THE LIFE AND WORKS OF
WILLIAM AND PHILIP HAYES
(1708-77 & 1738-97)

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St Anne's College, Oxford

Volume One

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ABSTRACT

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William and Philip Hayes, father and son, between them occupied the Heather Chair of Music at Oxford for over half a century (1741-97). They were two of the most important provincial musicians of their age, who as composers contributed to all the main genres of the time except opera. The Hayeses' musical style reflects both a reverence for Handel (particularly in their choral works) and also an awareness of the insurgent *galant* idiom (clearly apparent in their sonatas). William Hayes was also active as a writer on music, publishing three substantial pamphlets between 1751 and 1768. He is perhaps best remembered today for his *Remarks on Mr. Avison's Essay on Musical Expression* (1753), in which he not only championed Handel against the apparent attacks of Avison, but also outlined his own musical aesthetic. The Hayeses were both ardent Handelians, and William was probably the single most active conductor of Handel's oratorios and choral works outside London during the composer's lifetime. Father and son were also important and knowledgeable collectors and copyists whose activities are well documented and whose unusually catholic tastes may be gathered from the surviving sale catalogue of their library. The fortunate survival of

most of their autograph scores and many complete sets of performing parts considerably increases our knowledge of eighteenth-century performance practice. Their wide-ranging activities in all these fields are considered in two biographical chapters and six appendices. The thesis includes a complete descriptive catalogue of their works (with music incipits for instrumental items), and provides detailed consideration of their achievements in five major areas: sacred vocal music; cantatas, songs and convivial vocal music; concerti grossi and keyboard concertos; trio and accompanied sonatas; and large-scale vocal works (oratorios, odes and masques).

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PREFACE

> A BOOK without a Preface, is like a Body without a Head: or a King without his Guards. Besides, Custom hath made it so necessary, that a Book is nothing without one; and is looked upon as an indispensable Ornament. A Gentleman would as soon buy a Horse without a Star in his Forehead, as a Scholar a Book without a Preface.
>
> (William Hayes, *The Art of Composing Music*, 1751)

The acquisitive pleasures of cataloguing and biographical research must be tempered by practical constraints of time and space. I have therefore placed what I hope are sensible limits on the scope of both the Catalogue of Works (explained in the Preface to Volume III) and the two introductory biographical chapters. In Chapters I and II, I have decided to restrict my comments on the Hayeses' vigorous and well-documented activities as conductors, collectors and copyists, and leave more detailed coverage of these matters to a later date to allow time for further research, after which I hope to publish my findings in full.

Although unnecessary duplication of material has been scrupulously avoided, a certain degree of overlap between the biographical and analytical chapters and the Catalogue of Works is unavoidable if the latter is to be of use as an independent reference volume. Manuscript citations in the footnotes are as complete as possible since they have been excluded from the bibliography, which is concerned only with eighteenth-, nineteenth- and twentieth-century published works. Notes, appendices and music examples have been placed in a separate volume to facilitate easy reference. (Quotations from endnotes to autograph scores are not usually separately noted; full references are contained in the Catalogue of Works).

Wherever possible I have tried to provide music examples in facsimile, since this offers the additional advantages of illustrating the distinguishing characteristics of William and Philip's musical hands, and of giving examples of both original eighteenth-century printed editions and nineteenth- and twentieth-century reprints, all of which are described in the Catalogue of Works, to which these examples form a useful supplement. One or two examples have reproduced only moderately well, but such blemishes as there are do not obscure any vital material. To avoid confusion, each example has a chapter prefix, thus: III.1 / VII.12. (Bar numbers given in the music example titles often refer to the specific bar(s) mentioned in the main text even though a larger portion may be quoted to provide an appropriate context). Although obvious mistakes have been corrected in the transcriptions, the music examples have not otherwise been edited, though bar numbers have generally been added to both transcriptions and facsimiles.

Throughout the thesis, abbreviations follow *New Grove* and *RISM* conventions, unless otherwise indicated, and the Helmholtz system of pitch notation has been adopted in Chapters III-VII (c' = middle C). When distinguished between, 'aria' and 'air' imply large-scale forms (da capo, dal segno etc.) and modest, small-scale songs respectively. 'Aria' or 'A' are used throughout the Catalogue of Works for individual solo movements of both types.

CHAPTER I
WILLIAM HAYES (1708–1777)

The most authoritative contemporary account of William Hayes's life and works was written by his son, Philip, in the final decade of the eighteenth century. It was drawn up at the suggestion of Samuel Arnold to preface Philip's long-awaited edition of his father's *Cathedral Music*, which eventually appeared in 1795.[1] In his 'Succinct ACCOUNT of the AUTHOR', Philip gave 1707 as the year of his father's birth, a date also implied by William himself in a note on the score of his Trio Sonata in E minor (7:006), in which he refers to its performance on 6 February 1775 as 'the Day whc completed my 67th year'. It is clear, however, that 1707 is an Old-Style date, for the baptismal registers of St John's, Gloucester, record unequivocally that on 26 January 1707 (New-Style 1708) 'William son of William Hayes of ye parish of St. Aldate & Sarah his Wife was Bapt.'.[2] A birth date of 1708 is corroborated later in Philip's biography when he describes his father's death in July 1777 as occurring 'in his 70th Year', that is, when his father was aged 69 (the age given on his gravestone).[3] The apparent discrepancy between William's implied birth date (6/7 February) and baptism (26 January) is accounted for by the change from the Julian to the Gregorian calendar which took place in England on 14 September 1752. Therefore, since eleven days (3 to 13 September 1752, inclusive) were omitted to accommodate the change, with characteristic pedantry William apparently decided to adjust his date of birth accordingly. Thus, 26 January (Old Style) became 6 February (New Style), and we may assume from his phrase 'the Day whc completed my 67th year' that he now regarded this latter day as his birthday.[4]

From the early years of the eighteenth century, the name Hayes appears regularly on the Freemans' rolls of the city of Gloucester as cordwainers (rope makers).[5] Of William's parents we know little, except that his father, also called William (1685-1758), was made a Freeman cordwainer of Gloucester on 29 April 1707 but at some time also seems to have been the landlord of the 'Golden Cock' in the parish of St Aldate.[6] After the death of his wife, William Hayes senior moved to Oxford to live with his son, and eventually died there in 1758 at the age of 73.[7] Virtually the only source of information regarding his son William's early life is Philip's biographical sketch of his father:

> He gave early Marks of good Talents for Music, and possessed also a sweet Voice, which was his Introduction to Mrs. Viney, a most accomplished Lady in that City, and a great Patroness of musical People. Through her Recommendation he became a Chorister in the Cathedral; and, under the Tuition of Mr. Hine the Organist, he soon distinguished himself as an elegant Solo Singer; which was so highly satisfactory to his Friend and Protectress, Mrs. Viney, that she initiated him in performing upon the Harpsichord, and taught him the first Tune he ever played on that Instrument. This succeeded so well, that she anxiously wished to have him articled to Mr. Hine, as a Cathedral Organist, which being negotiated between his Father and Mr. Hine, took place accordingly.

The accounts of Gloucester Cathedral record more precisely that William Hayes was admitted as a chorister in 1717, and remained there for the next ten years, finally heading the list of choristers in 1727, at the age of 19.[8] After his voice had broken he presumably acted as Hine's assistant, in which capacity, wrote Philip, 'he became excellent in playing Church Music and extempore Voluntaries'. But 'At the Expiration of his Articles he did not long continue at Glocester', and in 1729 he was appointed Organist of St Mary's, Shrewsbury. Here he seems to have made a home for himself, taking a wife, Ann, in or around 1730, starting

a family the following May, and 'by his professional Merits and good Address, he was much caressed by an elegant Circle of Friends'. Nothing but the offer of a post as a cathedral organist 'could have induced him to change a Situation thus surrounded with Friends'. When William Hine died in August 1730, Hayes probably entertained hopes of succeeding his former master as organist of the cathedral in his old home city, but was beaten to the post by one Barnabus Gunn, organist of St Philip's, Birmingham, and a skilful improviser of some renown. The grudge which Hayes harboured against Gunn following the latter's election was to surface publicly some twenty years later in a satirical pamphlet entitled *The Art of Composing Music by a Method entirely New*, in which Hayes amusingly insinuated that Gunn composed music by means of an imaginary device called a 'Spruzzarino' which squirted ink randomly onto ruled music paper. Nevertheless, on 7 September 1730, following family tradition, William was made a Freeman cordwainer of Gloucester,[9] and the next year his application for the organist's post at Worcester Cathedral was successful. It was probably in the spring or early summer of 1731 that the young family moved to their new home, for a daughter, Ann, was born in Worcester in August 1732, and on 14 September 1733 they baptised another son, Thomas, the first who was to survive into adulthood.[10] Of Hayes's other musical activities in Worcester we know very little, except that he supplemented his salary with an annual benefit concert of 'Vocal and Instrumental Music', advertised in the *Weekly Worcester Journal* during the summers of 1732 and 1733.[11]

'But his Genius was not designed for so narrow a Sphere', wrote Philip, 'Oxford was the Place of all others he wished to settle in for the Remainder of his Life'. In early July 1733 William travelled to

Oxford to be present at the 'memorable public Act' at which Handel presented a series of public concerts, including the première of his new oratorio *Athalia* in the Sheldonian Theatre. William must often have related these vivid experiences to Philip, who later recounted how his father had been so 'highly gratified by the excellent Performances he heard under the Direction of the immortal Handel, from whose great Powers and Spirit he caught those Sparks of Fire that flew from this great Luminary, which proved a further Incitement to his musical Studies'. In April 1734 the death of Thomas Hecht'[12] left vacant the post of organist and *Informator Choristarum* at Magdalen College (where Hine had received his early music training), and 'by the Recommendation of his worthy Friend Dr. Jenner, Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity' Hayes was elected to the post 'in Preference to many Candidates'. He remained in Oxford for the rest of his life.

Once settled, the Hayeses added a daughter, Sarah, to the family (March 1735), and in July 1736, Mary was born. Two musical sons followed quickly: Philip, in April 1738, and William, baptised on 6 December 1741. Thus, for most of the first twenty years of her married life, Ann Hayes was, like most married women of her time, either pregnant or lactating, and of the twelve children she bore, just half survived into adulthood.[13]

Meanwhile, William established himself in University and local musical circles, receiving the degree of B.Mus on 8 July 1735[14] for his ode 'When the fair consort', and later that year publishing his opus 1, *Twelve Arietts or Ballads, and Two Cantatas*, for which he obtained over 500 subscriptions from old friends in Gloucester (including his old protectress Mrs Viney), Shrewsbury, and Worcester, and a flattering

number of subscribers from his new home city. From early in 1735 William also seems to have held an appointment at New College, perhaps due to the influence of his friend Richard Church, also a chorister at Gloucester,[15] who had been installed as organist in 1732, but who spent much of his time as organist of Christ Church. The New College account books do not make it clear the exact nature of the position Hayes held, but in addition to occasional payments from the college he also received a yearly 'Exhibition' of £4 until 1745 when he succeeded to an annual payment of £6, formerly taken by the singer Walter Powell (an alto who had sung for Handel in 1733, and in Hayes's B.Mus ode in 1735).[16] Presumably, Hayes was at first a lay clerk (his name appears in the list of chaplains), and from 1745 a succentor, directing the choir from within. He continued drawing this Exhibition until the end of his life, though with his many other duties -- since 1741 he was also precentor at St Mary's the University Church -- he can hardly have been regular in his attendance. Yet until the election of Philip as organist of New College in 1776 he clearly took an interest in the running of the choir, receiving payments for copying music into the partbooks (including several of his own anthems), and purchasing quantities of printed music for use in chapel.[17]

His first important act as organist of Magdalen College was overseeing the removal of the old organ (originally by Robert Dallam and in 1690 rebuilt by his grandson Renatus Harris) to Tewkesbury Abbey, and the erection of a new instrument by Thomas Swarbrick. His predecessor had, according to the diary of Thomas Hearne, 'left an hundred and twenty Llbs. to that College, towards buying a New Organ there, or at least for the repair of the old one'.[18] The new organ was officially

opened on St Cecilia's Day 1736, and was marked by a day of elaborate musical celebrations organised by Hayes, to which the college contributed £5 15s 6d for 'Musicis die Sanctæ Ceciliæ'.[19] The *Weekly Worcester Journal* (26 November -- 3 December 1736) published the following account of the proceedings:

> Last Monday, being St. Cecilia's Day, a new Organ was open'd at Magdalen College Oxford, where Mr. Purcell's Te Deum and abundance of the finest Church Musick, was perform'd: there were some of the best Performances on the German Flute, French Horn, and Violin from London; and the same Evening there was a concert of Musick in the College Hall, when the Masque of Acis and Galatea was perform'd to a very large Audience.

This is the earliest recorded performance of *Acis and Galatea* to have been given outside London under the direction of someone other than the composer himself,[20] and it was the first of many of Handel's large-scale vocal works to be directed by Hayes in Oxford and the surrounding cathedral cities. Just two years later, in March 1738, he subscribed to Handel's *Alexander's Feast*, and on 14 July mounted a benefit performance 'in a grand Manner' for himself and Richard Church in the Sheldonian Theatre as part of the celebrations marking the University Act week.[21] With an eye to his own future benefit, as well as that of his fellow musicians, Hayes was among the first enrolled members of the Fund for Decayed Musicians (from 1790 the Royal Society of Musicians) founded in 1738. He was among distinguished company with many of London's leading musicians (Handel, Pepusch, Greene, Boyce, Arne and Stanley among them), although Hayes himself was one of the few signatories permanently resident outside the capital.[22]

The 1740s was one of the most eventful decades of Hayes's life. On 14 January 1741 he consolidated his position within the University,

succeeding Richard Goodson (the younger) to the Heather Professorship of Music,[23] and at the same time taking up the associated post of Organist (and precentor) at the University Church of St Mary's. Soon after this he published 'A Work (if it may be said without the Imputation of Vanity) of greater Variety than has been publish'd by any Author in one Volume': *Vocal and Instrumental Musick In Three Parts*, initially advertised as the work of 'William Hayes, Batchelor of Musick, Organist of Magdalen College',[24] but when finally issued, bearing the additional proud inscription 'Professor of Musick in the University of Oxford'. It was an impressive volume, containing the masque *Circe*, a collection of songs and cantatas prefaced by a trio sonata, and finally the ode submitted as the exercise for his B.Mus. A collection of *Six Cantatas*, containing some of Hayes's finest music, was brought out six years later, in January 1748.[25] During these years Hayes had clearly established himself as the leading musical figure in Oxford, and at the end of the decade, on 14 April 1749, he received one of the University's highest accolades, the degree of D.Mus., presented amid the elaborate celebrations marking the inauguration of the new Radcliffe Library.[26] Philip, who may just have been old enough to witness the event himself, described the ceremony in detail:

> Upon the Opening of the Radcliffe Library, in April 1749, for which Celebrity he engaged a Band over which he presided, by the particular Recommendation of the Trustees he was honoured by the University with the Doctorate, amid the general Plaudits of a brilliant Assemblage of Nobility, Gentry, and Academics in full Convocation, in the Theatre, to which he was presented by Dr. Bradley, the Savilian Professor of Astronomy, one of the greatest Men of his Time; who in an elegant Latin Speech, represented him not only as a Man eminent in his Faculty, but as one whose Sweetness of Temper vied with that of his Art.

To coincide with the opening of the Radcliffe Library (now the Radcliffe Camera) Hayes organised a large-scale festival of Handel's music in the Sheldonian Theatre. On 12 April *Esther* was performed, the following day it was the turn of *Samson*, and on Friday 14 April the first recorded performance of *Messiah* in Oxford brought the week to a spirited conclusion. A contemporary 'Account of the Proceedings at Oxford', written by one B. Kennicott, throws further light on these events, which seem to have been particularly lucrative for Hayes, though they were not without political overtones:

> [12 April] In the afternoon at four began the first Oratorio, which was Esther. The Management of the Musick was committed to Mr Hayes the University professor, who had got together from London and other places about forty voices & fifty instruments. This first Oratorio was performed to a Company of about 15000 [sic; but surely 1500] & the only part enchored was the fine Coronation Anthem, God save the King. It was observed by some that this whole Line was remarkable[:] Mercy to Jacob's Race, God Save the King.
>
> [14 April] ... After these Law degrees Mr. Hayes was made Dr. Of Musick, & was presented by our great Professor Doctor Bradley in an excellent speech very oratorically delivered ... Then Musick -- with God save the king ... & in the afternoon was the Oratorio of the Messiah, when Dr. Hayes appear'd in his new Robes at the head of the Band of Musick -- Tis computed that our Musick Professor has got by these three days about £700 besides £300 or more paid the performers, & laid out on the scaffold erected in the Theatre for the Musick. Which scaffold was hung round with Scarlet Cloth. I shall only add that tis computed there has been expended this week in the place near £20,000.[27]

Hayes further celebrated the occasion by sitting for his portrait. In John Cornish's finely executed oil study he is portrayed in ripe middle age, resplendent in his doctoral robes (see Appendix IV).

In an 'Account of Several Public Buildings in Oxford, never before described' contributed to *The Student, or the Oxford and Cambridge Monthly Miscellany* in July 1751, the anonymous writer referred to the

'late increase of Public Buildings in this place, such as the Radcliffe Library, [and] the Temple of Harmony, vulgarly call'd the Music Room'.[28] The opening of the Holywell Music Room in July 1748 was undoubtedly one of the most significant events of Hayes's professorship. According to one of the two accounts he penned regarding its planning and erection,[29] the old 'Music-club' met in a room at the King's Head Tavern, but 'Towards the end of the year 1741 the subscribers to the club being considerably increased occasioned a proposal to purchase by subscription one of the Racket courts & fit it up for private and public Concerts'. This scheme was promoted by the singer Walter Powell, and was continued (presumably by Hayes and others) after his death in 1744 and until £490 4s 6d had been raised. However, 'after a long Treaty' the owners of the racket court decided not to sell on any terms, and instead the Music Society 'purchased of Wadham College for £100 the ground whereon the present Music Room stands'. The original leases preserved in Wadham College archive suggest, however, that the land was never actually purchased outright, but was in fact rented to the Musical Society at an annual rate of 40s, a figure which remained unchanged until the second decade of the nineteenth century.[30] Building work began immediately and continued until funds ran out. Further funds were eventually raised by musical means, and in July 1748 the Music Room was opened with the performance of two (unspecified) oratorios, one of which was almost certainly *Esther*,[31] doubtless directed by the new Professor of Music. The £106 1s 5d profits helped towards the outstanding debt of which the last £370 10s 10d was finally paid off in 1752, the year in which the second land lease was drawn up and on which William's name first appears.[32] The final cost of the room was put at £1263 10s 10d.[33]

On 21 February 1734, Thomas Hearne noted in his diary that 'Last week the Organist's house (commonly called The music school house) on the north side of Magd. Coll. at a little distance from the College, just by the water side. being on the west side of the water, was pulled down, on account of the new additional part, that is now erecting of the college'.[34] Whether this refers to the house set aside for the organist to live and teach in is uncertain, for Hearne records that Hayes's predecessor was living on the other side of the city in St Ebbe's parish at the time of his death. It seems likely that the Hayes family at first settled in the adjoining parish of St Peter-in-the-East, in which church, from 5 March 1735, all his children were to be baptised. However, Hayes was not registered for church tax in this parish until December 1739 (his name appears crossed through in October 1738). The family apparently occupied a house in the north-west portion of the parish, described (in the published proposals for *Vocal and Instrumental Musick*, December 1740) as 'near Hertford College'. An increasingly prominent member of the parish, Hayes was elected Church Warden on 27 March 1744, and his term of office was extended for a second year in April 1745.[35] After January 1758 his church tax payments ceased, and he moved up-market into the parish of St Mary Magdalen on the north side of the city. Here he seems to have occupied a sizable property on Broad Street, mentioned in the 1772 survey of Oxford as on the 'North side, from the Dog and Partridge', and later described as 'Opposite the Clarendon Printing House'.[36] (It was probably among the houses cleared just before the Second World War to make room for the New Bodleian Library). When the house was eventually sold, after the death of Hayes's widow early in 1786, *Jackson's Oxford Journal* carried several unusually

descriptive advertisements of the dwelling which give a good idea of the affluent conditions which the Hayeses enjoyed during the last twenty years of William's life:

> To be SOLD, A large commodious FREEHOLD HOUSE situated in Broad Street, Opposite the Clarendon Printing House ... and a Garden which terminates at the South Wall of Trinity College Garden. -- Adjoining and opening to the Road opposite Wadham College, are Stables, Part of the Premisses, sufficient for eight Horses and two Carriages, Room for Saddles, Harness, &c ... A Pew, in the Parish Church, is annexed to the House. -- Under the House are good Cellars; and under the paved Yard, behind the House, is a large Stone-arched Vault. On the Ground Floor of the House are two Parlours, a Hall, and Kitchen. On the First Floor is a large wainscotted Dining Room, and a good Bed Room adjoining, forwards; and two Bed Rooms, backwards, over the Kitchen and Parlour. On the Second Floor the same Number of Rooms as on the First. In the Attick are three good Bed Rooms, a Gallary, and convenient Closets. -- The Length of the Premisses, behind the House, is, from South to North 127 Feet.[37]

Other advertisements additionally mention that the garden contained a 'Brew-house, Wash-house, and Wood-house'.[38] Hayes's improved living standards are reflected in his annual church taxes which rose from 5s to 9s 4d (2s 8d of which was for a stable), one of the highest rates in the parish, and by 1770 he could afford to donate a guinea to the Radcliffe Infirmary charity.[39] In consideration of his high standing in the local community, on 30 June 1771 'Persuant to an Act, past the last Session of Parliament ... for the better regulating the poor', Hayes was elected one of four Guardians of the Poor for the parish of St Mary Magdalen, a position to which he was re-elected in June 1772 and 1773.[40]

From comparatively humble stock himself, the upward social mobility and financial security which Hayes found in a professional musical career ensured that he and his family enjoyed a respectable place in society and a comfortable standard of living. As Daniel Defoe

commented in his observant novel *Robinson Crusoe*, 'the calamities of life were shared among the upper and lower part of mankind; but that the middle station had the fewest disasters'.[41] Hayes was a well-to-do member of that 'middle station', and while it is not possible to calculate his annual salary exactly, it is clear that even if his certain income was modest, occasional earnings might augment it considerably. The following accounts, based on one of Hayes's receipts of 4 November 1763, summarise his main annual sources of income:

[Organist of Magdalen:	£60]
['Exhibition' New College:	£ 6]
Professor of Music:	£13 6s 8d
Crewian Benefaction:	£30
Organist of St Mary's:	£ 8 13s 4d
State Holidays:	4 12s
'Extraordinary Services':	£11 10s
Precentor:	£ 1 6 8d [42]

By the time he was elected to the Professorship of Music in 1741, therefore, Hayes's guaranteed annual income was probably in excess of £120, which does not compare unfavourably with the £200 stipend attached to the post of Master of His Majesty's Music, the most coveted music post in the country. However, Hayes's basic composite salary must have been supplemented with casual earnings from private teaching, music copying, and the hiring out of his own scores and performing parts of Handel's oratorios, for which he usually charged two guineas.[43] Perhaps, too, there were some slender profits to be made from the more popular of his publications; the first book of *Catches, Glees and Canons*, for instance, ran to a second edition. But the most substantial source of additional revenue was doubtless derived from his concert-

giving activities. Not only were there the benefit concerts of the local music society, but there were also the larger music festivals centred around Handel's oratorios over which Hayes presided both in Oxford and the surrounding counties. His fee for conducting and singing in *Judas Maccabaeus*, *Acis and Galatea* and *Messiah* at the Gloucester meeting of the Three Choirs Festival in 1757, for instance, was £27 6s, which was about half that of the prima donna, Giulia Frasi, who received a gratuity of £52 10s. But if the accounts of the celebrations in Oxford marking the opening of the Radcliffe Library in 1749 are to be believed (see above), there were sometimes hundreds of pounds to be made.

The education of his sons and the marrying of his daughters was a paternal task Hayes appears to have taken seriously. His three sons were each raised as choristers in various college choirs: his eldest, Thomas (1733-1819), enrolled at Christ Church in 1744, his middle son, Philip (1738-1797), probably at New College, and his youngest, William (1741-1790), joining him at Magdalen in 1749.[44] Doubtless encouraged and assisted by their father, each of them continued singing into adulthood and received a classical university education. Thomas, apparently a bass, was elected to lay clerkships at Christ Church (1749), New College (1749) and St John's College (1750), and between 1752 and 1757 sang in numerous oratorios under his father in Oxford, Salisbury, Bath, and Gloucester. He matriculated at his father's college (Magdalen) in 1751, and graduated there in 1754, receiving his MA three years later at New College. He seems to have been the most promising singer of the three, and was paid one of the largest fees (£10 10s) for singing at the Gloucester Three Choirs Festival directed by his father in 1757. It was a training which fitted him well for the office of precentor to which he

was elected at Durham Cathedral in 1759, where he remained in the attached living of St Oswald's until his death in 1819.

Hayes's youngest son, given the paternal name of William, pursued a similar career to his elder brother, matriculating at Magdalen Hall in 1757, graduating in 1761 and receiving his MA at New College in 1764. After the departure of Thomas, his father put in a good word for him at New College, and Warden Purnell's Place Book, dating from 1759, records 'Dr Hays's youngest son for a Place put in Chap'.[45] The college accounts indicate that in 1762 he was at last successful and, like his brother, was placed as a singing chaplain, and in 1764 took office as 'Chaunter' (presumably a succentor). He continued to sing for his father too, taking part in the oratorios he mounted in Nottingham in 1763. Perhaps through family connections, two years later at the age of 24, he moved to Worcester Cathedral, where his father had earlier been organist, to take up an appointment as a Minor Canon, a musical post sometimes referred to as a Vicar Choral. Perhaps horrified by what he found there, in May 1765 he published an article in the *Gentleman's Magazine* entitled 'Rules necessary to be observed by all Cathedral-Singers in this Kingdom', in which the influence of his father's training is clearly apparent.[46] In January the following year he moved to London, as a Minor Canon at St Paul's, rising to Senior Cardinal in 1783 and holding the living of Tillingham in Essex. Meanwhile, in 1776 he joined his elder brother, Philip, at the Chapel Royal, where he was sworn in as a priest on 24 January.[47] Papers now in the possession of his descendants record that to the end of his life his love of music remained strong: 'He was devoted to music, being a good performer on the piano forte and harpsichord and possessing an excellent & cultivated

voice. He frequently had musical parties consisting of his private friends'.[48] His early death in 1790 merited a brief obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.[49]

Philip was the only one of William Hayes's three sons to become a professional musician, succeeding his father in all his appointments, and in view of his own well-documented achievements and considerable output as a composer, is accorded separate consideration in the following chapters. The female members of the family, however, remain shadowy figures. William's wife, Ann, outlived her husband by nearly ten years, dying in January 1786 after what her obituary described as 'a long Illness, which she supported with exemplary Fortitude'.[50] Otherwise the conventionally eulogistic language of the obituary (probably written by Philip) reveals nothing substantial about her character. She and William ensured that their daughters all married well. Ann was wedded to the prominent local printer and bookseller Daniel Prince in 1768, and her sisters were both betrothed to clergymen, Mary to the Rev. William Corne sometime before 1759, and Sarah to the Rev. Samuel Viner in 1771.[51] Little is known of Ann, Mary and Sarah beyond this, though in April 1775 the New College diarist James Woodforde, a family acquaintance, had the pleasure of travelling from Oxford to London with Mrs Ann Prince, and found her 'a very agreeable & merry Traveller'.[52] While William Hayes clearly encouraged his sons Thomas, Philip and William in their wide-ranging musical activities, any music-making his daughters indulged in seems to have been bound by the middle-class social conventions of the time and strictly confined to the home. Indeed, some of William's convivial vocal music may very well have had its origins in the home, where it provided entertainment for

the whole family. At the end of the preface to his first book of *Catches, Glees and Canons* (1757), he commended both the educational and communal value of such pieces: 'Having, as it is the Duty of every Parent in a Moral Sense, done my Endeavour to make my little Family capable of shifting for Themselves', he hoped that his catches etc. 'may prove as *useful* and *entertaining* in the *Great World*, as they have hitherto proved by the *Fireside*'.

They did indeed entertain the 'Great World', and no lesser judge than Charles Burney, in his article on Hayes in Rees's *Cyclopaedia* (1802-19), considered that the four books of catches, glees and canons, published between 1757 and 1784, were the compositions which 'gained him the most general celebrity'. When the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club began offering prizes for such works in 1763, as Philip proudly recorded, 'he obtained *Three Prizes* out of *Six*, and *some others* in the two Years following', and in 1765 the club further honoured him, electing him a 'Priviledged Member'. Hayes was a member of similar clubs in Oxford, and on 5 May 1774 James Woodforde and an acquaintance, after leaving their masonic lodge, attended one of their meetings:

> From the Lodge I went with Holmes to the Catch Club at the Mitre, where we supped & spent the evening. & were highly delighted with their Catches. We went as Friends to Mr. Walker our Chaplain. There were present Mr. Orthman the Steward, Dr. Hayes, Mr. Huddesford, Mr. Walker, Mr. Walond, Mr. Morgan, Mr. Piddington, Mr. Jeanes of our Coll: &c &c. ... We broke up about 11. o'clock.[53]

Although Woodforde's accounts of masonic gatherings are no less detailed as to personnel, he never recorded meeting William Hayes or any of his sons at his Lodge. Nevertheless, there is strong circumstantial evidence to suggest that they too had strong masonic

interests. Not only did William and his sons Thomas and Philip subscribe to Thomas Hale's masonic song book *Social Harmony* in 1763, but William himself contributed one of the only specifically masonic pieces to the collection, an extended *Ode Sacred to Masonry*, possibly intended for the consecration of a lodge or some other such ceremonial occasion.[54] Philip does not seem to have composed any music of this kind, though he did appear as one of the directors of *An Ode to the Humane Society* performed at the Freemasons' Hall in London on 13 February 1786.

A 'studious and active professor; a great collector of curious and old compositions, and possessed of considerable genius and abilities for producing new' -- so reads Burney's generous assessment of Hayes in Rees's *Cyclopaedia*. Although Hayes was widely recognised to have been 'studious and active' as Professor of Music, his official duties were in fact only loosely defined. The record of his appointment in the University Register of Convocation (1730-41)[55] gives little specific detail itself, but notes that the statutes of William Heather, founder of the Chair, were read aloud, and that after swearing an oath of loyalty to the King, Hayes was elected 'Musicæ Exercitationis Præfectum' [Professor of musical exercise or practice]. The understanding seems to have been that, in fulfilment of Heather's original intentions for the post of Music Master the Professor would oversee practical music-making in the University, nominally on a weekly basis during term time (except in Lent). Like his immediate predecessors, Hayes continued to supply occasional odes for University ceremonial, presumably paid for out of the £30 Crewian benefaction, and also continued to examine the exercises submitted for the degrees of B.Mus and D.Mus., though he was

not in receipt of the £3 stipend of the Lecturer in music also endowed by Heather. There was in fact no formal teaching of music in the University at this time, and candidates for degrees in music generally received their education elsewhere (often in the Church), only coming to Oxford to gain official approval for their prepared musical exercises, which were publicly performed in the Music School under the direction of the Professor. Burney's exercise, the anthem 'I will love thee, O Lord my Strength', was given in the Music School on 22 June for the accumulated degrees of B.Mus and D.Mus (and in 1773 was given in Hamburg under the direction of C.P.E. Bach). He submitted two works for Hayes's consideration, and recounted the proceedings in a footnote in his *A General History of Music* in order to rebut the 'occasional and sinister assertions, "that I neither liked nor had studied Church Music"', and to establish his credentials as a competent practical musician as well as a music historian:

> As the exercise for the degree with which I was honoured at Oxford, was required, by the statutes, to be composed in eight real parts; previous to supplicating for it in that university, besides the anthem consisting of solo, verse, and choral movements, accompanied by instruments, I prepared a vocal chorus ... in eight real parts, in the same full and rigid manner as Orl. Gibbons's "O clap your hands together," before I had seen that or any other of the kind. It was, however, not performed: as the late worthy Music-professor, Dr. William Hayes said, that though this movement alone would have well entitled me to a doctor's degree, it would not be wanting, the choruses of the anthem being sufficiently full to satisfy him and the university of my abilities to write in many parts.[56]

Having matriculated from University College a couple of days beforehand, he graduated just three days later on 23 June, and in a letter to his daughters noted that 'all was much applauded' and that 'Dr. Hayes is very civil; and lends me his Robe with a very Good Grace'.[57] Hayes

treated other distinguished musicians with similar respect, relaxing some of the rules governing the examination and award of degrees where he saw fit. In Burney's article on Samuel Arnold in Rees's *Cyclopaedia* he records that the latter's oratorio *The Prodigal Son* (1773) was so well thought of that it was performed in Oxford during the celebrations marking the installation of Lord North as the new Chancellor. 'In consequence of his ready compliance with the request made to him for this purpose', wrote Burney, 'he was offered an honorary degree'. But apparently Arnold preferred to obtain it 'in the academical mode', and therefore submitted to Hayes a setting of John Hughes's ode *The Power of Music*. However, 'Dr. Hayes ... returned Mr. Arnold's score unopened, saying to him, "Sir, it is quite unnecessary to scrutinize the exercise of the author of the Prodigal Son."'.

Even if he was not involved in the teaching of music as a University discipline, Hayes doubtless took on musical apprentices of his own. He also contemplated an ambitious scheme for the education of young musicians which he advanced in detail in his anonymously published *Remarks on Mr. Avison's Essay on Musical Expression* (1753). He proposed that 'when a sufficient Fund is raised for the Maintenance of decayed Musicians and their Families [i.e. later the Royal Society of Musicians], the *Surplus* might be applied to the Educating of such Boys and Girls, who shew an early Genius in the several Branches of Music, indiscriminately, whether Musicians Children or otherwise'.[58] His chief proviso reveals the underlying aim of his scheme:

> Suppose an ACADEMY formed under proper Regulation, in which no Author whatever should be studied, unless deemed truly *Classical*; might not this enable us in a few Years, to pay back with *Interest* what we have *borrowed* from foreign Countries at too large a *Præmium?* And would not this be the surest Means of establishing

> *good Taste* among us? If so, there is nothing I should more ardently wish for.[59]

He envisaged that to start with the Academy would be small, with an initial quota of six pupils, and an annual intake of just two. Yet radically for its time, Hayes proposed that it should be co-educational. Doubtless drawing from his own experience of training choristers, he suggested that pupils should be taken young, stipulating that 'their Age should not be under *Seven*, nor exceed *Eight* Years when admitted'. Hayes further laid down that their training should continue for fourteen years, and should include a broad curriculum, including reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar and religious instruction, 'it being the Misfortune of many Musicians to be extremely ignorant in most of these Qualifications'.[60] Yearly assessments and extreme discretion in public appearances were also recommended. As for the teachers, their salaries should be 'moderate, though sufficient to make them desirable', though, sensible of the evils of pluralism, their 'Attendance' should 'be in Proportion to the Undertaking'. Thus he hoped that such a scheme, if it were properly planned and run, 'might be productive of excellent Performers, and learned Composers in every useful Branch of Music; no less to the Honour than the Advantage of the Nation, in rivalling the haughty *French* and *Italians*, and in saving itself vast Sums *annually*'.[61]

However 'haughty' he may have considered foreign musicians, in practice it certainly did not prevent him from taking a serious interest in their music, as his comments elsewhere in the *Remarks*, both pro and con, make clear. Yet as his concert-giving activities, his library and writings all make clear, it was the English muse to which he was first and foremost devoted, and in particular to the works of her

adopted son, Handel. His interests also extended from music of the comparatively recent past, to that of sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But Hayes was no dabbling antiquarian, when he bitterly observed of native church music that 'the further we look back, the more excellent the Composition will be found',[62] it was a view formed by a surprisingly wide knowledge of the earlier repertory. Indeed, his impressive collection (taken over and continued by Philip) was not only rich in the works of Restoration composers, but also contained many works from the Elizabethan and Jacobean eras too. When the collection came to be sold, after Philip's death, in about 1798, it included, for example, a complete set of partbooks 'from the Collection of the late Mr. Gosling' which contained 'very scarce Music' by, amongst others, Tallis, Tye, Byrd and Gibbons, but most fascinating of all, perhaps, are the several 'Curious old MSS. from Eton College' mentioned in Lot 227.

William himself was an active transcriber of Elizabethan music, scoring-up no lesser publication than Byrd and Tallis's *Cantiones Sacrae* of 1575,[63] and apparently providing at least one piece with an English text for use in chapel, for it was later included by Philip Hayes in his edition of William's *Cathedral Music* (1795) in the mistaken belief that it was one of his father's own works.[64] William Boyce evidently made use of William's specialist knowledge when compiling his three-volume anthology of English *Cathedral Music* (1760-73), acknowledging his assistance in the preface to Volume III (p.vi), and Hayes was almost certainly one of the 'former associates' or 'newer connexions at Oxford' to whom Burney wrote (and later visited) when researching his *A General History of Music*, 'recommending to them to facilitate, with their best power, the researches of the musical historian';[65] William and Philip

later subscribed to both these worthy publications. William was also consulted for his knowledge of English musical biography by James Granger, whose *A Biographical History of England, from Egbert the Great to the Revolution* appeared in 1769. Granger recognised Hayes's help in a footnote to his article on Purcell, in which he wrote 'I must acknowledge myself indebted for several anecdotes, concerning musicians, and some insight into their characters, to Dr. Hayes, the ingenious professor of music at Oxford'.[66]

In addition to his high opinion of Hayes as a professor, collector and composer, Burney also seems to have thought well of William's ability as an organist. Shortly after Hayes's election to the chair of music, he apparently returned to the city in which he had held his first professional appointment. The visit would surely have gone unrecorded had it not profoundly influenced the young Charles Burney, as he recorded in some (now fragmentary) notes for his memoirs:

> The celebrated Felton, from Hereford; & after him the 1st Dr. Hayes, from Oxford, came to Shrewsbury on a Tour while I was studying so hard without Instruction or example, and struck & stimulated me so forcibly by their performance on the Organ as well as encouragement that I went to work with an ambition & fury that w^{d} hardly allow me to eat or sleep..... Then I used to play a treble extempore to a base, & a base to a treble, of easy movements in Corelli, Valentini or Albinony. But after I had heard Felton, & Mr. afterwards Dr. Hayes, I used to write down movements in imitation of their style, & even passages, in two parts...[67]

Clearly the impact of Hayes's playing did not fade with time, for when Burney came to contribute an article on him to Rees's *Cyclopaedia* in the last years of his life, he still remembered Hayes as 'a very good organ player', singling out the occasion when, in 1773, he played for the installation of Lord North as Chancellor of the University in the

Sheldonian Theatre 'in a full and masterly manner'. Philip remembered in particular that his father 'by a very happy Facility of expressing the Genius of the various Stops, was often attended to by the Admirers of that Species of Playing with heartfelt Satisfaction'. Having overseen the installation of a new organ at Magdalen College at the beginning of his Oxford career, towards the end of his life William was called upon to open the new organ by Byfield and Green at St John's College in 1769, and according to *Jackson's Oxford Journal* he 'gave universal Satisfaction'.[68] Hayes also gave time and money to assist with the rebuilding of the organ in his old parish church of St Peter-in-the-East in July 1768, donating £1 10s towards the cost, and conducting an inaugural performance of *Messiah* for the benefit of the organist, William Walond (senior), 'the Whole of which went off with great Spirit'.[69]

Of greater consequence than his abilities as an organist, were Hayes's activities as a conductor. According to Burney again, Hayes was the 'sole director of the choral meetings, concerts, and encaenia, and every musical exhibition in that university to the time of his death'.[70] From the newspaper's earliest issues in 1753 until the end of his life, the advertisements and reports carried in *Jackson's Oxford Journal* regularly mention Hayes as the director of the large-scale oratorio performances which usually accompanied the University's annual summer Act week festivities and of the 'Choral Meetings' which were organised by the Oxford Musical Society throughout the year. The choral repertory was almost exclusively Handelian, though there were occasional performances of works by Hayes himself and of Purcell's *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* (1694), Boyce's *Solomon* and settings of the *Stabat Mater* by

Pergolesi and D'Astorga. The choice of repertory, however, was not determined by Hayes alone, for, as article 15 of the Musical Society's constitution made clear, 'The Music for the Instrumental concert shall be appointed by the Steward; but the Choral Concert shall be agreed upon at the Ordinary Meeting'.[71]

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Oxford's proximity to London ensured a constant supply of the latest music and the finest musicians from the capital. Due mainly to the efforts of Hayes, it seems, many of Handel's oratorios and other large-scale vocal works were performed in Oxford soon after their London premières or well before they were heard elsewhere in the country. *Samson*, for instance, was first performed at Covent Garden on 18 February 1743, and on St Cecilia's day the same year was given in Oxford 'in one of the College Halls' for Hayes's benefit. An advertisement in the *London Evening Post* on 4 July promised that there would be 'a great Number of Hands from London', and according to one who heard the work it was executed every bit as 'finely as it ever was in town'. Miss Catherine Talbot also commented (in a letter of 27 December) that she had not only been 'highly delighted with several songs in Sampson' but 'especially with the choruses'.[72] It is clear, therefore, that this performance was not based on the published highlights of the work which were issued by Walsh in three parts between 19 March and 9 April, since these volumes omitted the choruses and recitatives. Thus Hayes must have obtained a full score of the work from somewhere else. It is known that since the 1730s Oxford musicians had managed to get copies of Handel's unpublished works from sources close to the composer,[73] though the precise channels have never been fully established. Winton Dean mentions the likelihood

that a full score of *Samson* in the Mann Collection, inscribed 'J.H. scripsit 1743', may have been associated with a performance at Oxford, or possibly a presentation copy actually copied after the event, though the identity of 'J.H.' remains obscure.[74] However, we know more about the provenance of the scores of *Judas Maccabaeus*, *Messiah* and *Joshua* which Hayes acquired in 1756 for use during the annual Commemoration of the Founders and Benefactors to the University. It appears, from a partially preserved correspondence between the fourth Lord Shaftesbury and his cousin James Harris (possibly the unidentified 'J.H.')[75], that Hayes approached Harris regarding the loan of Shaftesbury's copies of these works. Shaftesbury, who was personally acquainted with Handel and obviously possessed such material,[76] responded to Hayes's request in a letter to Harris dated 20 May 1756:

> With regard to Dr. Hayes' request, the first part -- the letting them have Judas and Messiah Oratorios; as these have already been frequently perform'd, can see no mateiral [sic] objection to doing this. As to Joshua, I believe Mr. Handel will not chuse to have it perform'd at Oxford, or anywhere but by himself. However, I will speak to Smyth about it, tho' very well satisfied now of Mr. Handel's desire to keep it for himself.

A week later he continued the correspondence when some progress had been made:

> Smyth has been with me just now to say, there is no objection to my lending the score of Joshua to Dr. Hayes, yet this is done under a confidence of Dr. Hayes' honour, that he will not suffer any copy to be taken or get about from his having been in possession of the score. For otherwise both Handel and Smyth (his copiest) will be injur'd.[77]

One presumes that these restrictions on copying applied only to the making of a full score and not to the preparation of such parts as

were necessary to mount a performance, though Hayes had in any case performed *Joshua* in Salisbury in 1754. Indeed, why exactly Hayes needed these scores when he had previously performed all three works remains unclear, but the oratorios were performed in Oxford on 6, 7 and 8 July 1756, and the borrowing apparently continued.[78]

Despite his sincere admiration for Handel's works, Hayes apparently felt by no means constrained to follow his scores to the letter and was probably quite well aware of Handel's own practical 'cut-and-paste' approach to suit the circumstances of, and performers available for, each new performance. The 'J.H.' copy of *Samson*, if indeed it was associated with Oxford, contains many variant readings, and as Dean observes, the 'singular and unparalleled conversion of the second finale into a purely Israelite chorus, 'Great Dagon' being replaced by a tame repetition of 'Jehovah'', would have been unthinkable at Covent Garden, but 'an Oxford College might have been sensitive about allowing the enemy to answer back within its walls'.[79] The libretto for the Oxford performance of *Joshua* in 1756 contains substantial additions, including a recitative and air from *Jephtha*. If William Crotch (1775-1847) can be believed, Hayes even went so far as to re-compose the occasional number if he thought he could improve it. In a lecture on *Messiah* delivered at the Surrey Institution in 1821, Crotch, himself an ardent Handelian, informed his audience that the air 'Thou art gone up on high' from *Messiah* was cast in the minor mode 'mainly for the sake of forming a connection between the last & ye following movement' but 'if abstractedly considered' was 'very ill calculated to convey such triumphant words'. For this reason, 'Dr. Wm. Hayes accordingly composed an air in the major key to the same words & on a somewhat similar

subject -- But though the obvious defects of Handel's song were thus remedied, the style of that intended to supply its place (& wch in the Oxford Performances actually did so for some years) was by no means worthy of being attached to this production'.[80] There is no remnant of this movement in the so-called 'Goldschmidt' score in the Pierpoint Morgan Library (Cary MS 122) which bears Hayes's signature and once obviously belonged to him, but it does contain other emendations in his hand. The accompanied recitative 'And lo, the angel of the Lord' is entirely in his autograph and contains several minor rhythmic adjustments, though rather more interesting are the airs 'He was despised', 'I know that my redeemer liveth' and 'If God be for us' which are liberally ornamented, apparently by Hayes himself.[81]

Hayes's concert-organising and conducting activities ranged well beyond Oxford. Philip recalled that 'So graceful was he and judicious as a Conductor of Orchestras, that he used frequently to be called forth to preside in the greater Performances in different Parts of the Kingdom for a Series of Years'. The majority of these concerts took place in the major cathedral cities surrounding Oxford: Salisbury, Winchester, Bristol, Bath, and Gloucester where in 1754 he acted as Deputy Steward of the Three Choirs Festival, returning for the following three meetings of the festival there in 1757, 1760 and 1763 as musical director.[82] Another music festival, in aid of a somewhat idealistic charity spearheaded by the Rev. William Hanbury, took Hayes northwards. In the five years between 1759 and 1763 he conducted three concerts in Hanbury's rather obscure parish church at Church Langton and one in Leicester (1762) and the last in Nottingham in 1763. In subsequent years, Hayes ventured as far north as Liverpool (1766 and 1770), and

Chester in 1772. Indeed, for a period of about forty years between the mid-1730s and early 1770s, William Hayes was probably the single most active conductor of Handel's oratorios and other major choral works outside London, and was thus responsible for the widespread dissemination of some of Handel's greatest music. During these years he directed the following works, arranged here in approximate order of the frequency with which he performed them: *Messiah*, *Acis and Galatea*, *Judas Maccabaeus*, *Alexander's Feast*, *L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato*, *Esther*, *Samson*, *Athalia*, *Joshua*, *The Choice of Hercules*, *Saul*, *Hercules*, *Belshazzar*, *Jephtha*, *Israel in Egypt*, *Deborah* and one of the odes for St Cecilia's Day. Particularly noteworthy was Hayes's championing of *Messiah* before its popularity was fully established by Handel's annual charity performances for the benefit of the Foundling Hospital which began in 1750. Hayes's performance of *Messiah* at Oxford in 1749, mentioned earlier, seems to have been the first in the English provinces,[83] and he introduced the work for the first time at the Three Choirs Festival at Gloucester in 1757.

The fortuitous survival of Hayes's complete accounts and lists of musicians employed at the Gloucester Three Choirs Festival of 1757 give us some idea of the scale as well as the expense of mounting such works outside the capital.[84] His own composite fee reveals that in addition to the considerable task of 'collecting, collating, writing and adjusting Parts' (for which he charged £5 5s), he also received £22 1s for both 'singing and conducting the music', a dual role which he seems to have fulfilled on a fairly regular basis.[85] The accounts for 1757 mention 61 performing musicians in addition to the two leading soloists, Beard and Frasi, and Hayes himself. They were drawn from Oxford, London,

Bath, Salisbury, Worcester and Hereford as well as the host city. Their total fees amounted to £405 2s, offset by the sale of tickets which grossed £162 for *Judas Maccabaeus*, £136 for *Acis and Galatea,* and, ahead even at its first performance at the festival, *Messiah*, which took £207, resulting in a net profit of around £100.

In a substantial tract entitled *Anecdotes of the Five Music-Meetings, On Account of the Charitable Foundations at Church Langton*, published in 1768, Hayes provides a unique, behind-the-scenes insight into the organisation and running of such large-scale provincial concerts during the mid-eighteenth century. These are not unbiased anecdotes, however, for the subtitle makes it clear that Hayes's work was written in response to the Rev. William Hanbury's recent book on *The History of the Rise and Progress of the Charitable Foundations at Church-Langton* (1767), in which Hayes found 'Many Misrepresentations, and Gross Falsehoods' which he 'fully Detected, and Confuted, Upon Indubitable Evidence'.[86] No longer were such matters of honour settled by a duel; the pamphlet was both safer, and the wounds it inflicted were infinitely more painful.

The Rev. Hanbury set forth his charitable agricultural scheme in an *Essay on Planting, and a Scheme for making it conducive to the Glory of God, and the Advantage of Society* in 1758. In and around Church Langton (near Market Harborough), with seeds from North America and elsewhere abroad, he began plantations, the profits from which would form the basis of a fund, which could then be used to promote various worthy schemes. When the fund amounted to £1,500, for instance, the interest would be diverted to the church, which was in need of re-decoration and a new organ. A village hospital would be founded when the

fund reached £4000; a great minster complete with choral foundation and a college with endowed professorships were just some of the goals envisaged when the fund amounted to £10,000 or £12,000. It was with the object of increasing this fund by musical means that Hayes was invited to conduct Handel's *Messiah*, a *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* and several anthems at Church Langton church in September 1759. It appears, however, that the considerable expense of mounting the concerts outweighed the takings, one lady refusing to make a contribution since she had recently had a run of bad luck at cards. Hayes accepted the invitation, he said, because it might 'contribute to the preservation of my *health*, and perhaps afford some little *pleasure*, by shifting the scene, more than with regard to the *pecuniary advantage* which might arise from it'.[87] After the concerts were over (in 1763), and acrimony had set in, Hanbury claimed that he had only asked Hayes on account of his music books (and presumably his musical contacts), to which Hayes asked simply 'where could he have found another person to furnish him with such a quantity of *music*, to supply the place of a singer, and to conduct the performances, for double the sum I demanded of him?'.[88]

On 30 July 1760 much the same programme was presented with much the same result. But for July 1761 a more ambitious programme was envisaged. Three oratorios were to be performed: *Judas Maccabaeus*, *Esther*, and *Messiah*. The latter paid off, but the other two did not, for which Hanbury blamed Hayes for substituting *Esther* for the 'noble' oratorio *Samson*, which had originally been proposed. Hayes claimed, however, that 'it was a moot point to me which of them should be done. I only took the freedom of mentioning the *Philistine jollity* in the latter [*Samson*], leaving him to judge, how well it would suit with the sacred

place where it was to be exhibited'.[89] There was also a more practical reason for choosing *Esther*, as Hayes explained:

> It was at the same time represented to him, that Samson required almost double the number of principal singers hitherto engaged; and that it would not be in our power to find a person capable of undertaking the part of Micah (as it really would not have been) within a reasonable distance, or upon the very moderate terms he required. Had Mrs. Scot (the most equal to it of any) been engaged for that part, it is probable that her pay would have been nearly equal to that of the whole set of principal singers beside. For these prudential reasons I *advised* him to make choice of Esther: and this out of the most friendly motive, and the sincerest regard to the Charity, to which I have ever been an hearty well-wisher.[90]

Part of the reason for the apparent lack of interest generated by the concerts on this occasion may have been due to yet another substitution, that of a boy treble to sing the 'first Woman's part, in all the oratorios'.[91] This was an economy which Hayes claims was suggested by Hanbury himself, but must have been common enough in the provinces, and was certainly employed in the two subsequent music meetings of 1762 and 1763. The fourth meeting, however, was modestly successful, either because the venue was changed to Leicester, or perhaps because *Samson* was finally performed, along with *Judas Maccabaeus*, *Messiah*, *Alexander's Feast* and Hayes's own *Ode to the Memory of Mr. Handel*, with profits in the region of £100.

It was not until the fifth and final music meeting held at Nottingham in late May and early June 1763 that the petty grievances harboured by both sides eventually boiled over, and there was a complete breakdown in communication and decorum. This time there was no argument over the programme itself (which was the same as the previous year), but instead over the actual time of the first concert. Hanbury advertised that it would begin on Tuesday morning (31 May); Hayes, on

the other hand, insisted that due to his commitments at the University Church in Oxford on the preceding Sunday he, and many of the performers he was bringing with him, would be unable to arrive in Nottingham (a journey of about 100 miles) before the evening of that day. He sent several messages to Hanbury to postpone the concert, advice which apparently went unheeded. The journey was long and hard, and because they could not afford fresh horses for each leg of the trip, it was also very slow. Hayes further added that:

> Every one who is acquainted with the road between Leicester and Nottingham, knows, that [the] great part thereof is extremely sandy. The weather at that time was very hot and dry; so that the particles of sand were rendered light, and in a condition to rise most plentifully; which being of a red colour, the effect of it was very visible on our cloaths and faces: for they were nearly like those of the noted brickdust-man in London.[92]

The audience, which included 'A powerful, polite female mob', waited in vain for the performers to arrive. Hanbury sent scouts on horseback to search for the errant musicians, who eventually glimpsed Hayes and his entourage 'coming down the hill beyond Bunny (seven miles from Nottingham) but so slow that he hardly moved'. Informed by these messengers that the concert had begun, Hanbury accused Hayes of laughing, to which Hayes confessed:

> I laughed with the rest; nay, I laughed heartily; and I must have been totally deprived of my risible faculties, not to have done so: for, could any thing be more ridiculous, than the idea of a man's absurdly bringing on the performance of an Oratorio in public, before *one half of the singers* were arrived? nay, *the leading violin* also? ... and further, without a single book to perform from.[93]

A trumpeter heralded their eventual arrival in town between 2 and 3 o'clock, and it was announced that *Messiah* would go ahead at 5 pm. The

venue was, according to Hayes, 'the smallest Theatre I ever saw',[94] and the performers were placed on the stage. After the overture the audience called on Hayes to explain himself, and, to their obvious delight, a haranguing match with Hanbury seems to have ensued. If Hayes had taken fresh horses, claimed Hanbury, he would have arrived on time, to which Philip cried loyally 'that is false I do affirm', and according to which account one believes, the audience either shouted at Hayes 'knock that fellow down', or chanted at Hanbury '*down, down*'.[95] Hayes complained that because Hanbury had refused to have parts sent to the choirboys at Lincoln, they could not attend, and since he had only brought two boys himself, Messiah was given 'as well as it was possible, with such an handful of vocal performers. No spirit was wanting, but strength there certainly was'.[96] Hanbury and his companions were still smouldering and debating whether Hayes should be arrested for damages or instantly dismissed; but since both courses of action would only have further depleted the fund, the Meeting continued. But more was to come, for Hanbury retrospectively accused Hayes and his musicians of drinking their fill after the concert and running off without settling the bill. Exasperated, and 'sickened of oratorios', Hanbury vowed to have nothing more to do with them, or Hayes, in the future.[97]

As a writer, Hayes achieved quite wide circulation. Between 1751 and 1768 he produced three tracts, and in 1773 went on to contribute a history of the Holywell Music Room to Peshall's edition of Anthony Wood's *Antient and Present State of the City of Oxford*. His three main works, while altogether different in content, shared an underlying theme. They were all essentially diatribes against those who had in some way offended him or upset his fine musical sensibilities. Philip

may well have praised his father's 'Placidity of Temper, and amiable Deportment through Life' which 'endeared him to all', but it is clearly apparent that the genuinely humorous tone of *The Art of Composing Music by a Method entirely New*, aimed at the unsuspecting Barnabus Gunn in 1751, later gave way to a deliberately combative approach as William put Charles Avison firmly in his place in his *Remarks* of 1753, and self-righteously refuted the Rev. William Hanbury's libellous allegations in his *Anecdotes* of 1768.

The Art of Composing Music by a Method entirely New is one of the most delightful spuriosities of its time. Its title-page promised that the method was 'Suited to the meanest Capacity. Whereby all Difficulties are removed, and a Person who has made never so little Progress before, may, with some small Application, be enabled to excel'. But by concealing his own authorship and suggesting throughout that the writer was in fact Barnabus Gunn, Hayes was able to poke fun at this hapless musician, whose only crime, so far as we can gather, was to beat Hayes to the organist's post at Gloucester Cathedral in 1730. Why Hayes's wicked little squib should appear over twenty years later, is by no means clear.

'A BOOK without a Preface', began Gunn (alias Hayes), 'is like a Body without a Head: or a King without his Guards', and so he borrowed one from a 'Brother Musician ... Mr. *Geminiani* in his Treatise on good Taste in Music'.[98] The work begins in earnest with a 'Sketch of the State of *Musick* in general',[99] ridiculing the current fashionable taste for Italian music and playfully deriding Handel. Until the arrival of 'the modern *Italian Music*', it would, teased Hayes, 'have sweated a Man in a frosty Morning, to have executed properly a Song or a Lesson; but

the gentle Strains we now boast require no such Labour'. He continued:

> There are remaining still among us some indeed who contend for the more manly Strokes of *Handel*; but alas! I pity them. For why should it not be in this Particular as in all other polite Things, where nothing is so much required as Ease and Negligence? ... There was a Time when the Man-Mountain, *Handel*, had got the Superiority, notwithstanding many Attempts had been made to keep him down; and might have maintained it probably, had he been content to have pleased People in their own Way; but his evil Genius would not suffer it: For he, imagining forsooth that nothing could obstruct him in his Career, whilst at the Zenith of his Greatness, broached another Kind of Music [oratorio]; more full, more grand (as his Admirers are pleased to call it, because crouded with Parts) and, to make the Noise the greater, caused it to be performed, by at least double the Number of Voices and Instruments than ever were heard in a Theatre before: In this, he not only thought to rival our Patron God, but others also; particularly *Æolus*, *Neptune*, and *Jupiter:* For at one Time, I have expected the House to be blown down with his artificial Wind; at another Time, that the Sea would have overflowed its Banks and swallowed us up: But beyond every thing, his Thunder was most intolerable -- I shall never get the horrid Rumbling of it out of my Head -- This was (literally you will say) taking us by Storm; hah! hah! but mark the Consequence -- By this Attempt to personate *Apollo*, he shared the Fate of *Phaëton*; *Heidegger* revolted, and with him most of the prime Nobility and Gentry. From this happy *Æra* we may date the Growth and Establishment of *Italian Music* in our Island.'[100]

Page by page Hayes caricatured Gunn's career and, with rapier-like wit, mocked his compositions, the repeated failure of which eventually led him, via various unsuitable mechanical aids, to the discovery of his infallible 'Method' of composing which was 'so easy, that a Child of Five Years may do it -- as well as myself'.[101] He hit upon the idea quite accidentally:

> Stepping one Day into my Bookbinder's Shop whilst he was at work, I stood some time and chatted with him: regarding but little of aught he did, till leaving for a Minute, going to one Corner of his Shop, and fetching from thence a Gallipot with a Brush in it: thinks I, what can this be for? I soon discovered, that the Use he applied it to, was to sprinkle the Edges of the Leaves, and (with some Variation) the Outside of the Covers, 'Twill do! 'Twill do! said I in the greatest Rapture imaginable! and directly flew out of the Shop. (The Man told me afterwards, he thought me mad.) Home

> I went, and immediately made me one of these Machines: which for the future I shall beg leave to call a *Spruzzarino*; not by that vulgar Name a Brush any longer. I made Experiment of my new Discovery, and found it answer, even beyond my Expectation.[102]

Composing with such an instrument was obviously a highly technical operation. Gunn (alias Hayes) vouched that 'my Six Sets of Lessons, just now published' were 'composed entirely by this Method':[103]

> Take a Gallipot, put therein Ink of what Colour you please; lay a Sheet of ruled Paper on your Harpsicord or Table; then dip the *Spruzzarino* into the Gallipot; when you take it out again shake off the superfluous Liquid; then take the fibrous or hairy Part betwixt the Fore-finger and Thumb of your Left-hand, pressing them close together, and hold it to the Lines and Spaces you intend to sprinkle; then draw the Fore-finger of your Right-hand gently over the Ends thereof, and you will see a Multiplicity of Spots on the Paper; this repeat as often as you have Occasion ... This done ... take your Pen and proceed to the placing the Cliffs or Keys at the Beginning, marking the Bars, and forming the Spots into Crotchets, Quavers, &*c.* as your Fancy shall prompt you ... this done, season it with Flats and Sharps to your Taste.[104]

Although purely satirical in intent, this actually appears to be the earliest published description of aleatoric composition.[105] There were, however, a number of simple rules which should be observed. Among the most important of these was to 'Avoid (as much as possible) any great Variety in the Bass Part; for this is truly *Italian*', but if 'the Spots will form a Passage like some favourite Air of another Author' there was 'no Reason why such a Passage should be rejected'.[106] The bit now firmly between his teeth, Hayes used this as an opportunity to vent his feelings about the worst aspects of contemporary Italianate music. For instance, 'Spruzzarino' users were advised that 'If a Discord fall on the first (or other) Part of the Bar, which is accented, without any previous Notice, never reject it; for therein consists one of the greatest Beauties of modern Composition'.[107]

Barnabus Gunn found the perfect vehicle for a good-natured reply in his *Twelve English Songs* published shortly after and which he subtitled 'Set to Musick by the New-invented Method of Composing with the Spruzzarino'. Continuing the joke, at his own expense, he included an amusing etching of the 'Spruzzarino' in use (see overleaf). The 'splatterer' (evidently small in stature)[108] appears to be Gunn himself, and perhaps it is Hayes who calls on encouragingly ''Twill do! 'Twill do!'. Gunn began his song collection with 'An Occasional Ballad', in which a little apt versification set the score straight:

> Once more my good friends I will give you a Song,
> And hope your kind Patience won't think it too long,
> By the Musick and words it will plainly be seen-o,
> It's compos'd in high taste with a new Spruzzarino.
>
> Of late has been Printed a Treatise of Music,
> The purport of which wou'd both make me and you sick,
> Brave Fellows such wits wou'd bring a man down,
> By forging his Name, and Suppressing their own.
>
> Let such Criticks snarl on, Still my works are the same,
> Their impotent Censure increases my Fame,
> And if my good Fortune does give them Vexation,
> They may tune off this Song, and use Gesticulation.

The most important and certainly the best-known of Hayes's serious literary works was the *Remarks on Mr. Avison's Essay on Musical Expression*, a lengthy and erudite critique which appeared the year after Avison's *An Essay on Musical Expression*, in 1753. As the title-page makes clear, Hayes's objective was that 'The Characters of several great Masters, both Ancient and Modern' were to be 'rescued from the Misrepresentations of the above Author; and their real Merit asserted and vindicated'. In addition Hayes took Avison to task on his analogies between music and painting, the limits of 'imitation' and 'expression',



Jn.e Devoto inv. et del. *Mieller Sc.*

'the too close attachment to Air, and Neglect of Harmony', the 'too close Attachment to Harmony, and Neglect of Air', and Avison's presumption in publishing such a pamphlet when his own works were so obviously imperfect.[109] Hayes's criticisms reveal much about his own aesthetic stance as well as the general state of English music and musical thought at this time. His contemporaries seem to have been persuaded by his strictures. Burney and Hawkins both refer to the validity of his *Remarks* in their respective histories,[110] and others, such as John Alcock in his semi-autobiographical novel, *The Life of Miss Fanny Brown* (c.1760-1), quoted him approvingly.[111] In his biographical article on William Hayes in Rees's *Cyclopaedia*, Burney again reflected on the *Remarks*:

> He had a true sense of Handel's superior merit, over all contemporary composers; and on the publication of Mr. Avison's well-written "Essay on Musical Expression," in which it is perpetually insinuated that Geminiani, Rameau, and Marcello, were greatly his superiors, Dr. Hayes took fire, and produced a pamphlet ... written with much more knowledge of the subject than temper: he felt so indignant at Avison's treatment of Handel, that he not only points out the false reasoning in his essay, but false composition in his own works.

A handwritten note on the Magdalen College copy of the *Remarks* ascribes the scarcity of the work to Avison's buying-up of the stock in a desperate bid to save face. Indeed, later in 1753 he published his own fifty-page *Reply to the Author of Remarks on the Essay on Musical Expression*, in which he sought to defend himself against his 'virulent, though, I flatter myself, not formidable, Antagonist'.[112] He characterises Hayes as a 'vain, disappointed, snarling Doctor of the Science' whose 'sole Objection lay against the Author of the Essay, and not the Essay itself'.[113] Avison, quite obviously hurt by Hayes's

admittedly abusive attack on his own music, confined himself simply to defending his concertos and excused himself from taking issue with his antagonist's 'coarse and wordy Comment on the Essay itself'.[114] Perhaps there was an element of truth in his assertion that Hayes's 'sole Intention was, a seeking of Errors'[115] in his works in order to discredit the Essay, and he therefore felt justified in taking a pot shot back: 'had he proved my Compositions as execrable as *some* that have echoed through University Theatres ... it would scarce have affected the Character of my Essay'.[116] Nevertheless, Avison seems genuinely to have taken some of Hayes's criticisms of his music to heart, and towards the end of his *Reply* even confessed 'that if he were as intimate with the Faults of these *Concertos*, as I am, he would find a great many more'.[117] The Avison/Hayes debate was remembered well into the following century, and was given considerable coverage in an anonymous biographical sketch of William Hayes contributed to the Harmonicon in 1833. This even-handed evaluation rather aptly turned Burney's words around, claiming instead that Hayes 'manifested more knowledge of his subject than *control* of temper; and his observations, -- though many of them are just, while some are rather hypocritical, -- lose much of their force from the asperity of language in which they were uttered, a fault only to be accounted for, in one of so mild a disposition, from his enthusiastic admiration of the illustrious composer whom he vindicated'.[118]

Hayes's health began to fail sometime during 1775. At the end of the biographical account of his father, Philip wrote that he had been affected by a 'Paralytic Stroke which he bore with Christian Resignation for near three Years, in a tottering State, more deranged in Health than in his Faculties'. In February that year James Woodforde had come across

William enjoying himself in full voice at the Mitre Inn, and shortly after recorded that, as usual, he was at New College for the hearty Founders Commemoration dinner, apparently in good health.'[119] However, in a letter to John Alcock dated 12 October 1775, William confessed that 'I was so much out of order myself as not to set about writing a Letter without great reluctance. In short, Old Age is come upon me rather sooner than I had expected it: However I thank God I am much better than I was'.[120] Even so, in 1775, to assist him at Magdalen College, the young John Beckwith was 'apprenticed to Dr. W. Hayes, and officiates as sub-organist in the Chapel'.[121]

On 17 February the following year Hayes drew up his will, appointing his wife sole executrix, and leaving 'any pictures which my son Philip may choose to retain' and bequeathing him all his 'music books'. The rest of the estate was to be divided (after the death of Ann, his wife) between his two daughters, Ann Prince and Sarah Viner, and his grandson Thomas Corne.'[122] Yet it appears that at about this time William still had sufficient energy to embark on his most ambitious work to date, his first dramatic oratorio, *David*. In a bold and forthright hand, he managed to complete most of the first Act and begin work on the second, leaving Philip to complete the rest of the score after his death. *David* was William Hayes's swan-song, and in it he drew on a lifetime's experience of performing Handel's oratorios. It is a work which can truly be said to have united father and son with the holy ghost of Handel.

By the Spring of 1777 William's strength finally gave way. When, on 29 May, he signed a ready-written receipt for 'The sum of twenty four Pounds for the Boy's who attend the Service at St Mary's Church on

Sundays &c', he could barely even form the letters of his name.[123] It was Philip who directed the music at the annual Anniversary Meeting of the Governors of the Radcliffe Infirmary in St Mary's on 2 July and conducted *Acis and Galatea* the following night in the Sheldonian Theatre. William Hayes died on 27 July aged 69, and was buried three days later in the graveyard of his old parish church of St Peter-in-the-East.[124] He was remembered in the following short obituary published in *Jackson's Oxford Journal* on 2 August 1777:

> On Sunday last died, in the 70th Year of his Age, Doctor William Hayes, Professor of Music in this University. He bore a lingering Illness with the Fortitude and Resignation of a Christian. He was eminently distinguished in his Profession, an affectionate Husband, kind Parent, and sincere Friend: In his Deportment truely amiable; which gained him the Respect and Esteem of all Ranks of People'.

CHAPTER II
PHILIP HAYES (1738-1797)

> HAYES, *Dr.* PHILLIP, son, and successor to the preceding music professor at Oxford, was regularly educated by his father, in the same art. When grown up, after he had lost his treble voice, which dropped into a tolerable tenor, he was admitted one of the gentlemen of the king's chapel, and resided chiefly in London, till the decease of his worthy father; who having established a family interest in the university, succeeded to all his honours and appointments; but not talents, temper, or importance. With very limited genius for composition, and unlimited vanity, envy and spleen, he was always on the fret; and by his situation, had a power, which he never spared, to render all other musicians uncomfortable. No one entered the university occasionally, or from curiosity, that did not alarm him. His extreme corpulency will be longer remembered than his abilities, of which he has left no example, that we can recollect, worthy to be recorded.[1]

Burney's vitriolic assessment of Philip Hayes, contributed to Rees's *Cyclopaedia* during his bitter old age, though coloured by personal enmity, proved to be prophetic in the final particular at least. Hayes was the 'fat man of his day';[2] substantial and irascible, he made an easy target for the wags. A weighty anecdotage accumulated rapidly during his own lifetime and went on to dominate his posthumous reputation, thus obscuring his undoubted industry as a composer, antiquarian and practical musician, which now merits serious consideration.

Philip was the second surviving son of William Hayes, and was baptised on 17 April 1738 at the church of St Peter-in-the-East in the city of Oxford. His early musical education, although doubtless carefully overseen by his father, is otherwise somewhat obscure. He almost certainly began his training as a chorister, but it was not at the Chapel Royal, as asserted in the *New Grove*,[3] nor at Christ Church or Magdalen College, where his brothers Thomas and William both sang as

boys. Most likely, Philip was placed at New College, whose account books (unlike those at Christ Church and Magdalen) do not mention choristers individually, but where there was a strong family interest, his father having been on the payroll there since 1735, and his brothers Thomas (from 1747) and William (from 1762) employed as singing men. Little is known of Philip's later childhood or early adolescence either, except that he became an accomplished singer and keyboard player, and, unlike his brothers, took a keen interest in composition. His first known professional appearance as a singer (probably as a tenor) occurred in 1757, when he took part in performances of Handel's *Judas Maccabaeus*, *Acis and Galatea*, and *Messiah*, at the Three Choirs Festival at Gloucester (14-16 September) under the direction of his father, for which he received the sum of £4 14s 6d, rather less than the ten guineas paid to his more experienced brother Thomas (a bass) on the same occasion.[4] Four years later, he appeared in *Alexander's Feast*, but this time playing on the harpsichord 'one of HANDEL'S Concertos composed for the purpose'.[5] His first preserved attempts at composition comprise a collection of short songs, dated November 1757, in a similar vein to his father's own Op. 1, the *Twelve Ariettes or Ballads, and Two Cantatas* of 1735, with which they are in fact bound.[6] His anthem 'Hear my pray'r, O Lord' was written soon after and, as was often his tidy-minded habit, he provided an explanatory end-note recording that 'A great part of this Anthem was composed at Swalecliffe the seat of Willm. Whykam Esq. in June 1759'.[7] William Whykam seems to have been an early benefactor and friend, and it was to him that, ten years later, Philip dedicated his first published work 'As a Testimony of Gratitude, and Sincere Respect'.

During the mid-1750s Philip also began collecting and copying music, which over the next forty years, together with the collection inherited from his father, he built into one of the most extensive music libraries of the age, as the impressive 550-lot sale catalogue of c.1798 testifies.[8] Among his earliest acquisitions were Richard Langdon's *Ten Songs and a Cantata*, and John Alcock's *The Pious Soul's Heavenly Exercise*, to which he subscribed in 1754 and 1756 respectively; also several manuscripts which bear the proud inscription 'E Libris Phil: Hayes. 1757', one of which (a collection of Restoration anthems now *Lbl* Add. MS 33235) contains an explanatory note recording that 'This is one of the Books which I purchased of Mr Simon Child's Widdow at Oxford'.[9] In 1758, at the age of twenty, he sat for his first portrait, executed in oils by the local artist John Cooper, where he appears at half length, confidently holding a rolled-up sheet of music (see Appendix IV). This period of musical apprenticeship culminated in 1763, when on 3 May Philip matriculated at Magdalen College, and after the performance of the first act of his masque *Telemachus* in the Music School on 10 May, proceeded to the degree of B.Mus. eight days later.[10]

The most intimate impression of the young Hayes is to be found in the diary of James Woodforde, undergraduate and later Fellow of New College.[11] The two men first met on 29 November 1759 at a benefit performance of *Alexander's Feast* for the widow of Joseph Jackson, for many years leader of the Music Room orchestra. They were quick to make friends, for that very night Woodforde recorded that 'Mr. Messiter, Mr. Phillip Hays, & Mr. Holton of Mag: Coll: spent the Evening with me, & sat up till 2 o clock in the Morning -- Had 6 Bottles of my Wine'.[12] Soon after, Philip began teaching Woodforde the spinet, charging a fee

of £1 1s per twelve lessons, and 15s for tuning his spinet and later his harpsichord for six months.[13] Through Philip, Woodforde was introduced to William Hayes (senior), and on 16 November 1760 'Drank Tea this Afternoon at Doctor Hays's, with Dyer, the Doctor & his Son Phill Hays'.[14] Woodforde's lessons often seem to have ended convivially, with a glass (or more frequently a bottle) of wine. Not surprisingly, youthful high-jinks sometimes ensued, as on 8 December 1759 when Woodforde was turfed out of bed and locked out of his room naked. Perhaps such antics eventually got seriously out of hand, for on 21 October 1761, without specifying the exact nature of the offence, Woodforde confided in his diary: 'Phill Hays supp'd & Spent the evening 'till two in the Morning with me in the BCR. Had two Bottles of my Wine more this Evening. N:B: I shall not ask Phill Hays to spend the Evening with me very soon'.[15] And indeed he did not. Neither were there any further lessons. (It took Philip until 6 May 1767 in fact to extract payment for the last twenty-four lessons). Subsequently, Woodforde befriended Philip's younger brother William, recently appointed one of the singing chaplains at New College, who, following in the immoderate footsteps of his brother, was not above getting 'very drunk' either.[16]

After obtaining his B.Mus., Philip must have begun to look around in earnest for a permanent position.[17] However, there were few prospects for immediate advancement in Oxford, with the long-lived Richard Church holding down the posts of organist at Christ Church and New College, William Walond (senior) deputising for Church at St Peter-in-the-East,[18] and his own father at Magdalen and St Mary's. It seems quite likely though that Philip often deputised as organist at one or more of these colleges, actually styling himself 'Philip Hayes, Organist, Oxford' in

the subscription list to Hale's *Social Harmony* of 1763. But by the time William Snow's death created a vacant organist's post at St John's College in 1766, Philip already seems to have taken up residence in London, for in February 1765 the *Public Advertiser* began carrying advertisements for a benefit performance of his masque *Telemachus*, giving the 'Author's Lodging's' as 'Mr. Artis's, a Poulterer, in New Bond-street'.[19] Due to the illness of several of his singers, however, the performance had to be abandoned, and, short of money perhaps, we next hear of Hayes in Oxford in May 1767, when he chased up a long-standing debt owed to him by Woodforde.

Success eventually came a few months later, when Philip's ambitions for a singing place in the Chapel Royal were finally realised. On 28 November 1767, two days before he was formally admitted, *Jackson's Oxford Journal* announced that 'Mr. Philip Hayes (son of Dr. Hayes, Professor of Musick in this University) is appointed one of the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal at St James's, in the place of Mr. Coster, deceased'.[20] The following year he supplied the choir with the anthem 'O how amiable are thy dwellings', which he proudly inscribed 'Perform'd at his Majesty's Chapel July 3d. and on Sunday Novre. 27th. following before the King & Royal Family'. Hayes's duties also entailed singing in the annual Birthday and New Year court odes, in which, J.W. Callcott remembered, with his 'excellent High Tenor Voice', he 'sang after Mr. Beard retired on account of his deafness, his part in all the birthday and new year Odes composed by Boyce and Stanley'.[21] Indeed, his name appears on the tenor partbooks for the majority of Boyce's odes between 1768 and 1779,[22] and confirmation that he continued in this capacity under Stanley may be found in the court news in the *Gentleman's*

Magazine, as in June 1779, when 'Dr. Hayes' received a mention for singing the opening recitative and aria in Stanley's Birthday Ode 'Let Gallia mourn'.[23] Apart from his engagements at court, the London newspapers record comparatively few other concert appearances at this time. Those noticed include the annual performances of *Messiah* at the Foundling Hospital between 1769 and 1771 in which he sang principal tenor, giving his services gratis, as he did when he appeared as a harpsichordist in Giulia Frasi's benefit concerts at Hickford's Great Room in May 1773 and 1774.[24]

In January 1769 Philip was enrolled as a member of the Society of Musicians,[25] and during the summer published his first opus, the *Six Concertos ... for the Organ, Harpsichord or Forte-Piano*. A note at the end of a prefatory 'Advertisement' to the volume indicates that by July he had moved to lodge at 'Mr. *Nerot's*, in *Vine-street, Piccadilly*', a fashionable area of the city for musicians (especially foreigners such as J.C. Bach and C.F. Abel) and close to the workshops of the pioneering German piano makers who introduced the new instrument to the London market during the 1760s, and which first featured on the title-page of a set of concertos in Philip's own Op. 1. The vast array of subscribers attracted to this volume (in excess of 450), provides a clear indication of Hayes's growing reputation. In addition to strong local support from Oxford, and from such distinguished London musicians as William Boyce and Chapel Royal colleagues like Thomas Sanders Dupuis, the volume also attracted numerous subscriptions from organists and music societies scattered round the country, and even as far afield as Eisenach in Saxony and South Carolina. His Op. 2, a set of six fashionable accompanied sonatas for harpsichord or pianoforte and

violin, followed in 1774, and was obviously a sufficiently marketable proposition for the publisher, Peter Welcker, to issue without first soliciting subscriptions.

Whether through choice, or simply lack of opportunity, it seems that the only official position Philip held in London was his prestigious place as a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal. Wide-ranging research has so far failed to uncover details of the kind of pluralism (not unusual during the period) in which he indulged during later life.[26] For which church or occasion he wrote his Service in F (1:051), begun in London in December 1769 and completed there in October 1770, or his Burial Service (1:052) dated 'London March 24. 1772', we do not know, but had they been intended for the Chapel Royal he would doubtless have recorded the fact, as was his way, or they would have been copied into the Chapel Royal partbooks. That Philip travelled outside London during these years is certain. His growing reputation and widening circle of influential friends ensured that he was asked to provide anthems for such occasions as the charity cathedral services of the Gloucester Infirmary (August, 1767) and Norwich Infirmary (August, 1775), and presumably for more modest venues too, like the anthem 'Composed For a Country Church' (1:009), dated 'Headly Park Hants. Sepr. 18 1770'. He may even have returned to Oxford for several months at a time, since as the holder of a single Gentleman's place in the Chapel Royal he was required to be in attendance for only six months of the year. The fortunate survival of a letter written by Philip on 15 November 1773, while he was still living in Vine Street, Piccadilly, reveals that after nearly a decade in London he still considered his situation financially precarious. The letter, addressed to Sir Banks

Jenkinson, Baronet, at All Soul's College, Oxford, is an anxious bid for further preferment in the Chapel Royal. Most revealing, perhaps, is Hayes's candid acknowledgment that 'my certain income is very slender, which makes me the more anxious about it', and his evident concern for his reputation in the postscripted request to 'do me the favour not to let this matter transpire in the university'. The letter, an elegant example of its species, merits quotation *in extenso*:

> Sir,
>
> I humbly take [the] liberty of troubling you with this, presuming upon the honour of being well known to you, respecting some places in the Kings Chapel, now vacated by the Death of Mr Gates: viz two Gentlemen's, and Tuner of the Regals. Now Sir, as I am very desirous of succeeding to a Gentlemans place for the six months, when I am out of waiting, in order to become a constant waiter, and also the Regal Tuner's place, both which are in the Disposal of the Bishop of London as Dean of the Chapel; I must therefore entreat the favour of you to write to your Relation Charles Jenkinson Esq requesting him to write a recommendation of me to the Bishop, who is at Bath; for both a Gentleman's Place, and Tuner of the Regals if possible, but if both cannot be obtain'd, I should thankfully accept one; not but Mr Jenkinson's interest with my Lord of London is so great, that if through your kind solicitation he would write a warm recommendation of me to the Bishop immediately for those Places, I should not have much doubt about it. This is taking a great liberty, which I would have put some friend upon, but could not recollect any of yours in Town and therefore determin'd to throw myself upon your candour and good nature for pardon -- I can only add, that your immediate compliance with my request, will be laying me under the greatest obligation imaginable; which I can never forget. Let me therefore once more entreat this favour at your Hands; which I flatter myself you will not refuse; my certain income is very slender, which makes me the more anxious about it. If you do me the honour to urge a warm recommendation from your Cousin, to the Bishop, of me, let me beg it may be immediately; which will make me infinitely happy indeed, and confer a lasting obligation ...
>
> P.S. Be pleas'd to mention me to Mr Jenkinson as a son of Dr. Hayes, [and] a present Gentleman of his Majesty's Chapel. Pray do me the favour not to let this matter transpire in the university.
>
> Vine Street Piccadilly
> Novr. 15. 1773.[27]

By further good fortune the Bishop's reply to Philip's indirect request also survives in the same collection of correspondence, and his reasons for refusing him the solicited places, while doubtless a bitter disappointment to Hayes himself, strike one today as surprisingly enlightened at a time when most choirs were victim to ill-considered patronage and rampant pluralism:

> Dear Sir,
>
> I am sorry, that Mr Hayes has given you the trouble of solliciting his application for further preferment in the Chappel which I cannot well grant him. He had his appointment to the place He now enjoys from me, and is therefore of no long standing, and I should have many grumblers, if I was to confer an extraordinary Favour to him, which I don't find was ever granted but as a Reward for long service. He has many seniors who would think me very partial in such an appointment.
>
> But I have another reason, which must weigh with me. Some of our quire men are worn out, and are of little service; we want more voices, and therefore I am desirous of keeping the places distinct. You will I am sure excuse me, if for the reasons I have given I am oblig'd to deny Mr Hayes's Request: I have thought it my duty to take the best methods I can in supplying the vacancies in the Royal Chappel, and Mr Hayes himself will allow me this merit, when he reflects, that the first time He offer'd himself as a Candidate, I accepted him ...
>
> Bath
> Nov: 21 1773
>
> Ric. London[28]

Following the stroke which debilitated William Hayes sometime late in 1774, Philip probably spent an increasing amount of time in Oxford at his father's side. In the event it was the death of Richard Church in July 1776 which at last brought Philip the permanent position in Oxford he had so long waited for. Church had probably been in poor health for some time, since Woodforde in his diary consistently refers to his deputy, William Walond (junior), as the regular organist at New College,

and when the latter left to be organist at Chichester there was no one to play the organ at all (22 March 1775). A week later Woodforde states rather obliquely that 'We have a new Organist come from London' (29 March).[29] If this was indeed Philip Hayes, it seems uncharacteristically vague of Woodforde not to mention him by name; perhaps it was a reference to 'Mr. Green of London' whom the governing body agreed should 'thoroughly repair our Organ in Chapel according to his Proposals' on 29 June.[30] However, Philip was certainly back in Oxford by 10 October when, with their earlier differences apparently forgotten, he dined and spent the afternoon with Woodforde, now Sub-Warden. Philip eventually succeeded to the post of organist at New College in the summer of 1776, when the accounts record a payment of £25 'To Mr Hayes, Organist, half a year's salary to Michaelmas',[31] and in October that year he gave 10s 6d to one William Coxeter, a cabinet maker, ruined after a fire destroyed his uninsured premises.[32] His first act as organist seems to have been to dispossess the chaplains of their common room 'for the use of the Organist, in order that he may therein instruct the Choristers in the Art of Singing',[33] which he later (in 1783) furnished with an organ.[34] In June 1777, *Jackson's Oxford Journal* announced that, due to his father's deteriorating health, on 2 July Philip would stand in for him at the forthcoming charity service of the Radcliffe Infirmary at St Mary's, for which he wrote a new anthem, and likewise at the concert following the annual Commemoration of the Founders and Benefactors.[35]

On 27 July 1777 William Hayes died. Unopposed, Philip was appointed to succeed him as Professor of Music on 23 October,[36] also following him as organist of Magdalen College and St Mary's. His meteoric rise to prominence within the University culminated in the

award of the degree of D.Mus.,[37] on 6 November 1777, for which he composed an Elegy, now lost. The early years of Philip's professorship were marked by considerable energy and enthusiasm. The year after his appointment he began the practice of delivering what he described as a termly 'Professorial lecture',[38] which took the form of a specially composed ode or oratorio, given in the Music School, thus partially fulfilling the duties of both the 'Musick Master' or *Choragus*, who was to arrange regular music meetings in the Music School, and the lecturer, who should 'lecture and read the Theorie of Musick once every tearme or oftner', according to the terms of William Heather's endowment of 1627.[39] Hayes's surviving scores indicate that between 1780 and 1786 he performed at first three and later two such works (one a term) each year (some of them revivals), but that from 1787 either his works for these occasions have been lost or the tradition lapsed into irregularity. Whether or not Hayes ever gave formal lectures on the history and science of music is uncertain, though doubtful. University accounts show that, like his father, he was paid just the £13 6s 8d which was the salary of the 'Musick Master' and not the £3 William Heather allocated to the Lecturer.[40] That Hayes was approached, at least informally, to give such lectures is known from a remark made by his successor, William Crotch, who eventually delivered the first course of music lectures himself in 1798. Crotch recalled that 'My friend Mr. Roberts, a miniature Painter at Oxford', who produced a portrait of Hayes in middle age, 'had often endeavour'd to persuade my Predecessor Dr. Philip Hayes to write Lectures on Music',[41] though Crotch's further remarks and the lack of any other evidence suggest that Roberts's efforts were ultimately unsuccessful.

Hayes was, nevertheless, a widely-respected teacher. One former pupil, John Clarke-Whitfeld, devoted considerable space in the preface of his *Cathedral Music* to extolling the virtues of his mentor, mentioning in particular that:

> This worthy man has prepared for the Public, many excellent Performers, both *Vocal* and *Instrumental*. In the former department may be mentioned *Mrs Warton*, *Mrs Ambrose*, and *Mrs Second*, (formerly the Misses Mahon) *Miss George*, etc etc etc. He likewise had the distinguished honour of instructing *that paragon of vocal excellence*, Madame Mara, (when she came to Oxford at a very early period of her life) in the first *English* song she ever sung, "Sweet rose and lilly." *Dr Beckwith* of Norwich, one of the most scientific fuguists of the present day; *Mr. Dodd Perkins*, Organist of the Cathedral at Wells; the celebrated *Miss Reynolds*, & etc and many also of the present Minor Canons of St. Paul's Cathedral, may claim the honour of having been his Pupils.[42]

A regular part of Philip's income must have derived from private lessons (such as those given to Woodforde) and from the training of apprentices, two of whom (Williams and Dodd) Crotch remembered taking over when Hayes died.[43] Clarke-Whitfeld himself was apprenticed to Hayes at New College and began playing in chapel in 1783 at the age of 13, acting, presumably, as an unpaid deputy, and for whose use Philip wrote some 'short, simple voluntaries'.[44] Hayes presumably taught Clarke-Whitfeld the principles of composition too, and in 1793 the young man successfully submitted an exercise for the degree of B.Mus. Philip's securing of a Song School at New College in 1776 suggests that, initially at any rate, he also took the task of training his choristers as seriously as anyone ever did at that time. It is clear that with particularly promising boys he took especial trouble, grooming them for public performance as soloists at Music Room concerts and in performances of his own songs, odes and oratorios.[45] George Valentine

Cox, whom Hayes admitted as a chorister at Magdalen in December 1793, well remembered 'being taken to his house, in my very early days, *to have my voice tried*; he had been for many years remarkable for his state of obesity, and I have not forgotten the awe I felt at the huge *projection* over the keys of his harpsichord, contrasted with his delicate, small hands, and accompanied with a soft, velvety voice'.[46]

One of the most significant and widely recognised achievements of Hayes's professorship was his reorganisation and refurbishment of the Music School (situated at the south-east corner of the Schools quadrangle of the Bodleian Library) during 1780 and 1781. It was important enough to merit detailed coverage in John Gutch's edition of *The History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford* (1792-6):

> In 1780, Dr. PHILIP HAYES, Professor of Music, anxiously wishing to have the Music School made more commodious, consulted Mr. Wyatt about a plan for that purpose. The design furnished by this ingenious architect (in which the Orchestra was arranged according to the directions of the Professor) he requested his friend Dr. George Horne (President of St. Mary Magdalen College, and then Vicechancellor) to lay before a meeting of the Heads of Houses and Proctors; who approved it altogether, and promised fifty pounds towards the execution of it. In consequence of so great encouragement, the proposed alterations were begun and completed during the long Vacation of the same year, and the School was opened in December with a Lecture for Michaelmas Term.
>
> To defray the expense of these improvements (exclusive of the fifty pounds above mentioned) Dr. Hayes soon afterwards obtained leave from the new Vicechancellor, Dr. Samuel Dennis (President of St. John Baptist's College) for three Choral Concerts in the Theatre at the next Commemoration [June 1781]. One of them (the sacred Oratorio of Prophecy) was composed by the Professor himself: and as they were all attended by a numerous company, and as some of the Performers, in compliment to the occasion, assisted either gratis or on moderate terms, he was not only enabled out of the clear profits to pay the whole debt, to the amount of two hundred and fifty three pounds, eighteen shillings; but had also a small balance remaining in his favour. He at his own cost furnished the Orchestra with stuft seats and stool, and the Orchestra window with a large Venetian blind. Drs. Burney and Dupuis also very liberally gave each five guineas; which purchased an entire set of forms for the area.

> The Bookcases are no less useful than ornamental: they contain the FOUNDER'S collection, and subsequent donations; as well as the Exercises of Proceeders to Musical Degrees. Indeed the whole School, in its present state, is at once elegant and convenient. The niche on the left of the door is appropriated to the three Magistrates of the University; the gallary to ladies, strangers, and the higher order of Academics; and the area to Masters and Students.
>
> When their Majesties visited Oxford in 1785, the Professor had the honour of kissing hands in the very room thus modernized by his means.[47]

The 'Lecture' which opened the Music School in December 1780 was in fact Hayes's *Ode for St. Cecilia's Day*, revived, as a note on the autograph score records, 'at the opening of the Music School after ye Alterations'. It is clear that in addition to restoring the fabric of the building Hayes also put in order the important Music School library endowed by William Heather and began adding to the collection of musicians' portraits also housed there.[48] Gutch records that Philip himself presented the portraits of some fourteen musicians to the Music School: Abel, Boyce, Corelli, J. Philip Eiffert (a local oboist), Orlando Gibbons, William Hayes, James Heseltine (organist of Durham Cathedral), William Hine (organist of Gloucester Cathedral and teacher of William Hayes), Lassus, William Lawes, William Parsons, Pepusch, J.P. Salomon and Weldon,[49] in addition to three busts, one of William Hayes 'Done at the particular request of the late Lord LEIGH, High Steward of the University',[50] one of Purcell, and another of King Alfred.[51] He also seems to have persuaded other musicians to donate portraits to the collection. His friend Thomas Sanders Dupuis, for instance, donated a portrait of his teacher Bernard Gates, and Charles Burney gave a portrait of himself, as a letter to his son Charles of 25 February 1781 makes clear: 'I have lately sate [sic] for my Picture to Sr. Jos.

Reynolds, for my Friend Mr. Thrale ... one for Padre Martini at Bologna ... & another for the Music School at Oxford, at the request of Dr. Hayes the present Music Professor, who has lately had the Music-School repaired and furnished'.[52] In 1785 Burney's rival, Sir John Hawkins, after some persuasion, also sat for his portrait, although, as his daughter Laetitia pointed out, it was hardly an exact likeness:

> My father had always refused, even to my mother's request, to sit for his picture. He treated such solicitude for being remembered, as foppery ... But at length Dr. Hayes of Oxford, strongly urged him to sit to a young artist [James Roberts] whose interests he was anxious to promote, and adding that he was influenced likewise by another motive, his wish to place the picture in the music-school at Oxford. My father then complied, and he submitted to be painted as he never looked, dressed as he never dressed, and employed as he never was employed; for he is represented smirking in a velvet coat, with a volume in his hand which certainly, by its external, must be one of the last new novels then printed.[53]

An occasional duty of the Professor of Music was the examining of exercises submitted for the degrees of B.Mus. and D.Mus. Supplicants were perfunctorily matriculated shortly beforehand, usually at Magdalen College, after which, at the candidate's own expense, their exercise was given a public airing in the Music School. There seems to have been a tacit understanding that anyone prepared to go to such trouble, especially if he held some recognised position or was well known in musical circles, would not fail; certainly there are no records to suggest that anyone ever did. It is thus amusing to note that, as Professors of Music, it fell to both William and Philip Hayes to examine (successfully) their own doctoral exercises. Nevertheless, like his father, Philip appears to have taken his examining duties seriously, and many of the exercises submitted to him exhibit careful pencil corrections, apparently in his hand.[54] Indeed, in his memoirs Crotch

noted that Hayes made a penetrating examiner: 'June 5 1794[:] I took the degree of Bachelor in Music in Oxford. Dr. Hayes presided -- his remarks on my exercise were in general very good & shrewd, he detected me in having inserted a former production (Wch he had never seen or heard of) into my Exercise.'[55]

Hayes had been acquainted with Crotch since the latter's prodigious youth. A letter written in July 1779 to Charles Burney reveals that, not without a hint of bad grace, Hayes honoured his promise to help launch the infant Crotch's career in Oxford:

> Dear Sir,
>
> In consequence of your favour, I did every thing in my power towards forwarding the success of the little musician by introducing him to the Vice-Chancellor's family and obtaining his [leave] for a public Exhibition of the Childs abilities which I readily brought about: also by applying to the stewards of the musical society, for the use of the organ and Room; in all which I succeeded to my wishes. I believe Mrs Crotch upon the whole had no reason to repent of her journey, tho had she come sooner her success would have been greater in all probability. The Child is an extraordinary infant, but I must confess that I have generally been out of luck when ever I heard him; as he was extremely out of sorts: however I found in him enough to admire, and I really look upon him as an uncommon child. If in Patronizing the infant I have given you any pleasure, I am fully paid for some trouble I took on his account. It was not suffer'd that he should touch New Coll: organ; he came there on Sunday evening, with a number of people at his heels but the warden whose leave was necessary to be ask'd did not think it altogether proper for little common tunes to be exhibited to a crowd, on an organ appropriated to sacred purposes. I just hint this, as Mrs Crotch seemed to be disconcerted by the event: tho after two public Exhibitions I think there could be but little reason for it. I suppose she might get about twenty Pounds.[56]

Hayes continued to keep an eye on Crotch, as the latter's memoirs for July 1788 make clear: 'I remember a performance of Judas Maccabaeus at Carfax for the benefit of old Cross the organist of that church and Double bass player at ye Music Room. Dr. Hayes provided a scholar of his

[to] sit in the next pew to me & requested all ye critiques I made to my friend Schomberg to his master'.[57] One is here reminded of Burney's observation of Hayes that 'No one entered the university occasionally, or from curiosity, that did not alarm him'.[58] There are, indeed, many contemporary accounts which suggest that in middle age, 'Weigh'd down by his fame and his fat',[59] Philip became increasingly irascible, overbearing and awkward in his dealings with other musicians.

The most sensational of his quarrels occurred in November 1780, not long after his election to the Chair of music, and on account of its extraordinary duration and humour merits a substantial digression. The squabble concerned nothing more than whether or not Hayes had given leave for his pupil, Miss George, to sing in a benefit concert for the local cellist George Monro on 16 November 1780, yet it led to a pamphlet war which had the local wags working overtime. Details of the dispute, which apparently lasted until late December, were meticulously recorded by some interested party in a small manuscript notebook, now in the Bodleian Library.[60] The opening gambit appeared, innocuously enough, at the end of the programme for Monro's benefit:

> Monro *most respectfully acquaints the Company that he applied to* Miss George *for her Assistance at his Benefit, but she has not* Dr. Hayes's Permission to sing.[61]

This brought the following curt response from Hayes, at the bottom of the next concert programme (20 November):

> Mr. Monro *having insinuated, at the Bottom of his Music Bill, that I refused* Miss George's *Assistance at his Benefit, I beg Leave to assure the University in general, and the Audience in particular, that my* Permission was never directly or indirectly asked ...[62]

The following week Monro circulated a hand-bill in which, although he apologised that 'Disputes between Tweedledum and Tweedledee are beneath the Notice of the Gentlemen of the University', he wished to clear his character 'from the Imputation of having published a Falsehood at the *Bottom of my Music Bill*'.[63] There is a hint too that Monro and Hayes had fallen out before this particular dispute since Monro, although the principal cellist in the Music Room band, asked either Miss George or her father to obtain Hayes's permission for her to sing since he claimed he had 'no Connection with Dr. Hayes'.[64] If we believe Monro, Mr George informed him that according to Hayes '*it was not agreeable* that she should sing'.[65] Philip now began mustering his supporters and the dispute intensified, for later the same day Mr Tobias George swore an affidavit before the Vice-Chancellor himself (which Hayes then published), in which he categorically stated that he had never requested Hayes's permission for his daughter to sing 'in consequence of *Mr. Monro's* Declaration to me at our first meeting, that he would not by any means lay himself under an Obligation to *Dr. Hayes*'.[66] At this point the dispute seems to have become public property, with anonymous fly-sheets issued in tit-for-tat exchanges between the two factions. On 29 November an attempt to discredit the affidavit appeared under the title 'Five Plain Questions'; with decidedly more flare, others, inspired by Monro's allusion to Tweedledum and Tweedledee, brought out a wicked parody of *Acis and Galatea*, entitled 'Tweedledum And Tweedledee[:] A New Musical Interlude: As intended to be Performed between the Acts of the Grand Miscellaneous Concert on Monday next'.[67] Hayes, for obvious reasons, was cast as Tweedledum/Polyphemus, and Monro, known as 'Kit' (apparently a small man) was Tweedledee/Acis. In this version of events,

it is Tweedledee who emerges victorious, and on 2 December the public were promised that a new edition, subtitled 'Kit, the Giant Killer' would be speedily published 'with NOTES, Critical and Classical, by Dryden L----ch, Exeter Laureat'.[68] The opening well conveys the general level of its humour:

Scene I

Kit Tweedledee in a pensive Posture;
Tweedledum in a Rage at a Distance.

Air And Chorus

Wretched Kit! thine Hour is come!
Behold the Monster, Tweedledum!
See what shuffling Strides he takes:
See with what Wrath his Jowl he shakes!...

Enter Tweedledum (*con furia*), supported by his Man, Tobias. Tobias *swears loud to a martial Symphony*, after which, the following Recitative is spoken, and Air sung by Tweedledum.

Recitative

Thanks to thee, gentle Toby, for thy swearing:
It chears me much. Toby! 'Tis past all bearing,
That Tweedledee, that dabbler in the Science,
Should thus set great Professors at Defiance.[69]

Not to be outdone, on 19 December Hayes's faction published 'The Last Dying Speech And Confession' of 'Kit Tweedledee, who was executed at Oxford... for the Barbarous, Bloody, and inhuman Murder of Tweedledum'.[70] Tweedledee's confession is liberally strewn with musical puns, and after the unfortunate man had put his head in the executioner's noose, it ended:

'I am now ... going to be *screwed* up above Concert pitch, ... my voice *Cyphers* ... I have *runnings* all over me (here the poor man wiped his eyes, blow'd his nose, and looked aghast at his Breeches), ... my pulse beats a dead march...'.[71]

Tweedledum and Tweedledee next met in 'A Dialogue In The Shades[:] *Occasioned by an unnecessary Paper published Yesterday, containing an Account of the Execution of the unfortunate* Tweedledee',[72] published on 21 December. Here Hayes's modifications to the Music School, just unveiled, provided additional ammunition for his opponents:

Tweedledee

... Nay, at Oxford they talk'd
That you publickly *walk'd*,
And appear'd in *White Satin* at Noon-day:
And were playing the F[oo]l
In your new Music School,
No longer ago than last Monday!

Tweedledum

Ah! Tweedledee! thy Words awake my Sorrow!
Does some Imposter then my Visage borrow?
Claims he my *new Improvements* as his own,
And reap that Harvest which myself had sown?
Oh! had I but liv'd to have finish'd my Plan,
I'd been first of all Musical Doctors!
I'd have made such a Cup-board to hold the V[ice]Can:
With such neat little Shelves for the P[rocto]rs!
Such Seats for the Ladies, such Busts, such devices!
So bepainted, becarv'd, and begilded,
Such sweet, pretty Pillars, all par'd into slices--
And my Orchestra -- how I'd have fill'd it!
But now 'tis past! my Fame is done away--
I, in St. Peter's Church-yard turn to clay![73]

Hayes's supporters seem to have enjoyed the last laugh in this long-running pamphlet war, finally issuing 'God's Just Judgement Against Murder!', on 23 December, '*Being a full and true Account of the* Apparition of the Ghost of Tweedledee: *showing how, not being able to rest in Peace, he still stalks about the Town, to the great Annoyance and Terror of several poor Choristers, whom he shakes his Cane at, and grins, the same as when alive*'.[74] With 'his Neck stretched full half a

Yard; his Hair sticking from his Ears, four Inches at least' he played 'a slow Movement in *six Flats*' and repented another of his sins against Hayes -- 'My Obstinacy in refusing to do Justice to the *Fortes* and *Pianos*, is now my Torment'.[75] The truth of the whole affair had long since ceased to matter, and by Christmas, it seems, the two sides had finally pamphleted themselves into good humour.

During the 1780s Hayes made the acquaintance of Charles Dibdin, a man as widely celebrated for his truculence as Hayes himself. If Dibdin's writings are to be believed, against all probability, the two men seem to have found much pleasure in each other's company. In 1787 Dibdin arrived in Oxford on part of a nine-month nationwide tour to raise funds for his planned emigration to India. At each of the provincial towns he visited he presented an entertainment of readings interspersed with his own music. Armed with a letter of introduction from their mutual friend Samuel Arnold, he hoped Hayes would help smooth the way for him in the University and city. In the fifth of the letters from his *Musical Tour* (1788), in which he engagingly described these exploits, Dibdin recalled their first meeting, writing that 'I believe no human creature ever possessed a better or more blameless heart, and never was a countenance more the index of a mind; for whatever fancy can picture of benevolence, mildness, and benignity, is written there, in characters so legible that they cannot be mistaken'. 'Can you tell me, my dear Sir', he continued, 'a character so near perfection as he who, a professor himself, knows not *professional envy*? This man then is Dr. HAYES -- and he is so very different from JOSEPH SURFACE, that all the world speaks *well of him*, and yet all the world speaks TRUTH'.[76] Hayes seems to have earned such a fulsome eulogy by making Dibdin particularly

welcome, and writing him several letters of introduction, including one to the Vice-Chancellor, whose permission it was necessary to obtain before performing in the city. All seems to have worked out in his favour, and the two musicians became better acquainted, Hayes apparently persuading Dibdin to refute the charge of amateurism, often levelled against his music, by taking a degree at Oxford, but Dibdin confessed that this 'half promise ... I fancy I shall not keep'.[77] But when the two met in London on the occasion of the 1787 Handel Commemoration in Westminster Abbey, dining together on the King's birthday, Hayes apparently caught him 'hard at work on my exercise -- for my intention was pretty strong then to go for the degree',[78] though it was never in fact submitted. In a later letter, Dibdin returned to the Handel Commemoration concerts, regretting that 'Instead of placing at the head of it such men as Dr. HAYES and Dr. BURNEY, the power is vested in subordinate musicians'.[79]

Philip was, nevertheless, an active conductor, though a less frequent visitor to the provinces than his widely-travelled father. Although he seems not to have played a leading role in the monumental Handel Commemorations held at Westminster Abbey, an amusing anecdote, preserved by that inventive gossip W.T. Parke in his *Musical Memoirs* (1830), suggests at least that he tried:

> When this great event [the 1784 Commemoration] was in contemplation, two very pompous gentlemen, Dr. Hayes of Oxford, and Dr. Miller of Doncaster, came to town to give their gratuitous assistance as conductors, by beating time. After several meetings and some bickerings, it was at length agreed that Dr. Hayes (Mus. Dr. Oxon) should conduct the first act and Dr. Miller the second. With regard to the third, I suppose they were to toss up for it. When the time of performance had arrived, and Mr. Cramer, the leader, had just tapt his bow, (the signal for being ready,) and looked round to catch the eyes of the performers, he saw, to his astonishment, a tall gigantic figure, with an immense powdered

> toupee, full dressed, with a bag and sword, and a huge roll of parchment in his hand ... "Who is that gentleman?" said Mr. Cramer. -- "Dr. Hayes," was the reply. -- "What is he going to do?" -- "To beat time." -- "Be so kind," said Mr. Cramer, "to tell the gentleman that when he has sat down I will begin." The Doctor, who never anticipated such a *set down* as this, took his seat, and Mr. Cramer did begin, and his Majesty and all present bore witness to his masterly style of leading the band.[80]

A note appended to the score of Hayes's anthem 'Begin unto God with timbrels', suggests that he and most of the New College choir did in fact sing in the larger than usual 1787 Handel Commemoration concerts: '1787. No Anthem on account of the Abbey Music at which most of the choir members were engaged as well as 6 of Dr H[aye]s['s] Boys whom he took up'.[81]

Hayes was, however, engaged as the conductor of two of London's other leading festivals, the charitable New Musical Fund (established in 1787), and the annual Festival of the Sons of the Clergy, which took the form of a charity service in St Paul's in mid-May. The post of conductor of the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy was vacated early in 1779 owing to the death of William Boyce, who had held the position since Maurice Greene's retirement. Dr Howard, who usually organised the band for these occasions, with 'the aid of Dr Hayes in the case of his indisposition', directed the proceedings in the year of Boyce's death, but, as the minutes make clear, 'not so much to the satisfaction of the audience as heretofore'.[82] The following year, therefore, Hayes was formally appointed to succeed Boyce,[83] and the performance, which began shortly after 12 and ended at around 3 o'clock, this year 'gave general satisfaction'.[84] The music, chosen by the Stewards, traditionally included Handel's Overture to *Esther*, the *Dettingen Te Deum and Jubilate*, the 'Hallelujah' chorus, a coronation anthem and Boyce's

specially composed 'Lord, thou hast been our refuge'. In 1781 Hayes re-introduced his father's arrangement of the 100th Psalm which Boyce had first employed in his last year as conductor, and in 1782 replaced Boyce's charity anthem with one of his own, 'O praise the Lord', which met with a mixed reception, and never completely displaced his predecessor's popular and well-established setting.[85] The following year, one of Hayes's periodic lapses of diplomacy brought about what the Steward's minutes describe as 'a trifling altercation ... between Dr. Hayes & Mr. Soaper respecting the performance of the latter which however at that time could not be adjusted'; the secretary went on to note that although 'much difficulty arises in the management of the different performers ... it is much to be lamented that such should be the case where charity exists & by which a charitable Institution may be affected'.[86] Nevertheless, that night, as usual, Hayes was dined by the Stewards and the evening was spent singing 'with exceeding Glee & pleasure'.[87] No such unfortunate incidents are ever mentioned again, and once Hayes had established himself, his conducting (often praised for its 'stile of exactness') always 'highly pleased'.[88]

Hayes also helped direct the annual concerts of the New Musical Fund, which was, according to Doane's *A Musical Directory* (1794), 'established in the Year 1786, for the same purpose as the [Royal Society of Musicians], but on a more enlarged plan, extending to Country Members',[89] and unlike the Royal Society did not exclude those who, in addition to music, also practised other professions. The income of the society derived from several sources, including donations from the nobility, individual subscriptions (a guinea a year, or ten for life) and, most conspicuously, large-scale annual subscription concerts. In

his *Musical Memoirs* (1830), Parke recalled their inaugural concert of 1787:

> An Institution, termed The New Musical Fund, gave their first benefit-concert at the King's Theatre on the 12th of April, under the direction of Dr. Hayes and Dr. Miller, who, with a large roll of parchment, beat time most unmercifully. Signor Rubinelli, Mr. Harrison, and Mrs. Billington sang on the occasion; and Cramer led the band, composed of two hundred performers, the whole of whom assisted gratuitously. The house was full.[90]

Hayes seems to have employed two methods of directing large-scale choral and orchestral forces. Parke twice records that he beat strict time with a roll of paper, and it is in this posture that he was depicted in a watercolour by James Roberts of Oxford, holding a sheet of rolled-up paper to his side with the score of an ode open before him, apparently poised to conduct a performance of the work.[91] He also appears to have directed from the keyboard, and the Oxford diarist Richard Paget recalled that for the Act Week concerts of 1785 in the Sheldonian Theatre, 'the keys of the Organ [were] brought down to the conductor's place, in front of the Orchestra, as at the Abbey'.[92] Advertisements in *Jackson's Oxford Journal* make it clear that this was the 'Abbey long Movement' used in the Handel Commemorations at Westminster Abbey during the 1780s and 90s.[93] As for his tempi, William Crotch, having listened to Hayes conduct a performance of *Judas Maccabaeus* in Oxford in 1788, noted that his friend Dr John Randall (1717-1799), Professor of Music at Cambridge, 'played all Handel's music slower than Dr Hayes did & I considered him [Randall] the best authority as he remembered Handel. It was the fashion at this time to play Handel's music quicker than they do now [c.1830]'.[94]

Together with his colleague Edward Miller (1735-1807), Hayes directed all the annual London concerts of the New Musical Fund at the King's Theatre, the Pantheon and Hanover Square Rooms, between 1787 and 1797. The orchestra was regularly led by Wilhelm Cramer, leader of the Westminster Abbey Handel Commemoration Concerts in 1784 and 1787, as well as both the opera orchestra at the Pantheon and the Professional Concerts. For the Musical Fund concerts, Cramer drew on both the performers and repertoire of the opera and Professional Orchestra. In 1792, for instance, a new symphony by Pleyel was given with the express permission of the organisers of the Professional Concerts. The programmes comprised the usual miscellaneous selection of instrumental works (quartets, concertos, overtures and symphonies) and vocal items (songs, duets, glees and Handel choruses and anthems), by an equally wide variety of composers. Naturally, the works of Handel provided the mainstay of the Musical Fund concerts, but Hayes included a few of his own songs ('When Sappho tun'd', in 1794, for instance), as well as much music by such modern composers as Haydn, Storace, Viotti and Clementi. If the newspaper advertisements are to be believed, the orchestra and choir (which included the boys of Westminster Abbey and the Chapel Royal) gradually increased in size every year: numbering over 200 in 1787, growing to 250 in 1790, nearly 300 performers in 1791, and rising to over 400 by 1797.[95] Although doubtless on a smaller scale, there also seem to have been occasional regional concerts of the New Musical Fund. In 1789, Richard Paget noted in his diary 'To Oxon Feb. 26th. A concert the same Night for the benefit of the Musical Fund. Tickets 10s, 6D each. Their finances are in a very bad plight'.[96]

Hayes's charitable work even extended to the Humane Society, whose stated aim was to 'excite an earnest attention to the apparently dead', claiming that 'since the establishment of the Humane Society, more than two-thirds of those, who a few years ago would have been interred as *inanimate corses*, are now restored to their joyful relations and friends!'. On 13 February 1786, with several colleagues, Hayes directed a performance of *An Ode to the Humane Society*, given at Free Masons' Hall, and also various extracts of an oratorio *Elijah*, with a text by Thomas Skelton Dupuis and set by J.W. Callcott.[97]

The 1780s was one of the busiest and most productive decades of Philip's life. In addition to all his regular duties in Oxford (including his efforts to restore the decor and importance of the Music School), and his duties in London both as a conductor and singer at the Chapel Royal (occasionally singing in the annual court odes),[98] he was also in demand in the provinces, and not only as a conductor. In July 1784, for instance, he was invited by Bishop Horne (formerly President of Magdalen College and also Vice-Chancellor) to open Samuel Green's new organ 'which figured at Handel's jubilee' at Canterbury Cathedral, where the *Gentleman's Magazine* reported 'when the musical powers of the instrument were displayed, the auditors, who, it is supposed, were about 2000, were struck with astonishment, as well by its superior excellence, as the known and acknowledged abilities of the performer'. Evensong included canticles by his father and an anthem of his own,[99] 'with several voluntaries, to shew the various stops and power of that notable piece of mechanism'.[100] The following year Hayes opened another of Green's organs, this time at St Martin's, Carfax, in Oxford, with a voluntary ushering in the Mayor and Aldermen and, several days later,

with an organ concerto and a performance of *Judas Maccabaeus* for the benefit of the organist. In September that year Hayes was displaying the powers of the organ of the Sheldonian Theatre where he 'entertained their Majesties with several Overtures on the Organ' and later at New College where he 'continued playing the whole Time [that they] spent there in contemplating the Painted Glass, the Choir, the Altar, and the Crosier'.[101]

Hayes's compositional and publishing activities also reached a peak during the 1780s, with a stream of nearly twenty 'lecture' odes and oratorios for the Music School, the publication of some 200 catches, canons, glees and songs, sixteen psalm settings, ceremonial anthems for the Octagon Chapel in Bath, St Paul's, Canterbury Cathedral, St Mary's Oxford, and a volume of his own *Eight Anthems* issued at the end of the decade. He was also heavily occupied as an editor and arranger, publishing, among other things, a keyboard arrangement of Haydn's Symphony No.67 in 1781, an edition of music used for Wykehamist celebrations (*Harmonia Wiccamica*), the fourth and final book of William Hayes's catches, and also a sumptuous collection of his father's *Cathedral Music*, for which subscriptions were solicited in 1781, with the promise of publication by Christmas the following year, although the volume did not finally appear until 1795. Philip also edited two volumes of anthems by Boyce, the first of which appeared in 1780 and the second, ten years later, with the express purpose of assisting Boyce's widow financially,[102] whom Hayes had already served by sorting out some of her late husband's affairs: in 1779 returning a Catalogue 'I found amongst Doctor Willm. Boyce's papers after his death' to Christ Church Library,[103] also helping to sort out his library for auction in April

1779 (at which Hayes made several purchases), and possibly arranging for the autographs of Boyce's many court odes to be preserved in the Music School collection at Oxford.

Hayes also found time to publish, in 1789, the *Memoirs of Prince William Henry, Duke of Glocester*. The title-page informs the reader that the work was based on a unique manuscript written by Jenkin Lewis 'some time servant to her highness the princess Anne of Denmark, afterwards Queen of England' which was owned by Bernard Gates (a former Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal), and passed to Hayes by the inheritor of his estate. His introductory remarks in the preface make it clear that he held the same respect for the integrity of the original text as is evident in his editorial handling of primary musical sources: 'The Editor hath carefully preserved what he found in the Manuscript Tract; and with a view of illustrating the whole, hath adopted several passages from the best histories of those times, and added such notes and reflections as seemed properly to fall in with the plan before him. All of which are marked [thus] in the course of the Work distinct from the narration itself'.[104]

At this time Hayes's prominence in musical circles, both in the capital and the provinces, was such that when, in May 1786, the Master of the King's Band of Musicians, John Stanley, died, Hayes's name was mentioned alongside some of the most distinguished musicians of the day (Arnold, Burney, Shield, Linley and Dupuis) as one of the most likely successors.[105] In the event, the post went to an outsider, a favourite of Lord Salisbury, William Parsons, who four years later took the degree of D.Mus. at Oxford. It was perhaps some consolation to Hayes that on 9 October 1790 he finally succeeded Thomas Norris as organist of St John's

College, Oxford, a job to which the previous incumbent had beaten him almost twenty-five years previously. Any satisfaction he may have felt at virtually cornering the entire organist's market in Oxford must have been short-lived when news of his brother William's death, on the 22nd of that month, eventually reached him. It is pleasant to think, though, that the following year the Rev. William Hayes's daughter, Anne, was to benefit from the charity (the Sons of the Clergy) of which her uncle was a major benefactor, when she was apprenticed to a School Mistress in Middlesex for the sum of £20.[106] Philip's acceptance of the St John's post at £5 per term and the annexing to it of 'part of a singing man's place' for an extra £2 10s, suggests that he was motivated less by an all-out acquisitive urge, than by simple pecuniary necessity. That Philip lived beyond his means during his later years seems evident from the regular stream of receipts for substantial advances on his salary, 'to settle some little family bills', at New College between 1781 and 1794 and also from St John's.[107]

By the 1790s Hayes's reputation as a competent musician of wide-ranging abilities was gradually eclipsed by the attention paid to his increasingly impressive physical stature. As early as 1774, John Marsh's journals suggest that Philip was already treated, albeit gently, as a figure of fun. Following a performance of Handel's *L'Allegro* at Winchester, a young man 'mounted the orchestra, to perform an imitation of different birds, as introduced in, and accompanying a symphony' and parodied Hayes by 'imitating the exaggerated gestures of a conductor', which was 'so comical as to make Dr Philip Hayes, who had conducted the oratorio, and still sat in the orchestra, shake his fat sides'.[108] Ten years on, in 1784, when Marsh attended Hayes's opening of the new organ

at Canterbury Cathedral, he recorded the amusing whisper that 'it was doubted by many, whether he would be able to get up the narrow winding staircase to the new organ-loft without sticking by the way; to ascertain which, it was actually measured, when it appeared, that there would be room for his carcase, large as it was, and that it would be unnecessary to hoist him up in a chair withoutside by a crane, as had been ludicrously hinted at'.[109] The following year, Fanny Burney could hardly resist recording the ample figure which Hayes cut when presented to the King, who had just been honoured by an ode of his composing, and was in Oxford to receive a congratulatory address from the Vice-Chancellor on his recent escape from assassination:

> But when poor Dr. Hayes came forward, he was so unconscionably fat and heavy, and had so much difficulty to kneel and so much more still to arise, that it raised a general buzz throughout the theatre. He really looked as if dressed up and stuffed for a Falstaff. I admired much to see the King, the only person who kept his countenance upon the doctor's plumping down before him. Another extremely gracious consideration in the King was his descending the steps for the ceremony instead of making *all the doctors* come up and then go downstairs backwards, as they must else have done; and then poor Dr. Hayes would have rolled head over heels inevitably'.[110]

Cox preserves another anecdote relating to this occasion, in which, after playing for the King in Magdalen Chapel, he hurried 'as well as he could hurry ... full-dressed, in his cocked hat and silk gown, up Queen's Lane to pay the same compliment to the Royal party at New College. Panting for breath from over-exertion and excitement, he called out to a country fellow, whom he saw approaching, 'Friend, pray lend me your arm a little way.' 'Yes, *your Majesty*, by all means,' replied the simple rustic, who had heard that the King was in Oxford and fancied this *great man* must be he'.[111]

The Magdalen College diarist, Richard Paget, reveals that Philip's frequent trips to London in a postchaise did not go unnoticed by the local wags, who, with undeniable aptness, had little difficulty in punning a nickname from 'Phil. Hayes', his usual mode of address.[112] The often-told story goes something like this:

> At that time it was common to see upon the chimney-piece of the public room of an inn an announcement of the want of a companion in such a conveyance. The Doctor ... on one occasion accepted the first companionship that offered at the "Star".... On the morning appointed, the inquirer for a companion jumped into the chaise ... and, dashing up to the Doctor's door, he saw a figure little less than the great Daniel Lambert, supported by a servant on either side, slowly advancing from the wall. In amazement, he hastily lowered the front glass, roaring out, "Post-boy -- hoy! is that the gentleman we are to take up?" "'Ees, sir, that be Doctor Phil Hayes." "Fill chaise, by ---," replied the traveller; "he shan't come in here; drive on, drive on,".[113]

Judging from the surviving portraiture, Hayes's propensity to corpulence was at least partly hereditary -- in Cornish's picture, his father, aged about 40, also appears distinctly pudgy -- but in later life Philip's obesity was surely self-inflicted through gross over indulgence and a sedentary life-style. His nephew, the Rev. William Hayes, vicar of Monk-Hesleton, Durham, remembered him as 'a lazy dog, fond of good living, in fact a gourmand', who 'When at low water, took William, his "Caleb Quotem," with him, (one of the first cooks of the day,) and drove in his carriage to Town. Composed music, of which he disposed; and returned home full of money'.[114] That Hayes never took a wife must in part have been attributable to his unappealing size, though he had been a 'good looking' and 'handsome' man, the Rev. Hayes recalled, and 'Could have married well in his younger days, when his person was slender'.[115] By the end of his life, however, Hayes had,

according to his nephew, eaten himself to around twenty stone, and was finally robbed of what little dignity he retained when, in May 1790, his paunch was satirised in one of the few surviving caricatures of a British musician published during the century (see Appendix IV). As Burney predicted, Hayes's posthumous reputation rested almost entirely on the weighty anecdotage concerning his dimensions. At the end of the nineteenth century, in an article concerning masonic musicians, W.A. Barrett, Past Grand Organist of England, recalled a story:

> related of him which was current when I was at Oxford among those elder brethren and graduates who remembered him well in his lifetime.... He was walking down Headington Hill on the pathway which here and there is still protected from the incursion of cows and sheep by upright posts. For some reason or another he was impelled to hasten his steps in a downward direction, and falling between the posts was fixed there, and was unable to extricate himself until one of the posts was sawn by friendly carpenter, not a mason. He exhibited all, yet could not make any, of the signs of distress'.[116]

To his credit, William Parke, who revelled in more such anecdotes than any other writer, was also one of the few to temper them with a *nota bene* in favour of Hayes's musical greatness: 'It must not however be omitted, that Dr. Hayes, besides his suavity of manners, possessed much professional ability'.[117]

The last few years of his life were marked by a gradual lessening of activity and encroaching ill health. His only large-scale works dating from the 1790s are an ode and ceremonial canticles to celebrate the installation of the Duke of Portland as Chancellor of the University in July 1793. The autograph of the former is written in a particularly unsteady hand with considerable assistance from an anonymous copyist and the *Te Deum* and *Jubilate*, notable for their extreme conservatism of

style. Yet during these years he at last managed to bring to fruition a long-running project to publish his father's church music. On 5 January 1796 he wrote to Samuel Arnold to check that he had received his own copy and that the five copies sent to Westminster Abbey had also arrived, and to ask him to collect from the Dean and Chapter the second subscription now outstanding. He continued, 'You will see also in consequence of your strong Recommendation of it, that I have drawn up a short account of my dear old Gentleman, which I hope will not be unpleasing to you. I flatter myself (to make amends for the long Delay) it will be found that I have spared neither expence nor attention to render the work elegant, correct, and serviceable. If it is so fortunate as to give you satisfaction, who are so well qualified to judge of its merits, I shall find myself much better pleased for the Pains &c. it hath cost Me'. In finally wishing him 'Peace and Plenty', Hayes also made reference to the current turmoil caused by the French Revolution, sincerely hoping 'that those heavy clouds that have too long hover'd o'er this happy Land, may finally be dispers'd, and all the daring Machinations of our enemies at Home & abroad, sink into Oblivion'.[116]

In July 1733 William Hayes had been present when Handel had given his celebrated series of concerts in the Sheldonian Theatre during the University's summer Act Week festivities. In 1791 it was the turn of his son to receive one of the foremost musicians of his own day. Joseph Haydn arrived in Oxford in early July to be presented for his D.Mus., an honour which Handel had apparently declined. Haydn had originally been scheduled to participate in a concert at the Holywell Music Room on 18 May, in which he would have directed performances of two of his own symphonies, neither of which are precisely identified on the programme,

and Hayes would have performed one of his own organ concertos: the programme promised 'The Organ by Dr. Hayes -- The Harpsichord by Mr. Haydn'.[119] Unfortunately Haydn was prevented from attending the concert by a last minute opera rehearsal in London, but through *Jackson's Oxford Journal* apologised to the public and promised to honour his obligation to visit the city as soon as possible.[120] On 6 July, therefore, 'Haydn was introduced to the audience by Dr. Hayes, and received with a degree of respect and attention worthy his genius'.[121] As they were for his own benefit, Hayes seems to have been responsible for the organisation of the 'Three grand concerts' held on 6, 7 and 8 July in the Sheldonian Theatre with Haydn as guest of honour, and at which the Symphony in G, No. 92 was given, and ever after known as the 'Oxford'. The entire event seems to have been enormously successful, receiving numerous laudatory notices in the press (fully documented elsewhere).[122] It was noted after the second concert that 'The receipt of this, and the preceding, evening, has cleared the expenses of the preparations; so that whatever money may be received to-morrow evening, will be a well-earned profit to Dr. Hayes'.[123] Hayes and Haydn met again during the latter's second visit to England, when on 20 April 1795 Haydn lent his support to a 'Grand Miscellaneous Concert' at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket in aid of the New Musical Fund, at which Doctors Hayes and Miller were to conduct and Dr. Haydn was to 'preside at the Forte Piano'.[124]

In March 1790 a passing reference in the minutes of the Stewards of the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy suggests that from about this time Philip's health, made increasingly vulnerable by his weight, may have begun to decline. Similarly, Crotch's memoirs make it clear that from at least 1793 Hayes's various duties in Oxford were becoming

increasingly burdensome to him. Crotch himself often seems to have deputised for Hayes at Music Room concerts,[125] which were becoming increasingly uncivilised.[126] Having eventually gained the confidence of Hayes (with whom he declared himself 'very intimate') by March 1797 Crotch had 'Conducted the Music Room concerts from which Dr Hayes had retired for sometime owing to the rough treatment his friend & pupil Mr Webb received'.[127] Hayes was himself the victim of disruptive action in July 1793 when the performance of his *Ode for the Installation of the Duke of Portland* was abandoned due to riotous behaviour occasioned by the extreme heat in the Sheldonian Theatre, to which Hayes is reputed to have contributed by nailing down the windows to improve the acoustic.[128] In June the following year, with Wyatt's restoration of New College chapel and the six-year rebuilding of the organ by Green (doubtless instituted by Hayes at a cost of £844) now complete, the governing body of the college thought it prudent to appoint Isaac Pring to assist Hayes, and eventually succeed him.[129] Likewise, Walter Vicary, his eventual successor at Magdalen, was probably appointed at around the same time.[130] In May 1796 Hayes struggled to London to conduct the annual Festival of the Sons of the Clergy at St Paul's at which his anthem for the charity was to be performed. However, it was minuted that at the rehearsal on 10 May 'the Dr. appeared very ill' and was unable to dine that night with the Stewards at the New London Tavern, though 'his Health was drunk in consideration of his assistance in the Orchestra'.[131]

His next visit to London was to be his last. He died, apparently of a heart attack, on 19 March 1797. His fulsome obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine* reported that 'He had just come to town, in order

to preside at the ensuing festival for the new Musical Fund. He dressed himself in the morning, to attend the Chapel-royal, St. James's; but suddenly shewed symptoms of approaching dissolution, and expired in a short time afterwards'.[132] In Oxford the expectation was that Philip would be buried alongside his father in the churchyard of St Peter-in-the-East, but as the local quipsters succinctly rhymed it:

> The burial follows where the body falls;
> They rob St. Peter's, but enrich St. Paul's.[133]

Philip was buried in the same vault as his brother William (St Gregory's) in the crypt of St Paul's Cathedral on 21 March. The funeral service included Greene's anthem 'Lord, let me know mine end' sung by members of the choirs of St Paul's, the Chapel Royal and Westminster Abbey, and 'Dr. Arnold and several other musical gentlemen attended as mourners'.[134]

Philip died intestate, and on 26 May the administration of his estate, calculated at £1000, was granted to his only living brother, the Rev. Thomas Hayes, and his sister Sarah Viner.[135] The legacy of his enormity passed into Oxfordian legend. Hayes's successor to the professorship, the physically diminutive William Crotch, was, of course, welcomed thus:

> 'Trying it on'
>
> At length when the big Doctor died
> (Weigh'd down by his fame and his fat),
> His light-weighing successor tried
> To succeed to his gown and his hat.
>
> But the three-corner'd hat would not do;
> And the gown (if report you'll believe)
> Was too large, even cut into two, --
> So they made him a gown of a *sleeve*![136]

In an effort, perhaps, to ensure that such squibs did not remain Hayes's lasting epitaph, John Clarke-Whitfeld included a long and sincere defence of his 'much respected master' in the preface to his *Cathedral Music* (1805), in which, from close personal knowledge and professional association, he characterised him as:

> A man, whose amiable manners endeared him to a numerous circle of sincerely attached friends, and whose sound knowledge in the Art of Music, and skill displayed on the Organ, must, notwithstanding the insinuations of men of *little eminence*, have established his character as an excellent Musician, and as one of the very best extemporary Performers of the age. Whilst his kind attention, at all times shewn, to the applications of deserving Professional Men for his patronage, will distinguish him to posterity as a man of the truest benevolence.[137]

CHAPTER III
SACRED VOCAL MUSIC

> The chapel service at the colleges begins so early, that we hurry'd away from our dinner in hopes of hearing an anthem by a famous singing boy of New College ... we were baulk'd of our intention, as the anthem was very ill sung, and the service most idly perform'd, by such persons as I should suppose had never learnt to sing or read; tho' the warden himself attended and I thought might have order'd a better anthem for the strangers: but good breeding is scarcer here than elsewhere.
>
> (John Byng, 5th Viscount Torrington, 8 July 1781)[1]

After the glories of the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods and the all-too-brief lifetime of Purcell, the eighteenth century witnessed a gradual decline in the great tradition of English cathedral music. The Church of England itself, which by the Georgian era had reached the nadir of somnolence, showed little interest in maintaining, let alone improving, its choral foundations. Standards of performance, like salaries, were low, pluralism was rife, and there seems to have been little incentive for organists to devote much time or effort to composition. 'That our Church-Music is capable of Improvement ... cannot be denied', wrote William Hayes in his *Remarks* of 1753, adding candidly that he believed 'the further we look back, the more excellent the Composition will be found.'[2]

Conscientious organists like Hayes and John Alcock (1715-1806) railed against the intransigence and corruption of the capitular bodies of cathedrals which exerted a stranglehold on the musical life of the Church.[3] Hayes firmly believed that responsibility for the improvement of church music lay not in the hands of organists, as Avison asserted, but could only be achieved through the reform of 'the present Management in Cathedrals':

[Avison] little knows or considers what untoward People the Organist has to deal with; or what an aukward Situation he is in, between the Dean and the Singers. He says *much might be done by the Organist, under the Protection of the Dean*; but what Protection can he expect from one, who has no relish for Music ? Which often is the Case ... [who] commonly looks upon Brevity as the greatest Beauty in the musical Part of the Service. Such an one, in case of a Vacancy will pay more regard to the Person who recommends, than to the Merit of the Candidate: Nay, with such an one, the Organist or Master of the Children, has seldom Interest enough to obtain even a Chorister's Place for a Boy of never so promising *Parts* and *Abilities*. But Parts and Abilities are no Qualifications now-a-days: Some previous Questions must be answered to the Satisfaction of the Dean, before he will listen to the Voice of meritorious Pretension: as, how did his Father vote at the last Election ? Or how does he intend to vote at the next ? ... The Organist failing in his Attempt, retires with this Mortification to that of being obliged to endeavour to make Singers of those, to whom Nature had denied the necessary Capacities for it; ... Without a proper Supply of useful Singing-Boys, what *Lay-Clerks*, *Chaplains*, *Minor-Canons*, can be expected as useful Persons in the Choral Duty ? This is a most uncomfortable Reflection to the Lovers of Church-Music, or those who wish its Advancement; and what affords no better, is, the mean and scandalous *Salaries* annexed to the Office of *Lay-Clerk* in every Cathedral in the Kingdom; ... the Salaries belonging to these inferior Members, remain identically the same as at the Reformation; ... To this must be attributed the Lay-Stalls being filled with Mechanics; and in Consequence of that the miserable Performances which we generally hear in Country Cathedrals; as it cannot reasonably be expected, that Men without some Trade or Occupation, would accept of Places, which of themselves afford not a Subsistence; nor, that these poor Men, who having solicited for, and obtained these Places, merely on account of eking out a pitiful Maintenance, should neglect their necessary Employments, to study the Art of Singing properly; when it evidently appears they are barely paid for their Attendance only. And though it seldom happens that they are capable of any great Matters, yet some Practice and Experience might render them capable of better Things than at present; but nevertheless they are very reluctant in attempting any out of the common Road....

The Organist, in this disgustful Situation, will have little Appetite to set about the Work of Reformation, to collect, and adopt foreign Music, seeing the little Probability of being re-imbursed his Expences in so doing, or even of being paid for transcribing it into the Books: Likewise the Impracticability of getting it performed with tolerable Decency. Upon the Whole, it appears, how little it is in the Power of the Organist to effect any thing, without the Concurrence not only of his Governor, but of his Brethren of the Choir also; and how little reason he has to expect the Concurrence of either.[4]

Having detailed the shortcomings of the prevailing system, Hayes advocated Dean Aldrich's method of choir management as 'the noblest Model for his Successors and all others who preside over Colleges and Choirs'.[5] Aldrich's method, as related to Hayes 'by a Gentleman, who was a Member of his College, at the Time when he was Governor', was based on four simple rules.[6] Firstly, to admit only 'useful and properly qualified Boys to be Choristers; which is the only Source from whence we can expect a Supply of all other useful Members'. Secondly, to accord preference to the admission of singing-men and chaplains 'who had merited his Favour in a lower Capacity' so that 'there was not an useless Member in his Choir; for Chaplains had then an equal share of choral Duty with the Singing-Men'. Thirdly, that there should be weekly meetings to choose the music to be sung and rehearse it 'to keep up the Spirit of Music, and to promote social Harmony'.[7] And finally, punishments were recommended for non-attendance and tardiness.

As for organists, Hayes had some sound advice of his own for those responsible for their appointment:

> Were I concerned in the Election of an Organist, I should certainly vote for the Man who seemed best to understand his Business; with a moderate Share of *Execution*, preferable to one with *great Execution*, and *moderate Understanding:* Because I am persuaded, the *former* would contribute more to the Advancement of Music, and the *latter* probably be so vain of his own Performance, as not to regard that of any other Persons. Moreover; if we make choice of an Organist on account of his Dexterity in fidling upon the Organ, what but fidling ought we to expect? [8]

Hayes was as good as his word, and in June 1753 he saw to it that one Jospeh Howe went to his audition for the post of organist of Rochester Cathedral armed with a testimonial in which he was recommended as 'in every Respect qualified to undertake the Office of a Cathedral

Organist', signed by seven of those best qualified to judge,. including Richard Church, organist of Christ Church, William Walond, assistant organist, and Hayes himself.[9] It is satisfying to learn that Howe's application was successful. Whether Hayes was ever able to implement Aldrich's recommendations for the management of the choirs at Magdalen or New College, we do not know, but his anthems themselves suggest that over the years these choirs included a number of highly proficient soloists and, judging by the number and relative difficulty of his full anthems, the choirs must at times have achieved quite high standards in choral singing as well. Conditions at St Mary's, the University Church, where Hayes was also organist, were probably better when, on state holidays, it was customary for full cathedral service to be performed by 'a select number of the principal singers ... collected from the different choirs' and 'The Organist also ... is more particularly obliged to attend'.[10] Standards of performance may well have been higher in Oxford chapels than in many provincial cathedrals. For one thing, it appears that at the four major choral foundations (Christ Church, Magdalen, New College and St John's) the men did not sing exclusively from manuscript partbooks (normal practice in most choirs), but often enjoyed the luxury of singing from printed full scores, which, as Croft had pointed out in the preface to his *Musica Sacra* (1724), could only improve the accuracy and sensitivity of the singing. The relative wealth of the colleges appears to have allowed a comparatively generous budget for music. As Table III.1 (p.92) illustrates, the Oxford choirs generally subscribed to five or more copies of each of the major anthem publications of the century (including Boyce's monumental *Cathedral Music*), sufficient, probably, for the men to share one between two.

Standards seem generally to have declined towards the end of the century, however, and in 1781 (as we have seen) Viscount Torrington found Evensong at New College 'most idly perform'd' and the situation at Christ Church was evidently no better. 'Our Church is terribly upon the decline', he lamented, 'which as a gentleman, and a Churchman I grieve for; some management, or teaching we should have for our money'.[11] Yet in spite of Philip Hayes's endeavours to improve the choir at New College, dispossessing the chaplains of their common room in 1776 to turn it into a 'Singing School', and in 1783 purchasing an organ to be used there 'for the purpose of teaching the Quiristers',[12] the adverse conditions described by his father continued to undermine musical standards. Warden Purnell's Place Book of 'Applications for Places in New College at my Disposal' reveals that the organist remained virtually impotent when it came to the appointment of choir members: 'Dec: 1787 Mr: Witney BA of Ch Ch, who said Mr: Ed Folly had written in his Favour; & Dr Bathhurst would recommend him; & Dr Hayes speak to his Musical abilities - N.B. No promises'.[13] Wages too remained low. Indeed, at New College, Magdalen and the University Church, the organist's salary remained virtually unchanged throughout the century.[14] So, although his father would surely have frowned on such neglectful pluralism, in order to make ends meet -- and there are sufficient requests for advances on his salary at New College to support the view -- Philip soon became 'a monopolist of organs'. In addition to his appointment at New College, on his father's death he succeeded to his positions at Magdalen and the University Church, and eventually added St John's College in 1790, all of which he held concurrently with the post of Gentleman of the Chapel Royal to which he had been elected in 1767. In his *Recollections of*

Oxford (1870), George Valentine Cox, at one time a chorister under Philip, wondered: 'How he and his assistant could discharge all these duties seems a puzzle; but it is in some measure explained by the fact that the services were at different hours. In the morning, New College at 8, Magdalen at 10; no choir service at St. John's. The p.m. service at Magdalen at 3.30; New College at 5; St. John's at 6.30'.'[15]

Details of contemporary performance practice, and suggestions for its improvement, may be gathered from an informative article entitled 'Rules necessary to be observed by all Cathedral-Singers in this Kingdom' published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for May 1765. Its author was Hayes's youngest son, William, who, early in 1765, had moved to Worcester Cathedral as a Minor Canon, and to which institution his advice may well have been directed. Perhaps the most revealing of his comments are his strictures on excessive ornamentation, for it appears that, like most other vocal forms of the period, the anthem too could not escape the unwanted attentions of over-zealous singers:

> In the first place every singer should take particular care to observe a proper plainess in singing; for ... too much gracing of a musical composition, often ends in a total *disgracing*... (There are several parts of cathedral musick which can never be sung and accompanied with too much simplicity and plainess. To instance in one particular, *i.e.* the *Vouchsafe O Lord*, in *Purcell's Te Deum*. If singer and accompanier would do justice to this strain, I would advise them to use nothing but the *appogiatura*, and even that with great caution and reserve. But instead of this I have often had the misfortune of hearing the greatest part of it smother'd ... with such a farrago of superfluities, that between singer and player they have almost made a very tolerable country dance of it).'[16]

As for the use of a cadenza or 'long grace at the end of any part of an anthem', William Hayes the younger advised against it 'because it breaks in too much upon the seriousness and dignity of church musick'.'[17] But,

well aware of the ways of singers, he suggested that if the soloist insisted on favouring the congregation with a demonstration of his skill, then 'I would advise the organist to play a little short voluntary as soon as the grace is quite finished' in order that the singer could catch his breath.[18]

In choruses, he recommended that the choir follow the organist, and not vice versa as in solos, that imitative points be delivered with firmness, but that the 'too frequent use of the swell is attended with bad consequences, unless the voice is extremely good'.[19] He also warned against the 'unnatural effects' produced by the all-too-common practice of singing an octave above or below what was written. The young Hayes had a 'friendly hint' or two for organists as well. Implying that they were apt to rely too much on their own inventive powers, he suggested that it might not be a bad thing once in a while if the organist were 'to play one of Mr *Handle*'s [sic] fugues ... instead of a constant voluntary of his own ... But if the organist should persevere in extempore playing, (for the organ is an instrument finely calculated for it) it would be kind of the organist to keep to his fugue; and not only this, but chuse one of a moderate length; because in this case the audience may probably remember the fugue, and consequently more easily digest the voluntary'. And in the winter, the organist should not 'play upon the organ in gloves, unless there is a great necessity for it'.[20]

Contrary to present-day practice, the eighteenth-century organist or master of the choristers, although probably the most experienced musician, did not actually head the musical establishment of a cathedral or collegiate chapel. Indeed, there was sometimes no separate provision for an organist at all. The titular director of music was usually known

as the precentor, but such positions were frequently sinecures held by men of little or no musical ability. In practice, the choir was generally led from within by a succentor or some other subordinate. Hayes ended his critique with an attempt to elevate the office of 'chantor' (presumably the precentor), by suggesting that a rudimentary understanding of the theory of music, the careful regulation of musical texts and the authority to call rehearsals (as William's father had also advocated) would be of considerable benefit to the choir as a whole:

> If the chantor of every cathedral would read a short lecture upon the nature of harmonicks, or make a brief descant on several passages in church-musick, such a method as this might be of great use to church musick, and at the same time add considerable weight and significancy to the office of chantor.
>
> The chantor should have a correct score of all the musick that is performed in the church; and if a mistake should happen in a single part, such mistake should be constantly corrected from his score.
>
> If the chantor desires a rehearsal of any musick, all the members must comply, and more particularly so if the chantor should desire it in a polite, genteel, and friendly manner.
>
> But, after all, I believe it will be readily granted that the best manner of singing, either with graces or without them, will be of little or no consequence unless all the members are in peace and harmony one with another: With union of sound, therefore, it will be always necessary to join union of brotherly love and affection.[21]

In a handwritten catalogue of *Church Music proper for New Coll: Chapel* compiled (c.1794) during Philip Hayes's tenure as organist, the Rev. Gilbert Heathcote left a valuable record of the anthems and services sung regularly in the college chapel.[22] In common with the surviving partbooks of many other choral foundations, the repertory it records is comparatively modern in emphasis, dominated by the works of such eighteenth-century composers as Croft, Greene, Boyce and both Hayeses.

The sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, on the other hand, are represented by a mere handful of pieces by Tye, Tallis, Byrd and Gibbons, and the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries by a somewhat larger corpus of works by Blow, Purcell, Weldon (appointed organist at New College in 1694) and a number of minor worthies. The prevailing taste for music of the recent past, and the general avoidance of 'ancient' music, was a source of concern to the elder Hayes. In his *Remarks* he took exception to 'a Remark upon our old Cathedral Music: Of which I am inclined to believe, our Author [Avison] knows very little; otherwise he could not speak so slightingly of it'.

> I will not take upon me to justify and vindicate all the Music performed in Cathedrals; but shall venture to affirm, the further we look back, the more excellent the Composition will be found, and the most properly adapted to the sacred Purposes of Devotion. Nor can I allow many of these old Compositions, to be so defective in point of Air, as he seemeth to insist upon: For Example; can any thing be more natural, easy and flowing, than ORLANDO GIBBONS'S *Service* and his HOSANNA ? I should be very glad to see a modern Composition in the Church-Style, supported with better Air or Modulation; but this I despair of, without a proportionable Addition of Levity.[23]

Hayes's own literary works, as also his copying and antiquarian activities, all attest to his knowledgeable interest in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century church music. He evidently supplied Boyce with materials for his *Cathedral Music*,[24] to which he and Philip both subscribed, while at the same time each was amassing his own wide-ranging collection of English and Italian sacred music.[25] Philip in his turn became a noted authority on English church music, copying, annotating and 'correcting' many of Purcell's autograph scores,[26] but to what extent father and son actively reintroduced Elizabethan, Jacobean or Restoration anthems into their own services is difficult to

ascertain, though it is significant that, despite the very considerable cost, William Hayes was able to persuade both Magdalen and New College to subscribe to five sets of Boyce's *Cathedral Music*.[27]

As for the church music of his own day, William Hayes was less enthusiastic, criticising modern anthems and voluntaries, as he had done contemporary instrumental music, for their 'Levity of Air, which ... too much abounds', and readily admitting that it was very much in need of improvement.[28] However, he rejected outright Avison's assertion that 'nothing but introducing the Compositions of foreign Masters, (especially the modern ones) can advance the Dignity and Reputation of our *Cathedral Service*', suggesting instead that native composers might usefully 'cultivate an Acquaintance with the Works of such, who may be allowed to have made Improvements upon the Ancients' and to 'mark and observe wherein they have deviated from, and in what Particulars they have excelled those Monuments of Antiquity; and by what Means, to form themselves a Style worthy of their Labour'.[29] But Hayes remained adamant that church music was not in need of '*Advancement*, so much as being *restored*, and properly *regarded*'.[30] The composer whom he considered to have been most conspicuously successful in this capacity was Croft:

> Doctor CROFT, who very successfully studied the Ancients, and his great Predecessor PURCELL, by happily uniting their various Excellencies, hath left behind him a noble Fund of Music, properly adapted to the most sublime Purposes of Devotion.... That he has discharged himself properly, [in his anthems] ... is sufficiently evident from the universal Approbation which they are performed with, in most Parts of ENGLAND, and the Principal Choirs in IRELAND: For it must be observed, in Justice to his Memory, that although he kept in view the Solemnity and Gravity of the Old Masters, yet he has thrown in many new Lights, which have added great Lustre to that Solemnity.[31]

The anthem was undoubtedly the most important musical element of the Anglican service, and from 1662 its place in the liturgy was fixed after the third collect at morning and evening prayer. In a useful 'Explanation of some Expressions used by Choir Musicians' prefixed to his catalogue of the New College choir library, Gilbert Heathcote distinguished between the two main types of anthem cultivated by English composers. The full anthem, he explained, consisted 'chiefly of Chorus, & therefore usually accompanied by the full organ'; the verse anthem, on the other hand, was 'sung by few voices or by one only, with chorus only occasionally introduced'.[32] Similarly, he pointed out, there were both full and verse services. The full anthem had its heyday in the years immediately following the Reformation, but during the seventeenth century it was increasingly eclipsed by the verse anthem which eventually predominated in the works of Purcell and Croft and most eighteenth-century composers (see Table III.1 overleaf). The emphasis on the solo voice, and in particular the rise of the solo anthem during the first half of the eighteenth century, was not merely a matter of fashion, but may often have been a practical necessity. Increasingly, choirs came to rely upon a core of able soloists when, due to the corrupt system of appointments detailed earlier, their numbers and strength were often depleted by absence, incompetence, old age or drunkenness, and frequently all four.

Against this background, the internal balance of William Hayes's *Cathedral Music*, with nine full anthems and only six verse and six solo anthems, is striking. Indeed, the volume is remarkable for including a higher proportion of full anthems than just about any other such publication of the century (see Table III.1).

TABLE III.1: MAJOR 18th-CENTURY ANTHEM PUBLICATIONS

COMPOSER	DATE	FULL	VERSE	SOLO	SERVICES	OTHER	SUBSCRIPTIONS
Croft (2 vols.)	1724	6	20	4	Burial		N: 6†
Hine	1731*	-	2	1	Te Deum (Jubilate by Hall)	organ voluntary	M: 4
Greene (2 vols.)	1743	7	22	11			C: 9 St J: 5 N: 4†
Alcock	1771	8	7	11	Burial	chants	C: 5 M: 5 N: 5
Kent	1773	2	9	1			C: 5 M: 7 N: 7 St J: 5
	1777*	-	6	2	M / E		C: 6 N: 7
Nares	1778	1	16	3			C: 7 M: 7 N: 7 St J: 5
	1788	-	6	-	M / E		
Boyce	1780*	3	10	2	M		C: 7 M: 7 N: 7
	1790*	1	9	2	M		
P. Hayes	1790	2	5	1			
Ebdon	1790	2	4	-	M / C / E	chants	N: 5†
W. Hayes	1795*	9	6	6	M / C / E	100th psalm	C: 5 M: 7 N: 7 St J: 5
Dupuis (2 vols.)	1797*	4	5	5	4 (M/C/E)		
Crotch	1798	5	4	1			C: 5 N: 5 St J: 6

KEY:

* = published posthumously
MS = anthems surviving in manuscript
M / C / E = Morning, Communion and Evening services
C: = Christ Church College, Oxford
M: = Magdalen College, Oxford
N: = New College, Oxford
St J: = St John's College, Oxford
† = not a subscription, details in Heathcote's catalogue (*Onc* MS 14.807)

As an ardent admirer of the solid virtues of counterpoint as perfected by the 'Old Masters', and stubbornly unimpressed by 'Levity of Air', Hayes's preference for the full anthem, and substantial chorus work in his verse and solo anthems as well, amply demonstrates that he remained true to his principles in practice, and also testifies to the considerable faith which he invested in his choirs. Philip apparently had less confidence. In his *Eight Anthems* (c.1790) the full anthems are outnumbered three to one, and a similar ratio prevails among his unpublished works. The solo anthem too was in decline. Out of his 45 or so complete surviving anthems, only eight are for a single solo voice (and chorus). Philip's preferred medium was the verse anthem, partly perhaps because it spread the burden of solo singing rather more evenly, but also because it could ensure variety of timbre and texture without necessarily employing the chorus, where high standards of performance were becoming harder to maintain. Significantly, in this context, he chose to cast his deliberately straightforward *Anthem Composed For a Country Church* (P)1:009 as a verse anthem, comprising essentially homophonic ensembles for the four soloists, and only a short, somewhat perfunctory final chorus which is itself interrupted by further verse sections.

Philip, to a greater extent than his father, wrote anthems for a wide variety of different institutions and occasions, of which he only ever published a small number. Many of his surviving autograph scores bear meticulous details of the place and date of composition, together with a record of their first and subsequent performances. Important works for Oxford included three anthems for the General Fast (P)1:029, 37 and 47, and 'O praise the Lord' (P)1:033 performed regularly between

1777 and 1790 at St Mary's for the annual Anniversary Meeting of the Governors of the Radcliffe Infirmary (founded in 1770) for which occasion he also added orchestral parts to Hall and Hine's Te Deum and Jubilate (P)8:013. For the same occasion William had earlier written both the anthem 'The Lord, even the most mighty' and added an orchestral accompaniment to the 100th Psalm (W)1:024. In London, the year following his election as a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, Philip wrote the anthem 'O how amiable' for the choir, and a note on his score proudly records that on 3 July and 27 November 1768 it was performed 'before the King & Royal Family'. 'Behold O God our defender' was (like his ode (P)5:014) written 'for the Thanksgiving upon his Majesty's happy recovery' in 1785. Although the orchestral anthem 'Sing unto God' was intended for the opening of the new organ at Canterbury Cathedral in 1784, in the event 'no Band was engaged upon that occasion', and so instead Philip revised an earlier anthem, 'Rejoice in the Lord' which required only organ accompaniment.[33] The majority of the works which he composed for performance outside Oxford, however, were charity anthems, usually performed at a cathedral service after which there was a retiring collection for the benefit of the particular cause or institution, usually the local infirmary. The best known occasion of this kind was the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy held annually in St Paul's Cathedral in May. After William Boyce's death in 1779, Philip took over the direction of the music at these services, and in 1782 supplied his own orchestral anthem, 'O praise the Lord' (P)1:034 , supplanting Boyce's much-loved 'Lord, Thou hast been our refuge' which had served since 1755. The substitution did not please everyone, however, or so it appears from the Steward's minutes:

> The Church was not without some of the first Ladies in the Kingdom and likewise some of the first musical characters ... all of whom expressed their satisfaction at the performance and gave a general fiat to the honest endeavours for the benefit of the Charity of Dr. Phil: Hayes whose Anthem not withstanding the ill nature of a few will remain a lasting memorial of his musical abilities.[34]

Philip's anthem was not heard again until 1794, when the minutes make a point of noting that 'Dr. Hayes's anthem gave great satisfaction in particular',[35] and it was obviously successful enough to merit revival again in 1796, the year before his death. Among the most important of Hayes's other charity anthems is 'Blessed is he that considereth the poor', which was 'Composed for a meeting of the Governors of the Gloucester Infirmary and performed at the Cathedral on Wednesday August ye 5th 1767', and revived, with additional orchestral parts, for the benefit of the Norwich Infirmary in 1775 and for the Radcliffe Infirmary in Oxford in 1791, 94 and 95. The more intimate solo anthem, 'Hear the voice', was written 'for ye Octagon Chapel at Bath [and] sung at the Infirmary meeting' in 1787.

During the eighteenth century, service music was much less assiduously cultivated than the anthem (see Table III.1). Brevity and simplicity were considered essential virtues and composers generally obliged with useful 'short' settings of the canticles and occasionally the communion service too. William Hayes wrote only a single communion and evening service in E flat (W)1:002, which was designed to complement a Te Deum by Henry Hall and a Jubilate by his former teacher William Hine (in whose volume of anthems the two works first appeared), and which was to be known collectively as 'Hall, Hine, and Hayes's Service'.[36] He also completed the Jubilate from Croft's E flat service, adding the verse beginning 'O go your way' which Croft had apparently

left unset. Philip later performed a similar service for Boyce, adding a Jubilate (P)1:053 to an isolated G major Te Deum, and also provided a coupling for an early Te Deum in D by his father (W)1:001 with a rare setting of the Benedictus (P)1:054, probably intended for New College, where the Benedictus replaced the Jubilate at Founder's Commemorations.

Philip composed his own Morning, Evening and Communion service in F (P)1:051 in London between 3 December 1769 and 10 October 1770; a Burial service followed eighteenth months later in March 1772. Hayes did not record whose funeral this latter work was written for, but it may indeed have been the setting which Richard Paget heard at the funeral of 'Poor Bill Lawson' at Magdalen College twenty years later. In his diary for 20 January 1792, Paget recorded the elaborate spectacle of a full college funeral service, albeit during Wyatt's alterations to the chapel, which therefore had to be conducted without an organ:

> At one o'clock the whole Society met together in the Hall, & the body was placed in the cloister at the foot of the steps, attended by the University bellman & marshall. As soon as the company was assembled & everything ready, the procession began to move in the following order. ---
>
> The Univ. bellman, ringing his bell at intervals.
> The Organist (Dr. Hayes) & choir, singing
> "I am the Resurrection & Life" &c.
> The Sacrist (Mr. Rawbone)
> The Body, born by 6 of the College servants; the pall supported by the Vice Pres. & 6 senior fellows. The marshall
> A friend of the deceased (Mr. Appleby of Tr. Coll.)
> as chief mourner
> The President The fellows, & other members of the college, according to seniority, 2 & 2. Servants, 2 & 2
>
> The procession went round the E.[ast] N.[orth] & W.[est] cloisters, & entered the Ante-chapel at the N.[orth] door. The body was then set down just within the W.[est] door, (the grave being without.) & the whole service was performed on the spot by the sacrist & choir; for the inner chapel being full of scaffolding, &c. the seats were not accessible. The funeral was conducted wth. all possible solemnity, but the condition of the chapel & the want of the organ took away much from the effect.[37]

Philip's most elaborate work for the church stands outside the mainstream of everyday liturgical settings, belonging instead to the rich, though slender, tradition of large-scale ceremonial canticles which Purcell crowned with its first masterpiece in 1694 and Croft, Greene and Handel continued with such distinction during the following century. The occasion for which Hayes's orchestral *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* (P)1:056 were written was the annual charity meeting of the Governors of the Radcliffe Infirmary held in the University Church, in July 1793. This year, however, the music was particularly lavish since the service coincided with the installation of the Duke of Portland as Chancellor of the University, for which event Hayes also wrote a celebratory ode (P)5:017 whose reception was little short of riotous.[38] According to the reviewer in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, however, Hayes's canticles met with greater success: 'We did not expect any thing superior to the several very excellent *Te Deums* composed by some of the first masters; but, from the present composition, we think Dr. Hayes is entitled to a very respectable place among them.'[39]

In addition to their anthems, service music and a handful of psalm chants, father and son each published a collection of metrical psalm settings by James Merrick (1720-69), sometime Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford.[40] William's *Sixteen Psalms ... Set to Music for the use of Magd: Coll: Chapel in Oxford* were issued for general use in 1773, and such was their popularity that they achieved two further complete editions during the following century, as well as selective republication in several anthologies.[41] A few of them, most notably 'The festal morn, my God is come', have remained popular ever since.[42] Following in the footsteps of his father, Philip's *Sixteen Psalms ... As used at St.*

Mary's Church &c. in Oxford appeared in 1788, and was followed six years later by a further eighteen settings which he contributed to William Tattersall's *Improved Psalmody*, where they were in good company alongside the works of, amongst others, Dr. Haydn. But unlike his father's works, none of Philip's settings seem to have achieved sufficient general popularity to have warranted reprinting.

William Hayes's works for the church were undoubtedly among his most popular and enduring; those of his son, rather less so. Just about all William's twenty anthems and the Service in E flat, eventually published in *Cathedral Music* (1795), were in circulation well before that time, and the texts of three quarters of them included in the 1769 edition of *A Collection of Anthems Used in His Majesty's Chapel Royal, and most Cathedral Churches in England and Ireland*. Later editions of this same collection (and that of Novello in 1888) testify to the sustained and even increased popularity of the Hayeses anthems during the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (see Table III.2). The widespread dissemination of William's anthems and service in the partbooks of provincial cathedrals in both England and Ireland (particularly Durham and Worcester) confirms that many of these pieces were already firmly established in the repertory well before their eventual publication at the end of the century (see Table III.2: library sigla columns). And when William's *Cathedral Music* at last appeared in 1795, thirteen years later than originally promised, over twenty cathedrals and chapels had subscribed for a total of more than 120 copies. The volume itself was never reprinted in its entirety, but well over half its contents were later republished separately during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (see Catalogue of Works).

TABLE III.2: POPULARITY OF ANTHEMS BY WILLIAM & PHILIP HAYES

TITLE	1769,95	1826,44,56,88	Dcc	Dpc	Dtc	DRc	Ctc	LI	Lp	Onc	GL	WO
WILLIAM HAYES												
Blessed are all they		* *								*		
Blessed art thou	*	* * * *										
Bow down thine ear		* * *				*						*
Bring unto the Lord		* *				*				*	*	
Great is the Lord		* * * *				*	*			*	*	*
I have set God	* *	* * * *				*						*
I will give thanks	* *	* * * *										
Lord, how long wilt thou		* * * *				*						*
Lord, thou hast been	* *	* * * *				*					*	*
O be joyful	* *	* * * *	*	*	*	*		*		*		*
O give thanks	* *	* * * *								*		
O God thou art my God	* *	* * * *										
O worship the Lord		* * * *				*	*		*			*
Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem	* *	* * * *				*			*	*	*	*
Praise the Lord, O my soul	* *	* * * *										
Save, Lord, and hear us	* *	* * * *	*	*		*						*
The Lord even the most mighty	* *	* * * *	*			*			*	*	*	*
The Lord is good	*	* * * *								*		
The Lord preserveth		* * * *				*		*		*		*
Unto thee, O God	* *	* * *										
Whoso dwelleth	* *	* * *										
PHILIP HAYES												
Blessed is he †	* *	* * *				*						
In Jewry is God known	*	* * * *				*				*		
I will magnify	*	* * * *								*		
I will receive the cup	* *	* * *										
O how amiable †	* *	* * *										
O Lord our governor †	*	* * * *					*			*		
Our soul hath patiently		*										
Rejoice in the Lord †							*					
Righteous art thou	*	* * *								*		
The Lord descended †	*	* * * *				*	*			*		
The Lord hear thee	*	* * * *								*		

KEY AND NOTES:

i. **1769, 1795, 1826, 1844, 1856:** Anthem texts published in *A Collection of Anthems Used in His Majesty's Chapel Royal, and most Cathedral Churches in England and Ireland.*

ii. **1888:** texts published in *Novello's Cathedral Anthem Texts* (1888)

iii. Library information based on RISM: *A catalogue of ascribed music in pre-1800 music manuscripts deposited in British libraries* (R. Andrews, 1981). *Onc*: further information from Heathcote's MS catalogue of *Church Music proper for New Coll: Chapel* (c.1794).

iv. †: Published in *Eight Anthems* (c.1790).

William Hayes would surely have been astonished had he known that a century and a half after his death his full anthem 'Great is the Lord' would merit editions with Welsh and, as late as 1935, Afrikaans texts. Despite composing about twice the number, few of Philip's anthems ever achieved anything like the circulation and recognition of his father's works. Indeed, W.A. Barrett, in his 1877 monograph on *English Church Composers*, considered that 'What the father did insensibly, the son, Philip Hayes, seems to have done deliberately, for many of such of his anthems as are known are of the most trivial, commonplace, and *ad captandum* character'.[43] Writing in the first decade of the present century, the more sympathetic John S. Bumpus, who owned the MSS of most of Philip's church music, could point just to 'the famous setting of the ninth and tenth verses of Sternhold and Hopkins' metrical version of Psalm XVIII., beginning "The Lord descended from above"', published in *Eight Anthems*, 'as really the only anthemic composition of Dr. Phil Hayes that has descended to posterity'.[44] But after Philip's death, there was no one to prepare a collected edition of his anthems as he had done for William Boyce and his own father.

'The anthems of William Hayes ... have long been popular with choirs, both cathedral and parochial. It cannot be averred that they possess any great distinctive character or originality, but they are melodious and thoroughly well written for the voices, and many of the treble solos and duets are expressive'.[45] Bumpus's judgement on William's anthems was not unfair. His respect for Purcell, Croft and sixteenth-century church music, and the unshakeable influence of Handel's choral writing, are all present. Only in his particular liking for the full anthem style, essentially imitative textures and precise

organ registrations, does he show any particular individuality. While several of the anthems were deservedly popular, and could certainly stand revival today, in general they do not represent him at his best. Having blamed the degeneration of church music on what he perceived to be the greatest pervasive evil of contemporary music -- 'Levity of Air' -- he strove in his own works to restore the gravity and seriousness of the 'Old Masters'.[46] But instead, as happened also with Boyce, the freshness and imagination which characterise much of his finest secular music is often deliberately repressed in favour of a noble restraint and a rather conventional solemnity which, although sometimes effective in settings of penitential and supplicatory texts ('Bow down thine ear, O Lord', for example), can often sound merely stilted, as in the rather joyless, four-square 'Hallelujahs' which conclude quite a few of the anthems. Ernest Walker was certainly correct in observing that Hayes never allowed 'the conscious graces of the time' to 'degenerate into flimsiness', but equally he lost something vital along the way; the humility of his style seems often to have been achieved at the expense of musical interest. His music is 'very tolerable', concluded Walker, 'if we do not have too much of it at once'.[47]

William's full anthems are all cast in the standard Georgian full-anthem form, with two substantial outer choral movements framing a central verse section for two or three solo voices (and in two works the verse sections grow out of the first chorus itself). The verse section of 'Save, Lord, and hear us', was evidently a later addition, for in an early version of the work copied into the New College partbooks before 1743, it appears, more successfully perhaps, as a single, though internally subdivided, choral movement. Like the full anthems, William's

six solo anthems also follow a fairly standard pattern, each opening with a substantial aria and closing with a chorus, with two or three solo movements in between, linked, where necessary, by a passage of expressive arioso or recitative. The role of the chorus, of less general importance than in the full and verse anthems, is here confined simply to a final summing-up. In 'Blessed are all they' Hayes provides a perfunctory five-bar 'Amen', but in the majority of works (W)1:007, 9, 16 and 18 achieves a measure of continuity by linking the chorus thematically to the preceding solo number (in (W)1:016 to the penultimate aria) or, in 'Praise the Lord, O my soul', combining soloist and chorus in a single *concertato* movement -- a none too common practice at this time. Formally, the six verse anthems contained in *Cathedral Music* are the most flexible in design; indeed, the Georgian verse anthem itself never really settled into any regular pattern. Although the fluid alternation of solo, ensemble and choral passages which made up the Restoration verse anthem began to coalesce into a series of discrete movements in the anthems of Croft and his contemporaries, apart from the obligatory concluding chorus, the remaining movements continued to be variously assembled by later composers, depending on the dictates of the text and the musical resources at their disposal. However, Hayes does show a notable preference for beginning his verse anthems with an expressive duet for either treble and tenor or alto and bass soloists. (Four of the six verse anthems are so scored).

Hayes's craftsmanship is, as always, impeccable, and nowhere better demonstrated than in his skilful handling of the chorus. He employed four basic designs. For opening and intermediate choruses he maintained either a predominantly homophonic style throughout, or a

bipartite scheme in which an imitative opening (sometimes preceded by a chordal setting of the first phrase) works up to a homophonic climax which in turn gives rise to a new set of entries themselves also resolving homophonically. For the final chorus he preferred either a pervasively contrapuntal texture governed by interlocking sets of imitative points, or a contrapuntal opening culminating either in a full homophonic second section or immediately clinched by a strong chordal coda.

His counterpoint, although more conspicuous and correct than that of some of his contemporaries, is, however, often rather less strict than that found in his own instrumental works. The imitative subjects themselves are generally short-breathed and rely on well-tried formulae: rising and descending conjunct and triadic figures or assertive repeated-note headmotifs with a scalic tail, and occasionally, to celebrate some particularly extrovert text, an expansive fugal theme complete with melismas on important words; double fugues are usually kept in reserve for final choruses. The false entries and tonal answers of the opening and closing choruses of 'Save, Lord, and hear us', would certainly have excited Hayes's indignation had he found them in a concerto by Avison, but freely imitative polyphony was sanctioned by some of the 'Old Masters' whom Hayes so admired: Gibbons's 'Hosanna to the son of David' (singled out by Hayes as one of the finest examples of the old 'Church-Style') employs several tonal answers at its very outset. Yet Gibbons's 'natural, easy and flowing' style, to which he drew the attention of his readers,[48] often eluded Hayes in his own anthems. The imitative writing of the opening chorus of 'Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem', for example, is rather inflexible, not only because

of the regularity of its construction, but also because the frequent cadencing, typical of the period, interrupts the build-up of a 'seamless' contrapuntal texture dependent upon the overlapping of succeeding sets of entries (see Example III.1). But as this example further illustrates, Hayes is, on the whole, less prone to the overall tonal blandness typical of many of his contemporaries, who might well have let the entries following the dominant cadence in bar 13 (and subsequent points of imitation) return lamely to the tonic instead of pursuing a new tonal direction. Elsewhere, however, Hayes can be more imaginative, especially when, as in the chorus 'There shall go before him a consuming fire' from 'The Lord, even the most mighty God', he is responding to some vivid textual imagery (see Example III.2). Here he graphically conjures up the confusion of a storm by breaking up the text and dividing it between the voices, assigning each phrase an appropriate musical figure; the influence of the dramatic oratorio chorus is unmistakable. Such 'storm' and 'wrath' choruses became quite popular with anthem composers during the latter half of the century,[49] and Hayes employs them successfully on more than one occasion, often, as in 'O worship the Lord', with a stormy organ part too. Many of his choruses owe much of their inner vitality and drama to the interpenetration of imitative and homophonic textures. In 'Bow down thine ear', one of Hayes's finest anthems, a rich contrapuntal setting of the opening words of Psalm 86, dominated by imploring 7/6 and 9/8 suspensions, is twice interrupted by the impassioned chanting of the sinner pleading his case: 'for I am poor and in misery' (see Example III.3). In the opening chorus of 'Save, Lord, and hear us', Hayes employs the rhetorical devices of repetition, silence and surprise to considerable effect: two

massive cries of 'O save thy people' are separated by an unexpected bar's rest, each petition beginning with an unprepared dominant seventh; the following short duet is then interrupted by a further two petitions, in the third the trebles are taken up to f'', in the fourth they fall silent as the phrase is echoed disconsolately a minor seventh lower (see Example III.4).

Following the formal and stylistic patterns evolved by Croft in his *Musica Sacra* (1724) and firmly established by Greene in *Forty Select Anthems* (1743), Hayes employed a varied though generally self-effacing solo style completely avoiding the standard vocal form of the period, the da capo aria. In his *Remarks*, Hayes crisply quashed Avison's suggestion that Marcello's Italian psalm settings might be adapted for use as anthems in Anglican services on the grounds that the arias were too secular in style, employing da capo form 'after the Manner of an Air in a *Cantata*, or of an *Opera Song*', thus rendering them 'more suitable to the *Chamber* than the *Church*'.[50] He probably spoke for many when he concluded that while such arias 'might please the *Ear*' they 'never could affect the *Heart*'.[51] However strong his own feelings though, the influence of the 'Cantata, or ... *Opera Song*' was too great to be entirely eliminated from his anthems. Not only do the solo anthems resemble chamber cantatas in their formal alternation of recitative (or arioso) and aria, but many of the individual arias in both solo and verse anthems employ an operatic motto opening and coloratura passages, and are usually articulated by a number of organ ritornelli. Formally, too, the lingering spirit of da capo form itself has not been completely exorcised. When Hayes writes an extended aria, such as the opening solo of 'Praise the Lord, O my Soul', he occasionally adopts a tripartite

design in which the middle vocal paragraph is cast in a related minor key and ends in the mediant minor (like the 'B' section of a da capo aria), and, after a short ritornello, the final vocal section begins in the tonic with a literal or ornamented repeat of the aria's first musical (and sometimes textual) phrase or two. Elsewhere, Hayes writes both short and more extended arias which are essentially binary in their underlying tonal design, and on one occasion actually provided with a central double bar and repeats, but more usually articulated simply by a central ritornello in the dominant. Instead of returning immediately to the tonic, as Croft so often does, some of the more expansive arias include a harmonically discursive penultimate section before eventually making the homeward journey to the tonic, a procedure often to be met within the arias of Greene and Boyce also. The prevalence of such binary structures is undoubtedly related to the tendency for each psalm verse to divide into two complementary halves. Melodically, some arias are essentially through-composed with few internal symmetries, while others are governed by a few recurrent melodic or rhythmic phrases. Strong, propulsive, quasi-ostinato basses provided by the organ underpin many arias, but the use of a Purcellian four-bar ground in the third aria of 'I will give thanks' is a unique and deliberate archaism.

Of the six verse anthems contained in *Cathedral Music*, half are scored for two solo voices, and, rather symmetrically, the other half for a solo trio. In the full anthems, the central verse sections are variously scored for duet, trio and, on one occasion, a sextet. Hayes's choice of solo voices remained fairly consistent. For the duets in the full anthems he invariably chose two trebles, for the trios, a Purcellian combination of alto, tenor and bass is preferred. In the

verse anthems, he tended towards alto and bass duets, and treble, tenor and bass trios. These latter three works display a somewhat old-fashioned, post-Restoration emphasis on ensembles rather than self-contained arias: two of the anthems (W)1:004 and 23 contain duets and trios but no solos at all, and in the third (W)1:011 the two arias are modest in scope and outnumbered by three trio sections. The style of the ensembles owes much to the well-digested influence of Corelli's trio sonatas, the solo voices generally engaging in lively, imitative dialogue, coming together periodically in sonorous chains of thirds and sixths enlivened with sequences of modulating suspensions. Particularly in the central verse sections of the full anthems, however, the ATB trios are cast in a contrasting, predominantly homophonic style in slow-moving triple time, the usual mode for the expression of pathetic or introspective sentiments.

A noteworthy feature of the arias (and the occasional duet) in Hayes's solo and verse anthems is their frequent provision of fully written-out organ accompaniments complete with detailed registration markings. A similarly meticulous concern for expressive and colourful detail is also to be found in the anthems of Hayes's friend at Lichfield Cathedral, John Alcock, to whose *Six and Twenty Select Anthems* he subscribed in 1771. 'The Lord is good', the first anthem in *Cathedral Music*, is typical of Hayes's practice. The opening aria is provided with a two-part organ accompaniment, the bass to be played on a 'Stop[ped] Diapason & Flute' and the treble part on a 'Cornet Stop'. The second aria is marked 'The Symphony on the Diapasons: Treble and Bass' and the bass line is carefully annotated so that in continuo passages, when actually accompanying the voice, the 'Soft organ' is used and the

diapasons are employed only during ritornelli. The concluding duet again calls for a 'Stop[ped] Diapason and Flute' bass, and a 'Trumpet Stop' for the two-part right-hand line, a number of echo effects being carefully marked in the score. Elsewhere in *Cathedral Music* the 'Bassoon Stop' is often suggested and the 'Chair' and 'Swelling organ' often distinguished between. One of the most imaginative accompaniments occurs in the anthem 'Unto Thee, O God'. After a passionate arioso the voice launches earnestly into the first vocal phrase 'Therefore will I praise Thee' without waiting for the opening ritornello, which, like the concluding ritornello, is assigned to a 'Cornet Stop'. The rest of the right-hand accompaniment, however, is to be played on the 'Swelling Organ', and in response to the phrase 'Unto Thee will I sing upon the harp' the organ provides an almost continuous harp-like accompaniment, complete with dynamic shadings: *p*, *mp* and *f* (see Example III.5).

Philip Hayes's anthems are fluent and generally well written, but, reflecting the declining standards of performance which set in during the latter half of the century, they are, on the whole, rather less substantial than his father's and frankly less interesting. Although he makes use of the same standard formal patterns, and similar stylistic procedures, nevertheless his approach diverges from that of the elder Hayes in a few significant particulars.

The twin virtues of brevity and simplicity seem to have been uppermost in Philip's mind when writing his full anthems. The most extreme examples of his economy are 'I will magnify' and 'The Lord hear thee' which are almost entirely homophonic throughout and each cast in a single movement lasting a mere 30 and 18 bars respectively. But his best known work, 'The Lord descended from above', is more typical: cast

in the usual three movements the entire piece amounts to barely 60 bars, almost a third of the average length of William's full anthems. The choruses which frame the work are predominantly homophonic, enlivened occasionally by the simplest imitation between parts. Although there are many other choral movements, particularly concluding choruses, which are altogether more rigorous in their contrapuntal construction, in general Philip's choruses are shorter and simpler in texture than William's. He does, however, write a number of effective *concertato* movements in which one or more solo voices alternate with the full chorus, a scoring which is comparatively rare in the anthems of his father. The fine tenor and chorus movement in 'O how amiable' was presumably designed to throw Philip himself, a tenor in the Chapel Royal choir, into the limelight when the anthem was performed before the King in June 1768.

More urbane than that of his father, Philip's direct, felicitous melodic style lends a certain charm to the solo movements of otherwise quite undistinguished anthems. Although some arias consciously invoke a serious Handelian style, there is less of the sequential note-spinning and a more regular phrase structure than is typical of the anthems in *Cathedral Music*. There is greater flexibility too. Occasionally, as in the first treble aria of 'Hear the voice of my humble petition', Philip highlights a change of metre and sentiment in the text by slipping gracefully into tripletime midway through the aria, rather than by the less effective option of simply writing two separate arias. This almost seventeenth-century concern for melodic (and dramatic) fluidity is to be found particularly in Philip's frequent and highly expressive ariosi. William Hayes had written some fine ariosi in several of his solo anthems, but nothing either as extended or as carefully structured as

the impassioned tenor arioso 'Hear, O Lord' (see Example III.6), which precedes the *concertato* movement in 'O how amiable' referred to above. Within the space of 26 bars there are five changes of tempo, an alternating duple- and triple-time pulse and the introduction of a partially written-out organ accompaniment which echoes the immediately preceding vocal phrases. The arioso leads directly into the following movement, which is itself followed by another extended bass arioso. This work is by no means unique; the anthem 'O Israel' seems to be made up almost entirely of expressive arioso-like solos which never quite coalesce into fully formed melodic lines. This anthem also contains a powerful declamatory arioso/recitative ensemble 'The field is wasted', complete with organ accompaniment and a sectional design involving frequent changes of tempo, time signature, melodic style (lyrical arioso and *secco* recitative), and scoring (ATB trio versus solo bass).

Although outwardly Philip's four festal anthems with orchestral accompaniment appear to be the most ambitious and intrinsically the most interesting of his works in this field, stylistically, they actually differ very little from the rest of his anthems except perhaps in overall length. 'Blessed is he' (P)1:008, originally a simple verse anthem with organ accompaniment written for 'a meeting of the Governors of the Glocester Infirmary' in 1767, did service again in 1775 for the Norwich Infirmary charity, for which occasion Hayes added an orchestral introduction and accompaniment. The stately introduction is, quite unusually for the period, based on material from the opening verse, but the orchestral support provided by the strings and oboes (with trumpets and drums in the choruses) is of the simplest kind, doubling the choir in choruses and following the original organ accompaniment in solos.

'Sing unto God' (P)1:041 was pieced together from several movements of pre-existing anthems 'with this difference only, that I added Instrumental Parts to all of them except the first, in order to have something ready for the opening of Canterbury Organ in July 1784'. In the event, no orchestra was engaged and Hayes was forced to expand an earlier organ accompanied anthem 'Rejoice in the Lord'. 'Sing unto the Lord' contains a delicately scored duet (actually taken from 'Rejoice in the Lord') beginning 'Praise the Lord with harp', rather like his father's setting of a similar text in 'Unto Thee, O God' (see above), Philip responds literally to the imagery of the text and writes a full obbligato organ part delicately supported by pizzicato strings.

Philip's remaining orchestral anthems both begin with a verse from Psalm 135 'O praise the Lord, for the Lord is gracious'. The first, dated 1774, was written for the Radcliffe Infirmary charity in Oxford, the second, for which he drew heavily on his earlier setting, was intended for the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy at St Paul's in 1782. Altogether this latter work is undoubtedly one of his finest anthems, revealing a sure and imaginative command of large-scale forces. Scored for SSATBB soloists, chorus, an orchestra of strings, oboes, trumpets and drums, and cast in eight movements, it quite closely resembles Boyce's anthem 'Lord, thou hast been our refuge', which it temporarily replaced. If the object of these elaborate works was to move the members of the congregation to dig more deeply into their pockets for the benefit of the charity, then few individual movements can have been more successful than the affecting trio of trebles in Boyce's anthem singing 'Remember, O Lord, what is come upon us'. Hayes writes a similar movement in his own anthem, a duet between *decani* and *cantoris*

trebles beginning 'Lord, look down from thy holy house and consider us'. Like Boyce's trio, it is written in several contrasting sections, including a particularly poignant change of metre to slow triple time at the words 'We are orphans and fatherless'. The other solo movements, somewhat unusually, include a bass duet, an ATBB quartet (in the subdominant minor), and penultimately (like Boyce) an aria for alto soloist, 'The Lord is our strength and shield', joined appropriately enough by trumpets. As so often in Philip's anthems, and unlike the choral movements of Boyce's 'Lord, thou hast been our refuge', the three choruses are broad *concertato* movements with full orchestra and soloists, an alto in the opening chorus, bass and tenor solos in the internal chorus (the sixth movement) and ATB verse sections in the first half of the concluding chorus, which precedes the obligatory clinching choral fugue.

Neither William nor Philip's service music requires much comment since ease and speed of performance dictated the most straightforward, functional 'short service' style. William's E flat service achieved considerable popularity in its time, circulating in manuscript for decades before it was eventually printed in *Cathedral Music*. It could be found in the partbooks of most cathedral choirs, whereas Philip's, on the other hand, could not. A predominantly homophonic texture is effectively enlivened with frequent verse sections (often in a contrasting 3/2 metre), antiphonal exchanges between decani and cantoris, some modest word painting, a touch of chromaticism (at the verse 'And he was crucified'), occasionally some simple imitation and, symbolically, a canon 'Three in One' at the mention of the Holy Trinity in the Creed.

One of Philip's last works was the large-scale ceremonial *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* of 1793. Written almost exactly a hundred years after Purcell's monumental setting, its generally ossified style reflects the strong genre traditions established by both Purcell and Handel, and in many ways demonstrates just how little English choral music had really changed during the century. Hayes's setting naturally adopts the customary festal key of D major, and goes on to make quite frequent use of similar scoring, style, and textual divisions as Purcell established in 1694 and Handel employed in his early *Utrecht Te Deum* and *Jubilate* of 1713. For instance, like Purcell, Hayes sets the consecutive verses, 'Thou sittest at the right hand of God' and 'We believe that thou shalt come', as a treble duet and ATB trio respectively. In common with Handel, the verse 'Thou art the king of glory' is set chorally in an exultant and quite strict contrapuntal manner, employing a pair of imitative subjects; Hayes even borrows the head of his primary subject from Handel. The opening of Philip's *Jubilate* follows the precedent established by Purcell and Handel in employing the relatively frail tones of an alto soloist pitted against the full chorus and orchestra with trumpets and drums. However, in contrast to his illustrious predecessors, and reflecting, perhaps, the popularity of the 'short' service style, Hayes's own choral writing is altogether simpler and more homophonic, and his solo movements rather more succinct. His concern to achieve the right balance in solo sections seems to stem from performing experience of Purcell's *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* and his subsequent shortening of the verse 'Vouchsafe, O Lord' since, 'The original verse being in general thought too prolix, I have ventur'd to shorten it ... but have endeavour'd to preserve its greatest beauties, that the

composer's credit might not suffer by the Alteration ... 1783'.[52] Unlike any other seventeenth- or eighteenth-century setting of the canticles, Hayes introduces the novel sonority of a trombone in the final chorus of the *Jubilate*. Fortuitously, the performing parts of the work have been preserved, and on the organ short-score there is a pencil note, presumably made by Hayes after a performance, giving the timings of the *Te Deum* ('30 min ½') and the *Jubilate* ('13 min ½') -- figures which suggest quite brisk speeds and a fairly fleet-footed reading of the Andante tempo marking used in half the movements of the *Te Deum*.

At the opposite end of the scale are William and Philip's everyday, functional settings of Merrick's metrical versions of the psalms. The least pretentious of their sacred works, they are in many ways the most immediately appealing. In style they are entirely homophonic, usually strophic in form, and employ either a three- (SSB) or four-part (SATB) scoring with optional organ accompaniment (see Example III.7). In their use of independent organ preludes, interludes, postludes and full accompaniment throughout, the *Sixteen Psalms* · of father and son appear to have no exact parallel in the works of their contemporaries. When accompanying, the organ is reduced largely to doubling the vocal lines, though in Philip's psalms it is often given a more independent role, as in 'Who o'er the waves', where watery allusions in the text inspire a stormy running semiquaver bass line, rather like the final chorus of his father's anthem 'O worship the Lord'. And like their anthems, the organ parts of the psalms are also marked with detailed suggestions for registration. However, at the end of the volume, for the benefit of 'Country Churches', William printed alternative, simplified versions of all his psalms, omitting the organ

part. Several settings published in Philip's *Sixteen Psalms* employ a more expansive form than that used by his father. The vividly changing sentiments of verses from Psalm 107, 'Who o'er the waves', for example, precluded unvaried strophic treatment; Philip therefore adopted an extended through-composed form allowing frequent changes of metre and key and greater scope to dwell on specific textual imagery.

Philip's eighteen psalms for Tattersall's *Improved Psalmody* (1794), however, are all unaccompanied three-part (SSB) settings, whose scoring, the opening Address makes clear, was intended to make them as generally useful as possible, the usual countertenor part being omitted so that 'singers of this class may not be induced to attempt things beyond their ability'.[53] It is also clear that unlike Philip's *Sixteen Psalms*, many of which, Tattersall explains, were written at the request of Dr Horne (President of Magdalen College) for the college chapel and University Church, the more modest settings of *Improved Psalmody* were designed with domestic devotions in mind:

> The advantage in having a variety of sweet melodies must be evident to every person of serious reflection, in order to induce people, who are too fond of singing ballads, catches, &c. (many of which border upon profaneness) to appropriate their time on a Sunday as becomes Christians. Instead of employing themselves in improper relaxations, business, or tea table conversations, as they are termed, let families meet after their evening walks, when they are satisfied with having contemplated the works of Providence, and let them fill the hours, which are not engaged in perusing books of piety and improvement, by the most rational amusements of singing praises to their Creator.[54]

Whether or not Philip agreed with the Rev. Tattersall's pious strictures against bawdy ballads and catches, of which he was the author of no small number, he easily complied with the self-effacing and straightforward style appropriate for convivial music of a devotional

nature. 'We are all perfectly agreed', wrote Tattersall in his Address to Contributors, 'that plainness and simplicity are the grand criterion, that ought to guide us'.[55] A simple, pleasing and memorable melodic style, in regular four- or four + three-bar phrases, distinguishes all William and Philip's psalm settings and accounts for the lasting popularity of a few of their number. Indeed, J.S. Bumpus was pleased to observe that some of William Hayes's psalm tunes were still in use at Magdalen College as recently as 1908.[56] Two of these pieces, shorn of their organ interludes and accompaniment, were eventually included in *The English Hymnal* in 1933, and appear to be the only sacred works by the Hayeses to have remained in the repertory to the present day.[57]

CHAPTER IV
CANTATAS, SONGS AND CONVIVIAL VOCAL MUSIC

William Hayes's eleven cantatas were all written quite early in his career. The *Twelve Ariettes or Ballads, and Two Cantatas*, his first published works, came out in 1735, and a further three cantatas were included in the second part of *Vocal and Instrumental Musick* (1742), again partnered by a number of ballads and art songs. Six years later,[1] encouraged perhaps by the recent success of John Stanley's *Six Cantatas* Op. 3 (1742), Hayes issued his own set of *Six Cantatas*, a practice still comparatively rare among English composers of this period. Although less prolific than either Stanley or J.C. Pepusch, Hayes's contribution to the repertoire was, nevertheless, by English standards, considerable (see Table IV.1 overleaf).

The English cantata was firmly rooted in the Italian *cantata da camera* whose structure, standardised in the later works of Alessandro Scarlatti and his Neapolitan contemporaries, usually consisted of two da capo arias, each prefaced by a recitative -- the so-called R-A-R-A form. This design was most closely followed in the works of the first generation of English cantata composers, most notably Daniel Purcell, J.E. Galliard and Pepusch. From the third or fourth decades of the century, however, a certain dissatisfaction with the Italian style (and with the da capo aria in particular) began to make itself felt, and in the cantatas of Hayes, Stanley and their contemporaries, indigenous traits began to reassert themselves.[2]

TABLE IV.1: THE CANTATAS OF WILLIAM HAYES

	POET	SCORING	FORM*
Twelve Arietts or Ballads, and Two Cantatas **(1735):**			
1. Beneath this cool refreshing shade	Travers	S, vn, va, bc	R-A
2. As in the cool of early day (*The Poet and the Rose*)	Gay	S, vn, bc	R-A
Vocal and Instrumental Musick **II (1742):**			
1. Great God of sleep	Lansdowne	S, bc	A-R-A
2. So calm and so serene	Lansdowne	S, 2 vn, bc	R-A
3. Wide o'er the oceans (*Jupiter and Europa*)		S, vc, bc	R-A-R-A
Six Cantatas **(1748):**			
1. At Ross how alter'd is the scene (*A Winter Scene at Ross in Herefordshire*)		S, vc, bc	A-R-A
2. Why Lysidas should man be vain	Pilkington	S, 2 vn, bc	R-A-R-A
3. While I listen to thy voice	Waller	S, vc, db, 2 hpd, bc	A-R-A
4. Love into Chloe's chamber came (*Chloe's Dream*)	Bacon	S, 2 vn, bc	R-A-R-A
5. O Goddess most rever'd above (*To Venus a Rant*)	Lisle	S, bc	R-A-R-A/A
6. Daughter sweet of voice and air (*An Ode to Echo*)		S, fl, 2 rec, 2 vn, va, hpd, bc	A-R-A-R-A

Lost works:

(W)4:012 Farewell ye groves
(W)4:013 Celestial muse

* Da capo arias are underlined.

In England, the chamber cantata had a much broader social appeal than its Italian counterpart which was aimed almost exclusively at a sophisticated and cultured aristocracy. The popularity of the ballad and art song in England, and the enormous demand for printed music from an increasingly affluent and well-educated middle class, soon led to the inclusion of one or two cantatas in publications otherwise exclusively devoted to less demanding vocal forms. Hayes's first collection of secular vocal music, the *Twelve Arietts or Ballads, and Two Cantatas*, proved extremely popular, attracting well over 500 subscribers, a number of them professional musicians (organists, composers and, if we are to believe the subscription list, four of the most celebrated Italian singers of the day -- Farinelli, Senesino, Cuzzoni and Bertoldi), but most of them enthusiastic amateurs: Oxford dons, students, clergymen, members of the nobility and gentry, their wives and daughters, and of course a number of provincial musical societies too. The *Six Cantatas* of 1748 proved no less successful attracting in excess of 300 subscribers, eloquent testimony both to the reputation of its composer and the widespread popularity of the form itself. The advanced vocal technique and varied instrumental resources required in a number of these works suggest that many of them may have originated in the semi-professional concerts regularly organised by the Oxford Musical Society. The impressive *An Ode to Echo* (1748:vi), for instance, was still being performed at the Music Room over forty years later, when it was sung by the celebrated Oxford tenor, Thomas Norris.[3] The three large-scale cantatas (W)8:012-14, assembled by Hayes from operatic arias by Handel, were presumably intended for similar occasions.[4]

Malcolm Boyd has suggested that the varied functions of the English cantata -- a public as well as a domestic entertainment -- led to a 'corresponding variety in the texts which composers set'.[5] In this respect, as in many others also, Hayes's cantatas are more imaginative than most. While love in its various forms remains the predominant theme, the stylised rituals of rural courtship and their idealised Arcadian setting represent only one of several approaches to the subject. *To Venus a Rant* (1748:v), for example, is a powerful monologue which portrays the impetuosity of youthful love without recourse to stereotyped characters or plot. Three other cantatas explore altogether different aspects of the human condition. In 'At Ross how alter'd is the scene' the poet compares winter in the Herefordshire countryside with 'life's winter', concluding that 'virtue will soften age's brow'. 'Why Lysidas should man be vain' (1748:ii), by Matthew Pilkington, is more philosophical in tone, and deals with man's eternal vanity and the transitory nature of earthly wealth and power. In the lighthearted 'Great God of sleep' (1742:i) the protagonist appeals to the somnolent God of mythology never to interrupt his drinking, but if ever he should dream of a 'nymph belov'd' who grants 'what wakeing she denies', then 'Gentle slumber prithee stay, slowly O slowly bring the day'.

The major English poets of the eighteenth century were little interested in lyric verse. When composers such as Hayes required texts suitable for extended musical treatment, they relied either on the willing productions of less able men of letters, or selected their own texts from published collections of poetry. Although Hayes did not enjoy a close collaboration with any one poet, as Pepusch had done with John Hughes or Stanley with Sir John Hawkins, he set some attractive verse

written by two of his colleagues at Magdalen College, Phanuel Bacon and Thomas Lisle. Whether their respective poems, *Chloe's Dream* and *To Venus a Rant*, set in the *Six Cantatas* of 1748, were actually written with such an end in mind is uncertain, but both are undeniably well suited to the musical requirements of the genre. The majority of Hayes's texts, however, are taken from the poetical works of such minor worthies as Henry Travers and Matthew Pilkington, though several make use of rather better verse by George Granville (Lord Lansdowne), John Gay and Edmund Waller (see Table IV.1).

The formal conventions of the cantata imposed certain constraints on the choice of text open to the composer. Essentially a monologue in which the singer was generally both narrator and protagonist, the cantata required a text which offered both narrative and emotionally self-contained elements which could be set as recitatives and arias. Furthermore, if the composer intended to utilise da capo form, it was important to ensure that the repetition of the opening lines of the verse should enhance rather than obscure the poetic sense. Hayes's wide choice of texts matches such requirements in various ways. *Jupiter and Europa* (1742:iii), for instance, is a full-blown operatic *scena* which charts the changing emotions of Europa from a state of utter despair to one of great joy. 'Why Lysidas' (1748:ii), on the other hand, is a philosophical monologue, whose argument is advanced in several short stages, but compared with *Jupiter and Europa*, has no real plot at all.

Poetic diversity is matched by formal flexibility. The division of the text and allocation of formal ingredients is of course closely linked to the style, structure and sentiments of the poetry itself, and therefore the cantatas follow no one regular design. The two-part R-A

and three-part A-R-A schemes are each used on three occasions, as often in fact as the standard R-A-R-A form. When required, the four-part design was expanded to include an extra aria at the beginning (1748:vi) or end (1748:v), as can be seen in Table IV.1. In a work such as 'Why Lysidas', which lacks a strong sense of drama, Hayes's judicious distribution of the text and carefully structured arias (described below) help focus and characterise each stage of the poetic argument while maintaining the underlying continuity of thought, thus allowing the listener to perceive an almost dramatic sense of forward momentum in the unfolding philosophical narrative. Elsewhere, the structure of the verse itself sometimes seems to have suggested appropriate musical forms. In the opening aria of *An Ode to Echo* (1748:vi), for example, a da capo of the first two lines of the verse helps to clarify the poetic sense, somewhat obscured after a lengthy digression, so preparing the way for the following recitative. But adopting da capo form leaves Hayes with an unwieldy burden of text for the 'B' section of the aria. He therefore sets it economically as an accompanied recitative, at the same time taking full advantage of the vivid textual imagery:

'A' section:	Daughter sweet of voice and air Gentle Echo haste thee here.
'B' section: (set as recitative)	From the vale where all around, Rocks to rocks return the sound. From the swelling surge that roars, 'gainst the tempest driven shores. From the silent moss grown cell, Haunt of warbling Philomel. Where unseen of man you lie, Queen of woodland harmony. (da capo)
Recitative:	Listen Nymph divine and learn, strains to make Narcissus burn, Hark the heav'nly song begins ...

As in the variety of their literary themes and overall formal schemes, the tonal organisation of the cantatas also follows English practice. Unlike the Italians, English composers showed a particular preference for major rather than minor keys, and in marked contrast to Handel, usually adopted unified tonal schemes, in which major-key cantatas began and ended in the same key. Out of a total of twenty arias, Hayes cast fifteen in the major; only the most contemplative or desolate verses were lent added poignancy by the use of the minor mode. Even then, as in his minor key sonatas and concertos, such cantatas always conclude with an aria in the tonic major. This procedure is most common in the three-part A-R-A works, where for the sake of tonal variety alone it is desirable to contrast the opening and closing arias (invariably employing opposing modes of the same tonic). It is rarer to find this tonal arrangement within the traditional R-A-R-A framework, for having paid lip-service to the tonic in the opening recitative, the composer was then left free to move to a related key for the first aria. For Hayes, the text itself sometimes seems to have had a decisive influence on the general organisation of tonal schemes. The tongue-in-cheek humour which pervades 'Great God of sleep' (cast in A-R-A form), required no more tonal contrast than that provided by the central recitative, but the clear-cut emotional dichotomy of *Jupiter and Europa* needed to be matched by a more striking key structure:

Recitative:	c - g	Europa's desolation
Aria :	g	She contemplates her fate
Recitative:	V of F - C	Jupiter appears; they fall in love
Aria :	C	Sorrow is banished; love triumphs.

It is apparent from a tonal scheme such as this that continuity between recitative and aria is often achieved through harmonic means. The sense of conclusion reached at the end of a cantata's first aria is negated by starting the following recitative on a dominant chord, thus immediately propelling the music forward. Likewise, recitatives frequently end either on the dominant of the on-coming aria's tonic, or even in the key of the aria itself (as above). When he wishes to achieve a still closer connection, as in 'At Ross' and 'While I listen to thy voice' (1748:i & iii), he lessens the finality of the V-I progression by writing a simultaneous cadence, in which the dominant chord sounds with rather than after the singer's last note. Hayes is at his dramatic best in *Chloe's Dream* (1748:iv), where at the end of the second recitative he portrays Chloe's lingering sexual ecstasy over an ornamented imperfect (quasi-Phrygian) cadence (IVb-V), and suggests the suddenness of her waking by the unexpected entry of the voice which plunges straight into the first vocal phrase without waiting for the opening ritornello (see Example IV.1). In three other cantatas of the 1748 set, like Alessandro Scarlatti in many of his mature cantatas, a recitative leading to an aria in the major key has its final cadence on the dominant of the aria's relative minor.

Most of Hayes's recitatives are of the standard *secco* variety, notated in common time with slow moving basses and syllabic declamation. They are generally fairly brief, varying in length from a mere four-bar link between arias (as in *Chloe's Dream*), to a substantial seventeen-bar narrative in *Jupiter and Europa*. Although sensitive to verbal accentuation and expressive detail, they generally lack something of Handel's spontaneity, often falling into regular phrase patterns which

tend to emphasise the rhyme scheme and rigid metrical structure of the verse, though unlike some, Hayes avoids excessive use of the full close. His stock of expressive devices, however, is entirely conventional: affective intervals, poignant harmonic shifts, simple word-painting, emphatic arpeggiated figures, fragmented exclamations and rhetorical silences.

By far his most elaborate recitative occurs, somewhat ironically, as the 'B' section of the opening aria of *An Ode to Echo*. The opulent instrumental forces of the 'A' section -- four-part strings with obbligato flute -- are retained, and something of its rhetorical melodic style too. The vivid imagery of the text, with its echoes, 'Tempest beaten shores' and 'warbling' nightingale, evokes an appropriately graphic response: reverberating echo effects, waves of shuddering semiquavers, and delightful chirrupings from on high (Example IV.2). While such things were the stock-in-trade of any self-respecting opera composer of the time, few expended so much care on their precise notation as Hayes. The staggered string echoes in bars 49-56 each have a separate and successively quieter dynamic marking: from *forte* in the first violin down to *pianissimo* in the solo cello, and the harpsichord is silenced altogether. In bar 69, after the soprano and nightingale have completed their lyrical duet, the flute breaks out into twittering bird song, meticulously articulated and charmingly naturalistic.

In his *Remarks* (1753) Hayes admitted having little faith in the da capo aria as a vehicle for judicious text expression. When the two sections of the aria articulated opposing sentiments, he considered the repeat of the first part 'A great Absurdity beyond all doubt'.[6] The disenchantment was widespread. By mid-century, declining interest in the

da capo aria had become clearly apparent in the cantata. In Hayes's five early cantatas (1735 and 1742), over half the arias employ a da capo; of the thirteen arias in the 1748 set, however, only five make use of the form, and three of these are actually marked 'da capo al segno'. A similar trend can be seen in Stanley's cantatas Op.3 (1742) and 8 (1748) published at the same time. Even when employing full da capo form, Hayes's general reticence is manifest in the unusual brevity of the 'B' sections and a marked reluctance to explore the dramatic potential for contrast which they offered unless, as in *An Ode to Echo*, clearly sanctioned by the text. Even tonal contrast between the two parts is minimised so that, with only a couple of exceptions, the 'B' sections open firmly in the tonic rather than the relative key, as they do, for example, in the more Italianate arias of Pepusch's cantatas. Perhaps the most extreme example of Hayes's freedom with the form can be seen in 'Why Lysidas' (1748:ii) where, after 62 bars of 'A', the 'B' section is compressed into a mere eight bars. The stark contrast between the two parts in fact serves a dramatic purpose in that the 'B' section provides a terse answer to the question elaborated in a deliberately opulent style at the outset, its musical economy vividly underscoring the central message of the text -- that all men are equal in death:

'A' section: Can splendid robes or beds of down,
Or costly gems to deck the crown,
Give health or smooth the brow of care,
Can all the glories of a crown,
Give health or smooth the brow of care?

'B' section: The scepter'd prince, the burden'd slave,
Ye humble and the haughty die,
The poor, the rich, the base, ye brave,
In dust without distinction lie.

Hayes, unlike Stanley, seldom adopted binary form as an alternative to the da capo aria. The charming *siciliana* which opens *Chloe's Dream* is the only extended example to be found in his cantatas. The final aria of *To Venus a Rant* uses an altogether different design: two miniature binary airs, each articulated by a central cadence in the dominant, butted end-to-end. Both are entirely self-contained, the first beginning and ending in the dominant, and the second, to highlight the cantata's final punch-line, dispensing with a linking recitative and opening immediately in the tonic, with a new time signature, tempo marking and all. 'At Ross' (1748:i), on the other hand, opens with a more or less strophic aria, in which the three verses of text are set to almost identical music, modified where required to accommodate new words and extended in the final verse to achieve both a musical and textual climax.

Free from the constraints of da capo, binary and strophic forms, Hayes's other arias achieve formal coherence in a number of ways, some of them related to these established techniques. One of his favourite procedures is to set the same text three times over, each starting in much the same way, with a pregnant motif, but subsequently developing along new or related lines. In the concluding aria of 'Great God of sleep' (1742:i), for instance, the first and third vocal paragraphs are closely related, framing a central developmental section in the relative minor -- a scheme which takes the best from the da capo convention but avoids its stifling rigidity. In three other arias (1742:ii and 1748:ii & iv) Hayes sets the text twice, again connecting the sections with common material. Whereas in the tripartite settings the outer sections are roughly equal in length, in these bipartite settings the second

section is rather more compressed, opening like the first but becoming strongly developmental in character (like the 'B' sections of several of his da capo arias). Tonally, both the concluding aria of *Chloe's Dream* (1748:ii) and 'So calm and so serene' (1742:ii) suggest binary form, with a central ritornello in the dominant between the two verses together with rhyming cadences in the former and a long final ritornello creating a rounded-binary design in the latter. The hybridisation of binary and ternary structures which eventually led to Classical sonata forms can be glimpsed occasionally in several of Hayes's cantatas. In the second aria of 'Why Lysidas' the single stanza of text is set twice: in binary form, with a central dominant ritornello, thematic parallels between the two halves, but ending in the mediant like the 'B' section of a da capo aria, complete with fermata, cadential trill and Adagio marking, and followed immediately by a telescoped and developed da capo of the first verse in the tonic. In the final aria of *Chloe's Dream* the recapitulatory procedure approaches the tonal outlines of rudimentary sonata form, where material from the concluding section of the first verse, which ends in the dominant, is recalled (albeit in a slightly modified form) in the tonic towards the end of the second, preceded by a sustained development of the opening musical phrase. More highly developed sonata structures occur in Hayes's later trio sonatas.

Hayes's principles of melodic construction and thematic organisation are as wide-ranging as those in his large-scale vocal works. Like Handel, he sometimes creates quite lengthy, cohesive melodic spans through the *fortspinnung* procedures involving the sequential repetition, expansion or reworking of one or more motivic ideas and the application of extended but shapely melismas. To promote continuity and sustain the

dramatic impulse, this technique often extends beyond the individual phrase, linking together several separate vocal paragraphs as for instance in the opening arias of *Jupiter and Europa* (see Example IV.3) and *Chloe's Dream*. Many other arias, like those of Stanley and Arne, display an altogether simpler and more direct melodic style -- characteristically English in its short-winded phrases and straightforward tunefulness. The final aria of 'Great God of sleep' (1742:i), like a number of minuet airs, retains a ballad-like lyrical charm and a four-bar phrase structure relieved only by the ritornelli. Frequently, Hayes combines such writing with the older techniques of motivic expansion, so that thematic development occurs within the framework of a regular phrase structure, as in the final aria of *Jupiter and Europa*, or, more typically, within somewhat less predictable phrase patterns, well illustrated in the aria which concludes 'At Ross' (see Example IV.4).

Throughout his arias Hayes's supple rhythmic patterns and generally flexible phrase lengths stem from a careful regard for textual flow and accent, and his shapely melodic contours are often inspired by a literal response to the imagery of the verse. Both features can be observed in the first aria of *Chloe's Dream*, where the innocently rocking siciliana rhythms which depict the sleeping maid are suddenly disturbed by a persistent off-beat figure (set to 'she struggl'd') as her dreams take a decidedly erotic turn; but she struggles 'so as not to wake', and so the underlying 6/8 pulse is preserved in the continuo and at the ends of vocal phrases. As is apparent from Examples IV.1 and 4, Hayes's approach to the Italian motto opening or devise is leisurely. The dramatic anticipatory vocal fragment employed in so many of Handel's

arias, for instance, is almost entirely absent; Hayes often prefers a full exposition of the first phrase or two, either preceding or interrupting the opening ritornello. Following this, he usually organises the melodic material into three (sometimes two or four) main vocal paragraphs, moving, after the tonic, to the dominant and relative major/minor or some other closely related keys.

Linking the composite sections of the arias, and articulating them harmonically, are generally a number of related instrumental ritornelli. Contrary to Italian practice, however, half the arias in Hayes's cantatas actually open with an accompanied vocal phrase and not the expected introductory ritornello. All but one of the five arias contained in the cantatas published in *Vocal and Instrumental Musick* II (1742) begin in this way, and it is clear from these works alone that such a procedure was as often adopted for its own intrinsic merits, as it was for its dramatic immediacy. In the majority of these arias, the rest of the instrumental ritornello follows immediately after the vocal head-motif; elsewhere, as in the two arias of 'Great God of sleep', it is dispensed with altogether. When at the outset of an aria the ritornello appears first, it generally prefigures the opening vocal phrase and then continues with a secondary sequential section, but in those cases where it occurs after the opening vocal phrase, more often than not it begins immediately with this sequential material. This section of the ritornello is often constructed in such a way that it can later act as an accompaniment to the voice, as it does in the final aria of *Chloe's Dream* bars 12-20 (Example IV.1). Of those arias which open with a well-developed sectional ritornello, perhaps the most ingeniously devised is 'So glides the meteor', which concludes 'Why Lysidas' (see

Example IV.5). Like the solo concerto of the period, the main substance of the aria derives from motivic material (a-a'-b-c-d) announced at the outset.

One of the most original and attractive features of Hayes's *Six Cantatas* is their imaginative scoring (see Table IV.1). Only two cantatas employ a conventional continuo accompaniment, occasionally enlivened by a solo cello temporarily promoted from the bass line. A third piece, an appropriately sombre setting of Waller's melancholy 'While I listen to thy voice', however, requires two harpsichords, one supporting an elaborate cello line, the other allied to a double bass. In *An Ode to Echo*, Hayes evokes the sounds of Classical Arcadia with an instrumental ensemble approaching Classical proportions. The opening aria, with its interplay between soloist and orchestra, sets the pastoral scene, into which is introduced the song of the nightingale, imitated by a solo flute. In the following recitative, two twittering recorders, representing the 'noisy feather'd choir', are hushed as this idealised landscape is filled with the sounds of the Grecian lyre, portrayed by solo harpsichord and four-part pizzicato strings (see Example IV.6). As Malcolm Boyd remarks, this is a texture which 'at times adumbrates that of a Mozart keyboard concerto'.[7] In style *An Ode to Echo* closely approaches the orchestrally accompanied cantatas written for the Pleasure Gardens several decades later, and was still popular enough to be used as an *entr' acte* piece at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, during the 1760s.[8] It forms a fitting conclusion to one of the most attractive of all English cantata publications.

Like his cantatas, William Hayes's twenty or so songs are all early works. In the preface to the *Twelve Arietts or Ballads, and Two Cantatas* (1735), he modestly informed his readers that 'THE following little Songs are for the most Part my earliest Attempts in Composition, and were originally intended only to please my Friends in private, in which succeeding much better than I could expect, I have been since prevail'd upon to make them Publick'. The volume proved exceptionally popular, attracting well over 500 subscribers, and there was even a separate list of subscribers from 'The Kingdom of Ireland' which exceeded seventy names. Half of these songs were almost immediately reprinted in Walsh's six-volume vocal anthology *The British Musical Miscellany* (1734-6), and several later appeared in *The Universal Musician* (1738) and *Calliope or English Harmony* (1739). Following the success of his first opus, Hayes published *To Sacharisa* in single sheet format, and this, judging by its frequent reprintings, was evidently one of his most popular songs, appearing in *Calliope*, i (1739) & ii (1746), *Universal Harmony* (1745) and *The Lyre* (1746). A further and more varied selection of songs was interspersed among more substantial vocal and instrumental items in the second part of Hayes's three-volume anthology *Vocal and Instrumental Musick* (1742), though none of these was subsequently reprinted. With the exception only of a single work preserved in manuscript (W)3:021 (c.1750), Hayes seems to have written no more songs, turning his attention in later years to the cultivation of convivial partsongs: catches, canons and glees.

In his *Remarks* (1753), Hayes, like Avison, was generally contemptuous of 'Ballad Writers, both *Musical* and *Poetical*'.[9] He agreed that it was 'absurd' that '*one single trifling Air*' should be employed

for several verses, each of which expressed quite different emotions. A reasonable alternative, he suggested, was for the poet to ensure that the change of sentiment in each verse 'shall fall upon the same Line throughout the whole or greatest Part of them'.[10] Thus, if the poet intended his verses 'for no other than a Ballad, he ought so to contrive each Stanza, as not to be liable to the Absurdity ... otherwise the Blame will be *his*, and not the *Musician's*'.[11] Lyttelton's poem *To Delia* is unique among Hayes's songs in providing a suitably emotive word at the same point in almost every verse, thus allowing scope for some rather generalised word-painting (no more than a two-bar melisma) at the same point in each verse. But Hayes concluded that 'if the Musician makes choice of the Words himself, it is his Business to adapt his Music in such a Manner, as will best suit the Intention of them'.[12] He wholeheartedly agreed with Avison that in the case of genuinely narrative ballads, such as *Black-ey'd Susan*, the text would be best expressed in 'various *Airs* and *Duetts* with their *Recitative*, or musical Narratives, properly interspersed'.[13] Thus Hayes set the varied strophic text of *A Winter Scene at Ross* as a cantata (W)4:004, in which the first aria is essentially a written-out strophic ballad sensitively adapted (especially in the last verse) to accommodate new words and a changing emotional undercurrent. Yet it is revealing to observe that William Boyce could happily set the same text as a strophic ballad, but chose to treat 'Thou rising sun', one of Hayes's ballads of 1735, and a poem with perhaps less sense of dramatic development, as a cantata.

A number of the texts which Hayes chose for musical setting were already quite well-known. 'Ye virgin pow'rs', for example, had been popular with ballad composers since it was first set by Thomas Farmer in

1685, and 'Ye gentle gales' also received several musical settings following that by John Eccles published in *Mercurius Musicus* (1700). Hayes also drew several of his texts -- chiefly those by Ambrose Phillips -- from verses published in the *Spectator*: 'Thou rising sun', for instance, appeared in 1712, and Hayes's setting seems to have popularised the text for it was later set by Boyce and J.C. Smith. As in his cantatas, Hayes also set verses by two minor Oxford poets, Phanuel Bacon and Thomas Lisle, whom he would have known at Magdalen College, Oxford. Love, as always, is the predominant theme throughout Hayes's songs, though the ubiquitous pseudo-classical setting is sometimes exchanged for an idealised Scottish landscape or enlivened with a satirical sub-text, as in 'Stella and Flavia', which in one source is headed 'On the Dutchesses of Newcastle and Queensbury'.[14]

Two of Hayes's finest songs, both contained in *Vocal and Instrumental Musick* (1742), depart from the usual strophic binary form mould rigidly adhered to elsewhere. 'When Damon' (W)3:015 is an expansive da capo aria with an ornate and challenging vocal line and full four-part string accompaniment; 'Strike, strike the viol', on the other hand, is a through-composed art song with an unusually colourful accompaniment reminiscent of the last of the *Six Cantatas* of 1748, with parts for an obbligato flute, pizzicato strings and independent cello and violone lines. Entitled *A Song for St. Cecilia's Day*, the piece presumably had its origins in local celebrations of the patron saint's name-day -- an important feature of Oxford's musical life.

Philip Hayes's earliest surviving works appear to be a collection of songs and a brief cantata (entitled 'Arietta da Camera') apparently written in imitation of his father's *Twelve Ariettes or Ballads*, with

which they are actually bound, on additional MS leaves dated 'Nov. 1757'.[15] There is, however, some doubt as to the precise authorship of these works. While the last five songs are wholly in the autograph of the young Philip Hayes (who at the same time inscribed the inner cover of the volume 'E. Libris. Phil. Hayes. 1757'), the first two appear to be in the hand of his father, and the fourth, entitled 'Sung by a Shepherdess whose Lover was killed in the war', may be the same work as that referred to in the library catalogue of Osborne Wight, but which has not survived elsewhere: 'Song - by a Lady whose Lover was killed in ye Warrs, Sett by W[illiam]. H[ayes]. -- in 1745 in Parts'.[16] Whether these pieces were simply a supplement to William Hayes's published songs compiled by both father and son, presumably for the benefit of the latter, or whether they do indeed represent original compositions by the younger Hayes, copied by both men, cannot definitely be determined.

Philip's twenty-five or so remaining songs were produced intermittently throughout his career, and were generally issued individually in single- or double-sheet format. Although a couple of songs (P)3:008-9 were published as musical supplements to *The Town and Country Magazine*, most of Hayes's songs were probably written for concerts either at the Holywell Music Room or the Sheldonian Theatre in Oxford. The first recorded performance of such a piece took place at the Holywell Music Room on 20 December 1762, when Mr Millard sang 'The Happy Swain, a Pastoral, by Ambrose Phillips, Esq; set by Mr. Hayes'. While he lived in London, Hayes occasionally supplied music for the Pleasure Gardens. *The Highland Laddie* was evidently 'Originally Composed for, and Sung at Mary Bone Gardens in June 1771'. 'When Sappho tun'd', on the other hand, was written for a charity concert for the New Musical Fund

held at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket in 1794. Several of these songs in fact became quite popular. 'Adieu to the rocks of Lannow', for instance, was actually sung at a meeting of the Academy of Ancient Music on 17 February 1791, and *The Highland Laddie*, supplied with new words ('When cruel parents sullen frown'), was included in Samuel Arnold's comic opera *Two to One* at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket in June 1784. Indeed, such was the success of *The Highland Laddie* that Hayes issued a second edition in 1792 and was encouraged to write two sequels, *The Highland Lassie* and *The New Soger Laddie*, also to texts by Allan Ramsay.

Philip was an enthusiastic purveyor of the Scots song, and apart from his own contributions to this rich synthetic genre, most notably his stylish settings of Ramsay, he also published arrangements of *Six Favourite Scots Melodies* (c.1785) for three unaccompanied voices or two flutes (P)8:002-7. Although the standard amatory ballad (whether Scottish or pastoral) predominates, such favourite eighteenth-century pursuits as hunting and drinking are also represented in his songs. Occasionally he set quite popular texts. 'Sweet Annie fra the sea beach came' had been popularised by Maurice Greene (*The Chaplet*, 1738), and 'When Delia on the plain appears', had been set by his father sixty years earlier. Two of his most attractive songs, 'Thy fatal shafts' and 'When Sappho tun'd', have texts drawn from Smollett's novel, *Roderick Random* (1748).

Formally, most of Philip's printed songs follow a simple binary layout in which a clearly articulated central cadence in the dominant replaces the more emphatic double bar invariably adopted by his father. Occasionally, as in *Lucy's last Request*, the final verse of the song

justifies separate musical treatment, in this case to give due prominence to poor Lucy's dying wish. Two of the early manuscript songs, (P)3:004 and 6, adopt a full double-barrelled binary structure of a kind not uncommon in art songs during the first half of the century and often employed by Maurice Greene.[17] In fact 'A youth adorned with ev'ry art' (P)3:004, seems to have been closely modelled on Arne's setting of the same words in his masque *Alfred* (1740). Hayes employs the same key and much the same structure in which the second binary section, reserved for the plaintive third and final verse, not only offers an appropriate contrast of tempo and metre, but also moves to the tonic minor, in which key the work concludes. Such sensitivity to the changing emotions of the text, the importance of which his father had emphasised in his *Remarks*, is also seen in the last of these early manuscript songs (P)3:007. 'When fair Serena' is actually described as an 'Arietta di Camera', but in style it falls somewhere between the cantata and the two-movement art song of the 'recitative-ballad' type (widely employed in the latter part of the seventeenth century), opening with a declamatory recitative which introduces a simple, self-contained binary-form air.[18] In many of his strophic songs, Philip's careful text setting even extended to resolving the natural accentual conflicts between verses by providing alternative readings for the singer given on short musical incipits inserted into the texts of each verse -- rare consideration indeed from a composer of this period.[19]

Following the fashion for orchestrally accompanied songs, encouraged perhaps by the mainly out-door performance of vocal music at several of the London Pleasure Gardens, Philip provided all his songs with instrumental accompaniments, and often brief introductory,

concluding and punctuating symphonies too. The seven early manuscript songs mostly employ three-part strings, enlivened in the sixth by some imaginative solo writing for both strings and flute. Philip's later songs are fairly evenly divided between a three- and full four-part string texture, usually strengthened by bassoons and with the addition of an obbligato oboe or flute (two flutes or clarinets in (P)3:031) and sometimes too a pair of horns. In performances, the vocal line itself was taken either by a soprano, treble or tenor. Miss George, a pupil of Hayes's, was an enthusiastic interpreter of his songs; both *Sweet Annie* and *Colin cur'd of Roving* are subtitled 'Sung by Miss George at Oxford', and she several times performed these and other songs (particularly *The Highland Laddie*) during theatrical productions at London theatres.[20] Hayes also introduced several of his most promising choristers to the public with songs such as *The Ghost of Edwin*, *Anna's Bower* and *Lovely Polly*, which were subtitled 'Sung by Master Mutlow', and 'When Delia on the plain appears' and 'Go, envied flower', sung by 'Master Slatter'.

During his lifetime, William Hayes was probably as well known for his popular vocal music as he was for his church music. His cantatas were enthusiastically subscribed to, and his songs and convivial vocal pieces were widely reprinted. Burney considered that 'Those productions which gained him the most general celebrity were his canons, catches, and glees, for the Catch-club, in London, during the first years of its institution; several of which were justly crowned'.[21] Hayes wrote nearly two hundred such pieces, mostly for the entertainment of the various catch clubs with which he was associated in Oxford. Many of the works collected in his first book of *Catches, Glees and Canons* published in 1757 were, he recalled in the preface, 'born under the happy Auspices

of a most agreeable and well regulated Society that met weekly, and subsisted several Years, in very high Perfection, in this Place'.[22] A second book of *Catches, Glees, and Canons* followed eight years later, to which he added a supplement of 'FAVOURITE PIECES, Composed by Old, and Approved Masters, (To which, he hath added PARTS, for the Sake of enriching the HARMONY)', and this he dedicated '*To the Worthy Members of the* CATCH-CLUB, *or* PHIL-HARMONIC SOCIETY, *At the* King's-Head *Tavern in* OXFORD, *for whose Amusement they were intended*'. Towards the end of his life Hayes was also connected with a flourishing club which met at the Mitre Inn in Oxford. Among its members were both professional musicians, including Hayes himself, the organist and composer William Walond (junior), the cellist Orthman, and talented amateurs like Osborne Wight who, according to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, was 'probably excelled by no one, whether *dilettante* or professor, as a sightsman in vocal execution'.[23] The New College diarist, James Woodforde, often enjoyed evenings in their company, as on 9 February 1775:

> From the New Inn went with Brother Cooke to the Catch Clubb at the Mitre where I supped and spent the evening and were agreeably entertained. Present Mr. Orthman Steward, Dr. Hayes, Wight, Rawbone, Huddesford, Lee, Awbery, Walker, Walond, Cooke, Busby, Starkey a very droll Fellow, Robinson, Moore, and two Strangers, but Gownsmen. For my Supper &c. at the Mitre 0:1:6. We did not break up till after 12. o'clock.[24]

The works which Hayes composed for such meetings during the last decade of his life were collected together after his death by his son and eventually published as the fourth book of *Catches, Glees and Canons* in 1785.[25] Philip also published his father's three-part glee 'Let omnibus Wykehamicis in a Bumper now go round', written for the annual meeting of Wykehamists in London, in his edition of *Harmonia Wiccamica* (1780). By

far the most important of these *pieces d'occasion*, however, was William's extended ceremonial glee entitled *An Ode Sacred to Masonry*, intended perhaps for the consecration of a lodge or some other such solemn occasion, included in Thomas Hale's 1763 masonic anthology, *Social Harmony*.[26]

Hayes's catches, canons and glees were widely admired during his lifetime, and a few of them at least have remained in the repertory ever since.[27] Yet even before the publication of his first book, an anonymous critic in *The Universal Visiter, and Memorialist* (1756), reviewing J.C. Smith's *The Tempest*, wrote of the aria 'In pity, Neptune smooths the liquid way', 'the recitative is too rough in the poetry, and too long in the musician; but Mr. *Beard* makes us amends in an air, where the Composer has shown us how well the *English* heroic measure can be adapted to music in the voice of a fine singer, as well ranted away by a buskin'd hero: nor do I know any thing equal to it, but the epitaph on *Anacreon* [a catch], as set by Dr. *Hayes*'.[28] Burney singled out 'Let's drink and let's sing together', also from Hayes's first volume, as 'perhaps the most pleasant of all those laboured compositions which go under the name of canons'.[29] As late as 1833 an anonymous writer in *The Harmonicon* mentioned one of his most 'successful compositions being that exquisitely beautiful but brief piece of simple counterpoint, the Glee, 'Melting airs soft joys inspire.' This, and the lovely Round, 'Wind, gentle evergreen,' are enough to transmit his name to posterity, had he produced nothing else'.[30]

In his memoir of his father, Philip recounted that in 1763 'upon the first Establishment of Prizes adjudged to the best Compositions of Catches, Glees, and Canons, instituted in the Metropolis by the Noblemen

and Gentry, who formed themselves into a Society, he obtained *Three* Prizes out of *Six*, and *some others* in the two Years following'. These prizes, which took the form of either a gold medal worth ten guineas or 'a Premium of half the value for the second best of each',[31] were awarded for the two canons 'Allelujah' and 'Miserere nobis' which won both awards, and the glee 'Melting airs' which received a second prize. The following year Hayes retained the prize for the best Latin canon with 'Resonate jovam' in 1764, and the year after that 'Come follow me' was deemed the best English canon.[32] In 1765, in recognition of his abilities as both a singer and composer, Hayes was elected a 'Priviledged Member' of the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club, an honour also bestowed upon composers and singers of the calibre of Arne, Abel, Giardini, Beard, Norris and Tenducci. The main duty of these professional members was to assist in the performance and examination of the numerous pieces submitted for the prize competition, but as many of them were also competitors themselves, their opinions were strictly confined to how far the entries were 'consistent with the rules of composition and counterpoint' and no more.[33] But Hayes, for one, considered the dual roles of competitor and judge incompatible, for after his election to the club he entered no further works for the competition and neither did his son. By 1773, however, William's first book of *Catches, Glees and Canons* had apparently run to a third edition, and no respectable anthology of the period was now complete without at least one or two of his works.[34] In fact, such was the popularity of the prize glee 'Melting airs', that it even appeared (set to new words) in the opera *Richard Coeur de Lion*, a pasticcio by William Shield, based largely on music by Grétry, produced at Covent Garden in 1786.

'*Chearfulness* and *Good-humour*, *Friendship* and a *Love of Harmony*; not to mention ... the *Improvement* of younger Practitioners' were the most 'desirable Effects' Hayes attached to the 'laudable Practice of frequently singing Catches, and other little detached Pieces of *Vocal Harmony*'.[35] Later on in the Preface to his first book of *Catches, Glees and Canons* (1757), he made clear his hope that these works 'may prove an Inducement to others, my Brethren of Cathedrals especially, to encourage and promote such Societies as the above; well knowing it will contribute greatly to their own Satisfaction, the Improvement of those who may stand in need of their Assistance, and thereby, not a little, to the just Execution of *Church-Music*, or the Support of any other *Choral Performance*'. He added, however, that 'these little Pieces produce an agreeable Effect, when justly performed upon such [treble] Instruments; especially, if a convenient Number of them are selected, and properly ranged together. The Canons do well on three Violoncellos'. Although much of the humour of the catches would be lost along with the words, this seems to have been a popular method of performing such pieces. In 1784, for example, John Blundell published an arrangement of Hayes's catch 'Winde gentle evergreen' with Byrd's (spurious) canon 'Non nobis domine' for two cellos, and several years later the same catch was issued by Thomas Skillern 'Properly adapted for the piano forte, violin or German flute'.[36] As to the vocal performance of these works, Hayes notes in his Preface that the provision of 'Graces' and 'Marks for Expression' are deliberately kept to a minimum in order not to 'insult the better *Taste* and *Skill* of the Adept', for whom the best guide should be 'a true Perception of the Sense and Drift of the Design; and that Expression the most proper, resulting from his own instantaneous

Feeling'. To enliven the repetitious nature of these works he suggests 'an Alternacy of *Forte* and *Piano*, or *Loud* and *Soft*, in Imitation of the *Chiaro Oscuro*, or *Light* and *Shade* in Painting, [which] has an agreeable Effect; except in such, where the Humour of the Subject requires a certain Jollity to be kept up throughout the whole'. For those works which might be 'found worthy of being deemed *pathetic*, or to have any thing *delicate* in their *Taste* or *Construction*, I would recommend *Mezzo Piano* (at least something under the full Tone of Voice) as being more expressive of Tenderness'.

Hayes's choice of lyrics is fairly evenly divided between the serious and the lighthearted. As in Greene's *Catches and Canons* of 1747 most of Hayes's canons set sacred or serious, reflective texts, with the glees tending towards lighter pastoral or amatory verse. The catches are rather more boisterous in spirit, though they are seldom vulgar and unlikely to have shocked Mrs Hayes if ever she chanced to overhear them. Many of these pieces (including a few drinking catches) were in fact respectable enough for the ears of the fairer sex to appear in *Amusement for the Ladies* (c.1785), *The Ladies Collection of Catches* (c.1787), and *Apollonian Harmony* (c.1795), whose title page reassuringly promised '*The Words consistent with Female Delicacy*'. Epigrams, epitaphs, elegies, anacreontics, toasts and cries make up the majority of catches, with women and drinking, and the pros and cons of both, the most recurrent favourites. The eternal machinations of the political world, apparently a crushing bore even in the eighteenth century, were aptly dismissed in Hayes's intriguing and circuitous canon 'What's the mighty dispute 'twixt P[i]t[t] and Ld. B[u]te to us?', which ends with a suitably tongue-in-cheek 'Amen' chorus. Contemporary with the Gothic

movement in literature,[37] and providing a most imaginative variation of the perennial drinking theme, is the delightfully macabre catch 'The thirsty Vampires' which Hayes submitted to the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club in 1763 and later published in his second book of *Catches, Glees and Canons* with an explanatory note: 'The following alludes to a Notion receiv'd in Poland and other Countries, that some Persons, after they & dead and buried, have a Power of sucking the Blood of others 'till they dye; a consumptive Person is therefore said to be sucked by some Vampire: for so they call those who are supposed to have this Faculty'.

'As to this Species of Composition', wrote Hayes, 'the CATCH in *Music* answers to the EPIGRAM in *Poetry*; 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: But, on the Contrary, if the Incidents are fully, tho' concisely exprest, and the Conclusion be spirited and striking, whether it be of the humourous, or serious Kind, it is justly esteemed excellent'.[38] Hayes's catches vary in style between the pithy, memorable lines characteristic of the works of Hilton and the Lawes brothers, and the generally more expansive and involved technique of later composers such as Purcell. Indeed, in the Preface to his first book of *Catches, Glees and Canons*, Hayes openly acknowledged his debt to the works of preceding generations: 'In the following Compositions', he declared, 'I have endeavoured to imitate that simplicity of Style which distinguishes the Works of those Masters who are allowed to have excelled in this Species of Music; particularly those of our Countrymen HILTON, LAWES, BREWER, FORD and others of the last Century: But above all, the famous PURCELL; whose incomparable Humour can never be outdone

if equalled'. From their works, Hayes learned the favourite trick of superimposing the text upon itself in such a way as to reveal hidden meanings when sung by several voices together. In 'No, no, for my virginity', (W)2:012, a graphic picture of events thus emerges: Elms/no, no/behind the Elms/no, no/last night/for my virginity/the elms... -- we can be sure that this catch at least provided little amusement for the ladies. Like several of his contemporaries, above all Thomas Arne, Hayes also wrote a few miniature 'dramatic' catches such as 'Why neighbours, why all this noise and strife', in which each singer takes the part of 'Stitch the Taylor, his Wife, and a Neighbour' one after the other, so as to give the impression of a noisy domestic altercation. It was perhaps with Henry Aldrich's leisurely smoking catch 'Good indeed, the herb's good weed' in mind, that Hayes penned the simplest and perhaps most convivial of all his catches: 'Fill, fill your glasses round', which is carefully designed so that each singer in turn is given two bars rest in which to do just that.

Despite the popularity of his catches (the most frequently reprinted of these works) it was as a composer of canons that Hayes scored his most notable successes, winning four prizes offered by the Noblemen and Gentleman's Catch Club between 1763 and 1765. Although canons are outnumbered by catches in his first book, encouraged by his recent honours he included an almost equal number of the two in his second. He preferred to print these works in score because, as he explained:

> I have often been Witness to great Difficulties, which have arisen from the Uncertainty of the Marks and Directions, not only concerning the Distance of Time when the subsequent Parts to the Lead should come in, but the Distance of Tone also; all which are clearly obviated and ascertained by this Method. It is true, the

> Mystery of the Contrivance appears less surprising in this Shape than the other; but no Author is to be envied in those mysterious Appearances, since they often serve for a Cloak to Ignorance or bad Contrivance, and, which is much to be lamented, is sometimes the Occasion of great Merit and Excellence being buried in Oblivion: For after all, there is no Way of knowing the true Value of such, without being at the Trouble of writing them in Score, in order to adjust them, which may require perhaps, more *Skill* and *Penetration* than many are, or can be supposed to be Masters of; and those that are, generally with no small Reluctance undertake it, lest the Requital of their Labour, should prove to be nought but Disappointment.

Hayes usually gives the opening and conclusion of each canon in full, but in order to save space, he generally uses repeat signs in between so that 'all between the dotted Bars may be repeated ad Libitum'. As in Greene's volume of 1747, most of the canons in Hayes's first book specify three voices 'at the unison' or 'in the fourth and eighth below', though there is a final four-part double canon to round off the collection. In his second and fourth books and the 'Supplement' of 1765, Hayes widens his scope to include canons 4 in 1, 5 in 1, 6 in 1, 8 in 1, and double canons for four, five and six voices, sometimes varied by the provision of a free bass part. For one who held the contrapuntal art in high regard and was a serious and accomplished 'fughist' himself, the canon provided an ideal vehicle for the lighthearted exercise of this technique. His great delight in clever technical games, designed principally for the amusement of the performers, is displayed throughout his last three books. 'Memento homo, memento mori', he explained, was 'a Canon added to a canon; the first subject by Mr. Travers, the second by Dr. Hayes'. With 'Hand in hand we'll dance a round' (marked 'Recte et Retro') Hayes takes his canonic aspirations to their limits, writing a six-part double canon based on two short subjects heard twice in each voice: forwards, backwards, upsidedown, and forwards again but

upsidedown (see Example IV.7). The three-voiced 'O Jova domine', on the other hand, is a witty and challenging canon *ad infinitum* which rises a tone every time it is repeated.

Hayes's first book of *Catches, Glees and Canons* (1757) seems to have been the earliest publication of the century to include simple harmonised 'glees' for three or four unaccompanied voices. The term 'glee' itself and the straightforward homophonic style were not new. Short tuneful partsongs, such as those published in John Dowland's *The First Book of Songes or Ayres of Foure Parts* (1597), had been popular since Elizabethan times, and continued in vogue (in a slightly less sophisticated form perhaps) during the seventeenth century, as can be seen in such publications as Henry Lawes's *Ayres and Dialogues* (1653), John Wilson's *Cheerfull Ayres or Ballads* (1660) and the second book of Playford's *The Musical Companion* (an updated version of *Catch that Catch Can*) of 1667. Since Dowland's time, many of these pieces were in fact adaptations of solo songs, conveniently published so that, as Lawes and Playford suggested, they 'may either be sung by a Voyce alone, to an Instrument, or by two or three Voyces'.[39] Hayes's two earliest glees, (W)2:043-4, harmonisations of 'a Favourite Air of Sigr. Geminiani's' and 'a favourite Cry', were probably suggested by such works; indeed, in the Supplement to his second book of *Catches, Glees, and Canons*, Hayes published his own arrangements for three and four voices of songs by William and Henry Lawes, Thomas Brewer and Edward Coleman. Hayes's first original glees, (W)1:084-5, were both written for the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club, whose competition for the best Catches, Canons and Glees, inaugurated in 1763, did much to encourage the development of the genre. 'Melting airs', amounting to just twenty bars of four-voiced

homophony, in fact offered little advance on Hayes's harmonisations (see Example IV.8), and although it was among the Catch Club's prize winners in the first year and went on to become one of his most popular and widely reprinted works, it was actually the unplaced 'I plucked this morn', with its three-part texture and contrasting sections, which really pointed the way forward. In his ceremonial glee *An Ode Sacred to Masonry*, written the same year, he took these ideas further, employing a lengthy multi-sectional design akin to the chamber cantata, a continuo accompaniment, recitatives, and frequent changes of scoring, tempo and key.[40] Hayes's later glees, published posthumously in 1785, show a developing interest in imitative textures, reflecting, perhaps, the growing interest in the Elizabethan madrigal, whose revival, mainly during the latter half of the century, owed much to the activities of antiquarians such as Hayes himself.[41]

Although prolific, Philip was a less conspicuously successful composer of convivial vocal music than his father. His five entries to the Catch Club competition in 1765, although unplaced, were just about his only works to be included in one of the many popular anthologies of the period.[42] Overshadowed, perhaps, by William's greater reputation and talent, he published no more works of his own until well after his father's death, though even then it was a volume of the latter's unpublished catches, glees and canons which he issued first. The following year, on 1 July 1786, he brought out the first part of *The Muses Delight*, a collection of catches, glees, canzonets and canons, 'To be continued Monthly, till the Whole is completed, in Eight Numbers only'.[43] Many of the works in the collection had been written steadily over the preceding two or three decades, and were copied into a small

autograph book, along with details of date and place of composition, which survives in the James Marshall and Marie Osborn Collection at Yale University Library.[44] Four years later he published a further selection of catches and glees under the title *The Muses Tribute to Beauty*, dedicating several items to leading ladies of the day.

The contents of these volumes, compared with those of his father, reveal how during the intervening years the glee emerged as the most versatile and popular of convivial forms. Philip's glees were regularly cast in three or four sections, involving changes of style, key, tempo and time signature where appropriate, though like his father he almost always preferred a simple three-part texture. William's first book of *Catches, Glees and Canons* (1757) was made up largely of catches with a handful of canons and a couple of simple glees added for good measure; in his second book there were an almost equal number of catches and canons but no increase in the number of glees. Almost a quarter of a century later, in Philip's second book, glees now outnumbered the catches, and the sober canon had disappeared altogether. Born in the tavern, but raised to the status of art music by the attentions of able composers, the glee soon aspired to the concert platform. At Oxford, glees (and madrigals) began to appear in the intervals of concerts during the 1780s and 90s, and soon found a regular place in the main programmes themselves. Like his songs, some of Philip's glees may also have been written for concert performance, and several appear in Music Room programmes towards the end of the century. On 25 June 1789, for example, his three-part glee 'Hark! how the jolly Huntsman' was performed 'Between the Acts, (by particular Request)', and in 1781, William Mathews, the Oxford music publisher, issued a 'Favourite Glee'

of his in single-sheet format, as he had done for several of his most popular Music Room songs. The increasing sophistication of the glee may possibly have encouraged the parallel development of the canzonet for two voices with continuo accompaniment. William's fourth book contains a single such work, (W)3:132, and Philip included five 'canzonettas' in *The Muses Delight*, along with two pieces entitled 'glee' but scored for three and four voices and continuo.[45] Like the two- and three-part songs which Greene included at the end of his *Catches and Canons*, the addition of a continuo part, and the greater freedom which this allowed the vocal lines, sometimes brought these pieces quite close in style to the chamber cantata, although they retained the formal outlines and structural flexibility of the mature glee. But ultimately, whatever the form or scoring of these pieces, the important thing was, as William Hayes said, that they were productive of cheerfulness, good humour and friendship:

> After dinner several select pieces of musick were performed in which Messrs. [Philip] Hayes, Dyne, Clarke &c. &c. took a part & many of them were accompanyed by Mr. Dupeé [sic] on the Harpsichord. Upon the whole (excepting a small degree of disturbance which took its rise from the imprudence of one of the Gentlemen of the Choir) there never at any meeting was spent a more convivial or jovial Eve: each party endeavouring to vye with the other by additions to the happiness of the company.[46]

CHAPTER V
CONCERTI GROSSI AND KEYBOARD CONCERTOS

William and Philip Hayes were not primarily composers of instrumental music, yet however few in number, their sonatas and concertos span four of the most crucial decades of the century (c.1735-1774), and reflect many of the most significant formal and stylistic innovations of the period. These include not only the rise of new genres like the organ concerto and accompanied sonata, which co-existed side-by-side with such older forms as the concerto grosso and trio sonata, but also changes in the very structure of musical language itself. New techniques of formal organisation and melodic construction were evolving, principally, that is, the development of sonata forms, and a growing emphasis on clear-cut periodic melody, simple harmony, and light, top-line dominated textures -- features which typify the so-called *galant* style.[1] Although John Marsh, writing in 1796, reflected that this was 'the great revolution in instrumental music',[2] there was no coup as such: rather, music moved through a transitional phase, in which the waning baroque style, revitalised in England by Handel, mixed freely with elements of the insurgent *galant* idiom. The apparent dichotomy of styles was actually less pronounced than might at first appear. By the third decade of the century a number of English composers had already begun to exploit those structural parallelisms within binary movements which were soon to evolve into small-scale sonata forms, and this was partnered in many such movements by a characteristically English preference for simple, symmetrically-phrased melodies and light textures, which clearly anticipated the outward characteristics of the new style.[3]

Between them, father and son contributed to most contemporary instrumental genres; even the early symphony was not neglected if we take account of the extended symphony-overtures which preface many of Philip's large-scale vocal works. The only form cultivated by both composers, however, was the keyboard concerto, the older man treading an often quite individual path in the very wake of its inception, and the younger taking it, albeit tentatively, into the era of the piano concerto. But William's preferred instrumental form was the well-worn concerto grosso, whose longevity in England was ensured both by the needs of those gentlemen amateurs who were the mainstay of most provincial music societies, and also by the new lease of life which Handel's widely-played Op.6 brought to the genre in 1740. Although Philip seems never to have written such works himself, the generation gap between younger and elder Hayes is most apparent in their choice of chamber forms. William devoted himself exclusively to the classic baroque medium of the trio sonata, while Philip instinctively opted for the newer, more fashionable, accompanied sonata (with but a single *galant* keyboard sonata included at the end of his *Six Concertos* of 1769).

More fundamental, perhaps, was their difference in attitude towards the very production and publication of such music. The father appears to have written his works intermittently as and when required over a period of some forty years; his ambitious son on the other hand published his Op. 1 concertos and Op. 2 sonatas within only five years of each other. Indeed, with the exception only of his overtures, Philip's instrumental *oeuvre* was an entirely published one. His father was more reticent. In his *Remarks on Mr. Avison's Essay on Musical*

Expression (1753), he sincerely wished that there should be 'an Act of Parliament made, that no Music whatever should be published, (upon Pain of incurring a considerable Penalty) before it had undergone a severe Scrutiny of the Governors and Assistants belonging to the Musical Charity [i.e. The Royal Society of Musicians] ... I am persuaded the whole Body of Musicians would find their Advantage in it, as it unquestionably would not only *preserve* but also *promote* the Reputation of the Science they profess'.[4] He practised what he preached. After the publication of his splendid *Six Cantatas* six years previously, he issued only three volumes of catches, glees and canons, many of which had indeed been approved by the Stewards of the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club, and finally, shortly before his death, there appeared a modest collection of sixteen psalm settings. A solitary trio sonata, included in a three-part anthology of his works produced in 1742 to mark his election to the Heather Professorship the previous year, was the only instrumental work of his ever to appear in print.[5] The rest of his output remained entirely in manuscript and unknown outside Oxford, unlike that of his son, whose *Six Concertos* contained one of the most impressive subscription lists of the century. Among the 455 subscribers were leading musicians such as Boyce, Arnold, Alcock, Aylward, Cooke, Dupuis and Nares, Oxford academics and students, Chapel Royal colleagues, and dozens of the nobility and gentry and amateur musicians, both male and female. A copy of these concertos dated 1788 was also owned by Queen Charlotte, and forms part of the Royal Music Library now housed in the British Library.[6]

The broad appeal of these works (especially with the ladies) suggests that they were not only purchased with full orchestral performance in mind (for the meetings of provincial music societies), but were also performed at domestic gatherings, either with the string parts taken by any individual players who happened to be at hand, or played simply as keyboard solos. Most of the concertos, and in particular the first, could also have been conveniently rendered in the manner of an accompanied sonata, with the support only of the first violin. In the home, the harpsichord was very much a female preserve, and much of the eighteenth-century English harpsichord repertory was designed specifically to cater for their modest technique.[7] With the limitations of amateur performers an important commercial consideration, it is perhaps not surprising that Philip's concertos offer few serious technical challenges; even the hand-crossings of the first concerto are in practice comparatively leisurely gestures, included more for their striking visual effect than for any purely musical reasons. Furthermore, in his preface, Philip drew the attention of his subscribers to the fact that, in the layout of the keyboard part, 'in order to prevent the Difficulties which a Diversity of Cliffs might occasion to young and unexperienced Practitioners, the uncommon ones have been avoided'.

Although they never achieved the security of print, eleven complete concertos by William Hayes have survived.[8] Such a significant legacy of autograph scores and parts is virtually without parallel in English sources of this time, and provides us today with unique insights into the composition, chronology and performance practice of these works. From the rough drafts and the often extensive revisions one can

learn a great deal about Hayes's working habits. Likewise, the evidence of the handwriting assists in determining approximate dates for these concertos, only two of which are actually dated by the composer himself. William's earliest instrumental work seems to have been the G major harpsichord concerto (W)6:009, which may well date from the mid- to late 1730s. This was followed some twenty years later by two organ concertos (W)6:010-11, and also, perhaps, a bassoon concerto (W)6:013. This latter work, now unfortunately missing, was formerly in the collection of Sir Samuel Hellier (1736-84), a student at Exeter College, Oxford during the 1750s, whose notable devotion to music doubtless brought him into contact with both William and Philip Hayes.[9] Although the parts for this work were apparently headed simply 'Bassoon Concerto -- Dr. Hayes', the date of Hellier's residence in Oxford suggests that if the piece passed into his collection at this time, then it was almost certain to have been the work of the elder Hayes, since Philip was not awarded his D.Mus. until 1777. In addition to his three or four solo concertos, William also produced eight concerti grossi (W)6:001-8 between c.1735 and c.1775, a concerto grosso (W)8:008 based on the tenth of Carbonelli's *Sonate da camera* (1729), and a revision of a concerto apparently by an anonymous composer but incorporating some new music of his own, (W)6:014.

The completeness of the surviving performing material associated with these concertos enables us to establish with a fair degree of certainty the size and composition of the band which performed them, the details of which are summarised in Table V.1 overleaf. The figures given show the number of surviving ripieno parts, for each of which we may perhaps assume two players.

TABLE V.1 SURVIVING RIPIENO STRING PARTS

Concerto	Vn.I	Vn.II	Va.	'Basso'	'Contra Basso'	Basso continuo
(W)6:001	1	1	1	-	1	1 (organ)
(W)6:002	1	2	(1)	1	-	1 (organ)
(W)6:003	2	2	1	3	-	1 (unspecified)
(W)6:004	2	2	(1)	1	✓	1 (harpsichord)
(W)6:005	2	2	(1)	1	✓	1 (harpsichord)
(W)6:006	1	1	1	1	-	2 (hpd.* & organ)
(W)6:007	3	2	1	1	-	2 (organ & unspec.)
(W)6:008	2	1	1	1	-	1 (harpsichord)
(W)6:009	-	-	-	-	✓	1 solo harpsichord
(W)6:010	-	-	-	-	✓‡	1 solo organ
(W)6:011	-	1	-	-	-	1 solo organ
(W)8:008	2	2	(1)	2	1+	1 (unspecified)
HAYES**:	4	4	2	2	1	1 (organ or hpd.)
AVISON†: (1753)	6	4	-	4	2	1 (harpsichord)
JUNG:†† (1808)	3	3	1	1	1	2 (organ & piano)

KEY:

(1) = the ripieno and concertino viola share the same part.
✓ = the 'Contra Basso' part is mentioned in the score.
* = the cembalo part is much more fully figured than the other.
‡ = the score specifically refers to a 'Violone'.
+ = the double bass part is a simplified version of the basso part.
** = probable average number of ripieno players per part.
† = maximum number and ideal proportions of ripieno players recommended by Avison in *An Essay on Musical Expression* (2/1753), p.129.
†† = string players at the Holywell Music Room in 1808 mentioned in Philip Jung, *Concerts of Vocal and Instrumental Music, as performed at the Music Room, Oxford, from October, 1807, to October, 1808* (Oxford, 1808). An additional solo violinist is also mentioned.

Rather surprisingly perhaps, the concerti grossi have almost all survived with a complete set of parts; the keyboard concertos, on the other hand, have come down to us in score format only, with the exception that is of a single second violin (ripieno) part for the Organ Concerto in D major (W)6:010. In accordance with the usual performing conventions of the concerto grosso, there are single parts for all four concertino instruments and multiple parts for the ripieno, usually two each for the first and second violins and single viola, bass and figured continuo parts. Where there is only one viola part per concerto, it is always marked up with the appropriate solo cues and was evidently shared with the ripieno viola, if in fact the two parts were not played by the same person. It is likely too that the ripieno violins also shared two to a part, a practice which can be verified in a number of the large-scale vocal and instrumental works, such as *The Passions* (W)5:004, where there are two named players on several of the surviving string parts. There is also some evidence to suggest that the bass line may often have been strengthened by the addition of a violone or double bass. Although there are only two parts specifically labelled 'Contra Basso', the intended presence of such an instrument in other works can be inferred from remarks such as 'senza Contra basso' or 'senza Violone' present in the full scores. A similar remark in the figured 'Cembalo' part of (W)6:004, which does not appear in the other basso parts, suggests that the double bass player may sometimes have read over the shoulder of the harpsichordist. The choice of keyboard continuo instrument is nearly always specified in the parts. A work such as (W)6:006, where there are separate figured parts headed 'Cembalo' and 'Organo', indicates that such titles were not simply general terms for the keyboard, but in this

context probably meant exactly what they said. The use of an extra continuo instrument in this concerto may have been occasioned by a temporary lack of string players -- there are only single parts for first and second ripieno violins -- and the addition of an organ would have gone some way to compensate for the deficiency. The majority of concertos, however, are provided with just a single continuo part, which doubles the ripieno bass alone. Unlike Handel's Op. 6, for example, where the concertino cello part also contains figures, it appears that at Oxford the concertino was unaccompanied, unless that is the composer sat at a second continuo instrument and read from the score; however, only the scores of the first two concertos contain a figured bass line in the concertino episodes.

CONCERTI GROSSI

The dominant influence on composers of instrumental music in England during the early eighteenth century was Corelli, whose sonatas Opp. 1-5 (circulating since the end of the seventeenth century) and twelve concerti grossi Op. 6 (published by Walsh in 1715) achieved an unprecedented level of popularity and remained constantly in the repertoire, in Oxford as elsewhere, until the beginning of the nineteenth century.[10] Hayes's profound admiration for Corelli, implicit in the delicate formal balance and economy of his own works, was clearly articulated in his *Remarks*, where he singled out the 'incomparable' concertos of Op. 6 for particular praise. Above all he respected their 'noble Simplicity of Style' and 'general Plan' which were 'two

particular Excellencies, in which he hath no Rival Antient or Modern'.[11] For him, Corelli's works constituted classical models of style and taste whose importance remained undiminished by time even in an age as fashion-conscious as his own. Thus he took strong exception to Avison's sweeping assertion that '*something more remains to be done by our present Professors: They ought to be as intimately conversant with those other great Masters, who since Corelli's Time have added Taste and Invention; and by uniting these, have still come nearer to the Perfection of the* General-Harmonic Composition'.[12] However, while Hayes conceded that 'every Student, in order to enrich his Ideas, should let no excellent Work escape his Notice', he felt 'to assert that Taste and Invention have been added by these great Masters, is rather over-shooting the Mark'.[13] Ultimately he considered that 'Nature is the only Standard of true Taste', and that 'he who copies her Beauties most faithfully and judiciously, deserves the highest Applause and Esteem'.[14] He continued:

> On this Account, CORELLI will ever be revered: Nor will he, by the Learned, be deemed less Classical, for not wearing a modern laced Coat. The boasted Inventions of some modern Composers, do not consist in artful, ingenious Contrivances, or representing Nature as she is, or ought to be; but (like a Posture-Master in his various Distortions of Body) quite the Reverse: i.e. if they copy Nature at all, it is her Deformity. These ingenious Artists scorning the plain, open, easy, and direct Road to Perfection, which their Predecessors have pointed out to them, must needs, at the Expence of great Labour and Travail, go in quest of a New-one; we are not therefore to be surprized, if the Adventurer finds it crooked and uneven, or if he be fatigued before he reaches the End of his Journey.[15]

There seems little doubt that the 'modern Composers' of whom Hayes disapproved included both Avison and his teacher Geminiani, and later in the *Remarks* Hayes's strictures are even more specific:

> Admitting GEMINIANI'S Music to be as correct as any extant; yet it does not follow that it is all extremely fine: I freely confess, I have not that implicit Faith in his Infallibility. So far from it, that my Opinion of him as a Composer, is, that he is extremely unequal. The Excursions he hath made to *Paris*, have not a little contributed to this Inequality: For although this may have given a new Turn to his Melodies, and his manner of variegating the Parts in his full Compositions, yet the Minuteness of the one, and the want of Perspicuity in the other, render some of his most laboured, complicated Strains, a mere *Hodge-Podge*; an unintelligible Mass of Learning.[16]

Despite these objections, and the belief that the importation of French 'Taste and Expression' would 'entirely be lost upon an *English Audience*',[17] Hayes discerned three great strengths in Geminiani's music, although in all other respects he judged him inferior to Handel:

> First, that he thoroughly understands the Genius of the Instrument he professes, and elegantly adapts his Pieces to that Instrument. 2dly, That he is a complete Master of the *harmonic System*, and has fine Invention in his Melodies. And lastly, That he may fairly be allowed to stand unrivalled at the Head of all his Cotemporaries, in that Branch of Composition wherein he excells; namely, in Pieces for *Violins* and Instruments of that Kind; especially in the *Pathetic*. I mention that Style in particular, because he hath given us the truest Idea of that and the *Cromatic*, of all the *Italians: But for the truly Great* and *Heroic*, he must yield to Handel, even in the Application of the above Instruments. And as the Style of these two Masters is different, although each excellent in the Kind, so also is their Method of Study: The one slow, cautious, and elaborate; the other, rapid, enterprizing, and expeditious ... In short, GEMINIANI may be the *Titian* in Music, but HANDEL is undoubtedly the RUBENS.[18]

Handel and Geminiani were perhaps the two most popular composers of concerti grossi in England after Corelli. Although Hayes expressed certain reservations regarding Geminiani's innovations, in general he seems to have considered their expansion of the Corellian model to be firmly on 'the plain, open, easy, and direct Road to Perfection'.[19] Certainly his own concertos owe a great deal to their example. Of the post-Corellian generation in Italy, however, Hayes and Avison concurred

in dismissing their works as '*only a fit Amusement for Children; nor indeed for these, if ever they are intended to be led to a just Taste in Music*'.[20] What both men objected to was the general 'levity' of style and lack of serious contrapuntal procedures. But in the case of Vivaldi, however, Hayes was careful to qualify his remarks:

> I think VIVALDI has so much greater Merit than the rest, that he is worthy of some Distinction. Admitting therefore the same kind of Levity and Manner to be in his Compositions with those of TESSARINI, &c. yet an essential Difference must still be allowed between the *former* and the *latter*; inasmuch as an *Original* is certainly preferable to a servile, mean Copy. That VIVALDI run into this Error, I take to be owing to his having a great Command of his Instrument; being of a volatile Disposition; (having too much Mercury in his Constitution) and to Misapplication of good Parts and Abilities. And this I am the more inclined to believe, as in the eleventh of his first twelve Concertos, he has given us a Specimen of his Capacity in solid Composition. For the Generality, in the others, he piques himself upon a certain Brilliance of Fancy and Execution, in which he excelled all who went before him; and in which, even GEMINIANI has not thought him unworthy to be imitated. But in the above Concerto, is a Fugue; the principal Subjects of which are well invented, well maintained, the whole properly diversified with masterly Contrivances, and the Harmony full and complete.[21]

Hayes's approach to the concerto was fundamentally serious. Italian solo concertos he largely dismissed as 'flashy, frothy Trifles' which 'owe their Propagation to the Depravity of Taste in those whom they were calculated to entertain'.[22] The English, however, generally preferred the concerto grosso, which was peculiarly well-suited to the modest resources of the proliferating amateur societies which were the main focus of provincial musical life. The lack of experienced virtuosi who were capable of playing the solo concertos of composers such as Vivaldi effectively excluded their works from the repertory of all but the most fortunate music societies. The organ concerto, for which there can seldom have been a lack of able soloists, was in fact the only form of

solo concerto widely cultivated in England during the period.

Like so many of his English contemporaries, William Hayes wrote his concertos specifically for the use of the musical society over which he himself presided. The classical repertory of concerti grossi was in fact comparatively small -- the works of Corelli and Handel together amounted to a mere thirty or so pieces in all -- and thus the continuing demand for appropriate new works had to be met by native composers, who could expect no help from the continent where the form had long been outmoded. Hayes's concertos were obviously written with an intimate practical knowledge of local music-making at a good amateur level. Hence his insistence on the value of 'solid Composition', where detailed part-writing, including strongly independent viola parts and fugal textures, ensured a satisfying spread of interest throughout both the concertino and ripieno, so maintaining the all-important balance between musical and social harmony. The concertos are all easily playable, as they needed to be, since the rules of the musical society allowed the Steward 'the Liberty of introducing, *gratis*, any Person or Persons ... who shall perform a Part in the Concert'.[23] What technical difficulties there were remained confined to the concertino where, especially in the last four concertos, the first violin often takes precedence. As in Corelli's Op. 6, however, even the solo violin parts never rise beyond third position.

Judging by the criticisms which he levelled against Avison's concertos in his *Remarks*,[24] Hayes clearly considered that such works should above all display full and accurate harmony (with careful preparation and resolution of suspensions, sensible modulations and a full part for the viola), straightforward and euphonious melody, and

skilful, well-maintained fugues. All these are indeed conspicuous features of his own concertos. Yet within the apparently stylised conventions of the concerto grosso, dominated as it undoubtedly was by the Opp. 6 concertos of Corelli and Handel, Hayes achieved some measure of individuality, not only in his unusually rigorous adherence to strict fugal procedures but also in his surprisingly flexible attitudes towards scoring and key schemes, both of which are to the fore in the unique, semi-programmatic concerto *The rival Nations* (W)6:008.

In his approach to the constitution of the concertino Hayes departed fundamentally from standard English practice. Encouraged, perhaps, by the ample resources of Oxford's music society, in all but one of his eight concertos he added a viola to the usual concertino trio of two violins and cello. The only other composer who regularly adopted this expanded scoring, in England at least, was Geminiani, whose Opp. 2, 3 and 7 employ a similar four-part concertino, although only the Op. 7 set, like Hayes's, contains a viola in the ripieno as well.[25] In two concertos, however, the concertino was further augmented, in (W)6:001 by the addition of two flutes and two cellos, and in 6:008 by two flutes alternating with two 'fifa' (accompanied by timpani). Such instrumentation was unusual. Few English composers included solo parts for wind instruments in their concerti grossi, and those that did, generally made them optional. Four of Alcock's *Six Concertos* of 1750 (to which, incidentally, Hayes subscribed), and three of Geminiani's Op. 7, were just about the only other concertos of the period to contain concertino parts for flutes, but unlike Hayes's concertos they could, if necessary, be replaced by the concertino violins in whose copies their parts were cued. The unprecedented appearance of fifes and drum in

(W)6:008 is explained by the concerto's title, *The rival Nations*, although it seems that this novel military scoring had ultimately to be abandoned, since the fife parts themselves bear a note in Hayes's hand in which he regretted that although they were 'intended to be done wth octave Flutes' it was 'found to be impracticable'.

Formally, Hayes's concertos share a number of common features. The majority follow the normal four-movement *da chiesa* pattern generally adopted in English concerti grossi, and open with a slow or moderately-paced introduction, continuing with a fugue or imitative section, then a contrasting slow movement, and lastly a dance-like finale. The three works which most obviously differ from this scheme -- (W)6:001-2 and 6:008 -- are cast in five and three movements respectively, although the latter was subsequently altered to include an additional internal slow movement. In its original form, the earliest of these concertos (W)6:001 opened with three consecutive fast movements before finally arriving at a single moderately-paced Andante Largo. Among his many revisions to this work, Hayes later adjusted the overall balance of tempi and mood, replacing the second Allegro with a new Andante Largo and altering the designation of the old Andante Largo to Adagio.[26]

Key contrasts between movements are generally more adventurous in these works than in either Hayes's trio sonatas or overtures. In the first concerto (c.1735-45) he is happy enough, as most composers of that period normally were, simply with the relative and tonic minor, but by the eighth concerto written some 20 to 30 years later the two internal movements have moved as far afield as the subdominant and supertonic minor. He used the subdominant again in the third movement of the second concerto and also in his keyboard concertos -- a progressive key area

which one associates primarily with later *galant* and Classical key schemes. More unusually, the Grave of the seventh concerto opens strikingly in the dominant minor, and the slow movements of the two minor key concertos (W)6:004-5, like Stanley's, turn not to the expected relative major but to the submediant. When employing a minor key, Hayes occasionally concludes the individual movement or more often the entire work in the major mode, as does Corelli in his well-known Christmas Concerto in G minor (Op.6 no.8). Presumably following this example, Hayes too concludes his G minor Concerto (W)6:004 with a Pastorale appropriately cast in the tonic major. Again following Corellian models, Hayes's slow movements frequently end with the familiar *attacca* half-close on the dominant, though in the two minor key concertos they move instead to the dominant of the succeeding movement's tonic, and in (W)6:008/iii there is an unexpected modulation to the supertonic (the mediant of the final minuet).

Stylistically, two concertos -- (W)6:001 and 6:008 -- merit particular attention. While it is apparent that in a general way Hayes owes much to the example of Corelli, Handel and Geminiani, his earliest surviving work (the D major Concerto (W)6:001) is so close in style to Handel's Op. 3 no. 2 that this must surely have served as its model. Although well short of outright plagiarism, the similarities are more than merely superficial. This appears to be a student work, the young composer learning his craft by emulating the assured style of an established master, a procedure which Hayes was later to advocate to students himself,[27] and which Handel, in this very work, unequivocally demonstrated in his formal indebtedness to the Roman *da camera* concerto tradition and material reliance on themes from Corelli's Op. 6 no. 8.

Hayes follows Handel quite closely in the number, order and style of movements. Each work begins with a striking, dotted Vivace (Examples V.1a & b), though Hayes's opening bars subsequently reappear throughout the movement as ritornelli.

In the second movement both composers highlight the cellos. Handel chooses a sedate tempo (Largo) and the two cellos provide a rich foil for a *cantabile* oboe solo. Hayes, on the other hand, conceives the movement as a lively cello duet with a discreet 'sempre piano' string accompaniment (Examples V.2a & b). Next comes a fugue: Handel's, an unconventional fugato, Hayes's, an overly ambitious but ultimately more regular design. Handel's concerto ends with a pair of dance movements, the first of which, a binary minuet, provided Hayes with the formal, textural and melodic outlines for his own finale (Examples V.3a & b).

Both formally and stylistically the later Concerto in D major (W)6:008 shares stronger affinities with the solo concertos than with the rest of the concerti grossi. In its original state. without the additional Andante Largo e Cantabile, it conformed to the standard three-movement Venetian scheme: its outer movements, both marked Allegro, each in ritornello form and framing an aria-like slow movement. The work is in effect a solo concerto for two flutes. The string concertino, reduced to a purely accompanimental role, is virtually indistinguishable from the ripieno. Unusually, the violins from each section together underpin almost every solo episode with a single unison line, allowing only the briefest solo contributions from the first concertino violin in the last movement, and nothing at all from the second violin, viola and cello. In fact the only mention of distinct concertino and ripieno sections in either of the two scores occurs at

the beginning of the added slow movement in which the flutes are replaced by an elaborate solo for the 'Vio[lin] 1mo. Principale' accompanied by four-part ripieno strings. Although entitled *The rival Nations* in the most complete of the surviving scores, only the first movement appears to have any obvious military overtones, dominated as it is by aggressive, reiterated figures and rapid-fire dialogue, and containing a martial episode in which a pugilistic outburst of fifes and drums gives way to a dirge-like section (involving a full change of key signature, style and texture) culminating in a final triumphal return of the full opening ritornello. Yet in print Hayes was openly scornful of programme music and the '*historical* or *poetical* Plans, which, the Advocates for GEMINIANI are so fond of saying, his Concertos are built upon'.[28] The presence of the titled score in a volume of incidental music by William Boyce (*Ob* MS Mus c. 3) appears to be entirely coincidental. It seems much more likely that the title actually refers to a genuine historical conflict. With a central movement headed 'Aria Scotese', does the work perhaps mark the Jacobite rebellion in Scotland in 1745, or commemorate its celebrated defeat at the battle of Culloden the following year? The evidence of the handwriting, however, suggests a somewhat later date, possibly around the mid-1750s, when England and France were rivals in the Seven Years War which began in 1756. The concerto may possibly have been written for the commemoration of the Peace in May 1763, when there were large-scale celebrations in Oxford including a Thanksgiving service at St Mary's (with a performance of one of Handel's Coronation Anthems) and fireworks near Folly Bridge.[29]

The use of ritornello form, seen in both (W)6:001 and 6:008, was much less common in the concerto grosso than the solo concerto. Although there are a few instances of its use in the concerti grossi of Handel, Geminiani, Stanley and Hebden, for example, most composers working in England, Hayes included, usually preferred fugal or binary designs. Hayes's few ritornello-form movements are, however, rather more fully developed than the somewhat perfunctory example in Stanley's Op.2 no. 5, and a little more orthodox perhaps than the flexible structures of Handel's Op. 3. The Vivace from the early D major Concerto (W)6:001 is the least convincing of these movements. It seems that Hayes had yet to grasp the full structural significance of the ritornello principle. The simple eight-bar ritornello (Example V.1b), ideally suited to concise and frequent recall, appears only briefly during the first half of the movement, and then not to confirm but actually to effect modulations. The second half of the piece, lacking any familiar tutti or episodic material, loses momentum, meandering rather aimlessly towards the final appearance of the ritornello at the very end of the movement. The later D major Concerto (W)6:008 is a more experienced work. The ritornelli of the outer movements, made up of several contrasting ideas, characterise the work thematically and articulate it harmonically. As in the keyboard concertos, the headmotif frequently provides the starting point for the concertino episodes which, often of considerable duration, are carefully structured, in the first movement returning to familiar material, and indulging in lively dialogue with the tutti in the last. Like the D and A major organ concertos, the main dominant ritornello in each movement is the longest and most complete of the internal appearances, while in later ritornelli Hayes is fond of introducing new material.

In five concertos, (W)6:001, 3, 4, 5, and 7, the most substantial movements are fugues. Perhaps because of his academic position, the technique of writing fugues was one which Hayes took very seriously. In his *Remarks* he devoted five pages to a critical analysis of the fugue in Avison's Op.3 no.1 which he found to 'abound with Meannesses of every Sort'.[30] His detailed criticisms, although sometimes a little ungenerous, give us a good idea of his general attitude towards fugal technique. He objected first of all to the disappointing exposition in which the 'Subject is trite, the Air mean and low, not capable of being turned to any great Advantage' and the viola was 'employed only in filling up the Harmony'.[31] The subsequent treatment of the various subjects was too free for Hayes, who was unimpressed with tonal answers and 'false and languid Imitations ... lugged in, with great Labour and Difficulty'.[32] He concluded: 'it wou'd be endless Work to trace out all the Imperfections of this Strain, (Fugue I cannot by any Means call it) as it abounds in every thing a skilful Artist wou'd avoid: Trite Subjects ill maintained; a Distraction of them, though like Bubbles on the Surface of Water, they just appear, burst and vanish. Further, there is no Connexion between the lesser Subjects and the Principal, together with many Disallowances and false Harmony'.[33]

Hayes's own fugues are models of correctness. They preserve both the integrity of the subject and the supremacy of imitative over homophonic textures throughout each movement. Structurally, they are comparatively straightforward. Each opens with a full exposition of real entries usually including an independent part for the viola, followed by a counter-exposition and a series of middle entries largely in the usual range of closely related keys. Finally, the subject re-appears

again in the tonic to round off the movement, either with one emphatic statement in the bass or a more complete set of entries. The episodic material is carefully integrated, sometimes deriving directly from the subject itself but more often offering some measure of contrast.

Although Hayes recommended the fugues of Frescobaldi as 'the best Model for Compositions of that sort, and as such are studied by those who are desirous of excelling in that truly noble Branch of Music',[34] his own works are more straightforward in style, containing few of the clever technical devices which are such a conspicuous feature of Frescobaldi's own richly inventive style. As so often in the works of Handel, in their own concertos English composers too were generally more interested in creating an overall impression of contrapuntal activity than in exploring the many intricacies of fugal technique. Even so, two of Hayes's concertos, (W)6:003 and 6:005, contain impressive double fugues, the early Concerto in D major attempts a six-part exposition, and all make effective use of stretto and invertible counterpoint.

Beyond these general outlines the separate character of each fugue remains distinct. Perhaps the most pedantic, self-consciously learned movement is found in the D major Concerto of 1758, (W)6:003/ii, entitled 'Fuga di capella Alla Breve'. It is based on two long-breathed *stile antico* subjects which are treated at some length during the course of an expansive exposition, counter-exposition, three sets of middle entries and a strong series of final entries ripe with invertible interest. Two of the most concise movements, (W)6:004/ii and (W)6:005/ii, are based on short, dynamic themes which quickly generate the dramatic impetus characteristic of brisk fugal overtures, from which both are in fact drawn.[35] In their episodes these two works display

something of the variety typical of such sections in Hayes's works. While in (W)6:005 each episode presents new imitative material shared between the concertino violins, (W)6:004 displays strong developmental tendencies, employing stretti and sequential elaboration of a contracted form of the subject itself. In (W)6:007, on the other hand, the headmotif forms the basis of an imaginative concertino/ripieno dialogue which eventually opens up into an extended solo for the first violin.

Unlike the trio sonatas, in his concerto fugues Hayes seems to have had no consistent policy regarding the role of the countersubject, which appears regularly only in the first concerto, although in the two double fugues the second subjects actually serve much the same function. In the G minor concerto (W)6:004, the usual tonic/dominant relationship of subject and answer is disrupted by the viola which enters surprisingly on the supertonic. Another notable feature of this exposition is its scoring, which follows Geminiani's practice of entrusting the opening entries to the concertino rather than ripieno.

In several fast movements -- (W)6:002/ii, 6/iv and 7/iv -- Hayes utilises a more or less pervasive imitative texture but without the formal constraints of a full-blown fugue. In the early B flat concerto (W)6:002, he creates the impression of a fugal exposition with a series of staggered entries of a roughly similar dotted figure which, like a very similar movement from the 'Ouverture' to Handel's harpsichord suite no. 7, soon devolves into simple concertante writing, though still retaining the dotted rhythm throughout and even a set of pseudo middle entries. Such a successful movement is it that Hayes later used it to complete the French-style overture to the ode 'Where shall the muse' (1751).

Binary form movements articulated by a central double bar occur in the first five concertos. Formally, rounded designs predominate, though generally without thematic parallels at the beginning of each section and with almost no hint at all of the rudimentary sonata form outlines seen in several such movements in the trio sonatas. Several other movements, (W)6:003/i, 4/iv, and 7/i, are rounded binary structures in all but the central double bar, and are marked instead with a central dominant repetition of the opening material. Although in (W)6:005 Hayes writes a binary-form Largo introduction, they are more often through-composed. His choice of internal slow movements is less predictable. The second and third concertos opt for stately triple-time movements deriving much of their character from a rich harmonic texture liberally laced with suspensions. The sixth and seventh concertos make use of a more straightforwardly homophonic style, the former lightly scored and lyrical in a miniature da capo form, the latter bold and arresting, in two brief contrasted sections which form no more than a transition between movements. The third movement of the last concerto is also essentially transitional, a mere eight bars only, with an ornamented solo violin part supported by a simple harmonic accompaniment. In the Largo of the fifth concerto the rhapsodic violin solo forms the central section of a dramatic and uneasy movement of constantly shifting tonalities (touching upon the supertonic minor by bar 4), sudden shuddering outbursts of semiquavers from the full orchestra and rapid fluctuations of scoring and dynamics. Such overtly expressive and passionate writing was one of the features of Geminiani's style which Hayes most admired, although he made comparatively little use of it himself.[36] The form and style of the 'Aria Scotese' from the D major

Concerto (W)6:008, on the other hand, is surely without precedent in the concerto grosso repertory and is utterly different from the aria-like slow movements of the Venetian solo concerto. Formally, it follows an AABCBC division of material, with alternating scoring for two flutes and violin, and three-part ripieno strings. The melodic line is dominated by 'Scots snap' rhythms and falls into regular phrase patterns, the opening 'A' section, for example, comprising four two-bar phrases arranged: abac. Such movements became increasingly popular with composers of *galant* concertos in the latter half of the century, J.C. Bach for instance, incorporating variations on popular Scottish songs in several of the concertos in his Op. 13.

Although the inherited traditions of the concerto grosso weighed heavily upon him, Hayes did not remain completely unaffected by contemporary musical developments. His later concerti grossi display more than a passing familiarity with the emerging *galant* style, though it is certainly less pronounced here than in the trio sonatas. Overall, his concertos display a greater concentration of genuinely melodic writing and less of the standard figurative and *fortspinnung* procedures than is typical of Corelli and Handel. While Hayes never aspires wholeheartedly to the modern idiom, *galant* turns of phrase occasionally appear quite unselfconsciously alongside more familiar modes of expression, as the composer naturally draws on a musical vocabulary widened by a sound knowledge of the contemporary repertory. In the Andante Larghetto e Cantabile of the fourth concerto (c.1750), Hayes successfully infuses a standard slow, triple-time binary movement with up-to-date melodic and harmonic formulae. Although he retains an old-fashioned 3/2 time signature, it cannot disguise the profusion of

distinctly *galant* triplets, characteristically in thirds, nor the chromatic inflexions and languishing appoggiaturas in the latter half of the carefully controlled opening phrase. The calculated approach to both the central and final cadences (from bars 14 and 52), is likewise characterised by a familiar *galant* cliché (I-IV-Ic-V-VI), which is then repeated, now cadencing as expected on the tonic. Hayes concludes the concerto with an old-fashioned Pastorale closely parodying the celebrated 12/8 *siciliano* Pastorale which concludes Corelli's Op.6 no. 8 (see Example V.4).

KEYBOARD CONCERTOS

Burney and Hawkins both report that Handel first performed his organ concertos as interludes in the oratorios *Esther* and *Deborah.*[37] Whether they were actually included in the first London performances of these works at the King's Theatre in May 1732 and March 1733, however, remains unclear. The first unequivocal reference to their use appeared in an advertisement for a revival of *Esther* published in the *London Daily Post* on 5 March 1735, which promised that there would be 'several New Additional Songs; likewise two new Concerto's on the Organ'. When Handel visited Oxford in July 1733, as part of the celebrations marking the University Act, he gave performances of both *Esther* and *Deborah* and his first purpose-written oratorio *Athalia*, especially composed for the occasion. It is just possible that on this occasion he also favoured the audience with a demonstration of his prowess on the organ. The movement for organ and orchestra in D minor which later concluded his

Op. 3 no. 6 (1734), and which in its single-movement form probably dates from around this time,[38] fits undeniably well between the first and second acts of *Athalia*, flanked by two powerful choruses in D minor and D major respectively. The eye-witness accounts of Arne and Festing, later communicated to Burney, make it clear that during his concerts in Oxford, Handel did indeed perform on the organ, and 'in such a manner as astonished every hearer'.[39] Also present on the occasion was the young William Hayes, whose son Philip later recalled how his father had been 'highly gratified' by the performances directed by Handel, and 'from whose great Powers and Spirit he caught those Sparks of Fire that flew from this great Luminary, which provided a further Incitement to his musical Studies'.[40] Perhaps it is no coincidence then that William Hayes's earliest surviving instrumental work (W)6:009, apparently composed not long after, is indeed a keyboard concerto.

Handel's first set of organ concertos was published in 1738, and their enormous success soon spawned a host of native imitations. First on the market, around 1740, was Henry Burgess with a set of six concertos to which, interestingly enough, the sole subscribing musical society was that at Oxford. Several composers, including Stanley, Avison and even Handel himself, responded to the continuing demand for such works by arranging a number of their concerti grossi for organ or harpsichord with or without string accompaniment, a procedure followed by William Hayes in the last movement of his D major organ concerto (W)6:011. By the end of the century, most leading English composers (and many amateurs too) had contributed to the genre. Its popularity is not hard to account for, since most English composers of the time were themselves organists by profession, and the simplicity of design

apparent in Handel's own concertos put the form within reach of even the most modestly gifted of them.

William and Philip Hayes were undoubtedly fine performers, and their contemporary reputations rested heavily on their abilities as organists: 'Few Men knew the Powers of that Instrument better', said Philip in his memoir of his father, and he too was hailed both as a 'brilliant Organ player', and 'one of the very best extemporary Performers of the age'.[41] Like those of most composers of the period, their concertos were almost certainly written for their own use. In common with the rest of his instrumental output, William's three keyboard concertos, (W)6:009-11 (c.1735, c.1750 and March 1755), were probably performed at the weekly subscription concerts organised by the Oxford Musical Society and held, after 1748, in the Holywell Music Room. Due to the paucity of information on the early programmes presented at these concerts, the first record of such a performance does not occur until 6 November 1773, when the published hand-bill advertised an organ concerto by 'Dr. Hayes' which rounded off the first 'Act' of the proceedings. This was probably a revival of an earlier work, since William's latest surviving organ concerto (6:0011 dated 1755) is known to have been revived the following year, as an autograph note on the score records: 'Music Room Feb. 15 1774'. A number of Philip Hayes's six concertos, published in 1769, also appear to have originated in such concerts, and two of only a handful of the surviving printed programmes from this period (20 December 1762 and 29 March 1764) include a harpsichord concerto by 'Mr. Hayes'. Programmes from later in the century confirm that the keyboard concerto continued to enjoy the popular support of local audiences, and although their own concertos seem to have been

intended purely for individual concert performance, both William and Philip Hayes perpetuated Handel's practice of including keyboard concertos between the acts of oratorios. An advertisement for a performance of *Alexander's Feast*, which appeared in *Jackson's Oxford Journal* on 13 June 1761, promised that 'In the First Act will be Play'd, upon the Harpsichord, by Mr. Hayes, one of HANDEL'S Concertos composed for the purpose'.[42]

In addition to the organ concertos of Handel, the Hayes's well-stocked music library also contained similar works by Stanley, Avison, Dupuis and Arne,[43] and *galant* concertos by composers such as Wagenseil, J.C and C.P.E. Bach. They subscribed to Felton's Op. 7 (1760) and Chilcot's second set of concertos (1765), two publications which exercised more than a passing influence on the elder and younger Hayes respectively. Their tastes were evidently catholic, for included in their collection was also a large and varied selection of solo keyboard music, ranging from the works of Frescobaldi, Couperin, Muffat, J.C. and C.P.E. Bach, to those of their English predecessors, Gibbons, Blow, Purcell and Roseingrave, and their more immediate contemporaries, J.C. Smith, Nares, Walond, Stanley, Alcock *et al.*

At a time when the majority of keyboard concertos were primarily conceived for the organ, it is significant that, in his Concerto in G major, William Hayes was clearly writing with a harpsichord in mind. Throughout, the solo part is clearly headed 'Cymbalo', and although there was actually little truly idiomatic writing for either the organ or harpsichord in such works, the elaborate keyboard idiom of the slow movement, and in particular the constant, rapid movement in the right hand and reiterated chords in the left, strongly suggest the delicate

qualities of a non-sustaining instrument. It is entirely characteristic of contemporary performance practice, however, that when, later in its history, the solo part was transferred to the organ, the only alterations deemed necessary were the addition of a slow orchestral introduction and a more appropriate title: 'Organ Concerto in G'. The D major work, on the other hand, was originally designated 'Organ Concerto' and it shares with the untitled A major concerto a greater degree of sustained writing than could have been fully accommodated on a harpsichord, not that this would necessarily have precluded performance on this instrument were it more convenient. Curiously perhaps, in view of the careful attention to registration in the organ accompaniments to his anthems, William Hayes makes no attempt to characterise the solo writing in his concertos beyond the occasional dynamic marking. Not so his son, three of whose concertos (nos. 2, 5 and 6) contain quite detailed registrations. The central Affettuoso minuet in the second concerto, for example, calls for a 'Hautboy stop in the swelling Organ' with a 'Stopt Diapason Bass'. His first concerto though, was almost certainly intended for the harpsichord, and like his father's G major work, the solo part is consistently labelled 'Cembalo' throughout (and not 'organo' as in other works mentioned above). Philip Hayes's *Six Concertos* were in fact the first published in England to offer the additional option of performance on a Forte-Piano. Whether this was merely a publishing gambit designed to increase sales or a genuine reflection of the composer's intentions is difficult to decide in the absence of any firm indications in the music itself. But there can be little doubt though that Hayes was actually acquainted with the new instrument, since at this time (1769) he was living in Vine Street,

Piccadilly, just around the corner from the Soho workshops of the pioneering German keyboard makers Zumpe, Buntebart, Backers, Pohlmann and Neubauer who introduced the piano to the London market during the 1760s. The third concerto of Philip's set, which contains no distinctive markings to indicate that it was intended for either the harpsichord or organ, could well have been conceived for the small square piano, perhaps with an eye to domestic performance, though it appears that by the mid-1760s, grand pianos rather better suited to public performance were also being constructed in London.[44] Charles Cudworth was certainly persuaded that this work was not only 'the most polished *Galant* concerto published by an Englishman but may also have been the first English pianoforte concerto'.[45] Certainly there are none of the suggestive dynamics and *crescendos* which appear in J.C. Bach's sonatas for the 'Piano Forte or Harpsichord' Op. 5 published three years previously, but the solo writing in the first movement particularly, would surely benefit from the dynamic inflections and legato touch attainable even on the early square piano[46] (see Example V.5).

William and Philip Hayes both employed similar orchestral forces. Although many *galant* concertos, such as those of Stanley (Op. 10) and Smethergell, omit the viola to achieve a fashionably light trio texture, Philip, like his father, continued to provide a strongly independent part for the instrument, probably reflecting the needs and resources of the musical society for which the works were originally intended. In fact, in the slow movement of the fifth concerto, the violas actually divide to produce a particularly lush five-part sonority, rare indeed in a keyboard concerto of this period. When, on occasion, either composer wished to lighten the texture to three parts, as in the final movements

of (W)6:009 and 10 and the slow movements of (P)6:002 and 3, it is achieved not by compromising the integrity of the viola part, but by merging the violins and only occasionally the viola and bass (as in (W)6:010/iv). Both composers also retain the conventional division of strings between solo and tutti forces familiar from the concerto grosso. While this appears only in William's D major concerto, in all but the first of Philip's concertos the solo quartet provide a discreet accompaniment in delicate solo passages, and also assist thematic differentiation in the opening tuttis. The string writing in these works is strongly characterised, including delicate *pizzicato* and *spiccato* effects, a dynamic range extending from *pp* to *ff*, sudden *piano/forte* contrasts, crescendos and tremolandos. Unusually for their date, two of Philip's concertos include additional (though non-essential) parts for horns and flutes, apparently the earliest appearance of such instruments in an English keyboard concerto. They are deployed, somewhat tentatively, only in the finales of (P)6:003 and 6, where their function is essentially melodic, serving to strengthen the Aria theme which frames each set of variations. In the final movement of the third concerto, the keyboard is joined in the fourth variation by a solo bassoon, presumably promoted from the bass line since it is neither mentioned on the title page nor provided with a separate printed part, while in the third movement of his father's G major concerto, a dignified March, the bassoons displace the harpsichord as soloist altogether, leaving it only a simple continuo role.

William Hayes's concertos are each constructed along slightly different lines. While (W)6:010 adopts the *da chiesa* scheme often employed by Handel, both (W)6:009 and 11 utilise the three-movement

Venetian form generally preferred by English composers (extended in (W)6:009 to include, somewhat unusually, the aforesaid March with a preliminary Adagio). All six of Philip's concertos exhibit this three-movement scheme rather than the increasingly fashionable two-movement design, seen in the concertos of Stanley and Smethergell, and adopted by Hayes himself in several of his sonatas (1774). Tonally, Philip and his father took full advantage of the expressive potential offered by the inclusion of a central slow movement. William's progressive attitude to overall tonal organisation, already noted in his concerti grossi, is seen here in his use of the subdominant key in both the G and D major concertos. The slow movement of the latter, however, is radically cast in the subdominant minor -- a move entirely without precedent in the English concerto of the period. Philip too favoured the subdominant in three of his works, and in all but the last concerto of the set avoided the growing fashion for a more homogeneous design, retaining the tonic key (and fast tempi) throughout. Internal key structures are varied. After modulating to the dominant (via the supertonic in (W)6:010/ii and the dominant minor in (P)6:006/i), both composers employ a wide variety of tonal arrangements involving, in the opening movements of Philip's concertos, the relative minor (6:002, 5 and 6), the subdominant (3, 5 and 6), the mediant minor (1 and 4), and the tonic minor in nos. 1, 4 and 6. Because of their somewhat slower rate of harmonic change, the middle movements tend to be rather less adventurous, and after the expected modulation to the dominant, the return journey to the tonic is often enlivened only by the briefest allusions to the relative and subdominant keys. Exceptionally, in (P)6:002/ii, the tonic key is never reached; instead the movement comes to rest in the mediant minor (a

common enough procedure at the end of the second section of a da capo aria) and the movement concludes with an old-fashioned pause on the dominant. The final movements vary considerably in the complexity of their harmonic structure. The three sets of variations which conclude (P)6:003, 4 and 6 never depart from the tonal structure of the theme given at the outset. The *Rondeau* of Philip's first concerto, on the other hand, not only has episodes in the dominant, mediant minor, but actually employs a new key-signature for an extended section in the tonic minor. The finale of William's G major harpsichord concerto also contains a late and unexpected touch of the tonic minor towards the end of the movement thus heightening the eventual return of the major.

Formally, the greatest point of departure between the works of father and son -- between Baroque and *galant* concerto -- is found in the overall structure of the individual movements themselves. While ritornello form predominates in the concertos of the elder Hayes, it is largely replaced by binary forms in the works of his son, and the stylised minuets which concluded William's G and D major concertos are superseded by more concise, repetitive forms: a rondo and several sets of variations.

William's ritornello procedures are somewhat unpredictable: the exact distribution and organisation of tutti and solo sections is governed by no regular scheme. The form is adopted in the opening allegros of all three works, and in the slow movement and finale of the G major concerto. The most clear-cut structure is seen in (W)6:009/i, which uses a simple binary design, complete with central double bar, necessitating the repeat of both sections to bring the movement up to a sufficient length. Generally, the first structural ritornello occurs

about a third of the way through the movement and establishes the dominant. Subsequent ritornelli, of which there may be two or three, serve to articulate the usual closely related keys (the relative minor, the subdominant and dominant majors) before the final appearance in the tonic. Their melodic content is usually restricted to the head-motif, although the central dominant statement in both (W)6:010 and 11 recalls further material too. All three works also make use of freely introduced material, unrelated to the opening ritornello, but shared with the soloist. Although such ideas are usually of little lasting significance, taken up and dismissed at will, in (W)6:011 several linked motives, both solo and tutti, (bars 34-40) taken together constitute an important secondary idea appearing first in the dominant, just before the central ritornello, and returning in the tonic (in a slightly extended form leading up to the cadenza at the end of the movement).

Clearly the success or otherwise of a ritornello movement depends largely on the potential of the thematic material presented at the outset. William's ritornelli tend towards brevity, containing three or four contrasted motifs in rapid succession. After a bold, arresting head-motif (see incipits in Catalogue of Works), designed with an eye to frequent repetition, there usually follows a driving, sequential section which in turn gives way to a cadential phrase of no great thematic importance. The opening ritornelli of the G and D major concertos, which owe much to Venetian models, are very clearly sectionalised:

Concerto in G major

```
A (head-motif)     B (sequential)     C (cadential)
[---------------] [---------------] [-------------]
I      (4)      V      (4)     VI V     (3)     I
```

Concerto in D major

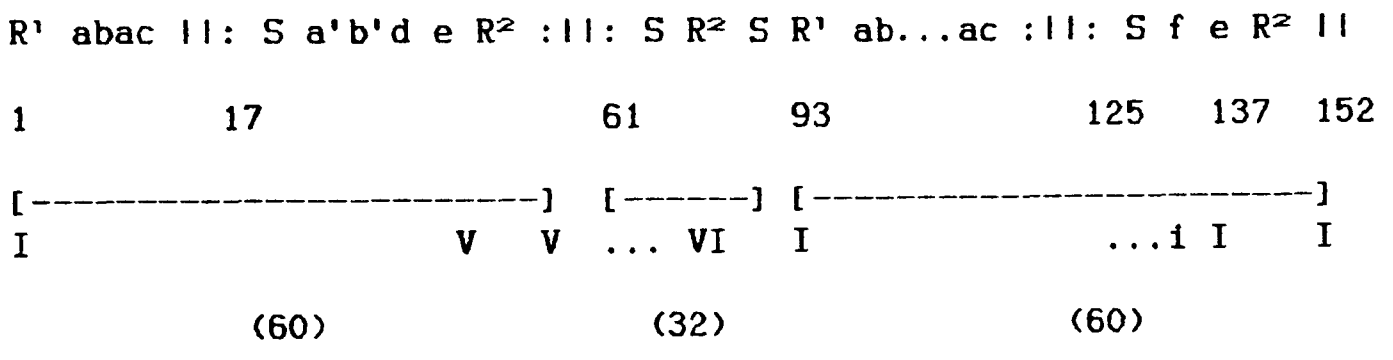
```
A (head-motif)              B (sequential)  C (cadential)
[---------------------] [-------------] [---------------]
I (2+2) V (2-bar echo) V     (3)                (4) V   I
```

The constituent elements of the ritornello announced at the start of the Concerto in A major are more integrated. During the first two bars the violins and lower strings each announce a separate though complementary motif which they exchange in bars 3-5, and is subsequently elaborated in the following sequential section. The opening phrase of the head-motif itself appears to have caused Hayes some trouble. In its original form, the upper strings open with a straightforward four-note figure moving in parallel thirds with the second violin (Example V.6a). After completing the movement, however, the composer seems to have had second thoughts about its effectiveness and so expanded it slightly (Example V.6b). Evidently this did not satisfy him either, since thereafter it appears with only an added quaver (Example V.6c).

The recapitulation of the opening ritornello at the close of each movement is variously handled. After a pause for a cadenza (W)6:011 ends conventionally with a truncated form of the original ritornello, sensibly omitting the nondescript continuation material which originally followed the head-motif. In (W)6:010, however, a literal repeat of the first eight bars is followed by a new sequential section which prepares the way for the final solo episode, a fully notated and strictly measured quasi-cadenza, rounded off by a coda for organ and orchestra based on the opening and closing ideas of the original ritornello. A more imaginative procedure is seen in (W)6:009, involving a complete restatement of the ritornello broken down into its three component parts

and interspersed with brilliant solo figuration lightly accompanied by the strings.

The most highly developed ritornello-form movement, complicated in this case by the placement of internal double bar-lines and repeats, occurs as a finale to the G major Concerto (W)6:009. A simplified plan may be represented diagrammatically as follows:



There are two ritornelli (R^1 and R^2) each of which, although of equal importance, has a quite separate role. The first supplies the main melodic material of the movement, shared by both tutti and soloist, but occurs only at the very outset and once again in the tonic at the end of the second section, 60 bars from the end. The second ritornello, on the other hand, has a strongly cadential flavour; its material is exclusive to the strings, and it is employed structurally within the movement to confirm major new key areas (notably V and VI). Although a number of concerto movements by Handel (Op. 4 no. 2/iv) and Felton (Op. 1 no. 6/iv), for example, display similar large-scale features, none employ quite the same internal design (though Felton's Op. 1 no. 6/iii shares close thematic connections with (W)6:009/v). Hayes's movement is altogether more sophisticated. Unlike the coda-like sections in Handel's or Felton's works, which simply offer a repeat of the introductory ritornello shared between soloist and orchestra, Hayes's coda (bars 125-152) begins with new figurative material which modulates to the tonic

minor (confirmed by a tutti), and finishes with an abrupt return in the tonic of the last sixteen bars of the first section featuring a prominent solo figure 'e' heard towards the end of the first solo episode in the dominant. In fact if one ignores the overall design as articulated by the double bar lines, a new, symmetrical form becomes apparent, opening with a 60-bar exposition, continuing with a 32-bar developmental section in which the passage work is loosely derived from figurative patterns in the first episode, and culminating in a varied recapitulation likewise 60 bars long. The tonal and thematic roots of embryonic sonata form discernible in this design are not, however, taken up in his later keyboard concertos, though they do appear (with more clearly articulated dominant ideas) in his own mature trio sonatas.

Philip employs full ritornello form only in the first movement of his third concerto. Formally, it differs little from his father's works, except in the breadth and thematic complexity of the opening ritornello itself, which is made up of five main ideas, some essentially motivic, others more lyrical. His other concertos all begin with more straightforward binary movements, which illustrate the extent to which the distinct roles of tutti and solo, so clearly defined in Baroque ritornello form, had begun to merge in the *galant* concerto. Although the opening tuttis are usually highly developed, presenting several contrasting ideas as if preparing for full-blown ritornello form, unlike similar binary movements in the concertos of Stanley (Op. 10 no.5, for instance) they are seldom deployed structurally within the movement. In fact the later tuttis often do little more than echo the conclusions of the soloist's phrases, and round off each section with cadential material (usually drawn from the end of the original ritornello). When

the head-motif does reappear in the tutti, as in concertos (P)6:001, 2 and 4, it is never more than the briefest statement in the tonic, immediately following or preceding a similar entry in the solo part (fulfilling the outlines of a rounded-binary design). Only in the second concerto does this recapitulation form part of the final ritornello. Thus the main thematic interest of each movement is carried largely by the soloist. Even important structural points such as the central modulation to the dominant are characterised melodically by the return of the head-motif in the solo part alone. Such a reduction in the importance of the thematic and structural role of the ritornello, although glimpsed in the final movement of William's Concerto in A major, was exceptional in the opening movements of English solo concertos of the period.

Variations, on the other hand, were a popular way of concluding *galant* concertos. The sets of variations in (P)6:003 and 6 are each based on a straightforward Aria of 16 bars, while in (P)6:004 their starting point is a slightly more substantial 24-bar Minuetto. Each variation mirrors the binary layout of the original theme and stays in the same metre and key. Only in the final variation of concertos (P)6:003 and 4 does the bass line diverge significantly from the original, the main interest clearly centring on the increasing complexity of the right-hand figuration. The third variation of (P)6:006/iii is given over entirely to the orchestra: a delicately scored trio for solo flute, violin and cello. In these movements Philip consistently prefers contrasts between, rather than within sections, thus distinguishing his procedure from that of composers such as Smethergell. The *Rondeau* which concludes the first concerto is less

rigid in this respect. Unlike the finale of Stanley's Op. 10 no. 6, for example, where the rondo theme and solo episodes are entirely separate, here the rondo section is divided equally between soloist and orchestra. The same is true of the episodes, where the soloist has free reign until the appearance of a brief concluding tutti (loosely based on earlier material) which modulates back to the tonic in preparation for the return of the *Rondeau*. The March which forms the third movement of William Hayes's early G major Concerto is also cast in a flexible rondo form -- an unusual movement altogether in this context.

In their choice of slow movements both father and son between them drew upon almost the entire range of available forms, and no two works are exactly alike. Three of Philip's concertos, (P)6:002, 4 and 6, feature moderately-paced minuets (appropriately marked 'Affettuoso' or 'Grazioso') cast in rondo, da capo and binary form respectively. The third concerto, however, revives the fashion for the *Pastorale* siciliana, ultimately derived it seems from Corelli's Op. 6 no. 8, and also used, as we have already seen, by William Hayes in the last movement of (W)6:004. Philip's movement achieves a certain rustic simplicity in the usual way, employing drone basses, and a repetitive melodic style and formal design (rondo). The Affetuoso [sic] of the fifth concerto is altogether more galant in spirit, with a poignant, aria-like melodic line entrusted to the 'swelling Organ', and delicately supported by a distinctive rocking accompaniment. The Andante of the first concerto, on the other hand, is given over completely to the orchestra and the soloist is reduced simply to a continuo role. In the *Pastorale* too, the only distinctive contribution made by the soloist is an 'ad libitum' flourish and final cadenza between the ends of episodes

and the return of the rondo, a technique also employed by Philip in the *Rondeau Pastorale* of his second sonata. At the opposite extreme, the central movement of William's D major Concerto consists entirely of a short 'ad libitum' organ solo, which gives a much more complete outline of the composer's intentions than is usually found in such movements (Handel's Op.7 concertos, for instance). In his other slow movements, William displays a greater interest in true concertante writing than found in the concertos of his son. The finely poised F# minor *siciliana*, (W)6:0010/iii, maintains a lively dialogue between solo and tutti throughout, without once resorting to the predictable echo technique, particularly tiresome in slow movements. Instead, the strings begin by joining the organ for the end of each phrase, coming together, after the double bar, for every alternate phrase, and building up towards a genuine solo/tutti dialogue towards the end. The E minor Andante of the G major Concerto is built on a more ambitious scale, and is undoubtedly one of William's finest movements. A rhapsodic solo line is held in check by a ritornello structure no less rigorous than that of the opening Allegro, albeit on a smaller scale. In fact, full-scale ritornello form was comparatively rare in slow movements, and Handel seldom employs it, whereas Vivaldi generally preferred a compromise design in which the ritornello was used simply as a framing introduction and conclusion to the movement.

The elaborate solo style of this movement is utterly unlike anything Handel ever wrote in his keyboard concertos. The flexible phrase structure, rhythmic fluidity and constantly evolving melodic line are closer to those lightly ornamented, aria-like slow movements characteristic of the Venetian solo concerto than the more regular

figurative solo style of, for example, the Andante of Handel's Op. 4 no. 4, the closest parallel to Hayes's movement. William marks the solo part Cantabile, and it could as easily have been played on a sustaining instrument, such as the oboe or violin, since the interest is concentrated entirely in the right hand, the left hand providing only the most basic harmonic support. An already ornate melodic line is further embellished with a variety of poignant appoggiaturas, grace notes, mordents, turns and trills, added, it seems, at various stages of the work's history. At two points during the course of the movement -- before the central dominant ritornello and its final appearance again at the end -- the line blossoms forth into two fully-notated cadenzas. Both are fairly brief, opening with a rising scalic flourish and followed by a rhythmically characterised descent to the cadential trill (Example V.7). The episodes themselves are fairly concise (five bars at most), and are each concerned with no more than one idea. Melodic momentum is generated through the usual *fortspinnung* techniques of sequential expansion (second episode) and repetition (final episode), while the three phrases leading up to the first cadenza feature the cumulative development of several short motives (Example V.8).

The solo writing in the fast movements is more straightforward. The right hand invariably contains the most important material, but is sometimes joined by the left hand in the development of the head-motif, (W)6:010/ii and 11/i, and in synchronised passage-work and imitative or complementary exchanges. There is generally little sustained melodic writing beyond the opening few phrases, derived from the head-motif, and a short subsidiary figure or two initiated by the soloist, usually for interplay with the orchestra. In the lengthy first solo episode of

(W)6:009/iv (see Example V.9) the open-textured writing, with sudden shifts to a high left-hand register, reliance on tiny repetitive motivic cells, and the repeated use of acciaccaturas suggests that Hayes may well have been acquainted with the *Essercizi* of Scarlatti (published in London in 1739 and thus suggesting a slightly later date for this concerto) or with similar sonatas by his Italian contemporaries. Like Handel's concertos, however, these movements tend to be dominated by stock idiomatic figuration (often imitating *bariolage* and other violinistic effects), which supplies the element of virtuosity essential to the solo concerto. It is easy to see why, in a style so heavily dependent on sequence and seldom attempting to integrate figurative and melodic writing, Avison complained that 'our Composers have run all their Concertos into little else than tedious Divisions'.[47] Yet while it is true that prolific composers such as Felton were indeed tempted to include rather too much passage-work, in the concertos of Handel and his more sensitive contemporaries, such prosaic note-spinning was strongly outweighed by writing which displayed greater melodic and rhythmic individuality than is normally found in mere filling-in material. Such figuration was often linked to the processes of melodic extension and development, as in the first episode of (W)6:010/ii where the head-motif (given in Example V.6) lends itself perfectly to such sequential elaboration.

The reduced importance of the tutti apparent in Philip's concertos, led to solo episodes of increased length and thematic content. The extensive first episodes might more accurately be described as solo expositions, opening with the first few ideas presented in the introductory tutti (often slightly modified), and in concertos (P)6:003-

6 characterising the move to the dominant (and in some cases the dominant area itself) with distinctive new material. In each of these works some of the secondary solo ideas return in full or in part in the tonic during the final episode, and when they are preceded by the recapitulation of the head-motif, as in the third and fourth concertos, they are not so very far removed from the simple sonata-form movements of J.C. Bach's Op.7 (1770). The standard figurative patterns which predominate in the concertos of his father are largely superseded by more integrated modulatory and developmental techniques, coupled with a greater interest in idiomatic writing of a more varied kind. In the first and third concertos of the set, for example, the quite expansive themes of the opening tuttis can in fact be reduced to so many smaller motives strung together: writing which easily lends itself to motivic fragmentation and development in the solo episodes. The succinct seven-note figure which generates the theme in bars 11 and 12 of (P)6:001/i, forms the basis of the modulatory passages and provides most of the developmental interest in the solo part after the double bar. Perhaps the most distinctive feature of Philip's solo style, and one which also appears in his sonatas, is his exploitation of contrasting timbres, involving different ranges of the keyboard, designed to enhance thematic characterisation. To this end the left hand frequently occupies the treble clef for quite extended periods, and vice versa in (P)6:001/i and to a somewhat lesser extent in 6:002/iii. But unlike Chilcot in his Op. 1, such writing owes little directly to the influence of Scarlatti's sonatas. The inspiration for the characteristic hand-crossing in the first movement of (P)6:001 can be found rather closer to home (see Examples V.10a/b). Only the first concerto of the set, one of the most

galant, makes sustained use of the increasingly popular Alberti bass figuration, and elsewhere, Hayes allows the left hand more freedom to participate in the exposition of material. As for improvised solo display, it is only in the slow movements, where the level of solo writing is more restrained, that Hayes sanctions the extemporisation of cadenzas. The indication 'Cadenza' or 'Cadenza ad libitum' appears in the second movements of (P)6:002-3 and 5-6 on a dominant fermata a few bars from the end, before a final clinching tutti.

The transitional nature of Philip's concertos -- standing midway between the traditions of the Handelian organ concerto inherited from his father and the *galant* harpsichord and pianoforte concerto pioneered in England by J.C. Bach -- is particularly apparent in the melodic style of the opening movements. Judging simply by the material presented in the introductory tuttis, concertos (P)6:002, and 5 seem to be the most retrospective in approach, (P)6:001 and 3 the most up-to-date (with particularly dramatic and highly developed first movements), and (P)6:004 and 6 generally the most mixed in style. The first concerto, for example, opens with a bustling *galant* theme in short, well-balanced phrases, supported by a fashionable *trommelbass*. Philip's characteristic habit of extending phrases by the somewhat archaic echo formula (often involving a downward octave transposition and lowering of dynamics, as in bars 3 and 6 of Example V.11) is, however, largely abandoned in his more thoroughly *galant* sonatas of 1774 in favour of simple two- and four-bar phrase patterns linked by a common opening figure (see Example VI.5), already anticipated in bars 1 and 4 of (P)6:001 (Example V.11) and in the simple variation themes which concluded concertos (P)6:003, 4 and 6. The second concerto, possibly earlier in date than the first,

begins with a typically Handelian opening gambit (see incipit in Catalogue of Works) and exhibits a more short-winded, less clearly defined melodic structure. The solo episodes too depend less on purely lyrical material and include more stock figurative passage-work of a type familiar from Handel's concertos than any other work in the set. The fifth concerto is probably another early work. In its reliance on purposeful unison and sequential writing it casts a long backwards glance at the style of the Venetian concerto, popular some fifty years before . In the tutti of the fourth concerto, baroque and *galant* turns of phrase stand side by side (see Example V.12). The well-balanced head-motif, built from two two-bar phrases, is immediately followed by a stereotyped contrast motif, the so-called *pianoidée*,[48] which began to take shape in concertos of the 1720s and 30s and can occasionally be found in the works of Handel (as in Op. 4. no. 2/ii, bars 9-11). Philip's handling of the device (Example V.12, bars 4-7) follows the established conventions surrounding its use: a sudden lowering of dynamics, reduction to a three-part texture, and parallel writing in thirds and sixths over a static bass. The tutti continues with a sequential elaboration of the well-worn circle of fifths progression, and is rounded off by a Mannheim-like *crescendo* on tremolo strings.

Philip Hayes's Op. 1, then, contains some of the finest keyboard concertos composed in England during the latter half of the eighteenth century, and judging by their extensive list of subscribers they were also amongst the most widely known. But with the worthy exception of the early G major harpsichord concerto, the concertos of his father, though containing some fine individual movements, are perhaps less interesting than his altogether more forward-looking trio sonatas.

CHAPTER VI
TRIO AND ACCOMPANIED SONATAS

Of William Hayes's six surviving trio sonatas, only one found its way into print, appearing 'by Way of Overture' to the second part of *Vocal and Instrumental Musick* (1742). In common with the rest of his instrumental output, the other five works remain in manuscript, a circumstance which throws considerable light on Hayes's working habits and assists in establishing a rough chronology. Two of the scores can be dated with certainty: the first of the two B flat sonatas (W)7:002 is inscribed 'Nov. 22. 1751', and the later Sonata in E minor (W)7:006 bears the date 'Feb. 6 1775'. Palaeographic evidence suggests that the three remaining works were probably written during the 1760s and early 70s. But whatever the exact date of these sonatas, this was clearly a genre which occupied Hayes only intermittently. The works were undoubtedly intended solely for local consumption, and were probably performed at the weekly concerts presented by the Oxford Musical Society at the Holywell Music Room. Although no printed programmes survive to confirm the fact, Hayes noted on the title page of Sonata (W)7:006 that it was 'Perfd in the Music room Feb. 6 1775'. From the few surviving Musical Society programmes of the early 1760s and 70s, and the contents of a mid-century catalogue of their library,[1] it appears that such works formed an important element in both the public and private entertainments of the Society's members. Alongside the ever-popular sonatas of Corelli and Handel were ranged the trios of fashionable Italian composers such as Jommelli, Lampugnani and Zanetti, and the newer orchestral trios of Mannheim composers such as Stamitz, Filtz and

Richter. In addition, Hayes's colleagues in the Oxford music room band also composed their own sonatas. Joseph Jackson, leader of the band between c.1748 and 1759, produced a set of six sonatas (published posthumously in 1760) which are markedly *galant* in style, and James Lates, another violinist, issued two sets, in c.1768 and 1775 respectively.

In England, the trio sonata enjoyed a late flowering. Although Corelli's sonatas were already in circulation before the turn of the century, and were well enough known by 1710 for Roger North to report 'what a skratching of Correlli there is every where -- nothing will relish but Correlli',[2] it was not really until the 1740s that English composers themselves began to cultivate the genre assiduously. During the 1750s and 60s the number of trio sonatas issued matched and soon exceeded the number of solo sonata publications. Although Continental composers had, by this time, virtually lost interest in the genre, in England it survived until the last decades of the century, gradually giving way to the new accompanied sonata during the late 1760s and 70s. William Hayes's six sonatas span virtually the whole of this period, and generally reflect a transition in style from a close-wrought, contrapuntally conceived idiom, essentially derived from Corelli, to a more lightweight, homophonic one, infused with many of the characteristics of contemporary orchestral music. They also demonstrate the extent to which these two styles were able to co-exist at a time when the music of Corelli and Handel happily shared the platform with composers such as Lampugnani, Stamitz, J.C. Bach, and other representatives of the newer *galant* style.

In performance, the trio sonata was often treated with considerable licence. During the first half of the century many publications were advertised as suitable for virtually any combination of violins, flutes or oboes. Hayes's earliest sonata, published in 1742, is most unusual in specifying a mixed scoring of oboe, violin and continuo, although the composer added that the work could equally well be performed a tone higher 'with two German Flutes; or one Flute and a Violin &c.'.[3] Such flexibility is somewhat less marked during the latter half of the century, however, and Hayes's remaining sonatas are all apparently intended for strings and continuo alone. Many music societies may also have performed their favourite sonatas orchestrally, a useful expedient when the presence of violas and wind instruments could not always be counted on. Burney related how Boyce's popular sonatas of 1747 were often so heard,[4] and suggestive solo and tutti markings appear in a number of other English sonata publications, such as those of Humphries (Op. 1), Festing (Op. 6), Freake (Opp. 5 & 7) and Corbett (Op. 3). Two of Hayes's sonatas also bear such indications: the 'solo' directions which can occasionally be seen in (W)7:005/iii (Example VI.1), are sufficiently numerous in the Sonata in D major (W)7:003 to suggest performance very much in the manner of a concerto grosso.

The overall structure of Hayes's sonatas is utterly conventional. Although no two works follow precisely the same plan, each opens with a binary movement followed by a fugue in either second or third position and usually concludes with a lightweight minuet (with variations in the first sonata) or a rondo. Four are cast in the four-movement form generally favoured by English composers during the first half of the century, fusing elements of the *sonata da chiesa* and *da camera* in which

slow or moderately paced movements alternate with faster binary or fugal movements in a variety of arrangements. Only the early Sonata in F (W)7:001 adopts the classic *da chiesa* scheme exactly. The two remaining sonatas are each in three movements; the Sonata in F (W)7:004 is representative of the older Venetian form, incorporating a central slow movement between two faster-moving outer sections, whereas the B flat major Sonata (W)7:005 is characteristic of the *galant* approach, in which there are less pronounced contrasts of tempo between movements. The same may also be said of the tonal organisation of these two works. While the F major Sonata employs the standard internal modulation to the relative minor, the B flat major Sonata offers only the briefest tonal contrast, concluding the first movement with an *attacca* cadential extension ending on the dominant, followed by a fugal movement which begins emphatically in the dominant key but soon gives way to the tonic, in which key the work then remains. Elsewhere, the internal slow movements move either to the relative or tonic minor, usually ending with the ubiquitous half-close on the dominant. In addition, in its first and last movements the Sonata in E minor (W)7:006 contrasts the tonic minor and major, a procedure found in many of Hayes's minor key works.

Binary forms predominate in the outer movements. The first two sonatas begin with a 'rounded' design articulated simply by a central cadence in the dominant. But rather more interesting are those movements which involve an extension of the rounded binary structure to include an often quite distinct secondary idea in the dominant at the end of the first section which is subsequently recapitulated in the tonic at the end of the second. Thus in five movements (7:002/iv; 3/i & iv; 4/i and

5/i) Hayes approaches the basic tonal and thematic ground-plan of sonata form, glimpsed only once in his concertos, though found in a number of sonatas by his colleagues at the Oxford music room and also, for example, in the last three of Arne's set (1757). Each movement is actually organised along slightly different lines. The B flat major Sonata (W)7:002 of 1751 is perhaps the most straightforward. The first section of the binary design contains two fairly clearly-cut themes (in the tonic and dominant) which are complementary rather than contrasted. After the double bar the first theme immediately returns in a slightly shortened form in the dominant, and this is followed by an extended developmental section (lasting some 36 bars) which leads to a tonic recapitulation of both the first and second themes, separated by a substantial transitional passage based on the former. The rudimentary developmental process centres around the straightforward fragmentation and embellishment of the opening theme which is treated sequentially within a simple modulatory scheme. Such sections are not found in any of the later sonatas, which at this point offer instead a strong thematic contrast. Indeed, in Sonatas 3/iv and 5/i, this area is characterised by important new material, which in the third sonata forms a separate episode for the strings which are marked 'solo'. The opening movement of the fifth sonata is the most highly developed of these small-scale sonata forms. The first and second ideas are well differentiated and are linked by a short bridge passage which is replaced by a similar modulatory transition in the recapitulation. There is also a quite separate cadential figure which appears, like rhyming cadences, at the end of each section. With the exception of the short linking passages between the two main figures which occur in Sonatas

2/iv, 3/iv and 5/i, the recapitulatory procedures are almost literal, the second idea being always repeated in full, while in two sonatas the opening figure is slightly foreshortened. However, in the first movement of the fourth sonata, notable for the melodic continuity of its first section, the two halves of the binary design are thematically almost identical except for just five bars of semi-developmental material shortly after the double bar.

Slow movement forms are more varied, though the various types can also be found in Hayes's concertos. In the first two sonatas they consist simply of the briefest harmonic bridge between movements, familiar from the works of Corelli and Handel. In the later sonatas, with the obvious exception of the fifth, there is more interest in creating a greater overall sense of balance, in which the potential contrasts of tempo, tonality and style, offered by a central slow movement, are more fully exploited. In Sonata (W)7:006, for example, Hayes later extended a rather short-winded Largo by adding an extra 26 bars in the same style. The style is actually rather a conservative one: a homophonic 3/2 movement ending, like the rest of the slow movements, with an *attacca* cadential extension, very similar in fact to the opening Larghetto e affettuoso of Handel's Op. 6 no. 6. The middle movement of the fourth sonata could also have come from a concerto. It is basically a solo for the first violin, which spins out a heavily ornamented melody over a slowly unfolding harmonic accompaniment; there is even an opportunity for an improvised cadenza before the final phrase. But the original slow movement of the third sonata is undoubtedly the most progressive of the set. Although nominally a *siciliana*, it is altogether more highly charged than the general run of

such movements. It falls into two thematically distinct sections, articulated by a central cadence in the relative major. The first half exhibits a restless, irregular phrase structure, matched initially by a poignant, motivic extension of the opening idea, modulating circuitously towards a half-close on the dominant. The second part is built around a simple six-note oscillating figure, whose urgent and increasingly impassioned repetitions, in a variety of keys and at steadily rising intervals, drives hard towards an interrupted cadence before gently subsiding.

As one who deplored the levity of currently fashionable Italian music,[5] it is not altogether surprising that each of Hayes's own sonatas is provided with a weighty fugal movement to counterbalance the lightness of the outer sections. Compared with composers such as Boyce (whose sonatas Hayes subscribed to) and Arne (who included fugues in roughly half his sonatas), Hayes emerges as by far the most serious fugist. While the nature and degree of fugal activity varies markedly from one sonata to another, his fundamental approach remains consistent. All six fugal movements are fully developed structures in which there is a regular exposition in three parts, followed either by a redundant entry or a full counter-exposition. This gives way to a series of middle entries -- the point at which there is greatest flexibility -- and finally, a more or less emphatic set of final entries and coda.

Hayes's respect for the integrity of the subject itself is evident throughout all six fugues. Without exception he employs only real answers, and tends to avoid any serious alteration of the subject during the course of the movement. Thus thematic transformation by means of augmentation or diminution for example is rare, and there is a marked

preference for stretto and redundant entries (with the subject, or at any rate most of it, stated in full), rather than for false entries which usually confine themselves simply to the head-motif. The countersubject usually retains its identity too. Five movements employ a regular countersubject which, in the second sonata, is actually made up of several different ideas which subsequently assume greater importance. In the fifth sonata, however, the countersubject (which after the exposition appears only in a slightly modified form) also enjoys a contrapuntal existence entirely independent of the subject itself, with its own sets of imitative entries in the first and second episodes. The more extended episodes, of which there are several in each movement, are generally less derivative, offering instead some measure of thematic and textural contrast. The modulatory nature of these sections also ensures a degree of tonal variety. While the entries of the subject are basically confined to the tonic, dominant and, in several of the middle entries, to the subdominant, the episodes often dwell at length in the relative, and in two sonatas also visit the mediant minor (3/iii & 4/iii) and even the supertonic minor (1/ii). When the tonic is re-established at the end of the last episode, the final entries themselves usually offer some new twist to heighten the sense of climax. In the first sonata the subject is inverted, in the fifth it appears in diminution, and in four movements the entries are in stretto. (In the second sonata mock stretti appear in the coda). Only two sonatas do not contain three final entries of the subject in one form or another, but each movement ends with either a thematically related or simple cadential coda, in four cases either preceded by or including the standard interrupted cadence and fermata.

Beyond these general principles of construction the individual character of each fugue is distinct. To some extent this is governed by the nature and implications of the subjects themselves (see the incipits in the Catalogue of Works). In the third sonata, the use of two subjects (a double fugue in other words) results in a more pervasive fugal texture with no less than six sets of entries exploring most of the possible permutations of the invertible themes. The fugal movement of the first sonata, on the other hand, is less rigorously contrapuntal. The compact, Corellian subject offers little real scope for extended treatment; there is no counter-exposition or full set of middle entries, and much of the interest is generated by two related 18-bar episodes. The melodic construction of the subjects varies from the energetic, idiomatic cast of the double fugue mentioned above, to the deliberately archaic, *alla breve* variety seen only in Sonata (W)7:005, where it appears complete with falling fifth, rising fourth, implied suspension and codetta.

The melodic character and texture of the sonatas' other movements is similarly mixed. Although an initial exchange of material between violins is a feature of the opening movements of the first four sonatas, the older pervasive dialogue technique seen in Sonatas (W)7:001-2 is replaced in the later works by more homophonic textures, increasingly dominated, both thematically and technically, by the first violin. The opening and closing movements of Sonatas (W)7:003 and 7:005 particularly, fully embrace the style of 'modern' instrumental music which Hayes had so vehemently condemned in his *Remarks* of 1753. Indeed, the Andante Larghetto which begins his third sonata (Example VI.2) could easily have been the very object of his own attack: '...the highest

Pretensions to Harmony, amount to little more than the Bass continuing *tum, tum, tum,* upon one Key for several Bars together, whilst two upper Parts (at most) are moving in Thirds or Sixths incessantly'.[6] The contemporary idiom is also apparent in the characteristic use of triplets, the multiplicity of short, contrasted phrases with feminine endings, and the carefully notated *decrescendo* towards the double bar. In the final movement of the same work Hayes opts for a more regular phrase structure, also seen in many of the other sonatas, in which the melodic periods are clearly organised into antecedent and consequent pairs with contrasted dynamics. Elsewhere, he makes use of fashionable syncopated rhythms, wide-ranging violin lines (g-e''' in 5/iii), sudden *piano/forte* contrasts, subtle 'mezzo' shadings and *crescendos*, as in the *Rondeau* of the fifth sonata (see Example V.1). As early as the B flat Sonata (W)7:002, Hayes began employing both the punctuating, half-close cadence (6/4--5/3), and the more emphatic IIb-Ic-V-I progression -- Cudworth's so-called 'cadence galante' -- complete with its stock melodic formulae in the upper parts.[7]

Hayes's grasp of the *galant* idiom in the non-fugal fast movements of virtually all but the first sonata is surprisingly thorough, especially in view of the fact that he seems to have practised it in very few of his other works. There is also less of the stylistic vacillation so apparent in Philip Hayes's *Six Concertos* of 1769; indeed, William's sense of overall formal design (particularly his concise, small-scale sonata forms), is often altogether broader and more assured than his son's. Where the sonatas of father and son differ most markedly, however, is in the former's frequent and deliberate mixing of movements in both 'ancient' and 'modern' styles within a single work. It

appears that the light-weight three-part texture of the trio sonata encouraged William to experiment with an up-to-date instrumental style, while still enabling him to practise what he termed 'solid Composition'[8] in the fugal movements of each work. Thus, he placed serious, carefully-crafted fugues alongside *galant*, miniature sonata-form movements and fashionable rondos and minuets without sensing any stylistic incongruity, even though the dichotomy between styles is probably more pronounced in the fifth sonata, for example, than in any other English trio sonata of the period. There is, however, some evidence to suggest that Hayes had a few second thoughts about the extent of his concessions to the 'modern' idiom. In the opening movement of Sonata (W)7:003 (Example VI.2) he later smoothed over the characteristically short, expressive phrases, each ending with a rest, by lengthening the anacruses in such a way as to produce a more continuous melodic line. At some stage too he also became dissatisfied with the slow movement, perhaps the most progressive of the set, at first adding a rather antiquated half-close in the dominant, then abandoning the movement altogether and replacing it with a Corellian triple-time Largo.[9]

Five years after the publication of his *Six Concertos*, Philip issued a second opus, this time a set of *Six Sonatas For the Harpsichord or Pianoforte with an Accompaniment for a Violin*. The accompanied sonata was first introduced into England in 1750, when John Walsh issued Rameau's *Pieces de clavecin en concert*, followed the next year by Giardini's pioneering Op. 3 sonatas. Although British composers were quite slow to take up the new form, by the late 1770s it had already reached a degree of popularity comparable with the keyboard concerto, and soon eclipsed even the solo and trio sonata. In common

with other forms of chamber music, the accompanied sonata was particularly well suited to amateur music-making round the keyboard, and the addition of an accompanying instrument, supplementing the meagre sustaining power of the harpsichord and early fortepiano, was an added attraction which enabled the ensemble to successfully imitate the sonority and style of fashionable orchestral music. In practice, the importance of the accompanying part, usually a violin, varied from the fully integrated to the virtually superfluous. There were in fact two distinct genres which existed side by side: the true concertante sonata (of which Giardini's Op. 3 was the most enduring and influential example), and the keyboard sonata with genuinely optional accompaniments (exemplified in the works of Wagenseil and the later publications of J.C. Bach and C.F. Abel).

Philip's sonatas fall mainly into the latter category, following the fashion for optionally-accompanied sonatas which began to gain ground in England during the late 1760s. Nevertheless, the set still reveals something of the stylistic vacillation evident in many such publications of the time. As in the works of his close contemporary Joseph Wainwright, whose sonatas also appeared in 1774, Hayes included one complete concertante sonata in the collection (no. 3), although there are other instances of his use of the concertante principle elsewhere in the set. Judging from the contents of his well-stocked library, Hayes nurtured a keen interest in the genre, familiarising himself with the influential sonatas of Giardini, Wagenseil and Richter, and also Abel's Opp. 2 (c.1762) and 5 (1764) which demonstrate the increasing disparity between concertante and optional scoring so clearly reflected in Hayes's own sonatas.

There is little doubt that the growing popularity of the simpler optionally-accompanied sonata among both composers and publishers owed much to mundane commercial considerations. The versatility of such works, which were generally published in score, appealed particularly to the amateur performer who could enjoy the music equally as well on his own as in company. The generally undemanding nature of the music fitted them ideally for didactic purposes and put them within reach of even the most modestly gifted players. Indeed, one of Hayes's own harpsichord pupils in Oxford, the diarist James Woodforde, purchased his teacher's sonatas, in June 1774, after comparatively few lessons, and apparently found them an excellent incentive for his continued study of the instrument.[10] From the mid-1770s the number of optionally-accompanied sonata publications increased rapidly, and Welcker clearly considered Hayes's sonatas sufficiently marketable to issue them himself without the need for securing advance subscriptions, as had been necessary with the *Six Concertos*.

The sonatas differ from the earlier concertos by virtue of their more thorough assimilation of *galant* formal and stylistic procedures. The genre was itself closely connected with the *galant* style, absorbing elements from the Italian keyboard sonata, the keyboard concerto and the new German symphonic style. In three of the sonatas (nos. 3-5) Hayes utilises the fashionable two-movement format, and throughout the set binary forms predominate. But unlike the binary movements of his concertos, with the exception perhaps of (P)6:004/i, rather more of those in the sonatas display the rudimentary outlines of sonata form. In general though, the outward style of these works is much simpler. Formally, the movements are more concise and economical in their use of

material, and derive much of their strength from a well-balanced and purposeful melodic structure. The tonal framework too is straightforward, with fewer excursions to related keys than in the concertos, although texturally the sonatas sometimes appear quite innovative.

Hayes employs three standard forms: binary, rondo, and a single, but impressive, set of variations in Sonata 4. Without exception the opening movements all make use of binary form, which is also to be found in four of the finales and the slow movement of Sonata 6. Rondo structures are less frequent and serve as middle movements to the first two sonatas and finale of the last. Within each work, the length (and in some cases the musical weighting) of these movements is relatively even; only in the fifth sonata, however, is the last movement substantially shorter than the first.

From a formal point of view, it is Hayes's treatment of the binary movements which is of greatest interest. No two movements follow exactly the same pattern. The simplest structure, a straightforward A/BA design, is used for both the Minuet and Trio of the first sonata, where brevity and concision are particularly desirable. In every other movement though, there is a strong thematic relationship across the double bar, with an exact repeat of or partial reference to the opening musical figure. In the second halves of three movements (nos. 2/i & iii and 6/ii), all of which begin with short, monothematic first sections, there is a continued and sustained use of the opening material deployed in such a way as to suggest a small-scale rondo with variations. In Sonata 2, which also has a central slow movement in rondo form, the entire work appears to be governed by this principle. Most movements,

however, utilise a variety of rounded binary form in which there is a return of the opening strain in the tonic towards the end of the second half, although there may not always be a cadential correspondence between the ends of the two sections. It is those movements which incorporate both these features and also a melodically well-characterised dominant area in the first section, repeated in the tonic to round off the second, which most nearly approach the tonal and thematic outlines of sonata form. Hayes writes five such movements -- 1/i, 3/iii, 4/i, 5/iii and 6/i -- though no two are exactly alike. In the first sonata, there is not only a short bridge passage between the statement of the two clear-cut ideas, but also a simple developmental section involving the sudden and unexpected transposition of the first subject into the tonic minor and a motivic transformation of elements from the second. The sixth sonata is rather more flexible in style, opening with a profusion of linked motifs in both the tonic and dominant key areas. This occasions an ongoing developmental approach throughout the second section, in which each of the several ideas is treated to an imaginative and sensitive re-working. In the final movement of the third sonata, it is the dominant area alone which is particularly rich in thematic material. In this case, Hayes chooses to highlight one particularly important figure in the recapitulation (involving some flashy hand-crossing in the keyboard part), extending it by eight bars at the expense of two less promising ideas.

The movements in rondo form all follow basically the same pattern. In Sonatas 1/ii and 2/ii, the rondo theme is played twice at the outset, once by the keyboard alone, the second time accompanied by the violin. The episodes, of which there are two or three, offer a contrast of key

and generally modulate quite freely; in Sonatas 1/ii and 6/iii the return of the rondo refrain is by way of a brief linking cadenza. Such cadenzas are also a feature of the middle movement of the sixth sonata which, although ostensibly in binary form, exhibits the essential features of a rondo structure. Thematically, the episodes are similar in style to the main theme itself, often beginning in much the same way but continuing along somewhat different lines. The Rondeau Pastorale of Sonata 2 maintains the *siciliana* rhythms of its opening bars throughout, and each episode is of precisely the same length as the rondo theme, thus closely approaching the spirit and style of variation technique. There is a similar slow movement in the third of his *Six Concertos*. The Passecaille which concludes Sonata 4 is much the most conservative movement in the set, and but for the violin, would hardly have been out of place in one of Handel's keyboard suites. Like the introductory sections of the rondos, the passecaille theme is heard twice at the outset, the second time with the violin. There then follows a series of six variations upon the eight-bar bass pattern, and a seventh *minore* section, based on variation 1, leads finally to a repeat of the opening theme which rounds off the work.

Throughout the six sonatas, the violin is mainly confined to an accompanimental role. Even in Sonata 3, which comes closest to the concertante style, the violin is limited to a straightforward exchange of material at the opening of each movement, and thereafter a couple of insignificant solos or interjections. The Minuetto is the more imaginative of the two movements. In the first section, it is the violin alone which introduces the dominant area, with a lyrical four-bar phrase immediately taken up in an altered form by the keyboard. But ultimately

this comes to nothing, and instead Hayes explores a more extrovert idea in the keyboard part alone. After the double bar the concertante exchange of the opening theme involves a change of key: the violin announces it first in a foreshortened and ornamented version in the dominant, then the recapitulation begins (in the tonic) with the initial theme in the keyboard part, accompanied, as before, by the violin. In the first movement of Sonata 1 the violin again helps characterise the dominant area with a long unbroken melodic line -- a figurative secondary theme almost -- partnered by a triplet accompaniment in the keyboard, resulting in some colourful rhythmic interplay between quavers and triplets (see Example VI.3). The violin is also permitted a little licence in the opening movement of Sonata 5, following the keyboard in three points of imitation in the first section and four in the second. Although there are few other opportunities for the violin to make substantial contributions to the thematic substance of the movements, the accompanimental lines are by no means perfunctory. In Sonatas 4 and 6 Hayes employs delicate pizzicato figuration: the continuous off-beat patterns in Sonata 6/ii create a particularly novel texture, and in the Passecaille the steady arpeggiation perfectly complements the hectic demisemiquaver figures of the second variation. Elsewhere, as in the first movement of Sonata 1 (Example VI.3), simple unison writing, doubling the keyboard part, adds weight to the driving, concerto-like opening theme. While it is true that the violin usually follows the standardised procedures in parallel motion, dueting with the right hand of the keyboard at intervals of a third or sixth, it will sometimes break free for a few bars to add extra poise to the melodic line, as in the Minuetto of the same sonata (Example VI.4).

The keyboard part, although entirely idiomatic, is somewhat restrained in style and, as one might expect, is generally rather less challenging than that in the concertos; it is also, however, a good deal simpler than that found in many other sets of accompanied sonatas of the time, such as those by his friend Thomas Sanders Dupuis, or even those of Joseph Wainwright also published in 1774. Hayes's title-page clearly announces that the keyboard part is equally suited to either harpsichord or pianoforte, but the sprinkling of *piano*, *forte* and *crescendo* markings which occur in the keyboard part of every sonata suggest a preference for the latter instrument. As in the *Six Concertos*, some works seem better suited to one instrument than the other. Sonata 4, for instance, with its Scarlattian Allegretto and baroque Passecaille variations, would undoubtedly work well on the harpsichord, whereas the first sonata, with its lyrical Affettuoso slow movement, or the Rondeau of the final sonata, with its carefully notated *crescendos*, would both certainly benefit from performance on the touch-sensitive pianoforte.

The keyboard writing in the sonatas differs most markedly from that in the concertos by virtue of its almost complete rejection of sequential passage work, and the widespread adoption of repeated left-hand accompanimental figures of the Alberti bass type. But Hayes again employs some challenging hand-crossings in the final movements of Sonatas 3 and 5 (both right hand over left, and vice versa), and a few other well-digested remnants of Scarlatti such as the use of short repeated-note phrases (graced with acciaccaturas) and the brief exchange of material between hands in the first movement of Sonata 4. The freedom with which the left hand frequently rises into the treble clef or the right hand descends into the bass (well demonstrated in Sonata 6/i) is

also strongly redolent of the flamboyant Italian keyboard style, and is found throughout the set. On the rare occasions where the violin takes the initiative, the keyboard accompanies with a simple realisation of the detailed bass figuring. If the sonata is to be performed as a keyboard solo, the violin line can happily be taken over by the player's right hand. Much the most impressive movement in the set, if not perhaps the most up-to-date, is the Passecaille from the fourth sonata. It whips through the familiar range of stock figuration with alacrity. Both right and left hands participate alternately in the increasingly complex patterning, eventually combining in the final variation with some particularly dexterous demisemiquaver arpeggiation.

The principles of melodic construction are generally up-to-date. Two- and four-bar phrase patterns abound, frequently treated as an antecedent and consequent pair. To create longer phrases Hayes will often link two four-bar phrases by repeating the first two bars more or less exactly, as in Example VI.5 from Sonata 2. Other methods of melodic continuation, also to be found in the concertos, include the transposition of a repeated phrase down an octave, as in Sonata 6/i (bars 9-11 & 12-14), or the simple repetition of an entire phrase, *piano*, as at the opening of Sonata 1. Sometimes it is enough to place three complementary four-bar phrases end-to-end, as in the first section of the Minuetto from the same work. In Sonata 6 the thematic substance of the whole first movement is generated from a series of short, linked motifs, almost like the opening ritornello of a concerto, yet retaining something of the underlying continuity of a Scarlatti sonata (Example VI.6). The opening movements of the third and fifth sonatas exhibit a more long-breathed and continuously evolving melodic style. The

curvilinear lines are also rhythmically flexible and rather less prone to the regular phrase patterns and frequent cadencing characteristic of many of the other movements. Overall, the melodic lines of these sonatas are markedly *galant* in style, and their sustained use of triplet figures, syncopation, appoggiaturas and triadic themes owes much to the style of fashionable orchestral and keyboard music of the time.

The cadential structure, texture and many technical features of the sonatas are also strongly indebted to the contemporary instrumental idiom. The use of the standard IIb-Ic-V-I formula, the cadential 6/4 over a static or falling octave bass, and also of the single and double appoggiatura-laden cadence are particularly widespread. Indeed, in the otherwise rather old-fashioned Passecaille, the use of such cadences gives the work a distinctly *galant* flavour. Hayes also absorbed the technique of generating an effective long-range cadential approach and climax. In Sonata 6/i, for example, a short, terminal figure (outlining the harmonic formula I-Ib-IIc-V) is repeated three times as a gradual *crescendo* before it is finally allowed to resolve onto the tonic in the last bar of both the first and second sections. Similarly inspired 'delaying tactics' are also utilised, as in Sonata 1/i, where he sets up a reiterated V-I figure well before the end of the section and then interrupts it with an unexpected harmonic excursion to the dominant of the dominant before finally allowing the expected descent to the tonic. The texture of these sonatas is predominantly homophonic, and the harmony entirely straightforward. In a number of movements, most notably in the third and fifth sonatas, the left hand incorporates the popular *trommelbass*, over which the right hand and violin duet in the almost obligatory chains of parallel thirds and sixths (see Example VI.7). The

frequent and sensitive deployment of dynamics, *crescendos*, and sudden *forte/piano* contrasts, is also redolent of contemporary orchestral music, as in the first movement of Sonata 3 (Example VI.7).

Many of the features mentioned above are also found in Hayes's only surviving solo sonata, published at the end of his *Six Concertos* (1769). Its inclusion in this volume was apparently intended to compensate subscribers for the delay in publication, and in his prefatory 'Advertisement' Hayes expressed the hope that the 'Sonata for the Harpsichord' added 'over and above what was specified in the Articles of Subscription ... would not be less acceptable when printed, than it was before, to those who honoured it with their Approbation'. Like the sonatas of composers such as Paradies, Galuppi and J.C. Bach, the work is cast in two movements, opening with a bustling Allegro (exhibiting the same small-scale sonata form outline as the accompanied sonatas) and ending with an elegant da capo Minuet featuring a little hand-crossing and a widely leaping left-hand part. The sonata is short and simple in style, both movements employing binary form, a regular phrase structure and a rigid adherence to an Alberti bass pattern in the first movement. However, compared with J.C. Bach's Op. 5 sonatas, published three years earlier and owned by Hayes, this is indeed a rudimentary work, with an opening movement about half the average length of Bach's, offering scope for only the briefest of melodic ideas which are presented in rapid succession, and with little or no time for genuine thematic contrast or development. We have little cause then to regret the loss of Philip's other keyboard works, a handful of organ voluntaries written for his pupil John Clarke-Whitfeld, once owned by the Hayeses' descendant A.M. Broadley, but subsequently mislaid.''

CHAPTER VII
LARGE-SCALE VOCAL WORKS

ORATORIOS

The impact on English musical life of Handel's two greatest innovations, the oratorio and its parasitic form, the organ concerto, could not have been more different. English composers, many of whom were themselves organists, were quick to master the straightforward technical demands of the ritornello organ concerto, but there were none with a comparable background in the theatre, or with the necessary flair to realise the full potential of the new dramatic oratorio in their own works, and, not surprisingly, only a handful actually tried. During Handel's lifetime there were in fact no more than ten similar works produced in London by English composers, less than half his total output in this field.[1] Even after Handel's death, performances of his oratorios continued to outnumber a gradually increasing number of home-produced works.[2] But by this time it was almost too late, since public demand for such works was on the wane. As the century progressed, performances of complete oratorios (with the exception of *Messiah* at least) began to give way instead to concerts of oratorio highlights. In 1784 John Stanley, who with J.C. Smith and later Thomas Linley had valiantly taken over the running of the Lenten oratorio season at Covent Garden after Handel's death, doubtless spoke for many English composers when he politely declined to set two oratorio texts offered to him by Charles Burney on the grounds that 'there is little reason to suppose that any other than Mr Handels musick would succeed, as people in general are so partial to that, that no other Oratorios are ever well attended'.[3] And Burney himself was forced to concur, deploring the fact that public interest in

the oratorio had declined to the extent that 'nothing but royal patronage or uncommon excellence in the performance can ensure a full house to any of Handel's best oratorios'.[4]

Unlike Handel, English composers such as Greene, Boyce, Stanley and William and Philip Hayes, did not see oratorio in terms of opera *manqué*.[5] Conversely, it was primarily through their experience of writing multi-movement odes, cantatas, verse anthems, and occasional, small-scale works for the theatre, that they approached the genre, thereby bringing to it a slower-paced, less theatrical, and ultimately more contemplative style which remained characteristic of the non-Handelian oratorio throughout the eighteenth century, even in works such as Greene's *Jephtha* (1737), the first oratorio by an English composer based on a truly dramatic libretto. The lingering spirit of puritanism, so deeply rooted in middle-class English society, may also have had its part to play. It was not really until the marked success of *Samson* in 1743 that the notably fickle British public were finally won over to Handel's dramatic conception of the oratorio, and even then they were by no means consistent in their support, as the commercial failure of Handel's more operatic oratorios (*Hercules* and *Belshazzar*) and the greater popularity of less overtly dramatic works like *Judas Maccabaeus* and, in time, *Messiah*, tend to suggest. To what extent and for how long integrity of plot and dramatic incident, and realistic characterisation remained of interest to oratorio audiences is a moot point. Certainly performing traditions in Oxford during the lifetimes of William and Philip Hayes reflect a steady narrowing of taste in favour of the less theatrical of Handel's oratorios and works such as *Alexander's Feast* and *L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato*, and the charming, though highly

artificial, *Acis and Galatea*. Beginning at least as early as the mid-1750s,[6] this trend coincided with a declining interest in the complete performance of oratorios, now often given in self-contained but dramatically tautological parts, so that by the 1780s just about the only oratorios to be fully performed in Oxford were *Messiah* and *Judas Maccabaeus*. It is true that *Samson*, *Athalia*, *Esther* and *Joshua* were intermittently rendered complete until the 1770s, and that exceptionally works such as *Belshazzar* and *Jephtha* were given full hearings in 1763 and 1774 respectively, though this may to some extent have been due to the personal enthusiasm of William Hayes, who appears to have directed most of the Oxford oratorio performances. However, it seems significant, in view of the style of Hayes's only completed work in this medium, that nowhere in his *Remarks* or elsewhere does he commend Handel's oratorios for their dramatic qualities; rather, it is Handel's vivid pictorial writing which excites him to his most enthusiastic plaudits, singling out in particular *Israel in Egypt* (1739) in which he considered the composer had:

> ... exerted every Power human Nature is capable of. In this truly sublime Composition, he has discovered an inexhaustible Fund of Invention, the greatest Depth of Learning, and the most comprehensive Talent in expressing even inarticulate Nature, as well as things which are obvious to our Sense of Hearing only, by articulate Sounds; not to mention such an Assemblage of Vocal and Instrumental Parts, blended with such Purity and Propriety; which alone would render this Work infinitely superior to any Thing the whole musical World hath hitherto produced.[7]

In his pioneering study of Handel's dramatic oratorios and masques, Winton Dean observed that 'Greene's *Deborah*, words and music together, is a better work than Handel's', but 'Unhappily it is an irreconcilable hybrid, which Handel's oratorios are not; the focus is

always shifting between drama, narrative and anthem'.[8] One cannot of course consider the non-Handelian English oratorio without reference to Handel's epoch-making works, but it would be misleading to suggest that they ever established inviolable tenets of oratorio construction and that works which do not exactly match Handelian precepts are, *ipso facto*, generically deficient. On the contrary, it is clear that English composers were keen to explore the varied possibilities of the genre in their own ways, and were often, it seems, rather more successful when following their own instincts than when slavishly imitating Handelian models. Boyce's masterpiece, *Solomon* (1742), is a case in point. Belonging to that indigenous category of oratorio-like works which Dean has loosely summarised as 'entertainment[s] of vocal and instrumental music, however heterogeneous in content or construction, performed in the theatre without action',[9] it appears to have been the most popular large-scale English vocal work of the eighteenth century to have been written by an English composer.[10]

Since Dean noted in 1959 that 'we know too little of the early English collaterals of Handelian oratorio'[11] several articles and a couple of comparatively brief chapters in *The New Oxford History of Music* VI and the third volume of Smither's *A History of the Oratorio*, have gone some way towards making good the deficiency.[12] But much still remains to be done. Eighteenth-century English oratorios are not so numerous that any can afford to be overlooked if we are to arrive at a full understanding of indigenous achievements in such an important field. None of the four oratorios written by William and Philip Hayes have yet been discussed in the scholarly literature.

The Fall of Jericho (W)5:009 is the earlier of William Hayes's

two oratorios. We know little about its history except that, judging by Hayes's handwriting, it was probably written sometime during the 1740s, inspired, perhaps, by Handel's *Joshua*, premiered at Covent Garden in March 1748.[13] That Hayes's work too received a performance seems likely, since parts were evidently copied, though only a single flute part has survived. The circumstances of its first performance, however, remain obscure, although the work's opulent scoring suggests that it may have been intended for a ceremonial occasion of some importance. It could have been written for one of the concerts which usually accompanied Oxford's summer Act week celebrations, in particular the annual Commemoration of the Founders and Benefactors of the University, usually held in the Sheldonian Theatre in early July, and for which Hayes produced sumptuous odes in 1750 and 1751. The opening of the Holywell Music Room during the Act week of 1748 would have provided a suitable occasion for just such a work, though the plot, centred on the graphic destruction of the city of Jericho, would surely have been laughably inappropriate on this particular occasion. It is more likely that *The Fall of Jericho* was written as Hayes's D.Mus. exercise, a degree to which he proceeded in April 1749 during the elaborate celebrations marking the opening of the Radcliffe Camera. The work's impressive eight-part choruses (which Hayes employs in no other work) and eloquent display of contrapuntal skill, would perfectly fulfil the (nominal) requirement of a 'Cantilenam sex vel octo Partium, una cum Vocum et Instrumentorum musicorum harmonia' laid down in the Laudian Statutes of 1636.[14]

Although not actually called such on the score, *The Fall of Jericho* is a one act, non-dramatic oratorio, close in style to Hayes's

odes, but with a stronger narrative thread. The three soloists (STB) are not identified with particular characters, but like the chorus take on both narrative and contemplative roles. The anonymous libretto is based on Chapter VI of the Book of Joshua, and deals in a generalised way with the well-known story of Joshua's miraculous capture of the city of Jericho. It opens with rather amorphous references to Joshua's greatness, Jericho's entrenched pride and its powerlessness in the face of Jehovah's wrath. At the work's very heart is a graphic account of Jericho's fall, but a reference to the 'fated music of each feeble horn' is used to sanction a lengthy digression on the power of music. A more personal note is sounded in an individual plea for mercy ('Shield me, some angel'), possibly from the harlot Rahab, who, according to the biblical account, was spared for her part in hiding Joshua's messengers within the city. The work closes, a little abruptly perhaps, with a rather forced clinching moral:

> So with tenfold pomp of terror rob'd,
> God shall unhinge the tuneful joints of all
> The crumbling mass of earth unglob'd,
> Crush'd by th'Almighty's voice like Jericho shall fall.

As this brief extract is sufficient to suggest, the literary merits of the libretto are meagre, but its colourful, if at times overblown, language provided Hayes with the concrete imagery which helped fire his imagination. Although short by Handelian standards, the text's balance between general narration, observation and contemplation, enhanced by Hayes's thoughtful allocation of formal ingredients, allows a strong sense of implicit drama to emerge and coexist happily with the more ritualistic elements of outward display typical of his ceremonial odes.

The work begins with an expansive, modified French overture in D minor -- perhaps Hayes's finest. Its opening saccadic Andante is rather more substantial than the usual Handelian flourish: the texture is enriched by an independent third violin part and the movement employs a rounded binary design. Instead of the expected fugue there follows a remarkable triple-time Largo in F major featuring a solo oboe and cast in loose ritornello form. It would hardly have been out of place in an oboe concerto, and here as in the slow movement of the roughly contemporary G major harpsichord concerto (W)6:009, Hayes writes out the soloist's ornamentation in full. Unusually, the main thematic material of the movement is first presented in the bass, remaining there, ostinato-like, throughout the rest of the movement (see Example VII.1). The final two movements of the overture, a driving, closely-argued fugue and a *galant* minuet, clearly pleased the composer for he later reused them in his concerto grosso (W)6:005, the former undergoing a little tightening-up on the way. The minuet (headed 'L'Aria'), a movement often used by Handel to round off his overtures, is a fine example of Hayes's lightweight lyrical vein, and there is an individual touch of colour after the double bar when the bassoons (marked 'sotto') are briefly liberated from their continuo role to double the violins in their tenor register (see Example VII.2), a procedure reminiscent of the March from the G major harpsichord concerto and also favoured by Boyce (as in the middle movement of the overture to *The Chaplet*, 1749, later published as Symphony no. 3).

The eighteen stanzas of the text are almost equally divided between recitative (5), airs (4) and choruses (5), with a further four verses shared. Of the recitatives, three are accompanied. The first,

stiffly formal with a rather self-conscious melisma at the word 'tremble', seems, on reflection, to have dissatisfied Hayes, who later noted on the score: 'The whole of this to be alter'd'. The image-laden texts of the other accompanied recitatives offered greater opportunities, and Hayes's responses are inventively colourful, if conventionally formulaic. 'Now on the seventh Day's morn' (viii), in which the 'fated music of each feeble horn' heralds the destruction of the city, is punctuated by brilliant fånfares of trumpets, drums and oboes, while the strings, in streaking scales, vividly portray the flashes of lightening and the eventual toppling of the wall. In the final accompanied recitative, 'Tis thus th'Almighty speaks', though textually a trifle prolix, Hayes enlivens the conventional images, running the whole gamut of expressive figures typical of the *accompagnato*: rising, dotted, triadic figures, scurrying and trembling demisemiquaver phrases, hushed sostenuto passages, extremes of dynamic (*pp* to *f*), punctuating or accompanimental textures or the sudden withholding of the accompaniment; and in the vocal line, declamatory or arioso writing with sudden chromatic inflexions.

The four airs are well contrasted. The tenor and bass soloists are allocated one solo each and the soprano two. As in the other three oratorios, and reflecting English taste, da capos are employed with restraint; only no. v is a full da capo aria, with no. ix employing a dal segno (see Table VII.1). The text of 'Blest flock whose shepherd' evokes a classic pastoral response, with lilting siciliana rhythms, the 'open-air' key of F major, and a lightweight *galant* style (triplets, prominent appoggiaturas, three-part textures, a slow harmonic rhythm and pedal basses with chains of thirds and sixths duetting above).

TABLE VII.1 ORATORIOS AND MASQUES: STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS

WORK	D.C.	D.S.	NO D.C.	ACC/R	DUET	TRIO	S&CHO	CHO	INS	TOT
ORATORIOS										
The Fall of Jericho W.H. (c.1740)	1	1	2	3	-	-	*	5	1	13
David W. & P.H. (c.1776-81)	1	-	21	9	1	-	1	10	2	45
Prophecy P.H. (1778-9)	1	-	15	10	2	1	1	14	3	47
The Judgement of Hermes P.H. (1783)	3	-	9	4	2	-	2	3	2	25
MASQUES										
Circe W.H. (1742)	-	-	5	-	-	-	2	0	1	8
Peleus and Thetis P.H. (c.1749)	2	2	4	3	2	2	-	2	2	19
Telemachus P.H. (1763-66)	7	-	8	4	4	-	-	5	2	30

KEY:

D.C. = da capo arias
D.S. = dal segno arias
NO D.C. = without da capo
ACC/R = accompanied recitatives and ariosi
S&CHO = linked solo/aria and chorus movements
CHO = choruses
INS = instrumental movements (overtures counted as 1)
TOT = total number of movements (excluding *secco* recitatives).
* = the da capo aria has a choral 'B' section

The bass air 'Will she in gates of brass rejoice' (v) is essentially an operatic 'rage' aria, complete with impatient vocal entry preceding the opening ritornello, insistent unison string writing, argumentative contrapuntal dialogue between the outer parts, obbligato trumpets, racing semiquaver runs, contrasting *furioso* 'B' section, da capo and all. Unexpected, however, is the brief five-bar chorus which Hayes inserts between the end of the 'B' section and the da capo, and again after the da capo, thus running on the air with the following chorus which sets the same words as the air itself. The intermediate chorus powerfully reiterates the text of the recitative which preceded the aria ('Whom then does Jericho deride, fond of her ramparts and entrench'd in pride'). The use of trumpets in a G major aria is also an unusual touch, although they are in fact confined to the notes of the D major triad.

The most extended air, 'Hail music, sister of the soul' (for soprano and strings), which interrupts the account of Jericho's fall, is concerned with the power of music to 'Charm stones into a wall' and yet by the same power also make them fall. Hayes's setting is a triumph of musical persuasiveness over dramatic misplacing. The three stanzas of the text are set not as a single air, but as two self-contained airs butted end-to-end. The first air begins in the strikingly remote key of C sharp minor, all the more unexpected since the prevailing tonality of the work and of the preceding chorus is D major. The first air reaches no real conclusion, but dissolves into declamatory recitative and comes to rest on the dominant, leading directly into the following air in the relative, E major. Taking its cue from the final line of the second verse ('Dances a glad seraphic round') the mood immediately

lightens, and triple-time, short-breathed phrases, and a delicate pizzicato accompaniment prevail. This second air employs a dal segno, with a brief 'B' section which underlines the final, clinching couplet ('the same art that builds, can make the structure fall') with a sudden change to stark *secco* recitative. It is a sudden contrast of style and sonority between numbers which throws the final air into pathetic relief. In the wake of as cataclysmic a chorus as Hayes was ever to write, the insubstantial tones of a soprano and obbligato flute emerge to plead for mercy from the 'kindling wrath' of God's fury. The form is free, and the affect well sustained, with tremolando effects, a rising chromatic bass and strong dynamic contrasts distinguishing phrases such as 'stunn'd limbs' and 'celestial warmth'.

Some of Hayes's most opulent and imaginative choral writing can be found in the three main choruses of the oratorio. The two eight-part choruses (nos. xi and xv), with their urgent antiphony and vivid pictorial writing are strongly reminiscent of the double choruses in *Israel in Egypt*, which Hayes so much admired. 'Will she in gates of brass rejoice' (vii), takes the words, though not the music, of the preceding bass air (v), re-setting them contrapuntally, and later homophonically, with the addition of trumpets and drums. Thus, through the repetition of text and music (the chorus in no. v is virtually identical with that of vi), numbers iv (recit), v (air and chorus), vi (chorus) and vii (chorus) together form a closely related sequence. Such linking-up of movements to form a more continuous structure is a notable feature both of the English ode, from at least the time of Purcell, and also of *Israel in Egypt* and Handel's other middle period oratorios.

At the very epicentre of *The Fall of Jericho* is the apocalyptic chorus portraying the destruction of the city ('Lo! a blue tempest'). It is introduced by a hushed chorus, accompanied by organ continuo alone and built over a steadily descending bass, slowly intoning the portentous words 'Ah! dreadful, glorious voice'. For the main chorus itself Hayes employs an eight-part choir supported by unison violins, violas and cellos, and pairs of oboes and bassoons. Its overall bipartite form (AA') is familiar enough, but not so its construction. The chorus is based almost entirely on a furious two-bar ostinato (representing the whirlwind which descends upon the city) played by unison strings throughout (Example VII.3), against which the choir at first declaim antiphonally, then in more heterogeneous groupings -- ss/atb/sst -- and finally join together in grand eight-part homophony. The eventual ebbing away of the tempest towards the end of the chorus is deftly conveyed by the interruption and modification of this ostinato, and a simplification of the choral texture (finally heard without orchestral support), dynamically underscored by a precisely notated *decrescendo*. As in so many of Handel's choruses, the most impressive effects are often achieved with the simplest of technical means. So too in the final moralistic chorus, which derives much of its power from uniting for the first time in the work the full complement of instrumental and vocal forces: double choir, five-part strings, pairs of oboes, bassoons, trumpets and timpani. After a brief Maestoso introduction in slow 3/2, ending with a half-close on the dominant, there follows a brisker section (marked, in a characteristically Handelian manner, 'A tempo ordinario'), in which frequent antiphonal exchanges regularly culminate in massive eight-part tuttis. But just as

the massive walls of Jericho appeared unassailable, so too this rock-solid texture is vulnerable, and twice (at the mid-point and finally towards the end of the chorus) at the words 'the crumbling mass of earth unglob'd' the voices break apart, sending the word 'unglob'd' tumbling downwards through the eight vocal parts before culminating in a united choral shout of 'crush'd', followed by an echoing grand pause (see Example VII.4).

Altogether different is *David*, William Hayes's second and final oratorio. After a lifetime's experience directing Handel's oratorios, it was not until he reached his mid-60s that Hayes finally felt equal to the task of writing his own full-length, three-act dramatic oratorio. It was a project which he did not live to complete. The overture and conclusion of Act I, virtually the whole of Act II, and Act III in its entirety were completed by his son Philip in various stages between 22 March 1778 and 12 September 1781. According to a note on the score the last Act apparently took ten days to write: begun on 30 August 1781 and completed on 12 September, with 'Two days of the twelve unemploy'd'. It is uncertain, however, exactly when William's work on *David* began. The handwriting points towards a date during the early 1770s, and it is just possible that *David* owed its origins to a period of convalescence following the stroke which afflicted him some time late in 1774. Evidently Hayes's ability to write remained unimpaired, since his fine E minor Sonata appears to date from the following February (1775), and in October he was still able to write to John Alcock in Lichfield, albeit confessing that 'Old Age is come upon me rather sooner than I had expected it'.[15] Since the sections of *David* in William's hand are firm and confident and appear to have been written fluently and at speed (the

notably high proportion of mistakes and second thoughts are entirely consistent with the usual appearance of his first drafts),[16] we may assume that they were written well before May 1777, when his strength had faded so much so that he could barely even sign his own name.[17] His sketches for the opening of Act II, which break off suddenly after a few bars of the first aria, although untidy, show no such weakness. It seems safe therefore to assume that William's contributions to the work date from somewhere between the early 1770s and the first few months of 1777.

It is not known for what purpose William originally intended the oratorio, but, according to a note at the end of Act I, Philip eventually performed it on 28 November 1781 as a 'music lecture'. No separate record of the performance of the last two acts can be traced, although parts were certainly copied, and appear, on internal evidence, to have been made sometime soon after those for the first, with which they were bound. While Act I is sufficiently self-contained to allow separate performance, the latter two are not. It seems unlikely then that the concluding acts were performed on their own, but more probably as part of a complete performance of the work probably mounted not long after that of Act I, the complete score having been finished some six weeks before this on 12 September. Philip's oratorio *Prophecy* was performed in the same way: the first act independently, followed several years later by a performance of the complete work in aid of the Music School. The available evidence suggests that the Hayeses' four oratorios were written to fit in with the University and not the Church calendar; there is nothing to suggest that any of the oratorios were specifically intended for or performed during the Lenten season, as was generally Handel's practice.

The anonymous libretto of *David* is based on *II Samuel* chapters 11-12. Act I is concerned with David's love for Bathsheba and her eventual, reluctant acquiescence. Act II deals with the sordid manner in which David secures her hand in marriage, arranging for the death of her husband, the brave soldier Uriah, in the campaign to take Rabbah. Act III is suitably moralistic. Nathan brings David's guilt home to him and he makes penitent confession and pleads forgiveness. Nathan prophesies that God will have mercy on him, and that to Bathsheba will be born a king, Solomon, who will raise a temple to the Lord. A jubilant paean glorifying both David and God rounds off the work in the required way. The story was well chosen, and the libretto follows the straightforward biblical narrative closely in all but comparatively small details, and herein lies its greatest strength; the clear-cut situations and strongly defined characters and emotions well suited the requirements of the dramatic oratorio. If the literary merits of *David* are not of a high order, the text is at least tautly constructed, with few of the superfluous airs assigned to no character in particular which unnecessarily prolong works of greater literary distinction such as Handel's *Samson*. The story of David and Bathsheba was not one which had attracted Handel, though in 1734 a setting by Nicola Porpora of an Italian text by Rolli was given at Lincoln's Inn Fields.

David, one of the most lifelike of Old Testament figures, emerges from a mediocre libretto and unpremeditated musical collaboration as a surprisingly well-rounded character. His nine airs are equally distributed among the three acts, and are musically well contrasted. In Act I he is a man hopelessly in love, and his three airs are each short, lightly scored, triple-time pieces. The first, 'Bid then the lovely dame

prepare', utilises the intimate accompaniment of the continuo, here joined by a sensuous obbligato cello, to convey his innermost feelings -- a favourite Handelian gambit in his operas, but rare enough in the oratorios. With a charmingly seductive minuet air, 'Pleasure is the fair-one's duty', accompanied by three-part strings, David persuades Bathsheba to surrender herself to him. After two brief intervening recitatives, he at last sings a full-blown love air (marked 'Amoroso'), 'Less soft the air, the sun less bright', in a serene E major and finally accompanied by full four-part strings. In Act II the harder side of David's character asserts itself. The second air marks the major turning point of the drama. Having received word from his General, Joab, that, in fulfilment of his secret order, Uriah has been slain in battle, he sings a ruthlessly ironic air 'For not in battle's stern debate, valour alone preserves the brave'. It is his longest and psychologically most penetrating air, and the only one in a minor key. Marked 'Pomposo', its four-square melodic writing and fanfare-like head-motif well convey his empty personal victory, but a contrasting second section hints at some deeper ambivalence in his emotions. The time changes to 3/4, the key alters to the tonic major, and a restless tripartite structure (ABA') is adopted. The text 'In vain the radiant shield we wear, where chance directs the missive spear' seems to awaken a glimmer of some deeply buried moral sense, and, as if mulling it over, it is repeated complete three times, first in the major, then in the minor (a new section marked 'Minore') and finally again in the major (marked 'Majore'). David's final air of the Act, 'The pangs of sorrow then remove', is a rather ham-fisted and ultimately ineffectual attempt to coax Bathsheba to marry him now that her husband is dead. The E major of

his earlier love air returns, but not its suavity. The almost naive, childlike impatience with which this most delicate of proposals is delivered is well captured in a very brief binary air (complete with central double bar and repeats) of ballad-like simplicity. In Act III David is humbled, and finally through his contrition rises triumphant again. After his sins are exposed by Nathan, David's shame prevents him from singing a full-blown air; instead he is given an extended closed-form arioso in A minor. His former flamboyance gives way to a humble, straightforward vocal line doubled virtually throughout, for extra gravity, by solo bassoon. In his penultimate air, 'My strength is wither'd as the grass', he is a pathetic figure indeed. Drooping phrases, plunging octaves and a generally low-lying vocal line, are set off by a sympathetic accompaniment of strings, horns and, held in reserve for this moment, a solo clarinet. Finally, after forgiveness has been granted him, an air of thanksgiving, not in the expected triple-time with lavish orchestration and extrovert vocal style, but altogether more self-effacing, full of happy syncopations and with the occasional extended melisma, but far short of his former brash self-confidence; he is now a wiser man.

Bathsheba is less important as a character in her own right than as a foil for David's all-consuming love and the mortal sin to which this drives him. She has only a single air in the first Act and does not appear at all in Act III. Her four airs do not present a well-rounded character, but depict her as an unhappy woman, a helpless victim of circumstance, poignant and utterly believable in her moral dilemma and personal tragedy, and in stark contrast to her pursuer her music is neither sensual nor ever even happy. Significantly, her sudden and

rather unlikely changes of mind -- assenting to David's carnal desires and ultimately to his offer of marriage -- are not elevated to the status of airs. In contrast to David's assertive, predominantly major-key airs, hers are essentially defensive in tone and all but the last are in the minor. In the first of these, 'Will David, righteous king, persuade' (I/vii), she rebuffs David's amorous overtures in music of a pointedly conservative nature (a strong contrapuntal relationship between the outer parts and Corellian suspension sequences over walking basses: see Example VII.5). There follows a rare and highly charged duet of conflict (the only time in the work when both David and Bathsheba actually sing together) in which Bathsheba obstinately repeats the phrase 'Uriah calls, I haste to prove, the sweets of chastity with love', to which David replies 'Lo David calls Bathsheba prove the sweets of liberty with love'. The catch-like interlocking of these phrases well conveys the banter of their argument:

Bathsheba: I haste to prove
David: Bathsheba prove
Bathsheba: I haste to prove the sweets of chastity
David: The sweets of liberty

They part unreconciled. Rather tamely, after her earlier strength of resolve, Bathsheba's chastity is finally bought by a simple minuet aria (David's 'Pleasure is the fair one's duty') and she rashly gives way, not in an air, but in a perfunctory *secco* recitative which also serves to illustrate the banalities to which the text can on occasion descend:

> O David, royal Lord,
> How shall my lips thy praise record,
> So fierce in battle and in speech so mild,
> By wonders and by love opprest,
> To thee I give my willing breast.

Bathsheba's three remaining airs are all contained in the eventful second act, the most dramatic of the three. 'How wretched is the wife, whose partner in the martial strife sings honour's empty prize', placed just before Uriah's jingoistic trumpet air, captures her prophetic anxiety for Uriah's safety by employing a remote F minor and a joyless 6/8 eschewing the usual dotted rhythms. Two airs, one straight after the other, greet the news of Uriah's death. The first, 'O whither shall I go', straightforwardly expresses Bathsheba's shock and confusion without emotional extravagance or descending to melodrama. The second air 'Thus mourns the nightingale' (a later addition to the score), maintains the mood of simple, sincere grief, and is sung not by Bathsheba herself, who quietly nurses her grief, but by an unnamed observer (a boy treble), who in an intimate continuo air with obbligato oboe, compares her singing to that of the mournful nightingale. In her final air, 'Yet, ah remembrance to my sight', really a nostalgic love song, Bathsheba immediately rejects David's precipitate offer of marriage without waiting for an intervening recitative or opening ritornello. The Act ends weakly. After hearing another air, sung not by David himself but by another unnamed character, a musician (also sung by a boy treble), Bathsheba immediately succumbs in a prosaic four-bar *secco* recitative. She has no final celebratory air or love duet.

The other characters are strictly one-dimensional. Uriah, Joab and the Musician, all of whom appear only in Act II, each has a single elaborate set-piece aria employing virtually the same martial scoring of trumpet, oboes and strings. Distinct from the major protagonists, it is only the minor characters who, albeit fleetingly, enjoy an accompaniment thus enriched by brass and wind. Nathan, who appears only in the third

act, has two airs both employing horns, oboes and strings. Most remarkable is his extended (69-bar) arioso which opens Act III. An orchestral prelude (richly scored for clarinets, horns and strings) ushers in a mood of expectation, and Nathan, by lengthy parable, brings David's guilt home to him. The powerful impact of this opening scene derives from its simple dramatic pacing: the suspense generated by David's non-comprehension that he himself is the tyrant parodied in the parable; it is only after he interrupts Nathan with a 'concitato' outburst of righteous indignation -- 'The wretch shall fall a victim to my ire, Nathan declare his name' -- that the clinching blow is delivered: 'Tis righteous David'. David recoils in shock. There follows a linked sequence of air, duet (with Nathan) and chorus which, with mounting force, continues the language of the parable and its reproving tone. After this David is able to respond only with a humble arioso.

The chorus too is deployed dramatically. Sometimes it represents David's loyal followers, his officers and soldiers (as specified at the head of no. xxxiii), who variously glorify holy war, encourage Bathsheba to accept his love and offer comfort when Uriah is killed, reprove David for his sins, but intercede on his behalf in a plea for divine mercy. At other times the chorus seems to speak for the whole Israelite nation, as in the ceremonial opening and closing choruses of the work, which are naturally the most expansive. The first (ii), an apotheosis of David (stylistically, perhaps, an apotheosis of Handel), is cast in three sections, beginning in an essentially homophonic style enlivened occasionally by imitative textures, next a fugal section marked 'Alla breve' culminating in a powerful homophonic climax, and finally a change to triple time, an arresting dotted string

accompaniment and an unmistakably Handelian 'cantus firmus' texture in which an elemental theme in long notes is intoned against shorter, declamatory figures in the other voices (see Example VII.6).

Unlike *The Fall of Jericho*, *David*, with its twenty-two airs, eleven choruses and nine accompanied recitatives, is a work of truly Handelian dimensions (see Table VII.1). Of the airs, only one (xxv) makes use of da capo form, a much smaller proportion than is generally found in Handel's works, but typical of the non-Handelian English oratorio and common to all three of the Hayeses' Old Testament oratorios; Philip's more obviously secular and theatrical *Judgement of Hermes*, like Handel's *Semele* for instance, contains a higher proportion (one third) of da capo arias.

In addition to his substantial (two-act) contribution to *David*, Philip wrote two oratorios of his own, both markedly different in style and utterly unlike either *The Fall of Jericho* or *David*. His first, entitled *Prophecy* (1778-9), is a three-act, non-dramatic oratorio with a text compiled entirely from biblical quotations. *The Judgement of Hermes* (1783), by contrast, is a two-act, pseudo-mythological entertainment -- there is no generic designation -- complete with named characters, but without action. Philip began work on *Prophecy* in October 1778, finishing Part I on 21 November and performing it, as an end-note to the score records, three days later in the Music School as his 'Professorial lecture for the Term'. This was his first so-called professorial lecture since succeeding his father to the Heather Professorship the previous year, and the performance was apparently timed to coincide with St Cecilia's day which, falling on a Sunday that year, was presumably postponed until the 24th (a Tuesday), thus allowing time for last minute

copying of parts and probably a rehearsal on the Monday. Losing no time, Philip started the second part on 29 November, completing it on 11 December and the third part on 23 January 1779. The first complete performance was given on 28 June 1781 in the Sheldonian Theatre in aid of Hayes's scheme to refurbish the Music School, as John Gutch's edition of *The History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford* makes clear:

> To defray the expence of these improvements ... Dr. Hayes soon afterwards obtained leave from the new Vicechancellor, Dr. Samuel Dennis ... for three Choral Concerts in the Theatre at the next Commemoration. One of them (the sacred Oratorio of Prophecy) was composed by the Professor himself...[18]

Gutch's description of *Prophecy* as a 'sacred' oratorio is significant. The epithet was first applied to Handel's *Messiah* to distinguish it from his dramatic oratorios which generally derived their plot, if not their actual texts, from the Old Testament. In this sense *Prophecy* too is a 'sacred' oratorio, with a text, like *Messiah*, compiled from extracts of both Old and New Testaments. The compiler, whoever he was, clearly knew *Messiah* well, but was at pains to avoid following too closely in Jennens's footsteps. Therefore, although both texts rely heavily on the Book of Isaiah, often using the same chapters and adjacent verses, exact duplication is scrupulously avoided. Chapter 53 is a case in point: while Jennens uses verses 4-6, and 8, Hayes's compiler is careful to select only verse 7. Apart from *Isaiah*, *Prophecy* makes use of a different, perhaps better known, series of Books than *Messiah*, most notably: *Numbers* (in Part I), *Genesis* and *I Chronicles* (in Part II), and Psalm 25, *John*, *Revelation*, *I John* and *Hebrews* (in Part III). Curiously, in view of the popularity of *Messiah*, or perhaps because of it, such biblical compilations were seldom employed in oratorios of the native

English School. Along with *Prophecy*, Samuel Arnold's *The Resurrection* (1770) and James Hook's *The Ascension* (1776) were just about the only other works of this type produced, and none of them were conspicuously successful.

As its title suggests, the oratorio is primarily concerned with prophecy. Part I, drawing almost exclusively on *Isaiah* and *Numbers*, is somewhat amorphous, generally optimistic and laudatory in tone, but with no precise focus. Part II, again with half its text from *Isaiah*, introduces the central theme of Messianic expectation: most notably the prophecies of Christ's mission related in *Isaiah* 61:1 and fulfilled in *Luke* 4:18 (nos. xxiv-vi). Part III, judiciously interspersing Old Testament texts with verses from the *Epistles* and Book of Revelation, is concerned (like *Messiah*) with the power of Christ's redeeming spirit, the immortality of the Christian soul, and with his own suffering, death and resurrection.

A text of this kind severely tested the constructional and inventive resources of the composer. Unlike the dramatic oratorio there was no unifying narrative thread to give the work a strong and logical structure. The composer was to a great extent reliant on purely musical means to suggest the underlying continuity of thought contained in the diffuse and often somewhat elliptical biblical extracts. Handel's solution in *Messiah* rests on a judicious and dramatic allocation of formal ingredients, basically the same as in his other large-scale works except in their ratio: in particular it is the centrality of the chorus which is at the heart of the work's success. Like Handel, Hayes also employs a particularly high proportion of choruses, accompanied recitatives and ariosi (see Table VII.1). But whereas Handel's varied

and vigorous pictorial choral technique allowed him to convey a sense of implicit drama, Hayes's choruses are generally too short-winded, straightforwardly homophonic, and altogether less flexible and imaginative in style. Even in 'Them that are meek' (xlv), where he follows Handel in his use of the so-called 'duet-chorus' (a notable feature of *Messiah*) his design is rigidly sectional, without any of the free interchange between differing vocal pairings and the full chorus which breathe life into such *Messiah* choruses as 'For unto us a child is born' and 'All we like sheep'. The most extended and probably the most successful choral movements in *Prophecy* are those which end the second and third parts, inspired by 'Worthy is the lamb', with a bipartite design, opening in broad homophony and concluding with a rigorous 'Amen' fugue. In 'Sing O heav'ns' (xxix) Hayes employs a simple Purcellian *concertato* style, also found in his anthems, in which a solo alto announces each new phrase which is subsequently harmonised (in full or in part) by the whole choir. Though not commonly found in Handel's works, when he does employ such textures (as in the last movement of the *Ode for St. Cecilia's Day*) his procedure is less literal, with the chorus developing rather than simply reiterating the solo material, a procedure Hayes follows with considerable success in 'O that thou would'st bow' (xxi) for tenor and ATB semi-chorus. Echoes of Purcell can be heard at the beginning of Part II, where Hayes links together the opening three movements: an accompanied recitative (xvii) leads into an air (xviii) without the customary perfect cadence, and the last ten bars of the air are built over a five-bar ground bass which in turn leads straight into a choral movement based on this same ground and entitled 'Chorus upon the foregoing Ground Bass'. Such self-conscious archaisms

(also found in William Hayes's anthem 'I will give thanks' (W)1:018) are rare indeed in music of this period, and in this case seems to have been a tribute to the enduring popularity of Purcell's music, in which Philip had developed a serious and informed interest.[19]

Of the history of *The Judgement of Hermes* all we know comes from Hayes's terse end-note to the score in which he recorded simply that the work was 'finish'd March 1. 1783 [and] begun about the middle of January'; it may well have been performed, like *Prophecy*, in the Music School or the Sheldonian Theatre. The anonymous poetic text is cast in octo-syllabic verse with regular rhyming couplets almost throughout. The *dramatis personae* number just four: Hermes (tenor), and the three Muses, Melpomene (soprano), Terpsichore (soprano) and Calliope (soprano). Although the characters are drawn from Classical mythology, the plot, such as it is, is freely invented, just as in Handel's *The Choice of Hercules* (1751). Hayes's work is concerned with the kind of moral and allegorical abstractions beloved of Baroque writers, and thus there is no real dramatic action at all. In response to man's vain complaints about the quality of life, the human condition is considered by Hermes, messenger of the Gods, and the 'social virtues three': Melpomene (Muse of song and harmony), Calliope (chief Muse of heroic poetry), and Terpsichore (patroness of the choral dance). The gifts of life (mirth, freedom, pleasure, peace, nature, sleep, friendship, love, virtue etc.) are each considered in turn, and weighed against the sources of unhappiness (superstition, fear, knowledge, discontent, death, disease, misfortune etc.). In his final air, Hermes -- very much a product of the Age of Reason -- at last gives his long-awaited judgement:

Thus man thy state is free from woe,
If thou would'st choose to make it so.
Murmer not then at Heav'ns decree,
The Gods have given thee liberty.

And placed within thy conscious breast,
Reason as an unerring text.
And should'st thou fix on misery,
The fault is not them but thee.

The music is emotionally lightweight and notably lyrical and popular in tone. An essentially *galant* melodic style prevails, with straightforward periodic phrase structures often of a ballad-like simplicity. This is matched formally by the frequent use of clear-cut binary and modified strophic (AA') forms and predominantly slow harmonic rhythms. The strong lyrical emphasis of the work derives largely from the extraordinary paucity of recitative, for which there was in fact little dramatic necessity. There are just two recitatives in each part of the work, all except one for Hermes, and all but one accompanied; there is also a single accompanied arioso which introduces Hermes's final air. Elsewhere, closed-form movements follow one another without break, thus frequently remaining in the same key (nos. ix-xi and xxii-xxiii, for instance, are all in E flat), and never straying further than the most closely related tonalities. Adding to the general levity of spirit is the high incidence of triple-time metres, and limpid, homophonic textures, especially in the handful of choruses. The scoring is also light and varied. Three-part string writing is common, and is usually achieved by omitting the viola altogether or merging it with the bass. In the delicate slumber air 'Come gentle sleep' (xiii) the strings are marked 'con sordini' and the cellos often drop out leaving the viola alone to provide a delicate, high-lying bass. In 'Come, gentle mirth,

and gaity' (v), a pair of solo bassoons provide a note of gently chugging humour, while in 'Sweet peace! what blessings' they are often paired with flutes, doubling them at a distance of two octaves, a felicitous touch first used by him in his masque *Telemachus* (1763). In the air 'Hark! at the death-betok'ning knell' (xii), Hayes quite literally calls for a tolling bell (on C) in its opening section.

In order to achieve some measure of overall continuity, weakened in this work by the absence of recitative, Philip shows greater interest in the linking-up of movements than in any of his other large-scale works. There are two connected air-and-chorus movements in Part I (vi, and xv), and several linked airs in Part II. 'O life, thou great essential good' (vi) comprises a self-contained binary air which leads straight into a chorus; 'Ye gay and youthful, all advance' (xv), on the other hand, is a *concertato* movement, binary in design and dance-like in spirit, with a solo for Terpsichore at the beginning of each section which, since she is muse of the choral dance, is subsequently harmonised by the full choir. The related airs, 'This all the ancient bards employ'd' and 'Still there's one greater bliss' (xxii-xxiii), sung by Calliope and Terpsichore respectively, are both self-contained binary airs sharing much the same music. At the conclusion of the latter, at the words 'Far from these tears', instead of the expected double bar, there is a sudden change of metre, tempo, scoring and melodic style, and Terpsichore continues immediately with what is really a new air though the key remains unchanged and there is no break or opening ritornello to articulate the structure. 'Tis discontent alone destroys' (x), the second duet in Part I, shares certain similarities, being formed from a miniature air at first sung by Calliope and then repeated

more or less (though to different words) by Hermes, and without the two singers ever actually singing at the same time.

Considered together, the Hayeses' four oratorios clearly demonstrate that, like their more gifted contemporaries, they were well able to handle the large-scale forces and structures required, learning from Handel's example, but not slavishly bound by his methods. It is apparent too that *The Fall of Jericho*, despite being the furthest removed from the classic Handelian dramatic oratorio, is ultimately the most successful of the works discussed here. It stands or falls by its non-dramatic format and strong allegiance to the narrative, contemplative and ceremonial features of the multi-movement ode, a form which proved, on the whole, to be a more consistently rewarding vehicle for the higher aspirations of many eighteenth-century English composers.

ODES

The multi-movement ode for soloists, chorus and orchestra was the most widely cultivated of large-scale secular vocal forms in England during the eighteenth century. Its popularity owed much to such practical considerations as its formal flexibility, functional adaptability and the potentially modest technical demands and dramatic understanding required of the composer. Unlike the dramatic oratorio it did not require theatrical pacing or careful delineation of character, but relied instead on the generalised characterisation of affect and the judicious allocation of formal ingredients. But its success also owes something to the strong indigenous genre traditions established chiefly by Purcell and his contemporaries, and, unlike oratorio, Handel's lack of sustained involvement with the form.

Of the Hayeses, Philip was the more prolific, writing sixteen such works, while his father seems to have had cause to produce just six pieces in a little over forty years. Most of these odes were written for University ceremonies or academic-related occasions. In their capacity as Heather Professors of Music, a post they held successively for over 50 years, the Hayeses were called upon to write odes for such University occasions as the installation of new Chancellors (in 1759, 1763, 1773 and 1793), and the Commemoration of the Founders and Benefactors to the University (1750 and 1751), both of which formed a part of the major ceremonial occasion in the University's calendar, known as the Public Act or Encaenia, held in the Sheldonian Theatre usually in early July. However, when Philip succeeded to the Professorship in 1777 he soon extended the practice of writing odes to include what he termed

'lectures', for performance in the Music School situated in the Bodleian Quadrangle, some of which were specifically timed to coincide with St Cecilia's Day.[20] In addition, father and son both wrote such topical works as William's *Ode to the Memory of Mr. Handel* (c.1759), and Philip's patriotic welcome odes to General Eliott (1784), who in 1780 had valiantly defended the Rock of Gibraltar against the French and Spanish in the War of American Independence, and the *Ode on the King's visit to Oxford, on his recovery* in 1785. In addition, William submitted the ode 'When the fair consort' as his exercise for the degree of B.Mus., and Philip apparently composed an 'Elegy', now lost apart from the overture, for the degree of D.Mus. in 1777.

The performance and composition of music as an accompaniment to University ceremonial can be traced back to before the establishment of the Heather Professorship of Music itself in 1626.[21] From William Hayes's election to the professorship in 1741, music generally played a three-fold role in the ceremonies and festivities surrounding Encaenia and the Creweian Commemoration. Most significantly, the performance of specially-written odes, a fairly regular feature of the Act during the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, declined in favour of public concerts (usually three) which followed the Convocation in the Sheldonian Theatre in the late afternoon or early evening.[22] The impetus for these music festivals stemmed from Handel's momentous visit to Oxford during the Act week of 1733, when he 'and (his lowsy Crew) a great number of forreign fidlers' presented a series of highly successful oratorio concerts in the Sheldonian Theatre[23] which, under the guidance of William Hayes, set the tone for future occasions. Increasingly, the composition of odes was confined to the celebration of

such special events as the installation of Chancellors or commemoration of royal visits. However, incidental music still seems to have played a part in the proceedings. As one observer at the elaborate Act of 1749 noted, there was 'a flourish of Musick, which preceded & succeeded every article of Business ... This [oration] being finish'd we had one of Handel's Anthems, & then a short speech of thanks'.[24]

The University ode, often with a text by the Professor of Poetry and set to music by the Professor of Music, paralleled the contemporary court ode, which similarly drew on the services of the Poet Laureate and Master of the King's Music. Unlike such court odes, however, the Hayeses odes sometimes enjoyed rather greater currency. William's *Installation Ode* for the Earl of Westmorland (1759) was reused in 1763 for the installation of the next Chancellor, the Earl of Lichfield, having in the meantime been reworked (probably in the spring of 1759) as the *Ode to the Memory of Mr. Handel*, in which form it was heard at Gloucester in 1760, Leicester in 1762 and in Nottingham the following year. *The Passions*, written for the Commemoration of the Founders and Benefactors in 1750, was revived at the Three Choirs Festival in Gloucester in 1760, and on other occasions too since undated wordbooks survive for mid-century performances in Winchester and another unnamed location. However, divorced from its original context, in order to make the two-part *The Passions* a sufficiently attractive proposition for an audience used to a full three-part Handelian evening's entertainment, Hayes was obliged to advertise the 1760 Gloucester performance of *The Passions* as 'an ODE written by Mr. COLLINS, and set to Music after the Manner of an ORATORIO, by Dr. HAYES: To which will be added an ODE to the Memory of Mr. HANDEL; with [a] Variety of Instrumental Pieces

between the several parts'.[25] Philip's odes, on the other hand, seem never to have been performed outside Oxford, although at a local level a few achieved notable longevity. His *Ode for St. Cecilia's Day*, for instance, was first performed 'at the [Music] School as my Professorial lecture for ye. Term, on St Cecilia's day Nov. 22 1779', and was subsequently revived just over a year later in December 1780 'at the opening of the Music School after ye Alterations'. Hayes's jottings on the end-papers record that the work had at least two further performances, in December 1786 and 1787.

The Hayeses selected the texts for their odes from the works of a wide variety of poets, many of whom quite rightly remained anonymous, even sometimes on the printed wordbooks issued in connection with the performances. However, the poets for roughly half their odes are known. They naturally include several Professors of Poetry (Thomas Warton Jnr., Benjamin Wheeler, William Hawkins and Robert Holmes), but also a Poet Laureate (Henry James Pye), a Chancellor of the University (the Earl of Lichfield), a poet of an earlier era (John Oldham), and established men of letters, some, like William Collins, with local connections, and others, such as Christopher Smart, prominent in London literary circles. Few of the texts they provided were of significant literary merit, either blighted by the sycophantic posturing demanded for such occasions, or, like William Mason's tragedy *Elfrida* (1752), which provided Philip with enough material for two separate odes, quite simply dull.

Three libretti, however, rise above the depressingly low level of invention typical of the time and genre. Firstly, in February 1763 Philip began to set Christopher Smart's fragrant *A Morning Piece, Or an*

hymn for the hay-makers (first published in *The Student, or Oxford and Cambridge Monthly Miscellany*, 1750), perhaps with a view to submitting it as an exercise for his B.Mus. He appears, however, to have become diverted by Italianate opera, and directed his energies instead into the composition of the masque *Telemachus*, not returning to the ode until nearly twenty years later, when he added a brief end-note to the score: 'Chiefly compos'd in Feby. 1763, now digested May 1781'. Secondly, 'Where shall the muse', by Thomas Warton (Professor of Poetry 1756-66 and from 1785 Poet Laureate) was set to music by William for the Commemoration ceremony in 1751, the year in which Warton was elected to a Fellowship at Trinity College.[26] Probably the finest verse set by William Hayes, though, was written by Warton's friend, William Collins. Hayes's setting of his *The Passions, An Ode for Music* (1747) was composed to conclude the ceremony of the Commemoration of the Founders and Benefactors in July 1750. Hayes drew the text from Collins's *Odes* published three years earlier in 1747, but decided to replace the last 25 lines with verse 'written for the Composer by the Earl of Lichfield', later Chancellor of the University, 'the latter part of the original Ode not being calculated for musical expression'.[27] It was presumably with no knowledge of this slight, that Collins wrote to Hayes from Chichester on 8 November 1750 (the letter is given in full overleaf). Whether Hayes replied, enclosing a wordbook of the bowdlerised ode as requested, is not known. It would doubtless have been an interesting letter had it survived. A fragment of verse, probably from the projected ode on 'the Music of the Græcian Theatre', headed 'Recitative Accompanied' and beginning 'When Glorious Ptolomy by Merit rais'd', does survive among Collins's unfinished works, but only to confirm that the project was

less advanced than Collins gave Hayes to understand and that ultimately it seems to have come to nought.

> Sir
>
> Mr Blackstone of Winchester some time since inform'd Me of the Honour You had done me at Oxford last Summer for which I return You my sincere thanks. I have another more perfect Copy of the Ode, which, had I known your obliging design, I *would* have communicated to You. Inform me by a Line, If You should think one of my better Judgment acceptable; In such Case I could send you one written on a Nobler Subject, and which, tho' I have been persuaded to bring it forth in London, I think more calculated for an Audience in the University. The Subject is the Music of the Græcian Theatre, in which I have, I hope, Naturally introduc'd the Various Characters with which the Chorus was concern'd, as Oedipus, Medæa, Electra, Orestes &c &c The Composition too is probably more correct, as I have chosen the ancient Tragedies for my Models, and onely copied the most affecting Passages in Them.
>
> In the mean time You would greatly oblige me by Sending Me the Score of the last -- If you can get it written I will readily answer the expence -- If you send it with a Copy or two of the Ode, (as printed at Oxford) to Mr. Clarke at Winchester, He will forward it to Me here...
>
> PS
>
> Mr Clarke past some days here, while Mr. Worgan was with Me from whose Friendship I hope He will receive some Advantage --[28]

The affective power of music was a theme common to many eighteenth-century odes. In the Hayeses' works this is most often voiced in rather general terms (as in Henry James Pye's *Ode to Harmony*, (P)5:010), but the well established tradition of referring to the characteristics and powers of specific instruments (popularised by Dryden's Cecilian ode of 1687) and their use as similes for elements of the natural world, can be seen throughout Collins's ode and the anonymous *Ode on Music* (P)5:009, and in individual stanzas of several other works besides. St Cecilia herself is the focus of John Oldham's *An Ode for an Anniversary of Musick on S. Cecilia's Day*, originally given a musical setting by John Blow in 1684, but anonymously revised for

Philip Hayes in or around 1779. In the *Ode to British Harmony* (P)5:011, written a hundred years after Blow's setting, it is the growth of music in Britain under the guiding hand of St. Cecilia which is celebrated. The patroness of music is not, however, mentioned in the *Ode to the Memory of Mr. Handel (W)5:007*, where the laudatory words of the 1759 *Installation Ode* were replaced by an apotheosis of Handel, the true *animateur* of British music at this time.

Collins's *The Passions: An Ode for Music* provided Hayes with an ideal literary stimulus which led him to compose some of his finest and most eloquent music, a view evidently shared by his contemporaries, since the ode eventually achieved the honour (not accorded to many such works at the time) of complete publication in full score, some 50 years after its first performance and a quarter of a century after the death of the composer. As late as 1797 William Seward in his *Supplement to the Anecdotes of Some Distinguished Persons* still found that 'The music ... was excellently well adapted to the words. The chorusses were very full and majestic, and the airs gave completely the spirit of the Passions which they were intended to imitate'.[29] Collins's poem was, as he indicated in its title, expressly written with music in mind, and its fundamental argument, to depict music's power to raise and soothe each of the passions in turn, is expressed in vividly pictorial terms, laden with concrete images and strongly rhetorical devices. Hayes's music is thus compendious in its use and manipulation of the stock affective formulae of the period and rich in word-painting. At a time when the Renaissance ideal of a close union between words and music was still a matter of serious debate, Hayes's approach to word-setting in this work is of particular interest. Avison, his literary adversary, writing in

1752, viewed the literal imitation of specific verbal ideas or images as severely limiting, but Hayes, while agreeing with the importance of portraying the general sentiment or mood of the whole, was not about to deny himself the powerful and strongly ingrained mimetic vocabulary which he so admired in Handel.[30] He considered that 'without *Imitation* there cannot possibly be any such Thing as true *musical Expression*'. His *Remarks* continue:

> For allowing that the Poetry carries nothing with it but mere Sentiment; and that the general Drift of it, is only to express the different Passions and Affections: Yet Imitation is still the principal Ingredient, and affords the only Means of conveying the Sense into the Sound. For (with humble Submission to the ingenious Professors) I apprehend when a Musician sits down to adapt Music to Words, he acts upon the same Principle as the Poet had done before him: First, he endeavours to create an Idea of a Person, in the same Circumstances with the Character he is composing for: And by the help of powerful Imagination, works himself up almost to a belief that he is that very Person; and speaks, thinks, and acts accordingly. By frequently reading the Words over, he adopts the Sentiments: And as often as he repeats them, marks the Accent, Emphasis, the different Inflections of the Voice, nay even his external Actions: and in the Height of his Enthusiasm, his Fancy suggests various Ways of fitting similar Sounds to each, till at length by little and little, he infuses the Essence of this divine Rage into every Part of the Composition; and this, purely by the Means of *Imitation:* Consequently, the Expression will be good, bad, or indifferent, in Proportion to the Warmth of his Imagination, the Degrees of Perfection in the Ideal Picture, and his Judgment or Abilities in copying it.[31]

Although each of the ten airs in *The Passions* is possessed of its own unique character, a representative cross-section of airs is sufficient here to illustrate Hayes's technique of matching textual images with their musical counterparts, his general approach to overall mood setting, manipulation of affective formulae and symbols, and general formal organisation.

It is immediately apparent that although strongly reliant on a well-established musical vocabulary, Hayes is not content with a merely mechanical manipulation of well-worn clichés, nor, more importantly, is he content with a static, one-dimensional characterisation of overall affect. In several airs Hayes's evocation of particular emotional states is quite fluid, sometimes almost dualistic, as in a number of Handel's 'split-emotion' arias from his later operas and oratorios, and typical of the mid-eighteenth-century change in attitude towards musical allegory and a growing dissatisfaction with the rigid doctrine of the *Affektenlehre.*

Anger and Revenge are both portrayed in airs for a bass soloist (iv and ix), each making use of conventions ultimately derived from the 'rage' or 'revenge' arias of *opera seria.* In both 'Next Anger rush'd' (iv) and 'He threw his blood-stain'd sword in thunder down' (ix) a pithy devise precedes the opening ritornello, which consists of sequential, *furioso*, unison semiquaver string figuration. In 'Next Anger rush'd' the key pictorial words of the text -- 'fire', 'light'nings', 'stings' and 'hurried' -- elicit upward rushing demisemiquavers in the strings and semiquaver runs in the vocal line; in the latter half of the air the phrases 'he struck the Lyre' and 'with one rude clash' each culminate in a quadruple-stopped chord in the violins and a triple-stopped chord in the viola. Concluding the first half of the ode, Revenge's 'He threw his blood-stained sword in thunder down' is one of the most expansive movements of the work, cast in modified da capo form (ABA') and with the string accompaniment augmented by trumpet, timpani and flute. In the first full vocal phrase Hayes's imitative vocabulary includes an evocative trill on the last syllable of 'thunder', sudden harmonic and

dynamic intensification on 'with'ring' (chord of the flattened submediant with suspended seventh), the introduction of the obbligato trumpet at the phrase 'the war-denouncing trumpet took', and at the mention of the 'doubling drum', a timpani solo (bars 63-69). While the reiterated arpeggio figuration for trumpet, timpani and strings in the opening and closing portions of the delayed initial ritornello (bars 9-14 and 19-22) is conventional enough, the contrasting central section for solo flute and viola (bars 15-18) is an unexpected and memorable touch which is later put to use in the 'B' section of the air where it is associated with the 'soul subduing voice of Pity', a sentiment which ultimately goes unheeded as the vengeful sentiments of the 'A' section are reasserted in a written-out and expanded da capo shared between soloist and chorus.

A similar linked air-and-chorus for 'Chearfulness' (soprano) appears in the second part of the ode. Hayes responds to Collins's rustic vein with the traditional pastoral key of F major, and the sound of the 'Hunter's Call' is, of course, evoked by an obbligato horn. The happy, carefree affect is well sustained through balanced up-beat phrase patterns, dotted and syncopated rhythms, and fanfare-like melodic ideas based around the interval of an ascending fourth. In the following air, Joy's 'He with viney crown advancing', solo flute and cello answer to the 'lively pipe' and 'brisk awak'ning viol', and Hayes employs further clichés of the pastoral idiom including a lilting 6/8 metre, chains of parallel thirds, and extensive use of rustic drone basses. These two 'happy' airs, for Chearfulness (xv) and Joy (xvii), transcend the pastoral stereotype in at least one important respect: both suddenly break into recitative at the end of their 'B' sections. In number xv,

secco recitative is employed to suggest sudden activity -- 'Brown Exercise rejoic'd to hear and sport leapt up and seiz'd his beachen spear' -- and is followed directly by the da capo. In xvii the whole 'B' section is unusual, opening immediately in the subdominant ('Piu Allegro'), written entirely over subdominant and dominant pedals until bar 132 when the melodic style and metre abruptly change (illustrative of 'a gay fantastic round'), and after only nine bars, at the first of the Earl of Lichfield's lines, 'But Ah! Madness away', dissolving into accompanied recitative, banishing Joy and substituting Reason in its stead (xviii), without even waiting for the expected da capo.

At the opposite end of the emotional spectrum, the most deeply-felt and searching of the airs are those of the introspective and unstable passions, Despair (v) and Jealousy (xii). Despair's 'With wofull measures' and Jealousy's 'Of diff'ring themes' do not simply present static, objective affects, like the majority of the airs, rather, they depict the passion in flux, not simply by contrasting 'A' and 'B' sections as in Revenge's 'split-emotion' air (ix), but in an altogether more fluid, less predictable way. For Despair, Hayes chose the dark tones of F minor, and a simple string accompaniment veering wildly between drooping, lyrical phrases ('low sullen sounds his grief beguil'd') and *furioso* outbursts of demisemiquavers ('A solemn strange and mingled air, 'twas sad by fits, by starts 'twas wild' (see Example VII.7). The vocal line here has a supple, often declamatory quality, and with the pervasive use of chromaticism, false relations, diminished chords, sudden dynamic fluctuations (*f-p-pp-f* within four successive crotchet beats in bars 24-5), and terse punctuating string chords, the air has something of the free expressive character of an arioso or

accompanied recitative. Jealousy's air, although altogether more lyrical, is similar in its emotional vacillations, as the first line of the text announces: 'Of diff'ring themes the veering song was mix'd'. An Andante Largo tempo, solo three-part string accompaniment, and suave triplets, characterise 'now it courted Love', which is dramatically interrupted by a sudden change to Allegro, four-part tutti strings and reiterated semiquaver chords *fortissimo*, illustrating the final line of the verse, 'now raving call'd on hate'. Such dramatic juxtapositions of style are not unknown in Handel of course, but, as in the well-known 'But who may abide' from *Messiah* or 'The Lord is righteous' from Chandos Anthem no. 5, they spring from the antithetical nature of the psalm verses and therefore tend to be treated rather regularly (ABAB). Hayes's two airs are much more flexible, essentially through-composed and deliberately volatile in style. The episodic structure of Jealousy's air is as follows, though in its original form[32] there were a further two tempo changes (Allegro and Largo) before the final Allegro:

Andante Largo	10 bars
Allegro	3
Andante Largo	10
Allegro	2
Largo	1
Allegro	10

Such internal structuring is more frequent in the odes of Philip Hayes, most of which contain at least one multi-sectional air, falling into one of three main categories. Most numerous are those which involve a single change of one or more of metre (usually to triple-time), tempo (often quickening the pace), style and scoring; 'Tho' tumult with her savage train' from the *Ode to General Elliott* is

typical, with a 3/4 section and added solo flute towards the close. About half Philip's sixteen odes include airs with several such changes, either of the ABA' type (essentially truncated da capo arias), or following an ABA'B' scheme (as in 5:004/ix, designed to differentiate between gales and gentle breezes), or those like 'How safe a rest' from the *Ode for the Installation of the Duke of Portland*, which breaks into accompanied recitative midway through, in this case followed by a triple-time section and finally a common-time Moderato section to conclude. The third variety of sectional air is related to instrumental forms. Several odes have overtures which conclude with a pair of movements headed 'Minuetto majore' and 'minore', the second either a minor-mode version of the first (with appropriate change of key signature) or a contrasting trio-like movement after which there is a *da capo* of the minuet. In the same odes, and several others besides, related and contrasting 'minore' sections (actually headed as such) occur towards the end of a handful of airs, sometimes with a complementary 'majore' section to follow, as in 'By harmony's entrancing power' (v) from the *Ode for St. Cecilia's Day*, which halfway through changes to 'minore' at the line 'How dull were life, how hardly worth our care', then in a 'majore' section provides a truncated repeat of the first section, and finally concludes with a new 3/4 section, with a change of tempo and introduction of a flute. Similar schemes can also be found in a number of choruses. 'Begin the gladsome shout' from *The Song of Deborah*, for instance, contains both 'minore' and 'majore' sub-sections, and 'Last man arose erect in youthful grace' from the *Ode from Elfrida* (5:005) ends with a triple-time section. Several recitatives too exhibit a fluid structure (5:008/ii and 5:009/iv) with frequent changes

of metre between vocal sections, and contrasting instrumental interjections in a new time or with an expanded scoring, similar in fact to the arioso-like recitatives from anthems such as 'O how amiable' (see Example III.6).

In the odes of the elder Hayes full da capo arias were infrequent (only one in *The Passions*); in Philip's odes they became virtually extinct. There are just seven examples, most with miniature 'B' sections (rather like those in some of his father's cantatas), and never more than a single such aria is to be found in any one work. The only strict strophic air occurs in the *Ode to General Elliott*: 'When the sun in the evening sinks' is written in a deliberately popular almost jingoistic vein, with the last of five verses harmonised by the chorus, and headed 'Pastoral Ballad, address'd to the Soldiers, after Battle, receiving the rewards of their toils'. Binary forms, whether provided with a central double bar or not, predominate, and are often extended with selective and clearly marked internal repeats.

In terms of instrumentation, throughout his odes the younger Hayes remains faithful to well-established traditions of basing his selection of obbligato instruments on the obvious imagery of the text. One of his best executed ideas occurs in the *Ode to the Creator*, where throughout the air 'Winds who in troubled air your voices raise', surging timpani tremolandi suggest the gusting of gale-force winds, and earlier in the same work in the extended orchestral prelude to the air 'Thou sun creation's pure resplendent eye', a gradual timpani *crescendo* over a tonic pedal gives the impression of a slow sunrise. Several airs are provided with fully written-out obbligato keyboard parts. In 'Now to the harp's responsive strings', from the *Ode to Harmony*, the left hand

is involved in continuous harp-like Alberti bass figuration except at major cadential points where Hayes provides fully notated embellishments for the right hand. Philip's string writing frequently makes use of concerto grosso-like contrasts between solo and concerted forces, some airs even make use of solo strings throughout, while others alternate the two or are provided with independent solo parts which play together with the ripieno. Like his father, Philip frequently varies the instruments used to reinforce the bass line, with indications for bassoons, cellos, double basses or keyboard continuo in a variety of combinations, sometimes divided, and sometimes silenced, as in the delicate 'Tis yours to cull from fancy's fairy stores' from the *Ode to the Muse*, which is accompanied throughout by just two solo violins. In the *Ode to the Creator*, which is full of such illustrative writing, within the space of one extended recitative (xi) the strings graphically depict meteor storms, showers, the dew, and (with a sudden lurch to F minor) tremble in a Purcellian way in an extended depiction of frost. Unlike the orchestra of the elder Hayes, Philip regularly employed horns in addition to trumpets, and from 1782 clarinets in all but four works. A trombone too was available for his last ode and the orchestral *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* written for the installation of the Duke of Portland as Chancellor of the University.

As is the case also with William Boyce's odes, perhaps the most consistently interesting music in Philip's odes appears in the overtures, although unlike Boyce's they were neither published nor apparently performed separately. They vary considerably in length, ranging between two and four movements, but divide fairly equally into two main types, those with and those without a fugal movement. Only the

overtures to the *Ode to the Creator* and the *Ode to General Elliott* are of the traditional French type, with a broad, slightly dotted movement to start, an 'alla breve' fugue, and finally, as in so many of Handel's overtures, a minuet, all in the same key. The remaining overtures of this type are all different in design: opening either with a dotted section or longer, quasi-symphonic binary movement, continuing with an 'alla breve' or energetic Handelian fugue, which may be followed by a slower-paced movement or minuet, and finally either a March or an up-to-date da capo minuet and trio.

The symphony-overtures (those without fugues) are also variously assembled, in either two or three movements the most substantial of which is usually the first, invariably in binary form, though generally without a thematically significant dominant area in the first half or the full recapitulatory procedures associated with Classical sonata procedures. In second place may come a fast- or slow-paced minuet (rondo-like or with 'minore' and 'major' subsections) or a binary-form Largo, cast in either the tonic, dominant or subdominant, but never the relative key. Finally there may be either a March, rondo, minuet or da capo minuet and trio: a poised 3/2 minuet in the second Elfrida ode (5:013), and a pair of 2/4 movements (with a da capo of the first) to conclude the *Ode to the Haymakers*. In both the French and symphony overtures, it is usually in the last movement, or the minuets wherever placed, that Hayes introduces a notable change in scoring. The minuet which concludes the *Ode for St. Cecilia's Day*, for instance, features a solo flute and the following trio a solo bassoon.

The overall length of the musical ode was obviously relative to the length of the text set. The Hayeses' odes thus vary in size from

anything between the concise four movements of William's *Installation Ode* of 1759 to the 26 movements of his earlier University ode 'Where shall the muse' (1751). One of the major challenges facing composers of such works was one of structural continuity, how to organise into an integral whole the diverse airs, duets, trios, choruses, recitatives, ariosi and instrumental movements which make up the work when there was often little in the way of a strongly unifying textual narrative. In response to such considerations, Purcell and his contemporaries had developed such cohesive techniques of structural organisation as the running together of solo and choral movements, strong tonal planning, the refrain-like repetition of choruses and instrumental ritornelli, thematic connections between sections and underpinning ground basses. Many of these techniques continued in use during the eighteenth century, though often modified in line with later compositional practice, so that, as in *The Passions* for instance, a chorus linked to an air might complete a da capo design, providing a varied and often considerably developed treatment of the opening solo material rather than a relatively straightforward choral harmonisation of the preceding solo as so often in Purcell (e.g., the opening and closing vocal movements of 'Come ye sons of art' (1694). Since Philip was the more prolific in this genre, he may appear the more resourceful when it comes to evolving appropriate cohesive schemes. A good example occurs in the short second *Ode from Elfrida* (1785), in which the three airs are interrelated and two-thirds of the work falls into two continuous, connected sections (see overleaf).

(ii) 'As truth directs':

a) Accompanied recitative leading without break into
b) Air in C minor in 3/4, Larghetto
c) Breaks into 2 bars of accompanied recitative cadencing on F
d) Continuation of air modulating from F back to C minor.

(iii - vi) all in F major:

iii) 'Hear, angels', chorus
iv) 'Hear first', air in 3/4, Larghetto, similar to ii/b above
v) 'Hear, angels', semi-chorus (not thematically related to iii)
vi) 'Hear first', air in 3/4, Larghetto, similar to ii/b and opening identically in both text and music to iv
Repeat of chorus iii

Similar movement complexes occur in the first *Ode from Elfrida* (1780), though they are by no means confined to these linked settings. In the *Ode for the Installation of the Duke of Portland* (nos. x-xvi) a sequence of recitatives, instrumental movements and a chorus are linked by a common tonality (E flat major), whereas in the *Ode to British Harmony*, pairs of airs and duets (xix-xx and xxi-xxii) are related thematically. In the *Ode to the Muse* (iv), there is a fluid succession of accompanied recitative, arioso, air, and chorus. Such attempts at formal continuity are, though, fairly isolated, and seem to have been less the result of a conscious policy to avoid loose episodic structures, than simply localised responses to the exigencies of the text.

Although there are some fine individual movements, especially in the overtures, on the whole Philip's odes are not among his best works. He is generally most successful when he is least pretentious, as in his setting of Christopher Smart's delightful *A Morning Piece, Or an Hymn for the hay-makers*. His final ode, based on Robert Holmes's flatulent and overblown *Ode for the Installation of the Duke of Portland* (1793), is almost three times as long as his Smart setting, and is

proportionally less successful. Indeed, it was not entirely undeserving of its unfortunate fate, which seems to have persuaded Hayes to abandon the ode for good, as Cox, in his *Recollections of Oxford*, imaginatively recalled:

> Early in July of this year [1793] the Commemoration-week was marked by the '*Public* Installation' of the new Chancellor, the Duke of Portland. Oxford was crowded on the occasion, and beds were let at 'fabulous prices'. Convocations were held for three successive days for reciting prize-compositions and complimentary verses ... and for conferring Honorary Degrees to the number of sixty-five. On the first day the crowd in the area and galleries was so great and the heat so oppressive, that the Chancellor, observing the increasing distress and confusion from persons fainting, &c., relieved the almost *dissolved* company by formally *dissolving* the Convocation.
>
> In doing this on the impulse of the moment he probably forgot the compliment intended for him by the performance of *an Ode*, written for the occasion by the Professor of Poetry, Mr. Holmes of New College, and set to music by Dr. Phil. Hayes, the Professor of Music. It might indeed have been done by way of retaliation to Dr. Hayes, who had added to the distressing heat by nailing down all the windows for the sake of musical effect! The effect however was anything but musical to his ears; for the Undergraduates in the galleries most unscrupulously demolished with their caps every pane of glass within their reach. They disregarded, perhaps they were amused by, the piteous remonstrances of the fat Professor, who from the organ-gallery exclaimed (in Recitativo, molto agitato), 'For God's sake, gentlemen, for mercy's sake, for music's sake, for my sake, don't ruin me!'.[33]

MASQUES

In addition to the oratorios and odes already discussed, the Hayeses also completed three masques. The earliest, *The Masque of Circe*, appeared as Part I of William Hayes's *Vocal and Instrumental Musick*, but the remaining two works survive in manuscript only. *Peleus and Thetis* (c.1749) is a setting by William Hayes of a poem by George Granville, Lord Lansdowne, and Philip Hayes's *Telemachus*, originally written and submitted for the degree of B.Mus in May 1763, is loosely based on George Graham's masque of the same name (published in January 1763).

Both *Circe* and *Telemachus* are dealt with briefly by Roger Fiske in his pioneering study *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (1973).[34] Indeed, they are the only large-scale works by either Hayes which have so far been considered in print. In the case of *Circe*, Fiske was unable to identify either the librettist or trace a copy of the libretto, details which have remained elusive. However, he hazarded a guess that the work might have been performed at one of the Three Choirs Festivals, since the musical societies of all three cities subscribed for copies of the volume. Yet *Circe* might just as easily have been written for Oxford; indeed, the small scale of the work and its modest scoring more likely suggest the intimate setting of a local music meeting rather than the more opulent resources available at the annual festival. Perhaps, even, the work may have been intended for the private entertainment of a noble patron, such as Lord Viscount Quarendon, the dedicatee of the volume, whose 'Approbation' of some of the works was, wrote Hayes flatteringly in his preface, 'one great Inducement to me to make them and the rest publick'. The only recorded performance of *Circe*

was apparently given at 'Holte Bridgeman's Gardens at the Sign of the Apollo at Aston, near Birmingham' in May 1749,[35] presumably by members of the Musical Society at Birmingham, who were also among the original subscribers to the volume. Yet despite the fact that the air 'Ye swains who possess the rich treasure', sung by Circe, was of sufficient interest to merit publication in the *London Magazine* in November 1744, the work as a whole does not otherwise seem to have attained widespread popularity.

Fiske concluded that since the texts of the masque's seven airs (allotted to four named characters: Shepherd, Virtue, Pleasure and Circe herself) do not allude to the Circe legend, then the singers may not have been involved in the drama, which was probably spoken. On the other hand, it would not have been unusual at this time to use the names of mythological characters as the basis for a freely invented narrative, as Philip was later to do in *The Judgment of Hermes* (1783). In fact the songs in *Circe* do indeed suggest their own self-sufficient plot independent of the Classical legend, and one whose basic theme -- a moral contest between virtue and pleasure -- was, moreover, extremely popular during the 1740s.[36] In a 'Hymn to Diana' a 'humble' Shepherd addresses the virgin Goddess and bids her protect all the happy nymphs of the wood from the 'magic wiles of Love'. Virtue then warns the Shepherd 'Let not Pleasure's charms decoy thee, Fly from this deserted Grove lest her magick arts destroy thee'. But Pleasure is not so easily dismissed, and she scorns the 'Gentle Goddess of delight, ever airy, ever free, Who that knew to chuse aright wou'd not wish to live with thee'. Now Circe, the arch enchantress herself, intervenes and lustily advocates the delights of love, urging all swains who possess the 'rich

treasure which youth and gay liberty bring' to 'lay it out wisely on pleasure and make the best use of the spring'. Pleasure, gaining in confidence, cautions that true pleasure is hard to find and too often for mortals, 'Pleasure they court but marry pain'. In a final appeal to the Shepherd's higher faculties, in distinctly eighteenth-century terms, Virtue insists that 'they who know me stile me Reason's sweetest best delight', and her attendants echo the sentiment, 'All who can with judgement see, Place their happiness in thee'. Unusually, hedonism wins the day, and Pleasure, who has most of the airs, also has the last word: 'Joys eternal dwell around me, Happy thou who thus hast found me'. In Greene's little masque *The Judgment of Hercules* (1740; music lost), as in Handel's *The Choice of Hercules* (1751), it is Virtue not Pleasure who emerges triumphant.

The music itself is straightforward and well calculated for the modest accomplishments of provincial amateurs. The overture is probably the most demanding part of the score, and rather unusually makes use of two oboes and a flute which are required nowhere else in the work. The form of the overture is French, with a concluding minuet in rondo form; the style is Handelian, particularly in the pithy fugue subject and its rather free working-out. An imaginative touch is the concerto grosso-like alternation between solo and tutti in both the episodes of the fugue and also the final rondo minuet (headed, as so often in Hayes's overtures, 'Aria'). The rest of the score consists simply of seven airs, allocated to a Shepherd (1), Circe herself (1), and the allegorical figures of Virtue (2) and Pleasure (3); the last two airs for Virtue and Pleasure each conclude with a chorus sung by their 'Attendants'.

The airs are mostly small in scale, but as the work progresses, gradually increase in both length and generosity of scoring, beginning in 'O'er the country sports' at a mere 21 bars with unison violins doubling the vocal line, and concluding with 'I the lover's pain assuage' which runs to 119 bars, complete with a three-part string accompaniment and chorus. The opening four airs all set strophic texts and are binary in form, the first three actually provided with a central double bar. The fourth is supplied with fully written-out repeats (AABB), though, rather curiously perhaps, Hayes only once takes advantage of the opportunity to suggest a varied reading. In both form and style these pieces are close companions to the songs and ballads which Hayes published in Part II of the same volume (see Chapter IV). The fifth air, 'Behold in me what all pursue', is altogether more expansive, boasting a full four-part string accompaniment, extended ritornelli, and a characteristically Italianate motto opening; not surprisingly it is sung by Pleasure, whose exuberant but elusive spirit it exactly captures by alluding to one of the greatest sources of vocal pleasure of the period -- the da capo aria. The effect is well calculated, and the impact of the aria is all the greater after the economical vocal style of the preceding airs. Hayes distributes the three verses of the text in a tripartite design resembling da capo form: verse 1 (like a standard 'A' section) opening and closing in the tonic with the same ritornello, verse 2 (like a 'B' section) opening in the relative minor and closing in the mediant with a double bar, verse 3 (akin to a written-out da capo) set to much the same music as the first, though with a slightly varied closing section.

The last two sections of the masque (vii-viii), sung by Virtue and Pleasure respectively, follow on from one another without break and are complementary in form, both opening with an air whose last phrase is echoed and extended by a two-part (SS or TrTr) chorus representing the 'Attendants' on Virtue and Pleasure. The latter, 'I the lover's pain assuage', with its duet chorus, compound time, and constant repetitions of 'Happy he' is strongly reminiscent of the duet 'Happy we' in *Acis and Galatea*. However, the preceding air and chorus, 'Shepherd, they who know me', is altogether more original. Here Hayes writes a beguiling melodic line, heavily laden with appoggiaturas and with a hemiola-like alternation between 3/4 and 2/4 meters producing a delightful disruption of the expected phrase structure. Equally pleasing is the response evoked by the lines 'Owls and Ravens love the night, To their gloomy horrours run, Sad and sickening at the sun', where Hayes turns unexpectedly towards the dominant minor and later *en passant* to the flattened mediant major (VI in C minor), see Example VII.8.

William Hayes's second masque, *Peleus and Thetis*, Fiske considered 'worthy but unenterprising'. Worthy it certainly is, and had Fiske looked more closely at the music -- he did not consider it merited further comment -- he would have found it an incomparably finer work than *Circe*. Indeed, together with *The Fall of Jericho* and the extended *Ode on the Passions*, *Peleus and Thetis* shows Hayes at his very best. The masque cannot be dated precisely. Of the two surviving full scores, *Ob* MS Mus. d.80, a later copy of the work made it seems for Hayes's friend John Awbery whose name and hand it bears, is dated 1749. MS Mus d.79, wholly in the composer's autograph, appears from the nature of the binding (and the small, central leather-embossed label) to be a little

earlier. The autograph hand of both scores is certainly consistent with a date in the second half of the 1740s. The opulence of the work suggests that it may have been written for a special occasion. If 1749 represents the date of performance, the piece could well have been Hayes's contribution to the lavish festivities surrounding the opening of the Radcliffe Camera in April that year, which was also the occasion on which he received the degree of D. Mus. Indeed, might it not be Hayes's own doctoral exercise? On chronological grounds it has a stronger claim than *The Fall of Jericho*, another plausible candidate, and it may be significant in this context that it was also a masque which Philip later submitted for his Bachelor's degree in 1763. Alternatively, if 1749 simply represents the date of Awbery's copy and not the date of composition or performance, then *Peleus and Thetis* may well have been intended for one of the inaugural concerts at the newly completed Holywell Music Room, which opened in the summer of 1748. As one of the moving spirits in this ambitious venture it would have been surprising if Hayes had not celebrated the completion of the project in the most appropriate way -- with music. Whatever the case, we can be fairly sure that *Peleus and Thetis* was enough of a success at its first performance to merit revival, since later modifications to the score, notably the addition of a Sinfonia (xiv) not found in Mus. d.80 but present in the parts, and also the survival of a tenor vocal part bearing the name of Thomas Norris (1741-1790), who did not appear in Oxford until the late 1750s, all suggest that the work was revived at least once during the middle decade of the century. The fugue from the overture was given a new lease of life as the second movement of the fine G minor concerto grosso (W)6:004.

The text is by George Granville, Lord Lansdowne, and was originally written as a masque insertion in his bowdlerisation of *The Merchant of Venice*, renamed *The Jew of Venice* (1701). However, there is no evidence to suggest that Hayes's setting was itself ever intended for the stage, nor even that it was given in the manner of a serenata, with costumes, backdrops but no action. *Peleus and Thetis* was most probably conceived and, like Handel's *Acis and Galatea* after its publication in full score in 1743, performed simply as an extended concert piece.

The drama takes place in the Caucasus where Prometheus is chained to a rock. Noted as an astrologer, the young Peleus consults Prometheus about his predicament, confiding that he, a mere mortal, has fallen in love with a sea deity, Thetis. Although it is tragic enough that such love cannot be sanctioned by the Gods, Peleus's plight is compounded by the fact that Jupiter himself has designs on Thetis. Prometheus wisely advises the reluctant Jupiter that he must restrain his passion, since the two lovers are destined to produce a heroic son, Achilles. Ultimately, young love is allowed to prevail.

Despite its rather stilted language, William Boyce too was attracted to the text and probably set it shortly before 1740 for the Apollo Society in London. It was surely the success of Boyce's work which encouraged Hayes to make a setting himself. He may well have heard one of the Apollo performances or the revival at the Swan Tavern on 29 April 1747, though as a friend of the composer he probably had access to the unpublished score. The two settings, while sharing certain similarities, are not especially alike. Hayes's is an altogether longer, more expansive setting, and a close comparison of the two reveals some notable differences in their musico-dramatic structure.

Hayes is a great deal more leisurely in setting the scene than is Boyce, who quickly dispatches the first seven stanzas in the opening *secco* recitative, verse which provides Hayes with enough material for three recitatives, an air and an extended trio for Prometheus and the young lovers. At the climax of the work, where Jupiter finally relents, the situation is reversed. Here Boyce is the more relaxed, setting the tense dialogue between Jupiter and Peleus, beginning 'Shall the son of Saturn be undone', as an alternating sequence of *secco* recitatives (2) and airs (2). Hayes is more concise and sets the whole scene in a remarkable sequence of lyrical arioso and declamatory accompanied recitative: opening with a tonally self-contained arioso for Jupiter in G minor, suddenly giving way to vivid accompanied recitative at the crucial words, 'The fatal blessing I resign, Peleus take the maid divine' (cadencing in A flat major); via an enharmonic change to G sharp minor, E major is established for Peleus's delighted response and Jupiter's calm resignation. Both composers, however, respond in precisely the same way to the imagery of the final line of the scene, in which Jupiter commands Thetis 'Arise and be thy self a star', and each provide a vigorous instrumental postlude, in Boyce's case tacked on to the end of Jupiter's air 'Are thou the star's interpreter', though treated as a coda (in A major) to Hayes's extended recitative complex.

A comparison between the two highly-charged settings of the air and chorus 'But see the mighty thunderer' (Thetis) and the trio 'Bring me lightning' (Jupiter, Peleus and Thetis) reveals much about the composers' differing approaches to the dramatic ensemble. Although formally their settings are very similar, stylistically, whereas Boyce is tersely economical, Hayes is expansive and flamboyant. Not only are

Hayes's settings well over twice the length of Boyce's, they are also somewhat more sophisticated in design and at times rather more self-consciously Handelian too. In 'But see the mighty thunderer' Thetis and the chorus warn Peleus to make his escape as Jupiter descends from Olympus. Both Hayes's and Boyce's settings divide into two roughly equal halves beginning with a solo for Thetis, arioso-like in Boyce and a fully formed air in Hayes, and concluding with a chorus, Boyce's a slightly varied chordal harmonisation of the solo and Hayes's an extended contrapuntal reworking of the material of the air. This latter chorus is one of Hayes's most successful, achieving its impact and momentum through the urgent counterpoint of its three main sets of imitative entries (the second and third developing material from the first), which each culminate in passages of running semiquavers in the bass (representing the threatening 'thunderer') with intermittent, detached chords in the upper voices (exhorting Peleus to 'fly').

The trio 'Bring me lightning' follows soon after, as Peleus and Thetis, united in love, resist Jupiter's threats to destroy them with lightning. Here, the two settings have more in common, each opening with a menacing accompanied recitative and arioso for Jupiter, full of jagged, descending phrases, often using similar string figuration to suggest lightning; when the lovers enter (at which point Hayes introduces a pair of oboes and a bassoon) they sing together in parallel sixths and tenths, symbolic of their united emotions, while Jupiter rages underneath -- in Hayes's setting this is an extension of his opening solo. The common model here could be none other than the celebrated trio in Handel's *Acis and Galatea*, where it is the monster, Polyphemus, who threatens the perennially vulnerable loving couple.

Hayes follows the trio immediately with a descriptive Sinfonia for oboes, horns and strings, a later addition to the work since it does not form a part of the original pagination of the only score in which it appears (*Ob* MS Mus. d.79).

Commenting on the 'surprisingly dramatic music' of Boyce's *Peleus and Thetis*, Fiske is surely mistaken when he remarks that this was achieved 'with as many ensembles as arias',[37] for Boyce writes only a single duet and trio and two choruses, and twice that number of airs; it is in fact Hayes's score which more dramatically balances ensemble and soliloquy, with eight airs, like Boyce (though with twice the number of da capos and dal segnos), but balanced by two duets, two trios and two substantial choruses (see Table VII.1). Hayes also shows an interest in the close matching of dramatic pacing with musical continuity when sanctioned by the text, omitting the perfect cadence at the ends of recitatives (between numbers ii-iii and viii-ix, for instance), and connecting movements thematically, as, for example, at the breathlessly happy close of the work, when Peleus's passionate arioso 'O my soul, whither art thou flying' (with trembling strings marked 'Piccato e sempre piano') is interrupted in mid-flow by Thetis (change to accompanied recitative followed by her own air) after which it is resumed as a duet (xxiv), leading, via a quasi-Phrygian cadence, directly into the concluding chorus. *Peleus and Thetis* is certainly one of William Hayes's most consistently interesting works and a promising candidate for revival.

Telemachus is Philip Hayes's only dramatic work, and as with his father's masques, there is no evidence that it was ever staged. Indeed, the first Act, completed on 29 April 1763, was performed on 10 May in

the Oxford Music School as an exercise for the degree of B.Mus. Sometime during the next two years Philip moved to London, where he soon arranged a performance of the complete work, for which occasion he revised parts of the first act (see Catalogue of Works: (P)5:001) and added a second act, for a benefit concert at Hickford's Rooms on 14 February 1765, as his advertisement in the *Public Advertiser* of 6 February announced:

> HICKFORD'S Great Room in Brewer-Street, Soho, on Thursday the 14th instant, will be performed (for the Benefit of the Author)
>
> TELEMACHUS, a MASQUE.
> Set to Music by PHIL. HAYES. The principal Vocal Parts by Sig. Frazi, Sig. Cremonini, a Boy, Mr. Clarke, and Mr. Champness. With a full Band of Chorale Performers. Likewise a well chosen Band of Instrumental, viz. Violins, Violincellos, Oboes, Bassoons, Clarionets, French Horns, Trumpets, Kettle Drums, an Organ, &c. several of whom are of the Opera Band. To be led by Mr. Richard Hay, who will likewise play a Solo or Concerto between the Acts.

Further advertisements additionally promised 'a Concerto upon the Violincellos [sic], by Mr. Gorden, and a new Organ Concerto', and a wordbook was also issued.[38] Alongside Hayes's front-page advertisements (four in all), the opera- and concert-going public might also have been attracted by details of J.C. Bach's opera *Adriano in Siria* at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket, the pasticcio *The Maid of the Mill* at Covent Garden, Arne's oratorio *Judith*, and the Avison-Giardini collaboration, *Ruth*; those seeking more novel entertainment might have been interested in a concert of 'Vocal and Instrumental music' given by the 'Prodigies of Nature Miss Mozart (12) and Master Mozart (8) [actually 9]'.[39] Yet it does not appear that such strong competition was responsible for the ultimate frustration of Hayes's plans. On 14 February, the day appointed for the performance, the *Public Advertiser* carried the following apology:

> MR. HAYES begs Leave to inform his Friends, that he is under a Necessity of postponing his Benefit at Hickford's Great Room, which was to have been This Day on account of the Indisposition of some principal Performers.
>
> Tickets delivered for the 14th instant will be taken on the Night of Performance, which will be fixed as soon as possible.

Having tried to re-schedule what was clearly intended to be his London début, on 19 February Philip was finally forced to thank 'the Nobility and Gentry' and his friends 'for their kind Intentions of serving him; but being disappointed of some of his principal Performers ... he finds himself under the Necessity of deferring his Benefit till next Season'. Several later additions to the score, one of which is dated 25 October 1766, suggest that Hayes did indeed intend to honour this promise; however, the details of such a performance, if indeed it ever took place, have yet to come to light (see Catalogue of Works: (P)5:001).

Hayes's setting of the legend of Telemachus, Calypso and Eucharis was not the first in English dramatic music: in 1712 John Ernest Galliard had mounted a full-length English opera on the subject, to a libretto by John Hughes.[40] Although the score was published, and may even have been known to Hayes, it seems to have been the publication of George Graham's *Telemachus, a Masque*, in January 1763,[41] which provided him with the immediate literary stimulus. Graham's original text, a weighty and erudite achievement much admired by Dr Johnson,[42] was rather too prolix for musical setting as it stood. Although a handwritten note on one of the Bodleian copies of the wordbook for the abortive 1765 performance credits Graham with authorship, the radically abbreviated libretto with its rather crude lyric versification has only a few lines and key phrases in common with the masque as originally published.[43]

The action takes place on the island of Ogygia, inhabited by the nymph Calypso and her virgin attendants, Eucharis, Parthenope and Leucothea. They welcome Telemachus enthusiastically, having only just let their previous visitor, Ulysses, leave after detaining him there for eight years. Telemachus is accompanied by Mentor, who is in reality Minerva secretly disguised as his sage and charged with his protection. Calypso and her train entreat Telemachus to 'Seek not the toils of war' but instead 'yield thy gentle soul to love'. Telemachus is tempted to stay, but finally decides that he must be on his way. Soon, though, his resolve weakens: 'Fame adieu! to love I bow' he sings in a duet with Calypso, and Act I ends with praises of Calypso and the power of love. A note of discord is struck at the very outset of the following act. Mentor suggests that the time has now come to leave, but Telemachus refuses, confessing his love, not for Calypso, but for the 'gentle nymph' Eucharis. Telemachus's love is passionately reciprocated, and the willing Eucharis vows to go anywhere with her *amour*. When Calypso discovers that her love is overlooked in favour of the 'lowest of the menial train' she gives vent to her fury. The lovers each try to shoulder the blame, and Calypso's anger subsides. Mentor now intervenes and tries to re-fire Telemachus's manly zeal. He eventually succeeds, and advises the young hero to leave immediately, but Telemachus wishes first to take his leave of Eucharis. The lovelorn pair agonise and philosophise, but Mentor retains a firm grip on the situation, finally revealing 'his' true identity to Calypso and the assembled nymphs as the goddess Minerva, comforting them with the knowledge that Telemachus, under her care, is destined for greater things.

Unlike the majority of degree exercises submitted during the second half of the century, heavy with stylistic archaisms and pseudo-Handelian grandeur, the music of *Telemachus* is impressively up-to-date, quite self-consciously so in its encyclopaedic display of the novel idioms and mannerisms of the insurgent *galant.*[44] *Telemachus* is an enthusiastic and forward-looking apprentice-piece in which the composer eagerly sought to emulate the fashionable style of Italianate opera. The generous instrumentation of the work was clearly modelled on the constitution of the latest London opera orchestras, in which the standard woodwind section was augmented by a pair of clarinets. Clarinets first seem to have been heard in London theatres in November 1760 in Arne's afterpiece, *Thomas and Sally* (Covent Garden), and such was their success that Arne employed them again, rather more fully, in his full-scale Italianate opera, *Artaxerxes* (Covent Garden, 2 February 1762). J.C. Bach, in the first of his London operas, *Orione* (King's Theatre, 19 February 1763), flattered local taste by including a pair of clarinets too. Less than three months later Philip Hayes was doing the same, both in the overture to the masque and in Telemachus's main air in Act I (xvii). In Act II (written c.1763-5) they lightly accompany the two duets, and since they only play when the flutes and oboes are silent (with the notable exception of the Act II duets discussed below) they were probably played by the same performers.[45]

Of J.C. Bach's *Orione*, Burney had a high opinion: 'Every judge of Music perceived the emanations of genius throughout the whole performance; but were chiefly struck with the richness of the harmony, the ingenious texture of the parts, and, above all, with the new and happy use he had made of wind-instruments: this being the first time

that *clarinets* had admission in our opera orchestra'.[46] If Burney was mistaken on the last point, he was certainly correct in pointing out the opulence of *Orione*'s scoring, both in terms of the richness of its figuration and the prominence given to the woodwind and brass. The same may be said of *Telemachus*, in which 21 of the work's 26 closed-form movements make sustained use of wind and/or brass, and the third movement of the overture, a rustic Minuetto Grazioso, is remarkably scored for a pair of clarinets, horns and bassoons without strings, thus anticipating the slow movement in Thomas Linley's celebrated overture to *The Duenna* (for pairs of oboes, bassoons and horns) by over ten years.[47] One can take the comparison between *Telemachus* and *Orione* further, for, like Bach, Hayes not only makes sustained use of clarinets, he also writes for what both composers termed a 'Taille' (Fr. 'tenor'), appearing in the score between the clarinets and bassoons in the place usually reserved for the oboes. In all probability, therefore, the instrument specified was an oboe in F or oboe da caccia.[48] Bach scores for a pair of Taille in the outer movements of the overture and in a single aria (no. 21) in *Orione*. In *Telemachus*, Hayes uses the instrument to enrich the scoring of the two lavish duets in Act II, both of which require, in addition to strings and Taille, a pair of clarinets, bassoons and horns; although at times the Taille simply doubles the viola, more often than not, as in Bach's writing for the instrument, it is allowed considerable independence of line.

There are further parallels between the works too.[49] The high incidence of common thematic motives, specific expressive indications and orchestral textures, taken together, strongly suggest that Hayes actually knew J.C. Bach's score well, or had perhaps attended a

performance of the work himself, which he could have done during February 1763, later have reminding himself of the music when the 'Favourite Songs' were published in early March and April that year, shortly before he completed his own score.[50] Living close to the capital (or by this time possibly in London itself), it is plausible that, perhaps partly in preparation for his B.Mus. exercise, the ambitious and enterprising young Hayes may have made an effort to acquaint himself with the latest operatic fashions at first hand, since in Oxford, although the most recently published symphonies and overtures were in vogue, the taste for vocal music was rather more conservative, centred as it was on the works of Handel. A catalogue of the holdings of the Oxford Music Society's library[51] of c.1762-3, contains the latest orchestral music by Abel, Arne, Kelly, Jommelli, Richter and Stamitz, for example, but little in the way of modern vocal music. The four surviving Holywell Music Room programmes from this time (1 November - 20 December 1762) tell a similar story, and when a recent operatic aria was included (13 December), it was the simplest, most home-spun binary air ('In infancy our hopes and fears') from Arne's otherwise thoroughly Italianate opera *Artaxerxes*, which had been successfully premiered at Covent Garden on 2 February 1762, followed shortly after by the publication of the score.

It was Roger Fiske's opinion that 'In its first sixty years of life almost every notable person in London must have seen this opera [*Artaxerxes*]'.[52] Whether Philip saw *Artaxerxes* or not we cannot be sure, but he certainly owned a score,[53] and *Telemachus* shares so much common ground with it there is little doubting that, along with J.C. Bach's *Orione*, it was one of the modern Italianate operas to which he

looked for inspiration for his own dramatic masque. Like Arne, Hayes makes use of both English and Italian styles, with strophic and simple lyrical airs such as 'Parting to death' (see Example VII.9), similar to Arne's 'Water parted from the sea', and full-scale Italianate arias like 'Seize the blessing while 'tis thine' (with such virtuoso melismas as that given as Example VII.10), presumably written for Signora Clementina D'Almeida, and 'Love reigns supreme', probably intended for the coloratura soprano, Signora Cremonini, who had recently sung the demanding part of Nice in *Orione* (but whom Burney described as 'a good musician, with a modern style of singing, but almost without voice').[54] The airs for Giulia Frasi (Parthenope and Eucharis), who probably sang the work in Oxford and was also booked for the London performance, are generally less exacting than those for D'Almeida or Cremonini (who sang Calypso and Leucothia respectively), but then the fine and varied series of parts which Handel had composed for Frasi (listed in Dean's article in the *New Grove*) are likewise technically quite straightforward, and by the time she came to sing in *Telemachus* she was almost at the end of her operatic career.

The freshness and variety of Hayes's melodic inspiration, which permeates the entire score, is typified by the Act II air 'Parting to death' with its characteristic regular phrase structure, frequent rising and falling appoggiaturas, and lively syncopations (Example VII.9). Just a few years earlier Hayes had closely modelled his song 'A youth adorned with ev'ry art' (P)3:004 on Arne's setting of the same words in his masque *Alfred* (1740), and again in *Telemachus* the airs seem indebted to Arne, both in the elaborate Italianate set-pieces and in the style of the simpler ballad-like airs which Roger Fiske has so aptly described

as a 'sublimation of the 'traditional' ballad opera air, the melody longer and more sophisticated but the English quality still preserved'.[55] However, with about half his airs in da capo form (see Table VII.1), Hayes is a good deal more traditional in this respect than either J.C. Bach (three of whose ten surviving arias from *Orione* make use of the form) or Arne, who in *Artaxerxes* abstains entirely.

Time and again throughout *Telemachus*, the predominantly homophonic textures, slow harmonic rhythms, and bustling, energetic figuration, recall the *galant* instrumental idiom of J.C. Bach and Arne. But most striking of all is Hayes's almost obsessive use of dynamics, with which he deftly characterises his predominantly motivic melodic material. The markings encompass most of the available gradations between *pp* and *ff*, and small-scale *crescendos* (mostly within the confines of a single bar) occur with particular frequency. Lengthy, cumulative *crescendos*, familiar from Jommelli's overtures and popularised by the Mannheim symphonists are, not unexpectedly, almost entirely confined to the overture -- a four-movement *galant* symphony in all but name -- where, as early as bar 20, a classic Mannheim 'roller' unfolds, complete with additive scoring, reiterated pedal point, sustained, holding notes from the horns, and a rising melodic ostinato. Elsewhere, as in Eucharis's arioso and accompanied recitative 'Ah, gentle youth', the rapid *forte/piano* contrasts are clearly employed to further delineate the already meticulously articulated string figuration (see Example VII.11).

The careful thought and youthful imagination which Philip brought to bear on this score are readily apparent in his colourful and sometimes inventive orchestration. Clarinets (like the Taille) are deployed sparingly but with telling effect, and seem to be associated

with the bitter pangs of love. They are prominent in Telemachus's first act air 'Airy phantom, flatt'ring bubble', in which he tussles with the opposing forces of duty and love (which underly the whole work), later accompanying Telemachus and Eucharis in their duet of resignation following Calypso's discovery of their illicit *affaire* (xxix), and are present too in their final melancholy duet 'Adieu, yet think thou sweetest youth'. Like Arne, in *Artaxerxes*, Philip also shows a notable fondness for textures involving a pair of bassoons, employing them independently in no less than twelve numbers, often, as Arne does in 'Water parted from the sea', doubling the wind section and/or horns an octave or two below.[56] Two of Arne's airs ('Why is death for ever late' and 'O too lovely, too unkind') also seem to have been the inspiration for Hayes's use of muted upper strings supported by a *pizzicato* bass in the portentous 'Soon arrives thy fatal hour' (xiv). Yet Philip was confident enough of his soloist (and independent enough of his apparent models) to offer considerably greater scope for obbligato virtuosity in his two trumpet airs (xx and xxxiii), than Arne had done, for instance, in his celebrated trumpet song from *Artaxerxes*, 'The soldier tir'd of war's alarms'. Exceptionally, in two airs (xiv and xx), in order to achieve precisely the desired effect, Philip even provided separate instrumental parts with full continuo realisations for the organ.

The fortuitous survival of several sets of vocal and instrumental parts for the oratorios *David* and *Prophecy*, the masques *Peleus and Thetis* and *Telemachus*, and five odes (including *The Passions*), allow a few preliminary conclusions to be drawn as to the conditions under which these large-scale works were originally performed. Fuller details are

included under the appropriate entries in the Catalogue of Works, but statistical information regarding the relative numbers of choral, string and oboe parts has been abstracted to form Table VII.2 (overleaf), and a handlist of performers named in the scores, parts and newspaper advertisements has been compiled as Appendix V; a full list of the musicians paid for Hayes's oratorio performances at the Three Choirs Festival in 1757 appears as Appendix VI. For comparative purposes Table VII.2 also contains the figures for the choral and instrumental forces enumerated by Philip Jung in his *Concerts of Vocal and Instrumental Music, as performed at the Music Room, Oxford, from October, 1807, to October 1808* (Oxford, 1808).

As a comparison between Table VII.2 and Table V.1 (summarising the surviving ripieno string parts for William's concerti grossi) suggests, the number of violin parts copied for the large-scale vocal works and concertos are roughly equivalent (Table V.1 does not include the additional concertino parts), though there is a slight increase in the number of viola and lower string parts. In view of the fact that several parts bear the names of two performers, it is not unreasonable to assume that two performers may often have read from the same copy (i.e. in *The Passions* the names Mr Solinus and Mr Hughes both appear on one of the second violin parts, as do Signor Antoniotto and Mr Chapman on one of the cello parts). By this reckoning the string band assembled for *David* was probably about 14 strong (8 violins, 2 violas, and perhaps 4 stringed bass instruments). At the other end of the scale, for *Prophecy*, there were well over twice the number of players (at least 20 violins, 5 or 6 violas and as many stringed bass instruments).

TABLE VII.2 VOCAL AND INSTRUMENTAL PARTS

WORK	S	A	T	B	obI/II	vnI/II	va	vc	db	bc
ORATORIOS										
David W. & P.H. (c.1776-81)	8	5	4	4	-	2/2	1	2	1	1 org
Prophecy P.H. (1778-9)	13	8	7	6	2/1	6/5	3	2	1	1 org
MASQUES										
Peleus and Thetis W.H. (c.1749)	2	3	2	2	-	2/2	1	1	-	1
Telemachus P.H. (1763-66)	6	?	11	4	2/2	4/5	2	4	1	1 org hpd
ODES										
The Passions W.H. (1750)	5	1	3	2	-	3/3	1	3	1	2 org hpd
Where shall the Muse W.H. (1751)	4	3	3	5	-	3/3	1	6	1	1 org
Installation Ode W.H. (1759)	8	5	7	6	-	2/2	2	2	-	1 hpd
Ode to the Memory of Mr. Handel W.H. (1759)	6	4	4	3	-	4/4	2	4	-	2 org hpd
Ode on the King's Visit P.H. (1785)	11	5	9	9	-	3/3	1	2	1	1 org
Oxford (1808)*	8	4	4	6	-	3/3	1	1	1	

* Philip Jung, *Concerts of Vocal and Instrumental Music, as performed at the Music Room, Oxford, from October, 1807, to October, 1808* (Oxford, 1808).

The unusually large scale of the orchestra for *Prophecy* may be accounted for by the fact that although both oratorios had their first parts performed in the comparatively diminutive Music School, only *Prophecy* seems to have been given complete in the more spacious Sheldonian Theatre, for which extra performers were presumably required and could have been easily afforded, since, as this was a charity performance in aid of the Music School itself, many offered their services gratis (see Chapter II, p.55). The general availability of performers on this occasion may likewise account for the doubling of the oboe parts, though such doubling may not have been all that unusual (see Appendix VI). For *Telemachus*, the other work for which there are double wind parts, Philip seems to have envisaged a large wind section, with oboes playing at the same time as the flute, and clarinets and Taille scored for in both Act II duets. Like the concertos too, separate parts for organ and harpsichord survive for three of the works, though for neither of the oratorios.

The chorus was essentially all male in constitution, presumably drawing most of its members from the local college choirs, from where many of the soloists were also taken (the Hayeses' often made use of boy trebles as soloists). Although the soprano soloists usually had the chorus parts written into their copies, women were not used as regular members of the choir; the top line (usually labelled 'Canto' or 'Treble') was sung by boys, while the alto line, both solo and choral, was invariably sung by countertenors. Unlike the instrumental parts, there is no evidence to suggest that vocal copies were necessarily shared, and in Table VII.2 the soloists' copies (which surely were not shared) are counted in with the purely choral ones. Philip's *Ode on the*

King's Visit was obviously a work in which a strong local display of loyalty was important, and the 34 vocal parts are matched only in the generally lavish *Prophecy*. The modest number of parts for *Peleus and Thetis*, on the other hand, suggests that the performances were of chamber proportions: each of the four soloists' copies were provided with the choruses, for which they were apparently joined by another voice or two. Only in *Prophecy* does the leading soprano's part omit them, but there were two other soprano soloists to do what was expected: Master Spence (treble) and an unnamed 'Soprano Principale', in whose parts the choruses are given in full. The tradition of soloists joining in the choral singing was apparently very deeply ingrained in Oxford, for the Magdalen diarist, Richard Paget, recorded that at the oratorio concerts directed by Philip Hayes in the Sheldonian Theatre on 23 June 1785:

> There were very riotous proceedings in the Theatre, wch originated from [Madame] Mara's being unable to sing a long Song, in wch she was (very absurdly) encored ... Sufficient Apologies were made by Dr. Hayes & things went off tolerably well for the present. But [on] Friday, a handle being made of Mara's sitting down in the chorusses, there was a most violent disturbance. Such a scene of noise & Confusion was surely never before exhibited in that place. Drunken gownsmen (for 'twas St John's gawdy) & fainting woman were carried off in Shoals. To comple[te] the business, our wise V.[ice] C.[hancellor] put himself absolutely at the Head of the mob, by making a speech in wch. he said that "Madame Mara had given just cause of Offence"; so that we had a riot "by permission of the Revd. & very worthy the V. Chanr. The noise now became louder than ever. Mara came forward to speak but was not suffered. The cry was Off, off & the V.C. waved his hand for her to withdraw, wch. she did; & after some further disturbance, the music broke up.[57]