

THE LIFE AND WORK OF MAURICE GREENE

(1696 - 1755)

by

H. Diack Johnstone

A Dissertation submitted for the Degree of  
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the present work is to shed fresh light not only upon the life and work of Maurice Greene, but also upon the whole state of music in England during the first half of the eighteenth century. Thus, while the basic framework is that of a full-scale historical biography, whole sections are devoted to a detailed discussion of various aspects of the contemporary scene.

Chapter one traces the composer's family background and early career up to about 1710. His work at St. Paul's, and the general conditions which there obtained, are separately considered, as is also the musical history of the important Sons of the Clergy festival which Greene conducted from 1718 until 1750. The biographical narrative continues with an account of Greene's marriage and family affairs, and also deals with his influence as a teacher. In chapter four, the composer's career as a secular musician is surveyed against the background of London musical life, and special attention is given to the history of the Academy of Ancient Music with which he was for a time intimately connected. Throughout the 1720s, Greene's reputation grew. In 1727, he was appointed

Organist and Composer of the Chapel Royal. Three years later, he took his doctorate at Cambridge, and was honoured with the title of Professor of Music in the University. In 1735, he succeeded Eccles as Master of the King's Band of Musick. Not yet thirty-nine, he now held every major musical appointment in the land. A detailed summary of this triumphal progress, and of those institutions in which Greene worked, forms the central core of the dissertation.

A thorough examination of Greene's relationship with Handel is contained in chapter six. The two final chapters deal with the period during which Greene's fame stood at its height, his gradual decline, death, and posthumous reputation. An extended postscript surveys Greene's contribution to Boyce's Cathedral Music. Two short appendices and a bibliography complete the volume.

Volume two consists entirely of a Descriptive Catalogue of all Greene's known works, including those which are no longer extant. Both printed and MSS. sources are listed, and copyists identified wherever possible. Ten pages of plates provide examples of the composer's autograph, and those of his four chief pupil-copyists. There are also extensive notes containing any historical or bibliographical information which might possibly be of use to future researchers.



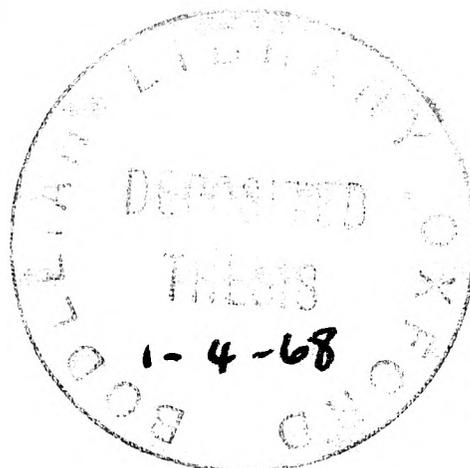
Dr. Maurice Greene [1735]  
From the portrait attributed to Joseph Highmore (1692-1780)  
in the collection of Field Marshal Sir Francis Festing.

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## PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The period covered by the reigns of the first two monarchs of the Hanoverian succession is, in many ways, one of the most fascinating and colourful epochs in the annals of English history. The record of its social life, like that of its political institutions, is now generally well known. So too, though to a lesser degree, is the work of its outstanding men of letters and science together with those active in the visual and plastic arts. Native music of the period, however, has long lain dormant, its intrinsic merit eclipsed, and the reputation of its composers overshadowed, by the greater fame and undeniably greater talent of George Frideric Handel -- an Englishman by naturalization, a universal genius by birth. From this curious artistic limbo, the work of those gifted native musicians in the Handelian orbit has only recently begun to emerge, assisted by the efforts of a few devoted enthusiasts who have rightly questioned those damning judgments so glibly handed down by successive generations of arm-chair historians.

Among the many interesting composers of the early Georgian era, Maurice Greene is certainly one of the greatest -- "the one English composer of the period who undoubtedly deserves the honour of being mentioned in the same

breath with the great masters of the continent, ... a man who, in more favourable surroundings, would have attained an European celebrity" to quote no less shrewd a critic than the late J.A. Fuller-Maitland.<sup>1</sup> The following account of Greene's life and work -- the first full-length study ever attempted -- needs no apology therefore. Neither does a degree of copious documentation which might otherwise seem excessive. While several writers, notably Fuller-Maitland and Ernest Walker, have shown an interest in Greene's music and a keen appreciation of its many virtues, yet no one, it seems, has done more than to offer, here and there, some evaluative comment upon isolated works. Biographically, a great deal of valuable (and easily accessible) evidence has been entirely ignored, with the result that even the composer's exact date of birth has remained hitherto unknown.

For the basic facts of Greene's life and professional career, we are indebted -- as also, indeed, was Dr. Burney -- to Sir John Hawkins's General History of the Science and Practice of Music (1776), a work which still stands as the most comprehensive and, on the whole, the most reliable source of information concerning Handel's English contemporaries. With Greene, whom clearly he did not like, Hawkins confines himself for the most part to purely

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1 Oxford History of Music, iv (1902), 324.

biographical matters. Burney, on the other hand, ventures to criticize the music, but in so slighting and unreservedly censorious a manner as to earn him a sharp rebuke from a number of later enthusiasts, one of whom even went so far as publicly to declare that "there is not a department of the English School of Music in which Burney can be followed as a critic or trusted as a historian".<sup>2</sup> Though Burney claims to have had "a personal knowledge" of the composer, and to speak from experience of "the effect which many of his compositions had on the public at the time of their first appearance",<sup>3</sup> he could only have known Greene during the last decade of his life, when Greene's health and reputation had already begun to decline. His curt and generally disparaging remarks on Forty Select Anthems are particularly unfortunate, and there is reason to suspect that these may owe something to the influence of his friend, the Rev. William Mason, the poet and Precentor of York --

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2 Edward Taylor, the mid-nineteenth century Professor of Music at Gresham College, in the third of six lectures on 'English Church Music' (n.d.), Royal College of Music, MS. 2151, p. 7; see also a 'Memoir of Maurice Greene' [by William Ayrton ?] in The Harmonicon vii (1829), 72; George Hogarth, Musical History, Biography, and Criticism, 2nd edn. (1838), ii, 64-6; and Fuller-Maitland in the Dictionary of National Biography, s.v. 'Greene, Maurice'.

3 A General History of Music, modern edition ed. F. Mercer (1935), ii, 488.

a Rousseauesque divine whose artistic horizons, despite an apparently passionate interest in music, can only be described as distinctly limited. As the anonymous author of the afore-mentioned 'Memoir of Maurice Greene' justifiably complains, "Dr. Burney's review of these [anthems] is anything rather than impartial and just. He must have written either from a very imperfect knowledge of the contents of the volumes, or under the influence of a prejudice not quite excusable in a historian".<sup>4</sup> Yet Burney's opinions have stuck; and so too have most of Hawkins's snide and frequently malicious comments on the man himself. The main purpose of the present study is therefore to examine, de novo, the whole question of Greene's historical position as viewed against the background of contemporary life and affairs.

My original intention with regard to this thesis was to include both a full-scale biography of the composer and a detailed critical survey of his music. However, it soon became apparent that there would be little value in any biographical summary which did not treat at some length those various individuals and institutions with which Greene was intimately connected. Here there was so little information available -- and much of that was inaccurate -- that it seemed advisable rather to concentrate mainly upon this aspect of the subject in the main body of the text, and, ~~///~~

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4 The Harmonicon vii, loc. cit.

in a supplementary volume, to clear the ground for a later and much more extensive discussion of the music itself. Besides which, two academic dissertations have already been devoted to the major portion of Greene's creative output:

- i) John H. Moore, The Church Music of Maurice Greene, unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Nottingham, 1961.
- ii) Ellsworth Janifer, The English Church Music of Maurice Greene and his Contemporaries: A Study of Traditional and Contemporary Influences, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1959.

The first has no pretensions to original scholarship, but within its own modest limits, is a solid enough piece of work. The second offers a would-be complete, but in fact woefully inadequate, account of the main events of Greene's career together with a more searching, if somewhat blinkered, study of his sacred music. Neither adds much to our understanding of the man himself or of the circumstances in which he worked, and both are heavily larded with all the traditional errors and misconceptions which are common to every writer on Greene from Burney and Hawkins onwards.

To some extent, the history of English music in this period is still virgin territory. Particularly is that so in matters of bibliographical scholarship where the usefulness of even Schnapper's British Union-Catalogue of Early Music is seriously diminished by a vast accumulation of inherited errors, not to mention those of its own devising. Problems of dating are perhaps the most trouble-

some, and in volume 2 -- a Descriptive Catalogue of the Works of Maurice Greene -- it will be found that a number of my conclusions are at variance with those of established authority. An outline of the dating methods used is given in the introduction to volume 2. Suffice it here to say that while the supporting evidence has been cited wherever possible, there are some cases (most notably in Section 3b of Part 2) where proof depends upon an elaborate comparison of textual variants in all known sources far too cumbersome to be briefly summarized, and here, complex bibliographical argument has had, of necessity, to be jettisoned. Old Style dates have been tacitly modernized throughout.

My indebtedness to those who have preceded me -- and especially to Professor O.E. Deutsch for his invaluable Handel, A Documentary Biography (1955) -- will be apparent from the numerous footnotes throughout the work. To those others who have responded so generously to my frequent and sometimes vexatious importunings, I should like to express my very sincere thanks, particularly the officials of each of the following institutions:

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the Royal College of Music; the Fitzwilliam Museum, and the Rowe Music Library (King's College), Cambridge; St. Michael's College, Tenbury; the Library of Congress, Washington D.C.; the Conservatoire Royale de Musique, Brussels; the Royal Swedish Academy of Music; the University Library, Cambridge, and also Peterhouse and St. John's College; at Oxford, Christ Church and Merton College; Trinity College, Dublin; the University Library, Nottingham; the Municipal Library, Bath; the Mitchell library, Glasgow; the Guildhall Library, London (especially Donovan Dawe); Hackney Public Library; Leeds Public Library (especially Miss A.E. Burbridge); Manchester Public Library (the Henry Watson Music Library); Marylebone Central Public Library; Newcastle-upon-Tyne Public Library; Norwich Public Library; and the City of Westminster Public Library: in America, the Eastman School of Music at the University of Rochester; the Eda Kuhn Loeb Music Library at Harvard; the Library of the School of Music at Yale; and the Universities of California, Michigan and Pennsylvania; the Boston Public Library; the Curtis Institute of Music, Philadelphia; the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington D.C.; the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California; and the New York Public Library: the Principal Probate Registry, Somerset House; the Public Record Office; the County Record Offices of Dorset, Essex, Middlesex and Northamptonshire; the Diocesan Registries at Salisbury and Winchester; the University Archives at Oxford, and Cambridge (especially Miss H.E. Peek); Durham Cathedral, Ely Cathedral, Norwich Cathedral, St. Paul's Cathedral (especially Mr. A.R. B. Fuller), Westminster Abbey and York Minster; Christie, Manson and Woods Ltd., Peter Murray Hill Ltd., Maggs Bros. Ltd., Puttick and Simpson Ltd., Sotheby and Co. Ltd., B.F. Stevens and Brown Ltd.; the Bank of England; the British Council; the Society of Genealogists; the Mercer's Hospital, Dublin; and the Royal Institution

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H.D.J.  
Balliol College, Oxford  
and the Department of  
Music, University of  
Reading.

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ABBREVIATIONS

<u>Burney, History</u>	<u>A General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period, 4 vols.</u> (London, 1776-89). Unless otherwise stated, all references are to the second volume of the modern edition, ed. F. Mercer (London, 1935).
<u>Deutsch</u>	<u>Handel, A Documentary Biography</u> (London, 1955).
<u>DNB</u>	<u>Dictionary of National Biography.</u>
<u>Grove</u>	<u>Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians.</u> Unless otherwise stated, all references are to the 5th edn., ed. Eric Blom, 9 vols. (London, 1954).
<u>Hawkins, History</u>	<u>A General History of the Science and Practice of Music, 5 vols.</u> (London, 1776). Unless otherwise stated, all references are to the second volume of the 1853 edition (and modern facsimile reprint, 1963).
<u>HMC</u>	<u>Historical Manuscripts Commission</u>
<u>MA</u>	<u>The Musical Antiquary</u>
<u>M&amp;L</u>	<u>Music and Letters</u>
<u>MMR</u>	<u>The Monthly Musical Record</u>
<u>MQ</u>	<u>The Musical Quarterly</u>
<u>MT</u>	<u>The Musical Times</u>
<u>P[R]MA</u>	<u>Proceedings of the [Royal] Musical Association</u>

In the following pages, titles have generally been abbreviated whenever it is convenient to do so. For full details of all publications cited in the text, see Bibliography.

## CHAPTER ONE

### FAMILY BACKGROUND AND EARLY YEARS, 1696-1710

The tiny Northamptonshire village of Green's Norton lies in the broad shallow valley of the Tove, roughly midway between its source at Sulgrave and the point, just below Stony Stratford, where its quiet waters join the Ouse. Hard by and to the north-east runs Watling Street -- now the main London-Holyhead road (A 5) -- with Towcester, the nearest town, some two miles distant. Its original designation, 'Nortone', dates from Saxon times. The patronymic prefix which distinguishes it from another village of the same name near Daventry is much later, and was apparently assumed sometime after 1355 in which year the advowson and manor of Norton Davy were acquired by Sir Henry Greene, Lord Chief Justice of England from 1361 to 1365, and founder of a line leading ultimately, though by no means directly, to the musician who, nearly four centuries later, was likewise to stand at the very head of his own profession in this country.

The early history of the family is somewhat obscure, but it seems that they took their name and arms (in a field azure, three bucks trippant or) from an allusion to their principal seat which was Buckton (i.e. Boughton) in the Hundred of Speltho, "a place memorable for the excel-

lency of its soil and situation, as a spacious and delightful Green, upon which at the desire of the Lords was yearly held and exercised a Fair, with particular and extraordinary priviledges. Hence they were called Greene, or of the Green".<sup>1</sup> Considered thus, Sir Henry's forebears may be pursued back through five generations to one Alexander de Boketon who received the advowson of Boughton in 1202,<sup>2</sup> while in the other direction, the line descends through the eldest son in an uninterrupted succession of six Sir Thomas Greenes, the last of whom died on 9 November 1506 leaving two daughters, Anne and Matilda, as sole heirs to his estate. The latter, by her marriage to Sir Thomas Parr, was destined to become the mother of two of the most prominent figures of these troublous times: William Parr, the only son, successively Earl of Essex and Marquis of Northampton, and Catherine, the sixth wife and consort of Henry VIII.

Matilda died in 1532. Shortly afterwards, her lands (including the manor of Green's Norton) passed into other hands, and were eventually vested in the Crown. Later on, in 1551, they were returned to the family in the person of William Parr whose rapid rise to a position of power and authority in the Tudor court doubtless owed as much to the influence of his sister, the Queen, as to the

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1 Halstead, Succinct Genealogies, p. 151.

2 Baker, History and Antiquities of the County of Northampton, i, 32.

fact that he had spent most of his youth in personal attendance upon the King. Although both music and poetry were among his leisure interests, Parr's chief occupation, it seems, was war, and his downfall, when it came, was appropriately swift and sudden. On the death of Edward VI, he was implicated with Dudley in an attempt to place Lady Jane Grey on the throne, attainted of high treason, and sentenced to the block. Luckily, his life was spared; he lost his honours but not his head. Though he lived under a shadow during the reign of Mary, his fortunes revived on the accession of Elizabeth who consulted him on various matters relating to the revised Prayer Book of 1559. With this colourful character, the main line of Northamptonshire Greenes comes to an end. Parr died without issue in 1571 having previously bastardized the children of his first marriage by Act of Parliament.

By this time, however, younger subsidiary branches of the family had begun to spread out and establish themselves elsewhere -- in Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Wiltshire, Norfolk and Essex, to mention only a few places in which they apparently flourished. It is the last of these to which the progenitors of Maurice Greene belong.

The number of those who, at one time or another, have claimed lineal descent from the medieval Greenes of Green's Norton includes several persons eminent in various fields

of endeavour, most recently perhaps, the celebrated author of Brighton Rock and Our Man in Havana. The first of the Essex Greenes to do so was John, the composer's great grandfather who died at the age of seventy-four on 17 May 1653, and is described in his memorial as "Sonne Of Thomas Sonne Of John All Of This Parish. & Descended From The Ancient Family Of The Greenes Of Greenes Norton, In The County Of Northampton".<sup>3</sup> Like his distinguished ancestor, the Lord Chief Justice, and also many of his own immediate family, this John was a prominent lawyer. Educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, he proceeded thence to Lincoln's Inn and became in due course Reader, Serjeant-at-law and a Judge of the Sheriff's Court in London, which office "Hee Executed With Singular Integrity As That Hono<sup>ble</sup> Citty Can Beare Him Witnessse". From a few brief references scattered among a variety of contemporary sources, one gains the impression that John Greene was regarded not only as a highly respected member of his own profession, but also as a gentleman of substance with property in the City in addition to his estates in Essex. His principal seat of Bois Hall he inherited from his father, Thomas Greene, about whom almost nothing certain is known except that he was the third son of another John

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3 Parish Church of St. Thomas the Apostle, Navestock, Chancel east wall, above and to the right of the altar. Printed in Le Neve, Monumenta Anglicana, ii, 20-1.

-- the 'Grand Stemme' of the family tree according to one of several seventeenth-century genealogical documents in the possession of his present-day descendants.<sup>4</sup>

This John married Katherine Wright, begat thirteen children and, with his wife, survived to see their progeny increased to a total of one hundred and eleven within their own lifetime as the main pedigree proudly records. In 1565, he purchased the lesser manor of Bois Hall<sup>5</sup> in the parish of Navestock, a village whose pleasant rural situation (about three miles south of Ongar and four miles north-east of Romford) has not yet been swallowed up in the ugly sprawl of London's eastern-most suburbs. His fortunes prospered. In 1582, he also acquired the neighbouring manor of Shelley, and within five years had remodelled the original fifteenth-century Hall which, with many later alterations, still stands.<sup>6</sup> These two properties, the nucleus of the Greene seigniority in Essex, were handed down through six generations, and remained in the family for upwards of 150 years. In course of time, further additions were made: the subordinate manors of

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4 Festing papers at Birks, Tarsset, Hexham, Northumberland.

5 For a detailed history, see The Victoria History of the County of Essex, iv ed. W.R. Powell (1956), 144-5. It would appear that this same John was also tenant of Navestock Hall c. 1579-86 (ibid., p. 144 n. 84).

6 Ibid., pp. 204-6; see also plate facing p. 185.

Slades (bought in 1604; sold 1637), Dunmow Priory (1648),<sup>7</sup> Shardlowes (1649; sold 1688) and Loft Hall (1654). For all but the first of these, John Greene 2 and his son (John 3) were responsible.<sup>8</sup>

On 19 November 1594,<sup>9</sup> John Greene 1 died at the ripe old age of eighty-nine and was buried in Shelley Church. At this point, the main line divides. One strand, descending via the afore-mentioned Thomas and carrying with it the ownership of Bois Hall, leads finally and indeed terminally to Maurice Greene; the other descends via Robert, the sixth son, who succeeded his father as lord of Shelley and, by his wife Frideswide Wright, "had Isshue Twelve Sonns And neuer A Daughter".<sup>10</sup> By the end of the seventeenth century, the posterity of these two had multiplied in great profusion. Unfortunately, neither Morant (the first of the Essex historians) nor the later authors of the comprehensive Victoria County History make any consistent attempt to relate them one to the other,

7 Mentioned in family papers, but not, so far as I am aware, by any of the county historians.

8 Yet another manor, 'Bradwell', is mentioned in the will of John 3 (d. 1659), but when and by whom it was acquired does not appear.

9 The date given by all standard works of reference is 18 November (following Morant, History and Antiquities Of the County of Essex, i, 147). All extant family pedigrees, however, agree upon the 19th as the date of death.

10 Pedigree in the possession of Field Marshal Sir Francis Festing.

or to the parent stem rooted in Green's Norton. It is certain, however, that the patriarchal John 1 was by no means the first of the Greenes to settle in Essex, nor even the first to hold land in the immediate vicinity of Navestock. In 1554, the main manor of the parish was occupied by one Richard Greene on a forty-year lease granted by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's in 1526.<sup>11</sup> And twenty years before that (i.e. 1534), another Thomas Grene, yeoman, was evidently the owner of Bellhouse, Stanford Rivers, only a mile or so away.<sup>12</sup> Whether either of these was of the same stock as John Greene 1 of Bois Hall and Shelley is not, at this distance of time, to be discovered.

To substantiate the claim that the Greenes of Navestock are descended from those of Green's Norton is likewise impossible, although it would appear from the armorial bearings used by at least one late-seventeenth century member of the family<sup>13</sup> that the line must ultimately go back to Sir Henry Greene (second son of the Lord Chief Justice) who was obliged to assume the arms of Drayton (in a field argent, a cross engrailed gules) on being invested with the lordship of that manor by his cousin,

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11 Victoria History of the County of Essex, iv, 143.

12 Ibid., p. 213.

13 Hadsley Greene (d. 8 December 1699) whose daughter, Mary, married the Rev. Andrew Trebeck, first Rector of St. George's, Hanover Square. See Morant, loc. cit.

Sir John de Drayton, some time prior to 1370. By natural inheritance and a propitious marriage, this same Sir Henry, whose close association with Richard II was later to bring about his untimely end, acquired numerous estates in various parts of England. In 1387, he came by the manor of White Roding in Essex which passed, on his death twelve years later, to his eldest son Sir Ralph Greene, High Sheriff of Northamptonshire, and so on down to the end of the fifteenth century when, in the absence of further male issue, it then reverted to one of the subsidiary echelons of the family, and the main line was absorbed in the person of Edward Stafford, Earl of Wiltshire. It is this branch of the original House of Greene which is chronicled in the pedigree<sup>14</sup> compiled by Roger Dodsworth (d. 1654) co-author, with Dugdale, of the pioneering Monasticon Anglicanum and one of the greatest medievalists of the age.

So much for ancestral prolegomena. The most notable of the composer's immediate forebears was his paternal grandfather, another John, eldest son and sole heir of John 2 (d. 1653). Born on 28 October 1616, he was schooled at Brentwood, Essex and admitted to Lincoln's

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14 Bodleian Library, MS. Eng. misc. d. 22, p. 324. It should perhaps be noted that the very earliest members of the family named here are not the same as those cited in Baker's History and Antiquities of Northampton and reproduced by Lieut.-Colonel J.J. Greene in 1899.

Inn on 11 August 1631.<sup>15</sup> The following year he went up to Cambridge as a fellow-commoner of St. John's (his father's college), but apparently did not stay long enough to proceed to a degree. By the beginning of 1635, he was back in London keeping his terms at Lincoln's Inn and dining regularly in Hall. By this time too, he had already begun to keep a diary of which eleven volumes survive, ranging -- with gaps -- from 1635 to 1657.<sup>16</sup> These make fascinating reading, and are also of minor historical importance as a relatively unbiased account of events during the Commonwealth, and as a source of information about details of the period's day-to-day domestic life. Although Greene several times declares himself against a war 'merely for religion', his brief annual surveys of the political situation are otherwise non-committal. It seems likely, however, that the members of his family were royalist in their sympathies even if their position and circumstances forced them to throw in their lot with the parliament. They could afford to be, for Essex, thanks to its

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15 The Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, i (Admissions 1420-1799), 215. The John Greene 'of Madeleys in Epping, Essex' admitted to the Inner Temple in 1638 was probably a cousin from the Shelley Hall branch of the family; see Students Admitted to The Inner Temple 1547-1660, p. 299. Both Foster (Alumni Oxoniensis) and Venn (Alumni Cantabrigiensis) are confused on this as on several other points concerning the Greenes.

16 Festing papers; extensive extracts published with commentary (not entirely accurate) by Miss E.M. Symonds in The English Historical Review, vols. 43 (pp. 385-94, 598-604) and 44 (pp. 106-17).

inclusion in the Seven Counties (or Eastern Association), had suffered few of the bitter hardships of civil war.

Hard-headed practitioners of the law have always seen to it that their services are amply rewarded. To quote an anonymous eighteenth-century observer of the London scene, "A lawyer of parts and good education seldom fails of rising to preferment, and acquiring an estate even while he is a young man. I do not know of any profession...where a person makes his fortune so soon as in the law, if he be an eminent pleader".<sup>17</sup> There is no reason to suppose that things were very much different a hundred years or so earlier. Certainly, John Greene 3 must have been 'an eminent pleader' if we may judge by an amusing reference in the astrologer William Lilly's History Of His Life and Times (1715).<sup>18</sup> Greene was called to the bar on 12 November 1639, elevated to the bench on 17 May 1653, and five years later, rose to become Recorder of the City of London, by which time his legal practice alone brought him £1,500 per annum<sup>19</sup> not to mention the income from his tenanted estates. The financial disbursements in his will<sup>20</sup> give some idea of his general state of affluence -- not rich by titled standards, but definitely very well off.

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17 London In 1731. By Don Manoel Gonzales, p. 165.

18 See pp.73-5.

19 Thomas Greene, Vindication, p. 22.

20 Somerset House, Principal Probate Registry, P.C.C. Nabbs 184.

In April 1643, he took to wife Mary, eldest daughter of Philip Jermyn, a Justice of the King's Bench.<sup>21</sup> It was obviously a mariage de convenance. The poor girl was not yet sixteen, and a callous comment in his diary for 22 March shows that John Greene found her quite unattractive. Nevertheless, she seems to have spent the next few years in a more or less continuous state of pregnancy, and to have borne him no less than eleven children before she herself finally expired -- in childbed -- on 29 November 1659.<sup>22</sup> Her husband predeceased her by only four weeks. His death at the age of forty-three cut short a career which, though already distinguished, had still to exhaust its earlier promise. Perhaps the Recorder harboured some vague notion of his impending fate, for the diaries reveal an almost morbid interest in the London bills of mortality, especially those concerning deaths from the plague. Never robust in health,<sup>23</sup> he was also unusually short in stature, and afflicted with some undeterminable species of congenital deformity which was to reappear later among several of

21 There is some doubt about the actual date. The Registers of St. Olave Jewry (Guildhall Library, MS. 4400/1, p.81) say the ceremony took place on 17 April, while Foster (London Marriage Licences 1521-1869, col. 581) gives 22 April, and a family pedigree, the 24th.

22 This, together with various other family deaths during the period, is recorded in The Obituary of Richard Smyth, ed. Sir Henry Ellis.

23 The diaries contain many references to various illnesses, and a long medical prescription addressed, almost certainly, to John Greene 3 survives among a loose bundle of Festing papers.

his descendants including Maurice.<sup>24</sup>

John 3 was succeeded by his eldest son John 4 (b. 8 March 1644)<sup>25</sup> who naturally fell heir to the bulk of his father's fortune as well as a career predetermined by agnatic tradition: Westminster School (1657), Lincoln's Inn (admitted 2 May 1659) and St. John's College, Cambridge (fellow-commoner, 25 August 1659), then back to Lincoln's Inn to be bred up in the law.<sup>26</sup> He too prospered in the profession: Barrister (1667), Bencher (1685), Treasurer (1693) and finally Serjeant-at-law (1700). In addition, he served as sometime Attorney of the Lord Mayor's Court and was for many years Clerk of the Distillers' Company.<sup>27</sup> For all that he was a person much in the public eye, John Greene 4 remains a rather shadowy figure in the history of the family. His portrait, painted by Mary Beale (1632-97),<sup>28</sup> depicts him as a stern-faced Pepysian gentleman in a full-bottomed wig, formidable in appearance and

24 For a full discussion of this point, see post, p. 264-5.

25 Here again, standard authorities disagree. 8 March is the date given both in the family pedigrees and in his father's diary.

26 In his father's will, John 4 is specifically instructed not to stay long at the University, and to proceed hence to Lincoln's Inn.

27 [John Greene], The Priviledges of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City, dedication; see also the records of the Distillers' Company in the Guildhall Library.

28 Festing collection. Another portrait dated 1656, also at Birks, shows him mounting horse with Bois Hall visible in the middle distance.

implacable in character -- an impression which the course of later events does nothing to dispel.

With a legacy of £700 each on attaining the age of twenty-one, his three younger brothers were left to make their own way in the world.<sup>29</sup> Thomas, the second of these, was born on 14 January 1648. He was educated at Hertford School, and followed his elder brother Alexander (b. 1646) to Peterhouse where, on 2 April 16~~4~~<sup>6</sup>4, he matriculated among the lower ranks as a pensioner. His admission to Lincoln's Inn a year later<sup>30</sup> might seem to argue some uncertainty of purpose, but scholarship prevailed and Thomas remained at the University to fulfil the academic requirements for B.A. (1668), M.A. (1671) and eventually D.D. (1684). In May 1673, he was elected a fellow of his college, but still contrived to spend most of his time at Bois Hall and in London. Nine volumes of his diary are extant,<sup>31</sup> written (like those of his father) on the blank pages of tiny pocket almanacks issued by the leading astrologers of the day. Unfortunately, however, they are of no great interest, and consist mainly of memoranda, expense accounts, religious

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29 The daughters of John Greene 3 were each to receive £1,000 on marriage or on their eighteenth birthday, whichever came first.

30 Admissions Register, p. 296.

31 Festing papers.

maxims, and other random jottings over a period of fifty years (1667-1717). There is no coherent plan or consecutive narrative, and consequently, no clearly defined character or personality emerges; but there are hints here and there -- confirmed by supplementary sources -- that the composer's father had a somewhat irascible disposition and no great excess of Christian charity. On the other hand, his long lists of reading matter and books to be bought reveal a man of wide general culture. Apart from religion, the topics covered (in English, French and Latin) include history, literature, poetry and travel. Among his spare-time diversions we find occasional references to 'musick clubs and consorts', but much more commonly, bowls or nine pins, and also -- strange sport for a clergyman -- gambling at cards.

In October 1678, the Rev. Thomas Greene settled permanently in London as minister of the united parishes of St. Olave Jewry and St. Martin Ironmonger Lane. It was here in the very heart of the City that he himself had been born thirty years earlier.<sup>32</sup> In 1679, he resigned

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32 Greene, Vindication, p. 29. Thomas would appear to have been born at his grandfather's house in the Old Jewry, for he was baptized in St. Olave's on 25 January 1648; see Guildhall Library, MS. 4400/1, p. 150. In October 1648, John Greene 2 took another house in Fleet Street, and the family moved there on 15 December (Diary of John Greene 3).

his Cambridge fellowship, and two years later, on 24 November 1681, married Mary Shelton<sup>33</sup> by whom he had seven children, five boys and two girls. Of these, three only survived infancy. The eldest, John 5, was born on 12 October 1682; Maurice, the youngest, on 12 August 1696 "about 8 in y<sup>e</sup> morning, & baptized on y<sup>e</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> by M<sup>r</sup> Wickes" as an apparently disinterested father drily records.<sup>34</sup> A later entry (3 February 1697) adds the amount paid to Mr. Mercer "for y<sup>e</sup> birth of my son Maurice": twenty-two shillings.

Among the Greenes of Navestock, the Christian name 'Maurice' is not only unusual but unique. In all probability, therefore, the child came by this particular pre-nomen through its maternal grandfather, Maurice Shelton of Barningham in Suffolk.<sup>35</sup> It is just possible, however, that the boy was christened after a member of that branch of the Wiltshire Greenes among whom the name is common, and to whom, it may be supposed, he was distantly

33 Register of St. Olave Jewry, Guildhall Library, MS. 4400/2, p. 21.

34 Volume headed 'Riders British Merlin' 1683; see also Guildhall Library, MS. 4401/1, p. 8.

35 For whom see Venn, Alumni Cantabrigiensis.

related.<sup>36</sup> One 'Maurice Green, of New Sarum, Wilts' is listed in the Admissions Register of Lincoln's Inn under date of 27 April 1727. Another of the same name was mayor of that city in 1661<sup>37</sup> and almost certainly the father of yet another John admitted to Lincoln's Inn on 11 November 1686 and also, one month later, to Exeter College, Oxford.

But Thomas Greene had his own ties of association with the county. On 10 June 1693, three years before Maurice was born, he became a Prebendary of Salisbury and, on the 18th, received the sacrament and read prayers there for the first time.<sup>38</sup> Further preferment was soon to follow. In the summer of 1696 or thereabouts, Dr. Greene was appointed one of His Majesty's 48 Chaplains

36 Although no direct genealogical connection between the seventeenth-century Greenes in Essex and Wiltshire has been traced, it may not be entirely irrelevant to note that, in 1650, John Greene 3 together with his father-in-law Philip Jermyn and Roger Bysshe purchased the rectory manor of Stratford Parsonage, Wilts., for £691. See The Victoria History of the County of Wiltshire, vi ed. Elizabeth Crittal (1962), 204.

37 British Museum, Add. MS. 32324, f. 129.

38 Diary ('Riders British Merlin' 1692), memorandum dated 26 June. Various papers relating to Greene's appointment are in the Diocesan Record Office in Salisbury. According to Venn (op. cit.) and others, he was also a Prebendary of Norwich. The error probably derives from Hennessy's Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense which confuses the Rev. Thomas with his namesake, a son of the Bishop of Norwich and Dean of Salisbury (d. 1780).

in Ordinary, a fact which, strangely enough, does not seem hitherto to have been observed.<sup>39</sup> If, as circumstances suggest, ecclesiastical merit was seldom sufficient in itself to secure so highly coveted a post in the King's service, then Greene must surely have been fortunate in his friends. In this case, a well-disposed intermediary is not far to seek, for the then Sub-Dean of the Chapel Royal, Dr. Ralph Battell, had been a contemporary and frequent companion during the years at Cambridge.<sup>40</sup> Among other clerical distinctions, the Rev. Thomas Greene was a fellow (and sometime Dean) of Sion College<sup>41</sup> and an examiner to St. Paul's school. He also served on many of those determinedly charitable committees and commissions with which the eighteenth century appeased its social conscience -- including one for 'the Relief of Poor Proselytes' (1718).<sup>42</sup> In the world of Anglican divines at any rate, the composer's father was clearly no less a

39 A memorandum in the diary ('Riders British Merlin' 1683) reads: "I kissd y<sup>e</sup> Princesse of Denmarks hand Nov: y<sup>e</sup> 10, 1696" and there are several references to sermons preached at St. James's, on 22 November and 30 January [1697] among others. Greene still held the place at the time of his death; see the Lord Chamberlain's Records, Public Record Office L.C. 3/7.

40 'M<sup>r</sup> Battell' is often mentioned in the diary (1676 volume). See also Rimbault, Cheque-Book, pp. 224-5.

41 [Miege], The Present State of England, 1st edn. (1707), part 1, pp. 178-9.

42 British Museum, press-mark 700 f. 11 (2).

man of consequence than was his uncle in the law.

The ancient churches of St. Olave in the Old Jewry and St. Martin Ironmonger Lane (or Pomeroy as it was also sometimes known) were both destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666, and only the first was rebuilt -- to an eccentric coffin-shaped design by Wren -- in 1673.<sup>43</sup> Two years later, the parishes were united.<sup>44</sup> Together they covered a small area of not more than three or four modern city blocks immediately south-east of Guildhall. The appurtenant vicarages had also been destroyed, and since neither had been replaced (even by 1711), the incumbent was forced to rent a house elsewhere.<sup>45</sup> In 1683, the Greenes were living just outside the parish in St. Lawrence Lane,<sup>46</sup> and it is here most likely that Maurice was born.

Judging by readily available sociological data, Thomas Green<sup>e</sup>'s flock must have been a small one. The number of names (representing families) on the parish assessment of 1694, for example, was only sixty-one,<sup>47</sup> and two years later,

<sup>43</sup> It was demolished in 1888. The west front and tower, however, were allowed to stand, and are incorporated -- most incongruously -- in the facade of the business premises which now occupy the site.

<sup>44</sup> They are now annexed to St. Margaret Lothbury.

<sup>45</sup> Greene, Vindication, p. 13; see also p. 26.

<sup>46</sup> Diary (1683 vol.). The rent was £8.10.0. per quarter.

<sup>47</sup> Guildhall Library, MSS. 4415/1 and 2.

the number of houses was given as fifty-nine in St. Olave's; in St. Martin's, forty-one.<sup>48</sup> So far as buildings are concerned, the situation was much the same a century later,<sup>49</sup> though there had, of course, been a marked increase in the density of population. Excluding fees for weddings, burials and the like, the parish tithes were valued at £120 per annum,<sup>50</sup> and comparison with other City benefices shows this to have been an average amount for the period. It is well known that clergymen were sometimes expected to raise entire families on less -- hence the growth of pluralism which, with its inevitable accompaniment, absenteeism, was a crying abuse throughout the century.<sup>51</sup> But the Rev. Thomas, however, was lucky. In addition to the tithes of St. Olave's, he <sup>j</sup>enjoyed the benefits of his prebendal seat of Slape in the parish of Netherbury in Dorset, the rents of a farm at Bradwell in Essex,<sup>52</sup> his stipend as a Chaplain of the Chapel

48 Window tax assessment in the summer of 1696 (City of London Record Office). Cf. [Hatton], New View of London (1708), vol. 1 section 2; also Paterson, Pietas Londinensis (1714), p. 212.

49 Malcolm, London Redivivum (1807), iv, 561.

50 [John Greene], Priviledges (1708); also [Hatton], op. cit.; New Remarks of London (1732); London and its Environs Described (1761), etc.

51 Turberville, English Men and Manners in the 18th Century, p. 288.

52 Mentioned in his will and left to his wife for the duration of her life; thereafter to Maurice. See ante, p. 6, n.8.

Royal, and also quarterly payments from the Chamber of London together with a wide range of smaller non-recurrent fees details of which appear in the diary. All told, he was probably earning something like five or six hundred pounds a year at the turn of the century which, by standards of the time, was a very comfortable income indeed for one in his position.

Needless to say, this is not the impression one gets from reading A Vindication of Thomas Greene, Doctor in Divinity, . . . from the Complaints and Objections which Lawrence Smith, Doctor of Civil Law, . . . and some of his Friends have made against him, though its rather Machiavelian author does admit that he has recently lost a considerable sum of money "by putting it into Ill Hands", and has been "reported Rich almost by all Persons".<sup>53</sup> The polemic substance of Greene's thirty-page pamphlet need not concern us here. Its purpose, briefly, was to justify his actions in getting Smith removed from the Sunday afternoon lectureship of St. Olave's, and to solicit the parishioners' votes for his own son (Thomas, b. 1684) as successor.<sup>54</sup> The Vindication is dated 12 February 1711, and has been cited several times already. Its only interest in the present context is as the source of certain information about

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53 Pp. 11 and 28.

54 For the outcome, see the Vestry Minutes of 5 December 1711, Guildhall Library, MS. 4410/1, p. 131; also Vestry Minutes of 6 December 1711 and 25 January 1712.

the family which, but for this, would otherwise be unknown.<sup>55</sup>

The following extract<sup>56</sup> should prove a sufficient indication of its general character:

... I have labour'd so many Years with a slender Competency to maintain my Family, and give my Children an indifferent Education; and when I have receiv'd many great Crosses, and Losses, and Disappointments in the World, some of which are the more grievous to be endur'd because they are not fit to be declared; so that being now in my Old Age [he was then sixty-three], if I should die to Morrow I must leave my Wife in her declining Years, and Three Sons to struggle with, a hard World, under great Straits and Difficulties.

Undoubtedly, one of the greatest losses and disappointments 'not fit to be declared' was the fact that, only a few years previously, the Rev. Thomas Greene together with his wife and children had been summarily -- and perhaps not altogether unjustly -- disinherited by the formidable John 4 who, as titular head of the family, was naturally in possession of the ancestral Essex estates. Serjeant Greene was unmarried,<sup>57</sup> and Alexander (the second son) had died

55 Dr. Janifer, in almost total ignorance of other documentary evidence relating to the history of the Greenes, naturally attaches a great deal of importance to this publication, and the conclusions which he draws from it can only be described as fantastic. The pamphlet's main autobiographical features were summarized by W.H. Husk in Notes and Queries, 2nd Series, x (1860), 234-5.

56 Pp. 13-4 .

57 One of the family pedigrees -- possibly the one kept by Thomas since it alone gives full details of his offspring and continues the line down to Maurice's marriage -- has him wedded, a trifle self-consciously to 'M<sup>rs</sup> Gibbs A Widdow'.

shortly after taking his degree at Cambridge.<sup>58</sup> In the event of John's death, Thomas (as next of kin) might reasonably expect to inherit Bois Hall and all its dependent lands either for himself or for his own descendants; and being the man he was, it would be surprising if he had not begun to pin his future hopes on the possibility of this contingency. But these were rudely shattered when it became known that John 4 had not only fathered an illegitimate son -- John (6) -- but also intended to make the child his legal heir.<sup>59</sup>

The self-righteous indignation of the outraged Thomas and his wife apparently knew no bounds. Matters came to a head when, in a letter to his brother dated 28 July 1704, John 4 writes:

I doe declare to you y<sup>t</sup> I will give my estate reall & personall to my son (except some Legacys) & I doe further promise & declare y<sup>t</sup> untill you & your wife behave yourselves much more civilly to my son & heir than you have done, y<sup>t</sup> tho my son should happen to dye, I will never give one peny of my estate to

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58 He was buried at Little St. Mary's, Cambridge, on 11 March 1667.

59 The boy would seem to have been born in 1695 for he was sixteen on his admission to St. John's College, Cambridge (28 June 1711). The Navestock Registers show no trace of his baptism there unless his true identity is concealed in a rather 'touched-up' entry headed "Johan Filius Doxead" and dated 8 August 1695.

you, your wife, or children.<sup>60</sup>

He meant it too. Obviously the situation did not improve, and twelve years later, when John 4 came to dictate the terms of his will,<sup>61</sup> he made elaborate provisions to ensure that neither Thomas nor any of that line would ever benefit from his estate. Fortunately, however, John 6 inherited the 'power of Renovation' in addition to the Greene patrimony. Although the two brothers were never reconciled, their bitter enmity was not passed on to the younger generation: Maurice and his bastard cousin were later to become good friends in the common pursuit of music.<sup>62</sup>

Enough has already been said to show that Bumpus was quite right in supposing Maurice Greene to have been "better born" than most.<sup>63</sup> Despite their father's expedient suggestion to the contrary, the two eldest sons (John 5 and Thomas) enjoyed the benefit of a good schooling, one at Hackney, the other at St. Paul's, and both later went on to

60 Quoted from the diary ('Riders British Merlin' 1679); most of the volume is given over to moral diatribe relating to the question of his disinheritance. In another letter (1 August 1704) addressed this time to Sir Robert Kempe, an uncle of Thomas Greene's wife, John 4 reiterates the same admonition: "D<sup>r</sup> Greene hath no right to my estate now or hereafter".

61 Somerset House, Principal Probate Registry, P.C.C. Romney 251.

62. See post, p. 102; also p. 261.

63 A History of English Cathedral Music, i, 245.

Peterhouse.<sup>64</sup> It would appear that the same opportunities and advantages were not available to the youngest member of the family, however, for Maurice was brought up in the choir of St. Paul's Cathedral. Here his general education was entrusted to the Almoner (or Eleemosynarius) whose duties, as defined by the statutes, were "to maintain a certain number of boys, of good disposition and respectable parentage, for the service of the choir; to watch over their moral conduct with extraordinary solicitude; and to see that they punctually attend proper masters for their musical and literary education, with a view to their future ministry in the church".<sup>65</sup> Doubtless the boy had already given some indication of unusual vocal ability, though quite how he came by his musical talent is not at all clear. His ancestors on the Greene side had shown no more than a casual interest in the art, and it was the Sheltons, presumably, who were musical. Perhaps his mother sang or played at home; certainly there was no music to speak of in his father's church for St. Olave's had no organ.<sup>66</sup>

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64 Only Thomas, however, remained to take a degree: B.A. (1706), M.A. (1709). He was ordained on 20 March 1709. A prize speech in his handwriting is still extant (St. Paul's School, Walker Library). John 5 was admitted to Lincoln's Inn on 6 December 1698. His future career is uncertain.

65 Bumpus, The Organists and Composers of St. Paul's Cathedral, p. 17. See also Correspondence, Legal Proceedings, and Evidences Respecting the Ancient School Attached to St. Paul's Cathedral (1816).

66 [Hatton], op. cit., vol. 1 section 2; Malcolm, op.cit., iv, 562.

There is virtually nothing to be discovered about the composer's childhood or early musical training. Resorting to conjecture therefore, we may suppose that he entered the choir of St. Paul's about the age of six or seven,<sup>67</sup> probably not later than 1703, and almost certainly before John Blow quitted his post as Almoner in the autumn of that year.<sup>68</sup> According to Bumpus,<sup>69</sup> Maurice was permitted to wear his surplice for the first time at the Thanksgiving service for Marlborough's victories in Brabant attended by Queen Anne and both Houses of Parliament on 31 December 1706. F.G. Edwards, on the other hand, suggests the Thanksgiving service for the union of Scotland and England -- 1 May 1707 -- as a more likely occasion.<sup>70</sup> Although there is not a scrap of evidence to support them, such picturesque notions are nonetheless attractive -- or would be if they

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67 This was definitely the case with Charles King who was born in 1687 and baptized on 5 June 1693 on his admission to the choir of St. Paul's. See Bumpus, History of English Cathedral Music, i, 233.

68 On 11 January 1703, Blow was ordered to surrender his 'Pattent' in favour of Jeremiah Clarke (St. Paul's Cathedral Library, Chapter Minute Books 1686-1728, p. 65; Grove, s.v. 'Blow'). It seems, however, to have gone unnoticed that Blow continued to draw his salary of £10 per quarter until 29 September 1703 (St. Paul's Cathedral Library, Receipt Book 1710-68). Clarke received his first payment as Almoner on 21 December.

69 History of English Cathedral Music, i, 244.

70 MF 44, February 1903, p. 89.

were not so highly improbable. Few cathedrals can afford to allow its choristers a three- or four-year initial training period before requiring them to take part in the daily round of services, and one may safely assume that Maurice was singing regularly well before the end of 1706. It may also be assumed that, like any other keen and reasonably intelligent child, he had already begun to learn something of the essential features of good musicianship simply by observing the work of those fine artists with whom he was in almost daily contact: Jeremiah Clarke, Organist and Master of the Choristers, a man "esteemed the most Elegant player of Church Music in the Kingdom";<sup>71</sup> Richard Elford, the famous countertenor so highly praised by Croft;<sup>72</sup> and, among others, the long-lived Dr. William Turner, joint composer, with Blow and Pelham Humfrey of the celebrated 'Club Anthem' ("I will alway give thanks").

The melancholy circumstances of Clarke's suicide on 1 December 1707 undoubtedly caused great consternation in the choir, for his music reveals a "mild, placid" nature "seemingly incapable of violence of any kind".<sup>73</sup> He was succeeded in the Almonry by his brother-in-law, Charles King, a recent B.Mus. of Oxford, and in the organistship

71 British Museum, Add. MS. 33235, f. 2.

72 Musica Sacra, preface, p.4; see also Burney, History, pp. 481-2.

73 Burney, History, p. 476.

by Richard Brind about whom almost nothing is known.<sup>74</sup> As an eleven-year-old chorister, Greene came chiefly under the influence of the former. King was evidently no disciplinarian.<sup>75</sup> He was not much <sup>of</sup> a composer either. His works are "uniformly restrained within the bounds of mediocrity", and "leave the mind just as they found it".<sup>76</sup> According to Hawkins,<sup>77</sup> "some who were intimate with him say he was not devoid of genius" but only "averse to study". Apparently this "general indolence and apathy" was visible even in his behaviour at church "where he seemed to be as little affected by the service as the organ-blower". It is obvious that King was hardly the sort of person to inspire those who were placed under him, and if, as is frequently stated, Greene became his pupil for harmony, we may doubt very much whether he profited greatly by the experience.<sup>78</sup>

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74 King also appears to have been a supernumerary singer at St. Paul's (Grove, s.v. 'King'). Brind was appointed a Vicar Choral on 4 March 1707 (St. Paul's Cathedral Library, Subscriptions Book 1686-1723 and Licence Calendar 1686-1710).

75 Bumpus, op. cit., i, 238-9.

76 Hawkins, History, p. 798.

77 Loc. cit.

78 As Almoner, King was not required to do more than supervise Greene's general education, and there is no proof that he also taught the boy 'harmony'. Hawkins says (p. 800) that Greene was "brought up in St. Paul's choir under Mr. King", and leaves it at that. Dr. Arnold (Cathedral Music (1790), i, 101) seems to have been the first person to describe him as King's 'pupil',

On the breaking of his voice, an event generally supposed to have taken place in 1710, Greene was 'bound apprentice' to Richard Brind.<sup>79</sup> Although no documentary evidence survives to prove that he was actually articulated in the legally approved manner, i.e. according to the custom of London, we may take it that he was, in which case he must have been at least fourteen years old at the time and willing to spend not less than seven years in service to his master.<sup>80</sup> His earliest dated anthems (1719) demonstrate a remarkably fluent technique and unexpected maturity of style which leads one to conclude that while Brind himself was "no very celebrated performer", he must have been a first-rate teacher, and Greene a brilliant pupil, for, "being an ingenious and studious young man, he was very soon distinguished, as well for his skill in musical composition, as for an elegant and original style in performing on the organ".<sup>81</sup> With such talent to commend

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but he probably did not intend the word to be taken in any but its most generalized sense. The addition of 'harmony' as the specified subject of instruction would appear to be a nineteenth-century refinement.

79 Burney, History, p. 489; Hawkins, History, pp. 800 and 767.

80 Information from J.F.V. Woodman, Clerk of the Chamberlain's Court at Guildhall in the City of London. The six-year apprenticeship referred to by Edwards, Cole, Janifer and all other writers to touch upon this point is pure invention.

81 Hawkins, History, pp. 859 and 800.

him, it is not impossible that Greene was called upon to assist in the first performance of Handel's Utrecht Te Deum and Jubilate at St. Paul's on 7 July 1713. Certainly, it was not long after this that he struck up an acquaintance with the great man himself, and may even have persuaded Handel to give him a few lessons.<sup>82</sup> When George I landed at Greenwich on 18 September 1714, Maurice Greene had already confidently set out upon the high-road to fame and fortune.

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<sup>82</sup> See post, p. 179.

CHAPTER TWO

THE YOUNG ORGANIST: ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL

Greene's first professional appointment was as organist of St. Dunstan's in the West, Fleet Street:<sup>1</sup> the date -- according to Hawkins<sup>2</sup> -- "about the year 1716". Shorn of even this slight element of uncertainty, the date 1716 has been retailed by every writer of English musical history from 1776 down to the present day. No one has troubled to consult primary sources such as the Vestry Minutes which show that Greene's election actually took place two years earlier, on 19 March 1714 in fact:<sup>3</sup>

Then M<sup>r</sup>. Green, M<sup>r</sup>. Bowman, M<sup>r</sup>. Solter, M<sup>r</sup>. Foster & M<sup>r</sup>. Miller being in nomination for the Organists place, vacant by the Death of ffooster [Christian name unknown], they were severally putt to the Vote, and M<sup>r</sup>. Green was by Majority Chosen Organist of this Parish during the pleasure of the Vestry.

As the list of candidates on this occasion suggests, the organistship of St. Dunstan's was no very highly sought-after musical post in early eighteenth-century London.

1 Someone with the surname 'Greene' is listed as a candidate for the organistship of St. John's Hackney in January 1708 (see Vestry Minutes, London County Council Record Office, MS. P. 79/JN. 1/139, f. 62v.). This can hardly be Maurice -- then aged only eleven and a half -- and refers, in all probability, to the blind Henry Green whom Chrysander confused with his younger contemporary (see G.F. Handel, ii, 123-4).

2 History, p. 800.

3 Guildhall Library, MS. 3016/3, pp. 157-8.

The organ too -- an early Renatus Harris of 1674-5 with later additions<sup>4</sup> -- seems to have been a poor instrument with "no variety in the stops".<sup>5</sup> Greene's salary was correspondingly modest: £18 per annum paid, in the usual way, by quarterly instalments.

Hawkins, with a little of that 'malignant prejudice' which Malone speaks of, attributes Greene's success to bare-faced nepotism: "his uncle then being a member of Sergeant's-Inn, which is situate in the parish...had interest enough to procure for his nephew,...the place of organist".<sup>6</sup> The church records, however, give no indication that Serjeant Greene ever played any part in the affairs of the parish, and it is unlikely that he could have influenced a majority of the twenty-five vestrymen who were party to Maurice's election even if he had been minded to do so. And that we may very much doubt in the light of what has already been said on the subject of John 4's relations with the Rev. Thomas Greene and the members of his family.<sup>7</sup> As for St. Dunstan's, there is no reason to suppose that Maurice did not get the job entirely on his own ~~bottom~~<sup>merit</sup>.

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4 Apparently unnoticed by Sumner (see The Organ, 3rd edn.).

5 Malcolm, London Redivivum, iii, 456.

6 Loc. cit.

7 See ante, p. 21-3.

Although Scholes has suggested,<sup>8</sup> credibly enough, that organists of City churches were required to become members of one of the City Livery Companies before taking up their appointments, a thorough investigation of the evidence cited in this connection -- the case of the 'City Musicians' (i.e. the City Waits) vs Henry Green, the blind organist of St. Giles's, Cripplegate -- proves him to have been wrong. The litigious circumstances of this particular case were wholly secular and in no way related to the organistship of a City church. Nevertheless, it seems likely that Maurice Greene must have taken out membership of some City Company by 1718, in which year he himself registered the first of his own apprentices; but he could not have done so on becoming organist of St. Dunstan's since he was not yet eighteen and would not, in the normal course of events, be free of his own indentures for another three years at least. Presumably, he continued to act as assistant to Brind throughout the whole of this period even though no formal appointment as Sub Organist is ever mentioned in the cathedral records. That such a post did in fact exist -- nominally at any rate -- is apparent from the description of Travers as 'Sub Organist of S.<sup>t</sup> Paul's Cathedral' in the subscriptions list to Handel's Admeto (1727).

Greene's next appointment, as successor to Daniel Purcell in the organistship of St. Andrew's, Holborn, was

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<sup>8</sup> The Great Dr. Burney, i, 51-2.

altogether more prestigious. With 5,000 families and a population of about 30,000 according to the 1710 census,<sup>9</sup> the parish was one of the largest in the City. Its rector -- the notorious Dr. Henry Sacheverell impeached by Godolphin -- was now something of a hero with the London populace; and its organ -- a relic of the celebrated 'Battle of the Organs' at the Temple Church in 1684-7<sup>10</sup> -- was a splendid instrument by Renatus Harris. Thanks to Hawkins,<sup>11</sup> the details of Purcell's brief association with the church have been the subject of much confusion among later historians. As these same details also have some bearing upon the circumstances leading up to Greene's election, they may relevantly be summarized here.

The most valuable source of information on the early eighteenth-century musical history of St. Andrew's is the account of Serjeant Pengelly<sup>12</sup> from which it is perfectly clear that while Harris's organ was set up in the church in 1699, the instrument was not paid for, and therefore not used, until about 1715, at which time Daniel Purcell "played the said organ without being elected or appointed

9 Malcolm, op. cit., ii, 224.

10 For full details, see Sumner, op. cit., pp. 157-8.

11 History, p. 759 n.

12 HMC, Appendix to the 7th Report, p. 689. Serjeant Pengelly was knighted on 1 May 1719 and appointed His Majesty's 1st Serjeant-at-law. His account is undated, but internal evidence shows it to have been written in July 1726.

organist or without having any fixed salary".<sup>13</sup> When, towards the end of November 1717, Purcell died,<sup>14</sup> Sacheverell immediately summoned a meeting of the parishioners "to do what they thought proper as to the choice of an organist and his salary". The salary fixed upon was £50 per annum, a considerable sum by standards of the time, and one certain to attract the attention of many of the leading organists of the day; the method of election, a four-day general poll commencing Tuesday 17 December. If the prospect of open public competition was exciting for the residents of the parish, it was a distinctly chancy business for the candidates involved -- much more so than any political election since, in a general poll, the parishioners possessed votes according to the varying rates they paid.<sup>15</sup> The blatant canvassing essential to success was soon under way.

Maurice Green<sup>e</sup> was first in the field with a notice in The Post Boy of 5 December 1717:<sup>16</sup>

13 Ibid.

14 He was buried in St. Andrew's, Holborn on 26 November. See Burial Registers, Guildhall Library, MS. 6673/8; also MT 46, March 1905, p. 158. The date of death is still given -- incorrectly -- as 12 December in Grove; so too is the date of his so-called 'appointment' as organist (1713 in Grove). Regrettably, neither of these points is in any way clarified by Professor Zimmerman in his recently published study of the life and times of Henry Purcell (1967).

15 Scholes, op. cit., i, 50.

16 Tilmouth, A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers (1660-1719), RMA Research Chronicle No.1, p. 99.

Being a Candidate for the Organist's Place of S. Andrew's Holbourn I hope my advertising it may not be thought too singular; for were it in my Power, it wou'd be my Duty to ask every Inhibitant [sic] for the Favour of his Vote and Interest; but the Parish being so large, and the Time so short, I presume this Notice, join'd with a competent Skill, which, I hope, I am suppos'd to have in my Profession, may be sufficient to recommend their humble Servant, Maurice Greene.

A week later, in The Daily Courant of 11 December, Edward Purcell, "only Son to the late famous Mr Henry Purcell", joined the battle, humbly soliciting the house-keepers of the parish to assist him in obtaining the appointment "notwithstanding the false and malicious Reports of his being a Papist".<sup>17</sup>

In the event, the original idea of a general poll would appear to have been abandoned, for the choice of an organist was finally made by the rector and the members of a select vestry at a meeting held on 19 February 1718.<sup>18</sup> By this time there were eight candidates:<sup>19</sup> Messrs. 'Short, Isham, Young, Green, Pursill, Haydon, Harris and Hart'. Of these, the well-known organist and composer Philip Hart,<sup>20</sup>

17 Ibid., p. 100.

18 The date -- 17 February -- given by F.G. Edwards (MT 44, February, 1903, p. 90) and copied by all others since is wrong.

19 Serjeant Pengelly says seven; it is one of the few points on which he errs.

20 For whom see Hawkins, History, p. 825; Grove, s.v. 'Hart', and MT 106, July 1965, pp. 510-15.

and John Isham, a recent B.Mus. of Oxford (1713), protégé of Croft and organist of St. Anne's, Soho,<sup>21</sup> undoubtedly presented the most serious threat to young Greene's chances of success. Nevertheless, it was "Voted Nemine contra dicente That M<sup>r</sup> Green is Ellected Organist of the parish Church of S.<sup>t</sup> Andrew Holborne".<sup>22</sup> One copy of the Vestry Minutes records the number of votes received thus: 'M<sup>r</sup> Green /////' -- which is a little odd considering that there were ten persons present at the meeting: the rector, two churchwardens and seven others.

Although Greene's appointment to St. Andrew's was a big step forward, financially as well as artistically, he did not, surprisingly enough, relinquish the organistship of St. Dunstan's in the West, but continued to hold the post conjointly with that of St. Andrew's in the typical pluralist fashion of the period. As the anonymous author of a comically fatuous 'Life of Doctor Greene',<sup>23</sup> was later to remark, "How he accommodated his two Parishes...we may naturally conjecture was by diligently devoting his Abilities to each, in alternate Morning and Evening Attendance". If so, this arrangement was obviously highly unsatisfactory

21 Hawkins, History, p. 799; Grove, s.v. 'Isham'.

22 Vestry Minutes, Guildhall Library, MS. 4251/2, pp. 22-3; also MS. 4251/3, p. 14.

23 Prefixed to A New and Elegant Edition of Forty Select Anthems (c. 1792), p. 2.

to the authorities of St. Andrew's as we shall see by the terms of appointment laid down for his successor.

Within a month of Greene's election, Brind suddenly died -- on 14 March 1718 according to the Historical Register<sup>24</sup> -- and Maurice was straightway chosen to succeed him; as Brind's assistant and most outstanding pupil, he was the obvious person for the job. On 18 March, Richard Brind was buried in St. Paul's. A short account of the funeral proceedings appeared in The Weekly-Journal: or, Saturday's-Post of 22 March, and reads as follows:<sup>25</sup>

The same Night [Tuesday, 18 March] the Corpse of Mr. Brind, late Organist of the Cathedral of St. Paul's, was interred in that Church; the Pall was carried by six Organists, and was met at the West Door by all the Choristers, who sung all the Way before it into the Choir, where an Anthem was sung, play'd to by Mr. Green on the Organs, and a Lesson sung; and afterwards was carried into the Vault, where an Anthem was sung before it was deposited amongst the dead Bodies.

On April 1st, Greene appeared before the vestry of St. Dunstan's and acquainted them "That he was lately Chosen Organist of S.<sup>t</sup> Paul's, and therefore desired to resign, giving the Vestry many thanks for their favours".<sup>26</sup> Two days later, the vestry of St. Andrew's met to elect a new

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24 Sun Fire-Office, iii ('The Chronological Register for the Year 1718'), 11.

25 Not in Tilmouth, op. cit.

26 Vestry Minutes, Guildhall Library, MS. 3016/3, pp. 195-6.

organist, deciding at the same time that Greene's salary should be continued "to Sunday the 4<sup>th</sup> of May next inclusive", and also "that such person who shall be Elected Organist of this Parish in the Room of M<sup>r</sup> Green shall be obliged to a constant personal Attendance on all Sundays and Holy-days".<sup>27</sup> Purcell, Haydon, Young and Isham represented themselves as candidates for the post, and John Isham was, by a great majority, elected at the same salary of £50 per annum "paid...out of the Bells and Palls".

It was shortly after this that the London press announced Greene's preferment to St. Paul's.<sup>28</sup> On this point too, Hawkins's History is laced with characteristic innuendo and confusion: "The dean of St. Paul's at this time was Dr. Godolphin,<sup>29</sup> a musical man, and<sup>a</sup> friend of Greene, and he by his influence with the chapter procured, in augmentation of the ancient appointment or salary of the organist, the addition of a lay vicar's stipend".<sup>30</sup>

27 Vestry Minutes, Guildhall Library, MS. 4251/3, p. 15; also MS. 4251/2, p. 24.

28 See The Weekly-Journal: or, Saturday's-Post, 12 April 1718; not in Tilmouth's Calendar. The date of Greene's appointment given in the Historical Register (iii, 17) is 7 April.

29 Henry Godolphin (1648-1733), younger brother of Sidney, Earl Godolphin (1645-1712), was Provost of Eton and uncle of the Duchess of Newcastle, Greene's chief patron in later years.

30 History, p. 800.

And once again, the general substance of his remarks has been blindly reproduced by most subsequent historians including some who ought certainly to have known better.<sup>31</sup>

Now there was not, and never had been, any "ancient appointment" of organist at St. Paul's since, as in all cathedrals of the Old Foundation, the organist is not a statutable officer except as holding a lay-clerkship.<sup>32</sup> Greene, like Brind, Clarke, and all those who preceded them, was technically speaking a Vicar Choral; and it was as such that he was sworn in on 20 March 1718 (see Plate I, p. 40). It is, however, certain that the Vicar Choral who acted as organist was also paid an additional stipend or 'allowance extraordinary' in respect of professional services rendered; and in Jeremiah Clarke's day, the amount had been £25 per annum.<sup>33</sup>

What Hawkins is presumably getting at is that Godolphin, by some means or other, was able to effect an increase in the 'allowance extraordinary'. By how much, we do not know, for there is absolutely no trace in the cathedral records of any payment to Greene as organist.<sup>34</sup>

31 See, for example, Matthews and Atkins, A History of St. Paul's Cathedral, pp. 244-5.

32 Rimbault, Cheque-Book, Introduction, p. xv.

33 St. Paul's Cathedral Library, Receipt Book 1710-68.

34 The material relating to Clarke's stipend 'as Organist' survives only by chance; these receipts are tucked into the front of a volume of later date concerned almost entirely with non-musical matters.

Ego Mauritius Greene Ad Locum  
 Sive officium vicarii choralis in  
 Ecclesia cathedrali Sancti Pauli  
 Londini admittendus Histris  
 Articulis Praefixis vid: Primo et  
 Tertio Articulis integraliter et  
 duobus prioribus membris Secundi  
 articuli: nec non 39 articulis Ecclesiae  
 Anglicanae Lubens et ex animo  
 Subscribo 20 die Martii 1717

Mauritius Greene

I Maurice Greene doe declare  
 that I will conform to the Liturgy  
 of the Church of England as it is  
 now by Law established the 20<sup>th</sup>  
 of March 1717  
 Maurice Greene

From the early sixteenth century onwards, the secular 'Vicarii Chorales' of St. Paul's had been six in number. Those who answered to their names on the occasion of Bishop Gibson's Visitation in 1724<sup>35</sup> were:

Dr. Gulielmus Turner	Franciscus Hughes
Thomas Edwards	Samuelus Wheely
Johannes Freeman	Mauritius Green

With the exception of Edwards, all were well-known figures in the musical life of the city. William Turner has previously been mentioned. As a child, he had been a chorister (with Henry Purcell) in the Chapel Royal; later he became one of the finest countertenors of the age. By 1724, however, he was over seventy years old, and long since past his prime. His opposite number, Francis Hughes, was "a favourite singer at concerts",<sup>36</sup> and possessed of a voice so powerful that he shattered drinking glasses with ease.<sup>37</sup> He was also active in the theatre, taking part in several of the ill-starred operatic ventures of the first decade of the eighteenth century: Eccles's masque Acis and Galatea (1701), Clayton's Arsinoe (1705) and Rosamund (1707), and the Scarlatti/Bononcini pasticcio Thomyris (1708 revival) among others. The tenor, John Freeman, was another who regularly trod the boards, and was appar-

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35 Registrum Statutorem, ed. W. Sparrow Simpson, pp. 286-92.

36 Burney, History, p. 666.

37 Hawkins, History, p. 839 n.

ently a good actor as well as a minor composer of songs.<sup>38</sup> Weeley (his own spelling of the name) had been a pupil of Blow,<sup>39</sup> and was now an excellent bass, frequently mentioned in newspapers of the period both as a singer and as a teacher.<sup>40</sup> In addition to their posts at St. Paul's, all five held places in the Chapel Royal, while Turner, Freeman and Weeley were also lay-clerks of Westminster Abbey. It is generally assumed that the hours of worship in London's three cathedral establishments were so staggered as to permit such multiple appointments. This is not so. The only means of managing plurality on this scale was a sort of 'rota system' whereby the singers fulfilled their obligation to each choir in turn, a month or so at a time.<sup>41</sup>

As for the choristers, there is almost nothing to be discovered; even their exact number is uncertain. There were ten of them at the end of the seventeenth century, but by 1773, the number had apparently dropped to eight.<sup>42</sup>

38 Hawkins, History, p. 754; for his songs, see Playford's Deliciae Musicae (1695).

39 DNB, s.v. 'Blow, John'.

40 See Tilmouth, op. cit.

41 I am indebted to Mr. A.R.B. Fuller, Librarian of St. Paul's Cathedral, for valuable suggestions on this point.

42 [Hackett], Registrum Eleemosynariae D. Pauli Londinensis. According to Sparrow Simpson (op. cit.), the Almoner "maintained eight boys fit for the service of the Church".

For the Handel Commemoration Festival of 1784, however, St. Paul's supplied ten boys,<sup>43</sup> and we may reasonably suppose that this was the normal complement throughout most of the century. They were obviously an accomplished body of singers to judge by the extent of their outside activities,<sup>44</sup> and the number of good musicians bred up in the cathedral choir: Greene, Boyce, John Alcock snr., and Battishill to name only those most distinguished as composers. Perhaps Charles King was not quite so indolent and apathetic as Hawkins makes out.

With ten choristers and only five Vicars Choral (excluding Greene who probably did not sing except on rare occasions), it is difficult to see how daily services in the cathedral can possibly have been adequately maintained, especially as the men must seldom have been present in full strength. At least it would be difficult if it were not for the fact, hitherto unnoticed by musical historians,

43 Burney, Commemoration of Handel, section ii, p. 19.

44 They sang regularly in the concerts of the Academy of Ancient Music from 1726-31, and thereafter in Greene's own splinter group -- the Academy of Music at the Apollo. It seems that they also sang for Handel in oratorio performances from the mid-1730s onwards (Hawkins, History, p. 889); and three or four boys from St. Paul's supplied the treble parts at the earliest meetings of the Madrigal Society (ibid., p. 887). They were also sometimes to be heard at the opening of new organs (see The Weekly Journal or, British Gazetteer of 22 November 1718 and Read's Weekly Journal of 3 April 1731).

that at St. Paul's during this period, the twelve Minor (or Petty) Canons -- in orders -- were also considered to be an integral part of the cathedral's choral resources: men of "unspotted Charactors [sic], with harmonious Voices, and good Judgement in Singing".<sup>45</sup> Thus, even allowing for the usual pluralism and consequent absenteeism among Minor Canons as well as Vicars Choral, the situation was nothing like as bad as it might at first appear. The best-known member of the College of Minor Canons at this time was its Sub-Dean, the Rev. Mr. John Gostling, Purcell's 'stupendous bass' whose phenomenal range and vocal ability have oft been highly praised. Doubtless he was now too old to be of much assistance in the choir, and in any case it seems that he spent most of his time in Canterbury where he also held a Minor Canonry. Among the others named in the Visitation lists of 1724 were George Carleton,<sup>46</sup> also a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal and later its Sub-Dean, and Sampson Estwick who, with Turner, was one of the first batch of Capt. Cooke's boys immediately after the Restoration, a fine deep bass according to Hawkins,<sup>47</sup> and something of a composer in his youth. Charles King, the 'Magister Choristarum', also sang though he was not offi-

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45 A new and Compleat Survey of London By a Citizen and Native of London (1742), ii, 1023.

46 Married (1717) to Greene's sister-in-law, Elizabeth Dillingham. See post, p. 69 and 71.

47 History, p. 767.

cially appointed a Vicar Choral until 1730.<sup>48</sup> Nor must it be forgotten that the choir of St. Paul's was originally enclosed -- cut off from the rest of the church by Wren's massive organ screen. As this was not removed until 1858, the actual area used for services was then much smaller than it is now.

Several of those already mentioned were very long-lived indeed, and kept their places throughout most of the period of Greene's organistship. Turner, for instance, survived to the age of eighty-eight, and Estwick, who died a year before (1739) at the age of ninety, constantly attended his duty at St. Paul's till the very end.<sup>49</sup> Their successors in office were singers no less eminent on the whole: as Vicars Choral -- James Chelsum (1737),<sup>50</sup> Francis Rowe (1740), Robert Wass (1743), David Cheriton (1743), Thomas Baildon (1744) and William Savage who was appointed Almoner shortly after King's death on 17 March 1748: as Minor Canons -- the Rev. Messrs. John Abbott ("well known in the Musical World for his Vocal Performances"),<sup>51</sup> Edward Lloyd, and Anselm Bayly (later Sub-Dean

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48 It is generally stated (on unspecified evidence) that King was a supernumerary singer in the choir at the small annual stipend of £14.

49 Hawkins, History, p. 767.

50 In each case, the dates given are those of formal appointment, i.e. after the customary year's probation had already elapsed.

51 Quoted from an obituary notice printed in several London newspapers, February 1744.

of the Chapel Royal) whose writings are an important but little-known source of information on various matters relating to the aesthetics and performance of Anglican church music in the Georgian era.<sup>52</sup>

While nothing whatever is known of Greene's 'allowance extraordinary' as organist, there are a great many details concerning the remuneration of the Vicars Choral which might be extracted from account books still preserved in the Cathedral Library. These reveal the rather surprising fact that the Vicars Choral had no fixed salary: their income was derived entirely from the rents upon certain properties -- chiefly, it seems, at Halstead and Steeple Bumpstead in Essex -- owned by St. Paul's and set aside for that express purpose. The actual amount of payment varied somewhat from quarter to quarter with an average total of about £17.15.0 per person per annum. From time to time, as leases expired and were renewed, the Vicars Choral came in for very substantial lump-sum benefits. In February 1749, for example, the Steeple Bumpstead estate was re-leased for a further period of twenty-one years on payment of a capital sum of £700 and each of the six Vicars Choral received £116.13.4.<sup>53</sup> As the men were wholly responsible for the

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52 See Preface to A Collection of Anthems used in His Majesty's Chapel Royal (1769); also A Practical Treatise on Singing and Playing (1771).

53 The sum put down by the lessee -- £700 in this case -- was known as a 'Fine'. It did not absolve the lessee from further payments during the period of the lease,

management of their own affairs, they naturally became a very business-like little group meeting regularly in Child's Coffee House to discuss matters of common concern, or to elect one of their number Pittanciary -- a sort of bursar to the Vicars Choral. He was responsible for collecting the quarterly rents and paying his colleagues, and had an extra allowance of £5 a year for his trouble.

Under the Hanoverians, English music went into decline. With the emergence of a vast untutored middle-class public in the age of Pitt, the gradual deterioration of standards of performance in cathedral worship -- as in almost every other aspect of our cultural life -- had become very marked indeed. Things were very different a century or so before when, to judge by Hawkins,<sup>54</sup> the music at St. Paul's was hardly inferior to that of the Chapel Royal itself. However that may be, there is no real reason to suppose that during the first thirty or forty years of the eighteenth century at any rate, London's metropolitan choirs had failed to sustain something of the vitality and excellence which had characterized their performance in the days of Purcell and Blow. We set too much store by the virulent outbursts of William Prynne, Jeremy Collier and that whole tribe of rabid seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century moralists

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but simply reduced the amount of the quarterly rents. According to Mr. A.R.B. Fuller, this method of doing business was apparently very popular in ecclesiastical circles round about this time.

54 History, p. 693; cf. p. 801 n.

who would seem to have reserved a special place in hell for all those who sang in cathedral choirs:

... they daily come wreaking hot out of a Bawdy-House into the Church; and others stagger out of a Tavern to Afternoon-Prayers, and Hickup over a little of the Littany, and so back again.<sup>55</sup>

Enough has already been said to show that Greene's contemporaries as Vicars Choral of St. Paul's were no such men as these, but rather fully professional singers whose vocal abilities and general musical competence were widely acknowledged both in church and out. Hughes and Weeley, for example, had sung not only in the first performance of Handel's Utrecht Te Deum and Jubilate but also in the Ode for the Birthday of Queen Anne, and thereafter on various occasions when the great man was associated with the Chapel Royal. So too with their successors. Rowe, Wass and Savage all sang regularly as soloists for Handel, and Cheriton and Baildon also took part in some of the Foundling Hospital performances of Messiah during the 1750s.

In 1718, there were two choral services daily at St. Paul's: Mattins at 10 a.m. (9 on Sundays) and Evensong at 3 p.m.<sup>56</sup> -- 9.45 and 3.15 on all days from 1724 onwards.<sup>57</sup>

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55 Tom Brown, 'Letters from the Dead to the Living', Works (1707), ii, 163; cf. Jeremy Collier, Essays upon several Moral Subjects (1697), ii, 125-6.

56 [Hatton], New View of London, vol. 1 section 2, p. 474; Paterson, Pietas Londinensis, p. 222.

57 Bishop Gibson's Visitation (see Registrum Statutorem).

On Sundays and High Festivals, Mattins ran on into a somewhat truncated Communion Service very much in the same manner as that described by James Clifford in 1663.<sup>58</sup> The chief musical portions of the service were then as follows:

At Mattins

After the Psalms, 'a Voluntary upon the Organ alone'  
 After the first Lesson, the Te Deum  
 After the second Lesson, the Benedictus or Jubilate  
 After the third Collect, the first Anthem  
 The Litany  
 After the Blessing, ' a Voluntary alone upon the Organ'

Ante-Communion

Kyrie Eleison  
 Nicene Creed  
 After the Sermon, the second Anthem

At Evensong

After the Psalms, 'a Voluntary alone by the Organ'  
 After the first Lesson, the Magnificat  
 After the second Lesson, the Nunc dimittis  
 After the third Collect, the first Anthem  
 After the Sermon, the second Anthem

There was, of course, no communion service on ordinary weekdays, and no sermon either; consequently there was normally only one anthem at both Mattins and Evensong.

In ~~the~~<sup>one</sup> small but nonetheless significant respect, St. Paul's usage (and also, it appears, that of the Chapel Royal) differed from that of most English cathedrals during the period under discussion, for Bishop Compton in his Visitation of 1696 had ordered that "the Venite and the Psalms for the day were to be sung in alternate verses antiphon-

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<sup>58</sup> Divine Services and Anthems, 1st edn. 'Brief Directions for the understanding of that part of the Divince [sic] Service performed with the Organ in S. Pauls Cathedrall on Sundayes and Holy-dayes'; see also Fellowes, English Cathedral Music, pp. 34-5.

ally, et harmonice, as often as it seemed good to the Dean or Residentiaries" and, more importantly, that at all communion services, "the Trisagion [i.e. Sanctus] and Gloria in excelsis were to be chanted by the Choir".<sup>59</sup> According to Hawkins,<sup>60</sup> it was usual at St. Paul's (and also Westminster Abbey and Canterbury) to sing the Sanctus "to solemn music" as an introit replacing the customary organ voluntary in the interval between morning prayer and the beginning of the communion service, and this practice was apparently continued well into the nineteenth century. Fellowes seems to be thoroughly confused on this point. Ignorance of Compton's 'Injunctions' leads him to explain the existence of those odd settings of Sanctus and Gloria in excelsis which are occasionally to be found in services, by Blow, Aldrich, Clarke and Croft as having been written "in response to the demand...created by the High Church Movement in Queen Anne's reign".<sup>61</sup> This naive theory is quite untenable, not least because it reveals a fundamental misunderstanding of the entire social and political set-up during this period.

The insertion of an organ voluntary after the Psalms and immediately before the first Lesson was another custom --

59 Registrum Statutorem, pp. liii-iv.

60 History, p. 690 n.

61 Op. cit., p. 172; see also pp. 31-2.

highly approved of by The Spectator of 8 December 1714<sup>62</sup> -- which prevailed throughout the whole of the eighteenth century and most of the nineteenth as well;<sup>63</sup> and doubtless it was Greene's duty to supply the same in addition to accompanying the other musical parts of the service. Although he was not required to compose music for the use of the choir, the first of several old organ books 'discovered' by the present writer in the north-west tower of the cathedral<sup>64</sup> is in itself sufficient to illustrate the considerable extent of his activities in this sphere, even during his earliest years at St. Paul's. He was already famous as a solo organist, but we know next to nothing about his abilities as a service player, however, except that he must have been a first-rate accompanist. Anselm Bayly who sang under Greene both at St. Paul's and at the Chapel Royal from 1743 onwards places him on a par with Handel. They both

... guided the singer with the most exquisite delicacy, by interspersing such notes only, and those stolen in, or whispered as it were by a soft prompture, as might meliorate the harmony, or in emphatic passages give it fulness and dignity, enliven the singer's imagination, and cover

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62 No. 630, Everyman edn. (1945), iv, 450.

63 Book of Common Prayer, ed. Richard Warner (1806); see also Fellowes, op. cit., p. 35.

64 A companion volume (ex libris W.H. Cummings) belonging to the same set is now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (MS. 52 C. 12). Cf. Janifer, op. cit., pp. 65 and 67.

any accidental defect, catching him as it were when falling.<sup>65</sup>

An extensive literature on Father Smith's great organ for St. Paul's already exists, and this is hardly the place to add to it -- though it may perhaps be observed in passing that Sumner's apparently exhaustive treatment of the subject is by no means as complete or as accurate as it seems.<sup>66</sup>

The instrument was a particular favourite with Handel, and according to Burney, it was "generally allowed to have the sweetest tone (except that at the Temple), the most noble chorus, and a swell which produces the finest effects of any in the kingdom".<sup>67</sup> The 'swell' to which Burney refers was not part of the original instrument, but was added by Smith's son-in-law, Christopher Shriver, not long after Greene succeeded Brind as organist of St. Paul's. The other main feature among the 'Amendments and Alterations' to the organ at this time was a set of pedals -- possibly the first in all England.<sup>68</sup> As Mist's Weekly Journal of Saturday 22 October 1720 reports:

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65 A Practical Treatise on Singing and Playing, pp. 58-9.

66 The Organs of St. Paul's Cathedral (1931). For further documentary evidence relating to the building of Father Smith's organ, see the publications of the Wren Society, vol. xvi (1939).

67 History, p. 346.

68 See 'The Development of the Pedal Organ in England' in Sumner, The Organ, p. 181 et seq.; also pp. 406-7.

Next Sunday<sup>69</sup> [the 23rd] the Cathedral at St. Paul's which has been shut some time, will be opened, when a new Anthem will be sung; there has been such Improvements made to the Organ, that it is now reckoned the best in Europe.

Burney's account of Handel's frequent visits to the cathedral to play on the organ "for the exercise it afforded him, in the use of the pedals" is well known.<sup>70</sup> But the pedals at St. Paul's were no ordinary pedals such as Handel had been used to at Halle and elsewhere on the Continent: they were simply 'pull-downs' with a two-octave compass and no independent pedal pipes. It is clear from an early nineteenth-century description of the instrument that these 'pull-downs' were of the 'short-toe' variety and "of very little use" since it was impossible to manage them "after the German style".<sup>71</sup> It is difficult to see why Greene had pedals fitted to the organ at this particular time, for there is not the slightest hint in his own music that he ever made any use of them -- not even in the anthem "My soul truly waiteth still upon God" dated October 1720 in one source and written, almost certainly, for the service at which the organ was re-opened.<sup>72</sup> One wonders if

69 Mis-copied in Deutsch (p. 115) as 'Next Saturday ...'.

70 Commemoration, 'Life of Handel', p. 33 n.

71 A 'Description of the Organ at St. Paul's Cathedral' in The English Musical Gazette; or, Monthly Intelligencer (January, 1819), p. 8.

72 For the sources of this and all other of Greene's works cited in the text, see my Descriptive Catalogue (vol.2).

they were perhaps added on the suggestion of Handel who was then very intimate with Greene; but if so, why not a proper set of German pedals? Further speculation along these lines might well involve a detailed examination of Handel's own Six Fugues or Voluntaries which, though they were not published until 1735, were considered by Burney<sup>73</sup> to have been composed during the period of Handel's residence at Cannons (i.e. between the summer of 1717 and circa 1720). Is it not possible that these works were written with just such an instrument as the rebuilt St. Paul's organ in mind? There is a good deal of internal evidence which points in that direction, and certainly, the availability of 'pull-downs' would greatly facilitate their performance as a little experimentation with the manual-to-pedal couplers of a modern organ readily shows.

In addition to the daily round of services, the organist of St. Paul's was also responsible for the music at the important Sons of the Clergy Festival held annually in the cathedral, generally on the second Thursday in December up to and including 1726, and from 1728 onwards in the spring -- the second Thursday after Easter if one mid-eighteenth century source is to be trusted.<sup>74</sup> Bishop Pearce's book, The Sons of the Clergy 1655-1904, gives all

73 Commemoration, 'Life of Handel', p. 13.

74 John Arnold, Compleat Psalmist, 5th edn., an 'Alphabetical Dictionary', p. [xxxii], s.v. 'Rehearsal'.

the known facts concerning its origins and early history.<sup>75</sup>

As the first charitable festival of its kind in England, it naturally became the model for all subsequent gatherings of a similar nature, the most famous example being, of course, the Three Choirs Festival, now at least 240 years old.<sup>76</sup>

By the time Greane took over its direction, the 'Annual Feast' of the Sons of the Clergy was firmly established as a unique feature of the City's musical life drawing vast crowds of spectators to witness the performance of what must undoubtedly have been the largest assemblage of singers and instrumentalists then to be heard in London.

According to its royal charter dated 1 July 1678, the Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy was designed to assist "such of the widdows and Children of Loyall and Orthodox Clergiemen as are poore and indigent", and, for the purpose of implementing the charity, met annually to hear a sermon preached by one of the most eminent divines of the day. At what point music became a feature of the proceedings is obscure -- probably in (or shortly after) 1697 in which year the festival settled permanently in the recently-opened choir of St. Paul's -- but it is certain that by

75 See also L.G.D. Sanders, 'The Festival of the Sons of the Clergy, 1655-1955' in MT 97, March 1956, pp. 133-5.

76 See Shaw, The Three Choirs Festival (1954). It appears hitherto to have been unnoticed that there were also annual Sons of the Clergy festivals in Newcastle and Bristol as early as 1724 and 1729 respectively, and possibly even earlier still.

1718, it had already become the main attraction: festal Mattins on Thursday with the Te Deum and Jubilate and an anthem all 'vocally and instrumentally performed by the best Hands and Voyces'. The music was publicly rehearsed earlier in the week; on Mondays until about 1722, and thereafter invariably on the Tuesday immediately preceding the festival. On the morning of the Feast Day itself, the Sons of the Clergy together with various civic and ecclesiastical dignitaries assembled in the Merchant Taylors' Hall and processed ceremonially through the streets to the cathedral for the eleven o'clock service, after which they returned 'accompany'd by a Considerable number of Nobility and Gentry' to enjoy their traditional Feast. Here too there was generally 'an entertainment of Musick' provided, sometimes at any rate, by Greene.<sup>77</sup> On all three occasions -- the public rehearsal, the Thursday performance, and the concluding banquet -- a collection was taken in aid of the charity, the amount realized rising gradually to something like £1,000 per annum by the mid-1730s.

The organization of the charity and the administration of its funds were entrusted to an annually-appointed com-

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77 The early records of the Sons of the Clergy were unfortunately destroyed by fire in 1838, but Pearce points out (op. cit., p. 225) that in 1728 [Old Style] Greene was paid 'the usual Price' of six and a half guineas for the music at Merchant Taylors' Hall. The number of musicians was eleven. The custom was discontinued in 1752 "as being thought not only useless, but disagreeable" !

mittee of twelve Stewards who were, in most cases, prominent City merchants, lawyers, doctors, and so on; professional men of some social standing; men like Maurice's uncle, Serjeant Greene, who may well have been the same 'Mr. John Green' listed as a Steward in 1688. With very few exceptions, the mere musician had no place in such highly respectable company. Maurice Greene was one of these, and in 1736, the year after he became Master of the King's Musick, he himself served as a Steward. The only others so 'honoured' were John Blow in 1698 and Richard Elford in 1707.<sup>78</sup>

Although there are one or two derogatory references to 'persons from the Theatres' taking part in the performances at St. Paul's,<sup>79</sup> it seems that the three principal London choirs -- St. Paul's, Westminster Abbey and the Chapel Royal -- supplied all the singers normally required. The orchestra, on the other hand, was apparently got together by Greene from 'most of the Musical Societies in Town'. Certainly this was the case in 1733,<sup>80</sup> and it probably

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78 [Freeman], Compleat List, of the Stewards, Presidents, etc. (1733). For the names of Stewards during the rest of the eighteenth century, see the Appendix to A Sermon Preached at the Anniversary Meeting of the Sons of the Clergy... May 5, 1805, (British Museum, press-mark 694 h. 7 (1)).

79 Malcolm, Anecdotes of the Manners and Customs of London, i, 267.

80 The Daily Journal of 19 January 1733; see Deutsch, p. 302.

applies to the earlier years as well.<sup>81</sup> In 1739, however, the Governors of the Fund for the Support of Decayed Musicians and their Families acting, it seems likely, on a suggestion of Greene's, undertook to provide 'an able Band of Music at the Rehearsal and Anniversary of the Sons of the Clergy' in return for an annual contribution of £50 to their own charitable fund,<sup>82</sup> and this arrangement continued until 1843 when the Bishop of London banned any further appearances of the orchestra in the cathedral. Early eighteenth-century newspapers constantly refer to the 'vast number' of 'the best Hands and Voyces' taking part in these performances, but only once do they give any indication of the actual numbers involved. According to The Country Journal: or, The Craftsman of 15 February 1735, there were "about 140 Instruments, and 40 Voices" taking part in the festival that year. At first sight, these figures appear so heavily biased in favour of the orchestra that one is tempted to dismiss them as wildly inaccurate. It would be dangerous to do so, however, without first comparing them with the <sup>i</sup>similarly unbalanced figures cited by the Earl of

81 According to John Bacon (Secretary to the Stewards 1769-99), Greene was paid £57.2.6 "for Music at St. Pauls" in 1727 and again in 1728 (Pearce, op. cit., p. 210). It is obvious that these must be Old Style dates; there was no festival in 1727.

82 See F.G. E[dwards], 'The Royal Society of Musicians' in MT 46, October 1905, p. 638; Pearce, op. cit., pp. 246-7, and p. 210; also Burney, Commemoration, Appendix, p. 132.

Egmont in connection with a performance of Handel's Deborah on 27 March 1733: "near a hundred performers, among whom about twenty-five singers".<sup>83</sup>

As there is no reason to suppose that the 1735 festival was in any way unusual, we may take it that these figures represent a rough average for the period. Any body of singers and players as large as this, especially one performing in so over-resonant a building as St. Paul's, would obviously require some easily discernible means of co-ordinating their efforts if any semblance of unanimity was to be maintained. It is from ~~Hawkins's~~ <sup>the</sup> 'Memoirs of Dr. Boyce' prefixed to the second edition of Cathedral Music (1788)\* that one learns exactly how this was done: "His [Boyce's] office at this solemnity, was standing at a kind of desk among the performers, with a roll of paper in his right hand, to beat the time through every movement: this was the practice of his predecessor [i.e. Greene, my italics], and is continued to this day".<sup>84</sup> Visible time-beating in large-scale

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83 HMC, Egmont MSS., Diary of the first Viscount Percival, i, 345. See also Deutsch, p. 309, and Dean, Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques, p.234.

84 P. vii.

\* and generally attributed to Hawkins

performances of church music was common enough on the Continent,<sup>85</sup> and Scholes is quite wrong to assert<sup>86</sup> that it was not practised in England in Burney's day. Its use at the annual Sons of the Clergy festival is confirmed by the independent testimony of John Arnold writing in 1761,<sup>87</sup> and according to Samuel Wesley, it was continued even as late as 1827.<sup>88</sup>

Greene's first festival took place on 4 December 1718. A report published two days later in The Weekly-Journal: or, Saturday's-Post gives some idea of the nature of the event and reads as follows:<sup>89</sup>

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- 85 See the well-known picture of Kuhnau standing amid his singers and instrumentalists in the choir loft of the Thomas-Kirche, Leipzig, and directing their performance by this very same method -- a roll of paper held in the right hand (reproduced in David and Mendel, The Bach Reader (1945), facing p. 96); see also the illustration taken from J.G. Walther's Musicalisches Lexicon (1732) reproduced as a frontispiece to Terry's Bach's Orchestra (1932).
- 86 Dr. Burney's Musical Tours in Europe, i, 243 n.3.
- 87 Compleat Psalmist, pp. [xxxii-iii].
- 88 See Grove, s.v. 'Conducting'; also Carse, The Orchestra in the XVIIIth Century, p. 105. The verb 'conduct' is used, apparently in its modern sense, in various newspaper notices referring to the performance of Boyce's Ode for the Installation of the Duke of Newcastle as Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. See The Whitehall Evening-Post of 29 June-1 July 1749; also The General Advertiser of July 1st.
- 89 Tilmouth, Calendar, pp. 103-4.

On Monday last the Te Deum called Dr. Croft's Te Deum, which was appointed to be sung at the annual Feast of the Sons of the Clergy was rehearsed in the Choir of St. Paul's, and the Performance was applauded by Mr. Rivington, and the best Judgements that were present, as extraordinary; also the late Mr. Purcel's Anthem was sung by the best Voices: On Thursday the whole was performed again at the Publick Audience, as above, where there was a prodigious Appearance, besides the Crowd of Spectators.

In 1719, the setting of the Te Deum and Jubilate was Purcell's, and the anthem Greene's own "I will magnifie thee", the first of a long series of large-scale orchestral anthems which he was to produce over the next thirty years; while in 1723, Greene's music was not only rehearsed "with great Applause", but deemed "so Curious, that it drew a vast Concourse of Gentry to hear the performance".<sup>90</sup>

Despite the existence of a full-length book and at least one article entirely devoted to the history of the Sons of the Clergy, it is astonishing how little is known about the actual music performed on these occasions. Burney (who seems at this point to have had one eye on Hawkins as he wrote)<sup>91</sup> is responsible for the commonly-held notion that Purcell's Te Deum and Jubilate was "constantly performed" at St. Paul's from 1694 until 1713 when Handel's Utrecht Te Deum and Jubilate is said to have made its first appearance, and that these two were then

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90 The Daily Post, 13 December 1723.

91 History, p. 388; cf. Hawkins, History, pp. 745-6.

performed in alternate years until 1743 when the 'Dettingen' setting superseded both. It is to be feared that this is yet another legend -- carelessly retailed by successive generations of arm-chair historians right down to the present day -- which simply will not stand up to detailed investigation. No less eminent a scholar than Professor Deutsch unquestioningly accepts Burney's authority, albeit at one remove, and then goes on to create further confusion by citing, as the only exception to this supposedly regular alternation of Purcell and Handel, the 1721 festival "when, on 14th December, an unidentified Te Deum and an Anthem by Maurice Greene were performed in the Cathedral".<sup>92</sup> In actual fact, the "unidentified Te Deum" (and also, presumably, Jubilate) was by Purcell.<sup>93</sup>

Much of the raw material for a survey of the Sons of the Clergy music during the first half of the eighteenth century lies readily to hand in contemporary newspaper reports which, even though they seldom mention the title of the anthem performed, do at least name its composer, and also generally the setting of the canticles used. These press notices are in themselves sufficient to demon-

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92 P. 61. Deutsch's various references to the Sons of the Clergy festivals are often muddled, and sometimes even mutually contradictory.

93 See The Weekly Journal: or, British Gazetteer of 16 December 1721.

strate the legendary nature of Burney's remarks. They also show that, during the period of Greene's conductorship, the musical history of the festival falls clearly into two markedly different halves, with the year 1731 as the dividing line between them.

Throughout the earlier period, the Sons of the Clergy maintained a healthy insularity. The music -- consisting of *Te Deum*, *Jubilate* and one large-scale orchestral anthem -- appears to have been the work of native-born composers only, and Handel is conspicuous by his absence. In 1718, as we have already seen, the canticles were by Croft, the anthem by Purcell; in 1719, they were by Purcell and Green<sup>e</sup> respectively. For the next ten years, Greene produced an uninterrupted succession of festal anthems, and Purcell's *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* was more or less regularly performed except on those occasions when it was displaced by Greene's own settings. In 1730, a 'new' Greene *Te Deum* was combined with Purcell's *Jubilate*, and after that, the 'English Orpheus' was not heard again until 1755 when both *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* were re-introduced in bowdlerized form by Boyce.

In 1731, for some unknown reason,<sup>94</sup> the whole character of the festival changed, and Handel so to speak 'took over'.

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94 It is just conceivable that this matter was in some way connected with the Lotti/Bononcini scandal which split the Academy of Ancient Music into two warring factions in the spring of this very same year; see post, pp. 107-8.

The music that year (and again in 1732) was entirely by Greene's erstwhile friend: the Utrecht Te Deum and Jubilate together with two Coronation Anthems. One of these was almost certainly "Zadock the Priest", a work whose fantastic popularity made it an inevitable adjunct of nearly all charity performances during the next thirty years and more. It seems that the Overture to Esther was another regular feature of the 'second period' festivals. According to Schoelcher,<sup>95</sup> it was "so constantly played at St. Paul's, at the Feast of the Sons of the Clergy, that it now seems in a peculiar manner dedicated to the service of the church". While there is no doubt that the Overture was first heard at a Sons of the Clergy festival on 1 February 1733, it must, however, be pointed out that the newspapers of the period do not mention it again until 1755. In 1733, Handel's A major Te Deum was also performed<sup>96</sup> in place of the usual 'Utrecht' setting which, with but one further exception to be mentioned later, reigned supreme until 1744 when it gave way to the new Dettingen Te Deum. As this has no corresponding Jubilate, the 'Utrecht' version was its invariable partner.<sup>97</sup> It may here be observed that there is absolutely

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95 Life of Handel, p. 59.

96 Neither the Overture to Esther nor the A major Te Deum is mentioned in any of Deutsch's references to the 1733 festival.

97 Handel's 'Old' (i.e. 'Utrecht') Te Deum and Jubilate was revived at the festival on 20 April 1749; not mentioned in Deutsch

no reason to suppose that the Utrecht Te Deum and Jubilate was performed at any Sons of the Clergy festival prior to 1731. Certainly the work had its first performance in St. Paul's Cathedral on 7 July 1713, but the tradition of its repetition before the Sons of the Clergy later the same year is unsupported by any documentary evidence whatsoever, and newspapers of the day refer only to "Two proper Anthems exquisitely perform'd".<sup>98</sup> John Walsh was usually very quick off the mark in getting Handel's major works into print. The curious fact that he did not trouble to publish the Utrecht Te Deum and Jubilate until circa 1731-2 is easily explained by reference to the revised history of the festival outlined for the first time above.

Except for 1736 when a Te Deum by Greene was mated with Handel's Utrecht Jubilate -- no doubt to the intense annoyance of the 'great bear'<sup>99</sup> -- Greene's efforts as a composer during this later period were confined to the production of orchestral anthems only. Of these, a great many survive, though it is generally impossible to identify the actual occasions on which they were first performed. Towards the middle of the century, the number of large-scale charity performances increased rapidly as all the big London hospitals began to summon music to their aid.

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98 The Post Boy of 12-15 December 1713; not in Filmouth's Calendar.

99 See post, p. 191.

The vast band of singers and instrumentalists which had been such an attraction of the earlier Sons of the Clergy festivals was no longer unique; and as the novelty of the occasion~~s~~ wore off, so too public interest declined. Greene's annual anthems were the only variable factor in an otherwise ossified and artistically stagnating routine. After the festival of 1750, Greene relinquished the conductorship to his good friend and pupil, William Boyce, under whom things continued much as they had done ever since the Handelians usurpation of 1731.<sup>100</sup>

Greene's performance as organist of St. Paul's, and especially his appearance before the Sons of the Clergy, quickly established his reputation as a cathedral musician in the great tradition of Croft, Blow, Purcell and their illustrious predecessors. Four youthful anthems -- "Bow down thine ear, O Lord", "O give thanks unto the Lord", "O God, thou art my God" (D minor version) and "O sing unto the Lord a new song" -- were sufficiently highly-regarded to be included by Tudway in the last volume of the Harleian collection (1720),<sup>101</sup> and in company with Croft and "some of the Cathedral Taste", he was lampooned in the scurrilous 'Session of Musicians' published in

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100 The date of Boyce's succession customarily given -- 1755 in Grove and elsewhere -- is wrong.

101 British Museum, MS. Harley 7342.

May 1724.<sup>102</sup> If, towards the end of his life, Greene seems to have neglected his duties at St. Paul's, it reflects as much upon the steadily deteriorating standards of English cathedral worship and the devastating apathy of the Anglican clergy as upon the character of the man himself.

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102 See Deutsch, p. 167.

CHAPTER THREE  
DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

A careful study of the sociological background to music at St. Paul's during the first half of the eighteenth century has shown that Greene's post as Vicar Choral brought him an average income of between £17 and £18 a year. No figures survive which shed any light on the amount of his 'allowance extraordinary' as organist, but one may hazard a guess that the sum involved was no less than that which he would have enjoyed had he continued as organist of St. Andrew's, Holborn, namely £50 per annum.<sup>1</sup> With the further addition of teaching fees and other casual earnings, his finances must have seemed reasonably secure since, very shortly after his appointment to St. Paul's, he married Mary Dillingham, daughter of a prosperous City woollen-draper, and set up house in the tiny parish of St. Alphage, London Wall, not far north of the cathedral.

Hawkins, whose chief virtue lies in his detailed (if sometimes rather muddled and waspish) biographical accounts of his own near-contemporaries, is once again the sole source of information on this aspect of Greene's career,

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1 Fétis's statement (Biographie Universelle, iii, 402-3) that Greene obtained the organistship of St. Paul's "avec 50 livres sterling d'appointemens" is clearly a misreading of Hawkins.

and the starting-point for any research into his domestic affairs. The relevant passage in the History runs as follows:<sup>2</sup>

[Greene's] wife was a young woman of the name of Dillingham; she, together with her sister, who was married to the Rev. Mr. George Carleton, subdean of the royal chapel, kept a milliner's shop in Paternoster-row,<sup>3</sup> and had about five hundred pounds when Greene married her. He had but little besides to begin the world with, nevertheless, by industry and oeconomy, he was enabled to bring up a family of children, and make considerable savings.

A footnote adds: These two sisters were cousins of the wife of Mr. Charles King, almoner of St. Paul's, and she was a sister of Jerry Clark.

While the lives of both Greene and Carleton are tolerably well documented, the Dillingham sisters remain an elusive pair. Elizabeth, who we may suppose to have been the elder of the two, appears to have been born not later than 1698; Mary most probably two or three years after that. Although their father, Theophilus Dillingham, was in business in the City -- and is presumably the same 'Mr. Theophilus Dillingham' who served as a Steward at the Sons of the Clergy festival in 1702<sup>4</sup> -- the family lived at Hampton in Middlesex where others of the same surname

2 P. 909.

3 The first street immediately north of St. Paul's churchyard.

4 [Freeman], Compleat List, of the Stewards, Presidents, etc.

also flourished. Like the Greenes of Navestock, the Dillinghams were an old well-established family. Several were clergymen educated at Cambridge, and, in the pages of Venn's Alumni Cantabrigiensis alone, can easily be traced back to the end of the sixteenth century. One of the first of these, Francis Dillingham (c. 1566-1625), is still remembered as one of the translators of the Authorized Version of the Bible (1611). Another, Theophilus (1612-78) -- the grandfather of Elizabeth and Mary Dillingham -- was Master of Clare College from 1654 until the date of his death, and three times Vice-Chancellor of the University. If social position and family background are anything to go by, Maurice and Mary would seem to have been well matched.

An exhaustive search of church registers at Hampton and all the likely parishes in London, the published Allegations for Marriage Licences issued by the Bishop of London, the Faculty Office of the Archbishop of Canterbury and so on, has failed to yield any trace of Maurice Greene's marriage. In all probability, the ceremony took place in Hampton Parish Church in the summer of 1718.<sup>5</sup> Certainly, Fuller-Maitland's suggestion<sup>6</sup> of 1727 -- immediately after Maurice's appointment to the Chapel Royal -- as the most likely date of this event is out by at least

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5 Unfortunately, the marriage register for the period 1703-26 does not survive.

6 DNB, s.v. 'Greene, Maurice'.

nine years since the Greene's first child, a son John, was christened on 28 May 1719 in the church of St. Alphage, London Wall.<sup>7</sup> Towards the end of the following year, a daughter was born and christened Mary Shelton Greene on 14 December 1720.<sup>8</sup> Exactly how long the family remained resident in the parish is uncertain, but the fact that no further christenings are recorded in the St. Alphage registers suggests that they may have moved elsewhere within a year or two of the second child's birth. And this, as we shall see in just a moment, is precisely what happened.

Elizabeth Dillingham was the Rev. George Carleton's second wife, and the application for their marriage licence is dated 26 October 1717.<sup>9</sup> Although Carleton later (1732) became Sub-Dean of the Chapel Royal, he was then only a Gentleman of the same and a Minor Canon of St. Paul's. In about August or September 1722, the two families -- Maurice and Mary Greene and their two children together with George and Elizabeth Carleton and theirs -- combined, and took a house in Beaufort Buildings just off the Strand. The rate books of the parish of St. Clement Danes show that the house was empty during the first quarter of the

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7 General Register 1699-1732, Guildhall Library, MS. 5746/2, f. 13.

8 Ibid., f. 14.

9 Allegations for Marriage Licences Issued from the Faculty Office of the Archbishop of Canterbury at London, 1543 to 1869. Harleian Society Publications xxiv (1886), 248.

year (May to May) and that 'Greene & Carlton' between them paid £1.5.0 for the remaining three-quarters of a year's rates.<sup>10</sup> For the next five years, the house was rated in the name of 'George Charlton' [sic] only, but it is clear that the Greens continued to live there. Here too three more children were born:<sup>11</sup>

Ann	christened	11 February	1724
Henry	christened	27 October	1725
and Katharine	christened	19 December	1729.

On 4 September 1728, George Carleton was appointed Chanter (i.e. Precentor) of Westminster Abbey, a post which presumably carried with it a house in Dean's Yard as it was in this year that the Carletons left Beaufort Buildings. Thereafter, 'Morris Greene' is shown as the rateable occupant of the house, and in this spot the composer lived right up to the time of his death in December 1755.

Of the five children of Maurice and Mary Greene, all save Katharine died young. John, the eldest, was educated at Eton (1728-35), which place he probably gained through his father's friendship with Dr. Henry Godolphin, formerly Dean of St. Paul's (until 1726) and now once again Provost of Eton, a position "much better suited to his abilities and temperament".<sup>12</sup> Among the boy's slightly

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10 Westminster Public Library, MS. B. 36.

11 St. Clement Danes, Baptisms and Burials Register, Westminster Public Library.

12 DNB, s.v. 'Godolphin, Henry'.

senior school-fellows were Horace Walpole and Thomas Gray, the poet. In 1731, he became a King's Scholar and on 26 August 17~~2~~<sup>3</sup>6, he was admitted a pensioner at St. John's College, Cambridge in the tradition of his seventeenth-century forebears. It is just possible that he is to be identified as the same 'Mr. John Green, of Camb.' listed among the subscribers to Bickham's Musical Entertainer of which the first issue appeared in January 1737. In any case, he did not proceed to a degree, and it seems most likely that he died sometime between August 1736 and 1739 -- in February 1737 perhaps, when, on the 7th of the month, one 'John Green' was buried in St. Clement Danes. Of Mary, Ann and Henry, nothing whatever is known.<sup>13</sup>

Apart from his bastard cousin, John Green<sup>e</sup> 6, Maurice was now the last male representative of the long line of Essex Greenes. His two elder brothers had both died at the age of thirty while Maurice himself was still in his teens: John 5 in September 1713, and Thomas in February

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13. The death of Henry would seem to be referred to in one of the Godolphin letters (from 'M. Godolphin' -- not Henry) to 'Mr. Lucas' which still survive in the Library of St. Paul's Cathedral: "... if you see M<sup>r</sup> Green give him my service & tell him I am sorry he has lost his New Son & y<sup>t</sup> we shall be glad to see him here when ever he pleases, ...". The letter is dated "Eton y<sup>e</sup> Last of Oc<sup>br</sup> 1726"; a reference to music in the succeeding sentence is sufficient to identify 'M<sup>r</sup> Green' as the composer.

1715.<sup>14</sup> On 25 February 1720,<sup>15</sup> the Rev. Thomas Greene senior died, and was buried four days later in the minister's vault of St. Olave's Jewry.<sup>16</sup> As sole executor of his father's will, Maurice inherited all his father's South Sea and East India Bonds, his books and papers, and all other residue of the estate not specifically assigned to his mother.<sup>17</sup> She survived her husband by two and a half years, and was buried on 22 December 1722,<sup>18</sup> which melancholy event may possibly have moved the composer to write the tenderly poignant anthem by which he is now

14 See Burial Register of St. Olave Jewry, Guildhall Library, MS. 4401/1, p. 102 and p. 101.

15 Historical Register, v, 11.

16 There is some slight confusion here. The burial is recorded in the registers of both St. Olave Jewry (Guildhall Library, MS. 4401/1, p. 100) and St. Alphage, London Wall (MS. 5746/2, f. 50v.), and it would appear that the Rev. Thomas was actually laid to rest in the latter; yet Maurice Greene in his own will dated 26 July 1752 asks to be buried in the Minister's vault of St. Olave's "where the remains of my late dear Father and Mother are deposited" (see Plate IV, p.266).

17 Somerset House, Principal Probate Registry, P.C.C. Shaller 60. The rents and profits of the farm at Bradwell in Essex were left to Thomas Green's widow during her lifetime, and thereafter to Maurice.

18 Guildhall Library, MS. 4401/1, p. 100.

chiefly remembered, "Lord, let me know mine end".<sup>19</sup> The redoubtable Serjeant Greene, father of John 6, lived on until 1725 and died at the age of eighty-one on 19 December of that year,<sup>20</sup> a testy old man still firmly resolved in his earlier intention of disinheriting the whole of his brother's family.

As the population of London mushroomed during the latter part of the seventeenth century, so too did living conditions in the City become steadily grimier and more squalidly overcrowded. By 1700, polite London society -- first the nobility and gentry, and then the professional upper-middle classes -- was in retreat, heading westwards along the Strand to re-establish itself in the new wide streets and spacious squares which were then being laid out among the green fields of the city of Westminster. Twenty-five years later, almost the whole area bounded by Tothill Fields in the south and Oxford Steet in the north was pretty solidly built up, even as far west as Park Lane, while the Strand itself from Temple Bar to Charing Cross had become the principal shopping street of London.

19 Its place in the first of a set of seven old organ books discovered in the north-west tower of St. Paul's Cathedral as also in British Museum, Add. MSS. 5327 and 17850 (the two most important sources of Greene's early anthems) suggests a date of composition during the first half of the 1720s.

20 Historical Register, x, 50; see also The Weekly Journal: or, the British Gazetteer of 25 December 1725.

Here, not far from the Greenes's house in Beaufort Buildings, John Walsh, the greatest English music-publisher of the day, had his premises -- though Catherine Street was not perhaps the most salubrious street in the neighbourhood to judge by Gay's Trivia which speaks of the necessity of avoiding those

... who stand  
Where Catherine Street descends into the Strand.

Beaufort Buildings, which stood on a site now occupied by the Savoy Hotel, was then a fashionable place of residence,<sup>21</sup> and the mere fact that the Greenes settled here as early even as 1722 gives some indication of their social status. The whole complex of about twenty houses known as Beaufort Buildings covered the greater part of the area between Fountain Court and Dirty Lane, and was set well back from the noise and bustle of London's busiest thoroughfare. Its roof-top views southwards over the Thames to the Surrey marshes beyond and downstream to picturesque old London Bridge were apparently a feature of the place.<sup>22</sup> We get an excellent impression of what the Buildings actually looked like from Paul Sandby's charming water-colour painted in 1725 from a position almost immediately outside

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21 For its topographical history, see Wheatley, London Past and Present, i, 140-1; also Phillips, Mid-Georgian London, pp. 156-8.

22 Phillips, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

Greene's front door.<sup>23</sup> This shows a group of elegantly proportioned four-storeyed houses facing in upon an airy central courtyard which leads out through Beaufort Street into the Strand. With broad overhanging eaves and white sash windows set flush with the clean rosy-pink external brickwork, these gracious examples of early eighteenth-century domestic architecture make a very attractive picture indeed.

No. 6, the house which the Greenes occupied, was on the left, about half-way along the courtyard as one entered from the Strand;<sup>24</sup> its rateable value, £40 per annum. The family lived here until 1744 when they moved three doors along to no. 9. The reason for the move is not entirely clear, but it probably had something to do with sky-rocketing rates which had risen from a modest £1.13.4 in 1722 to £2.6.8 in 1728 to £3.13.4 in 1741. Although the rateable value of no. 9 was in fact £5 more than that of no. 6, Greene -- in company with several other dwellers in the parish -- appealed to the Vestry of St. Clement Danes in January 1745,<sup>25</sup> and was successful in getting this

23 British Museum, Crace Collection, Portfolio xvii, 65. It has several times been reproduced, most recently in Phillips, op. cit., as Plate 11 facing p. 157; also in Chancellor, The Annals of the Strand, facing p. 127.

24 Its position is established by Horwood's Plan of London (1799).

25 See Vestry Minutes of 29 January 1745, Westminster Public Library, MS. B. 1066.

reduced to £40. There seems, thereafter, to have been a general reduction in the rates for the whole area.

The most notable Strand-side resident at this time was undoubtedly the great Dr. Johnson. Tradition has it that, in Beaufort Buildings itself, Henry Fielding once lived with his sister,<sup>26</sup> but this is not supported by any documentary evidence known to me. The rate books show that Greene's successor at no. 6 was George Arbuthnot, friend and executor of Pope. At no. 12 (just across the courtyard from no. 9), Tobias Smollett lived from 1748 to 1750, and it was here, probably, that Roderick Random was written. When the Smolletts left for Chelsea in the summer of 1750, the house was taken over by Thomas Augustine Arne. He, however, stopped here for one year only.

But there is another rather more intimate connection between Smollett and Greene which, so far as the present writer is aware, has never yet been pointed out. One of Greene's most puerile, but nonetheless popular, songs -- "Life is Chequer'd", first published in The Chaplet (1738) -- was a great favourite of Commodore Trunnion and Tom Pipes, his ex-boatwain's mate, whenever they made merry together in taverns:<sup>27</sup>

26 Gentleman's Magazine (1786), p. 659; see also Chancellor, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

27 Smollett, The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle (London, 1751), i, 18-9; Everyman edn. (1930), i, 12.

"Come, Pipes, let's have the boatswain's whistle, and be jovial." This musician accordingly, applied to his mouth the silver instrument that hung at a button-hole of his jacket, by a chain of the same metal, and though not quite so ravishing as the pipe of Hermes, produced a sound so loud and shrill, that the stranger (as it were instinctively) stopped his ears, to preserve his organs of hearing from such a dangerous invasion. The prelude being thus executed, Pipes fixed his eyes upon the egg of an ostrich that depended from the ceiling [sic], and without once moving them from that object, performed the whole cantata in a tone of voice that seemed to be the joint issue of an Irish bagpipe and a sow-gelder's horn; the commodore, the lieutenant and landlord joined in the chorus, repeating this elegant stanza,

Bustle, bustle, brave boys!  
 Let us sing, let us toil,  
 And drink all the while,  
 Since labour's the price of our joys.

The third line was no sooner pronounced, than the cann was lifted to every man's mouth with admirable uniformity; and the next word taken up at the end of their draft, with a twang equally expressive and harmonious. In short, the company began to understand one another.

Smollett's use of song and this piece in particular is discussed by Dr. Percy M. Young in an article in Music and Letters for January 1946:<sup>28</sup> "The method of performance in this and other folksongs [sic] ...should be brought to the notice of those who endeavour to kill popular art by self-conscious artistry"!

In addition to all else, Greene was one of the most important teachers of the early Georgian era, and his influence upon the succeeding generation of English organists and composers was profound. As was the practice of the

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28 See 'Observations on Music by Tobias Smollett', pp. 18-24.

period, several who were actually his articted pupils lived with him as members of the family, making themselves generally useful in any way they could, and, at the same time, learning the 'Art and Mystery' of their profession under the more or less constant supervision of their master. The more able among them were, it seems, regularly employed as copyists, and where their individual handwriting can be recognized and the dates of apprenticeship are known, their manuscripts are a helpful aid to dating Greene's own works.

One of the most distinguished of Greene's early pupils was John Travers (c. 1703-58), and the evidence of his apprenticeship still survives in the Inland Revenue Books at the Public Record Office.<sup>29</sup> This shows that, in 1719, John Travers, son of Joseph Travers, a shoemaker of Windsor, was articted "to Maurice Green cit & gent" for a 'consideration' of £70. Greene's description as 'cit & gent' suggests that he himself was now a freeman of the City and a member of one of the City companies. Supposing him to have been articted according to the Custom of London, Greene would naturally have been entitled to the freedom

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29 See Society of Genealogists, The Apprentices of Great Britain 1710-1762 (typescript), p. 5894. By Act of Parliament (8 Anne, chapter 9), a small tax was payable by the master on the registration of all apprentice indentures. It should, however, be noted that the payment of this tax does not necessarily imply that these particular contracts of service were apprenticeships according to the Custom of London.

upon the expiration of his own indentures in 1717, but to what company if any he belonged does not, however, appear.<sup>30</sup> Travers seems to have served the normal seven-year term of apprenticeship and, on 24 November 1726, with the backing of "his Grace the Duke of Bedford and Severall other Persons of distinction", he gained his first appointment as organist of St. Paul's, Covent Garden.<sup>31</sup> About the same time too, he was acting as Sub Organist of St. Paul's Cathedral.<sup>32</sup> Later on, he became (with Greene) one of the two organists of the Chapel Royal, and a close friend and associate of Dr. Pepusch who, on his death in July 1752, bequeathed one half of his extremely valuable library to Travers.

But Travers was not the first of Greene's articulated pupils. A year earlier, in 1718, he had paid the required tax on the indentures of two other apprentices: Kelly

30 A search has been made in the freedom admission records from 1717 to 1755, but no entry in the name of Maurice Greene has been found. (Information from Mr. J.F.V. Woodman, Clerk of the Chamberlain's Court.) This could be taken to mean that Greene definitely was not a freeman of the City; certainly the possibility that his articles to Brind were not after the Custom of London is not to be discounted (see ante, p.32).

31 Vestry Minutes of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, Westminster Public Library, MS. H. 804, p. 62. The date usually given -- 1725, on the testimony of Hawkins (History, p. 910) -- is wrong.

32 See subscriptions list to Handel's Admeto (1727).

Webb, son of a Chichester bookseller, and Edward Salisbury, son of a London victualler.<sup>33</sup> Neither appears to have made any impression upon the musical life of London, though Salisbury did survive one year (1727-8) as organist of All Hallows, Bread Street, in succession to John Stanley.<sup>34</sup> Whether or not the amount of the 'consideration' -- in this case, £80 and £81 respectively -- bore any direct relationship to the length of the apprenticeship is not known. The only other one of Greene's pupils whose indentures are so recorded was one David Digard who was registered in 1730 on a consideration of £20 only.<sup>35</sup>

Another of Greene's early pupils and one of the most famous was the blind John Stanley (1713-86) just mentioned. At the age of seven, he began to take lessons from John Reading, a former pupil of Blow and now organist of St. John's, Hackney. Before long he was sent to Greene "under whom he studied with great diligence, and a success that was astonishing".<sup>36</sup> There was no question of apprenticeship in this case, however, and the teacher-pupil relationship would appear to have been abruptly terminated by the extraordinary circumstances -- hitherto unnoticed

33 The Apprentices of Great Britain, pp. 6177 and 5106.

34 Guildhall Library, MS. 5039/1, f. 171v.

35 Apprentices, p. 1688.

36 Burney, History, p. 494.

-- of Stanley's election to the organistship of All Hallows, Bread Street, in October 1723. On 23 September of that year, William Babell, the virtuoso harpsichordist, died. One month later to the day, the election of his successor took place, and there were three candidates: John Stanley, Obadiah Shuttleworth, and 'M<sup>r</sup> Maurice Green'.<sup>37</sup> The salary was only £20 per annum. Whatever prompted Greene to put his name forward for the post, and especially in opposition to his own pupil, defies explanation; and it must have been a galling experience indeed when the organist of St. Paul's Cathedral was beaten by a ten-year-old boy! When John Isham died three years later, there was a general poll to elect a new organist of St. Andrew's, Holborn, and Stanley had no hesitation in using Greene's name as a means of commending himself to "the worthy inhabitants of the parish".<sup>38</sup> In 1743, he even dutifully subscribed for a copy of Greene's magnum opus (Forty Select Anthems); but there is no indication that master and pupil were ever again intimately associated, professionally or otherwise.

These then were Greene's first batch of pupils.

Slightly later, and perhaps the best of them all, was

37 Vestry Minutes of All Hallows, Bread Street, Guildhall Library, MS. 5039/1, f. 164v.

38 See The London Journal of 13 August 1726 — quoted in Scholes, The Life and Activities of Sir John Hawkins, p.9; see also The Weekly Journal: or, the British Gazetteer of 20 August 1726.

William Boyce (1710-79). Although no official indentures survive, it is invariably stated that, "upon the breaking of his voice", Boyce "was taken as an apprentice by Dr. Maurice Greene, ...and by him taught the principles of music and the practice of choral service".<sup>39</sup> During the eighteenth century, the onset of puberty usually came about the age of fourteen.<sup>40</sup> We may therefore suppose that it was somewhere round about 1725 or shortly after that Boyce commenced his studies under Greene; and if it is true that "at the expiration of his apprenticeship, he became organist of...Oxford Chapel", he must have remained a pupil until 1734, though he seems to have gone on producing manuscript copies of Greene's works until the autumn of 1736 at least.<sup>41</sup> After leaving his master, Boyce, like Travers, betook himself to Pepusch for instruction in

- 39 Hawkins, 'Memoirs of Dr. Boyce', p. [i]; cf. Arnold, Cathedral Music, iii, 8; also a letter from Burney to Dr. Callcott dated 29 January 1802 (now in the Osborn Collection at Yale) and partially quoted in MT 42, July 1901, p. 442.
- 40 Bayly, Practical Treatise on Singing and Playing, p.41. It should, however, be noted that a number of Chapel Royal choristers of the period appear to have retained their treble voices well beyond this point: sixteen or seventeen was a common retiring age, and in some cases even, boys reached eighteen before they were pensioned off (see post, p.142).
- 41 See the Court Ode "Come lovely virgin, fair ey'd peace" for the King's birthday, 30 October 1736, which is entirely in Boyce's hand. This seems to have been the last of the Boyce copies. The New Year's Ode for 1 January 1737 is in the hand of Martin Smith (for whom see post, p.251).

the theory and principles of harmony, a branch of the science in which Greene was apparently "but meanly skilled".<sup>42</sup> He seems nevertheless to have held his original mentor in high regard, and the two remained close friends as well as colleagues in the Chapel Royal throughout later life.

Doubtless there were other early Greene pupils of whom nothing whatever is known. Among a second batch, there were five who later became cathedral organists, but none so outstandingly gifted as Travers, Stanley and Boyce, and a discussion of their individual merits may be conveniently deferred to Chapter eight.

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<sup>42</sup> Hawkins, 'Memoirs', loc. cit. The fruits of a lifetime's interest in Music Theory are embodied in Boyce's unpublished (and unknown) Treatise on Harmonics; the manuscript together with two autograph letters still survives in the Library of the Royal Institution.

CHAPTER FOURTHE LONDON SCENE, 1710-30

Supreme artistic achievement seems seldom to have been so widely acknowledged and admired by a composer's own contemporaries and countrymen as that of Henry Purcell. When, on 21 November 1695, he died at the tragically early age of thirty-six, the nation's hopes for the future of English music perished with him. Among his contemporaries and immediate successors there were, it is true, several composers of undeniable gifts and no mean accomplishment -- Blow, Clarke, Eccles, Weldon and Croft to name only the most distinguished -- but none sufficient to sustain the vitality and almost quirky individuality of native tradition in the face of overwhelming odds: the growing tide of foreign influence (especially Handel and the Italian opera which was so soon to dominate the English musical scene), the decline of aristocratic patronage, the emergence of the Common Man and, not least, the sterile complacency and materialistic opportunism which characterize an age geared to mercantile expansion and extending the bounds of empire.

Historical 'ifs' are a continually absorbing, though generally fruitless, topic for speculative enquiry -- none more so than the question of what might have happened had Purcell lived on well into the Georgian era, or

Greene, who "for natural genius...certainly ranks among the foremost few in the list of English musicians of the last two centuries",<sup>1</sup> made his appearance twenty years earlier. It was Greene's misfortune to be born into an age of profound stylistic change, and just a generation or so too late to have grown up under the direct influence of "the greatest Genius we ever had".<sup>2</sup> His natural mode of musical expression was thus founded on the cosmopolitan lingua franca of the day, an urbane but thoroughly eclectic style whose more prominent Italianate features are by some still fondly imagined to be Handelian in origin. Greene's earliest dateable compositions, among which are such fine anthems as "O sing unto the Lord a new song" and the six-part "Bow down thine ear, O Lord" not to mention the orchestral setting of "I will magnifie thee", display a maturity and technical assurance rare in one not yet twenty-five. But the enormous promise of youth was never, alas, to be completely fulfilled. His artistic achievement stood no higher in 1755 than it had in 1735, and Ernest Walker's verdict on his work as a whole is not unjust: "Our impression of Greene is indeed that of a man who, somehow, neglected and more or less frittered away a very splendid talent".<sup>3</sup> Greene's failure to attain

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1 Walker, History of Music in England, (3rd edn.), p.255.

2. Tudway's description of Purcell, in British Museum, MS. Harley 7342, f. 12.

3 Loc. cit.

true greatness is not easily explained, and is the more poignant in that prolonged study of the man and his music strongly suggests that it was due not so much to any falling off of his creative powers or defect of character as to the oppressive force of external circumstances, and the stultifying effect of the utterly hedonistic and spiritually moribund society which he was committed to serve, a society which had long since surrendered its cultural identity to the dictates of imported fashion, and regarded music as no more than "a genteel Amusement":<sup>4</sup> "an innocent luxury, unnecessary, indeed, to our existence, but a great improvement and gratification of the sense of hearing".<sup>5</sup>

In terms of creative achievement, the fifteen-year interregnum between the death of Purcell and the arrival of Handel was almost entirely barren. It was, nevertheless, a period of intense musical activity which has long had a peculiar fascination for musicians and scholars alike, as much for its lively (at times even roisterous) atmosphere as for its crucial significance in the overall progress of English music in decline. The influx of foreign singers and instrumentalists which began with the Restoration quickened suddenly during the last decade of the seventeenth century and continued on into the eighteenth

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4 See Memoirs of the Times (1737), pp. 42-4.

5 Burney, History, 'Definitions', modern edn. vol.1, p.21.

until, by about 1710, the artistic subjugation of native talent was well on the way to completion. By this time too, opera (both English and Italian) was established, albeit precariously, at Drury Lane, Lincoln's Inn Fields and the Haymarket, and in this first wave of operatic enterprise, as we have already seen,<sup>6</sup> two at least of Greene's colleagues at St. Paul's had taken part. Then came Handel, the great luminary of the age, but for whose advocacy and genius, that 'exotick and irrational entertainment' would probably have perished in its earliest infancy.<sup>7</sup> With Handel at its head, the establishment of the Royal Academy of Music in the summer of 1719 marks the final triumph of the Italian faction.<sup>8</sup> Throughout this period, the two composers were intimately associated. We have it on Burney's authority<sup>9</sup> that Greene was "a constant attendant at the opera, and an acute observer of the improvements in composition and performance, which Handel, and the Italian singers employed in his dramas, had introduced into this country"; and it was, moreover, by his ready assimilation of "all those refinements in melody which the opera had introduced" that the Englishman

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6 Ante, p. 41.

7 Walker, op. cit., p.218.

8 It may here be observed that the documentation of this subject as given in Deutsch is by no means complete.

9 History, p. 489.

hatched out what Hawkins refers to -- rather acidly -- as "the third, and at present the last, improved style of cathedral music".<sup>10</sup>

The predominance of public interest in performance was not, however, confined to the opera house: the city's concert life was in an equally palmy condition with numerous performances, public and private, in taverns, theatres, the City Livery Halls, and perhaps most important of all, Thomas Hickford's 'Great Room' standing between Panton and James Streets, just off the Haymarket, in what Percy Young has aptly termed "the development area of Georgian London".<sup>11</sup> Renovated in 1713 to improve its suitability for music, Hickford's Room was soon established as the Wigmore Hall of the eighteenth century, a place where all the finest musicians of the day -- and dilettantes too -- were to be heard. In 1738, Hickford moved to new premises in Brewer Street near Golden Square where the fashionable Subscription Concerts were continued well into the 1770s. It seems odd to think that Hickford's new Great Room, the scene of so many exciting performances -- the boy Mozart's English *début* among them -- should survive more or less unaltered until 1934, and then, with

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<sup>10</sup> History, p. 909.

<sup>11</sup> The Concert Tradition, p. 82.

a deplorable indifference to its musical associations and historic interest, be summarily demolished to make way for the Regent Palace Hotel Annexe.<sup>12</sup>

Of the private concert-giving societies, the most famous by far was that of Thomas Britton, the music-loving small-coal man in Clerkenwell. With Handel, Pepusch, Philip Hart and others of comparable attainment among the performers, Britton's concert was "the weekly resort of the old, the young, the gay and the fair of all ranks, including the highest order of nobility".<sup>13</sup> There were also, of course, many individually sponsored public performances given by itinerant and expatriate foreign virtuosi as well as home-spun professionals, for this was the great age of benefit concerts; and on the whole, standards would seem to have been reasonably high if von Uffenbach's account of one of Pepusch's concerts in 1710 is in any way typical of the majority. Although the orchestra was "not very strong" -- it numbered only about sixteen players -- its performance was "incomparable", and the music itself "extremely beautiful": "I could have

12 See Elkin, Old Concert Rooms of London, p. 44; also Scott, 'London Concerts from 1700 to 1750' in MQ 24, April 1938, p. 196. The date given in Grove is 1937.

13 Hawkins, History, p. 700.

listened the whole night with the greatest pleasure".<sup>14</sup>

Such was the general state of music in London during the period of Maurice Greene's apprenticeship. While nothing is known of his efforts in the field of secular performance prior to his appointment to St. Paul's, we may be sure that he did not long remain simply an interested bystander. When Britton died (in 1714), his associates disbanded and went off to found several musical societies elsewhere in the City.<sup>15</sup> With one of these -- the Castle Society or the Philharmonica Club as it was also sometimes known -- Greene was closely concerned. The following news item printed in The Daily Post of 17 October 1724 would seem to suggest that the Society had only recently been formally constituted:

We hear that near one hundred Gentlemen and Merchants of this City, have lately form'd themselves into a Musical Society, the one part Performers, the other Auditors, who meet weekly at the King's Arms Tavern in St. Paul's Church Yard. They open'd the Consort last Week with a very good Performance, to the entire Satisfaction and Pleasure of all the Members. Mr. Young of St. Paul's Church Yard, a noted Master of the Science, and one of his Majesty's Chapel, is President of the same. As Musick must be allow'd to be the most innocent and agreeable Amusement, and a charming Relaxation to the mind, when

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14 London in 1710, trans. Quarrell and Mare, pp. 66-7. The number of players -- in translation -- "no more *was* than sixty". This is surely an error; cf. Young, op. cit., p. 63.

15 For details, see Hawkins, History, p. 807.

fatigued with the Bustle of Business, or after it has been long bent on severer Studies, this bids fair for encouraging the Science, and seems<sup>16</sup> to be a very ingenious and laudable Undertaking.

But Hawkins's account of its history makes it plain that the Society had been in existence for some time before this,<sup>17</sup> and was but the outgrowth of an earlier music meeting in the house of John Young, the violin and musical instrument-maker in St. Paul's churchyard, whose son Talbot "had been brought up with Greene in St. Paul's choir, and had attained to great proficiency on the violin, as Greene had on the harpsichord".

The Youngs, together with Greene and several others, probably began their weekly meetings "for the practice of music" round about 1718, and possibly even earlier still. In Hawkins's words, "the fame of this performance spread far and wide, and in a few winters the resort of gentlemen performers was greater than the house would admit of". A small subscription was therefore levied and the Society moved round the corner to the Queen's Head Tavern in Paternoster Row. Later -- in 1724 according to Hawkins -- its members transferred to the Castle (also in Paternoster Row) from which the Society took its name.

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16 Quoted, with various errors and omissions, in Young, op. cit., p. 77.

17 History, pp. 807-8.

It will, however, be noted that these 'facts' do not tally exactly with the evidence quoted above;<sup>18</sup> yet they cannot be far out as will appear by the following notice in The London Evening-Post of 4-6 June 1728:

Yesterday [Wednesday, 5 June] the Musical Society belonging to the Castle Tavern in Paternoster Row, met in their proper Habits, and according to ancient Custom drank much Sack, and went aboard the Merchant Taylors Barge, row'd up to Putney, and had a noble Entertainment at the Bowling-Green House, which was managed by the six Stewards to the great Satisfaction of the Society, and the Musick was extremely well perform'd by the best Hands. N.B. 130 Subscribers were present.

Talbot Young was not only an excellent fiddler -- though not yet twenty-one, he had been appointed a member of the King's Band in August 1717 -- but also a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal,<sup>19</sup> and later a lay-clerk of Westminster Abbey. He was also organist of various City churches: "a thorough Master of Musick in general" as The London Evening-Post of 1 January 1730 puts it. The Castle Society continued to flourish until 1783 or thereabouts, long after the decease of its two chief founders, but how long Greene took part in its activities, it is impossible at this distance of time to discover.

18 The name of the meeting place (the King's Arms Tavern in St. Paul's churchyard) is suppressed in Young, loc. cit.

19 He succeeded Alexander Damascene, the famous French counter-tenor, on 8 August 1719; see Rimbault, Cheque-Book, p. 29.

It was during this same period that Greene became a member of the Masonic Lodge meeting at the Ship Tavern without Temple Bar, just a short distance along the Strand from Beaufort Buildings. Charles King, the Almoner of St. Paul's, was Master and two of the Minor Canons were the Wardens; the others (fifteen in all) include several whose names are familiar either as professional musicians or amateur enthusiasts. According to Elizabeth Cole,<sup>20</sup> this was "the quietest, least spectacular, but most astute move of his [ Greene's ] life", a "stratagem" after which "honours came thick and fast". But this notion -- typical of the inaccuracies which prevail in even the most recent accounts of Handel's English contemporaries -- is as baseless as it is invidious. Greene's connection with Freemasonry (first noted by F.G. Edwards in 1903)<sup>21</sup> was very short-lived indeed; the Lodge to which he was attached lapsed in 1725, and no further reference to the composer is to be found in any of the society's records.<sup>22</sup>

Much more important than either of these was the Academy of Ancient Music (originally the Academy of Vocal

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20 R.C.M. Magazine L1/3, p. 63.

21 MT 44, p. 90.

22 I am greatly indebted to Mr. J.W. Stubbs, Grand Secretary of the United Grand Lodge of England, for information on this point. Details of the Lodge at the Ship without Temple Bar appear in the First Minute Book of Grand Lodge (1723-31).

Musick), the most famous and influential institution of its kind in eighteenth-century London. Of this too Greene was a foundation member. Although the Academy is nowadays remembered only for the celebrated Bononcini/Lotti scandal which split its ranks in the spring of 1731, its strong antiquarian interests were distinctly unusual in an age which had very little feeling for the past -- after all, was not the present the best of all possible worlds? -- and deserve closer attention than they have hitherto received. The Academy was founded on 7 January 1726,<sup>23</sup> and despite various internal dissonances, survived in a more or less thriving state until 1792. Among its later members was Sir John Hawkins, self-appointed chronicler of the society's origins and early history. His Account of the Institution and Progress of the Academy of Ancient Music (privately circulated, London, 1770) is still generally regarded as the prime source of information on this subject,<sup>24</sup> and here we read that the Academy was founded "about the year 1710, by a number of Gentlemen, performers on different instruments, in conjunction with some of the most eminent masters of the time...to promote the study

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23 See Papers relating to the Academy of Vocal Musick, British Museum Add. MS. 11732.

24 Reprinted in Scholes, Life of Hawkins, Appendix 3, pp. 247-54.

and practice of vocal and instrumental harmony".<sup>25</sup>  
 Hawkins's date -- 1710 -- was given further currency by Burney in the preface to his Account of the Musical Performances in Commemoration of Handel<sup>26</sup> -- a trifle surprising perhaps in view of Burney's well-known antipathy for the 'Hatton Garden Knight' -- and has been thoughtlessly retailed by almost every writer on English music from that day to this, including (need it be said) Dr. Percy Young who would even have one believe that von Uffenbach's remarks quoted earlier (p.91) refer to one of the Academy's earliest performances.<sup>27</sup>

In 1895, Henry Davey first published documentary evidence -- nothing less than the original minutes of the first meeting together with other material relating to the first five years of the society's existence -- which impugns the accuracy of Hawkins's Account.<sup>28</sup> His doubts were echoed by Ernest Walker in the first edition of his History of Music in England (1907) though the evidence has since been rejected by the editor of the third edition (1952), and among modern musicologists, only Percy Scholes,

25 Op. cit., pp. 3-4 (Scholes, p. 247); see also Hawkins, History, pp. 805-6.

26 Pp. v-vi.

27 Op. cit., p. 74.

28 History of English Music, 1st. edn. pp. 395-6; see also F.G. Edwards's article on Greene in MT 44, February 1903, p. 90.

with characteristic insight, seems to have questioned the authority of the standard version.<sup>29</sup> The fact remains that Hawkins is wrong on this as also on several other minor points affecting the history of the Academy. As the matter is of some general interest and importance, we must momentarily digress in hopes of setting the record straight.

There can be no doubt that the 'Orders Agree'd to, by the Members of the Academy of Vocal Musick' dated Friday 7 January 1726 are those of an inaugural meeting. Nearly all those present on this occasion were professionally associated, either through the Chapel Royal or one of the metropolitan choirs, and in some cases both: the Rev. Messrs. Baker, Carleton, and Estwick, Dr. Pepusch, Chelsum, Freeman, Galliard, Gates, Greene, Hughes, Husband, King and Weeley together with the boys of St. Paul's Cathedral.<sup>30</sup> Each subscribed 2s 6d towards the evening's expenses which were:<sup>31</sup>

A Coach for y <sup>e</sup> Children	0:	2:	0
Wine and Bread	0:	10:	6
for the use of y <sup>e</sup> room fire & Candles	0:	5:	0
the Drawer [ i.e. the tapster -- a tip ]	0:	1:	0

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29 Life of Hawkins, p. 23.

30 Miss Cole's statement (loc. cit.) that the Academy was "of Masonic origins" is unfounded.

31 British Museum, Add. MS. 11732, f. 2.

In addition it was resolved, among other things, to meet "every other Fryday (solemn dayes excepted)", that performances should begin at 7 p.m. and end at 9, and that "any Gentleman of his Majesty's Chappel Royal, or of the Cathedrals" who so desired should be admitted a member and "no other persons but such as profess Musick, and shall be approv'd of by the Majority".<sup>32</sup> Several close correspondences between the papers relating to the Academy of Vocal Musick and Hawkins's Account of the Academy of Ancient Music make it perfectly clear that we are dealing here with one and the same institution. Exactly at what point the Academy exchanged Vocal for Ancient Music in its title has yet to be discovered; it had done so certainly by 1742, and most probably shortly after the great schism of 1731.

Two subsidiary sources, both apparently little known,<sup>33</sup> also point to 1726 (and not 1710) as the correct date of establishment. The first is Hawkins's Memoirs of the Life of Sig. Agostino Steffani published anonymously some twenty years before his semi-official pamphlet-history of

32 Ibid., f. 1.

33 The second, partially quoted by Deutsch (p. 277), has been loosely summarized by Sir Newman Flower in ignorance of its true significance (Handel, revised edn., p. 164).

the Academy.<sup>34</sup> Here he speaks of the society as having been instituted "about the year 1724".<sup>35</sup> A hint from one of the Academy's earliest supporters is more valuable still. In his diary, under date of 31 August 1731, Viscount Percival (later the first Earl of Egmont) writes:<sup>36</sup>

... 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, a sum no musician ever had before from any Prince, nor ought to have. While he was there [my italics], the gentlemen of the King's Chapel set up their club of vocal and instrumental music, of which I am a member, and Bononcini accepted to be one of the principal conductors of it...

As the Duchess of Marlborough did not take Bononcini under her wing until May 1724, it follows that this is a terminus ante quem in so far as the establishment of the Academy is concerned. It should also be noted that a good deal of documentary material bearing upon the society's affairs passed through the London auction-rooms during

34 The exact date of publication is unknown; see Scholes, Life of Hawkins, pp. 34-5 and 231. The date in the British Museum Catalogue -- [1740?] -- is at least nine years too early; Walpole's suggestion of 1758 on the other hand may be five or six years too late.

35 Memoirs, p. v.

36 HMC, Egmont MSS., Diary of the First Viscount Percival, i, 201-2. Egmont appears for the first time as a member of the Academy in the Sixth Subscription List (December 1728); see Add. MS. 11732, ff. 7-8.

the nineteenth century though none of this, unfortunately, can now be traced.

The Academy's home during the period of Greene's membership and indeed throughout most of its history was the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand, a favourite haunt of Dr. Johnson's, described by Strype in 1729 as "a large and curious house, with good rooms and other conveniences fit for entertainments". It stood at the corner of Arundel Street and the Strand close by St. Clement Danes's, and was a popular venue for concerts as early even as 1723.<sup>37</sup> At the second meeting on 21 January 1726, Dr. Croft and the Rev. Luke Flintoft had their names added to the list of members and a formal (half-yearly) subscription of 10s 6d was established. The Children of the Chapel Royal appeared on 4 February, and two weeks later, Bononcini, Geminiani and Niccolò Haym (a composer as well as the librettist<sup>i</sup> of a number of Handel operas), followed shortly afterwards by Locillet, Tosi and Senesino.<sup>38</sup> By the end of the year, the membership

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37 See The London Journal of 16 and 30 November 1723. For further information, see Chancellor, The Annals of the Strand, pp. 333-4.

38 Despite frequent assertions to the contrary (deriving ultimately from Hawkins's Account), there is no evidence that Handel was in any way associated with the Academy -- at least not until after 1731, by which time both Greene and Bononcini had withdrawn.

of the Academy had risen to thirty-five. Numbers dropped to twenty-five in 1727 but then began to increase rapidly from the autumn of 1728 onwards until, by the Tenth Subscription of 30 April 1730, there were no fewer than eighty-two members. This sudden growth is attributable perhaps to an extension of the Academy's original scheme of fortnightly Friday meetings which seems to have taken place about this time, namely the introduction of 'Publick Nights' -- semi-private Thursday performances to which members might each bring two guests. Several persons of quality besides the future Earl of Egmont graced these proceedings with their presence, mingling affably with those professional musicians who formed the nucleus of the society. There was also a strong body of enthusiastic amateurs and accomplished dilettantes: William Hogarth, the painter; John Freke, the eminent surgeon; and, among a number of lawyers, John Greene (Maurice Greene's bastard cousin) and Humphrey Wyrley Birch whose extraordinary passion for music "chiefly affected that which had a tendency to draw tears".<sup>39</sup>

Pepusch was the moving spirit of the Academy, and it was doubtless under his influence that the society, almost from the time of its inception, cultivated an interest

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39 Hawkins, History, p. 796 n.

in Ancient Music, the 'Ancients' being defined in a memorandum of 26 May 1731 as "such as lived before y<sup>e</sup> end of the Sixteenth [the word 'fifteenth' is crossed out] Century".<sup>40</sup> On Thursday 16 January 1729, Viscount Percival paid one of his first visits to the Academy:<sup>41</sup>

At night I went to the Crown tavern to hear the musick which the Gentlemen of the King's Chapel have every fortnight there, being an attempt to restore ancient church musick. [my italics].

And by 1734, this antiquarian bias had been pilloried by one of the more virulent of Handel's partisans:<sup>42</sup>

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 [i.e. Handel's] Composition, excepting the Performances of their venerable President [at this date, Pepusch], whose Works bear such vast Resemblance to the regular Gravity of the Ancients, that when dress'd up in Cobwebs, and powdered with Dust, the Philharmonick Spiders could dwell on them, and in them, to Eternity.

-- a somewhat jaundiced view of the situation when one considers the fact that only two years earlier (on 3 March 1732) the Academy had given one of the first performances of Esther, and was even then actively promoting

<sup>40</sup> British Museum, Add. MS. 11732, f. 16.

<sup>41</sup> Diary, iii, 328.

<sup>42</sup> See Harmony in an Uproar (formerly attributed to Arbuthnot); reprinted in Deutsch, see p. 352.

the development of English oratorio.<sup>43</sup>

If, during the first five years of its history, the Academy (like the Sons of the Clergy up to 1731)<sup>44</sup> had more or less completely ignored the music of Handel, it did not adopt the same attitude to the works of its own composer-members. Pepusch was well represented in the society's concerts, and so too, we may imagine, were Greene and Croft not to mention Bononcini, Geminiani and other less eminent academicians.<sup>45</sup> On 13 February 1730, for example, "Mr. Green's 'Te Deum' and other of his works" were performed at a Friday meeting of the Academy, and in the words of Viscount Percival who was present on this occasion, these "show him to be a great composer, and to tread in the steps of the Italian masters".<sup>46</sup>

43 Though many other of Handel's works were to be performed in later years, the Academy seems to have made a special point of celebrating the composer's birthday with revivals of Esther. See Dean, Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques, p. 205.

44 See ante, p. 63.

45 See Hawkins, History, p. 886.

46 Diary, i. 46. The Te Deum was almost certainly the one performed at the Sons of the Clergy on 5 February and written to celebrate the King's return to St. James's in September of the previous year. It was probably this same piece which Burney had in mind when, in the History (p. 781), he touches briefly upon the strength -- or rather the weakness -- of those who had set up in deliberate opposition to Handel, and cites a Greene Te Deum among several works which "though not very successful, contributed to diminish the public attention to Italian operas, and by that means injured Handel, without essentially serving themselves".

Other interesting performances are also recorded including one of "the famous Miserere of Allegri" on 25 February 1735. This work, "forbid to be copied out or communicated to any under pain of excommunication" and by some imagined to have remained the exclusive property of the papal choir until the boy Mozart astonished his contemporaries by writing it out from memory and Burney published it in 1771, was "brought to us by the Earl of Abercorn, whose brother contrived to obtain it".<sup>47</sup> From 1746 onwards, a number of individual printed programmes have survived,<sup>48</sup> and later still (1761), a comprehensive collection of The Words of such Pieces As are most usually performed by The Academy Of Ancient Music gives a good idea of the range and diversity of the society's normal repertoire. By this time, however, only one of Greene's works qualified for inclusion in this list: "Lord, let me know mine end".

A fine library consisting of "the most celebrated compositions, as well in manuscript as in print, that could be procured, either at home or abroad"<sup>49</sup> was among the Academy's most valuable assets, and it seems likely

47 Viscount Percival, Diary, ii, 155; see also Hawkins, History, p. 594.

48 In the British Museum, press-mark 1042 i. 8.

49 Hawkins, Account of the Academy of Ancient Music, p. 4; Scholes, op. cit., p. 247.

that Greene was its first Librarian. The evidence is slight, but two factors point strongly in that direction: (1) a charred fragment of an inventory of scores and parts which is clearly in Greene's hand,<sup>50</sup> and (2) the wording of a resolution dated 26 May 1731 (not long after Greene's secession) which reads "That D<sup>r</sup> Pepusch be desired to demand of D<sup>r</sup> Green the Six Mottetts y<sup>e</sup> Bishop of Spiga sent the Academy".<sup>51</sup> The 'Bishop of Spiga' just mentioned was, of course, Agostino Steffani, the Italian composer, mathematician, theologian and sometime statesman who, though resident in Hanover, had been unanimously elected President of the Academy on 1 June 1727.<sup>52</sup> Steffani died the following year, but apparently the news did not reach the Academy until about 1730, when it was "resolved not to elect a president for the future, but to keep that post vacant, as if there were no man living worthy to supply his place".<sup>53</sup> As Viscount Percival points out, "this was a resolution insupportable to Bononcini, who had reason to expect that honour, and thereupon he cooled

50 British Museum, Add. MS. 11732, f. 14.

51 Ibid., f. 16.

52 Ibid., f. 4v. The date is wrongly given as 1724 by Hawkins both in the Memoirs of Steffani (p. v) and in the History (p. 673). There is no factual basis for Professor Hutchings's suggestion (The Baroque Concerto, p. 129) that Handel may have put forward Steffani's name for the Presidency.

53 Viscount Percival, Diary, i, 202.

very much in his affection to the club". His subsequent exposure as the author of a fraud ruined both his own career in England, and that "great union" which, for nearly five years, had blessed the society's affairs.

The history of the celebrated Bononcini/Lotti affair, in variously garbled versions, is generally well known. While a fully-documented account of this extraordinary episode is much to be desired, a brief summary must here suffice.<sup>54</sup> Towards the end of 1730 -- possibly even as late as January 1731 -- a five-part madrigal, supposedly by Antonio Lotti, was performed at a meeting of the Academy, and was immediately recognized as a work which Greene had previously introduced as a composition of Bononcini's some three or four years earlier. Bononcini, finding himself charged with plagiarism, pressed counter-charges against Lotti, and on 5 February 1731, the Secretary of the Academy, Hawley Bishop, wrote to Lotti in Venice in an effort to determine the truth of the matter. The latter, in a courteous and very

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54 The chief sources are Letters from the Academy of Ancient Musick to Lotti (1732); Viscount Percival's Diary, i, 202; Hawkins's Memoirs of Steffani, pp. v-vi (reproduced more or less verbatim in the History, pp. 861-2). As usual, there is some conflict on minor points of detail; the main issues, however, are generally agreed.

conciliatory reply, expresses himself as being "extrêmement surpris de me voir accusé débiteur de mon propre bien". Surely there must have been some mistake or misunderstanding, even a deliberate mischief perhaps?:

... je vous prie de prendre garde, que pour jeter un mauvais tour à M. Buononcini, on ne luy aye faussement attribué la Lettre écrite à l'Academie en son Nom, parcequ'il est incroyable, que, savant comme il est, il aye voulu, de gayeté de coeur, adopter pour siens mes défauts.<sup>55</sup>

But still the controversy dragged on, and it was not until the end of the summer, by which time legal evidence in the form of sworn testimonies had been produced, that the question of authorship was finally settled -- in Lotti's favour. Disgraced, even it seems before a verdict had been reached, Bononcini withdrew from the Academy, and shortly afterwards left the country.<sup>56</sup> An attempted 'come-back' twelve months later was a dismal failure: the English, then as now, were slow to forgive and slower still to forget.

As Hawkins says,<sup>57</sup> this scandalous affair "made a great noise in the musical world" -- so great in fact that the Letters from the Academy of Ancient Musick at London, to Sig<sup>r</sup> Antonio Lotti of Venice: with his Answers

55 Letters from the Academy of Ancient Musick to Lotti, pp. 6, 8 and 10.

56 See The Whitehall Evening-Post of 29 June-1 July 1731.

57 Memoirs of Steffani, p. vi; History, p. 362.

and Testimonies had soon afterwards to be published "for the satisfaction of the public".<sup>58</sup> Considering that Bononcini himself had precipitated the crisis by his vigorous denunciation of Lotti, it is very odd indeed that he made no further effort to defend himself. Perhaps he feared the inevitable outcome of his own short-sighted action and hoped that, by keeping quiet, the whole thing might blow over. Such a deceit is wholly consonant with the almost unbelievable arrogance of the man's known character. With respect, one must disagree with the charitable view expressed by Ernest Walker and shared, apparently, by Sir Jack Westrup.<sup>59</sup> There is no reason to doubt his guilt. Yet Greene, although he had been the instrument of Bononcini's deception, steadfastly maintained his friend's innocence, and when, eventually, he found himself on the losing side, he too withdrew from the Academy in disgust, carrying with him the boys of St. Paul's and many of the society's best vocal and

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58 Copies of this pamphlet are extremely rare. One, formerly in the Faculty of Advocates' Library in Edinburgh, is now in the National Library of Scotland. It was discussed at some length (and with substantial extracts) in Sedley Taylor's book, The Indebtedness of Handel to Works by other Composers. Taylor's careful transcript of the entire correspondence is preserved in the University Library, Cambridge, (Add. MS. 6264).

59 History of Music in England, p. 242.

instrumental performers who were his friends. Together they set off down the Strand to found a rival establishment at the Devil Tavern, Temple Bar,<sup>60</sup> and it was this huffy exodus which gave rise to the joke circulated "among the academicians" -- often quoted and generally attributed, quite wrongly, to Handel -- that "Dr. Greene was gone to the Devil".<sup>61</sup>

Greene's conduct throughout this episode is a clear indication of the strength of his devotion to Bononcini. To what extent his feelings were reciprocated, however, we have no means of telling. Fortunately for Greene, the outcome had no adverse effect upon the further development of his own career. Apart from Bononcini, his closest associate from this period on was the violinist-composer Michael Christian Festing whose elder son was later to marry Greene's only surviving child, Katharine. It is generally stated that Festing was a pupil of Geminiani, but the terms of the dedication of his twelve Trio Sonatas, Op. 2, to the Duchess of Marlborough suggest that he too may have been a protégé of Bononcini. As Hawkins observes,<sup>62</sup>

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60 For full details of Greene's 'Academy at the Apollo', see post, pp. 198-201.

61 Hawkins, History, p. 362 n.; see also p. 384.

62 Ibid., p. 392.

"he also derived considerable advantage from the friendship of Dr. Greene" although, as a performer, he "was inferior to many of his time". Burney also took a dim view of Festing's gifts as a composer.<sup>63</sup> He was nevertheless constrained to admit -- not without a touch of envy perhaps -- that "by good sense, probity, prudent conduct, and a gentleman-like behaviour, [he had] acquired a weight and influence in his profession, at which hardly any musician of his class ever arrived". "Learn hence, ye young professors", he continues, "that something else is necessary, besides musical talents, to carry you reputably and comfortably through the world!"<sup>64</sup> That 'something else', Greene also possessed. "His address and exterior manners were", as Burney tells us, "those of a man of the world, mild, attentive, and well-bred".<sup>65</sup> And doubtless too, he was expert in that most universal (and most valued) of all eighteenth-century arts: good conversation, for despite his personal deformity, and at a time, moreover, when the mere musician was widely regarded as being among the lowest of the low, Greene had

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63 History, pp. 1011-12.

64 Ibid., p. 1012.

65 Ibid., p. 489; cf. Hawkins, History, p. 909.

already been welcomed in the upper strata of polite society.

Mrs. Anastasia Robinson, the famous prima donna of Handel's early Royal Academy days, was probably the first of Greene's influential patrons, and her wide circle of even more influential friends included such notables as Pope, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Mary Granville (Mrs. Delany) and Elizabeth Montagu, Queen of the Blue-Stockings. In 1724, two years after her clandestine marriage to the elderly Earl of Peterborough, she quitted the stage and was installed (with her sister) in his lordship's villa at Parson's Green. Here she held a sort of musical academy at which Bononcini and Tosi were the star performers.<sup>66</sup> In these performances, Greene (and later on Sammartini) also took part,<sup>67</sup> and it may well have been here at Parson's Green that Greene first became acquainted with Bononcini who was, it seems, a particular favourite with Mrs. Robinson.<sup>68</sup> The possibility that many of Greene's Italian cantatas, so similar stylistically to those of Bononcini, were written for just such occasions

66 Tosi's Opinioni de' cantori antichi, e moderni published at Bologna in 1723 is dedicated to the Earl of Peterborough.

67 Hawkins, History, p. 872.

68 If we may believe Hawkins (History, p. 871), it was due to Anastasia that Bononcini obtained the pension of £500 a year granted him by the Duchess of Marlborough in 1724; see ante, p. 100.

as these must not be overlooked. Certainly, the fact that the original interpreters of his earliest surviving English cantata -- 'Strephon and Chloe' (c. 1725) -- seem to have been Mrs. Margaret Robinson (Anastasia's sister) and Colonel Blathwayt (a former child prodigy and pupil of Alessandro Scarlatti) might be taken to connect this one piece at least with the Parson's Green circle.

The Duchess of Portland (whose mother, the Countess of Oxford, had apparently attended Anastasia at her wedding)<sup>69</sup> was one of her most devoted admirers, and it must have been through Mrs. Robinson that Greene came to know the Duchess and to visit her at Bulstrode as appears by the following part of a letter addressed to Mrs. Ann Granville and dated 24 August 1737:<sup>70</sup>

Doctor Greene was in a great fuss that I should write you word he fell asleep in the library, but I must say for his justification that he got up before two o'clock in the morning, and that he was a great many hours in the stage-coach; he was highly entertain'd all the time he stayed, for he was hardly a moment from the harpsichord!

The degree of intimacy here implied is altogether surprising in the circumstances. In what capacity he

69 See the long memoir contributed by Mrs. Delany to Burney's History, pp. 691-3; it is, however, by no means entirely accurate.

70 Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs. Delany (ed. Lady Llanover), i, 617.

he visited Bulstrode is not at all clear, but he was there again in the autumn of 1741, followed shortly afterwards by Dr. Edward Young, the author of Night Thoughts. As Elizabeth Montagu who was also there remarks, "the sons of Apollo haunt this place much".<sup>71</sup>

But by far the most important of Greene's aristocratic patrons was Harriet, Duchess of Newcastle, and daughter of Bononcini's munificent benefactress, the Duchess of Marlborough. As Lord Chamberlain from 1717 until 1724, then Secretary of State and later still First Lord of the Treasury, her husband, Thomas Pelham-Holles, the first duke, was one of the most prominent figures in the government of the day. He too seems to have patronized Bononcini,<sup>72</sup> and also, it is said, Johan Helmich Roman, the young Swedish composer who came to London in 1716 to study under Pepusch.<sup>73</sup> Here again, Anastasia Robinson may have provided an introduction. More likely, however, it was the Duchess's uncle, Dr. Henry Godolphin

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71 Letters of Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu, 2nd edn., ii, 57. In Emily Climensson's edition of the Montagu Letters, this same reference is dated 8 October 1740.

72 See Hawkins, History, p. 861.

73 Darlow, 'Johan Helmich Roman', in The Consort 19, July 1962, p. 113.

who, as we have already seen, was a good friend of Greene's and, until 1726, Dean of St. Paul's. At what point Greene became her music master remains unknown. In an article otherwise larded with errors, Burney speaks of their association as having begun early in Greene's life;<sup>74</sup> the composer in his dedication to the Duchess of his settings of Spenser's Amoretti (1738) simply refers to her "long and continued Patronage" and "the Honour of those frequent attendances you have allowed me to pay, in your Hours of Musical Amusement". According to Hawkins,<sup>75</sup> the Duchess had frequent 'musical parties' at Newcastle House in Lincoln's Inn Fields at which Greene used "to assist". If, as we may imagine, similar functions also took place at Claremont, the Newcastles's country seat in Surrey, then Greene too was probably familiar with

... Clermont's terraced height, and Esher's groves,  
Where in the sweetest solitude embraced,  
By the soft windings of the silent Mole,  
From courts and senates Pelham finds repose.<sup>76</sup>

No other evidence of their relationship appears to have survived. It is curious that the subject is so sparsely documented, but there is not the slightest reference to

74 See Rees's Cyclopaedia, xvi, s.v. 'Greene, Maurice'.

75 History, p. 884.

76 James Thomson, The Seasons: Summer, lines 1429-32.

Greene in either of the copious collections of Newcastle papers in the British Museum and the University Library at Nottingham.

"Greene's Fame", as one late-eighteenth century enthusiast colourfully observes, "was now rising high, being blessed by the partial Caresses of the Public, and the Admiration and Patronage of the Nobility".<sup>77</sup> Hawkins puts it slightly differently:<sup>78</sup> "With such connexions as these, Greene stood fair for the highest preferments in his profession, and he obtained them". He had certainly come a long way in the fifteen years since his first comparatively humble appointment as organist of St. Dunstan's in the West. But this triumphal progress can hardly have been due entirely, as Hawkins is at pains to suggest, to Greene's jockeying for position and power under the protection of several influential friends. His own outstanding gifts were widely recognized, and by 1730, he was generally regarded as "the chief undoubtedly of our English composers now living".<sup>79</sup> Academic honours were soon to follow.

On Saturday, 27 June 1730, Applebee's Original Weekly

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77 'The Life of Doctor Greene' prefixed to A New and Elegant Edition of Forty Select Anthems, p. 3.

78 History, p. 884.

79 Viscount Percival, Diary, i, 202.

Journal announced:

We hear that at the Publick Commencement at Cambridge, among other Admissions to Academical Degrees, that famous University, out of a Regard which they always shew to superior Merit, have resolved to conferr the Degree of Doctor of Musick upon the truly ingenious Mr. Green, Organist and Composer to his Majesty's Royal Chappels, and to the Cathedral-Church of St. Paul's, London: Whose most excellent Compositions have gain'd him the Esteem and Applause of all that are Judges and Admirers of this most delightful Science, and whose particular Exercise for this Degree will add much to the Solemnity of the Publick Exercises, in their new-erected Theatre.<sup>80</sup>

To celebrate the completion of its new Senate House, the University had decided to hold its first Public Commencement since 1714. Judging by a letter of 3 May to the Earl of Oxford written by Dr. Conyers Middleton, his Cambridge ear-piece, it would seem to have been a last-minute decision.<sup>81</sup> By 28 June, however, he was advising Oxford that "much company is expected here by y<sup>e</sup> end of y<sup>e</sup> week, & even some Dukes are talked of to grace our Commencement". That Greene's appearance on this particular occasion was coincidental to the main event seems unlikely, for, as will shortly appear, there is some reason to suppose that he had actually been invited to

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<sup>80</sup> Various shortened versions appeared in most of the other London papers during this same week (20-27 June).

<sup>81</sup> A Public Commencement had already been mooted, but "ye Heads are thought to be generally against it". See British Museum, MS. Loan 29/167.

compose the music for the official opening of the new Senate House, and may even have been tempted to do so by the offer of a doctorate. Two years earlier, in 1728, he had already fulfilled one important commission in Cambridge: the splendid orchestral anthem "Hearken unto me, ye holy children" written for precisely similar circumstances -- the opening of the new Gibbs building at King's -- and first performed in King's College Chapel on 25 March, the anniversary of the foundation.

At Cambridge, the annual Commencement (i.e. the ceremony at which degrees are formally conferred) was traditionally held on the first Tuesday in July.<sup>82</sup> Greene set out from London in good time to arrive by the preceding Friday (3 July), which is the day on which his official supplication for the degree was made:<sup>83</sup>

Supplicat Reverentiis vestris -- Mauritius Greene ut studium quindecim annorum in Scientiâ Musicâ una cum assidua ejusdem praxi, et summa approbatione peritorum in eadem facultate, sufficiat ei ad incipiendum in eadem Musicâ ita tamen ut Canticum componat coram vobis solenniter cantandum in die Comitiorum, et quoniam non reperitur aliquis Doctor in ea facultate, ut super hac concessione vestrâ praesentetur in habitu non Regentis per alterum Procuratorum.

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82 See The St. James's Evening Post of 19-22 June 1731.

83 Cambridge University Archives, Grace Book (1718-44), p. 274.

The same day, he signed the Subscriptions Book and gave his assent to the Articles of Religion etc. as required by the statutes.<sup>84</sup> The records refer to the doctorate only. There is no mention of any collegiate affiliation; neither did he accumulate the degree of Mus. B. as well as Mus. D. as is sometimes stated.

Greene's exercise was a setting of Pope's 'Ode for St. Cecilia's Day' which had been specially altered and abbreviated by the poet -- apparently at Greene's request -- with the further addition of an entirely new stanza (the one beginning "Amphion thus bade wild dissension cease"). The intermediary in the tactful negotiation of these changes was probably Anastasia Robinson who with her husband, the Earl of Peterborough, was then very intimate with Pope. The poet himself was notoriously antipathetic towards music,<sup>85</sup> and it is very doubtful indeed whether Greene knew him well enough to venture such a request on his own. However that may be, the Ode is undoubtedly the finest secular text Greene ever set, and the graceful siciliana duet "By the streams that ever flow" printed by Hawkins,<sup>86</sup> beautiful though it is, is

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84 University Archives, Subscriptions Book IV (1724-62).

85 See Hawkins, History, p. 859.

86 History, pp. 880-3.

not all that much better than the rest of the work which is well worth reviving as a whole. Among those taking part in its first performance were a number of well-known London musicians who had accompanied the composer to Cambridge. In one manuscript source,<sup>87</sup> no fewer than eight vocal soloists from St. Paul's and the Chapel Royal are mentioned by name; Guiseppe Sammartini, the great Italian oboist, played first oboe and also gave a benefit concert "which produced him a considerable sum";<sup>88</sup> and in all probability, Michael Festing and various other of Greene's professional associates were there too. There was nothing unusual in this, of course. When William Turner took his Cambridge doctorate in 1696, he was "assisted by Dr. Blow, the Gentlemen of the Chappel Royal, and the chief Musicians about Town",<sup>89</sup> and in 1749, when Boyce took his -- a very special occasion: the Duke of Newcastle's Installation as Chancellor of the University -- "near a hundred Vocal and Instrumental Performers" went with him: John Beard, 'Miss Turner' (daughter of the aforementioned William), the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal, and the choirs of St. Paul's Cathedral, Westminster

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87 Bodleian Library, MS. Mus. d. 36.

88 Hawkins, History, p. 894.

89 The Flying Post of 2 July 1696; quoted in Tilmouth, Calendar, p. 17.

Abbey and St. George's Chapel, Windsor as well as "upwards of thirty Musicians from the Opera-House".<sup>90</sup> What is rather surprising about the performance of Greene's exercise, perhaps, is the fact that the University paid the bill -- £170 "for the Performers & music at the Commencem<sup>t</sup>"<sup>91</sup> -- a fact which strongly suggests that Greene's Ode, like Boyce's in 1749, was specially commissioned for the occasion.

Although the London papers give July 7th -- officially correct -- as the date of Greene's doctorate, it seems that he was actually admitted to the degree on Saturday the 4th.<sup>92</sup> On Sunday, two new unidentified anthems by Greene were performed in Great St. Mary's,<sup>93</sup> and on Monday, the Senate House was opened with a performance of the Ode prefaced by a grandiloquent 'Musick Speech' delivered by John Taylor, a Fellow of St. John's.<sup>94</sup> A repeat performance

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90 See The General Advertiser of 1 July 1749; also The Whitehall Evening-Post of 15-17 June.

91 Greene's receipt for this amount is preserved in a volume of V.C.'s Vouchers, C. 21; see also the University Audit Book, p. 570.

92 See Grace Book (1718-44), pp. 274-5.

93 Cooper, Annals of Cambridge, iv, 208. I have not so far found any contemporary authority for this statement however.

94 This was shortly afterwards published, together with an 'Ode' which, though one can hardly believe it possible, was apparently "design'd to have been set to Musick on that Occasion". Both are reprinted in Wordsworth's Social Life at the English Universities in the Eighteenth Century, pp. 270-6.

was given on the 7th, the day of the Commencement itself, when Greene, in company with the numerous other graduands, was formally admitted 'Doctor in Musica' in the robes of a Non-regent Master, there being no academic dress appropriate to this particular degree at Cambridge. As The St. James's Evening Post of 7-9 July informed its readers:

... A very great Concourse of People has been here for these three days together, to see the Solemnity of it [i.e. The Public Commencement], and to hear the Exercise, and the Musick.

The accounts of the University Press show that "500 Odes for Dr Green's Musick Act" were printed, the cost: £1.4.0. Conyers Middleton, reporting back to the Earl of Oxford on 12 July, says that the music "gave great satisfaction", and that "Dr Green, in compliment to his performance, has since had the title of Professor of Music conferred on him".<sup>95</sup>

The Grace relating to Greene's professorship was proposed on 9 July, and confirmed by the Senate the following day.<sup>96</sup> The chair had been vacant since the death of Thomas Tudway in November 1726. Unlike the Heather foundation at Oxford, the Cambridge music professorship was purely honorary,<sup>97</sup> and even in the eighteenth century, its

95 HMC, Portland MSS., vi, 31.

96 Grace Book (1718-44), p. 275.

97 See Hawkins, History, p. 739; also Mattheson, Critica Musica, ii, 130, item lxxx.

exact purpose and responsibilities were obscure.<sup>98</sup> It seems to have carried no stipend, nor any particular obligation either to reside in Cambridge or to teach, or even to examine. Abdy Williams suggests<sup>99</sup> that the professor's only duty at this time was to present candidates for degrees. But Greene did none of these things, and so far as I have been able to discover, he took no further part in, and had no further influence upon, the musical life of the University.

Three years later, in July 1733, Handel made his celebrated visit to Oxford where he apparently turned down the doctorate of music which was offered him -- for no better reason, so Percy Young tells us,<sup>100</sup> than that "tact forbade receiving the honour from a politically suspect institution or possibly because so many people of whom he disapproved, including Maurice Greene, were doctors". Certainly, one of the most pugnacious of his supporters, the author of Harmony in an Uproar published the following spring, is absolutely scathing on the subject of higher musical degrees:<sup>101</sup>

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98 Carter, History of the University of Cambridge (1753), ii, 459.

99 A Short Historical Account of the Degrees in Music at Oxford and Cambridge, p. 39.

100 Handel, p. 54.

101 Deutsch, p. 348.

First then, Sir, -- Have you taken your Degrees? Boh! -- ha, ha, ha! Are you a Doctor, Sir? ah, ah! A fine Composer indeed, and not a Graduate; fie, fie, you might as well pretend to be a Judge, without having been ever call'd to the Bar; or pretend to be a Bishop, and not a Christian. Why Doctor Pushpin [Pepusch] and Doctor Blue [Greene] laugh at you, and scorn to keep you Company; and they have vow'd to me, that it is scarcely possible to imagine how much better they compos'd after the Commencement Gown was thrown over their Shoulders than before; it was as if a musical---had laid Hands upon them, and inspired them with the Enthusiasm of Harmony.

Another explanation sometimes given, and based ultimately, it seems, on a remark of Mattheson's,<sup>102</sup> is that the doctorate would have cost him £100. While no documentary evidence survives either to confirm or to disprove this suggestion, it is interesting to compare this figure with the amount charged for "1 Mus D" at Cambridge in 1730: 4s 8d !<sup>103</sup>

On 8 July 1735, Greene incorporated his doctorate at Oxford,<sup>104</sup> and it must have been shortly after this that Joseph Highmore painted the fine portrait of the composer which appears as a frontispiece to the present work. One can only guess at Greene's motives for this surprising move. It is just possible that he wished to ensure his eligibility as a candidate for the Heather

102 Loc. cit.

103 University Audit Book, p. 561.

104 See Foster, Alumni Oxoniensis; see also Hooker's Weekly Miscellany of Saturday, 24 July 1735.

chair in the event of Professor Goodson's decease; if so, he was to be disappointed, for when Richard Goodson did die in 1741, he was succeeded by William Hayes who had taken his B. Mus. on this same occasion. But Greene can hardly have hoped that the Oxford incorporation would bring him any further professional advancement, since earlier that same year, he had already added the Mastership of the King's Band of Musick to the long list of his achievements. Not yet thirty-nine, he now held every major musical appointment in the land.

CHAPTER FIVE

ROYAL SERVICE: THE CHAPEL ROYAL AND THE MASTERSHIP OF THE  
KING'S MUSICK

George I, that "honest blockhead" as Lady Mary Wortley Montagu~~o~~ so aptly described him,<sup>1</sup> died of an apoplexy at Osnabrück on 11 June 1727. The news reached England three days later, and on the 15th, the Prince of Wales was proclaimed King. Preparations for the coronation were soon under way. In the ordinary course of events, and by right, all the ceremonial music required on this occasion should have been commissioned from Dr. William Croft, Organist and Composer of his Majesty's Chapel Royal, who, in the typical pluralist fashion of the period, happened also to be Master of the Children, as well as Instrument Keeper and Organist of Westminster Abbey. But Croft died on 14 August. Greene, by his work at St. Paul's and especially his conductorship of the annual Sons of the Clergy festivals, had already established a strong claim to be considered Croft's natural successor in the first two at least of his Chapel Royal appointments. Preferment was by no means automatic, however, and there is some reason to suppose that no less formidable an opponent than Handel was also a contender for the title.<sup>2</sup> If so, it

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1 Letters and Works (ed. Lord Wharncliffe), i, 107.

2 See post, pp. 185-8.

can only have been the fact that Greene was an Englishman born and bred, coupled to the political influence of certain well-connected friends, which won him the post. By the end of August, Greene's appointment had already been rumoured in the London press,<sup>3</sup> and on September 4th, he was officially sworn in as 'Organist & Composer in Ordinary' by virtue of a warrant signed by Dr. Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London and Dean of the Chapel Royal.<sup>4</sup> In the meantime, Handel had been placed in charge of the music for the forthcoming coronation and Greene deprived of what must have seemed the most golden opportunity of his entire career. What part, if any, he played in the events of 11 October we do not know, for John Robinson, as Croft's successor at Westminster Abbey, would almost certainly have officiated at the organ. For Greene, the coronation

3 See, for example, The Evening Post of 29-31 August 1727.

4 This is the date given by F.G. Edwards (MT 44, February 1903, p. 90) who quotes the relevant entry in the Cheque-Book of the Chapel Royal. Oddly enough, there is no mention whatsoever of Greene in Rimbault's edition of the Cheque-Book. Nevertheless, September 4th would seem to be confirmed by a notice in The Daily Journal of 12 September which refers to Greene's swearing in as having taken place "Last Week". It should, however, be noted that in the records of the Lord Steward's and the Lord Chamberlain's departments (Public Record Office: L.S. 13/201, f. 30, and L.C. 3/64, p. 168), the date of Greene's formal appointment is given as 1 October, only ten days before the coronation took place. But these are secretarial copies, not the original documents, and as such may well have been dated in arrears.

of George II was only the first of several similar disappointments yet to come.

As Organist of St. Paul's, and Organist and Composer of the Chapel Royal, Maurice Greene now stood, as Burney puts it,<sup>5</sup> "at the head of our cathedral Music". According to Hawkins,<sup>6</sup> the Chapel Royal appointment had been obtained "through the interest of the countess of Peterborough". This statement, sometimes supported by the further observation that Anastasia Robinson herself had once been a pupil of Croft's, has been repeated time and time again without, it seems, anyone realizing that there is an obvious reason why it cannot be true. Anastasia Robinson, like her husband, was a Catholic; her close association with Greene might even have been considered mildly embarrassing in the circumstances. Hawkins's error was duly noted by Burney in the margin of his own copy of his rival's History,<sup>7</sup> and the implication of his amendment is that Greene's ally and advocate in this case must have been his pupil, the Duchess of Newcastle, whose husband -- then Secretary of State -- was one of the most powerful members of the Walpole Administration. The Chapel Royal itself was, of course, a thoroughly inbred

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5 History, p. 1010.

6 History, pp. 884 and 909.

7 British Museum, press-mark C. 45 f. 4-8 (see v, 406).

organization, and at the time of his appointment, Greene already had many friends and professional associates there whose support may possibly have helped to further his cause. Nor must the fact be forgotten that for at least twenty years prior to his death, the composer's father had served the establishment as one of its forty-eight Chaplains in Ordinary.<sup>8</sup>

For centuries, the Chapel Royal had been the foremost institution of its kind in the country, and the focal point of all the greatest developments in the golden age of English cathedral music. Its early history has long been a fruitful topic of research among successive generations of scholars: even the post-Restoration period has been pretty thoroughly gone over, if only as a background to the work of Purcell and Blow.<sup>9</sup> The constitution of the Chapel Royal and the scope of its activities during the first half of the eighteenth century, however, is a subject which has so far been very little studied except in so far as it concerns Handel, and even then only superficially and in the most desultory manner. For the sociologically-minded musicologist, there is no lack of materials. With Rimbault's edition of the Cheque-Book

8 See ante, p. 16-7.

9 See, for example, Jeremy Noble's essay on 'Purcell and the Chapel Royal' in Henry Purcell, Essays on his Music, ed. Imogen Holst (London, 1959), pp. 52-66.

(now happily reprinted), great quantities of Lord Chamberlain's warrants and other archival records in the Public Record Office, ninety-two volumes of Chapel Royal part-books (of which all but the first six are as yet unexplored) in the Royal Music Library at the British Museum, the periodical lists of Gentlemen and other court functionaries published by Chamberlayne and Miege, not to mention details which are occasionally to be gleaned from various guide books and semi-topographical surveys of London, the Chapel Royal is without doubt the most copiously documented choral foundation of the period.

To study this mass of material in detail is, alas, a most depressing business, for the history of the Chapel Royal under the Georges is one of steady decline. With George II, that slough of intellectual torpidity and cultural euphoria which was the joint issue of the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688 and the Hanoverian Succession finally engulfed the monarchy and its dependent aristocracy. True, something of the vitality and excellence of native musical tradition was sustained throughout the reign of Queen Anne, and its natural momentum was sufficient even to keep things going during most of Croft's term of office. But no amount of enthusiasm or effort on the part of Greene and his colleagues could be expected to withstand for long the devastating apathy of a spiritually

degenerate clergy and a boorish king whose attitude to the Chapel Royal, as to almost all other English institutions, was one of, at best, disinterested tolerance. Like his father, he made no attempt to conceal "his preference for the electorate, where he was a real ruler, to the Crown hedged in with constitutional restrictions".<sup>10</sup>

Although the posts of Organist and Composer were held conjointly both by Croft, and later by Greene, they were in fact separate appointments. The organist of the Chapel Royal, as in all cathedrals of the Old Foundation, was originally a non-statutable officer whose duties were carried out by one or more members of the choir with a particular gift for keyboard-playing. It was not until the seventeenth century, as Jeremy Noble points out,<sup>11</sup> that the organists' special function came to be acknowledged officially -- and, then, it appears, there were three, of whom "two shall ever attend, one at the organ, the other in his surplice in the quire, to beare a parte in the Psalmodie and service".<sup>12</sup> Throughout the Georgian era, however, there were only two organists who played by turns, each according to his month of waiting. Such was the splendour of creative achievement within the

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10 Basil Williams, The Whig Supremacy, 2nd edn., p. 152.

11 Op. cit., p. 60.

12 Cheque-Book, p. 83.

Chapel Royal during the Tudor and early Jacobean periods especially that one tends to forget the rather astonishing fact that the formal appointment of Composer was not established until 1699 when Blow was sworn in as the first occupant of that place.<sup>13</sup> A second place of Composer (originally intended, twenty years earlier, for Purcell) was eventually created in 1715, and given to Weldon who, in the usual way, combined the duties of that office with those of organist until his death in 1736. In terms of salary at any rate, there was nothing to choose between either of the two posts of Organist and Composer. Yet Croft's, in succession to Blow, was obviously regarded as the premier appointment, and so too was Greene's. One has the impression -- it is no more than that -- that Greene was, so to speak, brought in over Weldon's head, and that, either through pique or general indolence, Weldon produced very little new music for the Chapel Royal after 1727. Certainly, Greene, as principal composer, appears to have been by far the more active partner.

From the arrangements agreed to by Weldon's successors,<sup>14</sup> it is evident that "the place of Organist [had] much more duty and attendance belonging to it than the

13 Ibid., p. 23; also Hawkins, History, p. 740.

14 Cheque-Book, pp. 51-2.

place of Composer". So far as one can tell, the duties of the two Composers appear never to have been clearly or formally defined, and no more seems to have been expected of them than that each would produce one new anthem on the first Sunday of each month of waiting.<sup>15</sup> In the conditions which prevailed throughout most of the eighteenth century, however, we may doubt whether expectation was even thus regularly fulfilled. It was, nevertheless, in his capacity as Composer to the Chapel Royal that the great bulk of Greene's church music was written. Although he was, as we have previously remarked, under no obligation to compose music for St. Paul's, he had by 1727 already written a large number of anthems of which no fewer than fifteen were in the regular repertoire of the Chapel Royal as early even as 1724.<sup>16</sup> The additional task of composing music for all the great services of state naturally devolved upon the principal composer of the two, and Croft, by the fact that he appears to have completed at least one anthem intended for the coronation of George II,<sup>17</sup> was clearly anticipating a summons to carry out the traditional duties of his office upon that occasion. But George II had scant regard for 'foreign'

15 Hawkins, History, p. 740; Burney, History, p. 351.

16 See A Collection of Anthems, comp. E. Aspinwall.

17 Bumpus, History of English Cathedral Music, i, 205.

traditions, and according to the author of certain remarks scribbled in a copy of Mainwaring's Memoirs of the Life of Handel -- thought by some to be in the handwriting of George III -- the king actually forbade Greene's composing the anthems at his coronation and "ordered that G.F. Hendel [sic] should not only have that great honour but except the 1<sup>st</sup> choose his own words".<sup>18</sup> While the story is, in all probability, true, the only official records of Handel's commission which survive are the copies -- hitherto unnoticed -- of various Lord Chamberlain's warrants covering payments for the copying of the four coronation anthems, the fees of the fifty-seven supernumerary performers who took part, and other miscellaneous expenses.<sup>19</sup>

Six years later, Greene was to suffer a similar indignity in connection with the wedding of the king's eldest daughter, Princess Anne. Although the nuptials were originally scheduled for the autumn of 1733, they had in the event to be postponed, and did not finally take place until 14 March 1734. Thinking no doubt that, as Organist

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18 W.C. Smith, 'George III, Handel, and Mainwaring' in MT 65, September 1924, p. 790. Unfortunately, the British Museum copy of Mainwaring's biography in which these important manuscript notes were to be found was destroyed by enemy action in World War II.

19 Public Record Office, L.C. 5/18, pp. 15-6; cf. Deutsch, p. 214. Full particulars of these and several other recently discovered royal payments to Handel will be published in due course.

and Composer of his Majesty's Chapel Royal, he would have charge of the music, Greene dutifully produced a fine orchestral anthem ("Blessed are all they that fear the Lord") the full text of which together with the names of the intended soloists and other arrangements for the ceremony was printed in several London papers towards the end of October.<sup>20</sup> But he had not reckoned on Anne's devotion to Handel, her music master for the past ten years at least, and many of those same papers which published the text of Greene's 'Nuptial Anthem' also carried an announcement to the effect that the music for the wedding of the princess was 'now composing by Mr. Handell'. On 5 November, Handel's setting of "This is the day which the Lord hath made" was privately performed before the royal family at St. James's,<sup>21</sup> and eventually, of course, it was heard again on the wedding day itself. Greene, for his trouble, was subsequently paid £13.12.3;<sup>22</sup> his anthem, however, was destined to remain unperformed. The pattern of his relations with members of the royal family was now firmly established. On all those occasions in which the king himself had a personal interest -- the wedding of Frederick, Prince of Wales, in 1736 for

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20 See The Bee of 23 October 1733 for instance.

21 See The St. James's Evening Post of 3-6 November 1733; not mentioned in Deutsch, and seemingly unknown.

22 L.C. 5/19, p. 235.

example (surprising in view of the well-known and bitter enmity between them), the funeral of Queen Caroline in 1737, and his own triumphant return from Dettingen in 1743 -- it was Handel, not Greene, who was called upon to hymn the event.

While the Chapel itself was a royal peculiar outside the jurisdiction of the episcopate, its chief officer, the Dean, was invariably a bishop. Next in importance was the Sub-Dean, and under him, the forty-eight Chaplains in Ordinary, those several members of the choir styled Gentlemen, and a number of lesser functionaries such as vergers, the organ blower and so on. From the Restoration until 1715, the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal were thirty-two in number: twelve Priests in Ordinary<sup>23</sup> and twenty lay 'Clerks'. It was from this latter group that the Master of the Children -- now Bernard Gates in succession to Croft -- as well as the two Organists and Composers were chosen. Each place was valued at £73 per annum, and Greene, with a double appointment drew twice that amount.<sup>24</sup> There is no foundation for

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23 Some recent authorities say eight and others ten, but contemporary sources such as the early editions of Chamberlayne and Miege invariably give the number of Priests as twelve.

24 In the 10th edition of Miege's Present State of England (1745), Greene's emolument as 'Composer and Principal Organist' is shown as £200 p.a. This is clearly a slip. It was the Mastership of the King's Band of Musick, which by this time Greene also held, that carried a salary of £200.

Mattheson's statement<sup>25</sup> that the 'Ober-Organist' had £240 a year, and the 'Unter-Organist' £100 less, though his further comment that both would probably have to spend the whole lot on the cost of living may not have been so very wide of the mark.

In 1715, George I added several new places to the 'old establishment' of the Chapel Royal. The post of second Composer has already been mentioned; the twin posts of Lutenist and Violist created at this same time will require separate discussion later on. The simultaneous addition of places for four more Gentlemen brought the full strength of the men's voices up to thirty-six. However, as we can see from the lists of names entered annually in a volume of Chapel Royal accounts now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge,<sup>26</sup> the number of Gentlemen (including the Sub-Dean) had dwindled to twenty-eight by 1729, and to twenty-three by 1733. Thereafter, no names are given, but the later editions of Chamberlayne and Miede suggest that these numbers were to decrease still further during the next twenty years or so. The Gentlemen carried out their duties in months of waiting, so that at ordinary weekday services there were seldom more than a dozen in the choir. According to orders set out in December 1663 'for the better regulating of the Divine

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25 Critica Musica, ii, 130, item lxxxii.

26 MS. 23 J.

service in his Majesties Chappell Royall',<sup>27</sup> the full complement of Gentlemen was obliged to attend on Sundays, holy days and their eves. Nevertheless, it is clear from an entry in Viscount Percival's Diary quoted on p.157 that, by ~~1~~<sup>7</sup>38, this ruling was no longer observed, and one has a strong suspicion that it had been inoperative for some years prior to this. By this time too, a large number of choirmen, Clerks as well as Priests, were so far advanced in age that some, while they continued to hold their places, were quite obviously incapable of giving regular service in the Chapel. Those other seventeenth-century regulations<sup>28</sup> by which all Gentlemen were required to "have their habitations within or neer the City of London" and to "quit all interest in other quires" before they could be admitted to a place in the Chapel Royal had also long since been abandoned. Pluralism, together with its inevitable absenteeism, was as common among eighteenth-century church musicians as it was among the clergy, and in Greene's day, there were very few, if any, Gentlemen who did not hold at least one similar appointment elsewhere -- generally either at St. Paul's or at Westminster Abbey, and in some cases even, at both. The explanation of this iniquitous state of affairs is not

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27 Cheque-Book, pp. 81-4.

28 Ibid., p. 81.

far to seek. Salaries had not been increased since the time of Charles II, and in the meantime, the value of money had so far decreased that a system of multiple appointments became the only means by which the professional choir-singer could hope to earn a living wage. It was for this reason, perhaps, that so large a number of statutory places was allowed to lapse, though whether or not the appurtenant salaries were redistributed among the remaining Gentlemen is a matter for conjecture. There were very few fringe benefits either, but it is interesting to observe that the ancient custom of an annual 'Chapel Feast' to which the king contributed one or more 'fat Bucks' was still carried on under the Georges.<sup>29</sup>

For all that, the vocal resources of the Chapel Royal were probably just as strong during the early part of the eighteenth century as they had ever been, and the post of Gentleman still had sufficient prestige to attract many of the finest singers in the country. The twelve Priests in Ordinary, like the Minor Canons of St. Paul's, were considered as forming an integral part of the choir, and the best of them soon established a reputation as solo singers. Such was the Rev. John Smith, a countertenor and Minor Canon of Worcester Cathedral who, on his appoint-

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29 See, for example, The Weekly Journal or Saturday's-Post of 6 August 1720 and The London Evening-Post of 6-8 August 1728; cf. Cheque-Book, pp. 121, 125 and 236.

ment to the Chapel Royal, was spoken of in the London papers as "a Gentleman of so fine a Voice, as to revive the Memory of the famous Elford, in all those Judges of Musick, who have had the Pleasure to hear them both".<sup>30</sup> The Children of the Chapel Royal would seem to have been no less accomplished on the whole. In addition to their regular duties at St. James's, they took part, with those Gentlemen who were members, in the performances given by the Academy of Ancient Music from the time of its inception until 1734 when Bernard Gates also withdrew his support and that of the Chapel Royal boys as well. They also supplied the treble voices for most of Handel's oratorios, and, with their performance of Esther on 23 February 1732, had made musical history by assisting at the birth of that new species of edifying entertainment which, as Winton Dean has remarked,<sup>31</sup> was to serve the middle-class British public as the most satisfactory formula for serious art during the next 150 years and more. Among the Chapel Royal choristers of this period, several became distinguished musicians in later life: John Beard, John Randall, James Nares, Thomas Sanders Dupuis and Samuel Arnold to mention only some of the best known.

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30 The London Daily Post of 9 April 1739.

31 Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques, p. 33.

There has been some confusion about the exact number of children in the eighteenth-century Chapel Royal which is variously given as ten and as twelve. The latter is correct throughout the whole of the Purcellian period of course, but before Blow's death in 1708, and probably even by 1702, the number had been reduced to ten,<sup>32</sup> and this figure is confirmed by the Lord Chamberlain's records which relate to the Chapel Royal establishment. If the apparent disparity between men and boys seems puzzling at first sight, the point must be reiterated that there were probably never more than twelve Gentlemen in attendance at any one time, except perhaps on the most important festal occasions.

The Master of the Children was responsible not only for the boarding of the choristers, but also for their general education and personal welfare. It was obviously a full-time job. So far as one can tell, the boys were reasonably well looked after, and that despite the fact that the allocated sum -- £240 per annum -- had not changed since the post-Restoration period, and was now quite inadequate for this purpose. Thanks to George I, however, Gates (like Croft before him) had a further £80 a year for teach-

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32 See Miege, Present State of England, 1st edn. (1707), Part 1, pp. 399 ff. and 401-2; cf. The New State of England, 4th edn. (1702), Part 3, p. 91; see also [Hatton], New View of London, i, 301. In the almanack-type publications of Chamberlayne and Miege, the choristers' names are sometimes listed, but these are seldom up-to-date.

ing them "to compose, play on the Organ and Harpsicord, read, write, and cast Accompts".<sup>33</sup> On the breaking of their voices, choristers were retired from active service and pensioned off with a grant of £20 for maintenance, and various articles of clothing to the value of about £10.<sup>34</sup> Many of the Lord Chamberlain's warrants issued for this purpose have survived, and comparison of their dates with the known birth dates of individual choristers has revealed the rather surprising fact that a good many boys -- though perhaps only the most musically gifted -- were kept on in the Chapel until they reached the ages of sixteen, seventeen, and in some cases even, eighteen, by which time they must surely have lost their treble voices. That was clearly the case with John Beard (born c. 1717) who retired as a chorister in the spring of 1734,<sup>35</sup> and in the autumn of the same year, joined Handel's opera company as a leading tenor!

The two places of Lutenist and Violist to the Chapel Royal were, as we have already seen, additions to the 'old establishment' made by George I in 1715. Their duties, as specified in the 8th edition of Miege's Present State of

33 Chamberlayne, Magnae Britanniae Notitia, 1729 edn., p. 254; cf. Cheque-Book, pp. 28-9, and Hawkins, History, p. 796.

34 Cf. Westrup, Purcell, p. 21.

35 See a letter from Lady Elizabeth Compton to the Countess of Northampton cited by Dean, op. cit., p. 268 n.3. The Lord Chamberlain's warrant for the 'usual Allowance' was not issued until 29 October.

England (1738), were "to attend on Sundays, and at other Times when any of the Royal Family are present". The salary (not mentioned in the Cheque-Book) was, in each case, that of an ordinary member of the King's Band: £40 per annum, and both the first two occupants of the post of Violist, Francis Goodsens and Peter Gillier, held appointments in this latter body as well. To judge by the number of Lord Chamberlain's warrants which refer to payments for new strings, repairs, etc., and occasionally for new instruments, the Violist's place was no mere sinecure. A warrant of 27 June 1718<sup>36</sup> for "a new Base to Accompany the Organ" is a sufficient indication of how the instrument was normally employed. Both a Double Bass and a Bass Violin or 'Violincello' -- sometimes described as large and small viols -- are frequently mentioned in these records, and it would seem therefore that the Violist was expected to be proficient on either.

By this time, the great age of the lute was long since over, and the appointment of a Chapel Royal lutenist for the first time at this very late stage in the history of the instrument comes as something of a shock. Perhaps the creation of this place was intended to give official recognition to what may well already have been a long-standing

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36 L.C. 5/157, p. 134.

practice in the Chapel Royal.<sup>37</sup> The lutenist's job, quite simply, was to serve as a second continuo instrument. That the lute was still so used even when both harpsichord and organ were also present is apparent from Robert Trevitt's splendidly detailed engraving of the choir of St. Paul's during a Thanksgiving Service before Queen Anne on 31 December 1706.<sup>38</sup> A similar scene which is supposed to represent the interior of the Chapel Royal during a service in the presence of the king [George I] serves as a frontispiece to Weldon's Divine Harmony (1716) which is described on its title-page as "Six Select Anthems For a Voice alone With a Thorow Bass for the Organ, Harpsicord or Arch-lute". This time there are two lutenists prominent among the instrumentalists who occupy the whole of the south-side gallery.<sup>39</sup>

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37 It should perhaps be noted in this context that two at least of Blow's anthems -- "Awake, awake, utter a song" and "Let the righteous be glad" -- have accompaniments in which both organ and lute are specified. See Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. 31 H. (the composer's autograph).

38 Reproduced in Bumpus, History of English Cathedral Music, i, facing p. 244, but so much reduced that none of the detail can be made out. There are copies of the original (which is very large) in the British Museum's Department of Prints and Drawings.

39 This engraving, so crudely executed that no positive identification of the architectural features of the building is possible, is reproduced by Bumpus (op. cit., facing p. 48) and by Scholes (Oxford Companion to Music, 9th edn., plate 35/5). Bumpus describes the scene, most improbably, as the interior of the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, and Scholes as the Chapel Royal, St. James's. But, as Mr. Edward Croft-Murray has kindly pointed out

The Chapel Royal organ, like almost every other English organ of the period, had no pedals. Apply that fact to such anthems as Greene's "My God, my God, look upon me" or "Acquaint thyself with God" which feature right-hand obbligate solos and thus throw the entire weight of any continuo realization upon the left, and it is difficult to see just how they can have been adequately performed without such a second continuo instrument as the lute. The creation of the post of Lutelist just about the same time as this type of anthem reached the height of its popularity may lend credence to the idea.

The first person to hold the office of Lutelist to the Chapel Royal was John Shore, better known for his brilliant performance as a trumpeter.<sup>40</sup> The fact that his successor was John Immyns, the antiquarian-minded founder of the Madrigal Society, would seem to argue that no more than a modest facility in lute playing was required. According to Hawkins,<sup>41</sup> Immyns was forty when he took up the lute, yet with Mace's Musick's Monument (1676) as tutor, he soon

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in a communication to the author, none of the Chapels Royal had an apsidal east end, and this feature combined with the suggestion of fluted pilasters at either side would seem to indicate that the place of performance, in this case, was also St. Paul's.

40 He was the son of Matthew Shore of Purcellian fame, and succeeded his uncle, William, as Sergeant Trumpeter in 1707. See Hawkins, History, p. 752.

41 History, pp. 887 and 733 n.

acquired "a competent knowledge of the instrument" and "became enabled to play thorough-bass, and also easy lessons on it". It had, however, to be confessed that, having come to the instrument so late in life, Lamyns "was never able to attain to any great degree of proficiency on it". When Gillier died, the place of Violist was allowed to lapse, and the salary was temporarily annexed to that of the Master of the Children. But it was revived, surprisingly enough, in 1777, at which time "the place of Lutenist was given to Dr. Nares by way of compensation and ordered to be added to the salary of the Master of the Children for ever".<sup>42</sup>

Since the destruction of the old Chapel Royal, Whitehall, by fire in January 1698, the establishment had been housed -- much less magnificently -- in the smaller of the two chapels within the royal palace at St. James's,<sup>43</sup> and here it was to remain throughout the whole of the eighteenth century. Fully choral services were performed twice daily: Mattins at 11 a.m. and Evensong at 5 p.m. are the times given in 1714,<sup>44</sup> and there is no reason to suppose that these were altered during Greene's lifetime. For the music-

42 Arnold, Cathedral Music, iii, 64.

43 The engraving of 'The interior of the Queen's Chapel, St. James's Palace' which is reproduced as a frontispiece to The Treasury of English Church Music, vol. 3 (ed. Dearnley), is of the larger of the two chapels, and must not be confused (as it seems to have been here) with the Chapel Royal proper.

44 FATERSON, Pietas Londinensis, p. 107.

ally minded, the main attraction of the English cathedral service at this time was undoubtedly the anthem. Service settings -- the canticles -- were regarded as being of very minor importance, and few Georgian composers bothered to cultivate the form, with the exception, that is, of Charles King who, for his prolificity in this field, was dubbed "a very serviceable man" by Greene who apparently thought this "a witty sentiment".<sup>45</sup> The great liking for solo singing in this period is to be seen in a marked preference for verse and solo anthems as opposed to the old-fashioned motet-like full anthem, and is reflected in Greene's own output, itself a very clear indication of the strength -- or rather what many critics still consider the weakness -- of contemporary taste. According to the Rev. Edgar Sheppard, a late/nineteenth-century historian of St. James's Palace, it was customary in the Chapel Royal during the period under discussion "to have full anthems on the week days in the morning, and verse anthems in the afternoon, and on Sundays to have always verse anthems both at the morning and evening services".<sup>46</sup> Unfortunately, however, his authority for this particular statement is not disclosed. The repertoire of the Chapel Royal as revealed

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45 Hawkins, History, p. 798. Greene himself wrote only one complete set of morning and evening canticles: the Service in C major (1737).

46 Memorials of St. James's Palace, ii, 350.

by the printed word-books of the period<sup>47</sup> consisted largely of verse anthems by such 'moderns' as Greene, Croft, Weldon and Boyce, though the Restoration composers were also still fairly well represented. The full anthems of the earlier Tudor period had not been entirely forgotten either, and among those still in regular usage were such perennial favourites as Mundy's "O Lord, the maker of all things" (then attributed to Henry VIII), Byrd's "Bow thine ear" and, rather more surprisingly perhaps, Hooper's "Behold it is Christ".

George II was no avid chapel-goer. Nevertheless, he and the other members of the royal family were bounden by the Act of Succession to attend divine service in the Chapel Royal on the first Sunday of every month (and also High Festivals) if only to receive the holy communion which, from a musical point of view, was celebrated there very much as it was at St. Paul's.<sup>48</sup> The queen on the other hand took an intelligent interest in matters of religion; she prided herself on her theological discernment, and may very well therefore have been rather more frequent in her attendance. Certainly, it is a curious fact that, almost immediately after Caroline's death in November 1737, the symptoms of

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47 There were collections published in 1712, 1724, 1736, 1749 and 1769.

48 See ante, p. 49-50.

artistic decline in the Chapel Royal begin to appear so much more glaringly obvious. Ordinary weekday services were sung to the organ. There seems, however, to have been a tradition by which, on "Sundays, Collar-Days [i.e. certain specified days throughout the year when the king wore the Order of the Garter], and other Holidays", the choir was joined by "a Concert of the King's Band...to make the Chapel Music more complete".<sup>49</sup> We get a rare glimpse of one such occasion in César de Saussure's epistolary account of a Sunday morning visit to St. James's in 1725:<sup>50</sup>

Inside the Palace inclosure are the two chapels, one of these, the Royal Chapel, being in no manner remarkable. Here the King attends divine service every Sunday and Feast-day. The service is entirely musical, some of the laymen having superb voices; they are aided by a dozen or so of chorister-boys, and by some very excellent musicians, the whole forming a delightful symphony, and what is not sung is intoned by the clergy.

The chanting of the Anglican clergy prompted further comment elsewhere.<sup>51</sup> As a good Swiss Protestant, de Saussure was particularly struck by the resemblance between the cere-

49 There is no mention of this custom in the Cheque-Book, but there are references in almost every edition of Chamberlayne and Miede. The wording used here is quoted from the 10th edition of Miede's Present State of England (1745).

50 A Foreign View of England, pp. 42-3; the letter is dated 17 September 1725. For the original French text, see Lettres et Voyages, pp. 51-2.

51 Ibid., pp. 318-9.

mony of the Anglican liturgy and that of the Roman Catholic church. Although he does not identify the actual music performed on the occasion referred to above, we may be reasonably certain that he would have heard an anthem with orchestral accompaniment and/or a large-scale setting of Te Deum, and also, just possibly, the Jubilate. Whether these semi-festal performances were carried on as regularly under George II is not at all certain. Again one has a distinct impression that, with no real interest or encouragement from the monarchy, the custom was only sporadically observed, and this is backed up by the evidence of contemporary newspaper reports which suggest that the combination of the King's Band with a more or less full complement of the Chapel Royal singers was reserved for the great services of state and other special occasions.

The most frequent of these 'special occasions' were the services held to welcome the king back to London after his periodic visits to his 'German Dominions'. Both of the first two Georges contrived to spend a good deal of time in the Electorate, and during the forty-six years of their reigns, were absent from the realm on no less than nineteen occasions for periods generally of about six months.<sup>52</sup> With the Hanoverians, political expediency was a synonym for amorous adventure, and these prolonged absences were exceed-

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52 Williams, The Whig Supremacy, p. 40.

ingly ~~u~~<sup>u</sup>popular in England. Nevertheless, it seems to have been customary on the first Sunday morning after the king's return -- generally in October -- to celebrate the event with a performance by the combined forces of the Chapel Royal and the King's Band of a Te Deum (and usually also a new anthem) specially written for the occasion. The fact that, with the single exception of George II's return from Dettin-  
 gen in 1743, Greene<sup>not Handel</sup> was the composer employed for this purpose may perhaps be taken as a measure of the king's evident disinterest in the proceedings. The Lord Chamberlain's records show that, as Organist and Composer of the Chapel Royal, Greene received at least eight such commissions during his term of office: in 1729, 1732, 1735, 1737, 1740, 1741, 1745 and 1748,<sup>53</sup> and that, for copying vocal and instrumental parts, hiring extra players, the cost of a preliminary rehearsal and so on, he was generally allowed a sum somewhere in the region of £60.

In most cases, these 'special occasions' were also covered by the press. The following is a typical example:<sup>54</sup>

Yesterday his Majesty, the Duke, and the Princesses, attended by a great Concourse of Nobility and Gentry, went to the Chapel Royal at St. James's, and heard a Sermon preach'd by the Rev. Dr. Regis.

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53 These are not the only years in which George II was abroad. Sometimes, as in 1750, the conventional tribute was dispensed with.

54 The Daily Gazetteer, Monday, 20 October, 1740.

After Divine Service the New Te Deum and Fine Anthem, composed and set to Musick by Dr. Maurice Green, ...on the King's safe Return from Hanover, was perform'd before his Majesty and the Royal Family, the Vocal Parts by the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal, and the Instrumental Parts by his Majesty's Band of Musick.

The 'Fine Anthem' referred to here was almost certainly the orchestral setting of "I will give thanks". Only twice, however, can the titles of these various welcoming anthems be positively identified from newspaper reports of their first performance: once, in 1735, when the 'new Anthem' was "Blessed is the man", and again, in 1741, when the earlier of the two settings of "Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous" was performed. Whether the settings of Te Deum used in these performances were, like the anthems, always 'new', we may very much doubt. It is certain, however, that the King's Band was almost invariably augmented for the occasion. In 1748, for example, one newspaper<sup>55</sup> informs its readers that "the Organ and Voices" were accompanied by "upwards of Thirty Instrumental Performers"; and in January 1737, as many as eighteen 'extra Hands' were employed to greet the king's eventual return from Hanover and the arms of Mme. Walmoden, his widely-advertised German mistress (later Countess of Yarmouth).<sup>56</sup> It must have been the Te Deum and anthem by Greene performed

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55 The Penny London Post, Or, The Morning Advertiser of 27-9 November.

56 See L.C. 5/20, p. 195.

on this occasion which the Lady Lucy Wentworth had in mind when, in a letter to her father, the Earl of Strafford, dated 18 January 1737, she wrote:<sup>57</sup>

Last Sunday [the 16th] there was a vast deal of musick at Church, too much I think, for I doubt it spoilt every body's devotion, for there was drums and Trumpets as loud as an Oritoria ...

Whenever, during the first ten years of his reign, George II stayed in England for the summer, the court together with the entire Chapel Royal establishment generally repaired to Hampton Court or Windsor, there to remain until the royal family returned to St. James's, which was usually just in time for the king's birthday (30 October) and the start of the winter 'season'. According to Jebb,<sup>58</sup> the Chapel Royal belongs, strictly speaking, to no fixed place, and is therefore bound "to attend the Sovereign wherever he may be resident". In Tudor times, it seems, its members quite commonly did so. Several instances of this ambulatory service have been observed during the post-Restoration period, but it appears to have gone unnoticed that the practice continued well into the eighteenth century. Here again, the records of the Lord Chamberlain's office show that, while Greene was Organist and Composer, the Chapel Royal accompanied the monarch to Hampton Court

57 See Deutsch, p. 424.

58 The Choral Service of the United Church of England and Ireland (1843), p. 147; quoted by Rimbault in his introduction to the Cheque-Book, p. [i].

and Windsor in the summer of 1728, to Windsor in 1730, and to Hampton Court in 1731, 1733 and 1737, though how, when at Windsor, its duties were reconciled with those of the resident choir of St. George's Chapel is not apparent.<sup>59</sup>

These out-of-town sessions were seldom of less than two months duration, and might even last as long as four.

Naturally, Gates and the ten choristers had to be there for the whole of that time; and so too, it seems, the Lutenist and the Violist. Greene and Weldon shared the organist's duties more or less equally between them; likewise the Gentlemen of the choir. For the duration of his stay, each Gentleman was allowed 'Travelling Charges' of 6s per day during the first week of waiting, and 3s per day thereafter.<sup>60</sup> Thus the cost of the operation soon mounted -- to a maximum of £663.6.0 in 1731 when the Chapel Royal was 'away' for a total of 143 days.<sup>61</sup> After the death of Queen Caroline, however, the Chapel Royal went no more either to Hampton Court or to Windsor, and from then on, the king kept court during the summer months mainly at Kensington where the chapel was served by a number of Chapel Royal priests but no musicians.<sup>62</sup>

59 There was then no established choral foundation at Hampton Court.

60 When it came to paying the boys, the ten choristers together counted as one Gentleman.

61 L.C. 5/18, pp. 288-90.

62 The practice was apparently revived by George IV who used sometimes to command the attendance of the Chapel Royal at Brighton (Jebb, loc.cit.; Cheque-Book, p. ii).

Although the official activities of the Chapel Royal were confined to St. James's except when, as we have just seen, it accompanied the court into the country, the choir did occasionally sing publicly in what we should now describe as concerts of sacred music. Two such performances were given in "the Royal Chapel at Whitehall"<sup>63</sup> in April 1733 by "the Gentlemen of his Majesty's Chapel-Royal, and the Best Hands" with the object of "augmenting a Fund for the Widows &c. of the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal, who die in his Majesty's Service". The first, on 3 April, was of a programme comprising Purcell's Te Deum and Jubilate, Bononcini's anthem "When Saul was king" composed for the funeral of the Duke of Marlborough in 1722, and "An Anthem in Latin by Colonna: The ~~100~~<sup>110</sup>th Psalm".<sup>64</sup> The second performance two weeks later, on 17 April, was devoted entirely to music by Greene: a Te Deum and an unidentified orchestral anthem "on his Majesty's Return from Hanover" [1732?], together with the short oratorio The Song

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63 I.e. Inigo Jones's fine Banqueting House in Whitehall which had been converted into a chapel in the reign of George I, but was never regularly used as such. It has recently been restored and used once more for music.

64 This may be a slip for 'The 112th Psalm'. If so, the last item was probably the setting, by Colonna, of "Beatus vir. With instruments" which was among the pieces 'most usually performed' by the Academy of Ancient Music. The Bononcini anthem was another of these, and so too, almost certainly, was the Purcell even though this work is not actually mentioned by name in the printed list of the Academy's repertoire.

of Deborah and Barak.<sup>65</sup> As one might expect, there is no account of either of these performances in any newspapers of the period and no means of telling what sort of standards were achieved, though on such occasions as these, one would hope that the Chapel Royal as a whole gave evidence of the skill and professional expertise of which many of its individual members were certainly capable. Quotation from de Saussure's letters has already shown that, to one discriminating foreigner at any rate, the musical aspects of the Sunday morning service at St. James's were still distinctly impressive even as late as 1725. But Sunday morning with the king and the royal family present was clearly something of a special occasion. The daily round of weekday services was quite another matter, and it is here particularly that the steady deterioration of creative vitality and artistic values within the Chapel Royal under the Georges is most readily perceived. We get some idea of the extent to which standards had declined from an entry in Viscount Percival's Diary under date of 8 January 1738:<sup>66</sup>

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65 All details quoted here are from The Whitehall Evening-Post of 29-31 March 1733. Similar advertisements appeared in most of the other London papers during late March and early April. The performances began at the unusual hour of 12 o'clock, and tickets were half a guinea each. For details of the proceeds from these performances, see the volume of Chapel Royal Accounts (1729-1837) which is now Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. 23 J., f. 6.

66 Vol. 2, p. 459. And this, be it noted, was a Sunday evening!

... In the evening I went to the King's Chapel, where of twelve lay singing men in waiting, there were but two. This scandalous neglect of their duty I have often taken notice of to the sub-dean and others, but to no effect.

Nearly twenty-five years of monarchal apathy and disinterested tolerance had finally, and with devastating effectiveness, drained native tradition of whatever vigour it still possessed in the Augustan age of Anne.

The most intimate and detailed account of life and manners at the court of George II during the first decade of his reign -- the crucial period, in fact, in this general cultural ~~marasmus~~ <sup>crisis</sup> -- is provided by the celebrated Memoirs of Lord Hervey, Vice-Chamberlain of the Household and confidant of the queen. And an exceedingly unattractive picture it is too: the royal family shamelessly engaged in its bitter and stupidly-protracted feud with the Prince of Wales, the court a den of petty intrigue and political jobbing, and the aristocracy mostly a pack of sycophantic hangers-on. Its grotesque character, however, is derived in no small measure from that of the king, as surly and ill-mannered a monarch as ever sat upon the English throne. By all accounts, the man was an ~~ass~~ <sup>i</sup>inine booby, utterly incapable of finer feeling. Like Walpole,



Plate II: [Maurice Greene (c. 1735 ?)]  
Oil painting by an unknown artist. National Portrait  
Gallery 2085.

he had no natural inclination towards any of the arts, and indeed "used often to brag of the contempt he had for books and letters".<sup>67</sup> His long-suffering consort on the other hand was a woman of taste and obvious intelligence who "loved reading and the conversation of men of wit and learning" but, for fear of the king, "did not dare to indulge herself as much as she wished to do in this pleasure".<sup>68</sup> In such an atmosphere, no form of intellectual or creative activity could possibly be expected to flourish, and none did. On the musical side, it was only the king's patronage of Handel (inherited from George I) which gave a touch of distinction to his posthumous reputation, and even that probably owed more to the unswerving devotion of Caroline and the royal princesses than to any positive enthusiasm of George II's. Concerning Greene's place in this overall picture, there is almost nothing to be discovered. He does not figure at all in Hervey's Memoirs or in any of the published writings of the other observers of the contemporary scene, but the treatment he suffered in connection with the music for the coronation and wedding of Princess Anne, would suggest that he was definitely non grata with the royal family. So too does a reference to Greene as "that wretched little crooked ill natured insignificant Writer Player and Musician" among the marginalia of that copy of Mainwaring's

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67 Lord Hervey's Memoirs (ed. R. Sedgwick), p. 39.

68 Ibid., p. 38.

Memoirs of Handel mentioned earlier.<sup>69</sup> If the author of these remarks really was George III, then his withering description of the composer can hardly have been founded on much more than hearsay, for 'Farmer George' was only seventeen when Greene died.

Parallel with the Chapel Royal establishment, and to some extent complimentary to it, was the King's Band of Musick: in number, twenty-four. As was the case in the Chapel Royal, the statutory number was sometimes exceeded by the appointment of two or three 'extraordinary' musicians. These, it would seem, were generally temporary appointments held only until such time as a permanent place of 'Musician in Ordinary' fell vacant. As we have already seen, the King's Band took part more or less regularly in the Sunday morning and other festal services of the Chapel Royal, and also, of course, in all great services of state (i.e. royal weddings, funerals and such like). Together with the singers of the Chapel Royal, they were also responsible for the bi-annual performance of the court odes, another long-established English tradition which the Hanoverians did nothing to inspire or sustain. In the days of Queen Anne, the Band had apparently been called upon to perform whenever the monarch dined in public:<sup>70</sup>

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69 W.C. Smith, art. cit., MT 65, p. 790.

70 Miede, Present Stage of England (1707), Part 1, p. 387.

in the Georgian era, it was most frequently required to supply music for the court Balls, and this mundane duty, it seems, was regarded by officialdom as perhaps its most important function.

The exact constitution of the King's Band during this period remains something of a problem despite Dr. Janifer's confident assertion that the twenty-four players were neatly divided up as follows:<sup>71</sup>

3 Trumpets in D	4 First Violins
2 Oboes	4 Second Violins
2 German Flutes	2 Violas
2 Bassoons	2 'Cellos
Tiapani	2 Double Basses

Janifer's failure to acknowledge the source of this information is the more puzzling in that, so far as the present writer is aware, there is not a shred of documentary evidence to support it. The list is pure tidy-minded guesswork, nothing more, and takes no account of the pair of Horns which appear from time to time in Greene's court odes, or of the fact that Flutes and Oboes were generally played by the same persons, or that Greene invariably writes for two Trumpets, not three -- except in those few cases where he uses only one. Both Chamberlayne and Miede print lists of all the players' names; there are others in the records of the Lord Chamberlain's office. Unfortunately, neither gives any indication of who played what

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71 The English Church Music of Maurice Greene and his Contemporaries, i, 228.

instrument, and of those few whose names are known, nearly all were string players. One or two well-known wind players (Thomas Vincent, the oboist, for example) are recognisable in these lists, but that in itself is no guarantee that they were employed as such in the King's Band. It should also be noted that, on those rare occasions when supernumerary instrumentalists are actually specified in the Lord Chamberlain's warrants, these are mostly oboe and bassoon players -- all of which goes to suggest that the eighteenth-century Band was made up, probably not entirely, but certainly very largely, of strings; and this, of course, was its traditional make-up as established at the Restoration. A salary of £40 per annum was attractive enough in 1660; by 1735, however, it must have seemed a miserable pittance in relation to the duties involved, and for all that there was still a certain cachet about royal appointments however menial and ill-paid -- even the royal Rat Killer had £48.3.4 a year! -- it is hardly surprising that there were very few players of outstanding ability in the King's Band at this time. Of those senior members who served under Greene, the best known are Henry Symonds (remembered chiefly as a harpsichordist) and William Corbett (leader of the first opera orchestra at the Haymarket).<sup>72</sup> Among those of his own generation, only Michael Festing and Talbot Young acquired a reputation in

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<sup>72</sup> See Hawkins, History, pp. 826 and 822-3.

the wider sphere of London's musical life.

The Mastership of the King's Band was -- nominally at any rate -- the highest professional honour an English musician could then hope to attain. One of its chief attractions, no doubt, was the fact that it carried an annual stipend of £200<sup>72a</sup> -- not £300 as is sometimes stated in newspapers of the period. This placed it on a par with the Principal Painter and royal Historiographer. The Poet Laureate, however, had only £100 per annum, while Mrs. Margaret Purcell, the royal Laundress, Seamstress and Starcher got four times that amount. In addition to his official emolument, the Master of the King's Band, in company with the twenty-four players under his direction, received an extra allowance of £16.2.6 for livery due each year at the Feast of St. Andrew,<sup>73</sup> and this sum too had not changed since the reign of James I.

Greene's rapid rise to fame during the 1720s culminating in his appointment to the Chapel Royal in 1727 and a titular Professorship at Cambridge three years later had marked him out as the obvious successor to Eccles in the Mastership of the King's Musick. John Eccles died on 13 January 1735, and the very next day, the Lord Chamberlain

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73 For full details, see the Royal Archives (at Windsor Castle), Geo. 85559.

72a See L.C. 3/11, f. 15.

issued a warrant of appointment to Greene.<sup>74</sup> Such haste may strike the present-day reader as unseemly, but in this age of blatant opportunism, candidates for royal appointments had not only to be well-connected, but also to act quickly, if they were to have any hope of success -- just how quickly we can see from Boyce's impetuous manoeuvring for this same position only twenty years later, even before Greene had drawn his last breath.<sup>75</sup> Like the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal and all 'the King's Officers and Servants in ordinary above Stairs', the members of the Band came under the jurisdiction of the Lord Chamberlain. The Mastership was 'in his gift', and it seems that any vacancy might be -- and indeed generally was -- filled without reference to the monarch. The Lord Chamberlain at the time of Greene's appointment was Charles Fitzroy, second Duke of Grafton, who, by a strange coincidence, happened also to be Lord of the manor of Green's Norton, the ancestral seat of the original Northamptonshire branch of the Greenes. Here again it was almost certainly the powerful influence of the Duke of Newcastle who had himself been Lord Chamberlain from 1717 until 1724 which secured Greene's promotion to this highly coveted office, and carried him

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74 L.C. 3/65, p. 27. Another warrant bears the date 11 February 1735 together with a note that Greene's salary was to commence from January 13th (L.C. 5/19, p. 318).

75 See post, pp. 270-1.

at the age of thirty-nine to the pinnacle of his career.

By 16 January, Greene's appointment had been made public in the press, and on the 24th, the composer received his first instructions from the Lord Chamberlain's Office:<sup>76</sup>

Sir,

My Lord Chamberlain is pleased to direct that you forthwith transmit to me, in Order to be laid before his Grace, an exact State of His Majesty's Band of Musick Viz: what Instrument or Instruments each Musician plays upon, the Names of such who by Old Age or other Infirmitys are unable to do their Duty, and of those that are excused, and also, an Account of what Number of different Instruments you think proper to make a Set for the Balls.

I am

Sir,

Your most humble Servant

J. Pelham

To: D<sup>r</sup>: Maurice Greene &<sup>c</sup>.

The reference to those "who by Old Age or other Infirmitys are unable to do their Duty" and "those that are excused" may be taken as a sure sign that the King's Band, like the Chapel Royal, was by this time in a very run-down condition and must seldom have been at anything like full strength -- hence the numbers of supernumerary players to which the Lord Chamberlain's records so often refer.

Greene's chief duty as Master of the King's Musick was to compose (and also to direct the performance of) the official Odes, those twice-yearly sung panegyrics to the monarch offered up on New Year's Day and the king's birthday (30 October). Here too the Fates were against him. It was Greene's misfortune during twenty years of royal

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76 L.C. 5/160, p. 268 -- a secretarial copy, not the original letter. 'J Pelham' was doubtless a relation of the Duke of Newcastle.

service to be landed with the thankless task of setting to music the 'poetic' effusions of Colley Cibber who, as Poet Laureate, was without doubt the most incompetent versifier ever to hold that office. George II had the Laureate he deserved -- or, as Dr. Johnson put it -- "Nature formed the Poet for the King". Composers of real talent often reveal a remarkable ability to transcend the inadequacies of their librettists. But has there ever been another who had regularly to contend with such flatulent gibberish as this, an Air from the Birthday Ode of 1736:

George, the Beam of Justice poising,  
 Marks Ambitions bounded Pow'r;  
 When too high the Scale is rising,  
 British Measures sink it low'r;  
 Kings in frantick Pride contending,  
 Native Blessings to destroy;  
 Learn from George, their Ruptures ending,  
 Greater Blessings to enjoy.

or such unsingable nonsense as the following string of Austrian battle-names in the Birthday Ode of 1743:

Tho' rough Selingenstadt  
     The Harmony defeat,  
 Tho' Klein Ostein  
     The Verse confound;  
 Yet, in the joyful Strain,  
     Aschaffsburgh or Dettingen  
 Shall charm the Ear they seem to wound.

Cibber's muse was permanently rouged, and only those who have waded through quantities of such doggerel as this can know to what hilarious heights of bungling idiocy it could sometimes soar! It was not for nothing that Cibber was

ridiculed by Pope in The Dunciad and mercilessly mimicked by every Grub-street wit of the day. Still, as Broadus charitably points out,<sup>77</sup> "No device known to human ingenuity...could have saved Cibber from exhausting his stock of compliments to a monarch as colourless as George II, long before the laureate's twenty-seven years of ode-making had expired".

The first of Greene's court odes was written for the king's birthday in 1735, his last for the New Year of 1755, the total number -- thirty-five not forty -- being accounted for by the fact that on four separate occasions during Greene's term of office (generally, as in January 1738, because the court was in mourning), the customary performance was 'laid aside', and by the fact that the Birthday Odes for 1750 and 1752 are the same. A complete set of Greene's court odes was auctioned and dispersed, mainly in single lots, at the sale of Boyce's library in April 1779. Although only eleven of these still survive, a collation of the texts printed in most newspapers of the period provides enough information about the others to enable one to determine the number and type of individual movements and the voices to which they were assigned. Their overall form is, as one might expect, fairly stereotyped, the nearest familiar equivalent being those of Bach's secular cantatas which were written for precisely similar royal

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77 The Laureateship, p. 130.

occasions. They begin in nearly every case with an instrumental Overture or Sinfonia followed by a sequence of alternating recitatives and airs, and usually end with an ebullient concluding chorus. Sometimes there is a duet in place of, or in addition to, one or other of the airs; sometimes also additional recitatives or interpolated choruses -- an average of about ten or twelve movements in all.

With the exception of John Beard who, since 1734, had quickly established his reputation as the finest English tenor of the day,<sup>78</sup> the vocal performers were drawn wholly from the ranks of the Chapel Royal, and the names of such singers as Gates, Rowe, Savage and Wass together with the Rev. Messrs. Abbott, Bayly and Lloyd appear regularly among the soloists on these occasions. The orchestral accompaniments were, of course, provided by the members of the King's Band, frequently augmented by "several additional Performers from the Operas". With such resources as these, a high standard of performance ought certainly to have been possible, and may even have been achieved, though no-one, least of all the king, seems to have been greatly interested in these eulogious proceedings. It would not be surprising therefore if, in his settings of Cibberian verse, the com-

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78 It seems to have gone unnoticed that thirty years later, on 1 March 1764, Beard returned to royal service on being sworn into "the Place and Quality of Vocal Performer in Extraordinary" to George III (see L.C. 3/58, p. 353).

poser sometimes fell back upon pre-existent material of his own, or even perhaps of others. According to Burney,<sup>79</sup> the duet "Let Caesar and Urania live" from Purcell's Welcome Song for James II (Sound the trumpet, 1687) "continued so long in favour...that Dr. Green, and afterwards Dr. Boyce, used frequently to introduce it into their own and the laureate's new odes". So far, however, only one instance of this alleged borrowing has been discovered -- in an anonymous undated Ode for the birthday<sup>2</sup> of Frederick, Prince of Wales<sup>80</sup> -- though it may be observed in this connection that Greene's New Year's Ode for 1746 ends with the chorus "Britons strike home" from Bonduca.

On New Year's Day, as on the king's birthday, a resplendently attired throng of nobility, gentry, foreign ministers etc. foregathered to pay their respects to the monarch and the royal family, and at noon (though sometimes later, at 2 p.m.), the regulation Ode was performed in a room variously described as the 'Great Presence Chamber' and the 'Old' or 'Great Council-Chamber' at St. James's.<sup>81</sup>

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79 History, p. 393.

80 Bodleian Library, MS. Mus. c. 106. The work is almost certainly by Boyce and dates from between 1736 and 1751.

81 See The Foreigner's Guide: In Their Tour through the Cities of London and Westminster, 3rd edn. (1752), p. 134.

For 'pricking and fair writing' the music, the Master of the King's Band was allowed £25 per ode,<sup>82</sup> which sum was also intended to cover the professional fees of any extraordinary performers employed as well as the cost of hiring a room to practise in. The preliminary rehearsal generally took place at the Devil Tavern (known also as the Golden Lion), Temple Bar, a day or two prior to the official performance at court, and from various newspaper reports such as the following,<sup>83</sup> together with occasional advance notices, it would appear that these were open to the public:

On Wednesday the Ode compos'd by Colley Cibber, and set to Musick by Dr. Green, was rehearsed at the Devil Tavern in Fleet-street, and greatly approv'd of by the Company for the Harmony of the Composition.

From 1754 onwards, it seems, the odes were rehearsed in Hickford's Great Room in Brewer Street. It must have been this fact which led Bertha Harrison to state quite categorically that the odes were "first performed before the King, Queen, and Court circle in the drawing room at St. Jame's Palace, and very frequently afterwards appeared in the weekly programmes at Hickford's Room";<sup>84</sup> no other

82 It had been £11 in the early 1720s rising to £16 by 1727, and then, by about 1730, to £25. This was to remain the standard amount throughout Greene's lifetime.

83 All-Alive and Merry; or, the London Daily Post of Friday, 30 October 1741.

84 MT 47, September 1906, p. 604.

corroborative evidence for this assertion has yet been found.

On the evening of the king's, and on all other royal birthdays, there was a gala Ball at court, and for these, the King's Band -- or that part of it which was not incapable of fulfilling its duties -- was almost invariably stiffened by ten or more extra players at a cost of not less than £25, again including the hire of a room to practise in. The Lord Chamberlain's warrants made out to John Walsh, the royal 'Instrument maker' and supplier of music in general, and certified by Greene, suggest that the musical fare on these occasions consisted chiefly of French Minuets and Country Dances.<sup>85</sup> Like Handel, Festing and others, Greene himself appears to have composed a certain amount of dance music for this purpose, though none of it can now be identified.<sup>86</sup>

One further duty of the eighteenth-century Masters of the King's Musick remains to be mentioned and is apparently very little known: their responsibility for the music at the periodic (but comparatively infrequent) installation ceremonies of the Knights of the Garter. These took place only four times during Greene's term of office -- in 1738,

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85 Later in the century, the music for the court Balls was published annually in separate volumes.

86 See Select Minuets Collected from the Operas, the Balls at Court, the Masquerades, and all Publick Entertainments (Walsh, [1739]). Greene's name is among those listed on the title-page, but none of the contents are **specifically** attributed to him.

1741, 1750 and 1752 -- and each time, as the records show, the composer together with the members of the King's Band and twelve or fourteen supernumerary players were dispatched to Windsor, though quite what they were expected to do on arrival there is not apparent. In all probability, they took part with the choir of St. George's in the performance of some form of festal Mattins and/or were involved in purely secular music-making during festivities later in the day. For the 'preparing and copying of Music', the 'Travelling Charges' of the Band, and the hire of a boat for the instruments, Greene was generally paid something in the region of £90. The one occasion on which Greene was commissioned to compose music for the installation of ten Knights of the Bath at Westminster Abbey on 20 October 1744 is rather more fully documented. The Lord Chamberlain's warrant to Greene is for £71.4.0,<sup>87</sup> while from newspaper reports of the event we learn that

A fine Anthem compos'd by Dr. Green, ... was perform'd in Henry the Seventh's Chapel at the aforesaid Ceremony; the Vocal Parts by the Choirs of the King's Chapel, and of that Collegiate Church [i.e. the Abbey]; and the Instrumental Parts by upwards of fifty Performers of the King's Band, and others. <sup>88</sup>

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87 L.C. 5/22, p. 133.

88 The London Evening-Post of 20-23 October 1744; also in several other papers.

As Ernest Walker rightly observed,<sup>89</sup> Greene had a real flair for the handling of large-scale forces and, like Handel, could often bring off really brilliant effects with the very simplest of means. His orchestral anthems, both for the Chapel Royal and for the Sons of the Clergy festivals, contain some of his finest music, and it is a pity that there are so few modern occasions when they might be appropriately revived. Wholly extrovert in temper, they were intended, as has been said of Handel's own work in this same field, "not for inner worship, but to display the pomp and circumstance of Anglicanism",<sup>90</sup> and in this they succeed admirably. Even the flag-waving, tub-thumping royal Te Deums have a healthy vitality and cheerfulness which, despite some unevenness, will stand comparison with Handel's; and in the present climate of growing enthusiasm for all things baroque, their time may yet come. For the surviving court odes, however, there can be no hope at all, not because the music is bad -- indeed, some of it is quite surprisingly good -- but because they are hamstrung by the sheer ineptitude of Cibber's verse. In royal service, as in his work at St. Paul's, Greene came to the job with apparent enthusiasm, and for some years at any rate, he carried out his duties conscientiously and

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89 History of Music in England, 3rd edn., p. 253.

90 Dean, Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques, p. 21.

with great distinction. If, in the end, he succumbed to the prevailing atmosphere of lethargy which had virtually destroyed almost all English institutions directly dependent upon the support of the monarchy, we can hardly blame him for that; certainly, it is unfair to single him out for special censure as has so often been done by those high-minded critics of the period who pontificate in complete ignorance of the social context in which his music had naturally to be written. It would have taken a creative artist of supreme genius and superhuman integrity -- a Bach in fact -- to have withstood the pressure of such adverse and utterly dispiriting circumstances as those in which Greene found himself. And Greene, alas, had neither.

CHAPTER SIX

RELATIONS WITH HANDEL

Handel's friendship with Maurice Greene, though it lasted only about ten years, was more intimate perhaps than his association with any other of his English contemporaries. A detailed study of the life and professional circumstances of the one has brought to light a surprisingly large amount of fresh information about the other, and revealed a number of minor errors concerning Handel which -- endlessly re-tailed -- are still current in all books on the composer. Some of these, such as the myth propagated by Burney that the Utrecht Te Deum and Jubilate was heard in alternation with the Purcell setting at the annual Sons of the Clergy festivals from the time of its first performance in 1713 until 1743 have already been exposed;<sup>1</sup> many others, irrelevant in the present context, must be deferred for publication in due course. It is curious that, while Handel's dealings with various individuals have been touched upon briefly by most of his biographers, the broad topic of his relations with his English contemporaries as a whole has never, so far as the writer is aware, been seriously considered, even by acknowledged experts in this field. The chief reason is obvious perhaps, for the subject is largely concerned with a mass of floating tradition, the

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<sup>1</sup> See ante, p. 61 ff.

exact details of which it is difficult to ascertain, and impossible to verify. Much of what follows here is, therefore of a somewhat speculative nature, particularly in those cases where the line of argument depends upon nothing more substantial than a personal interpretation of widely scattered hints and shadowy innuendoes. If certain conclusions must remain forever unproven, they are not necessarily invalid: every effort has been made to distinguish between what is documented and what is purely conjectural.

From various references in Burney, Hawkins, and other subsidiary sources, one gathers that Handel's relations with his English contemporaries were by no means entirely cordial. Indeed, if Burney is to be believed, Handel "had a thorough contempt for all our composers at this time, ...and performers on the organ too".<sup>2</sup> Those such as Arne who had the temerity to challenge the 'great bear' on his own ground found themselves faced with a formidable opponent "with whom" (to use Burney's words originally applied to Greene) they were "utterly unable to contend, but by cabal and alliance with his enemies".<sup>3</sup> Most had the good sense to stay out of Handel's way -- Pepusch, for example, who immediately "acquiesced in the opinion of his superior

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2 Commemoration, 'Life of Handel', p. 33 n. (carried over from p. 32).

3 History, p. 489.

merit, and chose a track for himself in which he was sure to meet with no obstruction, and in which none could disturb him without going out of their way to do it".<sup>4</sup> At the time of their first acquaintance, Greene also had "a due sense of [Handel's] great powers"; later they fell out, so violently in fact, that "for many years of his life", Handel "never spoke of him [Greene] without some injurious epithet".<sup>5</sup> And so too have most Handelian biographers who, since fiction is generally more readable than sober fact, continue to reiterate a good deal of the puerile anecdotage which bedizens the little that is known of their association. Some of it originates with Burney and Hawkins; some -- such as the tale of Handel hanging one of Greene's anthems out of the window because "it wanted air" -- can be traced back no further than the gossipy Thomas Busby, whose Concert Room and Orchestra Anecdotes (1825) is a mine of such scurrilous and colourful invention.<sup>6</sup>

It was in the very earliest days of Handel's second visit to England -- possibly even as early as the summer of 1713<sup>7</sup> -- that the gifted young Greene, still in his teens, struck up a friendship with the man, eleven years

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4 Hawkins, History, p. 884.

5 Burney, History, loc. cit.

6 See i, 43.

7 See ante, p. 29.

his senior, who had already conquered the capital, and was so soon to dominate the entire Georgian musical scene. Burney's story is well known of how Greene, in admiration of Handel's manner of playing, "had sometimes literally condescended to become his bellows-blower, when he went to St. Paul's to play on that organ, for the exercise it afforded him, in the use of the pedals", and of how Handel, after the three o'clock prayers, "used frequently to get himself and young Greene locked up in the church, together; and, in summer, often stript into his shirt, and played till eight or nine o'clock at night".<sup>8</sup> Although, as we have already seen,<sup>9</sup> the organ of St. Paul's did not have pedals at the time in question, the essential elements of the story are confirmed by Hawkins in an account of Handel's activities during the period of his residence at Burlington House, that is to say from about 1713 until the summer of 1717:<sup>10</sup>

When Handel had no particular engagements, he frequently went in the afternoon to St. Paul's church, where Mr. Greene, though he was not then organist, was very assiduous in his civilities to him: by him he was introduced to, and made acquainted with the principal performers in the choir. The truth is, that Handel was very fond of St. Paul's organ, ...and a little intreaty was at any time sufficient to prevail on him to touch it, but after he had ascended the organ-loft, it was with reluctance that

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8 Commemoration, 'Life of Handel', p. 33 n. 'a'.

9 Ante, p. 53.

10 History, p. 859.

he left it; and he has been known, after evening service, to play to an audience as great as ever filled the choir. After his performance was over it was his practice to adjourn with the principal persons of the choir to the Queen's Arms tavern in St. Paul's church-yard, where was a great room, with a harpsichord in it; and oftentimes an evening was there spent in music and musical conversation.

A footnote to this same passage which refers to Mattheson's 'lessons' (i.e. Pièces de Clavecin) as having then "just come from the press" fixes the date of these meetings as no later than October 1714.<sup>11</sup>

Doubtless, Greene was also a constant attendant at these <sup>u</sup>co~~s~~ivial gatherings. Such frequent contact with a musician of Handel's eminence, and the opportunity for regular first-hand observation of his working methods must have been enormously stimulating -- and profitable -- to such an impressionable and obviously talented young man. Doubtless too, Greene received a certain amount of encouragement from Handel, and, while it seems very unlikely that there were ever any formal lessons as such, he must also surely have enjoyed the benefit of the master's advice on all sorts of matters concerning music, especially organ playing and composition. Certainly, it is difficult otherwise to account for the extraordinarily rapid progress during this period of one nominally under the tuition of such relative nonentities as Richard Brind and Charles King. Greene's close association with Handel would appear to have

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11 See Tilmouth, Calendar, p. 89.

survived until 1720 at least, and it is by no means impossible, as has previously been remarked,<sup>12</sup> that the most important of the 'Amendments and Alterations' made to the St. Paul's organ in that year -- the addition of a set of 'pull-down' pedals -- was carried out at Handel's suggestion. It is not clear quite how long these visits to the cathedral continued, but we do know that, on 24 August 1724, "the famous Mr. Hendel" played there before the two eldest of the Royal princesses (Anne and Caroline) who had, by this time, become his pupils.<sup>13</sup>

According to Hawkins,<sup>14</sup> Greene "courted the friendship of Mr. Handel with a degree of assiduity, that, to say the truth, bordered upon servility; and in his visits to him at Burlington-house, and at the duke of Chandois's, was rather more frequent than welcome". As it appears in the History, this statement comes directly after the announcement of Greene's appointment to the Chapel Royal (1727), and is a good example of Hawkins's sometimes very misleading chronology. Handel's residence at Burlington House had apparently ended by the summer of 1717;<sup>15</sup> his residence at Cannons by about 1720. Despite the supposed frequency

12 Ante, pp. 53-4.

13 See Applebee's Original Weekly Journal of 29 August; quoted by Deutsch, p. 173.

14 History, p. 879.

15 See Deutsch, p. 84.

of these visits, no documentary evidence has yet been found which might confirm Greene's presence at either of these august establishments.<sup>16</sup> It is curious too that, for all their personal intimacy during this period, none of Handel's music appears to have been performed at any of the Sons of the Clergy festivals under Greene's direction prior to 1731, and by that time, it is certain that they had already been estranged.

At what point the rupture came is not entirely clear, and neither for that matter is its exact cause. In his History -- though not in his later contribution to Rees's Cyclopaedia<sup>17</sup> -- Burney is mysteriously silent on this point, and there is nothing in Handel's own surviving correspondence which sheds any light on the matter. Hawkins, on the other hand, had no doubts but that it was brought on by Greene's two-faced ~~affiliation~~<sup>a</sup> with Bononcini, and, in the passage last quoted above, goes on to say that

At length Mr. Handel discovering that [Greene] was paying the same court to his rival, Bononcini, as to himself, would have nothing more to say to him,

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16 There is no mention whatsoever of Greene in the Bakers' exhaustive study, The Life and Circumstances of James Brydges, First Duke of Chandos, nor in any of the Chandos letterbooks (1718-23) which are among the Stowe MSS. now in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. I am indebted to Miss Jean Preston of the Library's Department of MSS. for information on this latter point.

17 Vol. xvi, s.v. 'Greene, Maurice'.

and gave orders to be denied whenever Greene came to visit him.<sup>18</sup>

and again elsewhere that

In the disputes between Handel and Bononcini, Greene had acted with such duplicity, as induced the former to renounce all intercourse with him.<sup>19</sup>

He implies that the breach took place during the Burlington House/Cannons period, but this, quite obviously, cannot be. Bononcini did not arrive in England until October 1720, and there is absolutely nothing to suggest that he came into contact with Greene before about 1724, when they were both among the regular performers in Mrs. Anastasia Robinson's 'musical academy' at Parson's Green.<sup>20</sup>

To judge by John Byrom's celebrated epigram which likens the merits of Handel and Bononcini to those of Tweedledum and Tweedledee,<sup>21</sup> the rivalry between these two reached its peak round about 1725, and it was probably just about this same time, or shortly afterwards, that Handel put an end to the importunate advances of his erst-while friend. It may also be observed that Greene, though

18 History, p. 879.

19 Ibid., p. 884.

20 See ante, p. 112. It is perhaps significant in this context that Greene did not subscribe to the publication of Bononcini's Cantate e Duetti in 1721.

21 See Deutsch, p. 180.

ostensibly "a constant attendant at the opera", did not subscribe to any of Handel's operatic publications during this period: Rodelinda (1725), Scipione (1726), Alessandro (1726) or Admeto (1727).<sup>22</sup> By 1726, Greene and Bononcini were also associated in the activities of the Academy of Ancient Music, and it has frequently been stated<sup>23</sup> that the rift between Greene and Handel was an outcome of the famous madrigal incident of 1731. But this, as the reader will already have gathered, cannot be true either since, while Bononcini had definitely been a member of the Academy, Handel, at that time, most certainly was not.<sup>24</sup> The latter, though he may well have enjoyed the spectacle of his rival's ruination, was in no way involved in the affair -- unless by proxy through such friends as Henry Needler who was then leader of the Academy's orchestra.

However that may be, it is hardly true to say, as Ernest Walker and his later editor have done,<sup>25</sup> that Greene "declined to take sides in the operatic rivalry between

22 A 'Mrs. Greene' was among those who subscribed to the second volume of Cluer and Creake's Pocket Companion For Gentlemen and Ladies -- a collection of opera songs, chiefly by Handel -- which came out in December 1725. She may or may not have been Maurice's wife.

23 By Janifer, for example, in The English Church Music of Maurice Greene and his Contemporaries, i, 65.

24 See ante, p. 101, n. 38.

25 A History of Music in England, 3rd edn., p. 244.

Handel and Bononcini until the irascibility of the former threw him, apparently against his will, into the ranks of the latter's vehement partisans". Hawkins was probably nearer the mark when he wrote:<sup>26</sup>

The contests, which had long divided the votaries of harmony into factions, had in some measure subsided upon the retreat of Cuzzoni [1728] and the departure of Bononcini [probably 1727 in this context (cf. p. 861); he did not finally leave England until 1732]; but the ill success of the opera after the dissolution of the Royal Academy, and the shipwreck of some fortunes engaged in the support of it, induced the people to turn their eyes towards Mr. Handel, and to look on him as the only person from whom, in the way of musical performance, they were to expect any solid and rational entertainment. Greene was sensible of this; and there being in England no competitor of Mr. Handel to whom he could attach himself, he pursued his own track, and endeavoured as a cathedral musician to exalt his character to the utmost.

The significance of the rivalry between Handel and Bononcini during the mid-1720s has often been greatly exaggerated. While there can be no doubt that Greene's conduct at this time did cause the breakdown of amicable relations with Handel, was it sufficiently mischievous, one wonders, to have provoked the vindictive repercussions of later years? I think not. Unless we suppose Handel to have been uncommonly tetchy -- and great composers sometimes are -- then there must have been some other and much more serious reason for his subsequent hostility towards Greene. But there is yet another possible explanation consistent with the known 'facts', and its psychological grounds seem to

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<sup>26</sup> History, p. 909.

me just strong enough to justify a somewhat parenthetical excursion into the realms of pure speculation.

In February 1727, Handel became a naturalized British subject, and in the words of Stanley Sadie (echoing those of Streatfeild and Abdy Williams) was "at once...appointed to the honorary post of Composer to the Chapel Royal, for which aliens were ineligible".<sup>27</sup> One would very much like to know the original source of this statement, and, even more, Handel's real reasons for applying for naturalization. He was no less an opportunist than Greene or any other of his English contemporaries; yet, after fifteen years' residence in London, and at a time, moreover, when his operatic fortunes were failing rapidly, it seems an odd thing to have done. One naturally suspects some ulterior motive. In a moment of rare imaginative insight, Percy Young -- though he gets the actual date wrong -- suggests that Handel applied for naturalization in order to become eligible for appointment to the Chapel Royal,<sup>28</sup> and we know from Mattheson that "the English sovereigns could not have a foreign chapel-master".<sup>29</sup> Was the timing of this event -- not quite six months before Croft died -- just pure coincidence, or was it perhaps evident in advance that Croft was mortally ill

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27 Handel, p. 63; cf. Deutsch, p. 219.

28 Handel, p. 41.

29 Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte (see Deutsch, p. 505); quoted here from Schoelcher, Life of Handel, p. 36.

and could not be expected to survive very long? Alas, all efforts to determine the exact state of Croft's health during the last year of his life have so far failed. However, the fact that he died at Bath whence he had obviously gone to take the waters is, in itself, suggestive.

On 22 July, only three weeks before Croft's death, The London Journal published an account of a River Party on the Thames in honour of the new king and queen; in one barge there was "a fine Consort of Musick of the best Hands, for their Entertainment". Though Handel is not mentioned by name, it is perhaps not unreasonable to assume that the music was his, and that this may possibly have been the origin of one of the three 'Water Music' suites which, like the Utrecht Te Deum and Jubilate, were not published until long after the putative date of composition.<sup>30</sup> The apparent delay in appointing Greene Croft's successor also strikes one as a trifle curious, and in Chamberlayne's Magnae Britanniae Notitia of 1727, it is Handel, not Greene, who is listed as 'Composer of Musick for the Chapel Royal'. Does this refer to Handel's temporary commission as the composer of four anthems for the coronation of George II; is it simply an error; or does it perchance imply something more? Could it be that Handel was actually proposed as Composer to the Chapel Royal, or had at least some tacit

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30 See W.C. Smith, 'The Earliest Editions of the "Water Music"', in Concerning Handel, pp. 269-87.

understanding with the king that he would gain the appointment, and that Greene, working through the powerful influence of the Newcastles -- and here we must remember that while Handel's supporters were mainly members of the discredited Tory opposition, both Greene and Bononcini enjoyed the backing of several prominent Whigs -- had been able to prevent this, and to get himself installed in the vacant post instead? If so, it would certainly account for the vituperative nature of Handel's later attitude to Greene; and unless some such sequence of events did take place, it is very difficult to see the point of the latter part of the following passage from that spirited polemic in defence of Handel, Harmony in an Uproar, first published in the spring of 1734:<sup>31</sup>

You must know then, Sir, I [Handel] once went to the World in the Moon [England]. ... My Profession and Merit were soon known, it not being possible to hide any extraordinary Genius from the penetrating Capacities of that Country, particularly in the Art of Musick, of which they affect, to the greatest Degree, to appear very fond and very knowing; but betwixt you and I, Sir, (but be sure you keep it secret) the Majority of its Inhabitants have their Ears placed so near their Backsides, that they frequently sit upon them.

However, the Brilliant Rays of my Talents in that Art, quickly enlighten'd that opaque Globe so far, that I was immediately admitted into the good Graces of the Court, and principal Grandees; who were all ravished with the Novelty and Exquisiteness of my Compositions: In consequence of which I was declar'd principal Composer to their O---as; and should have enjoy'd [my italics] the same Station in the Court Chapels and Publick Temples, only that Place could not be conferr'd upon a Foreigner: Yet upon all

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31 Deutsch, p. 354.

solemn Occasions, they were obliged to have Recourse to me for their Religious Musick, tho' their ordinary Services were all compos'd and performed by Blockheads that were Natives; they claiming from several Laws, a Right hereditary, to have the Places in their Temples supply'd with Fools of their own Country.

This pamphlet has usually been attributed to Dr. Arbuthnot,<sup>32</sup> one of the first as well as one of the most ardent of Handel's English admirers, but according to George A. Aitken, however, the piece is spurious,<sup>33</sup> and this is the view now taken by the Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature. Its anonymous author, if not Arbuthnot, must nevertheless have been someone pretty close to Handel himself, for the work as a whole reveals an extraordinarily detailed understanding of the composer's affairs during this period.

Those "solemn Occasions" when "they were obliged to have Recourse to me for their Religious Musick" refers, ~~of course,~~ to the coronation of George II, and also, perhaps, to the then impending wedding of Princess Anne for which Handel's anthem had already displaced one of Greene's.<sup>34</sup> Only once in twenty-eight years of service to the Chapel Royal did Greene gain from Handel a commission which was of personal interest to the monarch, and that, surprisingly enough, was in 1746 when, on Sunday 27 April, a Te Deum and

32 It was reprinted in The Miscellaneous Works of the Late Dr. Arbuthnot (Glasgow, 1751; also London, 1770).

33 The Life and Works of John Arbuthnot (Oxford, 1892), p. 145.

34 See ante, pp. 134-5.

'a fine new Anthem' composed by Greene to celebrate the Duke of Cumberland's "good success against the Rebels in Scotland" was performed before the king and the royal family in the Chapel Royal, St. James's.<sup>35</sup> But it may well have been that the choice of Greene and not Handel on this particular occasion was politically expedient considering the strength of national feeling at this time.

Whatever the real reason for the severance of relations between Greene and Handel, it is obvious that Handel felt much more strongly about it than Greene -- or was at least in a rather better position to engage in prolonged recrimination. Handel's 'well-known antipathy' towards Greene has previously been cited as one of the several explanations which are often given for his refusal to accept the D. Mus. degree offered him by Oxford in 1733;<sup>36</sup> and a little later on, when it was suggested that Handel might consider setting to music Pope's 'Ode for St. Cecilia's Day', he is said to have rejected the proposal on the grounds that "it is de very ding vat my pellows-plower [i.e. Greene] has set already for ein tocktor's tecree at Cambridge".<sup>37</sup> Such truculence, however, is seldom entirely one-sided. Prompted no doubt by the success of Handel's Esther in the spring of 1732, and

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35 See The London Evening-Post of 26-9 April 1746; also Public Record Office, L.C. 5/22, p. 217.

36 See ante, p. 123.

37 Burney, Commemoration, 'Life of Handel', p. 33; cf. Deutsch, p. 434.

even more, perhaps, by the fact that it was immediately taken up by his former associates in the Academy of Ancient Music who now openly espoused the enemy cause, Greene soon produced his own Song of Deborah and Barak, the libretto of which was advertised in the Gentleman's Magazine for October of that year. This diminutive oratorio -- the first by any native-born Englishman -- reveals a potential musical dramatist of real ability, and is a work whose several virtues are glowingly acknowledged by no less discerning a critic than Winton Dean.<sup>38</sup> It was probably intended for, and was certainly performed by, Greene's own 'Apollo Academy' at the Devil Tavern near Temple Bar, and, as we have already seen,<sup>39</sup> it was also publicly performed in the Whitehall Chapel on 17 April 1733. Whether or not the piece was conceived as a deliberate challenge to Handel, he obviously took it as such, and promptly retaliated with his own setting of the Deborah story which was hastily put together -- two-thirds of it is borrowed wholly or in part from old music -- for its first performance on 17 March.

As Dean suggests,<sup>40</sup> Handel's Deborah may well have been intended "to exploit the popularity of Esther", but it also clearly represents a determined effort to knock

38 Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques, pp. 226-8.

39 Ante, pp. 155-6.

40 Op. cit., p. 225.

Greene out of the ring. The Song of Deborah and Barak was by no means the only one of Greene's large-scale works which provoked Handelian repercussions, though, for all that Deborah is one of Handel's dullest works, none so swift or so devastatingly effective as this. Fifteen years separate Greene's Jephtha (1737) from Handel's, yet Morell, the librettist of the latter, certainly knew the text of Greene's oratorio,<sup>41</sup> and Handel may even have heard the music. Greene's Judgment of Hercules is another subject that subsequently attracted Handel; and so too did various items by some of Greene's closest friends in the Apollo Academy.<sup>42</sup> It can hardly have been a coincidence that the immensely successful first performance of Alexander's Feast at Covent Garden on 19 February 1736 happened to take place on the evening of the same day as the Sons of the Clergy festival that year -- the one and only time that Greene (alone among contemporary musicians) was 'honoured' with a Stewardship, and became, therefore, partially responsible for the administration of the charity, and also the only time between 1731 and 1755 that a Handel setting of Te Deum was displaced by one of Greene's.<sup>43</sup> Newspaper reports speak of there being "at least 1300 Persons present" at the Handel pre-

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41 See Dean, op. cit., pp. 590 and 593.

42 Ibid., p. 84.

43 See ante, pp. 57 and 65.

miere: "Never was upon the like Occasion so numerous and splendid an Audience at any Theatre in London" says The London Daily Post and General Advertiser of 20 February 1736.<sup>44</sup> The receipts at St. Paul's were apparently about £200 down on what they had been the previous year.

But Greene was not the only native composer who tried to 'horn in' on the success of Esther. Arne was another who, according to Burney,<sup>45</sup> "was aspiring, and always regarded Handel as a tyrant and usurper, against whom he frequently rebelled, but with as little effect as Marsyas against Apollo". Nevertheless, as Julian Herbage has pointed out,<sup>46</sup> "it would seem that Handel was by no means insensitive to the early successes of Arne, and that, in fact, he deliberately tried to defeat the English composer on his own ground". As evidence of this, he cites the fact that Arne's Comus (March 1738) was followed less than two years later by Handel's equally pastoral setting of Milton's L'Allegro, and The Judgment of Paris (August 1740) by an "equally sensitive yet mannered" setting of Congreve's Semele in the summer of 1743. The element of challenge is less obvious here than in the case of Greene's

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44 See Deutsch, pp. 399-400.

45 History, pp. 1010-11. On this same subject, see a 'Memoir of Dr. Arne' in The Harmonicon, iii (1825), 73; and also F.G. Edwards's article on Arne in MT 42, December 1901, pp. 799-800.

46 'The Vocal Style of Thomas Augustine Arne', in PRMA 78, pp. 89-90.

Song of Deborah and Barak, but, as Herbage concludes, "a comparison of the musical styles of Comus and L'Allegro on the one hand, and The Judgment of Paris and Semele on the other, suggests that Handel may have been deliberately offering battle to his younger rival...and it is perhaps significant that Arne deliberately avoided setting any words that had already been set by Handel; nor did he attempt the field of oratorio until after Handel's death, except for his Dublin production of the lost work The Death of Abel".

Despite the assertion of Hawkins that, from the time of their falling out, "no one was so industrious as [Greene] in decrying the compositions of Handel, or applauding those of his rivals",<sup>47</sup> and of the pseudonymous Hurllothrumbo Johnson that "Dr. Blue roundly asserts in all Companies, that you [Handel] are quite void of Spirit and Invention",<sup>48</sup> no concrete examples of Greene's alleged animosity towards Handel have yet come to light. It seems extraordinary, in view of the events of 1736, that Greene should subscribe to the publication of Alexander's Feast two years later.<sup>49</sup> Handel, needless to say, did not return the compliment when, in 1742, Greene invited subscriptions for his own Forty

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<sup>47</sup> History, p. 884.

<sup>48</sup> Harmony in an Uproar; Deutsch, p. 352.

<sup>49</sup> See Deutsch, p. 453.

Select Anthems. The curious fact that, while Oxford was the scene of a great many Handelian performances from 1733 onwards (and especially under William Hayes during the 1740s and 50s), the first recorded performance of a Handel work at Cambridge is of Acis and Galatea under John Randall on 26 February 1756 -- less than three months after Greene's death -- has been attributed by Winton Dean to the evident 'coolness' between Handel and Greene.<sup>50</sup> It may be so. But the possibility of any deliberate anti-Handelian campaign can probably be safely ruled out, since, as we have already seen, the Cambridge music professorship was a purely honorary distinction, and Greene, so far as one can tell, was entirely without influence there. At undergraduate level, it seems that a good many informal 'concerts' did take place, and most unlikely that Handel's smaller works, at any rate, went entirely unheard. Witness one Granticola's waggish reply to a complaint made about the time wasted in fiddling:<sup>51</sup>

C.C.C. Cambridge, April 5, 1750

... I see no reason why our schools may not be frequented as well as our musick-meetings, and NEWTON and LOCKE still have their followers as well as HANDEL and CORELLI.

In a University, how much more agreeably is an evening laid out by a select company of friends composing a concert, than in carousing over a

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50 Op. cit., p. 84.

51 Wordsworth, Social Life at the English Universities in the Eighteenth Century, p. 202.

bottle, and joining, to say no worse, in an unprofitable conversation? As to the concerts we frequently have in our halls, do they not in some measure contribute, by bringing us into company, to the wearing off that rust and moroseness which are too often contracted by a long continuance in college? And though these meetings are frequented by some, so entirely on account of the company and conversation, that it has been declared that the concert would have been excellent, if there had been no MUSICK in it, yet in general we shall find it otherwise. . . . .

As to FIDDLING in particular, for my part, I see no absurdity in attracting the eyes of the fair by displaying a white hand, a ring, a ruffle, or a sleeve to advantage. Nor could any one, I imagine, blame the performer, nor could he himself be displeas'd with his art, if he was so successful as to fiddle himself into a good fortune.

According to the anonymous commentator, said to have been George III, that 'great man' who "had affected to disbelieve the reports of [Handel's] abilities" even before Handel had first arrived in England, and "was heard to say, from a too great confidence in his own, 'Let him come! we'll Handle him, I warrant ye!'" is to be identified as Maurice Greene.<sup>52</sup> Although it does seem that Greene was given to feeble punning, it will be clear from what has already been said that there can be no truth in this allegation. Neither can it any longer be maintained that, while Handel was "impetuous, rough, and peremptory in his manners and conversation", he was "totally devoid of ill-nature or malevolence",<sup>53</sup> for it is just these latter qual-

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52 See W.C. Smith, 'George III, Handel, and Mainwaring' in MT 65, September 1924, p. 790; Mainwaring, Memoirs of Handel, pp. 83-4.

53 Burney, Commemoration, 'Life of Handel', p. 31.

ities which most strongly characterize his later dealings with Greene and the less docile of his other English contemporaries.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

PROFESSIONAL EMINENCE, 1730-45

Greene's six five-part modal anthems would appear to have been composed as a set shortly after his triumphal return from Cambridge in July 1730. Such deliberate archaism, as Sir Jack Westrup has rightly observed,<sup>1</sup> is almost unknown in English eighteenth-century music. While the actual modality of these pieces is more apparent than real, it is still perfectly valid within the context of a 'theoretical' approach to this much-vexed problem -- i.e. the modern habit of regarding the modes as, quite simply, rather peculiar scales -- and the results, for all that they are a trifle artificial, are nonetheless rich and finely expressive. They may have been intended as a demonstration of Greene's new-found academic prowess<sup>2</sup> or, more likely perhaps, to impress his antiquarian-minded colleagues in the Academy of Ancient Music. But if the latter, they can hardly have had a chance since, in the spring of the following year, Greene abruptly terminated his association with the Academy by walking out in support of Bononcini during the aftermath of the famous madrigal incident.<sup>3</sup> With him went Charles

1 Walker, History of Music in England, 3rd edn., p. 255.

2 See the extract from Harmony in an Uproar quoted on p. 124.

3 See ante, pp. 109-10.

King and the boys of St. Paul's Cathedral, and also many of Greene's friends whom Viscount Percival considered "the best of our vocal performers".<sup>4</sup> Together they set off along the Strand to found a rival establishment at the Devil Tavern, Temple Bar, a site now occupied by no. 2 Fleet Street. Three years later, Bernard Gates and the Chapel Royal boys also withdrew. The society was now left treble-less, and its very existence threatened. It nevertheless survived, and continued to function -- though not entirely without further animus -- until 1792. Apart from Pepusch, the chief luminary among the academicians of the 1740s and 50s was John Travers who, though he had earlier been a pupil of Greene's and Sub Organist of St. Paul's, and was by this time also co-Organist of the Chapel Royal, seems to have transferred his allegiance to Pepusch as we can see from the dedication of his Eighteen Canzonets [1746] and the fact that Greene did not bother to subscribe.<sup>5</sup>

Next to the Academy of Ancient Music, Green's 'Apollo Academy' -- so called from the name of the 'Great Room' in which it met, a room which was later also to house the meetings of the Royal Society<sup>6</sup> -- was one of the most interest-

4 Diary, i, 202.

5 In a volume of manuscript music by, and mostly in the hand of, Travers (now in the Guildhall Library, Gresham Collection, MS. V.3.38), there are a great many items either composed or arranged 'For the Academy of Ancient Music held at the Crown and Anchor in the Strand'.

6 Chancellor, The Eighteenth Century in London, p. 138.

ing musical societies<sup>ti</sup> in eighteenth-century London. The circumstances of its origin are familiar enough, but almost nothing of its activities and subsequent history seems to be generally known. Exactly when the society was founded is not entirely certain, but Hawkins's statement<sup>7</sup> that it was set up in 1728 is clearly inaccurate. As Greene had obviously left the Academy of Ancient Music by 26 May 1731,<sup>8</sup> the autumn of that same year would seem to be the most likely date of establishment. It should, however, be noted that the only known copy of The Standing Orders of the Apollo Society -- formerly in the library of Dr. A.H. Mann -- bears the date 4 April 1733. Bound up with a copy of Hawkins's Account of the Academy of Ancient Music, the volume was auctioned at Sotheby's in June 1945, purchased by the firm of Peter Murray Hill & Co., and later resold. Unfortunately, its present whereabouts cannot be traced. According to Hawkins,<sup>9</sup> Greene's Apollo Academy "subsisted but a few years". But these few years went on at least until the end of 1750 when, due to the ill-health of its founder, the society was apparently disbanded. In various newspaper reports of the Sons of the Clergy festival of 1751 -- the first under the conductorship of Boyce --

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7 An Account of the Academy of Ancient Music, p. 4; see Scholes, Life of Hawkins, p. 247.

8 See ante, p. 106.

9 Loc. cit.

we read of a special 'Benefaction' of £50 which was "given by the late Apollo Academy, by the Hands of Mr. William Hart, their Treasurer".<sup>10</sup>

It appears that the Apollo Academy met once a month, on Thursday evenings. One assumes that these were so arranged as to avoid conflict with the twice-monthly 'Publick Nights' of the Academy of Ancient Music, also on Thursdays.<sup>11</sup> Greene was, of course, the society's moving spirit and dominant personality, as Pepusch was of the parent body. Like the Sons of the Clergy up to 1731, it nurtured an ingrown nationalism which laid special emphasis on the music of its three chief composer-members, Greene, Boyce and Festing, and it may be doubted whether a note of Handel's music was ever allowed to sully its proceedings. A Miscellany of Lyric Poems, The Greatest Part written for, And performed in The Academy of Music, Held in the Apollo (London, 1740) gives a good idea of the sorts of works which formed the major part of its repertoire:

- I. Jephtha, an Oratorio, set by Dr. Greene,
- II. Part of the Song of Deborah and Barak, set by Dr. Greene,
- III. David's Lamentation over Saul and Jonathan, an Oratorio. The Words by Mr. Lockman, the Musick by Mr. Boyce.
- IV. A Sacred Ode ["The spacious firmament on high"], by Mr. Addison, set by Dr. Greene,

10 The London Evening-Post of 30 April-2 May 1751.

11 See ante, p. 102.

- V. Part of the third Chapter of Habakkuk, by Dr. Broome, set by Mr. Mich. Christ. Festing,
- VI. An Ode ["Descend ye nine"], by Alexander Pope, Esq; set by Dr. Greene,
- VII. A Song for St. Cecilia's Day, by Joseph Addison, Esq; set by Mr. Mich. Christ. Festing,
- VIII. An Ode for St. Cecilia's Day, set by Mr. Boyce,
- IX. An Ode for St. Cecilia's Day, by Mr. Lockman, set by Mr. Boyce,
- X. A Song on May Morning, by Milton, set by Mr. Mich. Christ. Festing,
- XI. The Judgment of Hercules, a Masque, set by Dr. Greene,
- XII. Peleus and Thetis. A Masque, by the Lord Lansdown, set by Mr. Boyce.

Though they do not appear on this list, various other of Greene's more substantial pieces such as Florimel, or Love's Revenge (1734) were also performed as we learn from occasional newspaper notices such as the following:<sup>12</sup>

Yesterday Night Love's Revenge, an elegant poetical Drama, finely set to Musick, was delightfully perform'd, both vocally and instrumentally, in the Academy at the Devil Tavern, Temple-Bar.

While the majority of its performances, like those of the Academy of Ancient Music, were of vocal works, the boys of St. Paul's providing the treble parts as required, it would be wrong to assume that no purely instrumental music was to be heard. Several publications to which the Apollo Academy subscribed were of concertos and chamber sonatas (mostly by Festing and Boyce), and the society was also the dedicatee of Festing's opus 4, Eight Solo's For A Violin and Thorough-Bass (1736).

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<sup>12</sup> The Daily Advertiser of Friday, 11 January 1745.

The librettist of most, if not all, of Greene's several oratorios and semi-dramatic works, and the poet also of one of his most popular songs ("Fair Sally lov'd a bonny seaman") was John Hoadly (1711-76), the youngest son of Dr. Benjamin Hoadly (1676-1761) who was successively Bishop of Bangor, Hereford, Salisbury and Winchester, and among the most celebrated -- and most heartily disliked -- of all eighteenth-century Anglican divines. On graduating LL.B. from Cambridge in the summer of 1735, John Hoadly "decided to become a clergyman, that he might avail himself of the rich patronage at his father's disposal".<sup>13</sup> Thus, on 29 November of that same year, he was appointed Chancellor of the diocese of Winchester, ordained deacon by his father on December 7th, priested on the 21st, and immediately received into the household of the 'renegade' Prince of Wales whose sponsorship of the Opera of the Nobility was soon to bring about the final ruination of Handel's operatic affairs. The Bishop, it seems, had a particular liking for music and the theatre which, in his calling, it was impossible to gratify without impropriety;<sup>14</sup> and his penchant for private theatricals was apparently shared by the entire family, especially John, whose enthusiasm was so great, so William

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13 DNB, s.v. 'Hoadly, John'.

14 See 'Memoirs of the Life of the late Dr. John Hoadly' in The Gentleman's Magazine, April 1776, p. 164 n.

Hogarth tells us,<sup>15</sup> "that few visitors were ever long in his house before they were solicited to accept a part in some interlude or other". An elder brother -- another Benjamin (1706-57) -- was not only an eminent surgeon in royal service (and later an executor of Greene's estate), but also the author of The Suspicious Husband, one of the favourite comedies of the century. Like Greene, both Garrick and Hogarth were regularly associated with the Hoadlys, and the latter, who had also been a member of the Academy of Ancient Music,<sup>16</sup> provides a rare glimpse of the composer as seen through the eyes of one of his most brilliant contemporaries -- not a very flattering picture to be sure:<sup>17</sup>

Hogarth being at dinner with the great Cheselden, and some other company, was told that Mr. John Freke, surgeon of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, a few evenings before at Dick's Coffee-house, had asserted, that Greene was as eminent in composition as Handel. "That fellow Freke," replied Hogarth, "is always shooting his bolt absurdly one way or another! Handel is a giant in music; Greene only a light Florinel kind of a composer."

Greene was a frequent visitor at Farnham Castle, the episcopal seat, and here, in May 1737, as a note on the autograph manuscript attests, he began his Service in C. Quite how he established so intimate a connection with the family is not at all clear, and needless to say, the exis-

15 Biographical Anecdotes, ed. John Nichols, 3rd edn., p. 57.

16 See ante, p. 102.

17 Biographical Anecdotes, p. 57.

tence of yet another source of influential patronage did not escape Hawkins's notice.<sup>18</sup> It may have been that the Bishop was friendly with Maurice's father during his own early days as a City parson and Minor Canon of St. Paul's; various references in the Rev. Thomas Greene's diaries suggest as much. Greene's collaboration with John Hoadly, which probably began in the early 1730s, was seemingly continued over the next fifteen years at least; and the best-known portrait of the composer -- the one painted by Francis Hayman in 1747 (see Plate III, p. 205) -- shows him informally garbed in his Oxford D. Mus. gown, with Hoadly leaning nonchalantly upon the back of a chair, 'dictating' a song to Greene; the score of Phoebe lies open on the table.<sup>19</sup>

Their first joint effort was Florimel, or Love's Revenge, a 'Dramatic Pastoral in Two Interludes', composed in 1734 -- it is just possible, however, that it may have been written three years earlier still -- and originally intended, it seems, for private performance.<sup>20</sup> The fact

18 History, p. 884.

19 The picture is wrongly attributed to Hogarth by John Nichols (op. cit., pp. 98-9). It has often been reproduced -- for example by F.G. Edwards in M<sup>T</sup> 44, February 1903, facing p. 81; by Scholes in The Oxford Companion to Music, 9th edn., Plate 33/8, facing p. 162; and by Blume in Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, vol. v, Plate 33, facing cols. 673-4.

20 One of three manuscript copies listed in the Boyce Sale Catalogue (April 1779, Lot 61) is of a version for three trebles and a bass voice "as performed at



Plate III: Maurice Greene and John Hoadly in 1747.  
 Conversation piece by Francis Hayman (1708-76). National  
 Portrait Gallery 2106.

that libretti were published in 1734, 1737, and 1745, would suggest that the work was also presented publicly. As we have already seen, it was heard on at least one occasion by the members of Greene's Apollo Academy; it was also performed at the Three Choirs Festival in 1745,<sup>21</sup> the Winchester Festival in 1768, and at the Hampshire Music Meeting in 1781.<sup>22</sup> All in all, it appears to have had a considerable success, and one song indeed -- "The Charms of Florimel", a perfectly innocuous little strophic air sung by Myrtillo in Act 1 -- like Greene's setting of William Oldys's well-known verses on 'The Fly', became something of a popular 'hit'. Excluding reprints, it went through no less than ten separate editions during Greene's own lifetime, both in single song-sheet form, and in such beautifully engraved anthologies as Bickham's Musical Entertainer. It was taken up (with new words) by Henry Carey as 'Air IV' in The Honest Yorkshire-Man [1736],<sup>23</sup> and even found its way

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first, in the Family of the late Bishop of Winchester, Dr. Hoadly". Another score, which formed part of Lot 48 in the Greatorex sale (1832), was apparently dated 1731.

21 See post, p. 237.

22 For further details of these two later performances, see Douglas J. Reid, 'Some Festival Programmes of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, 1. Salisbury and Winchester', in RMA Research Chronicle No.5 (1965), pp. 68 and 70.

23 Several tuneful ditties by Greene were also requisitioned for use in various other ballad operas of the period. For details, see Vol.2, Part 2, Section 3b.

onto -- and provides the only means of identifying -- a third portrait of the composer which has never previously been reproduced (see Plate II, p. 158 ).

A number of similar works followed: the masque, The Judgment of Hercules, now lost -- the setting of The Judgment of Paris attributed to Greene in British Museum, Add. MS. 17860 is, as Roger Fiske has recently pointed out,<sup>24</sup> by Greene's friend, Guiseppe Sammartini; Phoebe, a three-act 'Pastoral Opera' (1747); the oratorio, The Force of Truth (1744), also lost; and probably also Jephtha (1737).<sup>25</sup> Whether or not Hoadly was responsible for the libretto of Greene's Song of Deborah and Barak (1732) as well does not,

24 'A Cliveden Setting', in M&L 47, April 1966, p. 129.

25 According to The Gentleman's Magazine for April 1776 (p. 165), Hoadly's libretto of The Force of Truth was "taken from Esdras" and "written for his friend Dr. Green's academy at the Apollo". As for Jephtha, Winton Dean (Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques, pp. 45 and 589-90) follows Deutsch (p. 427) in assigning the libretto to one Burnet. True, Burnet's name is printed with the poem in The Gentleman's Magazine for March 1737 (pp. 144-7), but neither Deutsch nor Dean appears to have noticed that, in the Index to this same volume, the author is identified as 'Mr. Hoadley'. There seems, therefore, to be no good reason to doubt the accuracy of the customary attribution to Hoadly. Here it may also be observed that the present writer has been unable to find any evidence which might confirm Deutsch's statement (p. 427 and also p. 437; cf. Dean, loc. cit.) that Greene's Jephtha was publicly performed at the Haymarket Theatre during Lent 1737. Neither is there any reference to this performance in A.H. Scouten's encyclopaedic work, The London Stage, Part 3, 1729-47.

however, appear. These oratorios, which were among the very first examples of their species by any English composer, present no particular problems. The 'Dramatic Pastoral', on the other hand, is a very curious genre.<sup>26</sup> An outgrowth of the late seventeenth-century masque, Handel's Acis and Galatea is, of course, by far the finest (though by no means the first) example of a form which was to reach the height of its somewhat ephemeral vogue in the years after 1730.<sup>27</sup> In effect, the 'dramatic pastoral' is a purely musical entertainment dependent upon the merest wisp of plot; the element of 'drama' is virtually non-existent. The subject, as one might expect, is usually rural courtship; the scene, almost invariably, a sylvan grove or rustic plain, peopled with a variety of nymphs and shepherds, shepherdesses and swains, and all the stock characters of Arcadia: Strephons and Chloes, Damons and Caelias and the like. In an odd sort of way, this fashionable preoccupation with high-flown pastoral poetry reflects the so-called classical taste of the age. While none of these works could now hold the stage -- except perhaps briefly, and as a deliberate anachronism -- some nevertheless contain a wealth of

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26 For a full discussion of the form, see Allardyce Nicholl, History of Early Eighteenth Century Drama, p. 260.

27 Eric Taylor, 'William Boyce and the Theatre', in The Music Review, November 1953, p. 278.

charming music, too good to lie forever buried in oblivion. One of these is Greene's Phoebe, which is more or less uniformly excellent throughout. As Ernest Walker enthusiastically declared sixty years ago, it "well deserves" -- and indeed still awaits -- "the attention of a tardy publisher".<sup>28</sup>

Towards the end of his Drury Lane career, Garrick "was forced, by the policy of Covent Garden and by the vogue of comic opera, to rely more and more upon musical pieces".<sup>29</sup> It appears that he even contemplated reviving both Florimel and The Judgment of Hercules. In a letter to Garrick dated 'St. Maries [his rectory near Southampton], Aug. 27th, 1775',<sup>30</sup> John Hoadly gives a list of his various dramatic works including "'Love's Revenge' (a printed book) where Florimel is introduced", "'Phoebe', a whole Pastoral Opera of three acts", "'The Choice [sic] of Hercules', A Mask, set by Dr. G.", and two 'unset pieces' which Thomas Linley seems to have considered setting,<sup>31</sup> and goes on

28 History of Music in England, 1st edn., p. 226; 3rd edn., p. 260. Only two items have ever been printed: the chorus "From piercing steel" (Novello, 1913), and the vigorous bass air "Like the young god of wine" (Novello, ed. John E. West, 1913; and Elkin, ed. Eric Taylor, 1957).

29 MacMillan, Drury Lane Calendar, 1747-1776, p. xxviii.

30 Private Correspondence of David Garrick, ii, 81.

31 Loc. cit.; see also pp. 99-102.

When you talk of introducing Hercules into another entertainment, I am sure you are not aware of its taking up three quarters of an hour in the performance. . . . I cannot see how Hercules can be abridged at all, except by speaking the recitative.

The question of a revival is taken up again in another letter from Hoadly to Garrick on 10 September:<sup>32</sup>

Dear Sir,

I here, as you desired, send you "Love's Revenge", hashed and slashed. I suppose not exactly the same with the former, but I think better. Part of the overture we agreed should be left out. That of the second interlude (minuet with French horns) I would certainly retain, as it is so very pleasing and so adapted to the Satyr's appearance. (That gentleman's motions and songs would admit of something in the comic cast.) You may be able to abridge it a little, by leaving out some of the Da Capos. That will be best judged, when you hear it altogether. I think the repetition of the duet in chorus will be a good ending, without the intended grand chorus; and the few lines which I have taken from the songs, and added to the speaker, will be necessary.

See how good wits jump, though one of them cannot walk. I am not sure about the length of Hercules, not having taken the dimensions of his foot. Dr. Boyce will inform you better. I cannot well see how that can be abridged except in the music, the story being told too shortly already. For that too you must consult Dr. Boyce.<sup>33</sup>

But there is no mention, nor even a hint, of either in Dougald MacMillan's Drury Lane Calendar, and so far as one can tell, nothing ever came of these proposals.

32 Ibid., pp. 93-4.

33 The original score and parts of The Judgment of Hercules were then owned by Boyce (Sale Catalogue, April 1779, Lot 191). The work was last heard of in 1832, as Lot 34 in the Greatorex sale. Boyce also had three copies of Florimel (Lots 60-62).

Garrick usually had the coming season fully planned by the end of the preceding summer; they were, therefore, already too late for the 1775-6 season. And as Hoadly died on 16 March 1776, and Garrick finally left the stage on 10 June, that presumably put an end to the matter.

While Greene's anthems dominated the cathedral repertoire both during his own lifetime, and for at least half a century after his death, the known performances of his major secular works are relatively few. Several have already been mentioned above. To these, one more can now be added, though doubtless there were others of which no record has so far come to light: a performance of Phoebe given on Thursday, 16 January 1755, at Mr. Ogle's Great Room in Dean Street, Soho, for the benefit of John Robinson, Organist of Westminster Abbey.<sup>34</sup> As a performer himself, Greene's reputation stood very high, whatever else an extremely odd table of musical merit published by Mr. 'Justice Balance' [alias William Jackson of Exeter?] in The Gentleman's Magazine for December 1776 (pp. 543-4) may suggest. Burney names him as one of the favourite organists in England round about 1730,<sup>35</sup> and nine years later, Mattheson, in his Vollkommene Kapellmeister,<sup>36</sup> includes

34 G.W. Stone, The London Stage, Part 4, 1747-76, i, 464.

35 History, p. 1001.

36 (Hamburg, 1739), p. 479.

'Green in London' in a list of the foremost organists in Europe, the only Englishman so honoured as J.A. Fuller-Maitland was proud to observe.<sup>37</sup>

According to Hawkins,<sup>38</sup> Greene was "an excellent organist, and not only perfectly understood the nature of the instrument, but was a great master of fugue"; yet -- and here's the rub -- "he affected in his voluntaries that kind of practice on single stops, the cornet and the vox-humana for instance, which puts the instrument almost on a level with the harpsichord; a voluntary of this kind being in fact little more than a solo for a single instrument, with the accompaniment of a bass; and in this view Greene may be looked on as the father of modern organists". Two points must here be stressed. First, that Hawkins's carping remarks are not borne out by the evidence of Greene's surviving organ voluntaries, of which all but five are of the closely-wrought prelude and fugue variety, and only three contain 'solos'; and second, that Hawkins himself says, elsewhere, that the practice of "degrading the instrument" by the performance of pieces "calculated to display the agility of [the player's] fingers in Allegro movements on the Cornet, Trumpet, Sesquialtera, and other noisy stops" was first introduced by John Robinson prior even to

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37 DNB, s.v. 'Greene, Maurice'; also Oxford History of Music, iv, 327.

38 History, p. 884.

his appointment to the Abbey (in 1727).<sup>39</sup> Cornet voluntaries had been popular ever since the latter part of the seventeenth century, and they continued so throughout the next hundred years and more. It can hardly be doubted that the expansion of this particular type of voluntary into pieces specifically designed to show off the bevy of imitative solo stops in which the mid-Georgian organ abounded, probably owed just as much, if not more, to such celebrated virtuosi as Robinson and Stanley ~~as~~ it did to Greene.

As early as 1718, Greene was sufficiently well known as an 'undeniable master' to have been called upon to support one John Jones against William Babel in a somewhat heated contest for the organistship of All Hallows, Bread Street, the friends of the latter having "Industriously and Maliciously" circulated reports that Jones was "a BUNGLER, &c."<sup>40</sup> And in later years, he sometimes lent his name to the advertisement of such works as Grassineau's Musical Dictionary, published in 1740 with a puff from Pepusch, Greene, and Galliard: "We whose Names are hereunto subscribed, do approve the following Sheets,...and recommend them as very useful, and worthy the perusal of

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39 See 'Memoirs of Dr. Boyce' prefixed to the 2nd edn. of Cathedral Music (1788), p. iii n.

40 British Museum, press-mark Br. 1855 c. 4 (58). This document is quoted, none too accurately and with no suggestion of date, in Professor Zimmerman's recent book, Henry Purcell, His Life and Times, pp. 303-4.

all Lovers of Musick". Nine years earlier, this same trio had joined with Handel in publicly approving a 'new-invented' double-strung harpsichord by John Harris.<sup>41</sup> He was also quite frequently invited to open new organs: Jordan's instrument for St. George's, Botolph Lane, on 13 October 1723, for example, and St. Antholin's, Budge Row, on 21 December 1735 when, as The London Daily Post, and General Advertiser of 22 December reports, "there was a prodigious Concourse of People" -- and even on occasion to compose a new anthem for such ceremonies as the installation of the Rev. Edward Aspinwall, Sub-Dean of the Chapel Royal, as one of the Prebendaries of Westminster Abbey.<sup>42</sup> Burney's statement that Greene was one of the judges at the famous<sup>v</sup> competition for the organistship of the new church of St. George's, Hanover Square, in November 1725 is, however, entirely without foundation.<sup>43</sup>

The Stepney Feast was only one of a great many minor eighteenth-century charities about which almost nothing seems to be known, but it appears that for a short time during the 1730s, Maurice Greene was closely associated

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41 See The Daily Post of 10 February 1731; apparently unknown to Deutsch.

42 See The Weekly Journal: or, the British Gazetteer of 15 November 1729.

43 History, p. 704. For the fullest account of this important election so far published, see Vernon Butcher, 'Thomas Roseingrave', in M&L 19, July 1938, pp. 280-94.

with its activities. The Feast was held annually in St. Dunstan's, Stepney, generally on a Saturday in March or April;<sup>44</sup> its object, to raise money for clothing poor boys, and putting others out as apprentices. How Greene came to be involved -- his name is mentioned in newspaper notices for 1732, 1733, 1735, and 1736 -- we do not know.<sup>45</sup> There may possibly have been some family connection, for forty years earlier, his father had been in receipt of regular payments for preaching at Stepney.<sup>46</sup> Like the Sons of the Clergy festival, but on a very diminutive scale, the Feast began with a service in church during which two anthems were performed, before and after the sermon; and in the years cited above, these appear to have been composed -- and, in 1732 and 1736 at any rate, played -- by Greene himself. After service, the usual 'extraordinary Appearance of Nobility and Gentry' proceeded to dinner in 'the Feast Room over-against the

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<sup>44</sup> There is no record of any Feast in the Vestry Minutes, but a portfolio of prints and cuttings in the Hackney (no~~w~~ Tower Hamlets) Public Library contains material which suggests that it may have been a precursor of the much later 'Cockney's Feast'.

<sup>45</sup> For 1735, see also Malcolm, Anecdotes of the Manners and Customs of London, 2nd edn., i, 43-4. In all probability, Greene took part in the 1734 Feast as well. In 1737, the Stepney Feast coincided with the Sons of the Clergy festival, and thereafter, there are no further references to Greene.

<sup>46</sup> There are several entries to this effect in the Rev. Thomas Greene's diaries. See volume headed 'Riders British Merlin' 1683 which covers the period 1683-1716. A memorandum in the 1692 volume reads, "I began to Preach at Stepney July y<sup>e</sup> 9. 1693".

Church', and here too there was music. It was for these occasions that Greene composed several of the more extended cantata-like pieces which were later published in his Catches and Canons For Three and Four Voices [1747], and whose topical allusions -- to the wedding of Princess Anne in 1734, and Frederick, Prince of Wales, in 1736 -- have caused at least one modern commentator<sup>47</sup> to speculate upon the circumstances of their origin.

With his preferment to the Mastership of the King's Band of Musick in January 1735, Greene entered upon the period of his greatest fame. On St. Cecilia's Day 1738, 'Orator Henley' debated the rival talents of Pepusch, Handel, and Greene,<sup>48</sup> while only a month earlier, on 14 October, Lord Chesterfield's recently established opposition paper, Common Sense: or, the Englishman's Journal, had published a lively piece of musical persiflage which concludes with an exhortation to Greene to turn his attention to the composition of a British national anthem:

I am apt to believe that in Music, as in many other Arts and Sciences, we fall infinitely short of the Ancients: -- For, I take it for granted, that we should be open to the same Impressions, if our Composers had but the Skill to make them. -- -- However, tho' Music does not now cause those surprising Effects, which it did formerly, it still retains Power enough over Mens Passions, to make it worth our Care: ...

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47 Fuller-Maitland, in DNB, s.v. 'Greene, Maurice'; see also *infra*, p. 246.

48 The London Daily Post of 18 November 1738; see Deutsch, p. 469.

The Swiss, who are not a People of the quickest Sensations, have at this Time a Tune, which, when play'd upon their Fifes, inspires them with such a Love of their Country, that they run Home as fast as they can; which Tune is therefore, under severe Penalties, forbid to be play'd when their Regiments are on Service, because they would instantly desert. Could such a Tune be composed here, it would then indeed be worth the Nation's While to pay the Piper, ... I would, therefore, most earnestly recommend it to the Learned Doctor Green, to turn his Thoughts that Way. -- It is not from the least Distrust of Mr. Handel's Ability that I address myself preferably to Doctor Green: But Mr. Handel having the Advantage to be by Birth a German, might probably, even without intending it, mix some Modulations, in his Composition, which might give a German Tendency to the Mind, and therefore greatly lessen the National Benefit, I propose by it.

Seven years later, in a moment of national crisis, this appeal was to be indirectly answered -- though not by Greene -- with the sudden emergence of our present National Anthem. This curious article, however, was unknown to Percy Scholes when he wrote his fascinating history of the piece, God save the Queen! (1954), and was apparently only shortly afterwards discovered by Miss Elizabeth Cole.<sup>49</sup>

Taking Common Sense as his point of departure, Thurston Dart has since gone on to 'prove' -- to his own satisfaction at any rate -- that Greene was probably responsible for the polished version of the national anthem as we know it now.<sup>50</sup> Much as one might wish to credit Greene with

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49 'The Bellows Blower', in The R.C.M. Magazine L1/3 (1955), p. 64.

50 See 'Maurice Greene and the National Anthem', in M&L 37, July 1956, pp. 205-10.

the distinction of having finalized the details of the tune's melodic outline, it must be said at once that there is not a shred of real evidence to support this assertion. Professor Dart's argument is characteristically ingenious, and hinges upon the identification of the engraving styles of the various individuals involved in the production of John Simpson's Thesaurus Musicus (1744) -- a futile process when, as here, the publication involved happens to be a composite collection of songs printed from an inherited stock of old plates ranging over a period of more than twenty years. No-one, I think, who has carefully examined the original, would question Dart's statement that the alterations in the plate of "God save the King" made for the 1745 edition are deliberate emendations, and not just routine corrections of engraving errors; nor his assumption that the various melodic reconstructions and improvements are of the sort "more likely to be the work of an experienced professional musician than of a mere hack". But why Greene? The fact that the plate for "God save the King" may have been made by the same engraver as that for Greene's immensely popular song "The Fly" proves nothing; the latter was only one of twelve separate editions -- mostly unauthorized one suspects - which came out during the composer's lifetime. And if, as Dart opines, Greene really was "the man behind the scenes in Simpson's publi-

cations", then why is it that Greene himself did not publish a single work under Simpson's imprint ? The appearance of "The Fly" and one other of Greene's songs, the two-part "When with good wine the table's crown'd" -- the latter for the first time anywhere -- in Thesaurus Musicus is hardly significant if, as seems very probable, both were piracies. If some backstage 'editor' must be found, the most likely candidate is James Oswald, and the British Union-Catalogue of Early Music is surely correct in naming him as the 'judicious master' referred to on the title-page as the reviser of the whole. Unfortunately, there is no positive evidence with which to refute Dart's specious deductions. Like the Duke of Wellington on being addressed as 'Mr. Smith', one can only retort: "Sir, if you can believe that, you will believe anything" !

The year 1738 also witnessed the setting up of a 'Fund for the Support of Decayed Musicians and their Families', later the Royal Society of Musicians. According to Burney,<sup>51</sup> it was Greene and Festing who "took the lead at the time of instituting this Society, and for twelve or fourteen years afterwards". But the original idea, it seems, was Festing's. The picturesque story has often been told of how he, in company with two friends -- the names traditionally mentioned in this connection being those of Weidemann and

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51 Commemoration of Handel, Appendix, p. 136.

Vincent -- was standing one day at the door of the Orange Coffee House in the Haymarket,<sup>52</sup> and was so moved by the pathetic sight of two ragged little boys, the sons of J.C. Kytch, a deceased colleague, driving milch asses through the streets, that he immediately determined to found a charitable organization devoted exclusively to the relief of indigent musicians, and their widows and children. On 19 April 1738, just six days after the Sons of the Clergy festival that year, The London Daily Post announced that subscribers to the Fund were "desired to meet at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand on Sunday Evening next [23 April], at Seven o'Clock". A second meeting was held on 7 May, and a list of original subscribers published forthwith, together with a set of 'Rules';<sup>53</sup> and if we may take F.G. Edwards's word for it,<sup>54</sup> the names of no fewer than 226 persons, including almost every notable musician of the day, appear as signatories to the 'Declaration of Trust' dated 28 August ~~17~~<sup>1</sup>739. Even Handel so far forgot his personal animosity towards Greene that he too was in-

52 The fact that Pesting was then living in Angel Court in Windmill Street, near the upper end of the Haymarket, may lend credence to the tale.

53 See Deutsch, p. 459. For a long 'Abstract of the Laws and Resolutions of the Fund ...' (8 May 1738), see Burney, *op. cit.*, Appendix, pp. 129 ff.

54 'The Royal Society of Musicians', in MT 46, October 1905, p. 637.

duced to join. He was, indeed, a founder member, and soon to become one of the society's most generous benefactors. In 1739 too, it was resolved -- possibly at Greene's suggestion -- that the Governors

would supply an able Band of Music at the Rehearsal and Anniversary of the Sons of the Clergy for the sum of £50 and, upon payment of that Sum annually to their Charitable Fund, that they would never increase the Demand upon any future Occasion.<sup>55</sup>

and this arrangement was apparently continued well into the nineteenth century.<sup>56</sup>

Annual benefit concerts in aid of the Fund were soon established, and, like most of the swelling host of London's charity performances, generally took place in the spring, during the weeks on either side of Easter. At the first -- a performance of Alexander's Feast at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket on 20 March 1739 -- "Mr. Handel gave the House and his Performance, upon this Occasion, Gratis, and Mr. Heidegger made a Present of Twenty Pounds to defray the other incident Expences".<sup>57</sup> Thereafter, the programmes were dominated by the great cham of the Georgian musical scene, and what music was not Handel's, was nearly always Italian. The native front hardly got a look in, except on

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55 Edwards, art. cit., p. 638; also Pearce, The Sons of the Clergy, 2nd edn., pp. 246-7. Cf. Burney, op. cit., Appendix, p. 132.

56 See ante, p. 58.

57 See The London Daily Post of 22 March 1739; Deutsch, p. 478.

very rare occasions. 1753 was one of these. On 24 July of the previous year, Festing had died, and Greene, as the next most senior member, had succeeded him as Chairman of the Governors.<sup>58</sup> The varied programme of the annual concert on 30 April 1753 may be quoted in full, since, apart from the two items by Greene, it is an entirely typical 'Entertainment of Vocal and Instrumental Musick' of the period:<sup>59</sup>

Part 1:

Overture compos'd by Sig. Chabran  
S*e*i si trova in Lacci stretto, compos'd by  
 Teradellas, sung by Signora Galli  
Return, O God of Hosts, compos'd by Mr. Handel,  
 sung by Sig. Guadagnio  
 Concerto Violoncello by Sig. Pasqualino  
Sherno delli astri egioco, compos'd by Sig.  
 Conforti, sung by Sig. Frasi  
Beneath that Shade, compos'd by Dr. Green,  
 sung by Mr. Wass

Part 2:

Concerto Violin by Sig. Chabran  
Sol ti chiedo O spero amato, compos'd by  
 Galluppi, sung by Sig. Frasi  
O lovely Fair, and faithful Youth, compos'd  
 by Dr. Green, sung by Mr. Beard  
 Concerto Bassoon by Mr. Miller  
No non sai, compos'd by Pergolezi, sung by  
 Sig. Galli  
Il Pastor, compos'd by Sig. Ciampi, sung by  
 Sig. Guadagnio

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58 Edwards, art. cit., p. 638.

59 Quoted here from The London Evening-Post of 21-4 April; it also appeared in most of the other London papers during the latter part of April. See also G.W. Stone, The London Stage, Part 4, 1747-76, i, 367. "Beneath that shade" by Greene is the final air in Florimel. The other song ("O lovely fair and faithful youth") has not so far been identified. These words do not belong, as one might imagine they ought, to The Judgment of Hercules.

## Part 3:

Concerto Oboe, by Mr. Vincent  
Rasarrenà, compos'd by Sig. Gluck, sung by  
 Sig. Galli  
Quella fiama, compos'd by Mr. Handel, sung by  
 Sig. Frasi  
 Song by Sig. Guadagnio  
 Trio, The Flocks shall leave the Mountains,  
 compos'd by Mr. Handel, sung by Sig.  
 Frasi, Mr. Beard, Mr. Wass  
 Grand Concerto, compos'd by Mr. Handel

And thus, with only a passing acknowledgement of their  
 Chairman as composer, the society returned to its former  
 habits. In his will, Handel left the charity £1,000,  
 but Greene, though it seems that he could very well afford  
 to have done so,<sup>60</sup> not a penny.

Considering his reputation as both performer and com-  
 poser (in the field of church music at least), it is rather  
 surprising that Greene himself published nothing of any  
 consequence before 1738, in which year Walsh issued The  
Chaplet, being a Collection of Twelve English Songs.

While it is true that an English cantata, "Strephon and  
 Chloe", had previously appeared round about 1725, and  
 that during the intervening years, nearly twenty single  
 songs had also been printed, either in half-sheet form,  
 or else in such song books as Watts's Musical Miscellany  
 (6 vols., 1729-31), it seems that very few of these came  
 out under the aegis of the composer. Nearly all of the  
 latter are tiny dance-like binary airs, most of which pro-

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60 See post, pp. 261-2, and 269.

bably began life as simple keyboard pieces (chiefly Minuets) to which words were later more or less comfortably fitted; and it is no coincidence that a good many of these 'songs' are also to be found as movements of suites in British Museum, Add. MS. 31467 (the main source of Greene's unpublished harpsichord music) and elsewhere. Four of them also appeared in a pirated collection of 'Choice Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinnet. Composed by the famous Dr. Green, Organist of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's' which Daniel Wright, a publisher who, in Hawkins's words,<sup>61</sup> "never printed any thing that he did not steal", had brought out in April 1733. Greene's immediate reaction was to write to several of the London papers pointing out that

Whereas Daniel Wright, Instrument-Maker, in Holborn, has publish'd Lessons for the Harpsicord, or Spinnet, under my Name, and has asserted, that they have been carefully corrected by me: This is to acquaint the Publick, that those Lessons have been publish'd without my Knowledge or Consent; that many of them were not compos'd by me, and that those few which are mine, were composed many Years ago, and are very uncorrect.<sup>62</sup>

A month later, however, Greene's 'Choice Lessons' had been quietly re-pirated by Walsh as the (anonymous) first part of The Lady's Banquet Book 2, and they subsequently re-

61 History, p. 884.

62 Quoted here from The Whitehall Evening-Post of 19-21 April. See also MA 4, July 1913, p. 263.

appeared twenty-five years later still, in January 1758, as A Collection of Lessons for the Harpsichord Compos'd By Dr. Greene. 2d. Book, by which time, of course, the composer was safely in his grave.<sup>63</sup>

The Chaplet came out on 13 March 1738.<sup>64</sup> It too was issued anonymously, which was, perhaps, just as well, since, with the single exception of the ballad, "Fair Sally lov'd a bonny seaman" -- previously published both as a single half-sheet song, and also in the last volume of The British Musical Miscellany (1736) -- its contents are hardly the sort of thing which a man in Greene's position would have been proud to acknowledge. The possibility of a further piracy cannot be entirely discounted. Certainly, in none of Walsh's early advertisements of this work, is the composer's name mentioned,<sup>65</sup> although it is invariably listed as 'Dr. Greene's Chaplet' from about the spring of

63 For ~~the~~<sup>a</sup> full account of this extraordinary episode, and of the interrelationship of these three separate publications, see my article, 'Greene and The Lady's Banquet: a Case of Double Piracy', in MT 108, January 1967, pp. 36-9.

64 Wherever, in the following pages, 'exact' dates of publication are given, the date is always that of the earliest newspaper advertisement with the heading 'This Day is publish'd', or words to that effect.

65 Except, that is, for one which appeared (by accident perhaps ?) in The London Daily Post of 18 April 1738.

1739 onwards. It appears, nevertheless, to have had an uncommonly good reception, for by February 1741, Walsh was already advertising a fourth edition, in view of which, it is remarkable how very few copies still survive. The fact that John Walsh was far and away the most successful of London's music pirates may well have influenced Greene's decision, as it clearly did Handel's,<sup>66</sup> to join the enemy camp, since, after 1738, all his 'official' publications, save one, bear the Walsh imprint.

Much more important than The Chaplet is Green<sup>e</sup>'s second book of songs: a setting of twenty-five sonnets from Spenser's 'Amoretti'. This work, published on 28 March 1739, but composed a year earlier and dedicated to Greene's chief patron, the Duchess of Newcastle, stands as perhaps the finest collection of its kind in the whole enormous repertoire of Georgian song. The choice of Spenser's sonnets, in marked contrast to the 'intolerably poetic' sort of verse which was then currently fashionable, is significant, and gives these pieces a certain staying-power which almost all his other songs lack. Furthermore, there is sufficient evidence -- too complex to be summarized briefly here -- to suggest that the composer had in mind the possibility of corporate performance, very much in the manner of the later song-cycle.<sup>67</sup> And while twenty-five

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66 See Deutsch, p. 106.

67 This question will be fully dealt with in a proposed future article.

songs, all in the same style and idiom, are probably too much of a good thing, even -- dare one say it ? -- when the composer is Schubert, the Amoretti can be perfectly charming when sensitively sung in small, judiciously chosen groups, as a recent broadcast performance has shown.

Spenser's Amoretti was evidently enjoyed by eighteenth-century music-lovers too, for by 18 May 1739, less than two months after publication, Walsh advertisements indicate that a second edition was required.

Four years later, Greene published the magnum opus upon which his posthumous reputation almost entirely depends:

Forty Select Anthems In Score, Composed For 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 Voices -- thus exceeding, by ten, the number of anthems in ~~his predecessor's~~ <sup>Croft's</sup> important Musica Sacra of

1724. Before doing so, however, he took the precaution of obtaining a Royal Privilege which, under the Copyright Act of 1709, gave a certain measure of protection to all works printed by the holder of the patent within fourteen years of the date of issue, in this case, 27 February 1742.

Greene's proposals for the printing, by subscription, of Forty Select Anthems were announced at the beginning of April that same year,<sup>68</sup> the price: two guineas to subscribers, and two and a half guineas to all others.

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68 See The Champion; or, the Evening Advertiser of 8 April 1742; The Country Journal: or, the Craftsman of 10 April, and also various other papers of a slightly later date.

Apparently, the work was then "so far advanc'd" that it was planned to deliver the first volume to subscribers "within six Months", i.e. by October 1742. But publication was somewhat delayed, and the two large folio volumes finally emerged together from the press on 15 January 1743. As eighteenth-century publications go -- especially of church music -- the work was reasonably well supported, with 132 subscribers for 280 copies.<sup>69</sup> As one might expect, the subscriptions list is made up largely of representatives of the nobility and gentry, professional colleagues and personal friends, together with a fairly liberal sprinkling of cathedral and collegiate choral foundations. Five notable foreigners also took copies: Signors Hasse, Porpora, Amorevoli, Monticelli, and Browning's 'Brave Galuppi'; while Handel, as has already been observed,<sup>70</sup> is conspicuous by his absence.

Like Croft's Musica Sacra, Greene's two volumes were dedicated to the king -- as Croft's successor at the Chapel Royal, he was more or less obliged to do so -- but in terms which are appropriately blunt, considering the king's earlier treatment and evident dislike of the composer. The

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69 These totals, which are those of the printed list, may be increased by one. In all copies of the first edition which I have examined, the name of 'Mr. (Wm.) Isaak organist of St. Saviours Southwark' has been added to the list of subscribers by hand, in ink.

70 See ante, p. 193.

subscription list is headed, significantly perhaps, by the officially detested Frederick, Prince of Wales. From the wording of the dedication, which begs the gracious acceptance of the following anthems "composed for the Service of Your Royal Chapel", it might reasonably be inferred that the entire contents of these two volumes had been composed after 1727. It would, however, be wrong to do so, for Forty Select Anthems represents a broad general survey of Greene's creative activity in this field over the whole period between 1719 and 1742, and no fewer than twelve anthems, nearly one-third of the total, appear definitely to have been written before ever Greene obtained the Chapel Royal appointment. With seven full anthems, twenty-two verse anthems, and eleven solo anthems, the internal balance of the collection itself clearly reflects the strong solo-voice bias of contemporary taste.

As a further indication of this, six of the eleven solo anthems were subsequently reissued separately as Six Solo Anthems, perform'd before his Majesty at the Chapel Royal, for a Voice alone, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Organ. There has been a good deal of confusion about the date of this particular work. Some authorities, e.g. Bumpus and Watkins Shaw,<sup>71</sup> have assigned Six Solo Anthems to the year 1741, for no better reason, it

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71 History of English Cathedral Music, i, 252; Eighteenth-Century Cathedral Music, p. 20.

seems, than that the work was apparently issued without the Royal Privilege. While this might appear, superficially at least, to indicate a date of publication prior to 27 February 1742, even a cursory examination of the bibliographical evidence shows that this cannot be correct. Six Solo Anthems was printed from the same plates as Forty Select Anthems which, being pewter, were already beginning to show some slight signs of wear. Moreover, they have two sets of page numbers: the original pagination of Forty Select Anthems in the top right- and left-hand corners, with another set, peculiar to Six Solo Anthems, centred at the top of each page. The original headings ('Solo Anthem' or 'Anthem Solo') of the six pieces involved have now also been numbered, I - VI. The actual date of publication, as established by newspaper advertisements, is 26 September 1747.

Later on, a second edition of Forty Select Anthems was called for; the traditional date, as given in the British Union-Catalogue of Early Music and elsewhere, is circa 1745. It has, however, to be confessed that, while this is clearly at least two years too early, the writer's various attempts to establish the precise date of issue have so far been unsuccessful. Compared with the first edition, the music pages of the second have a distinctly worn appearance, and those six pieces which are common to

both Six Solo Anthems and Forty Select Anthems now bear double pagination, together with the Roman numerals which had been added to the original headings for the separate publication of the former in September 1747. It must, therefore, have been sometime after this that the second edition of Forty Select Anthems appeared. Those who have used the evidence of double pagination to argue that Six Solo Anthems was published prior to the first edition of Forty Select Anthems<sup>72</sup> have quite obviously never seen a copy of the latter, which is admittedly rather scarce by comparison with the large number of surviving post-1747 reprints. Neither do they seem to have noticed that the title-page advertisement of Six Solo Anthems mentions, as already published, "Dr Greene's Forty Select Anthems in Score in which the above Six Anthems are included". As for the other bibliographical differences between the two, the second edition has an altered title-page -- it uses the same plate as the first, but 'Volume First' now becomes 'Vol. 1.', and the date 'M.DCC.XLIII' is dropped -- a re-engraved Dedication, and no Privilege. The fact that, in 1753 and 1754, Walsh was busily advertising a 'Third Edition' of Forty Select Anthems 'revised by the Author' seems also to have gone hitherto unnoticed.<sup>73</sup>

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72 John H. Moore, for example, in his Nottingham M.A. thesis, The Church Music of Maurice Greene.

73 The earliest advertisement -- 'This Day are published' -- appears in The Public Advertiser of 6 April 1753.

How this differs from the second edition -- if at all -- it is impossible to say, for surviving copies reveal only two states of the text, in the later of which, some, but by no means all, of the errors of the first edition have been corrected. At what stage these alterations were made is anyone's guess. Bearing in mind Walsh's notoriously unscrupulous business methods, and the fact that, by November 1750, Greene had transferred his allegiance to a rival firm,<sup>74</sup> it is probably safe to assume that the so-called 'Third Edition' is the same as the second, and that the Walsh advertisements referred to above were simply a ploy designed to boost falling sales.

Between 1755 and 1800, no less than five different editions of Forty Select Anthems appeared: W. Randall [c. 1770], T. Bennett [c. 1775], J. French [c. 1778], H. Wright [c. 1790], and R. Birchall [c. 1795]. The most interesting of these is Wright's New and Elegant Edition of Dr. Greene's Forty Select Anthems which, in addition to a comic 'Life of Doctor Greene' extracted (with supra-moral asides) from Burney and Hawkins, contains a partial realization of the figured bass. Unfortunately, these realizations are confined to the opening, closing, and any extended intermediate ritornelli, and give no indication of how the job was done during the actual vocal sec-

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<sup>74</sup> See post, p. 247.

tions. Nevertheless, they provide valuable hints for the solution of what is nearly always a ticklish problem for modern editors, and as they were printed within forty years of the composer's death,<sup>75</sup> it may well be that they reflect something of the normal practice of an earlier English tradition of continuo playing. The stream of new editions continued well into the nineteenth century, and until about sixty years ago, the firm of Novello still held stocks of between forty and fifty of Greene's anthems together with the complete Service in C,<sup>76</sup> since when, the whole lot has gone out of print. The number of Green<sup>e</sup>'s sacred vocal pieces currently available might almost be counted on the fingers of one hand.

Burney's harsh criticism of Forty Select Anthems has already been remarked.<sup>77</sup> His general policy, as Edward Taylor indignantly pointed out in the third of six lectures on 'English Church Music' delivered at Gresham College round about the middle of the nineteenth century,<sup>78</sup> was to choose as examples only the very weakest of Greene's anthems, and then to ridicule the worst features of these

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75 The British Museum copy is signed and dated "10th. Sepr. 1792."

76 See advertisements in The Musical Times, circa 1900-1905.

77 See ante, pp. v-vi; cf. Hawkins, History, p. 909.

78 Royal College of Music, MS. 2151.

as though they were typical of the set as a whole. He exaggerates, of course. Nevertheless, it is significant that Burney does not even mention two such undoubted masterpieces as "O clap your hands" and "Lord, let me know mine end". The first of these strikes a note of ringing jubilation which some may regard as being in no way inferior to that of Gibbons, in his own great setting of these same words. The second, with its relentless funereal tread of unvaried crotchets ~~in~~<sup>in</sup> the bass, is superbly conceived, and brings to mind Bach's somewhat similar treatment of the common theme -- the transience of life and grim inevitability of death -- in the duet of Cantata 71, and also in the three-part continuo-accompanied choral fugue, "Es ist der alte Bund: Mensch, du musst sterben", of Cantata 106. Music such as this can hold its own in any company.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

LAST YEARS, 1745-55

... Multa quidem documenta tibi vocisque lyraeque,  
 Harmoniae studiosa diu, dabit Itala tellus;  
 Harmoniae genetrix tellus, magnique Corelli.

Neve peregrinae solito novitatis amore  
 Percitus, interea patrium aspernabere morem  
 Cantandique modos; si quid Purcellius olim  
 Lusit amabiliter; vel si quid Greenius audet  
 Et templi super esse choris dignatus & aulae.<sup>1</sup>

The final decade of Greene's life was, by and large, a period of decline and, from about 1750 onwards, of rapidly failing health. When, in 1745, Richard Powney's Templum Harmoniae first appeared, Greene stood at the very height of his fame. Though it was an eventful year which was to prove the turning-point in the affairs of many men, for Greene personally, 1745 was memorable chiefly, perhaps, as the occasion of a visit to Gloucester where, in company with the men of the three London choirs, he took part in the Three Choirs Festival which that year officially came of age.<sup>2</sup> In The Daily Gazetteer of Wednesday, 28 August, we read that

To-morrow Dr. Green, Master of his Majesty's  
 Band of Musick, with several of the Gentlemen

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1 Richard Powney, Templum Harmoniae, Lib. 11, p. 20; for a verse translation of this passage, see Deutsch, p. 626.

2 Although annual meetings had been held as early as 1717, and possibly even earlier still, the festival was not formally instituted as a charity until 1724.

belonging to the Chapel Royal, Westminster-Abbey, and St. Paul's, will set [out] for Worcester, where they are to meet the Gentlemen belonging to the Cho[i]rof Hereford, Gloucester, and Worcester, in order to perform, at the last-mentioned Place, on Tuesday next, a grand Concert of Musick, both Vocal and Instrumental, for the Benefit of Poor Clergymens Widows and their Children.<sup>3</sup>

It ought to have been Gloucester, of course, but the time is right: the annual 'Musick Meeting' of the three west country choirs was then held, as indeed it still is, during the first week of September. The fact that an almost identical notice printed in the second (1865) and all subsequent editions of Lysons's History of the Origin and Progress of the Meeting of the Three Choirs -- and carelessly reproduced by several later writers -- is said to have been extracted from an issue of the Gloucester Journal dated 29 May 1745, may possibly<sup>4</sup> explain why it is that Greene's visit is not even mentioned by Watkins Shaw in his own authoritative history of this, our oldest English musical festival. Unfortunately, no Gloucester, Worcester or Hereford paper for 1745 survives.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless it is obvious, by comparing the opening phrase of this item of 'London News' with the notice published in The Daily Gazetteer of 28 August, that 29 May is simply a slip for 29 August: "This day, Dr. Greene, ... set out for Gloucester".

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3 See also The General Evening Post of 27-9 August.

4 I am indebted to Mr. H. Watkins Shaw for confirmation of this point.

Since 1737, the Three Choirs Festival had been conducted by William Boyce. Martin Smith, the organist of Gloucester, was also a former pupil of Greene's. The festival was only a two-day affair in those days -- three days for the performers, who probably spent most of Tuesday in rehearsal. The public performances took place on Wednesday and Thursday. Each morning, the assembled choirs sang festal mattins with full orchestral accompaniment in the cathedral, and the service, we may imagine, was very much like that of the annual Sons of the Clergy festival in St. Paul's, which seems to have provided the model for this, and all other eighteenth-century charities of a similar nature. And in the evenings, there were secular concerts elsewhere in the city, followed afterwards by organized balls 'for the amusement of the company'. At Gloucester too, the Musick Meeting was usually combined with the annual Gloucester Races, the object being, no doubt, to increase the attendance at both.

According to Lysons,<sup>5</sup> Greene's dramatic pastoral "called Love's Revenge, or Florimel and Myrtillo" was performed in the Booth Hall on the first evening (Wednesday, 4 September) and, on the second, Handel's Acis and Galatea. We have no record of what was sung at either of the two

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5 Op. cit., 1st edn., p. 169. See also Grove (s.v. 'Three Choirs Festival') which mentions this performance of Florimel in 1745, but transfers Greene's visit to 1743!

morning sessions in the cathedral; in the circumstances, it would seem not unreasonable to assume that at least one of Greene's large-scale orchestral anthems would have been performed, and if so, would also almost certainly have been 'conducted' by the composer himself. It may even be that one or other of the two settings of Te Deum (by Purcell and Handel) which were normally used on these occasions<sup>6</sup> was displaced, just this once, by one of Greene's own composition, for it so happens that one of Greene's several settings of Te Deum -- the one which is now Royal College of Music, MS. 224 -- is dated 1745 in the composer's own hand. On the last page of some of the string parts, there is the beginning of the anthem "I will sing a new song", and it would appear that, whatever the occasion, the two were first performed together. They may, just conceivably, have been written especially for Gloucester, though one has rather regretfully to confess that the 'celebration' of the king's return to St. James's at the end of September seems a stronger possibility. However that may be, the 1745 festival was clearly a great success; that much is evident in a report of the first days's proceedings published in The General Advertiser of 9 September:<sup>7</sup>

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6 See The London Daily Post, and General Advertiser of 15 September 1743; also The Westminster Journal of 17 September.

7 Deutsch, p. 623; also in The Penny London Post of 9-11 September 1745.

They write from Gloucester, that they have had a great Resort of Gentry, at the Meeting of the Choirs of Worcester, Hereford, and Gloucester in that City: The Collection at the Church on Wednesday last amounted to 70 l. and it was expected that on Thursday it would be very large, the Musical Performance being the best ever known upon the like Occasion.

The collection came, in the end, to only £101.8.6<sup>8</sup> -- a very small amount as compared with the £1,044 taken at the Sons of the Clergy festival earlier that same year. Even so, it was the best they had ever done at any Three Choirs Festival up to that time.

On 25 July, just five weeks before Greene set out for Gloucester, Charles Edward Stuart, the Young Pretender, landed at Moidart on the west coast of Scotland. The news reached London in the second week of August, and soon brought George scuttling back from Hanover. In the meantime, however, Bonnie Prince Charlie had raised his standard, and 900 Highland troops had come forward to support him.<sup>9</sup> On 17 September, he entered Edinburgh, and four days later, at Prestonpans, he quickly routed the army

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8 This is the figure given by Lysons (op. cit., 1st edn., p. 146). The sum mentioned in the London papers, on the other hand, is £140; see The Daily Gazetteer of 13 September, for example.

9 Several details in Scholes's account of the prelude to the '45' (God Save the Queen!, p. 4) are at variance with those in such standard works of historical scholarship as Basil Williams's Whig Supremacy (see pp. 251-7). My own comments are based upon the latter.

under Sir John Cope which had been sent against him. His success brought him many new recruits, and by the end of October, the Prince was all set to begin the invasion of England with a force of 4,500 infantry and 400 horse. During November, the Jacobite hord<sup>e</sup> steadily advanced upon the capital. London was in a panic. On 18 December, a General Fast was observed throughout the whole country 'pursuant to his Majesty's Royal Proclamation'. The House of Lords went in solemn procession to a service at Westminster Abbey, the Commons to St. Margaret's, Westminster, and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City to St. Paul's. It was apparently for one of these three services -- most probably the latter -- that Greene composed the pen<sup>i</sup>ten- tially sombre orchestral anthem, "O God, thou hast cast us out", which Arnold later published with figured bass accompaniment only.<sup>10</sup>

But the Scots got no further south than Derby; by 18 December indeed, they were already in retreat. The immediate crisis over, patriotic fervour was soon restored, and Handel, his finger as firmly as ever fixed upon the public pulse, turned to the composition - hasty assemblage might be a better term -- of the Occasional Oratorio, which had its first performance on 14 February 1746. It was not a celebration, as is often supposed, but rather, as Winton

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10 Cathedral Music (1790), iii, 244-55.

Dean so aptly puts it,<sup>11</sup> "a declaration of faith and a blast of encouragement to the loyalists". The decisive battle took place on 16 April, and in the bloody massacre of Culloden Moor, the 'unnatural rebellion' was finally quashed by the Duke of Cumberland, whose savage retaliatory measures were soon to earn him his nickname, 'The Butcher'. Back in London, Greene must have been taken by surprise when the order came down from the Lord Chamberlain's office informing him that he was to compose the Te Deum and 'fine new Anthem' which were to be performed before the king and the royal family in the Chapel Royal, St. James's, on Sunday 27 April, for it was the one and only time in nearly twenty years of royal service that he, rather than Handel, had been called upon to celebrate an event of national importance.<sup>12</sup> For months afterwards, the praises of the victorious William Augustus were widely sung: by Handel in Judas Maccabaeus, by Festing and Worgan (an Ode each), by J.F. Lampe in a German 'Anthem', and by various lesser worthies in a whole host of topical songs. Greene too had his own loyal tribute to make, both in the Birthday Ode for November 1746, and also, more particularly, in The Trophy, a set of six cantatas "To the Honour of his Royal Highness William, Duke of Cumberland; Expressing the just

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11 Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques, p. 460.

12 See ante, pp. 188-9.

Sense of a grateful Nation, in the several Characters of The Volunteer, The Poet, The Painter, The Musician, The Shepherd, [and] The Religious".<sup>13</sup>

It was in 1745 too that three more of Greene's publications appeared: in January, the first of two books of A Cantata and Four English Songs, followed in April by Six Overtures In Seven Parts -- his only orchestral works -- and six months later still, by a keyboard arrangement of these same six pieces entitled Six Overtures for the Harpsicord or Spinnet...Being proper Pieces for the Improvement of the Hand. In July 1746, Walsh issued A Cantata and English Songs Book 2, which was sung, so the newspaper advertisements tell us,<sup>14</sup> "by Mr. Beard at Ranelagh-Gardens". This genteel bit of sales promotion seems to have had the required effect, and it was not long before a second edition was called for. Then, in December 1747, came Catches and Canons for Three and Four Voices, a work which, in one respect at least, is possibly the most important of Greene's five books of secular vocal pieces. Although there had been a few reprints of such favourite seventeenth-century

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13 The music is lost. The words -- 'Set to Musick by Dr. Greene. 1746.' -- are said to have been written either by John, or by Benjamin Hoadly, and were first published in Dodsley's Collection of Poems (1763 edn.), iii, 255-65. See also W.P. Courtney, Dodsley's Collection of Poetry, Its Contents and Contributors, (privately printed, London, 1910), p. 31.

14 See The General Advertiser of 5 July, for example.

publications as Hilton's Catch that Catch can and Playford's Pleasant Musical Companion during the earlier part of the eighteenth century, the singing of catches, canons and other convivial vocal music would appear to have died out, more or less completely, by 1710 or thereabouts. William Jackson was probably quite right when he wrote that, at this time, the practice of singing catches and canons "was scarce known except among choir-men, who now and then kept up the spirit of their forefathers".<sup>15</sup> While the odd choirman-composer such as Charles King did produce the occasional catch or two, no one seems to have made any attempt to cultivate the form as the Restoration composers had done, and except for Walsh's The Catch Club, or Merry Companions of circa 1730, itself an anthology of old material, no new collection of catches and canons had been published prior to 1747.

That Greene was well aware of the novelty and relative importance of his own Catches and Canons is made painfully obvious in the rather smug Preface to that work, which begins:

The Reader need not be inform'd that the Singing of Catches and Canons, is of late Years less in Use, amongst Us in England, than it has formerly been.

As an Attempt therefore to revive a Practice, undeservedly growing obsolete, some partial Friends have prevail'd upon Me, to trust the following little Pieces to the Press; in hopes that the

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15 Thirty Letters on Various Subjects, Letter 10, p. 68.

Novelty of the Performance at least, (for what other Merit it may have, is submitted to the Candour of the Publick) might recommend it to the Acceptance, I won't say Approbation of such of my Musical Acquaintance, as are Lovers of Vocal Harmony.

'Twas judg'd proper to publish this Work in Score, tho' in opposition to Custom, for many reasons: chiefly that the Contrivance of the Composer in the Aptness and Congruity of the several Parts, might be the more accurately understood: that if any Errors in the Printing occur, they may be easily observ'd and rectified; and that by a just and frequent Practice of these Pieces, a Readiness may be acquired of Singing out of Score; the usefulness of which I need not enlarge upon. . . . 16

It may be that some, at least, of the composer's 'partial Friends' were members of John Immyns's Madrigal Society founded six years earlier, in 1741; but that Greene himself took an active part in its establishment, as W.A. Barrett maintained,<sup>17</sup> is very much in doubt. Nevertheless, the publication of Greene's Catches and Canons did have a considerable influence upon the general revival of interest in convivial singing which took place during the second half of the eighteenth century, as we may see by the droves of similar works which appeared from about 1760 onwards. These led, in turn, to the creation of many new societies,

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16 Burney's statement (History, p. 279 n.) that canons, rounds, and catches were never published in score until 1762 is, therefore, wrong. The error is rather curious in that, later on in the History (p. 491), Burney speaks of Greene's collection as having "considerable merit of various kinds".

17 English Gleees and Part-Songs, pp. 179-80.

both in London and in the provinces, and of these, the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club (founded in 1761, and still in existence), and the Anacreontic Society (1766) are perhaps the most famous.

By comparison with the pothouse humour and general bawdry of most late seventeenth-century catches, Greene's own catches are decorous indeed. Neither do they go in for the ingenious double entendres, puns and mimetic effects which characterize the later Georgian examples of the species. The mid-eighteenth century (and also, it would seem, Greene's own) attitude to the form was well defined by William Hayes in the Preface to his Catches, Glees and Canons of 1757. "The CATCH in Music", he says

answers to the EPIGRAM in Poetry;<sup>18</sup> where much is to be exprest within a very small Compass; and unless the Turn is neat and well pointed, it is of little Value.

In Greene's Catches and Canons, there are both sacred and secular pieces, with texts in English, Latin, and Italian, which range from such tiny proverbs as "Chi va piano va sano" through various amusing jeux d'esprits to lines extracted from Pope's 'Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady' and canonic settings of Kyrie and Christe eleison. The catches and canons, for three and four equal voices, are intended to be sung without accompaniment, a cappella. Tacked on at the end of the collection are five much more

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18 Cf. Hawkins, History, p. 753.

extended 'Songs' for two and three voices and continuo, and here, the 'lyrics' are so utterly bathetic that they might almost have been written by Cibber himself. Of these five songs, all but the first appear to have been composed more than ten years earlier for after-dinner performance at the annual Stepney Feasts with which Greene was, for a time, closely associated.<sup>19</sup> Only one need be singled out for special mention. "Hail British Isle, of mighty Fame" was sung at Stepney on Saturday, 28 April 1733,<sup>20</sup> and apart from its patriotic sentiment, it maintains a consistent three-part (A.T.B.) texture, is sectionally constructed, and makes a feature of sudden changes of tempo to draw attention to individual words and phrases. In short, it has all the main characteristics of -- and clearly anticipates by twenty years at least -- the late eighteenth-century type of glee, and it is interesting to find this opinion confirmed by two such experts in the composition and performance of glees as R.J.S. Stevens and Edward Taylor.<sup>21</sup>

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19 See ante, pp. 214-6.

20 See The Daily Post-Boy of 30 April; also Berington's Evening Post of 1 May.

21 Both make this same point in lectures delivered while each was Professor of Music at Gresham College, London. Stevens's lectures are in the Guildhall Library (Gresham Collection, no reference number); Taylor's in the Royal College of Music (see MS. 2153).

Except for the second (and also the so-called third) edition of Forty Select Anthems, Catches and Canons was the last of Greene's works issued by Walsh during the composer's lifetime. It seems that, sometime within the next couple of years, the two men fell out, for Greene's next (and, as it transpired, his very last) publication -- A Collection of Lessons for the Harpsichord -- was entrusted to Walsh's fast-developing rival, John Johnson at the Harp and Crown in Cheapside. This came out towards the end of November 1750,<sup>22</sup> and quickly ran through two editions, and on into a third.<sup>23</sup> Even Burney attests to the popularity of this work, though he had but a very mean opinion of its musical value:<sup>24</sup>

[Greene's Lessons] ... though they discovered no great powers of invention, or hand, had its day of favour, as a boarding-school book; for being neither so elaborate as those of Handel, nor difficult as Scarlatti or Alberti's, they gave but little trouble either to the master or scholar. Indeed, as all the passages are so familiar and temporary, they seem to have been occasionally produced for idle pupils at different times, with whom facility was the first recommendation.

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22 See The General Advertiser of 22 November.

23 "Dr. Greene's Lessons 3<sup>d</sup> Edition" is advertised by Johnson on the title-page of William Walond's Ten Voluntaries for the Organ or Harpsichord Op. 2, which is generally supposed to have been published in 1758, though there is some evidence to suggest that these may well have been issued three or four years earlier still.

24 History, pp. 491-2.

According to the earliest newspaper advertisements, the Collection of Lessons (like Catches and Canons) was published 'With His Majesty's Royal Licence'. However, in none of the many copies of both of these works which the present writer has examined, is there any trace of this Privilege to be found.

Greene's 1750 Collection of Lessons is quite unlike any of his earlier harpsichord music, most of which, apart from the pirated edition of Choice Lessons (1733) previously mentioned,<sup>25</sup> survives in a single manuscript source -- British Museum, Add. MS. 31467 -- copied by John Barker in 1735. These earlier pieces, nearly all of them simple binary dance movements, are mostly grouped, like those of Purcell, Blow and Croft, in loosely ordered Suites, with an Allemande and Courante as their only more or less regularly recurrent feature. The later pieces, on the other hand, are very much more 'modern', and inhabit a sort of no-man's-land between the Suite and the Sonata. Dance titles are, for the most part, abandoned, and so too, in a great many cases, are the characteristic rhythmic patterns of the traditional dance forms. The old-fashioned key-wise grouping of movements in threes and fours is, however, retained. Whereas in Greene's earlier harpsichord music, the dominant influence is Handel, here it is Domenico

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25 See ante, pp. 224-5.

Scarlatti and, to a lesser degree, Alberti.

Scarlatti's important Essercizi per Gravicembalo was published in London in 1738, and a year later, Thomas Roseingrave brought out his edition of XLII Suites de Pièces Pour le Clavecin to which Greene, in company with most of the other leading English musicians of the day, subscribed.<sup>26</sup> The revolutionary effect of these two works upon the subsequent development of English keyboard music, and particularly upon such composers as Kelway and Nares, is a subject which merits careful investigation. Greene's lessons -- despite their suite-like grouping, they really are mostly independent single-movement pieces -- have none of the fire and brilliance of Scarlatti's sonatas, of course. Neither do they attempt -- as Nares's Eight Setts of Lessons so very obviously do -- to imitate any of the more personal features of his style; the exuberant and wildly extravagant hand-crossings, the jangling acciaccatura-type dissonances, or the far-ranging enharmonic modulations, and so on. The influence of Scarlatti upon Greene is much more subtle than that, and is apparent rather in a whole new approach to keyboard writing -- in a more 'open' and harmonically conceived texture which is, quite fluently and naturally, combined with many of the most characteristic idioms of the newly-emergent galant style. For instance, Greene displays a

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26 See Richard Newton, 'The English Cult of Domenico Scarlatti', in M&L 20, April 1939, pp. 138-56.

remarkable fondness for chromatic appoggiaturas and such chords as the augmented sixth, and uses them in a way which is, at times, positively 'classical' in effect.

One piece, <sup>26a</sup> indeed, is a diminutive, but perfectly proportioned example of Sonata Form (with a recapitulation of the 'second subject' in the tonic and all). And it can hardly be a coincidence that the thematic 'germ' of a Greene Allegro in B flat major is so strikingly similar to that of one of the early Scarlatti sonatas in the same key (Essercizi 16; K. 16; Longo 397);<sup>27</sup>

The image shows two systems of handwritten musical notation. The top system is labeled 'Allegro' and 'Greene'. It consists of two staves (treble and bass clef) in B-flat major (two flats). The treble staff begins with a C-clef and a common time signature. The notes are: F (quarter), G (quarter), A (quarter), B-flat (quarter), C (quarter), D (quarter), E (quarter), F (quarter). There are trills (tr) and ornaments (tr.) above the A and B-flat notes. The bottom system is labeled 'Presto' and 'Scarlatti'. It also consists of two staves in B-flat major. The treble staff begins with a C-clef and a common time signature. The notes are: F (quarter), G (quarter), A (quarter), B-flat (quarter), C (quarter), D (quarter), E (quarter), F (quarter). There are trills (tr) and ornaments (tr.) above the A and B-flat notes. The bass staff begins with a C-clef and a common time signature. The notes are: F (quarter), G (quarter), A (quarter), B-flat (quarter), C (quarter), D (quarter), E (quarter), F (quarter). There are trills (tr) and ornaments (tr.) above the A and B-flat notes.

27 A similar, though less obvious, affinity also exists between an F minor Andante by Greene and another of the Essercizi sonatas in the same <sup>key</sup> (K. 19; Longo 383).

26a Allegro in D major [Lesson 5].

As we have already seen, Greene's reputation as one of the most distinguished and influential teachers of his time was firmly established very early on in his career,<sup>28</sup> and this side of his activities was continuously maintained throughout the whole of the period under discussion. Although none of Greene's later pupils were quite so outstandingly gifted as Travers, Stanley, and Boyce, they were, nevertheless, a pretty worthy crew. Among the best-known are Martin Smith (father of John Stafford Smith), Elias Isaac, Thomas Garland, and Samuel Porter, all four of whom later became cathedral organists -- of Gloucester, Worcester, Norwich and Canterbury respectively. The eldest, and possibly also the most important of these was Martin Smith (d. 1782), whose term of apprenticeship would appear to have overlapped with Boyce's, for if, as we may reasonably assume, it was on the expiration of his articles that Smith succeeded Barnabas Gunn at Gloucester (1740), then it would probably have been round about 1733 that he became Greene's pupil. A collection of "Lessons taken by Martin Smith...when under y<sup>e</sup> tuition of D.<sup>r</sup> Green" still survives in the Henry Watson Music Library at Manchester. Unfortunately, however, it tells us almost nothing of Greene's teaching methods in composition, and has no real value except as an attested autograph providing sufficient evidence of the idiosyncratic features of Smith's musical script to

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28 See ante, p. 79 ff.

enable one to identify, and also, though only very roughly, to date the large number of copies of Greene's works which he was called upon to produce.

The other three were all later. Elias Isaac (1725-93) was a chorister in the Chapel Royal during the late 1730s. The warrant authorizing the usual allowance of money and clothing on his retirement is dated 27 July 1742,<sup>29</sup> and it was, presumably, just about this same time that he went to Greene. He was certainly assisting the composer by Christmas 1744, since, on several occasions between that date and Christmas 1747, 'E Isaac' signed for Greene's quarterly stipend as Vicar Choral of St. Paul's.<sup>30</sup> Of Thomas Garland, virtually nothing is known beyond the fact that he served as organist of Norwich Cathedral for fifty-nine years, from 1749 until his death in 1808. Neither he nor Isaac appear to have been employed as copyists for Greene, though Samuel Porter, on the other hand, was. Born at Norwich in 1733, Porter was a chorister at St. Paul's before being taken on as one of the very last of

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29 Public Record Office, L.C. 5/129.

30 See the Account Book of the Vicars Choral (No.1), St. Paul's Cathedral Library. In John E. West's Cathedral Organists (p. 118), the date of Isaac's appointment to the organistship of Worcester Cathedral is given as 1747, but this cannot be correct in view of what has just been stated above, and also the fact that his predecessor, John Merifield, did not die until 1748.

Greene's pupils.<sup>31</sup> At various times between Midsummer 1752 and Lady Day 1755, he too was sent to collect Greene's stipend at the cathedral, and it was probably during this period that his copies of the master's works -- there are not very many -- were made.<sup>32</sup>

To this quartet, the name of John Camidge (c. 1734-1803) should, perhaps, be added. Camidge succeeded Nares as organist of York Minster in 1756, and is commonly said to have been a pupil of Greene (and also, incidentally, of Handel).<sup>33</sup> On what evidence -- if any -- this statement rests, I have, however, so far been unable to discover. Here too, we must mention Jonathan Battishill (1738-1801) who, for all that he was officially articulated to William

31 According to R.J. S. Stevens, Porter was a pupil also of Charles King and William Savage (see H.G. Farmer, 'A Forgotten Composer of Anthems', in M&L 17, July 1936, p. 195). What Stevens probably meant was that, as a chorister, Porter had had instruction under both King and Savage, who were, successively, Almoner of St. Paul's.

32 A pencil note on the 1st Trumpet part of Greene's 1745 Te Deum (Royal College of Music, MS. 224) identifies the copyist as Mr. Porter "who was apprentice to Dr Greene in Beaufort Buildings Strand". The score of "O God, thou hast cast us out" written for the General Fast on 18 December of that same year is also partially in Porter's hand. Can it be that these were the work of a twelve-year-old boy? It seems unlikely. Either the MSS. were produced sometime after 1745, or else the copyist has been incorrectly identified.

33 See Grove, s.v. 'Camidge, John'; Scholes, Oxford Companion to Music, 9th edn., p. 147; also West, op. cit., p. 122.

Savage, seems also to have had organ lessons from Greene. Proof is wanting, of course, but the existence of a curious set of eighteen tiny organ pieces -- their didactic purpose is obvious -- composed by Greene and signed on the manuscript "Jonathan Battishill's Aug.<sup>t</sup> Anno Dom. 1753" may be taken as pointing very strongly in that direction.<sup>34</sup> And then there is the case of Isaac Peirson, the boy-organist, of whom it is admiringly recorded that he played extemporaneous voluntaries before the age of nine. According to the Hon. Daines Barrington,<sup>35</sup> Peirson was "a scholar of Dr. Green's for two years". According to Hawkins, however -- and his veracity is perhaps the greater of the two -- he was a pupil of Dr. Pepusch.<sup>36</sup> The only other person who would definitely seem to qualify for inclusion in this list is one 'Mr. Yarnell' who, in his appointment as organist of St. Mildred's, Bread Street, in September 1751, is spoken of in the London papers as "Assistant to Doctor Greene".<sup>37</sup>

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34 Guildhall Library (Gresham Music Library), MS. V. 2. 36.

35 Miscellanies, Addenda, p. 541.

36 History, p. 886 n.

37 See The General Advertiser of 30 September. Janifer's list of Greene's pupils (The English Church Music of Maurice Greene and his Contemporaries, i, 98) comprises Boyce, Travers, Stanley and Camidge, together with two others whose names have not so far been mentioned in this connection: Samuel Arnold and Robert (Wenday) Fuller, organist of King's College, Cambridge (1727) and later to the University (1731). Needless to say,

On 28 January 1750, Katharine, Maurice Greene's only surviving child, married Michael Festing, the elder son of one of his oldest friends and professional associates. The wedding took place not in London, as one might expect, but in the tiny Hampshire village of Droxford, where Michael, a clergyman, was then curate. Like Greene's eldest son, John (d. 1737?), Michael Festing had been a King's Scholar at Eton before going up to Cambridge. There, on 29 June 1743, he was admitted a pensioner at Trinity, and in due course, fulfilled the academic requirements for B.A. (1747), M.A. (1750), and eventually D.D. (1762). In June 1747, he was ordained deacon at Ely, and two years later, he became a fellow of his college. However, as college fellowships were then normally terminable by marriage, he was presumably forced to tender his resignation within the year. The Festings's first child, a son, was born on 23 January 1752. The babe was christened Maurice in honour of its maternal grandfather, but died eight months later, and was buried at Droxford.

The summer of 1750 found Greene in the north of England, chiefly, it seems, in the vicinity of Newcastle.

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no authority is cited in either case, and so far as the present writer is aware, there is none. Arnold can almost certainly be discounted. He was only fifteen at the time of Greene's death, and still a chorister in the Chapel Royal until 1758.

The visit was apparently a private one.<sup>38</sup> He may have gone north for reasons of health, and may even have stopped off at some such fashionable seaside watering-place as Scarborough on the way, for the medicinal effects of sea-bathing were then being widely proclaimed. Alternatively, it is just possible that he had already begun work on his proposed collection of cathedral music, and was even then busily gathering materials in the libraries of the most important northern cathedrals such as York and Durham.<sup>39</sup> If so, he would undoubtedly have taken the opportunity of calling upon Nares and Hesletine who, with Charles Avison in Newcastle, were by far the finest musicians in these parts. But all this is pure speculation. All we really know for certain is that Greene spent some time at Gibside, and that here, on 27 June, he put the finishing touches to the full score of a fine Te Deum in D major (see Plate VIc). Very shortly afterwards, he must have departed, for he had to be back in London to superintend the music at the Installation of the Knights of the Garter at Windsor on 12 July.<sup>40</sup>

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38 A thorough search of the local Newcastle papers for June and July 1750 has produced no evidence of Greene's presence in the area.

39 See post, p. 299.

40 See Public Record Office, L.C. 5/23, p. 196.

Gibside was then the home of George Bowes (1701-60), a wealthy Whig landowner and, since 1727, a popular member of Parliament for Co. Durham. He was also, as it happens, a direct ancestor of Queen Elizabeth, the present Queen Mother.<sup>41</sup> The house itself -- a very fine specimen of its period -- was built by Sir William Blakiston in 1603-20, and passed into the hands of the Bowes family, by marriage, in 1713. Its situation was superb.<sup>42</sup> Standing on the heights overlooking the Derwent, just six miles south-west of Gateshead, Gibside was infinitely preferable to the traditional Bowes seat at Streatlam Castle, and George Bowes, with a keen eye for beauty, was determined to make the most of its natural advantages. Thus, he himself undertook what has been described, with some justification, as "one of the most notable landscape layouts of the century",<sup>43</sup> and in 1750, the very year of Greene's visit, he embarked upon a massive building programme with James Paine as his architect. It must have been a magnificent sight when finished, and it is sad that, except for one stone column and the chapel-mausoleum, the whole of the

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41 Bowes's only child and heiress, Mary Eleanor, married John Lyon, the tyrannical 9th Earl of Strathmore, in 1767. Her fascinating life-story is told by Ralph Arnold in The Unhappy Countess and her Grandson John Bowes (London, 1957).

42 For full details, see E. Mackenzie and M. Ross, An Historical, Topographical, and Descriptive View of the County Palatine of Durham (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1834), i. 174-80.

43 Arnold, op. cit., p. 16.

estate now lies a crumbling ruin. Although the family were generous patrons of the arts, and especially of music,<sup>44</sup> it is by no means clear how Greene came to be associated with George Bowes. But if there is any significance at all in the fact that no fewer than thirteen of the composer's anthems -- most of them dating from the early 1720s -- are to be found copied into the latter part of a large manuscript volume<sup>45</sup> which originally belonged to, and was, indeed begun by, the second Sir William Blakiston (d. 1692), it may well have been a friendship of some long standing.

According to Hawkins,<sup>46</sup> it was also "about the year 1750" that Maurice Greene's bastard cousin, John G, died, having "by his will devised to him [i.e. Maurice] an estate in Essex of about seven hundred pounds a year, called Bois-Hall". And it was "in the state of affluence to

<sup>44</sup> The name frequently appears in subscriptions lists of the period, and Avison's arrangement of Twelve Concerto's by Scarlatti (1744) -- to which, incidentally, Greene also subscribed -- is dedicated to 'Mrs. Bowes' [i.e. Jane, George Bowes's unmarried sister].

<sup>45</sup> British Museum, Add. MS. 17853. Greene's anthems occupy the last two-thirds of the volume. The first part contains violin music (mostly tunes from Lully's operas, many with encoded titles), several keyboard pieces, and also the tenor part of a Benedictus by Stogers and a Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis by Read which would both seem to be of Durham provenance.

<sup>46</sup> History, pp. 909-10.

which Dr. Greene was raised by this event" that "he meditated on the corruptions of our church-music, occasioned by the multiplication of copies, and the ignorance and carelessness of transcribers; and resolved to correct, and also secure it against such injuries for the future". Thus the origin of what later became Boyce's Cathedral Music, a fully documented account of which appears, for the first time, as an extended Postscript to the present work. Hawkins, it should be noted, is rather cautious about the actual date of Greene's inheritance. Not so those successive generations of arm-chair historians who have been content to follow him on this, as also indeed, on practically every other point concerning Greene's career. For such as these, an unqualified 1750 has generally been good enough. In actual fact, John Greene 6 died on 14 January 1752.<sup>47</sup> His will was proved by Maurice, his sole executor, three days later.<sup>48</sup> Although Maurice was certainly the principal beneficiary, it is not, strictly speaking, true to say -- as Hawkins does -- that he acquired the whole of his cousin's estate. Apart from the usual small

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47 See The Daily Advertiser of 18 January 1752; also The London Evening-Post of 16-18 January. The obituary notice in The Gentleman's Magazine, February 1752 (p. 44) describes him as Maurice Greene's 'only brother'; the date of death given here (25 January) is also wrong.

48 Somerset House, Principal Probate Registry, P.C.C. Bettsworth 10.

bequests to servants, friends, and the poor of the parish (in this case, of St. Thomas the Apostle, Navestock), John 6 left the income of certain tenanted properties to Katharine Greene, and Ann Warbling (his servant) for life, with reversion to Maurice in the event of either's decease; his legal books were to be given to his friend, Peter Davall of the Middle Temple, and the rest of his library to 'Martin ffolkes Esq.', President of the Royal Society; while to each of the four London hospitals of which he was a Governor, he left £20 apiece.

It was the birth of this same John round about 1695, and his father's determination to have him recognized as his legal heir which, it may be recalled, had resulted in the estrangement of the two brothers, John 4 and Thomas, and so put an end to the latter's hope that Bois Hall and its dependent lands might one day revert to his own side of the family.<sup>49</sup> John 6 followed in his father's footsteps: Westminster School,<sup>50</sup> Lincoln's Inn (admitted 20 June 1709) and St. John's College, Cambridge (fellow-commoner, 28 June 1711) -- and for him too, Cambridge was little more than a pleasant interlude between two more arduous periods of legal study. He was called to the bar on 21 April 1716, and on 10 May 1740, he became a Bencher.

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49 See ante, pp. 22-3.

50 Several school-books still survive among the family papers in the Festing collection.

As Hawkins points out,<sup>51</sup> he was also, for some years, Steward of the Manor of Hackney. Though he did not attain quite the same heights as some of his forebears had done, nevertheless, he was, by all appearances, a highly respected member of his profession. Music would seem to have been one of his chief leisure interests, and he was, for a time, a member of the Academy of Ancient Music,<sup>52</sup> and later also, we may imagine, of his cousin's Academy at the Apollo.

While his inheritance of the ancestral Essex estates did bring him comparative affluence, Maurice was, for a musician, already surprisingly well off. If Hawkins was right -- and there is no reason to assume he was not -- Mary Dillingham had about £500 when Greene married her, and he, "but little besides to begin the world with".<sup>53</sup> Yet, as a random 'dip' in his account with the Bank of England clearly shows, Greene was conducting financial transactions involving fairly substantial sums of money as early even as the 1740s.<sup>54</sup> Between 1743 and 1750, for

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51 History, p. 909.

52 See ante, p. 102. His name first appears in the Fifth Subscription List of 12 April 1728 (see British Museum, Add. MS. 11732, f. 6).

53 History, loc. cit. It is not clear from what Hawkins says whether £500 represents Mary Dillingham's capital assets, or her annual income.

54 For obvious reasons, individual researchers are not permitted personally to examine the records of the Bank of England. Those figures given here are the chance result of a short exploratory search undertaken by one of

example, various sums amounting in all to £3,100 were invested in '3% Annuities 1742'. Of this, £1,500 was disposed of in 1749 -- as a marriage settlement on Katharine, no doubt -- and the balance converted to '3% Consols' in 1752. In 1747, he acquired £200 of 'New South Sea Annuities', and two years later, £400 of '4% Annuities 1747'. In 1752, £200 worth of the latter was transferred out of Greene's name -- had this anything to do with the birth of his grandson in January of that year? -- and the balance (which later became 'Reduced 3% Annuities') was disposed of, together with the rest of his shareholdings, by his executors in 1756. Such 'considerable savings' as these can hardly be accounted for simply by the "industry and oeconomy" to which Hawkins refers, and it is perfectly obvious that Greene's relatively high standard of living was due as much, if not more, to his successful playing of the stock-market than to any of the monetary rewards of his professional appointments.

It was during this period too that Greene's health suddenly began to deteriorate. The number of occasions on which, between 1745 and 1755, he sent his pupils to collect his quarterly stipend as Vicar Choral of St. Paul's might, in itself, be taken to suggest that he had

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the Bank's employees working in the region of certain dates suggested by the author. Undoubtedly, there are others, but to commission a complete statement of Greene's account would be prohibitively expensive.

by that time more or less abandoned his duties at the cathedral, or was at least leaving the responsibility of the day-to-day services to others. In 1750, he relinquished the conductorship of the Sons of the Clergy festival to Boyce, and also, it seems, retired from the direction of the Apollo Academy, which then promptly disbanded.<sup>55</sup> It was probably just about this same time too that Greene apparently considered resigning the Mastership of the King's Band of Musick.<sup>56</sup> On 20 March 1751, Frederick, Prince of Wales -- 'Poor Fred' -- died, very unexpectedly, from the bursting of an abscess which had been formed by a blow from -- of all things -- a tennis ball! He was the first of the Hanoverians to have identified himself in any way with the native interests of the English, and the only member of the royal family to have taken any notice whatever of Greene. The fact that, as The Whitehall Evening-Post of 21-3 March reports, the "most solemn Funeral Anthem" to be sung at the Prince's interment was "now composing by Dr. Boyce" might also be taken to indicate that Greene himself was then seriously indisposed.<sup>57</sup>

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55 See ante, pp. 66 and 199-200.

56 See the letter from Boyce to the Duke of Newcastle which is quoted on p. 270-1.

57 According to DNB, however, the Prince was buried on 13 April "without either anthem or organ" (s.v. 'Frederick, Prince of Wales').

The exact nature of Greene's malady is uncertain, but it was probably connected in some way with a curious species of consanguineous debility which seems usually to have brought an early death to all those members of the family who had it. The outward symptoms were stunted growth, and some actual physical deformity. We know from the Rev. Thomas Greene's Vindication of 1711 that both his father (John 3) and his own second son (Thomas) were "very little and low of Stature" -- so much so in the case of the latter, that "they who judge by outward appearances may be too apt to despise him, and to think meanly of his performances".<sup>58</sup> John Greene 3 also touches upon this same matter in his diary for 1664, when he speaks of his sixteen-year-old brother, James, as being "just about my height and stature. I suppose he is not likely to be a tall [man]"; and again, four years later, speaking this time of his own son, Alexander, then aged two: "I doe a little feare that his right shoulder grows a little bigger than the other, which wee observed last Michaelmas".<sup>59</sup> The Recorder himself died at the age of forty-three; his son, Alexander, at twenty-one; and his grandson, the Rev. Thomas Greene junr., at thirty. Maurice, though he lived a good deal longer than any of these, appears to have borne the same

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58 Op. cit., p. 22.

59 English Historical Review, xliii, 600; and xliv, 109.

affliction.<sup>60</sup> According to Burney,<sup>61</sup> "Greene's figure was below the common size, and he had the misfortune to be very much deformed". Needless to say, this does not show up in any of the three surviving portraits -- except, perhaps, in the Hayman conversation piece painted in 1747 (see Plate III) -- but the point is nevertheless confirmed by the independent testimony of Viscount Percival who refers to Greene on one occasion as "the humpback".<sup>62</sup>

The death of his cousin in January 1752 was followed six months later by the death of Dr. Pepusch on 20 July, and on the 24th, by the death of his old friend, Michael Christian Festing, of "a lingering illness" as Read's Weekly Journal of 1 August puts it.<sup>63</sup> Two days later, on 26 July 1752, Maurice Greene made his will (see Plate IV, p. 266). It is a long six-page document, entirely holograph, and its main provisions as set out in the first two pages are as follows:

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- 60 The 'evidence', such as it is, has been submitted to Sir George Pickering, Regius Professor of Medicine in the University of Oxford, who kindly informs me that no immediately obvious diagnosis of Greene's condition suggests itself.
- 61 History, p. 489.
- 62 Diary, i, 202, under date of 31 August 1731.
- 63 In his will (Somerset House, Principal Probate Registry, P.C.C. Searle 44), Festing left Greene a mourning ring of two guineas value.

I Maurice Greene of Bois Hall in the parish of Navestock in the  
 County of Essex Doctor in Music being by the blessing of  
 Almighty God of sound and disposing Mind and memory Do make  
 and declare this my last will and Testament as follows  
 I desire to be buried in the most private Manner in the Ministers  
 vault of the Parish church of S.<sup>t</sup> Olave in the old Jewry  
 where the remains of my late dear Father and Mother are  
 deposited And as to all the Estate whatsoever which  
 Providence has bestowed upon me I give and dispose thereof  
 in manner following. In the first Place I will and direct  
 that all my just debts which I shall owe at the time of  
 my Death shall be fully paid and Satisfied And I do hereby  
 as far as in me lies ratify and confirm all Settlements made  
 either before or after my Marriage with my dear Wife  
 Mary Greene and I do hereby give and devise to my said  
 wife for and during the term of her Natural life all that  
 Mesuage or Tenement with the Farm and Lands thereto  
 belonging in the said parish of Navestock now or late in  
 the Tenure or occupation of James Diggins under the yearly  
 rent of one hundred and thirty two pounds. and also all that Mesuage  
 or Tenement and the Farm and Lands thereto belonging in the  
 said Parish now or late in the Tenure or occupation of Christoph  
 wood under the yearly rent of Fifty Pounds. Provided always  
 and I do hereby further declare my mind and will to be that  
 the provision hereby made for my said wife together with what  
 she may be intitled unto under any such Settlement as aforesaid  
 shall be in full lieu bar and Satisfaction of all Dower and  
 thirds and all other demands whatsoever which she might  
 otherwise have or claim out of my Estate or any part thereof

I desire to be buried in the most private Manner in the Minister's vault of the Parish church of St<sup>t</sup> Olave in the Old Jewry where the remains of my late dear Father and Mother are deposited. And as to all the Estate whatsoever which Providence has bestowed upon me I give and dispose thereof in manner following. In the first Place I will and direct that all my just debts which I shall owe at the time of my Death shall be fully paid and Satisfied. And I do hereby as far as in me lies ratify and confirm all Settlements made either before or after my Marriage with my dear Wife Mary Greene and I do hereby give and devise to my said wife for and during the term of her Natural Life all that Messuage or Tenement with the Farm and Lands thereto belonging in the said parish of Navestock now or late in the Tenure or occupation of James Jiggins under the yearly rent of one hundred and thirty two pounds. and also all that Messuage or Tenement and the Farm and Lands thereto belonging in the said Parish now or late in the Tenure or occupation of Christopher Wood under the yearly rent of Fifty Pounds. Provided always and I do hereby further declare my mind and will to be That the provision hereby made for my said wife together with what she may be intituled unto under any such settlement as aforesaid shall be in full lieu bar and satisfaction of all Dower and thirds and all other demands whatsoever which she might otherwise have or claim out of my Estate or any part thereof. And I further give and bequeath to my said wife all my Household Goods and the Furniture of all such Houses as shall be in my possession or occupation at the time of my Death recommending it to my said wife to give to my Daughter Katharine Festing such part thereof as she shall have no immediate use or occasion for. I also give to my said wife such part of my Plate as she shall chuse not exceeding in the whole the weight of two hundred ounces and also all her Paraphernalia and other ornaments of her Person. And I also give and bequeath to M<sup>rs</sup> Dorothy Prince Spinster in consideration of her friendly behaviour to my Family the sum of six hundred Pounds. which I hereby charge on all my Estate real and personal also I give to my Friend William Boyce Doctor in Music (he having promised not to publish any of my works) all my Collection of Music whether Manuscript or printed and all my Books relating to that Science. and I do hereby give devise and bequeath all my Lands

Tenements Hereditaments and real Estate whatsoever in possession remainder or reversion Subject to the aforesaid devise to my Wife for her Life as aforesaid. and all my moneys and Securities and the residue of my Plate and also my Musical Instruments Goods Chattells and all other my personal Estate of what Nature or kind soever Subject to the payment of my Debts and the Legacies herein before and after mention'd unto the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Thomas King of Weybridge in the County of Surrey Esq<sup>r</sup>; Benjamin Hoadly of the College of Physicians London Doctor in Physic Peter Davall of the Middle Temple London Esq<sup>r</sup>; and John Jackson of great Queen Street in the County of Middlesex Gentleman and to the Survivors and Survivor of them and to the Heirs Executors [sic] and Administrators of such survivor respectively upon the trusts and to and for the intents and purposes herein after expressed ...

The next page is concerned with instructions for the sale and disposal of "all my said Lands Hereditaments and real Estate and also all such part of my person<sup>al</sup> Estate as may be conveniently sold or disposed of", the proceeds of which are to be invested in "such Government [sic] or real Securities" as his executors think fit, and the interest and dividends therefrom to be applied

to and for the sole and seperate use of my Daughter Katharine now the wife of Michael Festing Clerk for and during the Term of her Natural Life with which her present or future Husband shall in no wise intermedle nor shall the same be subject to the Debts or engagements of any such Husband ...

-- and the rest with somewhat complicated provisions for the education, maintenance and ultimate benefit of his

grandchildren. To each of his four executors,<sup>64</sup> he leaves £100 for their trouble; and in a brief codicil dated 23 April 1755, the bequest to 'M<sup>rs</sup> Dorothy Prince Spinster' is increased to £1,000. But who she was, or what she had done to merit such munificence does not, however, appear.

As for the last three years of Greene's life, there is almost nothing to be discovered. No doubt he spent part of his time in comfortable semi-retirement at Bois Hall, but judging by the sheer quantity of unused material which has survived,<sup>65</sup> Greene must also have been pretty busy with the preparation of his projected collection of cathedral music. And, of course, there were occasional visits to his daughter and her family, as for example in 1752, when he seems to have spent part of the summer with them at Droxford.<sup>66</sup> Sometime between 1750 and 1753 -- most

64 Benjamin Hoadly, as we have already seen ( p. 203 ), was the elder brother of John Hoadly, Greene's principal librettist. Peter Davall was a lawyer, and had been a friend of John Greene 6 (see p. 260). The Hon. Thomas King and John Jackson do not figure in any other context.

65 See post, pp. 296-8, and 301-5.

66 This visit, together with several other particulars concerning the family, is recorded on a single scrap of paper (approx. 6½" x 8") which turned up in a loose bundle of miscellaneous Festing papers. On one side, there is a list of names and dates, and the odd explanatory phrase or two; this may be in Katharine's own hand, though there are a few additions which were obviously made after her death. The other side is blank except for the heading 'Family Memeranda' in a later hand. According to this document, "My Father left Droxford" in September 1752.

probably towards the end of 1752 -- Michael Festing was appointed Chaplain to the Earl of Tankerville. But the Earl died of an apoplectic fit in the 'Green Man' in Epping Forest on 14 March 1753, and that put an end to that. The family moved again -- this time to Dorset where, on 10 May, Michael was inducted into the Rectory of Wyke Regis (near Weymouth) by the Rev. Mr. Preston, Minister of Melcombe Regis. It may well be that Maurice was there too, for a note in the afore-mentioned 'Family Memeranda' records the fact that, in May 1753, "My Father -- came to Wyke".

In the autumn of 1755, Greene's condition suddenly took a turn for the worse, and he was quite unable to undertake the composition of the Birthday Ode scheduled for performance on 10 November that year. It soon became clear that he had not long to live, and on Tuesday, 26 November, Boyce wrote to the Duke of Newcastle, now First Lord of the Treasury, as follows:<sup>67</sup>

My Lord

I intend myself the honor of waiting upon you, when you will please to give leave, to acquaint you with Doctor Greene's Ill state of health, which is at present so far past a probability of cure, that it is thought he cannot live many more days, and to beg your Grace's Interest, that I may succeed him, as Master of his Majesty's band of Musicians. --- I am the more encouraged

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67 Newcastle Correspondence. British Museum, Add. MS. 32861, f. 102. Quoted (not absolutely accurately) by F.G. Edwards in MT 42, July 1901, p. 444, and also by Gerald Finzi in the Editorial Notes to his edition of Boyce's Overtures, Musica Britannica xiii (1957), p. 163.

to ask this, from the favour shewn me, upon a former application, when it was thought the Doctor would resign. --- I set the last Birth-day Ode for him, am now setting that for the New-years-day, and have conducted all the performances during his Illness. The place is in the gift of the Duke of Grafton.

I am My Lord,  
Your Graces most devoted, and  
obedient humble Servant  
William Boyce

Nov: 26<sup>th</sup> 1755.

As everyone knows, Boyce got the job, though for some strange reason, he was not sworn in until 27 June 1757.<sup>68</sup> But musical historians, at any rate, appear not to have noticed the rather interesting fact that his application for the post was backed by David Garrick, who seems to have been a man of some considerable influence in such matters.<sup>69</sup>

Five days later, Maurice Greene, the last of his line, was dead. The fact that the date of his death is given as 'Dec:<sup>br</sup> 3' in the Account Book of the Vicars Choral of St. Paul's has caused a good deal of confusion among the composer's later biographers, and the muddle is made still worse by Janifer,<sup>70</sup> who has Greene dying on Monday, 4 December, and then proceeds to prove the point by reference to Read's Weekly Journal of Saturday, 6 December! All other

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68 Public Record Office, L.C. 3/58, p. 37.

69 See The Letters of David Garrick, ed. D.M. Little and G.M. Kahrl, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1963), letter no. 159 (i, 236). Cf. a letter (no. 631) of 3 May 1771 to Edmund Burke commending Theodore Aylward as a candidate for the Professorship of Music at Gresham College, London.

70 The English Church Music of Maurice Greene and his Contemporaries, i, 88.

sources, however, are agreed upon 1 December as the actual date of Greene's death, and this is apparently confirmed by the inscription on his leaden coffin.<sup>71</sup> The most extensive of the many obituary notices which appeared is that of The Whitehall Evening-Post of 2-4 December 1755:

On Monday Night died at his House in Beaufort-Buildings, Maurice Greene, Esq; Doctor of Musick, of Bois-Hall in the County of Essex, where he had a considerable Estate, and where his Family had been seated two hundred Years; He being a younger Son of the Family, made Musick his Profession, and arriv'd at such an Eminence in it, that at his Death he was Master of his Majesty's Musick, had two Places in his Majesty's Chapel Royal, viz. Organist and Composer, and was Organist of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul. By his Death a large Fortune comes to Mrs. Festing, Wife of the Rev. Mr. Festing, his only Child.

On Wednesday, 10 December, Greene was buried -- privately, as he had wished -- in the minister's vault of St. Olave's Jewry,<sup>72</sup> and on the same day, his will was proved by Benjamin Hoadly, Peter Davall, and John Jackson, who subsequently attended to the settlement of all Greene's outstanding affairs. He was succeeded in the organistship of St. Paul's by John Jones (1728-96), at the Chapel Royal by James Nares (1715-83), and in the Cambridge Professorship by ~~the artful~~ John Randall (1715-99) who, on the 16th of December, "was, in full Senate, admitted to the Degree of Doctor in Musick, and afterwards unanimously elected

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71 See F.G. Edwards's article on Greene in MT 44, February 1903, p. 92.

72 See Vestry Minutes and Accounts of St. Olave Jewry, Guildhall Library, MS. 4410/1, p. 334.

Professor of that Science, in the room of the late ingenious Dr. Green".<sup>73</sup>

In 1756, Greene's widow moved from no. 9 Beaufort Buildings next door to no. 8, and here she continued to live until the end of the year 1761.<sup>74</sup> She then left London, and took up residence in Melcombe Regis, in order to be near her daughter and grandchildren. She died there in June 1767, and on the 28th was buried -- as her son-in-law, Michael Festing, had been two years previously -- in Wyke Regis.<sup>75</sup> In her will,<sup>76</sup> Mary Greene leaves everything to Katharine, who eventually died at the age of sixty-seven on 9 February 1797. If the charming portrait painted by Allan Ramsay (1713-84) really is a good likeness, then Katharine was rather a beauty.<sup>77</sup> Whether or not it is these two who are referred to in various of Mrs. Delany's

73 The London Evening-Post of 18-20 December 1755.

74 See the Rate Books of the parish of St. Clement Danes (now in the Westminster Public Library).

75 She is described in the Wyke Regis Burial Register as "Mary Greene of Melcombe Relict of Maurice Greene Esq. Professor of Music & Master of His late Majesty's Band of Musick". I am indebted to Miss Margaret Holmes, the County Archivist, for a careful transcript of this entry, and also for other information about the Festings in Wyke Regis.

76 Somerset House, Principal Probate Registry, P.C.C. Legard 263.

77 Festing collection. The portrait is undated, but must obviously have been painted sometime after Ramsay returned to London in 1754.

letters from Bath as 'Mrs. Greene' and her 'fair daughter', it is impossible to say -- but it could be.<sup>78</sup>

The generation which immediately follows the lifetime of a great genius...delivers its own judgement on him, and it is a misfortune if later generations accept this verdict without having first considered it very carefully.<sup>79</sup>

Maurice Green<sup>e</sup> was no 'great genius', but rather an enormously gifted creative musician in whom the fire of inspiration burnt fitfully -- a bringer not of cedars, but of shrubs. Yet Blume's words are nonetheless true for all that. As a composer, Greene is quite the equal of all those Zachows, Walthers, Holzbauers and the like, who have been so lovingly exhumed and widely admired by their latter-day fellow-countrymen. The view is partisan, of course, but it strikes one observer at least, as little short of scandalous that a national collection of music which can devote two whole volumes to Boyce, and can even find room for such <sup>an</sup> historically interesting ~~rubbish~~ <sup>period piece</sup> as Storace's No Song, No Supper has no time, as yet, for Greene.

It was certainly the succeeding generation -- the generation of Burney and Hawkins -- which established the

78 See Autobiography and Correspondence (ed. Lady Llanover). The letters in question are dated November 1755, September 1757 and October 1760.

79 Friedrich Blume, Two Centuries of Bach, trans. Stanley Godman (London, 1950), p. 9.

basis of Greene's posthumous reputation, and placed him under that cloud of ignorant derogation from which he has still to emerge. He belongs, to be sure, to that 'Augustan age of music' -- the phrase is Burney's<sup>80</sup> -- in which neither of our two great eighteenth-century historians was himself personally interested. For Hawkins, with his passion for old music, and Burney, with his delight in the new -- Handel always excepted of course -- the whole period of English music between the death of Purcell and the accession of George III might just as well not have existed. It will have been apparent throughout the present work that Hawkins, in his comments upon the man, seems to have been motivated as much by malice as by any desire for historical accuracy, and that Burney, in his criticism of the music (and especially of Forty Select Anthems), is for the most part shamefully irresponsible. Would that they had both followed the precept of their mutual friend, the great Dr. Johnson, who, in a long and very learned commentary upon the text of Macbeth, pointed out that

In order to make a true estimate of the abilities and merit of a writer, it is always necessary to examine the genius of his age, and the opinions of his contemporaries.<sup>81</sup>

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80 See Dr. Burney's Musical Tours in Europe (ed. Scholes), ii, 180 and 207.

81 Quoted here from Helen Gardner, The Business of Criticism (Oxford, 1959), p. 27.

While these two between them, have shaped the image of the composer which a gullible posterity has chosen to remember, it must be pointed out that their verdict was not necessarily shared by all, nor even the majority of their own immediate contemporaries, among whom, and for the best part of fifty years after his death, Green<sup>P</sup>'s reputation, as a cathedral musician at any rate, stood just about as high as it had ever done. Forty Select Anthems continued to dominate the repertoire, and as we have already observed,<sup>82</sup> no fewer than five separate editions appeared between 1755 and 1800. In addition, a large number of Greene's anthems, mostly the well-established favourites, but also quite a few which had been hitherto unpublished, were issued, sometimes singly, but more often in such anthological publications as Arnold's Cathedral Music (1790) and Page's Harmonia Sacra (1800). Even as late as about 1825, there was still a sufficient market to justify Birchall, Lonsdale & Mills bringing out Nine Anthems, in Score, (Principally from Manuscripts never before Published) Composed by the late Dr. Maurice Greene. His songs too, continued in favour, and a new edition of Spenser's Amoretti, together with a separate volume containing the whole of the first book of A Cantata and Four English Songs as well as another eight single pieces, was

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82 See ante, p. 232.

issued by Harrison & Co. in their enterprising New Musical Magazine in the mid-1780s. A study of publishers' catalogues and advertisements shows that, in actual fact, the entire corpus of Greene's published output was kept in print, and was available from Walsh (and his successors, William and Elizabeth Randall) -- and also from several authorized agents -- throughout most of the century. So too with the Collection of Lessons for the Harpsichord which Johnson had first printed in 1750. There were even a few first-time publications such as Twelve Voluntaries for the Organ or Harpsichord (J. Bland [1779]), not to mention a variety of other keyboard pieces which appeared, mostly in collections of composite authorship. And his music was performed too, not only in choirs and places where they sing, but also, on occasion, in such tiny hamlets as that in which the young Hugh Trevor spent his boyhood.<sup>83</sup>

Though his reputation steadily declined from about 1825 onwards, it was not until after the so-called English Renaissance of the 1880s that Greene passed finally into oblivion. Later still, the re-discovery of the greater glories of Tudor church music displaced all but a mere handful of the hardiest -- and by no means always the finest -- specimens of the eighteenth-century repertoire. Thus we now find Greene known popularly only as the com-

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<sup>83</sup> See Thomas Holcroft, The Adventures of Hugh Trevor (London, 1794-7), i, 87.

poser of a single organ voluntary in C minor, and that ubiquitous and utterly trivial harvest anthem, "Thou visiteth the earth", which is extracted from the much longer "Thou, O God, art praised in Zion". The time is ripe for revival, and it will assuredly come, just as it has already done for Georgian architecture and painting, and more recently still, literature and poetry.

In 1888, the church of St. Olave Jewry was demolished, and the bones of those who had been interred there were brought up for removal to a suburban cemetery. The suggestion that Greene's remains might appropriately be transferred to St. Paul's came, fittingly enough, from that ardent antiquarian, Dr. W.H. Cummings, to whom students of the 'dark age' of English music owe so much. Through the instrumentality of Sir John Stainer and William Alexander Barrett, then a Vicar Choral of the cathedral, the necessary authority was obtained, and so, at 6.30 a.m. on the morning of 18 May, the composer was finally laid to rest in the crypt, in the same grave as his devoted friend and pupil, William Boyce.<sup>84</sup> As Barrett said at the conclusion of a short address given after Evensong that same day, "Here we hope his bones may rest for ever, unless St. Paul's Cathedral is required for City improvements" -- and that day too may come!

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84 For full details, see MT 29, June 1888, p. 342.

## POSTSCRIPT

### BOYCE'S CATHEDRAL MUSIC -- ITS HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

c. 1750-60

The importance of Boyce's monumental three-volume collection of cathedral music (London, 1760, 1768 and 1773) as one of the great pioneering ventures of modern musicology has long been recognized. So too has the fact that the work owes its inception to, and is but the fulfilment of, a plan originally formulated by Maurice Greene not long before his death in 1755. The fortuitous circumstances which brought Greene comparative affluence and the necessary leisure thereby to devote his full attention to this long-meditated project have already been discussed, and the date traditionally assigned to these events -- 1750 -- corrected to 1752.<sup>1</sup> The widely-held but equally erroneous notion that Greene, by his will, "remitted the farther prosecution" of the work to his friend and former pupil, William Boyce, also originates with Hawkins,<sup>2</sup> and is the more curious in that Boyce himself was then (1776) still alive, and had been acknowledged by Hawkins as one

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1 See ante, p. 258-9.

2 History, p. 910. The same point is made, rather more firmly, in Hawkins's 'Memoirs of Dr. Boyce' prefixed to the 2nd edn. of Cathedral Music (1788), p. vii.

of his chief helpers in the preparation of the History.<sup>3</sup> Though Greene had, it is true, bequeathed the whole of his valuable library of manuscript and printed music to Boyce,<sup>4</sup> the latter was under no obligation either to complete or to publish his master's projected collection of cathedral music, and in the Preface to volume one, merely remarks that he "was induced to undertake this work from the general opinion of its extensive usefulness".<sup>5</sup>

Oddly enough, the historical background to Boyce's Cathedral Music seems never before to have been explored, except in a somewhat cursory fashion by Bumpus, who, though he sets aside an entire chapter for the consideration of this particular subject, spends rather more time upon a generalized account of the work's publication, contents, and subsequent vicissitudes than upon the course of events prior to 1760.<sup>6</sup> The present essay is an attempt to redress the balance. From Bumpus, who probably derived the bulk of his information in the first instance from Arnold's 'Succinct Account of Dr. Greene',<sup>7</sup> we learn that

3 See the 'Author's Dedication and Preface', modern reprint of the 1853 edn., vol. 1, p. [xix].

4 See ante, p. 267.

5 P. [iii].

6 A History of English Cathedral Music, chapter 8, i, 256-67.

7 Cathedral Music (1790), ii, 8.

Greene's scheme for preserving a nucleus of the finest English church music, ancient and modern, by the publication of a collected edition in score was publicly anticipated by John Alcock (1715-1806), then organist of Lichfield Cathedral; that Alcock actually issued a formal proposal to print certain specified works; and also that, on learning of Greene's similar undertaking and further promise to present each cathedral choir with a free copy of the finished work, Alcock renounced his plan, and generously presented his rival with all those materials which he had so far assembled. And, while Bumpus does not follow him on this particular point, it is also Arnold who is the author of the commonly repeated error<sup>8</sup> that Alcock's prospectus was issued round about the year 1735 -- a simple case of transposition for what was clearly intended to read 1753. For all his tremendous industry and enthusiasm, it must be confessed that Bumpus was a very indifferent scholar, and it is hardly surprising that the accuracy of his account has recently been questioned by no less eminent an authority than H. Watkins Shaw.<sup>9</sup>

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8 See, for example, a 'Memoir of William Boyce' in The Harmonicon (November 1824); E.F. Rimbault in the 2nd edn. of Arnold's Cathedral Music (1843); DNB, s.v. 'Boyce, William'; and F.G. Edwards's article on Boyce in MT 42, July 1901, p. 446.

9 See the article on Greene in Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart.

Yet Bumpus needs no censure on this occasion: his only sin -- if such indeed it is -- is one of omission when, by recourse to contemporary newspapers and libraries other than his own, he might easily have discovered a great deal more about the subject than is to be gleaned from Arnold, or any earlier historian.

Although Boyce's Cathedral Music was the first representative selection of services and anthems printed in score in this country, it was not, of course, the first comprehensive collection of Anglican church music ever attempted, nor even the first with a deliberately antiquarian bias. Just on 120 years earlier, in 1641, John Barnard issued the ten separate parts of his sumptuously produced First Book of Selected Church Musick...Collected out of divers approved Authors which, with the wear and tear of daily usage, not to mention the wholesale destruction of service books during the Civil War, had already become a considerable rarity long before the middle of the eighteenth century. And in the meantime, from 1715 to 1720, Thomas Tudway had been occupied with his great six-volume survey covering the whole period from the Reformation to the present day (1720) which he edited for the Earl of Oxford.<sup>10</sup> The initial impetus for Greene's

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10 Now British Museum, MSS. Harley 7337-42.

own collection, however, probably came from William Croft. His Musica Sacra, published in 1724, and to which, incidentally, Greene subscribed, was intended, among other things, to demonstrate the advantages of printing church music in score. In the Preface to volume one, we read that

... 'tis observable, that at this Day it is very difficult to find in the Cathedrals, any one Antient valuable Piece of Musick, that does not abound with Faults and Imperfections; The unavoidable Effect of their falling into the Hands of careless and unskilful Transcribers; which is an Injury much to be regretted by all who have any Concern or Value for those great Authors, or their Works.<sup>11</sup>

and a little later on that

When the Benefit and Advantage of this Way of Printing Church-Musick, shall, by Use and Practice, be better known and understood, some able Hand may be induced to procure and publish correct Copies in Score, of all that is valuable in the Church-Way; this it is conceived may be done with no great Expence, if the Cathedral Bodies would give Encouragement to it, by furnishing their Choirs with one Copy for every Performer of their respective Churches; or, if that be thought too much, one Book to a Part for each side of the Choir, and so be supplied with them from Time to Time, as there shall be Occasion; This would probably be Encouragement [sic] to the Undertaker of this Work to engage in such a laudable Performance as the Preservation of Church-Musick, which Affair might be so well contrived and conducted, as that the Choral Bodies might be supplied with them in this correct and perfect State, at a much cheaper Rate than is now paid for imperfect and erroneous Copies.<sup>12</sup>

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11 Op. cit., p. 1.

12 Ibid., p. 2.

Croft's strenuous advocacy of the modern method of printing in score is echoed in the Preface to the first volume of Boyce;<sup>13</sup> his idea of using it to preserve something of the great heritage of English cathedral music in the opening paragraphs of Alcock's two-page 'Advertisement' of his own proposals. Copies of the latter, which is dated 'Lichfield, August 2, 1752', were inserted in a now very scarce collection of Alcock's single and double chants entitled Divine Harmony which came out towards the end of October.<sup>14</sup> The whole of Alcock's wordy advertisement is quoted (with minor errors and unacknowledged editorial additions) by Bumpus.<sup>15</sup> Here we need only note that

Some of the Services I purpose Publishing are, viz. Mr. Tallis's; Mr. Bird's (in all the Six Parts;) Dr. Gibbon's: These will be Transposed one Note higher. Mr. Patrick's; Dr. Child's Services in D, E, F, and A; with Dr. Rogers's Evening Service; Dr. Blow's Services in E, G, and A; Mr. Purcell's (short Service) in B; Mr. Brine's [Albertus Bryan] in G; Dr. Rogers's in D; Dr. Aldrich's in G; Dr. Croft's Services in A and B; Dr. Creighton's; Mr. Charles King's in F; (with the Creed) and others, as I find Encouragement; after which I design to publish a Collection of the best Anthems now extant, that were never printed.

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13 Cathedral Music (1760), p. iv.

14 See The London Evening-Post of 26-8 October 1752. The Preface to Divine Harmony bears the date 31 August.

15 Op. cit., pp. 257-9. Bumpus's own copy of Divine Harmony is now in the British Museum, press-mark C.15.

At the same time, a shorter notice appeared in The London Evening-Post:<sup>16</sup>

To all Lovers of Cathedral MUSICK.

Having observed how incorrect the Services, &c. are at Cathedrals, and as I have now by me an exceeding valuable Collection of the choicest antient and modern Services, I purpose publishing one every Quarter of a Year, completely in Score, and figured for the Organ. Each Service will seldom exceed 3s. and not often amount to above 2s.6d. The first three will be the famous Mr. Tallis's, Mr. Bird's (in all the six Parts) and Dr. Gibbons's, which three will be transposed one Note higher. The Subscribers to this Work may be assured, that nothing shall be wanting to render these Services as correct as possible; and therefore I hope all Members of Cathedrals, and others, will encourage so useful an Undertaking. But before I publish them, I intend, by Way of Specimen, to print one of mine: In the meantime I shall be glad if all those Gentlemen, who please to subscribe, will send their Names and Places of Abode to me, or to Mr. Panchen, in Little Carter-Lane, near St. Paul's, or to the Musick Shops.

JOHN ALCOCK, Organist, &c.  
of Litchfield.

Alcock's own specimen service, a setting in E minor of the complete morning and evening canticles (Te Deum, Jubilate, Kyrie eleison, Nicene Creed, Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis) was scheduled for publication on 29 September 1753,<sup>17</sup> and Greene was one of a long list of

16 6-8 August 1752 (hitherto unnoticed). This seems to have been the only time that Alcock actually advertised his proposals in the London press, though his scheme is referred to again very briefly in The London Evening-Post of 26-8 October.

17 See The London Evening-Post of 25-8 August.

subscribers. Whether or not Greene ever issued a formal prospectus outlining plans for his own projected collection of cathedral music is uncertain -- in all probability, he did not -- but six months earlier, The London Evening-Post of 7-10 April 1753 had announced in a news item that

It is very certain that Dr. Green, Organist and Composer to his Majesty, is now employing himself in making a Collection of Church Musick, Services and Anthems, selected out of the Works of the best Masters, antient and modern, particularly the former; which he purposes, when finish'd, to print off, at his own Expence, and make a Present of one or more Copies to every Cathedral in England. This very generous and laudable Undertaking of the Doctor, cannot fail of being of the greatest Use to Cathedral Service; for by it the Performers will have a correct Copy for their Use; and the Students, in Composition, will likewise be furnish'd with the best Patterns, for their Imitation, in that delightful Science.

With this philanthropic gesture on Greene's part, Alcock was forced to retire; that he had, in fact, already withdrawn his own scheme is clear from the following unsigned notice in The London Evening-Post of 29-31 March:

As I have the Pleasure of assuring my Friends that the famous Dr. GREENE designs to publish a Collection of the choicest Cathedral SERVICES, I take this Opportunity of thanking those Gentlemen, &c. who have already subscribed to my Scheme of that Kind (formerly mention'd in this Paper) and likewise of acquainting them, that I think it advisable to decline that Undertaking...

So far, the whole of Bumpus's account has been substantiated by documentary evidence extracted from contemporary newspapers. His further assertion that Alcock

actually handed over at least some of his assembled material to Greene can also be proven by reference to British Museum, Add. MS. 23624, a volume containing Alcock's transcriptions of services by Tallis, Byrd and Gibbons -- the first three listed in his original 'Advertisement' of 2 August 1752 in fact -- which is inscribed (on f.2) with an autograph note, the second part of which reads as follows:

These three Services I sent to the late D<sup>r</sup>. Greene, as soon as I heard he design'd to publish a Collection of Cathedral Music: which I had advertis'd, in several News-papers, my intention to do, seven years before [ before what ? -- the appearance of Boyce's first volume in 1760 ? ], and printed my Service in E, as a Specimen in 1753.

J Alcock

All three services later found their way into Cathedral Music, the Tallis and Gibbons in volume one, and the Byrd in volume three, but Boyce apparently did not use this text, and the manuscript was returned to Alcock, probably shortly after the publication of volume one.<sup>18</sup>

What headway had Greene made during the last two or three years of his life? According to Bumpus,<sup>19</sup> who happens in this case simply to be paraphrasing Hawkins,<sup>20</sup>

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18 The verso of f.1 is signed 'John Alcock 1763'. Add. MS. 23624 -- originally two volumes -- would appear to have been bound as one not long after the second volume containing the three aforementioned services had been returned to Alcock; the first contains Latin motets by Tallis and Byrd, and does not appear ever to have been sent to Greene.

19 Op. cit., p. 246.

20 History, p. 910.

Greene not only gathered together "a great number" of services and anthems, but had also collated them and "made considerable progress in reducing them into score". If so, and with the addition of at least one volume of Alcock's manuscript materials, itself in a state almost ready for the press, it would appear that there was comparatively little left for Boyce to do except to superintend publication of the work -- unless, as seems highly likely, Boyce did not adhere strictly to Greene's original plan, but chose rather to devise his own independent scheme using only some of the material which he had inherited from his old master. However that may be, it is certain that he lost no time in getting on with the job. On 15 September 1756, just ten months after Greene's death, the Madrigal Society "Agreed by a majority of the members present to subscribe to a correct and complete body of English Church Music as proposed by Dr. Boyce".<sup>21</sup> Unfortunately, no copy of Boyce's detailed proposals has yet come to light, though we can see from the following announcement in The Whitehall Evening-Post (and also in The London Evening-Post) of 23-5 September 1756 -- the earliest so far traced -- that these were available from

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21 Quoted from a transcript of the Society's minutes kindly communicated by J.G. Craufurd, the present Hon. Secretary.

the editor at his house in Quality Court, Chancery Lane:

Cathedral Music.

September 25, 1756.

Proposals for Printing  
A Correct and Complete Body of  
Church Music,

May be had of Dr. Boyce, in Quality-Court, Chancery-Lane; where those Gentlemen who are inclined to subscribe for this Work are desired to send their Names and Places of Abode any Time before Christmas-Day next.

Nearly four years, however, were to elapse before it could be given out that

DR. BOYCE desires to inform his Friends, the Subscribers for the OLD CATHEDRAL MUSIC, now publishing by him, that the First Volume is printing off, and will be ready to deliver some Time in the ensuing Summer.

This Work, in which the best Compositions of our most reputable English Masters will be inserted, is to consist of three large Folio Vols. and for each of which there will be engraved near three hundred Plates.

The Price is Six Guineas, to be paid at four equal Payments; the First at the Time of Subscribing, and the other three as the Volumes are delivered.

Those who mean to encourage this Undertaking, are desired to be speedy in sending their Names and Places of Abode to Dr. Boyce, in Quality-Court, Chancery-lane, London.

Note, It is presumed that all Noblemen and Gentlemen who laudably promote Science, in whatever Branch it appears, will not think the above Work unworthy of a Place in their best chosen Libraries.<sup>22</sup>

-- but when the first volume finally appeared on 29 September,<sup>23</sup> those "Noblemen and Gentlemen who laudably

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22 The Public Advertiser, 29 April 1760

23 See The Public Advertiser, 29 September 1760

promote Science" were most conspicuous by their absence. The fault was not entirely theirs, perhaps, since, if the evidence of newspaper notices is anything to go by, the work had been very badly advertised, even by eighteenth-century standards. Most of those who subscribed were relatively humble private individuals, many of them, like Alcock, professional musicians. Even those wealthy cathedral and collegiate foundations which might have been expected to encourage such a splendid enterprise were poorly represented, and, as Bumpus points out,<sup>24</sup> the subscriptions list as a whole serves only "to demonstrate to what a low ebb the love of [choral service] had sunk at this the mid-Georgian era". In all, there were only 112 subscribers for 188 sets. Despite such a dispiriting reception, Boyce gallantly went ahead with the two remaining volumes which had been promised. These were only marginally better-supported: the second (1768) had 120 subscribers for 205 copies, the third (1773), 126 for 211; and we learn from Hawkins that, after the expense of the engraving, the paper and the printing, Boyce "did but little more than reimburse himself the cost of [the work's]

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24 Op. cit., p. 261; cf. Hawkins, 'Memoirs of Dr. Boyce', p. viii.

first publication".<sup>25</sup> Bitterly disappointed by the public's indifference to the labour of almost twenty years, Boyce subsequently refused to print a collection of his own anthems as both Greene and Croft had previously done, declaring that "he was contented his should remain in the church books, and that he would never more solicit the aid of a subscription to enable him to publish what might fail of being well received".<sup>26</sup>

In all probability, we shall never know exactly how far Greene had progressed with Cathedral Music before he died. Nevertheless, there is ample evidence that he had actually amassed a good deal more material than Boyce decided to incorporate in the finished work. Of this, the most important is British Museum, Add. MS.31443 (ex libris Julian Marshall, William Horsley and Philip Hayes) -- a collection of church music, mainly of the early seventeenth century, which was clearly compiled by Greene for inclusion in his intended publication. Except for one item -- Ferrabosco's Burial Service -- the manuscript was produced by two copyists each working under the supervision of a third who was responsible for the figured bass part, various headings and other editorial

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25 'Memoirs of Dr. Boyce', p. viii.

26 Ibid., p. ix.

addenda, together with any necessary corrections or modification of the main text. The hand of this third person can be positively identified as that of Maurice Greene (see Plates Va and Vb, pp.293-4). Neither of the other two has so far been identified. Copyist A, who produced the main text of the first part of the volume (ff. 2-152v.), has a very distinctive hand, somewhat similar in certain respects to Professor Larsen's Handel copyist S.10,<sup>27</sup> and his bass clefs are particularly characteristic (see Plate Va). Whoever he was, he also worked for Boyce during the early 1750s, copying parts of, among others, the 'Ode for Ranelagh' (25 May 1752), and a Concerto in D minor for strings.<sup>28</sup>

According to Hughes-Hughes,<sup>29</sup> the date of Add. MS. 31443 is circa 1700; but this is obviously half a century too early. It is most unfortunate that the only two dates which appear in the manuscript itself -- both of them dates of revision and in Greene's autograph -- have been so closely cropped by a careless binder that they are no longer completely legible. From the surviving

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27 See J.P. Larsen, Handel's Messiah: Origins, Composition, Sources (London, 1957), p. 319; also pp.271-2.

28 Bodleian Library, MS. Mus. Sch. c. 105, and MS. Mus. Sch. D. 230 b & c.

29 Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum, Vol.1: Sacred Vocal Music (London, 1906), pp.51 and 404.





lower halves of the numerals of the second (on f.41), it may be deduced that the year was 1755, or alternatively, perhaps, 1753.<sup>30</sup> This particular volume has long been known to students of Tudor church music, and its contents used as a subsidiary source by various editors of some of the pieces it contains.<sup>31</sup> Its true significance, however, has never been perceived.<sup>32</sup> That the manuscript also passed through Boyce's hands is apparent from a comparison of the name 'W:<sup>m</sup> Bird' on f.145, which is in Greene's hand, with 'W: Bird' on f.146v., which is in Boyce's. While Boyce made no use of this manuscript in Cathedral Music, it is perhaps worth noting that the two services by Batten and Bryan which are marked with an asterisk in the following table of contents are mentioned by Boyce in the Preface to volume three as being among the "Three ancient Services...which I would willingly have found room for, could it have been done without omitting what appeared to me to claim the preference".<sup>33</sup>

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30 1733 (or 1735), the only other combinations of figures whose lower halves would have the same appearance, are clearly far too early.

31 See, for example, E.H. Fellowes, Tudor Church Music, Vol. 2 (Oxford, 1922), pp. xxi and xxxiii; and H.K. Andrews in Thomas Morley: Collected Motets (London, 1959), p. 77.

32 Fellowes had the quite ridiculous notion that the manuscript was in Alcock's hand; see English Cathedral Music, p. 197.

33 Cathedral Music (1773), p. vi.

British Museum, Add. MS. 31443

- Orlando Gibbons Verse Service in D minor ff. 2-27v.  
(Te D, Jub, Mag and Nunc)
- \*Adrian Batten Service in D minor ff. 28-40.  
(Te D, Jub, K, C, Mag and Nunc)  
The note 'Corrected Feb:5 17'  
on f.28 is in Greene's hand;  
the last two figures have  
been cut away by the binder.
- \*Albertus Bryne Service in G major ff. 41-53v.  
(Te D, Jub, K, C [ imperfect ],  
Mag and Nunc)  
Two autograph notes on f.41:  
'March [ ? ? ]' -- the top  
of the figures has been sliced  
away; the date probably read  
'March 2 1755' -- and 'Nicene  
Creed wanting'.
- Dr. Child Service in G major ff. 54-65v.  
(Te D, Jub, Mag and Nunc)
- John Ferrabosco Burial Service ff. 66-69v.  
In a hand which is neither  
Greene's autograph nor that  
of copyists A or B -- prob-  
ably contributed by some  
outside agent.
- Dr. Wm. Turner Service in A major ff. 70-97v.  
(Te D, Jub, K, C, Mag and Nunc)  
The note 'to be revised' on  
f.70 is in Greene's hand.
- William Byrd 'Great' Service ff. 98-134v.  
(Te D, Btus, K, C, and Mag [the  
opening few bars only])
- [At this point, there are a number of blank pages not  
reckoned in the foliation.]
- Tallis Wipe away my sins, O Lord ff.135-140.  
[ f.140v. is blank ]
- Morley Out of the deep ff.141-144v.
- Byrd Lord in thy rage rebuke me ff.145-146v.  
not  
'W:<sup>m</sup> Bird' at the head of  
f.145 is in Greene's hand;  
'W: Bird' at the end of  
f.146v. in Boyce's.
- Purcell Save me, O God, for thy ff.147-149v.  
name's sake

- Tallis With all our hearts and mouths ff.150-152v.
- [At this point, copyist B takes over.]
- Tomkins Almighty God, the fountain of all wisdom ff.153-158  
The note 'vide Cliffords Collection' at the head of f.153 is in Greene's hand.
- Tallis Blessed be thy name, O God ff.158v.-160v.  
At the top of f.158v., Greene has written the heading 'A Thanksgiving', and 'differs greatly from Barnard'.
- Gibbons Deliver us, O Lord our God ff.160v.-162.  
(2nd part) Blessed be the Lord God of ff.162-164.  
Israel  
Greene writes 'agrees w:<sup>th</sup> Barnard' on f.162.
- Tallis O Lord, give thy holy spirit ff.164-165v.  
Described by Greene on f.164 as 'A Prayer'; the note 'agrees w:<sup>th</sup> Barnard' is also in his hand.
- Hooper O thou God Almighty, Father ff.166-167v.  
of all mercy  
Described by Greene on f.166 as 'A Prayer'.
- [Further blanks not counted in the foliation.]
- Wm. Mundy O Lord, the world's saviour ff.168-171.  
Here, on f.168, Greene has written 'vide Cliffords Collection' and 'A Hymn at Ev'ning Prayer'.
- Tye I lift my heart to thee ff.171-175v.  
The words 'A Prayer' on f.171 and 'D<sup>r</sup> Tye' at the end of f.175v. are both in Greene's hand.
- Gibbons Behold, I bring you glad ff.175v.-181.  
tidings  
Headed 'Anthem For Christmas Day' by Greene.

- Gibbons                    If ye be risen again with            ff.181v.-186.  
                                  Christ  
                                  Greene heads this 'Anthem  
                                  For Easter Day'.
- Gibbons                    Blessed are all they that            ff.186v.-196.  
                                  fear the Lord  
                                  On f.186v., Greene has  
                                  written 'Psalm 128  
                                  Epithalamium'.
- [The remaining pages are blank.]

From various of Greene's comments quoted in the list above, it will be seen that he not only compared the verbal texts of certain anthems with those printed in James Clifford's Divine Services and Anthems (1663; 2nd edn., 1664), but also had access to a copy of Barnard's First Book of Selected Church Musick (1641). In his 'Memoirs of Dr. Boyce' prefixed to the second edition of Cathedral Music (1788), Hawkins, having just told us that "Dr. Boyce himself has been heard to say, that the library of the church of Hereford was the only one in the kingdom in which he was able to find a compleat set of Barnard's books", goes on in the very next paragraph to assert that among the materials assembled by Greene was "a compleat set of the books published by Barnard"!<sup>34</sup> Whether Greene ever owned a copy of Barnard is very doubtful indeed; if he did, it is odd that he did not leave it to Boyce, in the sale of whose own library (in April 1779) no trace of the work is to be found. As to what other sources Greene

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<sup>34</sup> Op. cit., p. vi.

consulted, we can only guess -- the Harleian collection perhaps; and possibly also the remains of Dr. Pepusch's celebrated library which, by this time, had already been divided up between his two chief beneficiaries, Ephraim Kelner and John Travers, and the Academy of Ancient Music. It is particularly interesting to learn that Greene planned to include Byrd's 'Great' Service in his projected collection of cathedral music. Its presence here may indicate that he had also consulted the books of the main provincial cathedrals -- in this case, Durham -- and that this may even have been the chief purpose of his journey north in the summer of 1750.<sup>35</sup>

But the evidence of Greene's industry during the last few years of his life is not confined to Add. MS. 31443 alone. The hand of copyist A turns up again -- on its own and in conjunction with Greene's -- in Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. 52 D. 20, whose motley contents include two anthems which deserve to be mentioned in this context: Pelham Humfrey's "O praise the Lord" (ff. 29-32v.) and Jeremiah Clarke's "Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem" (ff. 33-35). The first is entirely in the hand of copyist A with corrections and other addenda by Boyce. The second has a figured bass (and also some words) in Greene's autograph.

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35 See ante, p. 256.

At the head of f.33, Boyce has written: "This must be put in G. a Flat 3<sup>d</sup> lower Tis always performed in that key"<sup>36</sup> -- and thus it finally appeared in the second volume of Cathedral Music in 1768.

As they now stand, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. 52 D.20, and its companion, MS. 52 D.21, are the residue of what was originally a much larger collection of sacred miscellanea assembled, it would appear, by Samuel Arnold from various earlier manuscript bits and pieces which he had acquired in the course of his researches. During the latter part of the nineteenth century, these two volumes belonged to William Alexander Barrett whose library came under the hammer in June 1925. They were then purchased by Ralph Griffin, the eminent lawyer and Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries who, four years later, had them broken up, and their several self-contained sections separately rebound, for presentation to the British Museum, the Fitzwilliam Museum, and the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Before doing so, however, he conscientiously published an eleven-page monograph<sup>37</sup> giving full details of the contents of these two volumes which, as he pertinently observed, "cannot be doubted... [to] contain, bound

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36 A note pencilled in the margin of f.33 by Joseph Corfe, one of the early owners of the manuscript, objects to this transposition, and insists that, at Salisbury, the piece was customarily sung in A.

37 An Account of two volumes of manuscript anthems once in the Barrett Collection, dated June 1929 (privately printed).

together, part of the collections of Greene, Boyce, and Arnold for the intended complete corpus of Cathedral Music". Of the two smaller volumes which went to the Bodleian, one -- MS. Don. c. 19 -- consists entirely of anthems by William Croft, most of them either autograph or else composer-approved copies in the hand of his pupil, James Kent. The other -- formerly pp. 211-313 of the second of the two Barrett/Griffin volumes, and now MS. Don. c. 20 -- is described as a collection of 'Tudor Anthems Edited by Dr. W. Boyce'. Its fourteen anthems, like those of Add. MS. 31443, were produced by yet another unidentified Greene copyist -- copyist C (See Plate Vc, p.302) -- working it seems, from part-books, with instructions to leave one extra stave blank at the bottom of each system for the later addition of a figured bass. This was provided, not, as Griffin thought, by Boyce, but by Greene, who also made a number of minor alterations and corrections, and added various headings etc., just as he did in Add. MS. 31443. Only the last two items in the following list give any indication of having been 'edited' by Boyce.

Bodleian Library, MS. Don. c. 20

Tallis	All people that on earth do dwell ff. 1-2. The words 'this psalm published by Thompson' in the top LH corner of f.1 may well be in the hand of Samuel Arnold who published
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*O Lord make thy servant* 410  
229

*A Prayer for the King* ~~George~~

O Lord make thy servant thy servant our thing

O Lord make thy servant thy servant our thing to

O Lord make thy servant thy servant our thing

O Lord make thy servant thy servant our thing to

O Lord make thy servant thy servant our thing

to rejoice in thy strength give him his heart desire & deny

not rejoice in thy strength to rejoice in thy strength give him his heart desire

to rejoice in thy strength give him his heart desire & deny not

rejoice to rejoice in thy strength in thy strength give him his

to rejoice rejoice in thy strength

Plate V (c): The opening of Byrd's "O Lord make thy servant [Elizabeth]" in the hand of copyist C. The words 'A Prayer for the King', and 'George' replacing 'Charles' (erased) are in Greene's autograph; so too is the basso continuo part except for the clefs and time-signature. Bodleian Library, MS. Don. c. 20, f. 10.

- the piece (with the addition of a figured bass which does not appear here) in Cathedral Music (1790), i, 244.
- Byrd      Bow thine ear      ff. 2v.-6.  
 In the top LH corner of f.2v., Greene has written 'Second Part of O Lord turn thy wrath away' and, beneath the title, the words 'A Prayer'. Published by Boyce in Cathedral Music, ii, 29, though not, apparently, from this source.
- [Robt.?]White      I will magnify thee, O God      ff. 6v.-9v.  
 'Psalm 145' on f.6v. is in Greene's hand.
- Byrd      O Lord, make thy servant      ff.10-12.  
 [Elizabeth]  
 The source from which the copyist worked read 'Charles our king'. 'Charles' has been erased and 'George' inserted above the treble part by Greene who also provided the sub-heading 'A Prayer for the King' (see Plate Vc).<sup>38</sup>
- Giles      O give thanks      ff.12v.-15v.  
 Byrd      Prevent us, O Lord      ff.16-18.  
 Described by Greene on f.16 as 'The fourth Prayer after the Communion'.
- Wm. Mundy      O Lord, I bow the knees      ff.18v.-22v.  
 In the top LH corner of f.18v., Greene has written 'The words are taken out of the Prayer of Manasses King of Judah when he was holden Captive in Babylon' and, at the end (on f.22v.), the composer's name, 'W<sup>m</sup> Mundy'. A further note, in a hand which Griffin conjecturally assigned to Thomas Barrow, reads: "In the old Books and Trin: Coll: in Cambridge Tallys's Name is to this Anthem".<sup>39</sup>

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38 There is another copy of this anthem -- incomplete but possibly relevant -- in Fitzwilliam Museum, MS.52p.20, f.108v.

39 Another copy in Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. 52p.20, f.106; in the same hand as Byrd's "O Lord, make thy servant" at f.108v. which may, just possibly, be that of copyist B in Add. MS. 31443.

- Wm. Mundy O give thanks ff.23-26v.  
 'Psalm 107' on f.23 is in Greene's hand as are also the corrections on f.25 and elsewhere.
- Locke Turn thy face from my sins ff.27-31.  
 The name 'Bull' in the top RH corner of f.27 may have been written and later crossed out by Boyce. The correction of the tenor lead on f.28 (2nd system) is in Greene's autograph, however.
- Byrd Save me, O God ff.31v.-35.  
 The words 'Psalm 54' in the top LH corner of f.31v., 'verse' on f.32v., and 'Cho:' on f.33 were all written by Greene.
- Bull O Lord my God ff.35v.-40v.  
 Published by Boyce in Cathedral Music, iii, 165.
- [ Bull? ] O Lord God of our salvation ff.41-43v.  
 The name 'Bull' in the top RH corner of f.41 is a later addition, probably by Boyce(cf.f.27).
- Tye I will exalt thee ff.44-50.  
 Heavily annotated by Boyce who published it in Cathedral Music, ii, 10. The staves left blank for the later addition of a figured bass have here mostly been filled with textual variants in Barnard. In the top LH corner of f.44, Greene has written 'Psalm 30', while to the right of, and also beneath, the title, Boyce adds 'Note, This Anthem must be printed in C. with 3 flats [ up a minor 3rd] . This Score, is the most conformable to Barnard's books.'
- Farrant Call to remembrance ff.50v.-52.  
 Wrongly ascribed to Tallis by copyist C. The name 'Richard Farrant' on f.52 and 'Psalm 25' in the top LH corner of f.50v. are both in Greene's hand. This too has been vigorously edited and generally hacked about by Boyce who, in the space beneath

the title on f.50v., writes:  
 'In Barnard's books likewise/They  
 differ'd from this, but not now'.  
 It subsequently appeared in  
Cathedral Music, ii, 19. There  
 are also two notes concerning  
 the authorship of this piece on  
 f.52. The second is by Boyce;  
 the first by the same person whose  
 hand also figures on f.22v.

It is by no means impossible that other manuscripts similar to Add. 31443 and Don. c. 20 have also survived. Only twenty years ago, one such collection purporting to be "probably in the handwriting of William Boyce, and probably prepared for his great work on Cathedral Music" was listed by Maggs Bros. Ltd. in their catalogues nos. 759 (1946), 794 (1950) and 819 (1953) when it was eventually sold for £36. Described as a "Musical Manuscript on vellum of vocal scores for morning and evening services... 238 pp. folio. Bound in full morocco. Dated at the end, 1744", it was said to contain

Tallis's Responses, Litany, Morning and Evening Services  
 Farrant's Morning and Evening Services  
 Orlando Gibbons's Morning and Evening Services  
 Child's Morning Service in D, Evening Service in D, and Morning Service in E  
 Purcell's Morning and Evening Service in B  
 Blow's Morning and Evening Services in A and E  
 Bird's Morning and Evening Service  
 Patrick's Morning and Evening Service

The date 1744 is suspiciously early. The use of vellum rather than paper suggests, perhaps, that the volume, whether or not it is in Boyce's hand, came originally from

the Chapel Royal. In all probability, it had nothing whatever to do with Cathedral Music, but it ought clearly to be carefully examined all the same. Unfortunately, however, the manuscript is believed to be now in America, and all efforts to locate its present whereabouts have so far failed.

The subsequent history of Boyce's Cathedral Music need only be very briefly summarized here. Nine years after Boyce's death, and largely through the exertions of Sir John Hawkins, John Ashley issued a second edition printed from the same plates as the first, with the addition of J.K. Sherwin's finely engraved portrait of the editor and Hawkins's 'Memoirs of Dr. William Boyce'. Two years later (in 1790), Samuel Arnold brought out his own three-volume Cathedral Music designed as a 'Supplement' to Boyce who "lived only to compleat Three Volumes of Cathedral Musick" [sic].<sup>40</sup> At the request of "many Gentlemen in the profession", a separate organ part was also issued as Vol. 4. In form and style, Arnold is a more or less exact replica of Boyce: indeed, his engraver -- 'T. Bennett' -- had earlier been responsible for the last of Boyce's original three volumes. Although Arnold was well aware that public support for his undertaking

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40 Arnold, op. cit., Preface to Vol. 1, p. 5.

would not be great,<sup>41</sup> even he could hardly have expected the shameful reception which it in fact received: only 98 subscribers for 118 copies of Vol. 1.<sup>42</sup> Included in Arnold are a few 'ancient' works such as Patrick in A minor which Boyce had recommended in the Preface to his third volume, but the emphasis of his collection is clearly upon the eighteenth century -- Croft, Weldon, Aldrich, Charles King, Boyce, Travers, Nares, and also, of course, Greene, whose own works Boyce had been specifically forbidden to publish.<sup>43</sup> In 1843, a second edition of Arnold came out under the editorship of E.F. Rimbault. Two further editions of Boyce followed in 1849, the first by Vincent Novello,<sup>44</sup> the second (expanded and with its contents redisposed) by Joseph Warren whose copious notes and scholarly prefatory essay are especially valuable. The second (1788) edition of Cathedral Music, unlike the first, appears to have been an unqualified commercial success, with 405 subscribers for 490 copies. Even so, the great bulk of the names in this list is made up of private individuals, mostly professional men. Aristocratic and ecclesiastical patronage was now a thing of the past.

41 Loc. cit.

42 These figures were increased, but not significantly, in the subscriptions lists to Vols. 2 and 3.

43 See ante, p.267; also Boyce, Cathedral Music, iii, p.vi.

44 Originally issued periodically, in separate parts, 1841-4.

The newly-emergent middle class, avid for self-improvement, had gained the ascendant; henceforth, the state of English cultural life was to depend almost entirely upon the innate prejudice of the Common Man.

APPENDIX I

A GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE GREENES OF NAVESTOCK, ESSEX

The colony of Greens<sup>e</sup> discussed in Chapter 1 is so numerous, that some tabular statement of the composer's immediate forb<sup>e</sup>ears seems advisable. To minimize confusion, and to obviate the need for all the usual apparatus of a full-scale genealogical table, the following 'tree' has been severely pruned, to the point at which only those members of the family who are actually mentioned in the main body of the text remain. The list has been compiled chiefly, though by no means exclusively, from the evidence of four seventeenth-century pedigrees in the possession of Field Marshal Sir Francis Festing, the head of Greene's present-day descendants. These were drawn up and maintained by different members of the family, and, as one might expect, they do not always agree on minor points of detail. It would appear that the first was begun by John Greene 2, and continued by his son, John 3, who has also amplified some of the earlier entries; it covers five generations of Navestock Greenes, from John 1 to the children of John 3, and the whole of one large sheet of vellum. The rest were originally written on paper, and were later backed with linen, for preservation in the form of scrolls; they are now in a very dilapidated condition. One of

these -- in all probability the one kept by the composer's father, the Rev. Thomas Greene -- traces the main line from the time of John Greene 1 right down to the marriage of Maurice Greene and Mary Dillingham (1718), and at that point stops. The other two are both concerned with the subsidiary (Shelley Hall) branch of the family which stems from Robert (the sixth son of John Greene 1) and Frideswide, his wife.

For further information on the various Essex Greenes (of Navestock and elsewhere), the reader should consult Morant's History and Antiquities Of the County of Essex (2 vols., 1768), and also G.W. Marshall's 'Brief Pedigree Of Greene, of Navestock, Co. Essex' (in The East Anglian 3, 1869), bearing in mind that neither is entirely accurate. The comprehensive volumes of the modern Victoria History of the County of Essex are, of course, indispensable. For the ancestral Greenes of Green's Norton, see Halstead's Succinct Genealogies (1685), and Baker's History and Antiquities of the County of Northampton (2 vols., 1822-41). The Greenes chronicled in Lieut.-Colonel J.J. Greene's privately printed Pedigree of the Family of Greene (1899) are a much later Irish branch of the family.

JOHN GREEN 1 (1506?-94), of Navestock in the County of Essex; owned Bois Hall and the Manor of Shelley; the 'Grand Stemme' of the family tree; married Katherine Wright (1525?-96), by whom he had 13 children -- the sixth son, ROBERT (d. 1624), married Frideswide Wright (d. 1624), and by her 'had Isshue Twelve Sonns and neuer A Daughter'; the Shelley Hall branch of the family.

THOMAS, the third son; apparently a member of the Haberdashers' Company; said to have died c. 1625; married Margaret Greene (of London); both were buried in 'The Greenes Vaulte' in St. Magnus, London Bridge; 11 children, of whom the eldest surviving son (the third) was

JOHN 2 (1579?-1653), Judge of the Sheriff's Court; the first to claim descent from the Greenes of Green's Norton; married Anne Blanchard (d. 1641); 6 children ('beside some few that died young'). The eldest was

JOHN 3 (1616-59), Recorder of London; married Mary Jermyn (1627-59); 11 children, of whom four sons survived infancy:

JOHN 4 (1644-1725) - Alexander - Serjeant-at-law; (1646-67) died unmarried, leaving a bastard son, John 6 (below), as heir to Bois Hall and the Essex estates.	THOMAS (1648-1720) - Jermyn Clergyman; married (1650-1707) Mary Shelton (d. 1722); 7 children: John 5 (1682-1713) Thomas (1684-1715) Charles (1689) Shelton (b. 1690 ?) Elizabeth (1691) Elizabeth (1692-3)
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JOHN 6 (1695?-1752), Barrister; died unmarried; Bois Hall and other property left to Maurice.

and MAURICE (1696-1755), married Mary Dillingham (d. 1767); 5 children: John (1719-37?) Mary Shelton (b. 1720) Ann (b. 1724) Henry (1725-6) Katharine (1729-97), married Michael Festing (1725-65), whose descendants carry the line down to the present day.

APPENDIX IIA LIST OF PUBLICATIONS TO WHICH MAURICE GREENE SUBSCRIBED

The following list lays no claim to completeness, and is intended merely to give some general idea of the extent of Greene's interest in the music of his friends and contemporaries.

- 1724 William Croft: Musica Sacra: or, Select Anthems in Score, 2 vols.
- 1728 John Ernest Galliard: The Hymn of Adam and Eve, Out of the Fifth Book of Milton's Paradise-Lost. Greene and Bononcini subscribed for two copies each; Handel took four.
- 1730 Michael Christian Festing: Twelve Solo's For A Violin and Thorough Bass, Opera Prima.
- 1731 M.C. Festing: Twelve Sonata's, In Three Parts, Opera Secunda.
- [c.1732] John Christopher Smith: Suites de Pieces Pour le Clavecin, volume 1. Greene subscribed for a copy of volume 1, but not volume 2 which came out about five years later. Handel took both.
- [c. 1734] Henry Symonds: Six Sets of Lessons for the Harpsicord.
- 1735 William Hayes: Twelve Arietts or Ballads, And Two Cantatas. Includes a setting of Gay's "Go, Rose, my Chloe's bosom grace" which may have prompted Greene's own setting of these words ten years later.
- 1736 Barnabas Gunn: Two Cantata's and Six Songs. Both Handel and Greene subscribed, the latter for two copies.
- 1738 George Frideric Handel: Alexander's Feast or the Power of Musick. Full score. (See Deutsch, pp. 453-4).

- 1739 Domenico Scarlatti: XLII Suites de Pièces Pour le Clavecin, 2 vols. (ed. Thomas Roseingrave). See R. Newton, 'The English Cult of Domenico Scarlatti', in M&L 20, April, 1939, pp. 138-56.
- [c. 1740] Henry Burgess, junr.: Six Concertos, for the Organ and Harpsicord.
- 1743 William Boyce: Solomon, A Serenata, In Score. Handel also subscribed.
- 1744 Domenico Scarlatti: Twelve Concerto's in Seven Parts (arranged by Charles Avison). As Greene did not subscribe to any other of Avison's publications over the next ten years, his interest was obviously in Scarlatti rather than Avison.
- [c. 1745] A Gentleman of Oxford: A Cantata and Six Songs. [Published between 1743 and 1749] Greene took two copies.
- 1747 William Boyce: Twelve Sonatas For Two Violins; With a Bass for the Violoncello or Harpsicord. One of the most heavily subscribed of all eighteenth-century English musical publications: 487 subscribers (including Handel) for 631 copies.
- 1747 James Nares: Eight Setts of Lessons For The Harpsichord. Handel also subscribed (apparently unknown to Deutsch).
- 1753 John Alcock: A Morning and Evening Service, for three, four, five and six Voices.
- 1756 Thomas Chilcot: Six Concertos For the Harpsichord. Probably the last publication to which Greene subscribed; he is here described as 'late Organist and Composer to his Majesty'.

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