University Press, 1988), 225.

Sir Robert's first great acquisition was in 1705, consisting of the antiquarian Sir Symonds d'Ewes' intact library of over 660 manuscripts.[13] Although the extent of his collection increased substantially throughout his life, he never lost sight of any particular item in the collection. As remembered by one editor of the *Harleian Miscellany,* 'He is said to have acquired so particular a knowledge of them all, as to be able, without a catalogue, to go immediately to the least of them, upon having it named, though his library consisted of more than 100,000 different authors'.[14]

Sir Edward Harley, second Earl of Oxford, continued his father's devotion to the collection. He carried forward the acquisition of rare works, with Humfrey Wanley being appointed to maintain the development and documentation of the Harleian collection.

2.1.2. CHARLES SPENCER, THIRD EARL OF SUNDERLAND

The library of Charles Spencer, third Earl of Sunderland (1675-1722) at Althorp House in Northamptonshire was considered to be the finest private library in Europe.[15] It was enhanced vastly by the second Earl Spencer and includes music manuscripts, as well as Greek and Latin classics. Born to a family of politicians, his education included perusing libraries on the Continent with Charles Trimnell, his tutor and later Bishop of Norwich, and later yet Bishop of Winchester. The Earl's fervour from an early age was for learning and reading such books as he could acquire. John Evelyn described him as 'a youth of extraordinary hopes, very learned for his

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[13] Charles I. and Mary A. Elton, *The Great Book-Collectors* (London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1893), 120.

[14] *The Harleian Miscellany* (1808), i, 1, quoted in Hill, *Robert Harley*, 226.

[15] The major portion of the library was sold by the fifth Earl Spencer and is now housed in the John Rylands University Library at the University of Manchester. Althorp House retained a nominal number of books. See Anthony Lister, 'The Althorp library of the Second Earl Spencer, Now in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester: Its Formation and Growth', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, vol. 71, no. 2 (1989), 67-86; Peter H. Reid, 'The Finest Private Library in Europe: A Brief Study of the Bibliophile Spencers of Althorp', *Library History* 14, no. 1 (1998): 65-71.

age, and ingenious, and under a Governor [tutor] of extraordinary worth'.[16] His two marriages brought him prestige, political connections, and enormous wealth. His first wife was Lady Arabella Cavendish, daughter of Henry Cavendish, second Duke of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, whose dowry was £25,000 [£4,050,000]. Upon her death in 1698, he married Lady Anne Churchill, daughter of John Churchill, first Duke of Marlborough, his friend and political ally.[17]

2.2. COLLECTORS/AGENTS

The second group of antiquarians consisted of academicians, librarians, and bibliophiles working in Oxford and London. Among them were Elias Ashmole, Thomas Hearne, Thomas Britton, Richard and Thomas Rawlinson, Humphry Wanley, and John Bagford. In addition, rare music manuscripts from the seventeenth-century library of Sir Robert Cotton were preserved early in the eighteenth century through the efforts of Pepusch, who, fortunately for history, had many of them copied before the tragic Cotton fire of 23 October 1731 destroyed so many rare items. John Perceval, the first Earl of Egmont, wrote in his diary following the fire that he

> was put on the Committee to examine the state of the Cotton Library. We visited the latter, where we found 250 manuscripts were lost or much damaged by the fire. But the Magna Charta was saved, of which there are two original writs by the same hand in King John's reign, who granted it, that with the seal thereto is a little damaged, but not spoilt….[18]

Among this group of antiquarians were also those who were considered to be agents or 'runners'. They were employed on commission to locate antiquities for collectors, such as the aristocrats cited in the first group above. In fact, many of

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[16] E.S. DeBeer, ed., *The Diary of John Evelyn*, vol. 4 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 595.
[17] John Pearson, 'The Great Inheritance' in *Blood Royal: The Story of the Spencers and the Royals,* chapter 3, (London: Black, 2011), Googlebooks online.
[18] John Perceval, *Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont: Diary of Viscount Percival Afterwards First Earl of Egmont*, 3 vols. (Historical Manuscripts Commission, 63; London, 1920-1923), i, 222.

those in the first group of aristocratic collectors also belong in this group, as they collected for themselves, as well as for their aristocratic clients. Among them were Wanley, Bagford, and Britton. As in the instance of these three, it was not required that such a collector be a 'gentleman' or a 'man of quality' to qualify as an antiquarian. Nor was it necessary to be wealthy or 'gently' educated.[19] Ben Jonson's quote, 'Many great men were rokked [rocked] in mean cradles',[20] applies to this generation in England, where there were as many sons of brewers, grocers, tradesmen, and blacksmiths contributing their talents as scholars and poets as there were sons of gentlemen.[21] The egalitarian social mobility created by the increasingly wealthy middle class of tradesmen brought about an interest in expanding horizons formerly granted to gentlemen, including acquiring titles. Defoe wrote 'We see the tradesmen of England, as they grow wealthy coming every day to the Heralds' Office, to search for the Coats of Arms of their ancestors....'[22] Without the synergism of these men of humble birth homogenizing with the genteel monied group, the bibliographical circle would not have been complete. Each group member approached his role with enthusiasm and confidence of place along the continuum of antiquarian history.

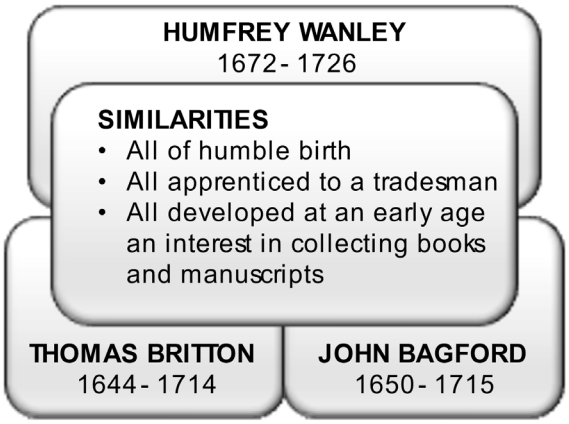


Figure 2.2. — Similarities Among Three Notable Antiquarians

Humfrey Wanley, John Bagford, and Thomas Britton were particularly

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[19] The terms 'gentleman', 'man of quality', and 'gently' used as adjectives, as in 'gently educated' or 'gently bred' had the meaning of being in the upper classes of the nobility or aristocracy, or having been reared as such. See 'Gentleman', *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 29 August 29 2018. https://www.britannica.com/topic/gentleman.

[20] John Aubrey and Andrew Clark, *'Brief Lives': Chiefly of Contemporaries, Set Down by John Aubrey, Between the Years 1669 & 1696*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898), 356.

[21] Charles Wilson, *England's Apprenticeship, 1603-1763* (London: Longman, 2nd edition, 1984), 14.

[22] Daniel Defoe*, The Complete English Tradesmen* (1726), 377; quoted in Wilson, *England's Apprenticeship*, 15.

representative of the second group of collectors and agents. Collecting was a favourite pastime of the many dilettanti during this time, but most were interested in collecting for their own libraries, not particularly for posterity. The diarist Samuel Pepys is an example, even though he bequeathed his library to the University of Cambridge.[23] The historians and academics Thomas Hearne and Anthony Wood also deserve mention, but I have not included them in this category, as they were both of the educated professional class and collected for their own personal libraries. Thomas Britton and John Bagford share particularities in all being of humble birth, trained as tradesmen, and having developed early interests in books and literary antiquities (Figure 2.2.). As a boy, Wanley received a formal education, but Bagford likely did not, judging from his awkward writing and illiterate spelling. The expertise he acquired as a bibliophile, however, overcame his educational deficiencies. Britton's apprenticeship to a small-coal merchant would at least have provided him with enough schooling to advance him as a tradesman. Be that as it may, the three men acquitted themselves sufficiently as bibliophiles to have been employed as knowledgeable agents to the aristocratic collectors, so it is a matter of speculation as to what the individual motivations were for them to devote themselves to studying and collecting musical and literary remains of the past.

One such explanation could be that they were motivated by the influences of their trades. Wanley and Britton were surely members of their respective liveries: for Wanley, The Worshipful Company of Drapers, and for Britton, The Worshipful Company of Woodmongers.[24] As a shoemaker, Bagford, too, may have been a member of his livery, The Worshipful Company of Cordwainers, but it is possible that

[23] For a thorough discussion of Pepys' collections in the Pepys Library at Cambridge, see Jan van der Waals, 'The Print Collection of Samuel Pepys', *Print Quarterly* 1, no. 4 (1984): 236–257. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41823642.
[24] At this time, coal and small-coal were included in the Worshipful Company of Woodmongers.

because he was trained by his father and would have been employed in the family shoemaking business, he may not have seen the need to be an actual member of the livery company. In any case, the three would doubtless have been aware of the celebrated annual Lord Mayors' Shows that accompanied the yearly inauguration of the Lord Mayor of London.

These lavish pageants, involving musicians, actors, and poets, were sponsored by the London liveries and documented in printed book form from 1585. These books quickly became popular and inexpensive collectibles.[25] So it may be that the three men would have been inspired at an early age by witnessing the pageantry of these popular annual events, and would have been inclined to collect the affordable books about the Lord Mayors' Shows that were produced at the time.

By no means unimaginative, the books were written by professional writers, mostly dramatists, and thus were works of a higher calibre than what was to be found in other cheap, commonly available printed material, such as broadsides. Although few now survive as evidence, the provenance of twelve show books once owned by the Duke of Devonshire, now in the Huntington Library, indicate interest by his class of collector.[26] It is possible that both Bagford and Britton saw from the endeavour of collecting these books that there was potential for finding buyers and generating revenue. The proliferation of bookstalls in the areas of Little Britain and Paternoster Square would have provided them with exposure to all genres of books and literary antiquities, and would have put them in contact with other interested bibliophiles.

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[25] See Tracey Hill, 'Owners and Collectors of the Printed Books of the Early Modern Lord Mayors' Shows', *Library & Information History* 30, no. 3 (2014): 151-171.
[25] Hill, 'Owners and collectors', 157.
[26] Hill, 157.

2.2.1. HUMFREY WANLEY

Perhaps the most historically important decision Sir Robert Harley made relative to musical antiquarianism was to employ Humfrey Wanley (1672-1726) as the librarian of his collection (Plate 2.1.)[27]. Although Harley was a hands-on collector, he was perceptive enough to see the value of Wanley's antiquarian/bibliophile acumen. The measure of Wanley's expertise was in his having produced a collection including rare musical examples leading to the 'Wanley Partbooks', discussed below and now housed in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.[28] Even before being hired by Harley, Wanley had brokered Harley's purchase in 1705 of the library of Sir Symonds d'Ewes, which became the foundation of the Harley collection.[29]



Plate 2.1. — Humfrey Wanley
By Thomas Hill, 1717
Society of Antiquaries
CC BY-NC-ND 3.0

Wanley's humble beginnings were as the fifth child of Nathaniel Wanley (1632/3-1680) and his wife, Ellen Burton (1632–1719). His father was the vicar of Holy Trinity, Coventry, and his mother the daughter of Humfrey Burton, longtime clerk to Coventry Council (1636–1685). His education was at Coventry Free School, and he thereafter served an apprenticeship to a Coventry linen draper. By 1691 his interest in historical records, to which access was likely provided by his maternal grandfather, led him to transcribing local Warwick records. He had set himself the task of teaching himself Anglo-Saxon, and in 1691 he made copies of 'Old English

[27] Creative Commons License Deed, Non-commercial Non-Commercial-NoDerivs 3.0 Unported.
[28] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Mus. Sch.e.420-22.
[29] Deirdre Jackson, 'Humfrey Wanley and the Harley Collection', *Electronic British Library Journal* (2011), 4.

grammar from G. Hickes's *Institutiones grammaticae Anglo-Saxonicae* (1689) and of the catalogue of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts in the Bodleian Library from the same work'.[30] Kenneth Sisam relates the circumstance of William Lloyd, Lord Bishop of Coventry, having saved Wanley from abandoning his scholastic pursuits and returning to the trade of drapery:

> ...about this time (1693), his interest in manuscripts attracted William, Lord Bishop of Coventry, who encouraged [Gilbert] Burnet in the writing of his History of the Reformation and was one of the Seven Bishops of 1688. Lloyd saw at once the value of Wanley's talents in a time of active historical study….In 1695 Lloyd arranged for him to enter St. Edmund Hall (Oxford) to assist the Principal (in an edition of Greek Gospels)....Next year...Wanley became assistant...to Hyde, Bodley's Librarian.[31]

Wanley's exhaustive 1705 catalogue of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, *Antiquae literaturae septentrionalis liber alter. Seu Humphredi Wanleii...cum totius thesauri linguarum septentrionalium sex indicibus*,[32] remains of unparalleled importance and established him as a preeminent authority on Anglo Saxon manuscripts. It was at the encouragement of Bishop George Hickes, when he was a student at St Edmund Hall, Oxford, that he was inspired to travel throughout England in search of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.[33] Wanley was a 'great paleographer....His catalogue of Anglo-axon manuscripts is a book which scholars will continue to use, or neglect at their peril'.[34]

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[30] Peter Heyworth, 'Wanley, Humfrey', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004; online edition, 2008.); also Jackson,' Humfrey Wanley', 1.
[31] Kenneth Sisam, *Studies in the History of Old English Literature*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), 261; quoted in Rosemary Huisman, 'Old English and its Scholars—An Historical Study of Self-Perception', *Sydney Studies in Society and Culture* 3 (1986), 151-152.
[32] Published in 1705 as the second volume of Hickes' *Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium Thesaurus* vol.2 (Oxford: Teatro Sheldoniano, 1705).
[33] Keith A. Schmidt, 'Legitimacy and Orthodoxy: The English Nonjurors, 1688-1750'. PhD diss., Montreal: McGill University Libraries, 1983), 153.
[34] Neil Ripley Ker*, Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957) xiii; also see Michael Murphy, 'Humfrey Wanley on How to Run a Scholarly Library' *Library Quarterly*: Information, Community, Policy 52, no. 2 (1982).

Wanley's diary, preserved as British Library Lansdowne MSS 771–772, records in minute detail the aspects of curatorship and librarianship of his day. Partly because he had no assistant, he recorded every aspect of his librarian duties, including negotiations for books and manuscripts, prices, details of his work hours, his salary, auctions he attended, and friends and colleagues of the Harleys who came to view and/or study the materials. He documented the conditions of the manuscripts and books, and how they were bound, collated, and catalogued.[35] He lamented the practice of Charles Spencer, third Earl of Sunderland, who purposedly inflated the prices of manuscripts and books so that they were often out of the reach of other collectors.

Wanley recorded Sunderland's death in his diary on 19 April 1722, anticipating that 'by Reason of his Decease, some benefit may accrue to this Library...by his raising the Price of Books no higher now; So that...any Gentleman may be permitted to buy an uncommon old Book for less than forty or fifty Pounds'.[36] In addition to his diary, Wanley's letters from 15 October 1694 through 9 March 1726 are preserved in British Library Harley 4966. They contain correspondences to his various associates and are of particular interest in recording his extensive day-to-day trading activities.[37]

2.2.2. WANLEY PARTBOOKS

The Wanley Partbooks, Oxford Bodleian Library MSS Mus.Sch.e.420-22, are named for their title page inscription 'Liber Humfredi Wanley 18 November 1715'.[38] In

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[35] A.N.L. Munby, review of 'Wright: Humfrey Wanley: Saxonist and Library-Keeper' (Book Review)', *Archives* 6, no. 29 (1963): 51.
[36] Humfrey Wanley, *The Diary of Humfrey Wanley, 1715-1726,* Cyril Ernest Wright and Ruth C. Wright, eds.,1966, 139; quoted in Cyril Ernest Wright, 'A "Lost" Account-Book and the Harleian Library', *The British Museum Quarterly* 31, no. 1/2 (1966): 23.
[37] See Plate 2.4 [Bagford letter of 16 July 1709].
[38] James Wrightson, *The Wanley Manuscripts: Part 1* (Madison, Wisconsin: AR Editions, 1995), xiii; see also Daniel Page, 'The Wanley Manuscripts', *Notes* 53, no. 2 (1996): 612-614; John Aplin, 'The Origins of John Day's "Certaine Notes"', *Music & Letters* 62, no. 3/4 (1981): 295.

addition to their value as music monuments, they also document Wanley's awareness of the historical contribution these partbooks represented to the adaptation of church music to religious politics. Adaptations necessarily arose as a result of the changes brought about by the 1549, then 1552, Books of Common Prayer promulgated during the short reign of Edward VI (1547-1553). These vernacular partbooks contain ninety works by Thomas Tallis, Christopher Tye, Robert Okeland, John Taverner (English arrangements of Latin works), and numerous anonymous composers. The tenor partbook is missing, but has been reconstructed by later composers or editors.

In his *The Wanley Manuscripts: An Edition and Commentary*, James Wrightson discusses the inventive contrivances these composers used to blend the 'Edwardian church's ideological preference for "sober, discreet and devout singing"' with compositional devices, such as structural imitation, cantus firmus, and cyclic techniques, all of which cloak deviations from the new metrical style'.[39] These Edwardian period *Wanley Manuscripts* comprise one of three sources of early Anglican four-part music, the other two being the Edwardian *Lumley Part Books* (bass part missing) Ob MSS Royal App. 74-76, and *Certaine Notes Set Forth in Four and Three Parts* (1560) renamed by the publisher John Day as *Mornyng and Evenyng Prayer and Communion (1565).* The contents of these three sets of partbooks demonstrate the stylistic changes that composers were compelled to adopt in order to conform to the new liturgy of the reformed church.[40]

The Partbooks came to Wanley by way of Dr Thomas Tudway, who was working on his now well-known collection for Edward Harley, Lbl Harley MSS 7337-

[39] Wrightson, *Wanley Manuscripts*, viii.
[40] John Aplin, 'The Origins of John Day's "Certaine Notes"', 95; also see Wrightson, xiii.

7342, 'the first volume of which is entitled *A Collection of the Most Celebrated Services and Anthems Used in the Church of England, from the Reformation to the Restauration of K. Charles II. Composed by the Best Masters, and Collected by Thomas Tudway, D. M. Musick-Professor to the University of Cambridge, A.D. MDCCXV'*.[41]

Wanley recorded on the flyleaf of the partbooks that they were acquired on 18 November 1715. Subsequent correspondence confirms that Tudway gave them to Wanley, their being items of no value to Tudway, whereas he felt that perhaps Wanley could put them to good use.[42] According to Tudway, the books had been part of a collection owned by Dr John Covel (1638-1722), then master of Christ's College, Cambridge. Tudway and Wanley were negotiating the purchase of Covel's library for Harley.[43]

How and when the partbooks ultimately came to be at the Oxford Bodleian Library is uncertain. It is known, however, that Sir Henry Newton Puckering (1618-1701), grandson of Sir John Puckering, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England and last surviving member of the Puckering family, first gave the partbooks to the Wren Library at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1691. Wrightson conjectures that from there, it was not Wanley who gifted them to the Bodleian, but that they were included in the large Rawlinson gift to the Bodleian in 1756, which reportedly contained 'a small collection of English Church Music'.[44]

The Tudway and Wanley correspondence also reveals Tudway's discovery of the '"original" copy of Tallis's famous forty-part motet *Spem in alium',* now in the

[41] Lbl Harley MSS 7337-7342.
[42] Wrightson, *Wanley Manuscripts*, xiii.
[43] Wrightson, xiii-xiv.
[44] Wrightson, xiv.

British Library as Egerton MS 3512.[45] The extant correspondence is one-way, in that there is no evidence of replies from Wanley. Tudway urged Wanley to promote to Harley that he purchase the motet, but several letters from Tudway to Wanley suggest that Wanley did not reply to Tudway, as Tudway continued to write, imploring Harley's purchase.

An example of the thousands of music manuscripts Wanley obtained for Harley, many quite ancient, is Lbl Harley MS 2961, the *Leofric Collectar*, dating from ca. 1050-1072 (Plate 2.2.). Originating at Exeter Cathedral during the episcopacy of Bishop Leofric of Exeter, it contains the first known Office for St Olaf.[46]

Not only do the letters of Wanley describe his bibliophilic activities, but they reveal him to be highly knowledgeable about music. In a letter to the bishop and antiquarian Thomas Tanner on 3 May 1695, Wanley reported that he had 'copied many Tunes for the Flute'. Thomas Astle, a contributor to the *Catalogue of the Harleian Collection*, entered the following into the list of holdings:

> A very large Collection both of ancient and modern Musical compositions, with curious anecdotes relating to their Authors; written for the most Part by Mr. Wanley, by whom they were amassed, he being not only a great Judge of Music, but a very able composer'.[47]

Arthur Charlett, Wanley's friend and mentor at Oxford, applauded Wanley's musical judgement in a letter of 27 June 1705 regarding an Italian singer: 'What credit she has among the Masters of Music, you [Wanley] are the best Judge'.[48]

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[45] Bertram Schofield, 'The Manuscripts of Tallis's Forty-Part Motet', *Musical Quarterly* 37, no. 2 (1951): 176.
[46] Lbl Harley MS 2961, British Library Catalog: digitized manuscripts online, British Library Board; for a discussion of the Leofric music manuscripts, see Susan Rankin, 'From Memory to Record: Musical Notations in Manuscripts from Exeter', *Anglo-Saxon England* 13 (1984): 97-112. Accessed 16 October 2020. http://www.jstor.org/stable/44510790.
[47] British Museum, Department of Manuscripts: Humfrey Wanley, *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum: With Indexes of Persons, Places, and Matters,* (London: Eyre, Strahan, 1808).
[48] Peter Heyworth, ed., *Letters of Humfrey Wanley: Paleographer, Anglo-Saxonist, Librarian, 1672-1726* (Oxford, 1989) in Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (Oxford, 2004; online edition 2008, 18 n.5.

Further evidence of Wanley's expertise can be found in a letter from Samuel Pepys of 25 June 1699 in which Wanley replied to a request from Pepys to compare two Greek manuscript books of anthems. Wanley went to considerable length to compare the notes of the scribes, and he opined that the tunes were actually melodies written to be sung. Elsewhere, Wanley noted of Kircher's *Musurgia* that it is to be read 'with much caution, and that his credit runs low with many learned men'; that Kircher would have done better to 'have the assistance of a Greek versed in the music of his nation'; and that '...with a moderate skill in our music, he or anybody else might give us what he has done of the said Church-Music'.[49] By this, Wanley is suggesting that Kircher's contribution to the understanding of Greek church music was no more enlightening than that which could be found in an explanation by anybody else.

[49] Heyworth, 121.

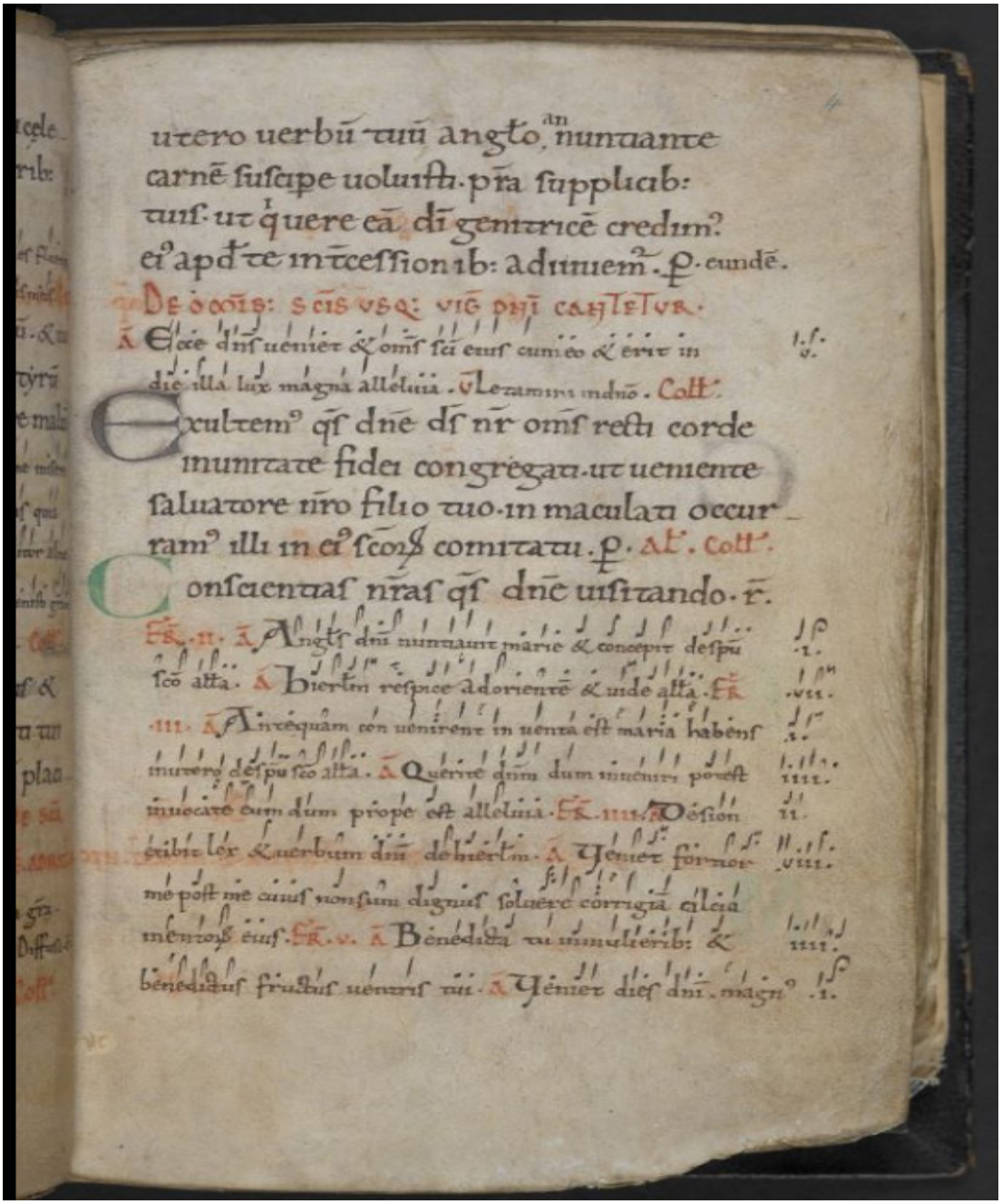


Plate 2.2. — *The Leofric Collectar*
Lbl Harley MS 2961
© British Library Board

Wanley had two abiding preoccupations that he shared with the shoemaker and bibliophile John Bagford: the history of printing and an appreciation for collecting book and manuscript ephemera, i.e., waste. Wanley's interest in manuscript and printed book fragments originated with his collecting of samples from which he intended to write a history of handwriting and fonts (scripts). During his time working

as an assistant at the Bodleian, he petitioned for permission to extract waste pastedowns from printed books, and to be given manuscript fragments destined for disposal.[50] Although his request was denied, he nevertheless continued collecting such items at large. In a letter to a finding agent in Cyprus, his instructions were explicit in seeking to locate ephemera, as quoted by Jackson:

> No items were beyond consideration. Where others saw worthless scraps, Wanley saw valuable evidence of medieval scribes. 'If a Greek book is torn, or otherwise in bad condition, do not reject it. Even Fragments may be welcome, to us, who know how to render them useful', wrote Wanley in 1718 to Samuel Palmer, a merchant based in Cyprus.[51]

2.2.3. JOHN BAGFORD

John Bagford (1650-1716), born in Fetter Lane, London, son of the senior John Bagford, was trained initially to carry on his father's trade as a shoemaker (Plate 2.3.). Unlike Wanley, he received no formal education, but developed an interest in books and the book trade at an early age. Bagford's prime interest was in the history of printing and, throughout his life, he collected examples of all sorts, including fragments of manuscripts and detritus of bookbinding, with the intention of writing a book on the history of printing. In this regard, Wanley's quote above regarding ephemera, or waste, could equally have come from Bagford. He never found an interested publisher for the book, and at his death in 1716, Wanley acquired for the Harley collection the thousands of examples Bagford had collected.

[50] Jackson, 'Humfrey Wanley', 7
[51] Jackson, 7.



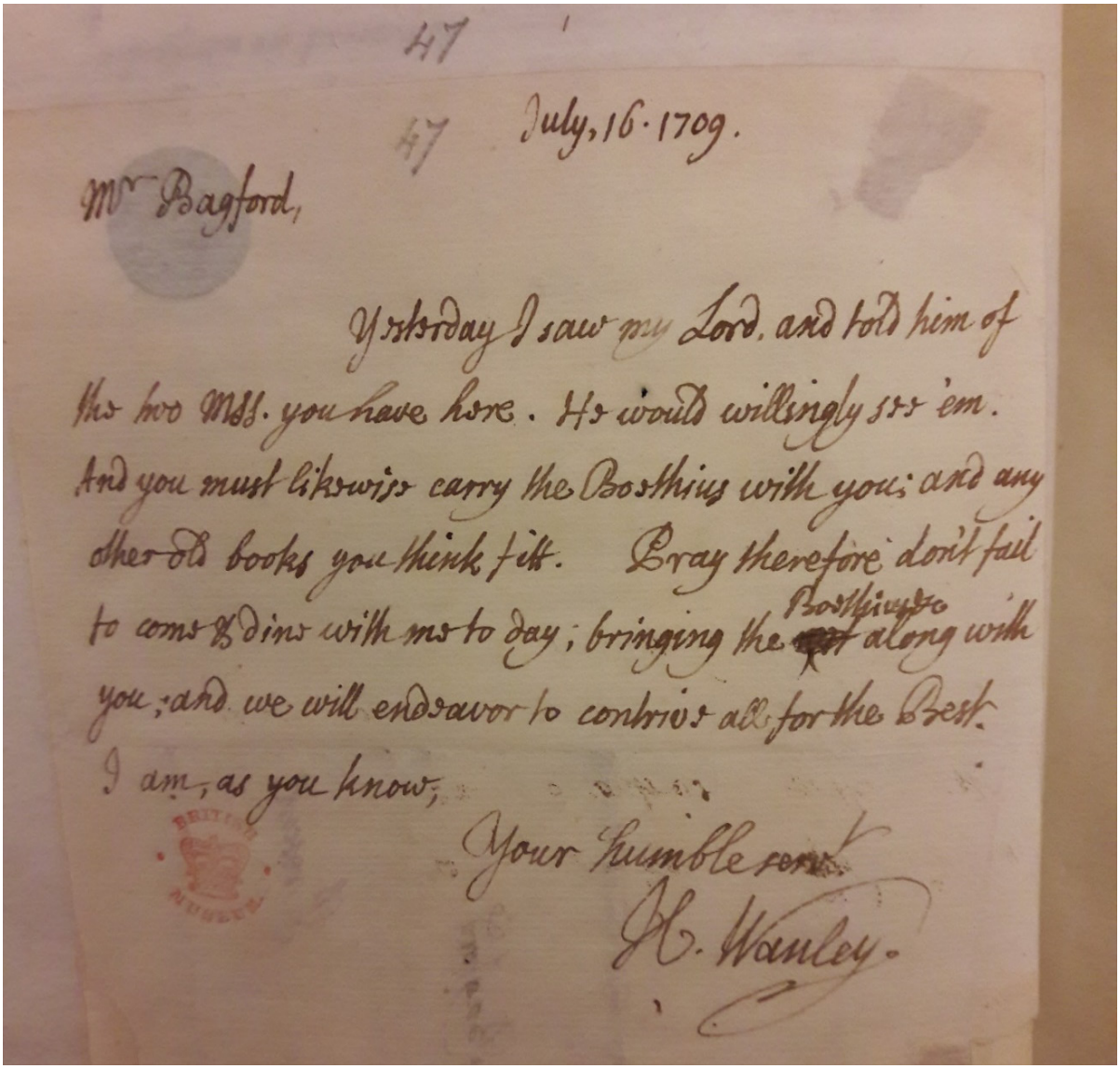
Plate 2.3. —John Bagford
By George Vertue, after the Hugh Howard engraving of 1728, NPG D17963
© National Portrait Gallery, London

Bagford and Wanley worked together in acquiring works for the Harley Collection. The many letters from Wanley to Bagford, extant in Lbl Harley 4966, reveal the close working relationship between the two men, as well as the extent of their trade in books and antiquities (Plate 2.4.).[52] Wanley's diary entry of 29 December 1722, six years after Bagford's death, shows the regard both Harley and Wanley had for Bagford's expertise: 'My noble Lord Oxford wants [is looking to employ] somebody to serve him in the way of out-of-course Books, as John Bagford used to do.'[53]

A. Hyatt King credits Bagford with saving for collection (Lbl Harley 5936) many musical fragments that are of historical value, in that they are English and many of them are rare.[54] Four catalogues are of primary importance for 'providing a primary bibliographical source for the history of English music publishing'.[55] King ends his praise of Bagford by noting that:

[52] See Plate 2.4. for letter from Wanley to Bagford.
[53] Margaret Nickson, 'Bagford and Sloane', British *Library Journal* 9, no. 1 (1983): 54 n2, quoted in Wanley, *Diary,* (Wright, ed.), 29 December 1722, 182.
[54] A. Hyatt King, 'Fragments of Early Printed Music in the Bagford Collection', *Music & Letters* 40, no. 3 (1959): 269-273, 270.
[55] See King, 'Fragments', 273, for a list of these catalogues.

Rare though many of these books of music are, it is not impossible that complete copies of them may yet come to light. But none of Nos. 1,4,5,6,7 have been discovered by the 'British Union-Catalogue of Early Music'. This suggests how grateful we should be to Bagford for preserving evidence that such interesting editions once existed.[56]



47

47 July, 16. 1709.

Mr Bagford,

Yesterday I saw my Lord, and told him of the two MSS. you have here. He would willingly see 'em. And you must likewise carry the Boethius with you; and any other old books you think fitt. Pray therefore don't fail to come & dine with me to day; bringing the Boethius along with you; and we will endeavor to contrive all for the Best. I am, as you know,

Your humble servt.

H. Wanley.

Plate 2.4. — Letter from Wanley to John Bagford
Lbl Harley 4966, fol. 47
© British Library Board

'July,16.1709. Mr. Bagford, Yesterday I saw my Lord and told him of the two MSS. you have here. He would willingly see 'em. And you must likewise carry the Boethius with you; and any other old books you think fitt. Pray therefore don't fail to come to dine with me to day; bringing the Boethius along with you; and we will endeavor to contrive all for the Best. I am, as you know, Your humble servt H. Wanley.'

[56] King, 273.

2.2.4. SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

In addition to their practical day-to-day antiquarian activities, Humfrey Wanley and John Bagford, along with antiquarian and art collector John Talman, formed the Society of Antiquaries in 1707, with the charge of promoting historical and archaeological studies. The founders applied for a royal charter from Queen Anne, but it was rejected when Robert Harley, the Society's patron, fell from her grace and lost his position in government in 1708. It finally received its royal charter in 1751 and remains today the second oldest learned society in Britain, the oldest being the Royal Society.[57]

2.2.5. BAGFORD AND SLOANE

The professional relationship between John Bagford and Sir Hans Sloane began around the year 1700, developing with their mutual interest in the history of printing. During her research on Bagford, Margaret Nickson found 'Bagf' written on the flyleaves of two medical manuscripts believed to have been acquired by Bagford ca. 1700, now Lbl Sloane 292 and 297.[58] The next several years of their collecting relationship are well-documented by Bagford, with entries in his account book of 1703-1708 in which he noted 'numerous items supplied to Dr Slo[a]ne'.[59] Two of these entries show that Bagford was providing material to Sloane related specifically to the history of printing. He recorded that he sold to Sloane for five shillings [£39.90] 'Chaycers works y^{e} first edition by Caxton'. Sloane recorded them in his catalogue as 'H.36. The Tale of Chaucer...and is in fact Caxton's second edition of the Canterbury Tales'.[60]

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[57] Greg Harris, 'Founding the Society of Antiquaries', *Making History: Antiquaries in Britain, 1707–2007 (abridged): An Introduction*, (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2007): 449.
[58] Nickson, 'Bagford and Sloane', 51.
[59] Lbl Harley 5998, fols. 6, 9, 11, 16, 79; see Nickson, 51.
[60] Lbl Sloane 3972C, vol. iii, fol. 125; see Nickson, 51, 54.

Hoping to be given similar courtesy from Bagford, Pepys' nephew, John Jackson, wrote to Bagford on 8 April 1703: 'I have understood by Dr Sloane, y^{t} [that] you lately conducted him to y^{e} Sight of some Italian MSS. in y^{e} hands of a Shoemaker in Thames-Street'.[61] Bagford escorted Sloane to Bunhill Fields (cemetery) in 1704 to show Sloane firsthand (perhaps by studying the text styles on tombstone epitaphs) the practice of 'printing and card-making' believed by Bagford 'to be the first manner of printing'.[62]

As Secretary of the Royal Society, Sloane may have been the one responsible for including in the *Transactions of the Royal Society* the tract by Bagford entitled 'An essay on the Invention of Printing, by Mr John Bagford; with an account of his Collections for the same by Mr Humfrey Wanley, F.R.S. Communicated in two letters to Dr Hans Sloane'. This tract was published in June 1707.[63]

Bagford has not been universally acclaimed throughout the history of literary antiquarianism. Mary and Charles Elton, in their 1893 tome, *The Great Book Collectors*, issued a prevailing late-nineteenth-century opinion of the efforts of Bagford:

> As for John Bagford, the scourge of the book-world, we have little to say in his defence. In his audacious design of compiling a history of printing he mangled and mutilated about 25,000 volumes, tearing out the title pages and colophons and shaving the margins even of such priceless jewels of bibliography as the Bible of Gutenberg and [those] of 'Polyglott' Cardinal Ximènes. He cannot avoid conviction as a literary monster; yet his contemporaries regarded him as a miracle of erudition, and Mr. Pollard has lately put in a kindly plea in mitigation.

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[61] Lbl Harley 4966, fol. 91; see Nickson, 51.
[62] Lbl Sloane 4039, fol. 330; see Nickson, 55; the cemetery of Bunhill Fields (originally Bone Hill) had an open field in the London area of Finsbury just north of the city walls, which was accessible to the public.
[63] *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, vol. xxv, no. 310 (June 1707): 2397-2410; see Nickson, 52, 55.

The Eltons mollified their critical position, however, by continuing:

> We are reminded that Bagford made no money by his crimes, that he took walking-tours through Holland and Germany in search of bargains, and that he made 'a priceless collection of ballads.' It might be said also for a further plea that what one age regards as sport another condemns as butchery. The Ferrar family at Little Gidding were the inventors of 'pasting-printing,' as they called their barbarous mode of embellishment; and Charles I. himself, in Laud's presence, called their largest scrap-book 'the Emperor of all books,' and 'the incomparablest book this will be, as ever eye beheld.' The huge volume made up for Prince Charles out of pictures and scraps of text was joyfully pronounced to be 'The gallantest greatest book in the world.' The practice of 'grangerising,' or stuffing out an author with prints and pages from other works, was even praised by Dibdin as 'useful and entertaining,' though in our own time it is rightly condemned as a malpractice.[64]

Wanley and Bagford were not alone in the practice so disparaged by the Eltons. The Ferrar family, mentioned in the quotation above, in particular Mary Collett Ferrar in the 1630s and 1640s, constructed books from cut-up pages of the Bible. These books, known as 'Harmonies', were applied as practical aids for the religious education of children, specifically the hourly readings of the gospel.[65] Wanley and Bagford were no doubt aware of the harmonies of the Ferrars, and of those of the sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries. The making of these works was an extensive business and surely would have been known to antiquarians and others who frequently perused bookshops and book stalls.

In Lbl Harley MS 5910, iii, 120, Bagford explained his collecting activities:

> For this twenty years last past I have made it my business to collect whatever I could procure relating to it [printing] with my observations on Several hundred of old Printed books, which very few have had the like opportunity of seeing, having been concerned in most of the great Libraries that have been

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[64] Charles Isaac and Mary Augusta Elton, *The Great Book-Collectors*,122; 'grangerise': the practice of clipping literary materials from one source and adding them to another, so named from English biographer James Granger (1723-1776). Bagford was accused of 'grangerising' in his collection of fragments for his history of printing.

[65] Kate E. Riley, 'The Good Old Way Revisited: The Ferrar Family of Little Gidding c. 1625-1637'. (PhD diss., University of Western Australia, 2007), 73-74; see also: https://www.littlegiddingchurch.org.uk. 'People - Nicolas Ferrar'; The Archives of St John's College, Oxford, contain MS 262: 'A Little Gidding Gospel Harmony from c. 1640'.

> sold by Auction since the year 1686, and few are insensible what benefit hath accrued to the world by the public sale of books by Auction, and printed Catalogues, an advantage the Learned World wanted in ages before and by this I have received no small knowledge in seeing the books themselves, and not trusting to other Eyes.

Bagford continued by crediting his friend and bookseller, Christopher Bateman, who cooperated generously with Bagford in collecting minutiae of little interest to others:

> Such has been the advantage in having opportunity in looking over such vast quantities of old books and not only in Sales but in the shop of my good friend Mr Christopher Bateman, who at all times hath given me the liberty of looking over when he hath bought any parcels, and for his time he hath had more good and Valuable books pass through his hands than all the Booksellers in England. Besides, he always gave me notice when he had any waste books to sell and freely gave me Liberty to take out of them what I thought fit, as the blank leaves at the beginning of them, old pieces of MSS., Titles, Frontispieces, borders, Printers' devices, and by this civility hath very much added to my collection before mentioned, which I have put together in 20 Volumes in folio, Quarto and Octavo, so that I am inabled to shew the Titles of several hundreds of books printed in Holland, Germany, Italy, France, Spain, Flanders, and England, from the beginning of printing at Westminster by Caxton to the 16th Century, and not only their Devices, Titles, Great Letters, but Specimen[s] of most of the old Printers' letters they then used; and I am apt to think no one in Europe hath the like collection.[66]

The study of the practice of ‘grangerizing’, engaged in by Bagford and Wanley, has blossomed in the late twentieth- and early twenty-first centuries into a full-blown area of academic investigation. Professor Whitney Trettien’s interest in the subject has produced numerous writings associating the practice with digital scholarship.[67]

Two collections of fragments collected by Bagford are the (1) *Fragmenta manuscripta* in the Ellis Library of the University of Missouri, Columbia, and

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[66] Lbl Harley MS 5910, iii, 120; see Robert Steele, ‘Books Given to the Library of Christ's College, Cambridge, by the Lady Margaret’, *The Library: Transactions of the Bibliographical So*ciety*, VIII* (April 1907): 218–224,.223; also Margaret Nickson, ‘Bagford and Sloane’, 52–53.

[67] Whitney Trettien, ‘Creative Destruction and the Digital Humanities’, *Routledge Research Companion to Digital Medieval Literature* (Milton Park: Routledge, 2017), 47-59; see also the Trettien blog, https://www.manifold.umn.edu/projects/cut-copy-paste.

(2) *Fragmenta varia* in the University Library, Cambridge. The Missouri *Fragmenta manuscripta* contains 217 leaves ranging from the eighth through the seventeenth centuries. The Missouri volume has a notation 'on the verso of the fly-leaf that there is an identically bound volume of printed fragments' at Cambridge[68] and contains 464 fragments on 492 pages of a larger collection of fragments printed between 1480 and 1685. Milton McC. Gatch deduces that the Missouri and Cambridge albums are of the same origin.[69] These are obviously fragments that Bagford collected for a history of printing that he planned to publish. The albums contain 'title pages, decorated capitals, type specimens, illustrations of non-Roman alphabets and writing'.[70] Such fragment collections as these serve useful historiographic purposes in addition to being palaeographic curiosities: 'they provide evidence not only of hands [handwriting] but also for the history of the use of parchment, paper and ink'.[71]

2.2.6. THOMAS BRITTON

Hawkins quoted the antiquarian Thomas Hearne (1678-1735) as his primary source for information on Thomas Britton (1644-1714). In turn, Hearne relied on his friend John Bagford, a colleague of Britton, to relate the relationship between him and Britton. As Hawkins notes, Bagford became the source for documenting Britton's life as a collector of literary antiquities and for his association with the collectors who frequented the London bookstalls:

> The concert[s] of Britton, the small-coal man at Clerkenwell, continued to flourish till the end of the century in which it was established, and onward into the next, completing a period of more than forty years, when his death put an end to it. Many particulars relating to the life and character of this

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[68] Milton McC. Gatch, 'Fragmenta Manuscripta and Varia at Missouri and Cambridge'. *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 9, no. 5 (1990): 434-475., 434. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41154792.
[69] Gatch, 434.
[70] Gatch.
[71] Gatch, 443.

extraordinary man, are to be met with in books published about and after the time when he lived; but the most authentic account of him, so far as it goes, is contained in Hearne's Appendix to his *Hemingi Chartularii Ecclesiae Wygorniensis*, page 665, which, as it was drawn up by one that was well acquainted with him, and he a man of the most scrupulous accuracy, is entitled to the highest degree of credit. Some pains have been taken by searches, and inquiries of persons in his neighbourhood, and of others who remember him, to collect those suppletory [supplemental] anecdotes which here follow Hearne's account of him, and furnish a copious memoir of this extraordinary person.[72]



Plate 2.5. — Thomas Britton
By John Wollaston, 1703, NPG 523
© National Portrait Gallery, London

Hearne was noted for adding appendices having nothing to do with the works to which they were appended. The following is an example in which Hawkins quotes directly from Hearne's *Appendix 8* in *Hemingi Chartularii Ecclesiae Wygorniensis,* in which he was discussing Bagford, but then shifts abruptly to giving important biographical information about Britton:[73]

§.VIII. Before I dismiss this Subject [John Bagford's collecting of ballads], I must beg leave, to mention, and to give a short Account of, one that was intimately acquainted with Mr. Bagford, and was also a great Man, tho' of but ordinary Education. The Person I mean is, Mr. Thomas Britton, the famous Musical Small-Coal Man, was born at or near Higham Ferrers in Northamptonshire. From thence he went to London, where he bound himself Apprentice to a Small-Coal Man in St. John Baptist's Street. After he had served his full time of seven Years, his Master gave him a Sum of Money not to set up. Upon this Tom went in to Northamptonshire again, and, after he had spent his Money, he returned again to London, set up the Small-Coal Trade (notwithstanding his Master was still living) and, withal, he took a Stable, and turned it into a House, which stood the next Door to the little Gate of St. John's of Jerusalem next Clarken-Well-Green.

[72] Hawkins*, History*, 788.
[73] Hearne, *Hemingi,* 665; also quoted in Hawkins, *History*, 788-789.

Hearne continues his narrative by relating significant details about Britton's life, including (1) his meeting Dr Garencières 'by which means he became an excellent chemist', (2) his association with a 'Gentleman of Wales', who paid Britton a generous fee to construct an 'Elaboratory' for him like the one Britton had designed and built for himself in Garencières' laboratory, and (3) his skill in music theory, much of which he 'pricked with his own hand'.[74] Hearne describes Britton's personal demeanor and his extensive book collection, which he sold at auction in 1694:

> He appears by the Print of him (done since his Death) to have been a Man of an ingenious Countenance and of a sprightly Temper. It also represents him as a comely Person, as indeed he was, and, withall, there is a modesty expressed in it every way agreeable to him. Under it are these Verses, which may serve instead of an Epitaph [reproduced in Plate 6.8.].
>
> In short, he was an extraordinary and very valuable Man, much admired by the Gentry, even those of the best Quality, and by all others of the more inferiour Rank, that had any manner of Regard for Probity, Sagacity, Diligence, and Humility. I say Humility, because, tho' he was so much fam'd for his Knowledge, and might, therefore, have lived very reputably without his Trade, yet he continued it to his Death, not thinking it to be at all beneath him.

Hearne then describes the relationship between Bagford and Britton, noting that their meetings were frequent and long, and that their conversations were 'often about old MSS and the Havock made of them':

> They both agreed to retrieve what Fragments of Antiquity they could, and, upon that occasion, they would frequently divert themselves in talking of old Chronicles, which both loved to read, tho' among our more late Chronicles, printed in English, Isaackson's was what they chiefly preferr'd for a general knowledge of Things, a Book which was much esteem'd also by those two eminent Chronologers, Bp. Lloyd and Mr. Dodwell.[75]

[74] 'Pricked': meaning written in musical notation.
[75] Hearne, *Hemingi*, 665-669.

2.3. VIRTUOSI

The third group of antiquarians are those known as the 'virtuosi'. Their relevance to antiquarianism lies in fulfilling the antiquarian objective of preserving the past in a context paralleling the later eighteenth-century 'grand tour' model in which the education of young, aristocratic Englishmen was secured by the socially obligatory extended tour of the Continent for the purpose of obtaining antiquities, while acquiring a culturally broader worldview in the process. In the seventeenth century, the term was applied variously to (1) specific groups, such as the 'York Virtuosi', (2) generically to those acting as agents for other collectors, and (3) in the present-day context taken from the early seventeenth-century Italian definition meaning literally learned or skilful, derived from the late Latin *virtuosus* as one who is interested in many things, a well-rounded person, or a 'Renaissance man'. The York Virtuosi refers to 'a circle of men and women who were associated with the Royal Society, who engaged in wide philosophical experiments—with microscopes, with recipes for colours, with learning to draw in different media….'[76] Notable in this group were a number of fellows of the Royal Society such as naturalist and physician Martin Lister (1639-1712) and explorer-writer Thomas Kirke (1650-1706).[77]

The Society of the Virtuosi of St. Luke was the first documented art club in England, consisting 'of artists and gentlemen who met in various London taverns to discuss matters of taste and judgment':[78]

> According to George Vertue (1684–1756), the primary source of information on the Virtuosi, the society provided a direct link to the Stuart tradition of art appreciation, given that the group's origins were said to be found in Sir Anthony Van Dyck's practice of inviting 'the Virtuosi of London in the several Branches of Painting. Sculpture. &c. & Lovers of Art to meet at his house. he

[76] Kim Sloan, 'Sir Hans Sloane's Pictures: The Science of Connoisseurship or the Art of Collecting?', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 78, no. 2 (2015): 406.
[77] Sloan, 405.
[78] Maria Cinzia Sicca, ed., 'John Talman: An Early-Eighteenth-Century Connoisseur' vol. 19, *Studies in British Art*, 2008, 10.

> entertaining them in Generous manner & chiefly at the festival yearly of St. Luke'.[79]

The term 'virtuosi' is also found in reference to antiquarian bibliophiles and collectors. The answer to the question concerning 'what was the impetus for antiquarianism?' can be found, at least partly, in the explanation of Walter Houghton's *raison d'être* for Ciriaco:

> The ancestor of a thousand virtuosi, Ciriaco[80] travelled to 'every part of Italy, Greece, and the Greek islands, collecting medals, gems, and fragments of sculpture, buying manuscripts, records,' everywhere driven on by a passionate enthusiasm, not only for the rare and the curious, but for everything that might, in his own words, 'awaken the dead.' It was this further motive, this desire for some living contact, however vicarious, with the heroes of old, classical and national, which most inspired the collecting of statues, coins, and paintings, and the biographies that combined icons with elogia.[81]

Illustrative of the period usages for the word 'virtuoso' are two correspondences describing the members of the newly formed Academy of Vocal Music. First, in 1726, The Academy of Vocal Music member Giuseppe Riva wrote to the Italian composer Agostino Steffani:

> This report is not given by me to your Most Illustrious Lordship without a purpose, which I openly reveal to you, and that is to humbly implore Piva,[82] in the name of the entire academy of virtuosos, to kindly send something of his composition....[83]

Second, in an unrelated letter from Steffani to Riva dated 11 January 1728 regarding a *Stabat Mater* that Steffani was considering sending to the Academy, Steffani wrote that he was motivated to do so by 'Having always been informed that, at their virtuoso meetings, diverse works are sung....'[84]

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[79] Sicca, 10.
[80] Ciriaco De'Pizzicolli / Cyriacus of Anacona, Italian antiquarian (1391-1452); see 'Cyriacus of Anacona', *Encyclopedia Britannica*, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Cyriacus-of-Anacona. Accessed 5 November 2019.
[81] Walter E. Houghton, 'The English Virtuoso in the Seventeenth Century: Part II', *Journal of the History of Ideas* (1942): 190-219, 190.
[82] Steffani's pseudonym was 'Gregorio Piva'; See Colin Timms, 'La Canzona and Stabat Mater: Steffani's First and Last Gifts to the Academy of Ancient Music?', *Early Music* 47, no. 1 (2019): 66.
[83] Quoted in Timms, 'La canzona and Stabat', 66.
[84] Timms, 73.

Significant to the discussion of English virtuosi is the peculiar role of tradesmen, including Bagford and Britton, juxtaposed with the exclusive, upper-class culture of the English virtuosi.[85] Participants in this bi-level culture used the Italian Renaissance gentlemen-scholars as models for their endeavours in promoting art and learning, with coffeehouses providing an entry for egalitarian discourse across boundaries of class. Conversation was exchanged on a wide scope of subjects, including topics of interest to bibliophiles and collectors. John Aubrey observed this acculturation process as their 'moderne advantage before which men knew not how to be acquainted, but with their owne relations, or societies'.[86]

Bagford, in particular, is a notable example of the value of networking across the classes. He made himself useful to the virtuosi by travelling frequently to Oxford and Cambridge and Amsterdam, to cultivate other collectors by relaying messages, letters, and news of recent acquisitions and auctions. He honed his skills at catering to virtuosi by providing books, antiquities, and even exotic specimens of nature of interest to members of the 'culture of curiosity'.[87] Bagford and Britton were both spoken of as 'honest', a term that then implied subservience to their betters.

> The frequency with which 'honesty' was used to describe such tradesmen in virtuoso culture was not coincidental. In one respect, honesty was a means of imparting a form of credibility similar to, but also distinct from, the gentleman's 'honour' described by Shapin. Honesty was a moral value associated by guidebooks with plain dealing in economic exchange and good credit. More conceptually, it was central to the ideals of civic culture promoted by the urban middling sort. The use of this language thus solidified the collective identity of tradesmen while also allowing elite virtuosi to distance themselves from their social inferiors.[88]

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[85] Tim Somers, 'Tradesmen in Virtuoso Culture: "Honest" John Bagford and His Collecting Network, 1683–1716', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 81, no. 3 (2018): 359-386,
[86] John Aubrey, '*Brief Lives', Chiefly of Contempories*. vol. 1. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898): 10.
[87] Somers, 'Tradesmen', 361.
[88] Somers, 371; for further discussion on the word 'honest', see Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (University of Chicago Press, 1995).

Daniel Defoe listed the 'middling sort' as the third down in the seven hierarchical classifications of the English populace during the late seventeenth to the early eighteenth centuries:

1. The great, who live profusely;
2. The rich, who live very plentifully;
3. The middling sort, who live very well;
4. The working trades, who labour hard but feel no want;
5. The country people, farmers, etcetera, who fare indifferently;
6. The poor, who fare hard;
7. The miserable, who really pinch and suffer want.[89]

Neither Britton nor Bagford presumed to rise above their stations, even to the point of Bagford being self-deprecating concerning his knowledge and skill. He frequently gifted his wealthy clients with literary items and physical objects that he thought would interest them. In a letter from Bagford to Thomas Hearne, he included a deferential note describing an accompanying gift in which he demurred that he was sending 'trifles of old songs and fragments of MSS, which I know my good friend knows better to make use of than myself'.[90]

2.4. MUSICAL ANTIQUARIANS

I selected Henry Aldrich, John Bagford, Thomas Britton, and Johann Pepusch for particular treatment in this study because of their varied standings as musical antiquarians. Bagford and Britton were cited earlier in association with their non-musical antiquarian activities, and are included now in light of their contributions to musical antiquarianism. The writer and architect Henry Aldrich warrants note because of his being a composer, music collector, and the host of music meetings at Oxford University beginning in the 1680s and ceasing only upon his death. Pepusch is included because he is the only *bona fide* professional musician in this antiquarian

[89] Daniel Defoe, *The Review*, 25 June 1709; see also Peter Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society and Family Life in London 1660-1730,* (University of California Press, 1989). http://www.ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/ft8489p27k.
[90] Somers, 'Tradesmen', 367.

grouping. He was a sought-after teacher, revered music theorist, noted composer, member of the Royal Society, and founder and leader of The Academy of Ancient Music until his death in 1752.

2.4.1. HENRY ALDRICH

Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, classical scholar and architect, Henry Aldrich (1647-1710) distinguished himself as a musical antiquarian at Oxford in being a composer, collector of music, and the host of 'music meetings' which were attended by amateurs and professional musicians alike (Plate 2.6.).[91] These gatherings became popular and inspired an appreciation of 'ancient music', i.e., primarily music of the sixteenth century, while predating the ancient music movement of The Academy of Vocal [later Ancient] Music in London in 1726.[92] John Perceval and Edward Harley were students at Oxford University and it is likely that they would have attended the Aldrich meetings, therein acquiring a taste for 'ancient music'. Indeed, Aldrich's influence could have been far-reaching, as would seem to have been the case with John Perceval, who was later elected a member of the Academy and became one of its leading patrons.[93]

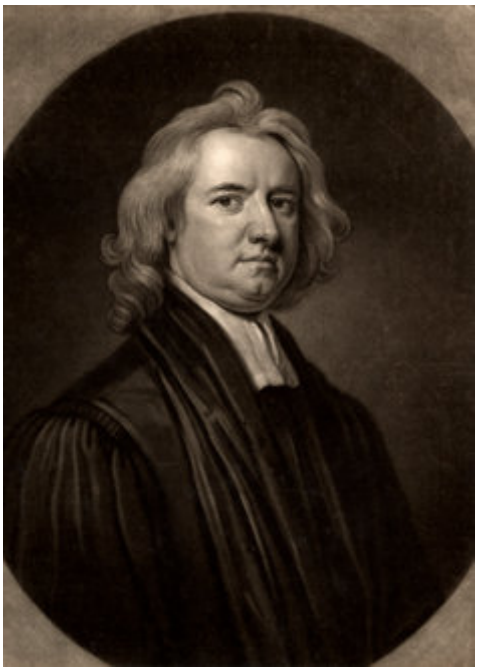


Plate 2.6. — Henry Aldrich
By John Smith, after Sir Godfrey Kneller, 1699, NPG D338
© National Portrait Gallery, London

[91] 'Music meetings': so called in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as the informal gatherings described here.
[92] Robert Shay, '"Naturalizing" Palestrina and Carissimi in Late Seventeenth-Century Oxford: Henry Aldrich and his Recompositions', *Music & Letters* 77, no. 3 (1996): 368-400, 376.
[93] Shay, 377; see also William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual and Ideology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 44.

Aldrich's music meetings were not the only ones of their kind at Oxford. The gatherings of the Mermaid Club and those of William Ellis and Narcissus Marsh, included amateur musicians from the clergy and the university, as well as those who actually 'professed' music.[94] Anthony Wood described the meetings of Marsh and Ellis, commenting that Marsh would sometimes attend those of Ellis, but would not play at them because he had a weekly meeting in his chamber in the said College where 'masters of musick would come'.[95]

Aldrich bequeathed his vast music library to Christ Church upon his death in 1710. It contained compositions primarily by Tudor and Stuart composers in both manuscript and printed format. His will directed the college 'to take care of my prints and books of musick, that they may not be exposed to common usage... because they are things of value in themselves and to be found in very few libraries'.[96] Unfortunately, Aldrich's will also instructed that his personal papers be destroyed, therein depriving history of the details on how he may have acquired his collection.

Much of Aldrich's collection appears to have come from the holdings of the Hatton family. The investigations of Jonathan Wainwright and David Pinto into the collection show that in addition to Aldrich's acquisition of a music collection of the first Baron Hatton of Kirby Hall, which would have taken place after 1670, there had been added to it a vast quantity of music amassed previously in the 1630s by Sir Christopher Hatton III (1605-1670), obtained through the London bookseller Robert

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[94] Stephanie Louise Carter, 'Music Publishing and Compositional Activity in England, 1650-1700', (PhD diss., University of Manchester, 2011), 28.
[95] Pamela J. Willetts, 'Music from the Circle of Anthony Wood at Oxford', *The British Museum Quarterly* 24, no. 3/4 (1961): 71–75, 73; for more on the Oxford music meetings, see Bruce Bellingham, 'The Musical Circle of Anthony Wood in Oxford During the Commonwealth and Restoration, *Journal of the Viola Da Gamba Society of America* 19 (1982), 6-70. Bellingham included Woods' descriptions of Oxford music meetings, including the names of amateur and professional musicians who played occasionally.
[96] A. Hyatt King, *Some British Collectors of Music. c.1600-1960,* Sanders Lectures for 1961, (Cambridge University Press, 1963), 14.

Martin.[97] The Hattons were enthusiastic patrons of Orlando Gibbons and George Jeffreys, and their collections reflect this. They provided for copies to be made for their own musicians, many of them being prepared by the professional copyist John Lilly.[98] Roger North, related by marriage to Christopher Hatton III, spoke of Lilly's employment with the Hattons, and referred to him as that 'old soker' and 'old Lilly', who had been forced to move from Cambridge to London to seek employment as a copyist and music teacher.[99]

The music bequests of Aldrich and Richard Goodson (1655-1718), the organist at Christ Church Oxford and university professor of music, are the subject of a catalogue compiled in 1787 by the musician-artist J.B. Malchair. It contains details on the condition of the contents of the books and manuscripts, and also the binding and shelving of the collections.[100] King noted that the Goodson collection, bequeathed in 1718, was much smaller than that of Aldrich. Malchair recorded that Goodson's collection required only fifteen folios, whereas the Aldrich collection required fifty-two folios in his (Malchair's) hand.[101]

Notwithstanding Aldrich's extensive composition of catches, frequently sung at his music meetings, including *O the Bonny Christ Church Bells* and *Good Indeed the Herb's Good Weed* (celebrating his passion for smoking), his compositions can be classified in two categories:(1) his own, and (2) arrangements, or 'recompositions'

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[97] Shay, 'Naturalizing Palestrina', 369; see also Jonathan P. Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605-1670)* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997), 28-29.
[98] David Pinto, 'The Music of the Hattons', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 23, no. 1 (1990): 79-108, 79-80.
[99] *Roger North on Music*, John Wilson, ed., (London: Novello, 1959), 37-38; for further information on Lilly, see Pamela J. Willetts, 'John Lilly, Musician and Music Copyist', *Bodleian Library Record* 1 (1967), 307-311.
[100] The Malchair catalogue is Lcm 2125; also King, *Some British Collectors*, 14; Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 188, n. 8; Hawkins, *History*, 768 and Charles Burney, *A General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period (1979) With Critical and Historical Notes by Frank Mercer* (New York: Dover Publications, 1957): ii. 61.
[101] King, *Some British Collectors*, 14.

of works by other composers.[102] His original compositions were in demand, as evidenced by the request by Dr Huntingdon, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, that Aldrich 'compose music to refresh, oblige and even charm the auditors' for a ceremony which the College proposed to hold in imitation of Oxford's graduation ceremonies, known as Encaenia.[103] Aldrich went on to compose music for the Oxford Encaenias of 1672, 1674, and 1675. His task for the Encaenia of 1672 was to set to music the 'verses of Bishop Fell *In Laudem Musices Carmen Sapphicum*'.[104] Burney, referring to Aldrich as 'This worthy and most accomplished divine...', adding in praise of his music and influence:

> Indeed, without neglecting more important concerns, he seems to have interested himself in the cultivation and prosperity of the art with as much zeal and diligence, as if his studies and pursuits had been circumscribed to that alone....Music perhaps never flourished so much at Oxford as under his example, guidance and patronage.[105]

In a footnote on page 479 of Burney's *History,* he is critical of some aspects of Aldrich's music, calling his melodies 'sometimes defective in rhythm' and that 'the accentuation of the words is inaccurate', as well as allowing that 'His harmony and modulation are unexceptionable'.[106] But then he counters with praise by saying that Aldrich 'became so profound and skilled in the theory and practice of harmony, that his compositions...equal in number and excellence those of the greatest masters of his time'.[107]

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[102] For more on Aldrich's humorous personality and his catches and rounds, see E.F.A. Suttle, 'Henry Aldrich, Dean of Christchurch', *Oxoniensa* 5 (1940), 128-129, and Burney, *History*, 479.
[103] 'Encaenia': an academic or ecclesiastical ceremony usually associated with the graduation ceremony of a university; specifically, the ceremony at Oxford University which awards honorary degrees; see https://www.ox.ac.uk/news-and-events/The-University-Year/Encaenia.
[104] Suttle, 'Henry Aldrich', 117.
[105] Burney, *History*, vol. 3, 479, quoted in Suttle, 129-130.
[106] Burney, *History*, 479, n. (a).
[107] Burney*,* 479.

Despite being accused of plagiarism from time to time, Aldrich has received acclaim for his ability to arrange the music of earlier composers and to render them suitable for the Reformation church. His collection demonstrates his

> profound interest in Italian and older English music and an ability to compose rooted in imitatio, largely unparalleled among his contemporaries in England and resulting in a number of fascinating recompositions of works by Tallis, Byrd and especially Palestrina and Carissimi.[108]

In the spirit of musical antiquarianism, Hawkins describes Aldrich's works as being 'remarkable instances of that faculty which [he] possessed of naturalizing as it were the compositions of the old Italian masters, and accommodating them to an English ear'.[109] What Hawkins terms 'naturalizing', Burney terms 'adapting', Shay terms 'recomposing', and in present-day context we may describe as 'arranging'. Shay explains that Aldrich not only gave the Latin texts new English words, but that he altered the works musically. Shay chose the term 'recomposition' to mean 'a composition that is both derivative and altered'.[110]

2.4.2. JOHN BAGFORD

In addition to his antiquarian interest in collecting numerous illuminated music manuscripts and fragments, John Bagford (1650-1716) is known today primarily for his collection of ballads, referred to as the *Bagford Ballads*.[111] The late-nineteenth-century researcher William Younger Fletcher, and the early twentieth-century writer Seymour De Ricci, considered Bagford to have had a particular interest in ballads,[112] while latter-day research by Milton McC. Gatch leads him to conclude that rather

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[108] Shay, '"Naturalizing Palestrina"', 370.
[109] Hawkins, *History,* 426.
[110] Shay, '"Naturalizing Palestrina"', 368.
[111] Joseph Woodfall Ebsworth, ed., *The Bagford Ballads: With Copies of the Original Woodcuts,* (Hertford: *The* Ballad Society, 1877).
[112] William Younger Fletcher, *English Book Collectors*, (London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1902), 129-137, and Fletcher, 'John Bagford and his Collections', *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society, iv* (1896-1898), 185-202; also Fletcher, 'John Bagford and His Collections', *The Library* 1 (1898): 185-202; also Seymour De Ricci*, English Collectors of Books & Manuscripts (1530-1930) and Their Marks of Ownership* (Cambridge University Press, 1930), 34.

than considering ballads as a special collection, Bagford regarded them more as an adjunct to his history of printing.[113] Regardless of his motivation, Bagford collected a significant number of ballads, mostly from the Restoration era. Those that he collected for himself, *The Bagford Ballads*, were published by Joseph Woodfall Ebsworth in 1878.[114]

I must note here for historiographic continuity that the ballads collected by Bagford and Wanley for the Harley collection are now part of the Roxburghe Collection at the British Library. This larger collection incorporates ballads that were accumulated from the 1560s through the 1790s. The eighteenth-century provenance of the Roxburghe Collection includes the initial dispersal of the Harley Collection upon the death of Robert Harley in 1724 through its purchase that year by James West; then in 1773 by Thomas Pearson; and then in 1778 by John Ker, third Duke of Roxburghe. Each owner made additions, and Pearson rebound its three columns and added indexes. In the nineteenth century, the Roxburghe Collection was bought by Benjamin Heywood Bright in 1812, and subsequently, the British Library (then the British Museum) bought the Roxburghe Collection in 1845.[115]

The practice of collecting ballads has a considerable history dating from the early years of the sixteenth century. Of the many extant ballad collections, of special note are those by Pepys at Magdalene College, Cambridge, in addition to the Roxburghe, the Luttrell, and the Bagford collections at the British Library. The Luttrel Collection, collected by Narcissus Luttrell, is small by comparison, although it still contains approximately 600 ballads, together with 'broadsides, proclamations etc.,

[113] Milton McC. Gatch, 'John Bagford, Bookseller and Antiquary', *British Library Journal* 12, no. 2 (1986): 150-171. https://www.jstor.org/stable/42554242.
[114] Ebsworth, *The Bagford Ballads*.
[115] Patricia Fumerton, director*, English Broadside Ballad Archive* (https://www.ebba.english.ucsb.edu).

mainly from the times of Charles II and James II'.[116] Other significant collections reside at the Bodleian Library, The National Library of Scotland, Glasgow University, and The John Rylands Library at Manchester.

As a landmark in the development of musical antiquarianism, the English ballad took several forms, served numerous purposes, and ranged in acceptance throughout virtually all social strata. Ballad sheets were printed on cheap paper, sold for one penny each, and were typically widely distributed by street peddlers, often as 'chapbooks', so named after the itinerant salesmen, 'cheapmen' or 'chapmen', who sold them. Chapbooks were inexpensive, popular, hand-bound booklets made from larger sheets of rough paper folded into quarters, usually containing a collection of a few ballads or poems (Plate 2.7.).

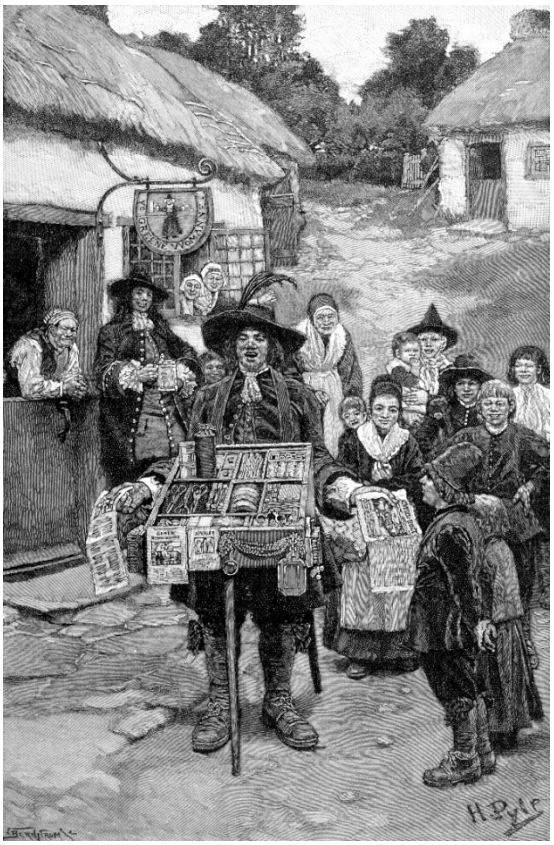


Plate 2.7. — *Chapman Sells His Wares*
Seventeenth-century Country Village
Mary Evans Picture Library, London

Ballad subjects covered all aspects of everyday life, from the lovelorn to political satire, to shaming by ridicule or outright slander, to executions. Interest in collecting such cheap printed material, or ephemera, seems contradictory to the role of the musical antiquarian, yet it demonstrates that the early collectors, for example, Bagford and Wanley, who were two of the three founders of the Society of Antiquaries in 1707, viewed themselves as safeguarding these genera for posterity.

[116] 'Ballads and Broadsides', Collection Guides, British Library.

Indeed, 'Printed ballads and pamphlets could be read as the first draft of history'.[117,118]

The question of whether ballads were acquired through collecting is moot, because the result is the preservation of a unique corpus of musical and cultural benefit, as expressed by English jurist, antiquarian, and scholar John Selden (1584-1654) in his view on the intrinsic value of his ballad collection:

> Though some made slight of Libels, yet you may see by them how the Wind sits: As take a Straw and throw it up into the Air, you shall see by that which way the Wind is, which you shall not do by casting up a Stone. More Solid things do not shew the Complexion of the times so well, as Ballads and Libels.[119]

So eloquently did Selden hold to the status of the ballad in society, that Samuel Pepys reproduced his quotation (above) in his own collection of ballads, as did 'Thomas Percy (1729-1811) as an epigraph to *The Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765), at the high point of the 18th-century antiquarian ballad frenzy'.[120]

The Samuel Pepys collection of ballads housed at Magdalene College, Cambridge, reflects his interest in ballads and provides a study in library organization and the practice of grangerizing. In his will, Pepys' expressly dictated the terms of his bequest to Cambridge University, specifying that his library be housed at either

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[117] Harriet Phillips, 'Antiquarian Interest in Early Modern Ballad Collection', *Picturing Places,* An academic conference hosted by the British Library and the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 19 July 2019, available on the British Library website

[118] Fletcher*, English Book Collectors*, 177-178; another more basic consideration behind the collecting of ballads is likely the same as that which motivated musical antiquarian collectors to engage in collecting at all, and that is, that this print medium simply existed and with it the logistical need for space. Not all collectors were motivated by pecuniary and status interest; many did have a genuine sense of historical preservation. But a collector needed to have the physical space required to house their collections, so the culture of collecting was limited primarily to those with the financial resources to provide space for their extensive holdings. Even for those so endowed, there arises the psychological difference between legitimate collecting and aberrant hoarding. It is known that Thomas Rawlinson, antiquarian and brother of Richard Rawlinson, collected so much that he was obliged to move his bed into the corridor of his house, and that Robert Harley was considered a hoarder.

[119] John Selden*, Table-Talk* (London: E. Smith, 1689), 93; for more information on John Selden and the Selden Society, see Kelly Boyd, ed., *Encyclopedia of Historians and Historical Writing*. vol. 1, (New York: Taylor & Francis, 1999).

[120] Phillips, 'Antiquarian interest'; her remark on '18th-century antiquarian ballad frenzy' refers to the proliferation of ballads during the century.

Magdalene College or Trinity College. It was to have its own room and none of the books were to leave the library grounds. His nephew, John Jackson, was left in charge with the instructions that the library's lending should be limited to no more than ten books at a time to any one visitor. Said to be one of the largest collections of seventeenth-century ballads, Pepys was determined to keep his library from being fragmented and dispersed. John Evelyn addressed this issue in a letter to Pepys:

> ...you have declared that you will endeavour to secure what with so much cost and industry you have collected, from the sad dispersions many noble libraries and cabinets have suffered in these late times: one auction, I may call it diminution, of a day or two, having scattered what has been gathering many years.[121]

As much as Pepys would have liked to have kept his collection pure, he constantly revised the positioning of the books. He meticulously catalogued and re-catalogued the collection, seeking to obtain a visual wholeness to the library, and went so far as to elevate some of the shorter books so that they all appeared to be the same height. As a result, he separated books of the same genre until he had committed the very act that he had set out to avoid.[122] Fumerton notes that Anthony Wood was the only ballad collector who was able to maintain the integrity of his material. It may be that he was less of a purist or he simply lacked the funds to have his collection rebound. It is through ballads as mundane street publications that we can obtain a glimpse into an otherwise veiled stratum of English society—that of the 'illiterate lower orders'. The practice of ridicule and libel found a convenient outlet through ballads, broadsides, chapbooks, and similar cheap print. Whereas this segment of the public had few overt outlets for revenge, mistreatment, and outright

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[121] Letter dated 12 August 1689 in William Bray, ed., *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn*, new edition by H. B. Wheatley (London, 1906), 3: 447-448; quoted in Patricia Fumerton, 'Remembering by Dismembering: Databases, Archiving, and the Recollection of Seventeenth-Century Broadside Ballads', *Early Modern Literary Studies* 14.2 / Special Issue 17 (September 2008): 2:1-2.
[122] Fumerton, 'Remembering'; no page number; it is an online article.

mischief, one so inclined could employ a literate person to compose a rhyming ditty, have it published on cheap paper, and circulated throughout the neighbourhood, village, or alehouses, the latter being popular venues for the distributing gossip. This practice gave rise to retribution by those claiming to have been unduly ridiculed and/or libelled, and there are abundant accounts of court cases addressing the issue by litigants as having been 'balladed'.[123]

Because the courts required plaintiffs to produce evidence and to name those responsible for libellous aspersions, court records frequently reproduced the text of these ballads, rhymes and verses, therein providing valuable insights into the exact nature of the offensive writings. Although the practice of ballading permeated all social classes, the otherwise silent voices of the illiterate class now remained as legal evidence for historiographic examination.[124]

The legal procedure dealing with libel and slander shifted from, at first, being a moral crime dealt with by ecclesiastical authorities, to the criminal courts, thus upgrading such offences. An early instance of this at Evesham in 1601 involved one George Hawkins, an attorney, and represents a typical case seen later throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. He was rumoured to have fathered an illegitimate child, and through the mischief-making of a group of townspeople gathered at the Swan Tavern, a plot was designed to shame him by ballading. As none of the accusants could read or write, in order to secure maximum damage, they procured the talents of three literate tradesmen, who were then staying at the Swan. Upon being convinced of Hawkins' transgression, they contrived a ballad, although it is not known to what popular tune it was sung:

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[123] Adam Fox. 'Ballads, Libels and Popular Ridicule in Jacobean England', *Past & Present* 145 (1994): 47-83.
[124] Fox, 'Ballads', 48-49.

I canne noe more,
This is the whore,
Of cowardye George Hawkins.
He gott with childe,

In a place moste wilde,
Which for to name yt [it] is a shame.

Yet for your satysfactione,
I will make relatione,
It was in a privey,
A place moste filthy.

As gent you may judge,
Yet nothinge to bade,
For a knave and a drabbe,
And soe they praye goe trudge.

This is the bastarde,
With his father the dastard,
George Hawkins highte he soe.

In all this shire,
There is not a squire,
More like a knave I trowe.

O cursed seede,
My harte dothe bleede,
To thinke howe thowe woist born.

To the whore thy mother,
And the knave thy father,
An everlastinge scorne.[125]

The libelers set out to have copies printed and distributed throughout the area, as well as drawing lewd images on the tavern walls. It was because of this deliberate and blatant conspiracy that Hawkins took them to the court of highest jurisdiction, that of the Star Chamber at Westminster. Unfortunately for legal historians, the outcome of the case is not known.[126]

[125] Fox, 50.
[126] Fox, 51.

Litigating at Westminster was an expensive ordeal. During the years 1603-1625, sixty-four per cent of the 8,228 litigants 'were stated to be from the wealthier ranks of society: nobles, gentlemen, professionals and merchants', suggesting that 'Star Chamber litigation was gentlemen's business, first and foremost'.[127] Those from the higher ranks of society were primarily defending themselves against libel from the lower social orders. If the situation were reversed, as when the wealthier person libelled someone of the lower order, it could be judged abuse of authority.[128]

While most ballads were meant to be delivered orally, a great many were written down. They were intended to be sung to popular tunes, although not all tunes were indicated on the ballad sheets. Others were left to the discretion of the singer(s), who could choose a different tune if it better fit the rhyme, and numerous of those in the Bagford collection do not specify a particular tune.[129]

2.2.3. THOMAS BRITTON

The musical antiquarian credentials of Thomas Britton (1644-1714), 'The Musical Smallcoal Man', can be derived from four major sources: (1) the comments of his contemporary associates and of the diarists who attended his concerts, or the ones who knew firsthand those who did, (2) his posthumous auction sale book, reprinted in Hawkins' *History,*[130] listing Britton's vast collection of music and musical instruments shown in Appendix Five, (3) the known participants at his concerts, both amateur and professional, mostly as recorded by Hawkins, and (4) his portrait

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[127] T. G. Barnes, 'Star Chamber Litigants and Their Counsel, 1596-1641', *Legal Records and the Historian: Papers Presented to the Cambridge Legal History Conference, 7-10 July 1975, John Hamilton Baker, ed.;* also in *Lincoln's Inn Old Hall on 3 July 1974,* 7-28*,* (London: Royal Historical Society,1978): 10; quoted in Fox, 'Ballads', 56.

[128] Veronika Christine Pohli, 'Adultery in Early Stuart England', (PhD diss., Freien Universität, Berlin, 2010), 79.

[129] John Bagford, *The Bagford Ballads: Illustrating the Last Years of the Stuarts*. nos. 14-17, Joseph Woodfall Ebsworth, ed., (Hertford: The Ballad Society, 1878).

[130] Hawkins*, History* (1853 edition), 792-793.

painted by Thomas Johnson, after the original by John Wollaston, Sr, which depicts Britton as a harpsichordist, violinist, and composer.

Diarist Ralph Thoresby recorded on 5 June 1712:

> [I] took a walk into the fields, with Mr. Gale and Lawyer West; and in our way home called at Mr. Britton's, the noted small-coalman, where we heard a noble concert of music, vocal and instrumental, the best in town, which for many years past he has had weekly for his own entertainment, and of the gentry, &c., gratis, to which most foreigners and many persons of distinction, for the fancy of it, occasionally resort.[131]

Over the years, Britton's concerts brought London public music performance to a level higher than had been experienced prior to his first concerts of 1678. The Britton performers were accomplished musicians, regardless of whether they were professionals, and the music performed was of the highest quality, confirmed by the reports of attendees and by the music Britton possessed at the time of his death. The concerts were not intended as social events, but were held explicitly for the appreciation of the music scheduled, with attendees seated appropriately in concert-style, facing the musicians.

A. Hyatt King cites Britton in his list of music collectors but, by contrast, does not include notable antiquarians who also collected music, such as Sirs John Lumley, Robert Cotton, and Robert Harley. King's criterion was one of intent. He felt that Britton's extensive music collection far surpassed those of other antiquarian collectors. I likewise applied this criterion to qualify Britton as a 'musical antiquarian', derived especially from the magnitude of holdings listed in his posthumous auction sale catalogue. Edward 'Ned' Ward, a friend and neighbour of Britton, served as auctioneer at the sale, and his comments reflected the sentiments of many Britton contemporaries that '...there is not a book or instrument mentioned here that is not

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[131] Ralph Thoresby and Joseph Hunter, *The Diary of Ralph Thoresby (1677-1724): Now First Published from the Original Manuscript*. vol. 2 (London: Colburn & Bentley, 1830), 111-112.

his own: and as it will be the best sale that hath been made in its kind, so it shall be the fairest'. Ward emphasized that many of the books were 'neatly bound...the whole being carefully preserved in admirable order'. The entire sale consisted of 212 lots, with the instrumental lots numbering 160. King notes that it was the 'first known sale from which a detailed description of them [the instruments] survives'.[132] The varied activities of Thomas Britton will be discussed more fully in Chapter 6.

2.4.4. JOHANN CHRISTOPH PEPUSCH



Plate 2.8. — Johann Christoph Pepusch
By Thomas Hudson, ca. 1735
NPG 2063
© National Portrait Gallery, London

The only professional musician in this grouping of musical antiquarians is Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667-1752), with a reputation that commanded the highest respect as a composer, teacher, theorist and music collector (Plate 2.8. and Figure 0.2.). His attendance and participation at the Britton concerts have caused some modern writers to suppose that Pepusch got the idea for The Academy of Vocal Music (later renamed The Academy of Ancient Music) from the Britton concerts.[133] More probable is that the concerts of Aldrich at

[132] King, *Some British Collectors*, 12.
[133] William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (Oxford University Press,1996), 61; Tim Eggington, *The Advancement of Music in Enlightenment England: Benjamin Cooke and the Academy of Ancient Music* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2014), 4-5; Donald Frederick Cook, 'The Life and Works of Johann Christoph Pepusch

Oxford and those of Britton combined to motivate Pepusch to form the Academy, as both the Aldrich and Britton music meetings performed early music, especially that of the sixteenth century.

A. Hyatt King refers to Pepusch's collecting of music as 'the primum mobile, the great impetus to collecting on a large scale and to the related growth of musical scholarship, came from Pepusch'.[134] Central to the achievements of Pepusch was his insistence on saving 'ancient' music from extinction. Hawkins reported that Pepusch 'saw with concern persons who made pretensions to great skill in the science, treat with indifference and contempt the music of the preceding century; and being himself persuaded of its superior excellence, he laboured to retrieve and exhibit it to public view'.[135] Protestant dissidents had exerted such an influence on the performance of church music that left to the cultural forces at play, it could have been forgotten in time. Much to their credit, Pepusch and his antiquarian cofounders of the Academy joined forces to collect, preserve, study, and perform this body of neglected music.

Despite Pepusch's acclaim as a teacher, theorist, and bellwether of The Academy of Ancient Music, his musical antiquarian activities are overshadowed by his wider reputation as the composer of the overture to the wildly popular *The Beggar's Opera* by John Gay and arranger of its songs. Yet as a teacher, he had a pervasive influence on a retinue of upcoming musicians, training them to continue his precepts of saving the music of previous centuries. Students in the Pepusch orbit included Henry Needler, John Travers, Benjamin Cooke, Jr, John Immyns, Ephraim Kelner, William Savage, William Boyce, John Keeble, and others who continued

(1667-1752), with Special Reference to His Dramatic Works and Cantatas' (PhD diss., University of London, 1982): 32.

[134] King, *Some British Collectors*, 31.

[135] Hawkins, *History* (1853 edition), ii, 832.

Pepusch's strict adherence to his theoretical principles and who went on to distinguish themselves as composers and teachers.

Pepusch's pedagogical methods follow Guido d'Arezzo's system of hexachords, which evoked the criticism of his teachings as being outdated and irrelevant. The exercise books kept by Benjamin Cooke, Jr, as a Pepusch student are preserved in Lcm MS 823 and cover the period from Cooke's first exercise on 7 November 1744 to the year of Pepusch's death in 1752.[136] The assignments in Cooke's exercise books are noted in Cooke's hand as 'by the Doctor'. It is only on the assignment 'Canon in Epidiapente' dated 24 March 1750 on folio 174 that Cooke writes 'by Doctor Pepusch'. It can be surmised that Pepusch's detailed assignments outline the principles incorporated in the music education he provided to all of his students. Donald Cook describes Pepusch's key-scheme as being the 'Natural Hexachord', these being the keys of CDEFGA and described in Pepusch's revised version of his *A Treatise on Harmony* of 1731.[137] These were divided into sharp and flat keys, depending on whether the third of the scale was major or minor. Pepusch did not consider B as a proper key because of its lack of a perfect fifth.[138]

Burney commented on Pepusch's popularity, especially in his later years after he moved his residence to the Charterhouse in 1738:

> He was visited and consulted as an oracle, not only by young music students, to Whom he was always kind and communicative, but by every master who modestly supposed that he still had something to learn. Here he greatly augmented his library, which consisted of musical curiosities, theoretical and practical, of all kinds.[139]

On 13 June 1748, two years after the death of Pepusch's wife, John Wesley visited Pepusch at his residence at the Charterhouse and wrote in his journal that

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[136] Eggington, *The Advancement of Music in Enlightenment England*, 48-49.
[137] Cook, 'The Life and Works of Johann Christoph Pepusch', 37.
[138] Cook, '38.
[139] Burney, *History*, 987.

Pepusch expressed his continuing, lifelong concern about the status of contemporary music and its threat for supplanting music of the past:

> The art of music is lost; that the ancients only understood it in its perfection; that it was revived a little in the reign of King Henry VIII by Tallis and his contemporaries; as also in the reign of Queen Elizabeth who was a judge and patroness of it; that, after her reign, it sunk for sixty or seventy years, till Purcell made some attempts to restore it; but that ever since the time, ancient art, depending on nature and mathematical principles, had gained no ground, the present masters having no fixed principles at all.[140]

The matter of the publication in 1730 of his *A Short Treatise on Harmony* has not been conclusively resolved. The accepted view is that Pepusch's pupil and friend, James Hamilton, Lord Paisley, later seventh Earl of Abercorn, took it upon himself to write and publish without Pepusch's permission or knowledge a treatise based on the teachings which Pepusch had written for him entitled:

> *A short treatise on harmony, containing the chief rules for composing in two, three, and four parts, dedicated to all lovers of music. By an admirer of this noble and agreeable science*.[141]

It included no musical examples and was ill-constructed. Hawkins reported that Pepusch, recognizing it as his own teachings, was embarrassed and perturbed, as he knew others would recognize its contents as well. To save face and to give it legitimacy, Pepusch prepared it for re-publication in 1731 by including many musical examples of his theories. Hawkins reasoned that because Pepusch was deficient in the English language, describing it as 'indifferent', Pepusch employed the skill of mathematician-musician Brooke Taylor LLD to illustrate his complicated rules of harmony and solmisation. In so doing, Pepusch abbreviated the title to *A Treatise on Harmony*, but he did not put his name to the work, signing it only 'By an admirer of this noble and agreeable science' as noted in the quotation above.[142]

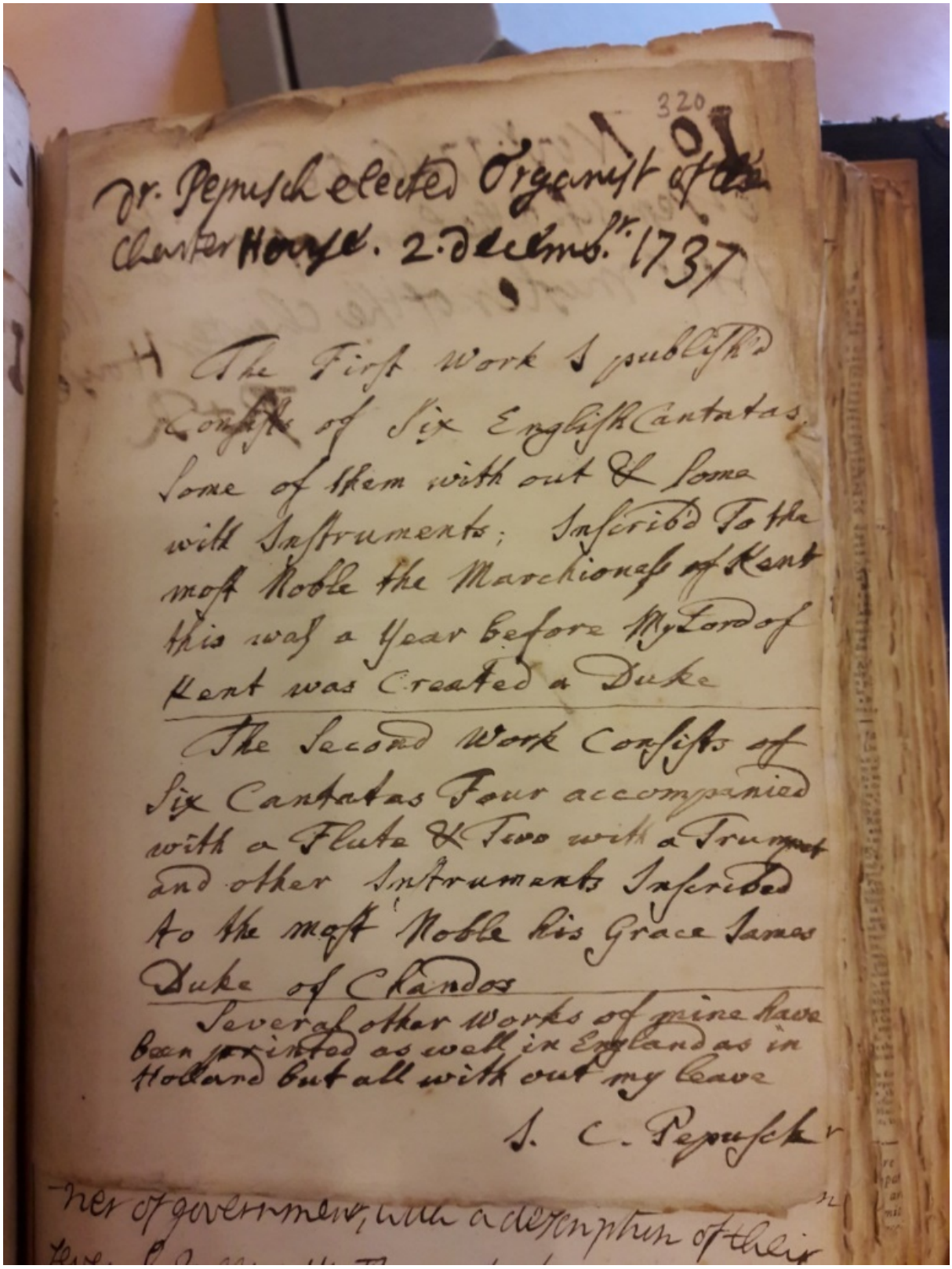
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[140] John Wesley, *Journal of the Rev. John Wesley*, Nehemiah Curnock, ed., (1909), vol. 3, 355-356; quoted in Cook, *Pepusch*, 340.
[141] Hawkins, *History*, 885.
[142] Hawkins.

Burney, the exemplar modernist, commented on this Pepusch treatise in his *History*, noting that the work 'contains many elementary rules of composition that are practical and useful', then reverses himself by continuing 'but it likewise contains many prejudices and exploded doctrines, which, to revive, would shackle genius and throw the art back into Gothic times'.[143]

The treatise, first published without Pepusch's approval or knowledge, and most likely by James Hamilton, was not the only instance when his works had been published without his permission. I came upon a letter by Pepusch, among other letters and communiques by sundry writers, and yet to be mentioned by researchers of this topic, in a manuscript in the Bodleian Library, *Biographical Notices of Oxford Writers*, Ob MS Rawl J 406, fol. 320 recto. As its title suggests, the *Biographical Notices* is a bound book containing concise biographical sketches about many writers. From my on-site examination of the manuscript, it appears that its editor, Richard Rawlinson, distributed a solicitation to prominent living writers and composers, including Pepusch, to obtain information for the purpose of amassing a compilation of biographical sketches. The response from Pepusch, in his hand, lists his works and then concludes with the addendum (Plates 2.9. and 2.10. detail) that 'Several other works of mine have been printed as well in England as in Holland but all without my leave. [Signed] J.C. Pepusch'.

[143] Burney, *History*, vol. 2, 987.


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Dr. Pepusch elected Organist of the Charter House. 2. decemb.r 1737

The First Work I published Consists of Six English Cantatas, Some of them with out & Some with Instruments; Inscribd To the most Noble the Marchioness of Kent this was a Year before My Lord of Kent was Created a Duke

The Second Work Consists of Six Cantatas Four accompanied with a Flute & Two with a Trumpet and other Instruments Inscribed to the most Noble his Grace James Duke of Chandos

Several other Works of mine have been printed as well in England as in Holland but all with out my leave

J. C. Pepusch.r

ner of government, with a description of their

Plate 2.9. — Ob MS Rawl J 4₀ 6 fol. 320 recto
Courtesy of Bodleian Library, University of Oxford

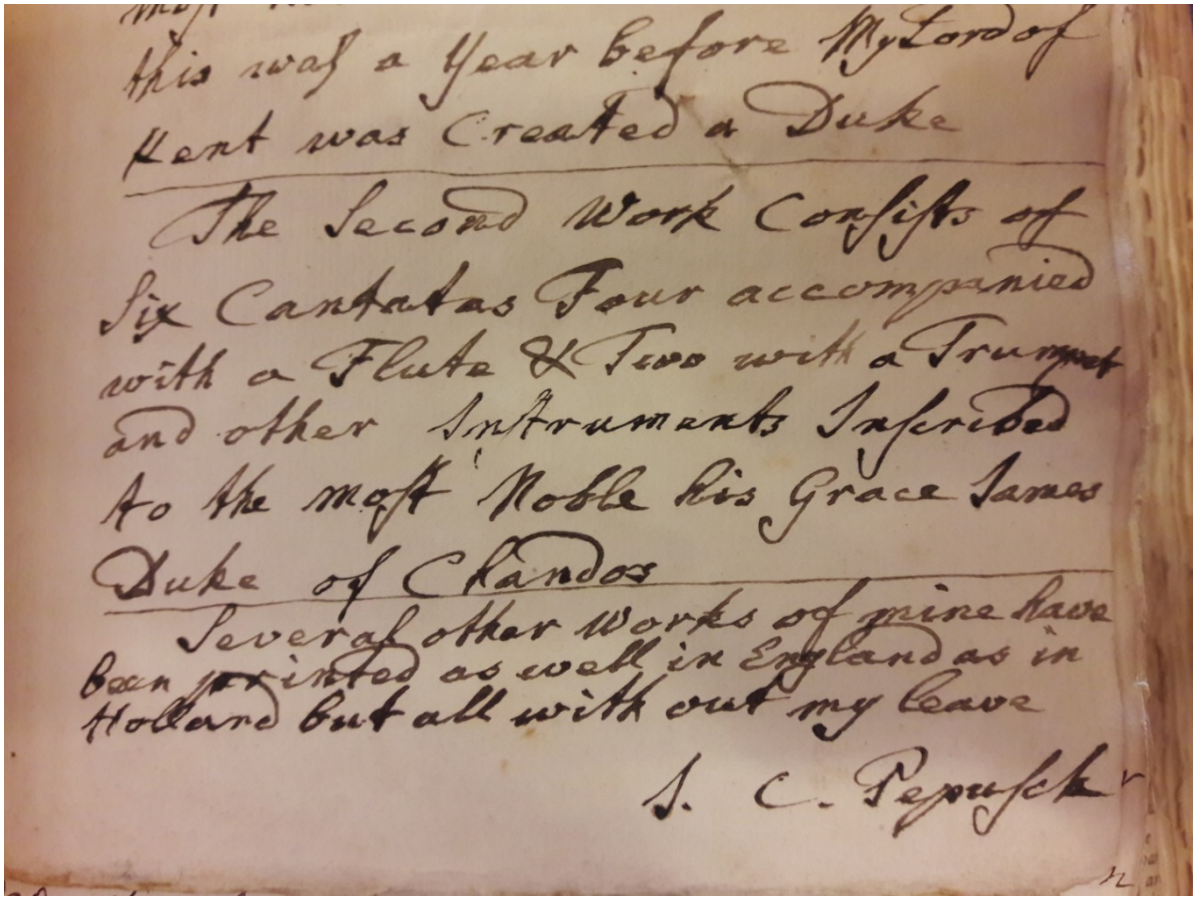

this was a Year before My Lord of
Kent was Created a Duke
The Second Work Consists of
Six Cantatas Four accompanied
with a Flute & Two with a Trumpet
and other Instruments Inscribed
to the most Noble his Grace James
Duke of Chandos
Several other Works of mine have
been printed as well in England as in
Holland but all with out my leave
J. C. Pepusch

Plate 2.10. — Ob MS Rawl J 4$_o$ 6 fol. 320 recto (detail)
Courtesy of Bodleian Library, University of Oxford

A review of the chronology of Pepusch's life evokes curious sociological undercurrents and inconsistencies, beginning in 1718 with his marriage to Italian singer Marguerita de L'Epine (discussed in detail in Chapter Seven). It was not unusual for young Continental singers to be the mistresses of the agents who sponsored their careers, and indeed, Marguerita was said to be the mistress of Jacob Greber, the German musician and agent with whom she came to London to work around 1699. Also, public records in Amsterdam recorded a marriage between her and Greber in 1704, and there were rumours of the birth of a child that year.[144] She also lived with the Earl of Nottingham for several months in 1703.[145] Such overt

[144] Alison C. DeSimone, 'The Myth of the Diva: Female Opera Singers and Collaborative Performance in Early Eighteenth-Century London' (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2013): 216.
[145] DeSimone, 'The Myth of the Diva', 181.

libertine behaviour would not have been as unusual in the early eighteenth century as it would be viewed today, so I surmise that Marguerita's good nature, her popularity, and her fame as a soprano, overcame any moral issues that may have prevented marriage between her and Pepusch. By all accounts, she was no beauty, so it likely would have been their mutual musical interests that attracted them to each other.[146]

Another inconsistency lies with Pepusch's collaboration with John Gay on *The Beggar's Opera*, first performed on 29 January 1728. Extensive discussions have been written on Pepusch's involvement with the work, and in his dissertation, John Williams provides thoughtful examination on several historical points.[147] The question lingers of why Pepusch accepted this task, which could be seen ostensibly as having marred his reputation. Gay's intention at the outset was not to have the songs accompanied, but rather, for the singers to continue directly from speech patter to unaccompanied song. It became obvious in rehearsals, however, that orchestral accompaniments were needed.[148] The Duchess of Queensberry, upon attending a rehearsal, protested vehemently against the unaccompanied voices and insisted that an orchestra be hired to support the singers.[149] It may have been that because Pepusch had extensive experience in theatre work, and Gay needed the orchestral accompaniment assignment done quickly, that he turned to Pepusch. Even Burney, not always a Pepusch adherent, commented on Pepusch's ability to

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[146] Burney, *History,* vol. 1, 670-71; for a more extensive discussion on Mrs. Pepusch, see Chapter Seven.
[147] John Graham Williams, 'The life, work and influence of J.C. Pepusch', (PhD diss., University of York, 1975).
[148] James Sutherland, et al., 'John Gay', *Eighteenth-Century English Literature: Modern Essays in Criticism* (location unknown: Josef Weinberger, 1949); notes by Richard Bonynge and Douglas Gamley, 11.
[149] Frances Clare Sherwood, 'John Gay's The Beggar's Opera: Early Eighteenth-Century Responses in the Arts to Cultural, Sociological and Political Issues in London Life', (PhD diss., Durham University, 1989).

write quickly and accurately.[150] Perhaps Pepusch viewed it as just another job, without giving thought to its political consequences.

By the time of his association with Gay on the *Beggar's Opera*, Pepusch had already established his affiliation with the sedate Academy of Vocal Music. As a founding member, he became its guiding light through the difficulties that arose from the Academy's troubled beginning, especially the fallout from the Bononcini-Lotti fiasco described at 3.1.2. He was also known to be protective of his reputation, this being evidenced by the episode cited earlier of his misappropriated treatise, and he appears mindful of his reputation throughout his career. He was certainly desirous of being admitted as a Fellow of the Royal Society, which did not come about until later in 1745/6. George II was on the throne during the debacle over the ridicule of the Crown and the government by Gay in *The Beggar's Opera* and in his subsequent opera *Polly*.[151] Perhaps Pepusch was hesitant to put himself forward to the Royal Society, or was so advised, because the Royal Society had enjoyed a Royal Charter from 1662, which the King could revoke if he retained ill feelings towards Gay. I argue that Pepusch's association with Gay could have prevented his election to the Society until sufficient time had passed and the episode had ceased to be an issue.

2.5. SUMMARY

In this chapter I proposed a division of three groups of antiquarians: aristocrats, collectors/agents, and virtuosi. Each group contributed to the developing landscape of the preservation of antiquities. Figure 2.1. expresses the relationship between the aristocrats and Thomas Britton, the representative of the collectors/agents group. The interaction among these groups was essential to the embryonic idea of a canon

[150] Williams, 'The Life, Work and Influence of JC Pepusch', 194.
[151] See Chapter Six for a discussion of the *Polly* episode.

of music and music composers, in that all were engaged in acquiring compositions of the ‘best masters’ of music (see Definitions at 0.2.5.).

Of particular interest are the similarities among Bagford, Britton, and Wanley (Figure 2.2.), all three being originally of the tradesman class. History is indebted to Thomas Hearne for his contributions to the antiquarian activities and cooperation between Bagford and Britton, as well as the insights that the first Earl of Edgmont provided in his diary. Relevant to musical antiquarianism, and thus to ‘canon’, is the merging of the collecting of music and the interactions among established musicians, including Wanley and Tudway. This is evidenced by the acquisition of the Wanley Partbooks, so casually obtained from Tudway, but historically germane, because the Partbooks are an example of the sixteenth-century adaptation of pre-Reformation church music to post-Reformation Edwardian restrictions.

My identification of Aldrich, Bagford, Britton, and Pepusch as musical antiquarians is key to this chapter’s positional thread from antiquarianism to musical antiquarianism. With Pepusch being the only professional musician/composer in this group, he is the link to the other three in the continuity from generalization to specificity in the development of musical antiquarianism.

3. CHAPTER THREE

3.1. The Role of the Academy of Ancient Music in the Development of English Musical Antiquarianism
3.2. The Bononcini-Lotti Scandal: A Case Study in Plagiarism and Authorship
3.3. The First Public Plagiarism Debate in England
3.4. Legal Implications of Plagiarism and Authorship
3.5. Pepusch Saves the Academy
3.6. The Decline of the Academy
3.7. The Academy and the Canon
3.8. Summary

> As the first music club anywhere to devote itself wholly to 'early' music…the Academy of Ancient Music was one of the most interesting and important musical societies in eighteenth-century Britain.[1]

During its role in the Development stage leading to the Attainment stage of English musical antiquarianism, the Academy of Ancient Music encountered several pivotal junctures along the path of its seventy-six-year existence (see Thesis Timeline, Figure 0.1.1.). These validate my Secondary Premise No. 4—that an unrecognized importance of the English musical antiquarians, working through the Academy of Ancient Music, was their cumulative efforts, over time, leading ultimately to the acceptance of 'old' music alongside 'new' music, while providing through Academy programming England's first canonical list of 'best masters'.

3.1. THE ROLE OF THE ACADEMY OF ANCIENT MUSIC IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH MUSICAL ANTIQUARIANISM

For its role in the continuum of development of English musical antiquarianism, the Academy of Ancient Music became 'the most famous and influential institution of its kind in eighteenth-century London'.[2] 'The Academy existed, not to always delve in the past, but to advance musical composition….They felt they were custodians of the

[1] H. Diack Johnstone, 'The Academy of Ancient Music 1726-1802): Its History, Repertoire and Surviving Programmes', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 51 (2020), 1-135, 1
[2] H. Diack Johnstone,'The Life and Work of Maurice Greene (1696-1755)'. (DPhil diss., University of Oxford, 1968), 96.

musical past.'[3] In his *An Account of the Academy of Antient Music,* published in 1770, Hawkins relates that 'the design of this establishment was to promote the study and practice of vocal and instrumental harmony'.[4]

When surveying the historical landscape documenting the establishment and progress of the Academy, four primary sources rise to significance:

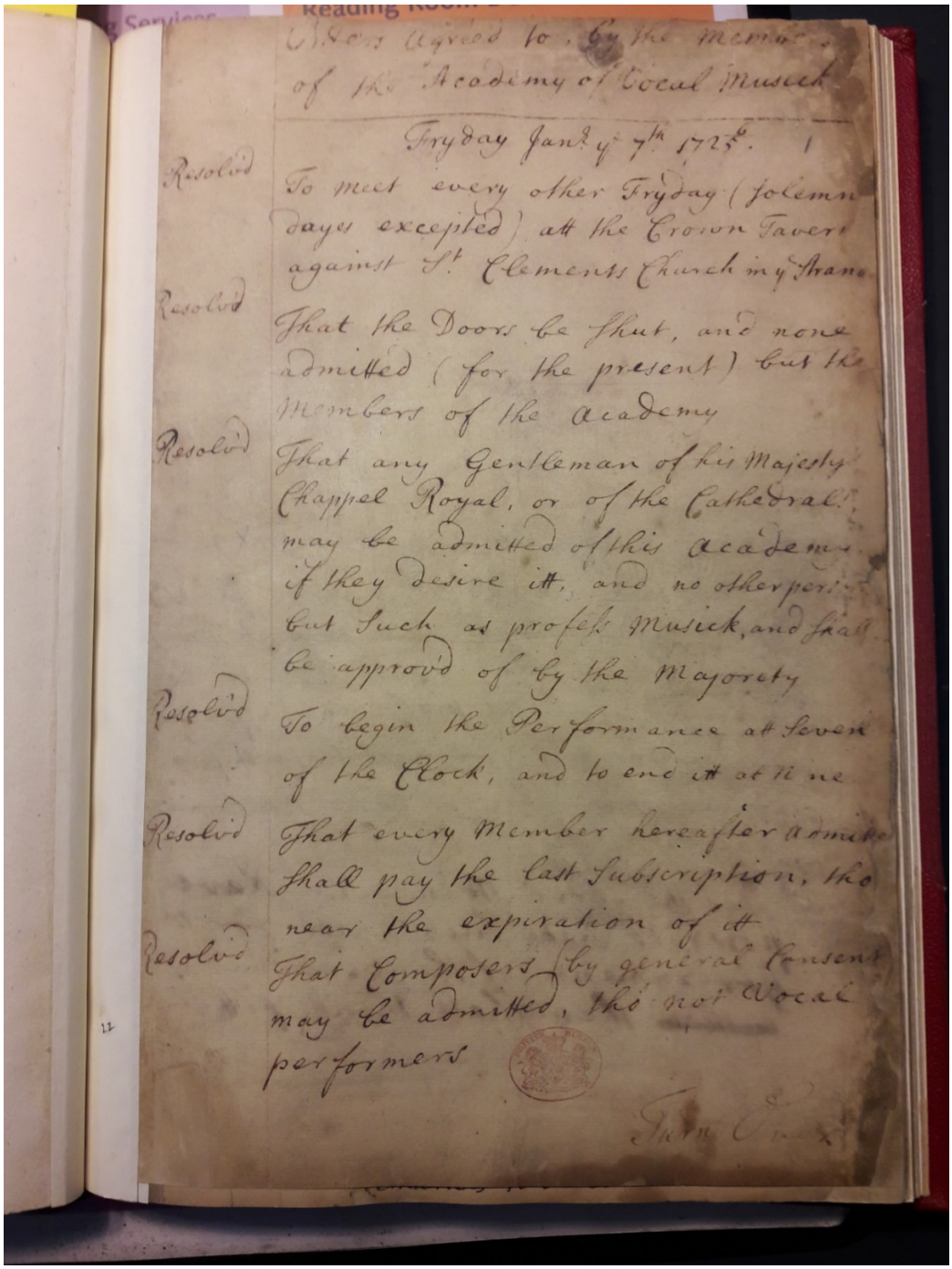
1. The several statements of the Academy's purpose in its founding documents Lbl Add. MS 11732 (minutes reproduced in Appendix One);
2. The letters to-and-from the Academy and Antonio Lotti concerning the 1731 Bononcini-Lotti plagiarism debacle: *Letters from the Academy of Ancient Musick at London to Sigr Antonio Lotti of Venice: With His Answers and Testimonies*;[5]
3. The Hawkins pamphlet of 1770, 'An Account of the Institution and Progress of the Academy of Ancient Music', restating the Academy's purpose, history, and achievements;[6]
4. The detailed account of the Academy discussed by the Academy member Hawkins in his *History*, which provides valuable insight into the Academy's progress and success.[7]

The Academy had its beginning in 1726, first as the Academy of Vocal Music, whose founding principles are preserved in Lbl Add. MS 11732, fol.1: 'Orders Agree'd to by the Members of the Academy of Vocal Musick, Fryday, Jan y^{e} 7th l725/6' (Plate 3.1 and Appendix One).[8] There were thirteen participants present at the first meeting:[9]

The Rev. M^{r} Estwick	M^{r} King
M^{r} Baker	M^{r} Gates

[3] Tim Eggington, *The Advancement of Music in Enlightenment England: Benjamin Cooke and the Academy of Ancient Music* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2014), 33.
[4] Percy Scholes, *The Life and Activities of Sir John Hawkins, Musician, Magistrate and Friend of Johnson*, Appendix 3: 'An Account of the Academy of Antient Music', (Oxford University Press, 1953): 247.
[5] *Letters from the Academy of Ancient Musick at London, to Sigr Antonio Lotti of Venice: with His Answers and Testimonies* (London, 1732), 9, 11; reprinted in Victor Schœlcher, *The Life of Handel*, Chapter: '1733', 127–55, Cambridge Library Collection - Music. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 148-155.
[6] John Hawkins, *An Account of the Institution and Progress of the Academy of Ancient Music, with a Comparative View of the Music of the Past and Present Times by a Memb*er, Printed in the Year 1770. Reprinted by Cambridge University Press, 1998.
[7] John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music. A new edition, with the author's posthumous notes*, London: Novello,1875.
[8] See Appendix One for Lbl Add. MS 11732, which consists of seventeen folios ranging in dates from 1726 through 1731.
[9] Lbl Add. MS 11732, folio 2.

M[r] Husband	M[r] Weely
M[r] Carleston	D[r] Pepusch
M[r] Hughes	M[r] Green
M[r] Chelsum	M[r] Galliard
M[r] Freeman	



Orders agreed to, by the Members
of the Academy of Vocal Musick

Fryday Janr y 7th 1725.

Resolvd To meet every other Fryday (Solemn
days excepted) att the Crown Tavern
against St Clements Church in y Strand

Resolvd That the Doors be shut, and none
admitted (for the present) but the
Members of the Academy

Resolvd That any Gentleman of his Majesty's
Chappel Royal, or of the Cathedrals,
may be admitted of this Academy,
if they desire itt, and no other per-
but such as profess Musick, and shall
be approvd of by the Majority

Resolvd To begin the Performance at Seven
of the Clock, and to end itt at Nine

Resolvd That every Member hereafter admitted
shall pay the last Subscription, tho
near the expiration of it

Resolvd That Composers, by general Consent
may be admitted, tho not Vocal
performers

Plate 3.1. — *Minutes of the Academy of Vocal Music*
7 January 1725/6
Lbl Add. MS 11732, fol. 1
© British Library Board

The name of the Academy of Vocal Music was subsequently changed to the Academy of Ancient Music, with its revised purpose stated at the top of Lbl Add. MS 11732, fol. 17, dated 26 May 1731: 'By the compositions of the Ancients is meant of such as lived before the end of the sixteenth century'.[10] The text originally stated 'fifteenth' century, but this was scored through and replaced with 'sixteenth'. In actual fact, however, programmes of Academy concerts show that compositions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were also included.[11] As will be presented in detail at 3.7. on the role of the Academy in producing a canonical list of 'best masters', many compositions by non-members, as well as by serving members of the Academy, including Pepusch, Geminiani, Travers, Cooke, Bononcini and numerous other late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century composers, appear in the printed programmes.

The last record of a meeting of the original Academy of Vocal Music that appears in Lbl Add. MS 11732 (folio number undecipherable), prior to its name change in 1731, was on 9 April 1730, with eighty-two members listed as having been present. The following page, fol. 17 (describing the reorganization and renaming of the Academy), does not show a membership list, but it is reasonable to assume that many of the same members stayed with the new Academy of Ancient Music.

3.2. THE BONONCINI-LOTTI SCANDAL: A CASE STUDY IN PLAGIARISM AND AUTHORSHIP

No account of the Academy would be complete without an extensive examination of its role in the convoluted Bononcini-Lott scandal. So, I have determined to present topic 3.2. as a case study in plagiarism and authorship initiated by the flamboyant

[10] Appendix One, folio 16.
[11] H. Diack Johnstone, 'The Academy of Ancient Music (1726–1802): Its History, Repertoire and Surviving Programmes', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 51 (2020): 1-136, 1.

Giovanni Bononcini, to include his financial dalliance with the rapscallion Count Ughi, relative to musical antiquarianism in these areas:

- The Academy's quest to authenticate authorship of its holdings
- How politics and personality mixed to impact the reputation of a celebrated composer

Illustrative of the growing consolidation in musical antiquarianism thought was the role of the Academy when confronted with the scandal, raising already quickening concern in eighteenth-century England over plagiarism and authorship. Going back to the founding of the Academy, Pepusch's role appears to have been on an organizational par with the other founders. To his credit, however, his steady leadership and guidance of the adrift and fractious Academy emerged more emphatically after the upheaval caused by the scandal.

The received version of the affair, as related by contemporaries, coincides with that given by Hawkins.[12] He relates that in 1728 Maurice Greene, a member of the Academy and friend of fellow member Giovanni Bononcini, proposed to the Academy for inclusion in a concert, a five-part madrigal, 'In una siepe ombrosa', represented in good faith by Greene as having been composed by Bononcini. However, the work was recognized and reported by an Academy member as a composition of Antonio Lotti, the Venetian composer and organist of St. Mark's Cathedral. The Lotti madrigal of controversy, 'La vita caduca', was published by Lotti in his collection *Duetti, Terzetti and Madrigali* of 1705 and dedicated to the Holy Roman Emperor Joseph I (1678-1711). The first line of the madrigal is 'In una siepe ombrosa', which was used by Bononcini to name the supposedly plagiarised madrigal presented to the Academy.

[12] Hawkins, *History,* 884-887.

Accused of plagiarism, Bononcini stubbornly maintained his authorship. Not being in a position to avoid the growing controversy, the Academy directors were compelled to write to Lotti for his corroborating testimony, or not, of authorship. Academy director Hawley Bishop was designated to conduct the correspondence with Lotti, who confirmed that he had, indeed, composed the madrigal, after which the Academy wrote him an official apology. The Academy member Viscount Perceval commented: 'The club were astonished that so great a man as Bononcini should descend so low as to father another man's works, and impose them on us as his own'.[13]

Maurice Greene, who had supported Bononcini throughout, decamped from the Academy in an embarrassed huff, taking with him several Academy members and the choirboys from St. Paul's to form his own group known as the Apollo Academy.[14] Viscount Perceval went on to say 'the best of our Vocal performers went off with Mr Greene the Humpback… the chief undoubtedly of our English Composers now living'.[15] Greene's Apollo Academy met at the Devil's Tavern, Temple Bar, prompting the quip sometimes attributed to Handel that 'Dr Greene is gone to the devil'.[16]

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[13] John Perceval, *Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont: Diary of Viscount Percival Afterwards First Earl of Egmont*, 3 vols. (London: Historical Manuscripts Commission (1920-1923), i, 202; quoted in Johnstone, 'The Academy of Ancient Music', 5; 'Perceval', alternately spelled 'Percival'.
[14] Johnstone, 'The Academy of Ancient Music', 4-6.
[15] Johnstone, 21.
[16] Johnstone, 6. Doane refers to the group as the 'Apollo Society'; see Joseph Doane, ed., *A Musical Directory for the Year 1794: To be Continued Annually. Containing the Names and Address[es] of the Composers & Professors of Music, with a Number of Amateurs, Vocal and Instrumental…Also, the Names and Address[es] of the Principal Music-sellers, and Instrument-makers...To which is Added a List of the Principal Musical Societies: To Be Continued Annually. Containing the Names and Address [es] of the Composers & Professors of Music, with a Number of Amateurs, Vocal and Instrumental.... editor,* (London: R. H. Westley, 1794), 77.

3.2.1. VICOUNT PERCEVAL: WITNESS AND CHRONICLER

Because of Perceval's central role as a witness and chronicler of the Bononcini-Lotti affair, additional treatment of his reputability warrants inclusion here (see 1.8.4.). Perceval had a lifelong interest in music, and as noted above, his days as a student at Oxford were enriched by attending music meetings, including those of Henry Aldrich. R. A. Roberts, the editor of Perceval's diary, quotes his Oxford tutor:

> The greatest occasions of Sir John's expenses has [sic] been his love of music, which has engaged him to have more entertainments at his chambers than otherwise he would have had, and. though this has proved expensive, yet I think it has excused himself from drinking [,] more than the greatest part of other conversation would have done.[17]

Perceval's diary contains numerous entries concerning his attendance at a variety of music venues, including concerts, operas, get-togethers at various music clubs, and performances at the homes of fellow aristocrats. He recorded in his diary on Friday, 31 January 1728/9:

> From the House [Parliament] I went straight to the Crown Tavern and was admitted a member of the Vocal Club, composed of the Quires of St. Paul's and the King's Chapel, with some masters of musick and gentlemen besides, who perform on musical instruments.[18]

Perceval recorded information about Academy concerts, citing those on public nights when auditors were allowed to attend, and ladies were also welcome:

> On 27 November [I] dined with my daughter Hanmer, and then carried her and Helena to our public music at the Crown and Anchor, where the crowd of auditors was very great; Farinelli, Curona, and Mr. Matheis were our singers, and we had 24 performers on instruments; 107 wax candles lighted the room, and all came away contented.[19]

Perceval's diary account of the Bononcini-Lotti affair coincides with the others related above. It is possible that Perceval was responsible for disseminating the

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[17] Perceval, *Manuscripts*, R.A. Roberts' introduction to vol. 1, vii. The Oxford tutor being quoted is of the opinion that music saved Perceval from excessive alcohol consumption.
[18] Perceval, *Manuscripts,* vol. 3, 342.
[19] Perceval, *Manuscripts,* vol. 2, 135.

story, given his predilection for meticulousness and that the entries in his diary were kept on a daily regimen. The records are inconclusive in addressing the identity of the unnamed Academy member who called Bononcini to task over his disputed authorship of 'In una siepe ombrosa'. Perceval does confirm, however, that '...he [Bononcini] sent us by his friend Mr. Green[e] a composition to be performed, which one of the club, who is versed in foreign music, acquainted us was not the work of Bononcini....'[20]

Even before the incident with Lotti arose with the program of 14 January 1731, Bononcini's interest in the Academy had already begun to wane after its members decided not to choose him as the replacement for Steffani as Academy president upon Steffani's death on 12 February 1728. Perceval wrote that Bononcini expected to be honoured with the presidency, but the feeling among Academy members was that there was no one of the eminence of Steffani who could take his place, which is reasonable to conclude was an affront that Bononcini was likely not willing to countenance.[21]

Adding definition to Bononcini's persona, Perceval included details of his arrogant personality as related by one 'Mr Botmar', which encouraged fuller appreciation of Lotti's credibility. 'Botmar' was Hans Kaspar von Bothmer, Count of Bothmer, who was attached to the Hanoverian ministry in London. He had been an advisor to Queen Anne and one of the founders of the Royal Academy of Music. Perceval recounts that on 31 July 1731:

> Mr. Botmar came with Martini, the famous 'hautboy', and dined with me. We talked of the brutality and insolence of certain persons to their superiors, and Botmar told us three instances of it [ca. 1705]. Bononcini, the famous composer, was in the Emperor Joseph's favour to that degree that he made him extraordinary presents above his salary, yet he had the insolence often to

[20] Perceval, vol. 2,135; also see Hawkins *History*, 862, in which Hawkins reports that Greene sent the madrigal 'about four years' (1727?) prior to the 14 January 1731 concert.
[21] Perceval, *Manuscripts*, vol. 1, 202.

> refuse to play when he sent to him for that purpose. At last the Emperor made him come to Court, and asked him, 'Do you consider it is an Emperor whom you refuse?' 'Yes,' replied the saucy fellow, ' but there are many sovereign princes, and only one Bononcini'. This insolent temper obliged him to leave that Court, and he came in the late Queen's time for England, where for a while he reigned supreme over the common wealth of music, and with justice for he is a very great man in all kinds of composition. At length came the more famous Hendel [sic] from Hanover, a man of the vastest genius and skill in music that perhaps has lived since Orpheus.[22]

Perceval's recitation continues with Bothmer lauding Handel's genius in all musical styles and how the public's preference shifted from Bononcini to Handel. Bothmer then relates yet another incident of Bononcini's insolence while in the employ of the (junior) Duchess of Marlborough:

> So that after some years' struggle to maintain his throne, Bononcini abdicated, and the present young Duchess of Marlborough took him into her house with a salary of five hundred pounds a year [£87,700], a sum no musician ever had before from any Prince, nor ought to have.
> […]
> Three months ago Bononcini quarrelled with the Duchess, his protector, on pretense she used him ill. In return for the handsome salary she gave him, he used to entertain her with concerts, which she accepted, not imagining that he would bring her in a bill at last to pay the performers, some of whom were promised three guineas a time [£552]. The Duchess, making a demur to paying them, Bononcini took a distaste, left her, and has formed a scheme to erect a music meeting at York buildings in opposition to the Opera. This is the story of this proud man, who if he had valued himself less, the world would have esteemed him more.[23]

The rivalry between Bononcini and Handel prompted the poet John Byrom (1692-1763) to pen the oft-quoted ditty:

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[22] Perceval, *Manuscripts*, vol. 1, 201-202; these remarks of Bothmar were told to Perceval during the time of the Bononcini-Lotti saga, which took place 14 January 1731 and ended with the publication of the Academy-Lotti letters in 1732; for more on Count von Bothmar, see Thomas McGeary. *The Politics of Opera in Handel's Britain*, (Cambridge University Press, 2013), 255; also Colin Timms, 'Music and Musicians in the Letters of Giuseppe Riva to Agostino Steffani (1720-27)', *Music & Letters* 79, no. 1 (1998): 27-49, 11, 12a, 15.

[23] Perceval, *Diary*, vol. 1, 201-202; *Diary* entry of 21 July 1731; Henrietta Churchill, the junior Duchess of Marlborough, was the daughter of Sarah Churchill, first Duchess of Marlborough.

> Some say the Signor Bononcini,
> Compared to Handel's a mere ninny;
> Others aver, to him, that Handel
> Is scarcely fit to hold a candle.
> Strange! that such high dispute should be
> 'Twixt Tweedledum and Tweedledee.[24]

3.2.2. LOTTI IN CONTRAST TO BONONCINI

When comparing the personality defects of Bononcini to accounts of the character of Antonio Lotti, I found that they were quite the opposite and could have contributed to the perception of Lotti's credibility in the controversy. I could discover no reports of Lotti's being pompous or rude, the absence of which I construe to be in his favour. Accolades for his character are reflected in the many positive comments about his music by his contemporaries and by the willingness of witnesses to attest to his authorship of the madrigal 'La vita caduca'. In the first instance, contemporary writers, and those writing in the decades after Lotti's death, describe his music in effusive terms. In his description of a Lotti mass, the composer Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel (1690-1749) exclaimed it to be 'the greatest music that I heard in my whole life'.[25]

> Burney wrote in 1773 of a Lotti mass that he had attended:
>
> The voices were well chosen, and well assorted, no one stronger than the other; the composition was of Signor Lotti, and was truly grave and majestic, consisting of fugues and imitations in the style of our best old church services ….all was clear and distinct, no confusion or unnecessary notes; it was even capable of expression, particularly one of the movements, into which the performers entered so well, that it affected me even to tears.[26]

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[24] James Opie, *The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes,* 2nd edition, (Oxford University Press, 1997), 418.
[25] Johann Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte* (Hamburg: publisher unknown, 1740), 102-103; quoted in Benjamin Byram-Wigfield, 'The Sacred Music of Antonio Lotti: Idiom and Influence of a Venetian Master', (PhD diss., The Open University, 2016), 23.
[26] Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in France and Italy: Or, The Journal of a Tour Through Those Countries: Undertaken to Collect Materials for a General History of Music* (London: T. Becket, 1773), 144-146; quoted in Byram-Wigfield, 'The Sacred Music of Antonio Lotti', 23.

In the second instance, even thirty years after Lotti's having composed, edited and published 'La vita caduca', the following witnesses provided notarised testimonies that he was indeed the composer of the madrigal:

> Antonino Biff, Gerolamo Melari, Giorgio Gentili, Claudio Frangioni and Michele Angelo Gasparini; from Vienna: Johann Joseph Fux, Antonio Caldara, Gaetano Orsini, the poet Pietro Pariati, whose texts Lotti had set and, most impressively of all, Rev. Sig. D. Clemente Leopold de Tassis & Ottavio, late Chamberlain of the Golden Key to his Imp. Cath. Majesty, and Hereditary Postmaster-General of the Empire at Venice.[27]

The correct attribution of works performed for the Academy was a factor well esteemed by its members. Many of its auditor members were not so musically adept, so it would seem safe to assume that they would have relied on the strength of the composer's name to judge a piece of music, lacking as they did the proficiency for assessing theoretical or contrapuntal excellence.[28]

3.2.3. BONONCINI AND COUNT UGHI

My investigations of Bononcini's unwise decisions and quarrels with those who afforded him patronage led to my conclusion that his downward slide was precipitated by being deluded by a charlatan calling himself 'Count Ughi'. He was, in fact, Eugenio Mecenati, godson of Antonio Farnese, Duke of Parma, and has been described euphemistically as an 'adventurer'.[29] The contemporary Swiss travel writer, César de Saussure (1705-1783), noted that 'Count Ughi was a Carmelite monk from Vienna, who, weary of the convent life, had escaped and adopted

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[27] Byram-Wigfield, 63; also discussed in Stephen Rose, 'Plagiarism at the Academy of Ancient Music: A Case Study in Authorship, Style and Judgement', *Concepts of Creativity in Seventeenth-Century England*, eds, Rebecca Herissone and Alan Howard (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013), 189.
[28] Stephen Rose, 'Plagiarism at the Academy of Ancient Music', 181-198, 198.
[29] Marilyn Morris, *Sex, Money & Personal Character in Eighteenth-Century British Politics* (Yale University Press, 2014), 154; eighteenth-century contemporaries referred to an 'adventurer' as one who sought dangerous or exciting experiences, such as a soldier of fortune, or one who engaged in risky commercial enterprises, as Ughi certainly did.

different personae in Italy, France, Germany, and Holland'.[30] Writing in his *Things as They Are*, Volume 1, John Perceval, second Earl of Egmont (1711-1770) and son of first Earl of Egmont, refers to Ughi as 'the famous Mecenati, said to be the same man who some years ago appeared in England, under the assumed name of Count Ughi'.[31] He also used the pseudonyms Salviati and Garard, and even claimed to be an illegitimate son of the Portuguese King John V, as well as the illegitimate son of James II, whichever suited his circumstance. One of his frequent boasts was about how he was going to obtain a future fortune from his father.

Ughi first gained notice in London, probably in 1730, when he bought the coach horses of Count de Kinsky, the Austrian ambassador, for twice their going price, thereby endearing himself to the ambassador while beguiling the aristocratic society at large with his fantasies. The reputation he gained from this episode secured him invitations to balls and dinners at the finest houses in London. He became known for his wit, elegance, and extreme generosity, especially to the ladies who attended his soirees, upon whom he would bestow expensive gifts. With an ambitious eye, his attention was drawn to Katherine Sheffield, the widowed Duchess of Buckingham, and hers to him, with the supposed intention of marriage, a strategy that alerted her suspicious family to the highest degree. The Duchess was acknowledged to be an illegitimate daughter of James II from his relationship with Catherine Sedley, his wife's Maid of Honor. But as Hawkins points out, Ughi and the Duchess sidestepped the supposed thorny matter of consanguinity.[32] The whole of

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[30] César de Saussure, *A Foreign View of England in the Reigns of George I. & George II: The Letters of Monsieur César de Saussure to His Family* (London: Murray, 1902), 335; on page 575, de Saussure gives Ughi's age as thirty to thirty-five when he first arrived in London.
[31] John Perceval, second Earl of Egmont, *Things As They Are*, vol. 1 (London: Cooper, Morley, Woodfall, Staples, 1758), 37.
[32] Hawkins, *History*, 862; for more on the parentage of Katherine Sheffield, Duchess of Buckingham, see Antonia Fraser, *The Weaker Vessel: Woman's Lot in Seventeenth-Century England* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984), 402.

Ughi's London escapades was brought to a sudden close later in 1729 when he was confronted by Sir Robert Walpole, wise to his roguery, who demanded that he leave London never to return. This Ughi did in the dead of that night by catching the mail ferry from Dover to Calais. It was soon discovered that he had departed London, leaving behind a debt of £6,000 [£901,000].[33] Two articles by Lowell Lindgren give more details of his roguery, which reveal more of Ughi's subsequent imprisonment in Italy, his escape, and his further adventures of mischief.[34]

There are two differing accounts of why Ughi left England: (1) the one related by Saussure involving Robert Walpole, and (2) the other told by Hawkins, which included Bononcini. Hawkins relates that Ughi convinced Bononcini that he possessed the secret of making gold and persuaded Bononcini to leave England with him to 'become a sharer in the fortunes of this egregious imposter'. Hawkins wrote that the two 'quitted the kingdom together' but, soon after, Bononcini returned to his music profession in Paris, then later Vienna to seek employment, suggesting that he was all the poorer from having lost his fortune.[35] The question of which Ughi story is true—his flight from England under threat from Walpole or his departure with the gullible Bononcini—remains inconclusive.

3.2.4. BONONCINI'S UNFORTUNATE DEMISE

Until the identification of the Giovanni Giacomo Zamboni (1683-1711) correspondences in the Bodleian Library, Ob MSS Rawl. Letters 116-138, Hawkins was considered to be the sole source of the link between Bononcini and Ughi.[36] The

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[33] de Saussure, *A Foreign View,* 335.
[34] Lowell Lindgren. '"The Three Great Noises" Fatal to the Interests of Bononcini', *Musical Quarterly* 61, no. 4 (1975): 560-583; also Lindgren, 'Musicians and Librettists in the Correspondence of Gio. Giacomo Zamboni', (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Rawlinson Letters 116–138)', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 24, no. 1 (1991): 1-194
[35] Hawkins, *History*, 862.
[36] Lowell Lindgren, '"The Three Great Noises" Fatal to the Interests of Bononcini', 560-583, 574.

correspondences consist of letters written to Zamboni, a diplomat and amateur harpsichordist residing in London from about 1711.[37] Zamboni had positioned himself to have acquired extensive contacts in commerce and society by acting as an intermediary in various commercial and artistic endeavours. One of his associates was the diplomat Giuseppe Riva, a member of the Academy of Ancient Music. In Letter 294 of 7 November 1731, Riva enquires of Zamboni for an update on Bononcini:

> I beg you to give me sincere news of Bononcini. I hope that he has not abandoned certainty for uncertainty, and that he has not too imprudently believed that Count Ughi, whom they say has been revealed as the famous P[adre] Mecenate, who is also known here.[38]

In his follow-up Letter 297 of 28 November 1731, Riva again wrote to Zamboni, this time from Vienna regarding Bononcini's financial distress, and returned to his enquiry about the Ughi episode:

> I hope to God that only this one embarrassing incident is causing his departure from England, and that he will not be or has not been deceived by others. Concerning this, I beg you to tell me frankly what occurred and also to give me notice of that supposed Count Ughi, and who he is, & c.[39]

The relationship between Bononcini and Ughi was still ongoing, confirmed as of 5 December 1731 in Letter 298 from Bononcini to Zamboni, in which Bononcini relates that he had requested that Ughi deliver a volume of twelve cantatas to Zamboni: 'I do not doubt but that Count Ughi has informed you that the said volume was ready, since I asked him to do so'.[40] Through a review of these letters and others with similar sentiments, it is obvious to me that Riva's concern for Bononcini was sincere, and that his comments regarding Ughi's influence imply that he

[37] Lindgren, 'Musicians and Librettists', 1.
[38] Lindgren, 133; Riva is referencing the certainty of the Junior Duchess of Marlborough against the uncertainty of Count Ughi.
[39] Lindgren, 134.
[40] Lindgren, 135.

considered Bononcini to be an innocent victim, easily taken in by 'that Count Ughi' and incapable of shielding himself from future deceptions.[41]

The assertion by Hawkins that Bononcini was duped by Ughi's seemingly apocryphal claim of having found the secret to making gold cannot be accepted without question. An alchemical tract was indeed found among Bononcini's possessions after his death. However, this would not have been unusual, given the prevailing undercurrent of interest in alchemy.[42] As Hawkins points out, Bononcini, 'who had never in his life known the want of it [gold], was foolish enough to believe him [Ughi]'.[43] I suspect that Hawkins may have been swayed to his position by having obtained information about the Bononcini-Ughi relationship during the course of his friendship with Harriett, Duchess of Newcastle. She was the daughter of Henrietta, the junior Duchess of Marlborough, whose patronage Bononcini had quitted abruptly in May 1731.[44] Hawkins' daughter, Laetitia, wrote extensively in her *Anecdotes, Biographical Sketches and Memoirs* of her father's close friendship with the Duchess of Newcastle in her later years. She welcomed the opportunity for conversation and enjoyed recollecting her earlier days as an ardent participant in society affairs, being a keen observer of the politics of musical life, and most likely, Bononcini-Ughi would have been discussed:

> The Duchess seemed delighted with having a hearer as much interested in listening, as she was in relating what had excited every feeling, when her feelings were most alive.[45]

Laetitia described the Duchess as being 'very chatty', and after the first visit by Hawkins, she quotes the Duchess as proclaiming to him that she enjoyed relating

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[41] See Lindgren, 'Musicians and Librettists', letters 294-295, 297-298, 302, 305-310, 314.
[42] See Lindgren, '"The Three Great Noises"', 574, n.36.
[43] Hawkins, *History*, 862.
[44] Lindgren, '"The Three Great Noises"', 574, n.35.
[45] Laetitia Matilda Hawkins, *Anecdotes, Biographical Sketches and Memoirs*. vol. 1. (London: F.C. and J. Rivington, 1822), 242.

her memories so much that she 'from that time enrolled him as one of her accustomed morning visitors'.[46] At the time, Hawkins was preparing his *History* and delighted in being the beneficiary of the Duchess' loneliness. Their relationship developed after the Hawkins family moved to their Twickenham home in 1760, with Laetitia having noted that the family had been in their new residence for six months at the beginning of her father's friendship with the Duchess.[47]

3.3. THE FIRS PUBLIC PLAGIARISM DEBATE IN ENGLAND

Allied to the fallout from the political undercurrents swarming around the Bononcini-Lotti controversy were the concerns by musical antiquarians over the dual questions of plagiarism and accuracy of authorship. Considering that it was a common practice of the period for composers to borrow from each other and from themselves, I questioned the significance of the Bononcini-Lotti affair and why it created such a furore. After all, Handel is quoted as having replied whimsically to the question put to him as to why he 'borrowed' music from Bononcini: 'It's much too good for him; he did not know what to do with it'.[48] However, Charles Jennens, Handel's librettist, did not take this borrowing so lightly when he wrote in 1743 to Edward Holdsworth, the nonjuring classical scholar and tutor of the sons of fellow nonjurors, that 'Handel has borrow'd a dozen of the Pieces [of my music] & I dare say I shall catch him stealing from them, as I have formerly, both from Scarlatti and [composer Leonardo] Vinci'.[49]

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[46] Laetitia Matilda Hawkins, *Anecdotes, Biographical Sketches and Memoirs,* 242; reprinted in Percy Scholes, *The Life and Activities of Sir John Hawkins: Musician, Magistrate, and Friend of Johnson* (Oxford University Press, 1978), 117-118.
[47] Laetitia Matilda Hawkins, 241.
[48] *Letters from the Academy of Ancient Musick at London, to Sigr Antonio Lotti of Venice: With His Answers and Testimonies* (London, publisher unknown, 1732), 9, 11; reprinted in Victor Schœlcher, *The Life of Handel*, Chapter '1733', 127–155, Cambridge Library Collection: Music, (Cambridge University Press, 2009), 148-155.
[49] Letter from Jennens to Holdsworth dated 17 January 1743, quoted in Amanda Babington and Ilias Chrissochoidis, 'Musical References in the Jennens–Holdsworth Correspondence (1729–1746)', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 45, no. 1 (2014): 76-129, 114. The 'pieces' mentioned in this letter likely refer to music in Jennens' substantial music collection, known as the Aylesford Collection; see J. Merrill Knapp. 'The Hall Handel Collection', *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 36, no. 1 (1974): 3-18. Accessed 25 March 2021.

The Bononcini-Lotti plagiarism controversy was not the first over disputed authorship. It was preceded in 1679 by another involving an accusation against Nicolas Staggins, who followed Louis Grabu as Master of the King's Music from 1674 to 1700. Staggins was accused of taking credit for composing a sonata that had been written by Giovanni Battista Vitali. The perceived seriousness of the claim is attested in Lbl R.M. 20.H.9, fols. 108v/108r INV, reprinted in Robert Shay's *Purcell Manuscripts*, Table 7.14, in conjunction with the composer and copyist John Reading's annotation of his copy of Vitali's 'La Sassatelli:[50]

> Seignor Givano Barrista Vately Symphony w[hi]ch Nich. Staggins produced as his owne May 29th 1679 [G.B. Vitali] [51]

Peter Holman suggests, however, that there seems to have been no publicly-noted repercussion from this because Staggins continued in his position as Master of the King's Music throughout the reigns of James II and William III.[52] Rebecca Herissone notes contrarily that this Staggins case provides substantiation for the importance contemporaries placed on authorship, adding the cryptic and understated comment that 'attempting to pass off the work of another composer as one's own was regarded as poor behaviour'. John Reading clearly considered the offence of plagiarism worthy of condemnation, believing it to be 'unusual and audacious'.[53]

In addition, there were 'hints of plagiarism' against William Lamb, Jr, who served as the Lichfield Cathedral organist from 1688 to 1712. An anonymous

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[50] Rebecca Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), 57; also Andrew Ashbee, 'Reading, John (c. 1685–1764), Organist and Composer', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 23 September 2004*. Accessed 14 March 2021. https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-23235.

[51] Robert Shay and Robert Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Musical Sources* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), Table 7.14, 296.

[52] Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court, 1540-1690* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 302.

[53] Herissone, *Musical Creativity*, 57.

annotation appears in the second countertenor book of a series of manuscript additions to a surviving morning service set of Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Music* found at Lichfield Cathedral: 'Mr Lamb stole this service and put his own name to it'.[54] Nevertheless, as Stephen Rose points out, the Bononcini-Lotti scandal was 'the first plagiarism dispute in England to be debated in public'.[55]

An early word form of plagiarism can be traced to the Roman poet Martial (ca. 38 AD-ca.102 AD), who used the word 'plagiarius', meaning a kidnapper of freed slaves, when addressing the poet Fidentinus, who had 'kidnapped his verses':

> Fame has it that you, Fidentinus, recite my books to the crowd as if none other than your own. If you're willing that they be called mine, I'll send you the poems for free. If you want them to be called yours, buy this one, so that they won't be mine.[56]

The first use of the related term 'plagiary' is considered to have been by Ben Jonson in 1601 in his Epigram 81, 'To Proule the Plagiary':

> Forbeare to tempt me, Proule, I will not show
> A line unto thee, till the world it know;
> Or that I have by, two good sufficient men,
> To be the wealthy witnesse of my pen:
> For all thou hear'st, thou swear'st thy selfe didst doo.[57]

Another topic related to plagiarism that was of increasing concern to musical antiquarians and the printing trade in general was determining the legitimacy of authorship. This can be seen through the practice of the music publisher John Playford and his son Henry, who used Henry Purcell's name as a marketing device. That is, the value to the consumer was seen to reside in purchasing not only the

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[54] Herrissone, 57; also mentioned in Ian Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music, 1660-1714*. (Oxford University Press, 1995), 275.
[55] Stephen Rose, 'Plagiarism', 183.
[56] Peter Anderson, 'Martial 1.29: Appearance and Authorship,' *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 149, no. 1 (2006): 119–122. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41234664.
[57] Epigram 81, quoted in Richard S. Peterson, 'Imitation and Praise in Ben Jonson's Poems', *English Literary Renaissance* 10, no. 2 (1980): 265-299, 279.

music, but also the prestige of its composer.[58] The publisher John Walsh 'regularly misattributed pieces to famous composers in order to boost sales'.[59] In his 'Greene and the Lady's Banquet: A Case of Double Piracy', Johnstone exposes Walsh and Daniel Wright as serial misappropriators: 'If Walsh was the most successful pirate in London, the most notorious was Daniel Wright, a publisher who, in the words of Hawkins, "never printed anything that he did not steal"'.[60] Walsh pirated Handel so consistently that Handel eventually made Walsh formally his publisher.

Another cause for concern was the unscrupulous practices of some copyists. They were notorious for making extras of the music they were copying for the purpose of selling them to individuals and rival publishers. The purloined copies would then come to market with first-mover advantage before the official publications were released. Losing the advantage deprived both the publishers and composers of deserved revenue. Composers combatted this practice in several ways: (1) they used only reputable publishers who were known not to engage in pirating; (2) they engaged more than one copyist, giving a certain number of pages to each so that no one copyist had the complete work; and (3) they required copyists to work in the home of the composer to ensure that no extra copies were made.[61] Stephanie Carter argues for the developing importance for ascertaining the correct authorship in the process of publishing printed music by examining the advertising and marketing of composers through surveying pamphlets, reproductions of title pages, sample reproductions of their actual music, and by determining their status and legitimacy

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[58] Stephanie Carter, 'Music Publishing and Compositional Activity in England, 1650– 1700' (PhD diss., University of Manchester, 2011), 136–139; quoted in Rose, 'Plagiarism', 183.
[59] Rebecca Herissone and Alan Howard, eds., *Concepts of Creativity in Seventeenth-Century England* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2013), 183.
[60] H. Diack Johnstone, 'Greene and the Lady's Banquet: A Case of Double Piracy', *The Musical Times* 108, no. 1487 (1967): 36-39.
[61] Frederic M. Scherer, 'The Emergence of Musical Copyright in Europe from 1709 to 1850', *Review of Economic Research on Copyright Issues*, vol. 5, no. 2, (December 2008), 3-18.

via listings of their previous works.[62] While not specific to music, the impetus for the Copyright Act of 1710 (established in 1709) was to protect authors from the growing, scurrilous practices rampant in the printing trades.

One factor that could explain the tendency towards borrowing from time-to-time, either subconsciously or by intent, could have been the pedogeological emphasis for aspiring composers to utilise 'imitatio', *viz.*, learning to compose by imitating the masters through copying their works. Had this been the case, the Academy of Ancient Music could have been attempting to establish an accepted music repertoire by 'best masters' from whom such pedagogical borrowing was encouraged. As cited in Appendix One, folio 17, the Academy was founded in 1726 as an association 'for the study and performance of polyphonic vocal music', especially that of sixteenth-century exemplars, and it made the question of the authenticity of authorship fundamental to its purpose.[63] Viewed as aloof from the pedestrian world of the theatre, the Academy was often satirized in the contemporary press. Its members were accused of becoming apoplectic at the hearing of any piece of modern music, evidenced by the fictitious 'Hurlo Thrumbo' in the pamphlet 'Harmony in an Uproar. A Letter to F-D-K H-D-L, Esq.':[64]

> As for that indefatigable Society, the Gropers into Antique Musick, and Hummers of Madrigals, they swoon at the Sight of any Piece modern, particularly of your Composition, excepting the Performances of their venerable President [Pepusch], whose Works bear such vast Resemblance to the regular Gravity of the Antients, when dress'd up in Cobwebs, and powdered with Dust, the Philharmonick Spiders could dwell on them, and in them, to Eternity.[65]

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[62] Carter, 'Music Publishing', 112-213.
[63] Rose, 'Plagiarism', 183
[64] Reprinted in Otto Erich Deutsch, *Handel: A Documentary Biography* (London: Black, 1955), 352; quoted in Rose, 'Plagiarism', 183.
[65] Quoted in Johnstone, 'History of the Academy of Ancient Music', 9.

In the exchange of letters that ensued between the Academy and Lotti, in which he was asked to provide testimony of his ownership of the madrigal 'La vita caduca' claimed by Bononcini, at the conclusion of his response, Lotti extolled the importance of authorship from his personal perspective:

> ...having learned of [from] my Master M. Legrenzi, that those who are learned in Musick, like the illustrious Academy, know, as in Painting, the Hand of the Artist, by the Design, the Drawing, the Colouring, etc., and judge of Authors by their Works, and not of Works by their Authors. As this is so, I ought, Sir, to be more circumspect in sending you any of my Productions.[66]

Following Lotti's reasoning, Stephen Rose quotes Baldassare Castiglione's sixteenth-century *Il Cortegiano* (1528), giving an earlier example of historical recognition of the importance of authorship:

> Every one of us here, have many times, and do even now, give more Credit to the Opinion of others, than our own: As a Proof of this I shall instance you the Case of some Verses, which not long ago were handed about here under the Name Sannazaro, and were thought by every body to be a most excellent Composition, and as such extolled with the highest Exclamation of Praise; but afterwards, as soon as they were known to be another Person's, they immediately lost their Esteem, and were good for nothing.[67]

Castiglione then follows with a droll instance of reverse recognition:

> In like manner a certain Anthem, which was sung in the Presence of her Highness the Duchess [of Urbino], was a poor Performance, 'till it was known to be the Composition of Josquin de Pris [Prez].[68]

3.3.1. THE ACADMENY'S DILEMMA: FACTS, REPORTS, AND RUMORS

The Academy's position on the Bononcini-Lotti imbroglio had much to do with the controversy over the contested authorship of two famous 'masters' of music. Reports of Bononcini's fierce defence of authoring the madrigal 'In una siepe ombrosa' could

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[66] *Letters from the Academy of Ancient Musick*; reprinted in Victor Schœlcher, 2009. Chapter: '1733' . *The Life of Handel*, 127–155. Cambridge Library Collection - Music. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 148-155.

[67] Baldassare Castiglione, *The Courtier. Written in Italian by Balthasar, Count Castiglione... Translated from the Original*, translated by Robert Samber, 4 vols. (London, publisher unknown, 1724), vols. 2, 5; quoted in Stephen Rose, 'Plagiarism', 181.

[68] Rose, 181.

not be ignored, especially as he was accusing Lotti of 'plagiary' and the Academy with slander.[69] The Academy was forced to attempt a settlement to the problem one way or the other. Lotti's response was broad and extensive, providing first-hand evidence of his authorship from many sources. Bononcini's lack of a defence—in essence, this can be considered a non-defence by ignoring pleas of the Academy for him to respond—led to the Academy's being compelled to find in Lotti's favour.

I uncovered four more factors for consideration when assessing this narrative:

1) Lotti's madrigal, published in 1705 as 'La vita caduca' and presented by Bononcini as his own as 'In una siepe ombroso' in 1728, caused Hawkins to say that '...this madrigal had about four years before, by Dr. Greene, been produced in manuscript as a composition of Signor G. Bononcini'.[70] The question remains as to whether Bononcini himself prepared the transcript, and if so, from what source, and whether it was from the published work by Lotti or some antecedent. An answer in the affirmative to this query would have indicted Bononcini directly.

2) The question looms as to why it took so long for the informer within the Academy at large to raise the accusation of plagiarism, this being on the occasion three years later of the madrigal's listing on the programme for the night of 14 January 1731. Political undercurrents must be considered, as the records do not name the informer. Stephen Rose suggests that it could have been the Academy member Bernard Gates, a Tory, who could have had a political vendetta against Whig sympathizers Bononcini and Greene.[71] I am inclined to agree that whether it was Gates or whoever, the informer could have been salting away political capital to

[69] 'Plagiary': archaic term for plagiarism.
[70] Hawkins, *History,* 862; H. Diack Johnstone notes that the performance 'was most probably in 1728', see Johnstone, 'Academy', 4.
[71] Rose, 'Plagiarism', 188.

use against Bononcini, and determined that the program of 14 January 1731 was the propitious time to reveal it.

The political and musical rivalry between Bononcini and Handel during their time at the Royal Academy of Music could also have been a factor, with Gates seeking to embarrass both Greene and Bononcini to force them from the Academy. The date of the earlier 1728 performance of 'In una siepe ombrosa' coincides with the dismantling of the first Royal Academy of Music and the creation of the second, i.e., Handel's Royal Academy of Music. The effect was to exclude Bononcini from participation as a composer of operas for the Royal Academy of Music—the very purpose for which he had been brought to England in 1720. The delay in the accusation could be that the reputation, popularity and eminence of Bononcini were such that the revelation had to be planned carefully and verified anonymously.

3) The Academy protocol was to assign its directors as programme schedulers on a rota basis, and Bernard Gates was the scheduler for the concert of 14 January 1731. Although not naming him outright, Hawkins suggests that Gates, as the scheduler, was the Academy member who exposed the controversial madrigal:

> About the beginning of the year 1731, one of the members had received from Venice a book intitled 'Duetti, Terzetti and Madrigali...Da Antonio Lotti Veneto...1705', and, having looked it over, he appointed the eighteenth madrigal in the book, beginning 'In una siepe ombrosa', to be sung in the course of the next evening's performance, which was done accordingly.[72]

4) As there was never a reply from the court archives of Emperor Leopold on Bononcini's behalf, I question whether Hawley Bishop ever sent a letter to the court. Bononcini's supposed demand of the Academy—that it write to Johann Joseph Fux, the court composer in Vienna, for confirmation that Bononcini's madrigal was still

[72] Hawkins, *History*, 862.

held in the court achieves—was said by Academy secretary Hawley Bishop to have been fulfilled by himself. The Academy did not receive a reply from Fux. Taking Bishop at his word, if in fact he did send a letter to Fux, I suspect that Fux's failure to reply was an oblique dodge, a suspicion deduced from the fact that his name appears on the certificate of affidavit by Viennese witnesses attesting that 'We ratify that these musical compositions…were all produced by the pen and genius of the above said Signor Ant. Lotti….'[73]

Noting that Bononcini departed from the court of Emperor Joseph I around 1705 due to his insolence toward the Emperor, the lack of a direct response from Fux could have been in retribution for Bononcini's arrogance. I find it a curious coincidence that Gates scheduled a composition by Fux for performance at the same concert immediately before the contested Lotti madrigal. Also unusual was Gates' retroactive public announcement of the programme published two days after the 14 January concert, which was neither a common practice, nor was the publishing of the names of the composers of the performed selections. The nature of this programming approach suggests that Gates intended to bring about the public exposure of Bononcini.[74] The following announcement appeared in *The Daily Journal* of 16 January 1731:

> At the Academy of Vocal and Instrumental Musick, Mr. Gates, (Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal being Director for the Night), and a numerous Assembly of Nobility and Gentry being present were performed, with universal Applause, the following Compositions:
>
> 1. A Madrigal for 5 Voices, by Abbot Stefani [sic], late President of the Academy.
> 2. A Piece of Vocal and Instrumental Musick by Sig. Faux [Fux], Chapel Master to the Emperor.
> 3. A Madrigal for 5 Voices, by Sig. Antonio Lotti, Chapel Master to the Doge of Venice.

[73] 'The Fall of Bononcini' [author unknown], *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 33, no. 587 (1892): 12–14, 14.
[74] Rose, 'Plagiarism', 188.

4. Mr. Handell's 'Great [i.e., 'Utrecht'] Te Deum and Jubilate' [HWV 278 & 279].[75]

It could be that Gates designed this programme to antagonize Greene and Bononcini. Each of the four compositions programmed was by one of the following composers, who in some way was involved negatively with Greene or Bononcini or both:

1) Steffani — Bononcini was disgruntled at not having been chosen to succeed Steffani as president of the Academy.

2) Fux — He and Bononcini were working contemporaneously at the Viennese courts of, first, Emperor Leopold I, then, Emperor Joseph I. Bononcini would have known about Lotti's publication of his *Duetti, Terzetti and Madrigali* in 1705 and would have recognized that Fux had the potential for being adduced as a witness against him.

3) Lotti — The madrigal programmed for the night of 14 January 1731, said to be by Lotti, was the same madrigal performed under the name of Bononcini for the program in 1728.

4) Handel — The programming of Handel's music at this concert served to antagonize both Bononcini and Greene. Hitherto, no Handel music had ever been programmed for a concert at the Academy of Ancient Music, possibly due to the rivalry between Bononcini and Handel at the Royal Academy of Music. Greene's culpability in the madrigal saga, and his steadfast support of Bononcini's claim to the authorship of the madrigal in question, would have prompted Greene to take Bononcini's side in the rivalry.

[75] *The Daily Journal*, London, 16 January 1731.

Hawkins' timeline of the account causes me to question whether Bononcini and Greene were actually present at the 14 January 1731 concert or whether, by contrast, Bononcini read about it two days later in the *Daily Journal* of 16 January 1731. If he (they) had been there, the result would surely have been immediate tumult.

Another seeming attempt to embarrass Bononcini was the publication in 1732 of a pamphlet containing the translated correspondence between the Academy and Lotti, including a defence of Lotti's authorship of the madrigal. I could find no records that show the target audience of the pamphlet, but it can be reasonably assumed that it was for the general membership of the Academy and the musical community at large.[76]

Although not named as such in the programme, the madrigal listed to be by Lotti was the aforementioned 'La vita caduca', with its first line being 'In una siepe ombrosa', this being the first line of the madrigal text. H. Diack Johnstone surmises that the composition performed immediately before it by Fux could have been the 'Mass in G minor for four voices and six-part strings', which Johnstone discovered in his search for hitherto unknown Academy music in the archives of Westminster Abbey *(*Lwa MS CG 17).[77]

As to the question concerning what position Pepusch took on this controversy, no direct word from him has come to light concerning this high-profile and unusually complicated wrangle. The fact of his being a signatory to the letter sent to Lotti from the Academy and signed by all seven of the Academy directors answers the question.

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[76] *Letters from the Academy of Ancient Musick at London,* 127-155.
[77] Johnstone, 'The Academy of Ancient Music', 22.

3.3.2. THE HAWKINS AND BURNEY OPINIONS OF THE SCANDAL

Taking Hawkins first, his comments indicate his doubt about the plagiarism charge against Bononcini. On the one hand, this seems to be the case when he says:

> To palliate this [meaning his doubt as to Bononcini's guilt], it is said that the score of the madrigal delivered in to be sung at the Academy was not subscribed with the name of Bononcini, as others of his compositions had invariably been; and to this fact a gentleman of undoubted veracity, now living, speaks with great certainty, who was present at the performance, and perused the manuscript of the score....

Yet on the other hand, Hawkins continues:

> But whether the letters above referred to are not evidence of his claim, and also of the injustice of it, will hardly bear a question.[78]

By this last sentence, Hawkins asserts in his magisterial legalese that whether or not Lotti's own extensive defence is factual, the weight of the evidence against Bononcini presented in independent testimonials is nonetheless overwhelming and thus unquestionable.

As to Burney, he expressed much the same sentiment, which likely would have been prevalent among the music community:

> I used to doubt the truth of the charge, from an idea that his reputation was so well established, and his genius so fertile, that he had not the least occasion to have recourse to such illicit means of extending it.[79]

After a critical reevaluation of Bononcini's works, however, Burney relates that 'Tradition had filled my mind with ideas of his abilities, which the examination of his works has diminished', and after scrutinizing the testimonies for Lotti's authorship, 'not the least doubt remains of the fact'.[80]

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[78] Hawkins, *History*, 862.
[79] Charles Burney, *A General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period* (New York: Dover, 1957): vol.*2,* 749.
[80] Burney, 749.

3.3.3. INCONSISTENCIES IN THE RECEIVED ACCOUNT

Lowell Lindgren takes the position that Hawley Bishop was incorrect in his initial letter to Lotti, in which he said that Bononcini had presented the madrigal to the Academy, a claim also disputed by both Perceval and Hawkins. Lindgren poses the question as to whether Bishop was also incorrect in other aspects of his letter:

> Since Bononcini neither presented nor signed his name to the madrigal, the letter attributed to him by Bishop is the only evidence that Bononcini claimed the work as his own composition. Curiously, the academy did not print any of this crucial letter, even though it did print its letter to Bononcini in its 1732 'Letters to and from Lotti'.[81]

Hawkins' report of Greene's having presented the madrigal to the Academy in 1728, supposedly to shore up his friend Bononcini's reputation following the earlier controversy at the Royal Academy of Music, leads me to question just who was defending Bononcini's authorship of the madrigal. Was it Bononcini himself or Maurice Greene, who was Bononcini's primary supporter at the Academy? The reports of Bononcini's defence of his authorship appear to be based solely on hearsay. Hawkins points to Greene as being Bononcini's defender, not Bononcini himself. Where is the supposed letter from Bononcini to the Academy? Hawley Bishop neither sent a copy of the letter to Lotti, nor was it published along with the correspondences between the Academy and Lotti. It was merely referred to by Bishop but not actually produced by him or the Academy. Rather, it was Greene who insisted on Bononcini's authorship, probably because he found himself in the awkward position of having been the one who introduced the madrigal to the Academy in 1728, claiming it to be the product of Bononcini. Hawkins assesses Greene as having a 'pertinacious behaviour' in the matter.[82]

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[81] Lindgren, '"The Three Great Noises"', 569.
[82] Hawkins, *History*, 884.

Lindgren continues in quoting Bishop's letter to Lotti that (1) Bononcini accused Lotti of plagiarizing 'works' [in the plural] when there was only one in question and that (2) Bononcini demanded that the Academy write to the archive of Emperor Leopold I for confirmation. Lindgren notes that the archive never recorded the acquisition of such a madrigal by Bononcini.[83]

If these anomalies point to a contrivance against Bononcini, one could assume it would have involved all Academy directors. I find this unlikely unless (1) they were unanimous in their motivation to remove Bononcini for political reasons, (2) they were preoccupied with other interests and were inattentive to the unfolding sequence of events, or (3) they deferred to Bishop, taking him at his word that he had presented the situation accurately in his initial letter to Lotti. Even Lotti expressed incredulity, very pointedly and explicitly writing that

> I only desire that you would be very sure that no one, willing to do M. Buononcini an ill Turn, has falsely attributed to him the Letter written to the Academy in his Name; for it is incredible, that, learned as he is, he should merely out of Gaiety of Heart adopt my Defects for his own. I hope there will appear some Misunderstanding or Mistake.[84]

In discussing this saga in his book *George Frideric Handel*, Paul Henry Lang agrees with Lindgren that

> the last word has not yet been said about this curious and sad affair. There are good reasons to suspect that Bononcini was the innocent victim of a vendetta raging around him.[85]
> .

If Bononcini became entangled in the web of his own arrogant personality, it is understandable that none of the Academy directors came to his defence. Right or wrong, the historical consensus is that Bononcini was guilty.

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[83] Lindgren, '"The Three Great Noises"', 569.
[84] *Letters from the Academy of Ancient Musick*, 9, 11; reprinted in Schoelcher, *Life of Handel*, 151.
[85] Paul Henry Lang, *George Frideric Handel* (Mineola, NY: Courier Corporation, 1996), 176-177.

3.3.4. THE LONG MEMORY OF THE ACADEMY

An interesting addendum to the relationship among Bononcini, Handel, and the Academy after the plagiarism scandal can be found in *The Words of Such Pieces as Are Most Usually Performed by the Academy of Ancient Music*. This small booklet lists both the words of the works and their composers, and as of its publication in 1761, there were 199 musical entries with their composers listed. Of those, twenty-six were by Handel and only one by Bononcini, suggesting that the Academy had a long memory and that Bononcini was still out of favour.[86]

When considering the Bononcini-Lotti case from the point of view of a then-contemporary musical antiquarian, it falls in line with the historical continuum of the increasing importance placed on authorship in eighteenth-century England and especially on the progress of printed music as regards the salability of the works of notable composers. Hawley Bishop gave the most encompassing explanation of the Academy's commitment to determining authorship in his letters to Lotti. The first, dated 9 February 1731, addresses the antiquarian mission of the Academy:

> Sir, Several of the most eminent professors of music in this city have, some years since, established a Musical Academy, not for the management of theatrical affairs, but the improvement of the science, by searching after, examining, and hearing performed, the works of the masters who flourished before or about the age of Palestrina....[87]

Another letter from Bishop to Lotti of 9 June 1731 reaffirms the antiquarian purpose of the Academy and its imperative in identifying the 'best masters' of the study of music, addressing Lotti apologetically:

> As it is our design to search for what is beautiful in the works of the ancients, and to seek out those things that have been either neglected or forgot, we doubt not but we shall find you worthy to be placed in the list of those few who cultivate the true study of music, which you justly complain is at present too

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[86] *The Words of such pieces as are most usually performed by the Academy of Ancient Music*, (London: Academy of Ancient Music, 1761).
[87] *Letters from the Academy,* reprinted in Schoelcher, *Life of Handel*, 148.

> much neglected....I hope, Sir, that for the future we shall correspond not about these trifling squabbles, but about things relating to the advancement of musick.[88]

3.4. LEGAL IMPLICATIONS OF PLAGIARISM AND AUTHORSHIP

The particular case of the Bononcini-Lotti scandal, whether it be considered plagiarism, piracy or theft, goes even beyond the more generally developing academic concern for the importance of authorship. Rather, it is one of avoiding threatened suits of plagiarism against Lotti and of slander against the Academy from which, from the tone of Bononcini's supposed letter to the Academy, he was quite prepared to make public. As cited earlier in the discussion of ballads (2.4.2.), court actions of slander were no longer uncommon by this time. It is evident from my evaluation of the facts, reports, and rumours of the scandal that its airing set the tome for the increased need for caution when clarifying authorship.

By 1731 the legal mechanisms for filing an authorship suit had been codified, following the first statute dealing with authorship: *The Statute of Anne, 1710*, also known as the Copyright Act of 1710. It can be found cited as either (1) the earlier version '8 Ann. c. 19', or (2) '8 Ann. c. 21' in *Statutes of the Realm* and entitled 'An act for the encouragement of learning, by vesting the copies of printed books in the authors or purchasers of such copies, during the times therein mentioned'.[89] Before its passage, only booksellers could bring suits, specifically for copyright infringement. This new Copyright Act now allowed authors to be included as plaintiffs against infringement. Prior to the lapse in 1695 of the Licensing of the Press Act of 1662,

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[88] *Letters from the Academy*, 151.

[89] *The Avalon Project, Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy*, Yale University Law School: Lillian Goldman Law Library, 8 Anne, c. 19 (1710). https:// avalon.law.yale.edu/; see Raithby, John, Thomas Edlyne Tomlins, and William Pyle Taunton, *The Statutes of the Realm: Printed by Command of His Majesty King George the Third. In Pursuance of an Address of the House of Commons of Great Britain. From Original Records and Authentic Manuscripts*. vol. 2 (London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1963).

authors were not considered as having standing for bringing suit. The first case to be filed under the new Copyright Act was in 1720, with Burnet v. Chetwood, a suit in which both litigants were authors.[90]

3.5. PEPUSCH SAVES THE ACADEMY

In 1734 another incident befell the Academy when its founding member Bernard Gates left its ranks. Gates was Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal, and when he left, he took with him its choirboys. The reason for his leaving has not come down to us, but his departure from the Academy left it void of treble voices, not to return, and thus being functionally compromised, the Academy was again threatened with demise. Hawkins wrote that 'the experience of one season drove them to the alternative of an increased expense, or annihilation'.[91] The directors determined that survival depended on making substantive changes, including increased membership dues raised from one to one-and-a-half guineas [£180-270] per year. They also moved to allow two guests ('auditors') per member to attend the concerts.

Pepusch stepped forward to take control of the treble dilemma and devised a plan to replace these more trained and experienced choirboys by having the Academy appeal to parents with an offer to fund what amounted to an apprenticeship for four boys. It included giving them a general education while teaching them the fundamentals of singing, composing, and learning to play the harpsichord. Pepusch was to be in charge in exchange for an annual stipend of fifty guineas [£9,020], out of which he would hire an assistant and would pay for the boys' education. With typical thoroughness, he devoted himself to the endeavour, which

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[90] Mark Rose, *Authors and owners: The Invention of Copyright* (Harvard University Press, 1993), 49.
[91] John Hawkins*, An Account of the Institution in Progress of the Academy of Ancient Music. With a Comparative View with the Music of the Past and Present Times, 1770* (London: publisher unknown, possibly Thomas Payne: 1770), 7; reprinted by Cambridge University Press, 1998; quoted in Johnstone, 'Academy of Ancient Music', 9; also Percy A. Scholes, *The Life and Activities of Sir John Hawkins, Musician, Magistrate and Friend of Johnson* (Oxford University Press, 1953): 248.

succeeded to the extent of producing notable composers of the calibre of George Berg and Benjamin Cooke, the latter following Pepusch as director of the Academy after his mentor's death in 1752.[92]

3.6. THE DECLINE OF THE ACADEMY

Although the Academy was not disbanded until 1802, most of its founding purposes were achieved long before that. Hawkins' daughter, Laetitia Matilda Hawkins, commented in her *Memoirs* that in order 'To prevent the dissolution of this primitive establishment, Sir J.H. [Hawkins] printed and liberally distributed [in 1770] what he entitled *An Account of the Academy of Ancient Music*.'[93] By bringing the Academy and its historical importance to the awareness of a new generation of the musical public, Hawkins likely staved off the Academy's disbandment by several years. However, the antiquarian objective of the Academy, being to promote the advancement of earlier music, had been achieved. Joseph Doane gives an account of the Academy in his *Musical Directory for the Year 1794*, 'A History of The Academy of Ancient Music', in which he acknowledged its evolution from its founding to the year 1794:

> Altho' the Academy was principally designed for the cultivation of Ancient Music, and from thence took its Name, its performances are at present not deficient in new and modern compositions. Indeed much of the Music in their library of the 16th and 17th Centuries, is as new to us as it was to its Auditors on its first performance: it appears that the Academicians apply the Epithet 'Antient' to Compositions of the 16th Century.[94]

Doane also includes a list of prominent music societies in London and elsewhere at the time he wrote his *Musical Directory*. Many of them were funded by subscription and created to promote high-quality music. Two examples were the concerts by the Royal Society of Musicians and the Concert of Ancient Music, also

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[92] Johnstone, 'The Academy of Ancient Music', 10.
[93] Quoted in Scholes, *Hawkins*, 247, n. 1.
[94] Joseph Doane, *A Musical Directory for the Year 1794*, 82.

known as the King's Concert.[95] In his presentation note to the British Museum on 12 May 1840 of Lbl Add. MS 11732 [last page, unpaginated], Vincent Novello made the common mistake of attributing to the Academy the name of the 'King's Concert':

> Original Documents relative to the first establishment of the 'Academy of Vocal Music', which afterwards became the celebrated 'King's Concerts of Ancient Music'.[96]

My examination of extant Academy programmes brought to light the stylistic consistency of music played during the first thirty years or so of the Academy's existence. Although music by living composers was featured regularly on the programmes from the outset, music in the 'old' style selected for Academy performance remained consistent. For example, on the programme for the performance given on 14 January 1731, music was scheduled for Steffani, Fux, Lotti, and Handel, all living composers (except Steffani), and all chosen primarily for the compositions which they had written in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century styles. Similarly, thirty years later, the Academy was still promoting 'old' music, evidenced by the programme of 30 April 1761 at which music was offered by Lassus (d. 1594), Victoria (d. 1611), Byrd (d. 1623), Pergolesi (d. 1736), Lotti (d. 1740), Pepusch (d. 1752), and Handel (d. 1759), all deceased by this date.

The Academy continued through the force of the dedicated and energetic personality of Pepusch. After his death in 1752, however, and with the succession of the young Benjamin Cooke as director, the absence of a historical memory of the Academy by Cooke, primarily, and by Academy members in general, contributed to a gradual relaxing of the high standards set out in the organization's founding documents. The sudden, and to Cooke surprising, ousting of him as Academy

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[95] Doane, 84-87.
[96] Lbl Add. MS 11732, Appendix One, presentation page, *not* fol.17 verso.

director in 1789 was preceded by inner turmoil among the directors. This can be seen in a note appended to the programme of 24 May 1787 in which the subdirectors are giving notice of their resignations due to 'circumstances in the course of their management', which was their covert reference to Cooke:

> The Sub-directors, who have had the Honour of conducting the Academy of Ancient Music, for the last and present Season, request the Subscribers will accept their Resignation this Evening, as some Circumstances in the Course of their Management, make it impossible for them to continue any longer with Pleasure to themselves. If their Conduct has given Satisfaction to the Subscribers at large, they shall think themselves most amply compensated.[97]

Regrettably, with the formation of the Concert of Ancient Music in 1776, which had the support of George III and the aristocratic class, by the 1780s the Academy had begun programming music that would compete with this popular new organization, 'designed to please audiences whose attention span was obviously limited'.[98] With the exception of a very few works, *viz.*, madrigals, motets and 'instrumentally accompanied anthems and Latin psalm settings', the established repertoire that had defined the Academy was now a distant memory. Its original purpose of studying and performing music of 'such as lived before the end of the Sixteenth century' was abandoned with the passage of time and shifting sociological circumstances.

The gradual decline in the public perception of the Academy is evident in the newspaper notices of the first concert of the 1789 season, held on 15 January. Appearing in *The World* on 17 January was the critique that the concert 'was very respectably attended', going on to compliment the performers, saying that they 'exerted themselves with their usual excellence'. This was followed, however, by the rather foreboding and unnecessary comment that 'there remains no doubt...but that

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[97] Johnstone, 'The History of the Academy of Ancient Music', 61.
[98] Johnstone, 15, 17.

the Society will continue to maintain the same estimation as it has hitherto held with the Public'.[99] By contrast with this hopeful comment by the writer in *The World*, no such nicety came from the critic in *The Morning Post and the Daily Advertiser*, who wrote on 22 January 1789:

> The first concert of the season, it said, had 'nothing to recommend it except the selection of the Music, and Harrison's singing'; not only that, but the directors had 'actually applied to the performers for a contribution towards its support, out of the pitiful stipend they derive from it by their ineffectual exertions'.[100]

In retrospect, was the Academy successful in achieving one of its founding goals of compiling a list of 'best masters' of music, as Hawley Bishop stated had been its intention in his letter to Lotti? In a single word, no. That is, if such a list was produced, it has not surfaced in the historical records. But this does not mean that the Academy failed to fulfil its overall fundamental mission. A balanced assessment does require, however, an intuitive navigation through the mire of the Academy's troubled history, progressing from its ebullient beginning through the Bononcini-Lotti scandal, its reorganization in 1731, the decamping of Bernard Gates resulting in the withdrawal of its trebles, and the need for the Academy to compete with the popular groups that sprang up and were appealing to less musically enlightened audiences. These distractions siphoned away the efforts of the Academy directors, especially those of Pepusch, to keep the organization relevant.

The musical antiquarians of the Academy drew a line in the sand of English music history, declaring their intention to rescue music from its haphazard trajectory of 'fashionable' music only, in favour of one of preserving, studying, categorizing, and performing music of the past. In doing so, they arrested the ongoing process of

[99] Quoted in Johnstone, 68.
[100] Johnstone, 68.

the decline of past music and set in motion the forces that established the inclusion of this music as part of a cultural repertoire going forward. Born first of royal and aristocratic patronage, the practice of composing for special events—birthdays, anniversaries, commemorations—brought about the perpetual need for new music. Perhaps played a few times, it was then cast aside without an imprint in the public's consciousness to preserve it. With the decline in royal patronage and the proliferation of operas, concerts, and other public musical venues, the demand escalated throughout the eighteenth century for establishing music in repertoire.

3.7. THE ACADEMY AND THE CANON

The Academy of Ancient Music's sought-for list of the composers it considered to be 'best masters' was largely speculative until the publication by H. Diack Johnstone in 2020 of the Academy's surviving programs.[101]

3.7.1. BACKGROUND

Early in the eighteenth century, prior to the founding of the Academy of Vocal (later Ancient) Music in 1726, there was acknowledgement for the need for a canon of music inclusive of 'old' music. In an anonymous letter to *The Universal Journal* of 25 July 1724, the author takes to task a society that does not grant to its music the same accord as it does to the other arts. The author calls for a recognition of 'old' music to be given equal respect to that of then 'fashionable' or 'new' music, pointing out that the two extremes can live harmoniously in musical culture:

> We have doubtless many good painters now living; must therefore Rubens, Vandyke, Lilly, and Kneller be forgot? Must Spencer, Milton, Shakespear and Addison be never read because there are [now] writers of a later date? And must Corelli, Byrd, and Purcel never be sung, because they are Old Stile?[102]

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[101] H. Diack Johnstone, 'The Academy of Ancient Music (1726-1802): Its History, Repertoire and Existing Programs', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 51 (2020), 1-135.

[102] Quoted in William Weber and Donald Burrows, 'Henry Purcell and The Universal Journal: the building of musical canon in the 1720s' in *Music and History: Bridging the Disciplines*, Jeffrey H. Jackson and Stanley C. Pelkey, eds., University Press of Mississippi,2005, 181–199.

Following later in the century, as late as 1769, there is continuing evidence of a calling for a canon of music to equal the lists of masters in the other arts. Thomas Newburgh (1695-1779), attorney and prolific writer on many varied subjects including music, appended the following to his *Essays Poetical, Moral and Critical*:

> It were to be wished that some standard could be settled for adjusting the taste of true compositions in music as well as for other arts. If Homer and Milton, Vitruvius and Palladio, Raphael and Michaelangelo, have by their masterly performances, settled the generally allowed plans for poetry, painting, statuary and architecture, why may not the compositions of Palestrina, Corelli, Pergolesi, Handel and Geminiani, with equal justice and propriety be allowed to settle those of music.…I see no reason why, with its sister arts, music should not meet with an equal degree of patronage and encouragement.[103]

The eighteenth-century linguistic path to what became known as 'canon' was expressed as a list of 'best masters' of music. Examples of this terminology applied to this thesis can be found in Llb Add. MS 11732 (Appendix One); the letters to/from the Academy and Antonio Lotti (3.2.2.); the list of composers in Thomas Britton's posthumous auction Sale Catalogue of 6,7, and 8 December 1714 (Appendix Five); Hawkins' anonymously published 'An Account of the Institution and Progress of the Academy of Ancient Music' (3.5.); and numerous other writers on music who were expressing the concept of 'canon'.

In folio 16 of Lbl Add. MS 11732, the Academy acknowledged its name change from 'Vocal' to 'Ancient' music and gave instructions to its directors

> That Mr. Galliard & Mr. Needler do make a Catalogue of all ye Musick & put the Library in order'. At the same time, the current secretary, Hawley Bishop, was 'desir'd to write an Historical Account of the Academy & that Dr Pepusch & Mr Galliard do supply him with Materials'.[104]

While neither a catalogue was compiled by Galliard and Needler, nor a historical account was written by Hawley Bishop, I nevertheless conclude that the

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[103] Thomas Newburgh, *Essays Poetical, Moral and Critical*. Dublin, Dublin: Alex. McCulloh, 1769, 280-281.
[104] See Appendix One.

Academy was unquestionably a success. It provided the springboard for such lists to evolve throughout the eighteenth century as other organizations accorded more acceptance to the music of earlier centuries.

Did musical antiquarianism affect networking within the Academy of Ancient Music and the wider musical community? I argue that the antiquarian bond among the Academy founders provided the catalyst for the networking that ignited other like-minded musicians to preserve ancient music for posterity. The directors spelt out the specific aims of the Academy in its founding document and laid the groundwork for future canonical inclusion of 'old' music. An examination of music programmed at the concerts of the Academy confirms its dedication to raising old music to a position of importance.

Extrapolating from Johnstone's 'Academy…' article (3.7.): 'Part II: Surviving Programs and Other References to Music Performed by the Academy', which lists the composers programmed through the life of the Academy from 14 January 1726 to 22 April 1802, I compiled a frequency table of 'best masters' derived from the extant programmes of the Academy, as seen in Appendix Two. My rationale was to determine whether the Academy had, by virtue of the importance it gave through its repetition of scheduling composers, left to history its view of those it considered to be the 'best masters', i.e., a canon of 'best masters' consisting of the inclusion criteria set by Academy programmers. I divided the life of the Academy into three periods, discussed further at 3.7.4.

Johnstone explains the dearth of information during the first years of the Academy due to a lack of extant programmes. Nonetheless, the data speaks for itself by presenting a picture of the Academy's progress from a primarily musical antiquarian organization—thus the name Academy of *Ancient* Music—to a

capitulation in its later years into a blending of music by ‘ancient’ and ‘fashionable’ composers.

That the Academy met regularly during its early period of missing programs is confirmed by H. Diack Johnson in his article of 2022: ‘The “Lost” Account Book of the Academy of Vocal (later Ancient) Music 1726-1731: A Postscript to My Article on the History of the Academy in Volume 51 (2020)’[105] The article is a transcription of the Academy’s account book for its first five-year period of 1726-1731, now residing in the Bibliothèque Nationale as MS F. Res. 1507. The entries for a typical evening concert are as follows, although on some occasions, additional expenses were incurred, such as for the printing of tickets:

- Bread and wine … 0.13.0 [£93.50]
- Harpsichord and D^{r} [Drawer = bartender] … 0.11.0 [£79.10]
- Coach for the children … 0.4.0. [£28.80]
- Room, fire, candles … 0.5.0. [£38.60]
- Two quires of Royal Paper ruled … 0.8.0. [£61.70]

[105] H. Diack Johnson, ‘The “Lost” Account Book of the Academy of Vocal (later Ancient) Music 1726-1731: A Postscript to My Article on the History of the Academy in Volume 51 (2020)’, *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* (2022), 1-20.

3.7.2. CANON OF ‘BEST MASTERS’ VERSUS CANON OF ‘BEST MUSIC’

1.	13%	Palestrina
2.	9%	Marenzio
3.	7%	Pepusch
4.	6%	Steffani
5.	5%	Morley
6.	5%	Purcell
7.	5%	Traverso
8.	4%	Colonna
9.	4%	Lobo
10.	4%	Victoria
11.	3%	Allegri
12.	3%	Lassus
13.	3%	Lotti
14.	3%	Pergolesi
15.	3%	Stradella
16.	2%	Bassani
17.	2%	Blow
18.	2%	Byrd
19.	2%	Carissimi
20.	2%	Greene
21.	2%	Ruffo
22.	1%	Bennett
23.	1%	Bononcini
24.	1%	Borri
25.	1%	Cooke
26.	1%	Croft
27.	1%	De Macque
28.	1%	Defesch
29.	1%	Farmer
30.	1%	Fedali
31.	1%	Fux
32.	1%	Lorenzani
33.	1%	Moulton
34.	1%	Negri
35.	1%	Petti
36.	1%	Tallis

The most reliable indicator of a canon of this period is the list of thirty-six ‘best masters’ presented in Figures 3.1. and 3.2., derived from my statistical analysis of the Academy’s surviving programs provided in the Johnstone article. Alternatively, attempting to establish with precision a canon of ‘best music’ *per se* would be an impossible task in light of the dearth of extant programmes. It would require discovering which compositions were performed, during which years, their frequencies of performance, and, the exercise would be further clouded by the challenge of weighting statistically the compositions that were unnamed in the Academy’s programmes. Typical of these were Boyce’s ‘Motet’ programmed for 6 October 1768 and Cooke’s ‘Anthem’ programmed for 19 and 26 March 1772.

Figure 3.1.—Canonical List of Thirty-Six Best Masters
Ranked by Frequency of Compositions Performed
Scheduled by the Academy of Ancient Music
Period One Concerts (1726-1752)
(tabular format)

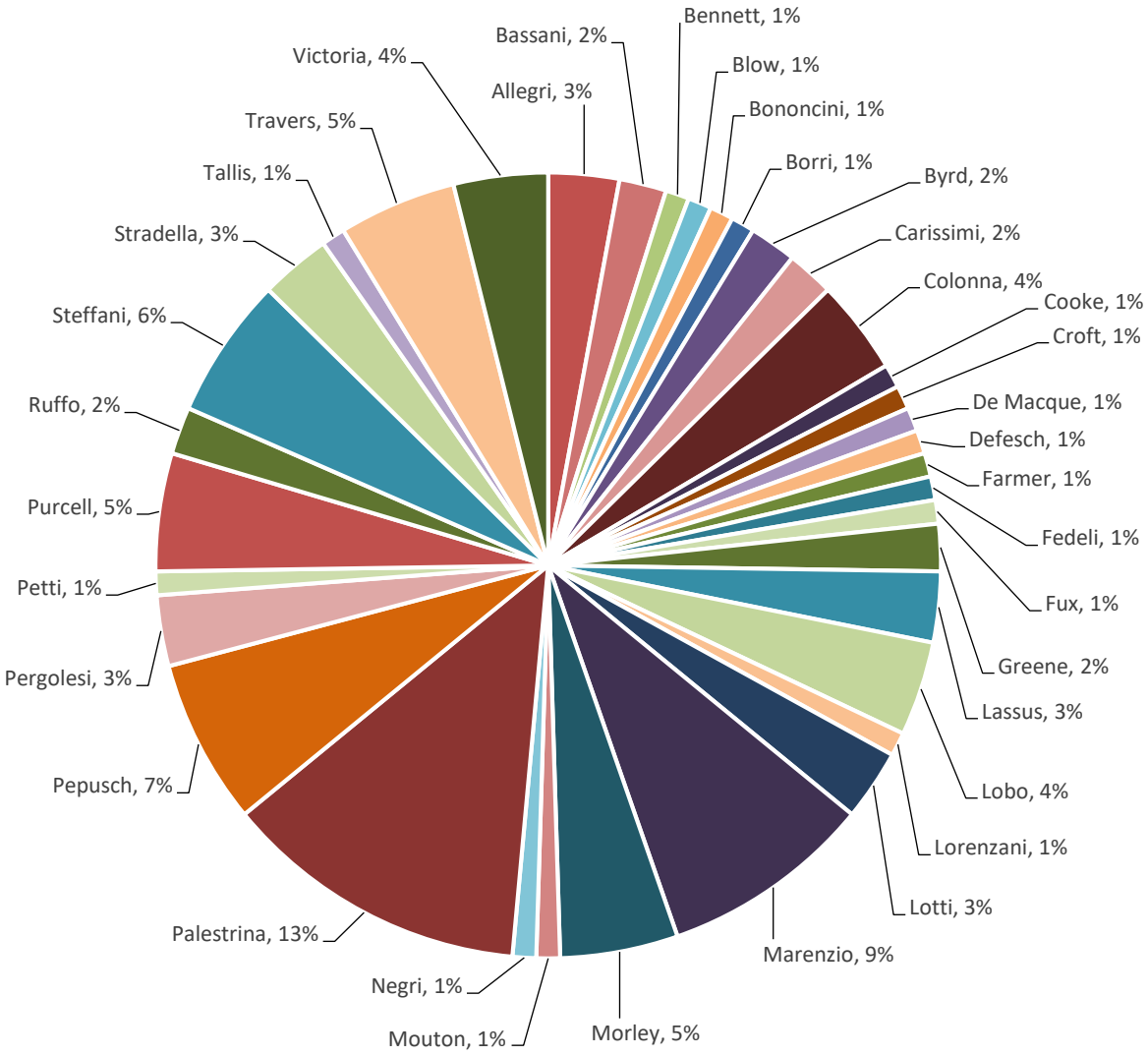


Figure 3.2.—Canonical List of Thirty-Six Best Masters
Ranked by Frequency of Compositions Performed
Scheduled by the Academy of Ancient Music
Period One Concerts (1726-1752)
(distributive pie chart format)

As William Weber points out in his comprehensive studies on the topic of canon,[106] qualifiers must be applied to establish a canon of music. Several of these qualifiers, being invariably subject to interpretation and aesthetic predilections, make

[106] William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual and Ideology* (Oxford: Clarendon House, 1992; also Weber, 'The Eighteenth-Century Origins of the Musical Canon', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 114, no. 1 (1989): 6-17; also Weber, 'The History of Musical Canon', *Rethinking Music* (1999): 336-395.

it impossible to fix a single musical canon for all time. My application of canon, however, is specific:

1. Composer — a canonical list of 'best masters'
2. Genera — music composed in the 'old' style, regardless of vocal or instrumental
3. Location — music programmed for the Academy of Ancient in London
4. Period — music programmed between 1726 and 1752
5. Aesthetics — not a consideration for this thesis, as the question of aesthetics was determined by Academy programmers when they scheduled 'old' music composers and their representative compositions to be performed before musically sophisticated attendees at Academy concerts
6. Publisher bias — also not a consideration, as the printing of Academy programs was straightforward, not influenced by the pecuniary bias of a commercial publisher, such as the mass publications of music that began to be offered later in the 1840s by publisher Alfred Novello.[107]

3.7.3. LIST OF 'BEST MASTERS' BY PERIOD: ANALYSIS OF APPENDIX TWO

Part II of Johnstone's 136-page article consists of an annotated, chronological list of the surviving Academy programs, as they could be determined from surviving printed copies or by a resurrection of the composers and the music performed obtained through handwritten lists collected from diverse sources, e.g., those between 1768 and 1773 held at the Bibliothèque Nationale (3.7.1.). The programmes range from the Academy's inaugural meeting on 7 January 1726 to its last on 22 April 1802, although in the earlier years, there are gaps in dates and the number of surviving programs.

When analysing the programmes for their relevance to musical antiquarianism, it became apparent that there was a shift in Academy programming away from its original purpose of promoting 'old' music towards programming more

[107] Victoria L. Cooper, *The House of Novello: The Practice and Policy of a Victorian Music Publisher, 1829-1866* (London: Routledge, 2017); Weber discusses the commercial exploitation of music, particularly in the nineteenth century and beyond, with its relation to the retention of pieces for canonical repertoire. This could be seen in the publishing industry, as well as in the need to satisfy public demand for concerts and opera.

contemporary ‘fashionable’ music. This practice began under Benjamin Cooke after he assumed the Academy’s directorship at the death of Pepusch in 1752 and continued under [subsequent directors] until the Academy’s demise, at which time it had deteriorated into virtually a populist musical club.

3.7.4. THE THREE PERIODS OF ACADEMY PROGRAMMING

Having proved to my satisfaction that the Academy was the mechanism for providing such a canonical list of ‘best masters’, I determined that it was necessary to divide the shift in Academy programming into three periods during its seventy-six years of existence. From these, I selected the first period as that which best reflects one of the Academy’s original purposes of creating a list of 'best masters’:

1. Period One: 1726-1752 - The Academy’s halcyon period from its foundation to the death of Pepusch, during which time it kept true to its original principles.
2. Period Two: 1753-1776 – The period in which the Academy began to drift off course, beginning with the directorship of Benjamin Cooke upon the death of Pepusch in 1752, up to the founding of the competitive Concert of Ancient Music in 1776.
3. Period Three: 1777-1802 – While not abandoning its *raison d'être* altogether, at least ostensibly in name, its slide towards catering to popular tastes in order to survive competition by the Concert of Ancient Music beginning in 1776, which was evident in its shift toward programming shorter, voguish musical forms.

3.7.5. INCLUSION CRITERIA FOR WEIGHTING DATA

As shown in Appendix Two, it was necessary to consider several anomalous factors when assigning numerical weight to the composers of ‘old’ music and the frequency with which their compositions were scheduled.

The Academy programmes were all evening performances. To eliminate as much subjectivity and confirmation bias as possible on how to balance (1) the weight of a composer scheduled on an evening for a single composition against (2) a composer who had multiple compositions (usually two) scheduled for that evening, I assigned multiple counts (again, usually two) to the latter composer, these being

strength indicators of the Academy's conviction of the importance of that composer. For example, of the six pieces performed on the inaugural evening of 7 January 1726, Marenzio and Stradella were scheduled for two madrigals each, while Steffani was scheduled for one madrigal and Morley for one motet. Therefore, Marenzio and Stradella were recorded as two counts each, and Steffani and Morley as one count each (Appendix Two).

No doubt there were mitigating occasions that introduced a subjectivity element to this approach. When scheduling, Academy directors would have encountered tactical problems, such as the availability of performers, the need for sufficient copies of music, and rehearsal logistics. Yet, such are the current-day realities encountered when investigating historical events dimmed by intervening centuries and then applying inferentially derived data to numerical analysis using statistical software. Nevertheless, the reason I concentrated on Period One as my source for the canon of 'best masters' is because of the element of predictability and programming stability provided by the original Academy directors and later taken up by the scrupulous Pepusch after the crisis in 1734 when Gates left from the Academy (3.5.).

3.7.6. ACCOUNTING FOR MISSING PROGRAMMES

It could be posited that (1) the count of 120 individual compositions programmed throughout Period One is uncharacteristically low, considering that they account for only 6.3% of the total of 1881 compositions performed for all periods of the seventy-six years of the Academy's existence, while (2) Periods Two and Three have significantly higher percentages of 24.4% (460 counts) and Period Three 69.1% (1301 counts), respectively.

This anomaly is due to the missing Academy programs during Period One, but some judicious historical extrapolation can be applied to fill those gaps and validate the process empirically. For example, Marcantonio Negri (d. 1624), the well-known Venetian composer and contemporary of Monteverdi, published his first book of psalm settings in 1613 in Venetian polychordal style. Yet it was not until 126 years after his death that his motet ‘Gloria in excelsis’ was scheduled for the Academy’s programme of 29 March 1750. However, Negri’s count of only 1 in Period One was followed by an increase to 12 and 11 in Periods Two and Three. So, it is reasonable to assume that he was also scheduled more times earlier than 1752 during the twenty-six years of Period One and that this would be verifiable if all Academy programs had survived from the earlier years. After all, his total count for all three periods is 24, demonstrating that he was an exemplar of the Academy’s quest to schedule ‘best masters’.

Such would also explain why Pergolesi’s count increased dramatically from only 3 in Period One to 29 and 12 in Periods Two and Three. Similarly, why Purcell’s Period One count was only 5 but increased remarkably to 27 and 36 in Periods Two and Three.

Conversely, it would be incongruous that Blow and Fux would have a low count of only 1 in Period One but were never scheduled again—not a logical assumption for two of the ‘best masters’ that Academy musical antiquarians would have favoured.

3.7.7. ADJUSTING FOR HANDEL DATA

During the latter term of Period One, and certainly throughout Periods Two and Three, Handel occupied an overwhelming statistical presence in the number of his compositions scheduled by the Academy, with some programmes consisting entirely

of Handelian offerings. When plotted in tabular and distributive pie chart formats, this gives a distorted impression that skews the data significantly away from the topic of musical antiquarianism and the composers of ‘old’ music (Appendix Two). Nevertheless, I still assigned his multiple compositions one count each to show evidence of Handel's enormous presence in London after his arrival in 1710. Even so, at Handel’s 14%, the other composers of ‘old’ music still fared well, with Palestrina 11%, Marenzio 8%, Pepusch 6%, Steffani 5%, and all others cumulative at 56%. Because of this Handel visual distortion, however, I deleted the Handel counts in the tabular and distributive pie charts of Figures 3.1. and 3.2.

Another potential for data distortion is that it was a tradition for many years to perform at the close of each evening concert Byrd’s ‘Non nobis nomine’. To adjust for this skewing of the data towards an unrealistically high count for Byrd, I credited him with only one count per period.

Interestingly, some of the composers of Period One, who are presented in current music survey textbooks as the warhorse composers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, do not hold as high a statistical presence as could be expected. While others who are lesser known, except to musicologists specializing in the period, are better represented than would be thought, e.g., Greene, Lobo, Travers. This fact underscores the historical reality that to the musical antiquarians of their day, a canon of ‘best masters’ was what they deemed it to be, not what we of today think it should have been, validating that the progress of ‘canon’ was a dynamic rather than a static concept.

3.7.8. THE SHIFT IN ACADEMY PROGRAMMING

The fluctuations in status for all composers can be traced in Appendix Two horizontally across the three periods, with some showing rising counts in Period

Two, leading in some instances to even more significant counts in Period Three. This reflects the Academy's shift in programming throughout the years, although it must be pointed out that some composers with null entries in Period One may not yet have been born, had not yet come into prominence, or had not yet arrived from the Continent, as with Haydn. Notable examples of this shift in Academy programming can be traced in Figure 3.3., where again, Handel's increasing popularity can be observed.

Item Appendix Two	**Composer**	**Period One 1726-1752** 26 years	**Period Two 1753-1776** 23 years	**Period Three 1777-1802** 25 years	**Total**
5	Arne		3	34	37
6	Arnold			50	50
10	Avison		5	10	15
20	Boyce		9	34	43
34	Cooke	1	21	38	60
35	Corelli		14	18	32
55	Geminiani		14	21	35
62	Graun		6	13	19
66	Handel	17	116	641	774
68	Haydn			20	20
96	Negri	1	12	11	24
105	Pergolesi	3	29	12	44
111	Purcell	5	27	36	68
123	Sammartini		8	16	24
144	Webb			23	23

Figure 3.3.— Academy of Ancient Music Programming Examples of Its Increase in Scheduling 'Fashionable' Music During Periods Two and Three

Contrarily, there was a drop in counts during Period Three (coming from higher counts in Periods One and Two) for some of those whom the Academy had initially considered composers of 'old' music. Again, this indicates the shift in Academy emphasis in Period Three as it began to yield to contemporary 'fashionable' music, moving away from its original moorings in 'old' music programming, as seen in Figure 3.4.

Item Appendix Two	**Composer**	**Period One 1726-1752** 26 years	**Period Two 1753-1776** 23 years	**Period Three 1777-1802** 25 years	**Total**
78	Lassus	3	11	2	16
86	Lotti	3	9		12
99	Palestrina	13	11	1	25
103	Pepusch	7	12	4	23
136	Stradella	3	8	1	12
142	Victoria	4	2		6

Figure 3.4.— Academy of Ancient Music Programming
Examples of Its Decline in Scheduling 'Old'
Music in Period Three

3.8. SUMMARY

The Academy of Ancient Music declared in its founding document Lbl Add. MS 11732 that the purpose of the Academy was the preservation, study, and performance of music of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Inherent in their aim was to develop a list of 'best masters' (3.7., 3.7.1.).

This chapter follows the emerging importance of the authorship of musical works, especially seen through the saga of the Bononcini-Lotti affair dealing with plagiarism. My development of authorship not only includes the issue of the rapid rise of the music publishing industry, which affected the necessity for accurate attribution, but also introduces the question of the validity of the received 'facts' put forward by the Academy, these serving to convict Bononcini and thus to ruin his reputation. My interrogation of the historical records provided the foundation for my conclusion that there was a conspiracy to convict Bononcini of plagiarism.

H. Diack Johnstone's article 'The Academy of Ancient Music (1726-1802): Its History, Repertoire and Surviving Programs' compiled the extant programmes of the Academy concerts and provided the data that enabled me to derive a frequency table of composers from which I extrapolated the canonical list of 'best masters' never completed by the Academy (Appendix Two). Noting that the passage of time

precludes a static canon, this frequency table shows that during the seventy-six years of its existence, the Academy chose to perform the works of certain ‘best masters’ over others. In addition, the programmes show the progression from a preference for ‘old’ music almost exclusively, to a mix of ‘old’ and ‘fashionable’ music by the last third of its existence.

PART TWO
RELIGIO-POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL UNDERCURRENTS

4. CHAPTER FOUR

4.1. Religio-Political Undercurrents
4.2. The Politics of Religious Dissension
4.3. Sedition and Espionage
4.4. Summary

> The malignant spirit of parties, which is so natural to the English mind, has been introduced into the [Royal] Academy of Music, with the result that at present things are going sideways, and there is everything but harmony….everything went marvelously well at the beginning, but as it progressed, the devil entered and sowed discord among the singers, subscribers and directors. The parties have started making insulting remarks to each other, and everyone has been carried away by mad passion.[1]

For clarification of the religio-political and sociological undercurrents that prevailed during the Development stage of English musical antiquarianism (see Thesis Timeline at Figure 0.1.), I concentrated in this chapter on the roles of the religio-political undercurrents, while reserving a presentation of the sociological undercurrents for Chapters Five through Seven. During the seventeenth and into the mid-eighteenth centuries, religion and politics were so conjoined in complexity that I have treated them as a homogenous unit, beginning first with politics and the Royal Academy of Music, then moving to religion and the nonjurors, and concluding with the elements of espionage and their likely *agents provocateurs* Thomas Britton, Roger L'Estrange, Robert Harley, Thomas Tudway and Christopher Bateman.

[1] Letters from Royal Academy of Music member Giuseppe Riva to Agostino Steffani in March and May 1721; quoted in Thomas McGeary, *The Politics of Opera in Handel's Britain* (Cambridge University Press, 2013) Chapter 3: 57-93, 70.

4.1. RELIGIO-POLITICAL UNDERCURRENTS AND THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF MUSIC

Not to be confused with the latter-day Royal Academy of Music (conservatoire) established in 1822, the original Royal Academy of Music was founded at its outset to provide a reliable supply of opera to the aristocratic class of London.[2] Among the founding members were:

Duke of Kent	Duke of Montrose
Duke of Newcastle	Earl of Rochester
Duke of Grafton	Earl of Berkeley
Duke of Portland	Earl of Burlington
Duke of Manchester	Earl of Litchfield
Duke of Chandos	Earl of Lincoln

Because opera production was expensive and relied on receipts from an unpredictable box office, with additional complications due to unreliable singers and instrumentalists, the Academy directors chose to provide funding by means of subscriptions through the selling of stock shares. It had its initial season in 1719 and continued until 1728. By January of that year, interest was waning, as evidenced by the 18 January 1728 diary entry of Academy member John Perceval:

> I went to a meeting of the members of the Royal Academy of Music, where we agreed to prosecute the subscribers who have not yet paid; also to permit Hydeger [Heidegger] and Hendle [Handel] to carry on operas without disturbance for 5 years and to lend them for that time our scenes, machines, clothes, instruments, furniture, etc. It all past off in a great hurry, and there was not above 20 there.[3]

The Academy's formation was set in the context of the political turmoil following the death of Queen Anne in 1714. The Tory party, favoured by Anne, was

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[2] Elizabeth Gibson, 'The Royal Academy of Music (1719–1928) and its Directors' *Handel Tercentenary Collection*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1987), 138-164; see chart of all directors, 154.
[3] John Perceval, *Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont: Diary of Viscount Percival, Afterwards First Earl of Egmont*, vol. 3, 329 (London: Historical Manuscripts Commission 63; 1920-1923). Hydeger was the Swiss opera impresario Johan Jakob Heidegger, who came to England in 1708 and was manager of the King's Theatre, Haymarket Opera from 1713-1717; see Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, 'Heidegger and the Management of the Haymarket Opera, 1713-1717', *Early music* 27, no. 1 (1999): 65-84.

suddenly and forcefully sidelined after her death and the accession of the Hanoverian George I (1660-1727).[4] The Whig party was reinstated and commenced severe punitive actions against the Tories with the 'utmost rage and revenge', depriving them of their livelihoods and properties and banishing and imprisoning their leaders.[5]

The mixture of political intrigue and music that impacted the Royal Academy of Music issued from the enmity between the King and his son George Augustus, Prince of Wales (1683-1760). Thomas McGreary gives an example of this in Handel's opera *Sosarme, re di Media*, first performed on 15 February 1732, which reflects political undercurrents through the story of a son, Melo, who rebels against his father, King Heliate of Lydia. The opera was viewed by the public as paralleling the tension between the late George and his son.[6]

As Master of the Orchestra, Handel was charged with not only producing operas, but also enlisting singers and instrumentalists, even to the point of travelling to the Continent to recruit vocalists. Within this timeframe, the (first) Royal Academy of Music flourished from 1719 through 1728. The Second Academy, known as Handel's Royal Academy of Music, was backed by George II and his wife Caroline. It functioned from 1729 to 1734, but was unable to compete with the newly formed Opera of the Nobility, which was formed by a faction of nobles backed by Frederick Louis, Prince of Wales (1707-1751). It was created with the intent of rivaling Handel's Royal Academy of Music.[7] McGeary provides a list of the initial subscribers of 1719 in Appendix I of his *The Politics of Opera in Handel's Britain*. All were

[4] McGeary, *The Politics of Opera*, 57.
[5] McGeary, 57.
[6] McGeary, 147.

[7] Carole Taylor, 'Handel and Frederick, Prince of Wales', *The Musical Times* 125, no. 1692 (1984): 89-92.

aristocrats or high government officials, with sixty listed as Whigs and thirty-five as Tories.[8]

4.2. THE POLITICS OF RELIGION: DISSENSION

4. 2.1. THE NONJURORS

Virtually every aspect of life in mid-eighteenth-century England, including music, reflected the intertwining between religion and politics. 'There was no conceptual separation between issues of Church and state, religion and politics.'[9] Music for worship reflected the public sentiment against remnants of Roman Catholicism, not only in cathedrals and parish churches, but in informal group gatherings for worship as well. Nonconformists, also known as dissenters, proliferated and demanded simplicity in music, splintering into such groups as Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, Congregationalists, Unitarians, and The Fifth Monarchists. Not only were they anti-Roman Catholic, but they also refused to adhere to the tenets of the Church of England regarding Anglican High Church music, ritual, and liturgy that remained from Roman services. For the most part, they forbade musical instruments in their worship and allowed only the metrical *a cappella* singing of psalms.

The replacement in 1688 of the Catholic James II by the protestants William and Mary satisfied many, but certainly not all, religious and political conflicts within the English realm. This 'Glorious Revolution' was welcomed by those who saw religious toleration being eroded under James II. On the other hand, there was a significant group of prominent men who could not, by conscience, accept what they viewed as the usurpation of a rightful monarch. They refused to swear the required

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[8] McGeary*, Politics*, Appendix 1, 250-257.
[9] Justin Champion, *The Pillars of Priestcraft Shaken: The Church of England and Its Enemies, 1660-1730* (Cambridge University Press, 1992), 6; quoted in Ruth Smith, *Handel's Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought* (Cambridge University Press, 1995), 9.

oath of allegiance to the new monarchs, thus the appellation 'nonjurors'.[10] Later, at Queen Anne's death in 1714 and the installation of the Hanoverian line, there arose a second wave of nonjuring sentiment, with yet more people declaring themselves unwilling to swear the oath. The issues brought forward initially by the original nonjurors after the Glorious Revolution continued even into the late eighteenth century until the death in 1788 of Charles Edward Stuart, grandson of James II.

In contrast with the dissenters, the nonjurors were predominantly High Church Anglicans and cannot be included in the broad group of nonconformists. The word 'nonconformist' is used here as a generic term to describe the dissident protestant groups that emerged after the Restoration. The nonjurors 'believed in the mystical element in the Eucharist and its absolute centrality to Christian worship and belief', and this was reflected as an undercurrent in the music of its practitioners.[11] Their issue was the question of the legitimacy of the monarchs James II versus William and Mary. This came to bear on what the nonjurors contended to be the usurpation of a legitimate heir to the throne, and this provoked their refusal to compromise themselves by swearing another oath of allegiance to that which they had already sworn to James II.

The original group of nonjurors consisted of nine bishops, including William Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, and many influential academics and scholars of consequence who contributed to a broad field of ecclesiastical and historical studies. Their refusal to acknowledge William and Mary as rightful monarchs led to their deprivation of status and livelihoods, as oaths of allegiance were required for employment in any governmental capacity or for high-office university positions,

[10] From the Latin 'jure' meaning 'to swear'.
[11] Ruth Smith, 'The Achievements of Charles Jennens (1700-1773)', *Music & Letters* 70, no. 2 (1989): 161-190, 175.

including librarianships. While the universities allowed nonjuring students to study at their institutions, they were prevented from receiving degrees. Ironically, as a result of the deprivation of nonjurors from positions that would otherwise have required a great deal of their time, the nonjurors were able to continue with their scholarly activities unencumbered, thereby contributing to the body of knowledge in ways that would not have been afforded to them otherwise. 'The nonjurors were instrumental in the development of Anglo-Saxon and Medieval studies as they searched back into the English past to prove the legitimacy of their concept of the church and state'.[12]

Although their numbers were relatively few, nonjurors had a disproportionate influence on scholarship and the progress of church liturgy, notable among their number being the following:[13]

- George Hickes: nonjuring bishop and spiritual leader of the early nonjurors, prominent historical scholar, especially of Saxon studies
- Humfrey Wanley: antiquarian, Anglo-Saxon scholar, librarian of the Harley collection
- Richard Rawlinson: nonjuring bishop, antiquarian, collector of books and music
- Thomas Hearne: antiquarian, collector, writer: it is from Appendix 8 of his *Hemingi Chartularium ecclesiæ Wigorniensis* of 1723 that we learn that it was John Bagford who related to Hearne the information that established the relationship between Bagford and Thomas Britton.
- Hilkiah Bedford: author of *Vindication of the Church of England* (1710)
- Jeremy Collier: nonjuring writer and critic of ecclesiastical history
- Henry Dodwell: Oxford don, author of *The Case in View*
- Samuel Pepys: diarist, amateur musician, nonjuror sympathiser[14]
- John Evelyn: diarist, nonjuror sympathiser[15]
- Roger L'Estrange: musician, Surveyor of the Press, friend of Thomas Britton
- Henry Aldrich: Oxford dean, musician, composer, nonjuror sympathiser[16]

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[12] Keith A. Schmid, 'Legitimacy and Orthodoxy: The English Nonjurors, 1688-1750' (PhD diss., Montreal: McGill University Libraries, 1983), 142

[13] Schmid, 'Legitimacy'; also John Henry Overton, *The Nonjurors: Their Lives, Principles, and Writings* (London: Smith, Elder, 1902).

[14] Overton, 275.

[15] Overton, 275-276.

[16] Robert Shay, 'Aldrich, Henry'. Grove Music Online, 2001. Accessed 1 January 2021. https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000000505.

- Arthur Bedford: nonjuring writer on the proper uses of church music, author of *The Great Abuse of Music* (1711) and *The Excellency of Divine Music* (1733)
- Thomas Tudway: musician, composer, nonjuring sympathiser

John Henry Overton in his *The Nonjurors: Their Lives, Principles, and Writings* (1902) described many of the points of contention within the nonjuror community: 'The principles of the nonjurors, of course, led them to attach the deepest importance to the details of public worship, and their internal disputes about these details more than anything else led to their decay and downfall'.[17] As the details of their conflicting opinions of liturgy overtook them, they split into two antithetical factions: Usagers and Non-Usagers, with the Usagers adhering to the following precepts or 'usages':

(1) The mixed chalice
(2) Prayers for the faithful departed
(3) Prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost on the consecrated elements
(4) The Oblatory Prayer, offering the elements to the Father as symbols of His Son's Body and Blood[18]

The Non-Usagers disagreed with the Usagers on several points, especially over which version of the Prayer Book was to be used. The intensity of their disagreements eventually drove their argument to its demise.

In assessing the influence on music for worship in the nonjuring congregations, it must be pointed out that gathering for the purpose of worship by these groups was outlawed. They met primarily in homes or in the countryside or in private chapels, such as those at Longleat, Shottesbrooke, Burghley, Eastwell, and

[17] Overton, *The Nonjurors*, 280.
[18] Overton, 292-293; Overton describes these usages: 'These four points are all covered by King Edward's First Prayer Book: wherein (1) the rubric orders the putting of a little pure and clean water to the wine in the chalice; (2) instead of "Let us pray for Christ's Church militant here in earth", the invitation is "Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church", the latter words being added for obvious reasons; and in the prayer itself there is a long and beautiful clause commending to God's mercy those 'which are departed hence from us with the sign of faith, and now do rest in the sleep of peace;' and (3) and (4) are both distinctly covered by two clauses in the Consecration Prayer which were expunged from the second and subsequent Books'.

Vale Royal.[19] Ralph Thoresby writes of visiting a nonjuring group in Great Ormond Street, London, which was attended by Bishop George Hickes and Vicar Nelson of York. There were reports, too, of worship services being held in Lambeth and Ely Houses by Bishops Sancroft and Turner.[20] It was not unusual for the authorities to breach private homes to arrest worshipers, so for reasons of security and safety, their music was driven underground and not overtly included in some nonjuring services. Among notices published in the *Daily Post* for 28 July 1729 appeared the following: 'This Day is Published: The Penal Laws against Papists and Popish Recusants, Nonconformists and Nonjurors, Price 21s' [£158].[21]

The nonjuring Bishop Thomas Brett, writing to the nonjuring Bishop Jeremy Collier during the time in 1717 when the New Communion Office was being prepared, expressed his views on the order of service for Sunday worship:

> As to the Introit, this is to be sung after the choir offices, while the priest retires to the vestry to put on the habit proper to the Communion (which as you know ought to be different from that he reads prayers in) and from thence proceeds to the Altar.[22]

Another Brett letter addresses the sung Introit:

> The water is put in the cup before Morning Service and at the Offertory the wine is poured in...[and] between the Services an Introit is sung.[23]

The ideal of the nonjurors was to return to grave and solemn music, and they were rigorous in expressing their opinions on the impropriety of what they considered to be degenerate contemporary music for worship. According to The Reverend

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[19] Overton, 288.
[20] Overton, 282.
[21] 'Advertisements and Notices', *Daily Post*, 28 July 1729, *Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Burney Newspapers Collection.* Accessed 7 March 2021. https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/Z2000273807/BBCN?u=bham_uk&sid=BBCN&xid=30f16f5d.
[22] Ob Brett MSS, vol. xv, fol. 325; see Henry Broxap, *The Later Non-Jurors* (Cambridge University Press, 1928), Appendix 11: 'Non-Jurors' Doctrine and Ceremonies', 12-13.
[23] Ob Brett MSS, vol. x, fol. 11.

Arthur Bedford (1668-1745), the prominent nonjuring writer on church music having musical antiquarian sympathies:

> The Humour of the Age is turn'd from every thing that is solid to that which is vain, and our grave Musick vanishes into Air….Our antient Church-Musick is lost, and that solid grave harmony, fit for a Martyr to delight in, and an Angel to hear, is now chang'd into a diversion for Atheists and Libertines.[24]

Thomas Tudway, also a nonjuror and musical antiquarian, commented 'As to Church-music, I'm afraid, some have mixt, too much of the Theatrical way, thinking thereby to make it more Elegant and takeing; But by this means, the peculiarity, & gravity of style is lost, whereby it was always, worthily distinguish'd from the secular'.[25]

Included in the nonjuring debate on cathedral music was the topic of pre-Babylonian Jewish temple worship and its double-choir psalmody employing instrumental accompaniment. Arthur Bedford's 1706 defence of cathedral music argues for the Jewish ritual, 'identifying the Jewish dispensation as the summit of ancient musical practice and the forerunner of the best of modern practice' which was not meant to be annulled with the coming of Christ.[26] Nonjurors believed that the keeping of those practices, which would be recognized by Jews as traditional to the Temple, would accelerate their conversion to Christianity, and that the conversion would have its beginnings in England. 'Bedford justifies modern cathedral psalmody on the grounds that it corresponds to ancient liturgical practice, both Jewish and Christian'[27], as expressed in his *The Temple Musick….*[28]

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[24] Arthur Bedford, *The Great Abuse of Musick* (London: John Wyatt, 1711), 209.
[25] Christopher Hogwoodand, Richard Luckett, eds., 'Thomas Tudway's History of Music', *Music in Eighteenth Century England: Essays in Memory of Charles Cudworth*, (Cambridge University Press, 1983), 19-47; quoted in Ruth Smith, *Handel's Oratorios,* 47.
[26] Ruth Smith, *Handel's oratorios,* 90-91.
[27] Ruth Smith, 91
[28] Arthur Bedford, *The Temple Musick: or, an Essay Concerning the Method of Singing the Psalms of David, in the Temple, Before the Babylonish Captivity. Wherein, the Musick of our Cathedrals is*

The music collector, antiquarian, and nonjuring sympathizer Henry Aldrich was ‘a leader of the Oxford resistance to James II’s Catholic advances, and under William III he became one of the chief defenders of High Church practices, publicly opposing both the comprehension of non-Anglicans and revisions to the Prayer Book.’29 The ‘comprehension of non-Anglicans’ refers to measures taken by the Church to accommodate non-Anglicans and non-conformists, so to allow them to be reconciled with the Anglican Church.[30]

Overton discusses details surrounding the importance of the nonjuror movement with regard to its timeline and religious implications, which eventually permeated virtually all strata of English society. Nonjurors were found not only in the expected ecclesiastical and academic settings, but also in the arts. Poets and playwrights Anne Finch, Countess of Winchelsea (1661-1720), Elijah Fenton (1683-1730), and Edward Holdsworth (1684-1746) of Magdalen College, Oxford, were counted among the literary nonjurors. Musicians included Thomas Tudway, already mentioned as Organist of King’s College, Cambridge; John Leigh, Choirmaster of St. Mary Overie, Southwark (Diocese of Rochester); Robert Wilson and John Yorke, Vicars-Choral of York Minster; and Andrew Yapp, Precentor of Durham.[31]

4..2.2. THE SECOND WAVE OF NONJURORS: CHARLES JENNENS

As a nonjuring objector to the accession of the Hanoverian monarchy in 1714, Charles Jennens (1700-1773), librettist for Handel, art collector, editor of

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Vindicated, and Supposed to be Conformable, not only to That of the Primitive Christians, but also to the Practice of the Church in All Preceding Ages (Bristol: W. Bonny and the booksellers of Bristol; and Roger Warne of Chippenham: 1706).

[29] Robert Shay, ‘Aldrich, Henry,’ Grove Music Online, 2001. Accessed 1 January 2021. https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000000505.

[30] Charles Hefling, ‘The Liturgy of Comprehension’, *Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer: A Worl*dwide Survey, 2006, (Oxford University Press, 2006).

[31] Overton, *Nonjurors*, 484, 494-496; also John William Klein, *The Mental Universe of the English Nonjurors* (Bloomington, IN: Xlibris Corporation, 2019), 17-18.

Shakespeare, and wealthy landowner, was a staunch defender of his nonjuring faith. He studied at Balliol College, Oxford, considered at the time to be a hotbed of Jacobites and Jacobite sympathizers. Jennens took no degree, as that would have required his taking the Oath. However, in the eighteenth century it was not unusual for those sons of gentlemen, who would not be pursuing a profession, to study the classics at university for a year or two but not take a degree.

Ruth Smith in *Charles Jennens: The Man Behind Handel's Messiah,*[32] describes Jennens' penchant for expressing his 'defence and spread of the Christian creed' in everything in which he was engaged, from the design of monuments at Gopsall Hall, his estate in Leicester, to his strict adherence in rendering accurate textual evidence in his Shakespeare editions, being 'a reflection of his Protestant belief in the paramount sanctity of the inspired Word of Scripture.'[33]

Jennens' masterful libretto of Handel's *Messiah* is an example of nonjuring religious views being woven into the text of a major musical work. He had urged Handel over a three-year period to turn his attention to such a composition. Although Handel initially showed no such inclination, as a result of Jennens' persistence, he finally did so.[34] 'What emerges from the artistic collaboration between Jennens and Handel is Handel's usefulness in promoting Jennens' political and religious ideology'.[35] In a letter to Edward Holdsworth of 21 February 1742/3, Jennens expressed his frustration with Handel's lack of attention in making the needed corrections to *Messiah*:

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[32] Ruth Smith, *Charles Jennens: The Man Behind Handel's Messiah* [exhibition document at the Handel House Museum, London, 21 November 2012 to 14 April 2013] (London: Gerald Coke Handel Foundation, 2012).
[33] Ruth Smith, 18.
[34] Ruth Smith, 50ff; also Jonathan Keates, *Messiah*, vol. 4. (London: Head of Zeus, 2016), 58-59.
[35] Keates, *Messiah,* 58-59.

> …'tis still in his power by retouching the weak parts [of *Messiah*] to make it fit for a publick performance; and I have said a great deal to him on the Subject; but he is so lazy and so obstinate, that I much doubt the effect.[36]

Jennens' frustration with Handel was ongoing, for in his letter to Holdsworth of 7 May 1744, he wrote, 'Handel has promised to revise the Oratorio of *Messiah*…but I must take him as I find him, and make the best use I can of him.…'[37]

In addition to *Messiah*, Handel and Jennens collaborated on the oratorios *Saul, Belshazzar, Israel in Egypt,* and perhaps others not identified as such. In using Handel to promote his politics, Jennens' *Saul* libretto incorporates the usurping of one king, Saul, by another, the Amalekite, naming it 'as sacrilege against the anointed of the Lord', while in *Belshazzar*, Jennens' libretto characterises the return of the Jews to their ancestral homeland with a subtle inference of the restoration of the Stuarts.

Typical of the nonjurors, Jennens was an avowed Protestant but also unrelentingly supportive of the Catholic Stuarts as the rightful monarchs anointed by God.[38] These early-to-mid-eighteenth-century nonjurors were committed to the High Church Anglican faith, which supported the orthodoxy of the divinity of Christ, the belief in transubstantiation, and the miracles of faith as described in the Old and New Testaments. Their beliefs put them at odds with a society which was yielding to the ideals of the Enlightenment. On one hand, they struggled with their unwillingness to accept the usurpation of the Stuart monarchs, yet at the same time, they opposed the Roman Catholicism of the Stuarts.[39]

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[36] Amanda Babington and Ilias Chrissochoidis, 'Musical References in the Jennens–Holdsworth Correspondence (1729–1746)', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 45, no. 1 (2014), 115.
[37] Babington and Chrissochoidis, 'Musical References', 121.
[38] Keates, *Messiah*, 59.
[39] Donald Burrows, *Messiah* (Cambridge University Press, 1991), Chapters 2, 10.

The interactions among the nonjurors, such as Tudway, Bedford, and Jennens, when combined with the prevailing religious climate, resulted in cultural binders that served to wend their way through the period. Nonjuring principles regarding music contributed to the antiquarian cause through their influence at this juncture.

4.2.3. THE UNDERCURRENT OF MISTRUST

'I am a good Protestant, and in the full sense of the term, for from the bottom of my soul, I protest against everything that is said, and everything that is done.'[40]

These are the words of the French philosopher Pierre Bayle (1647-1706) and are an adequate description of the quagmire resulting from the Glorious Revolution. An undercurrent relating to the subject of antiquarians and nonjurors was the mistrust in the nonjuring antiquarians' interpretation of history.[41] The antiquarians were studying and translating ancient documents, and were in the pivotal position of manipulating their translations to fit their religious beliefs (1.4.)[42]. As the debate continued in the spirit of 'who has the truth'—the historical superiority held by the Crown or 'the people', i.e., Parliament—that mistrust led to the suspicion of whether antiquarians had distorted the meanings of the ancient documents they relied on, either by design or not. This debate carried through on both sides of the argument, not only in England, but on the Continent as well. The case for skepticism was being debated particularly in France by Bayle with his revival of what became known as

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[40] Pierre Bayle, *Pierre Bayle Quotes*. BrainyQuote.com, BrainyMedia Inc. 2019, https://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/pierre_bayle_400579. Accessed 26 June 2019.
[41] Arnaldo Momigliano, 'Ancient History and the Antiquarian', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 13, no. 3/4 (1950): 296.
[42] The laws of England were still in their medieval state at this time and inaccessible to be read by the laity. Consequently, antiquarian scholars were suspected of translating documents to suit their political and religious purposes. Sir William Blackstone (1723-1780) consolidated English law into a readable form suitable for common use in his *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, 4 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1765-1770).

historical Pyrrhonism.[43] La Mothe Le Vayer (1588-1672), tutor of Louis XIV, first resurrected the notion of Pyrrhonism in his essay of 1668: 'Du peu de certitude qu'il y a dans l'historique' (There is very little that is certain in history).

4.3. SEDITION AND ESPIONAGE

One of the sobering and well-known themes throughout history for those in positions of political power has been their need to be ever-watchful for those seeking to overthrow them, and sixteenth-century England was certainly rife with its share of usurpers. Elizabeth I's principal secretary, Francis Walsingham, well known as Elizabeth's spymaster, brought spying to an art form in the sixteenth century. Always mindful of forces that supported Mary Stuart's claim to the throne of England, Walsingham expanded his contacts and covert spying techniques with the ultimate result of bringing down Mary, leading to her subsequent execution. It remains a matter of conjecture whether Mary was entrapped or the charges against her were factual. Nevertheless, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw a continuation of the Stuart ‘problem’ with the bloodless overthrow of James II. Always looking over their shoulders for indications of sedition, government officials sought ways to ferret out anyone supporting a contrary cause spreading such notions, and one of their agents could well have been the ‘small-coal man’ and musical antiquarian Thomas Britton.

[43] 'Pyrrhonism': from the fourth-century BC Greek philosopher Pyrrho, credited as the first philosopher of skepticism. The works of Sextus Empiricus, second-century A.D. philosopher (Greek or Roman), are based on those of Pyrrho and were influential in the Renaissance and Reformation by academics and philosophers who used them as guides to determining religious and historical issues. For an extensive discussion on Pyrrho and Sextus Empiricus, see Alan Bailey, *Sextus Empiricus and Pyrrhonean Scepticism* (Oxford University Press, 2002).

4.3.1. WAS THOMAS BRITTON A SPY?

Despite the many contemporary accolades accorded to Britton during his lifetime for his contributions to music, there are yet other reasons to examine the more circumspect comments reported by Horace Walpole in his *Anecdotes of Painting*:

> Various were the opinions concerning him [Britton]: Some thought his musical assembly only a cover for seditious meetings; others for magical purposes. He was taken for an Atheist, A Presbyterian, a Jesuit. But Woolaston the painter, and the father of a gentleman from whom I received this account, and who were both members of the music-club, assured him [the son] that Britton was a plain, simple, honest man, who only meaned to amuse himself.[44]

Britton may have been honest, but he was anything but plain and simple. He can be documented as a musical antiquarian of many varied pursuits, certainly a man of eclectic interests and talents: accomplished musician, composer, inventor, alchemist, Rosicrucian, collector of antiquities, and very possibly a spy for Roger L'Estrange and Robert Harley (Figure 6.1.)

4.3.2. BRITTON AND SIR ROGER L'ESTRANGE

Considering the association of Britton and Sir Roger L'Estrange (1616-1704), Hawkins tells us that it was L'Estrange (also Le Strange) who first suggested to Britton that he should host concerts in his home.[45] In addition to his duties as Surveyor of the Press, L'Estrange was interested in music as an avocation and was an excellent player of the bass viol. His parents were also musicians and provided the opportunity for their children to excel musically by learning the viol. Roger later attended and played at Britton concerts. John Locke dedicated his book *Melothesia* (1673) to L'Estrange, and Burney notes that 'L'Estrange, himself, [was] a good judge [of music], and of an ancient Norfolk family that always cultivated and encouraged

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[44] Horace Walpole and George Vertue, *Anecdotes of Painting in England: With Some Account of the Principal Artists, and Incidental Notes on Other Arts. Also, a Catalogue of Engravers who Have Been Born Or Resided in England*. 3 vols. (London: Bohn, 1849): vol. 3, 253.
[45] John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music. A New Edition, with the Author's Posthumous Notes* (London: Novello, Ewer, 1875), 789.

Music in an eminent degree'.[46] Other contemporary writers esteemed his musical skill:

- Roger North, in his *Memories of Musick*, referred to him as 'an expert violist'.[47]
- John Evelyn wrote in his *Diary* of L'Estrange being entertained at his own home by the famed violinist Thomas Baltzar.[48]
- Ned Ward, in his *Satiric Reflections on Clubs* of 1709, wrote of L'Estrange being 'a very musical gentleman, and who had a tolerable perfection on the base-viol'.[49]

The Royalist L'Estrange obtained the sobriquet 'Noll's fiddler' or 'Oliver's fiddler' that followed him from the time of the Commonwealth and caused suspicion of his being a spy for Cromwell.[50] An accusation was made by a Presbyterian minister, Edward Bagshaw, that L'Estrange had used his musical talents as a cover to communicate with Cromwell. The incident involved a chance meeting of L'Estrange with a group of musicians known to have been in the employ of Cromwell from about 1654. L'Estrange's outraged response took the form of a pamphlet entitled *Truth and Loyalty Vindicated from the Reproaches and Clamours of Mr. Edward Bagshaw* (1662):

> Being in St. James Parke, I heard an organ played in a little low room of one Mr. Hinckson's. I went in, and found a Private Company of some five or six Persons. They desired me to take up a Viole, and bear a part. I did so…and by and by in comes Cromwell; He found us Playing and (as I remember) so he left us.[51]

Concerning Roger's parentage, the elder Sir Hamon L'Estrange (1583-1654), father of sons Roger, Nicholas, Hamon, and daughter Armine, was from an old

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[46] Charles Burney, *A General History of Music (London, 1776-1789*), Frank Mercer, ed., (New York: Dover Publications,1957): vol. 2, 372.
[47] *Roger North on Music*, John Wilson, ed., (London, 1959), 355.
[48] John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, E.S. de Beer, ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press,1955), ii, 82.
[49] Howard William Troyer, *Ned Ward of Grub Street: A Study of Sub-literary London in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Psychology Press, 1968), 163.
[50] 'Old Noll': nickname for Oliver Cromwell; see Clement Boulton Roylance Kent, *The Early History of the Tories: From the Accession of Charles the Second to the Death of William the Third (1660-1702)* (London: Smith, Elder, 1908), 196-197.
[51] Anne Dunan-Page and Beth Lynch, eds., *Roger L'Estrange and the Making of Restoration Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), Chapter 8 by Andrew Ashbee, '"My Fiddle is a Bass Viol": Music in the Life of Roger L'Estrange', 152-153.

Norfolk family that had settled in Hunstanton in the twelfth century. Sir Hamon was a patron of the arts, particularly music and literature, and from the detailed accounts kept by his wife, Lady Alice, we learn how extensive the music education was that they provided for their children.[52] She relates that for the three boys, it was a fine and ongoing music education, and it can be surmised that Armine was included. The musician, composer, and teacher of the viol John Jenkins, spent many years in Norfolk living with the L'Estrange family, and later with the North family, employed as music master to their children as well. Lady Alice's accounts of the L'Estrange children's music education relate primarily to mentioning the 'Viall' [viol], with entries for the purchases of 'viall strings', viol cases, books, and the transport of viols to the L'Estrange home.

Roger's brother, Sir Nicholas, employed a number of music copyists and is the subject of the investigation by Jonathan Wainwright into copies of the Jenkins partbooks in Royal College of Music MS 1145. Wainwright notes that 'The manuscripts copied for Le Strange are particularly remarkable because of their numerous annotations concerning copy-sources'.[53]

Roger L'Estrange's political activities were colourful. He fought for the Royalist cause, for which he was sentenced to death, then pardoned by Cromwell, and in 1662 was appointed Surveyor of the Press, which authorized him to license publications. His post carried no salary, but it gave him powers of search and censorship, along with the sole right to publish 'narratives' not exceeding two sheets of paper. He was thus the chief government propagandist. Later he received a pension of £300 [£48,800], which he was required to earn by tracking down the

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[52] Dunan-Page and Lynch, *Roger L'Estrange,* 149-166.
[53] Jonathan P. Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605-1670),* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997), 89.

authors and printers of seditious libels under the authority of searching the premises of booksellers and printers at the slightest hint of dissension. L'Estrange excelled in these duties, which involved him in a prolonged dispute with the Stationers' Company, resulting in little success for him. He lost this office upon the expiration of the Press Act in May 1679.[54]

How Britton came to know his neighbour Roger L'Estrange is a matter of speculation. Most plausibly they were acquainted through their mutual musical interests, but perhaps after all, there was a link through the accusations that Britton was a spy. I suggest that L'Estrange may have recruited Britton to provide him with information that Britton may have come upon through his association with the patrons of Christopher Bateman's bookshop, and that this was the wellspring of the accusations against him (Figure 2.1.). Daniel Defoe also frequented Bateman's bookshop and was an acquaintance of Britton and, surely, L'Estrange.[55] Thus, there are two possible links between Britton and spying: L'Estrange and Harley.

The Licensing Act expired in 1695 and, in the aftermath, the proliferation of tracts, broadsides, and generally all manner of printed material became of great concern to the government. The Ministry of the Secretary of State was given the charge of supervising the publishing trade, and the papers of the Ministry secretaries are the sources for much of the information on the press activities at that time.[56]

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[54] Dunan-Page and Lynch (eds), *Roger L'Estrange*, 1.
[55] Defoe had been imprisoned for seditious libel for his pamphlets *An Enquiry into Occasional Conformity* (1698) and *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters* (1703). He was released from prison by Robert Harley, who in return required that he serve undercover as his *agent provocateur* to promote the unification cause with Scotland (1707).
[56] Henry L. Snyder, 'The Reports of a Press Spy for Robert Harley: New Bibliographical Data for the Reign of Queen Anne', *The Library* 5, no. 4 (1967): 326-345, 327.

4.3.3. BRITTON AND SIR ROBERT HARLEY

Sir Robert Harley (1661-1724) served as Secretary of State from 1704-1708, in which office his primary duties were in three areas:

- encouragement of writers friendly to the government
- prosecution of writers and publishers who produced works offensive to the Ministry
- close surveillance of the whole output of the English and Scottish press.[57]

Harley enlisted spies wherever he could, offering them attractive and sometimes outright coercive incentives to entice their cooperation, with Daniel Defoe being among the first so entrapped by Harley's designs. As mentioned, Defoe's work for Harley in Scotland was in return for his release from prison. Defoe was then compelled to write tracts favourable to, and in defence of, the government. Harley created an impressive intelligence service, and like L'Estrange, he cultivated and choreographed informants to supply sufficient information needed to arrest writers, booksellers and printers. Harley's account books contain a wealth of entries for the payments of printed material of various kinds, including the ballads, books, pamphlets, and newspapers that were gathered as evidence to convict accused offenders[58].

William Weber points out that Dr Thomas Tudway became a political agent for Harley at Cambridge. Being a stalwart Tory, and having extensive connections at Cambridge, Tudway was in a position to keep Harley briefed on political intrigues there. Harley's hold over Tudway was that Harley led him to believe that he would acquire a position for Tudway at the court of Queen Anne, which he very much desired. She was reluctant to appoint him and procrastinated, much to his

[57] Snyder, 330.
[58] Snyder, 329-330.

misfortune, and died before giving her consent, thereby negating the issue when the Tories were discharged from government on the accession of George I in 1714.[59]

Were John Bagford and Britton also spies for Harley? They both perused the London bookshops and bookstalls to add to their collections. Bagford was also acting as a commissioned agent to collect books and manuscripts for Harley's collection. Britton also may have been collecting for Harley and I argue that he could very well have been acting as his informant. Hawkins wrote that Britton met Harley, the Earls of Sunderland, Winchelsea, Pembroke, the Duke of Devonshire, and Daniel Defoe when they gathered at Christopher Bateman's bookshop around noon on Saturdays to compare notes of their findings (Figure 2.1.).[60] It is out of character for Britton as a tradesman to meet as he did with those of high social status. While no documentary evidence has yet come to light indicating that he was serving as a spy for Harley, circumstantial evidence weighs heavily that it is a possibility, especially as he was thought by some to be 'not as he seemed'.[61]

Although Bagford's explorations of the London bookshops and bookstalls put him in a position to gather political information which could be helpful to L'Estrange and Harley, the historical records do not point to accusations of Bagford spying, as in the case of Britton.[62] At a time when England and the Dutch Republic had recently been engaged in commercial wars, Bagford is known to have visited John Bullard, the former London bookseller, after Bullard moved to Amsterdam. Bagford was an acquaintance of Bullard while he was in London, and subsequently visited him in

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[59] William Weber, 'Thomas Tudway and the Harleian Collection of "Ancient' Church Music"', *British Library Journal* 15, no. 2 (1989): 187-205, 193-194.
[60] Hawkins, *History*, 791.
[61] Hawkins, 791.
[62] Bagford's peregrinations would have been tempting to exploit, but if he were ever approached, I could find no proof of it. Correspondence between Bagford and his many collector-associates suggests that he was so single-minded and dedicated to his antiquarian pursuits that he had neither the time nor the interest for carrying on other activities.

Haarlem on two occasions, accompanied by the London bookseller John Murray. Ostensibly these trips were made in Bagford's quest for relics of Laurens Janszoon Coster, the early Dutch printer and rival of Gutenberg. It is reasonable to assume, however, that the English government would have had an interest in recruiting Bagford to provide information about activities in Holland, but it is not known whether he was ever approached to supply clandestine information.[63]

4.3.4. CHRISTOPHER BATEMAN'S BOOKSHOP

Because sellers of printed material were susceptible to being suspected of purveying seditious items, it was from the ranks of those engaged in the printing trade itself that Harley obtained an abundant supply of information. The printer Robert Clare's reports and letters to him provide the preponderance of details known about Harley's surreptitious activities.[64] In his report cited 'Number 4. From Wednesday, October 10. To Wednesday, October 17' of 1705, Clare wrote to Harley:

> What hath occurr'd this Week to my Knowledge I have presented Your Honour withal; as also with a List of the several Printers, etc. I before promis'd if it be agreeable to your Honour, I shall attempt a List of ye several Booksellers and Publishers likewise.[65]

Printers of suspect ballads and 'Songs composed to Musick' appear on lists in the Clare reports:

> A List of the Names of those Printers who print the daily and weekly Papers …and of those who have printed pamphlets, Ballads, etc., and are now suspected to do the same; as also of those who print or sell Songs composed to Musick.[66]

Central to the community of London printers, antiquarians, and aristocratic collectors, including Robert Harley, gathering as political agents at his bookshop, it

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[63] Milton McC. Gatch, 'John Bagford, Bookseller and Antiquary', British *Library Journal* 12, no. 2 (1986): 150-71, 152,159.
[64] Snyder, 'The Reports of a Press Spy for Robert Harley', 330.
[65] Snyder, 330, 335.
[66] Snyder, 344.

would seem that Christopher Bateman himself was above scrutiny, as described by the author and bookseller John Dunton:

> There are few booksellers in England (if any) that understand books better than Mr Bateman, nor does his diligence and industry come short of his knowledge. He is a man of great reputation and honesty.[67]

The Bateman family had been in the book trade for several generations. Christopher's father, also Christopher, was well-established as a forthright, knowledgeable dealer. Their shop was on Ave Maria Lane off Paternoster Row near St Paul's Cathedral. In his *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century* (1812), the printer John Nichols wrote about the curious approach by Christopher (the younger Bateman) when conducting business with customers:

> Bateman would allow no person to look into books in his shop, and when asked a reason for this extraordinary rule, he answered: 'I suppose you may be a physician or an author, and want some recipe or quotation; and, if you buy it, I will engage it to be perfect before you leave me, but not after, as I have suffered by leaves being torn out, and the books returned, to my very great loss and prejudice'.[68]

Yet with Bagford, Bateman allowed him to help himself to anything that Bateman deemed to be literary detritus destined to be discarded. Bagford's valuable collection of these remains from the printing business was attributable largely to Bateman's generosity.

If Britton were indeed providing clandestine information to Harley, it could well have been done surreptitiously at the meetings at Bateman's bookshop. With Jonathan Swift, political activist and doubtless patron of the bookshop, and Defoe,

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[67] John Dunton, *The Life and Errors of John Dunton, Citizen of London: With the Lives and Characters of More Than a Thousand Contemporary Divines, and Other Persons of Literary Eminence. To Which are Added, Dunton's Conversation in Ireland; Selections from His Other Genuine Works; and a Faithful Portrait of the Author,* vol. 1 (London: Nichols, Son, and Bentley, 1818).

[68] John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Nichols, 1812); quoted in William Roberts, *The Earlier History of English Bookselling* (location: Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1889), 122.

also a frequent caller there, it is highly probable that they would have used such visits to transfer covert evidence.[69]

4.4. SUMMARY

This chapter presented my identification and examination of the religio-political undercurrents that animated English musical antiquarianism. I concluded that these undercurrents established a cultural underpinning of seemingly disparate antiquarian activities on the road to preserving 'old' music for posterity.

I demonstrated that the internal politics simmering within the Royal Academy of Music, which ultimately ensnared members of the aristocracy, Handel, and Bononcini, set the stage for igniting the powder keg that erupted into one of the great musical scandals of eighteenth-century England (3.2.).

My research uncovered the importance of the nonjuror movement and its religious and political influences on musical antiquarianism, leading me to conclude that the nonjuring clergyman Arthur Bedford contributed more significantly to musical antiquarianism than has been hitherto reported through his trenchant stand on the purpose and style of church music. He expressed this in *The Great Abuse of Music* (4.2.1.). Later, Charles Jennens represented the sway of nonjuring thought that was exerted on Handel (4.2.2.). Although relatively small in number, the nonjurors contributed an inordinately significant presence due to their status as academicians and ecclesiastics.

The undercurrent of mistrust engendered by the nonjuring scholars, with their disputatious interpretations of the ancient civil and ecclesiastical documents, and the possibility that Thomas Britton functioned as a spy for Roger L'Estrange and Sir

[69] 'Defoe at Yale', *Yale University Library Gazette* 22, no. 4 (1948): 99–115, 109.

Robert Harley, all contribute to a validation of their relevance to English musical antiquarianism.

5. CHAPTER FIVE

5.1. Sociological Undercurrents: The Secret Societies
5.2. Musical Antiquarianism and Freemasonry
5.3. A Closer Look at Rosicrucianism, Freemasonry and Alchemy
5.4. Elias Ashmole: Antiquarian, Freemason and Rosicrucian
5.5. The Royal Society aka The Invisible College
5.6. Musical Antiquarianism, The Royal Society and the Occult
5.7. Isaac Newton as Musical Antiquarian
5.8. Alchemy Applied to the Musical Form of Canon
5.9. Summary

> Beneath the broad tide of human history there flow the stealthy undercurrents of the secret societies, which frequently determine in the depth the changes that take place upon the surface.[1]

From the rational perspective of a twenty-first-century historiographer, it is a curious endeavour to comprehend the seemingly byzantine thought structures within which seventeenth- and eighteenth-century musical antiquarians functioned, surrounded as they were by mystical notions of alchemy, superstition, and natural magic, which were fundamental touchstones in their everyday lives. In this chapter I determined to unravel the sociological milieu in which these musical antiquarians found themselves, while providing background material for Chapter Six on Thomas Britton, whose incongruous activities showed that he embraced so many of those labyrinthine thought processes.

5.1. SOCIOLOGICAL UNDERCURRENTS: THE SECRET SOCIETIES

By way of background and definitions, there existed in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England an overlapping confederation of interlocking sociological undercurrents among the esoteric ideologies and secret societies of alchemy, Rosicrucianism, and Freemasonry. These are best expressed for convenience as genera of Hermeticism (Figure 5.1.). They functioned in symbiosis, with their

[1] Arthur Edward Waite, *The Real History of the Rosicrucians; Founded on Their Own Manifestoes, and on Facts and Documents Collected from the Writings of Initiated Brethren* (London: George Redway, 1887), Preface, 1.

practitioners sometimes holding plural memberships in multiple fraternal communities, primarily in London, Oxford, and to a lesser degree Cambridge. Of these ideologies, the musicians Heinrich Bokemeyer and Johann Gottfried Walther concluded that among them, alchemy was especially important to music as the metaphysical genesis of the musical canon, brought to its highest form in J.S. Bach's *Die Kunst der Fuge* (discussed further at 5.8.).

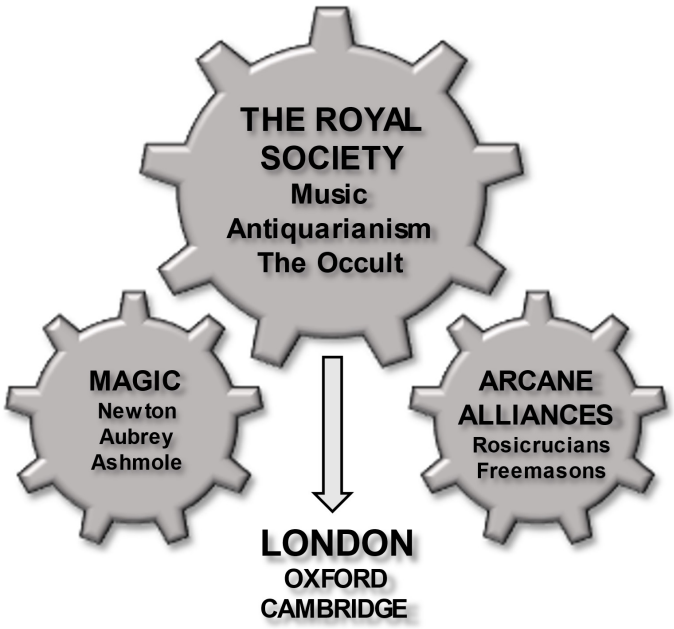


Figure 5.1. — Interlocking Sociological Undercurrents

As there is some overlap among their various doctrines, an overview of their definitions is presented here:

5.1.1. ALCHEMY

The early alchemists had multiple objectives. Among them were to (1) transmute base metals into noble metals, especially gold, (2) discover a universal elixir that would cure all diseases and assure immortality, and (3) transmute the human spirit from a base state into an exalted one. With the discovery of oxygen in 1775 and its application to combustion, the age of alchemy ended and the term 'alchemy' was

supplanted by the terms ‘chemistry’ and ‘metallurgy’.[2] It can be claimed with reasonable certainty that the musical antiquarians were urbane individuals having a cosmopolitan worldview and a curiosity about Natural Philosophy (science), and that they would have known about—perhaps participated in—investigations of their contemporary English alchemists.

5.1.2. HERMETICISM

The Hermetic tradition is said to have originated with Hermes Trismegistus, the legendary Alexandrian prophet. It incorporated alchemy, astrology, and natural (good) magic, as opposed to the evil magic of witchcraft and sorcery. Its practitioners considered it to be consistent with Judaic and Christian teachings.[3] The tenets of Rosicrucianism and Freemasonry included elements of alchemy and astrology that were studied and practised by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century men of science, including Christopher Wren, Robert Hooke, Robert Boyle, Elias Ashmole, Theophilus Garencières, Athanasius Kircher and, central to this thesis, Thomas Britton.

The polymath Jesuit priest and author of *Musurgia Universalis* (1650), Athanasius Kircher, wrote extensively on subjects included in the tradition originating with Hermes. He maintained that there was a spiritual connection between Hermeticism, Rosicrucianism, and the Jesuit order.[4]

5.1.3. ROSICRUCIANISM

Rather than existing as an organization, Rosicrucianism originated as a metaphysical movement popularized in the seventeenth century based on

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[2] Fathi Habashi, ‘The Age of Alchemy, History of Chemistry, Metallurgy, and Civilisation’, *Interdisciplinary Science Reviews* 23:24, 348-361.

[3] For further studies on Hermeticism, see Frances A. Yates ‘The Hermetic Tradition in Renaissance Science’ in Charles S. Singleton, ed., *Art, Science, and History in the Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1967), 255–273; also William R. Newman*, Newton the Alchemist: Science, Enigma, and the Quest for Nature's Secret Fire* (Princeton University Press, 2019).

[4] Frances A. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (London: Routledge, 1972), 289.

Hermeticism, particularly alchemy and astrology. The collections of musical antiquarian Thomas Britton contained Rosicrucian documents, contributing to the suspicion that he was not the simple man he appeared to be. Rosicrucianism was derived from a series of three secret manifestos published in the early seventeenth century, the first being the *Fama Fraternitatis* of 1614 by 'Frater C.R.C.' (Christiani Rosencrütz) and originating from the metaphorical Order of the Rosy Cross = Rosi-crucian. The manifestos contained arcane knowledge that could only be revealed to committed Seekers of the Truth.[5]

5.1.4. FREEMASONRY

As a true fraternal organisation, modern Freemasonry has a legitimate history dating back to the twelfth-century stonemasons who built the early Continental and British cathedrals. Extended Masonic history dates back even further to the Old Testament Temple of Solomon. In this thesis, however, I am concerned only with 'speculative' Freemasonry, not the 'operative' Freemasonry of the stonemasons. Membership now, as then, is private. The catechisms are entirely oral, and the organisation is constrained by a hierarchy earned through dedication of members to an established doctrine. Membership is by application for men of any religious or political affiliation, and because these can be divisive topics, they are proscribed from discussion in meetings. Studies in Freemasonry include a broad spectrum of interests in the Hermetic traditions, especially alchemy, as described in the discussion on Albert Pike (5.3.).[6]

[5] For further information on Rosicrucianism, see Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*.
[6] For further information on Freemasonry, see Robert Lomas, *The Invisible College, The Royal Society, Freemasonry and the Birth of Modern Science* (London: Headline Book Publishing, 2002).

5.2. MUSICAL ANTIQUARIANISM AND FREEMASONRY

> One final aspect of professional patronage concerns the various spheres of professional influence in London…contact [among] musicians crossed national boundaries…though the impact of such relationships on concert life is impossible to determine. A more concrete association was provided by Freemasonry….More research is needed in this area, but it is evident that Freemasonry did provide a web of connection that cut surprisingly across other distractions.[7]

In exploring the sociological undercurrents prevailing in English antiquarianism and musical antiquarianism, it became apparent that many of the key antiquarians were either directly involved with, or held great interest in alchemy, Rosicrucianism, and Freemasonry, the esoteric philosophies represented in Hermeticism.

By way of further background, it is necessary to address first the political undercurrent of the revolution brought about by the early Enlightenment theorists John Locke, Isaac Newton, and the other English scientists and natural philosophers. Margaret Jacobs argues that it is not possible to separate the political circumstances of the eighteenth century from their seventeenth-century origins. This revolution is grounded in the political and social tumult between 1640 and the Glorious Revolution of 1688-9.[8]

Elias Ashmole, antiquarian and founder of the Ashmolean Museum Oxford, was a practising Rosicrucian and closely allied with alchemy. Although there is no evidence of a Rosicrucian society that met regularly and had a declared membership as there was in the case of Freemasonry, Rosicrucianism as a movement is evident in the works of many esoteric writers.[9] Many of the twelve founders of the Royal

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[7] Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge University Press: 1993), 186-187.
[8] Margaret C. Jacobs, *The Radical Enlightenment: Pantheists, Freemasons and Republicans*, (London: Allen & Unwin, 1981), x.
[9] The ancient European Rosicrucian movement is not to be confused with the modern-day organization, Ancient Mystical Order Rosae Crusis (AMORC), founded in 1915 by H. Spencer Lewis and based in San Jose, California.

Society were Rosicrucians. Overlapping that arcane association with the fact that some held plural affiliations as Freemasons raises the question of to what extent these secret societies affected musical culture through their member antiquarians; yet, seldom has there been any mention in music literature of the undercurrents surrounding secret societies or the occult. Even with Freemasonry, of which more is known, with their practitioners asserting that the movement is 'private' not secret, few sources cite its influence on English music of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[10]

The Grand Lodge was formed from an amalgam of four London lodges, although there were numerous other lodges that chose not to join the union. Lodge records began to be kept in England only after the Acts of Union with Scotland in 1717. Scotland was a different matter, however, having a longer recorded Masonic history that extended at least into the seventeenth century, with records being kept in many of the provincial lodges. It is documented in the Library of the Museum of Freemasonry,[11] housed in what is now the United Grand Lodge of England (UGLE), Great Queens Street, London, that many eighteenth-century English musicians were Freemasons. My investigations there of Masonic documents disclosed that among them were musical antiquarians;[12] for example, Maurice Greene's name appears on

[10] An outstanding exception to this omission is the work of Andrew Pink; see Andrew G. Pink, 'The Musical Culture of Freemasonry in Early Eighteenth-Century London'. PhD Diss., Goldsmiths College, University of London, 2007. Pink's studies highlight the musical culture of Freemasonry in the eighteenth century, with an emphasis on the period of the founding of the Grand Lodge in England in 1717. The concern of this thesis, however, includes English Freemasonry prior to 1717. Further, while Pink's studies are based on music written and performed for Lodge functions, my emphasis is on Freemasonic influences in the broader musical context.

[11] Margaret C. Jacobs, *The Radical Enlightenment,* xiii and xviii, n. 5; see also Margaret C. Jacobs, *Living the Enlightenment: Freemasonry and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Oxford University Press, 1991), 248, n. 91; Wren's Masonic membership is documented by a letter by Dutch Masonic historian Alexandre de Vignoles, written in 1774 to a lodge in Berlin, and now in the Library of the Grand Lodge of the Hague, Kloss MSS, 190, E47. The letter claims that Wren was elected Grand Master for the second time in 1710, suggesting that he had been Grand Master previously, and that he served until 1716.

[12] The United Grand Lodge of England, Library of the Museum of Freemasonry: https://www.ugle.org.uk/freemasons-hall/museum-freemasonry

the roll of the lodge that met at the Ship Tavern without Temple Bar. This lodge 'went dark' (lapsed) in 1725 and no further evidence remains of Greene's continuation with Freemasonry.[13] Sir John Hawkins' name is on the rolls of a Tottenham lodge,[14] yet in his five-volume *History*, he does not mention Freemasonry, though this is not surprising, given the private nature of the organization. He does mention, however, that Thomas Britton had an interest in Rosicrucianism, which can be confirmed in the inventory of the 1694 sale catalogue of Britton's books, raising the question of whether he may have indeed been a Rosicrucian and/or Freemason.

5.3. A CLOSER LOOK AT ROSICRUCIANISM, FREEMASONRY AND ALCHEMY

Rosicrucian and Freemason activities are strong social undercurrents that permeate seventeenth-century England, and have similarities: (1) both are private associations, which some critics construe as secretive, and (2) both have been unjustifiably ridiculed, even persecuted, during ebb-and-flow times in their long histories. Even so, there have been enlightened personalities who have been members of both societies, for example, the antiquarian Elias Ashmole (5.4.). Rosicrucianism, in particular, was a movement accepted by academics and men of science alike, as can be seen in that the twelve founding members of the Royal Society were Rosicrucians or predisposed toward Rosicrucian doctrine.

In reference to Freemasonry and its relationship to alchemy, the two share some tenets and nomenclature. The alchemists, however, unlike the Freemasons, concentrated on the physical transmutation of base metals into gold and the seeking of an elixir to restore youth and prolong life. But on a higher level, they abstracted

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[13] H. Diack Johnstone, 'The Life and Work of Maurice Greene (1696-1755)' (DPhil diss., University of Oxford, 1968), 95.
[14] William John Songhurst, 'The Minutes of the Grand Lodge of Freemasons of England 1723-1739', *Quatuor Coronatorum Antigrapha X* (Margate: W.J. Parratt,1913), 165.

this process and applied it to transmuting human character from a base state to an exalted state (5.5.1.). They referred to this as seeking the Holy Graal (Grail), which they derived etymologically from the Egyptian 'Al-Khem' (alchemy) and from the Sumerian GRA.AL.[15] Historians of the arcane assert that alchemy can be traced back to its beginnings in the Greek philosophical schools of Pythagoras, Plato, Socrates, and was also practised by the Essenes[16], Jewish Kabbalists[17], and Muslims.

Regarding Freemasonry, much of what is referred to in its esoteric sources is elusive for investigators who do not have a foundation for recognizing the esoteric parallels that range throughout the catechism of the three degrees of Freemasonry. Finally, we also see Freemasonry as one of the pillars in the works of the forward thinkers Francis Bacon, Isaac Newton, Robert Boyle, Robert Hooke, Elias Ashmole, and the founders of the Royal Society. The American Masonic historian Albert Pike (1809-1891), founder of the Scottish Rite of Freemasonry, maintains that the great secret behind Freemasonry is alchemy. The affinity between Freemasonry and Rosicrucianism can be seen in the eighteenth degree of the *Scottish Rite XVIII: Knight Rose Croix*.[18] In *Morals and Dogma*, Pike wrote:

> If you would understand the true secrets of Alchemy, you must study the works of Masters with patience and assiduity. Every word is often an enigma; and to him who reads in haste, the whole will seem absurd. Even when they seem to teach that the Great Work is the purification of the Soul, and so to deal only with morals, they most conceal their meaning, and deceive all but the Initiates.[19]

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[15] Timothy Hogan, *The Alchemical Keys to Masonic Ritual* (googlebooks.com, 2007), 9; for a comprehensive discussion of alchemy as related to Freemasonry, see Albert Pike, *Morals and Dogma of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry: Prepared for the Supreme Council of the Thirty-Third Degree for the Southern Jurisdiction of the United States, and Published by Its Authority* (Charleston, SC: The Supreme Council of the Southern Jurisdiction, 1871).
[16] Essenes: a Jewish sect in Palestine during the period of the second century BC to the second century AD. They are believed to be responsible for the writings of the Dead Sea Scrolls. See John C. Trever, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Personal Account* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1977).
[17] Kabbalah (Jewish): an esoteric branch of Judaism.
[18] Pike, *Morals and Dogma*, 276-311.
[19] Pike, 792.

Many researchers express frustration at a seeming dearth of sources relating Freemasonry and Rosicrucianism to science. This is especially true as it pertains to Freemasonry before the establishment of the Masonic Grand Lodge of England in 1717. When one is viewing the 'secret arts' with a superficial understanding of Hermetic tradition, it is difficult to draw unbiased conclusions.

Prior to the establishment of the Grand Lodge, the English lodges did not keep formal records, unlike many lodges in Scotland. Masonic ritual and catechism, then as now, were passed on orally from memory from qualified lodge instructors to initiates. Only after having been 'made a Mason', and with subsequent growth over the ensuing years, does a member understand the deeper meanings of Freemasonry.

5.4. ELIAS ASHMOLE: ANTIQUARIAN, FREEMASON AND ROSICRUCIAN

It is through the diary of Elias Ashmole that it is known that he was a Freemason, as he recorded on 16 October 1646:

> §4H.30 P.M. I was made a Free Mason at Warrington in Lancashire, with Coll: Henry Mainwaring of Karincham in Cheshire. The names of those that were then of the Lodge, Mr: Rich Penket Warden, Mr: James Collier, Mr: Rich Sankey, Henry Littler, John Ellam, Rich: Ellam & Hugh Brewer.[20]

Until this time, English Freemasons were occupied with construction and were referred to as being 'operative'. Those members who were not involved with the building arts but were interested in the philosophical aspects of the Craft were known as 'speculative' Freemasons. On the strength of his initiation in 1646, Ashmole is wrongly considered to have been the first speculative Freemason in England. I argue

[20] Conrad Hermann Josten, ed., *Elias Ashmole (1617-1692): His Autobiographical and Historical Notes, His Correspondence, and Other Contemporary Sources Relating to His Life and Work*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 395-396. Ashmole developed a style of shorthand that appears frequently in his diary. The figure '§' is one such example in this entry.

that this is illogical when considering that Ashmole lists the members of the existing Warrington lodge, confirming that lodges of speculative Freemasonry were already established prior to 1646, and of the members of the Warrington Lodge, none was known to be an operative mason.[21]

In addition to his Freemasonry, Ashmole was introduced to Rosicrucianism by his mentor William Backhouse (1593-1662) of Swallowfield in Berkshire when Ashmole was living in London. Anthony Wood describes Backhouse and his association with Ashmole in his *Athenae Oxonienses*:

> [Backhouse] became a most renowned chemist, Rosicrucian, and a great encourager of those that studied chemistry and astrology, especially Elias Ashmole, whom he adopted [as] his son, and opened himself very freely to him the *secret*, which afterwards told [it to] him in syllables, and bequeathed it to him as a legacy.[22]

Backhouse and Ashmole shared alchemical tracts, and it would appear likely that Ashmole's alchemical library was provided, at least in part, by Backhouse. In addition to his interests in alchemy, Freemasonry, and Rosicrucianism, Ashmole was also a respected and sought-after astrologer, further adding to his repertoire of cosmopolitan talents seen so often among seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century literati.

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[21] Josten, *Elias Ashmole*, 395-396; two more Ashmole diary entries corroborate the pre-1717 existence of speculative Freemasonry in England:

> 10 Mar. 1682 (MS Ashm. 1136, fol. 69v)
>
> About 5H; P.M. I received a Sumons to appeare at a Lodge to be held the next day, at Masons Hall London.
>
> 11 Mar. 1682 (MS Ashm. 1136, fol. 69v)
>
> Accordingly I went, & about Noone were admitted into the Fellowship of Free Masons, Sir William Wilson Knight, Capt:Rich: Borthwick, Mr.: Will: Woodman, Mr: William Grey, Mr: Samuell Taylour & Mr William Wise.
>
> I was the Senior Fellow among them (it being 35 yeares since I was admitted). There were present beside my selfe the Fellowes after named:
>
> Mr: Tho: Wise Master of the Masons company this present yeare. Mr: Thomas Shorthose, Mr: Thomas Shadbolt, Waindsford Esquire Mr: Nich: Young. Mr.: John Shorthose, Mr: William Hamon, Mr: John Thompson, & Mr: Will: Stanton.
>
> Wee all dyned at the halfe Moone Taverne in Cheapeside, at a Noble Dinner prepaired at the charge of the New-accepted Masons

[22] Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses: An Exact History of All the Writers and Bishops Who Have Had Their Education in the University of Oxford. To which Are Added the Fasti, Or Annals of the Said University*, vol. 5 (London: FC & J. Rivington, 1815), 576-577.

5.5. THE ROYAL SOCIETY aka THE INVISIBLE COLLEGE

The term The Invisible College was used when describing several historical entities prior to its being applied to the Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge. Generally, it referred to a cohort of scholars who met to discuss their ideas on differing subjects. It is likely that the political climate of the mid-1640s forced gatherings of this sort to adopt secrecy as protection against the warring factions of the Civil War. Preceding the founding of the Society was a group of natural philosophers who functioned in the orbit of Robert Boyle (1627-1691), considered to be the father of modern chemistry, but who, like Hooke, was also conversant in music theory and the elastic properties of vibrating bodies. In October 1646, Boyle mentioned The Invisible College in a letter to Isaac Marcombe, his former tutor: 'The best of it is that the cornerstones of the Invisible (or as they term themselves the Philosophical) College, do now and then honour me with their company.…'[23]

The diarist John Aubrey was inducted into the Royal Society in 1663. He provides an example of the interest in the occult by Society members, documented in *Miscellanies* of 1721, his only work published during his lifetime.[24] Although intended to define and recognize forms of authority in the relating of occult information, the *Miscellanies* also details the involvement of members of the Royal Society in their participation in the chronicling of occult occurrences in their lives and the lives of their family members and acquaintances. Aubrey's premise was that the testimonies of people from all walks of life and classes of society were as valid as those from the class of gentlemen. He included in his witness testimonies those not

[23] Lomas, *The Invisible College*, 72-73; also Lauren Kassell, 'Invisible College (act. 1646–1647)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography:* 23 September 2010. Accessed 21 October 2021.
[24] John Aubrey, *Miscellanies* (London: Bettesworth, 1721).

only of first-hand, but of second-hand, and hearsay as well. Royal Society members included in his enumeration were Elias Ashmole, Christopher Wren, Edmund Halley, John Evelyn, John Pell, Joseph Glanvill, John Wylde, George Ent, Nicholas Mercator, Thomas Henshaw, and Abraham Cowley. Each related at least one, and for some, several, occurrences of occult phenomena that they had witnessed.[25]

5.6. MUSICAL ANTIQUARIANISM, THE ROYAL SOCIETY, AND THE OCCULT

Music was still regarded as a science when the Royal Society was founded in 1660 and continued as such into the early eighteenth century. The writings of John Birchensha (ca. 1605-1681), violist, composer, theorist, and teacher, whose most famous student was Samuel Pepys, illustrate the regard for musical thought held by members of the Society and by the English scholarly community at large. Birchensha wrote *A Compendious Discourse of the Principles of the Practicall & Mathematicall Partes of Musick* (ca. 1664) specifically for Robert Boyle. Birchensha later read his treatise the 'Compleat Scale of Musick' before the Society on 10 February 1676, one of the ten texts in his *Compendious Discourse.* Still later, he proposed himself to the Society as the would-be author of what he considered would become a significant theoretical treatise, the *Syntagma musicae,* which would include

> a chart showing all 'consonant and dissonant intervals suitable to musical harmony' so as to 'make any rationall Man understand more of the mathematicall part of Musick'.[26]

Birchensha was at first encouraged and supported in his efforts by the fellows of the Society, but failed to produce his promised *Syntagma* and support for him waned. Nevertheless, the interest initially extended to him by Society members

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[25] Aubrey, *Miscellanies*; also Keith Botelho, 'Occult testimonies in John Aubrey's Miscellanies', (*Cahiers Élisabéthains* 94, no. 1, 2017): 93-108.

[26] Benjamin Wardhaugh, *John Birchensha: Writings on Music* (London: Routledge, 2017), quoted in review by Tim Eggington, *Fontes Artis Musicae* 57, no. 4 (2010): 429-431. Accessed 25 November 2020, 429-430.

affirms the importance given to the science of music during the latter half of the seventeenth century and into the late eighteenth century. [27]

Kircher's *Musurgia Universalis* was a subject of interest to the Society and was discussed on numerous occasions. In February 1661, Thomas Hill, the brother of the Society's treasurer Abraham Hill, was 'desired to procure…Kircher's secret way of music'.[28] This alluded to a chapter in the *Musurgia Universalis* entitled 'De secreto canonis harmonici musarithmorum ope perficiendi' ('On the secret of the harmonious canon of musarithms'). Kircher stimulated the appetite of Society members, who purposed to determine the secret workings of the universe by suggesting that Kircher had discovered arcane knowledge reserved only for 'princes and some worthy friends'.[29]

Pepusch was admitted as a fellow of the Royal Society in 1746, being sponsored by his student George Lewis Scott and the French mathematician Abraham de Moivre (1667-1754). De Moivre's brother Daniel was a gifted flautist, and an instructor and composer for the recorder, so it is likely that Pepusch was acquainted with Abraham through his brother.[30] Pepusch was accepted into the Royal Society on the merits of a letter he wrote to de Moivre explaining the theory of ancient Greek music: *Of the Various Genera and Species of Music Among the Ancients, with Some Observations Concerning Their Scale; In a Letter from John Christoph Pepusch, Music. D. & F.R.S. to Mr Abraham de Moivre, F.R.S., Published 01 January 1746.*

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[27] Wardhaugh, *John Birchensha,* 429.
[28] Thomas Birch, *The History of the Royal Society for the Improving of Natural Knowledge, from its First Rise*, 2 vols. (London: Miller, 1756), vol. 1, 76.
[29] From Kircher's reference to two compositional machines, the *arca musarithmica* and the *arca musurgica,* both described in his *Musurgia Universalis*; see Ester Lebedinski. 'Roman Vocal Music in England, 1660-1710: Court, Connoisseurs and the Culture of Collecting' (PhD diss., University of London: Royal Holloway, 2015), 107-109.
[30] David Lasocki, 'Amateur Recorder Players: In Renaissance and Baroque England', *American Recorder* 40 (1999): 15-19, 18.

Percy Scholes, writing in *The Great Doctor Burney*, discusses the admittance of Burney and William Herschel, musician, composer, inventor and astrologer, as fellows of the Royal Society. Burney was accepted in 1773 and Herschel in 1781. Scholes notes that music theorists writing about natural harmony and the music of the ancients were still being included for candidature as fellows of the Royal Society, adding:[31]

> We never hear, nowadays, of this august Society showing interest in music, but in its earlier days it was not so narrow and in Burney's time its Fellows (of whom he was to be one) would still have understood the jesting passage of 'Hudibras' Butler, which included amongst its current activities:
>
> > To measure wind, and weigh the air,
> > And turn a circle to a square;
> > And in the braying of an ass,
> > Find out the treble and the bass;
> > If mare neigh alto, and a cow
> > In double diapason low.[32]

Other members of the Royal Society who were musicians, or who had strong interests in music, include the Huguenot Francis Fauquier (1703–1768), who was also a member of the Academy of Ancient Music from 1728, and Viscount Perceval, an FRS who joined the Academy in December 1728.

By 1660 the Royal Society found itself with a presence in two worlds: the advancement of science and the still-relevant world of the occult. As more strictly interpreted at this time, the term 'occult' meant 'the unseen' and was often referred to as 'magic', including alchemy. Yet, it was practised and studied as a science by Newton, Kircher, and Ashmole. The investigations of Penelope Gouk show the interest of Royal Society members in music and the occult, manifest through the principles of Natural Philosophy and acknowledged by the entirety of its original

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[31] Percy Scholes, *The Great Doctor Burney*, 2 vols. (Oxford University Press, 1948), vol 1, 43.
[32] Samuel Butler, *Hudibras.* [a satirical poem published in three parts] (Edinburgh: Ballantyne, part one 1663, part two 1664, and part three 1678).

name: The Royal Society of London for the Promotion of Natural Knowledge.[33] Their principles of natural philosophy when applied to music, were largely centred around scientific studies in theory and acoustics, as was the case with Isaac Newton.

5.7. ISAAC NEWTON AS MUSICAL ANTIQUARIAN

Isaac Newton's foundational premises were based on Pythagorean harmonics and acoustics, which Newton presented in his *Opticks* of 1704. He demonstrated mathematically that the frequencies of the seven primary colours of the light spectrum have their equivalents in the seven notes of the diatonic scale: C-D-E-F-G-A-B (see Newton's colour wheel in Figure 5.1. reproduced from his *Opticks*).[34] Thus, through the strict application of the principles of Precursorism defined at 0.2.6., Newton can be considered a seventeenth- and eighteenth-century precursive musical antiquarian. There is a nexus between Newton and the musical antiquarian-theorist Pepusch that positions Greek music theory within the contextual focus of 'musical antiquarianism'.

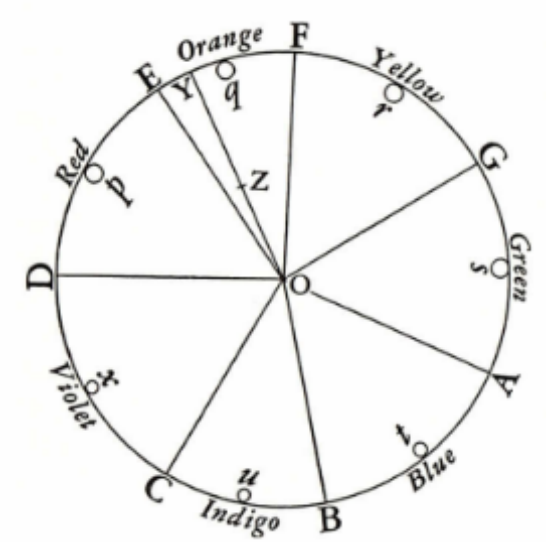


Plate 5.1. — Newton's Colour Wheel Reproduced from *Encyclopedia Brittanica Great Book Series,* London: William Benton,1952, p440

The views expounded by Isaac Newton in his *Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica* of 1687, in which he established classical mechanics and calculated the velocities of sound in different media, can be said to parallel those of Pepusch, in that both were proponents of Pythagorean principles of acoustics.

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[33] Penelope Gouk, *Music, Science and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England* (Yale University Press), 1999.

[34] Isaac Newton, *Opticks: Book 1, Part 2, Proposition 6, Problem 2*; see Isaac Newton, *Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy; Optics;* [and by Christian Huygens:] *Treatise on Light*, Great Book Series, *Encyclopedia Brittanica* (London: William Benton,1952), 440.

Newton's extensive formulations in optics, and his identification of the seven colours of the rainbow corresponding to the seven notes of the diatonic musical scale, is here appropriated to qualify him as a musical antiquarian. His studies were based on reproducible scientific experimentation, were forward-thinking, and led to his recognition for his significant discoveries in optics. Similar to Newton, Pepusch's teachings on Greek music theory employing the mathematics of the monochord and hexachord led to his being referred to by some contemporaries as 'that old antiquary'.[35]

Newton's investigations into alchemy prompted the twentieth-century economist John Maynard Keynes to comment:

> Newton was not the first of the age of reason, he was the last of the magicians, the last of the Babylonians and Sumerians, the last great mind which looked out on the visible and intellectual world with the same eyes as those who began to build our intellectual inheritance rather less than 10,000 years ago'.[36]

Keynes' effusive view of Newton was not shared universally, either by Newton's contemporaries or by those in subsequent centuries. His alchemical activities, although not unusual during his time, have later been declared as irresponsible, even deranged. Sir David Brewster (1781-1868), his first biographer, upon discovering Newton's vast number of alchemical manuscripts, spoke disparagingly of this seeming inconsistency in Newton's logic:

> …we cannot understand how a mind of such power, and so nobly occupied with the abstractions of geometry, and the study of the material world, could stoop to be even the copyist of the most contemptible alchemical poetry, and the annotator of a work, the obvious production of a fool and a knave.[37]

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[35] Rosemary Sweet, *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London: Black, 2004), xiii.
[36] John Maynard Keynes, 'Newton, the Man', *Essays in Biography* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 363-374, 277.
[37] David Brewster, *Memoirs of the Life, Writings, and Discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton*, (Cambridge University Press, 2010), vol. 2, 374 -375.

Brewster's nineteenth-century opinion that magic had nothing to contribute to the development of modern science denies the historical underpinnings of the Scientific Revolution. His opinion was characteristic of the view that the whole idea of magic was absurd, and that Newton's genius was, on this point, flawed. The modern author John Henry in his article 'The Fragmentation of Renaissance Occultism and the Decline of Magic', takes the position that ignoring such historical evidence is 'intellectual chauvinism of the most arrogant kind'.[38] He concludes that a scientist of Newton's stature should have been given the benefit of the doubt, that magic traditions should have been investigated, and that his considered conclusions should not have been ignored.

Newton's premises validated his belief in the ancient concept of cosmic harmonies and Pythagorean wisdom.[39] He first presented his findings through his series of Optical Lectures at Cambridge in the 1670s; advanced the link between the colour spectrum and the musical scale to the Royal Society in the mid-1670s; and then published his *Opticks* in 1704. The musical analogy Newton drew played a central role in his presentation of the divisions of the colour spectrum, with his logic based on alchemical sources that 'assume the existence of *spiritus* as part of the natural magic tradition'.[40]

Hawkins reproduced Newton's exposition of his experiments in optics and music and described the interest of the Royal Society in the subject.[41] In this regard, Hawkins is true to the title of his history in aptly naming it *The History of the Science and Practice of Music*. He devoted considerable space to Newton's science of music,

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[38] John Henry, 'The Fragmentation of Renaissance Occultism and the Decline of Magic', *History of science* 46, no. 1 (2008): 1-48, 4.
[39] Henry, 'The fragmentation of Renaissance occultism', 2.
[40] Gouk, *Music, Science and Natural Magic*, 242.
[41] Hawkins, *History*, 788.

noting the exchange of correspondence between Newton and John Harrington of Bath regarding Harrington's important discovery in 1693. This discovery concerned a theorem of Pythagoras found in the 47th Proposition of the first book of Euclid's *Elements* on the subject of consonant and dissonant musical intervals.[42]

While at Cambridge, Newton read extensively on alchemy and performed experiments in his laboratory there that yielded numerous alchemical treatises. He never published his findings on the subject, although one of his undergraduate notebooks contains several calculations about musical notes.[43] He left Cambridge for London in 1696, was elected president of the Royal Society in 1703, and in 1705 became the first scientist to be knighted. By providing a venue for the propagation of scientific discovery, the Royal Society can be seen to reveal its antiquarian foundations, as in Newton's Pythagorean studies.

5.8. ALCHEMY APPLIED TO THE MUSICAL FORM OF CANON

Newton's experiments in alchemy, which formed his primary interest between 1668-1696, led him to the relevance of alchemy to musical thought. They correspond to those of the German musicians and alchemists, the Wolfenbüttel Kantor Heinrich Bokemeyer, and Johann Gottfried Walther, organist at the Church of St Peter and St Paul in Weimar. Walther, author of the first musical dictionary in German, the *Musicalisches Lexicon* of 1732, and Bokemeyer conducted correspondence beginning in 1729 on the links between music and the Hermetic science of alchemy.[44] Walter wrote that he possessed an extensive Hermetic library consisting

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[42] For a discussion on the 47th Proposition of Euclid applied to musical intervals, see Hawkins, *History*, 410n-411n: the letter from John Harington to Isaac Newton, Wadham College, 22 May 1673, and the return letter from Newton to Harington, 30 May 1693.
[43] Newton, *Mathematical Principles*, biographical note ix.
[44] David Yearsley, 'Alchemy and Counterpoint in an Age of Reason', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 51, no. 2 (1998): 201-243.

of at least twelve bound volumes, each containing several works, and that his investigations into the theory and practice of alchemy had led him to accept the legitimacy of this 'supreme and most beautiful art'.[45]

Their correspondences noted the relationship between alchemy and the musical form of canon, as described by the Italian music theorist Gioseffo Zarlino (1517-1590), who maintained that the canon was the 'highest level of composition'.[46] Walter wrote to Bokemeyer of his coming to understand the link between alchemy and the canon:

> Just as you [went] through the precepts 1 through 7 of occult philosophy, so have I come to understand, by contemplating the numbers 1,2,3,4,5,6,7, and 8, the instruction on canon so extensively discussed by Zarlino, of which the aforementioned author proclaims that (with respect to judgment) it is the highest level of composition.[47]

The relevance of alchemy in eighteenth-century musical thought was carried forward through the intellectual discourse on canon as applied to J.S. Bach, specifically relating to *Die Kunst der Fuge*. The central argument concerned the transition from the notion that God was present in the composition of contrapuntal music to the enlightened materialist view that exempted God from participation in the creative process. Newton viewed alchemical transmutations as a 'vegetable [living] spirit', thereby providing proof of God's existence in all matter.[48] So, by extension, to Newton the alchemist, a canon such as the D minor subject of *Die Kunst der Fuge*, which could mix numerous genres and countersubjects, would have been seen as

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[45] Letter from Walther to Bokemeyer, 3 October 1729, *Walther Briefe,* 65-83, 76; quoted in Yearsley, 204.
[46] Gioseffo Zarlino, 'The Art of Counterpoint': Part III of *le institutioni harmoniche*, translated by Guy A. Marco and Claude V. Palisca (Yale University Press, 1968), 126.
[47] Letter from Walther to Bokemeyer, 3 October 1729, 81.
[48] Yearsley, 'Alchemy and Counterpoint', 241-242.

the philosopher's stone of music, and only possible through God's presence at the moment of musical creation.[49]

5.9. SUMMARY

In this chapter I probed further into the sociological undercurrents that underpinned the musical antiquarianism prevalent in England in the seventeenth and early-to-mid-eighteenth centuries, which centred around the interests and experiments of members of the Royal Society. The arcane sciences of Hermeticism, primarily alchemy, were pervasive throughout most strata of English society, and important to this thesis were those bearing on the scientific aspects of musical antiquarianism practised by such exemplars as Newton, Kircher, and the German musician-alchemists Bokemeyer and Walther (5.8.). These subjects are now a neglected domain of current musicological inquiry, judging from their general lack of inclusion in the scholarly literature.

Alchemy was the ubiquitous ingredient that tied together the societies of Rosicrucianism and Freemasonry. Many members of the Royal Society were Freemasons, also with Rosicrucian interests, and therein embraced research and experimentation in these areas. Freemasonry, being a formal organisation open to worthy male members of English society, and having wide societal influence, served as a networking avenue for musicians.

My research also uncovered the relationship between the musical antiquarians experimenting with alchemy (with its allied Pythagorean principles applied to acoustics and optics) and their fellow music practitioners (5.7.). An interesting case in point is that of musical antiquarian Thomas Britton, examined in

[49] Yearsley, 241.

detail in Chapter Six and illustrated in Figure 6.4.: The Enigmatic Thomas Britton. While Newton and Pepusch examined these principles from different cultural perspectives, they nonetheless arrived at conclusions of relative similarity.

6. CHAPTER SIX

6.1. Public Music Predating the Britton Concerts:
Taverns, Alehouses, Coffeehouses
6.2. The Early Public Concerts:
John Banister and Thomas Britton
6.3. The John Banister 'Musick School' Concerts of 1672
6.4. The Enigmatic Thomas Britton
6.5. Britton's First Public Concerts of 1678
6.6. Support by the Aristocracy: The Duchess of Queensberry
6.7. Thomas Britton: The Music, The Man
6.8. Britton Beyond: Alchemist, Rosicrucian, Inventor
6.9. Summary

> The singularity of his character, the course of his studies, and the collections he made, induced suspicions that Britton was not the man he seemed to be.[1]

Because of the defining role Thomas Britton played as a bellwether in the history of English musical concerts, this chapter addresses his activities during the Nascence stage of English musical antiquarianism (see Thesis Timeline, Figure 0.1.). It begins with a background discussion of the circumstances surrounding the first public concerts in England. These were held by John Banister, though they were of limited duration from 1672 until his death in 1679, followed by the long-term concerts held by Britton, which were ongoing from the time he founded them in 1678 until he died in 1714. The chapter then shifts to an expanded treatment of Britton's diverse universe of interests and associations, and concludes with my substantiation that this unassuming small-coal vendor engaged in his humble trade in Clerkenwell on the northern periphery of the London wall was indeed 'not the man he seemed to be'.

6.1. PUBLIC MUSIC PREDATING THE BRITTON CONCERTS: TAVERNS, ALEHOUSES, COFFEEHOUSES

Regarding music in public houses during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries (taverns and alehouses but not coffeehouses), Hawkins wrote that for the

[1] John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (London: Novello, Ewer, 1875), 791.

most part it was ‘calculated for the recreation of the vulgar’, as opposed to musical performances

> which for their elegance come under the denomination of concerts...a concert, properly so called, was a sober recreation; persons were drawn to it, not by an affectation of admiring what they could not taste, but by a genuine pleasure which they took in the entertainment.[2]

Hawkins’ comment reflects the cultural contrast between music played at taverns and alehouses, and that offered in the more sedate gatherings at taverns for the appreciation of music of a cultivated nature. . Because many of the taverns were spacious and could accommodate large numbers of clientele, they were often chosen as venues for the serious music groups that began to form in the eighteenth century. Typical of these was the Academy of Ancient Music, which met regularly at the Crown and Anchor tavern on the Strand in London from 1726 until it moved in 1784 to the larger Freemasons’ Hall.

Although the public houses consisted of taverns, alehouses, and coffeehouses, the latter occupied a different social position. Taverns were permitted to serve beer, wine, and other forms of alcoholic beverages, while alehouses served beer or ale, and coffeehouses served coffee only. Musicians gathered at the taverns and alehouses, these being purposed for providing ribald entertainment, but not often were musicians found at coffeehouses. These had a more diverse purview, ranging from licentious fronts for brothels to fashionable literary outposts for scholars, where, for example, ‘at John Hogarth’s Latin Coffeehouse, also in Clerkenwell, patrons were encouraged to converse in the Latin tongue at all times….’[3]

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[2] Hawkins, 762-763.
[3] Matthew Green, ‘The Lost World of the London Coffeehouse’, *The Public Domain Review* 7 (2013). Accessed 1 May 2019.

This is not to say, however, that music, along with other public cultural phenomena, was not up for serious discussion at the coffeehouses: 'Music, especially opera, was widely discussed at coffeehouses, often defining and reflecting public taste in the latest performances',[4] while 'at the Bedford Coffeehouse in Covent Garden hung a "theatrical thermometer" with temperatures ranging from "excellent" to "execrable", registering the company's verdicts on the latest plays and performances, tormenting playwrights and actors on a weekly basis….'[5]

For the most part, coffeehouses were more serious establishments for the purpose of discussing the sober issues of current importance—politics, religion and gossip—and were gathering places for an egalitarianism in which anyone of any social class could be admitted by paying a nominal price, often one penny [£0.67]. The coffeehouses were so much a source for disseminating news that upon entering, it was common for someone to approach the newcomer with the question, 'Sir, what news have you?'[6]

Owing to the lack of potable water until the mid-seventeenth century, 'most people in England were either slightly—or very—drunk all of the time'.[7] Watered-down ale or beer (called small beer) substituted for water. The lack of alcohol contributed to the unique character of coffeehouses. Another factor influencing the discussion topics was that, unlike taverns and alehouses, these gatherings were for men only. Women were not thought capable of holding opinions on serious issues.

The coffeehouse as an institution dates from 1652—the time when coffee was first introduced to England by Pasqua Rosée, the Greek servant of an English businessman. The taste was variously described as 'a syrup of soot and the essence

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[4] Roy Porter, *The Creation of the Modern World* (New York: Norton, 2000), 36.
[5] Green, 'The Lost World' [online article].
[6] Green, 'The Lost World'.
[7] Green, 'The Lost World'.

of old shoes' or 'oil, ink, soot, mud, damp, shit'.[8] As men began spending more time at coffeehouses, wives launched the Women's Petition Against Coffee, a campaign in 1674 to compel their husbands to devote more time to home life, instead of 'deposing princes, settling the bounds of kingdoms, and balancing the power of Europe with great justice and impartiality', as noted by Richard Steele in the *Tatler*.[9] In 1675 Charles II banned coffeehouses, not only to placate wives, but also because he suspected that they promoted too much adverse political discussion. Because of the backlash from men, the ban was short-lived and coffeehouses were soon reopened.[10]

During the Commonwealth, musical and theatrical gatherings were banned, as was much music in church. Organs were removed from cathedrals and parish churches, only to find new homes in alehouses and taverns, as well as being dispersed to the grand houses scattered throughout England. The result of this ban saw musicians roaming the streets, sometimes hiding their instruments under their clothing, as even possessing a musical



Plate 6.1. — *Revelry at an Inn*
By Jan Steen, late seventeenth century
Louvre Museum Department of Paintings
License: Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons
https://www.wikidata.org/wiki/Q11092220

[8] Green, 'The Lost World'.
[9] Richard Steele, *The Tatler*, 33. no. 15. Thursday, 6 April 1710, *University of Oxford Text Archive*. Accessed 9 May 2019.
[10] Green, 'The Lost World'.

instrument constituted grounds for arrest as a vagabond. Many of these musicians resorted to playing in the alehouses impromptu, and to gathering themselves together for 'concerts'. If the painting in Plate 6.1. by Dutch artist Jan Steen is a true rendering of a typical alehouse, it must have been a raucous but entertaining venue.

> Our music, that was held so delectable and precious [in Shakespeare's times], that they scorned to come to a tavern under twenty shillings [£160] salary for two hours, now wander [i.e., 1643] with their instruments under their cloaks—I mean, such as have any—into all houses of good fellowship saluting every room where there is company with ,'Will you have any music, gentlemen?'[11]

After the Restoration, although Charles II was a lover of music, royal patronage declined largely for financial reasons, followed by an influx of foreign musicians, primarily French and Italian. As discussed below (6.3.), the King replaced John Banister with the Frenchman Louis Grabu, who was soon appointed master of the King's band of twenty-four violinists.

6.2. THE FIRST PUBLIC CONCERTS: JOHN BANISTER AND THOMAS BRITTON

Regarding the etymology of the term 'concert', in England it was derived from 'consort' and had the meaning of a group of instruments from either the same family, as in a 'consort of viols' ('whole consort'), or a mixture of different instruments ('broken consort').[12] By the last quarter of the seventeenth century, however, 'concert' came to mean a public performance by paid admittance consisting of a set programme of music. In this sense, 'concerts' are relatively recent, as music then was heard primarily in churches, at court, in the private homes of the wealthy, and other formal settings. Only in church could commoners hear excellent music played by competent musicians.[13]

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[11] *The Actor's Remonstrance, 1643*; quoted in Edward Woodall Naylor, *Shakespeare and Music* (London: Dent, 1896), 14.
[12] William Weber, 2001 'Concert (ii)', *Grove Music Online,* 20 May 2019.
[13] Weber, 'Concert'.

According to Hawkins' criteria, the first public concerts in England were held by John Banister and Thomas Britton, beginning with the Banister concerts in 1672, followed by those of Britton in 1678. Banister's concerts were advertised in the *London Gazette*, with the first being on 30 December 1672:

> These are to give notice, that at Mr. John Banister's house (now called the Musick-school) over against the George tavern in White Fryers, this present Monday, will be musick performed by excellent masters, beginning precisely at 4 of the clock in the afternoon, and every afternoon for the future, precisely at the same hour.[14]

6.3. THE JOHN BANISTER 'MUSICK SCHOOL' CONCERTS OF 1672

John Banister (1630-1679) was born in London to a family of musicians, with his early music education provided by his father, one of the Waits of the parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, London.[15] Banister excelled at playing the violin and drew the attention of Charles II, who appointed him to a court position in 1662 in which he was director of a select ensemble of twelve violins. Having been given artistic control, as well as the financial responsibility of disbursing the £600 [£89,200] that had been allocated to the group by the Court, his management of the funds became a problem when salary payments to him were not made, causing financial difficulties for him and the other musicians.[16]

As time progressed into November 1666, still with no allocation, Banister and eleven of the violinists again petitioned for payment. On 14 March 1667, the £600 was finally released, only not to Banister. He had been replaced by Louis Grabu, a Frenchman, who was made Master of the Musick, and by March, Banister's musicians had begun to accuse him of embezzlement.[17] Pepys wrote in his diary on

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[14] *London Gazette*, 30 December 1672; quoted in Hugh Arthur Scott, 'London's Earliest Public Concerts', *Musical Quarterly* 22, no. 4 (1936): 446-457; also Hawkins*, History*, 763.
[15] Wait: a parish musician; see discussion in Hawkins, *History*, 762n.
[16] Jeffrey Pulver, 'John Banister the Elder (Born 1630)', *The Musical Times* 72, no. 1064 (1931), 892.
[17] Pulver, 'John Banister the Elder', 892.

20 February 1667 that Banister had displeased the King: 'they talk also how the King's viallin [violin], Banister, is mad that the King hath a Frenchman come to be chief of some part of the King's musique....'[18] Banister complained to the King that his English musicians were superior to the French, and in his diary entry of 1 October 1667, Pepys commented on the quality of a concert presented by Monsieur Grebu:

> October 1st. To Whitehall, and there in the Boarded Gallery did hear the music with which the King is presented this night by Monsieur Grebus, the master of his music; both instrumental—I think twenty-four violins—and vocal; an English song upon Peace. But, God forgive me! I never was so little pleased with a concert of music in my life. The manner of setting of words and repeating them out of order, and that with a number of voices, makes me sick, the whole design of vocal music being lost by it. Here was a great press of people; but I did not see many pleased with it, only the instrumental music he had brought by practice to play very just.[19]

During the time that Banister was at the Court, his duties included not only that of performer, but also of composer of theatrical music, especially for the King's Company, yielding a large quantity of instrumental and vocal music. It was after his dismissal from the King's select band that his involvement in theatrical music increased dramatically, leading him to his decision to begin offering public concerts. Roger North provides an account of these first concerts:

> The next essay was of the elder Banister, who had a good theatricall vein and in composition had a lively style peculiar to himself. He procured a large room in Whitefryars, neer the Temple back gate, and made a large raised box for musitians, whose modesty required curtaines. The room was rounded with seats and small tables alehouse fashion; 1s [£8.26] was the price and call for what you pleased. There was very good musick, for Banister found means to procure the best hands in town, and some voices to come and performe there, and there wanted no variety of humour, for Banister himself (inter alia) did wonders upon a flageolet to a thro base and the severall masters had their solos. This continued full one winter, and more I remember not.[20]

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[18] Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (London: Macmillan, 1905), 467.
[19] Pepys, *Diary,* 561.
[20] Roger North, *Roger North on Music; Being a Selection from His Essays Written During the Years C. 1695-1728*. John Wilson, ed., (London, Novello, 1959), 352; also Roger North, *Memoirs of Musick: Now First Printed from the Original MS. and Edited, with Copious Notes* (Cambridge University Press,

The concerts began in 1672 in ‘The Musick School’, actually his house in Whitefriars, and took place daily except on Sunday. John Wilson notes that Roger North is the only source for these ‘beginnings of musick in public in England’.[21]

Prior to the expiration of the Press Licensing Act in 1695, the *London Gazette* was the primary source for concert announcements, but thereafter, notices of concerts began to be published in many newly-formed newspapers.[22] Two London concert rooms, York Buildings and Hickford's Dancing Academy and Auction Room, flourished as the first locations where concerts were held. York Buildings occupied the land previously known as York House, while Hickford's concert room was in Panton Street.[23]

6.1. THE ENIGMATIC THOMAS BRITTON

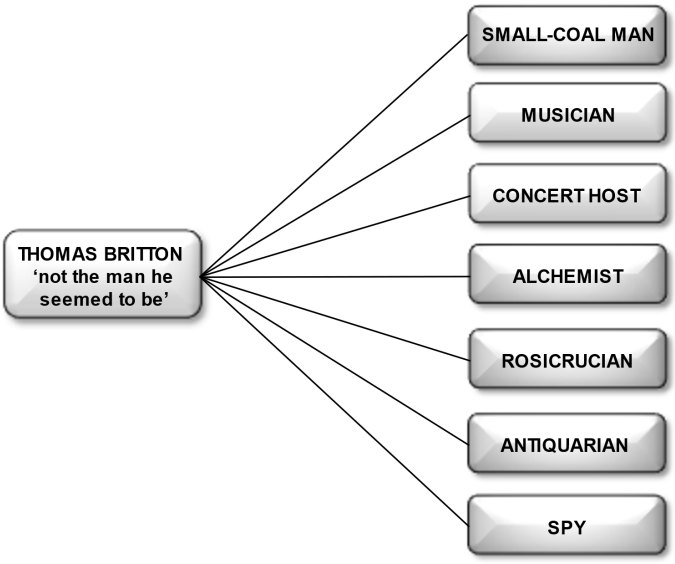


Figure 6.1. — Activities of the Enigmatic Thomas Britton

Thomas Britton (ca.1644-1714) (Figure 6.1.) was born in Rushden, Northamptonshire, but there has long been controversy about his year of birth. Some researchers have put the date at 1654, with as many noting it as 1644. The entry for his baptism is recorded in the Rushden St Mary’s Church Register (Plate 6.2.). In a notebook kept by the early 1900s local

2010): 201; ‘Alehouse fashion’ would have included seating at tables as described above, with drinking and smoking, as opposed to strictly listening to music.

[21] Wilson, ‘Roger North’, 352; also Roger North, *Memoirs of Musick*, 110-112.

[22] Michael Tilmouth (1957), ‘Some Early London Concerts and Music Clubs, 1670–1720’, Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association 84:1, 13-26.

[23] Hugh Arthur Scott, 'London's First Concert Room', *Music & Letters* 18, no. 4 (1937): 379-390, 379-380.

journalist Joseph Enos Smith, he relates that he 'found Britton's Baptism mentioned in our [Rushden] Church Register and sent Copy to Sir Frederick [Bridge, Organist of Westminster Abbey] which he said he was sure it was correct….'.[24] Smith served as organist for over fifty years at the Rushden Parish Church of St Mary's, which most likely accounts for his acquaintance with Bridge. Until Smith's discovery of the birth record in Rushden, the nearby village, Higham Ferrers, claimed Britton as its own. It was Smith's goal to prove Rushden as Britton's rightful birthplace, and this he has done.

Britton left Northamptonshire at the age of twelve to be apprenticed to a small-coal merchant in the London area of Clerkenwell. But after the end of his

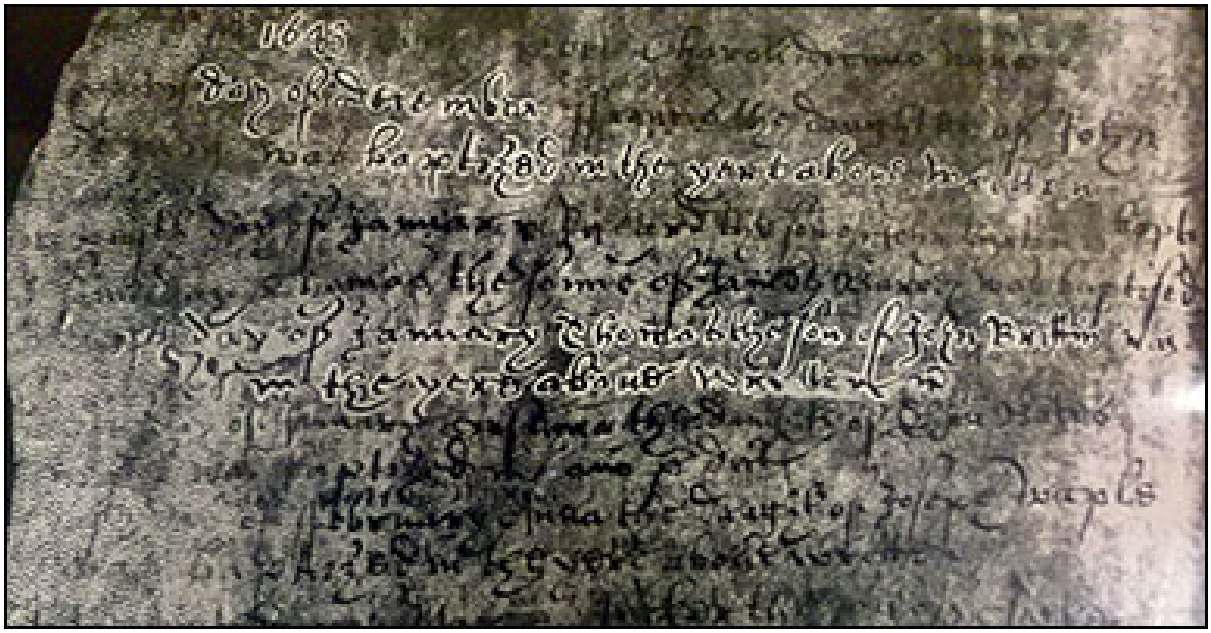


Plate 6.2. — St Mary's Parish Church of Rushden
Photograph by A. J. George of Rushden (1906-2004)
Text reads:
'14th day of January Thomas the son of John Brittin was baptized
in the year above written 1643' [this would be 1643/44][25]

[24] Joseph Enos Smith was a journalist in the early 1900s, who wrote for the local Rushden *Argus* newspaper. He kept notebooks between 1908 and 1928, intending to write a book on the history of Rushden.
[25] New style: 1644.

seven-year apprenticeship, he went back to Rushden for reasons unknown, other than it was his hometown. Typical of the apprenticeship practice at the time, his master gave him a sum of money with the provision that he not set up a business in London. Contemporary accounts, mostly originating with Hawkins, state that rather than establishing himself permanently in Rushden, he spent all of the money and returned to London to the same area in Clerkenwell in which he had served his apprenticeship, even though his former master was still living.[26]

Britton acquired a stable, which he converted into a small-coal depot with living quarters above 'which stood next Door to the little Gate of St. John's of Jerusalem next Clarken-Well-Green' (Plate 6.3.).[27] This original location has long since been razed, but the building there today bears a London Borough of Islington Historic Site plaque marking this location on the corner of Jerusalem Passage and Aylesbury Street. The depot was at ground level, and the living quarters, a single



Plate 6.3. — St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell, London, north front, ca.1661
Behind the gate to the right is Berkeley House
https://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol46/pp142-163#fnn33

[26] See 6.12. for a discussion on Britton's return to London.
[27] Hearne, quoted in Hawkins *History*, 788; see Plate 6.3.

room above, was reached by a ladder on the outside of the structure.[28] At the urging of his neighbour, Sir Roger L'Estrange, he built another room above the depot for the purpose of hosting music concerts, now with access provided by 'stairs [that] were on the outside of the house, and scarcely be ascended without crawling'.[29]

Records do not show the extent of the area in Clerkenwell that Britton would have served in his small-coal business. Clerkenwell was to evolve in time as an eclectic area, with fine residences such as those of the Earl of Aylesbury and of George Berkeley, who was rewarded by Charles II for his loyalty with the title of the Earl of Berkeley. It was also the home of artists, musicians and tradesmen.[30]

6.5. BRITTON'S FIRST PUBLIC CONCERTS OF 1678

Despite the evidence that John Banister began hosting his concerts in 1672, Britton is generally credited with the distinction of establishing in 1678 the first ongoing public concerts in England:

> The truth is, it was nothing less than a musical concert; and so much the more does it merit our attention, as it was the first meeting of the kind, and the undoubted parent of some of the most celebrated concerts in London.[31]

Throughout the years of Britton's concerts, from their inception in 1678 to the last at his death in 1714, contemporary writers gave accounts of Britton's 'Musical Club' as being of the finest quality, not only in the music presented, but also in the stature of the musicians and attendees. Hawkins writes of the concerts in their later years:

> Dr Pepusch, and frequently Mr. Handel, played the harpsichord, Mr John Banister [the Younger], and also Mr. Henry Needler, of the Excise-office … the first violin; Mr. John Hughes, author of the *Siege of Damascus*, Mr.

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[28] Walter Thornbury, 'Clerkenwell: (Part 2 of 2)', *Old and New London: Volume 2* (London: Cassell, Petter & Galpin, 1878), 328-338: *British History Online*. Accessed 21 June 2018. http://www.british-history.ac.uk/old-new-london/vol2/pp328-338.
[29] William John Pinks and Edward J. Wood, eds., *The History of Clerkenwell* (London: Francis Boutle, 1881), 276-280.
[30] Pinks, *The History of Clerkenwell*, 276-280.
[31] Hawkins, *History*, 789.

> Woolaston, the painter, Mr. Philip Hart, Mr. Henry Symonds, Mr. Abiel Whichello, and Mr. Obadiah Shuttleworth, a fine player on the violin, some constantly, and others frequently, performed there.[32]

Other virtuoso amateurs, including Britton's neighbour Sir Roger L'Estrange, a fine viol player, also participated. Matthew Dubourg is said to have played his first violin solo, 'probably one of Corelli's', as a child of nine at one of Britton's concerts 'standing upon a joint-stool'.[33] Dubourg studied violin under Geminiani and went on to attain the post of concertmaster in Dublin in 1728. He is known today as the orchestral conductor of the first performances in Dublin 1742 of Handel's *Messiah*.[34]

The 'facetious' Edward (Ned) Ward (1667-1731)[35] was also a neighbour of Britton, an attendee of his concerts, and the author of the *London Spy; A Compleat and Humourous Account of All the Remarkable Clubs and Societies in the Cities of London and Westminster*.[36] Hawkins adds that Ward wrote 'many doggrel poems, coarse, it is true, but not devoid of humour and pleasantry'.[37] Ward recalls Britton's residence as 'not much higher than a Canary Pipe, and the Window of the State-Room but very little bigger than the Bunghole of a Cask' and a 'hearty Sweat was almost inevitable'.[38] Ward describes these as pleasant Thursday evening concerts, which 'were as popular as the evenings of the Kit-Cat Club,[39] and that Britton, in his

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[32] Hawkins, 790-791; Hawkins is here commenting on later concerts, especially mentioning Handel, who arrived in London in 1710.
[33] Hawkins, 791; 'Joint stool': meaning a folding stool.
[34] Hawkins, 791, 892.
[35] Hawkins' characterization, 789; 'facetious': in seventeenth-century usage denoted 'witty'.
[36] Edward Ward, *A Compleat and Humourous Account of All the Remakable Clubs and Societies in the Cities of London and Westminster* (London, 1745).
[37] Hawkins, *History*, 789.
[38] *Statute '1 Richard III, chapter 13*' (1483 – 1484); also H.G. Hanbury, 'The Legislation of Richard III', *The American Journal of Legal History* 6, no. 2 (1962): 111. Wine made in the Canary Islands, called 'Canary', was popular in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England. 'Pipe' refers to a unit of liquid capacity used for wine, consisting in England of 126 gallons, while 'Canary pipe' was the size of a wine barrel. This citation is from the statutes instituted by Richard III to protect against the shorting of wine and oil. The title of this statute, chapter 13, is: 'The contents of vessels of wine and oil, which may not be sold till gauged'.
[39] Ward, *A Compleat and Humourous Account,* 306. The Kit-Cat Club was a popular London club of Whig politicians and sympathisers during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Notable

blue frock, with a measure twisted into the mouth of his sack, was as much respected as if he had been a nobleman in disguise'.[40]

> Upon Thursdays repair to my palace, and there
> Hobble up stair by stair, but I pray you take care
> That you break not your shins by a stumble;
> And without e'er a souse, paid to me or my spouse,
> Sit still as a mouse at the top of the house,
> And there you shall hear how we fumble.[41]

Initially, Britton did not charge admission to his weekly Thursday night concerts; in fact, he was insulted by the suggestion that he would accept money. Later, however, he began charging ten shillings [£92.80] annually and provided coffee at a penny [£0.77] a dish.[42] I think it is reasonable to assume that because of the limited space in his concert room, Britton found it necessary at first to limit the number of attendees to his increasingly well-received concerts by instituting a fee. But as the concerts increased in popularity, Britton enlarged the concert room, and also obtained two other properties in which to store his growing collection of musical instruments.[43] According to records in the Corporation of London Records Office, Britton was paying tax on two buildings, in addition to the original stable he was renting. Those records show that 'by the 1690s he was paying considerably higher rates than most of his artisan neighbours'.[44]

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members were John Locke, Sir John Vanbrugh, Joseph Addison, Richard Steele, and Sir Robert Walpole.

[40] The meaning here is that the top of his sack was inserted through the handle of his measuring cup.

[41] Ward, *A Compleat and Humourous Account*, 303.

[42] Horace Walpole and George Vertue, *Anecdotes of Painting in England With some Account of the Principal Artists, and Incidental Notes on Other Arts. Also a Catalogue of Engravers Who have Been Born or Resided in England,* in 3 volumes, vol. 3 (London: Bohn, 1849): 253; quoted in Hawkins, *History*, 791.

[43] Curtis Price, 'The Small-Coal Cult', *The Musical Times* 119, no. 1630 (1978): 1033.

[44] Price, 'The Small-Coal Cult', 1033.

6.6. SUPPORT BY THE ARISTOCRACY: THE DUCHESS OF QUEENSBERRY

Britton's weekly concerts were popular across all social strata—the aristocracy, the gentry, and the public populace—doubtless because of the novelty of the quality of the music being offered in so modest a venue by so humble a promoter. To add grist to the scope of Britton's influence among the aristocracy, it is appropriate at this point to redirect to an example of a personality from their ranks who attended his concerts—the Duchess of Queensberry. An exploration of Britton's persona on a more personal level will continue at 6.7.

Supposedly, the Duchess of Queensberry was one of the great ladies who climbed the ladder-like outside stairs in her finery to reach the concert room upstairs.[45] Hawkins describes her and the house into which she made her way as 'being so mean [humble], as to be a fit habitation for only a very poor man', adding:[46]

> Notwithstanding all, this mansion, despicable as it may seem, attracted to it as polite an audience as ever the opera did; and a lady of the first rank in this kingdom, the Duchess of Queensbury [sic], now living, one of the most celebrated beauties of her time, may yet remember that in the pleasure which she manifested at hearing Mr. Britton's concert, she seemed to have forgotten the difficulty with which she ascended the steps that led to it.[47]

Following my investigation of this account, I questioned this often-quoted naming of the Duchess of Queensberry as the one attending the concerts.[48] There is no reason to doubt Hawkins—that there was a person of her aristocratic status who attended these concerts—and it may well have been the so-named Duchess of Queensberry. The problem arises, however, with the fact that Hawkins and others seem to have been referring to the wife of the third Duke of Queensberry, Lady Catherine Hyde, who was born in 1701. She married Charles Douglas, the third

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[45] The Duchess of Queensberry is the only aristocratic person to be mentioned by name.
[46] Hawkins, *History*, 790.
[47] Hawkins, 790.
[48] 'Queensbury', a variation of the spelling 'Queensberry'.

Duke of Queensberry, in 1720. Britton died in 1714, so Lady Catherine would have been only thirteen years old when the concerts ceased and she had not yet married the Duke.

Lady Catherine was a close childhood friend of Mary Granville, who was born in 1700, just a year before the Duchess. Both studied music, both attended concerts and operas from an early age, and Mary was at the London introduction of Handel in 1710.[49] So, it is not improbable to conjecture that Mary and Lady Catherine attended Britton concerts together, perhaps at one of the times when Handel performed there. Mary wrote in her autobiography of attending plays and operas in London: 'Among my young companions was my lord Clarendon's daughter, Lady Catherine Hyde, later Duchess of Queensborough [sic]'.[50] These occasions would have taken place prior to the death of Queen Anne in 1714, as the Granville family were forced to leave their London home by the new government of George I.[51] I propose that the link between Mary Granville and Catherine Hyde provides an answer to the question generated by Hawkins' statement that the Duchess of Queensberry was one of the attendees at Britton's concerts. The close friendship of the girls and their families, their acquaintaince with Handel, and their love of music suggest that they may have been invited by Handel to attend Britton concerts at which Handel was a performer.

The History of the Granville Family by Roger Granville provides extensive information on the relationship between Handel and this aristocratic family.[52] Mary's father, Bernard Granville, was a music lover and friend of Handel, who was a frequent visitor of the Granvilles at Calwich House, Gloucestershire. Handel

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[49] Mary Granville, *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs. Delany*, Lady Llanover, ed., 3 vols., vol. 1, (London: Richard Bentley, 1861), 5.
[50] Mary Granville, 116-117.
[51] Mary Granville.
[52] Roger Granville, *The History of the Granville Family: Traced Back to Rollo, First Duke of Normandy. With Pedigrees, Etc*. (Exeter: Pollard, 1895), 442-445.

personally supervised the construction of an organ there, upon which he played for hours and used for composing symphonies.[53] The Granville collection of thirty-eight manuscript volumes was copied by Handel's amanuensis, Christopher Smith, Sr, under the close eye of the composer.[54] Although much later, in 1734, Mary related in her autobiography that she would be hosting a party soon at which both Lady Catherine and Handel would be present, indicating that their relationship with Handel continued into the ensuing years.[55]

Upon the death in 1711 of the second Duke of Queensberry, his older son and heir, James, was declared unfit to inherit the title due to mental illness.[56] Catherine's husband-to-be Charles, the younger son, succeeded his father as third Duke by a grant of *novodamus*.[57] James retained the Marquessate of Queensberry until his death in 1715.[58]

Hawkins notes that the Duchess was still living at the time he wrote his account of her, which he included in his 1776 publication of his *History*, but she died the next year in 1777 at age seventy-six. My conclusion is that it was this Lady

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[53] Roger Granville, 442.
[54] David Hunter, 'Handel Manuscripts and the Profits of Slavery: The "Granville" Collection at the British Library and the First Performing Score of Messiah Reconsidered', *Notes* 76, no. 1 (2019): 27-37, 30.
[55] Roger Granville, *History of the Granville Family*, 454.
[56] 'James, 3rd Marquess of Queensberry, eldest son of James, 2nd Duke of Queensberry, was criminally insane and was kept under lock and key at all times. Legend has it that while the Duke was away celebrating the "Act of Union" [in 1707], James escaped his locked quarters, captured and roasted a small kitchen boy, and was discovered trying to eat the poor lad. Critics of the "Act of Union" claimed it a 'judgement on the Duke for his odious share in the Union'. James was allowed to inherit the Marquissate and Earldom of Queensberry but, due to his mental state, did not succeed to the Dukedom which was passed to his younger brother Charles. According to parish records, he was buried in Calverley, though how he got here is unclear'; Quoted from the website of Clan MacFarlane: //www.clanmacfarlanegenealogy.info/genealogy.
[57] According to Scottish law, 'novodamus' was a clause appended to a grant to revise or change a title, land grant, or other action necessitated by circumstances; 'novodamus': OED Online. Accessed 9 December 2021..
[58] Herbert Maxwell, *A History of the House of Douglas from the Earliest Times Down to the Legislative Union of England and Scotland*. vol. 2. (London: Freemantle, 1902), 284.

Catherine who attended the concerts as a young girl and is identified in later accounts by the title she attained after her marriage.

In addition to the question raised by Hawkins' remark regarding the attendance of the young Duchess of Queensberry at Britton's concerts, I questioned why Hawkins would cite this one aristocrat and why he selected the Duchess. My initial investigation into why Hawkins chose to elevate her to the station of representing the aristocracy at the concerts, led me to conclude that the answer could be found in the cosmopolitan persona of the Duchess. At the time Hawkins was writing his *History*, the Duchess (Lady Catherine Douglas at the time) was still active and was one of the most notable personalities in London society. As will be seen upcoming, not only had she been an attendee at Britton's concerts, but she was also responsible for other musical machinations, including encouraging John Gay in his decision to engage Pepusch to write the instrumental music for *The Beggar's Opera*, as well as her notoriety from being banned from the court of George II. These factors prompted me to widen my investigation into the Duchess of Queensberry, considering her to be not on the periphery of my study, but as a substantial and formative social undercurrent present on the London musical scene during the greater part of the eighteenth century.

Catherine was the 'wild child' of her age, both in manner and dress, frequently appearing at court and grand balls not in finery, but in the apron of a servant (Plate 6.4.) She and her husband were the leading patrons of John Gay, defending his controversial *The Beggar's Opera*, and later, his more politically radical opera *Polly*.



Plate 6.4. — *Catherine Douglas (née Hyde) Duchess of Queensberry*
Attributed to Charles Jervas, ca. 1725-1730
NPG 238
© National Portrait Gallery London

For this she was banned from court, but was subsequently reinstated upon the accession of George III in 1760.[59]

In a letter from Gay to Dean Swift of 2 December 1728, Gay described the circumstances under which he was denied performance of *Polly*. He was instructed not to proceed with rehearsal until it had been critiqued by His Grace, the Duke of Grafton, the Lord Chamberlain. The response back from Grafton was that it 'was not allowed to be acted, but commanded to be suppressed'.[60] Going further politically than *The Beggar's Opera, Polly* was construed to be a more direct attack on the government, especially Sir Robert Walpole, the Whig Prime Minister.

In the absence of being able to perform *Polly*, Gay decided to publish it by subscription. He enlisted his friends, including the intrepid Duchess of Queensberry, in the endeavour of obtaining subscriptions. It was in this pursuit that she fell afoul of

[59] Harry Graham, 'Catherine Hyde, Duchess of Queensberry (d. 1777)', *A Group of Scottish Women*, (London: Methuen, 1908), 134.
[60] Lewis Melville, *Life and Letters of John Gay (1685-1732): Author of "The Beggar's Opera"* (London: O'Connor, 1921), 98.

the King. At a court function at which she was soliciting subscriptions, the King approached her and questioned what she was doing. The Duchess quipped 'What must be agreeable, I am sure, to anyone as humane as Your Majesty, for it is an act of charity, and a charity I do not despair of bringing Your Majesty to contribute'. The next day, William Stanhope, Vice-Chamberlain, arrived to deliver a message instructing her to henceforth desist from coming to court. Whereupon, in Stanhope's presence, she immediately penned a sardonic letter to the King:

> The Duchess of Queensberry is surprised and well pleased that the King hath given her so agreeable a command as to stay from Court, where she never came for diversion, but to bestow a great civility on the King and Queen; she hopes by such an unprecedented order as this is, that the King will see as few as he wishes at his court, particularly such as are to think or speak truth. I dare not do otherwise, and ought not, nor could have imagined that it would not have been the very highest compliment that I could possibly pay the King to endeavour to support truth and innocence in his house, particularly when the King and Queen both told me that they had not read Mr. Gay's play. I have certainly neither made use of truth, judgment, nor honour, through this whole affair, either for himself or his friends.[61]

The horrified Stanhope begged her to consider composing another, more mollifying, letter. She did compose another, but it was even more rancorous, so Stanhope reluctantly chose the first.[62]

The Duchess had her defenders in the matter of her being banned from court. I discovered an unpublished letter in the British Library of 18 March 1728, Additional MS 63650S, from Sarah Churchill, the Duchess of Marlborough, to Barbara, widow of Henry Yelverton, the Viscount de Longueville. The Duchess cites details of the event that caused Lady Catherine's banishment:

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[61] Melville, *Life and letters of John Gay,* 100-101.
[62] Melville*,*101.

> To the Lady Viscountess of Longueville, March 18, 1728.
>
> When I received the favour of yours, Dear Madam, dated the 15th of March, I was a letter in your debt….
>
> As to the Duchess of Queensberry, I conclude you have had wrong accounts of it, which I know by woeful experience is always given by court sycophants. But in truth, she has done nothing unbecoming a woman of her quality, who was very intimate both with the King and Queen. She endeavoured to vindicate Mr. Gay from having writ any thing but what was general. And it is true: For there is nothing in that opera that cuts deeper than five thousand other things in old plays. […] She is the first woman of quality that ever was forbid at court….[63]

The fallout from the Duchess' impertinence to the King had dire and lasting effects on Gay's career. The Duke and Duchess took Gay with them when they relocated to Scotland to the Douglas ancestral home at Drumlanrig. His hopes to be appointed Poet Laureate were dashed when the post was given to the playwright and theatre manager Colley Cibber.[64] At this, he realized that he would never be rehabilitated at Court, and he sank into depression. The boisterous humour that had once pervaded his writings turned to caustic sniping.[65]

The Duchess of Queensberry was known for being a great beauty and an eccentric from her youth until her death. Horace Walpole proposed a playful toast to the Duchess in 1773 that 'she might live to grow ugly', to which she replied 'I hope then, that you will retain your taste for antiquities'.[66] An extant letter from her to

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[63] Lbl Add. MS 63650S, fols.111-123; for the complete letter, see Appendix Three.
[64] Melville, *Life and letters of John Gay,* 102.
[65] It is intriguing to speculate on the nature of the personal relationship between the Duchess and John Gay. It is well known that the Duke and Duchess were Gay's patrons, taking him under their care and promoting him professionally. The Duke supported his wife in the matter of her banishment from court, considering it an opportunity for him, likewise, to quit the court. They also provided Gay solace during his grave illness, taking him into their home, where the Duchess nursed him herself and took great care to see him restored to health. Their relationship was likely platonic, my reading of extant correspondence in the British Library (Lbl Add. MS 22626) reveals an emotional intimacy that would be perceived differently today than it would have been at that time in correspondence between close friends in the openly affectionate eighteenth century
[66] Horace Walpole, *The Letters of Horace Walpole*, vol. 5 (Books on Demand at http://www.gutenberg.net): 2018: 477.

Walpole written in the decade of her death is an example of her lifelong eccentricity and humour. The letter is in response to Walpole's invitation to dine at Strawberry Hill, his residence in Twickenham, near London:

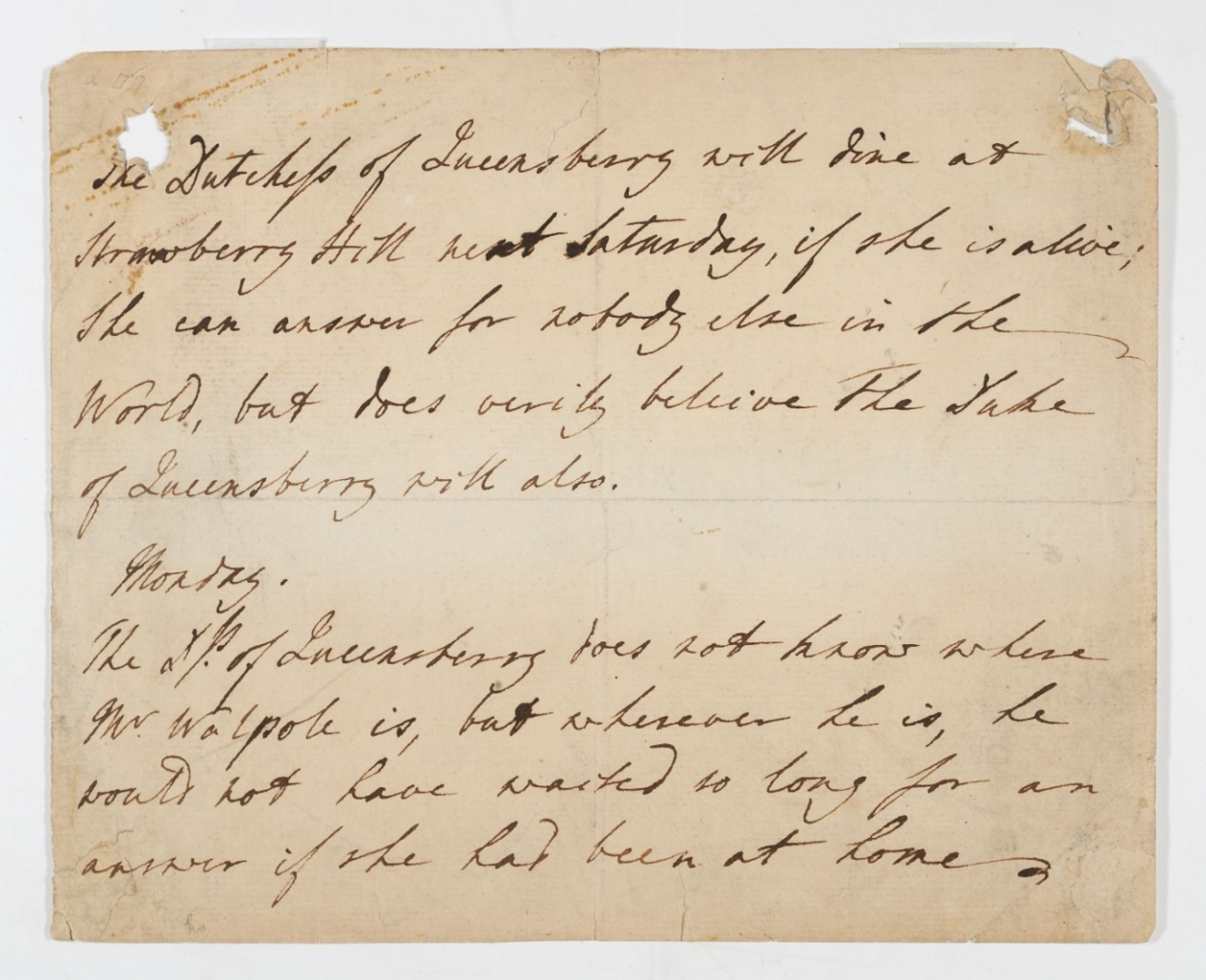


Plate 6.5. — Letter from the Duchess of Queensberry to Horace Walpole
Courtesy of the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University

> The Duchess of Queensberry will dine at
> Strawberry Hill next Saturday, if she is alive;
> She can answer for nobody else in the
> World, but does verily believe the Duke
> of Queensberry will also.
>
> Monday.
> The Duchess of Queensberry does not know where
> Mr Walpole is, but wherever he is, he
> would not have waited so long for an
> answer if he had been at home.[67]

[67] Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, Lwl MSS File 26.

Commenting on her capriciousness, Walpole noted that ‘at the coronation of George III…her affectation that day was to do nothing preposterous’.[68]

6.8. THOMAS BRITTON: THE MUSIC, THE MAN

The list of music in Britton’s posthumous sale catalogue of December 1714, reproduced by Hawkins, is indicative of the music played at his concerts.[69] Corelli was a favourite, as was music by Pepusch, Handel, and Purcell. In the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library at the University of California, Los Angeles, are four partbooks of Purcell volumes, B217M4 S948 1690 Bound, sold to the library in 1970 by Theodore M. Finney, whose supposition was that Britton once owned the volumes.[70] After Britton’s death, his wife sold at auction his collection of music, instruments, books and manuscripts.[71] An example of one of the rare Britton compositions can be seen in Plate 6.6.



Plate 6.6. — *Lessons for the flute alone, in the hand of Thomas Britton*
BL Add. MS 22098 fol.12v
© British Library Board

[68] Graham, ‘Catherine Hyde’, 148.
[69] Hawkins, *History*, 792-793; see Appendix Five for full reprint.
[70] Richard Charteris, ‘A Checklist of the Manuscript Sources of Henry Purcell's Music in the University of California, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, Los Angeles’, *Notes* 52, no. 2 (1995): 408. Accessed 18 May 2020.
[71] See Appendix Five.

Britton gained admiration for the quality of his concerts, his collection of musical instruments, his book collection, and his knowledge of literary antiquities. His contemporaries noted that despite all the accolades bestowed on him during his lifetime, he never assumed himself above the station in life to which he was born. John Wollaston,[72] the noted portrait painter and amateur musician who played at Britton's concerts, painted the first portrait of Britton in 1703 (Plate 6.7.). Other portraitists followed with likenesses of Britton, all based on Wollaston's original. In Plates 6.7., 6.8., and 6.9., Britton is shown wearing his tradesman's small-coal smock, and in Plate 6.7. and 6.8. he is also holding his measuring cup.



Plate 6.7. — Thomas Britton
By John Wollaston, 1703
NPG 523
© National Portrait Gallery London

[72] Contemporary writers, such as Hawkins, spelled it Woolaston.



Plate 6.8. — Thomas Britton
By John Simon, after John Wollaston
NPG D817
© National Portrait Gallery, London

The poet John Hughes' inscription below the image on Plate 6.8. reads:

> Tho' mean thy rank, yet in thy humble Cell
> Did gentle Peace and Arts unpurchas'd dwell;
> Well pleas'd Apollo thither led his Train,
> And Musick warbled in her sweetest Strain.
>
> Cyllenius so, as Fables tell, and Jove
> Came willing Guests to poor Philemon's Grove.
> Let useless Pomp behold, and blush to find
> So low a Station, such a liberal Mind.[73]

[73] John Hughes, *Poems on Several Occasions: With Some Select Essays in Prose*, vol. 1. J. (Tonson and J. Watts., 1735), 143. Hughes was also a violinist who played at Britton's concerts, see Hawkins, *History*, 789.

In Plate 6.9. Thomas Johnson depicts Britton as musician and antiquarian, and includes in the portrait several musical instruments, sheet music, and books. He is shown tuning a harpsichord, with a violin suspended on the wall behind, and shelves of books in front.



Plate 6.9. —Thomas Britton
By Thomas Johnson, after John Wollaston
NPG D32154
© National Portrait Gallery

The inscription by the poet Matthew Prior at the bottom of the frame reads:

> Tho' doom'd to small-coal, yet to arts ally'd
> Rich without wealth, and famous without pride;
> Musick's best patron, judge of books and men,
> Belov'd and honour'd by Apollo's train;
> In Greece or Rome sure never did appear
> So bright a genius in so dark a sphere;
> More of the man had artfully been sav'd,
> Had Kneller painted and had Vertue grav'd.[74]

Hawkins notes that Wollaston painted two portraits of Britton, one of which was at that time in the British Museum. There are mezzotint prints made by other artists, and all are now part of the collection in the London National Portrait Gallery. Hawkins relates that Wollaston told him the 'occasion of painting', as follows:

> Britton had been out one morning, and having nearly emptied his sack in a shorter time than he expected, had a mind to see his friend Mr. Woolaston; but having always been used to consider himself in two capacities, viz., as one who subsisted by a very mean occupation, and as a companion for persons in a station of life above him he could not, consistently, with this distinction, dressed as he then was, make a visit; he therefore in his way home varied his usual round, and passing through Warwick Lane, determined to cry small-coal in his usual tone,* than [sic, then] Mr. Woolaston, who had never heard him there before, flung open the sash and beckoned him in. After some conversation Mr. Woolaston intimated a desire to paint his picture, which Britton modestly yielding to, Mr. Woolaston then, and at a few subsequent sittings, painted him in his blue frock, and with his small-coal measure in his hand, as he appears in the picture at the Museum.[75]

6.7.1. 'ALL THE STREETS WITH PASSING CRIES RESOUND'[76]

The cries of tradesmen and craftsmen added to the cacophony on the streets of London, with each vendor having his distinctive cry (Plate 6.10.). In his *Trivia; or, the Art of Walking the Streets of London (1719),* John Gay alerts his readers with: 'What Trades are Prejudicial to Walkers', especially in the morning:

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[74] Quoted in Hawkins, *History*, 790.
[75] Hawkins, *History*, 790. The asterisk in the text eight lines down and to the right refers to Plate 6.11.
[76] John Gay, *Trivia; Or, the Art of Walking the Streets of London (1719)* (London: Ballintine & Law, 1807) 27.



Plate 6.10. — *The Cries of London: 'Small Coale'*
Engraving from *Cries of London*
By Marcellous Laroon, 1689
Lebrecht Music & Arts

Now Industry awakes her busy Sons,
Full charg'd with News the breathless Hawker runs:
Shops open, Coaches roll, Carts shake the Ground,
And all the Streets with passing Cries resound.

Ye Walkers too that youthful Colours wear,
Three sullying Trades avoid with equal Care;
The little Chimney-sweeper skulks along,
And marks with sooty Stains the heedless Throng;

> When Small-coal murmurs in the hoarser Throat,
> From smutty Dangers guard thy threaten'd Coat:
> The Dust-man's Cart offends thy Cloaths and Eyes,
> When through the Street a Cloud of Ashes flies….[77]

In his 'A description of the Morning' (1709) Jonathan Swift further contributes:

> The Smallcoal-Man was heard with Cadence deep,
> 'Till drown'd in Shriller Notes of Chimney-Sweep.[78]

Hawkins describes Britton's specific cry:

> The goodness of his ear directed him to the use of the most perfect of all musical intervals, the diapason [octave]; his cry being, as some relate that remember it:[79]

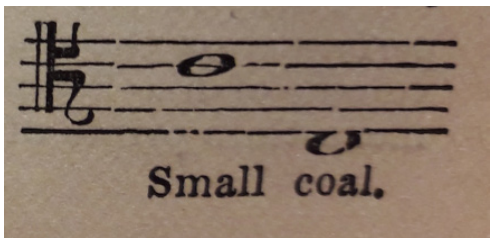


Plate 6.11. — Britton 'Small-Coal Cry'
Reprinted from Hawkins' *History*, page 790n

6.7.2. THE MUSICAL SMALL-COAL MAN

The received view that Thomas Britton was a humble tradesman, walking the streets of London selling small-coal by the measuring cup to his customers, with weekly forays into holding concerts above his store, does not bear up when examining in close detail the subtle undercurrents behind this romantic notion. Even the nature of his product, small coal, provides the first glimpse into the larger canvas that was Thomas Britton.

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[77] Gay, *Trivia*, 27.
[78] Jonathan Swift, 'A Description of the Morning', *The Poems of Jonathan Swift*, 3 vols. Harold Williams, ed., (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), vol. 1, 124.
[79] Hawkins, *History*, 790.

‘Small-Coal’ was the term used in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to describe what is known today as ‘charcoal’. ‘Small’, in this usage, describes the weight of the product, compared to coal, which has a piece-weight per volume much heavier than charcoal.[80] A cubic foot of coal can weigh from under forty up to sixty pounds, depending on the type of coal and the location from where it was mined. On the other hand, the density of charcoal is much less at approximately thirteen pounds per cubic foot.[81]

Thomas Britton was said to be a ‘Musical Small-Coal Man’, also referred to in the records as a ‘Musical Smallcoal-Man’, depending on the chronicler describing him. Although coal was being used increasingly as a source of energy, as deforestation overcame the supply of wood, ‘small coal’ continued to be used domestically for cooking, being that it was a superior fuel to wood or coal, because it burned cleanly and very hot. It is a product of the carefully controlled burning of select wood, and is not a product of coal. Lyn Armstrong quotes John Evelyn’s account of the making of ‘small coals’, and points out that the method he describes of using earth-covered kilns is no longer known in England.[82]

The several years of apprenticeship that Britton served under the instruction of a small-coal master can be appreciated by an understanding of the complicated process of producing it in the quantities required to meet seventeenth-century public consumption. It requires ‘the controlled burning of wood with a restricted air supply under a cover of earth, or by splashing the burning wood with water.…’ This primitive

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[80] Roderick Braithwaite, *A History of the Worshipful Company of Fuellers* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2010), 26.
[81] *‘Weights and Measures Act 1985’, Legislation.gov.uk.*
[82] Lyn Armstrong, *Woodcolliers and Charcoal Burning*, (Horsham, Sussex: Coach Publishing House and The Weald and Downland Open Air Museum, 1978), 46.

method has been used worldwide for about five thousand years, and an example of a small-coal kiln can be seen in Plate 6.12.

Based on what is known about his depot and premises, it is unlikely that Britton manufactured his own small-coal on site, but purchased it from a supplier either at the wharf or overland and then resold it. Other factors that complicated small-coal production were the end use of the product, the location of the kiln, and the wood used, with several varieties being preferred. It would have been this level of complexity in learning his craft that would have require Britton to enter a lengthy apprenticeship as a charcoal tradesman.



Plate 6.12. — Small-Coal Kiln
Reprinted from John Evelyn, *Sylva*, 1664
In Armstrong *Woodcolliers*[83]

[83] Reprinted from Armstrong, *Woodcollier*s, 42.

The pricing of charcoal varied throughout time, so it is difficult to determine Britton's financial status, but it must have increased substantially considering the wealth of books and musical instruments he was able to purchase.[84] Assuming that his apprenticeship was typical of the other craft apprenticeships of seven-years duration, it makes little sense for him to squander the remainder of his career labouring to his death at the low end of the social scale as a small-coal street vendor unless there were indeed ulterior objectives ahead. On the contrary, my conjecture is that as an entrepreneur and businessman, he would have been in the enviable position of being free to raise his pricing as needed for this essential commodity. Britton's door-to-door route included many, if not all, of the eclectic and prosperous citizens of Clerkenwell, so it is reasonable to assume that many of his clients were well off financially and that his pricing would have been in the mid-to-high range of the product.

Little is recorded about Britton from the time he returned to London from Rushden until the commencement of his concerts in 1678. It is left to the modern researcher to extrapolate a timeline of Britton's activities and associates.

[84] Another critical economic factor was the increasing scarcity of large amounts of wood in the seventeenth century as the great English forests became overwhelmed. Considering that the manufacture of charcoal was a labour- and material-intensive process, from the first cutting of wood to the finished product delivered to Britton's depot, its acquisition and distribution would have required him to apply involved mercantile skills and an understanding of systems of credit and financial management for which he would have been trained in order to bring him to the level of master of his craft.

6.8. BRITTON BEYOND: ALCHEMIST, ROSICRUCIAN, INVENTOR



Plate 6.13. — Theophilus Garencières
By William Dole, 1672
NPG 8253
© National Portrait Gallery

It would appear that Britton acquired his knowledge of alchemy through his acquaintance with a Clerkenwell neighbour, Dr Theophilus Garencières (1610-1680). Physician, alchemist, writer, and Rosicrucian, Garencières had constructed an alchemical laboratory in his home (Plate 6.13.).[85] Historians of chemistry have described alchemy as a medieval proto-chemical science whose practitioners had broad interests in speculative philosophy. They were involved in mysterious and inexplicable quests for transmuting base metals into gold; discovering a universal cure for disease; contriving a means for prolonging life indefinitely; and perfecting human character, the latter being a precept alchemy shares with Rosicrucianism and Freemasonry (5.1.1.-5.1.2.).

Because charcoal was the fuel used to generate the controlled heat for the equipment in an alchemical laboratory, it is reasonable to assume that Garencières was a customer of Britton. They lived near each other, so it would have been convenient to transport supplies between locations as needed. It is also possible that

[85] Hawkins, *History*, 789.

Garencières even set up his alchemical laboratory where he did because it was near Britton's charcoal depot. Or alternatively, if Britton established himself in Clerkenwell soon after arriving in England, Garencières may have already been a customer of Britton's master. Such would predict that Garencières would have come into contact with the young Britton at a time when he was still serving his apprenticeship, not after he returned to London from Rushden after having already completed his apprenticeship.

Garencières was born in Paris, received his Doctorate of Medicine at the University of Caen in 1636, came to England sometime in the 1640s as a physician in the entourage of the French ambassador, and was made MD at Oxford in 1657.[86] He left the Catholic Church sometime before 1670, and in 1672 published the first English translation of *The True Prophecies or Prognostications of Michael Nostradamus, Translated.*[87] This was followed in 1676 by his alchemical tract *'The admirable virtues, and wonderful effects of the true and genuine tincture of coral, in physick; grounded upon reason, established by experience, and confirmed by authentical authors in all ages. Never found out plainly till now.* By Theophilus Garencières, doctor in physick, Colleg. Lond.' On the verso of the title page is inscribed 'Licensed, Apr. 1. 1676. Ro. L'Estrange'.[88]

Because seventeenth-century England saw a period of transition from superstition to science, Britton would have seen the word 'alchemy' merge in

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[86] Norman Moore, 2004, 'Garencières, Theophilus (1610–c. 1680), Physician', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* Accessed 22 January 2019.

[87] Nostradamus, Theophilus Garencières, translator, *The True Prophecies Or Prognostications of Michael Nostradamus...* (London: 'Thomas Ratcliffe and Nathaniel Thompson and are to be sold by John Martin...and 7 others', 1672).

[88] Theophilus Garencières, *The Admirable Virtues, and Wonderful Effects of the True and Genuine Tincture of Coral, in Physick; Grounded Upon Reason, Established by Experience, and Confirmed by Authentical Authors in All Ages. Never Found Out Plainly Till Now. by Theophilus Garencieres, Doctor in Physick, Colleg. London,* (London: 'printed by W.R. for Samuel Sprint at the sign of the Bell in Little Britain', 1676). Accessed 6 September 2019. This work was considered a medical text at the time, as alchemical findings frequently resulted in medicinal applications.

common usage into ‘chemistry’. Alchemy was eventually relegated to denoting activities associated with magic, as the increasingly open science of chemistry turned its back on the old ‘secret arts’.

Hawkins describes Britton’s acquired expertise in alchemy/chemistry by relating the story of Britton’s ‘moveable Elaboratory’.[89] In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the word ‘elaboratory’ was used synonymously with ‘laboratory’, meaning ‘a place where chemical substances were changed’, and a ‘moveable Elaboratory’ referred to a cabinet which contained small instruments and a few basic chemicals.[90] Under Garencières’ guidance, Britton invented a ‘moveable elaboratory’. This came to the attention of a ‘gentleman from Wales’, who commissioned Britton to travel there to construct an elaboratory for his own use. Hawkins relates that the gentleman was so impressed by the utility of the instruments that Britton ‘received of him a very handsome and generous gratuity’.[91]

If Britton’s experiences with Garencières led him to adopt Garencières’ knowledge and practice of alchemy, the supposition can also be made that it was from him that Britton acquired his interest in Rosicrucianism, magic, and perhaps other secret arts. With the central belief of the Rosicrucians (Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross) that their members possessed secret wisdom handed down from ancient times, and that their teachings were a combination of occultism and nontraditional religious practices that included Hermeticism, Jewish mysticism, and Christian Gnosticism,[92] the speculation seems plausible that Britton could have

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[89] Hawkins, *History,* 788-789.
[90] Maurice Crosland, ‘Early Laboratories c. 1600–c. 1800 and the Location of Experimental Science’, *Annals of Science* 62, no. 2 (2005): 233-253., 238 and footnote.
[91] Hawkins*, History*, 789.
[92] Charles William Heckethorn, *The Secret Societies of All Ages and Countries, Volume II, Book VIII* (London: Redway, 1897), 225.

adopted, or at least would have been exposed to, these theologies through his association with Garencières.

> Rosicrucians, who took their name from their symbol of a Rosy Cross, taught about the magical harmony of the spheres which indirectly affected the harmony of the world. This ethereal music emitted strange, unseen, forces that affected the destiny of humans, and its consequences could be foretold from the positions of the stars in the heavens.[93]

In his article 'The Chemical Library of Thomas Britton', the historian of chemistry W.A. Campbell cites with descriptions many of the alchemical books listed in Britton's 1694 sale catalogue.[94] Campbell is one of the few researchers who have reexamined the long-accepted accounts of Hawkins and other contemporary writers on Britton. Hawkins' discussion of Britton's catalogue and his books on alchemy, chemistry, Rosicrucianism and magic led Campbell to question why Britton did not offer for sale certain notable past, as well as current, books in these genera. This prompted Campbell to conclude that Britton was no longer interested in these subjects, and was therefore no longer a practicing alchemist, and perhaps had not been one at any time.

Campbell also writes that coal was the product of Britton's trade, a common misconception of modern researchers. Britton did not sell coal. As discussed at 6.7.2. above, he sold 'small-coal', or 'charcoal', a wood-based product. Most of Campbell's analysis of Britton's alchemical activities centres around his specious notion that charcoal is the same as coal. Geologists classify coal as a black, sedimentary rock made from highly compressed vegetable debris, and under magnification it is often seen to have gold flecks. This could have given rise to the

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[93] Robert Lomas, *The Invisible College* (London: Headline Book Publishing, 2002), 4.
[94] W.A. Campbell, 'The Chemical Library of Thomas Britton (1654-1714)' *Ambix* 24, no. 3 (1977): 143-148.

misinterpretation by some lesser-informed alchemists that coal is metallic and, therefore, a component in the process of transmuting base metals into gold.

Campbell's argument that Britton was neither interested in, nor involved with alchemy, can be easily dispelled. His first argument—that Britton's sale of non-musical books in 1694 did not contain any chemical-related works that were current, such as Robert Boyle's *Sceptical Chymist* (London 1661)—proves only that Britton did not sell those books, not that he did not possess them. More likely, he kept them for his own use, as they contained the most current thinking in the technical fields.

Campbell proceeds to conclude that Britton was not a practising alchemist because (1) alchemy was a secret art and he would not have invited the public into his home where they may have discovered his laboratory, (2) the fumes produced in the alchemical processes would have been harmful to Britton's musical instruments, and (3) Britton's house was too small to accommodate both a laboratory and a concert room for his guests and musicians.

These factors erroneously assume that Britton would have had his laboratory on the site where he held his concerts, and fail to take into account Britton's association with his neighbour Dr Garencières. As cited at 6.8., Britton visited Garencières frequently, and probably learned alchemy from him. Dr Garencières had a laboratory at his residence, which Britton was at liberty to use, thereby not necessitating his having one in his own home. Indeed, when consulting the Clerkenwell *Poor Rate Book* for 1661 (folio 44) housed in the Islington Local History Centre (a branch of the Islington Public Library, London), I was able to substantiate that Garencières' resided near Britton. There is a monthly rate payment shown from Dr Theophilus Garencières of 0-2-6 (two shillings, six pence) [£18.80], and while the

listing for the street name is undecipherable, proof of Britton's residence in the same area can be found in the *Poor Rate Books* for the years 1679, 1680 and 1681.[95]

There are gaps in the *Poor Rate Books* for the years from 1661 to 1666 and from 1666 to 1679. Britton's name appears in the book of 1679 (folio 12), showing him as having paid 4-0-0 [£18.80] tax on property in Garden Alley. He is also listed in the book of 1681 [folio undecipherable], with tax of 0-0-8 [£5.56] on a property in Clerkenwell Greene, and in 1681 [folio undecipherable] also paying tax of 0-0-8 on a property in St. John's Court. The *Poor Rate Books* list the names of the persons who paid the taxes, not necessarily those who occupied the property. It is possible that Britton rented, rather than owned, these properties, and it could be that he may have rented other properties for which an owner paid the tax. Thus, it can be reasonably assumed that as early as 1681 he had attained the financial status to afford more real property than that of a humble, small-coal seller only.

Lacking empirical proof of whether Britton was a Rosicrucian, circumstantial evidence must be examined. The intellectual culture in London was alive with an undercurrent of Rosicrucianism, as is known through the writings and activities of notable figures in sundry disciplines. As discussed at 5.4., Elias Ashmole was a practicing Rosicrucian who possessed an impressive collection of amulets, tokens of magic, and writings on Rosicrucianism, which can now be studied at the Ashmolean Museum. The connection between Britton and Ashmole is evidenced by an entry in the diary of Ashmole:

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[95] There are a few extant *Poor Rate Books* in the London Islington Local History Centre, but those that exist cover some of the years of Britton's residence in Clerkenwell. They are catalogued as follows: *Clerkenwell Poor Rate 1661 & 1666*; *Clerkenwell Poor Rate 1668-1670; Clerkenwell Poor Rate 1670-1672; Clerkenwell Poor Rate 1675-1676; and Clerkenwell Poor Rate 1679-1682 & 1692;* written on the inside of the first page of the 1661 & 1666 book is 'The Names of the Parishioners and Inhabitants of the Parish of St. James'. Many pages are worn and indecipherable.

> 22 Oct. 1678 or later. (MS Ashmole. 1440, pp. 215-25)
> Ashmole transcribed a copy, lent to him this day §'by Mr.: Britton'[2], of a letter inscribed, 'The following Letter Communicated to me by the most Serene Prince Frederick duke of Holsatia & Sleswick related things strange and unheard of. Come & see.' The letter, which is undated, describes the miraculous circumstances of the death of an old Jewish alchemist, 'master B:J:'.[96]

The text of this letter from Britton to Ashmole is reproduced in Appendix Four.[97] The fact that Britton lent this occult tract to Ashmole confirms that the two were acquainted, if not personally, at least by knowledge of their mutual interest in the subject. A further point of clarification is that this diary entry quoted above is a commentary by Josten on the original entry. The 'letter' mentioned is a lengthy occult tract which, in describing the death of 'master B:J:', reveals a description of alchemical secrets. A reading of the actual tract is required to understand that the description of the entry given by Josten misleads the reader into thinking that the content is actually a letter. The superscript number '2' following the words 'by Mr.: Britton' in the Josten quotation directs the reader to the following comment by Josten:

> [2]Unidentified, but possibly Thomas Britton (1654?-1714), the 'musical small-coal man'. See D.N.B., vol. ii, pp.1269-1271.

My examination of the Ashmole diary in the Bodleian Library was more revealing than the description given by Josten. Ashmole's handwriting is completely legible, so there is no doubt as to the clarity of the entry. In addition to Ashmole's

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[96] C. H. Josten, ed., *Elias Ashmole (1617-1692) His Autobiographical and Historical Notes, His Correspondence, and Other Contemporary Sourced Relating to His Life and Work, Edited, with a Biographical Introduction*, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1966), iv, 1627 and n. 2.

[97] This tract appears in the following article: Isabell de Steiger, 'Last Hours of a Medieval Occultist', *The Occult Review*, vol. 2, 108 (August 1905): 75-79. It was originally published in John Frederick Houpreght, Nicolas Flamel, and George Ripley, *Aurifontina Chymica, Or, A Collection of Fourteen Small Treatises Concerning the First Matter of Philosophers for the Discovery of Their (Hitherto So Much Concealed) Mercury: Which Many Have Studiously Endeavoured to Hide, But These to Make Manifest for the Benefit of Mankind in General* (London: William Cooper, 1984).

having received the ‘letter’, he writes the entirety of the tract into the diary (Plate 6.14.).[98]

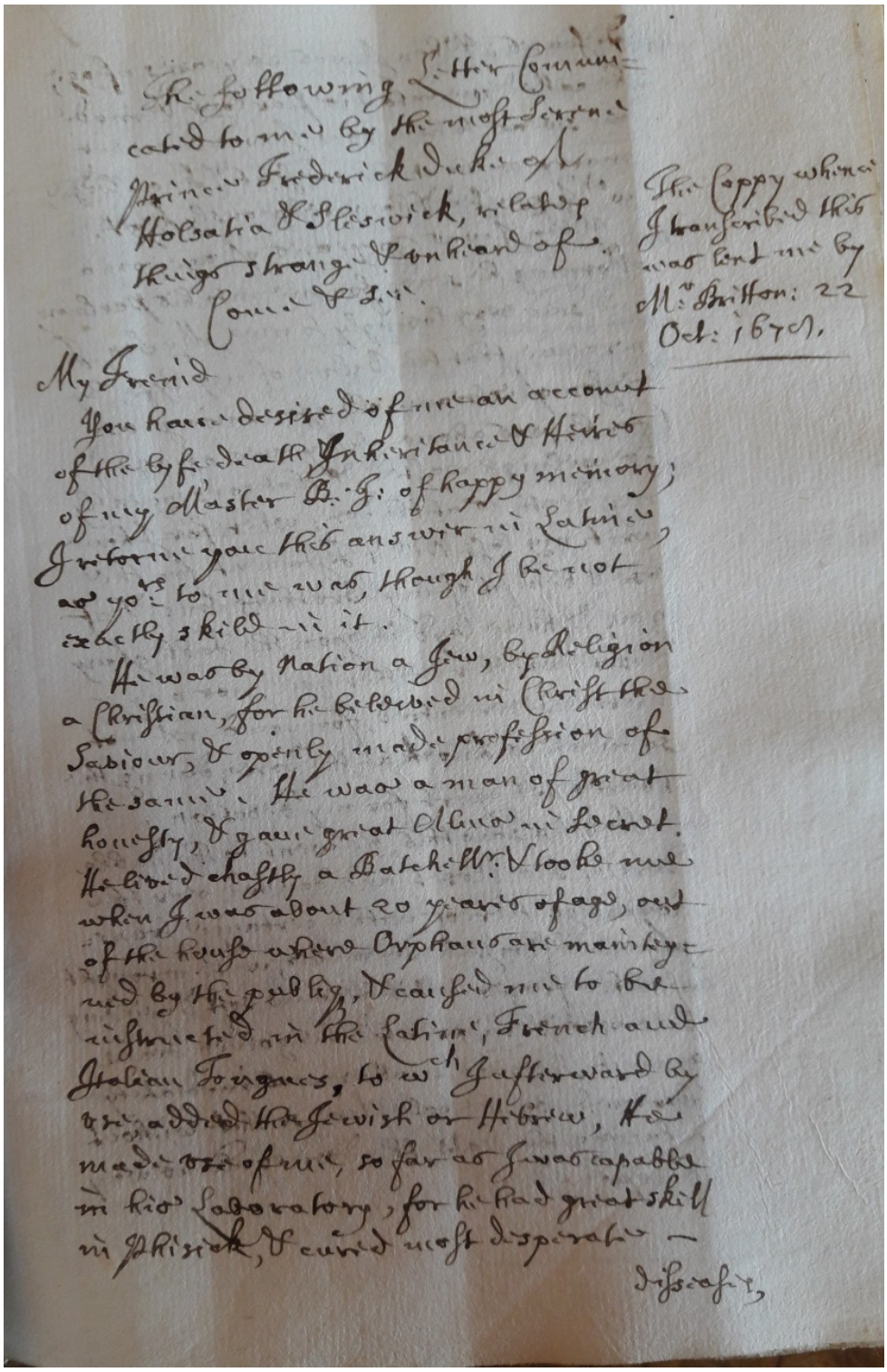


Plate 6.14. — Occult Tract in Ashmole *Diary*
MS Ashmole. 1440. fol. 215
Oxford, Bodleian Library

[98] See Appendix Four for a transcription of the entire tract.

In her article ‘Thomas Britton: Musician and Magician?’, Jamie Croy Kassler finds two reasons to believe that ‘Mr Britton’ is indeed Thomas Britton. First, she reports that Ashmole and Britton were associated obliquely through the Excise Office. Ashmole was a high-ranking officer there, and two of its employees, Henry Needler and John Hughes, performed at Britton’s musical concerts. Second, Ashmole was a music devotee, a trained musician, and would have known about Britton’s concerts.[99] That said, my examination of the chronology compels me to conclude that it is unlikely that Ashmole knew either Henry Needler or John Hughes directly at the Excise Office. Needler, born in 1685, would have been only seven years old when Ashmole died in 1692, and Hughes, born in 1677, would have been only fifteen. It is possible that a mutual interest in music could have led to Britton’s association with Ashmole, but more likely, they were acquainted through their common objective of acquiring antiquities and collectables in alchemy and Rosicrucianism.

6.8.1. ‘NOT THE MAN HE SEEMED TO BE’[100]

The account related by Hearne and repeated by Hawkins of Britton’s spending all of the money given him by his master at the conclusion of his apprenticeship, and then returning to London to set up a small-coal business in the same locality as his master, begs reflection on the following points:

- Assuming that Britton was honest and ethical as portrayed, he would not have broken the non-competition contract with his master, especially after having exhausted the money given in good faith by his master.

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[99] Jamie Croy Kassler, (1982) ‘Thomas Britton: Musician and magician?’, *Musicology Australia* 7:1 (1982): 67-72.

[100] Horace Walpole and George Vertue, *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, vol. 3, 253.

- If Britton exhausted these funds in Rushden, the question arises as to how he mustered the considerable finances it would have taken to set up shop in Clerkenwell. He acquired a stable, which he converted into a small-coal depot, no small investment. He also would have had to acquire a start-up inventory of small-coal and then arrange for a continuing supply, which would have had to be delivered to him overland or by sea through a contractual arrangement with one or more of the transportation liveries. Being oath-bound to their livery, it is unlikely that a company would have gone against its strict rules guarding against adverse competition, especially from an outsider upstart from Rushden.

The more likely scenario is that either (1) his master sent for him to return to London because of the master's poor health or pending retirement, or (2) population growth, aggravated by the increased material and labour demands from shortages after the Fire of 1666, exceeded his master's capacity to provide for his customers, and so, Britton was invited to return.

The latter supposition is supported by the massive logistics of clearing away debris resulting from the Fire, and the demand for skilled workmen, who were in short supply to carry out the massive rebuilding that followed. The structures that were consumed, being timber-built, left compacted charred remains that had to be removed methodically to prevent further collapse before reconstruction could begin. With the Rebuilding Acts of 1667 and 1670, new structures were now required to be constructed with stone and brick cladding, which called for tradesmen skilled in the use of these materials. The native London carpenters alone were not up to the task, so multitudes of specialized tradesmen relocated to London, incentivised by high wages, but leaving critical shortages of skilled labour in the provinces. Eventually the

restrictions that were in place since the Navigation Acts of the 1650s and 1660s, out of necessity, had to be eased to allow for unregulated supplies of timber to be brought into the City for the construction of frames for the masonry facades.[101]

The crush of these factors led to the increase in population that, in turn, resulted in a prolonged demand for small-coal. John Aubrey commented in his diary on 30 November 1666 that on their way to a meeting of the Royal Society at Gresham College, he and his companions saw

> At the corner of Holborn Bridge...a cellar of coals that had been opened by the labourers (who are digging the rubbish and new foundations of the city). The coals were burning and had been burning ever since the Great Conflagration.[102]

After constructing a timeline of Britton's early years, I found the dates to be compatible with the logistical scenario for his return to Clerkenwell:

1644 Birth
1656 Began his seven-year apprenticeship at the age of twelve
1663 Completed his apprenticeship at the age of nineteen and returned to Rushden
1667 Likely da te for his return to Clerkenwell after the Fire of 1666
1678 Begins his music concerts at the age of thirty-four

The results of the Fire would have afforded Britton the opportunity to acquire the considerable capital needed to set up his small-coal business in Clerkenwell and support his music and bibliophile activities.

6.8.2. BRITTON'S SUPERSTITIOUS DEMISE

Britton's curious death as a result of ventriloquism further validates my assertion of his belief in the occult and the depth of his superstitious nature. Ventriloquism was then spoken of as 'belly talking'. Samuel Pepys recorded in his diary on 4 August 1663 that 'I went to Jervas's and took him and his wife over the water to their

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[101] Charles Wilson, *England's Apprenticeship, 1603-1763*, 2nd ed. (London: Longman., 1984), 176-177.
[102] Scurr, *John Aubrey, My Own Life*, 164.

mother Palmer's (the woman that speaks in the belly….)'.[103] The history of ventriloquism reaches back into antiquity, it being thought that such disembodied voices spoke on behalf of a god, or the devil, or for the dead. The Oracles of Delphi were considered to have been pronounced by women who could project their voices. 'Such stories continued into the eighteenth century where ventriloquism existed at the complicated intersection of science, religion, and witchcraft'.[104]

Hawkins describes Britton's death as precipitated by the occasion at which one Mr Robe, a Middlesex magistrate, frequent attendee and participant at Britton's concerts, brought to one of the concerts a blacksmith, Samuel Honeyman, who, unbeknownst to Britton, was also a ventriloquist. It was Robe's intent to play a practical joke on Britton, but unfortunately, it had a fatal result. At some point in the evening, Honeyman, known as 'the talking smith' and noted for his widespread pranks, spoke to Britton in a disguised voice, saying that unless he immediately dropped to his knees and repeated the Lord's Prayer, he would die shortly. Britton did as he was told, believing that this was a supernatural command, after which he went home, took to his bed and died a few days later.[105]

6.9. SUMMARY

This chapter reviewed the many facets of Thomas Britton and demonstrated how his diverse activities compelled me to qualify him as a musical antiquarian and as a sociological undercurrent. As shown in Figure 6.1., he was involved in a panoply of curious endeavours throughout his seventy-five years, ranging from a charcoal vendor, bibliophile, collector, concert impresario, alchemist, inventor, Rosicrucian,

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[103] Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys: MA, FRS; Clerk of the Acts and Secretary to the Admiralty*. vol. 3. (London: Bell, 1905), 222, entry for 4 August 1663.
[104] Michael Lynn, 'Who Said That? The Science and Magic of Ventriloquism in the Eighteenth Century', *The Ultimate History Project*. http://ultimatehistoryproject.com/ventriloquism-the-science-and-magic-of-throwing-your-voice-in-the-eighteenth-century. Accessed 29 April 2019.
[105] Hawkins, *History*, 791.

and possibly a government spy. As the subject of this chapter, his eclectic pursuits caused me to delve further into the little that is recorded of him.

Intriguing was Horace Walpole's inclusion of the quote by the artist John Wollaston that perhaps Britton was not as simple a man as he seemed (6.8.1.). For instance, this caused me to speculate on the likelihood of his being a spy for Roger L'Estrange and Sir Robert Harley. He certainly had the resources and personal contacts to have done the bidding of those who sought to uncover sedition in the book and printing trades.

The significance of the Duchess of Queensberry to musical antiquarianism has hitherto not been investigated and was thus included in the Britton narrative, having been introduced through reference by Hawkins. The perplexing contradictions of her supposed presence at Britton's concerts as a child representing the aristocracy were untangled at 6.6. The Duchess also contributed relevance to this chapter by her involved association with John Gay and through her insistence that Pepusch compose the instrumental music to Gay's *The Beggar's Opera* (2.4.4.). The chapter documents Britton's unusual and untimely death as validation for his belief in the occult, this being further reinforced through the listing in the sale catalogue of his inventory of arcane books and manuscripts, many of which he sold before his death.

A later posthumous sale catalogue further describes Britton's collection of music and musical instruments and is astounding for conveying the variety and number of items he owned (Appendix Five). For a supposedly simple small-coal street vendor, his extensive musical holdings proved that his knowledge of music was far beyond that of a dilettante and explained his well-deserved reputation that attracted so many professional musicians and able amateurs to perform at his humble concert room for thirty-six years. I assert that the quality of music played at

his concerts contributed to the musical antiquarian imperative of preserving ‘old’ music for posterity. Because Pepusch was known to have played at Britton’s concerts, it is reasonable to conclude that the concerts served as the precursor and catalyst for the creation of the Academy of Ancient Music.

7. CHAPTER SEVEN

7.1. Behind the Scenes: Wives and Daughters
7.2. The Wives
7.3. The Daughters
7.4. Summary

'No man is an island….'[1]

The eighteenth century saw the development of English music historiography primarily through the works of Johann Pepusch, John Hawkins, and Charles Burney. Each contributed significantly to the knowledge of English music history, not only of their time, but in the writing of music history in general. A social undercurrent not hitherto examined, however, concerns the enhancement of their ability to contribute substantially to musical antiquarianism and, thus, to the body of musical knowledge, as a result of the financial and social contributions of their wives and the scholarly support of their daughters.

7.1. BEHIND THE SCENES: THE WIVES AND DAUGHTERS

In this chapter I demonstrate the means by which these three eminent scholars were thereby able to provide posterity with the accomplishments of their intellectual pursuits. In all instances, it was by marrying well, and with Hawkins and Burney, it was also by producing intelligent, capable daughters, providing validation of my Secondary Premise No. 2—that many of the practitioners and supporters of English musical antiquarianism have not been recognised as such but, rather, have been regarded as personalities aligned with disciplines often not directly associated with music.

7.2. THE WIVES

[1] John Donne, *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions, Meditation XVII*, London 1624; quoted in Henry Alford, *The Works of John Donne, D.D., With a Memoir of His Life in Six Volumes*, vol. 3 (London: John W. Parker, 1839), 575.

The wives of Pepusch, Hawkins, and Burney are representative of two types of women in the early-to-mid eighteenth century. The first is represented by Sidney Hawkins and Elizabeth Burney, who were typical English women of their time, in that they followed the social and religious dictates of their middle-class status. Once married, women could neither own property nor exert control over family finances. Even their inheritances were under the control of their husbands, and they were expected to defer to them in all matters, save the duties of running the household. They managed domestic obligations, while their husbands tended to the outer world of politics, business and finance. They were not allowed to divorce or detract in any way from the respectability of their husbands and families:

> …there was a very definite idea of a private sphere, inhabited and tended by women. Women were consequently not able to vote, hold property while married, go to a university, earn equal wages for equal work, enter the professions, or be protected from marital beatings and rape. There were demands that women not tax themselves with too much unfeminine study and …keep what learning one had 'a profound secret, especially from the men'.... Lady Mary Wortley Montagu thought a woman's learning ought to be hidden 'with as much solicitude as she would hide crookedness or lameness'. Elizabeth Montagu connected it in a woman to a lack of chastity.[2]

The activities of these middle-class women did not include employment outside the home, but rather, were consigned to societal and charitable activities, especially in the early-to-mid eighteenth century. Much of their lives included calling on friends, circulating among neighbours, and hosting reciprocal visits. They were expected to entertain guests for meals and to arrange evenings for entertainment, such as musical nights.

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[2] Roy Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Penguin Books, 1982), 22-23; also quoted in Kirstin Olsen, *Daily Life in 18th-Century England* (London: Greenwood Press, 1999), 10, 34.

The second type of spouse, unusual for the time, was Françoise Marguerita de l'Epine (ca.1680-1746), wife of Pepusch, who represented a type of woman new to English shores: the Italian female singer.

7.2.1. MRS PEPUSCH: FRANÇOISE MARGUERITA DE L'EPINE

Françoise Marguerita de l'Epine (ca.1680-1746) was the first Italian singer to arrive in England and, typical of female Italian vocalists, she was represented by a manager who guided her career. Most of these singers stayed in England only for a short while, then returned home. Marguerita, however, remained to flourish in a spectacular career. Not having been married until later in life, she had already accumulated substantial earnings. After her marriage to Pepusch, she fell into the stereotype of the English wife.

To evaluate the contribution of Marguerita to Pepusch's career, it is first necessary to relate the momentum of her professional activities as they accelerated up to the point of her marriage to Pepusch and assess what benefits she brought to him.

This famous 'Italian Lady' soprano arrived in London with her sister and the German composer Jakob Greber (?-1731) sometime between 1699 and 1703. A receipt dated 27 May 1703 is the first evidence of her being in London.[3] She was one of the many Italian singers who 'in the space of Ten years past, Mr Betterman, to gratify the desires and Fancies of the Nobility and Gentry: procured from Abroad'.[4] By the time her contract with Betterman at the Lincoln's Inn Theatre expired in June 1703, she had gained success and was widely popular.[5] Unlike most foreign singers,

[3] E. L. Moor, 'Some Notes on the Life of Françoise Marguerite de L'Épine', *Music & Letters* 28, no. 4 (1947): 341-346.
[4] John Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus, Or An Historical Review of the Stage from 1660-1706* (London: Jarvis & Son, 1886), 46.
[5] Moor, 'Some Notes', 344.

Marguerita learned English and sang many of her concerts and opera roles in English. Her appearances also included those at the Drury Lane Theatre, the Queen's Theatre, and performances at other London venues such as York Buildings.

There are several different contemporary spellings of l'Epine's forename: Margherita, Margarita, Margaretta, Marguerita. This study uses the most common spelling, 'Marguerita'. She was referred to as 'Mrs Marguerita', 'Signora Marguerita', and 'The Italian Lady'. She and Pepusch were soon acquainted through their shared work in the London musical world. The two of them married in London, possibly in 1718 and, although the exact date is not known, the baptism of their only child, John, is recorded as 1727.[6]

Her looks seem to have been a subject of gossip about town. Burney tells us:

> …she was so swarthy and ill-favoured, that her husband used to call her Hecate, a name to which she answered with as much good humour as if he had called her Helen. But with such a total absence of personal charms, our galleries would have made her songs very short, had they not been executed in such a manner as to silence theatrical snakes, and command applause.[7]

Her 'swarthy' face and tall stature probably benefitted her in obtaining roles written for men. She is known to have sung numerous male roles in operas, known as 'breeches', 'britches' or 'trouser' roles, unlike female roles sung by castrati. This was not uncommon, and she was particularly successful in satisfying her audiences.

When Pepusch and Marguerita married, she brought a sum of 10,000 guineas [£1,750,000] to the union. At a time when instrumental musicians were paid relatively little, top-rank singers were able to command much higher wages, and she had managed to amass what was considered a fortune at that time. This relieved Pepusch of some of the duties of providing a living, thereby allowing him to devote

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[6] Moor.
[7] Charles Burney, *A General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period (1979) With Critical and Historical Notes by Frank Mercer* (New York: Dover Publications, 1957): ii. 670-671.

more time to his musical antiquarian pursuits of collecting, copying, studying ancient music, and working with The Academy of Ancient Music.[8]

Hawkins describes the extent to which Marguerita's money played a new, significant role in her husband's scholarly achievements:

> The fortune which Marguerita had acquired was estimated at ten thousand guineas, and the possession thereof enabled the doctor to live in a style of elegance which till his marriage he had been a stranger to: this change in his circumstances was no interruption to his studies; he loved music, and he pursued the knowledge of it with ardour.[9]

We know that after their marriage, Pepusch was able to hire amanuenses to copy old music manuscripts and preparing them for use by The Academy of Ancient Music. The fact of his retirement to the Charterhouse in 1737 at age seventy provides circumstantial evidence that he was no longer under the financial pressures of his earlier years.

Burney commented on the contribution of Marguerita's fortune to Pepusch's continued collecting and studying: 'These possessions, however, did not incline the doctor to relax in his musical studies or pursuits. He had always been a collector of ancient music and musical tracts, and he was now enabled to gratify his passion without imprudence'.[10]

Musicians from abroad, male and female alike, had to work diligently at promoting themselves for public performance. It was even more difficult for composers and musicians than for female singers, who could command a following by their ongoing stage presence. Cooperation among these groups became a necessity, and in their earliest known work together in 1707, Pepusch and

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[8] John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, (London: Novello, 1875), 401.
[9] Hawkins, *History*, 401.
[10] Burney, *History,* 986.

Marguerita formed an alliance in promoting each another. In exploring the relationship between Marguerita and Pepusch, Alison DeSimone discusses at length the early years of their professional relationship, which was at the least, one of collaboration.[11] An accomplished harpsichordist, Marguerita was in a position to promote Pepusch, both as a composer and as an accompanist. Their first cooperative work in 1707 was in the opera *Thomyris*. Marguerita also sang Pepusch's compositions between the acts of plays and in masques and concerts.

Just how much, and in what other ways, Marguerita may have promoted Pepusch behind the scenes is uncertain, but no records have come to light of untoward 'favours' she may have bestowed to help him. She was well-admired personally and professionally. She remained popular, even though there were early rumours of her relationships with Greber, causing her to be referred to as 'Greber's Peg' in the pejorative sense of a mistress, and with Daniel Finch, second Earl of Nottingham (1647-1730).[12] Until the recent discovery of a birth certificate in Amsterdam, which was issued to Marguerita de l'Epine and Jacob Greber in 1704,[13] there was no evidence of other than their professional relationship. This finding is curious, however, as they were known to be in England as early as January 1704, so a birth in Amsterdam in late October of that year, while unlikely, would not have been impossible. Greber accompanied Marguerita to London as her mentor and probably her agent but, despite rumors to the contrary, I could find nothing to substantiate that they were involved intimately in London.

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[11]Alison C. DeSimone, 'The Myth of the Diva: Female Opera Singers and Collaborative Performance in Early Eighteenth-Century London' (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2013), 216.
[12] Moor, *Some Notes*, 341.
[13] DeSimone, 'The Myth of the Diva', 175n; the baptismal record states that Marie Anne Greber was born to lawfully married parents Margarita de l'Epine and Jakob Greber in the French Catholic chapel in Amsterdam on 30 October 1704. I could find no further information about the child.

After hearing Marguerita sing at Tunbridge Wells, Daniel Finch was so impressed that he invited her to his country estate, Burley-on-the-Hill, Rutland. She stayed with him for several months, leading one to suspect that they may have had more than a professional acquaintance. Letters from Finch's daughters indicate their unhappiness with their father's fondness for Marguerita. In a letter to Finch's father, Lord Viscount Hatton, one of the daughters wrote on 19 October 1703 that 'Lord Finch has [Margarita] now to himself'.[14] After Marguerita and Finch returned to London, he sponsored a benefit concert for her, promoting her to his friends to secure their sponsorship. Pepusch was a benefactor of this successful concert and two others in 1713 and 1714 by providing some of his compositions for the programmes, thereby increasing public exposure through association with the popular 'Mrs Marguerita'.

7.2.2. MRS HAWKINS: SIDNEY STORER HAWKINS

It is my conclusion that the rise in social status and literary productivity of John Hawkins can be attributed directly to his wife, Sidney Storer (1726-1793), the second daughter of the wealthy Highgate lawyer Peter Storer of the Inner Temple. Later in her *Anecdotes*, their daughter Laetitia described her mother as being 'of lively temper and pretty person.'[15] Hawkins was introduced to Sidney's father by Richard Hare, a mutual friend, who was hopeful that Storer would assist with Hawkins' career. Peter Storer's son, Peter Storer, Jr., also a lawyer, was a sickly young man and unable to help in his father's law practice. The elder Storer was looking for 'some adroit young man' to help 'in the weighty matter of conveyancing'.[16] Hawkins impressed Storer by his competence and attention to detail, and a mutual friendship

[14] Lbl Add. MS 29579, fol. 469r, quoted in DeSimone, 181.
[15] Bertram H. Davis, *Proof of Eminence: The Life of Sir John Hawkins* (Indiana University Press, 1972), 58.
[16] Davis, *Proof of Eminence*, 57.

soon developed with Storer and his family. More specifically, Hawkins admired the younger daughter Sidney, and on 24 March 1753 they were married in the Church of St. George the Martyr in Queen's Square, Bloomsbury.[17] This union would soon become advantageous to Hawkins' career and subsequent literary output.

The elder Peter Storer had died on 7 January 1751, leaving the following bequests in his will:

> To his widow, Anne…he left £100 [£16,700], a farm at Old Ford, and the use during her lifetime of most of his goods in the Highgate house. To each daughter he left £5000 [£836,000] stock in the Bank of England and £50 [£8,360] in cash, and to his son Peter he left the bulk of his property.[18]

Sidney and John had been married a little over two years when Sidney came into the inheritance from her father. Hawkins had been a practising lawyer during this time, but now he could turn more of his attention to his intellectual pursuits. As a result of his wife's inheritance, he was able to hire several young apprentices to assist in his law practice, leaving him more time to devote to his musical interests.

As would be expected of even an amateur performer, Hawkins had already begun to compile his music library. As his biographer Bertram Davis notes, 'Hawkins' activities as a collector were much assisted by his marriage. His earliest purchases of the rare treatises and manuscripts which he built into one of the outstanding collections of his day seem to date from this period'.[19] Hawkins was able to subscribe to music publications, one being the extensive *Cathedral Music* by William Boyce. He also began an impressive, and now historically relevant, collection of prints, which he had framed and installed throughout their home.

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[17] Davis, 58.
[18] Davis.
[19] Davis, 61.

Hawkins became a member of several prominent organisations: John Immyns' Madrigal Society, Dr Samuel Johnson's Ivy Lane Club, and The Academy of Ancient Music. Sidney was not welcome to accompany her husband to these fortnightly events, held on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, as women were not allowed to attend these meetings. However, the Hawkinses did host musical evenings at their home, which Sidney greatly enjoyed.

Another boost to Hawkins' financial status came in 1759 upon the death of Sidney's brother, Peter Storer, Jr. Having suffered from ill health throughout his life, he died at the age of thirty-eight on 8 August 1759. He had increased the value of the large financial estate he had inherited from his father. According to Laetitia, he had prepared a will in which he left all but £500 [£83,500] to Sidney, slighting their other sister Martha because he did not approve of her character. To their credit, Hawkins and Sidney appealed to Peter to change his will to make it more equitable, which he did. Even so, the value of Sidney's inheritance was estimated to be £30,000 [£5,010,000]. Hawkins noted in his *History* that this inheritance further put him '…in a situation that left his employments, his studies, and his amusements in a great measure to his own choice'.[20]

Laetitia describes her mother as 'tender-hearted as she was—and she was so, even to inconvenient excess'.[21] Nonetheless, Sidney was also a strict parent. Perhaps the firmness she exerted toward raising the children came from their father, also a strict disciplinarian. She was an ideal perfect helpmate to her husband, providing a welcoming household for his musical events, and assisting him in ways that put the family in a favourable light with their friends and acquaintances. Their

[20] Hawkins, *History*, xiii.
[21] Percy A. Scholes, *The Life and Activities of Sir John Hawkins: Musician, Magistrate, and Friend of Johnson* (Oxford University Press, 1978), 39.

affluence secured the family a place in the upper levels of society, a status not new to Sidney, but certainly to her husband. Laetitia reflects:

> My mother being extremely good-humoured to my father's tastes and pursuits…but really entering into his love for music and the arts, was very hospitable and well-bred to those amateurs, who, if they had wives, brought them, and made the evening cheerful to her.[22]

With the added inheritance from Sidney's brother in 1759, Hawkins was able to buy a home in Twickenham, and their move to this more prestigious neighbourhood confirmed their elevated social status. Their neighbours now included David Garrick, the famous actor, playwright, and manager of the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane; John Hay, fourth Marquess of Tweeddale; and Horace Walpole, writer and member of Parliament.

7.2.3. MRS BURNEY: ELIZABETH ALLEN BURNEY

The death in 1761 of Charles Burney's first wife, Esther Sleepe Burney, left him with six children to rear. On her deathbed, Esther instructed her husband to marry again when the proper time came. She had two close friends in their village, King's Lynn: Miss Dorothy Young and the widow Mrs Elizabeth Allen. Burney was acquainted with both ladies. Esther magnanimously recommended Miss Young as the perfect choice to replace her as mother and wife. Reports were, however, that 'Miss Young's face had "various unhappy defects"' and that her figure was 'exceedingly deformed'.[23] On the other hand, Mrs Elizabeth Allen (1728-1796) was a widow with three children, had been left with a large income from her husband, and so was of particular interest to unmarried suitors, including Burney. After a long on-again-off-again courtship lasting several years, they eloped in October 1767 without informing their families. Elizabeth's mother was much opposed to Burney, believing him to be a fortune

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[22] Scholes, 40.
[23] Percy A. Scholes, *The Great Dr. Burney* (Oxford University Press, 1948), vol. 1, 130.

hunter. But her objection was dispelled somewhat after Elizabeth's unfortunate loss of £5000 [£836,000] in a failed Russian investment. Following this, her mother could see that Burney's continued interest was indeed more in her daughter than in pursuing her money. They continued living in their separate homes for several months until their secret was discovered by the circumstance of a misdirected letter.[24]

Burney's daughter Frances (Fanny) noted that her stepmother spent her own money only on herself, and in defence of being thought a fortune hunter, Burney asserted that he was not relying on his new wife's funds to maintain their household. This arrangement eased gradually through the first years of their marriage, allowing Burney to undertake his travels to the Continent. These journeys resulted in his *The Present State of Music in France and Italy* (1771) and *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and the United Provinces* (1773).[25] It was then after their marriage that Burney was able to manage time for his doctorate from the University of Oxford in 1769.

The new Mrs Elizabeth Burney was an intelligent, vivacious hostess, who delighted in arranging occasions for musical nights and providing stimulating conversation for their intellectual guests. Burney's friends became her friends, and his interests became her interests. Although Burney's children merely tolerated her, likely out of jealousy, her husband found her to be the perfect wife for enhancing his rising stature among his intimates and acquaintances. The sparse upbringing and financial deprivations of his early life left Burney with a lingering sense of inferiority which motivated his compulsion to impress. His marriage fulfilled this need on two

[24] Scholes, 132.
[25] Claire Harman, *Fanny Burney: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2001), 48-49.

levels: a beautiful, intelligent wife, and the necessary financial means to be recognised in society.

7.3. THE DAUGHTERS

A comprehensive investigation of the roles that daughters Laetitia Hawkins and Fanny Burney played as contributors to the broad tapestry of English musical antiquarianism has hitherto not been done. Beyond serving in their unique positions as personal amanuenses to their fathers, each was able to contribute significantly to the historical annals with details that could only be known by a family member or intimate. In addition, they further distinguished themselves as writers of literary fiction and nonfiction. Laetitia, for example, expanded her reports of life within the Hawkins household to include exclusive information on the lives of notable family friends, providing history with a picture that she herself reported as consisting of morsels of gossip in addition to historical narrative, as demonstrated in the title of her two-volume *Memoirs, Anecdotes, Facts and Opinions* published in 1824.[26] Each daughter wrote about her family's musical activities and about the numerous acquaintances who participated in the musical nights which their families hosted regularly. I should think that with the Hawkinses, this surely would have included the 'old' music preferred by Laetitia's musical antiquarian father.

Unlike Fanny's unwaveringly biased writings in support of her father, I found Laetitia's opinions of her father to be remarkedly candid. She delivers a critical narrative of him, pointing objectively his defects compared to other writers and even to himself, including stylistic inconsistencies evident within his own works. Her critical comparison of her father's biography of Johnson with that of Boswell concluded that

[26] Laetitia Matilda Hawkins, *Memoirs, Anecdotes, Facts, and Opinions,* 2 vols. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1824).

Boswell's 'is a book that must always please; it is entertaining to a degree that makes my father's appear stiff, cold, and turgid… I think my father's the very worst thing he ever gave to the public'.[27] She also commented on the style her father adopted in his Johnson biography as being 'not his own', meaning that it was not his customarily engaging style.[28] Martine Brownley notes that Laetitia failed to point out that Hawkins had lapsed into writing in a ponderous legalese that was quite unlike the style of his earlier works. She suggests that Laetitia believed it was her father's age and his fatigue from the sixteen years of labouring to prepare his *History* that contributed to an exhaustion by the time of the Johnson biography.[29]

Laetitia relates her father's admiration for Johnson, and that his reason for agreeing to write Johnson's biography derived from his having observed over time Johnson's struggles with the physical and personal tribulations that persisted throughout his life. Not that Johnson's moral and spiritual views were not fully known through his writings, but Hawkins was inspired to take up the task of chronicling Johnson's spiritual path in overcoming the long-abiding doubts he had about religion.[30]

Much of Laetitia's contributions to literary history centre around her observations on the notable personalities who enjoyed the welcoming atmosphere of the Hawkins' home. Biographical details remembered from her presence as a member of the household can be seen in her account of such preeminent figures as the actor David Garrick and wife, and of Samuel Johnson. Her writings depicted her

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[27] Latitia Matilda Hawkins, vol. 1, 230; quoted in Martine W. Brownley, *Reconsidering Biography: Contexts, Controversies, and Sir John Hawkins's Life of Johnson* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University, 2011), 138.
[28] Brownley, *Reconsidering Biography*, 22.
[29] Brownley.
[30] Gay Wilson Brack, *Sir John Hawkins, Biographer of Johnson: A Rhetorical Analysis* (Arizona State University Press, 1992), 4.

father's personality defects, his unyielding opinions, even justifications for his brusk demeanour, but also the compassionate and generous side of his persona, completing the picture of this oft-maligned musical antiquarian.

Although the two daughters began their lives in their respective families as amanuenses to their fathers, there the similarities end and the historical accounts begin. Whereas Laetitia Hawkins felt compelled to memorialize her father historically as a whole person, Fanny Burney saw her task to be that of protecting her father's reputation and that of the Burney family. Fanny's success as a writer of novels, her acceptance into the Bluestocking Society, and the grandeur of being chosen to serve the Queen as Second Keeper of the Robes, reflected well on the family, thereby elevating her father's social status and his stature as music historian. I argue that because the Hawkins and Burney daughters manifested interesting similarities, but also strong differences, these in turn determined the varied influences they had on their fathers. In the preface to her *The Early Diary of Frances Burney*, editor Annie Raine Ellis calls attention to the remarkable parallel between the lives of Laetitia Hawkins and Frances Burney:[31]

> The father of each girl wrote a 'History of Music'. The whole book of Sir John Hawkins, and part of that of Dr Burney, were published in the same year, 1776. Each father employed his daughter as his amanuensis. Each daughter was secretly occupied in writing a novel, which the youngest brother of each aided her in getting published without her name. In Fanny's case, Dr Burney's consent was asked, but so far as we see, Sir John Hawkins died in ignorance that his 'girl' had published several novels anonymously.
>
> About Laetitia Hawkins:
>
> I was, (wrote Miss Hawkins) I will not say *educated*, but *broke*, to the drudgery of my father's pursuits. I had no time but what I could *purloin* from my incessant task of copying, or writing from dictation—writing six hours in the day for my father, and reading nearly as long to my mother.

[31] Annie R. Ellis, ed., *The Early Diary of Frances Burney 1768–1778: With a Selection from Her Correspondence and from the Journals of Her Sisters Susan and Charlotte Burney,* vol. 1 (London: George Bell and Sons, 1889), lxviii-lxix.

About Fanny Burney:

> Fanny nowhere mentions how much time *she* spent daily in copying for her father, until at last she feared that her hand-writing had become so well known among compositors that she was fain to disguise it when transcribing her own 'Evelina' for the press. She never complained; once only she speaks of 'stealing time to write….'

Ellis concludes with 'These two clever girls knew more or less of the same people of note…but there is no sign that they ever were acquainted with each other.'[32]

I find it unlikely that Laetitia and Fanny never met. They were contemporaries, born within seven years of each other. Their families socialized with many of the same famous people, including Dr Samuel Johnson, the actor David Garrick, the society dame Mrs Hester Thrale, and many of the literary, theatrical, and aristocratic notables of the time. Further research in the vast collections of the Burney family archives at McGill University, Montreal, could well reveal that they were indeed acquainted.

Hawkins and Burney each had two sons who could have served as their amanuenses. It at first seemed curious that they instead chose their daughters for the task, but the probable explanation is that it was expected that the sons would busy themselves acquiring the education that would prepare them for their future careers. Unmarried daughters, however, would have been seen to be free from such necessities. Also, these two young women were clever and well-suited for the task. On the other hand, the similarities between Laetitia and Fanny end with their diverse upbringings and education:

> A decorous reserve prevails in Fanny's early diaries towards the works and deeds of the rival historian of music, Peter Pindar's 'fiddling knight', Sir John Hawkins. His book is merely named without praise or blame. Each of these girls followed her father in his opinions; but what a difference there was

[32] Ellis.

> between the fathers! To borrow Mr Crisp's [a friend of the Burney family] phrase 'Laetitia had been "planted against a north wall", Fanny against a southern'. Sir John was a pragmatical person, 'stiff in opinions', often 'in the wrong'; a Puritan by birth and in grain, notwithstanding his love of music: Lady Hawkins, a severe disciplinarian towards her children and servants.[33]

7.3.1. LAETITIA MATILDA HAWKINS

With the turn of attention to the daughters, it can be seen that the contributions of Laetitia and Fanny were more logistical than financial. Laetitia Matilda Hawkins (1759-1835) was born to John and Sidney Hawkins as the second of three children and their only daughter. Being born into this increasingly affluent family, she received an excellent education, which her father supervised in his typically attentive manner. She learned to write in Italian, French, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. 'Her education was comparable but probably superior to that of an eighteenth-century gentleman'.[34]

When Laetitia was old enough, her father set her to work as his amanuensis. As noted earlier, most days she copied up to six hours and then read to her mother 'almost that much'.[35] Although her father always recompensed her for her work, she sometimes found it 'irksome to spend her time transcribing papers that held no interest to her'.[36] When Hawkins was approached to write the biography of Samuel Johnson, he was offered the sizeable sum of £200 [£33,400] for the task. With this, he was expected to hire an amanuensis. Knowing the abilities of Laetitia, he spoke with her about doing it for £40 [£6,688], which she accepted gladly.

Regarding the dynamics within the family, Laetitia noted that her parents' method of child-rearing was, as she put it, 'the depressing system'.[37] Friends of the

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[33] Scholes, *Hawkins,* 226.
[34] Steven Blakemore, 'Revolution and the French Disease: Laetitia Matilda Hawkins's Letters to Helen Maria Williams', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, vol. 36, no. 3: *Restoration and Eighteenth Century* (1996), 673-691, 677.
[35] Laetitia Matilda Hawkins, *Memoirs,* vol. 1 (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, 1824), quoted in Scholes *Hawkins*, 225.
[36] Davis, *Proof of Eminence*, 93.
[37] Laetitia Matilda Hawkins, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, 218n.

family thought that the Hawkins were much too strict. The children were often made to 'feel utterly worthless and which, though she [Laetitia] thought it ultimately beneficial, she would not recommend to others'.[38] Occasionally, the children would rebel. Hawkins referred to them as the 'triple alliance'[39] [during the times] 'when they supported each other in their disobedience'.[40]

The literary activities of Laetitia began as an attempt to earn a little money for herself and, she noted, 'for a whim of girlish patronage, and having no honest means of raising it, I wrote a downright novel'.[41] While her father was alive, she kept her writing secret to all but her brother Henry. She first approached the publisher Thomas Cadell about producing her novel, but he declined to do so without identifying the author. It was accepted, however, by the printer Thomas Hookham, although no records have been found to identify this first work, or even if it was ever produced. Subsequently, she wrote under the name of her younger brother Henry until her father's death. Sir John would not have approved of her publishing under her own name, as it was thought to be unladylike for a woman to call attention to herself in such a public manner.

Despite the strictures of Laetitia's near-stifling upbringing, she always spoke of her father with respect and reverence, writing that she was fortunate to

> have been the daughter of a man whose mind habitually, even from his earliest youth, preferred, 'whatsoever things are pure and of good report', whose pursuits and associations were such as he could not only excuse, but might have exulted in; who made the most of his talents for his own fair advantage and the benefit of the world; and whose greatest faults, I believe, were some degree of prejudice and stiffness of opinion, which opinion was in itself seldom wrong in its foundation….[42]

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[38] Davis, *Proof of Eminence*, 93.
[39] Laetitia Matilda Hawkins, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, 141.
[40] Davis, *Proof of Eminence*, 93.
[41] Laetitia Matilda Hawkins, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, 156.
[42] L.M. Hawkins, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, 220.

Hawkins was likewise fortunate in having a daughter who was intelligent, capable, and available to devote so many years of her life to her father's pursuits. Although Laetitia contributed to the many achievements of Hawkins' literary career by acting as his trusted and long-serving amanuensis, recognition of her efforts was slow to come. Regrettably, it was not until recent years that she received an entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. However, by her own accounts, she was not the master of her time, and as to any willingness to devote her time to her father's pursuits and demands, her diary notes suggest that the operative word would be 'obey'. As noted earlier by Ellis, she 'obeyed' her father out of respect, working with him throughout the day, and then out of duty to both parents, spent the remainder of her hours reading to her mother.[43]

For all the time and work in assisting Hawkins as his amanuensis, Laetitia's greater contribution to history was in chronicling the life of her father as she experienced it:

> From the earliest years of my recollection, my father was wont to inculcate the usefulness of committing to paper, facts and circumstances; but he was generally too much employed, or too weary of employment, to do himself what he wished done. He was sometimes disposed to dictate to my elder brother; but my brother, who was himself engaged in a work of deep research, was not always at leisure; and when he was at leisure, my father was often taking his evening nap. The thing wished was therefore never done; or, if attempted, it was not begun with energy enough to keep it going.

Laetitia describes the process (scheme) by which she would have had to chronicle her father's life:

> I had heard all that could be said in favour of the scheme; and made sensible of its comparative importance by the progressive accumulation of facts, I, though myself with little leisure to subtract from time which I was never allowed to call my own, began in private to do what my father recommended; but the fear that this, which was to *me* relaxation when done in secret, would,

[43] Scholes, *Hawkins*, 225.

> if divulged, be added to my daily labour and exacted as a task, made me do it literally, *à l'insçu de mon père*,—a singular instance, perhaps, of clandestine obedience.[44]

Laetitia was Hawkins' most ardent defender, setting the truth to what she considered lies and misstatements in the many ways her father was maligned. In defending him against his reputation of being callous and insensitive, she describes, for example, the attention Hawkins gave to Johnson in his last days when he was tending to the intricacies and details of Johnson's will:

> Few persons know what my father went through in performing these last acts of steady unobtrusive friendship. They were called for in the depth of one of the two severest winters that ever I remember…the snow came, if I recollect right, in October, and in December, when Johnson died, none but hackney-horses could be risked in the streets. My father disregarded everything; he was little at home in the day, and if he returned at midnight, only giving fresh orders for the morning, we were happy.[45]

Laetitia recalls an incident that occurred about three days after Johnson's death. As cited earlier, the publisher Thomas Cadell and the printer William Strahan requested that Hawkins prepare a biography of Johnson to preface a publication of his works, which Hawkins would also prepare. According to Scholes:

> The choice of Hawkins for this project seemed to be a quite natural one. He had been long a recognized author; he had been for over a third of a century in close touch with Johnson; any documents that had been left were at that moment in his hands, and it may have been known, moreover, that these included certain small books of a diary nature, from which facts concerning Johnson, and a record of some of his thoughts, could be drawn.[46]

After publication, the biography was viciously attacked by Hawkins' detractors, including James Boswell, who published his own biography of Johnson four years

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[44] Laetitia Matilda Hawkins, *Anecdotes, Biographical Sketches and Memoirs*, vol. 1, (London: F.C. and J. Rivington, 1822), 4-5.
[45] Davis, *Proof of Eminence*, 332.
[46] Scholes, *Hawkins*, 186.



Plate 7.1. — Frances 'Fanny' Burney
By Edward Francisco Burney, ca. 1784
NPG 2634
© National Portrait Gallery, London

later. Laetitia recalls this attack as an accusation by Boswell that her father took on the project for personal gain.

7.3.2. FRANCES BURNEY: MADAME D'ARBLAY

Like Laetitia Hawkins, Frances 'Fanny' Burney (1752-1840) was also an amanuensis for her father, Charles Burney. Born 13 June 1752, when her family was living in King's Lynn, she was the third of six surviving children. Unlike Laetitia, however, Fanny was shy and mistakenly considered to be backward.[47] Furthermore, unlike her siblings, she received no formal education and was entirely self-taught, as her father had no interest in supervising her studies. She was debilitatingly nearsighted, a condition which no doubt must have contributed to her shyness. Fanny displayed a dour and stern demeanour, and by the time she was eleven years old, she was called 'The Old Lady' by friends and family. As soon as she taught herself the alphabet at about the age of ten, she began writing her 'scriblings' as she called them.[48] A dedicated diarist from an early age, she contributed a wealth of historical information about widespread aspects of English society during her lifetime. After her father's death in 1814, she worked for many years poring over his papers and writing the *Memoirs of Doctor Charles Burney*. [49] Interestingly, of the five women treated in this study, Fanny is the only one of attributed iconography. Her cousin Edward Francisco Burney depicts her as a young

[47] Scholes, 23.
[48] Scholes, *Burney*, 24.
[49] Frances Burney, *Memoirs of Doctor Burney*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: Key & Biddle, 1833).

woman of the late eighteenth century dressed in the millinery style made fashionable by Georgina Cavendish, fifth Duchess of Devonshire (Plate 7.1.). During her lifetime and beyond, she became one of England's most famous female writers of the eighteenth century, along with Jane Austen and the Brontë sisters. Her novels were particularly successful, and after her marriage to French exiled General Alexandre D'Arblay, she rescued her family from poverty with the publication in 1796 of her novel *Camilla or A Picture of Youth*.[50] During the time before her marriage when she worked as her father's amanuensis, Burney depended on her heavily when he was writing his *A General History of Music*. As with Laetitia, Fanny copied so much that she had to disguise her handwriting when submitting her work to the same publisher used by her father; otherwise, he would have recognised it as one and the same.

Several conclusions can be deduced from the primary sources concerning the contributions to music history of Laetitia Hawkins and Fanny Burney. It can be determined that these daughters were staunch defenders of their fathers. As to Laetitia, she endeavoured ever to defend her father against critics, especially Burney and Boswell, who both had reasons to criticise Hawkins for writing about subjects outside his field of law. Burney led the charge against Hawkins' *History* based on his opinion that Hawkins was writing beyond his musical expertise and that his work was poorly organised. Despite Burney's charges, time has proven Hawkins' *History* to be the more referenced source for later authors writing on the eighteenth century. Even Burney quoted Hawkins in Burney's own *History,* repeating errors that Hawkins made, such as the earlier mentioned date of the founding of The Academy of Ancient Music.

[50] Frances Burney, *Camilla or A Picture of Youth*, 5 vols. (London: Payne & Son, 1796).

After her father's death in 1814, Fanny devoted at least two years sifting through his mass of papers. She burned anything that she thought reflected poorly on her father or the family. What remains of this portion of her writings must be considered in light of this culling. Perhaps the fact that Burney's first child was born out of wedlock may have contributed to his penchant for privacy. He was keenly sensitive to adverse opinions and was careful to keep discreet that which could blemish his reputation, and this must have influenced Fanny's decision to destroy her father's incriminating papers. The autobiography that Burney had constructed over the years consisted at his death of twelve volumes in manuscript. Burney commented to his son that writing his autobiography would pose no problem, as he had kept all of his notes which detailed 'where and how I spent every hour of my life'.[51] Fanny determined that these would provide the foundation of her own biography of her father. My research has shown that, regrettably, the result of her attempt to advance her father's reputation by destroying his records that she considered desultory resulted in depriving music history of a complete picture of the man.

Kerry Grant argues that Fanny's imperative arose from her father's ambition to be judged as a man of letters, therein elevating him to a position in society that he could never have achieved as a 'mere musician'.[52] Expressing her vision of her father's legacy, she wrote:

> A Man allowed throughout Europe to have risen to the head of his profession and thence, setting his profession aside, to have been elevated to an intellectual rank in society, as a Man of Letters with the most eminent of his day'.[53]

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[51] Lonsdale, *Burney*, 436; letter of 19 April 1806 to his son Charles Burney, Jr.
[52] Kerry S. Grant, *Dr. Burney as Critic and Historian of Music*. no. 62 (Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms International (UMI) Research Press, 1983), 2-3.
[53] Frances Burney, *Memoirs of Doctor Burney*, vol. 1, vii.

Grant remarks that Fanny did not feel that the public, and thus history, would be interested in the day-to-day activities of a musician, and in the devolution of Burney's papers, she eliminated much that dealt with music, focusing instead on the higher social aspects of his life. She was unnerved at the amount of personal material Burney included, especially that of the humble beginnings of the Burney family.[54]

Regarding social hierarchy, I found it is evident that without the financial and scholarly contributions of these five wives and daughters to their eminent fathers and husbands, many of their achievements would not have been possible. Women of this time were not generally credited, or even mentioned, until the nineteenth century. In the early eighteenth century, they were not allowed to attend regular meetings of the music clubs and associations, and it was not until 1838 that the Royal Society of Musicians allowed women to attend their events. At an annual banquet held at Freemasons' Hall, London, on 19 April 1838 celebrating the founding of the society, concern was raised about admitting women to the function. *The Musical World* reported on 26 April 1838 that 'Many well-disposed persons were much alarmed at the introduction of the fairer portion of the creation to the festive board, lest improper characters might gain admission….'[55] However, donations to the Society collected at the banquet amounted to a generous £400 [£38,300], so it was proclaimed that 'No dire calamity seems to have resulted from the presence of "the fairer portion of the creation" at this festive board'.[56]

7.4. SUMMARY

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[54] Grant, *Dr. Burney*, 3.
[55] 'The Royal Society of Musicians' [author unknown], *The Musical World, A Weekly Record of Musical Science, Literature, and Intelligence* 8, New Series 1: 6 January 1838 (London: Henry Hooper, 1838): 282-283.
[56] F.G.E[dwards], 'The Royal Society of Musicians', *The Musical Times* 46, no. 752 (1 October 1905): 642.

The importance of the women in this chapter to eighteenth-century English musical antiquarianism is in their collective roles as a sociological undercurrent. In the sense of John Donne's *Meditation XVII*, 'no man is an island….', the support systems they provided for their husbands/fathers affected indirectly, yet significantly, the progress of the musical antiquarianism of the period. The recognition of this reality is one of my contributions to the body of musicological knowledge, which has not been addressed previously in the literature to any significant degree. I have now added specificity to this under-investigated area of research.

In defence of 'how things were' in eighteenth-century England, when examining the situation from the perspective of the women's suffrage movement, I submit that caution must be applied to arrive at an assessment in line with the societal values and mores of that century. My investigation of the social undercurrents explored in this chapter took into consideration those realities, and led to an examination of the contributions of the five wives and daughters within those constraints.

When collecting the data for assembling this chapter, I found it necessary to determine who these women were personally and how they fit into the larger fabric of English musical antiquarianism. This led to my exploring how the English married woman fostered the embryonic thinking of social self-reflection that emerged later in the writings of Laetitia Hawkins, Fanny Burney, Jane Austen, and the other notable women authors of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In my judgement, most revealing of the dichotomy between the two types of women presented here are the open letters between Laetitia Hawkins and social reformer Helen Maria Williams.[57] The new thought in the direction that women's rights would

[57] Blakemore, 'Revolution and the French Disease, 673-691.

take into the nineteenth century and beyond was represented by Williams, while Laetitia very clearly presents the rationale of the status quo. For her, a patriarchal society was the only means by which both God and man could best be served.

Proceeding to the contextualization of this chapter, my research led to a fuller perception of the generational positions of these two groups of women. The wives were well-established in their acceptance of long-held mores of social hierarchy, while the daughters were beginning to struggle with these restrictions, as Laetitia and Fanny document in their writings. Both daughters defied their traditional fathers by daring to write and publish their own novels. Although Laetitia never found herself secure enough to inform her father of her defiance, Fanny did. At the same time that Laetitia appeared to be defending the status quo, she was also challenging it. By elevating themselves as bona fide ‘persons’, not merely obedient amanuenses, Laetitia and Fanny pushed on the door that one day would open to remove such stringent societal restrictions on women.

PART THREE
ENGLISH MUSICAL ANTIQUARIANISM THROUGH THE EYES OF JOHN HAWKINS AND CHARLES BURNEY

8. CHAPTER EIGHT

8.1. Sir John Hawkins
8.2. *Antiquitas* versus *Modernitas*
8.3. Antecedents to Hawkins' *History*: Haym and Walpole
8.4. The Hawkins and Burney Histories
8.5. Criticism of Hawkins' *History*
8.6. More Hawkins Detractors: Twining Bewley
8.7. Hawkins Trudges On
8.8. Differing Perspectives of Hawkins and Burney
8.9. Burney's Complex Personality
8.10. Juxtaposition of the Hawkins and Burney Histories
8.11. Review of Public Perception of Hawkins' *History*
8.12. Summary

> In the comparison of the modern with the ancient music, it must evidently appear that that of the present day has the advantage, whether we consider it in theory or practice.[1]

With the publication of Sir John Hawkins' History in 1776, English musical antiquarianism already well within its Attainment stage, shown graphically in the Thesis Timeline, Figure 0.1. The refining of its components had been ongoing during the Development stage through the pioneering efforts of JC Pepusch. But in the Attainment stage, the intrepid Hawkins endured a Charles Burney trial by fire to set English musical antiquarianism on a course that ultimately evolved in the nineteenth century and onward into the academic study of English music history as a robust field of scientific inquiry, as with German *wissenschaft*, French *musicologie*, and Italian *musicologia*. Although my position is that Hawkins was the primogenitor to Burney, I nonetheless also discuss Burney at length. The two personalities acted as foils to each other, so an appreciation of their respective contributions to English musical antiquarianism implores a treatment of both.

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[1] John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music. A New Edition, with the Authors Posthumous Notes* (London: Novello, Ewer, 1875), 917.

8.1. SIR JOHN HAWKINS

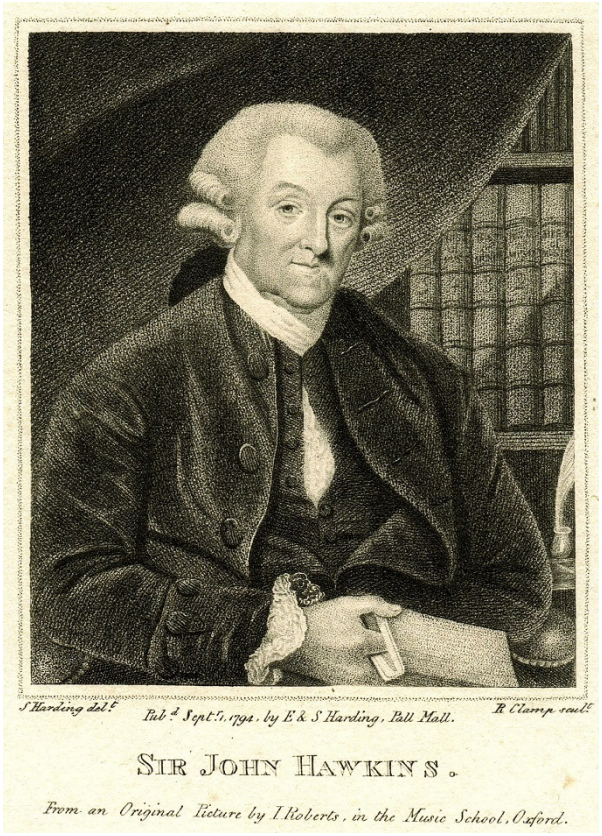


Plate 8.1. — Sir John Hawkins
After James Roberts, 1794
NPG D16218
© National Portrait Gallery, London
'From an Original Picture by J. Roberts,
in the Music School, Oxford'

The music histories of Sir John Hawkins and Dr Charles Burney are integral to English musical antiquarianism by fulfilling pivotal roles in the music sector of the emerging eighteenth-century English print culture (Plates 8.1., 8.2.). Samuel Johnson observed that 'The present age, if we consider chiefly the state of our country, may be styled with great propriety "The Age of Authors"'.[2] The mass compulsion to publish began with the expiration of the Licensing Act in 1695. By the 1790s more than 56,000 titles had been printed in England. Among the subjects emerged reference works, such as *Dr. Johnson's Dictionary of the English Language* in 1755 and the *Encyclopedia Brittanica* in 1768, making available 'the whole of human knowledge in English and within the reach of middle-class pockets'.[3]

The arrival on the musical scene of the antiquarian Sir John Hawkins marked a watershed in the historiography of eighteenth-century English music. As a successor to the distillation of musical antiquarianism provided by JC Pepusch, Hawkins, in his *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* of 1776,

[2] W.J. Bate, J.M. Bullitt, and L.F.Power, eds., *Samuel Johnson: The Idler and Adventurer* (Yale University Press: The Yale edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson, 1963), 457; quoted in Roy Porter, *The Creation of the Modern World* (New York: Norton, 2000), 72.
[3] Porter, 72-73, 92.

provided a crucial cataloguing of the events of contemporary English music through the eyes of one committed to applying extraordinary attention to minutiae that otherwise would have been lost to English music history.



Plate 8.2. — Dr Charles Burney
By Joshua Reynolds, 1781
NPG D3884
© National Portrait Gallery, London

Hawkins did not, however, achieve this singularly important standing without enduring a significant period of tribulation, which can be summarized in three phases of public reception: (1) initial acclaim, (2) increasing resistance, and (3) ultimate acceptance. To best capture the breadth, timeline, and personal drama of these phases, which are so necessary for formulating an understanding of this signal time in English musical antiquarianism, the three phases are presented at the close of this chapter at 8.11.-8.12.

8.2. *ANTIQUITAS* VERSUS *MODERNITAS*

As with the revival by Renaissance Humanists of the epochal *antiquitas* and *modernitas*, so was this theme played out in the dichotomy of Ancients versus Moderns represented by Hawkins and Burney. Their approaches to their histories were contrasted and clearly distinguished by the roles they assumed in this recurring historical theme. As applied to the Early Modern period studied for this thesis, the debate is epitomised by their divergent lives and publications.

The word ‘ancient’ was commonly used as a descriptor by the antiquarians of the time to distinguish ‘old’ music, primarily of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, from the vogue music of the day.

Hawkins’ antiquarian position in support of ‘ancient’ music was that

> it is worthy of remark, that in the compositions of Tye, Tallis, Bird, Farrant, Gibbons, and some others, all that variety of melody, harmony, and fine modulation are discoverable, which ignorant people conceive to be the effect of modern refinement.[4]

By contrast, Burney’s view upholding ‘modern’ music held that

> there is doubtless more nerve, more science, and fire, in the worst of Handel’s choruses, than in the greatest effort of these old madrigalists.[5]

In *An Essay on Musical Expression* of 1752, Charles Avison opened the door to an extension of this debate via the medium of music criticism. He held that modernist views were to be championed to the subordination of those of the musical antiquarians:

> It had nothing to do with the theoretic Principle, and the mere mechanism of the Science. Its Aim was widely different. Intended, indeed, as a critical, but as a liberal, Examen of this pleasing Art; according to Rules, not drawn from the formal Schools of systematical Professors, but from the School of Nature and Good Sense.[6]

Applied to Hawkins and Burney, the ages-old Ancient versus Modern debate had its beginnings in eighteenth-century aesthetic thinking with the search for ‘truth’ in the value of music. Contemporary writers on music, for example Roger North, observed that there were as many ways of looking at the debate as there were writers to hold views. As North put it in his *Memoires of Music*:

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[4] Hawkins, History, 575.
[5] Charles Burney, *A General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period,* Frank Mercer, ed. (New York, Dover 1957), ii, 112.
[6] Charles Avison, *A Reply to the Author of Remarks on the Essay on Musical Expression* (London: ‘printed for C. Davis’, 1753), 4; quoted in Lawrence Lipking, *The Ordering of the Arts in Eighteenth-Century England* (Princeton University Press, 2015), 211.

> The difference between ancient and modern music cannot be reconciled, because in criticism 'there is no criterion for better or worse, and men determine upon fancy and prejudice, and not upon intrinsic worth'.[7]

Aside from the larger academic and philosophical disputations of the Ancients versus Moderns when applied to music, the Burney and Hawkins contretemps took root in the fragile personality of Burney via his deep-seated feelings of inferiority. His churlish reactions to Hawkins' position statement on 'Ancient' music revealed his intemperance when confronted with opposing views. His snarling *ad hominem* attacks against Hawkins and his *History* are incomprehensible unless viewed as representative of his inability to come to terms with Hawkins' position in society, compared to his own humble station. Hawkins and his family moved comfortably within fashionable society, especially after his wife came into her inheritance from her brother. They upgraded their residence to Twickenham, where they enjoyed associations with neighbours including Horace Walpole, the actor David Garrick, the countess Anne Fitzpatrick, and other London luminaries of the day. Burney seems always to have been fighting his way upward, although he did eventually achieve recognition as a worthy by his acceptance into that literary realm of society occupied by Mrs Hester Thrale and Dr Samuel Johnson.

8.3. ANTECEDENTS TO HAWKINS' *HISTORY*: HAYM AND WALPOLE

Hawkins' *History* was foreshadowed earlier in the century by the writings of the Italian composer and theorist Nicola Francesco Haym (1678-1729). Haym arrived in London in 1701, immediately immersing himself in musical activities, including working for Handel in adapting libretti, and later as principal cellist for the Royal Academy of Music. Haym's musical, antiquarian, and scholarly interests were broad.

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[7] Roger North, *Memoirs of Musick: Now First Printed from the Original MS. and Edited, with Copious Notes*, Edward F. Rambault, ed. (London: George Bell, 1846), 3; quoted in Herbert M. Schueller, 'The Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns', *Music & Letters* 41, no. 4 (1960): 313-330, 329.

'As a professional musician who pursued extra-musical projects of a scholarly nature, he undoubtedly shaped the ethos of intellectual enquiry that prospered amongst academicians'.[8] His approach 'manifests the broader eighteenth-century aspiration to order knowledge, a cause that would be taken up for more purely musical purposes by many subsequent academicians'.[9] Haym's publications represent his view that the antiquarian tradition was the basis for musical knowledge. His first publication, *Del tesoro britannico (*1719-1720*),* was a descriptive commentary of ancient medals that had been acquired by Oxford University and by individual British collectors. Its 780 descriptions consisted of engravings in his own hand and annotations also prepared by him. In 1726 he published his *Notizia de' libri rari nella lingua italiana*, an exhaustive tome that comprised 'an annotated bibliography of all published Italian learning'.[10]

Directing his attention to music, Haym proposed his idea for a history of music in *The Flying-Post, or Weekly Medley* of 29 March 1729 to be entitled 'History of Music from the Earliest Time to This Day'.[11] His approach to this project approximated that being adopted by early eighteenth-century antiquarians and was described as the Baconian Method, an inductive system of thought advanced by Sir Francis Bacon, which held that all antiquarian fragments of history, both written and physical, have relevance to ancient music.[12] The scope of Haym's project was to collect

> from ancient writers, antique statues, bass relievos, and medals […] whatever is most material to ancient music in order to give an account of music's origin

[8] Tim Eggington, *The Advancement of Music in Enlightenment England: Benjamin Cooke and the Academy of Ancient Music* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2014), 18-20.
[9] Eggington, 18.
[10] Eggington, 19.
[11] Eggington.
[12] For more on this system of thought, see 'Baconian method', *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 17 April 2020. https://www.britannica.com/science/Baconian-method.

> [and] the esteem in which it was held and the uses made of it in the 'games, sacrifices, &c' of the ancients.[13]

Haym intended to include in this history of music 'the lives of all the eminent masters and professors of this art in all times', an objective that coincided with the stated aims of the Academy of Ancient Music. The actual proposal is now lost. We are indebted to Hawkins for his reprint of it in his *History*, which suggests that Hawkins may even have used it as a model for his own *History*.[14]

> In method and aim the work directly foreshadows the approach subsequently adopted by John Hawkins in the creation of his *History*, which forms so important an articulation of the Academy's ethos.[15]

A friend and Twickenham neighbour of Hawkins, Horace Walpole (1717-1797), had encouraged him for several years to write a history of music. Although not a musician by profession, Hawkins was a member of the Academy of Ancient Music and the Madrigal Society, and was an adept amateur singer and violinist. Unlike Burney, who conducted his own research by travelling to the Continent, speaking to contemporaries, attending concerts, and gathering materials for his *History*, Hawkins did none of these, although he had begun collecting music and music treatises and information for his own *History* as early as 1759. Indeed, much of Hawkins' research material came from his own collections, materials from sources gathered by Walpole on his frequent trips to the Continent, and from books and treatises acquired from Pepusch's extensive library after his death in 1752. Ironically, Hawkins did not credit Walpole for his considerable assistance with his *History*.

8.4. THE HAWKINS AND BURNEY HISTORIES

The entire five volumes of Hawkins' *History* were published four months after the first volume of Burney's *History* in 1776. Burney's subsequent three volumes

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[13] Eggington, *The Advancement of Music*, 19-20.
[14] Hawkins, *History*, 821, quoted in Eggington, 19-20.
[15] Eggington, 20.

appeared between 1776 and 1789. By the time Burney committed to writing his *History*, Hawkins had already been working on his for several years, going back to 1759 (or 1760). At that time, no history of music had yet been written in English.[16]

Confronted by the realisation that Hawkins had begun preparing his *History* some sixteen years prior to his own, Burney's explanation for writing his own *History* reveals the state of the Ancient versus Modern debate in which Burney and Hawkins found themselves. As Burney tells it, he was at first hesitant to proceed with the idea of a comprehensive history of music after learning that Hawkins had been working on his *History* for some years. After all, Hawkins had already established himself as a respected writer, with a substantial reputation for his literary contributions in several fields of public interest.

By chance, however, Burney came upon what he construed to be an inflammatory footnote in Hawkins' *The Compleat Angler* (1760), which 'revived his ardour for Action' and changed his opinion that Hawkins was a formidable rival. The footnote, somewhat incongruous in a book on fishing, presented Hawkins' position on seventeenth-century music, in which he opined:

> And, now I am upon this Subject, I will tell the reader a secret; which is, that Music was in its greatest perfection in Europe from about the middle of the sixteenth to the beginning of the seventeenth Century; when, with a variety of treble-instruments, a vicious taste was introduced, and harmony received its mortal wound.[17]

This caused Burney's mind to leap to wild questioning of Hawkins' sanity through his 'gross error of taste', for 'nothing was more central to Burney's musical beliefs than that the art had begun to escape "barbarism" and to approach perfection

[16] Robert Stevenson, '"The Rivals"-Hawkins, Burney, and Boswell', *Musical Quarterly,* vol. 36, No. 1 (January 1950): 71.
[17] Hawkins, *History*, 27; quoted in Roger H. Lonsdale, *Dr. Charles Burney: A Literary Biography*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 190.

only after the very period so beloved by Hawkins.'[18] Burney's trenchant views on music affected his ability to be civil towards any other point of view, especially that of Hawkins. Burney made frequent comments and digressions in his work to reassure 'persons of good taste and refined ears' that he certainly had not fallen victim to giving the slightest attention to the music of 'barbaric periods'.[19] Assuming that his readers agreed with his position, he took the liberty of mocking and ridiculing Hawkins at every opportunity. In a letter to Thomas Twining, he let himself swell in self-superiority:

> Modern Music & Musicians are likely to have little Quarter from such a writer, who besides his little knowledge in the practice, delights so much in old musty Conundrums that he will not give a hearing to anything better. He confessed to me that he had not been at an Opera these 20 years—that he *never* was at the annual Concert for the Benefit of decayed Musicians—that he neither liked Tartini's compositions nor his Book. (I'm sure he understands neither).[20]

8.5. CRITICISMS OF HAWKINS' *HISTORY*

One of the points of criticism Burney levelled at Hawkins was that of the haphazard organization of his *History*: he would discuss a topic in one place, and then revive it at another as though he had not addressed it earlier. Hawkins wrote not as a historian, but as a compiler of evidence, as would be expected of an attorney and antiquarian. Lipking comments that Hawkins viewed 'no document beneath consideration and no doctrine beyond analysis', and that 'if the virtues of this method seem essentially negative and plodding, they remain consistent'.[21]

On the other hand, it can be said that Burney did indeed follow a systematic plan, and it is far easier for the reader to follow his chronologies and material. Yet his criticisms of Hawkins did not deter Burney from borrowing historical details from

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[18] Lonsdale, 189-190.
[19] Burney, *History*, 27; quoted in Lonsdale, *Dr. Charles Burney*, 189-191.
[20] Charles Burney, *The Letters of Dr. Charles Burney*, vol. 1, 1751–1784, A. F. V. Ribeiro, ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), letter from Charles Burney to Thomas Twining of 11 June 1780.
[21] Lipking, *Ordering of the Arts*, 246.

Hawkins, with one of the most notable being the date for the founding of the Academy of Vocal (later Ancient) Music. As can be seen from its founding document, Lbl Add. MS 11732, the year of the founding was 1726, and as previously noted, Hawkins erroneously listed it as 1710 and Burney repeated the error.[22] These two histories served to establish the date and it was accepted without question until the late nineteenth century, when Henry Davey discovered the error and made it known to the musical world.[23] However, the memorial plaque to Pepusch on the Charterhouse chapel wall, placed there in 1767 by the Academy via Dr Benjamin Cooke, included this error, so it may be that the wrong date did not even originate with Hawkins.[24]

Burney could not control his feelings of resentment and jealousy towards Hawkins. After all, Burney was a career musician and composer, a successful writer on music, was awarded the Doctor of Music degree from Oxford in 1769, and was made a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1773, none of which honours or credits Hawkins had acquired. Burney felt that Hawkins was not entitled to be so bold as to imagine himself qualified to write a history of music. The collective attacks on him were as much attacks on Hawkins the man as they were on his *History*. Hawkins was an easy target for the taunting impugnments aimed at his *History*: he was not as polished and sophisticated as Burney; nor did he need to please the *haut monde*, as did Burney. He was seen as penurious and prudish. Addressing the famous quotation that he was 'a most unclubbable man', Robert Stevenson in his '"The

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[22] Hawkins, *History*, 805; Burney, *History*, 987.
[23] Henry Davey, *History of English Music by Henry Davey* (1895), (London: J.Curwen & Sons, 1921), 2nd edition: 395-396; Burney's volume containing Academy of Ancient Music information, however, was not published until the 1780s This was after Hawkins published the entirety of his *History* in 1776, thereby giving Burney the advantage of having access to Hawkins'
[24] Robert Smythe, ed., *Historical Account of Charter-House: Compiled from the Works of Hearne and Bearcroft, Harleian, Cottonian and Private MSS.: And from Other Authentic Sources* (London: Spilsbury, 1808), 275.

Rivals" - Hawkins, Burney and Boswell' argues that this quotation, historically attributed to Dr Johnson, was not actually spoken by him, but rather that the words were put in Johnson's mouth by James Boswell, his later biographer. Boswell wrote 'The Knight having refused to pay his portion of the reckoning for supper…Johnson observed, "Sir John, Sir, is a very unclubbable man"'.[25] Stevenson notes that this event took place in 1764, eight years before Hawkins was knighted, making it unlikely that Johnson would have referred to him as 'The Knight' and 'Sir John'.[26]

What Hawkins did possess, however, was an already established reputation as a successful literary author, and that acclaim provided him with easy movement in society. Adding to Burney's lack literary acclaim was his aversion to those who presumed themselves to be 'historians' but who did not perform their own research:

> Those who have found it more convenient to compile books at their own fireside from books which have been compiled before, than to cross the seas, mountains, and deserts in foreign countries, to seek for new and authentic materials. [27]

This oblique criticism was aimed especially at Hawkins. Because of Burney's intractable animosities toward him, he proceeded with a plan to undermine the success of Hawkins' *History*. The popular ditty by John Wall Callcott that Burney circulated about the *History* (given in 8.7.) set the stage for its dismal public reception, and consequently, the resulting undeserved bankruptcy of Hawkins' renowned publisher Thomas Payne.[28] Of the latter, there is the question as to why Hawkins and Payne did not offer the *History* as a pre-publication subscription, as did

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[25] James Boswell, *Life of Dr. Johnson* (London: Henry Baldwin, 1791); quoted in Robert Stevenson. '"The Rivals"-Hawkins, Burney, and Boswell', 69-70.
[26] Robert Stevenson, '" The Rivals", 70.
[27] Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands and United Provinces Or The Journal of a Tour Through Those Countries, Undertaken to Collect Materials for a General History of Music: In Two Volumes* (London: Becket, 1775), vol. 1, v.
[28] Percy Scholes, *The Life and Activities of Sir John Hawkins: Musician, Magistrate, and Friend of Johnson* (Oxford University Press, 1978), 132.

Burney with his *History*, thereby assuring the payback of production costs. It was an expensive publication, and Payne priced it at the staggering sum of six guineas [£903], out of the reach of most who would have been interested in such a purchase. By contrast, Burney sold an impressive 1047 copies of his *History* to 857 subscribers.[29]

Another strike against the *History* of the unfortunate Hawkins came through the conniving of George Steevens (1736-1800), a Shakespearean writer and supposedly close associate of Hawkins, who had the reputation of disloyalty to his friends. Hawkins had helped him during the previous six years in preparing his 1773 critical edition of Shakespeare's plays,[30] and in return, Steevens had assisted Hawkins with his *History*. Laetitia Hawkins writes that Steevens' visits to their home were constant during this period, with his arrivals timed even before breakfast, adding:

> There are in the last volume of the *History of Music* some proofs of his prompt genius, for which the compiler of such a work could not but feel very much obliged.[31]

Yet after the *History* was published, Steevens surreptitiously circulated the vicious rumour that it was an inferior effort and not worth the money. This fatally damaged their relationship, but also the public's perception of the *History*. In her *Memoirs*, Laetitia relates the character of the initially positive friendship between Steevens and her father, and then the betrayal of that friendship by Steevens. An even earlier treachery by Steevens occurred in 1775, shortly before the History

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[29] Bertram Hylton Davis, *A Proof of Eminence: The Life of Sir John Hawkins* (Indiana University Press, 1972), 148.
[30] William Shakespeare, 'The Plays of William Shakespeare in Ten Volumes with the Corrections and Illustrations of Various Commentators; notes by Samuel Johnson and George Steevens' (London: C. Bathurst: 1785).
[31] Laetitia Matilda Hawkins, *Memoirs, Anecdotes, Facts, and Opinions. Vols. 1 and 2* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, 1824), vol. 1: 265.

incident, when Steevens stole from Hawkins' library desk an address that he had written to the King detailing the support of the Middlesex magistrates for the King on the matter of beginning hostilities in colonial America. Laetitia had copied it for her father and left it on his desk, soon after which Steevens paid Hawkins a short visit, and during which occasion, stole the address. When Latitia returned to the room and discovered it missing, she prepared another copy and gave it to her father. The following day, The *St. James's Chronicle*, with which Steevens had an affiliation, published Hawkins' address to the King, obviously submitted by Steevens under Hawkins' name.[32]

Even more so than the devious Burney, Steevens was the instigator of the many and heightened aspersions against Hawkins' *History* and, despite the assistance Hawkins gave him, Steevens emerged as Hawkins' covert enemy.[33] If the story related by Thomas Busby is credible, told in his *Concert Room and Orchestra Anecdotes of Music and Musicians, Ancient and Modern*, Steevens persuaded Hawkins to allow him to preview pre-publication sheets of the *History*. Being a writer for the 'Monthly Review', Steevens wrote a searing indictment of it, timed to be published just a few days after its release, even though this would not have given him sufficient time to digest its five volumes. Although written anonymously, it was suspected to have been by one of the various known writers for the 'Review', which included Burney, whose jealousy of Hawkins was well known.34 Hawkins eventually learned the true authorship, however, and with Steevens' deed being discovered, the latter unabashedly continued to attack the *History* publicly in *The St. James's*

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[32] Laetitia Matilda Hawkins, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, 265, also quoted in Percy Scholes, *The Life and Activities of Sir John Hawkins,* 131.
[33] Scholes.
[34] Thomas Busby, *Concert Room and Orchestra Anecdotes of Music and Musicians, Ancient and Modern*. vol. 1. (London: Clementi, 1825), 133; also quoted in Scholes, *Life and Activities of Sir John Hawkins*, 132.

Chronicle, asserting that its sounds 'Play round the head, but never reach his [Hawkins] heart'. He claimed that Hawkins was so prideful that he 'Scarce deign'd to kneel when knighted by the crown'.[35] Hawkins' caustic retort, published in a subsequent issue of *The St. James's Chronicle*, reflected the grievous wound inflicted on him by the man whom he had innocently trusted as a friend:

> The dark designing villain's art,
> His teeming brain, his ranc'rous heart,
> Great Shakespeare to unfold,
> Iago's horrid portrait draws,
> In breach of friendship's sacred laws,
> And fiend-like malice bold.
>
> His muse, assuming humour's guise,
> Laughs at paroles, and blinds his eyes
> While he betrays his lord;
> A liar, coward, braggart vain,
> The soldier's scorn, of arms the stain,
> A scoundrel on record!
>
> Our editor the poet's page
> Illustrates, and to teach the age
> A truth but little known,
> That two such characters may meet,
> And in one bosom fix their seat,
> Unites them in his own.[36]

Nor was Burney innocent of underhanded attacks on Hawkins' *History*. He conspired among his friends and willing acquaintances to spread the word that the *History* was full of lies, poorly written, and certainly not worth the money. Burney's petty jealousy was scrupulously directed towards bringing down Hawkins' reputation as a music historian by ambushing him and his *History* from the outset of publication.[37] Burney's attacks included denouncing Hawkins to such as David Garrick, Dr Johnson, and Mrs Hester Thrale, Johnson's confidante. It was as though Burney was compelled to degrade Hawkins to those whom he hoped to impress with his newly acquired

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[35] Scholes.
[36] Laetitia Matilda Hawkins, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, 268.
[37] Lonsdale, *Dr. Charles Burney*, 188-225.

entrance into society. The privileged class of Henry and Hester Thrale of Streatham Park included all of the prominent figures of the day—David Garrick, Sir Joshua Reynolds and Dr Johnson among them. Burney's social position, however, differed markedly from that of the others. Although Burney acquitted himself well in manners and conversation, he was nevertheless hired by the Thrales to teach music to their children, so the relationship was always tinged by the employer-employee status. Even so, Burney was a frequent guest of the Thrales, and Burney and Hester Thrale enjoyed exchanging stimulating chitchat. Mrs Thrale was especially thrilled by the ongoing gossip of Burney's aggressive assailing of Hawkins and the view that he was a failure as a writer. Burney's friend and former patron Fulke Greville warned Burney against the consequences of his vehemence toward Hawkins:

> As matters stand, I think you would be wrong to excite a paper war by exposing him, as you may certainly risk your reputation on a comparative view of the two performances, and leave it to the world to do you justice.[38]

David Garrick also recognized the dangerous path Burney was on of discrediting Hawkins. In a letter dated 3 January 1777, Garrick refers to an 'exquisite attack' on Hawkins to be released in *The Morning Post* the following day. Assuming that Burney was the source, Garrick warns 'for Heavn's Sake take care'.[39]

8.6. MORE HAWKINS DETRACTORS: TWINING AND BEWLEY

Burney was all the more agitated by the public acceptance of Hawkins' work, albeit now curtailed, despite its disorderly arrangement and its predisposition to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century music. Reviews being released early in 1777 by the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *Critical Review* were favourable to Hawkins, causing

[38] Letter from Greville to Burney of December 1776, quoted in Lonsdale, *Dr. Charles Burney*, 202.
[39] David Garrick, *The Letters of David Garrick*, David M. Little and George M. Kahrl, eds. (Oxford University Press, 1963), vol. 3, 1271; quoted in Lonsdale, *Dr. Charles Burney*, 203; Lonsdale notes that the letter is 'incompletely dated'.

the suspicious Burney to question the loyalty of his friends Thomas Twining (1735-1804) and Archibald Hamilton (1719-1793), editor of the *Critical Review*. Hamilton had assured Burney that Hawkins would not be treated favourably, but when the review appeared, Burney's confidant William Bewley was compelled to comment to Burney: 'how do you, who live in the word, account for Hamilton's *private* declaration to you, and the *publick* proceedings of *The Critical Review*? Never surely was work of mortal man so fulsomely bepraised!'[40]

Burney's nervousness over the possibility of a reversal of public opinion in favour of Hawkins was based on Twining's remark about Hawkins in his 'Preliminary Talk' in the *Critical Review* that Twining 'thought some of it better than I expected' and that Hawkins had treated Roman music more thoroughly than Burney.[41] But even Johnson's assurance to Burney about the impartiality of the *Monthly Review* and *The Critical Review* did nothing to assuage his suspicious mind about the need to persuade his friends to give good reviews of his own work. Johnson observed: 'I think them very impartial: I do not know an instance of partiality'.[42] Yet Burney had nothing to fear about the loyalty of his friend Bewley, for in February 1777, the *Monthly Review* published the first of 'a series of three articles by Bewley on Hawkins' *History* which, almost single-handedly, shattered its growing reputation'.[43]

8.6.1. THOMAS TWINING

Born in 1735 to the family of the famous Twining tea merchants, Thomas Twining was a classical scholar and accomplished musician. Fanny Burney describes his friendship with the Burneys in her diary:

> He is a man of learning, very fond of music, and a good performer both on the harpsichord and the violin. He commenced a correspondence with my father

[40] Letter from Bewley to Burney of 19 May 1777; quoted in Lonsdale, *Dr. Charles Burney*, 209.
[41] Letter from Twining to Burney of 24 January 1777; quoted in Lonsdale, *Dr. Charles Burney,* 209.
[42] Lonsdale.
[43] Lonsdale.

> upon the publication of his German Tour [1773], which they have kept up with great spirit ever since; for Mr. Twining, besides being deep in musical knowledge, is a man of great humour and drollery.[44]

Twining was a convenient co-conspirator in defaming Hawkins, and provided information to Burney about the publication progress of Hawkins' first volume, the question of which had begun to obsess Burney. Hawkins had publicized the forthcoming publication of his *History* in the *London Evening Post* of 17-19 June 1773, announcing that it was 'In the Press, and in great Forwardness'.45 Twining and the Hawkins family had been neighbours, but a falling out had caused Twining to dislike Hawkins. This worked in Burney's favour, as Twining was now eager to assist him to Hawkins' detriment. This came to pass in a letter in April 1773 from Twining to Burney, in which Twining provided information that he had obtained from Thomas Payne, Hawkins' publisher. Payne allowed Twining to see proofs of the first volume of Hawkins' *History*, which reinforced Burney's opinion that Hawkins' work was not destined to be accepted by the public, Burney saying 'If Sir John had ever had any Taste, the reading [of] such a pack of old rubbish as he seems to delight in will have spoilt it'.[46]

8.6.2. WILLIAM BEWLEY

In 1751 at the age of twenty-five, after a successful first season at the Drury Lane Theatre, and having established himself in London as a respected performer and teacher, Burney was stricken with a grave fever which required him to take to his bed. After three months, his friend and medical doctor, John Armstrong, determined that he could not recover in the stultifying air of the metropolis, and suggested that he vacate for the country. Through Dr Armstrong, he met Sir John Turner, MP for the

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[44] Frances Burney, *The Early Diary of Frances Burney 1768–1778,* vol. 2, Annie Raine Ellis, ed. (London: Bell and Sons, 1913), 6.
[45] *London Evening Post*, 17-19 June 1773.
[46] Letter from Burney to Twining of 28 April 1773; quoted in Lonsdale, *Dr. Charles Burney*, 191.

small Norfolk village of King's Lynn, who arranged for Burney to be offered the post there of organist at St. Margaret's Church, which he accepted. At King's Lynn he met William Bewley (1735-1804), who, with Burney's influence, was to become another Hawkins nemesis.

Bewley was a surgeon and apothecary in the nearby Norfolk village of Great Massingham, and was a frequent reviewer for the *Monthly Review*, a periodical founded in 1749 by William Rose and Ralph Griffith, its editor. Bewley's reviews were of a medical and scientific nature, and in keeping with the requirements of the *Monthly Review*, were written and published anonymously. When the music reviewer of the *Monthly Review* left his post, Bewley was asked to assume writing the music reviews. Burney encouraged him to accept, even though Bewley avowed that he lacked sufficient knowledge of music to provide adequate reviews. Burney assured him that he would provide as much assistance as necessary to write musical reviews, so with this pledge of support, Bewley agreed.

February 1777 saw publication of the first of Bewley's three negative reviews of Hawkins' *History*. It exhibited a structure quite unlike that of Bewley's usual scientific reviews, especially in contrast to how he had favourably reviewed Burney's work. He set out to 'prosecute the author, to argue a case against him and to draw only upon material and extracts which would support that argument'.[47] Feeling the first of several pangs of conscience in his method, Bewley then felt it necessary to make a public justification explaining the deviation from his established format. He frankly admitted that the reason for his adverse review was that he held an overriding prejudice against Hawkins, even before opening Hawkins' *History* to the first page. To his credit, however, he explained that his bias stemmed from the

[47] Quoted in Lonsdale, *Dr Charles Burney*, 210.

footnote in Hawkins' *Compleat Angler*, the same one that had first stirred Burney's ire and inspired him to proceed with his own *History* (8.4.). Bewley had uncharacteristically presumed that his readers would agree with his opinion that 'Hawkins had condemned himself in the eyes of all music-lovers with any pretensions to taste…and that Hawkins was as boorish as ever'. Bewley continues, using the editorial 'we':

> We were in hopes…that, in the course of sixteen years, our Historian might have acquired a better taste, or at least one somewhat more congenial with our own…but had soon the mortification of finding him maintaining the same tramontane and Gothic opinions, and even speaking in the most irreverent terms of the music 'of the present day'.[48]

Bewley's use of the word 'tramontane' is interesting. He appears to demur with this polite alternative to what he probably would have preferred to say as 'barbarous'. Sometime in the eighteenth century, 'tramontane' took on the meaning of 'barbarous', although its literal meaning was 'beyond the mountains', or Italy in this case. Otherwise, its more common meaning would have been 'foreign' or 'foreigner'.[49]

Hawkins did indeed display his contempt of 'the trash daily obtruded on the world', an opinion which he 'boldly and defiantly' characterized. In addition to what he considered to be Hawkins' lack of 'taste', Bewley attacked the disorganized structure of the *History*, criticizing Hawkins for piling on seemingly irrelevant information about the musicians and events he was describing. Bewley objected to Hawkins' endless accounts of musical groups, such as 'the Concert at the Castle Tavern in Pater-Noster-Row', to the point of giving details about the participants' occupations—carpenters, schoolmasters, and bakers. Hawkins' 'courageous and

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[48] Lonsdale, 209-210.
[49] 'Tramontane, adjective and noun', OED Online, December 2021. Oxford University Press. https://www.oed.com/view/. Accessed 10 December 2021.

vigorous praise of the English madrigalists' finally pushed Bewley into adopting a mocking and satiric tone, uncharacteristic of his medical background.[50] At the conclusion of his first review, Bewley expressed contrition for his hostility and vitriol and promised that in his next article, he intended to give credence to Hawkins' 'diligence, as an Antiquary and Collector'. However, no such nod to Hawkins' achievements was forthcoming, as Bewley continued to imply in his subsequent reviews that Hawkins' mind was idiotically and irretrievably chaotic.[51]

Although Burney had promised to provide guidance to Bewley when reviewing Hawkins' work, when Bewley was in the throes of composing his second and third reviews, Burney retreated and fell silent. Bewley's pressing requests of Burney for assistance in providing him with the information that would allow him to give Hawkins some amount of credit went unanswered. Lonsdale concludes that Bewley then realised that Burney had persuaded him 'evidently against his wishes' to take on the task of the music reviewer, but when the question arose of a temperate handling of Hawkins, Burney would have nothing to do with it. Bewley wrote to Burney in frustration over his not providing information

> to assist me in pointing out what may really be meritorious in the Knight's publication; divesting myself, as a Reviewer, of all prejudice against the Author, for running counter to all my notions of what a History of Music ought to be; but at the same time considering that due regard should be paid by me, in that character, to the gratification of the peculiar tastes of particular readers, such as Antiquarians, etc. Had I not hoped for some little assistance from you, I really would not have undertaken the task—at least on so large a scale….[52]

Burney's request that Bewley also write the review for his upcoming *The Present State of Music in France and Italy* caused Bewley further discomfort. Burney was obviously expecting a favourable review from Bewley, despite any other opinion

[50] Lonsdale, *Dr. Charles Burney*, 210-211.
[51] Davis, *Proof of Eminence*, 143.
[52] Lonsdale, *Dr Charles Burney*, 212-213.

Bewley might hold of the work. The editor Ralph Griffiths maintained a rule of 'strict impartiality' from his reviewers, so Bewley was honour-bound to ask Griffiths' permission to review a work by his close friend.[53] Although Griffiths found no reason to deny Bewley's request, Bewley still remained uncomfortable, frequently protesting Burney's insistence on his 'guidance'. Despite these demands by Burney, Bewley made an effort to remain impartial, even though the influence that Burney exerted over Bewley's reviews was considerable. Bewley's lack of musical knowledge forced him to rely on Burney's advice and opinions, and it is here that Burney was able to control his reviews of Hawkins' *History*.

Tragically, Bewley's reviews were 'probably the most important single factor in the deflation of Hawkins' reputation, which was not to be restored until both the rival historians of music were dead'.[54] Bewley's reviews came in for derision for years afterwards, but being published anonymously, their authorship was not specifically known. They were widely thought to be those of Hawkins' false friend George Steevens. Even into the nineteenth century, Steevens was still believed to be the author, as the reviewer Thomas Busby wrote in 1825:

> The elaborate and sarcastic character of the criticism, and its simultaneous appearance with a production from which much had been expected, led to a prodigious increase in the demand for the Review [by Steevens]; but utterly prevented the success of Hawkins's *History*'.[55]

Literary critic and classical scholar Richard Porson (1759-1809), in his critique of Hawkins' *Life of Johnson*, commented in 1826 on Bewley's negative reviews, which he knew to be by Bewley:

> The witlings and critics of the day combined to run down that excellent book the 'History of Music' in five volumes quarto; and their malice prevailed so

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[53] Roger Lonsdale, 'William Bewley and The Monthly Review: "A Problem of Attribution"', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 55, no. 4 (1961): 309-318, 310. Accessed 22 July 22 2021. 3
[54] Roger Lonsdale, 'Dr. Burney and the Monthly Review', *The Review of English Studies* 14, no. 56 (1963): 346-358, 347. Accessed 22 July 2021.
[55] Busby, *Concert Room*, vol. 1, 134.

> effectually for some time, that people who had any regard for their reputation were ashamed to have the book, or to know anything about it.[56]

Porson further gave Hawkins his due, continuing with these flattering accolades that surely must have warmed the hearts of Hawkins' admirers while exasperating Burney and his coterie of Hawkins detractors:

> But Sir John was steady to his resolution; he wrote on as he had written before; and presented the Publick with this last, best gift, which not only sells itself, but is the cause of selling the Knight's other works. I am credibly informed, that since the publication of this *Life* [of Johnson], a copy of the History of Music, first from half a guinea [£71]to twelve and six pence [£84.50], next to fifteen shillings [£101], nay, that even a guinea [£142] has been paid for a set handsomely bound in Morocco.[57]

Another attempt to disparage Hawkins as an important musical figure involved Burney's daughter, Fanny. As executrix of Burney's estate and all of his copious writings, Fanny burned so many of his papers that it has deprived history of a full knowledge of her father's activities surrounding the period before and during the era of the duelling histories. She destroyed all but a few mentions of Hawkins, and even at that, it was probably an oversight that she missed some materials. She removed everything that would cast her father and their family in a negative light, and this would have included anything positive about Hawkins. Otherwise, Burney's character would have shown through in his personal papers and letters, and it is to be expected that Fanny surely would have shared her father's penchant for covering up the underlying pettiness and ruthlessness of this aspect of his personality.

So in-vogue was the trend begun by Burney to ridicule Hawkins and his *History*, that John Wall Callcott (1766-1821), the composer, musician and friend of Burney, wrote a catch that became popular among the London music circles of the

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[56] *Gentleman's Magazine*, I vii (London: 1787), 652; reprinted in Richard Porson. *Tracts and Miscellaneous Criticisms of the Late Richard Porson, Esq.* (London: Bohn, 1826), 335.
[57] Porson.

time. It was reproduced by Percy Scholes in his Hawkins biography, and its ultimate slur came in its final stanza:

> HAVE YOU SIR JOHN HAWKINS' HIST'RY?
>
> Have you Sir John Hawkins History?
> Some folks think it quite a myst'ry,
> Sir John Hawkins, Sir John Hawkins' [repeated, etc.]
> Some folks think it quite a myst'ry.
>
> Music fill'd his wond'rous brain,
> His I like best, 'tis so plain, His I like best [repeated]
> How d'ye like him, how d'ye like him [repeated]
> His I like best, 'tis so plain.
>
> Both I've read and can't agree,
> For Burney's hist'ry pleases me,
> Burney's hist'ry, Burney's hist'ry [repeated]
> Burney's hist'ry pleases me.

When sung, 'Burney's hist'ry' elides to become the unflattering:

> Sir John Hawkins
> Burn 'is history!
> How d'ye like him?
> Burn 'is History![58]

8.7. HAWKINS TRUDGES ON

Despite it all, Hawkins kept a steady work schedule. When his friend, the minor canon of Canterbury Cathedral William Gostling, died on 9 March 1777, Hawkins volunteered to catalogue for public auction the extensive music collection that Gostling and his father John, the noted basso profundo, had accumulated throughout their lives. The Gostling and Hawkins families had been close, with Gostling having given Hawkins generous help in writing his *History.* Gostling also provided Hawkins with access to his substantial music collection, and provided information passed on

[58] Percy A. Scholes, *The Life and Activities of Sir John Hawkins: Musician, Magistrate, and Friend of Johnson* (London: Oxford University Press, 1978), Appendix 5, 257.

to him by his father, which helped 'fill in gaps of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century musical history'.[59]

It would appear that the cataloguing project was a daunting one, for Laetitia Hawkins wrote that 'the labour of such a task as well as the dry drudgery of it, can be known to few'. The undertaking involved examining sketchy indexes and deciphering references in numerous and varied languages without altering their meanings. George III was to be a bidder for the library, therein rendering it incumbent upon Hawkins to provide an accurate accounting of the catalogue, for as Laetitia wrote: '[it] was of great importance to represent this to his late Majesty, of whose reliance on Sir J.H.'s word there could be no doubt'.[60] Indeed, there was no question that Hawkins was providing valuable advice to the King on building up The King's Music Library. A. Hyatt King concluded that 'Hawkins' most significant role was in advising George III on purchases for the King's Music Library, of which Hawkins was himself a benefactor'.[61]

No matter the agitation and grief that Burney purposefully imposed on Hawkins as a man and a writer on music, Hawkins persisted. This clubmate of Samuel Johnson, learned angler, annotator of Shakespeare, collector of books and manuscripts, cataloguer, and music historian became, ultimately an advisor to the King. 'The historian who could not please William Bewley seems at last to have pleased his monarch'.[62]

8.8. DIFFERING PERSPECTIVES OF HAWKINS AND BURNEY

[59] Davis, *Proof of Eminence*, 163-165.
[60] Laetitia Matilda Hawkins, *Anecdotes*, 258.
[61] A. Hyatt King, *Some British Collectors of Music c. 1600-1960* (Cambridge University Press, 1963), 126-127.
[62] Davis, *Proof of Eminence*, 170-171.

The difference between Hawkins' antiquarian approach and Burney's view favouring 'modern' music lies in each of their aesthetic perspectives. Hawkins perceived music through the eye, Burney through the ear. Burney expressed this sentiment in a letter to Christoph Daniel Ebeling: 'A long and laboured fugue, recte et retro in 40 parts, may be a good entertainment for the Eyes of a Critic, but can never delight the Ears of a Man of Taste'. [63] In his *History* he adds: 'for all rules in music, deduced from any other principle than effect upon the ear, are absurd'.[64] But for Hawkins, the written music spoke as much to his emotions as did the actual hearing of it. Burney did not require viewing music on the page, for merely listening to it elicited his emotional response. Hawkins' appreciation of polyphonic music, for example, was enhanced by viewing the technical skill of the composer as he developed the vocal lines on the page. For him, beauty was not only in the hearing, but also in the composer's science.[65]

Later in life, however, Burney came more to Hawkins' antiquarian position when he added mental to sensual appreciation, inspired by his examination of first Ockeghem, then Josquin. As Kerry Grant points out in his *Dr. Burney as Critic and Historian of Music,* Burney accepted that Renaissance polyphony was the foundation of modern music, the study of which must have posed difficulty for one so immersed and trained in modern music.[66] Burney's new-found enthusiasm for Josquin drove him to proclaim Josquin the creator of the

> true and genuine style of choral composition a hundred years before the great musical illuminaries of the sixteenth century: Palestrina, Orlando di Lasso, Tallis, and William Byrd. Indeed, the laws and difficulties of Canon, Fugue, Augmentation, Diminution, Reversion, and almost every other species of

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[63] Letter from Charles Burney to Christoph Daniel Ebeling, *The Letters of Dr. Charles Burney*, vol.1, 104.
[64] Burney, *History*, 724n.
[65] Hawkins, *History*, vol. 1, Preface, xiii.
[66] Kerry S. Grant, *Dr. Burney as Critic and Historian of Music*. No. 62 (Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms International (UMI) Research Press, 1983), 125.

> learned contrivance allowable in ecclesiastical compositions for voices, were never so well observed, or happily vanquished, as by Josquin.[67]

In a letter to Burney dated 8 December 1781, his friend Thomas Twining described Burney's evolving to an appreciation of the 'elaborate and learned' compositional style of Ockeghem and Josquin:

> In your last letter you told me how it stole upon you as you studied it, after a long intermission perhaps, and, from some prejudices against it, brought you to relish its real beauties and be its apologist.[68]

Andrew Kirkman examines Burney's embracing of the 'perfection' of Josquin in two articles: 'From Humanism to Enlightenment: Reinventing Josquin'[69] and 'Under Such Heavy Chains: The Discovery and Evaluation of Late Medieval Music Before Ambros'.[70] Kirkman relates Burney's path leading to Josquin and to his ultimate philosophical conclusion on the acknowledgement of genius: 'only one original genius of the same kind, could ever burst out at a time in any art or nation', noting that 'little need to be said of his contemporaries, who, in general appear to have been but his imitators'.[71] The genius Burney was referring to was Josquin.

This epiphany of appreciation occurred after Burney had secured his reputation as a modernist and no friend of 'old' music. In Lonsdale's biography of Burney, he discusses the rather embarrassing position in which Burney and Twining found themselves regarding ancient music: 'for all their mockery of Hawkins, both Burney and Twining had lately discovered in themselves a growing admiration for sixteenth-century music'. After now having spent so much time studying Josquin,

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[67] Burney, *History*, 735.
[68] Letter from Thomas Twining to Charles Burney of 8 December 1781; see Grant, *Dr. Burney as Critic and Historian of Music,* 126.
[69] Andrew Kirkman, 'From Humanism to Enlightenment: Reinventing Josquin', *Journal of Musicology* 17, no. 4 (1999): 441-458.
[70] Andrew Kirkman, '"Under Such Heavy Chains": The Discovery and Evaluation of Late Medieval Music before Ambros', *19th-Century Music* 24, no. 1 (2000): 89-112.
[71] Burney, *History*, 752; discussed in Kirkman, 'From Humanism to Enlightenment', 44; also Grant, *Dr Burney as Critic*, 130-132.

Ockeghem, and Taverner, 'he [Burney] found himself discussing them at much greater length, and defending them much more warmly, than he had ever intended'.[72]

In his continuing correspondence on the subject, in a letter to Twining of 14 December 1781, Burney wrote about the 'Divinities of my Youth' citing the composers Handel, Geminiani, and Corelli, and his turn of heart from them by the time he reached age twenty: 'I was drawn off from their exclusive worship by keeping company with travelled and heterodox gentlemen, who were partial to the music of more modern composers whom they had heard in Italy'. He lists the songs of Hasse, Vinci, Pergolesi, Rinaldo di Capua, Scarlatti, and several others as having 'won my heart, and weaned me from the ancient worship', adding

> However, at all times in my life I honoured an elaborate and learned composition for the Church whatever its age and country, and at all spare hours I was scoring pieces of Bird, Morley, Luca Marenzio, Stradella; and studying Palestrina, Steffani's admirable Duets, with cantatas by old Scarlatti, [and] Gasparini….[73]

8.9. BURNEY'S COMPLEX PERSONALITY

> Dr Burney is a man for everybody to love. It is but natural to love him—I question if there be in the world such another man altogether for mind, intelligence and manners as Dr Burney.[74]

This noted proclamation of judgement of Burney by Samuel Johnson was overheard in a conversation between him and Mrs Hester Thrale, and expresses a widely held opinion of Burney.[75] His overriding desire was to be accepted universally for the unquestionably gifted and talented man he was. His manners were spoken of as

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[72] Lonsdale, *Dr. Charles Burney*, 285.
[73] Letter from Burney to Twining of 14 December 1781; quoted in Charles Burney, Slava Klima, Garry Bowers, and Kerry Scott Grant, *Memoirs of Dr. Charles Burney, 1726-1769* (University of Nebraska Press, 1988), 74-75.
[74] Quoted from Lewis M. Isaacs, 'A Friend of Dr. Johnson', *Musical Quarterly* 1, no. 4 (1915): 583-591, 584. Accessed 25 July 2021; also Elisabeth M. Lockwood, 'At Dr. Burney's', *Music & Letters* 11, no. 1 (1930): 78-86, 78. Accessed 25 July 2021.
[75] Isaacs, 'A Friend of Dr. Johnson', 604.

impeccably suited for the elevated society that he sought and eventually attained, and the recognition he received for his musicianship, literary works, and social graces was well deserved. He was also fortunate that his children were a credit to him, most of whom distinguished themselves in their respective fields.

Why was it, then, that dark facets of his personality emerged from time-to-time that were petty, devious and cruel? I deduce that his overly sensitive nature drove him to treat Hawkins with derision. The obvious course of his actions was to elevate his own *History* by attempting to deprecate that of Hawkins; however, his seeming gain at degrading Hawkins' reputation as a writer of music history was relatively short-lived. Hawkins' reputation recovered, and his *History* went on to see a posthumous second printing in 1853, which Burney's *History* never achieved until the publication of its modern edition in 1935.

Hawkins was further redeemed by being chosen by Johnson as the chief executor of his will, thus negating the notion that his reputation was ruined as a result of the attempts by Burney and others, who attempted to link the failure of his *History* to his other writings and endeavours. As cited earlier (7.3.1.), Hawkins was also solicited by two prominent London publishers to write the biography of Johnson, which he did and which was published in 1787 as *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*[76] Despite attracting criticism, it proved to be a public success and was the premier source for information on Johnson until the publication of James Boswell's biography four years later in 1791. Novello chronicled that 'utter strangers stopped Hawkins in the street and thanked him for the amusement and information he afforded them'.[77]

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[76] John Hawkins, *The Life of Samuel Johnson*, (London: Buckland, 1787).
[77] Hawkins, x.

After the publication of Boswell's biography, the detractors of the now-late Sir John Hawkins, led by the envious Boswell, re-emerged to discredit him posthumously. The criticisms of Hawkins' biography of Johnson paralleled those of his *History*. The same caustic tenor again emerged against Hawkins as it became popular to denigrate him as before. The primary denunciations concerned Hawkins' predilection for minutiae. In the biography, as with his *History*, Hawkins left no detail unattended as he painted the complete picture of Johnson, blemishes and all. Johnson's admiring public was outraged at Hawkins for pointing out excessive character and personality faults, even though Hawkins was also fair in relating Johnson's virtues and admirable traits. The public response had the result of blending Hawkins' two major works into one, so that the recent memory of his *History* was compounded with negative reaction to his Johnson biography.

With Hawkins now gone, the fickle public was ripe for Burney, whose personality, in part driven by his humble background, joined with the prevailing English culture of snobbishness and prejudice directed toward the differences between how the professions and the trades were viewed. Laetitia Hawkins spoke to this in her book of anecdotes by declaring that 'a profession constitutes gentility and a trade does not'. [78] Hawkins' modest beginnings notwithstanding, in demeanour and fact, he was a man of gentility, being a lawyer and magistrate, whereas Burney, having been apprenticed to composer Thomas Arne as a tradesman musician, was not. This aloofness among the gentry was felt keenly by Burney, despite his having earned a doctorate in music at Oxford in 1769.

Further background and informed speculation on Burney are in order here, as his grasping journey from a disadvantaged youth to his ascendancy into the higher

[78] Laetitia Matilda Hawkins, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, 66.

social orders can be seen as an example of one of the undercurrent machinations by which others of like ambition contrived to proceed upward through the then rigid strata of English society. For this, we can look to the elimination of adverse documentation detailing his path: Fanny Burney's destruction of the records of her father's early life leaves a historiographical void of information about his upbringing and details concerning his family life. In an 1820 letter to her sister Esther, Fanny gives her reason for expunging from the historical records much valuable material that could have been pored over by researchers in perpetuity:

> What respected his family, meanwhile, was utterly unpleasant and quite useless to be kept alive. The dissipated facility and negligence of his witty and accomplished, but careless Father; the niggardly unfeelingness of his nearly unnatural Mother…furnish matter of detail, long, tedious, unnecessary. And opening to the publick view a species of Family degradation to which the name of Burney now gives no similitude.[79]

Burney was virtually deserted by his negligent father and mother, which predictably would have had grave psychological effects on a boy as sensitive as Charles. Lonsdale observed: 'It is not difficult to trace in his later career an endless, if harmless, desire to compel affection and admiration which would compensate for the inevitable insecurity of his childhood'.[80]

Although Fanny destroyed her father's diaries that included his childhood, it is known that Burney was born in Shrewsbury in 1726, and that he and his brother Richard were sent from the family to the village of Condover to be in the care of an elderly woman. In December 1739 Burney was sent for to join his family in Chester, where by the grace of a prominent citizen, Prebendary Prescott, he received an appointment to Chester Free School, affording him the opportunities which led to his musical awareness and education.[81] At the age of eighteen, he was taken to London

[79] Lonsdale, *Dr. Charles Burney*, 3.
[80] Lonsdale, 3-4.
[81] Lonsdale, 4.

by Thomas Arne to serve as an apprentice. Arne, having heard the young Burney sing as a choirboy, was impressed by his potential for becoming a career musician. Burney's account of his time served with Arne, however, was that he was mistreated during his apprenticeship and was refused the musical tutelage he was promised. Using him primarily as a copyist, Arne went so far as to lock up his music books to prevent Burney from bettering his music education. Burney noted:

> It may seem strange and ungrateful in me not to have spoken with more respect and regard of my Master Arne, than I have hitherto done, but [I[had too much reason to complain of his selfishness.[82]

The musically sophisticated aristocrat Fulke Greville was so impressed by Burney's harpsichord playing that he offered to purchase Burney's remaining two years of apprenticeship so that he could live with the Greville family as a companion and music teacher. The amount agreed upon with Arne to release Burney from his apprenticeship was £300 [£50,600]. The fortunate time Burney spent with the Grevilles provided him with the opportunity to acquire 'the easy assurance and finished manners that accompanied him through life and made him welcome in every house he entered'.[83]

Burney's constant monitoring of the loyalty of his friends was only one-way: while he expected their fidelity, he lacked compunction in extending it to them. True, both Twining and Bewley were doing Burney's bidding in providing damaging reviews of Hawkins' *History*, but as Twining complained to Burney, neither was told of the other's efforts on his behalf. Burney also showed his capability for duplicity in his treatment of the works of his friend William Mason (1724-1779). He had known Mason since 1764 and referred to him 'as good as Musician or Painter as Poet' and

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[82] Burney, *Memoirs of Dr Burney,,* 50.
[83] Percy Scholes, 'A New Enquiry into the Life and Work of Dr. Burney', *Proceedings of the Musical Association* 67 (1940): 1-30, 1.

credited him with having 'excellent taste in modern music'.[84] Mason was a clergyman, precentor (later canon at York Minster), poet, artist, composer, and author of *Essays, Historical and Critical, on English Church Music*, published in 1782.[85] He was a supporter of metrical psalmody and espoused its virtues in his writing. Burney's views on metrical psalmody were the opposite of Mason's, and he repudiated it at every opportunity. He accused Luther, Calvin and John Knox of 'stripping it [music] of all the energy and embellishments of measure and melody' in the Reformed church.[86] Before the publication of his *Essays*, Mason innocently requested that Burney read his manuscript and make suggestions, which he did obligingly in a lengthy letter containing corrections and recommendations for improvement. Burney's public comments in his *History* even pronounced Mason's work as excellent. But when the opportunity arose for him to proclaim judgment anonymously, he took the advantage of a much more critical approach. Under the cloak of anonymity required by the *Monthly Review*, Burney carried his deceit into print:

> Dr Burney, it seems is not so partial (in his history of music) to parochial psalmody as Mr. M [Mason] wishes, and here an amicable controversy begins.[87]

Kerry Grant comments, 'Their controversy, so long as it was carried on openly, was amicable, but as the review demonstrates, Burney could be considerably less agreeable when his identity was protected'.[88]

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[84] Letter from Charles Burney to Mrs. Stephen Allen of April 1764; quoted in Grant, *Dr Burney as Critic and Historian of Music*, 135.
[85] William Mason, *Essays, Historical and Critical, on English Church Music* (London: Blanchard, 1782), 1795.
[86] Discussion on metrical psalmody in Burney, 36ff.; quoted in Grant, *Dr Burney as Critic and Historian of Music*, 134-135.
[87] Grant, *Dr Burney as Critic and Historian of Music*, 135, 136.
[88] Grant, 136.

Burney's politics reflected the dichotomy of his perceived lower social status and his need to be accepted by the elite with whom he aspired to associate. His attraction to the egalitarian principles espoused by Jean-Jacques Rousseau and other Enlightenment thinkers bordered on obsession. Rousseau's fame, built upon his liberal views of the equality of man, rested at the juncture of two successful campaigns to overthrow the class system of the monarchy versus the people—the French revolution and the rising tide of American independence. This was irresistible to Burney's own ambitions of breaking from the bonds of class prejudice. He wrote in his *History:* 'It is no uncommon thing for the rich to treat the poor with as much insolence, as if it were a crime not to be born to a great estate'.[89]

At the same time, Burney dared not displease the King with his views, as the King had hinted that a court position for him would depend on his endorsement of Handel, the King's favourite. In his biography of Burney, Roger Lonsdale wrote 'Burney was tortured by this conflict between his duty as a historian and his knowledge that all kinds of honours might come to him, if only he could please and flatter the King'. [90] Burney expressed his frustration in a letter to his friend Twining: 'I see that I am in great danger of doing myself more harm than good by this business….But I will not write like an Apostate, I will not deny my liberal principles'.[91]

In the context of the political undercurrents of the period, Burney's use of the term 'liberal' (having the same meaning then as today) reveals even in this private communication to a trusted friend that his conflict was driven by political expedience. He was well aware of Rousseau's courage, expressed in his radical statement: 'I

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[89] Burney*, History*, 18.
[90] Lonsdale, *Dr. Charles Burney,* 302; also quoted in Edward Green, 'The Impact of Rousseau on the Histories of Burney and Hawkins: A Study in the Ethics of Musicology', *Music's Intellectual History* (2009): 157-168, 2.
[91] Letter from Burney to Twining of 31 July 1784; quoted in Green, 'The Impact of Rousseau', 2.

hate the great. I hate their rank, their harshness, their prejudice, their pettiness, and all their ways'.[92] Burney was aware, also, of the financial consequence to Rousseau for having refused a generous lifetime pension from Louis XV after the premiere of his play *Le devin de village* 'rather than compromise his intellectual and artistic freedom'.[93] At a time when Rousseau was viewed as a heretic, Burney referred to him as a 'Man Mountain', openly praising him in Burney's *The Present State of Music in France and Italy.*[94] 'I must see him', Burney wrote. His obsession with meeting Rousseau led Burney to pursue him around the Continent when he heard from his contacts where Rousseau would be at any given time. Horace Walpole directed him to Paris. Just missing him there, Burney went to Lyon, then Geneva (Rousseau's home town), and finally encountered him back in Paris. Burney wrote

> I regarded the meeting with M. Rousseau at Paris, as a singularly fortunate completion of my personal intercourse with the learned and ingenious on the continent: I was so happy as to converse for a considerable time with him upon music, a subject which has received such embellishments from his pen, that the driest parts of it are rendered interesting by his manner of treating them, both in the Encyclopedie, and in his Music Dictionary.[95]

8.10. JUXTAPOSITION OF THE HAWKINS AND BURNEY HISTORIES

The effects of the manipulation of public sentiment by Burney had the expected results: Hawkins' *History* was vilified, while Burney's *History* was accepted as a sophisticated and elegant presentation of the history of music. As time passed, however, Hawkins' reputation began to be restored. Favourable reviews were published from time to time, and readers began to appreciate the detail that Hawkins included in his anecdotes and chronicles of his subjects. After the climate of rancour

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[92] Letter from Rousseau to the French statesman and lawyer for Louis XIV, Malesherbes, quoted in Green, 'The impact of Rousseau', 3.
[93] Green.
[94] Burney, *The Present State of Music in France and Italy*, 313.
[95] Charles Burney, 'Dr. Burney's Musical Tours in Europe I: An Eighteenth-Century Musical Tour in France and Italy, 1773', Percy A. Scholes, ed., vol. 1 (London University Press, 1959), 22.

had receded with the death of the principals, true critical views emerged to synthesize public perception.

Early English musical antiquarianism achieves its deserved standing in English music history through the juxtaposition of these two works. Hawkins' *History* establishes decisively the value of musical antiquarianism by demonstrating its relevance through his attention to the fine points of historical minutiae. To the contrary, it is to be noted that Burney's denial of antiquarianism, so rigorously promoted throughout his *History*, validates by antithesis the antiquarian position. Hawkins' *History* alone would not have proved sufficient to paint the broad tableau of English musical antiquarianism. It took Burney's *History* to tip the scales in favour of a balanced canon of 'best masters' of English music—one that included 'old' music as well as the 'new' and 'fashionable'. Maria Semi posits that, despite Burney's assertion that ever-changing musical taste makes a canon impossible, these two music histories confirm it by preserving 'the composers and their works from oblivion, selecting which works to mention and which to not'.[96]

These two pioneers, forgoing the niceties of language, confront forcefully the other's point of view, and therein give the modern reader an engaging and unambiguous insight into the Ancient versus Modern debate, fought over so zealously in their two histories. Burney, despite his affectation of *élan vital*, even adopted Hawkins' directness when describing what he viewed as the boorish thinking of the antiquarian Hawkins. Also important when assessing the impact of their two histories are the many reviews, comments, and critiques made by contemporary commentators, as with Hawkins' detractors Twining and Bewley. I

[96] Maria Semi, 'Music and History', *Music as a Science of Mankind in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, translated by Timothy Keates (London: Routledge, 2021), 131-157, 157.

conclude that their excesses toward Hawkins offer a collective case that 'doth protest too much', and when considering their roles as mouthpieces for Burney, much of their vitriol can be seen antithetically as actually making the case in favour of musical antiquarianism.

8.11. REVIEW OF THE PUBLIC PERCEPTION OF HAWKINS' *HISTORY*

When reviewing how Hawkins' *History* was received in the aftermath of its publication, and its continuance into the nineteenth century, my analysis brought forth three phases to its public perception:

- INITIAL ACCLAIM: the period of favourable response immediately following its publication
- INCREASING RESISTANCE: the time during which negative reviews were generated
- ULTIMATE ACCEPTANCE: the return to public approval following the deaths of the two historians and others who held unyielding commitments to their respective positions

8.11.1. INITIAL ACCLAIM

As discussed earlier at 8.3., in the early days following the publication of Hawkins' *History* in August 1776, comments were favourable. In December 1776, there appeared in the *Critical Review* these remarks lauding the *History*:

> Amidst the detail of general observations which we meet with in this part of the work [the 'Preliminary Discourse'], the scientific knowledge, the large fund of information, and the philosophic discernment of the writer, all conspire to impress the mind with such ideas of the dignity of music as can only be excited by one who is intimately conversant with the beauties and principles of the art.[97]

Because of Horace Walpole's considerable musical contributions to Hawkins throughout the years that he was preparing his *History*, he too had a personal interest in its success. After its publication, he expressed his admiration for the

[97] *Critical Review* [author unknown] December 1776, 407; quoted in Davis, *Proof of Eminence*, 126-127.

finished product in a letter of 3 December 1776 to his friend Anne FitzPatrick, Countess of Upper Ossory:

> I have been three days at [his residence] Strawberry [Hill] and have not seen a creature but Sir John Hawkins's five volumes, the two last of which thumping as they are, I literally did read in two days. They are old books to all intents and purposes, very old books; and what is new, is like old books, too, that is, full of minute facts that delight antiquaries—nay, if there had never been such things as parts and taste, this work would please everybody. The first volume is extremely worth looking at, for the curious facsimiles of old music and old instruments, and so is the second. The third is very heavy; the two last will amuse you, I think, exceedingly, at least they do me.[98]

Favourable reviews proceeded into January 1777 in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the *Young Gentleman's Magazine*, and the *London Magazine*. The latter complimented Hawkins overall, but especially for his presentation on the theory as well as the practice of music. The *Critical Review* continued from its December 1776 review by asserting that 'Hawkins not only discovers great industry in his researches, but…he has likewise arranged his materials in distinct order, illustrating them, as he proceeds, with judicious observations'.[99] Editors of such stature as the *London Magazine*, the *Town and Country Magazine*, the *Westminster Magazine*, and the *Universal Magazine*, also continued with compliments of Hawkins, finding his *History* to be worthy as a source for extensive extracts:

> In October, 1777, the *Westminster Magazine* reprinted Hawkins' account of the contest between Cuzzoni and Faustina, and in November it reprinted anecdotes of Thomas Britton, Thomas D'Urfey, and Henry Carey. In its supplement for 1777 the *London Magazine* reprinted the account of Faustina, and shortly thereafter the *Annual Register* for 1777 reprinted the account of the introduction of music into the church. As late as October, 1778, the *Universal Magazine* was reprinting Hawkins' 'History and Character of Scots Music'.[100]

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[98] Horace Walpole, *Letters Addressed to the Countess of Ossory: From the Year 1769 to 1797*, vol. 1. (London: Bentley, 1848), 248.
[99] *Critical Review* [author unknown] January 1777, 44; quoted in Davis, 138.
[100] Davis, *Proof of Eminence*, 148.

Answering William Bewley's first critical article in the *Monthly Review*, the writer Dr William Kenrick countered in the April 1777 issue of the *London Review* by saying that

> We may safely presume, that few of those criticasters, who have attempted to turn our author into ridicule, for the preference he gives to the compositions and performances of former times before those of the present, are possessed of half that judgment which our author displays in his discourse on the subject. […] We do not pretend to say that our historian is not sufficiently diffuse, […] his work must on the whole, be pronounced an instructive, entertaining and valuable performance.[101]

The Critical Review continued with the effusive position it took in December 1776 by noting in its June 1777 issue that

> We have repeatedly had occasion to mention the various merits discovered by the author in the execution of the work. The applause so often bestowed on his uncommon industry, is likewise, in no small degree, due to the judgment with which his application has been extended; and though he may not have resisted every temptation to prolixity … yet even in those parts of the work, we are so agreeably entertained, that we feel ourselves much more inclined to approve, than censure the copiousness of the historian, who has presented such a variety of [interesting] information.…[102]

The *Gentleman's Magazine* also stayed the course with Hawkins, never hesitating to support him. In its June 1777 issue, it declared that Hawkins' presentation of Handel 'is drawn with that glow, that pathos, which distinguishes portraits *con amore*, and does equal honour both to the painter and his subject', concluding its review with:

> From the above epitome of this most curious *History* the reader will see what a variety of entertainment he may expect; and we cannot dismiss it without expressing our surprise that the author should be able to collect so many flowers and so much harmony among the thorns of law and the discord of Hicks'-Hall.[103]

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[101] Review by William Kenrick in *London Review* of April 1777, 279; quoted in Davis, *Proof of Eminence*, 141.
[102] *Critical Review* [author unknown] June 1777, 445; quoted in Davis, 141-142.
[103] *Gentleman's Magazine* [author unknown] of June 1777, 274-275; quoted in Davis, *Proof of Eminence*, 142; Hicks'-Hall was a courthouse in Clerkenwell, London.

Support for Hawkins also came from Dr Johnson, who recommended the *History* in a letter in Latin to his physician Dr Thomas Lawrence of 15 March 1782:

> Historiae Musices quod heri ad manum non fuit, nunc mitto; non es tut reddere festines, vix quicquam vidimus aut suavius aut uberius.[104]
>
> [I am sending you a music history that was not on hand yesterday. There is no hurry to give it back. We have hardly seen anything more delightful or profitable.]

Hawkins' *History* warranted three printings (1776,1853,1875), while Burney's *History* was not reprinted until 1935. In the prefatory remarks to Hawkins' 1853 edition, the publisher Alfred Novello summed up the restoration of Hawkins' reputation and the public sentiment towards the *History,* when he refers to it as 'the best history of the Art extant', adding:

> While few persons have been, both during life and after death, so rancorously attacked as Sir John Hawkins, none have come out of an ordeal so severe as that to which his reputation has been exposed, more thoroughly unscathed than he has done.[105]

I submit that if there had been a fair discussion of the views presented in the two histories, public perception may have judged them in a different light. During the INITIAL ACCLAIM phase, there was a semblance of even-handed treatment in the press of the two histories. This is not to say that there was a lack of critical thought applied to Hawkins' *History*, but that the overall treatment was at least balanced.

8.11.2. INCREASING RESISTANCE

The negative reviews of Bewley and Twining, instigated by Burney, fulfilled Bewley's stated purpose of denigrating the *History* and its author, as discussed at 8.6. They gave license to disparage Hawkins, even to the extent that it inspired the literati to

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[104] Robert Stevenson, 'Review: The Life and Activities of Sir John Hawkins: Musician, Magistrate and Friend of Johnson by Percy A. Scholes', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 7, no. 1, 1954, 82–84, 83. Translation mine.

[105] Hawkins, *History*; prefatory remarks to the 1853 and 1875 editions of the *History* by the publisher Alfred Novello entitled 'Life of Sir John Hawkins' (London: Novello,1853), iii, xii.

participate in derision. Davis commented that 'the only really obvious effect of Bewley's reviews is that they elevated the ridiculing of Hawkins to a respectable and even fashionable pastime', which succeeded in damaging his reputation as a scholar in the eyes of the public.[106] I argue that this contrivance had the effect of suppressing the public conversation about the fundamental argument between the two approaches to viewing music, thus delaying the development of a canon that included 'old' music. Both views were valid and deserved equal treatment to allow the public to form its own opinion without personal animosities overcoming rational thought.

8.11.3. ULTIMATE ACCEPTANCE

This phase of the public's redemption of Hawkins and his *History* (introduced at 8.7.) is consolidated in the collective paragraphs authored by the publisher Alfred Novello. In the prefatory biographical sections of his 'Life of Sir John Hawkins' in the 1853 and 1875 editions of the *History*, Novello provides a comprehensive analysis and justification for its ultimate positive reception:[107]

> By this summary of the circumstances which marked Sir John Hawkins' life, one of the great ends of Biography is achieved: serving to stimulate men by a worthy example; and showing that however contemporaneous meanness, envy, or detraction, may cause full justice to be delayed, it cannot prevent eventual honour from accruing to one who steadfastly maintains his virtuous integrity.
> […]
> The paltry malice, and base tricks, of such men as Boswell and Stevens, in their endeavour to degrade an honourable gentleman in the eyes of the world, -- to obtain an undervaluing and false opinion of him would not have been recorded here; were it not that there are times when such candour of revelation is absolutely needful.

Novello refers to Hawkins' detractors as 'insidious maligners' and continues with his justification as a publisher for reprinting the *History*:

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[106] Davis, *Proof of Eminence*, 148.
[107] Hawkins, *History*, xi-xii (Novello editions above).

> No occasion could be more fitting that this, when relating Sir John's biography, and re-printing his great work….Posterity awards honoring repute and distinction to Sir John Hawkins, as an excellent upright man, in his private character; and testifies value for his literary capacity, by giving the palm to his admirable History over the one which claims to be its rival, -- a fact proved from the present demand for this re-print of the work here offered to the Public.

8.12. SUMMARY

Considered in hindsight by a twenty-first-century researcher, the two histories can be examined with a contextual aftermath not discernable to the eye of an eighteenth-century reader. The very elements of Hawkins' *History* that were criticized at the time prove invaluable today. Hawkins' seemingly tedious overkill regarding details, so mocked by Bewley, provides information not available elsewhere in the historical records. Criticisms were leveled against Hawkins for his statements of the obvious, which were known to his contemporaries as common knowledge. In effect, Hawkins was writing for the future reader, historian and student. The fact that Hawkins lived through much of the dynamic musical period of eighteenth-century England provides us with a vantage point not possible from Burney alone. Much of Hawkins' work is truly primary source material when evaluating English musical antiquarianism. This is not so with Burney: for example, my research covering Thomas Britton and the involvement of The Academy of Ancient Music in the thorny Bononcini-Lotti controversy would have been meagre without Hawkins' having provided either first-hand knowledge or by actually knowing notable contemporaries, for many of his accounts were told to him by the persons involved.

Hawkins did not intend to be purposely tiresome. His training as a lawyer and magistrate compelled him to have a fixation for details. Rather, his objective was to inform his readers, not entertain them. However, Burney sought to entertain and succeeded in doing so. As put by the author 'H.B.' in the *Musical Times* of 1902, 'It

might almost be said that Hawkins, reversing an all too familiar process [to entertain the audience], set out to be dull, and ended by being interesting'.[108] Bertram Davis suggests in the subtitle of his Hawkins biography, *A Proof of Eminence*, that Hawkins may have found 'consolation from the tenth *Rambler* of his friend Dr Samuel Johnson: "It is no less a proof of eminence to have many enemies than many friends"'.[109]

While on their long journey to the Hebrides, Boswell asked Johnson his opinion about the feasibility of the two histories being proposed for publication only months apart: 'Is this not unlucky: would not they hurt one another?'. Johnson replied, 'No, sir. They will do good to one another. Some will buy the one, some the other, and compare them; and so a talk is made about a thing, and the books are sold'.[110] Johnson's reply was correct but not timely. True, Hawkins was driven out of the market by Burney's tactics, but eventually, Johnson proved to be correct over time. New editions of Hawkins' *History* were published, and the public had time to examine and argue the merits of both histories, resulting in a renewed appreciation of Hawkins.[111]

As with Burney's acquired appreciation of Josquin, Hawkins conceded that some modernities were acceptable. Hawkins came to accept the superiority of modern instruments over their older counterparts, especially the flutes and reed instruments.[112] Hawkins was also seen to have had his limits on the teachings of Pepusch when he described Pepusch's 'set of rules, which no one was hardy

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[108] 'H.B. [author unknown], 'Hawkins as a Gossip', *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* (1902): 234-236, 236; I was unable to determine the identity of 'H.B.'
[109] Samuel Johnson, *The Works of Samuel Johnson*. vol. 1, 1825, 57; this quotation appeared in *The Rambler* of 17 April 1750; quoted in Davis, *Proof of Eminence*, front flyleaf.
[110] James Boswell, *Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, Ian McGowan, ed. (Edinburgh: Cannongate Classics, 1996), 206.
[111] Lipking, *Ordering of the Arts*, 230.
[112] Semi, 'Music and History', 148.

enough to transgress' and which produced 'a disgusting uniformity of style'. Hawkins pronounced that 'all improvement in the science of composition was at a stand'.[113]

In the conclusion of his *History*, Hawkins turned philosophical and offered a sociological explanation of the public's current taste in music. He blamed the improving economic status and security for leading the populace in its search for the pleasures of life: 'as riches abound, not to be susceptible of fashionable pleasures is to be the subject of reproach'.[114] Hawkins reasoned that when the ill-informed dilettanti seek pleasure in music, they turn to musical experts to do their critical thinking for them, thus relegating taste to the judgment of others. He faults the rapid tempi of the emerging modern symphonies as resulting in the public's focus on the virtuosity of performers, not on the merits of the composition itself.

Hawkins concludes his *History* with hope for the future:

> But not withstanding these evils, as it does not appear that the science itself has sustained any loss; on the contrary, it is certain that the art of combining musical sounds is in general better understood at this time than ever.[115]

[113] Hawkins, *History*, 902.
[114] Hawkins, 919.
[115] Hawkins.

CONCLUSION

9.1. ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO MUSICOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE

This study of English musical antiquarianism in the Long Eighteenth Century has resulted in original contributions to the body of musicological knowledge. They reside in the expanded answers to the five research questions presented in the Introduction posed as a Central Premise (0.2.1.) and four Secondary Premises (0.2.2.). As I began tracing the historical data using the Methodology outlined at 0.3., my topic began to emerge like light refracting through a prism into its component colours, animating the eight chapters of the thesis into an amalgam of English musical antiquarianism during the Long Eighteenth Century. I looked beyond the received versions of historical 'facts' and applied a dispassionate, comprehensive analysis to certain events and personalities that have been under-investigated or inaccurately interpreted. In so doing, I am herewith contributing plausible answers to several vexing, unanswered conundrums central to English musical antiquarianism of the period. The answers to these are subsumed below under the validations of my five premises, with further explanations cross-referenced to the thesis text:

- What was the importance to English musical antiquarianism of the Bononcini-Lotti scandal (3.2.)?
- What would have been the canon of 'best masters' had the musical antiquarians at the Academy of Ancient Music completed their intended list (3.7.2.)?
- Was musical antiquarian Thomas Britton merely a simple, Clerkenwell small-coal vendor (4.3.1.)?
- What conclusion can be inferred of the importance to musical antiquarianism from the attendance of the Duchess of Queensberry at the Britton public concerts (6.6.)?

9.2. RETROSPECT

By utilizing the methodology for historical assessment described above, I have demonstrated that the quickening religio-political and sociological dynamics at play in England during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries created a pressing realisation of the need to preserve the music of the past. Musical antiquarians worked side-by-side with their counterpart academic antiquarians to arrest the loss of these irreplaceable musical relics.

As presented in Part One: Chapters One through Three, English musical antiquarianism saw its early traces of inception around 1660, concomitant with the rise of the Stuart Restoration. It subsequently progressed through what I have designated as its Nascence stage, with the eras of the great collectors-bibliophiles and the establishment of the major antiquarian repositories, then to arrive at its Development stage contemporaneously with the landmark founding of the Academy of Vocal (later Ancient) Music in 1726.

Part Two: Chapters Four through Seven address the importance of the religious, political and sociological factors that came to bear on musical antiquarians and their scholarship during the Development stage. My investigation of the tumultuous, shifting sands of the cultural milieu confronting the late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century musical antiquarians led to my conclusion that musical antiquarianism was reflective of broader historicising motivations. When viewed from the perspective of historiographical hindsight, I was able to observe that the momentum of increasing seventeenth-century English idealism had the effect of sweeping along with it the musical antiquarians bound in a trajectory towards what has now come to be characterized as the English Enlightenment. This movement influenced markedly the progressive systems of thought and culture in England in

the eighteenth century and beyond and served as a springboard of understanding for me during this study.

Part Three: Chapter Eight was devoted to the musical antiquarian Sir John Hawkins and music historian Dr Charles Burney and their place in the Attainment stage. Their histories codified the importance of the interchange between antiquarianism and modernism that led to the acceptance of 'old' music alongside 'new' music.

9.3. VALIDATION OF PREMISES

Following are the validations of my Central and Secondary Premises, presented at 0.2. and repeated here for reference:

9.3.1. CENTRAL PREMISE:

That English musical antiquarianism had its initial wellspring in 1660 at the Restoration of the Monarchy and the founding of The Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge—180 years earlier than its first recognition by name in 1840 at the creation in London of the Musical Antiquarian Society.

Predicating the time from which the metamorphosis of English musical antiquarianism began could seem arbitrary. After extensive immersion in the historical records, however, I concluded that its nascent date of inception was 1660, which I outlined in the topic Timeline and Periodisation (2.2.4.) and Thesis Timeline (Figure 0.1.)

I demonstrated in *Part One: English Antiquarianism as Prelude to Music Antiquarianism* that at the close of the Interregnum and the Restoration of the Monarchy in 1660 with the accession of Charles II, an era of ebullience dawned in England that fostered new, invigorating commitments to scientific and social change, and that these changes imbued the wellspring of English musical antiquarianism. They also led to the founding of numerous associations that reflected this renewed confidence. One of these, also

founded in 1660, was the Royal Society for London for Improving Natural Knowledge. Its members explored a panorama of compelling topics, one being the revisiting of the mathematics of the ancient Greek and mediaeval classicists as applied to music theory and harmonics. This tempest of new thought ignited the musical antiquarian spirit of interest in the music of the past.

Further validating my Central Premise was the documentation in *Part Two: Religio-Political and Sociological Undercurrents* of the affairs and intrigues that swirled around the English precursive musical antiquarians of the seventeenth century. They were pursuing the path to full-fledged musical antiquarianism, as represented in the eighteenth century by Johann Christoph Pepusch and the Academy of Ancient Music, and then proceeding onward to the establishment of the Musical Antiquarian Society in London in 1840.

9.3.2. SECONDARY PREMISES

SECONDARY PREMISE NO. 1: That the components of English musical antiquarianism have hitherto not been adequately defined.

DEFINITIONS

Because of the transformation of the seventeenth-century English language into that of the present, it became necessary to develop a working lexicon for distinguishing variants in historical nomenclature, especially those specific to musical antiquarianism. As my research progressed, it was also essential to define terms to explain those seventeenth- and eighteenth-century musical concepts and abstractions as they are used in this thesis. These are listed at topic 0.2.6. Definitions:

- Musical antiquarian
- Precursive musical antiquarian
- Musical antiquary
- Music historian
- Canon

I devised a chart to illustrate the numerous categories and personalities presented in Figure 0.6.: Components of English Musical Antiquarianism. These components are aggregated topically, not chronologically, and illustrate the interconnected complexity of the elements of English musical antiquarianism during its stages of Nascence / Development / Attainment.

SECONDARY PREMISE NO. 2: That many of the supporters of English musical antiquarianism have not been recognised as such but, rather, have been regarded as personalities aligned with disciplines often not directly associated with music.

DUCHESS OF QUEENSBERRY

Hawkins' account of the attendance of the Duchess of Queensberry at the Britton concerts, given as proof of the acceptance of 'old' music by the aristocratic class, attracted my attention early in my research for her potential for ancillary relevance to musical antiquarianism (6.6.). However, her birth in 1701 and Britton's death in 1714 did not provide confidence that a young girl would have attended the Britton concerts. Yet, further exploration of the association of the Duchess with her childhood friend Mary Granville (later Delany) and the friendship of the Granville family with Handel, led me to conclude that, her young age aside, she did indeed attend the Britton concerts accompanied by Mary, the Granville family, and Handel, thereby reinforcing Hawkins' assertion of the acceptance of 'old' music by the aristocratic class.

THE NONJURORS

Through a study of the religious undercurrent of nonjurors, I identified Arthur Bedford as one of the first waves of nonjurors who functioned as precursive

musical antiquarians and whose writings exerted an antimodern influence on church music (4.1.2.). Of later note was the second-wave nonjuring librettist Charles Jennens and his influence on Handel's libretti (4.2.2.). Nonjurors served to illustrate the dichotomy between moral conscience and political expediency. However, those who decided to honor their previous oaths to James II were not necessarily Jacobites. By contrast, many were Protestants who would not yield to the usurpation of those they believed to be a rightful Catholic monarch in favour of a Protestant one. With a mentality consistent with the penchant of musical antiquarians for determining correct authorship, this incongruity resulted in nonjuring academicians studying ancient ecclesiastical and legal documents to determine which entity had historical governmental priority—the monarchy or the people represented by Parliament.

THE ESOTERICS

As a component of Rosicrucianism and Freemasonry, alchemy was shown to have had a pervasive sway on the musical antiquarians individually and English society at large, as a contributor to the acceptance of Enlightenment principles and scientific discoveries in the mature eighteenth century. Two examples of this were discussed in Chapter Five: Newton's association of light with music, advanced in his *Opticks* (5.7.), and the influence of alchemical thought in Bach's *Die Kunst der Fuge*, described by Walter and Brokemeyer (5.8.).

After its founding in 1660, The Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge promoted musical antiquarianism by welcoming its members' study of music as a science, especially music theory and acoustics.

During the ensuing years, the continued interest by Society members in Pythagorean principles, in the works of Kircher, Birchensha, Pepusch, and in the other music theorists exploring the tracts of the ancients, demonstrates the importance accorded musical antiquarianism by the foremost English thinkers of the time.

THOMAS BRITTON

The contributions to this thesis of musical antiquarian Thomas Britton extend through several chapters and are broad and provocative, as seen by the anomalous facts and anecdotes about him that have been entered into history by such as John Hawkins and Thomas Hearne. My investigations caused me to conclude that Britton was far from being a simple man, as many of his contemporaries claimed. Instead, his far-ranging activities, illustrated in Figure 6.4., and the scope of his collecting endeavours, seen in his auction sale catalogue of 1694 and his posthumous auction sale catalogue of 1714 reproduced in Appendix Five, reveal a man with profound curiosity in the occult, philosophical, physical, and musical realms.

THE WIVES AND DAUGHTERS

My research into the backgrounds of Pepusch, Hawkins, Burney and their families raised the question of why the importance of the women in their lives had hitherto not been adequately examined. My appreciation of the influence of these women was advanced after constructing a column-by-column comparison chart of the wives and daughters, in which I could see their striking similarities and extrapolate globally how the societal circumstances of women at the time dictated their roles in the family unit. While this investigative technique was straightforward and did not warrant inclusion in

the thesis, it nonetheless afforded clarity by observing in a columnar format the degree to which their wives' fortunes enhanced the musical and literary output of these three men.

Additionally, in the case of Hawkins and Burney, it was instructive to note how their scholastic production was augmented by their daughters, Laetitia Hawkins and Fanny Burney. In this regard, the daughters functioned as collateral musical antiquarians. Through their now-published journals, the daughters also provided personal historical accounts of their families, their interactions with notable family friends, and the ebb-and-flow incidents that affected their fathers. Because of the importance of these findings as a social undercurrent in the progress of English musical antiquarianism and historiography, they warranted separate treatment in Chapter Seven.

SECONDARY PREMISE NO. 3: That English musical antiquarianism progressed through three stages—Nascence / Development / Attainment—which can be observed through a presentation of the direct evidence obtained from the historical records and by examining the religion-political and sociological undercurrents that applied more abstractly towards its development.

HENRY ALDRICH

While the transitions between the three stages of musical antiquarianism have overlapping attributes, numerous landmark dates nonetheless signal a positive arrival at each stage. Some of these are shown in the Thesis Timeline (Figure 0.1).

One personality for whom I have assigned an important presence as a precursive musical antiquarian during the Nascence stage is Henry Aldrich. As Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, classical scholar, composer, architect, and ambitious collector of books and music, his 'old' music meetings in his residence quarters beginning in the 1680s, marked the beginnings of formal

attempts in England to preserve ‘old’ music. An early promoter of the performance of music of previous centuries, particularly that of Palestrina and Carissimi, he adapted the words of Roman church music to English Protestant settings. Although I could find no direct evidence of such, Pepusch likely attended Aldrich’s music meetings, as John Perceval would during his Oxford student days.

THE BONONCINI-LOTTI SCANDAL

The importance of this scandal during the Development stage is in increasing the focus of musical antiquarians on one of their key objectives of warranting correct attributions. The swarm of political and social undercurrents that were manifesting disparate reports and conflicting facts on the scandal, when juxtaposed against the personal animosities and vendettas against Bononcini, did not fare well in building a case for his conviction. Applying my methodology, 0.3.1. Decision Path for Assessing Evidence, led me to conclude that he was *not* guilty of plagiarism. While his arrogance did not help his cause, he was ultimately caught in a quagmire of his own making. Had Bononcini been of a more conciliatory nature, the affair would likely not have become an imbroglio, but would have been solved internally within the Academy without public exposure. My conclusion was driven by the lack of corroborating evidence to/from Bononcini and to/from the court of Leopold I of Vienna. Perhaps future investigations will uncover this evidence, but for now none exists sufficient to convict Bononcini.

HAWKINS AND BURNEY

Through his dogged insistence on preserving the music of the past, the musical antiquarian-historian Sir John Hawkins and his *A General History of*

the Science and Practice of Music must be appreciated as a monumental chronicler of musical antiquarianism during the Attainment stage. To a large extent, however, the foundations of eighteenth-century English history must be credited equally to the histories of Hawkins and Burney for providing a thesis-antithesis-synthesis platform for the inclusion of both 'ancient' and 'modern' music in repertoire.

SECONDARY PREMISE NO. 4: That an unrecognized importance of the English musical antiquarians, working through the Academy of Ancient Music, was that their cumulative efforts, over time, led ultimately to the acceptance of 'old' music alongside 'new' music, while secondarily providing through its surviving concert programmes, the means for determining England's first canonical 'list of best masters'.

THE ACADEMY OF ANCIENT MUSIC

With the founding of the Academy of Ancient Music, the corner was turned toward institutionalising the preservation of 'old' music. Its members succeeded in their primary objective of studying and performing music of the sixteenth and seventh centuries, but I could find no evidence that they realized their secondary goal of producing what they referred to as a list of 'best masters' of 'old' music. However, this thesis constructs such a list, derived from the surviving Academy programmes based on those in particular between its founding in 1726 to the death of Johann Pepusch in 1752. Judging by the quality of its programming, I found that during this twenty-six-year period, the Academy was most faithful to its founding principles.

I designated this span as Period One of three (1726-1752), shown in Appendix Two. During Periods Two (1753-1776) and Three (1777-1802), a discernable shift began in 1753 under the new directorship of Benjamin Cooke towards programming composers whose works were more

contemporary, popular and, by contrast, more ephemeral, especially in Period Three.

My findings show that Handel dominated Academy programming during all three periods and that, at first encounter, this could be interpreted as incongruent with the Academy's principles, given Handel's London popularity. Upon reflection, however, the Academy would have been remiss to ignore Handel, essentially excluding him from its venue. The vast number of Handel compositions does, however, skew his statistical counts significantly when shown in a visual format, so I have included a comparative distributive pie chart in Appendix Two that includes the Handel counts to illustrate the contrast.

9.4. *Finis*

This thesis is a study of English musical antiquarianism as it evolved in scope and influence from the mid-seventeenth century to the end of the eighteenth century. It is an investigation of the quest by English musicians and academicians to save 'old' music for posterity, and includes my examination from an expanded perspective of the appropriate personalities and events identifiable in the historical records. In the course of my research, I widened the extent of my investigation to embrace the periphery of those religio-political and sociological undercurrents that underpinned English musical antiquarianism and that served to acknowledge this integral and pivotal phenomenon in English music history.

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MS Ashm. 1440, fols. 215-25. The Diary of Elias Ashmole

The diary of Elias Ashmole, in his hand; includes the alchemical tract that Britton sent to him.

MS Rawl. J 4o 6, fol. 319 and fol. 320

This is a large, bound book of letters, journal entries, original newspaper articles, in all different hands, entitled *Biographical Notices of Oxford Writers*, 1746, collected by Richard Rawlinson. The entry for Pepusch is at folios 319 and 320. It is a letter from Pepusch, apparently to Rawlinson, in which he gives a brief biography of himself, and in the last paragraph, speaks of being published 'without my leave'. Because the volume is in all different hands, it may be assumed that Rawlinson put out a call for people to submit short biographies of themselves. The paper is of all different sizes, as one would find in a collection of unrelated letters.

MS Tenbury 1131

This large bound book, *Italian Songs and Cantatas*, shows the compiler as 'Thomas Bever, LLD'. It is a compilation of music by different composers, including Pepusch, Vivaldi, and largely Handel. Many are in the hand of the same copyist, while others are in the hand of different copyists.

MSS Mus. Sch.e.420-22

Wanley Partbooks

British Library, London (Lbl)

Add. MS 11732

Founding documents of the Academy of Vocal (later Ancient) Music.

Add. MS 22626.

Letters from John Gay and the Duchess of Queensberry.

Add. MS 29429

'*Various Papers Written And in the Autograph of Dr Christopher Pepusch Relating to Harmony And the Scales & Modes of The Ancients*'

A treatise on modes, scales, hexachords, tetrachords, with numerous tables of intervals.

Add. MS 29579, fol. 469r,

Letter to Lord Viscount Hatton from his granddaughter regarding 'Mrs Marguerita'.

Add. MS 39929, fols. 121-4

Letter from Twining to Burney, 24 January 1773.

Add. MS 4918

Traité de la Musique Moderne, Avec Quelques Remarques sur la Musique Ancienne par 'A.D.V.', donated to British Museum by Sir John Hawkins, acquired from Pepusch library.

Add. MS 63650 S, fols.111-123

Letter from Sarah Churchill, Duchess of Marlborough to Barbara Talbot, the Lady Viscountess of Longueville.

Harley MS 2961

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Harley MS 4966, fol. 47.

Letters to Bagford, mostly from Humfrey Wanley.

Harley MS 5910, iii, 120.

Bagford's account of his collecting.

Harley MS 5998, fols. 6, 9, ll, 16, 79.

Account book of Bagford of antiquities he supplied to Sir Hans Sloane.

Landsdowne 771 - 772

A diary, or catalogue on the collecting of manuscripts by Robert Harley which formed the British Library Harley Collection; includes a detailed account of the acquisition of every work in the collection.

LR39, Hawkins, John, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 1776.

Hawkins' personal copy of his five-volume *History*. Contains numerous handwritten marginalia. The writing is tiny, even minuscule, and I suspect that his daughter, Laetitia, was the copyist. I further suspect that these were notes Hawkins prepared to be included in a subsequent edition that never materialized in his lifetime.

Sloane 3971C, vol. iii, fol. 125

Caxton's second edition of the *Canterbury Tales*, provided by Bagford to Sloane.

Sloane, 4039, fol. 330

Letter from Bagford to Sloane.

Islington Local History Centre, Islington Public Library, Finsbury Branch, Clerkenwell, London

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1661, fol. 44; 1679, fol. 12; 1680, fol. undecipherable; 1681, fol. undecipherable. These are St. James Parish records and have not been catalogued other than by year.

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MS 169

A copy book – Rules for learning music, 1773

Royal College of Music, London (Lcm)

MS 823, Dr Cooke's Collections, XVI

Book of exercises by Benjamin Cooke during the time of his studies with Pepusch. There are a number of references of 'these made by the Doctor'. On page 174, there is a note by Cooke 'made by Doctor Pepusch'. Volume One is a collection of songs, glees; one is called 'By Mason's Art', 1786, which is a glee for three voices.

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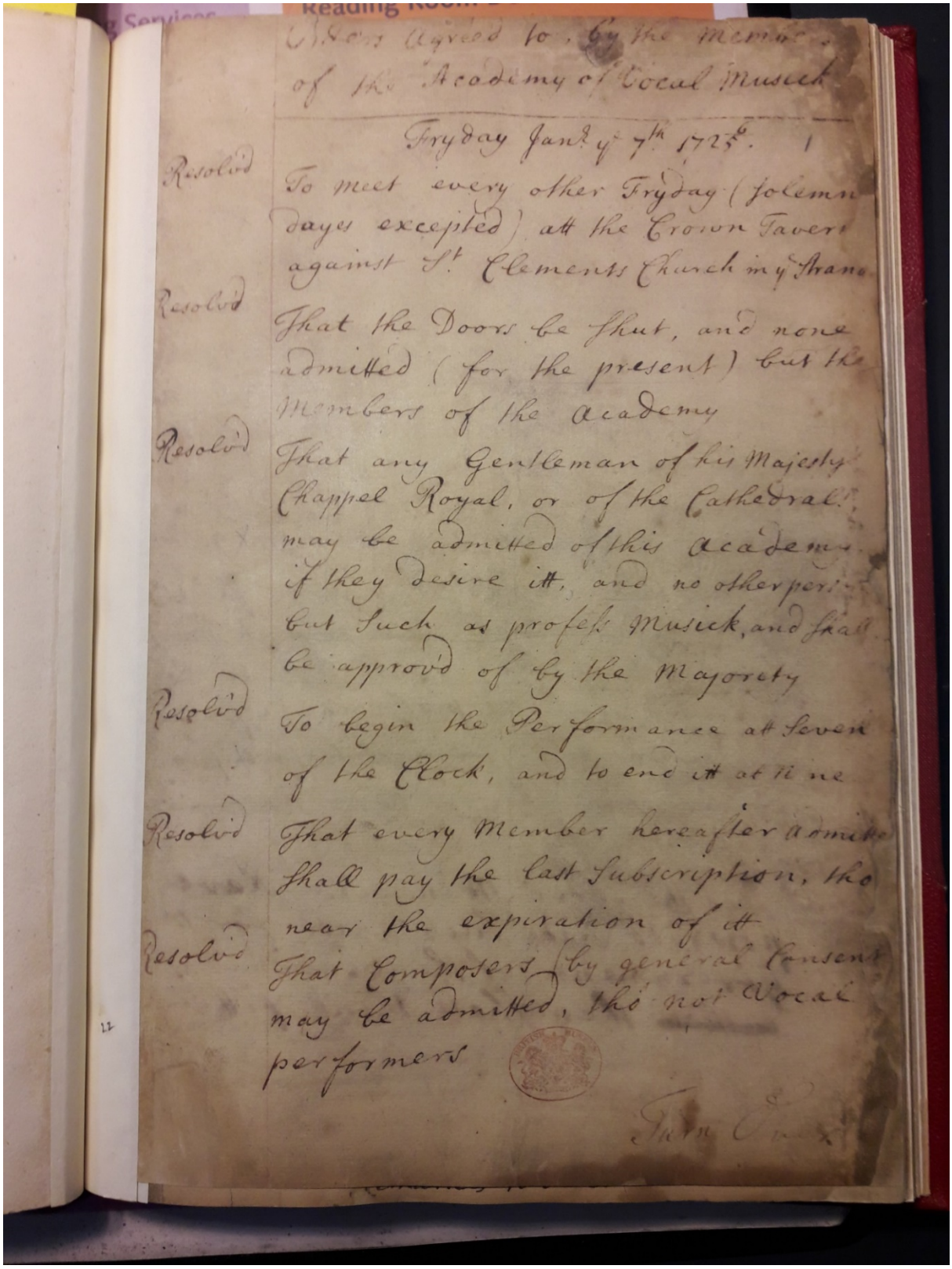
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APPENDIX ONE

Minutes of the Academy of Vocal Music
7 January 1725/6
Lbl Add. MS 11732, fols. 1-17
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Orders agreed to, by the Members of the Academy of Vocal Musick

Fryday Janr y 7th 172⅝.

Resolvd To meet every other Fryday (Solemn dayes excepted) att the Crown Tavern against St Clements Church in y Strand

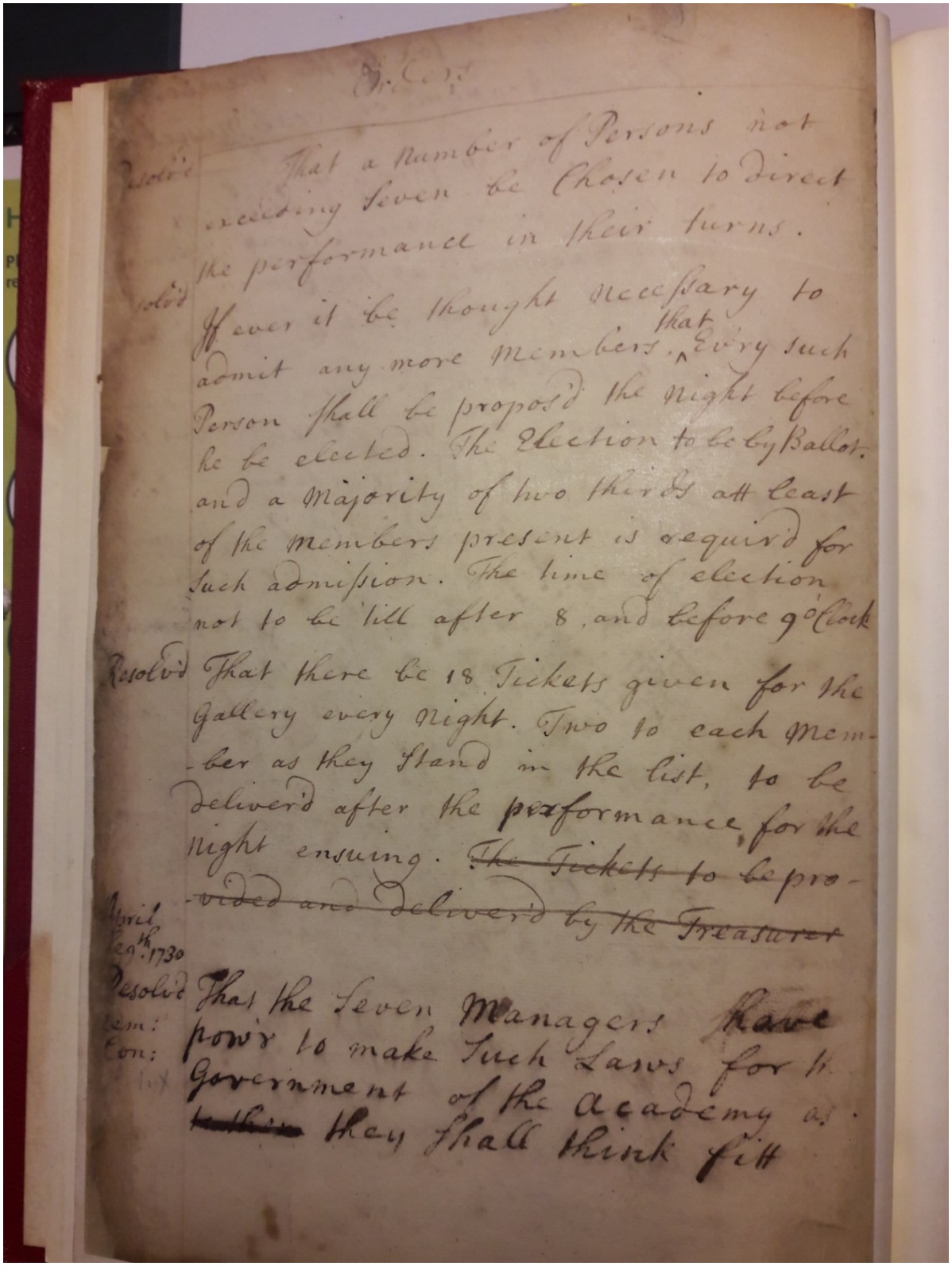
Resolvd That the Doors be shut, and none admitted (for the present) but the Members of the Academy

Resolvd That any Gentleman of his Majesty Chappel Royal, or of the Cathedrall, may be admitted of this Academy, if they desire itt, and no other person but such as profess Musick, and shall be approvd of by the Majority

Resolvd To begin the Performance at Seven of the Clock, and to end it at Nine

Resolvd That every Member hereafter admitted shall pay the last Subscription, tho near the expiration of it

Resolvd That Composers (by general Consent) may be admitted, tho not Vocal performers



Dr. Cox

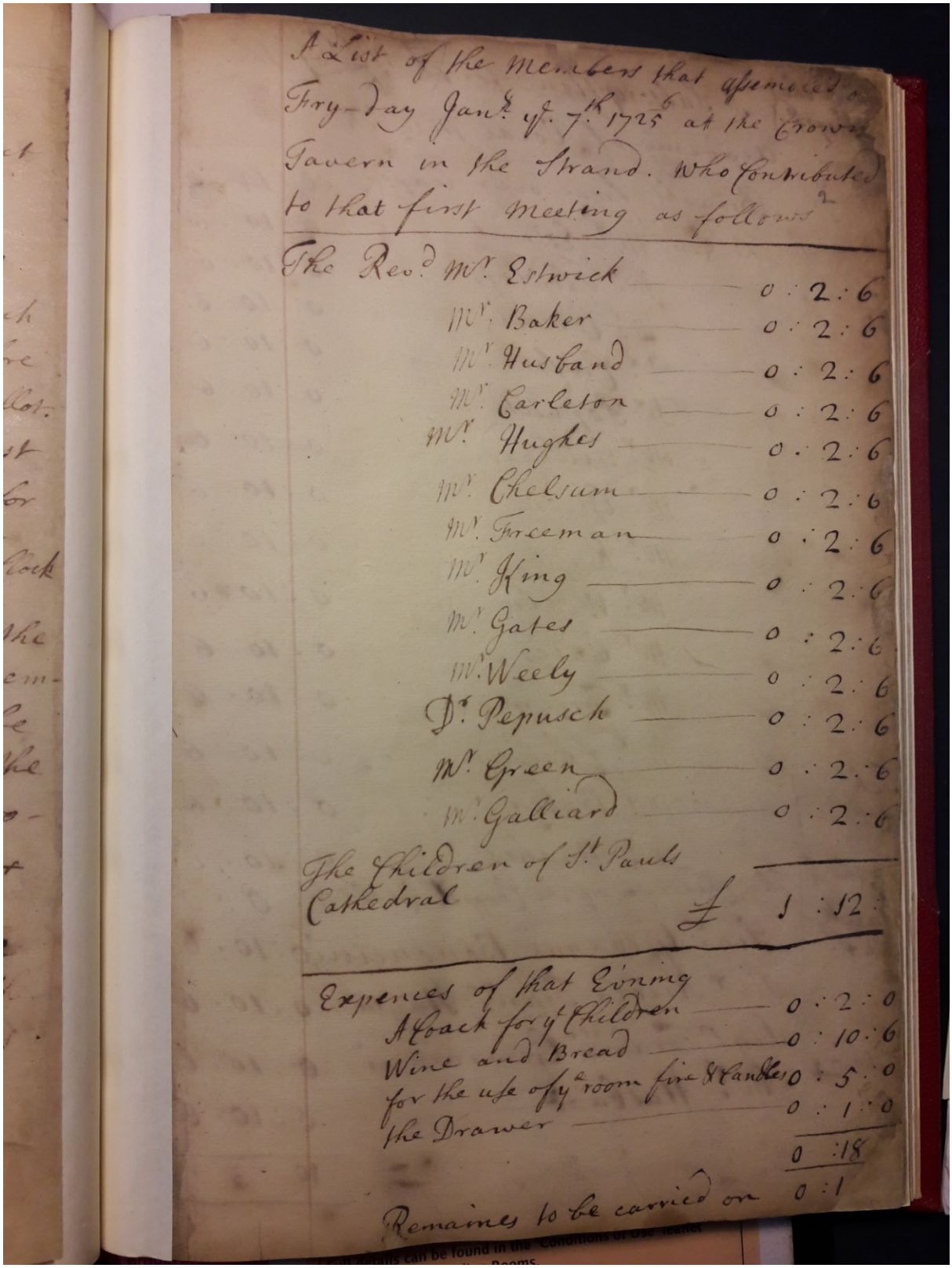
Resolvd That a Number of Persons not exceeding Seven be Chosen to direct the performance in their turns.

Resolvd If ever it be thought necessary to admit any more Members, that Every such Person shall be proposd the Night before he be elected. The Election to be by Ballot. and a Majority of two thirds att least of the Members present is requird for such admission. The time of election not to be till after 8, and before 9 o'Clock

Resolvd That there be 18 Tickets given for the Gallery every Night. Two to each Member as they Stand in the list, to be deliverd after the performance for the Night ensuing. ~~The Tickets to be provided and deliverd by the Treasurer~~

April 14th 1730

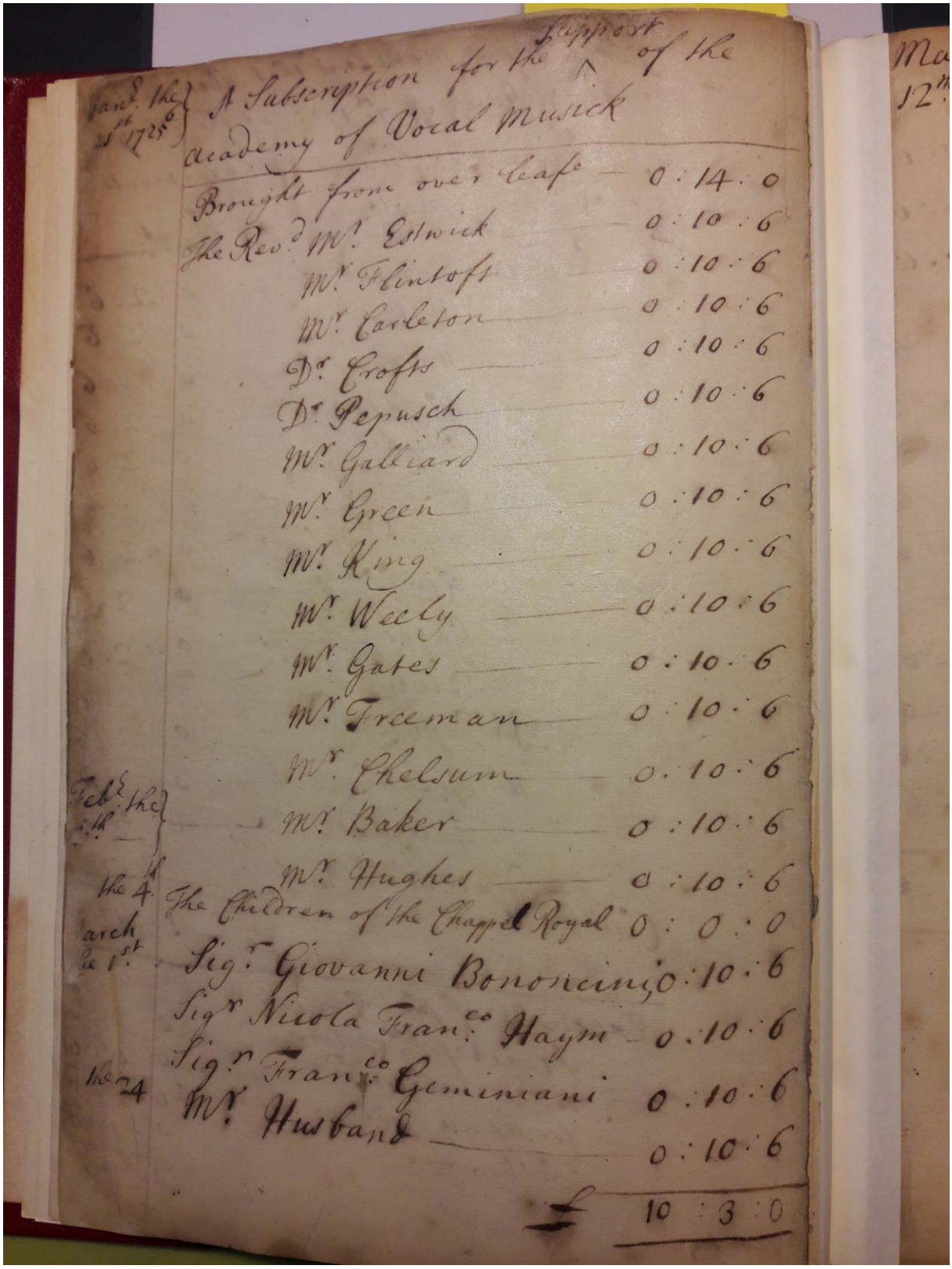
Resolvd That the Seven Managers have power to make Such Laws for the Government of the Academy as ~~this~~ they Shall think fitt



A List of the Members that assembled on Fry-day Jan.y y.e 7.th 1725 at the Crown Tavern in the Strand. Who Contributed to that first Meeting as follows

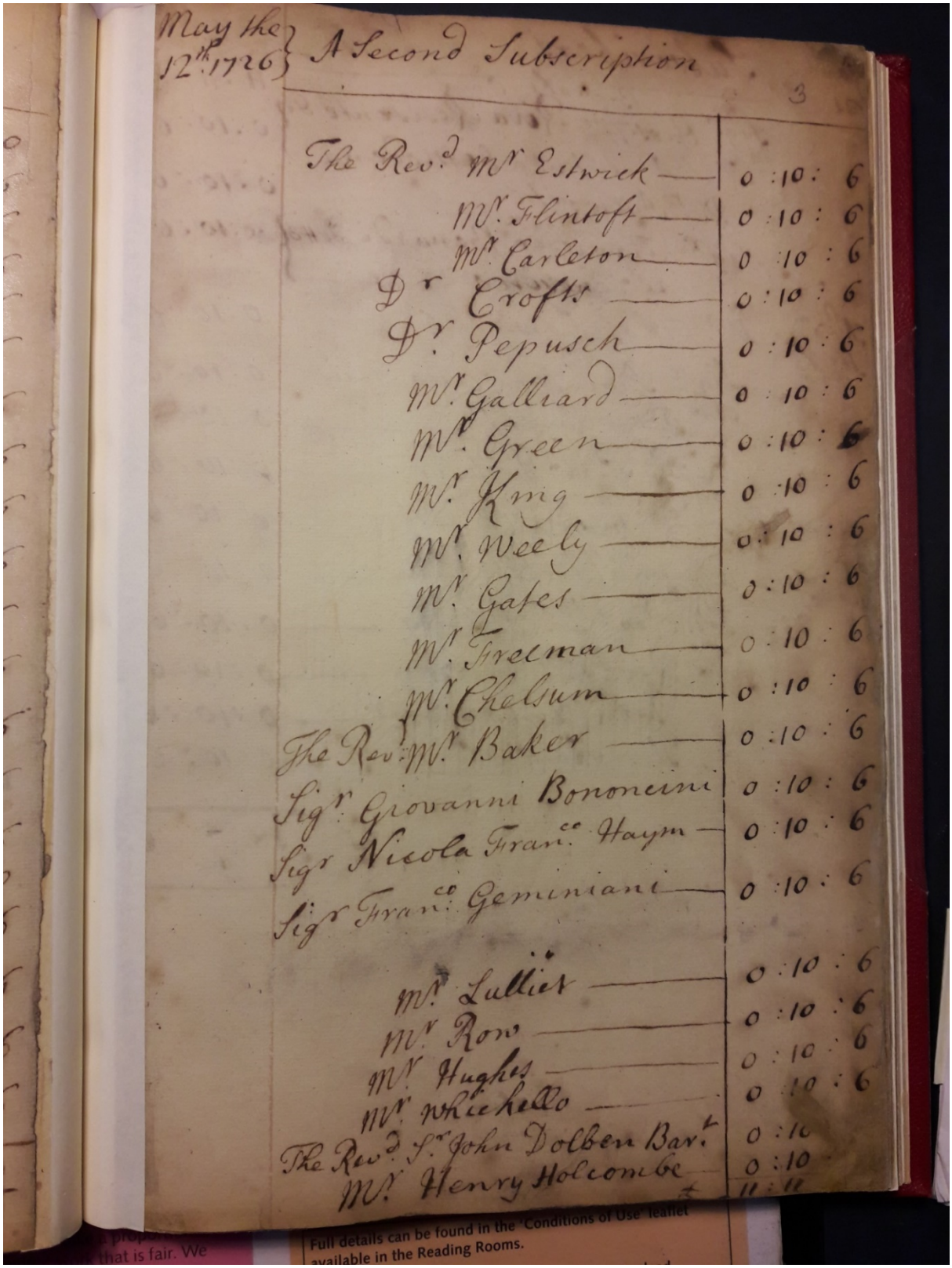
The Rev.d Mr. Estwick	0	2 6
Mr. Baker	0	2 6
Mr. Husband	0	2 6
Mr. Carleton	0	2 6
Mr. Hughes	0	2 6
Mr. Chelsum	0	2 6
Mr. Freeman	0	2 6
Mr. King	0	2 6
Mr. Gates	0	2 6
Mr. Weely	0	2 6
Dr. Pepusch	0	2 6
Mr. Green	0	2 6
Mr. Galliard	0	2 6
The Children of St. Pauls Cathedral	£ 1	12

Expences of that Evning		
A Coach for y.e Children	0	2 0
Wine and Bread	0	10 6
for the use of y.e room fire & Candles	0	5 0
the Drawer	0	1 0
	0	18
Remaines to be carried on	0	1



Jan.y the 25th 1725 } A Subscription for the Support of the Academy of Vocal Musick

Brought from over leaf		0 : 14 : 0
The Revd Mr. Estwick		0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Flintoft		0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Carleton		0 : 10 : 6
Dr. Crofts		0 : 10 : 6
Dr. Pepusch		0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Galliard		0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Green		0 : 10 : 6
Mr. King		0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Weely		0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Gates		0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Freeman		0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Chelsum		0 : 10 : 6
Feb.y the 5th Mr. Baker		0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Hughes		0 : 10 : 6
the 4th March 1st The Children of the Chappel Royal		0 : 0 : 0
Sig.r Giovanni Bononcini,		0 : 10 : 6
Sig.r Nicola Franco. Haym		0 : 10 : 6
the 24 Sig.r Franco. Geminiani		0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Husband		0 : 10 : 6
£		10 : 3 : 0

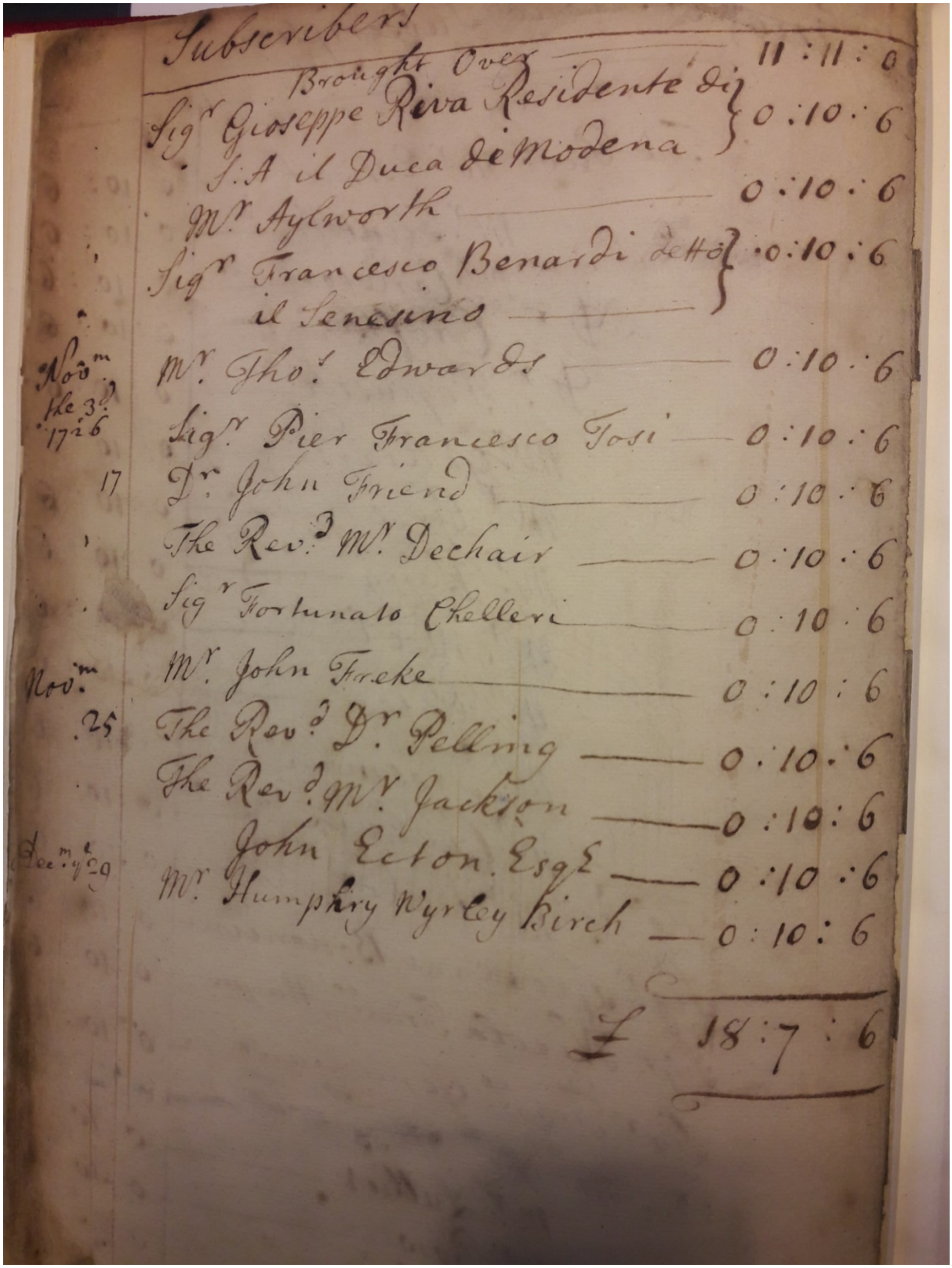


May the 12th 1726 } A Second Subscription

3

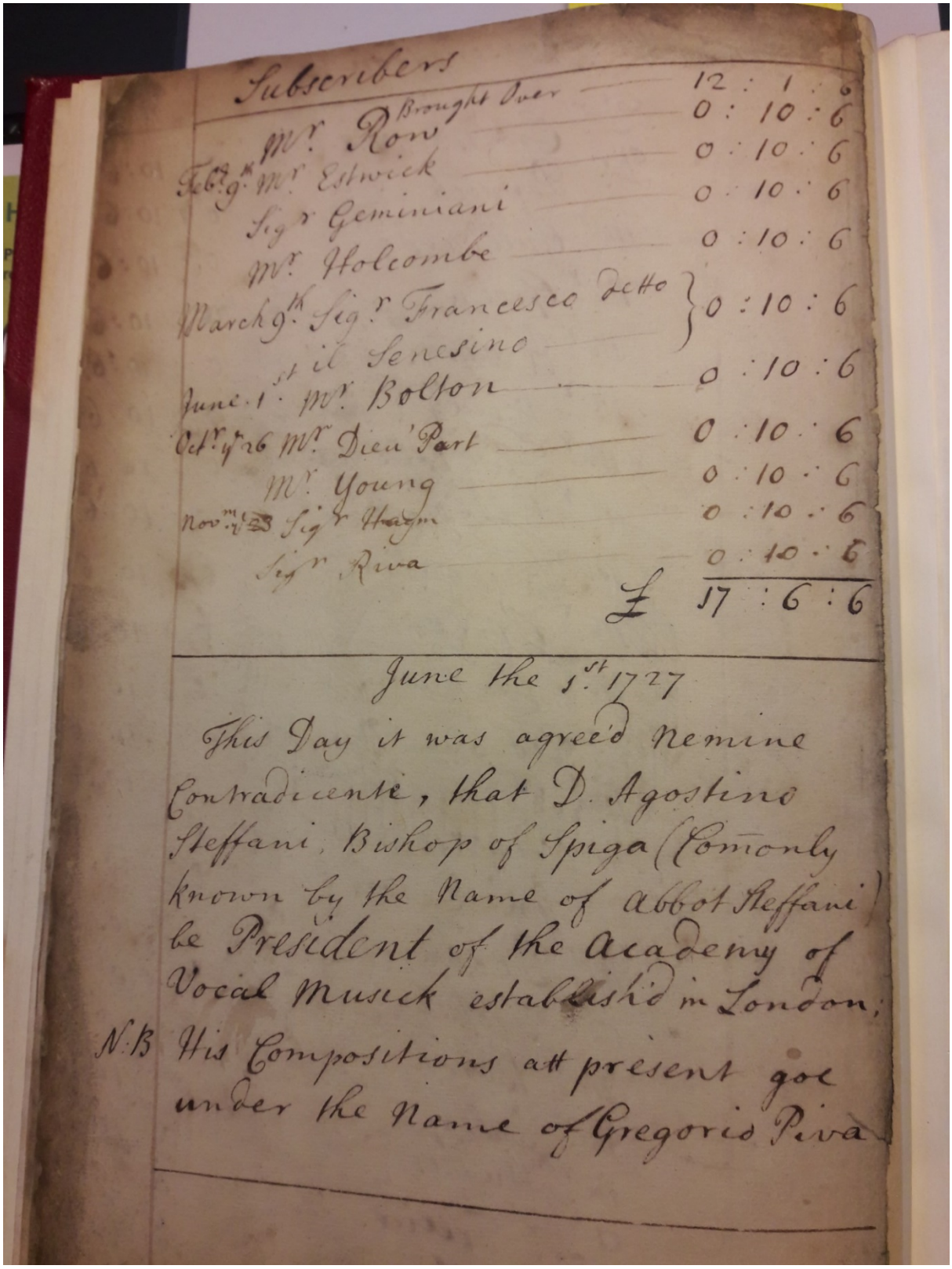
The Revd Mr Estwick	0 : 10 : 6
Mr Flintoft	0 : 10 : 6
Mr Carleton	0 : 10 : 6
Dr Crofts	0 : 10 : 6
Dr Pepusch	0 : 10 : 6
Mr Galliard	0 : 10 : 6
Mr Green	0 : 10 : 6
Mr King	0 : 10 : 6
Mr Weely	0 : 10 : 6
Mr Gates	0 : 10 : 6
Mr Freeman	0 : 10 : 6
Mr Chelsum	0 : 10 : 6
The Revd Mr Baker	0 : 10 : 6
Sigr Giovanni Bononcini	0 : 10 : 6
Sigr Nicola Francco Haym	0 : 10 : 6
Sigr Francco Geminiani	0 : 10 : 6
Mr Lullier	0 : 10 : 6
Mr Row	0 : 10 : 6
Mr Hughes	0 : 10 : 6
Mr Wickello	0 : 10 : 6
The Revd Sr John Dolben Bart	0 : 10
Mr Henry Holcombe	0 : 10
	11 : 11

Full details can be found in the 'Conditions of Use' leaflet available in the Reading Rooms.



Subscribers

	Brought Over	11 : 11 : 0
	Sig^{r} Gioseppe Riva Residente di S:A il Duca di Modena	0 : 10 : 6
	M^{r} Aylworth	0 : 10 : 6
	Sig^{r} Francesco Benardi detto il Senesino	0 : 10 : 6
Nov^{m} the 3^{d} 1726	M^{r} Tho^{s} Edwards	0 : 10 : 6
	Sig^{r} Pier Francesco Tosi	0 : 10 : 6
17	D^{r} John Friend	0 : 10 : 6
	The Rev^{d} M^{r} Dechair	0 : 10 : 6
	Sig^{r} Fortunato Chelleri	0 : 10 : 6
Nov^{m}	M^{r} John Freke	0 : 10 : 6
25	The Rev^{d} D^{r} Pelling	0 : 10 : 6
	The Rev^{d} M^{r} Jackson	0 : 10 : 6
Dec^{m} y^{e} 9	John Ecton Esq^{r}	0 : 10 : 6
	M^{r} Humphry Wyrley Birch	0 : 10 : 6
	£	18 : 7 : 6



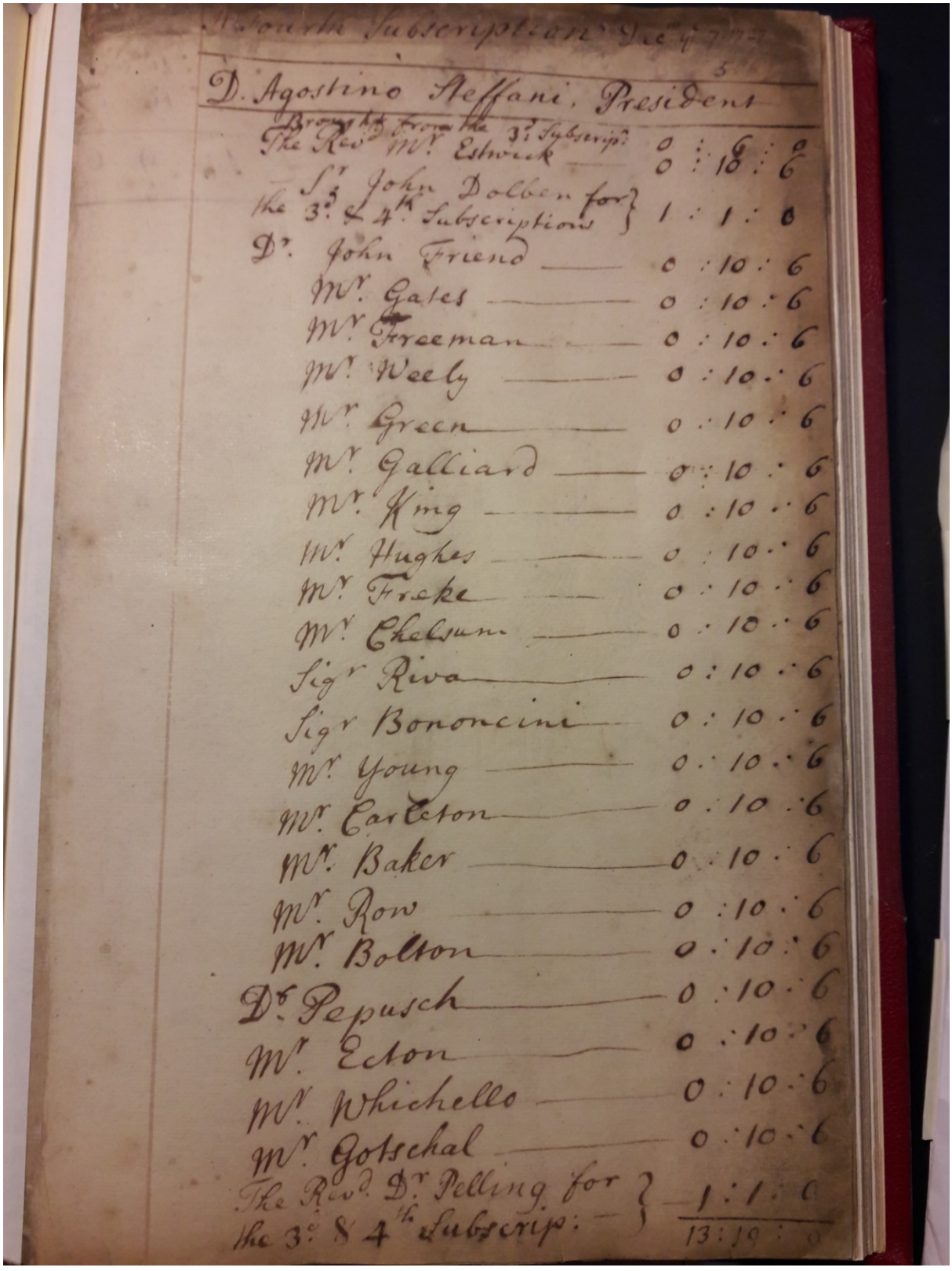
Subscribers

	Brought Over		12 : 1 : 6
	Mr. Row		0 : 10 : 6
Feb.y 9th	Mr. Estwick		0 : 10 : 6
	Sigr. Geminiani		0 : 10 : 6
	Mr. Holcombe		0 : 10 : 6
March 9th	Sigr. Francesco il Senesino	detto	0 : 10 : 6
June 1st	Mr. Bolton		0 : 10 : 6
Oct.r 9th 26	Mr. Dieu Part		0 : 10 : 6
	Mr. Young		0 : 10 : 6
Nov.r 23	Sigr. Haym		0 : 10 : 6
	Sigr. Riva		0 : 10 : 6
	£		17 : 6 : 6

June the 1st 1727

This Day it was agreed Nemine Contradicente, that D. Agostino Steffani, Bishop of Spiga (Comonly known by the Name of abbot Steffani) be President of the Academy of Vocal Musick established in London;

N.B His Compositions att present goe under the Name of Gregorio Piva

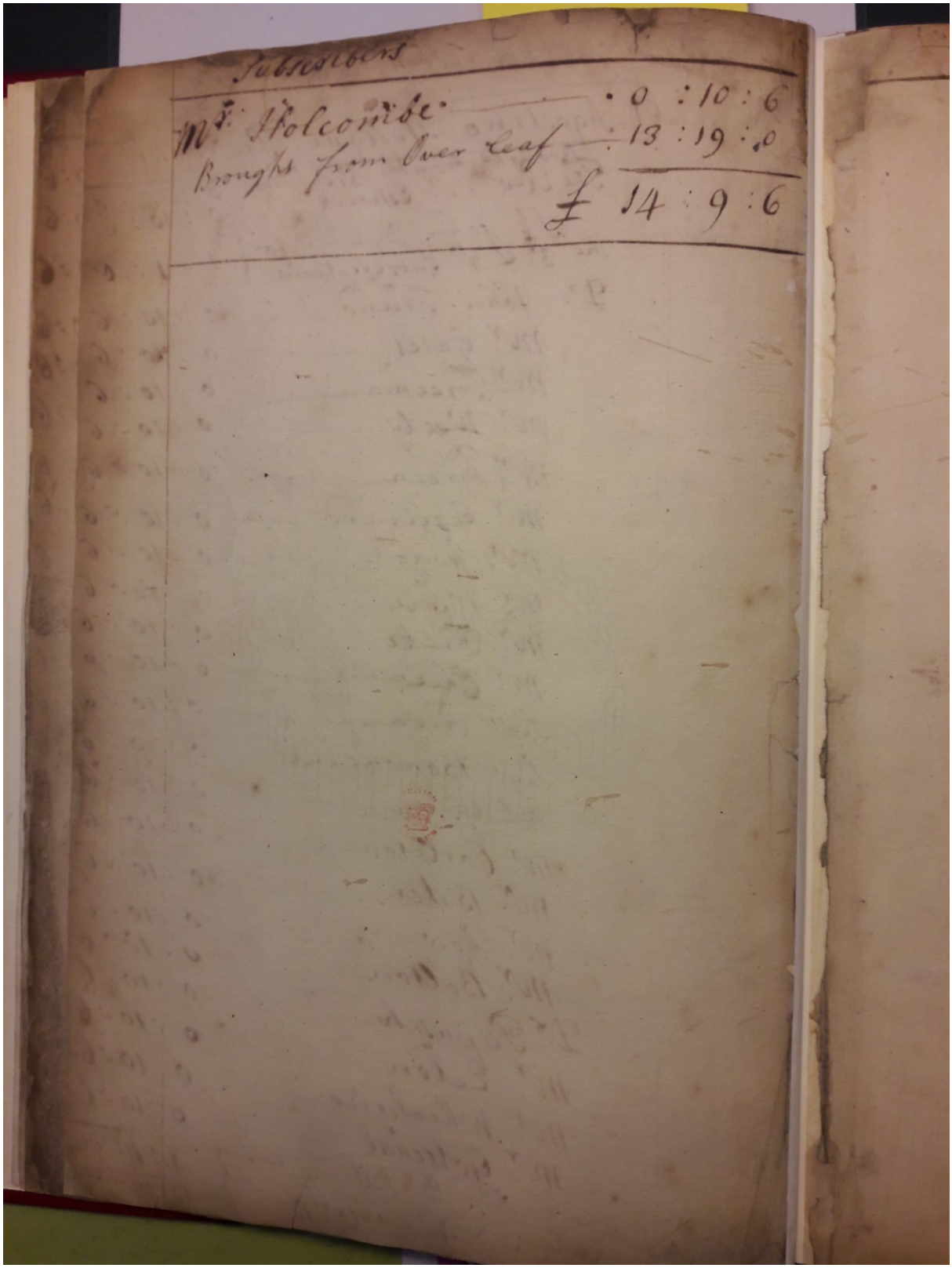


Fourth Subscription Dec[r] 7[th] 1727

3

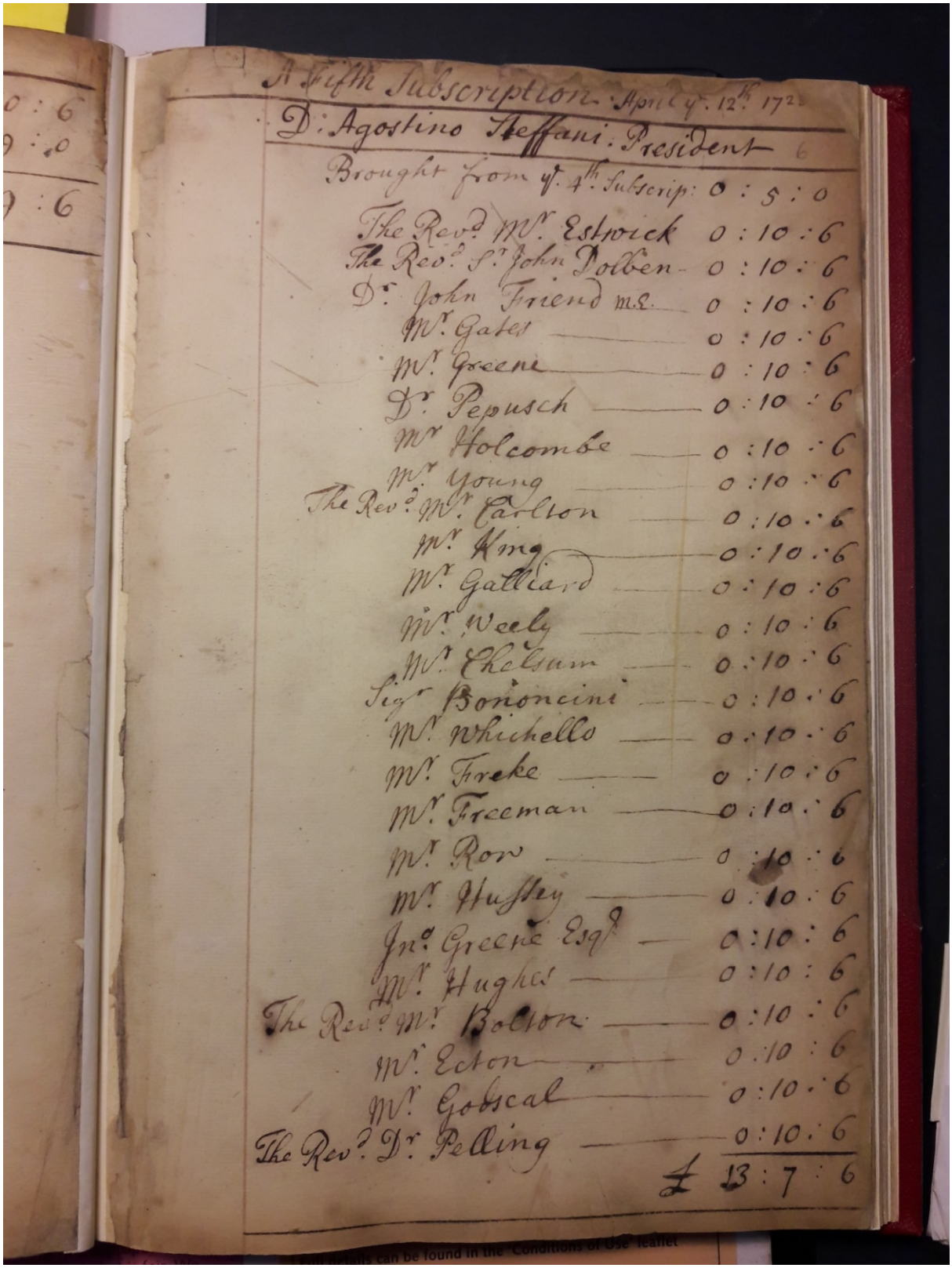
D. Agostino Steffani, President

Brought from the 3[d] Subscrip[n]			
The Rev[d] M[r] Estwick	0	18	6
	0		
S[r] John Dolben for the 3[d] & 4[th] Subscriptions	1	1	0
D[r] John Friend	0	10	6
M[r] Gates	0	10	6
M[r] Freeman	0	10	6
M[r] Weely	0	10	6
M[r] Green	0	10	6
M[r] Galliard	0	10	6
M[r] King	0	10	6
M[r] Hughes	0	10	6
M[r] Froke	0	10	6
M[r] Chelsum	0	10	6
Sig[r] Riva	0	10	6
Sig[r] Bononcini	0	10	6
M[r] Young	0	10	6
M[r] Carleton	0	10	6
M[r] Baker	0	10	6
M[r] Row	0	10	6
M[r] Bolton	0	10	6
D[r] Pepusch	0	10	6
M[r] Ecton	0	10	6
M[r] Whichello	0	10	6
M[r] Gotschal	0	10	6
The Rev[d] D[r] Pelling for the 3[d] & 4[th] Subscrip:	1	1	0
	13	19	0



Subscribers

Mr. Holcombe	0 : 10 : 6
Brought from over Leaf	13 : 19 : 0
	£ 14 : 9 : 6

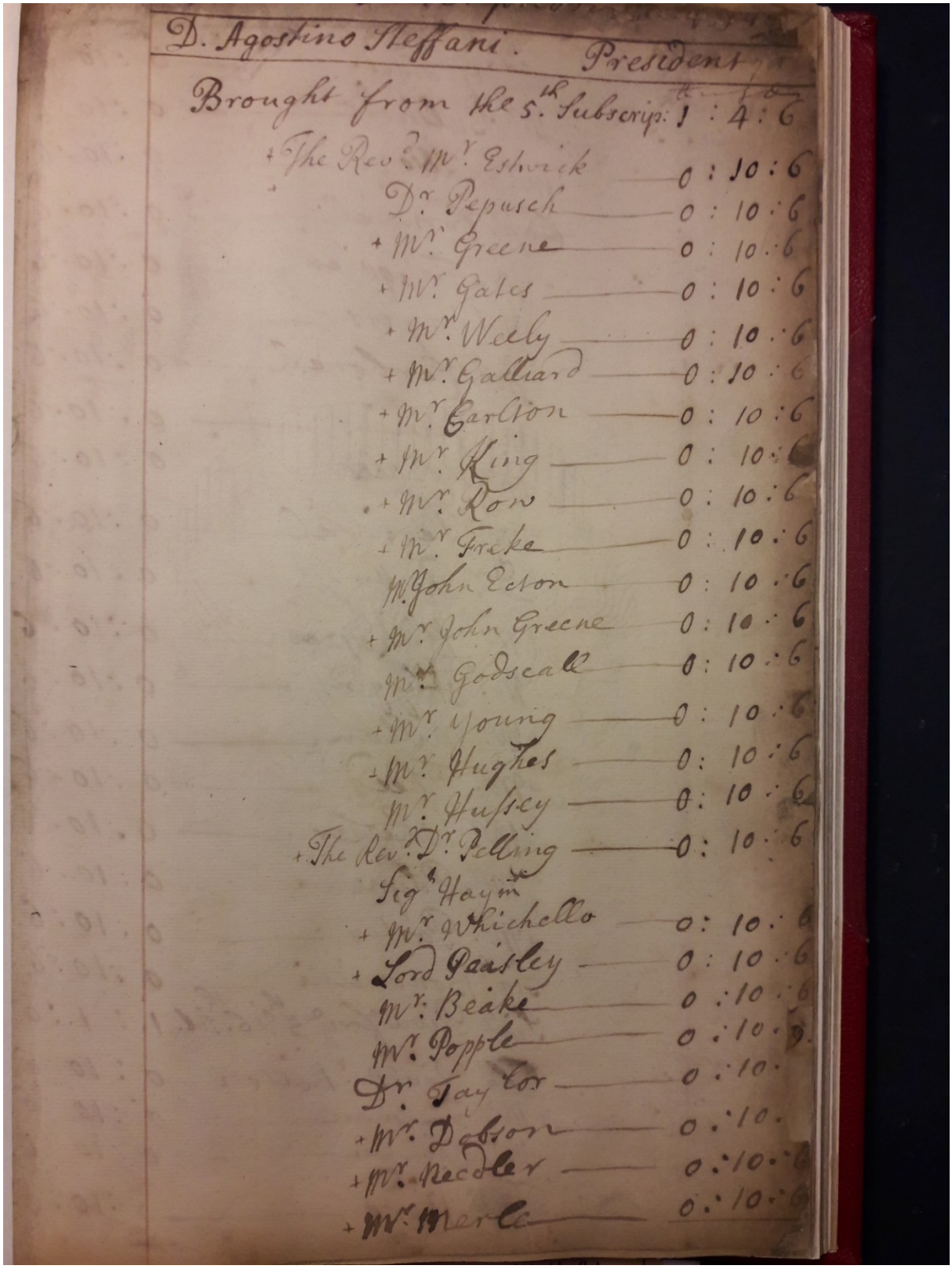


A Fifth Subscription. April 4. 12th 17[illegible]

D: Agostino Steffani: President 6

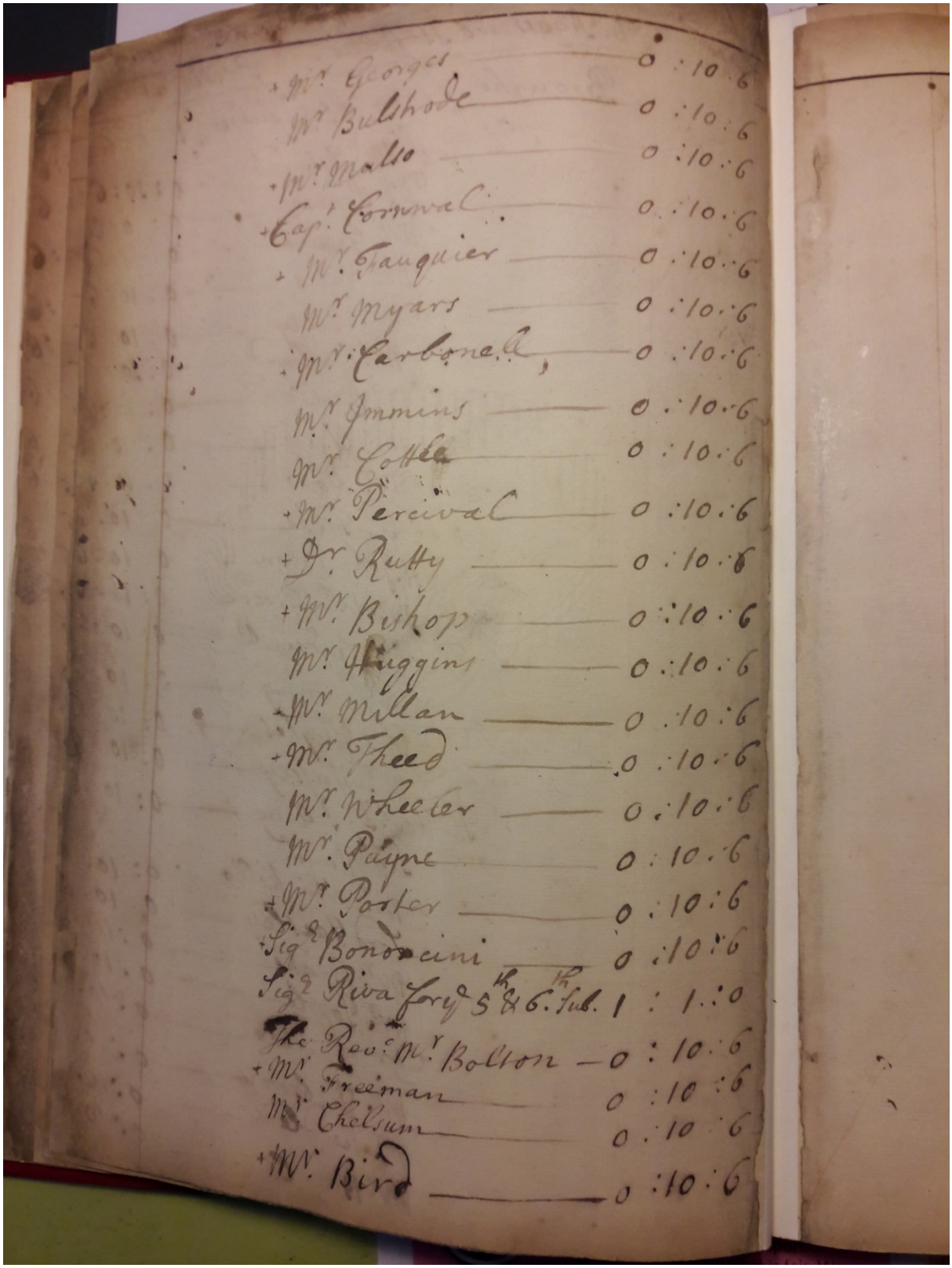
Brought from y. 4th Subscrip:	0 : 5 : 0
The Revd Mr. Estwick	0 : 10 : 6
The Revd Sr. John Dolben	0 : 10 : 6
Dr. John Friend m.s.	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Gates	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Greene	0 : 10 : 6
Dr. Pepusch	0 : 10 : 6
Mr Holcombe	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Young	0 : 10 : 6
The Revd Mr. Carlton	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. King	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Galliard	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Weely	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Chelsum	0 : 10 : 6
Sigr Bononcini	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Whichello	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Freke	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Freeman	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Row	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Hussey	0 : 10 : 6
Jno. Greene Esqr	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Hughes	0 : 10 : 6
The Revd Mr. Bolton	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Ecton	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Gobscal	0 : 10 : 6
The Revd Dr. Pelling	0 : 10 : 6
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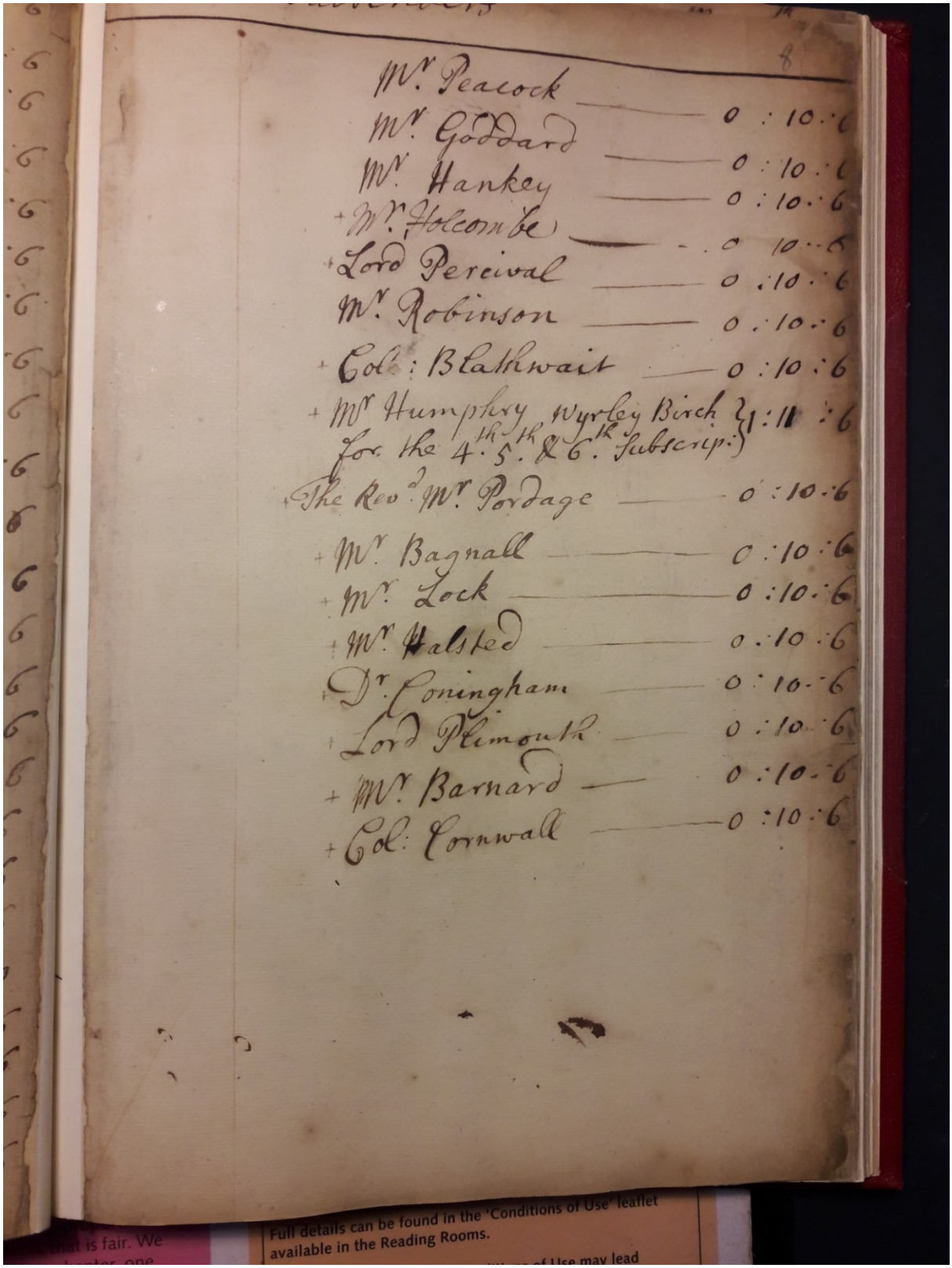


D. Agostino Steffani. President

	£	s	d
Brought from the 5th Subscrip:	1	4	6
+ The Revd Mr Estwick	0	10	6
Dr Pepusch	0	10	6
+ Mr Greene	0	10	6
+ Mr Gates	0	10	6
+ Mr Weely	0	10	6
+ Mr Gallard	0	10	6
+ Mr Carlton	0	10	6
+ Mr King	0	10	6
+ Mr Row	0	10	6
+ Mr Freke	0	10	6
Mr John Ecton	0	10	6
+ Mr John Greene	0	10	6
Mr Godscall	0	10	6
+ Mr Young	0	10	6
+ Mr Hughes	0	10	6
Mr Hussey	0	10	6
+ The Revd Dr Pelling	0	10	6
Sig[r] Haym			
+ Mr Pichello	0	10	6
+ Lord Paisley	0	10	6
Mr Beake	0	10	6
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+ Mr Dobson	0	10	
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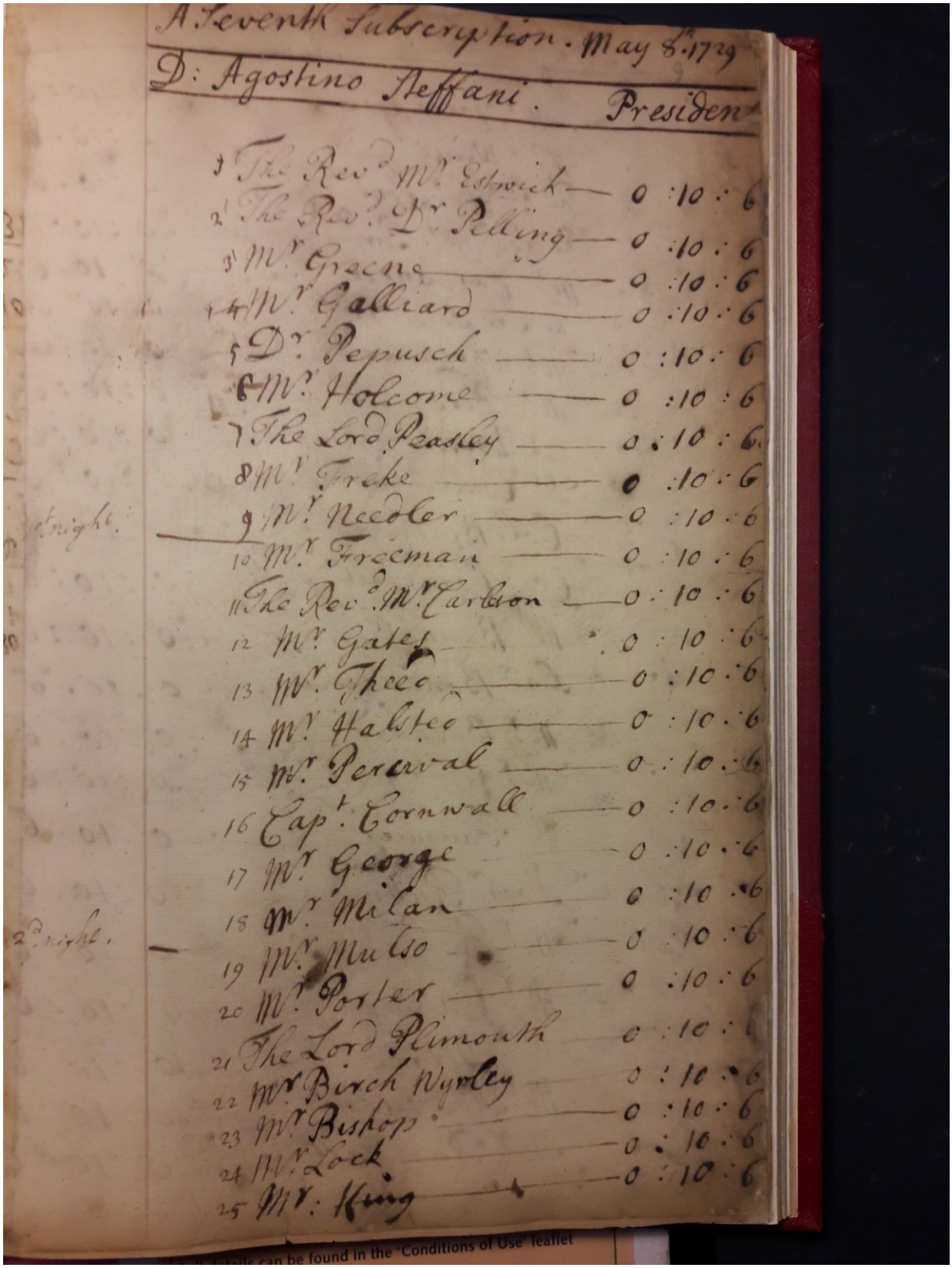


+ Mr. Georges		0	:10:6
Mr. Bulkhode		0	:10:6
+ Mr. Mallo		0	:10:6
+ Capt. Cornwall		0	:10:6
+ Mr. Fauquier		0	:10:6
Mr. Myars		0	:10:6
+ Mr. Carbonell		0	:10:6
Mr. Timmins		0	:10:6
Mr. Cotta		0	:10:6
+ Mr. Percival		0	:10:6
+ Dr. Rutty		0	:10:6
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Mr. Huggins		0	:10:6
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+ Mr. Theed		0	:10:6
Mr. Wheeler		0	:10:6
Mr. Payne		0	:10:6
+ Mr. Porter		0	:10:6
+ Sig.r Bonomcini		0	:10:6
Sig.r Riva for 5th & 6th Sub.		1	: 1:0
The Revd. Mr. Bolton		0	:10:6
+ Mr. Freeman		0	:10:6
Mr. Chelsum		0	:10:6
+ Mr. Bird		0	:10:6



Mr. Peacock	0	10 6
Mr. Goddard	0	10 6
Mr. Hankey	0	10 6
+ Mr. Holcombe	0	10 6
+ Lord Percival	0	10 6
Mr. Robinson	0	10 6
+ Col: Blathwait	0	10 6
+ Mr Humphry Wyrley Birch for the 4th 5th & 6th Subscrip:	1	11 6
+ The Revd Mr. Pordage	0	10 6
+ Mr. Bagnall	0	10 6
+ Mr. Lock	0	10 6
+ Mr. Halsted	0	10 6
+ Dr. Coningham	0	10 6
+ Lord Plimouth	0	10 6
+ Mr. Barnard	0	10 6
+ Col: Cornwall	0	10 6

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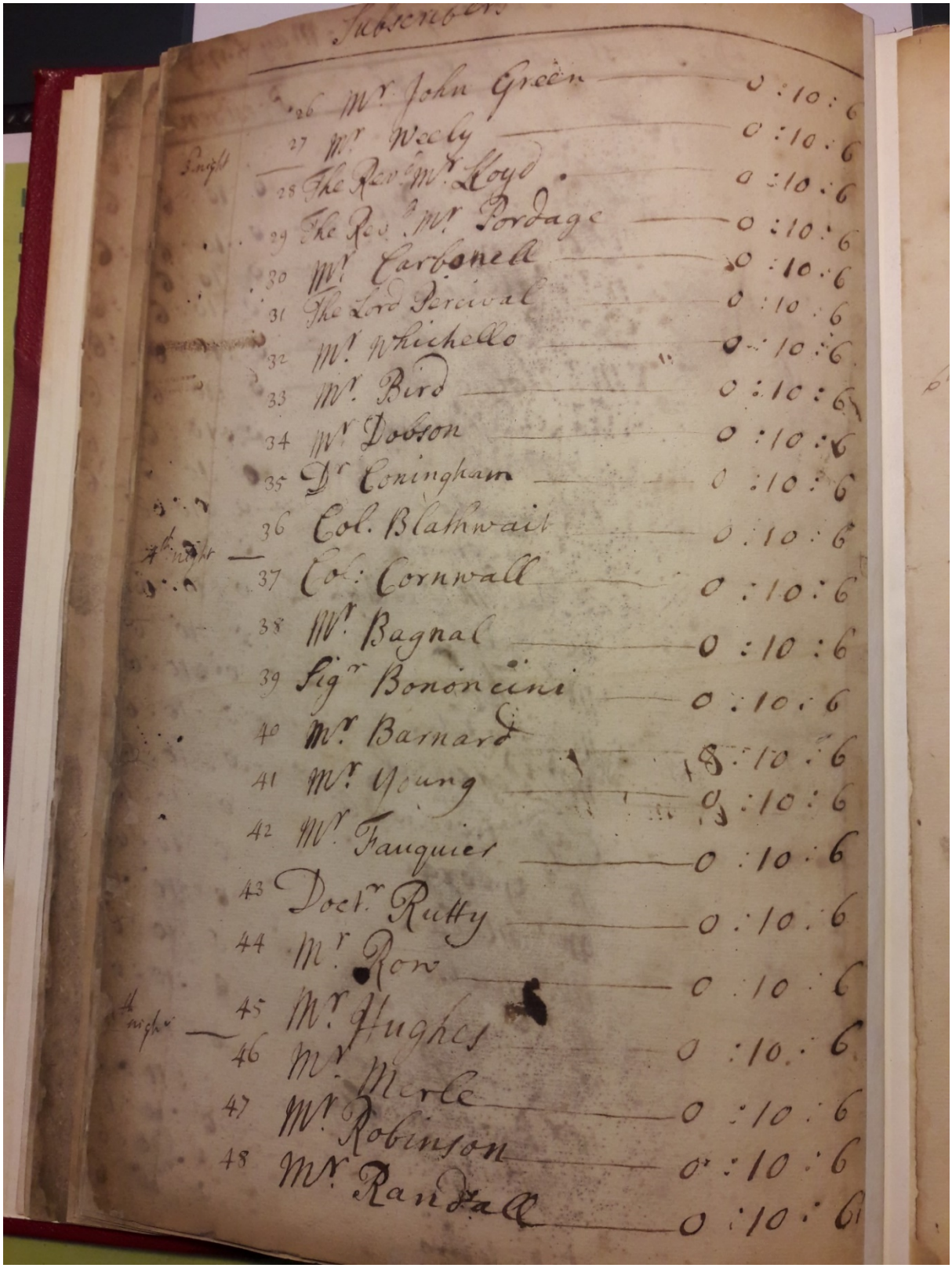


A Seventh Subscription. May 8.1729

D: Agostino Steffani. Presidt

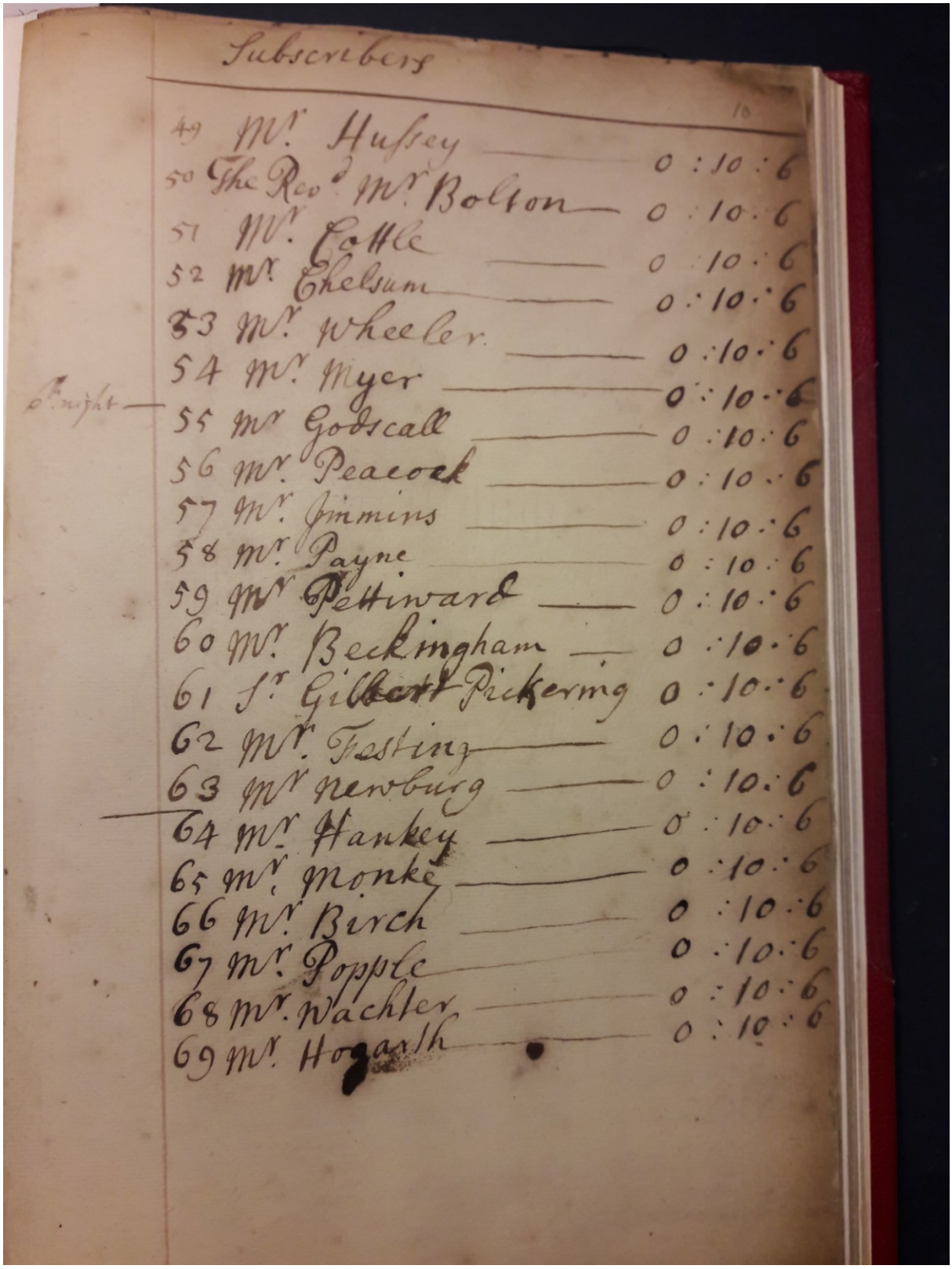
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7	The Lord Peasley	0	10	6
8	Mr Freke	0	10	6
9	Mr Needler	0	10	6
10	Mr Freeman	0	10	6
11	The Revd Mr Carleton	0	10	6
12	Mr Gates	0	10	6
13	Mr Theed	0	10	6
14	Mr Halsted	0	10	6
15	Mr Percival	0	10	6
16	Capt Cornwall	0	10	6
17	Mr George	0	10	6
18	Mr Milan	0	10	6
19	Mr Mulso	0	10	6
20	Mr Porter	0	10	6
21	The Lord Plimouth	0	10	6
22	Mr Birch Wyrley	0	10	6
23	Mr Bishop	0	10	6
24	Mr Lock	0	10	6
25	Mr King	0	10	6

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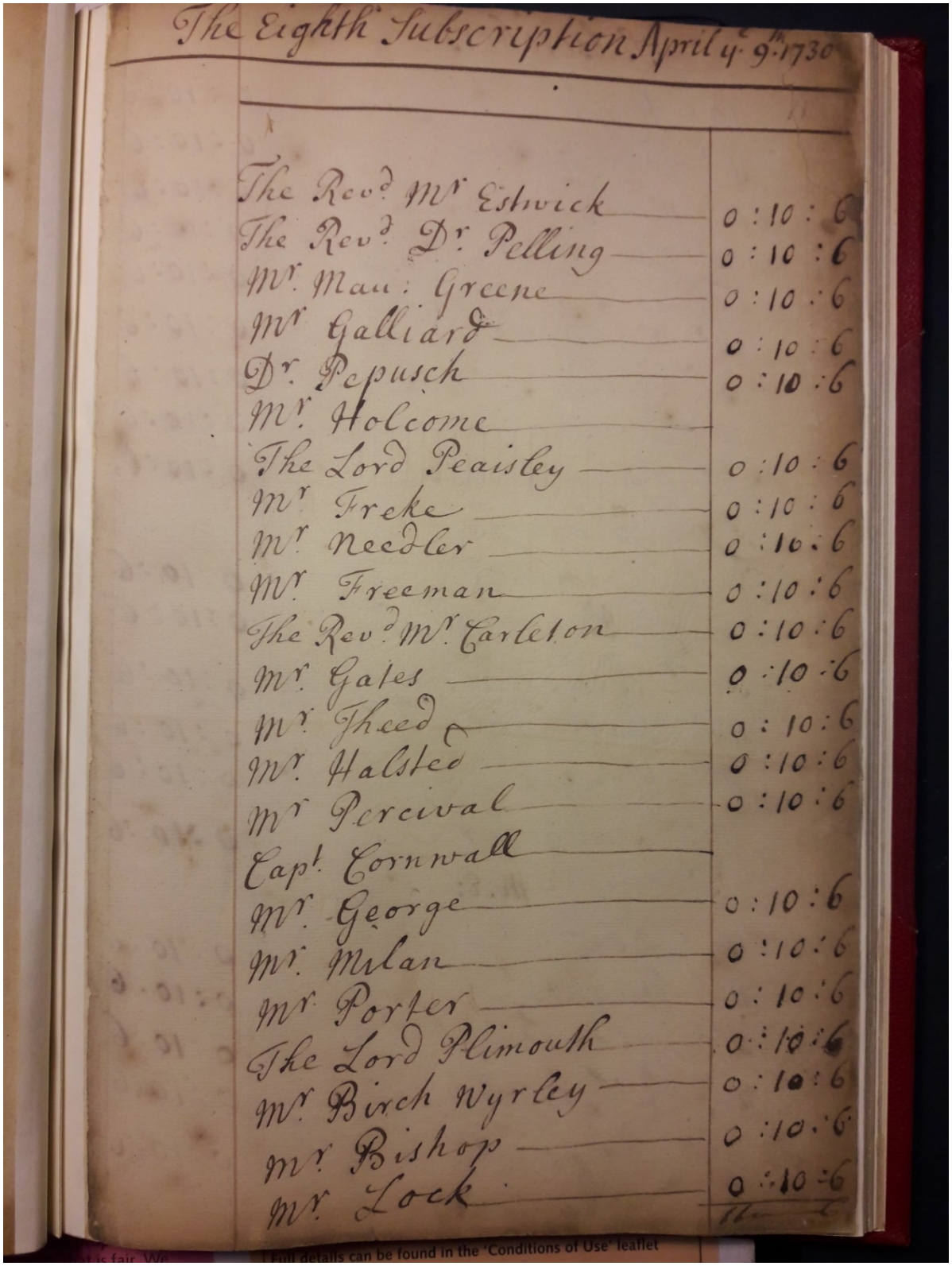
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28	The Rev. Mr. Lloyd	0 : 10 : 6
29	The Rev. Mr. Pordage	0 : 10 : 6
30	Mr. Carbonell	0 : 10 : 6
31	The Lord Percival	0 : 10 : 6
32	Mr. Whichello	0 : 10 : 6
33	Mr. Bird	0 : 10 : 6
34	Mr. Dobson	0 : 10 : 6
35	Dr. Coningham	0 : 10 : 6
36	Col. Blathwait	0 : 10 : 6
37	Col: Cornwall	0 : 10 : 6
38	Mr. Bagnal	0 : 10 : 6
39	Sigr. Bononcini	0 : 10 : 6
40	Mr. Barnard	0 : 10 : 6
41	Mr. Young	0 : 10 : 6
42	Mr. Fauquier	0 : 10 : 6
43	Doctr. Rutty	0 : 10 : 6
44	Mr. Row	0 : 10 : 6
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46	Mr. Merle	0 : 10 : 6
47	Mr. Robinson	0 : 10 : 6
48	Mr. Randall	0 : 10 : 6



Subscribers

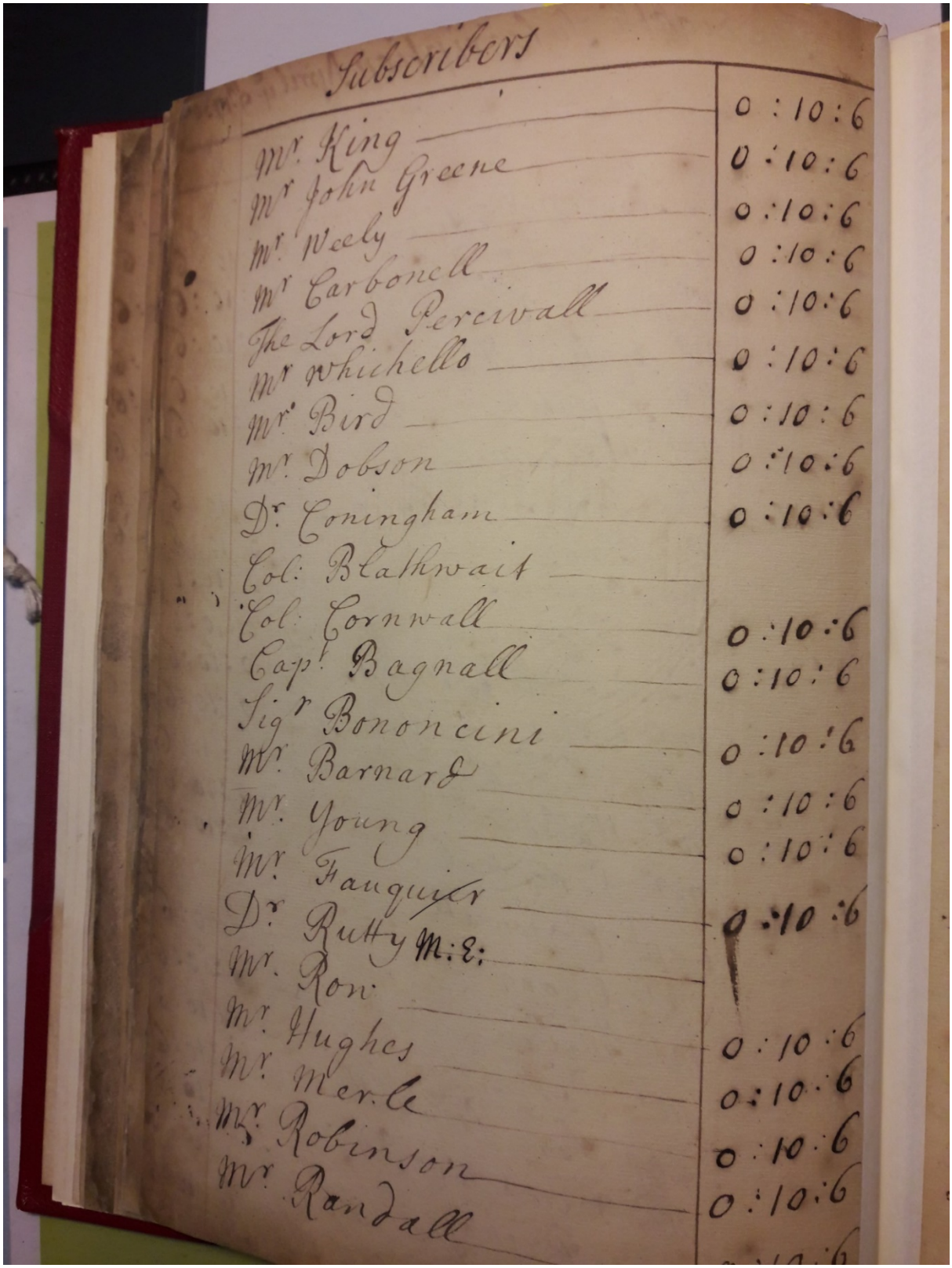
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54	Mr. Myer		0 : 10 : 6
Knight	55	Mr Godscall	0 : 10 : 6
56	Mr. Peacock		0 : 10 : 6
57	Mr. Jimmins		0 : 10 : 6
58	Mr. Payne		0 : 10 : 6
59	Mr Pettiward		0 : 10 : 6
60	Mr. Beckingham		0 : 10 : 6
61	Sr. Gilbert Pickering		0 : 10 : 6
62	Mr. Festing		0 : 10 : 6
63	Mr Newburg		0 : 10 : 6
64	Mr. Hankey		0 : 10 : 6
65	Mr. Monke		0 : 10 : 6
66	Mr. Birch		0 : 10 : 6
67	Mr. Popple		0 : 10 : 6
68	Mr. Wachter		0 : 10 : 6
69	Mr. Hogarth		0 : 10 : 6



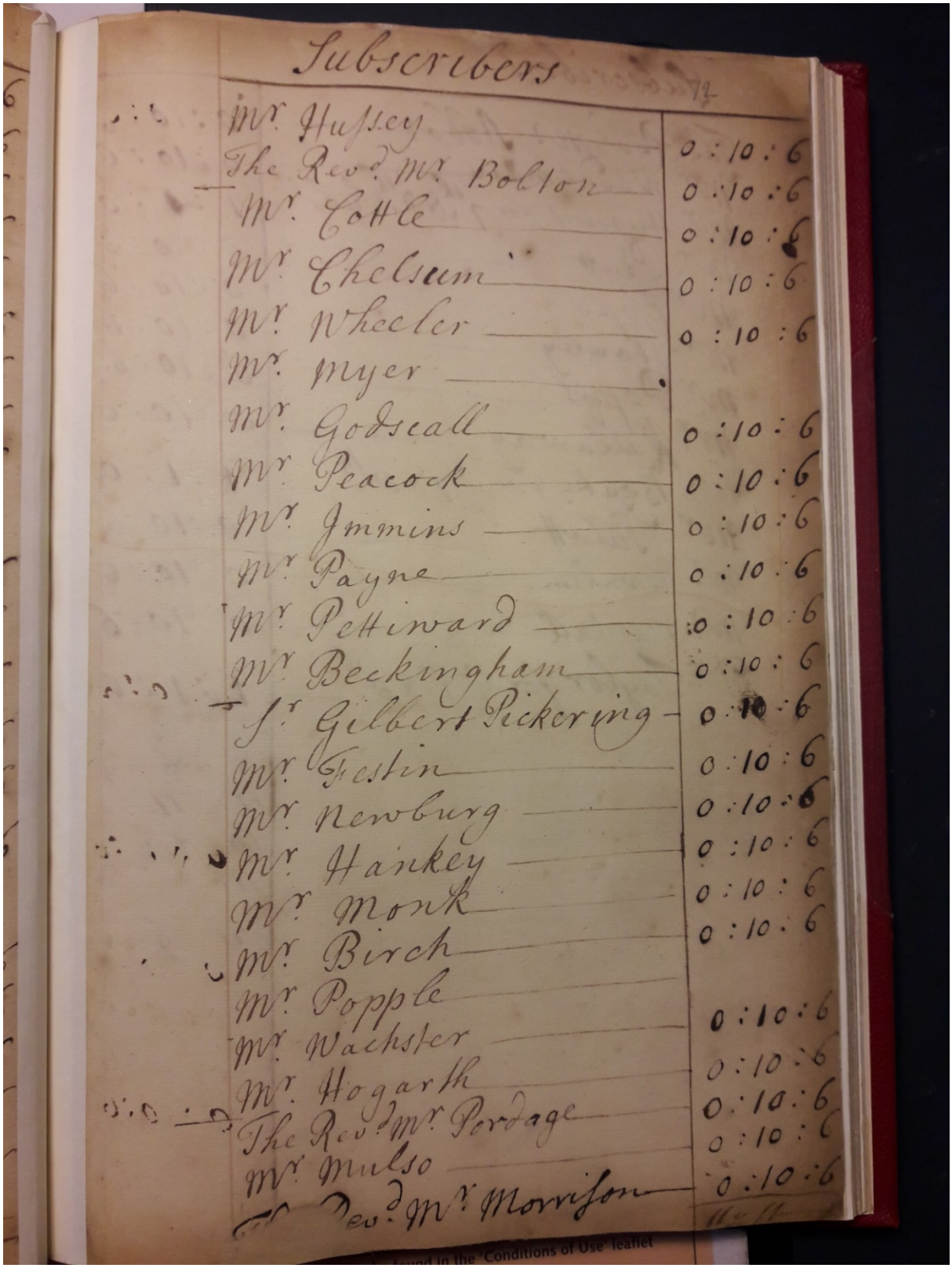
The Eighth Subscription April 4th 9th 1730

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The Revd Dr Pelling	0 : 10 : 6
Mr Man: Greene	0 : 10 : 6
Mr Galliard	0 : 10 : 6
Dr Pepusch	0 : 10 : 6
Mr Holcome	
The Lord Peaisley	0 : 10 : 6
Mr Freke	0 : 10 : 6
Mr Needler	0 : 10 : 6
Mr Freeman	0 : 10 : 6
The Revd Mr Carleton	0 : 10 : 6
Mr Gales	0 : 10 : 6
Mr Theed	0 : 10 : 6
Mr Halsted	0 : 10 : 6
Mr Percival	0 : 10 : 6
Capt Cornwall	
Mr George	0 : 10 : 6
Mr Milan	0 : 10 : 6
Mr Porter	0 : 10 : 6
The Lord Plimouth	0 : 10 : 6
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Mr Bishop	0 : 10 : 6
Mr Lock	0 : 10 : 6

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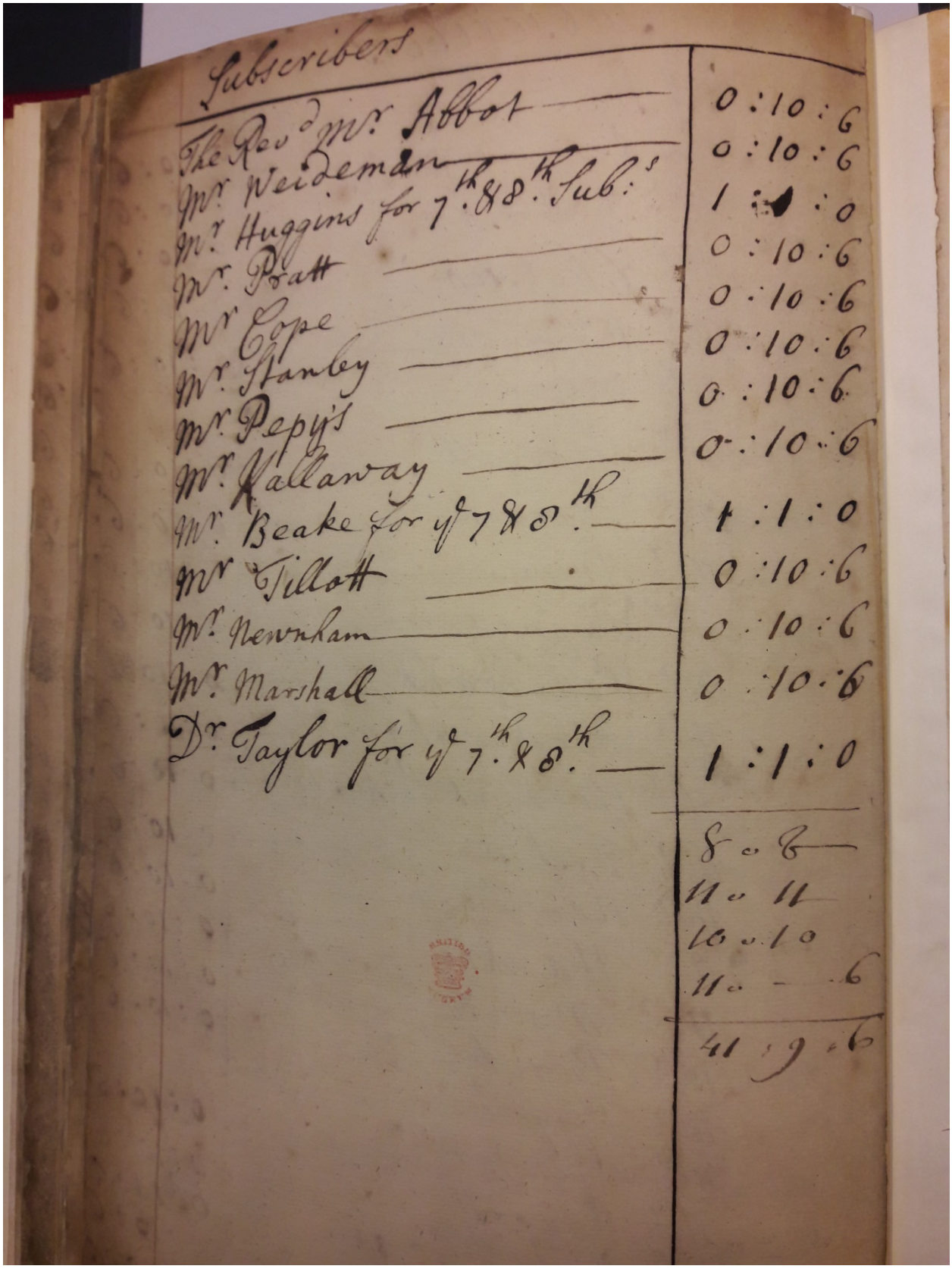
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Mr. Neely	0 : 10 : 6
Mr Carbonell	0 : 10 : 6
The Lord Percivall	0 : 10 : 6
Mr Whichello	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Bird	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Dobson	0 : 10 : 6
Dr. Coningham	0 : 10 : 6
Col: Blathwait	
Col: Cornwall	0 : 10 : 6
Cap.t Bagnall	0 : 10 : 6
Sig.r Bononcini	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Barnard	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Young	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Fauquier	0 : 10 : 6
Dr. Rutty M: E:	
Mr. Ron	
Mr. Hughes	0 : 10 : 6
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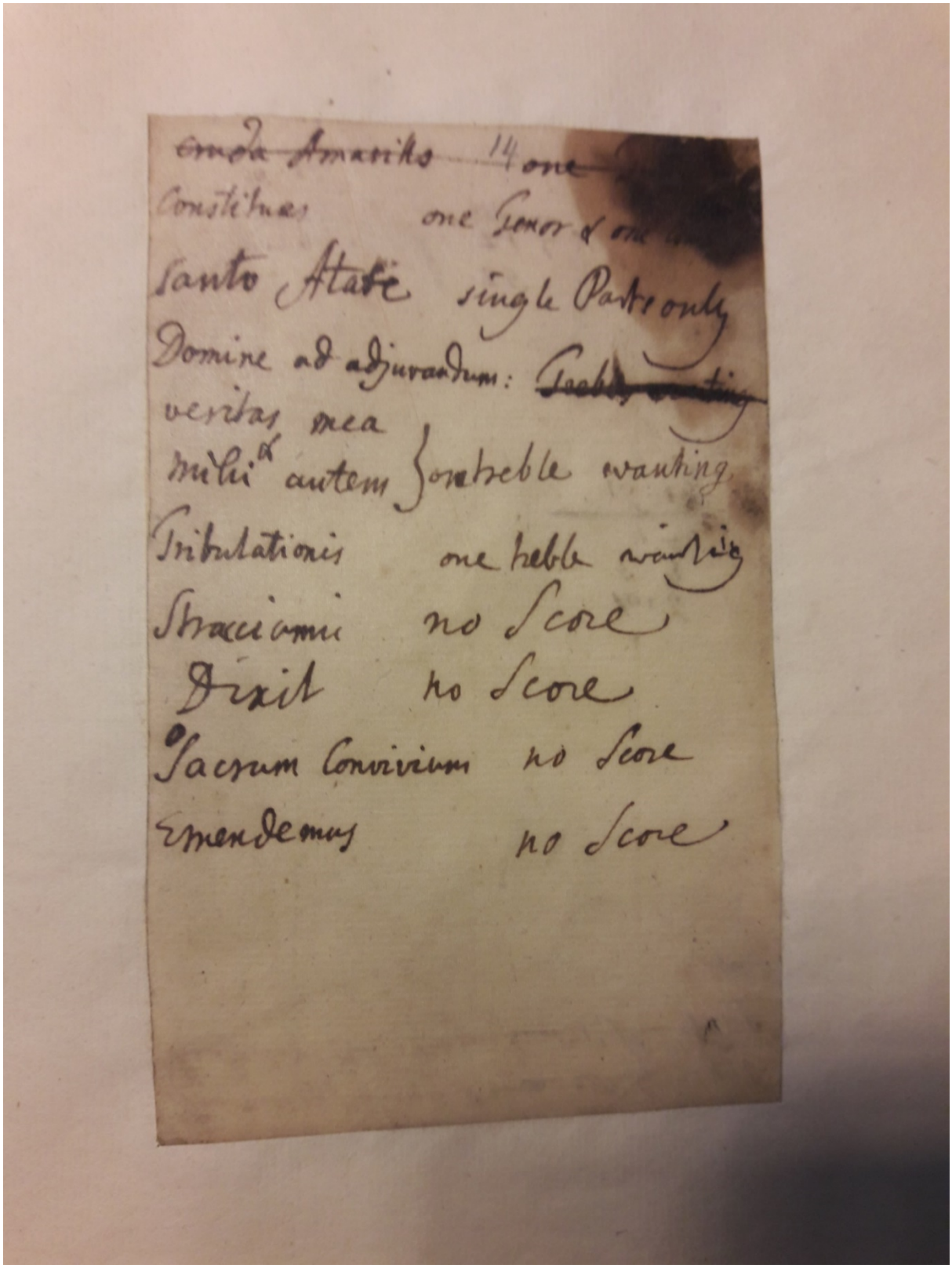
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The Revd Mr. Bolton	0 : 10 : 6
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Mr. Chelsum	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Wheeler	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Myer	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Godscall	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Peacock	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Jmmins	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Payne	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Pettiward	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Beckingham	0 : 10 : 6
Sr. Gilbert Pickering	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Festin	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Newburg	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Hankey	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Monk	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Birch	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Popple	
Mr. Wachster	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Hogarth	0 : 10 : 6
The Revd Mr. Porrage	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Mulso	0 : 10 : 6
The Revd Mr. Morrison	0 : 10 : 6

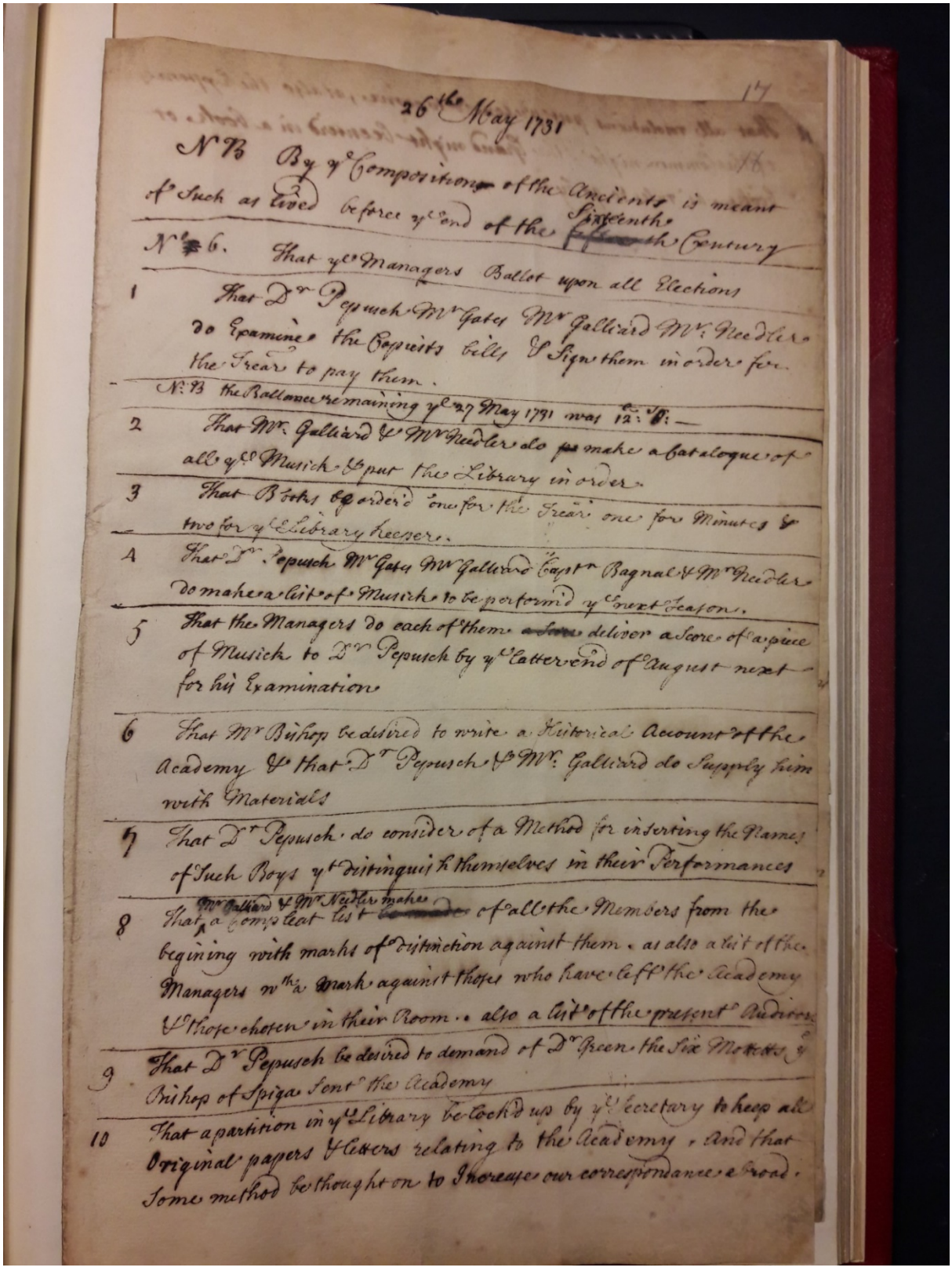
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Subscribers	
The Rev.d Mr. Abbot	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Weideman	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Huggins for 7.th & 8.th Sub.s	1 : [illegible] : 0
Mr. Pratt	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Cope	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Stanley	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Pepys	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Kallaway	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Beake for y.e 7 & 8.th	1 : 1 : 0
Mr. Tillott	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Newnham	0 : 10 : 6
Mr. Marshall	0 : 10 : 6
Dr. Taylor for y.e 7.th & 8.th	1 : 1 : 0
	8 : 8
	11 : 11
	16 : 10
	11 : — : 6
	41 : 9 : 6



~~Onda Amaritu~~ 14 one
Constitues one Tenor & one
Sancto Atatie single Patr only
Domine ad adjuvandum: ~~Feeble~~
veritas mea
multi autem Sonorable wanting
Tribulationis one hebb wanting
Stracciami no Score
Dixit no Score
Sacrum Convivium no Score
Emendemus no Score



17

26th May 1731

N.B By y^e Compositions of the Ancients is meant of Such as lived before y^e end of the Sixteenth Century

N^o 6. That y^e Managers Ballot upon all Elections

1 That D^r Pepusch M^r Gates M^r Gallliard M^r Needler do Examine the Peqseits bills & Sign them in order for the Treas^r to pay them.

N:B the Ballance remaining y^e 27 May 1731 was 12: 8: —

2 That M^r Gallliard & M^r Needler do make a Catalogue of all y^e Musick & put the Library in order.

3 That Books be order'd one for the Treas^r one for Minutes & two for y^e Library keepers.

4 That D^r Pepusch M^r Gates M^r Gallliard Capt^n Bagnal & M^r Needler do make a list of Musick to be performd y^e next Season.

5 That the Managers do each of them deliver a Score of a piece of Musick to D^r Pepusch by y^e latter end of August next for his Examination

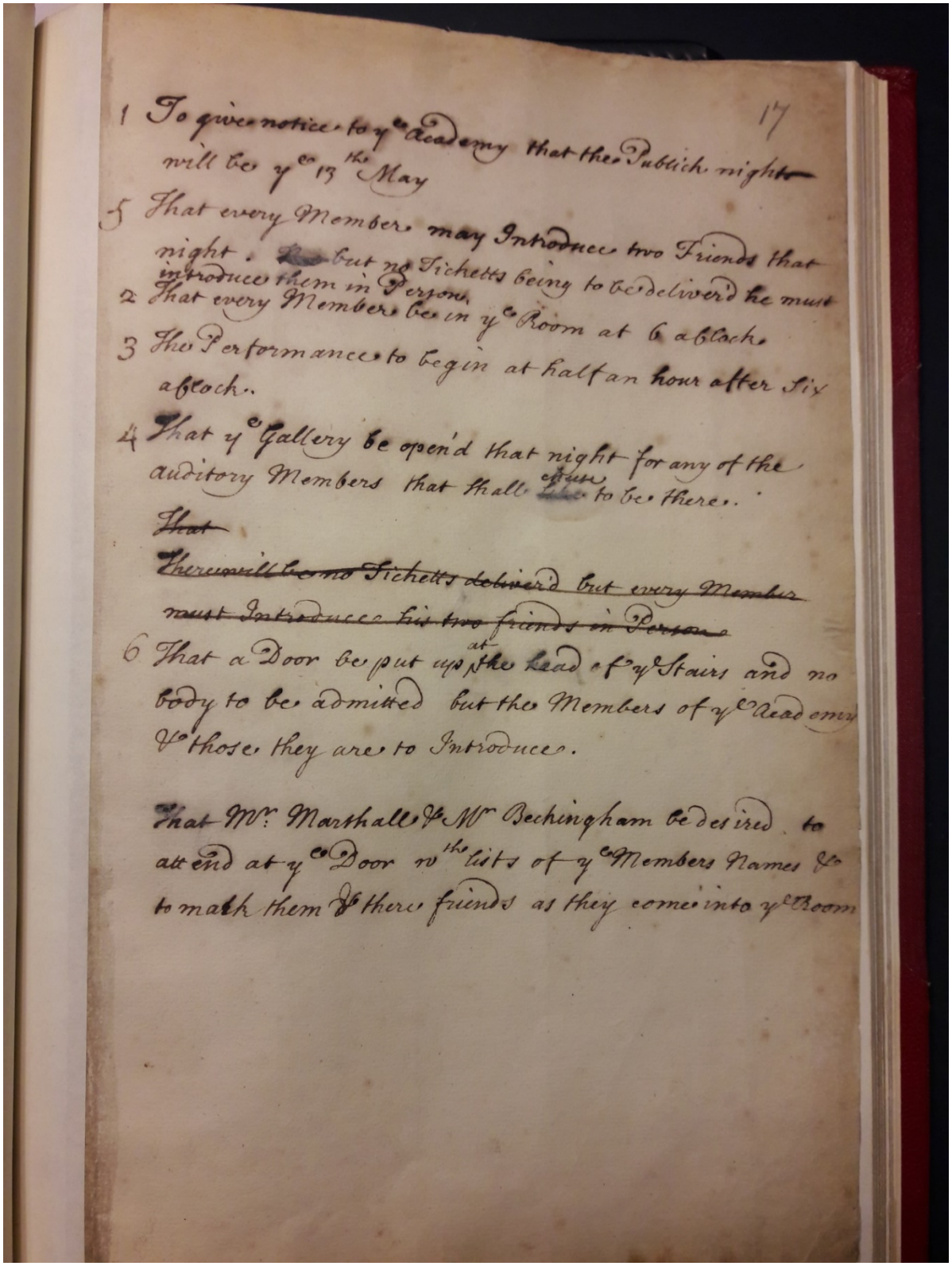
6 That M^r Bishop be desired to write a Historical Account of the Academy & that D^r Pepusch & M^r Gallliard do Supply him with Materials

7 That D^r Pepusch do consider of a Method for inserting the Names of Such Boys y^t distinguish themselves in their Performances

8 That M^r Gallliard & M^r Needler make a Compleat list of all the Members from the begining with marks of distinction against them. as also a list of the Managers w^th a mark against those who have left the Academy & those chosen in their Room. also a list of the present Auditors

9 That D^r Pepusch be desired to demand of D^r Green the Six Motetts of Bishop of Spiga Sent the Academy

10 That a partition in y^e Library be Locked up by y^e Secretary to keep all Original papers & Letters relating to the Academy. And that Some method be thought on to Increase our correspondance abroad.



17

1 To give notice to y^e^ Academy that the Publick night will be y^e^ 13^th^ May

5 That every Member may Introduce two Friends that night. but no Tichetts being to be deliver'd he must introduce them in Person.

2 That every Member be in y^e^ Room at 6 a Clock.

3 The Performance to begin at half an hour after Six a Clock.

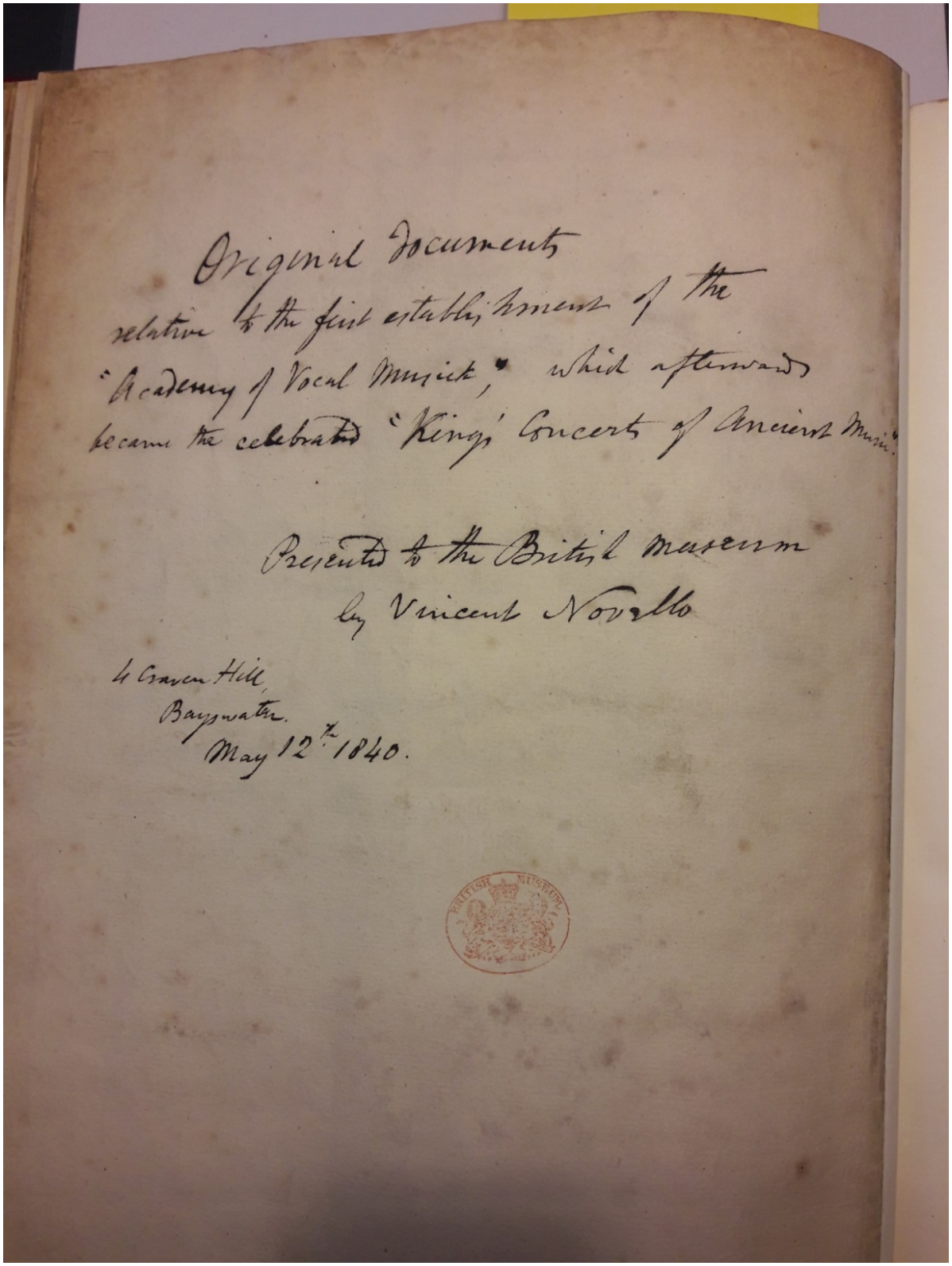
4 That y^e^ Gallery be open'd that night for any of the auditory Members that shall chuse to be there.

~~That~~

~~There will be no Tichetts deliver'd but every Member must Introduce his two friends in Person.~~

6 That a Door be put up at the head of y^e^ Stairs and no body to be admitted but the Members of y^e^ Academy & those they are to Introduce.

That Mr. Marthall & Mr Bechingham be desired to attend at y^e^ Door w^th^ the lists of y^e^ Members Names &c to mark them & there friends as they come into y^e^ Room



Text reads:
'Original Documents relative to the first establishment of the Academy of Vocal Music, which afterwards became the celebrated "King's Concerts of Ancient Music"'

APPENDIX TWO

Academy of Ancient Music Programming
During Its Seventy-Six-Year Existence
Derived from the 1,881 Compositions
Scheduled in Its Surviving Programs

ITEM	COMPOSER	PERIOD ONE 1726-1752 26 YEARS	PERIOD TWO 1753-1776 23 YEARS	PERIOD THREE 1777-1802 25 YEARS	TOTAL
1	Alessandre			2	2
2	Allegri	3		1	4
3	Andreozzi			1	1
4	Anfossi			1	1
5	Arne		3	34	37
6	Arnold			50	50
7	Aryton			1	1
8	Atterbury			2	2
9	Attwood			2	2
10	Avison		5	10	15
11	Bach, JC			3	3
12	Baildon			1	1
13	Barthelemon			2	2
14	Bassani	2	6		8
15	Bennett	1	3		4
16	Bertoni			4	4
17	Blow	1			1
18	Bononcini	1	1	1	3
19	Borri	1			1
20	Boyce		9	34	43
21	Brewer			2	2
22	Byrd	2	5	1	8
23	Callcott				0
24	Capranica			9	9
25	Carapella		4	1	5
26	Carissimi	2	2	1	5
27	Caruso			1	1
28	Cherubini			2	2
29	Chiampi			1	1
30	Cimarosa			8	8
31	Clari		1		1
32	Colonna	4	3		7
33	Conversi		3	6	9
34	Cooke	1	21	38	60
35	Corelli		14	18	32
36	Croft	1	7		8
37	Crotch			1	1
38	D'Astorga		4	2	6
39	Danby			10	10
40	De Macque	1			1

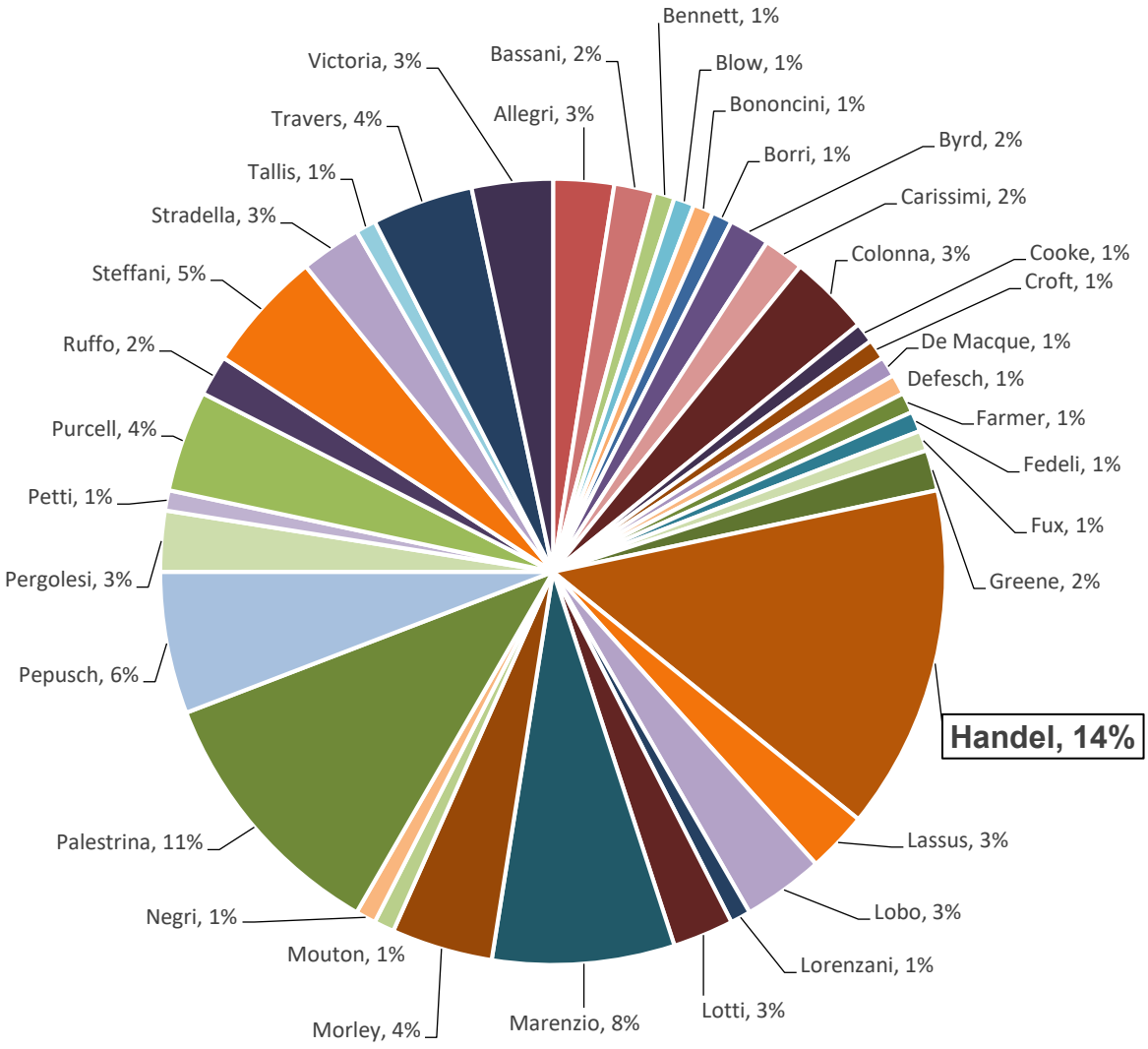
41	De Majo			3	3
42	Defesch	1			1
43	Dupuis			6	6
44	East		1		1
45	Farmer	1	1		2
46	Farne		4		4
47	Fedeli	1			1
48	Fiocco		3	6	9
49	Florio			1	1
50	Fritta			1	1
51	Fux	1			1
52	Galliard		7	5	12
53	Galuppi			2	2
54	Gasparini		7	1	8
55	Geminiani		14	21	35
56	Giardini		1	2	3
57	Gibbons		3	1	4
58	Gioacchino		1		1
59	Giordani			3	3
60	Gluck			7	7
61	Graeff			2	2
62	Graun		6	13	19
63	Greene	2	3		5
64	Greville			2	2
65	Guglielmi			5	5
66	Handel	17	116	641	774
67	Hasse			11	11
68	Haydn			20	20
69	Hayes		2	4	6
70	Hellendaal		1		1
71	Hindle			1	1
72	Horsley			2	2
73	Howard		5	1	6
74	Hutheson			4	4
75	Jackson of Exeter		13	7	20
76	Jommelli			2	2
77	Kent			8	8
78	Lassus	3	11	2	16
79	Leonardo			1	1
80	Leveridge		1		1
81	Linley			3	3
82	Lobo	4	2	1	7
83	Locke			1	1
84	Long		1		1
85	Lorenzani	1	4	1	6

86	Lotti	3	9		12
87	Mahon			2	2
88	Marcello		2	1	3
89	Marenzio	9	4	1	14
90	Morley	5	2	1	8
91	Mornington, Lord			8	8
92	Mortellari			2	2
93	Mouton	1			1
94	Myslivecek			2	2
95	Nasolini			1	1
96	Negri	1	12	11	24
97	Norris		2		2
98	Paissiello			4	4
99	Palestrina	13	11	1	25
100	Parkinson			1	1
101	Parti			1	1
102	Paxton			8	8
103	Pepusch	7	12	4	23
104	Perez		13	1	14
105	Pergolesi	3	29	12	44
106	Petti	1			1
107	Piccinni			1	1
108	Piccioni		6		6
109	Pleyel			5	5
110	Porpora			1	1
111	Purcell	5	27	36	68
112	Rauzzini			1	1
113	Ravenscroft			1	1
114	Relfe			5	5
115	Ricciotti			1	1
116	Rimondi			1	1
117	Rogers		2	8	10
118	Ruffo	2	2	1	5
119	Rust			2	2
120	Sacchini			12	12
121	Salamon			1	1
122	Salieri			4	4
123	Sammartini		8	16	24
124	Sarti			16	16
125	Scarlatti		1		1
126	Schuster			1	1
127	Shield			1	1
128	Smart			1	1
129	Smith			7	7
130	Spofforth			2	2

131	Stanley			2	2
132	Steffani	6	2	2	10
133	Stevens			12	12
134	Stevenson			1	1
135	Storace			1	1
136	Stradella	3	8	1	12
137	Tallis	1		1	2
138	Tarchi			5	5
139	Travers	5	6	4	15
140	Vanhall			4	4
141	Vento			1	1
142	Victoria	4	2		6
143	Vinci			11	11
144	Webb			23	23
145	Weelkes			2	2
146	Wilbye		2	4	6
147	Zigarelli			1	1
		120	**460**	**1301**	**1881**

The distributive pie chart below includes the same raw data as that in the tabular format immediately above. Both illustrate the 774 compostions scheduled for Handel during the seventy-six years of the Academy's existence. This necessarily skews the data towards displaying an inordinately large chart wedge for Handel (14%), giving the visual impression that Handel compositions were considered by Academy programmers to be of far greater importance than those composers ostensibly most favored by the original Academy programmers, *viz.*, composers of 'old' music of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

For a more realistic interpretation of this data, with the Handel percentage removed, compare the chart below with that in Chapter Three at Figure 3.2.



APPENDIX THREE

Letter from Duchess of Marlborough to Viscountess Longueville
Lbl Add. MS 63650 S, fols.111-123
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Letter from Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough
To the Lady Vicountess of Longueville, March 18, 1728

When I received the favour of yours, Dear Madam, dated the 15th of March, I was a letter in your debt, occasioned by my continual illness. However, I should have enquired after your health, but that I never heard of your illness till they told me 'twas over; which I am afraid m will never be. I have not been out of my bed these three days with new pains of the gout. Those people who troubled themselves so much as to give you an account of my conduct know very little of me. And for cyder, I have not drank any this month; nor do I ever care for it, when there is anything else that is better to be had. Proper medicines I have taken a great many, tho with the same reflections that you make in your letter of the certainly of death, and the very little pleasure that there is in life. It is impossible to find out what you mean by your pennyworth. But I think it is ribbon, for which I give you many thanks. But I want nothing but health. My Lord Sunderland deserves your good opinion, for he certainly is a reasonable young man, and has as much compassion in his nature as his mother had, which is saying a great deal for that sex. And neither he nor either of his brothers are likely to hurt themselves with what you intimate my Lord Blanford has done: For they drink more water than wine.As to the Duchess of Queensberry, I conclude you have had wrong accounts of it, which I know by woeful experience is always given by court sycophants. But in truth, she has done nothing unbecoming a woman of her quality, who was very intimate both with the King and Queen. She endeavoured to vindicate Mr. Gay from having writ any thing but what was general. And it is true: For there is nothing in that opera that cuts deeper than five thousand other things in old plays.

As for instance, there was lately a play acted, called Love for Love, where there is a conversation between three gentlemen, one of which asked the other what was doing at court: To which he answered, I am truth and never go there. For fear of anger the players have left out those lines, which I think is a Satyr that the court gives themselves, taking in effect everything that is bad to be a reflection of the court and ministry. But to go on with the Duchess of Queensberry, she did not ask the King to give money to Mr Gay, nor did she say anything of him in the circle. And, I never heard a whispering in a room where there's two hundred people was of any more consequence than speaking in another place. His Majesty honored her in coming from the king to her, and asked her what she was talking of, upon which she told him she was getting charity for a great Friend of hers, at which his majesty did not express any anger, but talked to her of other things the same night, and yet two days after, she was forbid at court (I would have given the same answer to the King's inquiry). She is the first woman of quality that ever was forbid at court: and I am very sure even such a woman as my Lady Dorchester deserved it very often. I remember in my own hearing once, upon Queen Mary's not paying her too much respect as she expected should be to a countess, she fell a raving and said, what does she mean by using me so. She has broke one commandment, and I another. There is one instance in my memory of Queen Catherine's having Mrs. Middleton [in] the drawing room. The reason I do not now remember. But the message was sent by my Lady [indecipherable: Susseth or Sussex?]: and Mrs. Middleton's answer was, that she would go out, and that she would never see her again till she could see her in the [indecipherable] at Westminster for two pence. And this answer in those times was

approved of very much. The reason of the Duchess of Queensberry's message being writ, was that the Vice-Chamberlain, Mr Stanhope, being fearful of mistaking it, desired her to repeat it once or twice over. Upon which she called for a pen and ink to prevent any mistake. You don't name the Duchess who wishes to be forbid: But I guess at her. And I don't admire that inclination: For I don't know that she has been affronted: And unprovoked I should never say a rude thing to anybody. Besides, I think if one does not like to go to court, one may forbid one's self: which is much better than to be forbidden, in my poor opinion. --

Believing it's possible you may not have had her true answer, I send it you, And I much own, I can find but one Fault in it, which is the word Bestow. I think she might have changed that for a better. But her reason for making use of it, is that when one goes to court offener than one is obliged to, it is bestowing civilities. But still, I don't like that word. But upon the principle of English liberty, of the manner after which nobility have been used in former reigns, I must own that if I were affronted as she was, I should have been glad to have made the same answer, all but what I mentioned. All I fear is, that I should not have had wit enough to have done it. But I believe my spirit would have been as great as her Grace's.

This is a very long letter from one that is not well, but I have a mind that dear lady Longueville should know the whole truth of all this [bustle?].

Your most faithful and most humble servant,

S Marlborough

[Postscript] That you may not think me partial in my account of the Duchess of Queensberry, I do assure you that we only visit in the usual manner of Town Ladies, leaving our names at one another's houses. But I never yet saw her in mine, nor was I ever further than the door of hers. But in the country where people are not denied, I have had the honor to see her twice.

APPENDIX FOUR

Alchemical Tract Sent to Elias Ashmole from Thomas Britton
Ob MS Ashmole 1440, pp. 215-25
Bodleian Libraries, Oxford

[On the title page:]

To the most High and Mighty Monarch CHARLES the II. By the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith.

The following Letter was Communicated by the most Serene Prince Frederick, Duke of Holsatia and Sleswick, and relates things strange and unheard of.

‘My Friend, You have desired of me an account of the Life and Death Inheritance & Heirs of my Master B. J. of happy memory. I return you this Answer in Latine, as yours to me was, though I be not exactly skill'd in it. He was by nation a Jew, by Religion a Christian for he believ'd in Christ the Saviour, and openly made profession of the same: He was a man of great Honesty, and gave great Alms in secret; He lived chastly a Batchelor, and took me when I was about twenty years of Age, out of the House where orphans are maintained by the Public and caused me to be instructed in the Latine, French and Italian Tongues; to which I afterwards by use added the Jewish or Hebrew. He made use of me, so far as I was capable, in his Laboratory, for he had great skill in Physick, and cured desperate Diseases. When I was twenty-five years of Age, he called me into his Parlour, and made me swear to him that I would never marry without his consent and knowledge; which I promised, and have religiously kept. When I was thirty years of Age, on a morning he sends for me into his Parlour, and said very lovingly to me, My Son, I perceive that the Balsam of my Life, by reason of extreme old Age coming on (for he was eighty-eight years of Age), is wellnigh wasted, and that consequently my Death is at the door; wherefore I have writ my last Will and Testament, for the use and benefit of my Brother's Sons and of you, and have laid it upon the Table of my Closet, whither neither you nor any mortal ever entred, for you durst not so much as knock at the door during the hours set apart for my Devotion. Having said this, he went to the double door of his Closet, and daubed over the joynings thereof with a certain transparent Crystalline Matter, which he wrought with his fingers till it became soft and yielding like Wax and imprinted his Golden Seal upon it; the said Matter was immediately hardned by the cold Air, so that without defacing the Seal, the door could in no way be opened. Then he took the Keys of the Closet, and shut them up in a small Cabinet, and sealed the same as before with the said Crystalline Matter, and delivered the said Cabinet, after he had sealed it, into my hands, and charged me to deliver the same to none but his Brother's Sons, Mr. Jesse Abrah and Solomon Joelha, who at that time lived in Switzerland, the eldest of them being a Batchelor. After this he returned with me into the Parlour and in my presence dropped the Golden Seal he had made use of, into a Glass of clear water in which the said Seal was immediately dissolved, like ice in hot water, a white Powder settling to the bottom, and the Liquor was ting'd with the pale red of the Provence Rose. Then he closed the said Glass Vial, with the above-mentioned transparent Matter, and charged me to deliver the said Vial together with the Keys to Mr. Jesse. This being done, he repeated upon his bended knees some of Davids Psalms in Hebrew, and he betook himself to his Couch, where he used to sleep after Dinner, and commanded me to bring him a Glass of Malaga, which now & then he sparingly made use of : As soon as he had drunk off his Wine, he bid me come to him, and leaning his head upon my shoulders, he fell into a quiet sleep, and after half an hours’ time fetched a very deep sigh, and so yielded his Soul to God, and to my great astonishment. Upon this I according to my promise, went into Switzerland to give notice of his death to his nephews; and to my great wonder, the

very day after my blessed Master died, I received a Letter from Mr. Jesse, wherein he enquired whether my Master were dead or alive, as if he had known everything that had passed; as indeed he did by means of a certain Instrument of which hereafter I shall make mention. A little after his nephews came, to whom I gave an account of what had passed; all of which Mr. Jesse heard with a smile, but the other Brother not without astonishment and wonder. I gave him the Keys, together with the Glass in which was the aforesaid Golden Solution ; but they refused then to meddle with anything that day being tired with their Journey, but on the morrow, after 1 had carefully shut all the doors of the house, and none but they & I being present, Mr. Jesse took the Glass Vial and broke it over a China-dish which might receive the enclosed Liquor, and took some of the said Liquor, and put it upon the transparent Matter until that which before was hard as Chrystal was resolved into a thickish Water ; so he opened the Cabinet, and took thence the Keys of the Closet. Then we came to the door of the Closet, where Mr. Jesse having seen the Seal, he wetted it as formerly with the forementioned Liquor, which immediately gave way; and so he opened the said double door but shut it again, and falling down upon his knees, prayed, as we also did; then we entered, and shut the doors upon us. Here I saw great Miracles. In the midst of the Closet stood a Table, whose Frame was of Ebony ; the Table itself was round, and of the same Wood, but covered with Plates of beaten Gold ; before the Table was placed a low Footstool, for to kneel upon, in the midst of the Table stood an Instrument of a strange and wonderful contrivance, the lower part of it or Pedestal was of pure Gold, the middle part was of most strange transparent Chrystal, in which was enclosed an incombustible and perpetually-shining fire; the upper part of it was likewise of pure Gold made in the form of a small Cup or Vial. Just above this Instrument hung down a Chain of Gold, to which was fastened an Artificial Chrystal of an Oval form filled with the aforesaid perpetual Fire. On the right side of the Table, we took notice of a Golden Box, and upon the same a little Spoon; this Box contained a Balsom of a Scarlet Colour. On the left side we saw a little Desk of massive Gold, upon which was laid a Book containing twelve leaves of pure beaten Gold, being tractable and flexible as Paper; in the midst of the leaves were several Characters engraved, as likewise in the Corners of the said leaves, but in the space between the Center and Corners of the leaves, were filled with holy Prayers. Under the Desk we found the last Will of my deceased Master; whilst we were in the Closet Mr. Jesse kneeled down leaning upon the Desk and with most humble devotion repeated some of the fore-mentioned Prayers, and then with the little Spoon took up a small quantity of the aforesaid Balsom, and put it into the top of the Instrument which was in the midst of the Table, and instantly a most grateful Fume ascending, which with its most pleasing odour did most sensibly refresh us : but that which to me seemed miraculous was, that the said Fume ascending, caused the perpetual Fire enclosed in the hanging Chrystal to flash and blaze terribly, like some great Star or Lightning. After this Mr. Jesse read the Will, wherein he bequeathed to Mr. Jesse all his Instruments and Books of Wisdom, and the rest of his Goods to be equally divided between him and his Brother; besides he left me a Legacy of 6000 Golden Ducatoons, as an acknowledgment of my fidelity. And accordingly first enquiry was made for the instruments and Books of Wisdom; of those that were on and about the Table, I have spoken already; in the right side of the Closet stood a Chest of Ebony, whose inside was all covered with Plates of beaten Gold, and contained twelve Characters engraven upon them. From thence we went to view a large Chest, containing twelve Looking-glasses not made of Glass, but of a certain wonderful unknown Matter; the Center of the said Looking

glasses were filled with wonderful Characters, the Brims of them were enclosed in pure Gold, and between the said Brims and Center they were polished Looking Glasses receiving all opposite Images. After this we opened a very large Chest or Case in which we found a most capacious Looking-glass, which Mr. Jesse told us was Solomons Looking-glass, and the Miracle of the whole World; in which the Characterisms of the whole Universe were united. We saw also in a Box of Ebony a Globe made of a wonderful Matter; Mr. Jesse told us, that in the said Globe was shut up the Fire and Soul of the World and therefore the said Globe of itself performed all its Motions in an exact Harmony and Agreement with those of the Universe. Upon this Box forementioned stood another which Contained an Instrument * resembling a Clock Dial but instead of the Figures of the 12 hours, the letters of the Alphabet were placed around this, with a Hand or Index turning and pointing at them. Mr. Jesse told us, that this Instrument would move of itself upon the motion of a Corresponding and Sympathetic Instrument which he had at home, and that by means of this Instrument, my happy Master had signified to him his approaching death; and that after his signification, finding that his Instrument remained without motion he concluded my Master was dead. Last of all we came to the Books of Wisdom, which he opened not: near the said Books was placed a Box of Gold full of a most ponderous Powder of a deep Scarlet colour, which Mr. Jesse smiling took and put up. Near to the Closet where we were, was another Closet adjoining, which we entered into, and there found four large Chests full of small Ingots of most pure Gold, out of which he gave me my Legacy of 6000 Golden Ducatoons in a double proportion. But Mr. Jesse refused to take for himself any of the said Gold, for he said, that those things which were afore bequeathed to him did fully content him, for he was skilled in my Master's Art, and therefore ordered his part of the Gold to be bestowed upon several poor Virgins of kin to them to make up their Portions. I myself married one of these, and had with her a good Portion out of the said Gold; she embraced the Christian Religion and is yet alive. Mr. Jesse packed up all his things and carried them home with him into Switzerland, though since that he hath chose himself a quiet and well-tempered place in the East-Indies from whence he writ to me last year, offering me to adopt my eldest Son, whom I have accordingly sent to him. During the time we were in the Closet I saw strange Miracles effected by the Motions of the said Instruments of Wisdom which I neither can nor dare set down in writings. Thus much, my intimate Friend, I was willing you should know, more I cannot add. Farewell.'

APPENDIX FIVE

Posthumous Sale Catalogue of Thomas Britton
Reprinted from John Hawkins'
A General History of the Science and Practice of Music
Volume 5, Chapter 9, pages 79-88
London: Thomas Payne, 1776
Fascimilie edition: London: Travis & Emery, 2005

confidence to get himſelf admitted, by pretending that he came from a couple who wiſhed to be married by the doctor. He ſtayed not long in the room, but made ſo good uſe of his time, that the doctor, who was a large man, and one of the ſtouteſt and moſt athletic then living, was almoſt terrified into fits. Dr. Derham of Upminſter, that ſagacious enquirer into the works of nature, had a great curioſity to ſee Honeyman, but the perſon he employed to bring about the meeting, and who communicated this anecdote, contrived always to diſappoint him, knowing full well that had it taken effect, it muſt have terminated in the diſgrace of the doctor, whoſe reputation as a divine and a philoſopher he thought a ſubject too ſerious to be ſported with.

This man, Robe was fooliſh and wicked enough to introduce, unknown, to Britton, for the ſole purpoſe of terrifying him, and he ſucceeded in it: Honeyman, without moving his lips, or ſeeming to ſpeak, announced, as from afar off, the death of poor Britton within a few hours, with an intimation that the only way to avert his doom was for him to fall on his knees immediately and ſay the Lord's Prayer: The poor man did as he was bid, went home and took to his bed, and in a few days died, leaving his friend Mr. Robe to enjoy the fruits of his mirth.

Hearne ſays that his death happened in September, 1714. Upon ſearching the pariſh-books, it is found that he was buried on the firſt day of October following.

Britton's wife ſurvived her huſband. He left little behind him beſides his books, his collection of manuſcript and printed muſic, and muſical inſtruments. The former of theſe were ſold by auction at Tom's coffee-houſe, Ludgate-hill. Sir Hans Sloane was a purchaſer of ſundry articles; and catalogues of them are in the hands of many collectors of ſuch things as matters of curioſity. His muſic books were alſo ſold in the month of December, in the year of his death, by a printed catalogue, of which the following is a copy.

'A CATALOGUE of extraordinary muſical inſtruments made by 'the moſt eminent workmen both at home and abroad. Alſo 'divers valuable compoſitions, ancient and modern, by the beſt 'maſters in Europe; a great many of which are finely engrav'd, 'neatly bound, and the whole carefully preſerv'd in admirable 'order; being the entire collection of Mr. Thomas Britton of 'Clerkenwell, ſmall-coal man, lately deceaſed. Who at his

'own

' own charge kept up ſo excellent a conſort forty odd years at ' his dwelling-houſe, that the beſt maſters were at all times ' proud to exert themſelves therein; and perſons of the higheſt ' quality deſirous of honouring his humble cottage with their ' preſence and attention: But death having ſnatched away this ' moſt valuable man that ever enjoyed ſo harmonious a life in ' ſo low a ſtation, his muſic books and inſtruments, for the be- ' nefit of his widow, are to be ſold by auction on Monday, ' Tueſday, and Wedneſday, the 6th, 7th, and 8th Decemb. at ' Mr. Ward's houſe in Red Bull-Yard in Clerkenwell, near Mr. ' Britton's, where Catalogues are to be had gratis; alſo at moſt ' Muſic-ſhops about town. Conditions of ſale as uſual.

' 1. Two ſets of books, one of three, and one of four parts, by divers authors.
' 2. Two ſets of ditto in four parts by Jenkins, Lock, Lawes, &c.
' 3. Two ſets ditto by Robert Smith, Brewer, and other authors.
' 4. Two ſets ditto by Mr. Richard Cobb, and other authors.
' 5. Two Lyra conſorts by Looſemore, Wilſon, &c.
' 6. Three ſets of books by Baptiſt, &c.
' 7. Two ſets ditto by old Mr. Baniſter, Akeroyd, &c.
' 8. Two ſets of books by Mr. Paiſible, Grabu, &c.
' 9. Three ditto, two by Mr. Courtevil and one by Mr. Baniſter.
' 10. Two ditto, four parts, by Chr. Simpſon and Mr. Wilſon.
' 11. Two ditto Jenkins's Pearl conſort and Dr. Rogers.
' 12. Two ditto of Lyra conſorts by Jenkins and Wilſon.
' 13. Three ditto by Jenkins, Simpſon, and Cuts.
' 14. Nicola's 1ſt, 2nd, 3d, and 4th books, original plates, with ſecond trebles and tenors.
' 15. Three ſets of three parts by Dr. Gibbons and other authors.
' 16. Two ditto of four parts by Mr. Eccles, Mr. Courtevil, and Dr. Coleman.
' 17. Three printed operas by Vitali, Groſſi, and one by divers authors, Italian.
' 18. Two ſets in three parts by Jenkins, Mr. Paiſible, &c.
' 19. Four ſets ditto by Vitali, &c.
' 20. Corelli's Opera Quarta, and Ravenſcroft's Ayres.
' 21. 25 Sonatas by Corelli, Baſſani, &c. Italian writing.
' 22. Ditto. ' 23. 16 Con-

'23. 16 Concertos by Carlo Cattilio, Carlo Ambrosio, Corelli 'ditto.

'24. 25 Sonatas by Melani, Bassani, Ambrosio, &c.

'25. Mr. H. Purcell's musick in Diocletian with trumpets, Mr. 'Finger, 9 books with ditto.

'26. Trumpet pieces in 4 and 5 parts by Dr. Pepusch, &c.

'27. Two sets of books ayres by Mr. Eccles, Barret, Bailani, Ga-'brielli.

'28. Desnier's Overtures, Ayres, &c. engraved and neatly bound, 'another set by divers.

'29. Fantasies, &c. by Feraboſco, &c.

'30. Ayres in 2, 3, and 4 parts by Lenton, Tollet, Jenkins, &c.

'31. 13 Sonatas of 2, 3, and 4 parts by Corelli, Italian writing.

'32. Five books of Pavans, Ayres, &c. neatly bound.

'33. Four sets of Ayres of 3 and 4 parts by Jenkins, &c.

'34. Three sets of Lyra books by Wilson and Simpson.

'35. Two sets of books by Mr. Jenkins in 3 parts.

'36. Three sets ditto by Vitali, R. Smith, &c. 3 parts.

'37. Three sets ditto by Mr. Courteville, Finger, Grabu, &c. 4 'parts.

'38. Six sets ditto by Mr. H. Purcell, Mr. Paisible, Mr. Demoi-'vre, &c. Duos for flutes and violins.

'39. Three sets ditto by Sign. Baptist, Lock, &c. 3 parts.

'40. One set ditto of Gillier of his last and best works.

'41. 12 Sonatas by Batt. Gigli for the marriage of the Duke of 'Tuscany.

'42. Simpson's Division Violist in English, neatly bound.

'43. Simpson's ditto in English and Latin ditto.

'44. Three sets by Ord. Gibbons, Mons. la Voles, and Lock, 3 'parts.

'45. Six sets of books of Redding's Lyra, 2 violins, &c. and di-'vers authors.

'46. A set of Sonatas in three parts with two basses.

'47. Mr. Sherard's Opera prima on the best large paper, and fine-'ly bound and lettered.

'48. A set of Grabu in 5 parts, and a set of Vitali in 6 parts.

'49. Two sets of Sonatas by Carlo Manelli and Cav. Tarq. Me-'rula.

'50. Three ſets by Vitali, Uccellini, and Adſon, printed in 5 'parts.

'51. 17 Sonatas by Mr. Finger, two of them with a high violin.

'52. Canzonette for 3 and 4 voices, with a harpſichord and lute 'part.

'53. Mace's Muſick's Monument.

'54. 12 Sonatas by Fiorenzo a Kempis for a violin, and viol da 'gamba and baſs.

'55. A ſet of Sonatas by Baltzar for a lyra violin, treble violin, 'and baſs.

'56. 2 ſets ditto by Coperario, Lupo, Dr. Gibbons, &c. and Fan- 'cies, 3 parts, alſo a ſet by Baptiſt.

'57. 2 ſets ditto by Vitali, and 1 ſet by Hernels, 3 parts.

'58. 12 Sonatas by Mr. Novel, finely engraved and on good paper.

'59. 2 ſets of fancies of 3 and 4 parts by Ferabosco, Lupo, and 'other excellent authors.

'60. Mr. Finger's printed Sonatas, 2 firſt violins and 2 baſſes.

'61. 3 ſets ditto by Vitali, Opera 14, and Lock, &c.

'62. The opera of Iſis, and a ſet of 5 parts by ſeveral authors.

'63. A collection of many diviſions, &c. by Baltzar, Mell, &c.

'64. Concertos by P. Romolo and Nicola.

'65. Overtures and tunes, 4 parts, by Mr. Paiſible, Mr. Courte- 'ville, &c.

'66. 3 ſets of ditto and fancies by Jenkins, Gibbons.

'67. 12 Solos by Torelli for a violin and baſs, and 10 Solos by 'Corelli.

'68. 16 Solos by Corelli, Dr. Croft, &c. ſome for flutes and ſome 'for violins.

'69. 4 ſets by Lock, and Young's Sonatas, Farmer's Ayres, &c.

'70. 18 Sonatas by Dr. Pepuſch, Carlo Ruggiero.

'71. 3 ſets of books of Sonatas by divers authors.

'72. Krieger's 12 Sonatas.

'73. 3 ſets of Sonatas, and one ſet by Lawes, 5 and 6 parts, and 2 'ſets by Birchenſhaw.

'74. 4 ſets of Sonatas and Ayres by divers authors.

'75. Caldara's 1ſt and 2d operas.

'76. Mr. H. Purcell's 2 operas of Sonatas, and Baſſani's opera 5ta 'printed.

'77. Baſ-

'77. Baſſani's opera quinta, and a ſet of ſonatas.
'78. 4 ſets of books for 2 violins by Finger, Courtevil, &c.
'79. Merula and Bleyer's ſonatas, 3 parts.
'80. Graſſi's ſonatas of 3, 4, and 5 parts.
'81. Walter's Solos finely engrav'd and neatly bound.
'82. Mr. H. Purcell's Overtures and Ayres in his Operas, Tragedies and Comedies 8 books, printed in Holland.
'83. Ditto, fairly printed here.
'84. Baſſani's beſt Sonatas well wrote.
'85. A large and good collection of Ayres in 3 and 4 parts, by the beſt modern maſters.
'86. Nicolini Coſimi's ſolo book neatly bound.
'87. Corelli's ſolo book, Dutch print.
'88. Ditto.
'89. Senallio's Solos finely engrav'd.
'90. Dandrieu's Solos ditto.
'91. Biber's Sonatas, 5 parts.
'92. Lock's Fancies, 4 parts: Cobb's 3 parts, Vitali 3 parts, &c.
'93. 6 Concertos for trumpets, hautboys, and Mr. Eccles's Coronation of Q. Anne.
'94. Hely's Sonatas for 3 viols, and ditto by ſeveral authors.
'95. Corelli's Opera terza finely wrote.
'96. Corelli Opera prima.
'97. Corelli Opera ſeconda.
'98. Corelli Opera terza in ſheets.
'99. Corelli Opera prima.
'100. Playhouſe tunes of 3 and 4 parts.
'101. 12 Concertos and Sonatas, 10 of them by Dr. Pepuſch.
'102. 12 Concertos by Dr. Pepuſch, young Mr. Babel, Vivaldi.
'103. Albinoni's Concertos, Dutch print.
'104. Biber's Solo book finely engrav'd.
'105. A curious collection of Concertos by Dr. Pepuſch, &c.
'106. Mr. Corbet's 3d and 4th Operas, Mr. Williams's 6 Sonatas, and Mr. Finger's 9 Sonatas.
'107. Mr. Keller's Sonatas for Trumpets, Flutes, Hautboys, &c. Dutch print.
'108. Pez Opera prima engrav'd in Holland.
'109. 3 ſets of books in 3 parts.

' 110. 9 ſets ditto of tunes.
' 111. 7 ſets ditto for 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 10 inſtruments.
' 112. 5 ſets ditto for violins, lyra viols, with baſſes by Jenkins.
' 113. 6 ſets ditto of 2 parts.
' 114. 6 ſets ditto of 3 parts.
' 115. 6 ſets ditto of ditto.
' 116. Lawes's Royal Conſort, Jenkins, Simpſon, &c. 4 parts.
' 117. 5 ſets of books, viz. Jenkins's Pearl conſort, and moſt by
' him.
' 118. 6 ſets ditto of 3 parts.
' 119. 2 ſets neatly bound of 3 and four parts.
' 120. 3 ſets of 2 parts well bound.
' 121. 6 ſets of books of fancies, &c. 3 parts by Jenkins, &c.
' 122. 12 ſets ditto of 2 parts by Jenkins, &c.
' 123. 6 ſets ditto of 3 parts moſt by Jenkins.
' 124. 10 ſets ditto of Duos by Jenkins, &c.
' 125. 8 ſets ditto of lyra pieces, moſt by Jenkins, in 2, 3, 4 and
' 5 parts.
' 126. 5 ſets ditto of 3 parts, moſt by Jenkins.
' 127. 6 ſets ditto for the organ by Bird, Bull, Gibbons, &c.
' 128. A great collection of diviſions on grounds.
' 129. 6 ſets of Duos by Veracini and other authors.
' 130. 9 books of inſtructions for the Pſalmody, Flute and Mock-
' trumpet.
' 131. 15 ditto for the Lute, Guitar, Citharen, &c.
' 132. 2 ſets by Becker, Roſenmuller, in 2, 3, 4, and 5 parts.
' 133. 5 ſets for 2 viols and violins by Jenkins, Simpſon, &c.
' 134. 8 ſets for Lyra viols and other inſtruments by Jenkins, &c.
' 135. Bononcini's Ayres, and a great collection with them.
' 136. 5 ſets Pavans, Fancies, &c. by Jenkins, Mico, &c. in 4 and
' 5 parts.
' 137. 5 books of inſtructions and leſſons for the harpſichord.
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* Jacob Rayman dwelt in Bell-yard, Southwark, about the year 1650. The tenor-violins made by him are greatly valued.

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'There are a great many books that Mr. Britton had collected in 'moſt parts of learning, the whole conſiſting of 14 or 1500 books, 'which will ſhortly be ſold at his late dwelling-houſe. But the 'manner and method of ſale is not yet concluded on.'

* Barak Norman was one of the laſt of the celebrated makers of violins in England: He lived in Biſhopſgate, and afterwards in St. Paul's church-yard. He had two daughters, who were actreſſes of the lower claſs at the theatre in Goodman's-Fields.

CHAP.

‘Purity of heart is to will one thing.’
— Sören Kierkegaard

Word count 79,466