

John Christopher Smith Junior (1712-95), stipple engraving by E. Harding after John Zoffany (1733-1810) from an illustrated Coxe *Anecdotes* published by Cadell & Davies (London, 1799). My photograph by kind permission of the late Gerald Coke. *GB-Lfom* accession number 6566.

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

JOHN CHRISTOPHER SMITH JUNIOR (1712-1795)

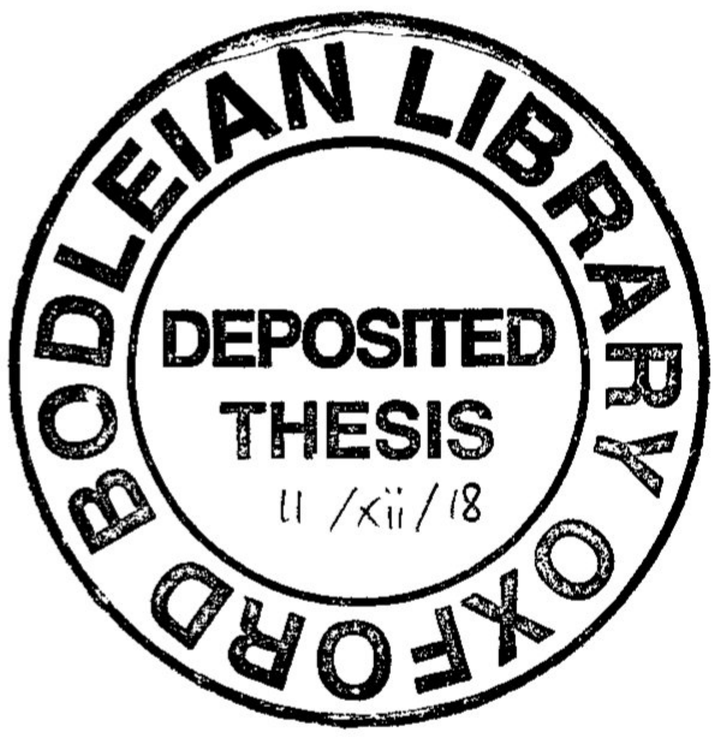
HIS LIFE, SELECTED WORKS, AND HIS ASSOCIATION WITH HANDEL

VOLUME I

Dissertation submitted

for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy



BARBARA MITCHELL SMALL

MERTON COLLEGE
Trinity Term, 2017

JOHN CHRISTOPHER SMITH JUNIOR (1712-1795)

HIS LIFE, SELECTED WORKS, AND HIS ASSOCIATION WITH HANDEL

ABSTRACT

John Christopher Smith Junior (1712-95), often confused with his father of the same name, was Handel's student, a teacher of music, a composer, and an accomplished keyboard player who sometimes played continuo for Handel's Italian operas; he also acted as Handel's assistant when the great man was stricken with blindness.

His early keyboard compositions (Opp. 1 and 2) are Handelian in style as also are his early large-scale works: three operas in English, two odes, a serenata, and one oratorio. Surprisingly, Smith himself took up Italian opera in the mid 1740s, writing three complete operas (two at least lacking recitatives) and arias for two more.

When, in 1751, Handel began to show symptoms of increasing blindness, he called on Smith to assist him with the oratorios. During these years Smith became the Foundling Hospital's first organist, wrote two more sets of keyboard pieces heavily influenced by Scarlatti, composed four oratorios of his own, plus two English operas and an afterpiece in association with David Garrick.

Following Handel's death, Smith went into partnership with John Stanley to continue the oratorio series, first at Covent Garden and later at Drury Lane. Smith composed one further collection of keyboard works, now firmly in the galant style, and two more oratorios (one incomplete), a burial service, and an unfinished English opera.

Smith's chief importance lies in his connection with Handel's oratorios, and the presence of his hand on various manuscripts (see Appendix I) strongly suggests that he was at least partially responsible for some of the late additions to these works. Other appendices cover the Foundling Hospital, oratorios performed in competition with the Smith-Stanley series, Smith's oratorio singers, his family trees, and other Smiths.

Music examples are in Volume II, and Volume III is a catalogue of Smith's works with musical incipits.

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation has been an inordinately long time in the making. I began writing in 1982, but due to personal reasons, I left Oxford in 1984 to be with my family. For several years thereafter I taught American music at California State University, Sacramento, instrumental music for grades four through six, and, from 2004, Core Humanities at the University of Nevada Reno. Periodically I would take up some research and writing, remembering that I had promised myself to complete the dissertation. In 2014 I requested readmission to Oxford and was accepted thanks to recommendations from both Donald Burrows and H. Diack Johnstone.

It would have been impossible for me to have completed my postgraduate work without the assistance of the many librarians who have gone out of their way to help me. I am particularly indebted to those from the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (where Richard G. King located four lost Smith autographs and very kindly acted as my personal librarian), the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, the Westminster Public Library, the Henry Watson Music Library in Manchester, the Harvey S. Firestone Memorial Library in Princeton University, the Bodleian Library in Oxford, the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery in San Marino, California (where I was allowed to roam its famous gardens during lunch breaks), the Music Division of the Washington, D.C. Library of Congress, and the Folger Shakespeare Libraries also in Washington, D.C. Juergen Neubacher from the Hamburg Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Mrs. Manning from the Coram Foundation, Katharine Hogg and her assistant Colin Coleman from the London Foundling Museum, and Christopher Bornet of the Royal College of Music in London were all especially helpful.

Mark Lucas and Laurel Baker from the interlibrary loan department in the Matthewson I.G.T. Knowledge Center (International Game Technology – we are, after all, a gaming state) at the University of Nevada Reno procured music and books from all over North America. Joshua Willsey and Chris Ressel, two marvellous computer technicians at the library gracefully solved many of my problems with modern technology, and Barbara Molt, another computer expert from Reno, created the incipits for my concluding Catalogue of Works (Vol. III).

Virginia Short from the College of the Pacific, Stockton, California, and Catherine Smith from the University of Nevada, Reno, both now gone, inspired my love of music history, while UNR professor Louis Niebur has tirelessly offered suggestions over the last few years as well as proofreading the catalogue. Professor Michael Burden kindly printed out my thesis in Oxford. The late Professor Keiichiro Watanabe from Tokyo not only saw to it that I received excellent printouts of the Smith works there, but also copied the manuscripts' watermarks for me. The late Winton Dean and Gerald Coke opened their homes to me, answering numerous questions and allowing me unrestricted access to their libraries. John Greenacombe guided me through the vast array of rate books in the Westminster Public Library and has since answered several of my geographical questions. And throughout these long years, my husband Richard and daughters Laura and Marti have always recognized my need to complete this dissertation.

Three men believe in me! The late Edward Olleson of Merton College saw to it that I was awarded an overseas grant from Oxford, and later encouraged me in my endeavours there. Professor Donald Burrows of the Open University introduced me to the world of watermarks and dating, answered questions, and, as a further inspiration, sent me a delightful Christmas card depicting three smiling wise men on

camels carrying my dissertation. My original Oxford supervisor, H. Diack Johnstone, has, in retirement, returned to the fray. Endlessly patient, he has stood by my side, offering friendly advice, correcting errors, and working hard to improve my writing style. Without his support and encouragement this thesis would never have been completed, and it is to him that I am most deeply indebted.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Portrait of John Christopher Smith	Frontispiece
Smith hand on *Il Trionfo del Tempo e della Verità*	26
Smith hand on *Imeneo*	38
Smith residence: Little Pulteney Street	61
Foundling Hospital Chapel	64
Smith's appointment as organist of the Foundling Hospital Chapel	65
Carlton House: its location in relation to St James's Palace	78
MS libretto for *The Festival of Darius*	81
Portrait of Martha Coxe Smith	127
Maitland House, Kensington	128
Designation for 'Clarinett' in Smith's hand	137
First use of Crescendo ('Crescento')	140
Smith's infirm hand	142
Smith early hand on fugal fragment	144
Cover of Foundling Hospital hymn book	146
Smith's house in Bath	155
Smith hand, Op. 7 no. 3	173
Smith hand, Concerto in Otho	173
Smith hand, Menuet	174
Smith hand, Gavotte	175
Smith hand, 'Thy servant Jonathan to be moved from *Solomon* to *Joseph and his brethren*	192
Smith hand, words for 'To view the wonders of thy throne'	196
Smith hand, words for 'Wise, great and good'	198
Smith hand, 'Lost in anguish' from *Theodora*	206
Handel's opening accompaniment from *Agrippina*	207
Smith's hand, 'Great in wisdom' from *Judas Maccabaeus*	207

The appendices following Chapter VII contain too many illustrations to list here.

EDITORIAL CONVENTIONS

This dissertation uses New Style dating and relies on RISM sigla for abbreviations of the various libraries cited. In quoting from eighteenth century sources, capitalization has been modernised, original spellings have been retained (even when they contradict one another) and all superscript letters in titles such as M^r and D^r have been lowered. Abbreviations for singers' voices and for instruments are those used in *OMO*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter I: The Early Years	Early Life 1	1
	Early Large-Scale Works 1	
	The Mourning Muse of Alexis	9
	Keyboard Works: Op. 1 and Op. 2	13
	Early Large-Scale Works 2	
	Teraminta	16
	Ulysses	22
	Early Life 2	25
	Early Large-Scale Works 3	
	The Seasons	29
	Rosalinda	30
	David's Lamentation over Saul and Jonathan	31
	Questionable Works	34
	The Season of 1741	35
	Early Life 3	36
	Early Large-Scale Works 4	
	Winter or Daphne	41
Chapter II: Italian Opera and the Continent	Background	43
	Isippile	47
	Il Ciro riconosciuto	51
	Other Italian Operas	54
	Continental Anthems	58
Chapter III: The Years 1751-1759	Background	61
	The Foundling Hospital	62
	Keyboard Works: Op. 3 and Op. 4	70
	Smith's Oratorios 1751-59	
	Background	76
	Judith	77
	The Festival of Darius	81
	Paradise Lost	83
	Rebecca	87
Chapter IV: Smith and David Garrick	Background	92
	Works association with David Garrick	
	Incidental Theatre Music	93
	The Fairies	95
	The Tempest	108
	The Enchanter	119

Chapter V: The Years 1760-95		
	Background	125
	Keyboard Works: Op. 5	128
	The Lenten Oratorio Series 1760-74	131
	Late Large Scale Works	135
	Jehosaphat	136
	Medea	138
	The Burial Service	139
	Paradise Lost 1774	140
	Redemption	141
	The Foundling Hospital after 1759	144
	Retirement	155
Chapter VI: Beyond	Background	158
	Denner portrait and Roubiliac bust	158
	Handel's harpsichord	159
	Handel's autographs	161
	Handel's conducting scores	164
	Location of Smith works	165
	Questions	168
Chapter VII: Smith and Handel	Background	170
	Instrumental music in Smith's hand	172
	Alterations and additions to Handel's oratorios	175
	Pasticcio oratorios	176
	Smith's methods of pasticci alteration	182
	Works with additions and alterations after 1759	185
	Works with additions and alterations 1753-59	193
	Additions possibly composed by Smith	205
	Additions probably composed by Smith	206
Appendices		
	I: Smith's hand on Handel's musics	210
	II: The Foundling Hospital	232
	III: The Smith-Stanley oratorio series	244
	IV: Smith's singers	254
	V: John Christopher Smith's family trees	273
	VI: Other Smiths	274
Bibliography		276

Volumes II and III each contain their own introductions and Tables of Contents

ABBREVIATIONS: BOOKS

A to Z	*The A to Z of Georgian London*, notes by Ralph Hyde, London Topographical Society, Publication 126 (London, 1982)
Burrows, *Foundling*	Donald Burrows, 'Handel and the Foundling Hospital', *ML* 58 (1977), 69-84
Burrows/Ronish	Donald Burrows and Martha Ronish, *A Catalogue of Handel's Musical Autographs,* (Oxford, 1994)
Burrows/Dunhill	Donald Burrows and Rosemary Dunhill, *Music and Theatre in Handel's World: The Family Papers of James Harris, 1732-1780* (Oxford, 2002)
Burrows Documents	Burrows, Donald, Helen Coffey, John Greenacomb, and Anthony Hicks, eds., *George Frideric Handel*: Vol. 1 (1609-1725), Vol. 2 (1725-1 735), and Vol. 3 (1735-1742): *Collected Documents* (Cambridge, 2013, 2015, and 2017 respectively). Vols. 4 and 5 are forthcoming.
Clausen	Hans Dieter Clausen, *Händels Direktionspartituren* (Hamburg, 1972)
Coxe	William Coxe, *Anecdotes of George Frederick Handel and John Christopher Smith* (London, 1799); facs. repr.with introduction by Percy M. Young (New York, 1979)
Coxe, Stillingfleet *i* or *ii*	William Coxe, *The Literary Life and Select Works of Benjamin Stillingfleet*, 2 vols. (London, 1811)
Dean, *Oratorios*	Winton Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques* (London, 1959)
Dean, *Operas I*	Winton Dean and John Merrill Knapp, *Handel's Operas 1704-1726*, (Oxford, 1987)
Dean, *Operas II*	Winton Dean, *Handel's Operas 1726-1741* (Woodbridge, 2006)
Deutsch	Otto Erich Deutsch, *Handel: A Documentary Biography* (London, 1955); Da Capo Press (New York, 1974)
Fiske	Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1973)
Hicks	Anthony Hicks, 'The late additions to Handel's oratorios and the role of the younger Smith', *Music in Eighteenth-Century England: Essays in Memory of Charles Cudworth*, ed. Christopher Hogwood and Richard Luckett, (Cambridge, 1983), 147-69
Larpent	MS plays and libretti submitted for censorship by the Lord Chamberlain's office; now in the Huntington Library, San Marino, CA
LS	*The London Stage, 1660-1800 [:] A Calendar of Plays, Entertainments & Afterpieces Together with Costs, Box-Receipts and Contemporary Comment,* Part 3, Vol. 3 (1729-47), ed. Arthur H. Scouten (Carbondale, 1961), Part 4 (1747-76), ed. George Winchester Stone (Carbondale 1960), and Part 5 (1776-1800), ed. Charles Beecher Hogan and William Van Lennep
Pedicord/Bergmann	Harry William Pedicord and Frederick Louis Bergmann, eds., *The Plays of David Garrick:* Vol. 2: *Garrick's Own Plays;* Vol. 3: *Garrick's Adaptations of Shakespeare 1744-1756*; Vol. 4: *Garrick's Adaptations of Shakespeare 1759-1773* (Carbondale, 1980-81)

Smith/Humphries	William C. Smith and Charles Humphries, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by the Firm of John Walsh during the Years 1721-1766* (London, 1968)
Zöllner	Eva Zöllner, *English Oratorio after Handel: the London oratorio series and its repertory, 1760-1800* (Marburg, 2002)

ABBREVIATIONS: JOURNALS &c.

JAMS	*Journal of the American Musicological Society* (1947 -)
ML	*Music & Letters* (1920 -)
MQ	*The Musical Quarterly* (1915 -)
MT	*The Musical Times* (1844-)
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (now online)
OMO	*Oxford Music Online* (incorporating *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 2*nd edn, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrell, 29 vols. (London, 2001)
RMARC	*Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* (1961-)

ABBREVIATIONS: LIBRARY SIGLA

D-Hs	Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek
F-Pn	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
GB-Cfm	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum
GB-Lbl	London, The British Library, Reference Division
GB-Lcm	London, Royal College of Music
GB-Lfom	London, Foundling Museum, Gerald Coke Handel Collection
GB-Lma	London Metropolitan Archives
GB-Lna	London, National Archives (Kew)
GB-Mp	Manchester Central Public Library, Henry Watson Music Library
GB-Ob	Oxford, The Bodleian Library
GB-WCr	Winchester, Hampshire Record Office.
J-Tn	Tokyo, Nanki Ongaku Bunko
US-Pru	Princeton University, Harvey S. Firestone Memorial Library
US-SM	San Marino, CA, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery
US-Wc	Washington, D.C, Library of Congress, Music Division
US-Ws	Washington, D.C., Folger Shakespeare Libraries

Chapter I: The Early Years

JOHN CHRISTOPHER SMITH JUNIOR (1712-1795)

HIS LIFE, SELECTED WORKS, AND HIS ASSOCIATION WITH HANDEL

THE EARLY YEARS: EARLY LIFE 1

John Christopher Smith jnr was a much more significant personality in the eighteenth-century musical scene than hitherto realized. He was George Frideric Handel's student, aided him during the Italian opera seasons, especially when Handel was ill, and assisted him with the oratorio performances when Handel became blind. He also had his own independent career as an organist, composer and teacher of music. Sharing the same forenames as his father, Handel's official manager and master of the Handelian scriptorium, the two men, father and son, have often been confused in the musicological literature.[1] Both played the viola, as we shall presently see, but the elder Smith was never a composer and, so far as we know, not a keyboard player or teacher either. The son, on the other hand, was to distinguish himself as all three. The lives and works of the younger Smith and Handel were inextricably woven together for some 40 years – from Smith's arrival in London at age seven (1719) until Handel's death. As a composer, he never quite escaped the influence of his teacher, but some of his works in the 1760s – those for David Garrick and his Op. 5 in particular – reveal an awareness of those pre-Classical stylistic gestures which, in England, appeared at the same time with such works as Arne's oratorio *Judith* and his short but hugely popular opera *Thomas and Sally*.

Any study of John Christopher Smith jnr must logically begin with the *Anecdotes of George Frederick Handel and John Christopher Smith*, written by his stepson William

---

[1] For example, Anton De Moresco's footnote attributions to father and son in the revised version of Victor Schoelcher's *The Life of Handel* (Richmond, 2009) are more often in error than not.

Coxe and published in 1799.[2] Though some recent scholars have questioned its accuracy, my research has shown that where Smith is concerned, almost all of Coxe's statements prove to be substantially correct. His reminiscences of Handel undoubtedly involved a good deal of hearsay, but for the biography of his stepfather, the author had not only his own personal experiences to draw upon, but also the testimony of Smith himself. The *Anecdotes* therefore have considerable authority; they also serve as a useful frame for this discussion of Smith's life.

Ironically his father has received the preponderance of scholarly research. John Christopher Smith snr (1683-1763) attracted the attention of several recent mid-twentieth-century Handelian specialists, most notably perhaps the late Dr James S. Hall (whose library, including a good deal of unpublished material on both Smiths, is now at Princeton University)[3] and Konrad Sasse.[4] Jens Peter Larsen, in his book *Handel's Messiah: Origins, Composition, Sources*[5] first demonstrated not only that Smith snr was Handel's principal copyist, but also that he had organized a small army of professional associates responsible for the production and dissemination of numerous manuscript copies of the master's works. Though the younger Smith was not a member of this 'Smith scriptorium' as such, it is chiefly in this connection, rather than as a composer in his own right, that most scholars have hitherto chosen to consider him. The problem of differentiating between the respective roles of father and son arises throughout this account of Smith's life and work, and it should be clear from the outset that both men occupied critical positions in Handel's life.

---

[2] Though originally published anonymously, Coxe's letters (see especially *GB-Ob* MS Engl. Lett. C 335, ff. 121 and 127) make it clear that he was the author.

[3] See Merrill Knapp, 'The Hall Handel Collection', *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 36 (1974), 3-18, for a partial listing and description of Handelian items.

[4] 'Neue Daten zu Johann Christoph Schmidt', *Händel-Jahrbuch,* 2nd series 3 (1957), 115-23.

[5] (London, 1957).

Chapter I: The Early Years

Sasse's story begins in Germany where Smith snr was born in Kitzing, approximately sixteen kilometres south-east of Wurzburg, on 17 March 1683, the fifth child of Hanns Jorg Schmidt, a citizen and tradesman of that town, and his wife Margarethe Barbara. According to Coxe, Smith was a fellow-student with Handel at Halle University, but Sasse could find no evidence to support that claim. Both parents having died in 1707, Smith next appeared as a servant to a Nuremberg tradesman one year later. He was still in trade when, on 31 August 1707, he married Susanna Euphrosina Quinatin in Ansbach; this marriage lasted only a year, however, for Susanna died in childbirth on 30 September 1708. The following year Smith himself became a citizen of Ansbach, and either late in 1708 or early in 1709 he contracted a second marriage, this time with a certain Anna Susanna (surname unknown, but referred to in the Ansbach records as a 'foreigner'). She became the mother of Johann Christoph Schmidt (jnr) on 7 January 1712. Also born to the Schmidts in Ansbach were Maria Catharina Charlotta (30 January 1710), Margaretha Judith (30 January 1713) and Friedrich Phillip (13 August 1714).

Evidently sometime in the late summer or early autumn of 1716, Handel, visiting Ansbach, persuaded Smith to accompany him back to England and there take charge of his affairs, leaving his wife and children behind. The apparent alacrity with which Smith accepted Handel's invitation has itself been the object of speculation, and, as Sasse revealed, may concern certain irregularities in his local tax position. However that may be, Smith was settled in London by the end of the year, and at that point Dr James Hall takes up the story. In his excellent article 'John Christopher Smith: His Residence in London',[6] Hall found him living in Dean Street, two doors from Dean Court, in 1722. The earlier rate books for the Parish of St Anne's, Westminster, inaccessible to Hall at

---

[6] *Händel-Jahrbuch*, 2nd series 3 (1957), 133-7.

the time of writing, have since become available, and these show a 'John Smith' in residence at the same address from the last quarter of 1716 until 1723.[7] It was here that he settled down as Handel's assistant and general manager of his business affairs. Less than a year after arriving in London, Smith assumed the role of copyist, being paid for copies of Handel's *Rinaldo* in January or February of 1717, apparently under Linike's direction.[8] This information is at odds with the findings of Hans Dieter Clausen whose carefully noted changes in a hand taken to be that of Smith are, it now transpires, not changes at all, but evidence of an earlier team of Handel copyists which included Linike who had been active in this capacity since at least 1711.[9] The two are also linked in a note added by some unknown hand at the bottom of a page in an autograph volume of Chandos Anthems now in the Royal Music Library: 'For Mr Smith to be left at Mr Linikey's att ye White Hart in ye Hay Market with speed'.[10] Within the year it seems that Smith had firmly established himself as one of Handel's copyists and was soon no doubt also involved in Handel's business dealings with the fledgling Royal Academy. Being by now in a reasonably secure financial position, he sent for his family to join him in England. Whether or not he himself went back to Ansbach to collect them is uncertain; it seems more likely, however, that they accompanied Handel on his return to London after a summer abroad booking opera singers at the end of 1719.

Smith's family was now reunited, though possibly somewhat reduced in size. Certainly there are no further references to Anna Susanna (the wife), and Sasse assumed

---

[7] King's Square Division, Scavenger's Book (A 1139). As it is impossible, however, to determine whether quarterly rates were collected in advance or arrears, it could be that Smith actually moved in as late as the first three months of 1717.

[8] See Burrows/Collection, Vol. 1, 354-55. Smith earned less than half of Linike's payment.

[9] See Winton Dean, 'Handel's Early London Copyists' *Essays on* Opera (Oxford, 1990), 8-21, for a discussion and examples of Linike's, Smith's, and other early copyists' hands. See also Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, *Vice Chamberlain Coke's Theatrical Papers 1706-1715* (Carbondale, 1982), 176-77, for information about Linike's copy of Handel's *Rinaldo.*

[10] *GB-Lbl* RM 20.d.8, f. 20 (reversing the volume). Both Linike and Smith were paid as copyists in 1717 (Handel Documents, Vol. 1), 355.

that Friedrich Philipp had either died or had been left behind in Ansbach.[11] At some point the remaining members of the family anglicised their names, the elder Schmidt being generally known as Christopher Smith, the younger as John Christopher or John Smith, Maria Catharina Charlotta as Charlotte or Charlot, and Margaretha Judith as Judith. The family settled into the house on Dean Street, and, by July 1720, the elder Smith's own business was being conducted from the Hand & Musick-Book in Coventry Street at the upper end of the Haymarket. While one might assume from the name that he did his copying there, he also sold printed music from the same address.[12] There is no evidence, however, that Smith himself was ever involved in music publishing as such; this much is quite clear from references which state only that the music could be purchased from his shop.[13]

The young Smith was enrolled in Clare's Academy, a few streets north of the family home, whose library apparently contained a large selection of 'the best English authors in prose and verse'.[14] Martin Clare and Cuthbert Barwis were the original masters, Clare's interests being scientific while Barwis introduced his pupils to English tragedy and comedy. Smith jnr probably spent at least five years at the academy, well known for the boys' productions of Shakespeare's plays.[15]

In the spring of 1723, the Smith family moved to a house in nearby Meard's Court. It must have been about this time (or only a year or two later) that the elder Smith abandoned the Coventry Street shop since it was from the Meard's Court address that, in 1726, he solicited subscriptions for Handel's *Alessandro*. From 1726 to 1732 he was

---

[11] There are two burials in the St. Anne's Parish register which *might* be that of Anna Susanna: one on 12 September 1721 (Susan Smith), the other on 4 March 1737 (Ann Smith). I have found no burial for Friedrich Philipp in St Anne's or the neighbouring parish of St James.

[12] See Smith/Humphries 53 and 248. Sales included Handel's *Radamisto* and the *Suites de Pieces.*

[13] See Deutsch, 116, for an example of the wording. Deutsch (195) states that Smith was a publisher.

[14] Edward Francis Rimbault, 'Rules and Order for the Government of the Academy in Soho Square, London', *Soho and Its Associations, Historical, Literary & Artistic* (London, 1895), 181.

[15] Arthur Mee, *The King's England: London: The City of Westminster,* rev. Saunders (1975), 338.

selling music there as well.[16] His close association with the publisher John Cluer and later with his widow very likely provided Smith snr with music paper for Handel and for his own copies: 'At the above said Printing-Office [Cluer's] may be had all Sorts of Paper for Writing Musick, sold cheaper than at any other Place'.[17] The publication of *Lotario* on 11 February 1730 was the last date that Handel did business with Cluer, changing to John Walsh on 4 April of that year to publish *Partenope,* and it should be assumed that Smith took his business there as well.[18]

During his formative years, Smith jnr developed a strong interest in music, not only from his close association with Handel, but also from his father whom Charles Burney referred to as a good musician.[19] Clearly Smith snr must have been such, for Handel used him as an extra viola player in at least two performances in the Chapel Royal in 1724 and 1726.[20] Indeed, in discussing Handel's use of the viola, Donald Burrows stated

> The relative under-employment of the viola section … may have had a practical advantage in releasing Christopher Smith senior, who possibly played the viola in the Chapel Royal music, to assist in the management of the performance.[21]

His association with the double bass player David Beswillibald in each performance also suggests that the 'Mr Smith' who played with Beswillibald for the entertainments of the 'Philo-Musicae et Architecturae Societas' in 1724 was indeed the elder Smith.[22]

Surrounded by some of the leading figures on the London musical scene, the younger Smith apparently possessed uncommon musical potential. He began copying

---

[16] See for example *The Daily Post,* 27 May 1726, which lists *Giulio Cesare, Tamerlano, Rodelinda,* and *Scipio.*

[17] *London Daily Journal,* 20 October 1728. The wording of the advertisement, placed by Cluer's widow, seems to imply that the paper was already ruled.

[18] Burrows Documents, Vol. 2, pp. 244, 343, and 352.

[19] Abraham Rees's *Cyclopaedia,* xxxiii (*c.*1820) s.v. 'Smith, John Christopher'.

[20] Burrows, *CR,* 602 and 609.

[21] Burrows, *CR,* 474.

[22] Minutes of the Society, 23 March 1724 (*GB-Lbl* Add MS 23202, f. 295). This was a Masonic Lodge. For more on it see Enrico Careri, *Francesco Geminiani (1687-1762,* (Oxford, 1993), 15-20. I am grateful to H. Diack Johnstone for this reference.

music at age ten,[23] and selections from *Daphne, Florindo,* and *Scipione* are the only extant copies of these works.[24] According to Coxe,

> During this early period of his life, he too imbibed a fondness for music, and gave signs of a strong propensity to that science; and as his passion increased with his years, Handel offered to become his master. Accordingly, in the thirteenth year of his age [1725], he was taken from the Academy, and placed under the tuition of Handel.[25]

Coxe (40) further stated that 'Handel … instructed his pupil in the rudiments of music' which could have meant that these early lessons also included learning to play the viola as well as the keyboard. Among the viola players included in the performers' list proposed for the Lord Mayor's Day musical entertainments in 1727 appear not only 'Mr Smith Sen' but also 'Mr Smith Jun' and all are said to be 'from the opera and both theatres' noting that the music was to be composed by 'Mr Heldell [*sic*] &c'.[26]

Handel is supposed to have commented to Jacob Wilhelm Lustig in 1743, 'Since I left your native Hamburg … nothing on earth could induce me to teach music, with one exception – Anne, the flower of princesses' [27] Nevertheless he *did* accord this special favour to the son of his copyist/manager. Handel used his clavier book[28] to instruct Smith not only in keyboard technique but also in composition. Early Smith copies and arrangements of Handel works in the British Library, the Gerald Coke Collection at the Foundling Museum, the Malmesbury collection at the Hampshire Record Office, and the

---

[23] See Appendix I for the early Smith jnr copies.
[24] See Appendix I, *GB-Lbl*, R.M. 8.b.8 for *Daphne;* MS 130 HD.4.v.11 for *Florindo;* and the Malmesbury Collection at the Hampshire Records Office, 9M73/724 for *Scipione.* The appendix also lists many arrangements of Handel's music.
[25] Coxe, 38.
[26] Minute Book of the Committee for conducting the entertainment to George I (City of London Record Office, Ref. 36B, 22). I am indebted to Donald Burrows for this reference.
[27] Jacob Wilhelm Lustig, quoted in Deutsch, 360. David Hunter, ('Handel's Students, Two Loves and a Shipwreck', *Early Music* 39 (2011), 157-64, discusses some of Handel's other students, some of whom lived in London.
[28] Described by Coxe, 6. Copies in Smith's hand are reproduced by Alfred Mann, 'Handel's successor: J.C. Smith the younger', *Music in Eighteenth-Century England: Essays in Memory of Charles Cudworth* (Cambridge, 1983), ed. Christopher Hogwood and Richard Luckett, 144-45.

Manchester Public Library,[29] some apparently written as early as 1722, demonstrate that his progress was rapid and that Handel was actually instructing Smith in composition as well as keyboard. Alfred Mann has suggested that the 'Rivers Manuscript', now in the Coke Collection at the Foundling Museum in London,[30] constitutes Smith's copy of Handel's lessons for Princess Anne,[31] and it seems likely that Smith worked through at least some of the same material as his royal counterpart.

Several non-musical mentors, especially theological and literary, also motivated the young Smith during his formative years. According to Coxe, Smith jnr first became acquainted with the Revd Dr Samuel Clarke[32] when he was about fourteen, and his influence on the young man was significant. Matters of religion henceforth became an important aspect of Smith's life (especially after retirement when he regarded himself as John Christian Smith). Clarke admonished Smith, 'You follow a dangerous profession, which may lead you into late hours, and excesses of all kinds, that will injure your constitution and corrupt your morals'.[33] This genteel advice seems to have been responsible for curbing some of Smith's artistic ardour and his later lack of personal drive, especially when confronting political obstacles. But conflicting influences were also at work on the impressionable young Smith. He often met with an exciting group of authors comprising Dr John Arbuthnot, William Congreve, Jonathan Swift, Alexander Pope and John Gay – all friends of Handel as well. These men nurtured Smith's love of

---

[29] See Appendix I for a listing and partial description of these items in Smith's hand.
[30] Accession number 1278.
[31] 'Handel's successor: notes on John Christopher Smith the younger', *Music in Eighteenth-Century England : Essays in Memory of Charles Cudworth*, Christopher Hogwook and Richard Luckett, eds. (Cambridge,1983), 143. Mann also discussed these lessons in detail in *Georg Friedrich Händel: Composition Lessons from the Autograph Collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge* (Basel, Tours and London, 1978).
[32] Clarke (1675-1729), rector of St James, Westminster and Chaplain-in-ordinary to Queen Anne, was regarded as one of the leading English metaphysicians of the period. His 'Sermon on the Attributes of God' (1705) created something of a furor at the time (*ODNB*).
[33] Coxe, 38.

letters and no doubt imparted some of their own artistic fire and individualism to the young man.

Smith's own father naturally influenced his son during these early years. Handel was certainly aware of the elder Smith's business acumen; an excerpt from John Baptist Grano's diary of 1728 demonstrates this trait in a particularly amusing manner. The trumpeter and recorder player Grano had been committed to the Marshalsea debtors' prison but was allowed his freedom during the day. For his benefit concert on 5 September, Smith snr acted as agent and procured performers; as the time of performance approached, however, 'those who came at Mr Smith's instigation refus'd to perform or appear before they were pay'd' and Grano thus had to borrow the money to 'satisfy those coin thirsty villains'.[34] Smith on other occasions likewise appeared sensitive to people's needs, and even before the idea of a Fund for the Support of Decay'd Musicians had been conceived in 1739, he 'adopted' and provided for children of a deceased colleague, the flautist Francis Dahuron (d. 1735) until at least 1741.[35] No doubt the elder Smith's business sense and charitable nature helped to mould his son's future attitudes. By his later teenage years, the younger Smith had evidently decided to make music his career. Perhaps when Handel left for Italy in January 1729, Smith found the need to apply to Thomas Roseingrave (1688-1766) and Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667-1752) for tutorial assistance.

THE MOURNING MUSE OF ALEXIS

In 1729 Smith wrote his first extant work, *The Mourning Muse of Alexis,* based on his friend William Congreve's (1670-1729) pastoral ode lamenting the death of Queen Mary (1695). As a holograph, it usefully serves to identify Smith jnr as the

---

[34] [John Grano], *Handel's Trumpeter: The Diary of John Grano,* ed. John Ginger (Stuyvesant, NY, 1998), 82-3. Several of the other musicians, who rehearsed for two hours, performed gratis.

[35] *The London Daily Post, and General Advertiser,* 31 January 1741, advertised a benefit concert for Christopher Smith snr to help him with costs incurred over the past five years.

copyist of several works by Handel, but, more importantly, the work demonstrates the already well-developed compositional technique of its seventeen-year-old composer. In this funeral ode, which may have been composed in honour of Congreve who died that year, Smith has musically captured the poet's dark and murky nature mourning the death of a loved one and the allegory of life after death. Three male voices – a combination unusual not only for Smith but for Baroque music in general – accentuate Congreve's dusky imagery, and the timbre of these three singers, Alexis (tenor), Demon.[36] (tenor) and Menaleas [*sic*] (bass), serves to accentuate the solemn topic. Though there is no evidence that Smith subscribed to the doctrine of affections, he was certainly aware of the ideas in this work, perhaps because of the very subject matter of death. Much of the work is in the minor, with an overall tonal scheme revolving around C minor which is used for the overture and following chorus, a duet near the end and the last air of grief. Smith seems to have reserved this key for Congreve's darkest imagery: bleakness, despair, and unrelenting death.

The two-movement overture, for two oboes (and presumably bassoons), strings, and continuo, is in the French style, and though there are separate lines for the oboes, they generally duplicate the violins, the whole texture being in three parts, particularly the fugal section, remarkably Handelian in style. The overture, quite mature for any seventeen-year-old youth, is followed in succession by choruses alternating with airs, each based on the mourning theme associated with nature. But toward the middle of the work, Smith's music follows Congreve's contrast in text, moving gently from a G minor chorus of lament through a D minor air praising the purity of the lost soul and finally to an A major chorus of blooming flowers (transferred in 1733 to Smith's opera *Ulysses*). Smith wrote the next air in the strikingly contrasting key of B flat, a warning to all evil

---

[36] Apparently an abbreviation, but reference unknown. Did Smith misspell Damon, who, along with Alexis and Menalcas appeared in Virgil's *Eclogues*?

things in nature to avoid the tomb. Once more conforming to Congreve's plan, Smith set the next duet of ultimate despair in C minor, followed by an air of acceptance in A minor, and concluding with a C minor air concerned with the fierceness and unrelenting nature of death. Here emotionally and musically the ode has come full circle: from the C minor darkness and sorrow of the beginning to a C minor of bleakness and despair. But Congreve chose to conclude the work with contrasting images of light representing a life after death, albeit through nature. Smith's recitative moves from C minor to C major, and the concluding chorus 'Fairest it shines of all that light the skies' (later used as the last chorus of *Ulysses*) completes the imagery with the contrasting key of F, using French horns for the only time in the work.

Smith has learned the expected conventions of the day, and the germs of his later style are already evident. The four opera-type choruses (there are actually five, one being repeated) are basically homophonic, each containing two to four ritornelli. The orchestra sometimes complements but usually supports the vocal parts, the ends of the ritornelli always overlapping the beginning of the choruses and vice versa. Phrase lengths are irregular, and once the voices enter they seldom rest until the following ritornello.

The airs are all in da capo form, those in the major moving to the dominant in the second part of the 'A' section and those in the minor moving to the relative major. The 'B' sections of the airs in major all commence in the submediant and conclude on the mediant, but those in the minor follow no pattern and often appear to be experiments in word painting at the expense of a firm tonality. All 'B' sections are less heavily scored, sometimes with the strings and voice in unison and other times with only a continuo accompaniment. But these airs are more experimental than the choruses, being delicately scored with much contrast in orchestration as well as in tonality. In particular, following the opening ritornello for the air 'Lament ye nymphs', Smith has continued the oboe part

as an obligato (unusually for him in the early works) which is really quite lovely (see Ex. I.1).[37]

Several other awkward problems, particularly regarding tonality and voice leading are apparent, and Smith's English spelling does not quite come up to Congreve's, but with this work Smith has already demonstrated his most outstanding quality: the ability to capture the drama of the moment in music.

In 1730, Smith left the family home in Soho to establish himself as a teacher of music. One can imagine that, with recommendations from Handel and his literary friends, Smith's clientele was substantial and from the upper echelons of society. His future appeared bright. In the spring of that year, however, Smith contracted tuberculosis, the first of a series of personal misfortunes. After having spent the summer at Dr Arbuthnot's home in Highgate, resting and breathing the purer air there, he recovered sufficiently to resume his teaching. He then took lodgings in Wigmore Street, Marylebone, in the same building in which Thomas Roseingrave lived. The two of them apparently worked out a system whereby Smith fed Roseingrave in return for lessons in composition.

It was most likely during these years (1729-1731) that Smith wrote his first series of keyboard lessons. The *Daily Journal* of 1 April 1731 announced a benefit concert for 'Mr Smith' to be held at Lincolns' Inn Fields the following day in which he was to play a lesson on the harpsichord. Also taking part in the programme were Christian Kytch (oboe), Michael Festing (violin), Miss Young and the youthful Thomas Mountier.[38] Although it has often been frustrating to follow references to various 'Mr Smiths', there is little doubt that this and a further benefit concert the following year were for Smith jnr. Kytch and Michael Christian Festing were both associated with Handel and Pepusch and

---

[37] Music examples may be found in Volume II.

[38] Although Mountier was not mentioned in the advertisement, *The Daily Journal* of 3 May 1731 states that he 'sung at Mr Smith's concert'.

later frequently performed with Smith on other occasions. Miss Young was probably Cecilia Young (later Mrs Arne) who sang for Smith in the following years. For Smith's benefit concert of 22 March 1732, also at Lincoln's Inn Fields, 'Mr Smith' again played 'some Lessons of his own on the Harpsicord', this time with singing by the tenor Thomas Mountier and Mrs Jane Barbier, noted for her male roles, who sang the part of Xarino for Smith's English opera *Teraminta* (1732) and Ulysses for *Ulysses* the following year.[39] By this time Smith was evidently living in Vine Street, near Golden Square.[40]

THE EARLY KEYBOARD WORKS: OP. 1 AND Op. 2

The year 1732 also marked Smith's grand entrance into musical London. Besides the March benefit concert, his first set of six *Suites de Pieces Pour le Clavecin*, dedicated to Lady Walpole (almost certainly one of his pupils), was published by Thomas Cobb in April with a subscriptions list that would have been the envy of any eighteenth-century musician.[41] Walsh reissued the set in 1733 with a title page adapted from his plate for the second collection of Handel's *Suites de Pieces* (see Exx. I.2a and I.2b).[42] On 14 May

---

[39] Originally set for 15 March (*The Daily Journal,* 2 March 1732), the concert was rescheduled 'at the Desire of several Persons of Distinction' (see issue of 11 March). According to Rich's Register (*US-Ws,* Film ACC.70.2), Smith's profits on the occasion were £73.13.6.

[40] While Smith was never listed as a rate payer in Vine Street, Thomas Vincent (oboist) lived there in 1731 and William Teede, Smith's future brother-in-law, lived there later (*GB-Wpl,* Parish of St James Piccadilly, Poor Rates, D 49). William C. Smith, 'More Handeliana', *ML* 31 (1953), 13, questioned whether this Mr Smith was indeed John Christopher since tickets could be obtained at Mr Smith's house at that address. He cited Smith's *Six Suites of Lessons for the Harpsichord* (published in April 1732) as being offered at the 'Author's in Meard's Court, Wardour Street, Old Soho'. Recalling that this was his father's address and that his father's business was to sell as well as to copy music, it seems natural that the younger Smith would give the Meard's Court address as his own. I am grateful to John Greenacombe for assisting me with various rate books.

[41] There were 112 subscribers for 136 copies, among them at least twelve members of the aristocracy; eleven organists for 22 copies; the publisher John Walsh for twelve copies; librettists Henry Carey and Charles Jennens; and composers Maurice Greene, John Frederick Lampe, John Christopher Pepusch, William de Fesch, and George Frideric Handel.

[42] What arrangements Smith and/or Walsh made with Cobb for the use of the plate are unknown.

1737, Walsh advertised 'Six Sets of Lessons for the Harpsichord by John Christopher Smith, Volume II.[43]

For both editions, Smith modelled his music heavily on that of Handel, particularly in the diversity of movements, his partiality towards counterpoint, the greater degree of proficiency demanded of the performer, and his methods of variation. In Op. 1, especially, Smith often slavishly copied the style of many of Handel's *Suites de Pieces* published in 1720 (which for the most part contained keyboard pieces written years earlier). It is clear that neither Smith's Op. 1 nor Op. 2 was meant as blatant competition but rather as a demonstration of his admiration for his mentor. Charles Burney, in particular, so admired many of the movements from Op. 2 that he copied almost all of them in 1744.[44]

One comparison between Smith and Handel may be seen in the wide variety of movements in their keyboard works.[45] Handel gradually turned away from the 'classical' suite (prelude, allemande, courante, sarabande, and gigue), and so too Smith included other movements such as binary-form Allegros, an 'Air' (actually a Sarabande), and a concluding Air with five doubles from Op. 2. Three movements in particular pay homage to Handel. His opening Prelude, in A, emancipates itself from strict rhythm, and its quickly moving semiquavers give the impression of improvisation. The almost complete obliteration of any tonal centre with no intervening cadences emphasizes its feeling of spontaneity. The movement is unashamedly based on Handel's opening Prelude from his Lesson 1 (see Exx. I.3a and I.3b). Complimenting the freedom of the opening movement, the Allemande is based on the same rhythmic pattern as the opening of Handel's Allemande (see Exx.I.4a and I.4b). The Prelude to Suite 3 is patterned on the

---

[43] *The Country Journal; or The Craftsman.* This was in fact the second volume of Smith's *Suites de Pieces pour le Clavecin.* It was probably first published by Cobb earlier than 1737.
[44] *GB-Lbl* Add. MSS 39957, ff. 1-11v, out of order.
[45] See Volume II, pp. 3-8, for the Handel HWV numbers discussed in this section.

Prelude to Handel's Suite 1, second collection, with ascending and descending arpeggios (see Exx. I.5a and I.5b).

Smith's teacher Thomas Roseingrave undoubtedly influenced the Prelude to Smith's Op. 1, Suite 2 in C minor. Vernon Butcher described Roseingrave's harmony as 'harsh and disgusting',[46] and because of the close harmonies in the lower register, the effect of this movement is frankly muddy and unpleasant. Smith also wrote left-hand octaves in this and the third fugal movement, more characteristic of Roseingrave than of Handel.[47] The Prelude to his fifth suite, in G minor, is even more characteristic of Roseingrave's teaching, with chromatic runs and triads in the left hand, creating a murky texture, especially in bars five through eight (see Ex. I.6). Although Thomas Chilcot's name does not occur on the subscription list for Smith's *Suites de Pieces*, the prelude to his first suite from *Six Suites of Lessons for the Harpsichord* (1734) is extremely reminiscent of the prelude to Smith's fourth suite, the fugal statements for each being based on a cuckoo theme (see Exx. I.7a and I.7b).

Other similarities to Handel's keyboard works are difficult to ignore as well. The most obvious one, discussed by both Barry Cooper and Beulah Brown,[48] is the fact that Smith wrote more counterpoint than any other of his contemporaries: the third of his three manuscript works,[49] (see Ex. I.8) a free fugue in Op. 1 and three fugues each in Op. 1 and Op. 2.

Smith's variation movements demonstrate a further similarity with the works of Handel: not only do they generally replicate Handel's compositional procedures, but they also require a fairly advanced keyboard technique, one far beyond that expected of

---

[46] 'Thomas Roseingrave', *ML* 49 (1938), 289.
[47] Left-hand octaves do, however, predominate in the Courante and Minuet from Handel's eighth suite, second collection.
[48] 'English Solo Keyboard Music of the Middle and Late Baroque' (D.Phil, Oxford Univ., 1974), 261-3 and 'The Harpsichord Music of Handel's Younger English Contemporaries, 1710-1760)' (Ph.D., Univ. of Manchester, 1966), 204 ff. respectively.
[49] *GB-Lcm* MS 1018.

genteel ladies. The most striking resemblance is between Handel's 'Harmonious Blacksmith' and the last movement of Smith's Op. 2:v. Each is an air with five variations, remarkably parallel not only in the mood of their melodious themes, but in all of the variation and pairing techniques. Both Smith and Handel paired Variations 1 and 2, reversing the hands playing the semiquavers, and did so again with Variations 3 and 4 (see Exx. I.9a-l). Interestingly, earlier versions of Handel's 'Harmonious Blacksmith' were in the key of G, the key of Smith's variations.

But as Handelian as most of these works are, not all follow the model. Unfortunately, the most 'modern' work in the group, the Allegro from the third suite of Op. 2, is Smith's least successful. Toward the end of the movement, Smith has experimented with Vivaldi-like violin figurations in the right hand coupled with a quasi Alberti bass in the left hand; running semiquavers bring the Alberti figuration into the right hand, and the result is empty-headed in the extreme. The problem is accentuated when Smith turns off the 'modern' automatic pilot to land at the Baroque cadences; quavers replace semiquavers, and the harmonic rhythm accelerates (see Ex. I.10). This Allegro, however, is but one example of the variety to be found in Smith's early works. Most display a marked degree of musicality, whether they be based on Handelian or later models, and are worthy of revival. Two movements from Op. 2 demonstrate this diversity: the Gigue from the third suite and the Siciliana from the fourth. The spirited Gigue is in closed binary form with running quavers periodically punctuated by crashing chords as shown in Ex. I.ll. The chords of the Siciliana in Suite 4, on the other hand, support the right-hand melody almost in the manner of an oboe concerto (see Ex. I.12).

Chapter I: The Early Years

TERAMINTA[50]

In 1732 Smith's efforts turned to English musical drama, apparently spurred by Henry Carey, Samuel Humphries and his other literary friends. It was a time of renewed interest in English works, not only for Smith but for his older contemporaries as well – some becoming a part of the movement which would evidently create an English institution, but others pursuing a plan which was doomed to failure.

Handel had presented two earlier works, *Esther* and *Acis and Galatea* for several private performances in 1732, followed shortly by unauthorized public performances of each.[51] Handel retaliated immediately, bringing them out in the late spring with revisions. Nor was he alone in his interest in the 'new' form. The Apollo Society performed Maurice Greene's *The Song of Deborah and Barak* in the autumn, and Willem De Fesch's oratorio *Judith* followed in the spring of 1733 at the Theatre Royal in Lincolns' Inn Fields.

But during this time Smith seems to have been more interested in opera than oratorio. Together with John Frederick Lampe (*c.*1703-51) and Thomas Augustine Arne (1710-78), Smith was part of the 'English opera experiment' of 1732-3. Smith completed his English opera *Teraminta*, with a libretto by Henry Carey, on 11 October, and it was produced at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 20, 23 and 30 November 1732.[52] By now there were two companies giving operas in English: John Frederick Lampe's and Arne's, and Smith's *Teraminta* was in direct conflict with Lampe's *Britannia* for its first two performances. Whether the break between Smith and Lampe occurred during the

---

[50] The opera, except for a few airs, is lost. See the Catalogue of Works, Vol. III, for a list of first lines whose music is now lost.

[51] See Phillip Lord, 'The English-Italian Opera Companies 1732-3', *ML* 45 (1964), 239-51.

[52] *US-SM,* Rich's Register, a copy of which is at the Garrick Club, London. Previous researchers have suggested the Arne's father was in charge of these productions, but Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume shattered this idea in 'J.F. Lampe and English Opera at the Little Haymarket in 1732-3', *ML* 78, No. 4 (November 1997), 502-531.

previous summer or was a direct result of Smith's part in the English opera experiment, the division eventually led to the downfall of both: Lampe's opera ran four nights and Smith's only three. Smith used two of the singers who had been a part of the English opera the previous season. Susanna Arne, later to become the famous actress Mrs Cibber, sang the role of Teraminta while Jane Barbier, noted for her male leads, was Xarino. Two relatively unknown women, both of whom later appeared in Arne's *Rosamond*, sang the secondary roles: Miss Jones as Cratander and Mrs Chambers as Ardelia. The bass Mr Hussey, a member of the cast for Handel's *Saul* in 1739, took the part of Gozanes the king.

For his libretto to *Teraminta,* Carey followed the traditional conventions of opera seria: all the characters are of royal birth, and disguises predominate. Much of the action has occurred before Act I, and Carey has attempted to keep the recitatives as short as possible without losing the sense of the drama. The story is based not on an historical source but is set in Cuba with typical pastoral shepherds. Carey also maintained the Italianate structure of three acts, one duet and a concluding chorus. The plot extols the principles of love, virtue, and loyalty. Prince Xarino has deserted his father's court to be near the beautiful shepherdess Teraminta. Unfortunately, his friend Cratander is also in love with Teraminta and is being followed by Ardelia, who loves Cratander. Having been spurned by Teraminta, Cratander tells Xarino that Teraminta has been unfaithful and Xarino plans to return to his father's court.

During Act II, King Gozanes is taken prisoner. Ardelia, fearing that Xarino has slain Cratander, vows to kill Teraminta but relents when she realizes how much Teraminta loves Xarino. Cratander attempts to win Teraminta through pity, but when that fails he carries her off by force. Eventually Cratander miraculously realizes his errors and promises to rectify his wrongs.

Chapter I: The Early Years

In the concluding act, Cratander makes his peace with Xarino and Xarino rescues his father. Gozanes explains that Teraminta is actually the daughter of the prior Cuban king, and he plans a wedding ceremony for both couples amid much rejoicing.

For over sixty years, the problem of *Teraminta* has continued to fascinate historians of eighteenth-century English opera. First in the field was Mollie Sands[53] who gave a full account of *GB-Lcm* MS 1020, an English opera entitled *Teraminta* in full score with text by Henry Carey whose title page reads 'Teramintus John Stanley'.[54] William Coxe, however, wrote that Carey's *Teraminta* was said to have been set by Smith – and indeed it was, as newspaper advertisements and a libretto of the original 1732 production confirm – whereas Stanley was not then known to have composed any such work. Sands reasoned that 1) the description of Smith's opera *Teraminta* was at odds with the manuscript itself and 2) analysis of the text revealed that the libretto had been compiled at least partially from the 1743 version which differs slightly from the 1732 libretto set by Smith.[55] Her statement that 'the general level [of music in MS 1020] is far above anything known of Smith's work'[56] was appropriately refuted by Roger Fiske who convincingly made a case for Smith's authorship of the work in 1020.[57] But then A. Glyn Williams' identification of the *Teraminta* air 'Laugh ye valleys' as a 'Minuet by Mr Stanley' in Walsh's *Select Aires or Duets for two German Flutes* (1738) and of the third movement of the opera's overture as an extended instrumental version of Stanley's song 'Like me the tender dove laments' (1736) points decisively to Stanley's authorship of the work in MS 1020.[58]

---

[53] 'The Problem of *Teraminta*', *ML* 33 (1952), 217-22 (hereafter Sands).
[54] Stanley (1713-86) was the blind English organist and composer with whom Smith would later collaborate in the Lenten oratorio series after Handel's death (see Chapter V).
[55] Norman Gillespie, 'The Text of Stanley's *Teraminta'*, *ML* 64 (1983), 218-24, has established that the libretto was composed after Carey's death.
[56] Sands, 222.
[57] Fiske, 135-7.
[58] 'Stanley, Smith and *Teraminta, ML* 60 (1979), 312-15 (hereafter Williams).

The watermarks are Clausen's types F1(1760) and F2b (1757), and one of the 'twins' of its F2b is an exact match with the watermark on the 1757 and 1758 versions of Handel's *Triumph of Time and Truth* and also with that on Smith's oratorio *Rebecca* performed in 1761). Thus the date of MS 1020 should be advanced at least into 1757, clearly too late for Smith's 1732 production.[59]

Although the original Smith *Teraminta* manuscript is lost, Williams identified one air, 'When lovers for favour petition' in Walsh's *British Musical Miscellany* (1734) which he compared to Stanley's completely different version in *Lcm* 1020.[60] Until now, this appeared to be the only extant example from Smith's earliest opera. But hitherto unrecognized, on folios 139-56 of *Cfm* Mus. MS 633 at the Fitzwilliam Museum, are seven 'Songs by Mr Smith', five clearly from *Teraminta*. All of them were copied by Jens Peter Larsen's copyist S3 who was associated with John Christopher Smith snr and his circle of copyists in the 1730s. The paper carries Clausen's watermark Cc, also consistent with a dating in the 1730s. Perhaps the most decisive evidence for Smith's claim to the *Teraminta* airs is those two airs *not* from *Teraminta*. 'Thus have I seen' (ff. 153-155v) and the continuo air 'Now I die' (ff. 156-156v) are two of Penelope's airs from the third act of Smith's 1733 opera *Ulysses*.[61]

The five newly-identified *Teraminta* airs, like 'When lovers for favour petition', are definitely from the 1732 libretto; four of them are the same for both the 1732 and 1743 versions, but the 1732 'Freedom, empire, life obtain'd' (ff. 148-150) was altered to 'Empire, freedom, life obtain'd' in the 1743 publication.[62] Each air is in full da capo

---

[59] Oscar Sonneck commissioned H. Willemsen to copy this *Teraminta,* and he completed the opera in London on 11 December 1908, now at *US-Wc* M1500.S. He was the same scribe who copied Smith's *Issippile* (see Chapter II).

[60] Williams, 314.

[61] *D-Hs* M A/279, ff. 102-04 and 127-28.

[62] A third libretto appears in Henry Carey's *The Dramatic Works of Henry Carey* (*1743*), 51-88, now available in paperback from Kessinger Legacy Reprints. The opera is 'Set to Music by Mr. *John-Christopher Smith.*', but it is clearly not the version that either Smith or Stanley set.

form, conforming to the 'Italian manner,' but copyist S3 has written the four Xarino airs for tenor rather than the original mezzo-soprano of Smith's 1732 production. Stanley did not set Xarino's air 'With her round the world will I wander', but a comparison of the other four airs with those of Stanley convincingly demonstrates Smith's more youthful enthusiasm (with the exception perhaps of 'O cupid') and his ability clearly to illustrate the texts. For example, Stanley's 'For glory and fame' is tuneful but hardly implies much nationalism, but Smith's rendering of the same words is forceful, suggesting military might (see Exx. I.13a and 13b).

At the very time that such an experiment had some small prospect of success, the English Opera Company appears to have splintered into various factions. Though the performance of Handel's *Acis and Galatea* presented 'in a theatrical way' earlier in the year was directed by Thomas Arne, Lampe and Smith apparently had nothing to do with it. These squabbles among members of the English Opera Company, besides leading to the eventual collapse of the experiment, may also have been partly responsible for the loss of the scores of every one of the original English operas produced by Lampe, Arne and Smith during the years 1732-3.[63] Aaron Hill's famous letter to Handel, dated 5 December 1732, requesting that Handel 'deliver us from our Italian bondage'[64] may well have been a direct result of his visit to one of the English operas, perhaps even to *Teraminta*. These early 1730s, then, were a time of indecision not only for Smith and Handel but for English music in general.

While Smith would have been dismayed by the partisan factions of the English Opera Company, this did not lessen his enthusiasm for the new genre. The small success of Smith's *Teraminta* encouraged him to write his other early English opera *Ulysses*

---

[63] These include Arne's *Rosamond* and *The Opera of Operas;* Lampe's *Amelia, Britannia,* and *Dione*; and Smith's *Teraminta.*
[64] Quoted in Deutsch, 299.

(with a libretto by Samuel Humphreys). Before the opera was even completed, he advertised its performance for his own benefit, again at Lincoln's Inn Fields.[65]

ULYSSES

One man apparently responsible for both Handel's and Smith's interest in English forms was Samuel Humphreys. It was he who had made revisions to the 1732 *Esther*; he also wrote the libretti for *Deborah* and *Athalia,* both in 1733. Perhaps he actually wrote the English opera *Ulysses* with Handel in mind. But it was Smith who actually set the work, completing it on 11 April 1733, just five days before its one and only performance at Lincoln's Inn Fields. Smith's autograph of *Ulysses* is lost, and the conducting score copied by his father is the only complete early English opera by Smith in existence. The manuscript has but one insertion, Ulysses' air 'In the gloomy maze of woe' composed before the libretto was printed.

In the *Daily Journal* of 7 April 1733, *Ulysses* was advertised simply as a 'new Opera in English'. It appears that he was somewhat influenced by Handel's early efforts in the field of English oratorio since the advertisements also promised that the opera would be 'Intermix'd with several Chorus's, … to be performed by an additional Number of Voices, and the Orchestra by the best Hands'. The scenery and costumes were to be 'proper to the Subject', and according to the libretto, there were five different backdrops, ranging from a simple grove to the palace gardens with a view of the Temple of Minerva.

The cast consisted of three singers for the English Opera: Jane Barbier in the role of Ulysses, Cecilia Young as Penelope, and Gustavus Waltz (bass) as the suitor Antinous. Mr Kelly, a tenor, sang the part of Telemachus, though his part is entirely

---

[65] *Ulysses* was advertised 7 April (*Daily Post*) and completed four days later (Coxe, 63); tickets were sold from the Meard's Court address.

written (as are those of the three sopranos) in the treble clef. But this time Arne had absolutely nothing to do with the production; all profits went directly to Smith.

Humphreys' libretto does not completely follow the style of the typical Italian opera libretto of the day, particularly in his use of the chorus as a more prominent feature. All of the action and information needed to make sense of the plot is unfortunately contained in the opera itself rather than in a lengthy 'argument', necessitating some fairly lengthy recitatives which, needless to say, considerably slow down the action. Regrettably, he chose as his plot only the section of *The Odyssey* which deals with Ulysses' return to Ithica to reclaim his kingdom. In the first act, Ulysses, disguised as a beggar, eventually reveals his real identity to his son Telemachus. Meanwhile his wife Penelope, believing Ulysses to be dead, is informed by her suitor Antinous that she must select a groom. In Act II, Ulysses discovers Penelope asleep and conceals himself when Antinous enters and eventually embraces Penelope. Later, Telemachus and the chorus plan for revenge. During the final scene, Antinous informs Penelope that on this day she must choose a new husband. In Act III, Antinous tells Penelope that Ulysses' last message was for her to remarry. Having vowed to obey, she is on the point of slaying herself, when she learns that Ulysses has indeed returned. Rushing to meet him, she discovers that Ulysses has in fact slain the other suitors (who actually never appear on stage), whereupon general rejoicing concludes the opera.

The music itself shows the tremendous musical growth that Smith had made in the six years since writing *The Mourning Muse of Alexis*. Gone are the awkward phrases, and in their place are several very beautiful airs, strong choruses, and a more mature mastery of orchestration. But far too much recitative and so many of these lovely airs dull the senses, so that the rage airs must have been welcome relief to the complacent audience. Smith musically related two of these airs from Act I. In the first, 'In spite of

each rivals' insistence' (see Exx. I.14a and 14b), the bass Antinous, following an argument with Telemachus, declares that he will be the chosen suitor by force of arms. And just as in the *Teraminta* aria 'For glory and fame' (see Exx. I.13b and 13c, mostly in unison as are the two *Ulysses* airs), rather than writing a contrasting 'B' section, Smith repeated the beginning of the opening theme there. Later, Penelope, having been informed by Antinous that he will seize her if necessary, vents her scorn in 'Proud tyrant thy terrors are vain' (see Ex. I.15) with an opening phrase similar to 'In spite of each rivals' insistence'. Although Smith rarely employed syncopation in any of his works, he did so effectively in Act III's 'With noble derision', contrasting Antinous' straightforward air with a syncopated accompaniment (see Ex. I.16).

Ulysses is the only major work by Smith to have been performed in the twentieth century.[66] Two hundred thirty years after its single performance, the Handel Opera Society staged the opera for the ninth St Pancras Arts Festival on 12 and 14 March 1963 under the musical direction of Charles Farncombe. The cast included Johanna Peters (Ulysses), Maureen Keetch (Penelope), David Palmer (Telemachus), Dawie Couzyn (Antinous), Margaret Neville (Antiope), and the Chandos Chorus. Charles Farncombe performed masterful surgery on the original work, cutting large sections of recitative and a few of the weaker airs and strategically moving two instrumental numbers to break up the recitatives.[67] The three reviews of the performances ranged from Michael Reynolds' 'Classic bore', in which he likened the opera to 'a wearying progress down miles of *secco recitative* broken up only by indifferent airs',[68] through Winton Dean's conclusion that there was 'one really dramatic chorus and a good continuo air for Penelope on the brink of suicide (see Ex. I.17); but the opera expires long before the end',[69] to Julian

---

[66] See Chapter IV for Colin Timms' performance of other Smith works in 1982.
[67] Mr Farncombe graciously allowed me to make copies of his tapes for both productions.
[68] *Music & Musicians* 11 (May 1963), 38.
[69] 'Ulysses', *MT* 104 (May 1963), 347.

Herbage's praise of Smith for 'producing a score which always charms the ear even if it rarely rivets the attention'.[70] Unfortunately, the comments of the reviewers are all too true. Smith's inability to write haunting melodies and his penchant for the refined at the expense of real vigour must have affected his eighteenth-century audience as well. Following the miserable response to *Ulysses* in 1733, it would be seven years before Smith would attempt another opera in English.

EARLY LIFE 2

During these years, Smith was a ratepayer in neither the parishes of St Anne's, Soho nor St James, Piccadilly, but there is evidence to suggest that he spent part of the time travelling. In 1740 John Lockman wrote that Smith had been an eyewitness to a rather unusual occurrence at Adlington Hall in Cheshire. It was there that Elizabeth Legh, subscriber for two copies of Smith's first set of keyboard lessons, observed her pigeon 'discover the most pleasing Emotions' whenever she played "Spera si, mi dice il core" from Handel's *Ottone* on the harpsichord'.[71] Since Smith was busily occupied in London for most of 1732 and 1733, he most likely travelled north somewhere between the failure of *Ulysses* in 1733 and Elizabeth's death in August of 1734 at age 39.[72] Despite the name of the Dublin music publisher William Neale on the subscription list for Smith's second set of harpsichord lessons, there is no evidence that Smith continued on to Ireland during those years.

At some point, Smith retired from the public scene. One must suppose that he spent his time teaching and assisting Handel with the Italian opera series. Three examples of what Clausen terms 'Cembalo-Partituren' (harpsichord scores) are in
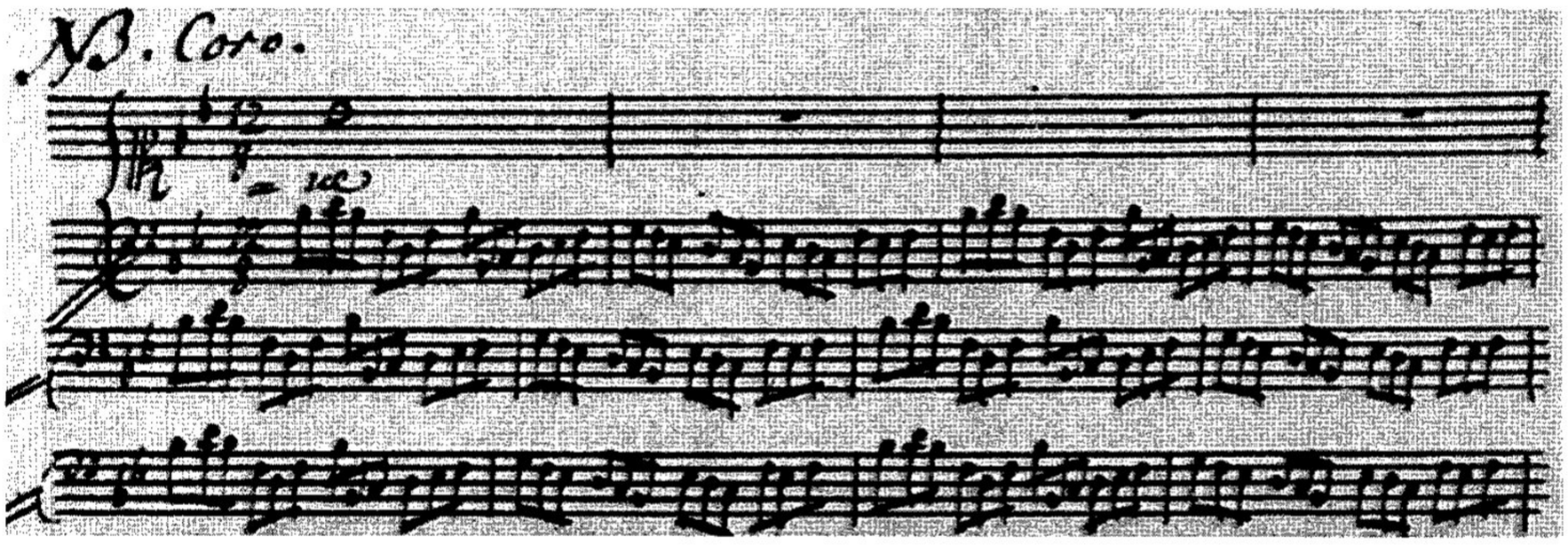
---

[70] *Opera* 14 (May 1963), 344-5.

[71] 'An Enquiry into the Rise and Progress of Operas and Oratorios, with some Reflections on Lyric Poetry and Music', forward to Smith's opera *Rosalinda*, *US-SM* K-D 434, xiii. Elizabeth Legh wrote 'The Pidgeon Song' on her copy of *Ottone* now at *WCr* 9M73/719.

Smith's hand and point directly to his involvement as a harpsichord player for at least some of Handel's Italian operas. The first is from *Orlando* (1733) which, according to Clausen (184), appears to be lost.[73] However, a harpsichord score from the opera became separated from the full score at some point and now resides in the British Library. The Hamburg Handel collection includes a separate harpsichord score for the opera *Poro* (*D-Hs* M A/1042a) in Smith's hand, probably for the 1737 production, and a third harpsichord score, for a chorus to follow the air 'Venga il Tempo' (HWV 46b:15), in Smith's father's hand, has been inserted into the conducting score of *Il trionfo del Tempo e della Verità* of 1738.[74]

Cembalo-Partitur for chorus after 'Venga il Tempo'



It was during 1737 that Handel experienced the first symptoms of physical disease. Gerard L. Hershewe, neuro-opthalmologist in Reno, NV, believes Handel experienced various ischemic episodes caused by his obesity.[75] A letter from the fourth Earl of Shaftsbury to James Harris, dated 12 May 1737, stated

> I fear Mr Handel designs to play hardly more than five times this season[,] or I should (I fear) rather say any more at all.

---

[73] *D-Hs* M A/1035, but missing its cembalo partitur, now at *GB-Lbl* Add. MS 31565. Watermarks for the Hamburg conducting score are Cc (Clausen 1738-40). Smith also copied (with his father) the aria 'Serbati a grandi imprese' (HWV 28:25).

[74] Watermark is Bh (Clausen 1737-38). The movement made a later appearance as a chorus for Baal's Priests in *Deborah* (HWV 51:20).

[75] These episodes would account for the weakness in his hand, his blindness, and his death. See also 'Handel's Illnesses' (rheumatism and strokes), *The Lancet*, December 20/27, 1980, 1354-5; S. Evers, 'Georg Friedrick Handel's Strokes', *Journal of the history of the neurosciences* 5, 3 (1996), 274-84, and David Hunter, 'Handel's Ill Health: Documents and Diagnoses', *RMARC* 41 (2008), 69-92, who makes a strong case for lead poisoning.

> PS . . . Mr Handel is better tho' not well eno' to play the harpsichord himself which young Smith is to do for him.[76]

From April 13 until the end of October or the beginning of November, Handel was either incapacitated or at Aix-la-Chapelle. Deutsch wrote that Handel directed neither *Dido* on 13 April [the day of his 'stroke'] nor *Berenice* on 18 May, but it seems reasonable that Smith played the harpsichord for the rest of the season at Covent Garden.[77] From the tone of the Earl of Shaftsbury's letter, it also appears that Smith was already well known to members of the audiences, and probably appeared often as a continuo player for Handel's Italian operas.

Smith's marital status and subsequent financial circumstances also deserve clarification, albeit on the basis of allusions and indirect references. The subscription list for Smith's second set of harpsichord suites (*c.*1737 or earlier), much less impressive than that of the first set, contains the name Frances Pacanham [*sic*], Smith's future bride. Coxe stated

> At the age of twenty-four, Mr Smith married the daughter of Mr Packenham, a gentleman of good fortune, in Ireland. He had reason to suppose that she was entitled to a fortune of three thousand pounds; but he never received any portion. They lived together nearly six years, and they had several children; but none survived the age of two years. She died of a decline. Her brother was afterwards created Lord Longford.[78]

In his introduction to the 1979 reprint of Coxe's *Anecdotes,* Percy Young may perhaps be forgiven for stating that the 'family records' (*Burke's Peerage, Baronetage & Knightage,* London, 1859) do not support Coxe's statement above; the *real* family records, however, show that George Edward Pakenham and his wife Margaret had four

---

[76] Burrows/Dunhill, 29.

[77] Deutsch, 433. He further added '... he may have directed G*iustino* on 4th and 11th May.' *Dido* was repeated on 20 and 27 April, and 1 June; *Justin* [*Giustino*] was performed on 4 and 11 May and also on 8 June; *Berenice* was performed on 18 May and 15 June. The last performance of the season was *Alexander's Feast.* The Prince and Princess of Wales were often in attendance (*LS* Part 3, 657-677). Dean (284) wrote '... it is unlikely that he [Handel] played at any performances after the first night of *Didone* on 13 April, including all four of *Berenice.*'.

[78] Coxe, 43. Thomas Pakenham was created Baron Longford in 1756. Burke, *Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Peerage: Baronetage and Knightage*, (105/1970), 1646.

daughters: Mary (who married John Chambers), Elizabeth (who died in 1722), Helen, and Frances (who both died 'unmarried').[79] A brief background should explain why some of these Pakenham daughters were omitted in various editions by Burke and also serve to answer Young's charge of a 'distinct strain on credibility … in respect to the dowry that never materialized'.[80]

Edward Pakenham, father of Smith's future wife, died in 1721, and shortly afterwards his widow Margaret left Ireland with some or all of their children to settle in London. If Coxe is correct, Smith would have married Frances in 1736 (at age 24). In 1739 Margaret remarried, her spouse on this occasion being the Revd Ossory Medlicott (1685-1770), a member of the parish of St George, Hanover Square, and later Vicar of Ticehurst from 1739 until his death in 1770.[81] Thus Smith had ample opportunity to meet Medlicott's stepdaughter (Frances Pakenham) either in that parish (where Roseingrave was the organist) or through the Chapel Royal where, from 1734 Medlicott was a Chaplain in Ordinary to George II.[82] While a large dowry could have been expected for a Pakenham daughter, it is very doubtful that the same could be expected from either Margaret Packenham or Medlicott, whose salary as Vicar of Ticehurst (beside that from the Chapel Royal) was only £ 20-30 per year.[83]

I have failed to locate any record of this marriage to Frances in London, but during 1737-38 Smith was living in Hogg Lane, four streets to the northeast of his father's Meard's Court address. This was in the Parish of St Anne's where the records show that the parents of a John Christopher Smith, baptized on 28 August 1738, were

---

[79] Information kindly supplied by the Rt. Hon. Thomas Pakenham, 6th Earl of Longford (personal correspondence, 1983). See also London Genealogical Society, Tweedale Room (under Packenham) for the Pakenham family tree.
[80] Coxe, x.
[81] City of London Guildhall Library, microfilm of MS 17,602; Genealogical Society of Sussex, Barbican House (under Ticehurst).
[82] *GB-Lbl* Add. MSS 32886, and *Magnae Britannia Notitia* (1735-58). His duties during October were to preach on Sundays and festivals and to read Divine Service daily for the king. He is called Dr. Medlycott in Miege: *The Present State of Great Britain and Ireland* (1745).
[83] *Gb-Lbl* Add. MSS 32886 and 33055.

John Christopher and Frances.[84] On 3 March 1740 a second child, Frances Smith, was born to the same couple in the parish of St James, Piccadilly, to which the Smiths had in the meantime moved.[85] Because of the many children buried in both parishes whose names were John, Christopher and Frances Smith, it is impossible to identify the dates of their deaths, and I have found no definitive record of his wife's burial either. Is it possible that the tuberculosis which Smith had successfully overcome at age eighteen may have been responsible for the death of his entire family?

In 1738 Smith was apparently acting as an agent for Handel's music, representing his father, when Thomas Harris contacted him concerning parts for *Alexander's Feast,*[86] and his signature appears on the Declaration of Trust for the Society for the Support of Decayed Musicians or their Families in 1739 along with that of his father.[87] While his identity is certain for the fund, it is impossible to establish whether or not he was the Mr Smith who was an unsuccessful candidate for the post of organist at St Bartholomew the Great on 26 March 1740.[88]

1740: *THE SEASONS*[89]

The Seasons is perhaps Smith's most disappointing work. Smith based his serenata, completed in 1740, on James Thompson's *A Hymn: The Adoration of God* (later titled *The Seasons*). Although Vivaldi's *The Four Seasons* had been published in Amsterdam in 1725, it apparently did not appear in London before 1740, so it is surprising that Smith actually included some of Vivaldi's musical ideas. Vivaldi's work

---

[84]*GB-Wpl,* St Anne's Parish, Highway Rates (A 1251-2), and King's Square Scavenger Rates (A 1185). No other John or Christopher Smith resided in the parish during those years, and the younger Smith left at the end of 1738. See also *GB-Wpl,* St Anne's Parish, Microfilm, reel 2. See Appendix V for the Smith family trees.

[85]*GB-Wpl* St James Picadilly, Baptisms (microfilm). Even by the process of elimination, it has been impossible to determine Smith's address in the parish of St James, *GB-Wpl,* St Anne's Parish, Highway Rates (A 1251-2), and King's Square Scavenger Rates (A 1185).

[86] Burrows/Dunhill, 51.

[87]Betty Mathews (comp.), *Royal Society of Musicians 1738-1984* (London, 1985), 135.

[88] Donovan Dawe, *Organists of the City of London 1666-1800,* (Padstow, 1983), 33.

[89] *D-Hs* M A/762, incorrectly titled 'Opera' in another hand.

is made up of four concerti, each representing a specific season of the year. It is truly programme music in that we hear the seasons: birds twitter in spring, a severe thunderstorm attacks in summer, hunters pursue their quarry in autumn, and teeth chatter in the cold of winter. But Thompson's *The Seasons* is an affirmation of love and faith in God, and the fact that the seasons change regularly yields a constant. The opening lines (not set by Smith) declare

> These, as they change, ALMIGHTY FATHER, these,
> Are but the *varied* GOD. The rolling Year
> Is full of Thee. Forth in the pleasing Spring
> Thy Beauty walks, THY Tenderness and Love.[90]

Smith began the work with a two-movement Sinfonia followed by two choruses, the second of which musically illustrates 'The rolling year is full of thee'. The introduction to 'Spring' is another Sinfonia depicting a trio of chirping birds with two flutes and 'flauto piccolo', followed by a short recitative and air with no word painting. Smith's version of 'Summer' allows the listener to hear a thunderstorm (first in a tenor air and afterward in a chorus), but the best part is the Pastorale (see Ex. I.18) with slowly-moving harmonies depicting the countryside. 'Autumn' is short (one recitative and one air), but 'Winter' opens with an accompagnato 'Tempest o'er tempest roar' presaging 'Arise, arise ye subterranean winds' from Smith's *The Tempest* (see Exx. I.19a and I.19b). Part II concerns nature and God's effect on it, with little regard for the seasons. However, the final air, 'Sweetest of birds' demonstrates Smith's effective use of a solo flute (see Ex. I.20).

1740: *ROSALINDA*

Even though *The* Seasons was never publically performed, in the same year Smith produced his own 'musical drama' as well as a short oratorio. Though the winter had been unusually severe, Smith planned, this time on his own, a series of twenty

---

[90] James Thompson, *The Seasons*, ed. James Sambrook (Oxford, 1981), 254.

'concerts and entertainments' to be held on Friday evenings at Hickford's Great Room in Brewer Street.[91] The season opened with *Rosalinda* (now lost) which, though entitled a 'musical drama' by its author John Lockman, is actually a mini-opera in English. The three roles were taken by Cecilia Arne as Rosalinda, daughter to Ferdinand, King of Castile; John Beard as Garcia, generalissimo of King Ferdinand's troops; and Mr Russell (countertenor), a page to Rosalinda. The love plot is simple: Rosalinda, believing her beloved Garcia has been slain during a battle, lies forlorn in a bed of flowers. The page tries to calm her, but to no avail. The living Garcia returns, they are united and Ferdinand gives them his blessing. The movements include merely an opening and closing chorus, one duet and seven airs, none for the page. Although the score is lost, one air is printed in *A Second Set of English, French and Italian* Songs, *Adaped for the Guittar* [sic] by Frederic Schuman, p.11.[92] A violin solo by Michael Christian Festing, a cello solo by Andrea Caporale and 'several concertos' filled out the evening's entertainment.

Lockman's libretto is interesting in its own right, for the first edition commences with 'An Enquiry into the Rise and Progress of Operas and Oratorios, with some Reflections on Lyric Poetry and Music.[93] Foreshadowing the ideas of modern music therapy, he wrote several pages about the power of music, mentioning the episode with the dove described above (25), and then divided music into two respects: 1) music without words which makes an impression on the soul, and 2) music and words together which effect both the soul and the body.

---

[91] *The London Daily Post, and General Advertiser,* 4 January 1740. Subsequent information has been derived from later issues.
[92] London, *c.*1768-70.
[93] *US-SM* K-D 434. There were at least five editions of the printed libretto.

Chapter I: The Early Years

1740: *DAVID'S LAMENTATION OVER SAUL AND JONATHAN*

John Lockman's poem *David's Lamentation over Saul and Jonathan* had been published anonymously in 1736, and The Apollo Society presented William Boyce's musical version in the same year.[94] Smith and Boyce set virtually the identical text, the only differences being that the words for Boyce's opening chorus paraphrase those of Lockman, and that only Smith set Lockman's airs 'On Thee, Mount Gilboa' and 'O the sweets of friendship found.' Both composers omitted the recitative 'The bow which Jonathan so strongly drew' and the second half of the concluding chorus 'Daughters of Israel'.

Smith's oratorio (lost) is comparatively short, being comprised of three choruses, thirteen recitatives, nine airs, and one duet. Smith's version, from 2 Samuel, was presented at Hickford's Room as part of a subscription series of 20 concerts which included seven performances of his English opera *Rosalinda*, also with a libretto by John Lockman, a strong enthusiast for English opera. Its first performance was the eighth day of the series, on 22 February 1740, a year after Handel's oratorio *Saul,* based on 1 Samuel, was first performed,[95] and Smith's benefit night on 27 March included both *Rosalinda* and the short oratorio. The singers were soprano Cecilia Arne (née Young), tenor John Beard, counter-tenor Mr Russell, and bass Thomas Reinhold, all of whom had not only sung for Handel, but for several of the other concerts in the series as well. Festing played violin while Caporale played the cello.[96] Unfortunately, the only extant

---

[94] *David's Lamentation over Saul and Jonathan. A Lyric Poem.* (London, 1736). The whole is comprised of choruses, recitatives, and airs.

[95] Subsequent performances were 29 February, 7, 14, 21 and 27 March as well as 2 April.

[96] Todd Gilman, *The Theatre Career of Thomas Arne* (Newark, 2013) stated that Maurice Greene sponsored this series of concerts, but I have found no evidence that this is the case. Neither of his citations mentions Greene, and the Greene authority H. Diack Johnstone believes Greene's Apollo Society only gave concerts in the Apollo Tavern.

movement from *David's Lamentation* is the Handelian-like duet 'Sad Israel' for soprano and alto, unexpectedly, considering the topic, in E flat major (see Ex. I.21).[97]

The season was a hectic one not only for Handel and Smith, but also for Thomas Arne and William Defesch, each vying for an audience already limited by the freezing temperatures. All four managed for some time to avoid direct competition until Defesch's *Judith* was programmed opposite Smith's oratorio *David's Lamentation over Saul and Jonathan* on 29 February. For this performance, Smith once again procured the best English voices available, adding Thomas Reinhold to the earlier list of singers for *Rosalinda.* By 10 March, the competition for the public's attention was further complicated by problems of casting. According to the newspaper advertisements, Handel scheduled a performance of his *L'Allegro, il Penseroso, ed il Moderato* at the same time as Arne's *Rosamond,* both men advertising Beard and Reinhold as their singers. Handel had avoided scheduling his own oratorios on Fridays, apparently in deference to Smith, but on Friday, 14 March, his *L'Allegro* was performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields in direct competition with Smith's *David's Lamentation.* Thus not only had Smith to contend with the apparent opposition of his idol, but the cast lists for both works were to have included Beard, Russell and Reinhold. In the event, Smith advertised his singers for the evening as Mrs [Cecilia] Arne, [Thomas] Salway, Russell 'and others'. So Beard and Reinhold, not unexpectedly, elected to perform for Handel. The same uncomfortable situation was repeated on the following Friday with Handel's *Saul* in competition with Smith's *David's Lamentation*, Beard and Reinhold again deserting Smith. Much has been written about Handel's fiery temper, and one may assume that Smith and his mentor quarrelled over the issue. But Smith's original cast was with him on his benefit night (27 March) when he presented *Rosalinda* and *David's Lamentation* together, after

---

[97] Printed in Coxe Appendix, 1-9.

which he and Handel were careful to avoid any further conflict during the rest of the season. Evidently the two men made peace with one another, for the last performance of *David's Lamentation* included the first known public performance of Handel's Chandos Anthems 'O sing unto the Lord' and 'My song shall be alway'. It would be 16 May before Smith completed his series of twenty entertainments, including three performances of the same pair of anthems.

DUBIOUS WORKS

Sometime in the 1740s or 50s, Smith became acquainted with the English poet Thomas Gray, author of 'The Bard.' His biographer William Mason wrote

> Mr. Smith, the Musical Composer and worthy pupil of Mr. Handel, had once an idea of setting this Ode ['The Bard'], and of having it performed by way of serenata or oratorio. A common friend of his and Mr. Gray's interested himself much in this design, and drew out a clear analysis of the Ode, that Mr. Smith might more perfectly understand the Poet's meaning. He conversed also with Mr. Gray on the subject, who gave him an idea for the overture, and marked also some passages in the Ode in order to ascertain which should be recitative, which air, what kind of air, and how accompanied.[98]

B. Eugene McCarthy later wrote, '… it seems that Gray already had a strong sense of the musical dimension of "The Bard" during its composition if he were able to respond so quickly and in detail to Smith'. In any case, the two may have disagreed on the layout because Mason continued from above, 'The design was, however, not executed'.[99]

William Cox mentioned the second problematic work 'God save great George our King,' stating 'Harry Carey composed the popular song … But although he had much genius for music, he was ignorant of the rules of composition, and applied to

---

[98] *The Poems of Mr. Gray* (York, 1775), 92 (at the back).
[99] 'Gray's Muse for "The Bard"', *Review of English Studies* 48, (Feb. 1997), 19-32. He also wrote that this friend was Thomas Twining.

Smith to adapt a base to the air'.[100] During the year of Smith's death, Henry Harrington, his doctor in Bath, wrote

> Sir – the anecdote you mentioned respecting your father being the author and composer of the words and melody of 'God save great George the King' is completely true. That most respectable gentleman Mr. Smith*, my worthy friend and patient, has often told me what follows, viz. – 'That your father came to him with the words and music, desiring him to correct the bass, which Mr. Smith told him was not proper; and at your father's request he wrote down another in correct harmony'. Mr. Smith, to whom I read your letter this day, June 13, repeated the same again. His advanced age, and present infirmity, render him incapable of writing or desiring to be written to, but on his authority I pledge myself for the truth. Should this information prove in the least advantageous to yourself, it will afford the sincere satisfaction and pleasure …
>
> *This Mr. John Smith was many years a friend and assistant of Mr. Handel.
>
> P.S. My curiosity was often raised to inquire after the author before Mr. Smith related the above, and I was often misinformed. Mr. Smith says, he understood your father intended this air as a part of a birthday ode, or somewhat of that kind. However this might be, no laureate or composer has furnished the world with any more production more complimentary or popular.'[101]

Many others have also been mentioned as the anthem's composer, but Percy Scholes defends T.A. Arne, rather than Henry Carey, as its composer, stating that 'the testimony of an old man [Smith] in an advanced state of decay' was not credible.[102] Yet Harrison wrote that Smith had often told him the story.

THE SEASON OF 1741

In the spring of 1741, Smith organized a further series of fourteen concerts at Hickford's Room, again on Friday evenings, while Handel presented his oratorios at Lincoln's Inn Fields, generally on Saturdays. These were a mixed bag of vocal and instrumental works featuring Cecilia Arne, Michael Christian Festing (violin) and

---

[100] Coxe, footnote, 43.

[101] Letter to George Saville Carey [son of Henry Carey]. June 13, 1795, 'On the origin of the celebrated Ballad of "Sally in our Alley", and on the Author of "God Save the King"', *The Monthly Magazine* 73 (1801), 385-6.

[102] *God Save the Queen!: The History and Romance of the World's First National Anthem* (London, 1954), 285.

Andrea Caporale (cello), who had all performed with Smith in 1740. Charles Frederick Weideman (one of Handel's flute and oboe players) and John Miller (bassoonist) also joined the group. The hint that these concerts involved Smith is the appearance of a 'Musical Dramatick Poem: On his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales's Birthday', first offered on 6 February. Both the music and the libretto for this anonymous work, given twice more on 13 and 20 February and again on 17 April with the title 'Proteus' are missing, but one of Smith's lost works listed by Coxe is *Thamesi, Isi, et Proteo* (in honour of Frederick Prince of Wales).[103] Concerning the political climate of the day, with Frederick and his wife Augusta banished from the court of St James and living in virtual exile at Kew, it would not be surprising that a young composer would prefer to remain anonymous for such a presentation.[104]

John Parry, the blind harpist, played a Handel concerto as part of the programme on 27 February, and he reappeared twice more: in the first a benefit for Smith's brother-in-law John Richter on Thursday, 5 March and another on Friday 13 March.

During Passion week, the regular Friday concert was moved to Thursday 26 March when Smith's *David's Lamentation over Saul and Jonathan* enjoyed one last performance, this time coupled with Johann Adolf Hasse's *Salve Regina* which had been published in London the previous year.[105] The last night of the season (24 April) again sported a variety of works, but this time the programme was specific. It included works by Hasse, Leonardo Vinci, Giovanni Battista Pescetti, Arne and Handel. Two vocal works by Smith were also performed: the air 'O the sweets in friendship found' from *David's Lamentation* and the chorus 'Fly, ye graces, from these seats' from his opera *Rosalinda*, first performed just twelve months earlier.

---

[103] In 'A Forgotten Concert Room', *MT* 47 (1906), 604, Bertha Harrison wrote 'It is written in the stilted, artificial style of that time and is full of the usual classical terms and allusions.' She must have seen a copy of the libretto, but I have not found one.

[104] John Walters: *The Royal Griffin, Frederick Prince of Wales, 1707-5*, (London, 1972), 161.

[105] *OMO* (accessed 15 October 2015). It was repeated on 8 and 10 April.

Chapter I: The Early Years

EARLY LIFE 3

Although Coxe's dates are often vague, his chronology is generally correct. It should therefore be sometime in early 1741 that Smith lost his wife Frances, probably to tuberculosis. It is surely no coincidence that Handel and Smith together disappear from *The London Stage* in the fall of that year, Smith having been involved with twenty productions in 1740 and fourteen in the spring of 1741. But it was in November 1741 that Handel arrived in Dublin, bringing 'several of the best performers in the Musical Way'.[106] We know he brought four singers (Signora Christine Avolio, Mrs Susanna Maria Cibber, Miss Edwards and Mrs Maclean), but surely 'several' refers to more than singers. Smith might have been among them even though Handel apparently engaged a Mr Maclaine (organist) to assist him with performances.[107] Handel and Smith together had played the continuo parts for several Italian operas and for the oratorios,[108] and Handel would have preferred Smith rather than some continuo player he had never met.

During the Dublin stay, Handel performed five works requiring more than one keyboard player: *Esther* (two harpsichords and two organs for the 1732 performance), *Alexander's Feast* (one organ and one harpsichord), *Imeneo* (probably two harpsichords), *Messiah* (two continuo instruments for the Foundling Hospital), and *Saul* (two organs and one harpsichord).[109] Handel's first performance of *Imeneo* had been in November 1740, and there is no doubt that Smith assisted him in its performances. For these Smith wrote

---

[106] 'Prue's Occurrances', 21 November 1741, in Deutsch, 526. Except for this negative is no other proof of Smith travelling to Dublin with Handel
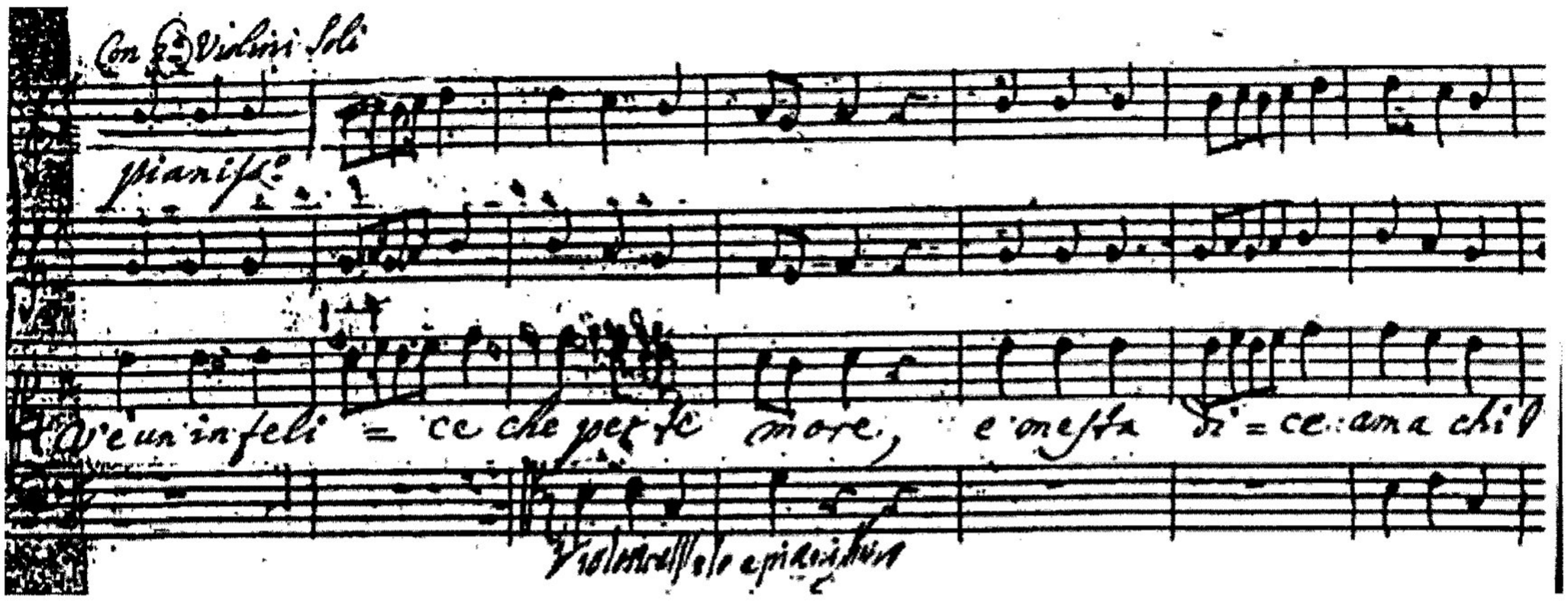
[107] Donald Burrows, 'Handel's Dublin Performances', *Irish Musical Studies*, ed. Patrick F. Devine and Harry White, 4 and 48.

[108] Dean, *Oratorios*, 75. See 25-6 above for a discussion of copies of Italian opera continuo parts.

[109] See Donald Burrows, 'Who Does What, When?; On the instrumentation of the basso continuo and the use of the organ in Handel's English Oratorios', *Handel Studies: a Gedenkschrift for Howard Serwer*, Richard G. King, ed., 2009, 107-26, for a discussion of Handel's continuo instruments, especially in *Alexander's Feast.*

'Con 2d Violini Soli' above the air 'V' è un' infelice per te more,'[110] and his hand on the manuscript clearly points to Smith's involvement with Handel in the early 1740s.

Smith's hand: 'Con 2nd Violini Soli'



Handel later prepared a concert version for Dublin, performed on 24 and 31 March 1742, but the air was not included in the 1742 version.[111]

If Smith were to have returned to London before Handel, he would have presented oratorios during Lent, but there were only three performances of *Alexander's Feast* along with Arne's *Judgment of Paris.* Thus it appears that he probably remained in Dublin with Handel, returning in August with his mentor. The two of them continued the oratorio series during Lent in 1743, including seven performances of the newly-composed *Samson.*

Coxe's *Anecdotes* jump from Smith's marriage at the age of 24 to a date some ten years hence in a matter of only eight lines. Clearly, Smith must never have discussed these years with his stepson, and Coxe knew only that Smith had made an important change in his lifestyle after the death of his wife.

A large part of this change was a set of friends, some of whom were to play an important part in his future life. Among them were Benjamin Stillingfleet, the Revd Dr Thomas Dampier, Benjamin Tate, and Robert Price. Coxe was under the impression that

---

[110] See HHA II/40, p. 291. I am grateful for the copy from Donald Burrows, *c.*1990.
[111] *HHA Imeneo*, ed. Burrows, 312-14.

Smith met these men on the Continent, but as Percy Young has pointed out in his introduction to the 1979 facsimile reprint of Coxe's *Anecdotes*, this could not possibly be the case. Benjamin Stillingfleet (1702-71), later to become one of Smith's librettists, was the grandson of Edward Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester. His interests were wide-ranging, from the classics and music to mathematics, science and botany; he is chiefly remembered today for being instrumental in the establishment of Linnaean botany in England,[112] and for his analysis and commentary on Tartini's *Trattato di Musica* published anonymously as *Principles and Power of Harmony* in 1771. While touring Italy, Stillingfleet became acquainted with the other members of this fascinating group who were later to meet again in Geneva.

Probably its most important member, certainly as far as Smith is concerned, was Robert Price of Foxley (d. 1761), artist, composer, violinist, librettist, author, magistrate, and country gentleman, who perhaps provided the critical observations on music in Mainwaring's Handel memoirs.[113] Price met some of the members of the group in Italy, probably while studying composition with Andrew Basili, and renewed the friendship when the group established a 'Common Room' in Geneva. There, as Young puts it, they spent much time 'earnestly discussing literature, art, and music, and a little less earnestly practicing these crafts'.[114] While some of the men toured the countryside on various 'scientific' expeditions, one of the group's primary interests was the production of pantomimes with music. There appears to be no other evidence of this group's

---

[112] Stillingfleet translated six of Linnaeus' essays and included a thirty-page preface which explained the system (which established binomial nomenclature) in his *Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Natural History, Husbandry, and Physick* (1759). The facts concerning the lives and accomplishments of these men have been gathered chiefly from Coxe's *Stillingfleet*, *i* and *ii* (1811) and from the *ODNB*. Percy Young gives an excellent account of these men in his introduction to Coxe's *Anecdotes*.

[113] *Memoirs of the Life of the Late George Frederic Handel* (1760; repr. 1967), 165 ff. Deutsch (529) credits Price for the critical part, but Dean (*Operas I*) credits Smith (fn., 109).

[114] Coxe, xii.

activities,[115] but a description of their productions makes it clear that they were quite ambitious.[116] Besides offering *Macbeth* (in which the witches were changed into magicians), the members produced pantomimes which they themselves had written. These were accompanied by printed programmes, scenery painted by Price and others, machinery directed by Stillingfleet, and an orchestra led by Gasparo Fritz, while 'the prettiest airs in the Pantomimes were the compositions of Price [music] and Stillingfleet [libretti]'.[117] These theatrical productions became so popular that the local magistrates loaned the men a place to erect a theatre in which, because it could only hold 200 people, these productions were acted three or four times so that all who wished could view them.

Rather than meeting these men on the Continent, Smith made their acquaintance in London. When Price died in 1761, Stillingfleet wrote that he had known Smith for twenty-five years; so they must have met in London some time round about 1736, i.e. before the Continental visit.[118] Benjamin Tate was probably the second of the group to meet Smith as he subscribed to Smith's second set of keyboard lessons published *c.*1737. It is significant that nowhere do any of the friends mention Smith as being involved in the theatrical productions in Geneva, and Smith, as we have already seen, was fully occupied during the 1740 and 1741 seasons at Hickford's Room in London. The other members of the Geneva Common Room made their way back to England during 1741: Benjamin Tate and Thomas Dampier arrived before 30 July and Robert Price was in London by 19 December.[119]

---

[115] The *Inventaire de la Presse Classique 1600-1789* (1978) lists no applicable extant periodicals for Geneva in those years. J. Horneffer of the Conservatoire de Musique (Geneva) wrote that 'The Public Record [Office] in Geneva has no more hidden treasures concerning this epoch'. (Personal orrespondence, 1984).

[116] Coxe, *Stillingfleet i,* 75-80.

[117] Coxe, *Stillingfleet i*, 76. For Gasparo Fritz (1716-83), see *OMO* (accessed October 2015) and Deutsch 520 and 528.

[118] Coxe, Stillingfleet *ii*, 180.

[119] See Dampier and Price letters to their friends in Geneva 4 April, 30 July and 19 December quoted in Deutsch, 517, 520, and 528.

Smith continued working closely with Handel during the early 1740s. The elder Christopher Smith, writing to Lord Middlesex on 28 July 1743, claimed that 'he [Handel] has taken an aversion to see me, for having been so much his friend … but my Son is to see Him and take his instructions'.[120] Such 'instructions' evidently did not include copying, for while Handel composed *Semele*, the Dettingen *Te Deum* and *Joseph* during the summer of 1743, it was his father, the elder Smith, who copied all these works.

Meanwhile, his friends were sorting out their new lives as gentlemen: Benjamin Tate married Miss Alcroft of Mitcham on 24 February 1743,[121] Thomas Dampier was appointed lower master at Eton in 1745, while Benjamin Stillingfleet shared a house in Panto Square with Robert Price until in 1746 the latter married Anne, the sister of Daines Barrington who would later join the circle of friends'.[122] None of Smith's works were performed publicly during these years, and none of them were published, although Smith's Italian opera *Isippile* may have been performed privately for his friends in the early part of 1746.[123]

WINTER OR DAPHNE

On 26 January 1744, Smith completed what must be termed a musical elegy based on Alexander Pope's *Winter. The Fourth Pastoral, or Daphne*, to the memory of Mrs Tempest.[124] The work, descriptive of nature, mourns the death of Daphne, who, in the Greek legend of Daphne and Apollo, was turned into a laurel tree. Smith set all of Pope's lines except three and added two choruses not in the original poem. The only

---

[120] See Betty Matthews, 'Unpublished Letters Concerning Handel', *ML* 40 (1959), 263.
[121] *Gentlemen's Magazine*, 1743, 106. Her dowry was £8,000.
[122] Coxe, *Stillingfleet i,* 97. For Daines Barrington, see *OMO* (accessed March 2015). In 1781 Barrington wrote an 'Account of a Very Remarkable Young Musician [Mozart]', *Miscellanies*, 79-88, describing Mozart's musical talents not only at public concerts but in his father's house.
[123] See Chapter II, 44.
[124] 'This pastoral, Pope's own favourite, was produced on occasion of the death of a Mrs Tempest, a favourite of Mr Walsh, the poet's friend, who died on the night of the great storm of 1703, to which there are allusions'. *The Poetical Works of Alexander Pope*, Vol. I, Charles Cowden Clarke, ed., (Edinburgh and London, 1863), 21.

singers are Lycidas and Thyrsis (both sopranos), and the orchestration consists merely of strings except for three choruses where he added two oboes (and probably two bassoons). Smith later used the introductory French overture and its concluding minuet in his English opera *The Fairies*,[125] but the fugal section for strings is pure Handelian (see Ex. I.22). Early stanzas conclude with 'Fair Daphne's dead and Love (Beauty, Pleasure, Sweetness, Musick) is no more', but surprisingly, out of fourteen movements, eight are set in the major mode. The work concludes with a rather joyful chorus (not in Pope) 'To thee bright goddess'.

Coxe's next direct reference to Smith's activities concerns his pupil Peter Walter whose grandfather was described by Laetitia Hawkins as being 'of great notoriety as one of the most successful money-getters in London'.[126] When Walter – an invalid according to Coxe – inherited his grandfather's fortune, he planned a journey to the south of France for his health, offering Smith an annuity of £300 to accompany him. With no family to support, Smith, who had by now acquired a taste for the 'good life', agreed to join Walter and his sister Mary in 1746, abandoning Handel, his family, friends, and pupils for an effortless future.

---

[125] See Chapter IV.
[126] *Memoirs, Anedotes, Facts, and Opinions i* (London, 1824), 48. Coxe incorrectly gives his name as Peter Waters.

ITALIAN OPERAS AND CONTINENTAL ENGLISH ANTHEMS

After the completion of *Deidamia* in 1740, Handel effectively turned his back on the composition of Italian opera. It is all the more surprising, therefore, that, only three years later, John Christopher Smith jnr, hitherto a champion and advocate of opera in English, should suddenly decide to take it up. Between 1743 and 1746 Smith produced no fewer than three Italian operas (*Issipile*[1], *Il Ciro riconosciuto*[2] and *Dario*, now lost)[3] and, in addition, set a number of arias to words from *Demofoonte* and *Artaserse.* But *Issipile* and *Il Ciro riconosciuto* survive only as collections of arias with introductory overtures and concluding 'cori', and, with one exception, lacking the recitative essential to any performance of the works as a whole. The libretti chosen – all by Metastasio – were hugely popular with mid-eighteenth-century composers, with many set not just once but several times, though never by Handel.[4]

The catalogue descriptions of Smith's Italian works printed on pages 63-4 in the Appendix to Coxe's *Anecdotes* tantalizingly provide bits of information not contained in those manuscript sources still extant. While compiling the list of works owned by Smith's daughter-in-law Lady Rivers in 1799, Coxe would seem to have had some of the autograph manuscripts to hand since various annotations apparently written by Smith himself were carefully distinguished by the use of italic type. In the case of the lost *Dario*, for instance, these read *'Fine de l'Atto primo, London, March 8, 1746. Fine de l'Atto secondo, London, June 6, 1746. Fine de l'Atto terzo, Rotterdam, Sept. 5, 1746.*

---

[1] Autograph *Lbl* Add. MS 31700, attributed to Gioacchino Cocchi in *GB-Lbl* MS catalogue under Cocchi). MS copy in *US-Wc* M 1500.S64 I 6, by A. Willemsen (1911), commissioned by Oscar Sonneck.
[2] Autograph *D-Hs* M A/668.
[3]The Bristol bookseller Thomas Kerslake offered a work called *Arganeo* (along with other Smith works) for sale in *c.*1857, but this did not reappear on any other lists, nor is there any other record of its existence.
[4] Among the more important of these contemporary settings are Ariosti's *Dario* (1725); Arne's *Artaxerxes* (1762); Cocchi's *Demofoonte* (1754), *Issipile* (1758) and *Ciro riconosciuto* (1759*);* Galuppi's *Issipile* (1737), *Ciro riconosciuto* (1745), *Demofoonte* (1749) and *Dario* (1751); Gluck's *Artaserse* (1741), *Demofoonte* (1743), and *Issipile* (1752); Carl Heinrich Graun's *Artaserse* (1743), *Demofoonte* (1748, 1749 and 1758), and *Ciro riconosciuto* (1751); Jommelli's *Artaserse* (1749), *Ciro riconosciuto* (*c.*1747, 1749, and 1751 or 1758), and *Demofoonte* (1743 and 1753); Leo's *Demofoonte* (Act I in1735), *Il Ciro riconosciuto* (1739); and Sandoni's *Artaserse* (1709) and *Issipile* (1735).

Although the autograph of *Il Ciro riconosciuto* in Hamburg corresponds with Coxe's description of the opera as having 'Three acts. Words by Metastasio. No date or signature', this is the only one that does so.

Issipile likewise attests to the erosion and ravages of time and circumstance upon the Smith canon. Here Coxe simply provided the title and date: 'Issipile. 1746'. On the other hand, Smith dated the autograph 'London, Fine dell Atto Primo. Aprill ye 15 – 1743. London, Fine dell Atto Seconde [*sic*]. July ye 1st 1743. Fine dell Opera. London October ye 20th. 1743'. If one grants that Coxe would not have failed to pass on such information had it been available to him, it would appear that he had access not to the autograph but to some other manuscript in the Rivers collection. If so, this working copy has long been lost. It is not impossible, however, that Coxe's date of 1746 may refer to some private London performance given early that year, for the autograph contains a number of duplicate aria settings, all on paper whose watermark Bl (Clausen *c.*1746-8, Burrows 1746-7) suggests a date of composition three or four years later than that of the manuscript as a whole.

Coxe's description is also at variance with another volume of Smith's works; partially autograph and once the property of W.H. Cummings, this is now in the Nanki Ongaka Bunko Library in Tokyo.[5] The volume includes eight anthems, one aria from *Issipile,* two from *Il Ciro riconosciuto*, four from *Demofoonte*, and six from *Artaserse*, the latter catalogued by Coxe as 'A few scenes of Artaserse, by Metastasio. Dated in Mr. Smith's handwriting, *Aix en Provence*, 1749.[6] For none of these, however, is there any suggestion of date or place of composition in the Japanese source, so this manuscript too must be different from that which Coxe was describing. Neither is there any mention by

---

[5] *J-Tn* N-3, MS 24.
[6] Coxe Appendix, 64.

Coxe of any Smith anthems or the four *Demofoonte* settings, as almost certainly there would have been had this manuscript formed part of Lady Rivers' collection.

The sum total of Smith's foray into the Italian operatic field, then, is essentially represented in the extant manuscripts by two overtures, two 'cori', two duets, one recitative (secco and accompanied) and 57 arias. What is particularly odd about Smith's Italian operatic output, however, is not so much that none of it was ever published, but that, as far as is known, none of it was ever publically performed. No less perplexing is the almost total absence of recitative. As they stand, the autographs of both *Issipile* and *Il Ciro riconosciuto*, like most published operatic scores of the period, contain nothing but the arias together with the overture and concluding 'coro'. Yet, despite the presence of occasional blanks, a careful examination of the manuscripts shows that there are no pages missing. The only extant recitative, as we shall presently see, is something of a special case. Unless the rest were written in some other source – surely no eighteenth-century composer of opera ever separated the recitatives and arias thus – one must reluctantly conclude that the recitatives were never set.[7] The music we do have clearly displays Smith's assured handling of later Baroque operatic style. At the same time it shows him as being alive to certain features of the on-coming *galant* as well, through his frequent use of the Italian augmented sixth and chromatic appoggiaturas.

It is my guess that Smith wrote at least some of these operas for private performance with his new friends, particularly Robert Price and Benjamin Stillingfleet. This idea would account for the alterations, additions, and conflicting dates for *Issipile*, the lack of recitatives, and bare-bones orchestration. The group had become acquainted in London before Smith's journey to the Continent in 1746, and it was during these

---

[7] Composers often wrote the texts of recitatives with music to be filled in later. Winton Dean (*Operas ii,* 461) wrote, 'Some [of Handel's] recitatives have words but no music; others have music but only an occasional word of text; elsewhere blank staves appear where a recitative is due', but at least Handel left a place for them in his autograph.

years, the early 1740s, that Smith began writing Italian operas. He appears to have kept at it while travelling with Peter Walter and his sister on the Continent and brought the scores with him when he returned to London.

At first glance, Smith's orchestration of these Italian arias would seem to incorporate a single, fundamental approach with most scored for various combinations of strings and continuo only. There is, nevertheless, a good deal of textural variety, with oboes and bassoons normally held in reserve for special occasions. Like Handel, Smith is often most effective with a single violin part, voice and continuo; such a light-weight accompaniment is used in one-third of the arias in *Issipile,* half of those in *Il Ciro riconosciuto*, one of the six arias from *Artaserse* but none at all in *Demofoonte.* With few exceptions, he generally employed this scoring in two strongly contrasting settings: those which are essentially tranquil, and those best described as blustering expressions of rage, generally distinguished by a plethora of unison scale passages. *Issipile's* 'Ogni amante' goes one step further with the violin doubling the voice much of the time, while 'Fra dubbi penose' from the same opera contains whole sections for voice and two violins, with the bass part entirely silent. Smith's use of triple stops for violins[8] is very effective in 'Tortora' from *Issipile* (a simile aria comparing a mother's defence of her children with that of a mother turtle protecting her young) at the words 'rostro' [beak] and before 'l'artiglio' [claw] (see Ex. II.1).

Though the scoring of the overtures and final choruses of *Issipile* and *Il Ciro riconosciuto* includes both oboes and bassoons, they are conspicuously absent elsewhere.[9] That Smith was by no means insensitive to orchestral colour will have been evident from earlier discussions. Nevertheless only *Issipile's* concluding 'coro' and one aria of the two surviving full-length operas – the same 'Tortora' aria from *Issipile* –

---

[8] Smith also employed violin triple stops for 'Like distilling dews' from *Rebecca* (see Ex. 111.21).
[9] See page 57 below for a discussion of the bassoon parts in 'Padre perdona' from *Demofoonte*, and also see Exx. II.10a and 10b.

contain even a partially independent wind part, in this case oboes which play only during the ritornello of the 'A' section. While a certain amount of woodwind doubling of violin and bass parts might have been used in other arias, it would seem from the range and type of string figuration commonly employed that the number of pieces so treated must have been very small indeed. As for the brass, two horns contribute to the final 'coro' of *Issipile,* and Smith also found a place for them in the opening 'A' section of 'Perche l'altrui'. Trumpets, on the other hand, he never used.

The distribution of arias, like that in most Handelian operas of the period, corresponds not only to the relative importance of the individual characters, but also to the 'star' value of the singers concerned. The more accomplished the artist, the more florid and technically demanding the music he or she received. The arias themselves range from bravura rage arias to simple languishing love songs, and many of Smith's best vocal pieces belong in fact to this latter category. Though variable in quality, his arias often demonstrate a flair for the dramatic, with the most musically effective usually offering some poignant expression of pain or sorrow.

ISSIPILE

The composition of *Issipile*, Smith's first known attempt at Italian opera, kept him busy for several months, from the spring of 1743 until the autumn of that year. Its opening 'Sinfonia', scored for two oboes and strings with bassoons (not actually specified) doubling the basso continuo line, is somewhat unusual in having two movements only, the first a bustling Allegro in B flat, the second a rhythmically buoyant Gigue in the same key. Separating the two is a short five-bar Adagio which, in Handel's case, often followed the fugal second movement of his French overtures. Its sharply dotted rhythms, allied to the arresting diminished seventh and rapid scalic *brissure* with which the passage begins, are strongly redolent of the French overture proper (see Ex.

II.2). The Allegro itself displays an astonishingly Italianate concerto-like movement in a clear-cut ritornello form, with the absence of fugue at this point probably sufficient to justify the title 'Sinfonia'. Though spoiled somewhat by a double return of the opening ritornello in the tonic key (i.e., once after a half close on the dominant and again after a cadence in the mediant [D] minor), the Allegro nevertheless exemplifies Smith's orchestral style at this particular stage in his career.

The plot, fast-paced and complicated not only by intrigue but also by mistaken identities, is carried forward chiefly by the recitatives; these, though missing in the autograph, are so arranged as to keep the principal singers continuously supplied with a succession of arias demonstrating the growth and development of their characters. Metastasio's text is typical of the librettist and shows individual protagonists embroiled in catastrophe, achieving the inevitable *lieto fine* through their own noble acts.

Typical of Smith's musical empathy for his characters is Eurinome's aria 'E maggiore'. In retaliation for the apparent death of her son Learco by some unnamed Lemnian hand, Eurinome, a widow of royal blood, has ordered all the men in Lemnos to be slain. Late in Act III, however, she comes to realize what everyone else has known all along, namely that Learco (still alive) is in fact the real villain of the piece, and here Metastasio leaves the audience with a choice of reactions: either pity or malevolence. Smith's version plunges into a B minor Largo, dwelling on her pain and sorrow and evoking compassion as Metastasio would have wanted (see Ex. II.3a), while Gioacchino Cocchi's London 1758 setting stresses the latter with its vigorous emphasis on the tonic key of E flat (see Ex.II.3b).

Throughout the opera, the composer reveals his intimate understanding of Italian operatic conventions. Of the 25 arias and concluding 'coro' in Metastasio's libretto,[10]

---

[10] See *Pietro Metastasio: Opere ii,* ed. Fausto Nicolini (Bari, 1913), 308-61.

Smith set all but one. Each is in da capo form, and all are in effect exit arias whether or not the singer actually quits the stage, hides in a grove, or falls asleep. The final 'coro', also in da capo form with a short ritornello at the end of the first section, provides a dance-like homophonic conclusion, very much like those in most Handel operas.

Three arias, two for Giasone and one for Learco, have later inserted settings with keys in every case the same as the movements they displace.[11] Those for Giasone have a significantly lower tessitura and they are also a good deal easier to sing and eminently more melodic. Although it might at first appear that the composer later felt a mezzo to be more suitable than the original soprano for the male lead, this cannot have been the case since none of the other movements in which Giasone is involved show similar modification. Smith's first version of 'Care luci' remains firmly in the Baroque, but his second setting tends rather towards the galant, one of his more successful ventures in that direction, much like Cocchi's[12] with simple, slow-moving harmonies (see Exx. II.4a and II.4b). Smith's second attempt at 'Care luci' evidently pleased him so much that the composer later introduced it with new words ('May kind Angels') in his 1769 pasticcio oratorio *Gideon*. The only other aria borrowed from *Issipile* (Issipile's 'Crudo amore'), even more of a favourite, was subsequently taken up in both Smith oratorios *Judith* and *Jehosaphat.*[13]

However, the duplicate setting of Learco's 'Affetti non turbati' seems artistically less satisfactory than the aria it was designed to replace. The exquisite dissonances of the original (marked 'Amoroso' in the score) belie Learco's words to Rodope: 'Affetti, non

---

[11] Smith wrote on paper with watermarks Cf I and II (Clausen *c.*1741-44, Burrows 1740-41 and 1743) for the original first and third acts. The second act is on paper with watermark Bi (Clausen 1738-40, Burrows 1740 and ?1747). Clausen found watermark Bi on the Handel conducting scores only in combination with Bk (1738-41). Its presence here with Cf would add 1743 to Burrows' list. The duplicate settings, however, all carry watermark Bl (Clausen *c.*1746-8, and Burrows 1746-7), and are evidently therefore somewhat later in date.

[12] *GB-Lbl* G. 179.a .

[13] See Chapter V.

turbate/ La pace all'alma mia' (Emotions do not disturb my soul's peace). Smith's later version, though more elaborately scored for four-part strings, takes the text at face value, thus dissipating any sympathy that one might originally have felt for Learco.

Did Smith originally compose the opera without including a part for Rodope (in love with Learco but deceived by him)? Her three arias, like the three discussed above, are all obvious insertions into the manuscript on paper containing watermark Bl. One of these ('Perche l'altrui'), as it happens, is the only aria from *Issipile* included in the Tokyo collection. The fact that this was written by the same person who elsewhere refers to the composer as 'Sigr. Smith' could argue that the aria was composed, or at any rate copied, on the Continent. The paper, however, seems indisputably English.[14] It seems likely, therefore, that either Rodope's arias, like the arias for Giasone and Learco, were added to the score before Smith set out on his continental travels in 1746 or else he took the paper with him to the Continent.

The melodramatic climax of *Issipile* occurs in Act III after the pirate Learco, who wants Issipile for his wife, has taken her father captive aboard his ship. As the entire cast watches helplessly, Issipile offers herself in exchange. Her aria 'Eccomi'(Behold me), which includes some of the most adventurous music in the opera, is addressed alternately to Learco and to Giasone (her betrothed) who stands impotently on the shore. Her trepidation is clearly apparent in the music itself while various elements introduced in the da capo form provide plentiful opportunity for dramatic gesture (see Ex. II.5). Oddly enough, this aria too would seem to be a later addition to the work, written on English paper found nowhere else in the score.[15]

---

[14] The type F2 watermarks involved were kindly traced for me by the late Professor Keiichiro Watanabe and are not only outside Clausen's system, but unknown to Donald Burrows whose opinion is that the paper is almost certainly English rather than Italian (personal correspondence, 1986).

[15] Though the watermark is clearly a B type, its measurements do not accord with any of those in Clausen's tables and is likewise unknown to Burrows.

Dramatically, *Issipile* is Smith's most interesting extant opera. Though the set pieces account for just under fourteen per cent of the original verbal text, this ratio is entirely typical of the relationship between recitative and aria in most Metastasian operas. In London, however, the normal practice with all such operas was to reduce to a minimum the amount of recitative involved to make the work more palatable to non-Italian-speaking audiences. Such excisions occur both in the version of this same libretto used by Pietro Sandoni for his 1735 Haymarket production and that adapted by Cocchi in 1758. Whether in Smith's case the recitatives as such were ever set, and if so in what form, we cannot say for sure. Thus, while the work contains a number of arias that merit revival, there can be no possibility of the opera ever being performed as an artistic entity.

IL CIRO RICONOSCIUTO

Smith's other extant Metastasian opera *Il Ciro riconosciuto* is undated, but an examination of the watermarks suggests that it was written after *Isippile* (1743). While composing the work, Smith evidently pulled individual sheets from a mixed stack of paper carrying watermarks Cg I and II (*c.*1743), Ch I and II (1744-6) and Ci I and II (1745).[16] Whereas folio 88 carries watermark Bl (1746-8), there is no question of the aria 'Benche l'augel s'asconda' being a later insertion since its remaining pages consist entirely of Cg and Ci papers. Perhaps Smith carried these mixed papers to the Continent and composed *Ciro* there in 1746 or 1747, but with no [extant] score of *Dario* for comparison, it is impossible to be certain.

Two arias from *Il Ciro riconosciuto* are also to be found in Tokyo, one attributed to 'Sigr Smith' by the copyist. Both 'Non sdegnarti' (originally in G) and 'No non vedrete' (in A) are here transposed to the key of F; except for a few registral alterations in the string parts, the music follows that of the Hamburg autograph more or less exactly.

---

[16] I am especially grateful to Donald Burrows for verifying these watermarks and providing dates which generally agree with those of Clausen (Cg 1744, Ch 1744-6, and Ci 1745).

That these two are also, technically speaking, the easiest arias in the opera is doubtless significant. It would seem likely therefore that the Nanki Library copies were intended for performance on their own – but whether in England or on the Continent during the course of Smith's travels, one cannot say.

In common with most eighteenth-century Italian operas, comprehending the plot of *Il Ciro riconosciuto* depends upon a generally complex sequence of events explained in a preliminary 'Argument' printed as a preface to the libretto itself. Thus we learn of a prophecy that Astiage, the Midian king, will one day be overthrown by his own grandson, a plot reminiscent of the Oedipus myth. To protect his crown, he not only orders the boy (Ciro) to be slain, but also his daughter (Mandane) to be separated from her husband (Cambise). But Ciro, left to die of exposure, is rescued by a shepherd (Mitridate) who leaves his own dead son in Ciro's place and rears the boy as his own. Years later, Arpago, the nobleman originally ordered by Astiage to rid him of his grandson, and now hell-bent on revenge against the king, convokes the main characters at a sacrifice on the boundaries of the Midian kingdom. At this point the opera proper begins. While in the Oedipus myth the central protagonists worsen their fate by attempting to thwart it, here the librettist by sheer 'force of reason' – the phrase is standard in Metastasian critical literature – brings about the expected happy ending which is *de rigueur* in all Italian operas of the period.

This contrived plot is further complicated by the existence of a second Ciro (an imposter) and the real Ciro's public identity as Alceo, ostensibly the shepherd son of Mitridate. Astiage summons Ciro (the imposter) to a meeting to have him killed. Arpago's daughter (Arpalice) and Alceo fall in love, but it is not until the final scene that his true identity is at last revealed. As the crowd calls on him to take the throne, Astiage is set upon by Cambise and Arpago, both intent upon revenge. They are frustrated,

however, by Mandane, and Ciro exhorts the people to uphold justice. Astiage, moved by Ciro's noble act, magnanimously crowns his grandson king, thus fulfilling the prophecy he had vainly struggled to subvert.

The Hamburg autograph, like the British Library autograph of *Issipile*, is essentially a collection of arias with an overture, a single duet, and concluding 'coro'. The opening orchestral movement, in this case a French overture proper scored for oboes, bassoons, strings and continuo, was later transferred to Smith's 1756 English opera *The Tempest*. Of the 23 arias in the original Metastasio libretto, three it seems were never set. Two of these are for Astiage, a rather surprising cut in that both help to delineate his character; the other is the shepherd Mitridate's only extended musical utterance. All the arias are set in da capo form save for the gentle E flat Siciliana (see Ex. II.6a) sung by Astiage mid-way through Act I. In this instance Astiage falls asleep at what is effectively the end of the 'B' section, a technique Smith later used quite effectively in *The Tempest*. When he does so, the orchestra hovers quietly round about the dominant of F minor when his exiled son-in-law Cambise bursts in with an accompanied recitative ('What do I see? Dear Gods, the tyrant sleeps!'). As the only passage of recitative in the whole of Smith's Italian operatic output to survive, it deserves to be quoted at some length (see Exx. II.6b and 6c). On stage, Cambise is intent on killing Astiage who, dreaming he is being attacked by Ciro, calls out in his sleep. Cambise is just about to murder the sleeping monarch when Mandane enters. Seeing him poised, sword in hand, she immediately rouses her father and calls the guards; she then denounces her husband who is defiantly carried off to prison, though not without first delivering himself of an expressive E minor aria 'Non piagete, amati rai' (see Ex. II.7), one of the better bits of a work which otherwise seldom rises above the mundane. This

extended sequence from the middle of Astiage's E flat Siciliano to the beginning of Cambise's heartfelt aria is really quite dramatic in effect.

OTHER ITALIAN OPERAS

In addition to *Issipile* and *Il Ciro riconosciuto*, Coxe's list includes another opera, *Dario*, the first act of which was evidently finished in London on 8 March 1746 and the third in Rotterdam six months later. Whether simply a collection of arias, 'coro', and one or two other concerted movements we cannot tell, for the score – seemingly an autograph because Coxe details the dates in italics – has been missing since the *Anecdotes* were published in 1799. Too early to belong to the opera as set by Smith (but undoubtedly in his hand) is the soprano aria 'V'ha chi adora il sol che nasce' for Dario himself. This piece, bound in a manuscript collection of arias from Handel's *Amadigi* (1715), a pasticcio *Ernelinda,* (1712) and *Lucio Vero* (Ariosti's version dates from 1727), is now at the Library of Congress, Washington D.C.[17] This, the only aria in Smith jnr's hand (the other copyists involved are Smith snr and David Linike),[18] is headed 'Aria 1' at the top of the page and was clearly copied some time round about 1730. As the words are the same as those of the opening aria in Attilio Ariosti's setting of *Dario* (performed by the Royal Academy of Music in 1725), we may perhaps safely assume that the music is his also, though the score of this work too is lost.

Unfortunately, only a small number of missing items by Smith have come to light during the course of my research. Among these are six arias from his setting of Metastasio's *Artaserse* included in the Tokyo anthology. Though there can be no doubt that these are copies of the 'fragments' described by Coxe as 'A few scenes from

---

[17] *US-Wc* M1505 .H13 067 1717, folios 39-39v. The watermark, unknown to me, is a small crown between the chain lines. I thank the late Winton Dean for suggesting I look at the handwriting.

[18] See Dean *Operas i,* 292. Dean was familiar with Smith jnr's hand, but the text reads '... in a later unrecognized hand an aria from *Dario*, probably Ariosti's opera of 1725'. It was surely Knapp who wrote this section of the text, but he obviously did not send a copy of the 'unrecognized' hand to Dean before publication.

Artaserse, […] dated in Mr. Smith's hand writing *Aix en Provence*, 1749',[19] the Tokyo source gives neither date nor place of composition. All six arias are in the composer's own hand on paper bearing Clausen's watermark Cm I (1748-50) mixed with the paper of the F2 type which was also used for the inserted aria 'Perche l'altrui' from *Issipile*. In Nanki N-3, 24 MS 494, the arias are bound out of order; their correct dramatic sequence is as follows:

TITLE	ACT, SCENE	FOLIOS
'Conservati fedele'	I.i	21-4
'Fra cento affanni'	I.iii	29-31
'Torna innocente'	I.xiii	15-6
'Vo solcando un mer crudele'	I.vi	43-48
'Mi scacci sdegnato'	II.ii	11-4
'Per quell' affetto'	II.xiii	17-20

Each is for soprano, heavily-laden with florid runs, trills and other virtuoso passagework.

Except for 'Fra cento affanni' and 'Torna innocente', scored simply for two violins and continuo, they are accompanied by four-part strings and continuo with no winds. All are in da capo form save 'Torna innocente' which has no introductory ritornello and is fully written out to accommodate a foreshortened repeat of the opening 'A' section.

Among the various eighteenth-century settings of *Artaserse* Smith might well have known is one by Leonardo Vinci (1730), several arias from which were incorporated into the pasticcio opera *Arbace*, performed at the King's Theatre in January 1734, with recitatives by Handel.[20] The beginning of his simile aria 'Vo solcando un mar crudele' (I go ploughing a cruel sea) is indeed, initially at any rate, similar to Vinci's. Both have an opening phrase outlining the tonic. Smith, however, makes greater musical sense of the simile, employing strong semiquavers to suggest the 'mar crudele', while

---

[19] Coxe Appendix, 64.
[20] See Deutsch, 342.

Vinci's setting scarcely suggests anything more than a generalized sense of strength (see Exx. II.8a and II.8b).

The Tokyo anthology also includes Smith's setting of four arias from Metastasio's *Demofoonte*, a work that Coxe strangely does not mention. Three are autograph, the fourth in the hand of an unidentified copyist who attributes the piece to 'Sigr. Smith'. The paper carries a mixture of Clausen's Cl (1747-8) and the hitherto uncatalogued F2, also found in the arias from *Issipile* and *Artaserse* included in the same collection. The Cl mark dates suggest that the four *Demofoonte* settings, like the six from *Artaserse*, were composed while Smith was on the Continent.

'Dando impero al gusto al prode', the one unidentified Italian aria printed in Coxe (25-29) seems very likely to have been from *Demofoonte*. The opera's plot involves two rulings made by King Demofoon: 1) commoners in Thrace may not marry royalty and 2) each year a virgin must be offered to Apollo. Dirce, secretly married to Prince Timantes ('son' of Demofoon), has borne a child and thus is no longer a virgin, yet she is to be sacrificed. Demofoon has imprisoned both Timantes and Dircea, who await their deaths. Roughly translated, the text in Coxe reads 'He [Demofoon?] is subdued by the laws that he himself makes, giving power to the righteous and brave, a just man enjoys freedom.'[21] A section of Act III. iii reads in translation

> Thou art now the happiest of mankind: our father
> Forgets his indignation: all is past:
> He gives thee back his former tenderness,
> Thy spouse, thy son, thy liberty and life.[22]

---

[21] Translation by Valerio Morucci, University of Nevada.
[22] *Demofoon,* John Hoole, trans. *Dramas and Other Poems of the Abbé Metastasio, i* (London, 1800), 136.

The *Demofoonte* arias too are bound out of order, with various other items sandwiched in between:

TITLE	ACT, SCENE	FOLIOS
'Per lei fra l'armi'	I.iii	25-8
'T'intendo, ingrate'	I.v	33-8
'Padre perdona'	I.xii	49-54
'Misero pargoletto	III.v	39-42v

Demofoonte's fast-paced simile aria 'Per lei fra l'armi' (For her amid his weapons) is straightforward and forceful. Smith has none of Handel's ability to create a lengthy on-going musical line, and here his general short-windedness is a virtue that adds to the urgency of the setting (see Ex.II.9a). Graun's 1756 setting for Berlin,[23] like Smith's, contains similar opening phrases, each ending with notes running downward from mediant to tonic, a trait often heard in Smith's and Handel's arias (see Ex. II.9b). 'Padre perdona' ('Father, forgiveness') is one of Smith's most beautiful arias, not unworthy of comparison with Handel whose example in *Ariodante* he follows in scoring the movement for strings and continuo with an independent bassoon part sounding mainly in the tenor register (see Ex. II.10a). However, Smith's bassoons play a more intricate role in the aria than do those of Handel, providing poignant dissonances and elsewhere performing the role of an obbligato. The aria is sung by the soprano Dircea to her 'father' (Matusio) and to Timante, the 'son' of Demofoonte to whom she is secretly wed. The dread of her impending sacrifice to Apollo is very effectively conveyed not only by the dark-hued orchestration and frequent use of diminished sevenths, but also by expressive appoggiatura-laden string figurations and chromatic harmonies (see Ex. II.10b). The 'B' section, strongly contrasting with the previous Largo, is a lively Allegro accompanied by string semiquavers (see Ex. I0.11c). Dramatically speaking, Hasse's

[23] Copy at *US-Wc* M1500.G7603

setting of 'Padre perdona' (1748)[24] is vastly inferior to Smith's setting of these same words, but the opening phrases of both are strikingly similar, not only in terms of vocal contour, but also in the type of instrumental figuration initially employed (see Ex. II.10d).

As Roger Fiske remarked in the final paragraph of his *New Grove* entry on the composer,

> It is remarkable that Smith went on writing large-scale operas and oratorios all his life, undeterred by the fact that only half of them were ever performed and only a quarter published.[25]

But such Italian opera music as Smith composed was likely to have been written for the private musical entertainment of his friends who had a keen interest in the form. However, if one considers Smith's Italian operas on their own, none is known to have been publically performed, and not a single note was ever published – with the exception, that is, of the one stray aria included in Coxe and the overture to *Il Ciro riconosciuto* transferred to *The Tempest.* As Smith is known to have spent at least six months on *Issipile* and another six on *Dario*, the composition of *Il Ciro riconosciuto* can hardly have taken less time. Why he should choose to write such works when, so far as we know, there was no prospect of them ever being produced in the theatre, and then to render them virtually unperformable as operas by failing to set the recitatives defies all logical explanation.

CONTINENTAL ANTHEMS

Along with the Italian arias now at the Nanki Ongaka Bunko Library in Tokyo, and bound up in the same volume with the Italian arias, are three autograph anthems in English and five more in the same scribal hand as the arias, most attributed simply to 'Mr. Smith'. These pages carry watermarks Cl (Clausen 1747-48) and an H type not in

---

[24] *US-Wc* M 1500.H35.D3.
[25] *New Grove i,* xvii, 415.

Clausen (Small 1746-50), which are appropriate for the years when Smith was on the Continent.[26] The autograph anthems in Tokyo, each for SB and organ are

O Lord God (ff. 55-60)	Psalm 94:1
Let God arise (ff. 61-66)	Psalm 68:1
Hearken unto my voice (ff. 67-70)	Similar to Psalm 5:2

The copies, which are all for SATB, include

Have mercy upon me, O Lord (ff. 71-75v)	Psalm 6:2
Out of the deep (ff. 77-80v)	Psalm 130:1
Behold how good and joyful ff. 82-86v)	Similar to Psalm 133:1
Sing praise unto the Lord (ff. 87-92)	No known source
As pants the hart (ff. 93-99v)	Similar to Psalm 42:1

Since it was initially difficult to know whether this 'Mr. Smith' was John Christopher or not, these copies were at first relegated to the 'Possible' category in the Catalogue of Works (Vol. III). However, as the copyist of the anthems was also responsible for the Italian arias attributed to 'Sigr. Smith', it later seemed that they were more 'Probable' than 'Possible'. The Library of Congress in Washington D.C. contains a second copy of 'Out of the deep',[27] the catalogue description of which reads: 'Composed for Mr. & Mrs. Price of/ Foxley in Herefordshire/ Mr. Smith. Ye Emanuensis of Handel.' This would appear to offer definitive proof that all five anthems are by our John Christopher.

During Smith's stay on the Continent, his father could easily have kept him supplied with paper from London on which to continue his compositions. Smith's are not the full-blown Handelian type with orchestral introductions and accompaniments, but are short, simple, and easy to sing. They are in effect full anthems, each with two to five movements but lacking a figured bass. Regrettably, these works are as nothing compared to those of Handel or even those of Croft, Greene and Boyce; indeed the naïve word

---

[26] Grateful thanks are due to the late Professor Keiichiro Watanabe who not only saw to it that I received good copies of the manuscript, but who also traced the watermarks for me.

[27] 'As pants the hart' by a third unknown copyist is at *GB-Lcg*, MS G. Mus. 364, pp. 118-29. Also in the Tokyo volume is a 'Scena in *Temistocle* di RP' [Robert Price] and an 'Anthem for three Voices by RP', copied by the same hand.

setting of the opening section of 'As pants the hart' is rather comical in its depiction of the hart actually panting (see Ex.II.11a). While the music is mostly very simple, there are one or two surprising passages such as the final Largo where the descending chromatic bass line yields harmonies that are much more sophisticated than those used elsewhere in the piece (see Ex. II.11b). These anthems would appear to have been intended for domestic use, most probably to be sung by Peter Walter and his sister Mary (the three SB anthems), along with others they may have met on the Continent at various times (the four-part ones), while Smith filled in at the keyboard. Smith brought the anthems, along with the Italian opera arias mentioned above, back to London where he may have continued to use them for private worship with his friends.

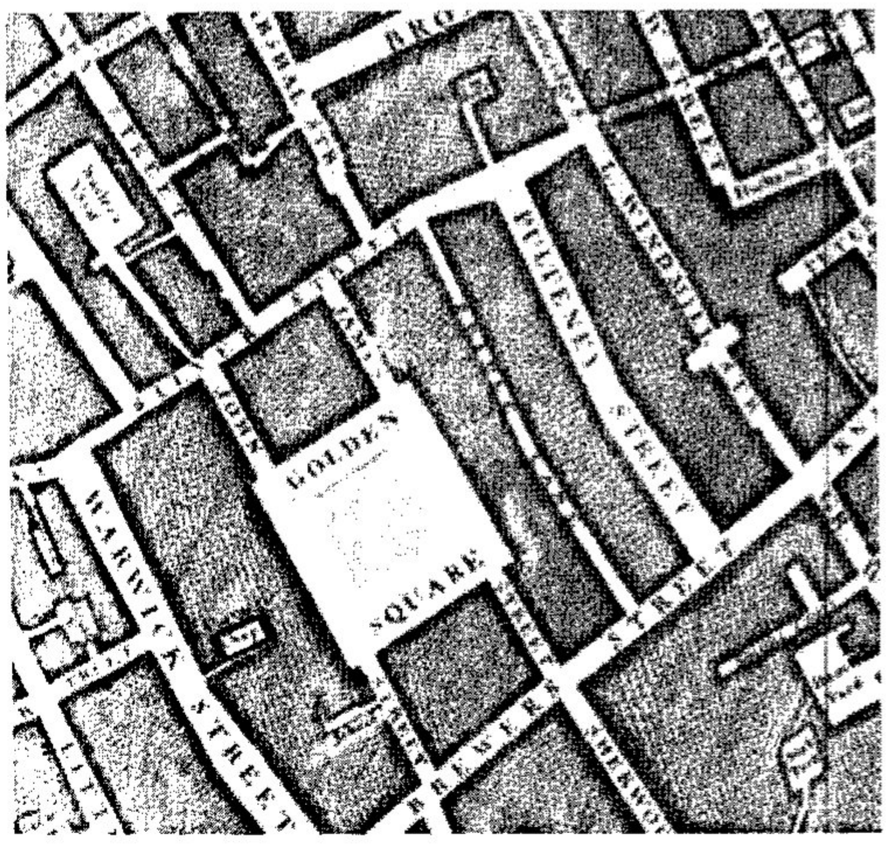
THE YEARS 1751-59

According to Coxe (63-4), Smith completed the lost Italian opera *Dario* in Rotterdam on 5 September 1746 and dated a few scenes from *Artaserse* in Aix en Provence, 1749. Other than the mention of those two tantalizing cities, we have absolutely no information of Smith's tour with Peter Walter and his sister. Before leaving for the Continent, Peter had promised Smith an annuity of £300, but on their return, Mary Walter, dangerously ill, warned Smith that her brother had no intention of keeping his pledge. Peter Walter's will,[1] dated 26 December 1744, makes no mention of Smith, nor is there any codicil. Mary's will of 29 May 1751 partially atoned for this slight:[2]

> … first of all I give unto Mr. John Christopher Smith now living with my Brother Peter Walter Esquire the Sum of five hundred pounds of lawful money of Great Britain …

She died the following year, Peter Walter being her executor.

Beginning in April 1751, Smith was a ratepayer in Little Pulteney Street, St James Piccadilly, where he remained until his re-marriage in 1763 (see Chapter V).[3]



---

[1] *GB-Lna,* PROB-11-744.
[2] *GB-Lna,* PROB-11-793.
[3] *GB-Wpl*, Great Marlborough Division of St James, Piccadilly, watch rates D-526 through D-670. I assume that Little Pulteney Street is the small section to the north end (*A to Z,* 10, grid B-c). It is impossible to determine whether these rates were collected ahead of time or after months of residence. If the rates were paid following Smith's first residence, he may have been at that address much earlier.

As well as assisting Handel with the oratorio series at Covent Garden during these years, Smith became the Foundling Hospital's first organist, continued composing keyboard works and oratorios on his own, and worked with David Garrick producing English operas (see Chapter IV).

THE FOUNDLING HOSPITAL

Eighteenth-century London was remarkable not only for its achievements in the arts, but also for its squalor. Representative of this striking contrast was the Foundling Hospital, or, to give it its full title, The Hospital for the Maintenance and Education of Exposed and Deserted Young Children. Situated in open country – in an area which today would encompass Coram's Fields – the hospital gave thousands of children an opportunity to rise above that squalor, and it was there that the arts became important elements in publicizing the needs of London's foundlings. Though the benefactions of George Frideric Handel and William Hogarth are well known, the role of Smith jnr, the hospital's first organist and director of at least nine of its *Messiah* performances, has been virtually forgotten.

Through the efforts of Thomas Coram, an English shipbuilder who made his fortune in the American Colonies, the idea of the Foundling Hospital became a reality when King George II signed its charter in 1739. The children were moved into its first new building in October 1745; at first, however, only those younger than two months old were admitted. The lack of space and money was responsible for these restrictions, yet the governors chose as their second project the erection of a chapel which would bring the hospital to the attention of London society through its lavish christening ceremonies, its public breakfasts, its art, and its music. On 25 October 1752 the governors prepared for the chapel's official opening by ordering 'That the Secretary do apply to Mr. Handel,

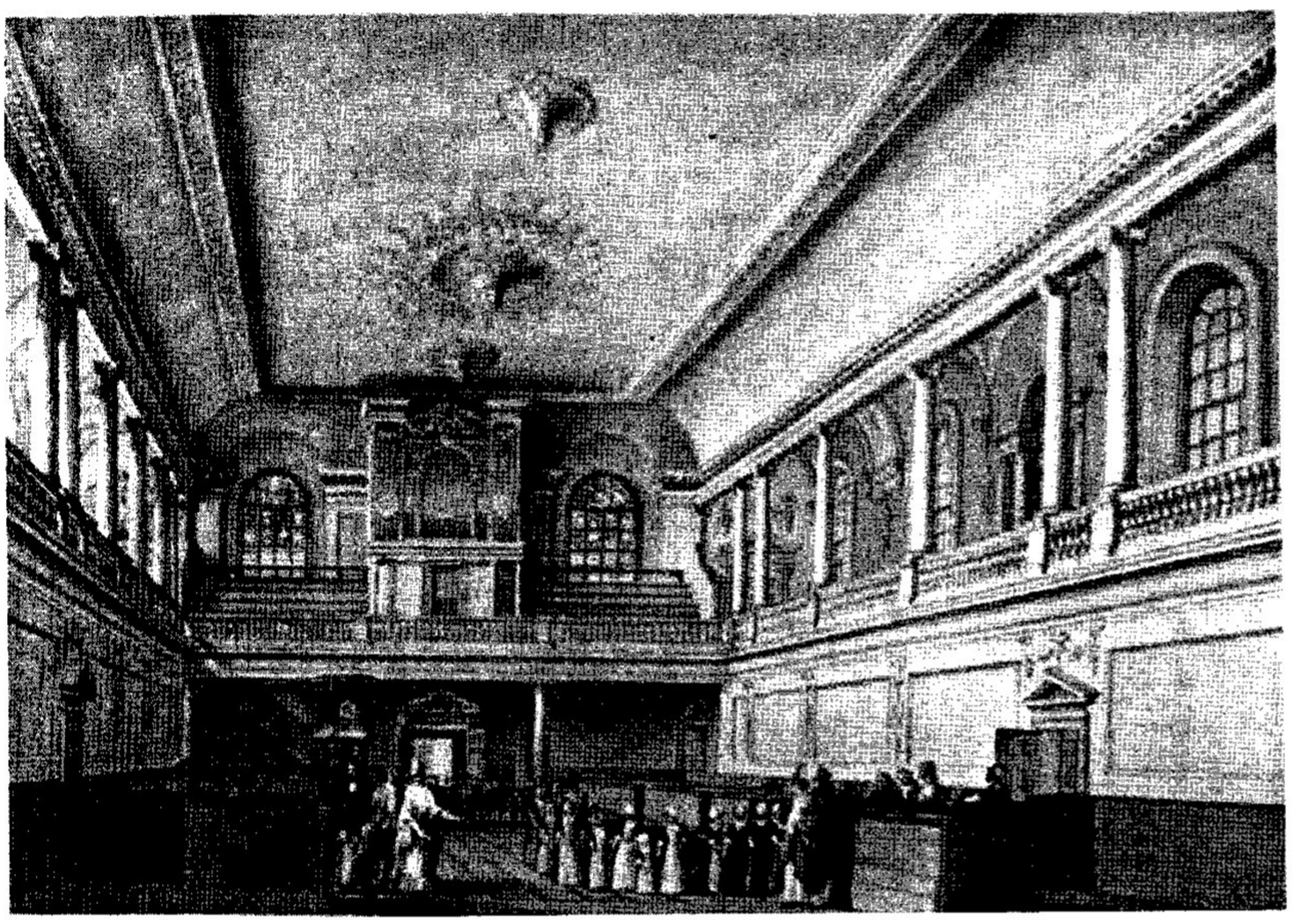
Dr. Boyce, & Mr. Smith, for their Assistance, in a Musical Performance in the Chapel'[4], and on 18 April 1753 the Sub-Committee resolved 'That the Thanks of this Committee be given to Mr Smith for his charitable Assistance, on the 16th Inst; at the Performance of Musick at the Opening of the Chapel of this Hospital'.[5] While this is clearly Smith's first recorded association with the Foundling Hospital, it is reasonable to assume that he had been assisting Handel there for the previous two years. The reports of Handel's ill health were most distressing to the members of the Foundling Hospital's committee. Since the musical performances in the chapel were such a good source of income, the governors naturally desired that they should continue. But much their best fund raiser was *Messiah*, and on 1 May 1754, the committee requested the clerk to notify Handel that 'they have given Directions that the Chapel be put in order, and the Organ tuned: and at the same time to beg you would be pleased to desire Mr Smith to procure the proper Hands & Voices for ye Performance'.[6]

This particular Mr Smith was surely Smith snr. The elder Smith had also been connected with Handel's Foundling Hospital performances, his signature appearing for the first time on a receipt of 4 May 1750 for *Messiah* expenses,[7] and it must be stressed that his role was always that of manager, first for Handel and later for his own son. While the Foundling Hospital documents often present a bewildering array of Smiths, the performance bill for the 15 May 1754 *Messiah* clearly lists three members of the

---

[4] *GB-Lma,* A/FH/K/02/004, 37. To decipher these codes, A/FH/02 refers to the Minutes of the General Committee, the 004 represents the volume and 37 represents the page.
[5] *GB-Lma,* A/FH/A/03/004/001, 186. A/FH/A/03 refers to the Minutes of the Sub-Committee. By this time Handel had already given six performances in the Chapel: see Donald Burrows' excellent article 'Handel and the Foundling Hospital' (hereafter Burrows, Foundling), *ML* 58 (1977), 269-84. His much later article 'List of Musicians for Performances of Handel's *Messiah* at the Foundling Hospital, 1754-1777' (hereafter Burrows FH Musicians) in *RMARC* 43 (2010), 85-109, contains the key to the new call numbers for the Foundling Hospital records, now at the National Archives, 86.
[6] *GB-Lma* A/FH/K/02/004, 168.
[7] F.G. E[dwards]: 'The Foundling Hospital and Its Music', *MT* 43 (1902), 306 (hereafter Edwards). The 1 May 1751 minutes record that Smith snr returned his two guinea fee (*GB-Lma* A/FH/K/02/003, 211), and he received the payments and gratuities to be distributed among the performers for the 9 April 1752 *Messiah* (printed in the *LS,* Part 3, 751).

Smith family: William Teede, oboe player and husband of Smith jnr's sister Charlotte, received ten shillings, Christopher Smith, organist, donated his services, and Mr Ch. Smith was paid five guineas for managerial duties. On 29 May, the governors approved a plan for an 'Addition to the Gallery at the East & West End … [which] would be useful at
Musical Performances'.[8]



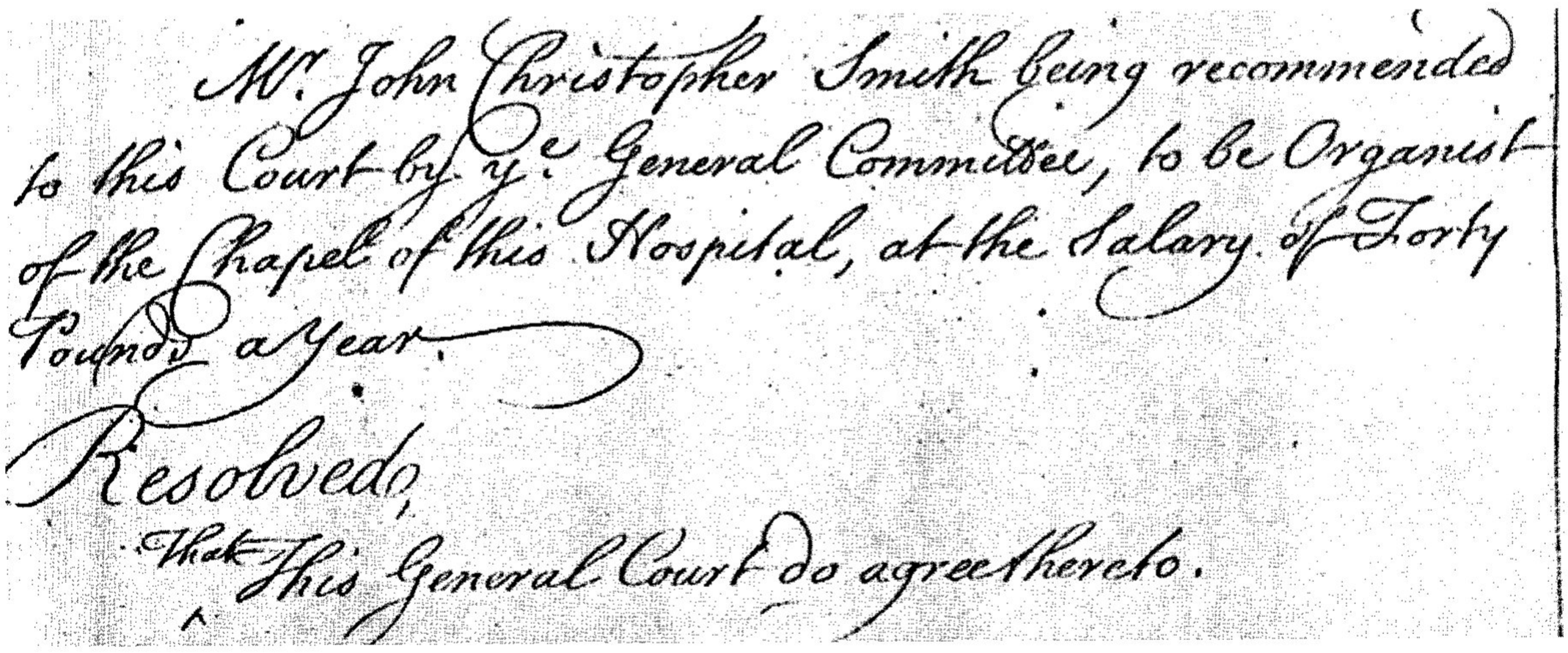
The governors obviously hoped to establish a *Messiah* tradition, and on 5 June 1754, the treasurer Mr White and governor Mr Fauquier were directed by the committee to call on Handel to discuss proper regulations for organizing the performances; however, the governors must have been severely disappointed in the outcome of the meeting since Mr Fauquier reported on 25 June that 'Mr Handel approved of the Committee's appointing Mr Smith [jnr] Organist to the Chapel, to conduct his Musical Compositions; but that, on Accot. [*sic*] Of his Health, he excused himself from giving any further Instructions relating to the Performances'.[9]

---

[8] *GB-Lma*, A/FH/K/02/0004,175. View of the chapel in 1773, looking west, from Ruth K. McClure, *Coram's Children* [:] *The London Foundling Hospital in the Eighteenth Century* (afterwards McClure), (New Haven, 1981), 227.

[9] *GB-Lma* A/FH/K/02/004, 181-82 and 187-88. Because he was ill, Mr White did not in fact call on Handel; it was Fauquier who had shown Handel a copy of the petition to Parliament in the famous misunderstanding regarding *Messiah* rights (see Edwards, 308-9).

Handel had suggested that Smith's duty would be to 'conduct his Musical Compositions'; yet the 'Ladies of distinction' had requested a full-time organist. Money was a constant problem, and the governors even found it difficult to pay the Reader's annual salary of £40. In good committee tradition, the governors ignored the question of an organist until some method of payment could be found. Happily, by 10 July 1754 the treasurer was able to report that a petition to the king had been successful and that George II had given £1,000 of a £1,200 legacy 'to be appropriated as a Fund towards defraying the Expenses of performing Divine Service in ye Chapel of this Hospital, and of the Instructing the Children in the Principles of the Christian Religion, and other Charges incidental thereto'.[10] The General Committee felt financially confident enough on 7 August to recommend Smith as organist, and on 2 October he was hired with a salary of £40 per year.[11]



Mr. John Christopher Smith being recommended to this Court by ye General Committee, to be Organist of the Chapel of this Hospital, at the Salary of Forty Pounds a year.

Resolved,

That this General Court do agree thereto.

Smith took his new position quite seriously, and within a few days of his appointment he reported to the committee 'that the Organ in the Chapel of this Hospital, is extremely out of tune, and desired that a proper Order may be given to Mr Moffet,

---

[10] *GB-Lma*, A/FH/K/02/004, 93 (Minutes of the General Court). Smith's salary came under the 'incidental' charge (A/FH/K/02//004, 231).

[11] *GB-Lma*, A/FH/K/02/004, 295. See Donald Burrows, 'Organs and organists at the Foundling Hospital, 1750-1800', A Handbook for Studies in Eighteenth-century English Music 20, ed. Colin Coleman and Katharine Hogg (Gerald Coke Handel Foundation, The Foundling Museum, 2016).

who is appointed to take Care of the same'.[12] The governors were quite proud of their organ which had been donated to the chapel by Handel himself in 1750, and Mr Moffet had been employed in 1752 to keep the organ in repair. Moffet had evidently not kept his end of the bargain, and the governors now ordered him specifically to 'examine & tune the Organ, on Saturday weekly, without fail'.[13] By October 1755, George Pyke[14] was to inspect the organ, and Smith was requested to meet Pyke with a workman.[15] There is little doubt that this organ, whose keyboard is today on display at the Foundling Museum, was a continual source of difficulty both to the governors and to Smith.

Smith's exact duties as organist are open to conjecture. Donald Burrows is of the opinion that Smith's principal role was to conduct Handel's musical compositions as explicitly stated in the minutes of 25 June 1754 and that only 'some distant responsibility for the weekly running of the Chapel's music may have been involved'.[16] Yet Mr Waring, the Reader, was expected to conduct two services every Sunday, to baptize, catechize, and often to bury children for his annual £40 salary. Considering the hospital's financial difficulties, it is difficult to believe that Smith would have been paid £40 for *Messiah* performances and 'consultation fees' alone. It is more reasonable to assume that he was exactly what his job description stated: organist. There is also no doubt that during his years as organist with the hospital Smith had at least two assistants, the first being named in the minutes of 25 March 1758 as 'Mr Scot [*sic*] who officiates for Mr. Smith the organist as his Deputy'.[17]

---

[12] *GB-Lma*, A/FH/A/03/004/001, 244.
[13] *GB-Lma*, A/FH/A/03/004/001, 244. See also Donald Burrows, 'Organs and organists at the Foundling Hospital, 1750-1800', *A Handbook for Studies in 18th-Century English Music* 20, ed. Colin Coleman and Katharine Hogg (Gerald Coke Handel Foundation, The Foundling Museum, 2016), 1-26.
[14] Pyke was an organ and clock maker. I am grateful to H. Diack Johnstone for this reference to his given name and profession.
[15] *GB-Lma*, A/FH/A/03/004/002, 48.
[16] Burrows, Foundling, 280.
[17] *GB-Lma*, A/FH/A/03/004/002, 184.

Smith's responsibilities to the hospital, as well as those of organist, included regular productions of *Messiah*, but during Handel's lifetime, Smith's role in these performances is difficult to determine. The 1754 performance is the beginning of a trail of confusion created by advertisements which conflict with the minutes of well-meaning governors. *Read's Weekly Journal, or British-Gazeteer* of 18 May 1754 refers to Handel's direction of the 15 May performance, declaring that 'he opened the second Act with a Concerto on the Organ',[18] yet Smith was listed on the performers' bill as the organist for that performance. Donald Burrows has stated that a special set of parts was made for Smith, probably in 1754,[19] and Smith probably had some control over that performance while Handel displayed his organ virtuosity between the acts. William Coxe (25) wrote 'When Handel became blind, though he no longer presided over the Oratorios, he still introduced concertos on the organ between the acts'. Surely Handel's reply to Fauquier later in the year signified some permanent change in Smith's role for the *Messiah* performances. According to Deutsch, Smith was the actual conductor of the Foundling Hospital's *Messiah* in 1755 and 1756, this assumption being based on the fact that the advertisements for the performances do not mention Handel by name.[20] The General Committee resolutions of 1755 and 1756 support this idea by desiring that Handel 'will please to give proper Directions to Mr Smith the Organist of this Hospital, in Relation thereto [*Messiah* performances]'.[21] The 1756 minutes contribute to the confusion by stating that 'the Oratorio of the Messiah, was performed, under the Direction of Mr Handel'; nevertheless, the committee resolved 'That the Thanks of this

---

[18] Thanks are due H. Diack Johnstone for this information not included in Deutsch.
[19] Burrows, Foundling, 281.The vocal parts presented to the Foundling Hospital as part of Handel's bequest are labelled with the performers' names from the 1754 *Messiah* there. Donald Burrows has kindly identified the hands of two of the three copyists as those of Smith snr and Larsen's S6.
[20] Deutsch, 763 and 774.
[21] *GB-Lma*, A/FH/K/02/004, 262 and A/FH/K/02/005, 50; the wording is the same.

Committee be returned to George Frederick Handel Esq. For his *Attendance* [my italics] and repeated Benefactions to this Charity'.[22]

In 1757 Handel's name reappeared in the advertisements, and the *London Chronicle* of 7 May reported 'Yesterday was perform'd at the Foundling Hospital, under the Direction of George Frederick Handel, Esq; the sacred Oratorio called the Messiah'.[23] It was also in that same year that Handel added a third codicil to his will giving 'a fair copy of the Score and all Parts of my Oratorio called The Messiah to the Foundling Hospital'.[24] In 1758 Handel is again represented in the General Committee minutes as having directed *Messiah* and is also thanked for his attendance; the minutes of the General Court are equally vague when they thank Handel 'for his repeated Bounty to this Hospital by the Performance of his Oratorio Messiah'.[25] The performers' bill for that year is even more confusing, since Smith is not listed as organist, but neither is anyone else. This omission could be due to the fact that Smith always performed gratis for the Foundling Hospital *Messiah*; on the other hand, John Beard, who rejected his fee, *was* listed. Was it perhaps Handel himself who played the organ? If so, it was to be his last *Messiah* at the Foundling Hospital.

Incidentally, the committee minutes of the years 1755 through 1759 also help to strengthen Coxe's assertion (48) that Handel and Smith snr were estranged during the last four years of Handel's life:

> Handel continued to employ Smith senior as treasurer, and their friendly intercourse was uninterrupted, till they both went to Tunbridge, about four years before Handel's death. But as long friendships are sometimes dissolved by the most trivial circumstances, they quarreled there, and Smith senior left Handel in an abrupt manner, which so enraged him [Handel], that he declared he would never see him again.

---

[22] *GB-Lma*, A/FH/K/02/005, 70.
[23] Deutsch, 786.
[24] See *Handel's Will: facsimiles and commentary*, ed. Donald Burrows (London, 2008), 42.
[25] *GB-Lma* A/FH/K/01/002, 137.

In 1755 and 1756 the minutes clearly refer to the younger Smith in the governors' correspondence with Handel. By 1757, his role as messenger to Handel for the business end of the operation was even more extensive.

> Mr Smith the Organist of the Chapel of this Hospital having been directed by the Committee, to inform you [Handel] that they proposed the 5th day of May next, for the performance of your Sacred Oratorio Messiah; and being informed by him, that you approved thereof, The Committee … hope you will be pleased to give proper directions to Mr Smith [snr] for fixing those Performers, whom you think fit to employ.[26]

James S. Hall, in tracing Smith Senior's residences in London, lost track of him from 1750 to 1755 and suggested that he might have lived with Handel during those years. Referring to the breach of friendship, Hall stated 'If so, it is significant that four years before Handel's death … Smith again takes a house of his own'.[27] Another clue to the elder Smith's quarrel with Handel may perhaps be the very absence of performers' bills for 1755-1757. But whatever the result of the quarrel, the elder Smith wrote out the whole performers' bill for the 1758 *Messiah*, and he and Handel were reconciled before the master's death.[28] *The Public Advertiser* of 7 April 1759 named Handel as the Foundling Hospital *Messiah* director for the coming May performance, but since Handel died on 14 April, the General Committee gravely resolved four days later 'that Mr Smiths Name be inserted in the room of Mr Handels'.[29] The general bill for 3 May lists both Smith and [Samuel] Howard as organists. Gustavus Waltz sang in the chorus, but Thomas, Mr Handel's man, was absent. The elder Smith was paid as manager, while John Beard, the younger Smith, and Samuel Howard all performed gratis.[30]

Smith found himself busy with other Handelian matters as well. Two days after the Smith performance of *Messiah,* the Sub-Committee decided to hold a memorial

---

[26] *GB-Lma*, A/FH/K/02/005, 238-9; the minutes of 1758 and 1759 also refer specifically to Smith jnr (A/FH/K/02/006, 122 and A/FH/A/03/004/003, 117).
[27] 'John Christopher Smith Senior: His Residence in London', *Händel-Jahrbuch* 3 (Leipzig, 1957), 135-6.
[28] Printed in Larsen, plates 1 and 2; Coxe, 48, and *GB-Lna*, A/FH/K/02/007, 42.
[29] Deutsch, 813 and *GB-Lma*, A/FH/K/007:32.
[30] Edwards, 310.

concert for Handel in the Chapel on 24 May at noon, determining that the programme should consist of a dirge and funeral anthem. At some point before the meeting on 5 May, Smith and the committee must have disagreed on this choice, for Smith was directed 'to attend next Tuesday at the General Committee, in order to settle the manner of conducting the performance'.[31] Still recovering from the loss of his idol and the emotional experience of the 3 May *Messiah,* Smith apparently won the argument and was allowed 'to chuse such subjects as he shall think proper & agree with the Performers as he shall think fit'.[32] Smith's choices are interesting and far from funereal; they include Handel's 'Foundling Hospital Anthem', which concludes with the 'Hallelujah Chorus', and his four Coronation Anthems. John Beard sang and John Stanley performed an organ concerto.[33] Meanwhile, *Messiah* was copied, following the instructions in Handel's will, and on 13 June 'Mr Smith attended the committee, and delivered to them a Copy of the Score of the Musick for the Oratorio Messiah, left to this Hospital by George Frederick Handel Esq'.[34]

THE KEYBOARD WORKS: OP. 3 AND OP. 4

At the same time as Smith was involved with the Foundling Hospital, he was also composing more works for keyboard. Walsh published Smith's Op. 3 (*Six Suits of Lessons for the Harpsichord*) and Op. 4 (*A Collection of Lessons for the Harpsicord*) some eighteen years after his Op. 2, with no subscription lists or dedications. The first advertisement for Op. 3 appeared in the *London Evening Post* of 4-6 November 1755,

---

[31] *GB-Lma*, A/FH/A/03/004/003, 139.
[32] *GB-Lma*, A/FH/K/02/007, 59.
[33] An incomplete copy of the wordbook is in the British Library (10347 f. 13 (2)). The complete wordbook is at *F-Pn* Rés. V.S. 1063. The Foundling Museum possesses a MS score written by Smith Snr with Handel's revisions (*GB-L-fom* 2485 and 2486). Since the minutes make no mention of its receipt, it seems most likely that Smith jnr left it there after this concert.
[34] *GB-Lma, A/FH/K/02/007,* 79. The minutes acknowledge receipt of the score but make no mention of the parts which eventually came to light in 1894 when they were discovered in an old cupboard by H. Davan Wetton, the organist at that time (Edwards, 310). The score is in the hand of Larsen's S6. The soloists' books (the soprano is missing) contain only the airs and chorus parts; the recitatives are in the instrumental parts.)

and Op. 4 was first announced in *The Public Advertiser* of 7 February 1757. The two collections each contain six lessons continuously paginated, and the second set begins with Lesson VII. The titles of both draw attention to Smith as the 'Author of the Opera call'd The Fairies'. Smith's English operas *The Fairies* and *The Tempest* had been performed in 1755 and 1756 respectively, yet there is no mention of the latter on the title page of Op. 4. Walsh also published both operas the year they were performed, and he would surely have advertised *The Tempest* on the title page of Op. 4 if it had indeed been published before February 1757. This fact, together with the continuous pagination and numbering of the lessons, points toward an actual publication date for Op. 4 in late 1755 or early 1756.

It was Francis Fauquier (1703-68), whom we have already encountered as a governor of the Foundling Hospital (see 64 above), who was probably responsible for Smith's keyboard connection with the American colonies.[35] He had been appointed a governor of the Foundling Hospital in 1751, and his name appears regularly in the minutes of the General Committee as the person there who had direct contact with Handel. A member of the Academy of Ancient Music and a Fellow of the Royal Society, he was also a director of the South Sea Company. Late in 1757, the king appointed him Lieutenant Governor of Virginia. He took up his responsibilities in Williamsburg on 10 February 1758, and shortly afterwards became a member of a weekly chamber music group as an accomplished violinist, probably playing first violin, while Thomas Jefferson, later to be the third president of the United States and co-drafter of the Declaration of Independence, played second.[36] Also among the group of friends was Francis Hopkinson, one of the signers of the Declaration, and an avid keyboard player. It is my guess that Fauquier brought with him several printed pieces of music and shared

---

[35] See www.ouramericanrevolution.org for more information regarding Fauquier.
[36] Sandor Salgo, *Thomas Jefferson* [:] *Musician & Violinist*, (Thomas Jefferson Foundation, 2000), 6 (afterward Salgo).

them with Hopkinson, who copied Smith's Andante from Op. 3 no. 4,[37] and with Jefferson.[38]

Smith's teacher Roseingrave had published his edition of *XLII Suites de Pieces Pour le Clavecin* by Domenico Scarlatti in June 1739, and 'Mr. I.C. Smith' – surely John Christopher – had subscribed for three copies.[39] Thus he was exposed to the Scarlatti idiom even before his trip to the Continent, and these works from the 1750s represent his somewhat awkward attempts to come to grips with the newly emerging ideas of the *galant*. These two volumes are much more forward looking – Op. 3 contains one fugue and only three movements are labelled as dances, while there are three fugues and no dances labelled as such in Op. 4 – and most of these movements have now shed any real sense of the Baroque. There are also two sets of variations, one in each of Op. 3 and Op. 4, and in these Smith is no longer concerned, as both he and Handel were earlier, with organizing the individual variations in matching pairs (see Chapter I, 15-6). He also seems little interested with more up-to-date ideas of regularly balanced phrases arising from motives specifically designed for that purpose. Instead, he sometimes attempted, but with variable success, to manipulate Baroque musical ideas in a modern pre-Classical manner. Thus, individual movements in these collections are often a mosaic of unrelated musical gestures, awkwardly glued together with galant clichés. Smith grasped only too well the new idea of contrasting elements as opposed to the Baroque idea of a single affect, and it may be his works which James Nares had in mind when, in 1759, he wrote

> It may here be objected, that These Passages are only introduced, for the Sake of Variety; but surely the Invention must be at a low Ebb, when an

---

[37] See *Francis Hopkinson's Lessons*, notes by David P. McKay (Washington D.C., 1979).
[38] Among many other musical selections, Jefferson owned music by Handel, Arne, Abel, Giardini, and Stanley. (Salgo, 59-62).
[39] Richard Newton, 'The English Cult of Domenico Scarlatti', *ML* 20 (1939), 141.

> Author has recourse to what has neither Air, nor Harmony in it, for the sake of Variety.[40]

Though C. M. Eckersley[41] refers to Smith's attempts as 'possibly the most *determined* [my italics] imitation of Scarlatti', it would appear that Beulah Brown is the only writer to describe some of these galant features for what they actually are – purely mechanical.[42]

With the exception of the technical difficulties common to all five published collections (see Chapter V for Op. 5), these two sets thus bear little resemblance to Smith's earlier Op. 1 and Op. 2 and their Handelian models. Instead, they abound with flamboyant Scarlatti mannerisms: repeated notes shared between the hands, rapid scale passages (sometimes in thirds), hand crossing and widely spaced leaps as well as left-hand octaves and closely spaced chords, wholesale repetition, a good deal of chromaticism, and a characteristically Scarlattian ambivalence between major and minor in approaching both the central and final double bars.

The C minor Allegro from Smith's Op. 3 no.2 (see Ex. III.1) is one of the more eccentric lessons and displays most of these features. The movement contains three contrasting motives, all of equal importance; these are exhaustively repeated, creating a somewhat kaleidoscopic effect of varying figurations and concluding flourishes. The opening four-bar motive, with two bars of repeated semiquavers shared between the hands, and a two-bar extension growing naturally out of the tail end of bar 3, is then restated an octave lower. The second motive, (also in C minor) appears in two separate guises: the first distinguished by chromatic semiquavers rising in the left hand and falling in the right (bars 13-23) and the second with a quasi Alberti bass accompaniment

---

[40] *These Lessons For the Harpsicord With a Sonata in Score for the Harpsicord or Organ* … Opera II, [London, 1759], second unnumbered page.

[41] 'Aspects of structure and idiom in the music of eighteenth-century England, with special reference to the Scarlatti arrangements of Charles Avison', D.Phil thesis (University of Oxford, 1980), 205.

[42] Beulah Louise Brown, 'The Harpsichord Music of Handel's Younger English Contemporaries, 1710-1760: A Reassessment', Ph.D. thesis, (University of Manchester,1966), 207.

taking us eventually to the relative (E flat) major with a touch of E flat minor en route (bars 24-35). The third motive, a descending triplet figure (bars 36-46, also involving repeated notes shared between the hands) is then introduced followed by more chromatic figuration in the right hand. Bar 51, the 'point of crux',[43] begins a long dominant pedal terminating with a four-note chord – a dominant seventh – in both hands (bar 57) and a descending cadenza-like flourish of demisemiquavers before dashing for the central double bar via a one-bar cadential figure (bar 60, immediately repeated) and a four-bar passage, similarly cadential but featuring yet more chromatic scales in the right hand; this too is immediately repeated before dissolving in the third motive triplet figure (bars 70-73) introduced earlier (in bar 36) but now cascading downwards over three octaves to the central double bar-line.

The second half – an incipient development and recapitulation section – opens with a repetition of the initial motive, now in the dominant. This is followed by falling and rising short chromatic scale passages in the treble clef. The third motive, beginning in bar 97, leads to a tonic recapitulation of the opening material at bar 109. Bits of the second motive and snatches of the third (bars 115-38) lead to a half close on the dominant (bar 140). Once again, a cadenza-like flourish in demisemiquavers scurries downwards to the same extended dominant pedal, the point of crux in bar 146, concluding the movement with the same material as first appeared in bars 51-73 but now in the tonic.

The Allegro of Op. 4, Lesson 12 (see Music Ex. III.2a), is more closely integrated, perhaps because it contains only two motives. The opening phrase is more immediately striking, while the second motive (bars 11-13) features repeated two-note groupings, similar to those in Scarlatti's sonata K. 421 (see Ex. III.2b). Various

---

[43] The brilliant harpsichordist and Scarlatti expert Ralph Kirkpatrick coined the term in his book *Domenico Scarlatti* (Princeton, 1953). In this case, the material in the dominant (bars 51-73) is recapitulated in the tonic at the end of the second half (bars 146-67).

figurations lead to the point of crux, bar 17, with ascending and descending demisemiquaver scalic figurations firmly in the dominant, rushing downwards to the end of the first half. In the 'development' section, a restatement of the opening phrase in the dominant (bars 21- 25) is followed immediately by a 'recapitulation' of the second motive (bars 26-31) which, after an extended downwards excursion fetches up on the dominant of the relative (B) minor (bars 31-3). Almost as an afterthought, the opening motive fleetingly returns at bar 44, *after* the reappearance of the second motive (bars 39-41), and the movement closes with connecting material to the point of crux at bar 53, now in the tonic major, while demisemiquaver scale passages once again rush downwards to the end.

Although several individual movements might be singled out for formal scrutiny, the first movement (Andante) of Op. 4 no. 7 (see Ex. III.3) deserves at least a passing mention. Here again Smith has shaped seemingly unrelated motives into a unified whole, this time, however, in a rather unusual manner. Following a rather pre-Classical opening motive, the actual point of crux appears in bar three! Small rather jerky musical units and other decorative material lead to demisemiquaver scales moving downward in the right hand and upward in the left, arriving firmly in the dominant in bar 10. Immediately after the central double bar, two bars poised on the dominant of the supertonic (A) minor give way to right-hand semiquaver triplets, strikingly accompanied by left-hand semiquavers, seemingly to be played as two against three (bars 17-22) but perhaps in phase with the right hand. Further passage-work in semiquaver triplets leads eventually to a slightly varied subdominant reprise of the opening material (bar 28) with the point of crux following shortly at bar 31. The dominant response that originally followed now anchors us in G major, the tonic key of the movement.

Several of Smith's contemporaries also experimented with Scarlatti figurations. For example, Richard Jones (d.1744) occasionally employed rapid scale passages, wide leaps, left-hand octaves, and closely spaced left-hand chords,[44] while James Nares makes much the most extensive use of Scarlattian keyboard idioms.[45] Nares seems more than usually partial to hand crossing (one example in each of the first five lessons and two in Lesson VIII (see Ex. III.4a and 4b). In addition, semiquaver triplets as well as rapid scale passages, and left-hand chords abound. And, though there are also rapid scale passages and left-hand chords in Nares' Op. II, only one lesson contains hand crossing, and that not at all difficult to play. Thus Smith appears to be virtually alone among his English contemporaries in the wholesale adoption of Scarlattian devices, and those movements in which he makes use of hand crossing nearly always contain additional Scarlatti figurations. The Prelude of Op. 4, Lesson 8, in which the hand-crossing creates the opening motive, also consists of Alberti-like bass figurations, (see Ex. III.5a), and the second movement of Op. 3, Lesson 5 sets off the hand-crossing sections with left-hand octaves and rapid scale passages not only for both hands singly, but also in parallel thirds (see Ex. III.5b).

At rare moments, however, Smith's compositions do successfully capture the essence of the *galant*, particularly in some of the slower more expressive movements. One good example is the Air from Op. 4, Lesson 10, upon which Smith later based the air 'In notes of joy' from his pasticcio oratorio *Gideon*. Here regular four-bar phrases are balanced and flow naturally from one to another (see Ex. III.6)

SMITH'S ORATORIOS 1751-59

As engaged as he was with his work at the Foundling Hospital and writing keyboard lessons, Smith was also preparing for a time some years hence when he would

---

[44] R. Jones: *Lessons for the Harpsichord* , ed. Stoddard Lincoln (Paris, 1974).
[45] See his *Eight Setts of Lessons for the Harpsichord* (London, 1747).

present oratorios of his own during the Lenten season. Before returning from the Continent in 1751, Smith had written only one oratorio, *David's Lamentation over Saul and Jonathan*, (whose libretto clearly states that the work is an oratorio) performed at Hickford's Room in 1740.[46] But between 1755 and 1758, Smith wrote another four oratorios: *Judith, The Festival of Darius, Paradise Lost,* and *Rebecca.* Of these, *Judith* and *The Festival of Darius* were never presented publically, but *Paradise Lost* was first performed by Smith and John Stanley the year following Handel's death, with *Rebecca* following in 1761.

JUDITH[47]

Smith's *Judith*, with a libretto by his friend Robert Price, follows Chapters 7-15 of the Apocryphal Book of Judith. The Assyrian King Nebuchadnezzar calls upon his general, Holofernes, to lead the Assyrian troops against Judea. The Ammonite Anchior explains to Holofernes that God will protect the Israelites as long as they commit no sins, and suggests that it would be wiser for the Assyrians to avoid a direct confrontation. In a rage, Holofernes vows he will massacre all in Judea. He delivers the bound Anchior to the Israelites where Ozias, 'mayor' of Bethulia, accepts him into the city. The widow Judith prays to God, requesting strength before the coming conflict. In Act II, we learn that Holofernes has gained control of the water supply, and that the Israelites are dying of thirst. They beg Ozias to surrender, but he asks for five days grace. Judith asks Ozias to let her and her maid out of the city gates so that she, dressed in splendour, can meet Holofernes with the object of killing him. In Act III, hoping to seduce Judith, Holofernes declares a feast in her honour, and during it, both he and his men drink themselves into a stupor. Left alone together, Judith cuts off Holofernes' head and brings it back to

---

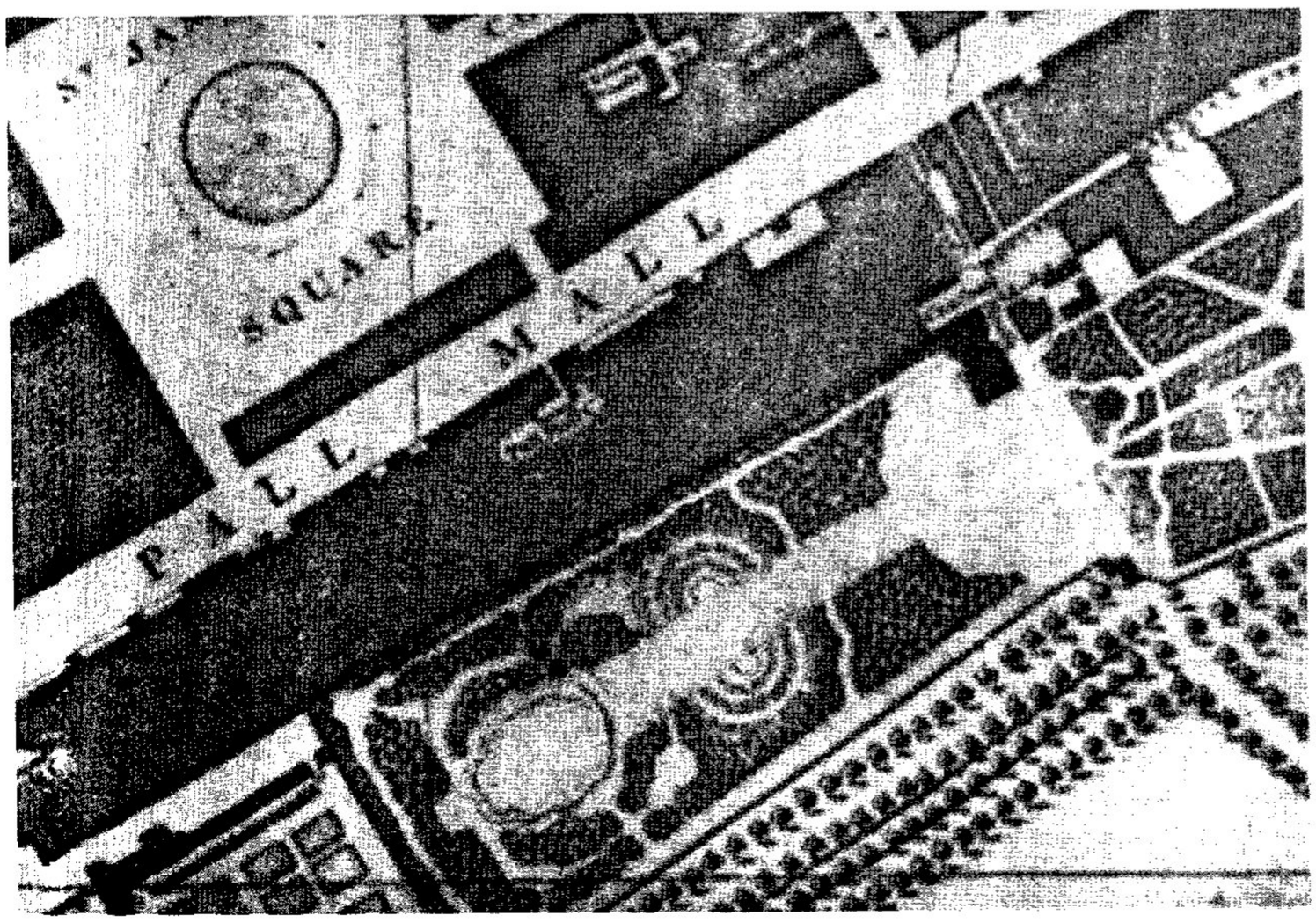
[46] Only one movement, a duet, is extant (see Ex. I.22).
[47] Copy at *D-Hs*, M A/669.

Bethulia. The Assyrian army flees and the oratorio ends with much rejoicing, a review of the events, and universal praise for Judith.

The internal evidence of the manuscript suggests that Smith produced the oratorio privately in the early 1760s, and once again in 1765 or shortly thereafter. This is not an autograph, however, but a copy by S5 written on paper with watermarks Cr I and Cr II (Clausen 1755-8) with additions and alterations in Smith's hand on paper with watermarks Hb and Hc (1765) and an unknown F1 type. The score contains numerous cuts, and various airs have been shortened or eliminated altogether. Several researchers have wondered why Smith continued to write oratorios with no expectation that they would ever be heard, but apparently they were, and *Judith*, the first of these, was most probably performed privately for Augusta, the Dowager Princess of Wales, at Carlton House. According to Coxe

> She [Augusta] was fond of his [Smith's] musical compositions, and several of them, particularly the Oratorio of Gideon, were performed at Carlton House.[48]

Carlton House ('Charlton House' in the map below) is the dark building facing NNW to Pall Mall.[49]



[48] Coxe, 54. According to Burney (Commemoration, 34) Handel held rehearsals there as well.
[49] *A to Z*, grid 10 C-b. I am grateful to John Greenacombe for verifying this information.

The preponderance of airs, almost all da capo or dal segno, is, naturally, for the heroine Judith (soprano), with Holofernes (tenor) not far behind; Anchior, the banished Ammonite (bass) and Ozias (soprano) are both secondary roles. In addition, Chabris, an Israelite (bass), has one air and a short recitative. Rounding out the cast, Smith gave a tenor Israelite and Holofernes' officer (bass) several recitatives. The oratorio does not depict the actual beheading of Holofernes but rather Judith's intense revulsion at what she must do. Her air 'What horrors now each sense alarm' depicts her inner turmoil quite effectively (see Ex. III. 7).

The subject of the oratorio leaves room for many warlike choruses. The first in the Assyrian camp contains fugal passages in praise of Bacchus; another, mostly homophonic, has the Assyrians claiming to despise the God of Heaven; while a third at the end of Act I anticipates victory. Thereafter, the Assyrian choruses proclaim Judith's beauty during the feast and bless the happy day when Holofernes and Judith will be united. In the Israelite city of Bethulia, the choruses at the end of Act I and in most of Act II seek God's deliverance, pray for His mercy and sing of their desolation and misery – all in the minor mode. But, late in Act II, learning that Judith will somehow act for them, they rejoice with 'God alone the battle guides', set in D major to accommodate the warlike trumpets (see III.8).[50] The closing Israelite choruses belittle both the Assyrians and Holofernes, especially 'Her sandals ravished his eyes', nicely contrasting the semi-chorus (labelled as such at the beginning of the movement and supported by two oboes) with the full chorus (see Ex. III.9). The oratorio concludes with the chorus praising God.

---

[50] The words of this chorus were not written by Price, but by Benjamin Stillingfleet (Coxe, *Stillingfleet ii,* 155), and Smith later used it in his *Jehosaphat*, composed *c.*1765-8 (see Chapter V).

Eva Zöllner's comparison of De Fesch's, Smith's, and Arne's *Judith* concludes that Smith's is the weakest of the three.[51] Though only one air from De Fesch's version is extant, she nevertheless lauds his librettist William Huggins for his masterful handling of the beheading scene

> O God, a manly strength impart
> To my hand as to my heart,
> For thy chosen people's sake.
> Rush forth thou massy glitt'ring sword,
> That on thy detested Lord
> My just vengeance I may take.

Robert Price's libretto for Smith, however, presents essentially the same idea:

> What horrors now each sense alarm
> On Judith gracious heav'n thy aid bestow
> Strengthen'd by thee this poor weak arm
> Shall wield the dreadful sword and strike the blow

The flaw in Price's libretto is not the difference in the beheading scenes, but the fact that

Huggins concludes his work with very little celebration while Price's seems to go on forever.

There is no question that Arne's *Judith*[52] is musically far superior to those by De Fesch and Smith, but it is next to impossible to compare similar airs since their librettists Robert Price and Isaac Bickerstaffe seem to be at cross-purposes. Bickerstaffe's version entirely omits the beheading scene, and the only thing they seem to agree on is Holofernes' lust for Judith. Thus Price

> Thou lovely sweet consenting maid, I feel my ravish'd soul on fire, wrapt up in flames, bright heavenly flames, that like the sun's meridian ray, now blaze and dance before my sight.

as compared with Bickerstaffe's

> Haste to the gardens of delight

---

[51] 'Murder Most Virtuous: The *Judith* Oratorios of De Fesch, Smith and Arne', *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. David Wyn Jones (Aldershot, 2000), 158-71.

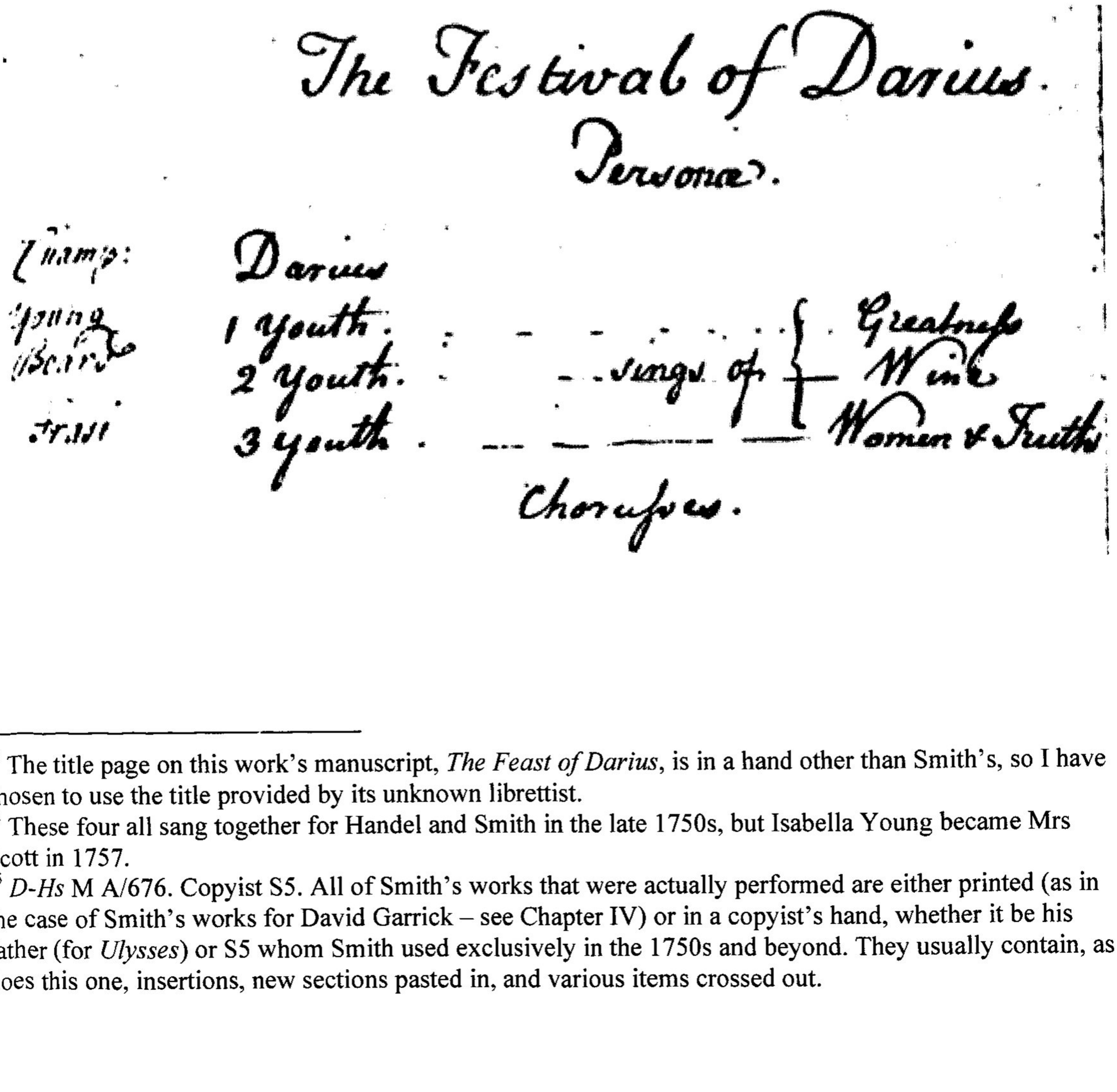
[52] *Judith/ An/ Oratorio/* As it is Perform'd at the/ Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane/ Compos'd By/ Dr. Arne/ London/ Printed for I.Walsh in Catherine Street in the Strand. Modern edn. ed. Simon McVeigh and Peter Lynan in *Musica Britannica* (London, 2016).

Blest scenes where plenteous pleasures grow
Where fruits luxuriant charm the sight
And tempt the hand from ev'ry bough …
Pluck and eat, and satisfy thy soul with joy.

THE FESTIVAL OF DARIUS[53]

Smith's *The Festival of Darius* was also, it seems, rehearsed at Carlton House. The manuscript is obviously a conducting score, and the corresponding libretto (in MS), filed with it in Hamburg, contains the names of the singers: Samuel Champness, Isabella Young, John Beard, and Giulia Frasi.[54] This is a rough draft with lines crossed out and other songs and recitatives added haphazardly. Texts for various airs have been pasted into the libretto, and several times Smith seems to have ignored the libretto entirely, omitting various recitatives and adding extra airs and one chorus.[55]

First page of manuscript libretto to *The Festival of Darius*



The Festival of Darius.

Persons.

Champ: Darius
Young } 1 Youth. — — — — — — — — — — { Greatness
Beard } 2 Youth. — — — sings of — { Wine
Frasi 3 Youth. — — — — — — — — — — Women & Truth

Choruses.

---

[53] The title page on this work's manuscript, *The Feast of Darius*, is in a hand other than Smith's, so I have chosen to use the title provided by its unknown librettist.
[54] These four all sang together for Handel and Smith in the late 1750s, but Isabella Young became Mrs Scott in 1757.
[55] *D-Hs* M A/676. Copyist S5. All of Smith's works that were actually performed are either printed (as in the case of Smith's works for David Garrick – see Chapter IV) or in a copyist's hand, whether it be his father (for *Ulysses*) or S5 whom Smith used exclusively in the 1750s and beyond. They usually contain, as does this one, insertions, new sections pasted in, and various items crossed out.

Of the *Darius* airs, twelve are da capo or dal segno and only four are through-composed, with one through-composed duet and two trios as well. Its 'plot', taken from the Apocryphal Book Esdras books 3 and 4, is weak in the extreme, so feeble that no attempt to summarize it in detail seems necessary. The three youths remain nameless. The first (Isabella Young) sings of 'Greatness', Frasi of 'Women & Truth', and Beard of 'Wine', while Champness takes the part of Darius himself. Act II features a contest in which the three youths compete for supremacy. During the third act, they further clarify what they have already said, but the librettist managed somehow to interject into the proceedings the idea of time – the fact that all living things age and must eventually die – an echo perhaps of Handel's 1757 oratorio *The Triumph of Time and Truth.* At the end of the day, Darius rewards each youth with a golden chain and asks the competitors to unite. A final air and chorus conclude the work.

I suspect that after one rehearsal, Smith decided to drop the oratorio as such and instead use it as a mine for other works. Thus, the following movements appear in the later oratorio *Jehosaphat* (see Chapter V):

- 'While peace and plenty hand in hand' (soprano solo and chorus)
- 'The paths of truth are plain and sure' (chorus)

and in the pasticcio oratorio *Gideon*

- The complete overture
- 'Hear and rejoice' (third youth and chorus) (as 'Sing and rejoice')
- 'Can words the human breast control' (third youth) (as 'Return, tumultuous ruin shun')
- 'Hail enlivener of the heart' (chorus) (as 'Hail enlivener of our cause')
- 'Placed on a cloud' (trio of youths) (as 'Like a bright cherub')
- 'Now tune with joy the speaking lyre' (third youth) (as ''Tis time my sons')
- 'From time and envy' (chorus) (as 'Destroy these idols')
- 'How happy is the hermit's lot' (as 'How sweet the rose')[56]

Of the movements transferred to *Gideon*, two are outstanding. The first, 'Can words the human breast control' features two bassoons (see Ex. III.10) while the second,

[56] This is not the same melody as that of 'How sweet the rose' from the 1757 *Esther.*

the trio 'Placed on a cloud' became so popular after its inclusion in *Gideon* that it was twice performed in the 1790s and once in 1800 as a work by Handel (see Exx. III.11a, and 11b).[57]

PARADISE LOST[58]

In the 1740s, there appears to have been something like a concerted effort to persuade Handel to set John Milton's *Paradise Lost* as an oratorio. Commenting on a letter of 14 September 1744 from the 4th Earl of Shaftesbury to James Harris, Donald Burrows wrote,

> Apparently Jennens (or more likely JH [James Harris] and Jennens jointly …) planned an oratorio libretto based on Milton's *Paradise Lost*. … If the libretto was ever completed and submitted to Handel, it did not get any further …[59]

Two years later, John Upton, a clerical friend of James Harris, also wrote to him:

> When last I came from Handel's oratorio I was so charmed, that to work I went, & from Milton's Paradise Lost, drew out a plan of a new oratorio: I finished the two first acts, & wrote them out: & sent Handel an account of what I had prepared for him[.] But he has given me as yet no answer; & I have not had leisure or desire to go so far as his house. I told him in my letter if he approved of the design, the plans should be sent to you.[60]

Whether or not Smith ever saw a draft libretto, he followed through on the idea. His setting of *Paradise Lost,* to a libretto by his friend Benjamin Stillingfleet, was performed at Covent Garden on 29 February 1760 and again on 5 March; it was also revived one year later on 17 February, and once again, for the last time, in 1774 (see Chapter V, 140-41). The 1760 cast consisted of Giulia Frasi, Charlotte Brent, Isabella Young, John Beard, and Samuel Champness. Walsh advertised the printed music on 8 March 1760, and his edition included not only the overture and all the airs but also, rather

---

[57] 'Like a bright cherub' published in *The Harmonicum,* Vol. 11, part 2 (London, 1833).
[58] *D-Hs* M A/672. Conducting score by S5. Several additions for both the 1760 and 1774 productions are in Smith's hand. Howard Smither's *The History of the Oratorio: the Oratorio in the Classical Era* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1987), 245-57, contains a structural outline of the oratorio on 249-50.
[59] Burrows/Dunhill, 198.
[60] Burrows/Dunhill, 225-26.

surprisingly, two accompanied recitatives. Walsh's version offers a confusing mishmash of singers which, curiously, does not agree with the characters named in the printed libretto. For example, Eve's first air is titled 'Sung by Miss Brent', while the following air, also for Eve, is to be sung by Frasi. The part of Eve then, would appear to have been shared between Frasi and Brent, while Champness and Beard (who elsewhere appears as Gabriel and the other named angels) split the role of the angel Michael. While Isabella Young's name is clearly on all parts for Adam, Master Thomas Norris later took the part of Adam, probably for the 1761 production since he also sang in *Rebecca* that year.

The performance must have been something of a success since Stillingfleet, who received the profits from the sale of the libretto, sold his complete run of 1,000 copies for the first night, and the receipts for the evening were £371 16s 6d.[61] The day after the second performance, the 4th Earl of Shaftesbury sent the following note to James Harris:

> Smith's [snr's] illness has delayed my receiving the several oratorios which he promises to send me soon – I suppose not till Easter. His son's performance is good beyond expectation, having really great merit.[62]

On 5 March, Stillingfleet wrote that the work 'is the least interesting and happy of our author's performances:[63] however on the following day he suggested 'The music was exceedingly well received, without the least disturbance; and I imagine we shall have it a third time'.[64] For the 18 February 1761 revival, only 413 tickets were sold; receipts were £128 8s 6d with expenses of £45.[65]

Stillingfleet dedicated the libretto to Mrs [Elizabeth] Montagu, one of his 'Bluestocking' friends. An 'advertisement' explains that several lines would not be performed since the oratorio in rehearsal had proved too long. The story begins at Genesis 1:31 with a chorus of angels, rather than God, declaring creation good. Adam

---

[61] Zöllner, 259.
[62] Burrows/Dunhill, 346.
[63] *Stillingfleet i*, 153.
[64] *Stillingfleet i,* 154-5.
[65] *LS*, Part 4, 844.

reminds Eve that they must not taste fruit from the tree of knowledge, and they praise God for the bounty given them. An extended scene finds the pair falling asleep while Gabriel sings of the arrival of an infernal spirit which is warned by the chorus to go 'back again to hell'. In Act II Adam and Eve awake and go off to work individually in the garden. When Eve returns, she explains that, persuaded by a 'serpent wise', she has tasted the forbidden fruit and has thus become enlightened. At first appalled, Adam eventually yields to Eve's encouragement to join her in consuming the fruit. The angels, having observed the couple's transgression, conclude the act with a chorus of vengeance.

Act III begins in recitative as Gabriel tells of God giving mankind the power of choice. Adam enters, wondering why he isn't dead already, but Michael tells him that while God has pardoned them, the pair are to be exiled from Eden. They desperately express their wish to stay, but Michael explains how, as a result of their sin, innocent mankind will now die, and the world be taken over by anger, hate, mistrust, suspicion, and discord. Satan's reign will be extended and he will henceforth lead the world in chains. Michael then concludes the oratorio on a more hopeful note foretelling the birth of the Messiah:

> At his birth a star,
> Unseen before in heaven, proclaims him come.
> His place of birth a solemn angel tells
> To simple shepherds, keeping watch by night.
> They gladly thither haste, and by a choir
> Of squadron'd angels hear his carol sung.

to which the chorus responds with

> Glory be to God on high,
> Peace on earth,
> Good will towards men.
> Halleluja. [Alleluja in MS]

The watermarks on the score make it clear that Smith had written the work before Handel's death.[66] Even before the first performance, the composer made considerable cuts to the music. Of the original 29 airs, Smith jettisoned seven completely, and he cut the 'B' sections of another six. He also removed the 'B' sections of both duets and cut 52 lines of recitative. Although two choruses were eliminated before the libretto was printed, Smith retained the remaining thirteen, including 'Praise the Lord', a 1760 addition in his own hand which he would later transfer to his oratorio *Jehosaphat*.[67]

Stillingfleet did a skillful job of shortening and adapting John Milton's epic poem *Paradise Lost*, originally written in blank verse. It is obvious that Stillingfleet, rather than Milton, wrote the text to several of the airs, but their rhyming couplets are more artfully crafted than those of the librettist for *The Festival of Darius.* The orchestration is generally for strings, with oboes, [bassoons], trumpets, and/or horns occasionally included in the choruses, and timpani (marked 'Drums') for the chorus 'Well we remember'. There are also several movements involving two flutes, and in one case Smith specifically called for double basses, but individual bassoon parts, prominent in some other of Smith's works, are absent here; their presence among the bassi, however, is implied by the use of oboes in support of the chorus. Eva Zöllner believes the oratorio lacks dramatic confidence, stating that Adam, initially backed up with nothing more than reiterated semiquavers remains 'strangely unperturbed',[68] but these figurations demonstrate, in eighteenth-century musical parlance, Adam's extreme apprehension. Contrary to Zöllner's opinion, the oratorio does contain some very beautiful and interesting music.

---

[66] Clausen's F2a (1755-56), Cr I and Cr II (1755-8), Bm (1759), F1 (*c.*1759 or later), The other watermark, Hc (1765 or later), must belong to the final performance of the work on 2 March, 1774 (see Chapter V).
[67] Among the choruses cut is one ('God these bounds cannot restrain') still listed in Stillingfleet's songs from *Paradise Lost* (see Coxe, *Stillingfleet ii*, 147).
[68] Zöllner, 117.

The original 1760 version of *Paradise Lost* begins with the angel Gabriel and a chorus of angels surveying God's creation.[69] Smith then set the scene for the Garden of Eden with a short pastoral instrumental movement featuring two flutes (see Ex. III.12). Following its opening gesture, the ritornello of the concluding chorus in Act II, 'But he the Lord', is briefly reminiscent of the trio, 'The flocks shall leave the mountains', in Handel's *Acis and Galatea* (see Exx. III.13a and 13b). Eve's poignant emotional reaction to Adam's violent Act III air, 'Out of my sight, thou serpent!' is beautifully conveyed by her air 'My only strength' (see Ex. III.14), and Smith's simple but stirring D major chorus 'Glory be to God' is not only a fitting response to the optimistic note sounded earlier by Michael, it also recalls Handel's setting of the same words in *Messiah* (see Ex. III.15). The final Alleluja too is a further tribute to his compositional mentor (see Ex. III.16).

REBECCA[70]

Rebecca was the third of Smith's seven oratorios ever offered to the public. With a text based on Genesis 24, the identity of its librettist has hitherto remained unknown.[71] But Laban's air from Act II, 'Short is the date', is in fact by Benjamin Stillingfleet,[72] and so too, we may safely assume, are the words of the rest of the oratorio. Its sole performance, at Covent Garden on 4 March 1761, must have been disappointing: only 378 people attended, with receipts of £114 16s to be set against expenses of £45.[73] Nevertheless, the cast was outstanding: John Beard was Abraham's servant, Isabella Young sang the part of Isaac, and Gaetano Quilici the part of Abraham (and also the parts of Rebecca's father, Bethuel, and a Canaanite);[74] the role of Rebecca herself was

---

[69] Following are 27 lines of recitative and a song by Gabriel, cut before performance.
[70] *D-Hs* M A/671, conducting score by copyist S5.
[71] The manuscript libretto is now at *US-SM*.
[72] Coxe, *Stillingfleet ii*, 153.
[73] *LS*, Part 4, 847.
[74] The parts for Abraham and Bethuel are for a bass, but the Canaanite is sometimes a tenor.

taken by Giulia Frasi, a Chaldean woman by Angiola Calori,[75] and Laban (Rebecca's brother) by Master Norris. As one might expect, Rebecca and Abraham's servant have most of the airs (six and four respectively), while Laban and a Chaldean woman each sing three, Isaac (who appears only in Act III) has two, and the Canaanite, Bethuel, and Abraham one each. Considering Smith's apparent knowledge of scripture, it is surprising that he chose Rebecca to be his protagonist for it was she who, in Genesis 25:8, encouraged her son Jacob to steal his brother's birthright and to obtain his father Isaac's blessing by fraud.

In Genesis 24, Abraham, living among the Canaanites, sends his servant to find a wife for his son Isaac among his own kinsmen. The servant will know the correct woman if she offers to slake his thirst and then waters his camels. He proceeds to Haran with camels and jewelry as gifts for the prospective wife, and at that point the oratorio begins. The servant leads the camels to the well, at which point he sees a beautiful maiden who, sure enough, offers him water. He explains that he is there to find a wife for Abraham's son.[76] Rebecca's brother Laban invites the servant to stay with them, and the chorus praises God. In Act II, the servant brags about Abraham's wealth (which will soon go to Isaac). Rebecca's father and Abraham's brother Bethuel offer her as a bride. The servant wants to leave immediately, but night is approaching, and Rebecca soon falls asleep. Two choruses praising God conclude the act. The servant and Rebecca first observe Isaac while travelling home at the start of Act III. He requests that she remove her veil, after which accompanied recitatives, an air, and chorus compare Rebecca to nature. Abraham's air unites them, Isaac and Rebecca sing a love duet, and the chorus praises God.

---

[75] Smith, however, wrote 'Calori' above Rebecca's air 'The fading beauties of each hour'.
[76] At this point in Genesis 24, the servant offers Rebecca jewelry, and in an accompanied recitative, Beard does just that, but this recitative was cut for the performance.

The oratorio's only London performance was a disaster financially. The 378 tickets were just over a third of the tickets sold for Handel's *Samson* the previous Wednesday, while for the last two performances of *Messiah* that season 1441 and 1486 tickets were sold.[77] Nevertheless, William Hayes directed one further performance at the Winchester Festival on 6 September 1769.[78] Internal evidence suggests that insertions in Smith's hand were completed before the 1761 production and they all appear in the printed libretto, the only difference between that and the Larpent manuscript sent for the Lord Chamberlain's approval being the naming of the 'Parts' as 'Acts'.[79]

The forms for Smith's airs remain fundamentally unchanged from those in his other oratorios (five airs are da capo and seven dal segno), and Rebecca's A major air 'What sudden joy awakes my sense' makes good use of the da capo form. In the beginning, a rash of semiquaver figurations accents Rebecca's exuberant delight, while the 'B' section (a Largo in A minor) expresses her awe of forthcoming events (see Exx. III.17a and 17b). The music within these da capo airs is usually more galant, with lightweight orchestration, strings and/or flutes in thirds, and regular two- and four-bar phrases. Most are in triple time (3/8, 3/4) or have a triple division of the beat (6/8, 12/8). In addition, Smith and S5 have included tempo markings for almost all movements, a rarity in his earlier works. In Isaac's galant air, 'Ye fountains warbling as ye flow', flutes and/or strings in thirds portray the gentle burbling of a fountain (see Ex. III.18a). Smith's use of dynamics has also changed. Whereas in past works he has generally relied on swirling semiquavers to represent raging winds,[80] here it is changes of dynamics that do the trick (see Ex. III.18b). The chorus 'His pastures are clothed with flocks' is also in the galant style, with static harmonies and voices in thirds in triple time. The concluding

---

[77] Zöllner, 259-60.
[78] Zöllner, 127.
[79] Watermarks for the original papers are F2b (1757), F2c (1758-59); insertions are F2d (*c.*1759); *US-SM* LA 186.
[80] See Exx. I.19a and 19b.

choruses to both Acts 1 and II are paired, each in two parts, the first of which ends on the dominant. 'The Lord hath respect for the lowly', in D minor, is hymn-like and devotional (see Ex. 19a), leading immediately to a more Handelian chorus 'Sing praise to the name of the Lord' in D major, alternating between polyphonic and short homophonic sections (see Exx. III.19b and 19.c). The concluding chorus to Act II is also in two parts. The first, 'Thy wonders infinite and great', in C minor, is also hymn-like and marked 'Grave'; the second, 'Glory, O Lord my God', continues in the same key, and while there is no new tempo marking, it is obviously meant to be performed much faster.

Smith's orchestration in *Rebecca* is more varied than that for his other oratorios. Often he pares it down, especially for the airs, most of which are in the galant style. Laban's 'The joyful tidings I have heard' (in simple binary form) is scored for two flutes, two violins and basso continuo only (see Ex. III.20). It is surprising perhaps that Smith did not add trumpets to the brilliant D major Act I chorus 'Sing praise to the name of the Lord', but he did use them in the oratorio's final chorus, 'Sing praises to the Lord'. 'Like distilling dews', a soprano air sung by Angiola Calori as a Chaldean woman, is written for strings and harp, and Eva Zöllner has suggested that this movement, a Smith insert, was inspired by 'Wake my harp' from Arne's *Judith*.[81] This might be true if the watermark for the insertion (F2d, Clausen *c.*1759) could be shown to extend into or past 1760; it seems more likely, however, that it was Smith's idea alone, conceived before Arne's 1761 *Judith*. The movement follows an almost rondo-like structure, with the opening ritornello acting as the recurring theme, alternating with harp, voice, and strings in various combinations (see Exx. III.21a and 21b). The layout, however, is unfortunate in that what could have been a splendid back and forth dialogue between soprano and harp very soon becomes tedious and is senselessly repetitive.

---

[81] Zöllner, 124.

Probably the most beautiful air of the oratorio is Rebecca's 'O balmy sleep', sung the night before she is to leave her family to wed Isaac. Her D minor Larghetto begins with two solo bassoons in quasi-canonic dialogue, later joined by strings. Rebecca sings of slumber, and a solo oboe echoes her (see Ex. III.22). Before falling asleep, however, she sings a wonderfully orchestrated accompagnato, (marked thus in the libretto, and with no repeated words): 'While all animal creation sleeps' with two horns, two oboes and a written-out organ part (see Ex. III.23).

Rebecca was probably the last work Smith composed before Handel's death. Before we move on to consider his later life and accomplishments, however, we must backtrack to Smith's collaboration with David Garrick, beginning in 1755 and extending into 1760.

SMITH AND DAVID GARRICK

Music was an important element in eighteenth-century theatrical productions, and Drury Lane was no exception to the norm. This might involve instrumental selections before and during the various entertainments, 'mood' music for special effects, songs and masques within the plays, pantomimes, and musical afterpieces as well as all-sung operas. In 1747, while Smith was on the Continent, David Garrick moved to Drury Lane to become joint patentee with James Lacy, reigning there as producer, writer and actor for 29 years. Prior to this, Lacy had commissioned Thomas Arne to write songs as well as the 1747 masque in *The Tempest*, but Garrick was slow to include full-scale shows involving music. To test the waters, he asked Arne for a few miscellaneous songs to be included in various plays then being performed: one song in 1747 and music for three more productions in the following year as well as the masque *The Triumph of Peace*. But Arne as the Drury Lane house composer must have felt somewhat threatened when, for the 1748-49 season, Garrick commissioned both William Boyce and Arne to write incidental music for his *Lethe, or Aesop in the Shades*, and later solicited an all-sung musical from each. Arne's *Don Saverio* barely sustained three performances, but Boyce's *The Chaplet* ran for at least eight seasons with over a hundred performances.[1] Thus Arne followed his sister Susanna Maria Cibber to Covent Garden in 1750, and thereafter Garrick called upon him only infrequently. During the following eight years, Garrick relied on Boyce for songs and incidental music for no fewer than nine plays as well as the musical entertainment *The Shepherds' Lottery* in 1751 and a masque for *The Tempest* in 1759. By this time, Garrick himself had emerged as the authoritative figure at Drury Lane and commissioned promising songwriters and composers accordingly.

---

[1] Fiske, 213.

Similarly, during the 1750 season Garrick commissioned music from the Society of the Temple of Apollo, an alias devised by Charles Burney to avoid conflict with Arne, to whom he had been articled. For Garrick, Burney wrote the all-sung *Robin Hood* for the 1750-51 season as well as music for the pantomime *Queen Mab*, and in 1751 he set the masque *Alfred* for which Arne had previously composed music. But the early 1750s were difficult years for Garrick. In 1751 Burney moved away from London, Boyce's increasing deafness and other commitments were taking their toll, while Garrick and Arne were effectively estanged. Drury Lane needed a new composer, and Smith, who had returned from the Continent in early 1751, filled the void admirably. Smith and Garrick, the eighteenth-century's Shakespearian actor *par excellence*, first met at the home of a certain Mr Venables, a wine merchant who lived in Covent Garden. Evidently the two hit it off immediately:.'Smith was highly delighted with the captivating manners and convivial talents of that inimitable actor; and Garrick was no less pleased with his frank and unassuming manner'.[2] It was not long therefore before their relationship moved on to the professional plane, with *The Fairies* as their first major collaboration in 1755. The following year the two produced a second Shakespearean opera, *The Tempest,* and then finally, in 1760, the afterpiece *The Enchanter*, the libretto of which was written by Garrick himself.

INCIDENTAL THEATRE MUSIC

It appears to have been Garrick's usual practice to 'audition' his composers before commissioning larger works. Thus, before Smith wrote *The Fairies* and *The Tempest*, he was asked to compose incidental music for Drury Lane: 'How cruelly fated is woman to woe' for inclusion in Garrick's alteration of the Beaumont and Fletcher comedy *The*

---

[2] Coxe, 46.

Chances.[3] The various professional challenges associated with the production were typical and would have given Smith invaluable experience and insight into the theatre world. George II had expressed a desire to see the play, but Garrick considered that the Duke of Buckingham's version needed a thorough cleansing to make it acceptable for a command performance.

The difficulty of differentiating the various composers is perhaps nowhere more obvious than when attempting to unravel and attribute – often indirectly – the authorship of the various songs during the period of trial by audition. Running concurrently with *The Chances* was the Henry Woodward pantomime *Queen Mab* (a Drury Lane staple) with music by Charles Burney. Surprisingly, 'When fairies dance round on the grass' was erroneously printed in the 1762 *Cleo and Euterpe* (62-3) as 'A favourite song in the Pantomime of Queen Mab set by Mr Smith', when the identical song (words and music) had been written by William Boyce for *The Shepherd's Lottery* in 1751. The same edition of *Cleo and Euterpe* contained 'Attend all ye fair, A favourite Song in The Way to Keep Him Set to Musick by Mr Smith' (82-3), this time correctly attributed it would seem. On 2 January 1760, Arthur Murphy's *The Desert Island* was sent to the Lord Chamberlain for approval.[4] Bound in such a way that there can be little doubt the words of two songs were submitted together are 'What tho' his guilt hath torn' and 'Attend all ye fair'. Though their music certainly matches that of Smith in style (Scots snaps alternating with triplets), one might argue that both songs could have been written by almost anyone. However, since 1760 was the year in which Smith and Garrick collaborated for the last time on any musical production, it seems highly likely that Smith was the composer of both.[5]

---

[3] Not published until *c.*1767 in *Thalia: A Collection of Six favourite Songs* … the Musick Compos'd by Dr. Boyce, Dr. Arne, Mr. Smith, Mr. M. Arne, Mr. Battishill and Mr. Barthlemon [*sic*].
[4] *US-SM* 152810.
[5] Over the years, at least sixteen Smith songs were published (see Vol. III, section 6:000).

THE FAIRIES

Though Smith had avoided English opera since *Rosalinda* was performed at Hickford's Room in 1740, it was perhaps the unique qualities in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* that lured him to the stage again in 1755. There has long been a controversy about who actually compiled the libretti of both *The Fairies* and *The Tempest*. Various authorities, among them Otto Erich Deutsch, have stated that it was Smith himself who assembled the text of *The Fairies,*[6] while the editors of the most recent collected works of Garrick unabashedly include both operas in the volume titled *Garrick's adaptations of Shakespeare, 1744-1756.*[7] Garrick's own prologue, a delicious satire on Italian opera spoken so as to interrupt the overture, points to Smith:

> Excuse us first for foolishly supposing
> Your countryman could please you in composing;
> An op'ra too! – play'd by an English band,
> Wrote in a Language which you understand –
> I dare not say WHO wrote it – I could tell ye,
> To soften matters – Signor Shakespearelli: …
> Struck with the wonders of his master's art,
> Whose sacred Dramas shake and melt the Heart, . . .
> When Samson groans, and frantic Saul despairs;
> The Pupil wrote – his Work is now before ye, …[8]

Replying to a letter from James Murphy French on 7 December 1756, Garrick wrote

> I received your letter, which indeed is more facetious than just – for if you mean that I was the person who altered the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, and *The Tempest*, into operas, you are much mistaken. – However, as old Cibber said in his last epilogue, But right or wrong, or true or false – 'tis pleasant.[9]

While Garrick might easily have denied responsibility for a failure, *The Fairies* was a relative success. A more probable scenario, suggested by the late Roger Fiske (243), is that Smith and Garrick may have worked it up together. Smith was only one of several composers – including Sir Henry R. Bishop, Felix Mendelssohn and Benjamin Britten –

---

[6] Deutsch, 758.
[7] Pedicord/Bergmann *iii.*
[8] Ibid, 156.
[9] *The Letters of David Garrick*, ed. David Little and George Kahrl (London, 1963), *i,* 256.

who have realized the peculiar musical opportunities in Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. The work is essentially just that: a dream offering opportunity for romantic imagination to hold sway over all the subordinate parts of the play. Here are no deeply-carved characters embroiled in human grief or other tragic emotions, but three distinct themes (the court marriage, the double lovers' dilemma and the clownish characters), each controlled and softened by the fairy world of Oberon and Titania. Shakespeare interwove these diverse strands, creating a perfect, almost magical balance among them.

An 'Advertisement' in the 1755 libretto carefully explains that 'Many Passages of the first Merit, and some whole Scenes in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, are necessarily omitted in this *Opera*, to reduce the Performance to a proper length'. It was evidently this to which Theophilus Cibber was referring when he asked if Shakespeare would not frown on

> this pilfering Pedlar in Poetry, [Garrick] – who thus shamefully mangles, mutilates, and emasculates his Plays? *The Midsummer Night's Dream* has been minc'd and fricasseed into an indigested and unconnected Thing, call'd *The Fairies*.[10]

In fact, almost the whole of Act V with its masque of Pyramus and Thisbe is gone, and all the comic characters in the subplot have been omitted, thus upsetting the careful balance of the original. These truncations, possibly provoked by his childhood association with the Revd Dr Samuel Clarke,[11] were characteristic of most of Smith's other major vocal works in which all such vulgar comic characters as the Athenian artisans were deemed unfit to sing in serious opera.

According to the libretto, the songs are from 'Shakespear [*sic*], Milton, Waller, Dryden, Lansdown [*sic*], Hammond, &c.' The first edition also included John Dryden's

---

[10] Cibber, *Two Dissertation on the Theatres* (London, 1756), 1st diss., 36.
[11] See Chapter I, 8.

'Farewel ungrateful traitor' from *The Spanish Friar, or The Double Discovery*, but this was cancelled by an erratum slip).[12]

Of these songs, I have identified the following sources:

Anonymous
The Fairy Queene (invitation to the elves)
'Come, follow, follow me' (three of six lines)[13]

Granville, George (Lord Landsdowne)
The British Enchanter
'Hail to love, and welcome joy' (II.i)
The Enchantment
'How calm's the sky' (middle section)

Hammond, James
'Elegy IX'
'With mean disguise let others nature hide' (stanzas 2-3)

Milton, John
'Arcades'
'O'er the smooth enamell'd green' (second song)
L'Allegro
'Hark, hark, how the hounds and horn' (lines 53-6)
'When that gay season did us lead '(lines 77 *et passim*)

Shakespeare
A Midsummer Night's Dream
'Before the time I did Lysander see' (I.i)
'Flower of this purple dye' (III.ii)
'Love looks not with the eyes' (I.i)
'Now until the break of day' (V.ii)
'O Hermia fair [O happy fair]' (I.i)
'Up and down, up and down' (III.ii)
'You spotted snakes with double tongue' (II.i)
Henry VIII
'Orpheus with his lute made trees' (III.i)
Love's Labour Lost
'Do not call it sin in me' (IV.iii)
Much Ado about Nothing
'Sigh no more, ladies' (II.iii)
The Tempest
'Where the bee sucks' (V.i)

Waller, Edmund
'Not the silver doves that fly' (I.61, poem)
'Say lovely dream' (I.53, song)
To Phyllis
'Love made the lovely Venus burn in vain'

---

[12] From the first edition of *The Fairies* libretto. I have found no other Dryden sources in *The Fairies.*
[13] Printed as 'The Fairy Queene', *US-SM* Film 197 and in *The Musical Miscellany ii,* 22.

I have so far found no sources for the following:

'But you must not long delay'
'Come pride, love disdaining'
'Joy alone shall employ us' [air and chorus, music missing]
'Love's a tempest, life's the ocean'
'Pierce the air with sounds of joy'
'Since Hermia neglects me'
'Sweet soothing hope'

The addition of 28 vocal numbers, far from exhausting an eighteenth-century audience, made *The Fairies* an instant box-office success, but not without some initial worries as described by Smith's biographer William Coxe:

> The day before the first representation, Garrick informed Smith, that he was afraid there was a strong party to condemn the piece, because Lord Middlesex (afterwards Duke of Dorset) had taken forty places in the boxes, and so formidable a number must have some bad design. … When the piece was performed, it proved true indeed, that Lord Middlesex had engaged so large a part of the house, but with the kind intention of supporting the piece, which had a long and continued success.[14]

Other contemporary comment was equally favourable, but the most amusing criticism came from Horace Walpole in a letter to Richard Bentley:

> Garrick has produced a detestable English opera, which is crowded by all true lovers of their country. To mark the opposition to Italian operas, it is sung by some cast singers, two Italians and a French girl, and the chapel boys; and to regale us with sense, it is Shakspeare's [*sic*] Midsummer Night's Dream, which is forty times more nonsensical than the worst translation of any Italian opera books. – But such sense and such harmony are irresistible.[15]

Charles Burney too had high praise for the opera, but his comment was aimed more at its presentation than the music itself:

> . . . indeed, I can recollect no English operas in which the dialogue was carried on in recitative, that were crowned with full success, except the Fairies, set by Mr. Smith in 1755, and Artaxerxes, by Dr. Arne in 1763; but

---

[14] Coxe, 46-7.
[15] *The Letters of Horace Walpole; fourth Earl of Oxford*, ed. [Ellen] Toynbee (Oxford 1903), *ii*, 288. See also Arthur Murphy, *The Life of David Garrick, Esq.*, (London, 1801/repr. New York, 1969), *i*, 269, and Tate Wilkinson, *Memoirs of His Own Life, by Tate Wilkinson* (York, 1790), *iv*, 202 (hereafter Wilkinson *Memoirs*), 3.

> the success of both was temporary, and depended so much on the singers, Guadagni and Frasi [*sic*] in the one, and Tenducci, Miss Brent, and Peretti in the other, that they never could be called stock pieces, or, indeed, performed again, with any success, by inferior singers.[16]

When Smith's *Fairies* premiered at Drury Lane on 3 February 1755, the cast comprised one of the most interesting groups of performers ever to sing together on the eighteenth-century stage. Though Burney may have heard Giulia Frasi sing in *The Fairies,* her name appears in neither of the printed cast lists nor as a singer in the printed music. Smith's intense concern for English opera and Garrick's prologue notwithstanding, three of the star-crossed lovers were foreigners: the leading Italian singers Christina Passerini and alto castrato Gaetano Guadagni, and the French singer Jane Poitier.

Christina Passerini, a coloratura soprano in the part of Hermia, easily had the starring role. On Telemann's recommendation, Handel had first heard her at The Hague in 1750,[17] and she began singing for him in his oratorios in 1754. In the later 1750s, she and her husband, the violinist Giuseppe Passerini, performed in Handel's oratorios regularly until they moved to Ireland around 1762.

Gaetano Guadagni, the castrato later famous for his title role in Gluck's *Orfeo*, had sung the alto parts in Handel's oratorios for the past few years as well as contributing his talents toward many benefit concerts.[18] According to Burney, Garrick 'took much pleasure in forming him as an actor', and saw to it that he 'acted' in the modern sense rather than standing stiffly to deliver his airs as was the usual custom at the Italian opera.[19] By 1771,

---

[16] Burney *ii*, 681.
[17] Deutsch, 697.
[18] See Patricia Howard, *The Modern Castrato: Gaetano Guadagni and the Coming of a New Operatic Age* (Oxford, 2014) for Guadagni's roles for Handel (203) and other dramatic roles (213-18).
[19] Burney *ii*, 876. For further information on Garrick and the eighteenth-century stage, see particularly Allardyce Nicoll, *The Garrick Stage* (Manchester, 1980), and Daniel Heartz, 'From Garrick to Gluck: the reform of theatre and opera in the mid-eighteenth century', PRMA, 94th Session (1967-68), 111-27.

in the character of Orfeo, Guadagni was considered '. . . the finest actor, the finest figure, and the finest voice imaginable'.[20] Nevertheless, the irony of an Italian castrato singing in an English opera was not lost on James Murphy French who wrote

> 'Tis strange, and yet well known to many,
> Shakespear [*sic*] was acted by Guadagni!
> Can any such eunuch on earth
> To Shakespear's brave fancies give birth?
> Believe me, or acted or sung,
> To you, Garrick! they fairly belong:
> Then try your new project for proof;
> Set Shakespear and castrate yourself.[21]

The magical quality inherent in the opera was undoubtedly responsible for the fact that the other foreigner, Jane Poitier in the soprano role of Helena, had no singing male counterpart. Smith created a hierarchy of voice ranges or colour to denote the various groups of singers: the fairies were all children, three of the young lovers with airs each had treble voices, and the older Athenians in positions of authority all had male voices (although only Theseus was allotted any airs). Perhaps because he could find no appropriate treble voice, Smith chose a tenor for the fourth young lover. In this deliberate imbalance, Demetrius, originally played by James Vernon and later by Mr Atkins, was allotted no airs since that male quality was reserved for the Duke of Athens.

The three groups of singers were also assigned distinctly different styles. As Theseus, the figure of authority, John Beard's opening air 'Pierce the air with sounds of joy' with trumpet obbligato (see Ex. IV.1a) and 'Hark, how the hounds and horn' with obbligato for oboes and horns (see Ex. IV.2) showcase his manly and imposing style. More virtuosic airs, all da capo, are reserved for the two Italian singers, Signor Guadagni as Lysander and Signora Passerini as Hermia, as are those for Miss Poitier as Helena. However, while Guadagni's and Passerini's vocal lines are independent of their

---

[20] Burrows/Dunhill, 637.
[21] Jesse Foot, *The Life of Arthur Murphy, Esq.*, (London, 1811), 98 (hereafter Foot).

accompaniments, Smith often doubled Poitier's voice with violins. Passerini's duet with Guadagni, 'Not the silver doves that fly', is a good example of the vocal demands Smith made on his two leading singers; it also demonstrates his effective use of word painting for the fluttering of the doves' wings (see Exx. IV.3a and .3b). The real stars, as far as the audience was concerned, were the children. All but two of their airs are through-composed, and almost entirely doubled by the violins, the others being in da capo form.

Though Oscar Sonneck maintained that the only difference between the two editions of the libretto was in size,[22] there are in fact two distinct cast lists as shown below:

Mr Beard	Theseus (tenor)	Mr Beard
Mr Wilder	Egeus (bass)	Mr Chamnys [*sic*]
Sig Guadagni	Lysander (alto)	Sigra Curioni
Mr Vernon	Demetrius (tenor)	Mr Atkins
Mrs Jefferson	Hippolita (alto?)	Mrs Jefferson
Sigra Passerini	Hermia (soprano)	Sigra Passerini
Miss Poitier	Helena (soprano)	Mrs Vernon
Master Reinholt [*sic*]	Oberon (soprano)	Master Reinholt
Miss Young	Titania (alto)	Miss Young
Master Moore	Puck (soprano)	Master Moore
Master Evans	Fairy (soprano)	Master Evans

It has hitherto been assumed that the alto part of Lysander was originally written for Rosa Curioni,[23] and that she was for some reason replaced on the opening night by Gaetano Guadagni whose name also appears on the printed music. However, it seems more likely that the names listed on the left above are those of the initial run while those on the right are from a later performance, perhaps the following season. The clue to the ordering of the libretti may be found in the names of Mr and Mrs Vernon, two parties involved in a scandal earlier in the year.[24] The soprano Jane Poitier and the tenor Joseph

---

[22] *Catalogue of Opera Librettos Printed before 1800,* (New York, 1914), *i,* 468-69.
[23] Winton Dean, 'Shakespeare and Opera' in *Shakespeare in Music*, ed. Phyllis Hartnoll (London, 1964), 116.
[24] See *Theatrical Biography: or, Memoirs of the Principal Performers of the Three Theatres Royal* (London, 1772), *i,* 140-6. Subsequent information about the singers has been sourced from *OMO* and Philip H. Highfill, Jr., Kalman A. Burnim and Edward A. Langhans, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses,*

Vernon, one or both of them being under age, had been married illegally in January. When the union was made public, Vernon gave evidence against the chaplain and discreetly left the country for a year. For the next edition of the libretto, Miss Poitier was 'replaced' by Mrs Vernon while Mr Atkins took the role previously sung by Joseph Vernon, now in Ireland.[25]

The rest of the cast was English. John Beard (*c.*1715-95), the leading English tenor for much of the eighteenth century, played the part of Theseus, the Athenian nobleman. Besides singing more Handel roles under the composer and Smith than any other tenor, Beard performed for most of Handel's London contemporaries, among them De Fesch, Lampe, Greene, Boyce and Arne, and often appeared as Macheath in *The Beggar's Opera.*[26] Smith wrote parts for him in his *Rosalinda, David's Lamentation over Saul and Jonathan, The Tempest, Paradise Lost, Rebecca* and *The Festival of Darius.* Until his retirement in 1767, he was easily the most famous tenor of the day. Mr (James) Wilder (later replaced by Samuel Champness) sang those recitatives allotted to Egeus, and Elizabeth Jefferson those for Hippolita.

It is always difficult to determine exactly which 'Miss Young' is the one named because there were at least six of them whose performing careers overlapped in the eighteenth century. But Smith's Titania was sung by the younger Isabella Young (d. 1791), who had been performing publically with Handel for at least four years, although in 1755 she was still in her teens. This Miss Young was a pupil of Gustavus Waltz who had sung not only for Handel but also in Smith's English opera *Ulysses* of 1733. As Miss

---

Musicians, Dancers, Managers & other Stage Personnel in London 1660-1800, 16 vols. (Carbondale, 1973-1993).

[25] In *Notitia Dramatica ii* (*GB-Lbl* Add. MS 25394, f. 183), Isaac Reed wrote that Mrs Vernon did not resume her former name of Poitier until 1762.

[26] Fiske, 103 and throughout *LS.* See also Neil Jenkins, *Handel and Garrick's Favourite Tenor* (Bramber, 2012), available online at neiljenkins.info.

Young and later (after 1757) as Mrs Scott, she also sang in the Handel and Smith oratorios at Covent Garden.

The casting included 'Mr Savage's boys' about whom the playwright Arthur Murphy commented 'The aerial beings… could not, it must be acknowledged, be rendered more fit for representation by any contrivance'.[27] William Savage, a former pupil of Pepusch who had sung as a boy soprano and alto and later as a tenor and bass for Handel, was at that time master of the choristers at St Paul's Cathedral. Though the boys of the Chapel Royal had earlier been forbidden to appear as actors on the stage, they were evidently under no such restriction now, and they were in fact often being paid to sing in concerts and oratorios as were the boys of St Paul's. One wonders if the use of these boys was responsible for the fact that the manuscript libretto does not appear with the other works by Garrick and Smith submitted to the Inspector of Stage Plays for approval.[28]

Besides the 'Other Fairies attending the King and Queen', three boys are specifically named in the libretto: Reinhold as the fairy king Oberon, Moore as Puck, and Evans as another fairy. Charles Frederick Reinhold, later a famous bass, was at that time a chorister under Savage. About Master Evans and Master Moore, nothing more is known than that they were also Savage's 'boys'. While Master Evans had only two short recitatives to sing, Master Moore as Puck had several, these being considerably easier to sing than those assigned to Reinhold and Miss Young.

Though a great deal of the work's charm had to do with the 'children' as fairies, the evidence suggests that the 'aerial beings' were far from young. Reinhold had been born in 1741,[29] making him fourteen in 1755, and Isabella Young was also in her teens.

---

[27] In Foot, 98.
[28] The manuscript copies of the other Smith-Garrick libretti (*The Tempest* and *The Enchanter*) are with the Larpent Manuscripts at *US-SM*.
[29] *OMO* (Accessed 2 November 2014).

The printed airs and number of recitatives allotted to both Reinhold and Young make it clear that they must have had a great deal of performing experience.

The Fairies ran for a total of nine nights in its first season at Drury Lane,[30] realizing £500 for Smith personally and another £980 for Garrick as manager.[31] The playbills announced that nothing under full prices would be accepted during the whole run of performances and that no members of the audience would be allowed behind the scenes or in the orchestra. The opera was considered strong enough to run without the standard afterpiece, but various dances were offered at the end of the evening's entertainment. By 6 March, the publisher John Walsh advertised a first volume of 'Songs in the New English Opera, call'd the Fairies', with the second and third sets to follow shortly.[32]

When Smith's first English opera *Teraminta* had been performed in 1732, Arne had collected the profits.[33] Now, in the autumn of 1755, he considered *The Fairies* to be of such quality that he planned to present it in Dublin along with his own operas *Alfred* and *Eliza.*[34] In the event, only *Eliza* was performed. Thereafter, apart from two Drury Lane performances on 29 October and 7 November, which brought in another £240, *The Fairies* was apparently never again revived.

In 1763, however, George Colman and David Garrick attempted once more to present Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in its complete version, this time as a play with incidental music including 26 songs, many of them still by Smith. According to George Winchester Stone, Jr., this 'failed about as completely as any play ever did on the

---

[30] 3, 6, 10, 13, 17 and 20 (for Smith's benefit); 24 February, and 3 and 10 March 1755. Another libretto, dated 1756, includes an 'Argument' on page 5 which is lacking in the 1755 version. Its layout is new, with single spaced lines between various recitatives; otherwise the words are an exact match for those in the 1755 libretto. I have found no record of a 1756 performance, however.

[31] *US-Ws*, Cross-Hopkins Diary (W.a.104).

[32] Smith/Humphries, 306.

[33] Rich's Register, microfilm from Garrick Club, London, Folger Shakespeare Library, Film Acc. 70.2 for 20, 23 and 30 November.

[34] Robert Hitchcock, *A Historical View Of The Irish Stage: From The Earliest Period Down To The Close Of The Season 1788*, Vol. I (Dublin, 1788), 264. See Kessinger Library Reprints (np, 2010).

eighteenth-century stage'.[35] And the blame for this he lays firmly at Colman's door. The work had a much larger cast, including Joseph Vernon, (this time in the role of Lysander) and the soprano Elizabeth Wright, later to marry Michael Arne (the composer of three of the songs) as first fairy. Its single performance on 23 November 1763 must have been pretty dire. William Hopkins, referring no doubt to the sleeping scene, noted that '… the Performers sung the Audience to Sleep, and then went to sleep themselves'.[36] The reviewer for the *St. James Chronicle* likewise must have succumbed, for the next day he noted that

> I never at one time saw at the Playhouse so much good and so much bad acting. The Children were admirable, most of the Grown Gentlemen and Ladies execrable. Three of the four vocal Performers plainly shewed themselves incapable of delivering a Blank Verse, except in Recitative.

As Stone explained in his article, Garrick's own 1734 copy of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, now in the Folger Shakespeare Library, contains his specific directions for altering the work. With this annotated copy is one sheet containing his ideas for the music to be included.[37] Garrick specified three composers (Smith, [Michael] Arne and 'Bat' [Battishill]) for certain airs; nowhere, however, did he mention Charles Burney who eventually contributed the lion's share of the music. Though the Garrick plan differs markedly in several respects from the finished libretto, the Smith items remain relatively unchanged. Of the twelve Smith airs that Garrick proposed, Colman actually used nine; to these he added Smith's 'Flower of this purple dye', 'Sigh no more ladies', 'Orpheus with his lute', the chorus 'Hail to love', and a Smith overture.[38] Three days later, the afterpiece *A Fairy Tale* appeared for the first time at Drury Lane. Colman, hoping to save some small

---

[35] Stone, 'A *Midsummer Night's* Dream in the Hands of Garrick and Colman, *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association* 54 (1939), 473. See Alfred Loewenberg, 'Midsummer Night's Dream Music in 1763', *Theatre Notebook* 1 (1945-47), 23-6, for another account of the 1763 fiasco.

[36] *Drury Lane Calendar 1747-1776,* Dougal MacMillan, ed. (Oxford, 1938), 100.

[37] *US-Ws* W.b.469, and Pedicord/Bergman *iv*, 173.

[38] Though the overture might well have been from Smith's *Fairies*, it is possible that an overture by 'Mr. Smith' now in the Gerald Coke Handel Collection at the Foundling Hospital Museum, was the one actually used in 1763.

part of his version of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, had slashed the work until it barely resembled the original; all that remained were the comic Athenian artisans and the fairies which had so pleased earlier audiences. Of the Smith songs transferred from *The Fairies*, only 'You spotted snakes' and possibly 'Flower of this purple dye,' 'Orpheus with his lute' and 'Sigh no more ladies' survived. This afterpiece, however, by now hardly recognizable as Shakespeare, pleased eighteenth-century audiences far more than its more elegant forebear and ran to seventeen performances in its first season, the last five as benefits. The piece eventually reappeared as *A Fairy Tale* at the Theatre Royal in the Haymarket in 1777, this time with the composers' names listed in the libretto. By now the composers of the 1763 version had been joined by Charles Dibdin, James Hook and Samuel Arnold, while the number of Smith's items had dwindled even further: 'You spotted snakes' and 'Up and down' alone remained.[39] Though Sir Henry Bishop's published version of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* given at Covent Garden in 1816 includes music by Smith, the one air bearing his name ('Flower of this purple dye') is *not* the Smith *Fairies* version but rather Bishop's setting of these words to the music of Smith's 'But you must not long delay'.[40]

No autograph manuscripts of any of the Smith-Garrick operas are extant, but there are three intriguing manuscript copies that demonstrate the popularity of certain airs in *The Fairies*. These include a contemporary manuscript of 'Pierce the air with sounds of Joy'[41] and three early nineteenth-century arrangements by Edward Taylor of Smith's 'O'er the smooth enamell'd green', 'Flower of this purple dye', and 'Since Hermia neglects me', apparently used by Taylor as illustrations for one of his lectures as Gresham Professor of

---

[39] Fiske, 310, stated that Michael Arne also wrote music for *The Fairy Tale*.
[40] Fiske's assertion (243) that Smith's *Fairies* was performed in New York in 1786 is insupportable. The work actually performed was *Daphne and Amintor*, with words by Isaac Bickerstaffe, performed at Drury Lane in 1765 and in New York in 1786, and subtitled *The Fairies*. See *Daily Advertiser* (New York), 27 May 1786. 1765 Libretto at *US-SM* 52750.
[41] *GB-Lbl* Add. MS 39569, f. 135v.

Music.[42] But, to an American writer, by far the most interesting are the copies in the Library of Congress of 'You spotted snakes' and 'Pierce the air with sounds of joy' by Francis Hopkinson, a keen amateur musician and one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.[43]

Following Italian operatic tradition, the wordbook opens with an 'Argument' which the audience must read in order to understand the plot. Theseus, Duke of Athens (Beard), plans to marry the Amazon Hippolita (Mrs Jefferson). He leaves his daughter Hermia (Passerini), in love with Lysander (Guadagni and later Curioni), with the impossible choice of obeying him and marrying Demetrius (Champness), of being put to death, or else of spending the rest of her life a virgin. Thus Hermia flees from Athens with Lysander, but not before informing her friend Helena of her plans. Helena apprises Demetrius who pursues the couple, Helena following behind. All four meet in a wood, where they fall under the influence of the fairies – Oberon, the fairy king (Master Reinhold), and his queen Titania (Isabella Young). Oberon orders Puck to straighten things out by charming the 'correct' couples together, and after several mistakes, all is made well: amid much rejoicing, Demetrius and Helena, Lysander and Hermia, and Theseus and Hippolita are married at the conclusion of the opera.

Though Smith's particular musical style in *The Fairies*, a mixture of Handelian baroque and *galant*, gradually went out of fashion in the later eighteenth century, it has much to commend it to twenty-first-century audiences. Smith took the first three movements of the French overture directly from his overture to *Winter or Daphne* (1744).[44] To these Smith added a march with two oboes and trumpets (see Ex. IV.4a)

---

[42] Now *GB-Lcm* 2105, ff. 100v-106. Taylor was appointed Gresham Professor in 1837.
[43] *Us-Wc* ML 96. H33, 156 and 158-59.
[44] The overture (*D-Hs* M A/1763) was printed in *Abel Arne and Smith's Six Favourite Overtures* (London, [1763]).

which Winton Dean termed 'an obvious echo of the famous one in Handel's *Scipione.*[45] (See Ex. IV.4b.) We can imagine the curtain opening during the performance of this huntsman-like piece, preparing the audience for the *al fresco* setting of the opera.

The printed score of *The Fairies* is unusual in that it includes two purely instrumental pieces titled 'Sinfonia'. Although they are printed in a haphazard order, it is obvious from the libretto where they go. With the first, Smith attempts musically to illustrate Shakespeare's contrasts of magic with reality. Hermia and Lysander, having been charmed to sleep by Titania's air 'Orpheus with his lute made trees', remain slumbering while this forceful tune provides the opportunity for the fairies to 'rock the ground whereon these sleepers be' (see Ex. IV.5). Yet when the human Theseus calls for the real huntsman to wake them with his air 'Hark how the hounds and horn,' (see Ex. IV.2 above) distinctly reminiscent of the march in the overture, they rise immediately.

The Fairies is filled with such charming touches, sometimes subtle, often straightforward, as Puck's simple air 'Up and down' (see Ex. IV.6) and the 'B' section of 'Love makes the lovely Venus burn' evoking the patter of raindrops (see Ex. IV.7). At other times, however, Smith appears to forget word painting, employing energetic Scots snaps for 'O'er the smooth enameled green' and stressing unimportant words. Quite aware of his own somewhat ambivalent style, Smith generally reserved the baroque airs for the young lovers while assigning the more *galant* songs to the aerial beings. Titania's 'You spotted snakes,' which Charles Cudworth has called 'almost Mendelssohnian in its fairy-like delicacy,' is particularly striking.[46] (See Ex. IV.8.)

THE TEMPEST

The second English opera produced by Smith and Garrick was *The Tempest*, performed for the first time at Drury Lane on 11 February 1756. Despite Garrick's letter to

---

[45]Dean, Shakespeare, 116.
[46] Charles Cudworth,'Song and Part-song Settings of Shakespeare's Lyrics, 1660-1960' in *Shakespeare in Music,* ed. Phyllis Hartnoll (London, 1964), 66.

James Murphy French, *The Tempest* has persistently been ascribed to him. It seems obvious, however, that the libretto has to have been the work of someone other than the compiler of *The Fairies* and that that person was certainly not Smith. Both libretti eliminate the original Shakespearean masques as part of the plan to shorten the operas. But *The Fairies*, like almost all other Smith works, is elegant and 'proper', if not exactly true to Shakespeare's original. Here every Shakespearean off-colour suggestion, no matter how slight, has been eliminated along with all such vulgar characters as Bottom and his companions.

Not so in *The Tempest*. Surely the author, had he been the same person as had arranged *The Fairies*, would have retained his winning formula of older characters in positions of authority, young lovers, and children as aerial beings. It would have been just as easy to omit the sailors in *The Tempest* as it had been the artisans in *The Fairies*. However, the compiler of *The Tempest* not only retained the crew, but based the first two acts of his libretto on the 1670 Dryden version which, according to Allardyce Nicoll, contained scenes typifying the 'immoral, degenerate qualities of the age'.[47] *The Tempest* contains drinking songs and Prospero's warning to Ferdinand not to break what Shakespeare terms Miranda's 'virgin knot'. Had he been in any way responsible for the libretto, Smith surely would have considered such references highly improper. Indeed, the reviewer for *The Universal Visitor, and Monthly Memorialist*, while generally praising the opera, considered Smith incapable of setting two drinking songs with words by Abraham Cowley, noting that they were not only 'very improperly chosen for a sailor ... [but] 'of too delicate a turn' and 'very unfit to come out of the mouths of sailors'.[48] However, Smith's setting of a third drinking song 'No more dams I'll make for fish' markedly exhibits Caliban's crudeness (see Ex. IV.9). John Genest condemned the whole opera,

---

[47] Allardyce Nicoll, *Dryden as an Adapter of Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1922), 17.
[48] (London, 1756), 83-4.

stating that 'if Garrick really made Prospero sing, he was quite right not to acknowledge it publicly', and concluding that the attempt to adapt Shakespeare 'to that despicable species of composition [all-sung opera] is in itself Dramatic Felony without benefit of Clergy'.[49]

Neither was the method used by the author of *The Tempest* always the straightforward copying of lines from the original as had generally been the case in the compiling of *The Fairies* libretto. The compiler jumped back and forth between Shakespeare and Dryden, shifted whole scenes around and added a new speech for Trincalo about displaying Caliban in England:

> Were I in England, as of late I was,
> And this monster to expose to view,
> It would make a man of me for ever:
> In England any monster makes a man.[50]

As in *The Fairies*, the song texts were selected from the works of many authors. According to the libretto, they are from 'Shakespear [*sic*], Dryden, &c.; most of these I have been able to identify:

Cowley, Abraham
- 'Ode'
  - 'Here's to thee, Tom'
- 'Anacreontiques', 2
  - 'The thirsty earth soaks up the rain'

Dryden, John
- *The Tempest*
  - 'Go thy way'
  - 'Dry those eyes'
  - 'Around, around, we pace' (containing a new section)
- *Tyrannic Love*
  - 'In the bright moonshine'
  - 'So ready and quick' ('B' section of 'Before you can say')

Granville, George (Lord Lansdowne)
- *The British Enchanter* (1732 version)
  - 'To what my eyes admir'd before'
- 'Song to Myra'
  - 'If on those endless charms you lay'

---

[49] Genest, *Some Account of the English Stage from the Restoration in 1660 to 1830* (repr. London, 2010), *iv*, 451.
[50] II.vii.

Hughes, John
Serenata for Two Voices
'In tender sighs she silence breaks'
Ode XVI (Horace)
'Then since no state's completely blest'
The Triumph of Peace
'In pity, Neptune smooths the liquid way'[51]
Johnson, Ben
The Masque of Queens
'The owl is abroad'
'Underwoods', 4
'Have you seen but a bright lilly grow'
Oberon, The Faery Queen
'But you must not long delay'
John Milton
The Tempest
'Arise ye subterranean winds'
William Shakespeare
The Tempest
'Come unto the yellow sands' (I.ii)
'Full fathom five thy father lies' (I.ii)
'No more dams I'll make for fish' (II.ii)
'Before you can say, come and go' (IV.i)
'Now does my project gather to a head' (recitative)
(V.i)
Edmund Waller
'Of loving at first Sight'
'Sweetness, truth and ev'ry grace'
'To a very young Lady'
'Hope waits upon the flow'ry prime'

I have so far, however, been unable to identify the sources of the following texts:

'Come, O sleep my eyelids close'
'Hark how the winds rush from their caves'
'How can I speak my secret pain'
'In some defect each grace was lost'
'Let magic sounds affright no more'
'Let sacred Hymen now dispense'
'Life resembles April weather'
'Love, gentle love, now fill my breast'
'Upon their broken peace of mind'
'We must work, we must haste'
'Whilst blood does flow within these veins'
'With him thy joys shall be compleat'

---

[51] I am grateful to Shakespearian scholar Eric Rasmussen for this source and for the reference to *Early English Books Online* which enabled me to identify two other sources.

My proposed list of singers for the last version of *The Fairies* (probably 29 October and 7 November 1755) includes John Beard, Rosa Curioni, Jane (or Jenny) Vernon, Isabella Young, Samuel Champness, and Mr Atkins who all reappeared for the premiere of *The Tempest* on 11 February 1756. Since the last performance of *The Fairies* had taken place only three months earlier, it seems only natural that Smith would use the same singers.

John Beard	Prospero, the legitimate Duke of Milan (doubling as Trincalo)
Samuel Champness	Caliban, savage, deformed slave (doubling as Mustacho)
James Abington	Ventoso, shipmate
Edward Rooker	Stephano, master of the ship
George Burton	Antonio, Prospero's brother, usurping Duke of Milan
Mr Atkins	Alonzo, King of Naples
Rosa Curioni	Ferdinand, Alonzo's son
Jane Vernon	Miranda, Prospero's daughter
Isabella Young	Ariel, an airy spirit

Smith usually chose as his own singers those who had had the major roles for the oratorio season; this practice seems likewise generally to be true for performances of his *Fairies* and *Tempest*. In 1755 Handel and Smith used John Beard, Robert Wass, Christina Passerini, Isabella Young and Giulia Frasi, while in 1756 the two employed Beard, Wass, Rosa Curioni, Young, Frasi, and 'the boy'. In view of this fact, it is perhaps not surprising that Smith chose Champness over Wass as his bass[52] and that Frasi was not a part of the English opera cast. Might Burney have been correct after all in his assertion that she sang in (or at least rehearsed for) *The Fairies*?[53]

Whether for lack of funds or because Beard and Champness were the best English singers available, the two were each assigned double roles. This usually presented no problems as the librettist always provided plenty of time for changes of costume. However, in Act II.vii, Caliban and Mustacho are both on stage together, and both have

---

[52] Wass was withdrawing about this time, and Champness was soon to be London's leading bass soloist. I thank Donald Burrows for this information (June 2017).
[53] See Burney quote on 99 above.

singing parts within one line of each other! Surely the libretto must be in error here;[54] Caliban is essential, but Mustacho's lines could easily have been given to Ventoso or Stephano.

The Tempest is unique among the Smith-Garrick operas in that it gave rise to detailed contemporary comments on specific musical numbers and effects, a rare bonus for any eighteenth-century opera study.[55] Besides such trite comments as 'pleasing', 'delightful', 'lively', 'delicate', and 'sweet' to depict several of Smith's airs, the remarks are sometimes quite enlightening, describing not only the airs, but the recitatives, the action on the stage, and the singers.

The opening arioso 'Arise, ye subterranean winds' (see Ex. IV.10), a really splendid example of word-painting with two bassoons and swirling strings in which the music precedes the words as in Haydn's *Creation*, is probably the best music in the opera, yet the writer dismisses it as a 'solemn invocatory air', choosing instead to describe the beautiful scenery. Concerning the discussion between Prospero and Miranda, he states that the 'recitative is too rough in the poetry, and too long in the music', but when remarking on Prospero's accompanied recitative (printed score, 93), he describes it as

> … a most noble piece of recitative; and though it is double the length commonly used, it would please if it was as long again: Prospero is dissolving the spell which raised the tempest, … which the musician has set in the most animating manner.

Rosa Curioni, as Ferdinand, had evidently learned about more 'modern' acting from Garrick; the music of her recitative 'Where should this music be'

> … is so solemn, sweet, and noble, that it seems aerial, and almost wins the mind to a belief of aerial beings: Signora Curioni well expresses the astonishment a person might be conceived to be in, on hearing such a melody [Ariel's 'Come unto the yellow sands' in which she is 'supposed to be invisible'], and not perceiving from whence it comes.

---

[54] And so too the Larpent Manuscript (*US-SM* LA 123).
[55] *Universal Visitor, and Monthly Memorialist* (London, 1756), 81-7.

The reviewer was no less impressed with the acting and singing abilities of

Champness who

> ... is very singular in this character [Caliban], which he performs extremely well in action, and astonished the audience in the air, which Dryden has preserved, of 'No more dams I'll make for fish, &c'. The words of the poet, the music of the composer, with the voice and action of the performer, surpasses any thing of the kind.

But John Beard, as Prospero, was the real star:

> ... Mr. Beard delivers [the recitative 'Now does my project gather to a head'] in a taste so singularly expressive, that it gives us joy, surprise, and extacy [*sic*]. No man ever excelled Mr. Beard in recitative; and we may justly say, that here Mr. Beard even excels himself. ... after which, he sings a lofty air ['Let magic sounds affright no more'] with more sublimity of expression, and energy of feeling, than perhaps was ever heard on any theatre before.

Though the reviewer disapproved of Smith's music for the sailors, he was otherwise most complimentary. Referring to Prospero's air 'In pity, Neptune smooths the liquid way', he wrote

> ... the composer has shewn us how well the English heroic measure can be adapted to music in the voice of a fine singer, as well as ranted away by a buskin'd hero; nor do I know anything equal to it, but the epitaph on Anacreon, as set by Dr. Hayes.[56]

Ferdinand's air 'Have you seen but a bright lilly grow' was described as 'delicate', and the reviewer added 'the composer has set the words very elegantly, though it would be too difficult a task for most musicians'.

Even though this particular critic was carried away by *The Tempest*, the general public did not support it as strongly as they had Smith's *Fairies*. Running for only seven

---

[56] It is by no means clear to what the author is referring here. In the Descriptive Catalogue of the Works of William and Philip Hayes which forms the third volume of Simon Heighes' Oxford D.Phil. dissertation on the life and work of both men (1990), there is a three-part catch by William Hayes ('This tomb be thine Anacreon') published in 1757; this however is surely too slight to be the work in question.

nights,[57] it earned a total of £740, none of the money being specifically earmarked for the composer. 26 February saw a command performance for the Prince of Wales, the future George III who would later prove a strong supporter of Smith. On opening night, Garrick's prologue, in the form of a dialogue concerning English opera, was actually hissed,[58] and was never printed in the libretto.

Though the *London Stage* lists extra dancing beginning on 13 February, the Drury Lane playbills, emphasizing the spectacle, advertised the premiere as having 'dances & proper Decorations' and Smith's name was in decidedly large letters.[59] The critic of the *Universal Visitor* also mentioned a 'strange whimsical group of spirits' (II.iv), which, according to the libretto (24), dance and drive off the Italian noblemen.[60] On the second evening, the managers capitalized on the attraction of these dancers, presenting 'a New Dance' after Act I, a 'Dance of Fantastical Spirits' at the end of Act II, and a 'Grand Pantomime Dance call'd the Garlands' at the conclusion of the opera.[61] When the English actor and theatre manager Tate Wilkinson saw the opera (in March), the garland dance, by that time performed by sixty children, was placed after the second act and the afterpiece *Fortunatus* was added in an attempted to salvage the work.[62] Coxe thought that the relative failure of *The Tempest* was 'probably owing to the negligent manner in which it was brought on the stage'. The season, he wrote, 'was too far advanced, and the decorations were indifferent'.[63] Garrick and Smith quarrelled over the production, the two

---

[57] 11, 13, 18, 20 and 26 February; and 16 March and 22 April. Tate Wilkinson (*Memoirs iv*, 213) states it ran for eight nights.

[58] *US-Ws,* Cross Hopkins Diary *iii,* Wa 104 (3). 'The introduction, which was a Dialogue in Prose, between Mr Havard & Yates [*sic*], much hiss'd and dislik'd, the Opera had great App.' Hopkins also wrote 'Miss Young so hoarse she cou'd not sing one song – Yet all went calm.' Printed in Pedicord/Bergmann *iii,* 270-3.

[59] *US-Ws,* Bill Box G2 D84, 1756.

[60] The 'Hornpipe', printed as if it should be performed after I.v, undoubtedly goes here (II.iv).

[61] *US-SM* Drury Lane Play Bills. I have found no music for these dances.

[62] Wilkinson, *Memoirs iv,* 213.

[63] Coxe, 47.

parting company until a mutual friend eventually persuaded them to renew their friendship.[64]

It is probably no coincidence that *The Tempest* in its operatic form was not revived until after Garrick's retirement from Drury Lane. During the 1776-77 season, however, both playhouses introduced competing versions of *The Tempest*, with Covent Garden's three-act adaptation featuring music by Smith, Arne, 'Henry Purcell' and John Abraham Fisher (then leader and part owner of the theatre property at Covent Garden). At Drury Lane, Sheridan's five-act version contained new music by the younger Thomas Linley, the orchestra leader there. This Covent Garden version received mixed reviews: an anonymous letter to the *Public Advertiser* stated that the work, which evidently was still a true opera, all sung, met with 'universal Applause' and that several songs of 'characteristic Excellence' were introduced.[65] The 'Theatrical Intelligence' section of *The Morning Chronicle, and London Advertiser*, on the other hand, referred to the recitatives as 'the frivolity of the sing song manner' and noted that 'the Airs are very unequally set'.[66] The critic did, however, specifically applaud 'Arise, arise, ye subterranean winds', 'Sweetness, truth, and every Grace' and 'Where the bee sucks', the first certainly by Smith.[67] In this form, the work was performed seven times at Covent Garden, the final occasion being 13 May 1779.

In 1780, Shakespeare's *Tempest* was further transformed into *The Shipwreck* and performed by puppets at the Patagonian Theatre with 'the original music by Smith'. Again, spectacle came to the fore. The emphasis was on fantastic scenery and the scene painters, who evidently outdid themselves, included a scene of Mount Vesuvius

---

[64] Ibid.
[65] 30 December 1776.
[66] 28 December 1776.
[67] Smith's words are 'Arise, arise, ye subterranean winds,' but Arne's are 'Arise, arise, ye spirits of the storm'.

erupting.[68] Here, for three acts, devils control the island and are responsible for the original storm. Caliban and his sister Sycorax, along with the sailors Trincolo, Stephano and Mustacho, are assigned much more important roles. In the last act, Neptune and Amphritrite make a brief appearance, but not in the form of a masque.

In all, *The Shipwreck*, a combination of Shakespeare and Dryden-Davenant, stresses base humour as opposed to the Garrick-Smith version of *The Tempest* that emphasizes young lovers. It is surprising therefore that the organizers of this production should have chosen Smith's refined and elegant music for their farce. Of the 36 songs, 30 or 31 are probably Smith's,[69] leaving no doubt that it was Smith's music that bore the weight of the work. The addition of six non-Smith settings and much incidental music for dancing (including what must have been an amusing scene in which Stephano asks Sycorax for the 'honour of your paw') demonstrates clearly that *The Shipwreck* was not just another adaptation of Shakespeare's *Tempest* with additional jingles, but a full-blown operetta, made more enchanting by the use of puppets.

No further productions of *The Tempest* employing Smith's music have surfaced, and only now are musicians beginning to appreciate that some of his music is indeed worthy of resurrection. Most notably, Colin Timms performed selections as part of the Twentieth International Shakespeare Conference at the Guild Chapel in Birmingham on 25 August 1982. His choices demonstrate Smith's variety. The French overture with additional minuet, borrowed from Smith's Italian opera *Il Ciro riconosciuto* and the duet 'Whilst blood does flow' for Trincalo and Mustacho clearly show Handel's influence. As counter-pieces, Caliban's two songs, the unison air 'No more dams I'll make for fish', 'The owl is abroad' and the hornpipe are Smith at his most simple and straightforward.

---

[68] George Speaight, *The History of the English Puppet Theatre* (New York, [1955]), 120. The libretto is at *US-SM,* K-D 6.

[69] 'Where the bee sucks' may have been from Smith's *Fairies.*

As Colin Timms aptly remarked in his programme notes, the arioso 'Arise, arise, ye subterranean winds' with its following recitative 'seems rather to anticipate the music of the *Sturm und Drang* than to echo that of Georgian England'.[70] Its music is far superior to that of Thomas Linley's later setting (see Exx. IV.11a and 11b).

As with *The Fairies,* no autograph material for *The Tempest* has survived. The music, printed by John Walsh and first advertised on 4 March 1756, was released in three parts (as was the music to *The Fairies*), each comprising one act of the opera. The overture (paginated correctly) was published with the second set and the table of songs with the third; it was all printed so quickly that some of these early copies contained Smith's hand-written directions.

A comparison of these two major stage productions clearly reveals Smith's stylistic development. Though only one year separated this brace of Shakespearean operas, Smith considerably lightened his style for *The Tempest*; of 35 printed musical items, only ten are da capo airs. He has spread the more important airs more or less evenly among Ariel, Miranda, Prospero, and Ferdinand, while for the beast Caliban he produced only very simple tunes. At the same time, Smith spotlighted and took full dramatic advantage of Champness' excellent singing ability with the hostile duet between himself (Mustacho) and Beard as Trincolo. 'Whilst blood does flow' recalls Handel's 'Go, baffled coward' in *Samson*, not so much musically as in the rapid exchanges between the two antagonists. While some of Smith's more *galant* songs, especially 'Dry those eyes' and 'In tender sighs', now seem to lack spirit and excitement, the simplicity of Ferdinand's 'Have you seen but a bright lilly grow', with its Scots snaps and two independent flute parts, can still hold a modern audience (see Ex. IV.12a). Smith would later base the air 'Cease vain mimic fancy' from his oratorio *Paradise Lost* on its motif (see Ex. IV.12b).

---

[70] 'One glorious mass of intellectual fire': Twentieth International Shakespeare Conference, Guild Chapel, Birmingham, 25 August 1982.

THE ENCHANTER

Smith's final production with David Garrick was the operatic afterpiece *The Enchanter*; *or Love and Magic*, first performed at Drury Lane on 13 December 1760. While the authorship of *The Fairies* and *The Tempest* remains unsettled, *The Enchanter* was unquestionably written by Garrick as a Christmas spectacle after his success the previous year with *Harlequin's Invasion; or, A Christmas Gambol*. Pedicord and Bergmann have denigrated Garrick's *Enchanter* as 'unworthy of any but house hacks',[71] but it was quite successful as an afterpiece, undoubtedly because of the spectacle involved. During its first season, *The Enchanter* enjoyed seventeen performances.[72] The work boasts not only music to enchant but also dancing (originally by Signors Grimaldi and Tioli, Signor and Signora Giorgi, Miss Dawson, Miss Lucchi, and others), both heightened by the special scenic effects and lots of magic wand waving. At one point Garrick gave new meaning to the term 'exit aria' by having Moroc sink into the ground after his air 'My slaves below'.

Its 'Turkish' background was novel for its time. Eighteenth-century England exhibited a marked interest in all things Eastern, particularly literature based on real or fictional Turkish tales and the mystery of the seraglio.[73] But Smith's is the first extant opera in the English language to take advantage of the new trend.[74] Its plot, based on the harem-rescue theme later given its ultimate musical expression in Mozart's *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, obviously provided a vehicle for the spectacle associated with such Christmas 'specials'. Moroc, the enchanter, has captured Zoreb and his betrothed Zaida and imprisoned them in his magic castle, and he commands his slave Kaliel to

---

[71] Pedicord/Bergmann, *i, xxv.*

[72] 13, 15, 16, 17, 28 and 30 December 1760; 6, 7, 17, 28 and 29 January; 11, 14 and 22 April; and 2, 22 and 28 May 1761.

[73] See Eve R. Meyer, '*Turquerie* and Eighteenth-Century Music', *Eighteenth-Century Studies vii* (Summer, 1974), 474-88.

[74] Thomas Arne's masque *The Sultan* was performed at Covent Garden on 23 November 1758, but neither music nor libretto is extant.

charm Zaida in hopes that she will return his passion. She, however, remains true to Zoreb. When Kaliel fails in his task, Lyssa (a votary of love) and her followers attempt to demonstrate for Zaida the joys of love through song and dance, but they too are unsuccessful. In Act II, Lyssa displays her magic by transforming the garden scene, but Zaida declares that Zoreb's love is stronger than her spells. Moroc, preceded by thunder and earthquakes, enters carrying his dreaded 'Ebon'[75] wand. Realizing that temptation will not sway Zaida, he announces that Zoreb is dead, at which point, Zoreb's tomb rises from the ground, accompanied by a surprisingly pleasant 'Dead March' scored for flutes, trumpets, strings, and timpani (see Ex. IV.13). Seeing this, Zaida attempts to stab herself. Moroc drops his magic wand, seizes Zaida's dagger and then begins to force himself on her. But Kaliel has picked up the wand, and Zaida's virtue being more important to him than his cruel master, Kaliel strikes Moroc with the wand and he sinks into the ground. The spell is broken and, accompanied by a Symphony (missing in the printed music), Zoreb rises from the tomb. Following a blissful duet for Zaida and Zoreb, Kaliel waves the wand, banishing Moroc's evil spirits. General rejoicing ensues, and shepherds and shepherdesses enter to close the afterpiece with a chorus and dance.

Garrick and/or Smith shortened the work some time after the manuscript was submitted for approval. Roger Fiske noted that Smith has considerably lightened his songs from those in *The Fairies* and *The Tempest* and that only one air is da capo.[76] Yet the Larpent Manuscript clearly includes more singing material than was actually performed.[77] Cut from the ultimate production are an extra section from Moroc's 'I burn', what may have been the middle sections of a da capo air 'Sigh not' for Kaliel, a da capo trio 'O hear her sighs' for Lyssa, Zaida and Moroc, and a complete air 'What angel's voice' for Zoreb. The Larpent manuscript also differs from the printed libretto in a few other particulars,

---

[75] In the libretto. Ebony?
[76] Fiske, 246.
[77] *US*: *SM,* LA 178.

most notably in the omission of performers' names and the timing and effect of Kaliel's strike against Moroc.

The cast was certainly reduced from those of both *The Fairies* and *The Tempest* and, except for Samuel Champness as the Enchanter Moroc, was comprised of new singers. John Beard had defected to Covent Garden the previous year and Thomas Lowe had moved from Covent Garden to Drury Lane. The troupe also included mezzo-soprano Elizabeth Young as Lyssa, soprano Mrs Vincent as Zaida, and Master Leoni as Kaliel. Elizabeth Young was surely assigned the role of Lyssa because of her youth and dancing ability. Mrs Isabella Vincent sang in the 1761 Boyce version of the funeral procession from *Romeo and Juliet* at Drury Lane and also as Polly in *The Beggar's Opera* at Covent Garden at the beginning of the 1760-61 season. Her airs indicate that she must have been extremely talented with a wide vocal range (see Exx. IV.14 and 15b). But the real star of the show was the ten-year-old Master Leoni who made his first appearance in *The Enchanter*. Writing in 1771, Benjamin Victor noted that *The Enchanter* 'was written to shew to Advantage the fine Voice of Lione [*sic*], a Jew Boy. He is now much admired, and followed on particular Days at the Synagogue'.[78] Assigned by far the largest number of songs (five, including the single da capo air), his high range and ability to perform vocal gymnastics as well as to present extreme emotions are evidenced by the music that Smith wrote for him (see Ex. IV.15a).

> The advertisement on the libretto for *The Enchanter* libretto states that
>
> As the Recitative commonly appears the most tedious part of a Musical Entertainment, the Writer of the following little Piece has avoided it as much as possible; and has endeavour'd to carry on what Fable there is, chiefly by the Songs.

---

[78] Victor, *The History of the Theatres of London* (London, 1771), 11-12. In 1775, according to Fiske (632), a tenor Michael Leoni, supposedly aged about 20, made his 'debut' in *Artaxerxes.* This is clearly the same Master Leoni who sang in Smith's *Enchanter*, but Fiske's birth date for Leoni (*c.*1755) is surely wrong. See *OMO* for Leoni's birth *c.*1750.

Garrick and Smith accomplished this feat amazingly well. Only five years elapsed between Smith's *Fairies* and his *Enchanter*, but during that short time span, Smith's musical style underwent significant changes. *The Enchanter*, being only 228 lines long, is less than a third the length of *The Fairies* (706 lines), so a comparison of the number of selections is meaningless. However, in *The Fairies*, Smith assigned 71% of its lines to recitative and only 29% to songs of various types. *The Enchanter*, on the other hand, carries the fable with only 38% of its lines in recitative while allotting 62% for airs, a duet, trio, and chorus. Of the vocal numbers in *The Fairies*, those in da capo form represent 78% of the work, while those in *The Enchanter* only 7% of the total. Smith also wrote a larger percentage of airs in the *galant* style that seemed to have so pleased the audiences.

It must be assumed that what was actually printed in the Walsh edition, advertised on 8 January 1761,[79] is the music that Smith considered his best. Yet, unfortunately missing from the printed music are the dance for Lyssa's followers, the last chorus and shepherds' dance, and the five accompanied recitatives. It is only partly true that most of Smith's songs for *The Enchanter* are, as Roger Fiske described them, 'short, simple, and reasonably tuneful; but … not very interesting.[80] J. Merrill Knapp has labelled three musical items, each for Zaida, as 'really quite charming.'[81] But it is not surprising that two of them are in the Handelian style: 'Intruder sleep' (recalling 'I know that my Redeemer liveth') and the rage air 'Back to your source, weak foolish tears' (see Ex. IV.14), reminiscent of Handel's 'Why do the Nations'). But 'No pow'r could divide us', the final 'catchy melody'[82] between Zaida and Zoreb, is only saved from complete mediocrity by

---

[79] Smith/Humphries, 306. As with other Smith-Garrick productions, there is no extant manuscript.
[80] Fiske, 246.
[81] Knapp, 'English theatrical Music in Garrick's Time: *The Enchanter* (1760) and *May Day* (1775)', *The Stage and the Page*, ed. George Winchester Stone, Jr., (Berkeley, 1981), 126.
[82] Ibid, 127.

the fact that it is a duet. The French overture, which concludes with a lively Gavotte, and the Dead March are, however, entirely worthy of revival.[83]

Perhaps the most interesting Smith element, though, is the musical similarity between Kaliel's da capo air 'In vain I try'd each soothing Art',[84] (in which Kaliel fearfully tries to explain his failure to Moroc) and Zaida's rebuff to Lyssa, 'What e'er you say', creating in the first act a musical bond between Kaliel and Zaida which is emotionally cemented in the final act. Both pieces are in the same key (B flat) and the opening melodic contours are very similar (see Exx. IV.15a and 15b).

The Enchanter enjoyed five more performances during the season of 1761-62[85] and was revived in 1766 with the tenor Joseph Vernon as Zoreb and Polly Young as Lyssa.[86] It was also produced in Dublin in 1765. Here the cast comprised Mr Wilder as Moroc, Mr Jagger as Zoreb, Miss Catley as Kaliel, Mrs Hautry as Zaida and Miss Garvy as Lyssa. The music was by Smith, Karl Friedrich Baumgarten, George Rush and Tommaso Giordani, but the libretto makes it clear that, for at least one performance, the work was principally Smith.[87]

---

[83] Parts for the overture were published in *Abel, Arne and Smith's Six Favourite Overtures,* [1763].
[84] Published separately as '… A favourite song in the Enchanter' (London, *c.*1770).
[85] 3, 11 and 12 February, 2 March and 20 April.
[86] The evening was a benefit for Polly Young (*London Stage iv,* 1163). After five and a half years, Michael Leoni's voice may have changed, but I have found no evidence that a replacement was made for his part of Kaliel. Although Garrick's *Enchanter* was performed at the Patagonian Theatre with puppets on 26 March 1776, the production was advertised 'with New Musick' (*The Morning Chronicle*), so it is doubtful that it included anything by Smith.
[87] *The Enchanter; or Love and Magic* … As it is performed at the Theatres in Dublin. The Music by different Masters. The Overture by Mr. Baumgarten (Cork, 1765), *GB-Ob* M. Adds. 108 F.96 (5).

SMITH

I burn! I burn
In vain I try'd
My slaves below
Intruder sleep
Sigh not your hours away
What e'er you say
Youthful charms
Would you taste the sweets of love
Turn and see what pleasures woo
No power could divide us
You sons of simplicity

BAUMGARTEN

Overture
In terror's gloom
How happy the hour

RUSH
How oft the fond Turtle I see
O helpless fair

GIORDANI
Fly airy sprites
O faithful, youth

NO COMPOSER NAMED
Seize his blessings (chorus in Smith's *Enchanter*)
O hear her sighs (trio in Smith's *Enchanter*)
The regions infernal (new)

The Enchanter was the most successful of Smith's productions with David Garrick, but it is not surprising that the two collaborated no more. The year 1760 was perhaps the most important one of Smith's life, for Handel's death in 1759 had left him free to pursue his own goals. Smith was determined to attempt oratorio on his own and turned his back forever on theatre music.

THE YEARS 1760-1795

In 1760, Smith was still living in Little Pulteney Street, St James Piccadilly, not that far away from Handel. He continued composing large-scale works, and, in addition to continuing the Lenten oratorios in conjunction with John Stanley, he was also responsible for choosing music for a large new barrel organ that the Earl of Bute had commissioned from one Christopher Pinchbeck who, in turn, had requested that Smith should oversee the work which was begun in 1762. Smith was introduced to the royal family not long after George III's accession, and it was Lord Bute, apparently, who effected the introduction. When he proposed payment for Smith's musical arrangements for the barrel organ, his offer was evidently refused, Smith hinting instead that Bute might recommend him to the king with a suggestion that George III might honour the oratorios with his presence.[1] And so it was that, in 1762, royal patronage was secured.

The year 1763 was a highly significant one for Smith. First came the death of his father in early January. In his will dated 16 December 1762, the elder Smith had bequeathed his son

> All my Musick Books and Pieces of Musick whether Manuscript or otherwise which were left to me in & by the last Will & Testament of my Friend George Frederick Handel deceased And also all my other Musick & Books of Musick both in print and manuscript and all my Instruments of Musick which I shall be possessed of at the time of my decease[.][2]

Then, four months later, on 15 April, Smith married Martha Coxe[3], the widow of a close friend of his, the wealthy Dr. William Coxe, 'Physician Extraordinary to the King'.

According to his eldest son, William, '[Dr. Coxe] ... on his death bed, … recommended

---

[1] Coxe, 53.
[2] Printed in James S. Hall, 'John Christopher Smith: Handel's Friend and Secretary', *MT* 96 (March 1955), 133-34.
[3] W. Bruce Bannerman and Capt. R. R. Bruce (eds.), *The Registers of St Mary le Bone, Middlesex, 1754-1775* (London, 1918), 43.

his wife to consult Mr. Smith on every emergency'.[4] When he died in 1760, William Coxe snr left six children: William, Peter, Edward, George, Emilia and Martha (later to become Lady Rivers).[5] In his will Dr. Coxe left everything to his wife so that she could care for the children, the youngest of whom was only two at the time of his death. In the words of William Coxe jnr, Smith,

> Desirous of proving his good wishes for the welfare of her family, anxious to render every assistance in his power, and convinced that his principles of good will could not be carried into effect, without a closer alliance than that of friendship, at a proper season … proposed himself to her in marriage, that he might be at once, and effectually, *father to her children* [my emphasis].[6]

His father's will[7] explains this comment, for it contained an important proviso:

> But if my said Wife shall marry again then [indecipherable] my Will is that … all the Annual Interest and Income of the said Surplus of my said Estate shall be for the use and benefit only of my Children and that She my said Wife shall be excluded from any benefit thereof or Interest therein and I make Constitute and Appoint my said dear Wife Sole Guardian during her Widowhood but no longer of my said Children during their respective Minorities and in case She shall marry again I appoint the said Nicholas Coxe [his brother] their guardian in her stead.

It appears that in order to comply with the restrictions of the will, the 'marriage' should be (at least on the surface) one of sharing a household only. As a witness to the marriage, Coxe's brother Nicholas apparently had no problem with this arrangement; thus Martha not only maintained control of the purse strings but remained the children's guardian.

---

[4] Coxe, 52. In the introduction to the 1979 facsimile reprint, Percy Young mistakenly names Smith's wife as Barbara (xix).
[5] See Appendix V.
[6] Coxe, 52.
[7] *GB-Lna* PROB 11 854.



Martha Coxe, pen and ink with colour washes by William Nelson Gardiner (1766- 1814), *GB-Fom,* accession number 7391, shelf reference 11/A/Coxe. My photograph by kind permission of the late Gerald Coke.

Following her husband's death in 1760, Martha and the children had moved to no. 9 Hollis Street,[1] and Smith joined them there after the marriage. In 1767, the family moved to a newly-constructed house in Kensington, and here they remained until they moved to Bath in 1775.[2]

Maitland House, Church Lane, Kensington



OP. 5 KEYBOARD SONATAS

Some time in late 1760 or early 1761, Smith was introduced to King George's mother, Augusta, the Dowager Princess of Wales. As Coxe put it,

> The Princess Dowager of Wales having expressed an inclination to engage some person of eminence in the musical profession, to attend twice a week, and give her instruction on the harpsichord, Lord Bute said, that he would recommend a master, who he was sure would be acceptable; but before he could name him, her Royal Highness

---

[1] Marylebone Library, Poor Rate Books, 45, and Watch Rates 1764-65.

[2] Kensington Public Library, Poor Rates, 16 January 1767 through 14 January 1775. In January 1766 there was no house there, and by 7 July 1775 Smith was no longer at this address. I am grateful to John Greenacombe who met me by accident in the library and assisted me with the rate books and also provided this picture.

interrupting him, said, she had already fixed on a person; and immediately mentioned Mr. Smith. He was accordingly placed in the Princess's household, and attended at Carlton House one or twice a week, with a salary of two hundred pounds.

The Princess was uncommonly gracious and condescending, and derived so much satisfaction and improvement from his instructions, that she was often heard to say, that in her advanced age, she had acquired a new taste for music, and had received notions of harmony, which she had never before experienced.[3]

Smith was evidently charmed by her as well, and in 1765 he published his Op. 5, *XII Sonatas for the Harpsicord* dedicated to Augusta.

It is almost impossible to believe that this is the same Smith who composed Op. 3 and Op. 4. With very few exceptions, these pieces are firmly in the galant style, and Smith is at last finally comfortable there. Only a few movements, such as the second Allegro of Op. 5 no. 2, a closed binary form in G minor, reveal Baroque influences. The movement is a fast-moving Courant in effect, but for the most part Smith has employed regular phrases within the standard binary form, and there are two emphatic hemiola cadences in the relative (B flat) major, one at bars 24-6, the other at 31-3 (see Ex. V.1). The Andante from Sonata V is more Baroque, indeed Handelian in style, and, after four bars in D minor, it moves immediately to the relative major. Here too, as in Ex. V.1, the relative major is firmly articulated twice in its approach to the central double bar, a structural device which leaves the second of the two phrases sounding rather like a codetta in effect – a codetta which is repeated naturally in the tonic minor at the end of the second half (see Ex. V.2). The Courante from Sonata VI is more obviously contrapuntal and sounds in places almost like a two-part invention with some lovely three-part sequences intervening (see Ex. V.3).

---

[3] Coxe, 53-4.

C.P.E. Bach's decorative right-hand flurries in the slow movements of several of his sonatas such as the Adagio from a Sonata in B minor (H 132, see Ex. V.4)[4], may have influenced Smith's Op. 5, and similar right-hand *fioriture* also appear in the Adagio of Op. 5 no. 1 (see Ex. V.5). The shadow of Scarlatti, however, still looms large over Smith's Op. 5, as is noticeably evident in the concluding Presto of Sonata VI (see Ex. V.6a) and more clearly still in Variation 3 of the Air in Sonata XI (see Ex. V.6b). Among the most expressive movements in the set, however, is the lovely Siciliana in A minor from Sonata IV (see Ex. V.7). Not only does it contain right-hand flourishes like those in the Adagio of Sonata I, but both halves conclude with a short pedal over which Smith wrote a succession of tonic and dominant harmonies, the second of these (in the home key of A minor) approached via a fleeting touch of G minor and F major en route to a structural dominant seventh in bar thirteen. This short pedal with tonic and dominant harmonies above is also a feature of eight other pieces in the Op. 5 set (see Exx. V.2 and V.5 for example).

Though there are two movements that deploy what might be described as a rudimentary species of sonata form – the Andante Affettuoso from Sonata XI and the Andante Larghetto from Sonata VI – neither is very convincing. The second is the more interesting of the pair, partly because of its expressive use of chromatic appoggiaturas. Here an initial four-bar phrase in A minor is immediately followed by a slightly varied repeat of itself in C major, and this in turn by a distinctively different phrase also in C major. In the area after the central double bar this would-be second subject is heard again, this time in D minor. A four-bar linking passage then takes us back to the dominant of the home key, at which point bars 1-4 are repeated, and so too bars 9-12 – the distinctive second idea – now also in the tonic (A) minor (see Ex. V.8).

---

[4] Vol II of *C.PH.E. Bach* [:] *CLAVIERSONATEN*, G. Henle Verlag, (Munich, 1986).

THE LENTEN ORATORIO SERIES 1760-1774

After Handel's death, Smith went into partnership with the blind organist John Stanley (1712-86) to continue the oratorio series at Covent Garden, Stanley taking Handel's place by playing organ concertos between the acts.[5] In 1760, their first year in business, they each produced one of their own oratorios: Smith's *Paradise Lost* and Stanley's *Zimri*, and, with the addition of Smith's *Rebecca*, both were heard again during the 1761 season. The total receipts for 1761 were £2731 18s,[6] the three lowest amounts of the season being generated by the oratorios of the two newcomers to the scene. Both men were, after all, in it primarily for the money, and it wasn't long before they realized that they must jettison their own works for the good of their pocketbooks. Smith, however, found another way to demonstrate his creative ability by inserting three additions into the 25 February 1761 performance of *Theodora*, each a parody of one of Handel's Italian opera arias.[7]

During their first two years at Covent Garden, Smith and Stanley faced little competition. At the Little Theatre in the Haymarket, however, Charles Barbandt, a composer who, five years earlier, had promoted a mini oratorio series by subscription, offered two of his own works (*The Universal Prayer* and a 'Sacred Ode') on Friday, 15 February 1760, and two full-scale oratorios (*David and Jonathan* and *Paradise Regained*) on Wednesday, 28 January and Thursday, 5 February 1761, just before the 'official' oratorio season began. Though Barbandt's *David and Jonathan* was performed twice more (on Thursdays 19 and 26 February), the only real competition was provided by the first performance of Arne's *Judith* at Drury Lane on Friday, 27 February, this in

---

[5] See Appendix III for a detailed account of the oratorios presented each season. Almost all of the following information is derived from *LS,* Parts 4 and 5.
[6] Zöllner, 259.
[7] See Chapter VII, 186 for information concerning these additions.

direct opposition to Handel's *Samson* at Covent Garden, while its second performance (on 4 March) was in competition with Smith's *Rebecca.*

The 1762 season, however, was another matter. Having tested the waters with *Judith*, Arne now offered a full season at Drury Lane. He followed the same Wednesday/Friday pattern which Smith and Stanley had inherited from Handel; he also included four of his own works, one of them (*Beauty and Virtue*) in tandem with *Alexander's Feast* in addition to two performances of *Samson* and three of *Messiah.* This was also the first year during which King George III, prompted by Smith via the Earl of Bute, lent his support to the Covent Garden series, thus swelling the audience by his attendance. Indeed, almost half of the oratorios that year were 'By Royal Command'. Except for one further performance of *Judith* on 15 February 1765, a week before the Smith/Stanley season began, this effectively put their rival out of business. It would be eleven years before Arne ventured to compete again.

Beginning in 1763, Smith and Stanley gradually fell into a pattern whereby *Samson, Judas Maccabaeus*, and *Messiah* became the mainstays of the oratorio season. Other shorter works were also repeated: *Alexander's Feast* with one of the four Coronation Anthems, and *L'Allegro ed il Penseroso,* or alternatively *Acis and Galatea*) in conjunction with the *Ode for St Cecilia's Day* or one of the two most popular *Te Deum* settings ('Utrecht' and 'Dettingen'). But they always offered one or two different oratorios to keep the audience interested, even though the cost of extra rehearsals must have eaten into their profits.[8]

From 1763 until 1767 Smith and Stanley had sole possession of the Lenten oratorio stage. 1763 was notable for Smith's version of Handel's *Occasional Oratorio,*

---

[8] For example, the *Occasional Oratorio* and *Jephtha* in 1763, *Deborah* in 1764, 1766, 1767 and 1771, *Solomon* in 1765, *Esther* in 1767 and 1768, *Alexander Balus* in 1768 and 1773, *Joshua* and *Israel In Egypt* in 1769 and 1771, *Joseph and his Brethren* in 1772, and Smith's *Paradise Lost* and Stanley's *The Fall of Egypt* in 1774. These infrequent presentations assist us in determining singers for those years when Smith wrote singers' names on the Handel conducting scores.

opening the season on 18 February. Besides almost completely rearranging Part I, Smith inserted eleven additions to the work.[9] Stanley still played organ concertos between the acts, and George III continued his support. In 1764, Smith must have decided that, since his London audiences didn't much care for his own oratorios, perhaps they would appreciate Handel's works in another form. He thus offered up his Handel pasticcio oratorio *Nabal* on 16 and 21 March, the second performance of which was by royal command as were most of the oratorios that season. *Deborah,* on 6 April, was advertised as 'with alterations and additions'. The latter included three choruses from *Athalia* and parodies of three of Handel's Italian opera airs.[10] During the 1765 season, it seems that Stanley was ill for several performances,[11] and Smith apparently carried on alone with a performance of Edward Toms' Handel pasticcio *Israel in Babylon* on 1 March, followed on the 13th by *Israel in Egypt* 'with Considerable alterations and [nine] Additions,[12] and *Solomon* (with two additions) two days later.[13] The season also included three performances of *Judas Maccabaeus,* two of *Messiah* and one of *Samson*. In 1766, all but four evenings were by royal command, and from the following year until 1772 George III attended every performance.

Competition began in earnest in 1768 and was carried on continuously until 1774 when Smith retired. The first challenge they faced was that of Samuel Arnold and Edward Toms at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket, where they (Toms and Arnold) offered their own oratorios (*Israel in Babylon* in the case of Toms, and Arnold's *The Cure of Saul* and *Abimelech*) along with Niccolò Piccinni's *The Death of Abel,*[14] and four performances of *Messiah.* Their rivalry continued into 1769 when Arnold and Toms

---

[9] See Chapter VII, 188-89, for more information on these.
[10] See Chapter VII, 186-87.
[11] Editorial by 'Rectus', (*LS*, Part 4, 1154).
[12] See Chapter VII, 189-91.
[13] See Chapter VII, 195-98.
[14] A translation of his *La morte di Abele*, performed in Naples, *c.*1758. A copy, mostly autograph, is at *GB-Lcm.* Eva Zöllner wrongly assumed that this was a pasticcio, possibly by Toms.

presented *The Death of Abel* and *The Cure of Saul* together with two performances each of *Samson* and *Judas Maccabaeus* and four of *Messiah.* The violinist Felice Giardini, having performed between the acts for Smith and Stanley in 1760-62, now reappeared for Arnold and Toms.[15] Smith and Stanley opened the 1769 Covent Garden season with Smith's Handel pasticcio *Gideon* (a work containing several movements by Smith himself);[16] this was performed on 10 and 15 February, and George III attended both.

The competition for audiences was further intensified in 1770, with all forces playing musical chairs. Smith and Stanley moved to Drury Lane, Arnold and Toms took over Covent Garden, and Johann Christian Bach offered Jommelli's *La passione di Gesù Cristo,* Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater*, and his own oratorio *Gioas, re di Giuda* at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket. As his performances took place on Thursdays, however, Bach was less of a threat than one might have supposed. To Handel's 'big three' (*Judas Maccabaeus*, *Samson*, and *Messiah*) at Covent Garden, Arnold and Toms added four performances of Arnold's *The Resurrection,* one each of Toms' *Israel in Babylon* and Piccinni's *The Death of Abel*, plus a pasticcio entitled *The Passion* with music by Jommelli, Leo, Graun, and others. Smith and Stanley stuck to their regular Handel programming (see Appendix III), and Smith produced *Gideon* once more. But for the resurrection of *Deborah* on 8 March, the 1771 season was almost a repeat of the preceding year, the only difference being in the order of the oratorios. Throughout 1772, however, there was one less rival for audiences as J.C. Bach was no longer active at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket. Arnold and Toms offered basically the same fare as they had in 1771, omitting *The Passion* and adding *The Cure of Saul*, plus three evenings featuring a 'Concerto Spirituale' (apparently a mixed bag of sacred music). The following year, however, Arne and Toms parted company. Arne continued on his own at

---

[15] See head (151-53) for the altercation between Smith and Giardini that was to end Smith's connection with the Foundling Hospital.
[16] See Vol. III, Section 7:003.

Covent Garden where he offered nothing new except two evenings when a 'Pasticcio' was advertised, while Toms, now in association with Samuel Arnold, moved to the Little Theatre in the Haymarket where they presented six performances of Arnold's oratorio *The Prodigal Son* and one of his *Resurrection* plus two of *Messiah* and two Concerti Spirituali. For Smith and Stanley at Drury Lane, the year 1773 was encouraging in that they were lucky enough to procure the services of Elizabeth and Mary Linley, both outstandingly capable singers, and their violinist brother Tom who led the orchestra.[17]

For some reason the king abandoned all oratorios during Smith's last year in charge of the Drury Lane series (1774).[18] Meanwhile, the French violinist François-Hippolyte Barthlémon appears to have taken over from Arnold and Toms at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket, and there he was responsible for no fewer than eight performances of Arnold's latest Handel pasticcio *Omnipotence*. Among his singers were three (Scott, Vernon, and Champness) who had previously sung for Smith and Stanley who now each offered a work of his own: Stanley's *The Fall of Egypt* and Smith's *Paradise Lost* (see below, 140).

SMITH'S LARGE-SCALE WORKS 1760-80s

After Handel's death, Smith compiled three Handel pasticcio oratorios: *Tobit* (*c.*1763 but probably earlier), *Nabal* (*c.*1763), and *Gideon* (*c.*1768).[19] Of these, *Tobit* was never performed in public, *Nabal* was presented twice in 1764, the second time by royal command, and *Gideon*, one the Dowager Princess of Wales' favourites, twice in 1769, both by royal command. Richard G. King's outstanding article 'John Christopher Smith's Pasticcio Oratorios' discusses all three works as well as Morell's role in

---

[17] Coxe (55) wrongly dates the Linley year as 1769.
[18] Did the unrest in the American colonies finally attract his attention?
[19] All three have been recorded on period instruments by Naxos, with Joachim Carlos Martini directing the Frankfurt Baroque Orchestra. Naxos: *Nabal* 8.555276-77; *Tobit* 8.570113-14, and *Gideon* 8.557312-13.

adapting English words to Handel's Italian texts.[1] Volume III, a catalogue of Smith's works, reiterates this information together with a few additions of my own; it also provides incipits of those movements not composed by Handel.

In addition to these works, Smith left an unfinished oratorio *Jehosaphat*, his last English opera *Medea* (also unfinished), and two sacred works: a setting of the Burial Service for Augusta, Dowager Princess of Wales, and the oratorio *Redemption.*

JEHOSAPHAT[2]
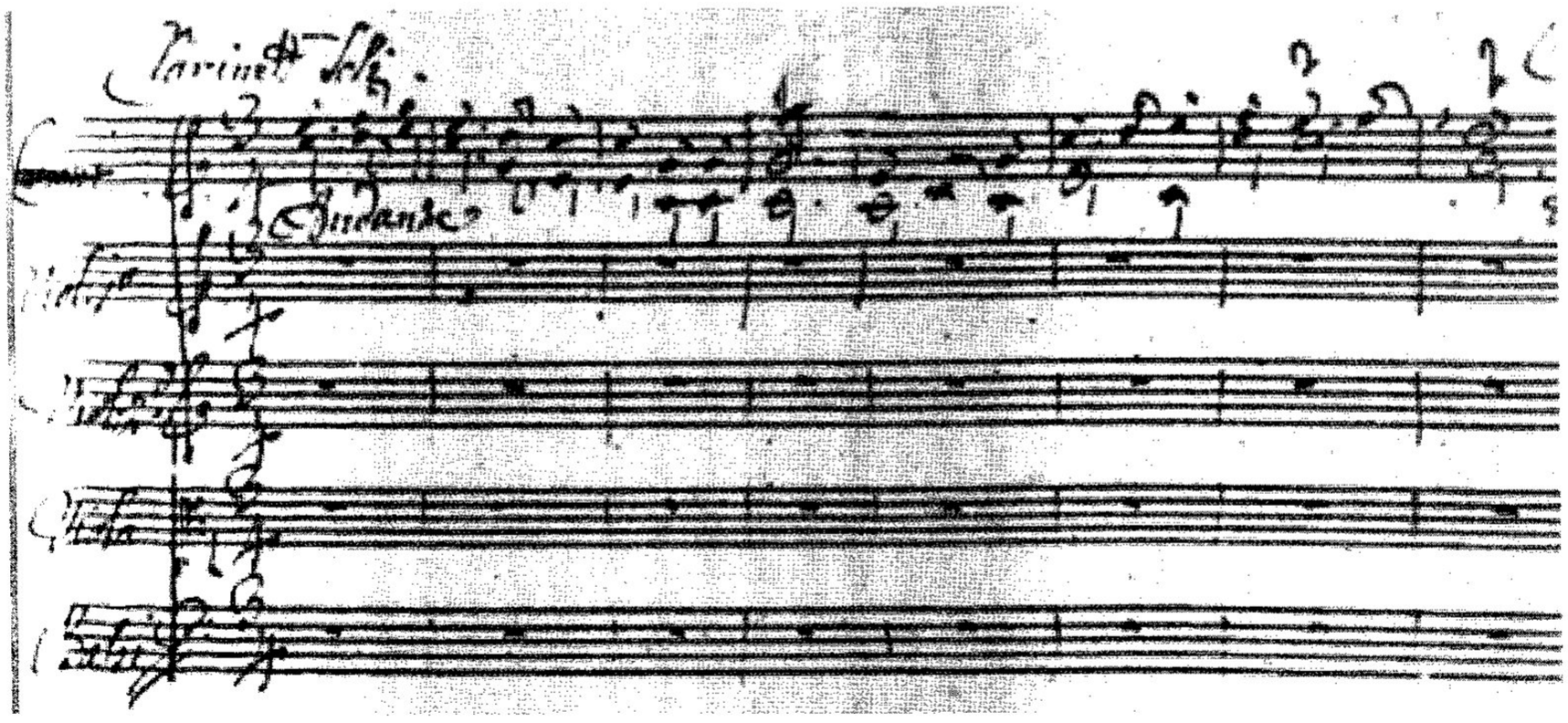
Jehosaphat (with a libretto by Benjamin Stillingfleet) is based on the story in 2 Chronicles: 17-20. Jehosaphat, king of Judah, wealthy from the many tributes paid him by surrounding nations, is beloved by all, his only enemy being Ahab, king of Israel. In a section not in Chronicles, the Israelites are beset with famine caused by drought, and a prophet demands that Ahab (whose people have forsaken their earlier beliefs) return to God. In Act II, it rains heavily; Ahab thanks God, but is informed that it was Jehosaphat who had been responsible for the downpour. Having been notified that the king of Syria is threatening Jerusalem, Ahab forms an alliance with Jehosaphat involving the marriage of his daughter with Jehosaphat's son. Ahab's four hundred prophets declare that he will defeat the enemy, but one prophet (Micaiah in Chronicles) predicts that because 'Religion has [been] wedded to Idolatry', Ahab will be slain. Nevertheless, Ahab prepares for battle. At this point, Smith apparently lost interest, and he never completed Act III[3] (where, in the Bible, Jehosaphat slays the king of Syria and peace reigns over the land).

Even if the work were finished, it would be easy to see that it had never been performed. It is a Smith autograph containing only one small alteration (discussed below) with watermarks (Clausen's Hb) dating the work at 1765 or later. The libretto

---

[1] *ML* 79 (1998), 190-218. Smith's methods of adapting Handel for his pasticci are discussed in Chapter VII.
[2] Autograph *D-Hs* M A/670.
[3] Despite which, another hand has written 'Acts 1, 2, 3' on the cover of *D-Hs* M A/670.

was obviously one in which Smith himself was not much interested. Of the seven choruses, four have been lifted from earlier oratorios: 'Arise O Lord' from *Paradise Lost*, 'When mercy flows from Heav'n' from both *The Festival of Darius* and *Rebecca*, 'Sound his tremendous praise' from *The Seasons,* and 'God alone the battle guides' from *Rebecca*. Smith even reused an aria from his 1743 Italian opera *Issipile*, now 'Meet repentance'. The orchestration for the choruses is Smith's usual strings plus two oboes (and presumably two bassoons); in one case a trumpet is added to the mix, and, in two others, French horns. Gone is the varied orchestration of *Rebecca*, each air accompanied only by strings and basso continuo, the sole exception being the soprano air 'Hark, hark, I hear his spirit cry' with two oboes, [bassoons], strings, and basso continuo. In truth, this work must be one of the composer's worst. Though Smith made perfunctory efforts to modernize his music, especially by shortening the recitatives, the only movement worthy of remark is what must have been intended as a prelude to Act II. In the opening bars, originally marked Andante and scored for two horns and strings, 'Corni' was later crossed out and 'Clarinett Soli' substituted, this being the one and only time he ever wrote for that instrument.



MEDEA[4]

[4] Autograph *D-Hs* M A/761.

Medea, an opera in English in the Italian style, is a fitting way to round off Smith's English opera experiment begun in the 1730s.[5] The work contains some fine music, but is unfortunately top-heavy with every movement but one assigned to a soprano voice. It is a pity that Smith failed to set the third act. Euripides' play, originally performed at the Dionysian festival in 431 BCE, concerns love and revenge between the witch Medea and her significant other, Jason (of the Argonauts), and as was the custom in Greek tragedy, all the action takes place during the course of a single day. The cast consists of Jason (soprano), Medea (a sorceress, soprano), Philetas (nurse to Jason and Medea's children, soprano), Aegle (Medea's maid, soprano), chorus members from both Colchia and Corinth, and priests (one a bass), priestesses, and attendants. We learn about Hecate (goddess of witchcraft), Creon (the Corinthian king), his daughter Glauca (betrothed to Jason), and the couple's children, but none of these characters ever actually appear on stage. The opera opens after Medea has learned that Jason is planning to banish her and wed Glauca. The plot provides plenty of opportunity for gentle love songs, grief-stricken ones, and rage arias. Eventually Medea sends Glauca an enchanted gown which immediately bursts into flames. Her father Creon vainly attempts to extinguish them, and they both die excruciating deaths (but off stage, as was typical of Greek tragedy). The priest summons Hecate, and the chorus celebrates both her power and that of Medea at the end of Act II.

In his Act I air, 'Bid her learn the gentler arts' (see Ex. V.9), Jason blames all his problems on Medea's temperament. A good example of what Anthony Hicks Smith's tendency to write horn parts as 'fillers', this galant movement contains regular phrases within its dal segno form.[6] Unfortunately, Stillingfleet wrote text for far too many secco recitatives. Smith's accompanied recitatives on the other hand provide some of the

---

[5] The entire libretto is printed in Coxe, *Stillingfleet ii*, 112-43.
[6] Hicks, 158-59.

finest movements in the opera. Three in particular deserve attention. In the first, two bassoons moan slowly in the introduction to Medea's 'O woe, is this then human life' (see Ex. V.10). In the second, Medea vents her fury against both Jason and his future bride, praying that Glauca might sink to hell with appropriate semiquavers rushing downward towards the underworld (see Ex. V.11). The third, sung by Hecate's priest on a darkened stage, anticipates the arrival of the goddess with demisemiquaver lightning flashes for two bassoons and continuo followed by rolling thunder (see Ex. V.12).
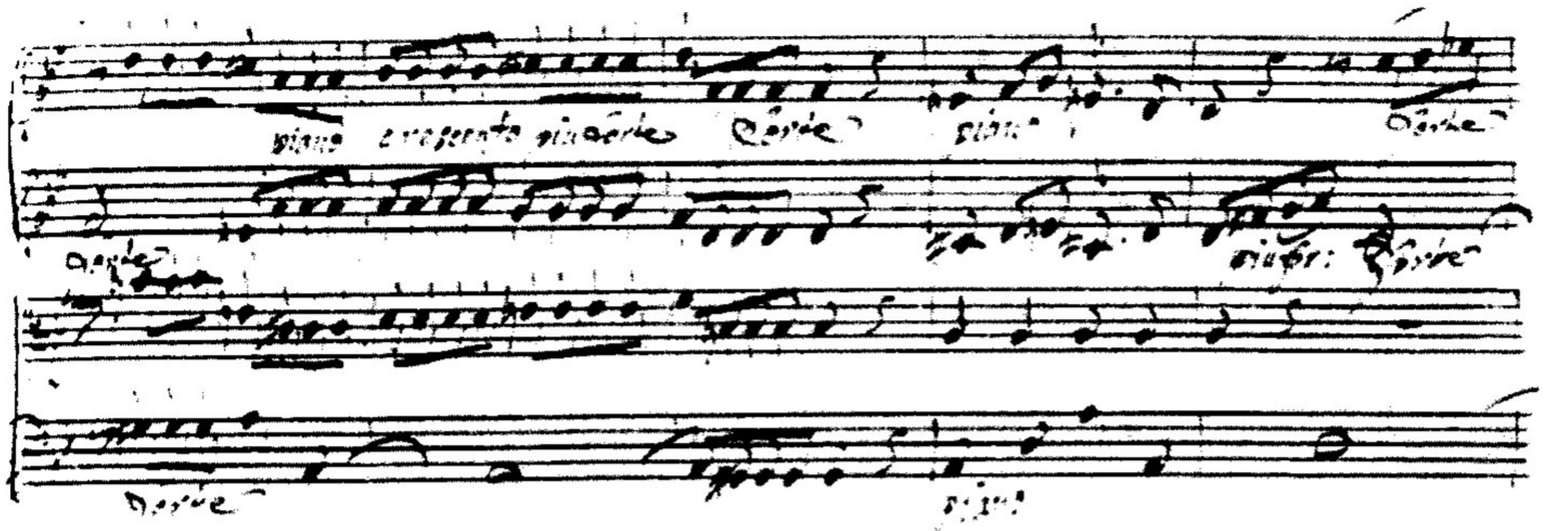
Typical of choruses in Italian opera, all of Smith's are homophonic, one of the most interesting being the one concluding Act I. Here Jason has finally decided that he has had enough of Medea: 'Yes, she shall be remov'd, and Corinth then shall ring with harmony'. The D major chorus erupts with happiness, praising Jason's love for Glauca. Trumpets and oboes celebrate Hymen (the god of marriage ceremonies), giving way to an appreciation of Glauca' gentleness with flutes and bassoons (see Ex. V.13). And there, unfortunately, Smith gave up on the piece.[7]

THE BURIAL SERVICE

Smith had been music master to Augusta, the Dowager Princess of Wales, since 1760, and, as we have seen, his last collection of keyboard works (published in 1765) was dedicated to her. Born in 1719, Augusta would have been only 53 at the time of her death on 8 February 1772, and her passing must have come as somewhat of a shock to Smith, who had apparently become quite fond of her. He therefore immediately began writing a burial service in her memory. Completed on 24 February, the work (labelled Funeral Service on the manuscript's cover and described by Coxe as a Burial Service) is very short. It begins with a seventeen-bar introduction marked Grave where, for the only

[7] In the original play, Medea slays her two children (off stage, of course), then flees the scene in a chariot provided by her father, the sun-god.

time in any of his works, Smith indicates a crescendo as follows: 'piano crescento [*sic*] piu forte'.



The seven choruses,[8] five of which Smith later used in his oratorio *Redemption* are

1. I am the resurrection and the life
2. I know that my redeemer liveth
3. We brought nothing into this world
4. Man that is born of a woman
5. In the midst of life we are in death
6. Thou knowest, Lord, the secrets of our hearts
7. I heard a voice from heaven

Five of these are so easy that even a chorus of amateurs might sing them.

PARADISE LOST, 1774

Smith's last work to be publically performed was a revival of *Paradise* Lost,[9] not heard for thirteen years. The wordbook makes no mention of its librettist, Benjamin Stillingfleet (who had died in 1771), but claims to contain 'Alterations and Additions'.[10] This 'new edition' entirely omits Milton's opening scene of angels, and begins instead in the Garden of Eden.[11] Following Adam's opening recitative, Smith has inserted two choruses based on Te Deum texts: 'We praise thee, O God', in the key of D major, and

---

[8] All are from 'The Order for the Burial of the Dead' in *The Book of Common Prayer.*
[9] The paper carries Clausen's watermark Hb (1765).
[10] Kay Gilliland Stevenson and Margaret Seares, *Paradise Lost in Short: Smith, Stillingfleet, and the Transformation of Epic* (Madison, 1998), 98-100, discuss most of the alterations involved, but fail to mention one movement present in the score but not in the libretto: 'To thee cherubim', following on from 'To thee all angels cry aloud'. They also ignore the chorus 'Sound his tremendous praise'. The authors have not only confused the names of the singers for 1760 but assert, with no evidence at all, that Smith's overture was omitted for the 1774 version.
[11] In the manuscript, all movements for the 1774 version are interspersed with those for the 1761-62 performances.

'To thee all angels cry aloud' in D minor (the libretto prints these two choruses as one). A further chorus, 'Arise, O Lord', transferred intact from Smith's oratorio *Jehosaphat,* and also in Smith's hand, concludes the first Act. While Act II remains substantially the same, Smith inserted a new recitative to begin Act III, followed by the chorus 'Sound his tremendous praise', not in the manuscript but borrowed from Smith's *The Seasons* and later transferred to *Jehosaphat*. Smith cut the chorus 'Angels cannot higher soar' and its following recitative, but from that point on, the oratorio follows the plan of the original.

REDEMPTION[12]
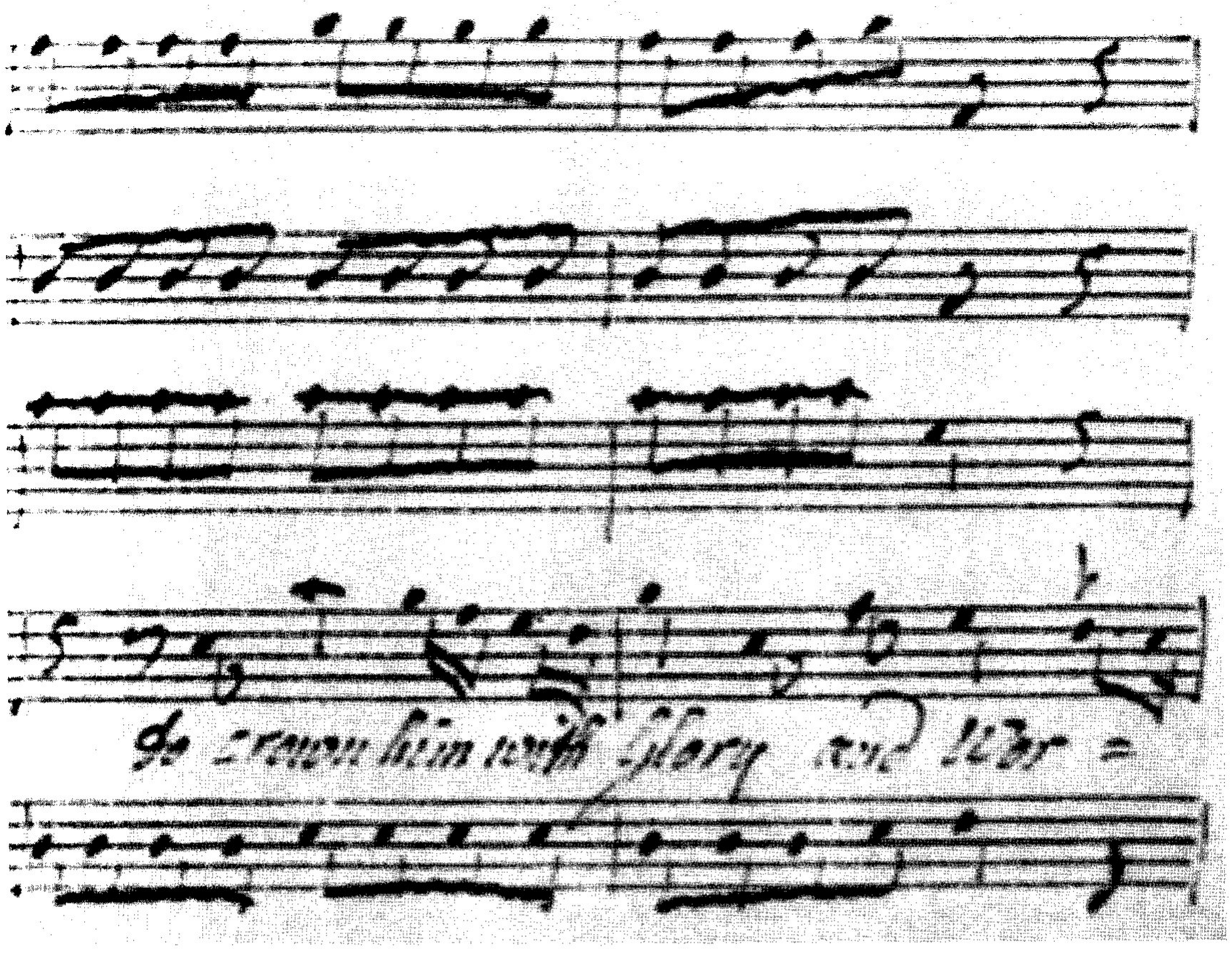
Smith himself must have been present when the three volumes of his oratorio *Redemption* were bound.[13] Though the title of Part I is in an unknown hand, those of Parts II and III were clearly written by him. It is obvious from the handwriting alone that *Redemption* must have been a very late work, perhaps written in the 1780s when he was living in Bath (see below, 154). Notes in Smith's trembling hand appear in almost every movement, and sometimes on every page of a movement. Beaming often does not connect to the stems of the notes, and in a few cases is downright messy.

---

[12] *F-Pn* Rés.V.S. 2152.

[13] The watermarks for this manuscript contain chain lines only.

Tenor air 'Lord what is man', Part II, f. 2. Note the results of shaking.



In his old age, Smith seems to have reverted to a more Handelian style. The work's overture, for example, is thoroughly Baroque, but the composer did almost everything he could to make sure the work was more modern with very few recitatives, most of which are very short (only three to eight bars in length). In three of these, however, Smith has adopted that species of delayed cadence which came into fashion only in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and is still occasionally used by performers of Handel who know no better. (See Smith's standard cadence formula in Exx. V.14a) and compare it with the more modern delayed cadence in 14b).

According to Smith's stepson William Coxe, the words of this oratorio (whose libretto he compiled) are from scripture; nevertheless they appear to be rather a mishmash of biblical verses, including several from the Psalms. Part I spends the first five movements explaining how mankind needs redemption. Thereafter, the words

become more positive, especially those of the chorus 'Great and marvellous are thy works'; these Smith sets, somewhat surprisingly, in the minor mode (and marks them 'Grave'). The keys themselves tell a story of increasing optimism:

Part I:	6 minor, 6 major
Part II:	3 minor, 6 major
Part III:	4 minor, 7 major

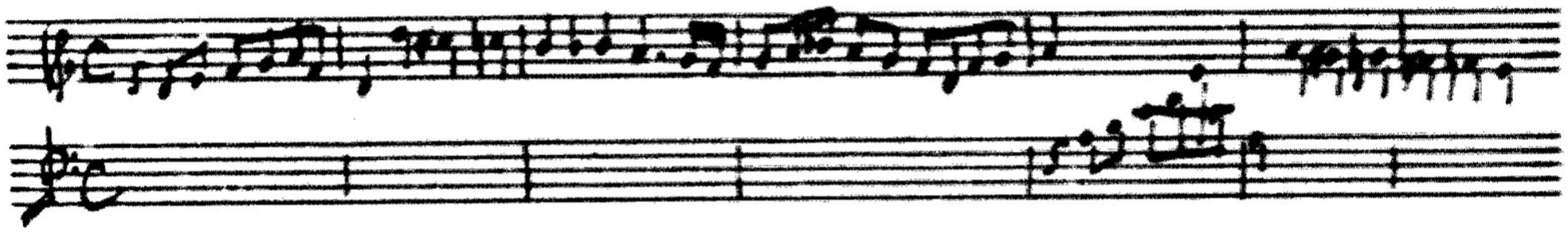
Most of the movements are choral with fifteen airs interspersed: seven for soprano, two for alto, three for tenor, and three for bass. All are through-composed, the only exception being the air 'The redeemer of the Lord' which is dal segno. The one duet and single quartet are through-composed as well, with very sparse accompaniments – strings and basso continuo or violin and basso continuo only. A good example of this very effective light scoring is the soprano air 'Thy loving kindness' from Part I (see Ex. V.15). Smith composed an oboe solo to accompany the violin and basso continuo for the air 'Thou art my shepherd' printed in Coxe (Appendix, 30-4), and he wrote for two horns, two oboes, [bassoons], strings and basso continuo for the Handel-inspired tenor air 'Sing O ye heavens and be joyful'.

Smith transferred five choral movements directly from his Burial Service to *Redemption*:

Man that is born of a woman
We brought nothing into this world
In the midst of life
I know that my redeemer liveth (a chorus in the Burial Service, but a quartet here)
I heard a voice from heaven

Of the nineteen choruses, sixteen are homophonic and mostly Handelian. The homophonic choral 'Therefore with angels and archangels' is reminiscent of Anglican chant (see Ex. V.16). The three polyphonic exceptions are two choruses from Smith's Burial Service: 'In the midst of life' breaking into an imitative texture supported by organ halfway through, and, in 'I heard a voice from heaven', the fugal 'Amen' in G

minor concluding with an affirmative Picardy third (see Exx. 17a and 17b). Smith's new 'Alleluja', however, is contrapuntal all the way through (see Ex. V.18). The handwriting on this last example is not only far neater than that of the rest of the oratorio, it even appears the work was written at a much earlier time, perhaps as part of an incomplete or lost work from the 1740s. The paper in this manuscript is much inferior to that in Smith's other manuscripts, and it appears that he carried some of it (which must have contained earlier works) to Bath. A fugal fragment following the 'Fine' on f.69v is puzzling, for it is in Smith's younger hand, probably shortly after 1740 when he began writing all stems on the right-hand side of the notes. How it came to be here we do not know.



SMITH AND THE FOUNDLING HOSPITAL AFTER 1759

After the death of Handel in 1759, the annual performance of *Messiah* at the Foundling Hospital ceased to bring in its previous revenues (see Appendix II A). The 1759 performance had done well enough, undoubtedly because many in the audience came in memory of Handel, but the receipts of £ 256.7.0 for the next year's performance were far below normal despite the presence of Princess Amelia.[1] The governors, attempting to make up the difference, ordered that a charity sermon and anthem be given on 1 June.[2] For this and for his many other charitable performances, John Beard was shortly afterwards elected a governor of the hospital.[3] 1760 was also the first year that John Stanley performed an organ concerto between the acts of *Messiah* at the Foundling

---

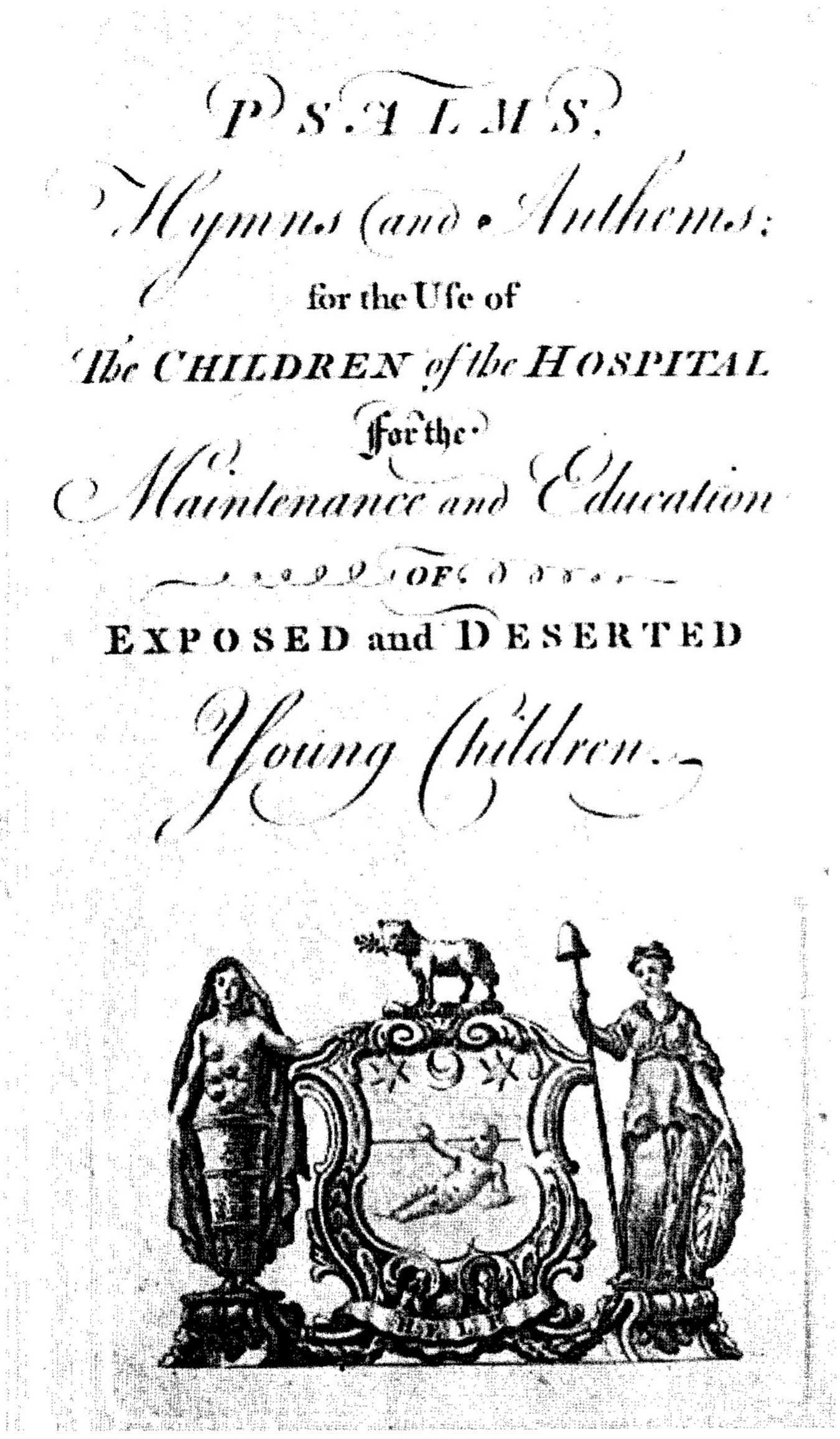
[1] *GB-Lma* A/FH/K/02/007, 269, for 13 May 1760. The amount includes £25 donated by the princess.
[2] *GB-Lma* A/FH/K/02/007, 279, for 4 June 1760. The collection brought in another £58.13.6.
[3] *GB-Lma* A/FH/K/02/007, 279, for 4 June 1760.

Hospital, and, with only one exception perhaps,[4] this he continued to do for at least several years after Smith's retirement from the hospital in 1770. As organist, sometime director of *Messiah* performances, and active governor, he assisted the Foundling Hospital until his own retirement in 1777.[5]

In 1760, The Foundling Hospital published two of Smith's hymns, the first, titled the Foundling's Hymn, was 'Our light our savior is the Lord' with words from Psalm 27.[6] This hymn appeared on page one of all future editions. The second hymn, 'The spacious firmament on high', titled Psalm XIX, was apparently not so popular since it appeared only in the 1760 edition.[7] Later versions of the hymn books also contained Smith's hymns 'When rising from the bed of death' and 'The Lord descended from above'[8]. The foundlings actually sang these hymns, whether for services in the chapel or as part of their own separate worship service:

---

[4] Apparently Stanley was ill for all or part of the 1765 season, and the violinist Hay performed between the parts of the Covent Garden oratorios (editorial by 'Rectus', (*LS*, Part 5, 1154).
[5] See Malcolm Boyd, 'John Stanley and the Foundling Hospital', *Soundings* 5 (1975), 73-81.
[6] Nicholas Temperley and Sally Drage, eds., '*Musica Britannica,* LXXXV, *Eighteenth-Century Psalmody*, print two versions of this hymn, 38-9.
[7] Nicholas Temperley's Edition A/a, 'The Hymn Books of the Foundling and Magdalen Hospitals', *Music publishing & collecting: essays in honour of Donald W. Krummel* (London, 1994), 32. Mr. [John] Scott's and Mr.[James or John] Worgan's hymns complete the short booklet.
[8] See Volume III, section 5:000 and Appendix II.


PSALMS,
Hymns and Anthems:
for the Use of
The CHILDREN of the HOSPITAL
For the
Maintenance and Education
OF
EXPOSED and DESERTED
Young Children.

On 13 May 1760, Smith's assistant John Scott was dismissed not only for treating his blind pupil Tom Grenville severely, but also for neglecting his instruction. His irate letter to the governors sheds some light on his method of teaching the blind. At the end of each lesson, the board he used was, he said, 'always filled with Music of another Persons writing'. He complained bitterly that 'At my parting with the Boy, I always left a Lesson for him upon the Peggs', but when he returned, Scott found that

someone, probably another foundling, had usually changed the setting of the pegs.[9] Smith's second assistant was Benjamin Cooke, (later organist at Westminster Abbey), and it was he who became Scott's replacement as Grenville's teacher. Cooke seems to have taken more interest in Grenville than Scott did, and by 1767 he had procured for him a position as organist at Ross in Herefordshire at £25 per year. Cooke began teaching John Printer, another blind foundling, two weeks after Grenville left, and he was asked to undertake musical instruction of some of the blind girls as well.[10]

The year 1761 was a bad one for both Smith and the hospital. It began positively enough, with the committee optimistically ordering a new row of pews for each side of the Chapel and eight pews for the gallery.[11] But by April the treasurer was unable to pay the hospital bills and was selling its annuities at a loss. When the General Committee attempted to contact Smith on 31 March, they found that he had retired to the country for his health. It was Smith snr therefore who attended the General Committee meeting 'wishing to know the Day [for the *Messiah* performance] assoon [*sic*] as possible.[12] Nevertheless, the younger Smith apparently returned in good time for the 24 April *Messiah* since the governors, always meticulous in their publicity, advertised Smith as the director. A special service featuring an anthem was held on 3 May to augment the poor receipts on 24 April, and the committee, careful to contact Smith before finalizing a date for the 1762 performance, settled on 5 May. In the event, the proceeds that year (£176.3) were the lowest ever.[13] Smith snr's death in January of the following year was a huge loss not only to the younger Smith but also to the Foundling Hospital, and it was at

---

[9] Box of letters from the Coram Foundation, now at the London Metropolitan Archives. The pegs must have been something like Braille.
[10] See McClure, 238, for Printer's subsequent musical activities.
[11] *GB-Lma* A/FH/K/02/007, 400 and 403, for 18 February 1761; and 423 for 15 April 1761.
[12] *GB-Lma* A/FH/K/02/007, 418.
[13] *GB-Lma* A/FH/K/02/007, 430, for 6 May 1761. See Appendix II A for an account of the money Smith brought into the hospital.

this point that William Teede, Smith's brother-in-law, took over the management of the hospital's annual *Messiah* performances.

During Smith's earlier years as organist at the Foundling Hospital, there seems to have been little attempt to involve the children in any kind of musical activity. In 1760, however, Mr Harrison, one of the governors, took it upon himself to teach the children psalms, hymns, and anthems. Harrison, Cooke, and Smith among them must have been doing a splendid job for, on 5 November 1763, the hospital hosted a dinner at which the children performed. *The London Gazette* of 8 November, reporting on the event, informed its readers that

> The children … were again introduced by the musick-master, who ranged the girls on one side and the boys on the other: the blind boy performed on the organ, and the children entertained the company very agreeably, with the following hymn and anthem.
>
> A Hymn for Psalm xxvii, ver. 1, 12, 8 [Smith's 'Our Light our Saviour'][14]
> An Anthem 'When all thy mercies'
> Solo
> Solo and Chorus
> Duet, by the youngest children
> Solo, by a little girl not above five years old
> Chorus
> Solo, by one of the girls in the hospital
> Semi-Chorus
> Chorus
> Hallelujah
>
> The performance was well-conducted and extremely affecting; the solo's, duets, and choruses were well-executed, especially the last solo, which was sung with so much true taste and spirit, that the company requested a repetition of it at the end of the last chorus.
>
> … 'Tis thought it would be no difficult matter to perform Oratorio's twice a week, before Lent, in the hospital, by the children, who with some little assistance, would be very capable thereof, and the profits arising therefrom would greatly benefit the charity.[15]

---

[14] See Appendix II C1. The words of the hymn express the feelings of a child bereft of parents and are especially poignant in view of the fact that Smith's own father had died earlier that same year.

[15] It was also suggested that the hospital might start a drawing school for the children, but those artists present on the occasion objected, saying there were too many starving artists already.

During the five years after 1763, Smith continued to direct the hospital performances of *Messiah*. Despite the fact that both the 1764 and 1765 performances were again financial failures, Smith apparently made no effort to participate in any additional services involving an anthem. For some reason, the 1766 *Messiah* brought in more than twice as much revenue as the previous year, and, though still disappointingly low, the receipts that year (and of the next two) remained above £100. William Teede continued to act as manager, but John Beard retired in 1767, and his name is conspicuously absent from the cast list of that year. Although the performers' bill for 1768 is no longer extant, Tommaso Guarducci (who had to obtain written permission from the managers of the Haymarket in order to sing at the Founding Hospital), together with Philip Hayes, and Smith were thanked for their charitable performances.[16]

Throughout Smith's years with the hospital, he clearly endeavoured to use soloists who at one time or another performed with Handel (see Appendix IV).[17] The surviving performance bills for 1759, 1760, 1763 and 1767 show only three soloists who had apparently never sung under Handel: Giuseppi Ricciarelli (alto castrato) who appeared at the King's Theatre in 1755-57 and at Drury Lane in the 1757-58 season, sang for Smith in 1759, Gaetano Quilici, a principal bass at the King's Theatre, who appeared in 1763, and an unknown tenor (Mr Clarke) who succeeded Beard in 1767. Although not appearing on the performers' bill, Signor Guarducci is the only other Smith soloist who had not sung for Handel. Mrs Pinto (Charlotte Brent), who may possibly have sung for Handel during 1759, made an appearance in 1767. Otherwise, the lists demonstrate a surprising number of 'repeaters'. Giulia Frasi, who had sung the soprano solos in *Messiah* under Handel in at least 1754 and 1758, was the most expensive soloist. The mezzo-soprano Mrs Scott (Isabella Young) sang for Handel in 1758 and continued

---

[16] *GB-Lma* A/FH/K/02/011, 98. Philip Hayes (1738-97) was a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal and son of William Hayes, the Professor of Music at Oxford (whom he succeeded in 1777).
[17] See also Burrows, *FH Musicians*, for other years.

to do so for Smith. Samuel Champness, also appearing in 1758, sang the bass solos in 1759, 1760 and 1767, but for some reason Quilici replaced him in 1763. Until his retirement in 1767, the tenor solos were always taken by John Beard.

In 1768 the hospital's governors made two important decisions regarding its music. The first provides a startling contrast with the hospital's stated goal: the maintenance and education of exposed and deserted young children. The chapel's organ had apparently been in need of major repairs since 1766, and Smith had undoubtedly been urging the governors to act. By February 1768, the organ was reported to be in very poor condition, and so too, as usual, were the hospital's finances. Parliament had, each year after 1765, steadily decreased its grants in support of apprenticeship fees, and from 93 children apprenticed in 1764, the number had now risen to 1176, many of them as young as seven.[18] Despite this fact and several years of declining profits for *Messiah* performances, the governors opened a subscription in March for a completely new organ. In June the General Committee entertained yet grander ideas when they resolved

> That instead of an Organ agreed to be built for the use of the Chapel of this Hospital for £430, … there shall be one made by Mr Thomas Parker upon the new Principle invented by the late Doctor Smith [no relation] containing 4 additional Notes in each Octave at the price of £670, exclusive of the Case.[19]

Since the original subscription had been for £430, the governors were now forced to use money which would normally have been used for the maintenance of the children. The same resolution continued 'That the produce of the last Oratorio be applyed towards payment thereof; and that the Money arising by the Sale of the Musick Books, be

---

[18] McClure, 132.

[19] *GB-Lma* A/FH/K/02/011, 98. The organ had sixteen notes and sixteen pipes to the octave, accessed by mechanisms (levers that moved back and forth and rested in various slots). This allowed for more exact tuning in the more extreme keys in meantone temperament since England had not yet adopted the well-tempered tuning system accepted in other countries. For more on the Parker organ, see Donald Burrows, 'Organs and organists at the Foundling Hospital, 1750-1800'. *A Handbook for Studies in 18th-Century English Music*, xx (2016), 1-26.

applyed to the same use'. These books contained at least two works written expressly by Smith for the Foundling Hospital (see Appendix II C1 and C2). In March 1769, a year in which 1430 children were sent out to be apprenticed, the governors were still attempting to find more subscribers for the organ.[20] It was eventually completed in November, and the minutes of one meeting not long after reveal a total clash of aims: 'Resolved, That on the New Organ in the Chapel of this Hospital, the following Inscription be made[:] Erected by Subscription 1769: Thomas Parker Builder', while on the following pages are listed the names of 99 children to be apprenticed.[21]

The second decision, which drastically affected Smith's relationship with the hospital, undoubtedly arose from the governors' enthusiasm over the new organ. As the instrument had not yet been finished, 1769 was the first year in which *Messiah* could not be performed as usual during April or May, and in November, the governors announced that

> The New Organ built on the most perfect Construction for the Chapel of this Hospital being finished. The General Committee have determined it shall be opened with the Performance of the sacred Oratorio called The Messiah on Wednesday the 29th of this instant at 12 oClock [*sic*] precisely; Capital Performers both Vocal & Instrumental will be engaged. Sig. Giardini has generously offered for the Benefit of this Charity to play the 1st. Violin & a Concerto; and Mr Stanley a Concerto on the Organ.[22]

Within the week, Smith, who had evidently come upon the announcement in the newspaper, took action regarding this usurpation of his duties. His letter to the committee must have been quite explosive, for it provoked the following reaction:

> This Committee upon Reading a Letter sent by Mr Smith Organist of this Hospital to Mr Harrison in regard to the settling the Performers of the Oratorio in the Chapel on the 29th instant, according to the Advertisement published.
> Resolved
> That the Consideration thereof be postponed till tomorrow [Thursday] when the Committee will meet at 11 oClock precisely. The Secretary is

---

[20] *GB-Lma* A/FH/K/02/011,13.
[21] *GB-Lma* A/FH/K/02/011,175-76.
[22] *GB-Lma* A/FH/K/02/012,173.

> hereby ordered to acquaint Mr Smith therewith, and request his attendance at that Hour at the Hospital.[23]

This was obviously a hastily convened meeting, for the committee normally met only every Wednesday. Smith was clearly upset, and rightly so, for the performance of the oratorio was only two weeks away. The minutes of this special meeting speak for themselves:

> Mr Smith attended this Committee & acquainted them that in regard to the appointment of several Persons to be Performers by Mr Giardini as well as past transactions between them it would by no means be agreeable for him to mix in with the said Performance; but that he is and always will be willing to do any Thing in his Power for the Benefit of this Charity by another Performance of which he might have the sole direction; which this Committee leaves to Mr Smith to consider when will be the most proper Time for the Committee to determine on.[24]

A reasonable assumption may be made regarding the 'past transactions' between Smith and Felice Giardini by comparing their activities outside the Foundling Hospital.

Relations had apparently been cordial enough during at least three oratorio seasons at Covent Garden, when Giardini had been the featured violin soloist at the oratorios managed jointly by Smith and John Stanley there in 1760-62. In 1769, however, Giardini entered into direct competition with the Smith-Stanley series by instigating his own series of oratorio performances at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket (see Appendix III). From 1763 to 1768, Smith and Stanley had had no rivals, and this new threat to their enterprise undoubtedly strained relations. Considering Smith's managerial background and the fact that Stanley was blind, it was probably Smith who most keenly felt put out. It is curious, however, that Stanley himself evidently felt no aversion towards performing with Giardini at the Foundling Hospital on this occasion.[25]

---

[23] *GB-Lma* A/FH/K/02/012,175.
[24] *GB-Lma* A/FH/K/02/012,182.
[25] Giulia Frasi also declined to perform with Giardini. Some years earlier (in 1757) she had felt obliged to clear her name when it was reported that she had refused to sing for the benefit of the Decayed Musicians. Evidently that was not the case, for 'a few days after a number of the Managers called upon her to let her

There were also serious problems with regard to the other performers. An early proponent of English opera in opposition to those in Italian, Smith apparently employed very few, if any, Italians in his orchestra, As David Garrick put it in his prologue to Smith's opera *The Fairies* (1755)[26]

> Excuse us first, for foolishly supposing,
> Your Countrymen could please you in composing;
> An Op'ra too! – play'd by an English band,
> Wrote in a language which you understand –

Yet Giardini wiped out the complete Handel-Smith string section and replaced it with many of his Italian friends. Indeed, of all the 1769 performers under Giardini, the only ones who had played for Handel at the Foundling Hospital were Eiffert (ob), Weischel (ob), Baumgarden (bn), and Adcock (tpt) (see Appendix II D2). Giardini made other alterations in the performing forces as well. By employing four oboes and four bassoons, Smith had carefully maintained the same orchestral balance as Handel had used. It was Giardini who seems to have begun the 'modern' practice of using two each of these instruments, and this in relation to a rather larger string section as well. Under Giardini, the chorus appears to have undergone an even more significant change. Smith and Handel normally employed six boys on the soprano part and an average of twelve men to share the other three parts. The Giardini cast lists shows double the number of boys – six of Dr Nares' boys from the Chapel Royal (at four guineas) and six of Dr Cooke's boys from Westminster Abbey (who performed gratis) – and fifteen paid male singers.[27] According to the governors' advertisement for this performance, however, there were 'above Forty Chorus-Singers; several of whom generously perform for the Benefit of the Charity'.[28] While it is not inconceivable that Smith may sometimes have used volunteer

---

know that Giardini had undertaken to conduct the performance, and that they would not want her assistance. (*Public Advertiser* 23 March 1757).

[26] See Chapter IV, 95.

[27] *GB-Lma* A/FH/A/03/004/008, 146.

[28] *Public Advertiser*, 29 November 1769.

singers, there is no evidence on this point, and the doubling of the treble section would seem to suggest a proportionate increase in the other parts as well. The Giardini performance was undoubtedly one of the first steps on the path toward the 1784 Handel festival at Westminster Abbey and a distinct break in the tradition which Smith had carefully kept alive for the past ten years.

In February of 1770, the General Court resolved to recommend Stanley and Giardini to the next General Court to be elected governors.[29] Smith, still the hospital's organist, evidently made no effort to produce a further *Messiah* performance of his own, and Giardini was again in correspondence regarding a performance of *Messiah* during the coming Passion Week. Smith may have been unaware of the General Committee's early dealings with Giardini, but he must have been shocked and deeply annoyed when he eventually discovered that the governors had planned yet another *Messiah* under his direction.

On the same page of minutes for the General Committee, 'The Treasurer reported that Mr Smith the Organist of this Hospital, [had] informed him this morning, that he resigned the Office of Organist'.[30] Stanley was present at the meeting, but Giardini, perhaps learning of the resignation and wishing to avoid a scene, was absent. During the same meeting, the governors, who had seldom thanked Smith for his many years of charitable performances, reacted magnanimously and elected him a governor, an honour that should have come to him long before. Thus Smith, quiet and unassuming, retired gracefully from his hospital duties. It was characteristic of his temperament that his association with Stanley in the Lenten oratorios at Covent Garden and later at Drury Lane, was undisturbed by the Giardini affair and both evidently continued to work happily together until Smith's retirement as co-director of the series in 1774. It was also

---

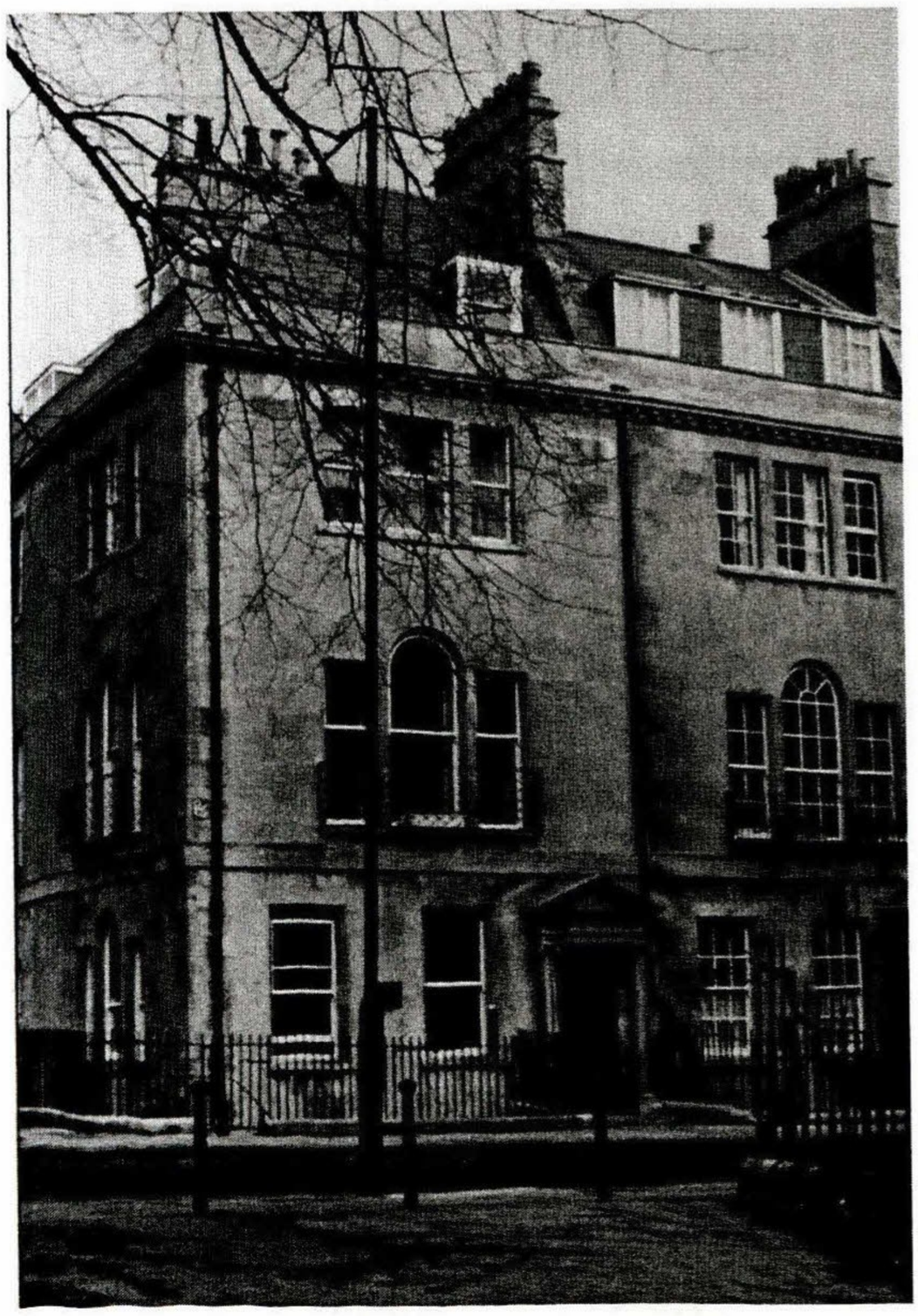
[29] *GB-Lma* A/FH/K/003, 59 for 28 March 1770.
[30] *GB-Lma* A/FH/K/003, 59 for 28 March 1770.

typical of his nature that the only meeting he attended after his election as governor was that of the General Court to cast his vote in the election of his successor as organist.[31]

SMITH'S RETIREMENT

According to Coxe (54), the king continued Smith's salary following the death of Augusta, Dowager Princess of Wales, and Smith in return presented most of Handel's manuscripts to George III, (see Chapter VI, 161). Coxe further observed (58) that 'Though he loved the art, he found himself unequal to the trade, and had not courage to encounter obstacles, or patience to reconcile contending interests'. The financial difficulties associated with the Lenten oratorio series, not to mention the competition of other rival parties, eventually took their toll on Smith, who retired at the end of the 1774 season. Sometime during the first half of 1775, he and his wife moved to a house he had purchased in Brock Street, Bath.

Smith's house in Bath[32]



[31] *GB-Lma* A/FH/K//003, 73 for 26 December 1770. Four organists were considered: Stephen Philpot, Charles Lockart, Mr Evans, and Thomas Grenville. Philpot won by one vote.
[32] Photograph by Barbara M. Small, *c.*1983

Not much is known regarding Smith's life there, except the fact that he then referred to himself as John Christian Smith. In his exhaustive survey of concert life in eighteenth-century Bath, Kenneth James found no evidence that Smith was associated with any of the city's musical activities,[33] but Coxe (56) wrote that 'at the advanced age of eighty-one, he instructed a few young Ladies who had genius for music.' According to James S. Hall, his wife Martha died in May 1786 and was buried in the graveyard of Walcot Church in Bath.[34] At some time after that, it appears from Smith's will that Martha's daughter (Emilia Coxe) was living in the Brock Street house since, when he died, Smith left her 'all my house-hold linen & furniture, plate, & china …'.[35]

I have found only two musical references to Smith during his retirement years. According to Samuel Wesley,

> The late Hon. Daines Barrington paid me an unremitting Attention for several years: he brought to my Father's House [in London], numerous Personages of Nobility and Gentry, besides divers excellent Judges of Music, and musical Professors, who were accustomed to give me various Melodies, both as subjects for Fugues and Themes for Variations.[36]

And as Daines Barrington himself recalled,

> I once carried that able composer Mr. Christopher Smith to the boy [Samuel Wesley], desiring that he would suggest the subject; which Sam not only pursued in a most masterly manner, but fell into a movement of the minor third, which might be naturally introduced. When we left Mr. Wesley's house, Mr. Smith, after expressing his amazement, said that what he had just heard should be a caution to those who are apt to tax composers as plagiaries; for though he had wrote the same subject, and that music had never been seen by any one, this wonderful boy had almost followed him note by note![37]

With reference to the 1784 Westminster Abbey Handel Commemoration Coxe (57) also noted that

---

[33] 'Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Bath', Ph.D. dissertation (University of London, 1987).
[34] *US-Pru* The Hall Collection, typescript by James S. Hall. Coxe (55) once again got his dates mixed up in stating that his mother died in 1785.
[35] Printed in William C. Smith, 'More Handeliana', *ML* 34 (1953), 14-5.
[36] Reminiscences, *GB-Lbl* Add MSS 27593, f. 34.
[37] 'An Account of Mr. Charles Wesley' in Daines Barrington, *Miscellanies* (London, 1787), 306.

> … the King was desirous that Smith should be present at the performance, and sent him a gracious and pressing invitation to come to London for that purpose. His Majesty assured him that he should be admitted without difficulty into a commodious seat in the Abbey, and that he should receive every accommodation during his residence in town. Smith was fully sensible of this gracious mark of condescension; but declined the honour with reluctance, apprehensive that from his advanced age, so exquisitely powerful a performance of the works of his great master, would excite such emotions as might too much affect his feeble frame.

In 1790, having been a member of the Royal Society of Musicians since its foundation in 1738, the great man's pupil was still listed as a member, but it is difficult to imagine that he was ever able to attend meetings if he really was as infirm as, in 1784, he claimed to be. Nevertheless, it seems that Smith still remained sufficiently interested in the welfare of the Society and those 'Distressed Families' of musicians it supported to sign on as a professional subscriber to a 'Grand Selection of Sacred Music' to be performed in aid of the charity on 26 May 1795. Just four months later, however, he was 'seized with a disorder, which terminated his existence in eight days'.[38] He died on 3 October and was buried near his wife in the graveyard of Walcot Church in Bath. According to James S. Hall,[39] no trace of this now remains.

---

[38] Coxe, 56.
[39] *US-Pru* Hall Collection notes.

BEYOND

Rather surprisingly considering their close connection with Handel, the world of scholarship has been slow to pay any serious attention to either of the Smiths, and to the work of the younger Smith in particular. Among the first to investigate their background and biographical history, and that not until the 1950s, was James S. Hall, a doctor of medicine and conductor of the Deal and Walmer Handel Society. Two others of the same period who also deserve to be mentioned in this connection are William C. Smith and Konrad Sasse. Since then the most notable researchers to have taken an interest in J. C. Smith jnr have been Andrew McCredie, Richard G. King and the late Anthony Hicks, to all of whom I am, in various ways, indebted.

DENNER PORTRAIT AND ROUBILIAC BUST

Prior to the mid 1750s, the younger Smith had been remembered only as the temporary custodian of various Handelian artifacts: a portrait of the composer by Balthasar Denner (1685-1749), a marble bust of his likeness by Louis-François Roubiliac (1702/3-62), Handel's large harpsichord, and, most importantly, the master's autographs and conducting scores. The first two items, apparently given by Handel to the Smiths, are regrettably the only ones whose present whereabouts may be traced conclusively.[1]

The younger Smith willed the Denner to his stepson William Coxe, who used it as a frontispiece to his *Anecdotes*, and he later passed on it to his sister Martha (Lady Rivers); her daughter-in-law Charlotte (also Lady Rivers) subsequently presented it to the Sacred Harmonic Society in 1857,[2] and they in turn sold it (at Christie's in 1883) to Henry Littleton of Novello & Company Ltd., while A.F. Hill, who purchased it from the executors of

---

[1] Neither is mentioned in Handel's will (See *Handel's Will: Facsimiles and Commentary*, ed. Donald Burrows (London, 2009) (afterwards Burrows, will) while Coxe (Advertisement) says that Handel gave the Denner to Smith and refers (55) to both items as having belonged to Smith.

[2] *US-Pru* Hall Collection, James S. Hall, typescript headed JOHN CHRISTOPHER SMITH (the younger).

Littleton's son *c.*1914, presented it to the National Portrait Gallery in 1923.[3] Sometime after his retirement, Smith sent the Roubiliac bust (executed in 1739) to Windsor Castle and, many years later, it eventually arrived at the Foundling Hospital Museum in London.

HANDEL'S HARPSICHORD

The present location of the harpsichord, on the other hand, has been difficult to determine. On Handel's death, Smith snr inherited his 'large Harpsicord, . . . little House Organ, … [and] Musick Books' in addition to a lump sum of £ 2,470.[4] The instruments and music books the elder Smith retained until his own death in 1763, whereupon all his 'Musick Books and Pieces of Musick whether Manuscript or otherwise' which he had inherited from Handel, together with all his 'other Musick & Books of Musick both in print and manuscript as well as all of his Instruments of Musick' were left to his son.[5] In the words of William Coxe (55)

> The harpsichord, so remarkable for the ivory being indented by Handel's continued exertions, and on which, as has been already related, the far greater part of his music had been composed; and his bust by Roubillac [*sic*], he [Smith] sent afterwards to Windsor Castle. Of all that his great instructor had bequeathed him, he only reserved to himself the portrait painted by Denner.

After an unsuccessful attempt to locate this harpsichord at Windsor, Victor Schoelcher came across a 6'6" Ruckers harpsichord in the possession of Messrs Broadwood which had been built in Antwerp in 1651, and for him Broadwood produced an undated letter of enquiry from George W. Chard, organist and master of the choristers of Winchester Cathedral (1802-49), addressed to (and later certified by the Rev. George Coxe, 1758-1844), the brother of William and Lady Rivers, that reads as follows:

> My Dear Sir, … Will you oblige me by certifying (if I am correct) the following: -
>
> The celebrated Mr. Smish [*sic*] (or Schmidt) was *Handel's private* friend and *amanuensis.*

---

[3] See William C. Smith, 'More Handeliana' in *ML* 34 (1953), 23-4, and Jacob Simon (ed.), *Handel: A Celebration of his Life and Times: 1685-1759* (London, 1985), 36 and see exhibit #1 between 36 and 37.
[4] See Burrows, will, and Deutsch, 823-24
[5] Printed in James H. Hall, 'John Christopher Smith; Handel's Friend and Secretary', *MT* 96 (1955), 133.

This said Mr. Smish was presented by Handel with his favourite fine *double-keyed harpsichord,* made by the best maker of the day, Andreas Rucker, of Antwerpia, 1651.

This said instrument you have repeatedly heard Mr. Schmidt play on.

Mr. Smith was father-in-law to you, as well as your sister, the late Dowager Lady Rivers, and at her death the said harpsichord came into the hands, together with a large collection of Handel's oratorios, &c., &c., MSS., of the Dowager Lady Rivers.

This instrument was parted with to a Mr. Wickham, surgeon, who parted with it to the Rev. Mr. Hawtry, Prebendary of Winchester Cathedral, upon the death of whom I purchased it at the sale of his effects, and in whose possession it still remains.

Is not this the identical instrument now spoken of? Your early answer to these queries (as the only living witness) will oblige, &c.

[Signed] G.W. Chard . . .

P.S. – Will you oblige me by certifying on this sheet of paper and returning it.

[Underneath, is written: -]

I certify that the above statement is correct, as far as my knowledge goes.

[Signed] George Coxe

Twyford, May 13th, 1842.

Witness to the above Signature,

[Signed] Susanna Gregg

James Harris

Note. – This harpsichord appears to have passed into the possession, after Dr. Chard's decease, of Mr. Hooper, a professor of music at Winchester, who forwarded the above particulars to Messrs. Broadwood.[6]

Chard's statement contains two inconsistencies: George Coxe certainly knew that Smith was his step-father and not his father-in-law; he also knew how to spell his step-father's name. He did, however, appear to have left himself a little 'wiggle room' in the phrase 'as far as my knowledge goes'.

This harpsichord, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, is, according to Charles Moult, Handel's harpsichord. He lists the previous history:

Christopher Smith, Lady Rivers. Mr. Wickham. Canon Hawtrey. Dr. Chard. Mr. Hooper. Messrs. Broadwood who presented it to the Museum in 1886. Allegedly at one time owned by Handel.[7]

---

[6] Schoelcher, fn. on 353-4. See Deutsch, opposite 545 for a picture of a Ruckers harpsichord dated 1612, and H.C. Robbins Landon, *Handel and His World* (London, 1984), 212, for a photograph of the 1651 Ruckers harpsichord.

[7] Donald H. Boalch, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440-1840*, Third edition, Charles Moult, ed. (Oxford 1995), 582.

HANDEL'S AUTOGRAPHS

Smith was also the custodian of Handel's autographs and conducting scores, and today we know where most of these reside. King George III had patronized the Smith-Stanley oratorios since 1762, and in addition he provided financial support to Smith. Coxe (54-5) wrote

> After the death of the Princess Dowager, the King graciously continued to Mr. Smith the same pension [£ 200] out of his privy purse, free of all deductions, which greatly contributed to the ease and comfort of his life. ... He [Smith] accordingly expressed his gratitude in a way which he thought most acceptable to the Sovereign; and ... presented to the King the rich legacy which Handel had left him, of all his manuscript music, in score.[8]

Smith and his wife moved to Bath in 1775, but Donald Burrows believes that this Handel collection was presented after that date, citing the lack of any mention of the manuscripts until 1784.[9] But is it just possible that the king was too busy to concern himself with matters other than Handel's manuscripts in 1775?[10] At any rate, this dispersal of the great composer's works – a fascinating story which has often brought to light ambiguities hitherto unnoticed – was but the first of a series of travels for the various works by Handel which Smith had in his possession. Victor Schoelcher viewed the autographs at Buckingham Palace at some point before 1857, noting that the collection, 'Buried in a sort of private office, and still kept in its poor original binding', consisted of 87 volumes.[11] The collection, described by A. Hyatt King as 'by far the largest one of the autographs of any of the great musicians of the past now preserved in a single institution anywhere in the world',[12] was lent to the British Museum in 1911, and on 27 November 1957 Queen Elizabeth II formally presented it to the trustees.

---

[8] At some point, Smith replaced two folios that had apparently been detached from their originals (Burrows/Ronish preamble, xi, fn. 11).
[9] Donald Burrows, 'The Royal Music Library and its Handel Collection', *British Library Journal*, 2009, article 2 (available online).
[10] The meeting of the American first Continental Congress had taken place in 1774, and in the following year the battles of Lexington and Concord were followed by the British siege of Boston.
[11] Victor Schoelcher, trans. James Lowe (London, 1857), 353.
[12] King, *Handel and His Autographs* (London, 1967), 17.

According to King, however, the royal collection originally contained 88 volumes. Either Schoelcher miscounted or one volume must have been unavailable to him on the occasion of his visit. Under Barclay Squire, some of these 88 volumes were broken up, and the collection today comprises 97 volumes.[13] These volumes are now in the Royal Music Library (part of the Music Library of the Humanities and Social Sciences division of the British Library).

The Royal Music Library also contains 25 volumes of the '[Robert] Smith Collection' representing all the oratorios from 1733 onward;[14] there are also another three similar manuscripts (*Belshazzar, Alexander Balus*, and *Joseph and his Brethren*) in the James S. Hall Collection at Princeton University Library. It would appear that Smith had at least something to do with these oratorios since he was associated with Frederick, Prince of Wales (died 1751), who may have begun the collection. At some stage, perhaps after Smith returned from the Continent in 1751, he found it necessary to correct his father's clefs on the *Belshazzar* manuscript now at Princeton. Some of these were simply a matter of inserting a clef when his father forgot to include one (on pages 184 and 218 for example); in other cases, the elder Smith (apparently on auto-pilot) wrote treble clefs on the second staves when there was only one violin part, and these Smith changed to viola (C3) clefs (on pages 106 and 109-10 for example). Burrows has found no evidence that the Smith Collection was presented to George III along with Handel's autographs.[15] Those oratorios in the collection are for the most part dated in the 1760s and 1770s, and it seems that all were copied following Handel's death. Watermarks on the Hall Collection, however, may be dated at least thirteen years earlier.[16]

---

[13] Burrows/Ronish preamble, x-xxii.

[14] See Lucy Rowe, 'Robert Smith, Music Collector', *The Handel Newsletter*, Vol. 14, no.2 (Autumn, 2003).

[15] Donald Burrows, 'The "Granville" and "Smith" Collections of Handel's Manuscripts, *Sundry Music Books: Essays on the British Library Collections Presented to O.W. Neighbour on his 70th Birthday,* (hereafter Burrows Granville), ed. C. Banks, A. Searle and M. Turner (London, 1993), 238. Donald Burrows informed me (June 2017) that there will be a forthcoming article on this subject.

[16] *Joseph* and *Alexander Balus*, *c.*1747, copyist S5; *Belshazzar,* 1746-7, copyist Sm. See J. Merrill Knapp, 'The Hall Collection' in Terence Best, ed., *Handel Collections and their History* (Oxford, 1993), 174, and fn. 5.

Donald Burrows has noted that the oratorios in Princeton contain similar bindings as those in the Smith Collection.[17] At first glance, the idea that these oratorios were part of the Smith collection inherited from Handel seems to be at odds with the fact that the Royal Library already contains manuscript copies of *Belshazzar, Joseph and his Brethren*, and *Alexander Balus* all copied by S10.[18] However, Donald Burrows has proposed that George III may have given the three Princeton volumes to friends *c.*1765 and a few years later replaced them to complete his collection.[19]

At some point, most probably while they were in the younger Smith's possession, a portion of Handel's manuscripts became separated from the complete works. These autograph items, generally fragments, individual airs and/or smaller works rather than whole operas or oratorios, he must have retained along with the conducting scores, for they did not go to George III, but passed instead to Viscount Fitzwilliam in 1784,[20] the year of the great Westminster Abbey Handel festival (of which he was one of the Directors). Fifteen years later (in 1799), he procured a further six fragments, sketches and drafts. The first must have been sold or presented to Fitzwilliam himself, while the latter six most probably came from William Coxe, Fitzwilliam having subscribed for four copies of the *Anecdotes* published in the summer of that year. Donald Burrows and Martha Ronish have catalogued the remaining Handel autographs,[21] but we may never know the whole story of the Smith family's role in the distribution of those manuscripts now scattered around the world.

---

[17] Burrows Granville, 235.
[18] *GB-Lbl* R.M.18.e.5 (1767), R.M.18.e.8 (1767), and R.M. 18.f.2 (1769) respectively.
[19] Burrows Granville, 240.
[20] 'A Catalogue of the Musical Library of the Late Viscount Fitzwilliam …', cited in Burrows/Ronish, xiii, fn. 19. See also text on xx-xxii. Lord Fitzwilliam may have been responsible for their binding, and these works were subsequently redistributed into 13 volumes.
[21] Burrows/Ronish, 265-311.

HANDEL'S CONDUCTING SCORES

Smith continued to alter some of the oratorios which, in conjunction with John Stanley, he produced between 1760 and 1774, and it is clear that, during these years, he mined the various Italian opera manuscripts and English oratorios as sources for his additions and other alterations to these works; he also made use of them in his own three pasticcio oratorios. Though Smith gave the greater portion of Handel's autographs to George III some time after his retirement, he retained the conducting scores. By the terms of his will, Lady Rivers inherited all of his music books when he died in 1795, and they evidently remained in the Coxe-Rivers family for the next fifty or so years. Surprisingly perhaps, there is no mention of these manuscripts in Lady Rivers' will, and neither are they referred to in that of her son Henry Rivers who died in 1851.[22] It cannot have been long after this that they were purchased by the Bristol bookseller Thomas Kerslake at a public auction in Winchester; a sale noted in the January issue of the journal *Notes & Queries* in 1857 reads:

> These volumes were sold by public auction on the death of the Reverend Sir Henry Rivers, Bart., sometime Vicar of St. Swithin's Winchester, … . They came into his possession as the third son of the Reverend Sir Peter Rivers, Bart., a Prebendary of Winchester Cathedral; Sir Thomas the eldest, and Sir James the second son, dying unmarried. Sir Peter married Martha, the daughter of William Coxe, M.D. to whom Smith (who married Dr. Coxe's widow) left the Handel Library.[23]

In an appendix to his second catalogue, Thomas Kerslake defended himself for allowing the manuscripts to be sold to a foreigner (Victor Schoelcher). In 1868, an association of Hamburg citizens, through the agency of Friedrich Chrysander, purchased them.[24] These, as

---

[22] Copy of both wills in *US-PRu,* Hall Collection. It was Henry's widow Charlotte who gave the Denner portrait to the Sacred Harmonic Society.

[23] *Notes & Queries*, 2nd series, No. 58 (3 January 1857), 17. Kerslake's catalogue also listed the opera *Dario* and an unknown *Arganeo* as a part of the collection as well as books from the library of Sir Uvedale Price of Foxley Hall, Herefordshire (see Chapter I).

[24] Schoelcher apparently kept at least four of Smith's works since these eventually went to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

well as the bulk of Smith's manuscripts, were then deposited in the Hamburg Staats-und Universitätsbibliothek and formally presented to the library in 1875.[25]

LOCATION OF SMITH'S WORKS

Following in the trail of the Coxe-Rivers family, Kerslake, Schoelcher *et al* has been a frustrating exercise, but Richard G. King's excellent article 'New Light on Handel's Musical Library'[26] explains some of the lacunae; at the same time, however, it poses yet more uncertainties. Besides advertisements and other references for Smith's works during his lifetime, there are three separate posthumous rosters of his own musical compositions: 1) that appearing in the appendix to Coxe's *Anecdotes* (compositions belonging to Smith's step-daughter Lady Rivers in 1799), 2) Kerslake's incomplete list including the ubiquitous '&c.' (which, for that reason, is ignored in what follows here), and 3), Victor Schoelcher's list, recently unearthed by King. While Schoelcher's catalogue specified manuscripts, it is by no means clear whether Lady Rivers' collection contained autographs, manuscript copies, an assortment of the two, or even printed editions. A comparison of the data in these three sources (Coxe, Kerslake and Schoelcher) reveals some surprising gaps.[27]

FLOW CHART FROM COXE'S LIST OF WORKS IN LADY RIVERS' POSSESSION TO SCHOELCHER'S CATALOGUE AND THENCE TO THE HAMBURG STAATS-UND UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK[28]

LADY RIVERS	SCHOELCHER	HAMBURG (*D-Hs*)[29]	OTHER than Lady Rivers, Kerslake, Schoelcher and *D-Hs*	FORM
Teraminta			5 airs in *Cfm*	Copyist S2 Autograph lost
Ulysses	*Ulysses*	*Ulysses* M/ A279		Copy Sm
Fairies		*Fairies* (printed)		Printed in 1755 Autograph lost

[25] Hans Dieter Clausen discusses this acquisition in 'The Hamburg Collection', Best, 22-3.
[26] *MQ* 81 (1997), 109-38.
[27] For further information on the extant works, see the Catalogue of Smith's Works in Volume III.
[28] Notice that some of Lady Rivers' items seem to have been lost (for example Smith's Italian opera *Dario*). In other cases, it would appear that certain items were never in her possession (for example Smith's oratorio *Rebecca*).
[29] References to the specific manuscripts will be found in Volume III under

LADY RIVERS	SCHOELCHER	HAMBURG (*D-Hs*)[30]	OTHER than Lady Rivers, Kerslake, Schoelcher and *D-Hs*	FORM
Tempest		*Tempest* (printed)		Printed in 1756 Autograph lost
			The Enchanter	Printed in 1760 Autograph lost
Medea	*Medea*	*Medea* M/ A761		Autograph
Dario				Autograph lost
Issipile	*Issipile*		*GB-Lbl*	Autograph
Il Ciro	*Il Ciro*	*Il Ciro* M/ A668	*2 airs J-Tn*	Autograph, 2 *J-Tn* unknown copyist
Paradise Lost	*Paradise Lost*	*Paradise Lost* M A/672		Printed in 1760 MS at *D-Hs* is in the hand of S5 Autograph lost
	Rebecca	*Rebecca* M /A671		Copyist S5 Autograph lost
David's Lamentation			1 air in *Anecdotes*	Autograph lost
Nabal	*Nabal*		*F-Pn*	Autograph
Gideon	*Gideon*		*F-Pn*	Autograph
Gideon			*GB-Lbl* (gift)	Copyist S11
			Tobit, F-Pn	Autograph
Judith	*Judith*	*Judith* M /A669		Copyist S5 Autograph lost
Jehosaphat	*Jehosaphat*	*Jehosaphat* M /A670		Autograph
Redemption			*F-Pn*	Autograph
Burial Service	*Funeral Service*	*Funeral Service* M/ A282		Autograph
Winter or Daphne	*Winter or Daphne*	*Winter or Daphne* M /A763		Autograph
Seasons	*Seasons*	*Seasons* M /A762		Autograph
Fugues 1754				Not printed Autograph lost
Fugues 1756				Not printed Autograph lost
Lessons for Harpsichord (Op. I-V)				Printed in 1732, 1737, 1755, 1757 and 1765 respectively Autograph lost
			3 pieces for keyboard at *GB-Lcm*	Autograph
Hunting Scene and Song for Queen Caroline's Hermitage				Not printed Autograph lost

[30] References to the specific manuscripts will be found in Volume III under

LADY RIVERS	SCHOELCHER	HAMBURG (*D-Hs*)	OTHER than Lady Rivers, Kerslake, Schoelcher and *D-Hs*	FORM
Thamesi, Isi, e Proteo. In honour of Frederick Prince of Wales				Not printed Autograph lost
			Rosalinda	Autograph lost
			Teraminta Copies of 5 airs (S3) in *GB-Cfm,* one printed in *The British Musical Miscellany IV* , 1735	Autograph lost
		Festival of Darius M /A676		Copyist S5 Autograph lost
	Mourning Muse of Alexis	*Mourning Muse of Alexis* M /A 760		Autograph
Scenes from *Artaserse*			6 arias from *Artaserses in J-Tn*	Autograph
			4 arias from *Demofoonte* in *J-Tn*	3 autograph, 1 by unknown copyist
			8 Anthems *J-Tn* Copy of *Out of the deep* at *US-Wc.* Copy of *As pants the hart* at *GB-Lgc*	3 autograph and 5 by the same unknown copyist as for *Demofoonte* At *US-Wc* and *GB-Lgc*, 2 further unknown copyists
			The Bard (ode) (questionable)	
			Cantata 'Thyrsis lamenting o'er the cruel fate'	John Lockman, *Occasional Verses*[31] Printed libretto, music lost
			Ode 'When fam'd Augusta'	John Lockman, *Occasional Verses* Printed libretto, music lost
			'Dando impero al gusto al Prode', probably from *Demofoonte*	Printed in Coxe's Appendix, 25-9,

A few of Smith's works have ended up in rather strange places. *Tobit, Nabal* and *Gideon,* plus his last work *Redemption* (not on Schoelcher's list) are at the Bibliothèque

[31] Inscrib'd, with all imaginable Deference, to the Right Honourable the Earl and Countess of Middlesex (London, 1753).

Nationale in Paris rather than in Hamburg apparently because Schoelcher decided to keep them for himself rather than sell them. W.H. Cummings must have had the copies of the six arias from *Artaserse*, four arias from *Dario*, and the eight anthems in his own collection which was sold to the Marquis of Tokugawa in 1917, and are now in the Okhi collection in the Nanki Ongaku Bunko Library in Tokyo.[32]

QUESTIONS

Several questions, however, immediately arise in connection with Smith's other works:

Lady Rivers

- Why are the oratorios *Rebecca, The Festival of Darius, Tobit, Nabal, Gideon,* the eight anthems, the arias from *Demofoonte,* the English opera *The Enchanter,* and *The Mourning Muse of Alexis* all missing from Coxe's list?
- Were her copies of *The Fairies, The Tempest*, and Lessons for Harpsichord printed or autograph or both? If they were autograph, where are they now?
- If she had *The Fairies* and *The Tempest*, why did she not also have *The Enchanter*?
- What happened to the oratorio *David's Lamentation over Saul and Jonathan* (Coxe printed one air) and the Italian opera *Dario* (which was evidently an autograph)?

Kerslake

- Kerslake specifically listed Smith's oratorio *The Festival of Darius* (as *The Feast of Darius*), the Italian opera *Dario,* and an unknown work *Arganeo,* yet Schoelcher made no mention of them in his own list. Nevertheless, *The Festival of Darius* is now in Hamburg, and *Dario* is lost.

Victor Schoelcher

- How did he come to possess *Rebecca* and *The Mourning Muse of Alexis*, neither of which is mentioned by Coxe or included in Kerslake's list?
- Why didn't *Thamesi, Isi e Proteo* go to Hamburg along with the other Smith works and where is it now?

Other

- How did *Issipile* happen to go to the British Museum [now the British Library] rather than Hamburg?
- How did three autograph keyboard works get to the London RCM?[33]
- What happened to the Cantata and Ode which John Lockman stated were set to music by John Christopher Smith?
- Where is the setting of Thomas Gray's ode *The Bard* (if there ever was one)?

---

[32] A. Hyatt King, *Some British Collectors of Music: c.1600-1960* (Cambridge, 1963), 72.

[33] H. Diack Johnson has suggested that Charlotte Rivers and the Sacred Harmonic Society (whose collection forms the nucleus of the RCM collection) was responsible for the donation.

Missing entirely are the autographs of the Italian opera *Dario*, Smith's short oratorio *David's Lamentation over Saul and Jonathan,* the English operas *Teraminta* and *Rosalinda, Thamesi, Isi e Proteo*, a *Hunting Scene and Song* composed for Queen Caroline's Hermitage, and an unknown number of fugues written in 1754 and 1756. Smith's three English operas, *The Fairies, The Tempest* and *The Enchanter*, were all published by Walsh, and so too five books of harpsichord lessons (Opp. I-V), but their autographs are all apparently lost. Smith also included the first five verses from the Te Deum variously in *Paradise Lost* and *Redemption,* and these may be from another lost work. Further intensive research might just possibly turn up one or two missing bits and pieces, but this seems highly unlikely to someone who has been in pursuit of Smith jnr for more years now than she cares to remember.

SMITH AND HANDEL[1]

Smith's place in history hinges substantially, but not entirely, on his far-reaching role in the Handel story. Thanks to him, Handel's autographs, most now in the Royal Music Library at the British Library, are available for study. He and his family likewise were instrumental in the dispersal of other Handel manuscripts which eventually became part of collections in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge and the Staats-und Universitätsbibliothek in Hamburg.[2] Were it not for Smith copies made when he was still in his teens or even younger, a number of Handel's works, selections from the early Hamburg operas *Daphne* and *Florindo* in particular, would have been been irretrievably lost.[3] Additionally, it is entirely possible that Smith's influence upon the great composer during Handel's last years was even more pervasive than has been evident hitherto. Indeed, as I hope in this chapter to show, Smith's role in the oratorios' performances and their additions and alterations was to become increasingly significant in the years after 1751.

In addition to conducting Handel's oratorios in performance, Smith also became the blind composer's amanuensis, and as such assisted with the alterations and additions to various oratorios.[4] Though the conducting scores themselves are generally in a copyist's hand and no performers' names appear for 1752, during the following year (and thereafter) it was Smith himself who wrote the names of the vocal soloists on the conducting scores, while various cuts, alterations and additions in Smith's hand began to appear soon after.

---

[1] As will be obvious from what follows here, I have relied heavily on Clausen and Baselt in the writing of this chapter.

[2] For the location of other Handel manuscripts, see Terrence Best, ed., *Handel Collections and their History* (Oxford, 1993) and Burrows/Ronish, 265-311.

[3] See Appendix I for Smith's copies of Handel works and for his handwriting on others.

[4] According to Coxe (48), the elder Smith was alienated from Handel from 1755 until three weeks before Handel's death, so he could not have served as his amanuensis during that period.

Though Handel experienced difficulty with his eyes early in 1751 and 'sent for his pupil to assist him with the approaching Lenten season',[5] this was surely not the first time Handel had noticed anything wrong. While the first record of his symptoms, dated 13 February 1751, appears on the autograph of *Jephtha*,[6] he must have had several prior problems. Smith, after all, was on the Continent, so it took time both for Handel's request to reach his pupil and for Smith to travel home before the start of the oratorio season on 22 February; whether or not he returned in time to assist Handel is unclear.[7] While Handel could still see well enough in 1751 to write singers' names on the conducting scores of *Alexander's Feast, Belshazzar*, and *Esther*, and to complete *Jephtha,* by 1753 his weakening sight had rendered him incapable of reading music without fear of error. Smith's stepson William Coxe, although no more than twelve years old at the time of Handel's death, described the scene thus:

> It was a most affecting spectacle to see the venerable musician, whose efforts had charmed the ear of a discerning public, led by the hand of friendship to the front of the stage, to make an obeisance of acknowledgment to his enraptured audience.[8]

When Smith played the organ at the Theatre, during the first year of Handel's blindness, Samson was performed, and Beard sung, with great feeling,

> 'Total eclipse – no sun, no moon,
> 'All dark amid the blaze of noon'. –

The recollection that Handel had set this air to music, with the view of the blind composer then sitting by the organ, affected the audience so forcibly, that many persons present were moved to tears.[9]

---

[5] Coxe, 44. The late Betty Matthews kindly informed me that Smith, along with his father, was listed as a member of the Court of Assistants for the Society of Musicians in November 1751.

[6] ' . . . got as far as this on Wednesday 13th February 1751, unable to go on owing to weakening of the sight of my left eye.' Deutsch,701.

[7] Smith paid rates for a house on Little Pulteney Street before 17 April 1751 where he remained until his second marriage in 1763. Until the end of May, however, he was evidently living with Peter Walter and his sister, with whom he had been travelling on the Continent since 1746.

[8] Coxe, 25.

[9] Coxe, 45. *Samson* was performed in 1752-5 and again in 1759.

The Countess of Shaftesbury, an actual eyewitness to one such performance, recalled:

> . . . I went last Friday to 'Alexander's Feast'; but it was such a melancholy pleasure, as drew tears of sorrow to see the great though unhappy Handel, dejected, wan, and dark, sitting by, not playing on the harpsichord, and to think how his light had been spent by *being overplied in music's cause*. . . .[10]

INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC IN SMITH'S HAND

As Handel's eyesight weakened, he continued to play organ concertos between the parts of the oratorios. But as his recollection of just how these organ parts fitted in with the orchestral accompaniment failed, he and Smith altered their presentation of these concertos accordingly. In the words of William Coxe (25)

> At first he [Handel] relied on his memory, but the exertion becoming painful to him, he had recourse to the inexhaustible store of his rich and fertile imagination. He gave to the band, only such parts of his intended composition, as were to be filled up by their accompaniment; and relied on his own powers of invention to produce, at the impulse of the moment, those captivating passages, which arrested attention, and enchanted his auditors.[11]

Evidence of these omissions can be seen in Fitzwilliam's MU MS 265, a miscellaneous collection of Handel manuscripts, five of which were written in Smith's mature hand in connection with the late oratorio productions. Two of the organ concertos that Handel continued to play between the acts of the oratorios contain revisions in Smith's hand; it is, however, impossible to say whether these amendments were made on his own initiative or at Handel's suggestion.

Pages 83-9 of MU MS 265 labelled 'Concerto per Organo ed altri stromenti' contain a copy of Op. 7 no. 3 (HWV 308) without the organ part, and here Smith indicated 'Ad libitum' not only for bars 10-21 and 75-87 of the first movement, but also for the whole of the Adagio (and with no mention of the fuga). Part of the Spiritoso has

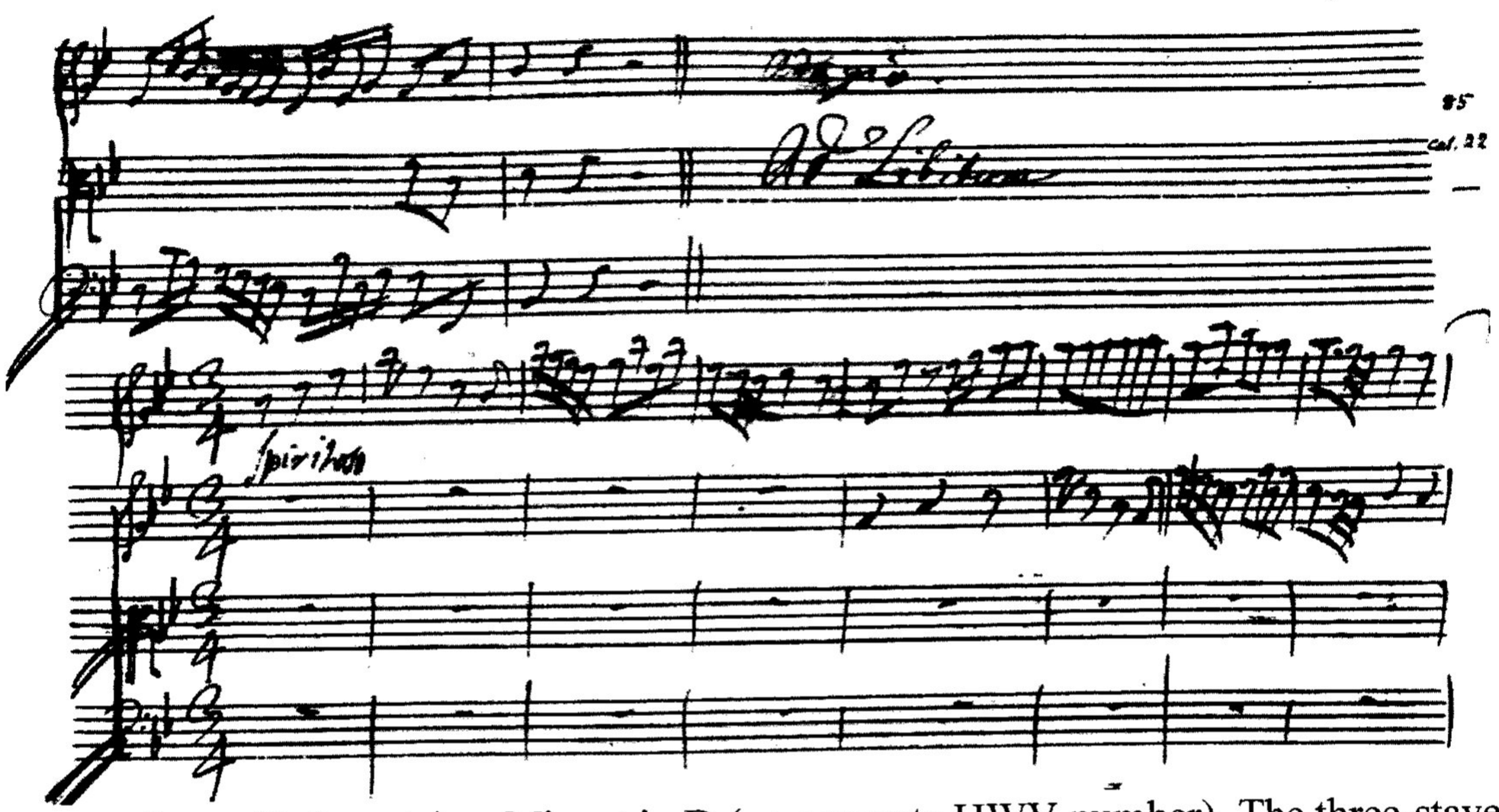
---

[10]The date was 1753 (Burrows/Dunhill, 287).
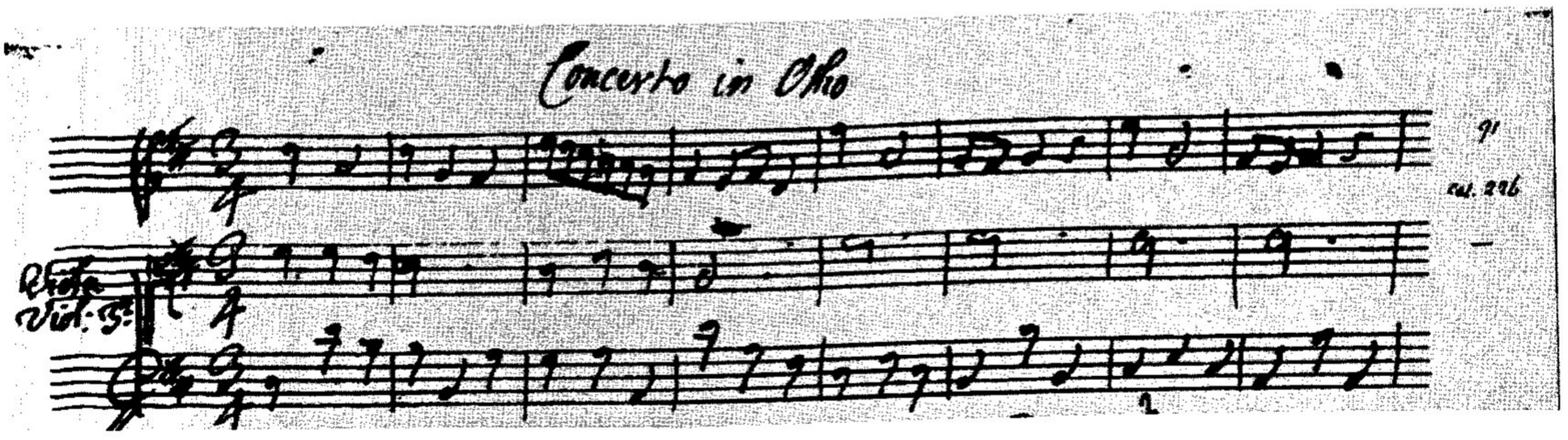
[11] While it is just possible perhaps that Coxe attended one or two of the oratorios during Handel's lifetime, he probably received this information from Smith.

also been rearranged with three large 'Ad libitum' sections, and there is no concluding Minuet. This copy was probably made in 1755 for the performance of *Alexander's Feast* and *The Choice of Hercules* (watermark type Cr, 1755-58),[12] and, if so, it was probably dictated to Smith considering its rather early date.

Op. 7 no. 3 (HWV 308: 1A and 3), *Cfm* MU MS 265, page 85 showing the non-existent second movement and the beginning of the Spiritoso.
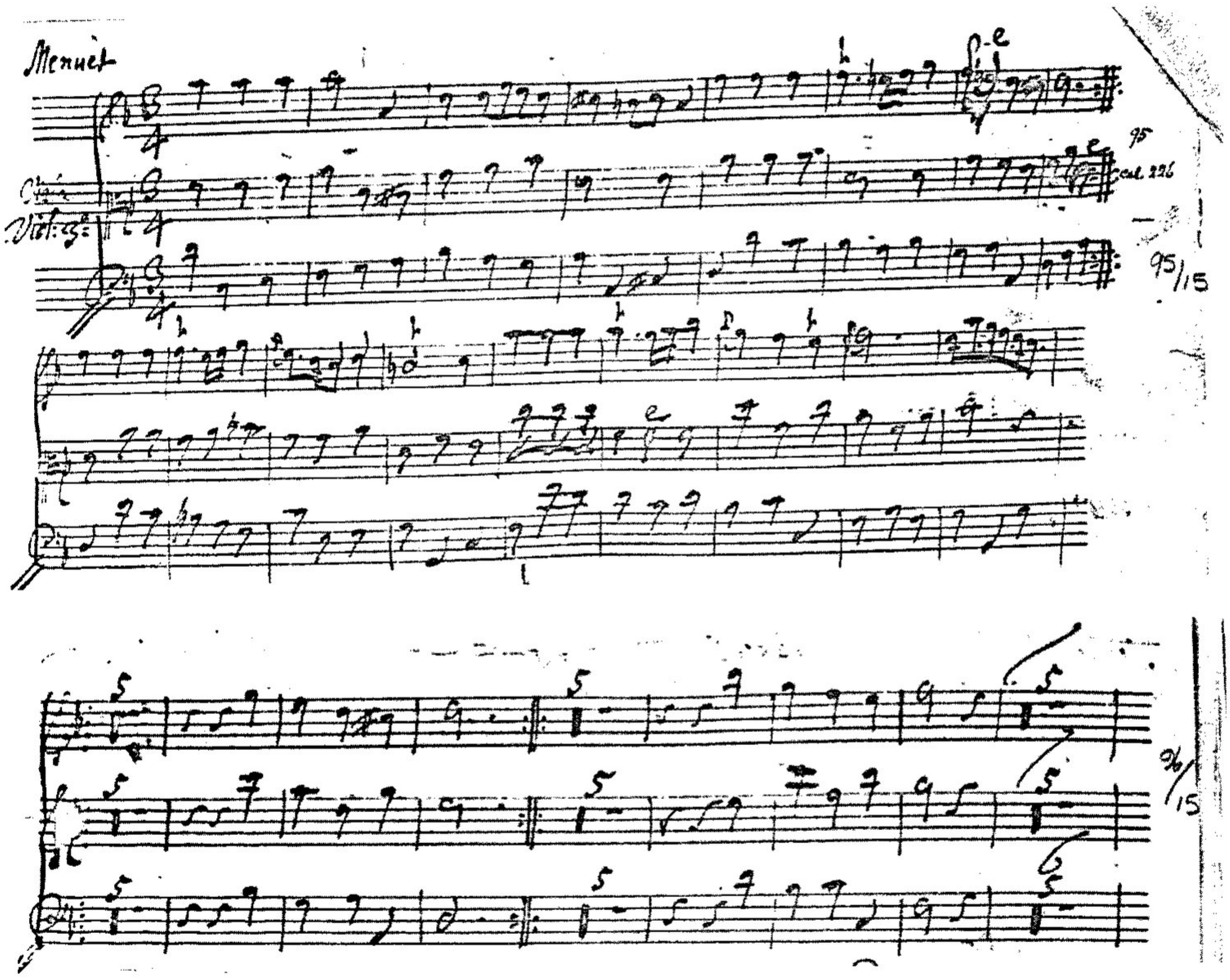


Pages 91-3 contain a Minuet in D (no separate HWV number). The three-stave score for strings (line two marked 'Viola' and 'Viol: 3') is labelled 'Concerto in Otho' while rests in the manuscript make it clear that the organ or woodwind parts are missing. Dean and Knapp[13] suggest that this may be the missing finale to Op. 3 no. 6 (HWV 317), often called the 'Concerto in Ottone'. The WM is Clausen's type F2 (1755-1764).



[12] See Roger Fiske, 'Handel's Organ Concertos – Do they belong to particular Oratorios?' *Organ Yearbook* 3 (1975), 15.
[13] Dean *Operas i*, 431.

Pages 95-6 contain a copy of a 'Menuet' in d (HWV 507a).[14] The middle line of the three-stave score is marked "Viola" and "viol: 3" as above. This is an arrangement, most likely by Smith, based on the Menuetto from the second set of Suites for keyboard (HWV 436:4). Three five-bar rests for all parts are undoubtedly intended to be filled by Handel's extempore organ playing as described by Coxe above, but just what Handel might improvise in five bars only remains a mystery. The WM is type Bm (Clausen, 1759).

String arrangement of Menuetto from Handel's harpsichord suite 3, second set (HWV 436:4), *Cfm* MU MS 265, pages 95 and 96, showing five-bar rests
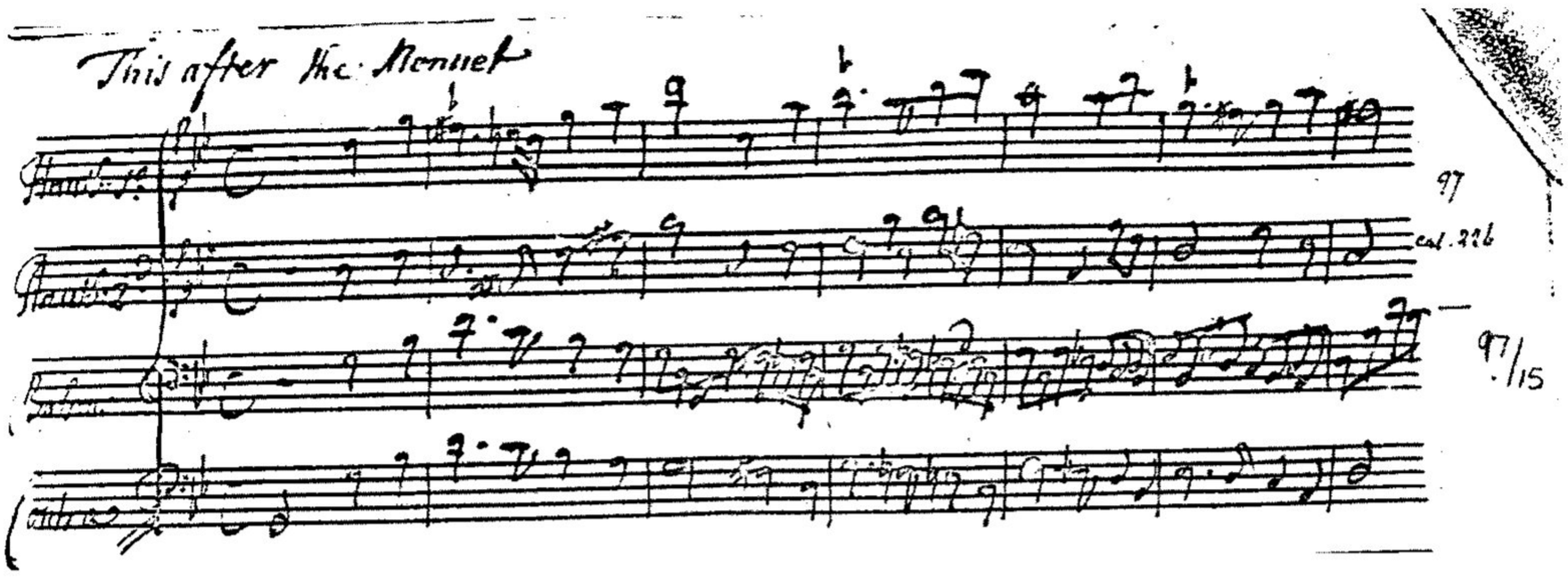


Pages 97-102 contain a Gavotte in g from Op. 7 no. 5 (HWV 310:6) on which Smith has written 'This after the Menuet'. This arrangement, the only known manuscript source for the 1761 Walsh publication, is based on a much-used Handel motif (HWV 6:17, 150:2, 291:4, 360:4 and 379:5). Page 101 has three bars crossed out, as if Smith
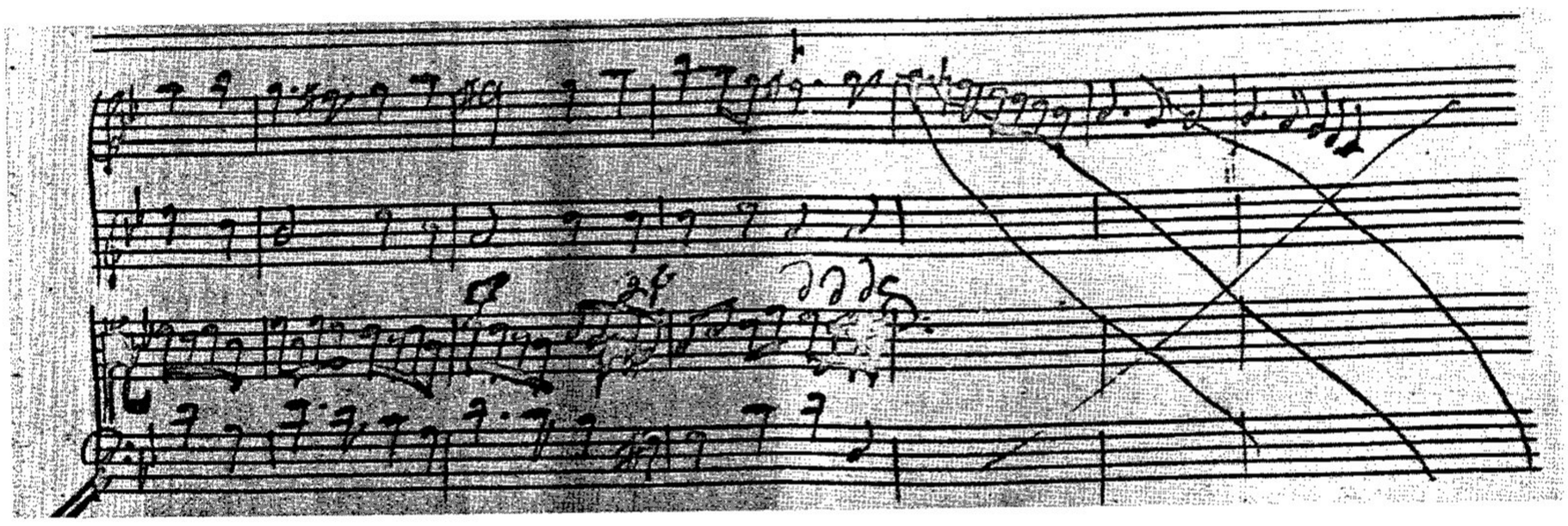
[14] See Appendix I for Smith's arrangement in *GB-Lbl* R.M. 18.b.8, f. 78.

himself changed his mind. The WM is type Bm (Clausen 1759) and this late date strongly suggests that Smith was most probably its composer.

Beginning of the Gavotte, *Cfm* MU MS 265 (HWV 310:6), page 97



Part of the gavotte *Cfm* MU MS 265, page 101, showing amendments



ADDITIONS AND ALTERATIONS TO HANDEL'S ORATORIOS

A number of experts have attempted to estimate the extent of Smith's involvement in the additions and alterations to the late oratorios. In 1972 Hans Dieter Clausen published a list of the purely musical additions (whether or not in Smith jnr's hand), dividing them into parodies' (older music with new texts and few alterations) and those that were apparently original. At the same time he observed that two airs in Smith's hand were dictated to him by Handel 'wenn er nicht ihr Komponist oder Bearbeiter ist'.[15] Ten years later, Anthony Hicks contemplated the possibility that Smith could well have been the composer of several substantial additions, a speculation supported by the musical evidence in his important 1983 essay 'The late additions to

[15] Clausen, 28. '… unless he was the composer or arranger.' These additions are listed in Clausen, 29-31.

Handel's oratorios and the role of the younger Smith'.[16] It would appear that Donald Burrows also believes it would have been virtually impossible for Handel to have written new music in the last year or two of his life.[17] After 1759, Smith produced three pasticcio oratorios and made several further alterations to Handel's works. A careful examination of Smith's pasticci and alterations to the Handel oratorios during these years makes a convincing case for his active participation in those changes made in the period immediately prior to Handel's demise – changes evidently encouraged by Handel himself.

SMITH'S PASTICCIO ORATORIOS

Smith's three pasticcio oratorios, *Tobit, Nabal,* and *Gideon,*[18] each autograph with libretti by Thomas Morell, demonstrate in some detail his particular techniques for adapting Handel. Both *Tobit* and *Naba*l carry watermarks F2e (Clausen 1763-64) and Hb (Clausen 1765), but *Nabal* also contains Ha (Clausen 1762). Nevertheless, Smith's handwriting for *Tobit* is indicative of an earlier date than that of *Nabal.*[19] Morell, drawing on the Apocryphal book of *Tobit,*[20] begins with the Israelites in bondage to the Ninevites and in fear of their king, Sennacherib, who is in love with the pious Tobit's cousin, Sarah. Struck blind and hoping to die, Tobit sends his son Tobias to wed Sarah. As Sennacherib, however, has previously murdered six of her husbands on their wedding nights, this is clearly a very dangerous undertaking. Nevertheless, both Tobias and Sarah return safely carrying medicine to cure Tobit's blindness; his sight restored, much rejoicing follows by way of conclusion.

---

[16] Hicks, 147-69.

[17] *The Master Musicians*: *Handel*, 2nd edn. In paperback (Oxford, 2012), 364-66. The extent of Smith's creative involvement in the oratorios performed during this period will be examined more fully toward the end of this chapter.

[18] Nabal was performed on 16 and 21 March 1764, and Gideon was presented on 10 and 15 February1769 as well as 7 March 1770. All three oratorios have been recorded by Naxos, Joachim Carlos Martini conducting. *Tobit* (8.570113-14); *Nabal* (8.555267-77); and *Gideon* (8.557312-13).

[19] Clausen found only two examples of Ha and four for Hb, so this small sampling is open to question.

[20] Both Smith and Handel seem to have been quite fond of the books in the Apocrypha. Smith set *Judith* as well as *Tobit*, and Handel set *Esther, Solomon, Susanna* and *Judas Maccabaeus.*

Richard G. King not only discovered *Tobit, Nabal* and the Smith autograph of *Gideon* in the Bibliothèque National in Paris,[21] but also Morell's manuscript for the libretto of *Tobit,* which he notes 'may be the only working (compositional) eighteenth-century pasticcio libretto to survive'.[22] His article 'John Christopher Smith's Pasticcio Oratorios' discusses these three works as well as Morell's role in adapting English words to Handel's Italian texts.

Smith employed an increasingly complex method in the creation of his pasticcio oratorios. For both *Tobit* and *Nabal* he simply pulled in arias, duets and trios from Handel's Italian operas, added English words and then selected appropriate choruses from Handel's oratorios (usually transferring them intact from their original sources), changing texts as needed. The only Smith items in *Tobit* are the recitatives, both secco and accompanied. Since Thomas Morell obviously had recourse to Handel's music, there are very few occasions where Smith was compelled to alter rhythms or to add or subtract notes to fit the new English words as he did in other alterations to Handel's works. Thus *Tobit* includes fourteen items transferred almost intact from Handel's works as well as thirteen parodies, mostly from Italian operas.[23] In Part II of *Tobit*, however, Smith was forced to make one important alteration, for here, in 'In great Jehovah', he had no choice but to write an eight-bar ritornello replacing the accompanied recitative that had originally led directly into the aria on which it is based ('Dove sei' from *Rodelinda*, HWV 19:7a). Although there is no record of *Tobit* ever having been publically performed, it is possible that it was done privately for the Dowager Princess of Wales at Carlton House since, on the manuscript of the transplanted duet 'Cease thy anguish'

---

[21] From the Fonds Schoelcher Collection, *F-Pn*: *Tobit* Rés V.S. 1379 (3 vols.), *Nabal* Rés V.S. 1378 (3 vols.), and *Gideon* Rés V.S. 2051 (parts 1 and 2) and VS 1380 (part 3).

[22] King, *ML* 79 (1998), 190-218, (hereafter King), 210. Morell's manuscript for Smith's *The Festival of Darius* also survives as a 'working libretto'.

[23] For specific Handel and Smith movements in all three pasticci, see Vol. III, Catalogue 7:000.

(*Athalia* HWV 52:24), Smith names the singers as'Mrs. Scott' (for the part of Joad) and 'The Boy' (for Josabeth).

Nabal was performed twice in 1764, on 16 and 21 March at Covent Garden.[24] Morell tells a simple story based on Samuel 1:25. David and his attendants are starving in the wilderness while Nabal celebrates in the midst of plenty. In Part II, he sends his companion Asaph to request sustenance from Nabal. When denied succour, David orders his army into the field. Meanwhile Nabal's wife Abigail is warned by a shepherd to flee from David's host, but instead she offers him food and presents. At the conclusion of the oratorio, God strikes Nabal dead, David weds Abigail and the chorus rejoices.

Smith's compilation of the items for *Nabal* is slightly more multifaceted than that for *Tobit.* Here he relied on eight items taken intact from Handel oratorios and sixteen parodies of Italian works. For the overture, taken from *Silente vente* (HWV 242:1), Smith cut Handel's last four bars (which run directly on into an accompanied recitative) and replaced them with a three-bar largo, utilizing dotted rhythms similar to those found at the beginning. He also included a new minuet in B flat, slightly resembling 'O blooming goddess' from his youthful English opera *Ulysses*. To the air 'Fill, fill the bowl' (lifted from 'Finchè lo strale' in *Floridante* (HWV 14:9)) Smith added two bars to accommodate extra words, while in 'Happy if still they reign', a parody of the chorus in *The Triumph of Time and Truth* (HWV 71:9), he cut bars 17-30.

Smith, usually so alive to the possibilities of word painting, really botched the setting of the air 'Oh! Who can tell the horrors' ('Al sen ti stringo' from *Ariodante* HWV 33:44), by writing a tender Larghetto in 12/8 time with gentle-sounding flutes (traversi). Finally, Smith seems to have included a newly-composed air using words from Handel's *Hercules*: 'When beauty sorrow's livery wears'.

---

[24] *LS*, Part *iv*, 1045, mistakenly locates the first performance at Drury Lane.

While *Nabal* appears never to have been performed after 1764, at least two of its airs must have been available to various singers in manuscript form. Later in the century, Handel oratorios were sometimes replaced during Lent by concerts with such titles as 'A Grand Selection of Sacred Music from the works of Handel'. Six of these listed below (and all at Covent Garden) included two airs from *Nabal*:

3 April 1789	'Come ye smiling hours' by Miss Cantelo
3 April 1789	'Grateful hearts' by Anna Storace
17 March 1790	'Grateful hearts' by Anna Storace
17 March 1790	'Come ye smiling hours' by Miss Poole
26 March 1794	'Come ye smiling hours' by Miss Dufour
28 March 1798	'Grateful hearts' by Miss Dufour

Although both performances of *Nabal* were by royal command, its one printed review was utterly damning:

> There is a great deal of difficulty in knowing how to characterize performances, in which there is so palpable a mediocrity of style and composition as in that of *Nabal*.[25]

Mrs James Harris, writing to her son at Oxford on 17 March, was evidently of much the same opinion:

> I was at the oratorio of Nabal last night with Lord & Lady Shaftesbury. The words are Dr Morells[,] the music taken from Handels old operas & oratorio[s:] charming fine things but play'd stupidly.[26]

Even Brian Robins, a twenty-first century reviewer of the modern recording and editor of *The John Marsh Journals* (Stuyvesant, NY, 1998), concluded that 'On almost every level, *Nabal* is a disastrous failure'.[27]

After the miserable reception of *Nabal*, Smith did not attempt another pasticcio until five years later. *Gideon*, a much longer work, was performed twice at Covent Garden on 10 and 15 February 1769, and once again the following year (7 March) after Smith and Stanley had moved to Drury Lane. Morell opened Part I, based loosely on

---

[25] *The Monthly Review* (April 1764), 325.
[26] Burrows/Dunhill, 418.
[27] *Fanfare*, January/February 2003, 115.

Judges 6, with the Midianites in power over the Israelites. An angel visits Gideon and explains that it is his sword that shall free them. In Part II, Gideon cuts down an oak in the Midians' sacred grove and smashes Baal's idol there. Joash, Gideon's father, fears the threats of Baal's priest who eventually drops his spear and the Israelites praise God. In the final part there is a battle in which the Israelites prevail, Baal's priest converts, and thus, amid general rejoicing, the work concludes. All three performances were by royal command, but the review in the *Theatrical Register* was no less harsh than that of *Nabal* in *The Monthly Review* five years earlier: 'We cannot commend this piece, it being altogether a very tedious and heavy performance'.[28]

That said, *Gideon* is the most intricate of Smith's pasticcio oratorios. Prior to Richard King's discovery of the autograph, the only extant copy of *Gideon* was a presentation copy including both the 1769 and 1770 versions, now in the British Library[29] and presumably given to George III along with the Handel autographs. The two different libretti (neither dated) both state that the music was 'composed by George Frederic Handel, Esq.', while in an undated letter to John Nichols, Morell wrote that the music of both *Nabal* and *Gideon* 'are entirely taken from some old genuine pieces of Mr. Handell'.[30] Although Smith inserted only one Handelian item intact, and seventeen of the numbers are parodies (with Latin sacred music now supplanting all but one of the Italian works so prevalent in the other two oratorios), almost half the movements in *Gideon* are Smith's own: these include the overture and eight vocal items from his oratorio *The Festival of Darius* and one air from his Italian opera *Issipile.* Three

---

[28] Quoted from *LS,* Part *iv*, 1384. Tedious it certainly is, and its astonishing length might have put even the most avid Handelian to sleep!
[29] *GB-Lbl* R.M. 9.b.6. The copyist is Larsen's S11.
[30] Deutsch, 852. Ruth Smith, 'Thomas Morell and his Letter about Handel', *JRMA* 127 (2002), 191-225, lists the addressee as John Nichols and suggests a date of *c.*1779-81 for the letter.

movements, the airs ('Tho' now fall'n, dismay'd, confounded', 'In notes of joy',[31] and the duet 'Sweet peace from heav'n descending' must either be newly composed or taken from lost works by Smith. For the Handelian items, Smith relied exclusively on early works: *Dixit Dominus* (1707), the second setting of *Laudate pueri* (1707), *Acis, Galatea e Polifemo* (1708), *La Resurrezione* (1708), the chamber duet 'Tanti strali al sen mi scocchi' (1710-12), *Silente venti* (*c.*1724) and *Neun deutsche Arien* (1724-7).

Interestingly, Smith (or the copyist following Smith's directions) altered one of his own works, the chorus 'Hear and rejoice' from *The Festival of Darius.*[32] Smith's manuscript in Paris contains two versions: one in the hand of copyist S5 (an insertion), apparently for strings and continuo, while the other (following the original and also copied by S5) is for two horns, timpani, two oboes, [bassoons], strings, and continuo. In the *GB-Lbl* presentation copy, however, one version is scored for two oboes, [bassoons], strings, and continuo, while the other is for two trumpets, timpani, two oboes, [bassoons], strings, and continuo.

The copyist of the R.M. 19.b.6 version of *Gideon* also added several new trills and slurs and indicated tempi and dynamic markings not in the Handel originals. Admittedly, *Gideon*'s date of 1769 is far removed from those early works; nevertheless, given that Smith had been so intimately involved with Handel over a 40-year period, it may perhaps be assumed that these markings hold some authority. And if so, they deserve to be carefully considered by anyone attempting to perform those early Handel movements that were re-used by Smith.

At this point, the attribution of works to either Handel or Smith becomes somewhat complicated due no doubt in part to Smith's natural desire to capitalize on his

---

[31] The air 'In notes of joy', begins similarly to Smith's keyboard lesson, Op. 4 no. 4 as well as 'Yes, wisdom opens all her stores' from *Paradise Lost*, 'Say lovely dream' from *The Fairies*, and 'Go thy way' from *The Tempest.* Unfortunately, I cannot find any thematic precursors for the other two airs.
[32] Smith also used the recitative that precedes it in *Gideon.*

master's reputation. Curiously, the only item from *Gideon* to have been revived is the trio 'Like a bright cherub', adapted from Smith's 'Placed on a cloud' from *The Festival of Darius*. Yet on every occasion on which it was performed, six of them during Smith's lifetime, it was attributed to Handel in those 'Grand Selections' which often substituted for oratorios in the later part of the eighteenth century. Performances were as follows:[33]

Freemasons' Hall	3 May 1787	Harriett Abrams, Theodosia Abrams, [John] Hindle
Freemasons' Hall	13 December 1787	Harriett Abrams, Theodosia Abrams, Mr Hobler
Freemasons' Hall	12 February 1789	Harriett Abrams, Theodosia Abrams, [Samuel] Harrison
Covent Garden	8 March 1790	Miss Cantelo, [Miss?] Saville, Samuel Harrison
Covent Garden	17 March 1790	Miss Cantelo, [Miss?] Saville, Samuel Harrison
Drury Lane	11 April 1794	Anna Storace, Maria Bland, Samuel Harrison
Covent Garden	5 March 1800	Miss Tennant, Miss Capper, Miss Crosby

SMITH'S WORKING METHODS IN THE CREATION OF HIS PASTICCIO ORATORIOS

It will be useful at this point to examine the extent of Smith's revisions based on a comprehensive analysis of his varied borrowings from the Handel canon. Broadly speaking, the methods used in compiling his pasticcio oratorios may be divided into six separate categories as follows:

1) Borrowings in which complete movements by Handel, usually choruses from the oratorios, were transferred intact with no more than a few changes of text and/or word order. *Tobit* contains fourteen of such items, *Nabal* eight, and *Gideon* none.

2) 'Parodies' of Handel works, chiefly Italian opera arias and early works that have acquired new texts but remain substantially unchanged apart from a few rhythmic alterations, cuts and/or transpositions. Smith parodied thirteen for *Tobit*, sixteen for

---

[33] *LS*, Part *v*, 1237, 1636, and 2254. Thanks are due H. Diack Johnstone for the references to the performances in Freemasons' Hall in Great Queen Street; these all formed part of the Thursday evening concerts of the Academy of Ancient Music.

Nabal, and seventeen for *Gideon.* These two types of 'alteration' are of course standard for most composers assembling a pasticcio and need not concern us here, except to note Smith's heavy reliance on Handel's early works for the parodies in *Gideon*.

3) Works in which the borrowings from Handel are more fully orchestrated than the originals or are almost entirely rescored. While *Tobit* and *Nabal* contain no such alterations, the additions and alterations to the orchestration in several of the vocal numbers in *Gideon* are considerable. The first of these appear in the choruses taken from *Dixit Dominus* (originally scored for strings and continuo only) and *Laudate pueri,* (scored for oboes, [bassoons], strings, and continuo), both dating from 1707. In their original form Handel divided his upper strings into two violins and two violas. Smith, however, probably found this scoring awkward for his own band, and so he simply rewrote the first viola part for a third violin. In actual performance, oboes and bassoons are most likely to have doubled the voices, and several movements, not marked specifically for bassoons, have 'Senza bassoni' later in the score; In *Dixit Dominus* Smith directed his copyist to write out parts for both oboes and bassoons either because he assumed they ought to be there or because his singers needed the extra support. In the case of *Laudate pueri*, in which Handel's oboes generally followed the violin lines, Smith again changed their parts to support his singers. And inspired perhaps by the Biblical version in which Gideon and his army defeated the Midians by the blowing of trumpets, he also added timpani to the original trumpet parts in the chorus 'Let the trumpet's sound inviting' ('Sibilar l'angui d'Aletto' in *Acis, Galatea e Polifemo*, HWV 72:5).

4) Movements with the addition of new opening or closing ritornelli plus the expansion of two duets into choruses with introductory ritornelli and full orchestral accompaniment. It is this category that best displays Smith's 'alteration' technique. As

has already been noted,[34] Smith wrote a new opening ritornello for the air 'In great Jehovah' in *Tobit*, while in the overture to *Nabal* he cut Handel's concluding four bars and substituted three of his own. In the air 'O glorious mortal' from *Gideon* ('Das zitternde Glänzen' from *Neun deutsche Arien* (HWV 203)), the musical material is all Handel's, but Smith tacked on five bars from the opening ritornello (bars 7-11) at the end of the 'A' section, effectively giving the air a closing orchestral section after the da capo.

Smith's alterations to both sections of the chamber duet 'Tanti strali' (HWV 197) in *Gideon* show considerable dexterity. He transformed the second part ('Dunque annoda') into the chorus 'Great Jehovah shall reward thee', and incorporated motives from the first ['Tanti strali'] into the concluding chorus 'Happy Nation' using similar methods: not only did he add ritornelli and a full orchestral accompaniment, but he padded out the original vocal duet with two other voices mainly by doubling in thirds and/or sixths. But the opening ritornello – there is none in the original – has been crafted from various sections of the duets themselves, with echo effects in each more characteristic of music from Smith's generation than that of Handel.

5) Besides the three pasticci themselves, the drastic alteration of the oratorios as a whole (see *Occasional Oratorio* and *Israel in* Egypt (188-91 below).

6) Smith's own music (other than recitatives) incorporated into the pasticci. The Menuet added at the end of the overture to *Nabal* is one such piece (see Ex. VII.1), and, in the same work, the air 'When beauty sorrow's livery wears' with words from Handel's *Hercules* is also seemingly Smith's own composition (see Ex. VII.2). Three movements from *Gideon* with no known Handel or Smith models are 'Tho' now fall'n,

---

[34] See 177 above.

dismay'd, confounded' (Ex. VII.3), 'In notes of joy' (Ex. VII.4), and the duet 'Sweet peace from heav'n descending' (Ex. VII.5).

WORKS WITH ADDITIONS AND ALTERATIONOS AFTER 1759

An examination of the methods used by Smith in those additions and alterations to six of Handel's oratorios presented after the composer's death shows them to be very similar to those in the six categories listed above. The additions and alterations include shifting complete movements *in toto* and writing parodies of earlier works.[35] Smith never altered Handel's choruses but consistently brought them into the oratorios almost unchanged.

A brief summary of Clausen's information concerning the various alterations after 1759 follows. Whenever possible, I have included his watermarks and insertion numbers (E4 for example) with their dates clarified by Donald Burrows[36] and my own research. Whenever possible the copyist too is identified. The alterations made by Smith are categorized in the last line of each entry. This record of revivals includes only those works presented after 1759. Copyists Smith snr and jnr are listed as Sm and Smj respectively.

Saul (HWV 53), (*D-Hs* M C/267), most likely projected for some time in the early 1760s but never performed during those years

> Air 'What abject thoughts' (HWV 53:11b), E1
> ['Torrente cresciuto' from *Siroe* (HWV 24:27)]
> Copyist H12, watermark Ha (*c.*1762 and 1763)[37]
> Parody, da capo retained

---

[35] Victor Schoelcher described these additions to the 1765 *Israel in Egypt*, particularly the air 'Great Jehovah', taken from 'Di Cupido' from *Rodelinda* (HWV 19:5), as 'monstrous', *The Life of Handel*, trans. James Lowe, (London, 1857), 74.

[36] Burrows, 'Rastra, watermarks and copyists in the late insertions in the Conducting Scores of Handel's oratorios', *Göttinger Händel-Beiträge*, VIII (2000), 181-95.

[37] H12 was a copyist active only after Handel's death. Smith's father, who died in 1763, may have been incapable of copying for his son by this time.

Theodora (HWV 68), (*D-Hs* M A/1058),[38] performed in 1761 and 1767.[39]

Air 'Defend her, Heaven' (HWV 68:25b), E5
['Ch'io mai vi possa' from *Siroe* (HWV 24:25)]
Copyist H12, watermark F2e (*c.*1761-64)
Parody, da capo retained

Air 'From virtue springs' (HWV 68:37b), E8
['Se'n vola lo sparvier' from *Admeto* (HWV 22:13)]
Copyist H12, watermark F2e (*c.*1761-64)
Parody, 'B' section omitted

Air 'Cease ye slaves' (HWV 68:38b), E9
['Piangi pur' from *Tolomeo* (HWV 25:18)]
Copyist H12, watermark F2e (*c.*1761-64)
Parody, new five-bar concluding ritornello

Deborah (HWV 51), (*D-Hs* M C/258), performed 1764, 1766, 1767 and 1771.

The 1764 production was advertised as containing 'alterations and additions', but 'Our fears are now forever fled' must, according to its watermark, have been added in 1766 or 1767.

Chorus 'Tyrants would' from *Athalia* (HWV 52:3), E3
Copyist S5, watermark F2e (*c.*1761-64)
Transferred intact

Chorus 'The mighty power in whom we trust' from *Athalia* (HWV 52:17), E5
Copyist S5, watermark F2e (*c.*1761-64)
Transferred intact

Chorus 'Alleluja' from *Athalia* (HWV 52:16), E3
Copyist S5, watermark F2e (*c.*1761-64)
Transferred intact

Air 'Our fears are now forever fled' (HWV 51:34, Baselt *ii*, 117), E6
['Pupille amate' from *Alessandro* (HWV 21:36)]
Copyist S5, watermark C*h (1766-67)
Parody, new five-bar opening ritornello, da capo retained

Air 'To joy he brightens' (HWV 51:10, Baselt *ii,* 113, second version), E2[40]
['Sgombra dell'anima' from *Siroe* (HWV 24:13)]
Copyist S5, watermark F2e (*c.*1761-64)
Parody, da capo retained

---

[38] Clausen lists this as M A/1056.
[39] *Theodora* was projected for 1759 (dated libretto). The name 'Beard' (who retired during the 1767 season) on 'From virtue springs' together with the watermark places these alterations in 1761.
[40] Baselt dates this air 1760.

Air 'Hateful man' (HWV 51: before 51:10), E3
['Piangi pur' from *Tolomeo* (HWV 25:18)]
Copyist S5, watermark F2e (1761-64)[41]
Parody, da capo retained

Alexander Balus (HWV 65), (*D-Hs* M C/1001), performed 1768 and 1773

The recitative 'My Jonathan' is in the hand of Smj, E3

Air 'Beauty sure must spring from Heaven' (no HWV number), E4
['Il cor mio' from *Alessandro* (HWV 21:29)]
Copyist Smj, watermark Hb (1765-68)
1759 version wraps around this insertion
Parody, da capo retained

Solomon (HWV 67), (*D-Hs* M C/268a), performed only in 1765.

Interestingly, each of these additions are new settings of words introduced in the 1759 version of the work, both of which Anthony Hicks believed may have been at least partly arranged by Smith.[42]

Air 'Thy music is divine' (HWV 67:22), E2
['O placido il mare' from *Siroe* (HWV 24:5)]
Copyist H11, watermark Hb (1765)
Parody, da capo changed to dal segno, cutting 25 bars

Air 'Sad solemn sounds' (HWV 17:16 [Baselt *ii*, 367]), E1
['Spera, sì, mio caro bene' from *Admeto* (HWV 22:5b)]
Copyist H11, watermark Hb (1765)
Parody, 'B' section omitted; original ritornelli are retained but the voice part has more than normal alterations.

The following two oratorios represent category five where Smith rebuilt the oratorios into completely new forms.

---

[41] Clausen (132) lists this air as having been performed in 1756, but the watermark is more appropriate for 1764.
[42] Hicks, 163-66.

Occasional Oratorio (HWV 62), (*D-Hs* M A/1033), only performed in 1763[43]
Baselt dates each of these items 'nach [after] 1759'.

Air 'Lord, God of Hosts' (HWV 62:8d), E4
['Mi lusinga' from *Alcina* (HWV 34:20)]
Copyist H12, watermark ?F2e (*c.*1761-64)
Parody, 'B' section crossed out

Air 'O liberty' (HWV 62:16b), E8
['Morrai sì' from *Rodelinda* (HWV 19:10)]
Copyist H12, watermark Ha (1763)
Parody but with more than usual alterations, dal segno retained

Air 'War with sullen steps' (HWV 62:17b), E8
['Scherza in mar' from *Lotario* (HWV 26:12)]
Copyist H12, watermark Ha (1763)
Parody, Smith wrote 'Out' over the 'B' section

Air 'God is my strength' (HWV 62:19b), E9
['Sè tuo piacer' from *Atalanta* (HWV 35:3)]
Copyist H12, watermark Ha (1763)
Parody, 'B' section crossed out

Air 'Why, ah why do mortals erring' (HWV 62:21b), E10
['Di', cor mio' from *Alcina* (HWV 34:7)]
Copyist H12, watermark Ha (1763)
Parody, 'B' section crossed out

Air 'Tell me, ye starry host' (HWV 62:24b), E11
['Dimi, cara' from *Scipione* (HWV 20:10)]
Unrecognized hand, watermark Ha (1763)
Parody, da capo retained

Air 'The Lord doeth great and mighty things' (HWV 62:29b), E14
['Si dolce lusingar' from *Alessandro* (HWV 21:34b)]
Copyist H12, watermark Ha (1763)
Parody but more alterations than usual

Air 'Glorious victors' (HWV 62:33b), E15
['Alla fama' from *Ottone* (HWV 15:18)]
Copyist H12, watermark Ha (1763)
Parody, flute added

Air 'Calm peace appearing' (HWV 62:39b), E16
['Tornami a vagheggiar' from *Alcina* (HWV 34:15)]
Copyist H12, watermark Ha
Parody, 'B' section retained

---

[43] Besides the airs and chorus listed below, 'Jehovah, Lord' (HWV 62:8c) is a new accompanied recitative. The overture, undated by Clausen, may have been an addition during Handel's lifetime since it was copied by Smith's father who died in 1763.

Anthem 'Sing unto God'
[Wedding Anthem for Frederick, Prince of Wales (HWV 261:1)], E7
Copyist H12, watermark ?F2e (Burrows 1761-64)
Transferred intact

Duet 'Let Caesar and Urania live' by Henry Purcell,[44] E17
(No word changes, duet to be sung by Beard and Scott)
Unknown copyist, watermark Ha (Burrows 1763)
Inserted intact, but see Appendix I, 227, item 19[45]

Solo and Chorus 'God save the king,' May the king live forever' and Amen chorus from the coronation anthem 'Zadok the priest'
Sketches only. Copyist Sm (died in 1763)

Israel in Egypt (HWV 54), (*D-Hs* M A/262a), performed 1765, 1766, 1767, 1769 and 1771

Smj and copyist S5 created the conducting score in 1765 with later additions copied by S5. The new recitatives and parodies are all in Smith's hand, but in cases where he followed the original plan of the oratorio, he generally set up the staves and copied only a few bars of music, leaving S5 to complete the job. The watermarks of the original are Hb (1765 or later), and those of the additions are Cu (1765-68) and Hc (1766-68). As may easily be discerned from the items below, Smith drastically transformed the original Parts I and II (almost exclusively choruses) as he had done with the *Occasional Oratorio* in 1763.

PART I

Air 'O sing ye praises' (in C)
['Io già t'amai' from *Rodelinda* (HWV 19:3, in B flat)]
Copyist Smj, watermark Hb (1765) or Cu (1765-68)
Parody, dal segno retained

Air 'Great Jehovah'[46]
['Di Cupido' from *Rodelinda* (HWV 19:5)]

---

[44] Duet from the ode 'Sound the trumpet, beat the drum' (Z 335). This and the movement that follows were surely added in support of George III and his troubles with parliament. The Prime Minister (Lord Bute) had resigned just nineteen days previously. The conducting score of the *Ode for the Birthday of Queen Anne* (Hamburg, M C/183) contains the bc part to the overture to the *Occasional Oratorio.*
[45] See Donald Burrows, 'Eternal Wource for Speculation: Handel's Birthday Ode for Queen Anne', *The Handel Institute Newsletter*, Vol. 2, no. 2 (London, Autumn 2009)
[46] See footnote 35, 185 above.

Copyist Smj, watermark Hb (1765) or Cu (1765-68)
Parody, dal segno retained, two horns added

Chorus 'And the children of Israel' (HWV 54:1)

Chorus 'They loathed to drink of the water' (HWV 54:2)

Chorus 'Their land brought forth frogs' (HWV 54:3)

Air 'All human power'
['Deh! lascia un tal desio' from *Arianna* (HWV 32:4)]
Copyist Smj, watermark Hb (1765) or Cu (1765-68)
Parody, da capo retained

Chorus 'He spake the word' (HWV 54:4)

Air 'Vain your triumph'
['Scherza infida' from *Ariodante* (HWV 33:23)]
Copyist Smj, watermark Hb (1765) or Cu (1765-68)
Parody, Smith did not set the 'B' section of *Ariodante*

Chorus 'He gave them hailstones' (HWV 54:5), no trombones

PART II

Air 'The elements all conspiring'
['Se povero il ruscello' from *Ezio* (HWV 29:8)]
Copyist Smj, watermark Hb (1765) or Cu (1765-68)
Parody, 'B' section retained

Air 'Great Jehovah's awful word' (in C), E2
['Vo' dar pace' from *Tamerlano* (HWV 18:4, in F)][47]
Copyist S5, watermark Cu (1765-68)
Parody with many alterations, no dal segno

Chorus 'He sent a thick darkness (HWV 54:6)

Air 'Sad horrors assailing'
['In mar tempestoso' from *Arianna* (HWV 32:28)]
Copyist Smj, watermark Hb (1765) or Cu (1765-68)
Parody, da capo retained

Air 'When the sun o'er yonder hills'
['Caro padre' from *Ezio* (HWV29:4), English words from *Solomon*]
Copyist Smj, watermark Hb (1765) or Cu (1765-68)
Original marked dal segno, but is now through-composed and shortened.

---

[47] According to the printed libretto dated 1766, this is an addition that replaced the previous air 'The elements all conspiring'.

Chorus 'He smote all the first born' (HWV 54:7)

Air 'Hope a pure and lasting treasure' (Additional air after HWV 54:13)
[1756 addition, originally from *Esther* (HWV 50b:20)]
Copyist Smj, watermark Hb (1765) or Cu (1765-68)
Parody, dal segno retained

Chorus 'He rebuked the red sea' (HWV 54:10)

Chorus 'He led them through the deep' (HWV 54:11)

Chorus 'But the waters overwhelmed their enemies' (HWV 54:12)

Air 'Wave from wave'
['Sorge infausta' from *Orlando* (HWV 31:32)]
Copyist Smj, watermark Hb (1765) or Cu (1765-68)
Parody, dal segno retained

Chorus 'And Israel saw that great work' (HWV 54:13)

Chorus 'The Lord hath given strength'
[1756 addition to *Israel in Egypt*, from the anthem 'How beautiful are the feet of them' (HWV 266:3), chorus section only]
Transferred intact

Air 'Lord God of hosts', E1
[1763 addition to the *Occasional Oratorio* (see above, 188-89)][48]
['Mi lusinga' from *Alcina* (HWV 34:20)]
Copyist S5, watermark Hc (1765-68)
Transferred intact, but 'B' section added back in (see 188 above where the 'B' section had been crossed out)

PART III

Smith's Part III follows Handel's order, beginning with HWV 54:15, but omits HWV 54:20, 24 and 25.

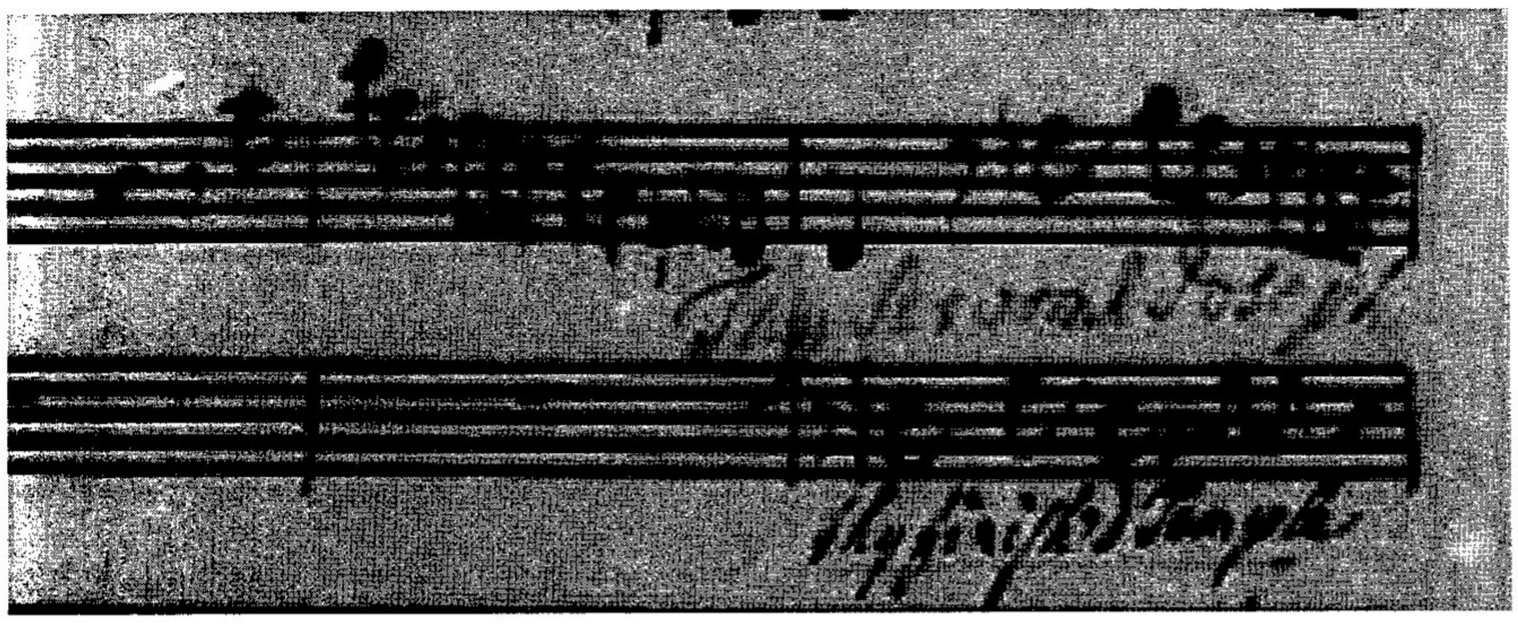
Joseph and his Brethren (HWV 59) (*D-Hs* M A/1025), performed 1768 and 1772

For this post-Handelian version, Smith merely transposed three airs upward. However, on the first conducting score of *Solomon* (*D-Hs* M C/268), he wrote 'Thy servant Joseph' above the accompanied recitative 'Thy finish'd Temple with thy presence grace',

[48] While this air and its preceding chorus appear in the conducting score in this order, they are the first two musical numbers on the printed libretto for 1766.

obviously planning to add this movement to *Joseph and his Brethren*. He also intended Solomon's air 'What though I trace each herb and flow'r' (HWV 67:8) to be sung by Joseph.[49]

Smith's hand 'Thy servant Joseph' on *Solomon* (*D-Hs* M C/268, f. 27v)



As we have already seen, Smith's handling of his pasticcio oratorios may be divided into six categories. His additions and alterations to half a dozen of Handel's oratorios after the composer's death fit neatly into these categories. Smith inserted four items intact, (category one), and of 26 parodies, most of them from Italian opera models, nine have their 'B' sections cut (category two). In the case of the air 'Great Jehovah' from *Israel in Egypt*, Smith added two horns (category three). He also wrote a new five-bar ritornello for *Deborah*'s 'Our fears are now forever fled' (category four). Nine new items were added to the *Occasional Oratorio* for 1763, and Parts I and II of *Israel in Egypt,* revived in 1765, are now almost unrecognizable, retaining only five of the original choruses in Part I and seven in Part II (category five). Except for recitatives, Smith's music does not appear in the Handel oratorios after 1759 (category six).

---

[49] Folios 27v and 35 respectively.

WORKS WITH ADDITIONS AND ALTERATIONS 1753-1759[50]

While the preceding section clearly shows that Smith made his own alterations and additions to the composer's work after Handel's death, the matter is less straightforward for those revisions made during the last years of Handel's life. For these I have added Clausen's insertion numbers (for example E5) whenever possible. In what follows, Handel's usual copyist, Smith snr, is referred to as Sm and the younger Smith as Smj.

Athalia (HWV 52), (*D-Hs* M C/264), 1756

Air 'Happy Judah' (HWV 52:30b), E7
['Torni pure' from *Il Parnasso in Festa* (HWV 73:15)]
Copyist Sm, watermark Cl (1747-48) [Dates do not match performance dates.]
Parody, da capo retained

Air 'Lovely youth' (HWV 52, not in Baselt), E6
['Da sorgente' from *Il Parnasso in Festa* (HWV 73:28b)
Copyist Sm, watermark type F2 (1756-57)
Voice and bc only, concluding ritornello added, da capo retained

Belshazzar (HWV 61), (*D-Hs* M A/1009), 1758

Air 'Thou God most high', (HWV 61:2), E1
Copyist Sm, watermark Cr (1755-58)
No known Handel or Smith model
Through composed

Air 'Fain would I know' (HWV 61:40c, in D), E12
Much of the work is very similar to that of Handel's Saraband in E (HWV 425)
Music copied by Sm, but the text possibly by H11 whose hand is very legible and similar to that in some choruses in *The Triumph of Time and Truth.*
Watermark Cr (1755-58)
Many changes from original

Air 'Wise men flatt'ring' (HWV 61:32a, in F), E7[51]
[Based loosely on 'Se vuoi pace' from *Agrippina* (HWV 6:47, in A) and also on the coro 'Quel ch'il Cielo' from *Il Pastor Fido* (HWV 8a:27)]
Copyist S5, watermark Cr (1758-59)
Moved to *Judas Maccabaeus* (HWV 63:27b)

---

[50] I have relied heavily on Hicks and Clausen for this section.
[51] Someone (most likely Smith) must literally have moved the air to *Judas Maccabaeus* because it is no longer present in the *Belshazzar* MS.

Both Italian models have da capos, while for 'Wise men'; Smith wrote 'dal segno' (without a sign, however). The first two repeated sections of 'Wise men' are similar to the first sections of the models, and the 'B' section is also based on these motifs while Handel's 'B' sections differ. Hicks (158) notes the accompaniment has generally been thickened, especially by the horns.

Deborah (HWV 51), *(D-Hs* M C/258), 1756

Air 'Hence I hasten, then fear for thy danger!'(HWV 51:23)
[*Athalia* (HWV 52:21b)]
On f. 99v of *Il Trionfo,* Smith wrote the English words for this air in *Deborah* over the 6/8 version of 'Come nembo che fugge col vento' (HWV 46a:29).[52]

Esther (HWV 50b), (*D-Hs* M C/261), 1757

Duet and chorus 'Sion now her head shall raise' (HWV 50b:23b), E7
Copyist Sm, watermark E*b, (1756-57) and F*2 (1757)
According to Burney, Handel dictated this duet to Smith.[53]

Air 'May thy beauty' (HWV50b:23c), also E7
['Tua belezza' from 1737 *Esther* (HWV 50b, Baselt *ii*, 96)]
Copyist Sm, watermarks E*b (1756-57) and F*2 (1757)
Parody, da capo retained

Air 'This glorious deed' (HWV 50b, additional air, in D), E12
[Similar to *Neun deutsche Arien* (HWV 202) in E flat]
Copyist Sm, watermark E*b (1756-57) and F*2 (1757)
Parody, dal segno retained

Air 'How sweet the rose' (HWV 50b: between 27 and 28), E10
Copyist Sm, watermark E*b (1756-57)
Voice and bc with violins doubling voice
Eight-bar ritornelli at beginning and end. No da capo
No known Handel or Smith model, so probably composed by Smith
Through-composed and bordering on the galant

Israel in Egypt (HWV 54), (*D-Hs* M C/262), 1756 (also performed 1757 and 1758)

Air 'Hope, a pure and lasting treasure' (HWV 54: between 54:13 and 14), E1
['Cor fedele' from *Esther* (HWV 50b, Baselt *ii,* 96)][54]
Copyist Sm, watermark E+b (1756-57)
Parody, dal segno retained

---

[52] Searching for evidence that it was Smith who arranged Handel's *The Triumph of Time and Truth*, I rechecked the microfilm of *Il Trionfo* on the University of Nevada's Scan Pro 2000, this time enhancing the contrast and darkness to be able to read pencil marks. I didn't find what I was looking for, but I did find proof that Smith assisted Handel with this air in *Deborah.*
[53] Charles Burney, 'Sketch of the Life of Handel' in *An Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster Abbey* (London, 1785), 30 (hereafter Burney, *Commenoration*).
[54] Another copy of 'Cor fedele' in g at *Cfm*, MS 265, pages 62-5 in Sm's hand.

Jephtha (HWV 70), (*D-Hs* M A/1024), 1756, 1758

Air 'Freedom now once more possessing' (HWV 70:17), E2
['La mia sorte fortunata' from *Agrippina* (HWV 6:2)]
The recitative ('Again Heav'n smiles') leading to this air is in the younger Smith's hand (see Appendix I)
Copyist Sm, watermark F2a (1756-57, 1759)
Parody, dal segno retained

Quintet 'All that is in Hamor mine' (HWV 70:43b), E6[55]
[based on two motifs from 'T'amo, sì' from *Riccardo Primo* (HWV 23:24)
Copyist Sm (music), S1? (text), watermark Cr 1758-59

Judas Maccabaeus (HWV 63), (*D-Hs* M A/1026), 1758 libretto

Duet and chorus 'Sion now her head shall raise' (HWV 63:20b)
[movement transferred from *Esther,* 1757 (see above, p. 194) (HWV 50b:23b)]
Smj copied the organ part on ff. 15-16v, E3
According to Burney, Handel dictated this to Smith[56]

Air 'Great in wisdom' (HWV 63:23), E missing from *D-Hs* M A/1026 MS[57]
[Ritornello and orchestral accompaniment similar to that in 'Tacerò, purchè fedele' from *Agrippina* (HWV 6:40)
Smj partial MS in *Cfm*, MU MS 265, pages 105-8, many corrections
This is the only known manuscript of the air.
New melody, bass line replaced by bassoons

Air 'Far brighter than the morning' (HWV 63:16b)
['Il dolce foco mio' from *Rodrigo* (HWV 5:33)]
Printed in *A Grand Collection of Celebrated English Songs Introduced in the late Oratorios Compos'd by Mr. Handel,* (Walsh, [1758], 26), missing in the conducting score
'Sung by Miss [Cassandra] Friderick'
Through composed, unlike the da capo model
Hicks (160-62) notes that horns thicken the orchestration, but they also punctuate (along with bassoons) some declarative statements.

Wise men flatt'ring (HWV 63:27b) (See above under *Belshazzar*)

Solomon (HWV 67), (*D-Hs* M C/268a), 1759

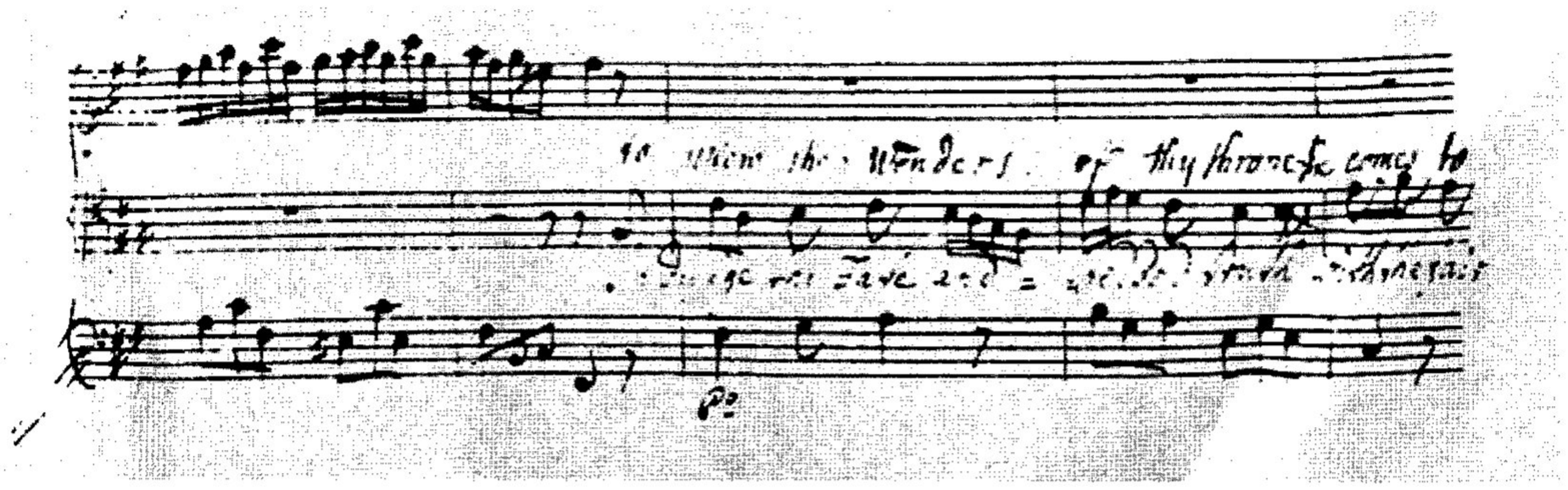
There is no doubt that Smith was largely responsible for two performances on 2 and 7 March 1759, and on 'Haste to the cedar grove' he wrote 'trickling' over the word

---

[55] For further discussion of this work, see 204-05 below.
[56] Burney associates this movement from *Judas Maccabaeus* rather than *Esther,* probably because it was published as such in Randall's edition (Smith, 114, no. 4). Information from Donald Burrows, June 2017.
[57] Hicks (163) suggests that 'Great in Wisdom' may be based on the lost 'Vibri pure iniqua sorte' from *Rodrigo.*

'tinkling' in the MS of the air and a completely new text ('To view the wonders of thy throne') over 'Indulge thy fate' from Handel's 1748/1749 version. He also wrote the words 'to be altered' above the air 'Sad solemn sounds'.

Words 'To view the wonders of thy throne' *D-Hs* M C/268a, ff. 1-2) in Smj's hand.



The wording on the 1759 wordbook that the oratorio contained alterations and additions is a gross understatement. From Handel's original 1748-49 version containing 39 musical movements, Smith cut eleven. The chart below, based on the 1759 libretto and the conducting score, shows the layout of this new *Solomon.*[58] Apart from two airs in the hand of H11 (and copied in 1765), the complete work is in the hand of Smith's father. The orchestral accompaniment to the additions listed beneath the chart comprises strings only with no further thickening of the orchestration. Those movements marked 'new' are individually discussed beneath the chart.

Item	Title	Performed by	HWV 67
Part I			
	Overture (version of overture to Fireworks Music (HWV 351)		
1	Chorus 'From the censer curling rise'	Chorus	15
2	Air 'When the sun gives brightest day'	Solomon	new
3	Air 'Thrice bless'd that wise discerning King'	Levite	17
4	Air 'Wise great and good'	Solomon	new
5	Trio 'Words are weak to paint my fears'	Solomon, Harlots 1and 2	18
6	Air 'Thy sentence, great king'	Harlot 2	19
7	Air 'Can I see my infant gored'	Harlot 1	20

[58] Variant spellings between libretto and manuscript have been standardized.

8	Duet 'Thrice blessed be the king'	Solomon, Harlot 1	22[59]
9	Chorus 'From the east unto the west'	Israelites	23
Part II			
10	Air 'To view the wonders of thy throne'	Queen of Sheba	new
11	Air 'Ev'ry sight these eyes behold'	Queen of Sheba[60]	28
12	Solo and chorus 'Musick, spread thy voice around'	Solomon and chorus	29
13	Solo and chorus 'Now a diff'rent measure try'	Solomon and chorus	30
14	Chorus 'Draw the tear from hopeless love'	Chorus	31
15	Air 'Sad solemn sounds'	Harlot 2	new
16	Solo and chorus 'Beneath the vine'	? and chorus	25
17	Air and chorus 'Love from such a parent sprung'	? and chorus	new
18	Air and chorus 'Thus rolling surges rise'	? and chorus	32
19	Chorus 1 'Flow sweetly the numbers that dwell on his name'[61]	Chorus	26
Part III			
20	Sinfonia		27
21	Air 'Haste, haste to the cedar grove'	Solomon	12
22	Air 'Thy music is divine, O king'	Queen of Sheba	new
23	Accompagnato 'But when the temple I behold'	Queen of Sheba	new
24	Air 'Pious king and virtuous queen'	Levite	33
25	Air 'Golden columns, fair and bright'	Zadok	34
26	Chorus 'Praise the Lord with harp and tongue'	Choruses 1 and 2	35
27	Air 'How green our fertile pastures look'	Solomon	36
28	Air 'Will the sun forget to streak'	Queen of Sheba	37
29	Duet 'Ev'ry joy that wisdom knows'	Solomon and Queen of Sheba	38
30	Grand chorus 'The name of the wicked'	Chorus	39

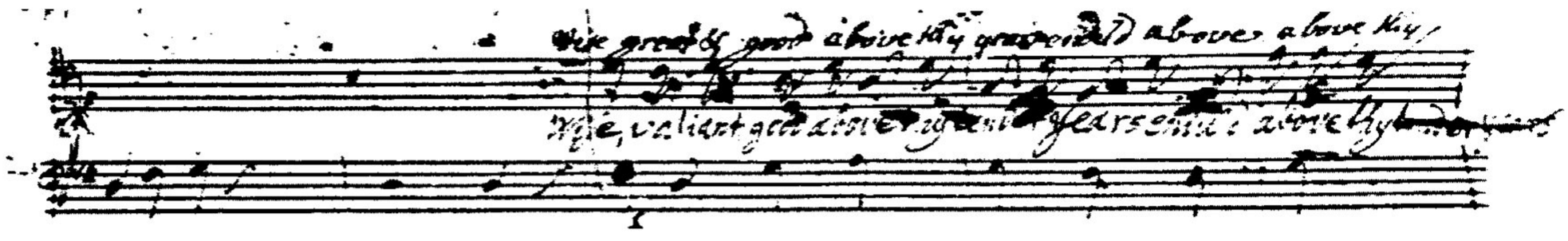
2: Air 'When the sun gives brightest day' (HWV 67:16; 67:2 in 1759 version)
['Clouds o'ertake the brightest day' from *Susanna* (HWV 66:2)]
Parody
Smith wrote new words for this air over the original words, and at the top he added 'to be plac'd into Solomon'. He also noted that the bass, Robert Wass, should speak the recitatives 'Lives there in Babylon' and 'The joyful news' and that another bass (unnamed) should speak the recitative 'Oh wondrous youth'

4: Air 'Wise, great, and good' (Baselt 1759 HWV 67:4)

---

[59] My numbers for items 8-15 are at variance with those in Baselt's Bermerkungen, 367
[60] Apparently Brent and Frasi were to share the role of the Queen of Sheba.
[61] This chorus is not in the libretto. Someone wrote on the conducting score that this is the final [*sic*] of Part II; it is, however, part of the chorus 'Swell the full chorus' (HWV 67:26) which is in neither the libretto nor the conducting score. I am not familiar with this hand.

['Wise, valiant, good' from *Saul* (HWV 53:10b)]
Parody
Smith wrote 'Wise, great and good' over 'Wise, valiant, good'
Words 'Wise, great and good' from *Saul* (R.M. 20.g.3, ff. 32-34v) in Smj's hand



10: Air 'To view the wonders of thy throne' (Baselt 1759 HWV 67:11)
['Indulge thy faith and wedded love' from *Solomon* (HWV 67:11)]
Parody

15: Air 'Sad solemn sounds' (Baselt 1759 HWV 67:16, in g)
['Spera sì, mio caro bene' from *Admeto* (HWV 22:5b, in f)]
Copyist Sm, watermark Bm (1759)
*c.*1765 version inserted into the middle of this version
Parody, through-composed
Smith wrote 'NB To be alterd' [*sic*] at the top of the page.

16: Air and chorus 'Beneath the vine' (Baselt 1759 HWV 67:17)
['Non tardate' from *Il Parnasso in festa* (HWV 73:29)]
Parody

17: Air and Chorus 'Love from such a parent sprung' (Baselt 1759, HWV 67:18)
Text from *Saul* (HWV 53: see Baselt *ii*, 148)
No known Handel or Smith model, through-composed, strings only

22: Air 'Thy musick is divine, O King' (Baselt 1759 HWV 67:22)
['Se non ti piace' from *Tu fedel? tu constant?* (HWV 171:3)
Parody

Theodora (HWV 68) (*D-Hs* M C/1058)
Performed 1755, 1761 and 1769.

A libretto dated 1759 and printed by J. Watts suggests that a performance was projected but failed to materialize. Only one air 'The leafy honours of the field', is written on paper with watermarks consistent with the projected date [1759], but it is not in Watts' libretto. Three airs – 'Defend her Heav'n' (HWV 68:25b 'nach 1759'), 'From virtue springs' (HWV 68:37 'nach 1759') and 'Cease, ye slaves' (HWV 68:38b 'nach 1759') are in the 1759 libretto, but their watermarks of F2e (1761-64) and the fact that they are

in the hand of copyist H12, who copied only after Smith snr was unable to do so, place them a few years later.

> Air 'The leafy honours of the field' (HWV 68:before 42) E11[62]
> ['The leafy honours of the field' from *Belshazzar* (HWV 61:17a)]
> Copyist Sm, watermark F2c (1758-60)
> Direct transfer

Theodora (HWV 68), *US-Wc* M.L. 96.H.156 (Case), ff. 2-3v[63]
Performed 1755, (planned 1759), 1761 and 1767

Though the air 'Lost in anguish quite despairing' (ff. 2-3v) is in the younger Smith's hand, but the manuscript contains numerous corrections; because of its early date, however, it might have been composed by Handel who changed his mind while dictating to Smith (see below, 206).

The Triumph of Time and Truth (HWV 71) (*D-Hs* M A/1060a)
Performed 1757, 1758 and 1760 (transpositions only)

It was probably Handel's idea to 'reinvent' his earlier work, but the composer of every movement from *The Triumph of Time and Truth* (1757-58) not lifted from the original *Il Trionfo del Tempo e del Disinganno* (HWV 46b) must be suspect. Hicks discussed six additions to the 1758 version. Smith wrote an entirely new section to 'Pleasure's gentle zephyrs playing' and extended sections of 'Fain would I know, if virtue confessing'. Most of the oratorio based on the original Italian version was copied by Sm, with a majority of airs being direct parodies with no transpositions, very few rhythmic changes and da capos retained in every case. The secco and accompanied recitatives are new but, with only a few exceptions, they end with cadences in the same key as that of the originals (most often the dominant of the on-coming air). The chart

---

[62] Clausen (240) includes this as a 1759 insertion that was later eliminated. Baselt has not given it a number.
[63] See Hicks, 152-3.

below, based on Baselt's numbering, lists those musical items not in *Il Trionfo* but which contain no major alterations.[64]

Source	HWV 71
	Part I
Overture	Overture (new), probably Handel, S5
Coro 'Lieto esulti il cor' from *Acis and Galatea* (HWV 49b:12) in D	4 Air and chorus 'Come, live with pleasure' assigned to 'The boy' in G, Sm
	Part II
Solo and coro 'Viver, e non amar' from *Acis and Galatea* (HWV 49b:21), 'B' section cut	11 Chorus 'Pleasure submits to pain', S5 For 'Miss Young' and 'the Boy'
Coro 'Oh quanto bella gloria' from *Il Parnasso in Festa* (HWV 73:18)	12 Chorus 'Oh how great the glory', S5
Air and Coro 'Non tardate, Fauni ancora' from *Il Parnasso in Festa* (HWV 73:30)	13 Air and Chorus 'Dryads, Sylvans'/ 'Lo we all attend on Flora', S5
Air 'Non t'inganni la speranza' from *Lotario* (HWV 26:17)], in F	16 Air 'False destructive ways', in E flat, Sm
	Part III
Chorus 'Comfort them, Oh Lord' from The Foundling Hospital Anthem (HWV 268:5)	25 Chorus 'Comfort them, Oh Lord', S5, unknown hand for text
Does not match any *accompagnati* in *Il Trionfo del Tempo.*	27 *Accompagnato* 'Adieu, vain world', apparently new, Sm
Does not match any *accompagnati* in *Il Trionfo del Tempo.*	30 *Accompagnato* "Oh, thither let me cast my longing eye', apparently new, Sm

The following movements demonstrate more involved alterations:

> 3b: Air 'Sorrow darkens ev'ry feature' (HWV 71:3b), 1758, E1
> [an amalgamation of 'Il candor tolse al giglo' from the cantata *Ditemi, o piante* (HWV 107:1), 'Già superbo' from *La Lucretia* (HWV 145:1) and 'Perchè viva il caro sposo' from *Rodrigo* (HWV 5:28)]
> Copyist Sm, watermark Cr (1758-59)
> Walsh published it in *A Grand Collection of Celebrated English Songs Introduced in the late Oratorios Compos'd by Mr. Handel,* [1758].
> Constructed from sections of the three 'models' listed above, this air was probably composed by Handel himself, and, if so, dictated to Smith.
>
> 8 Chorus 'Strengthen (Comfort) us O Time'
> [Chorus 'Then shall we teach thy ways' from the anthem *Have mercy upon me* (HWV 248:8)]
> Copyist Sm

---

[64] For those movements based on *Il Trionfo del Tempo e del Disinganno,* see Baselt *ii*, 37.

New eight-bar opening ritornello.

8a: Air 'Happy Beauty' (HWV 71:8a, in F), 1758, E2
['Ogni vento' from *Agrippina* (HWV 6:39, in G)]
Copyist Sm, watermarks Cr (1758-59) and F2c (1758-60)
Parody, but Smith added two horns and bassoons; he also extended the opening ritornello, using it again to round off the movement while dropping Handel's lovely triple-time accompaniment and replacing it with plodding quavers.

9: Solo and chorus 'Happy, if still they reign in pleasure' (HWV 71:9), 757, E3
['Viva e regni fortunato' from *Lotario* (HWV 26:10)]
Copyist Sm, watermark F2b (Burrows 1757)
Parody, but new solo accompanied only by violin, opening ritornello extended

13a: Air 'No more complaining' (HWV 71:13a, in d), E3
['Allorchè sorge' from *Rodrigo* (HWV 5:32, in b)]
Copyist Sm, watermarks F2b (1756-57, 1759) and F2a (1757)
Parody, da capo retained

13b: Air 'Pleasure's gentle Zephyrs playing' (HWV 71:13b)
['Volo pronto' from *Agrippina* (HWV 6:3, in F)]
For 1760, Smith transposed the air to B flat
Copyist Sm for both versions, watermark F2c (1758-60)
Parody with new 'B' section
For 1757, the da capo was written out in full, but later crossed out

18a: Air 'Melancholy is a folly' (HWV 71:18a,b)
This is not an addition, but part of the original conducting score
No known Handel or Smith model, 1757, E3
Copyist Sm, watermark F2a (1755-56) or F2b (1757)
B section crossed out

23: 'Charming beauty' (HWV 71:23), 1758, E5
No known model, but Hicks (160-63) makes a strong case, based on the air's metrical scheme, for its prototype being 'Ochi neri' from *Rodrigo* (HWV 5:1)
Copyist Sm, watermark Cr (1758-59)
Walsh published it in *A Grand Collection of Celebrated English Songs Introduced in the late Oratorios Compos'd by Mr. Handel* [1758]
Dal segno retained

29 Air 'Like clouds, stormy winds'
Copyist Sm, watermark F2b (1757)
'Hark! His thunders round me roll' from *Athalia* (HWV 52:33) forms the middle section in common time (bars 64-97). Bars 1-63, in 3/4time) is apparently new material. The concluding section (bars 98-130) serves as a da capo in effect.

Comparing Smith's alterations and additions after Handel's death with those made in the last few years of his life hopefully provides a clearer picture of the whole process. Theoretically at any rate, it should now be possible to determine whether Smith was (or could have been) responsible for all those additions and alterations in the detailed listing above. He certainly had the opportunity: he had access to all of Handel's works, he was already in charge of the conducting scores, his hand appears on many of the new additions, and most importantly he had access to Handel himself.

Anthony Hicks was obviously correct in thinking that Smith was responsible for many of the additions and alterations to Handel's works. The two men together had altered several of the oratorios between the years 1753 and 1759; the division of labour between them, however, must remain a matter of speculation. Toward the end of his stimulating article (169) and apropos of these late additions, Hicks wrote that ' . . . Smith's role was likely to have been more creative than has hitherto been recognized', one important reason for his doing so being those specific examples in Smith's hand demonstrating that Handel had either dictated the music to Smith or that Smith had composed the works himself. There is no doubt that Handel was effectively blind after 1753, and we should not expect to find any Handel autographs for 'new' music after that date. Charles Burney's comment that the duet and chorus 'Sion now her head shall raise' were 'dictated to Mr. Smith, by Handel, after the total privation of sight'[65] is the most reliable reference we have concerning Smith's role as amanuensis, at the same time providing an example of the difficulties involved in sorting out exactly who did what. Based on stylistic evidence, Hicks believes this same duet and chorus to be pure Handel. Surprisingly, however, it is not the dictated copy that was inserted into the conducting score for the 1757 production of *Esther*, but a copy by Smith's father, while the

---

[65] Burney *Westminster*, 30.

'original' in Smith jnr's hand was placed in the conducting score of *Judas Maccabaeus* when these two movements were transferred to that work the following year.[66] Obviously, handwriting alone is not enough to distinguish Smith's precise role in these late additions to the oratorios, but several musical examples in Smith's hand, fitting neatly into at least some of our six categories, do nevertheless exist.

Smith was involved in transferring musical selections complete from one work to another (category one), most likely at Handel's behest. Directions to replace the overture to *Deborah* with that to the *Occasional Oratorio* in 1754, to add the Dettingen Anthem 'The King shall rejoice' to *Athalia* in 1756, 'Sion now her head shall raise' to *Judas Maccabaeus*, 'No more complaining' and 'Charming beauty' to *The Triumph of Time and Truth* in 1758, and 'Wise great and good' to *Solomon* in 1759 are all clearly in Smith's hand. Hicks noted that while it is rare to find Italian opera airs in Handel's oratorios before 1753, many of the additions after that were parodies based on these works (category two).[67] Smith wrote 26 such parodies after 1759 plus those in the pasticci, and it was he who wrote new words for 'Pleasure's gentle zephyrs playing' for the 1758 *Triumph of Time and Truth* above 'Volo pronto' in Handel's autograph of *Agrippina* (HWV 6:3); he also wrote the words for the air 'Wise great and good' on Handel's original manuscript (R.M. 20.g.3, ff. 32-7), 'To view the wonders' over 'Indulge thy faith' for the 1759 *Solomon*, and 'Endless pleasure' for *Susanna* (see Appendix I).

Category three (more elaborate orchestration) is represented by Smith's handwriting in only one case, and here we must rely on Hicks' indirect evidence: a stylistic discussion of the music itself. He has pointed out that several of the late

---

[66] *Esther, D: Hs* M C/261, insertion E7, Clausen, 142; *Judas Maccabaeus D: Hs* M A/1026, insertion E3, Clausen,169.

[67] Hicks, 149-50. Almost all the oratorios had none. *Athalia, Deborah, Israel in Egypt* and *Saul* each had only one while *Esther* and *Semele* each had four (Clausen, 91-246).

additions to the oratorios contain un-Handelian orchestration, particularly the use of the more prominent wind group with individual bassoon parts and horns in the middle register for filling out or 'beefing up' the texture. Smith added two horns for *Deborah's* 'Great Jehovah' and for *Israel in Egypt*'s 'Great Jehovah's awful word'. Though Handel rarely used such thickened scoring, Smith himself appears to have been particularly fond of independent bassoon parts; it may well be therefore that, while the two worked together, Handel merely gave general directions to Smith, leaving him to complete the details.

Category four (alteration or expansion of Handel's works musically) is represented by Smith's handwriting in one specific case and rather generally in a few others. It was Smith who pencilled new words for the air 'Pleasure's gentle zephyrs playing' which, with a new middle section, is one of the five additions to the 1758 *Triumph of Time and Truth.* For those works not in Smith's hand that were altered or expanded, we must refer to Hicks' review of their stylistic patterns as well as to my six categories of Smith alterations. Works based on Handel's early Italian models, besides their sometimes-thickened orchestration have, in Hicks' words (157), exhibited 'structural awkwardness and harmonic quirks'. In saying this he obviously had in mind the 1753 quintet in *Jephtha* ('All that is in Hamor mine'). Actually, the term 'quintet' is misleading since it is only for two bars near the end that all five voices sing together. For most of the work, the composer has written for various combinations of duets, choosing two extremely short motifs from 'T'amo, sì' in *Riccardo Primo,* (HWV 23:24) but veering away significantly from these brief motifs. In no other case did Smith deviate so far from the music's source.

Hicks also discussed the surprising tonal shifts to the minor in the *Jephtha* quintet and the airs 'Like clouds ascending' and 'Sad solemn sounds', a practice which Smith

had begun with his Italian operas in the 1740s. A sudden touch of the tonic minor may be heard in the air 'O Hermia fair' from his English opera *The Fairies*, written two years after Handel's *Jephtha*, while the first section of the through-composed 'You spotted snakes' from the same work rather surprisingly concludes in the tonic (C) minor. The surprising shift to the mediant minor in 'Sad solemn sounds' from *Solomon* is, however, without parallel. In the case of 'All that is in Hamor mine', Handel probably dictated this 'quintet' to Smith, and the fact that it suddenly ends in the tonic minor, in Winton Dean's words, 'a beautiful and characteristic twist',[68] adds an extra poignancy to the fact that Iphis must spend the rest of her days a virgin.

Category five is represented by the 1759 revival of *Solomon*, its arranger 'turning this great oratorio upside down' as Dean puts it.[69] Smith would follow this same pattern with his alterations and/or additions to the *Occasional Oratorio* in 1763 and *Israel in Egypt* a few years later.

It is category six, the addition of Smith's own works incognito, so to speak, that is the most intriguing. Five movements from Smith's pasticcio oratorios, each advertised as being entirely by Handel, are more likely to be by Smith.[70]

Smith's involvement with the late oratorio additions is also demonstrated by new or altered recitatives. Smith most likely composed the recitative 'Again Heav'n smiles on his reluctant people' before the air 'Freedom now once more possessing' (see Appendix I), an addition to *Jephtha* in 1753, and in 1759 he altered the recitative in *Joseph and his Brethren*, 'Pardon, that I so long forgot thee, Joseph' for the soprano Christina Passerini.
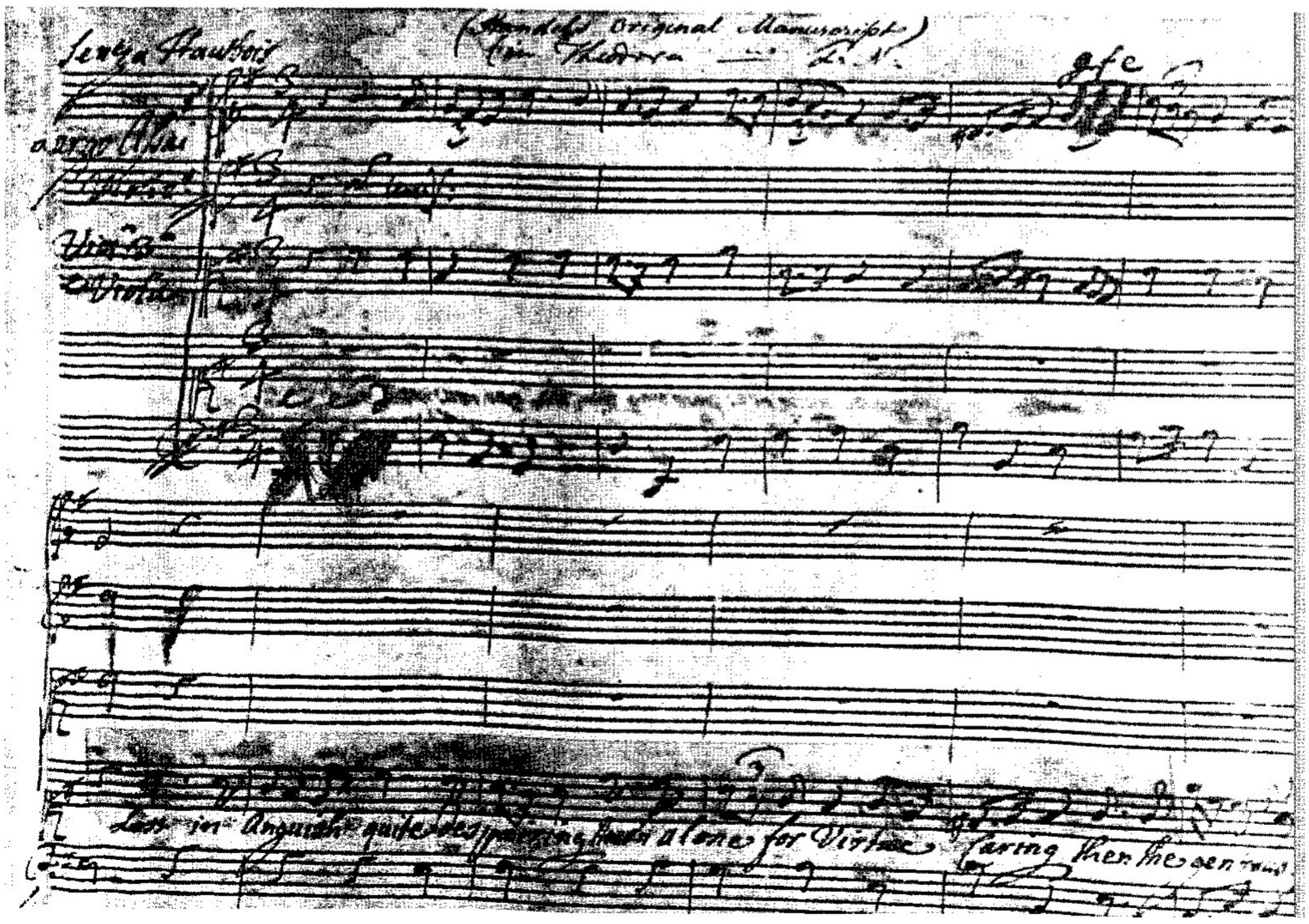
---

[68] Dean, *Oratorios*, 616.
[69] Ibid, 528.
[70] See above, 184-85.

ADDITIONS POSSIBLY COMPOSED BY SMITH

Several late additions to the oratorios not based on earlier Handel works similarly have no Smith prototypes either. Three of them are possibly by Smith. For the most part, new additions or alterations were inserted into the conducting scores after having been copied by Smith's father; with only two exceptions, the original composition manuscripts have been lost. Two movements from the 1755 version of *Theodora* have no previous models: 1) the air and chorus 'Blessed be the power' (HWV 32b) and 2) the air 'Lost in anguish' (HWV 38c, which Baselt labels 'nach 1759'). 'Blessed be the power' is possibly Smith, and 'Lost in anguish' contains emendations consistent with a first draft, but these may be changes from Handel's dictation. This aria's comparatively early date makes this determination questionable for both movements. Hicks' demonstration of the similarities between 'Lost in anguish' and Handel's 'Quanto dolci' from *Flavio*, although tenuous, further complicates the question of its composer.

Lost in anguish' in Smj's hand (*US-Wc* M.L. 96.H.156, Case), ff. 2-3v. Notice the letters 'e e d' for bass in bar one and 'g f e' for violin in bar five
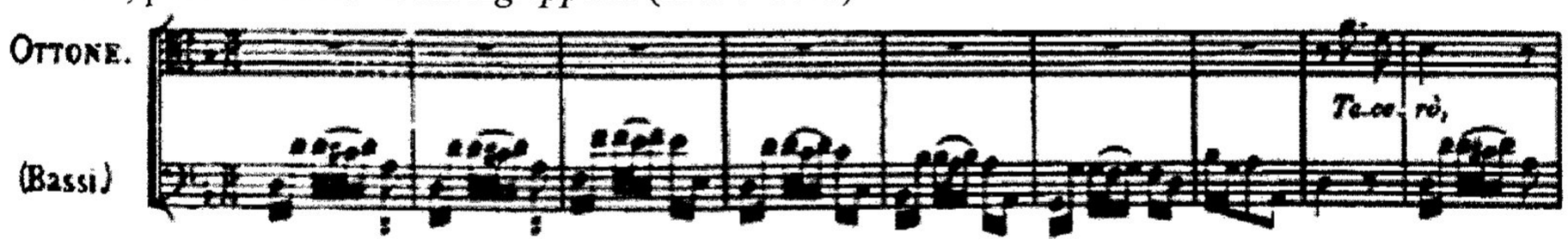


3) The third movement, 'Charming Beauty', a 1758 addition to *The Triumph of Time and Truth,*[71] is meant to be delicate with a cello solo. Smith, if not its composer, was most likely responsible for its 're-composition'.

ADDITIONS PROBABLY COMPOSED BY SMITH
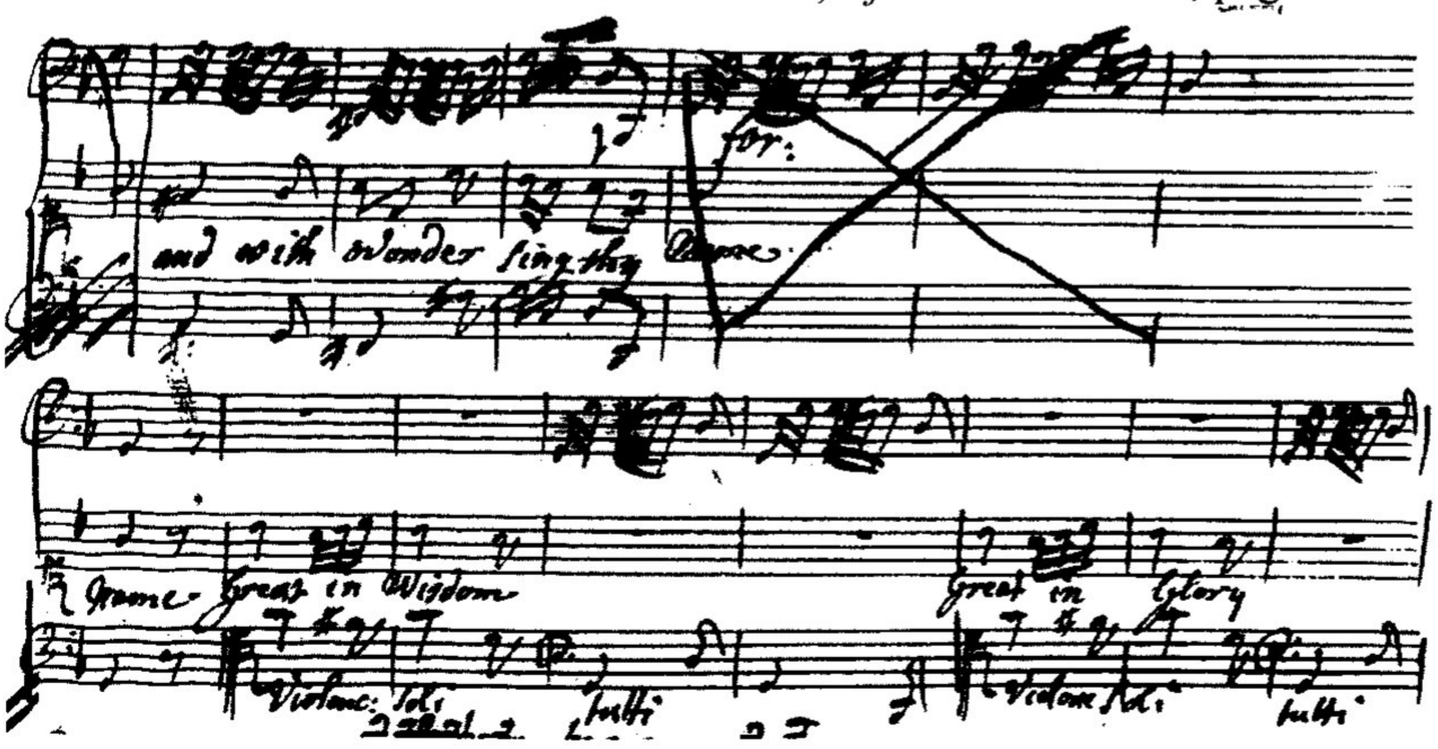
Seven movements or partial movements from the late Handel oratorios are probably by Smith, since none has any earlier Handel exemplar, and each was added during the last years of his mentor's life (see Vol. III, category 8:000):

1) The air 'Great in wisdom', an addition to the 1758 revival of *Judas Maccabaeus*, has, as Hicks observes (160), an entirely new vocal line composed over the bass accompaniment to 'Tacero' from *Agrippina* (HWV 6:40; see Ex. VII.6). The 1758 accompaniment is particularly striking in its use of bassoons rather than retaining the original bass line. A partial manuscript (*Cfm* MU MS 265, pages 105-8) in Smith's hand shows corrections made either by Smith as part of his autograph or by Handel's dictation above).[72]

'Tacerò, purchè fedele' from *Agrippina* (HWV 6:40)



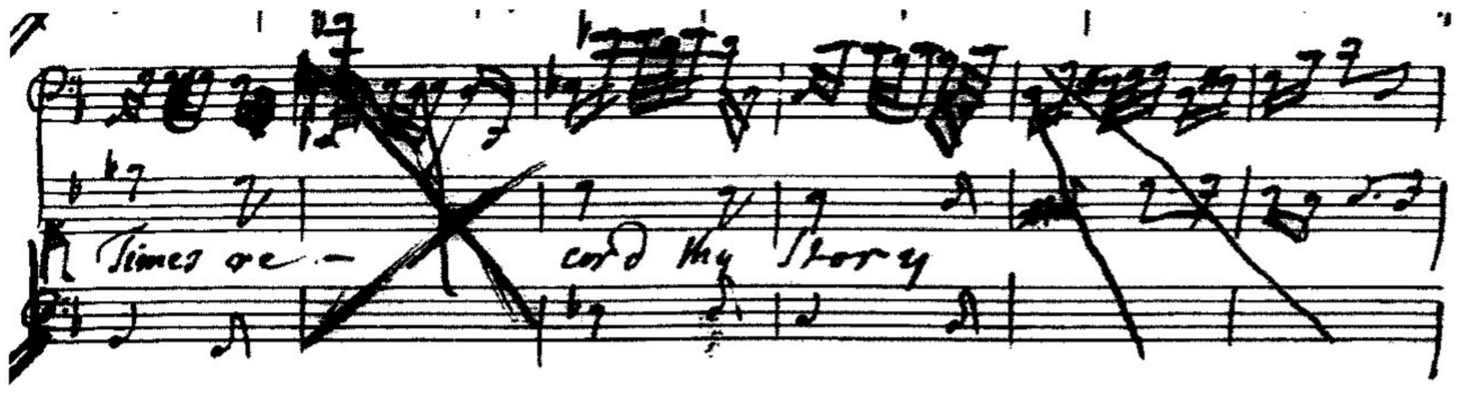
'Great in wisdom' from *Judas Maccabaeus*, *Cfm* Mus. MS 265, pages106-7



---

[71] See the catalogue of Smith's music, volume III, under category 8:000.

[72] Hicks attempts to relate the words of 'Great in wisdom' to those of 'Vivri pure iniqua sorte' from *Rodrigo*, but this seems questionable to me.



2) As for those other items lacking any firm evidence to connect them with either Handel or Smith, Hicks (154) pointed out that the two new airs from the 1757 *Esther*, 'How sweet the rose', a continuo air bordering on the galant (see Ex. VII.7) and 'This glorious deed defending',[73] are both 'airy' and 'lightweight pieces' which 'present a contrast with the more turgid style of the other late oratorio additions with which Smith does seem to have been involved'. There are, however, many Smith examples of such melodies with regular phrasing accompanied by violin and continuo or just continuo alone, and the example which Hicks has chosen to demonstrate Smith's style of scoring (159) – 'Bid her learn the gentler arts' from his unfinished opera *Medea* – is not particularly characteristic of Smith's work in the 1750s when he was involved in composing English operas for David Garrick.

3) The soprano air 'Thou God most high' from the 1758 *Belshazzar*, accompanied by strings and continuo, with slow moving harmonies and four or eight-bar phrases seems more typical of Smith than of Handel (see Ex. VII.8).

4) If we believe, with Donald Burrows, that Handel could hardly have composed any original music in the last year or two of his life, then for the 1759 *Solomon* in particular, Smith must have written the new air and chorus 'Love from such a parent sprung' (HWV 67:1759, Baselt *ii*, 367; see Ex. VII.9) with words from Handel's *Saul*.

5) From the 1757 *The Triumph of Time and Truth*, a new middle section of the aria 'Pleasure's gentle Zephyrs playing', accompanied by continuo only and featuring regular four-bar phrases, must surely be Smith's since Handel, at that stage, could hardly

---

[73] 'This glorious deed defending is similar to Handel's 'Das zitern de Glänzen der spielenden Wellen' (*Neun deutsche arien* (HWV 202)).

have been bothered with such a mundane addition (see Ex. VII.10).

6) While Hicks masterfully covered several additions to the 1758 *The Triumph of Time and Truth,* he skipped over the new opening 63-bar Allegro of 'Like clouds stormy winds descending' (see Ex. VII.11), preferring instead to focus on the concluding reprise in the tonic minor (153). Its lively semiquavers are reminiscent of 'Arise, arise, ye subterranean winds' from Smith's *The Tempest* (see Ex. IV.10) with rising semiquavers, but here they spiral downward to depict the 'winds descending'.

7) Finally, the air 'Melancholy is a folly' (see Ex. VII.12), part of the original 1757 version of *The Triumph of Time and Truth*, with its slow-moving harmonies and four-square phraseology, seems more characteristic of Smith's musical generation than that of Handel.

Smith's ability to influence Handel in the later 1750s was surely directly related to the master's health. Documentary evidence suggests that Handel was at his weakest in 1756 and again in the last year of his life when *Solomon* was revised so drastically. Winton Dean has suggested that ' … the additions [to *Solomon*] are conclusive proof that Handel at the end of his life was no longer concerned for the integrity of his oratorios'. He questioned why Handel, now old and blind, turned *Solomon* 'upside down', finding as the only possible solution the probability that 'the rising tide of middle-class piety found the prominence of the sexual element repulsive in an oratorio'.[74] Smith's moral orientation was, as previously noted, decidedly Puritan, and the various Smith annotations on all of the manuscripts having to do with *Solomon* demonstrate that he was an accessory (if not entirely culpable) to making the oratorio 'musically, dramatically, and morally … a shambles'.[75]
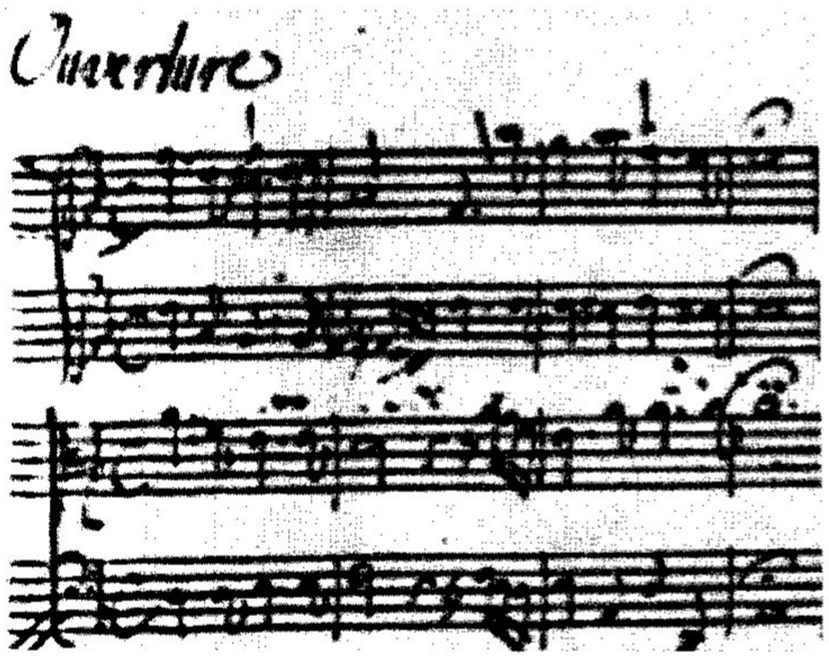
---

[74] Dean,*Oratorios,* 528.
[75] Ibid.

The proposition that Smith's role in the late additions and alterations to the oratorios was more than that of an amanuensis is supported not only by Hicks' arguments covering alterations before Handel's death, but also by Smith's treatment of Handel's works after 1759. It seems clear that besides being at least partly responsible for some of the additions to Handel's oratorios beginning in 1753, Smith incorporated at least seven movements of his own into the oratorios. While such additions and alterations might be viewed as sacrilegious today, Smith felt no compunction about adding, subtracting, transposing, and re-composing various items according to the availability of performers and the taste of the age – an age which had previously been entirely content with similar alterations from the great composer himself.

SMITH'S HAND ON HANDEL'S MUSIC

With the publication of Jens Peter Larsen's *Handel's Messiah: Origins, Composition, Sources*,[1] the myth that Smith's father was responsible for almost all of the Handel copies was conclusively shattered. This pioneering work has since inspired a distinguished group of scholars such as Hans Dieter Clausen, Winton Dean, Donald Burrows, and Terence Best who have not only refined Larsen's results, but have also identified several copyists in the Smith/Handel circle. Larsen's study of the variations in handwriting among the several members of the Smith scriptorium dealt with, among other things, the diverse forms of the C clef to be found in the astonishing number of Handel copies the group produced.[2] Thus he was able to show that the younger Smith's C clef is, in fact, a distinctive feature that may be used positively to identify his handwriting.

Smith's Overture to *The Mourning Muse of Alexis*, showing Smith's distinctive C clef



In the case of Smith's own autographs, the C clef is nearly always present, but in some of his early Handel copies (notably several of those in the Coke 'Rivers' MS (now *Lfom* accession no. 1258) and *Lbl* R.M.18.b.4 and 18.b.8), Smith used only treble and bass clefs, posing difficulties for anyone attempting to identify the hand. Lacking a C clef, the hands of Smith jnr, copyist S2, and his father are, at first glance, particularly difficult to distinguish. But, as the following examples of the younger Smith's early musical hand
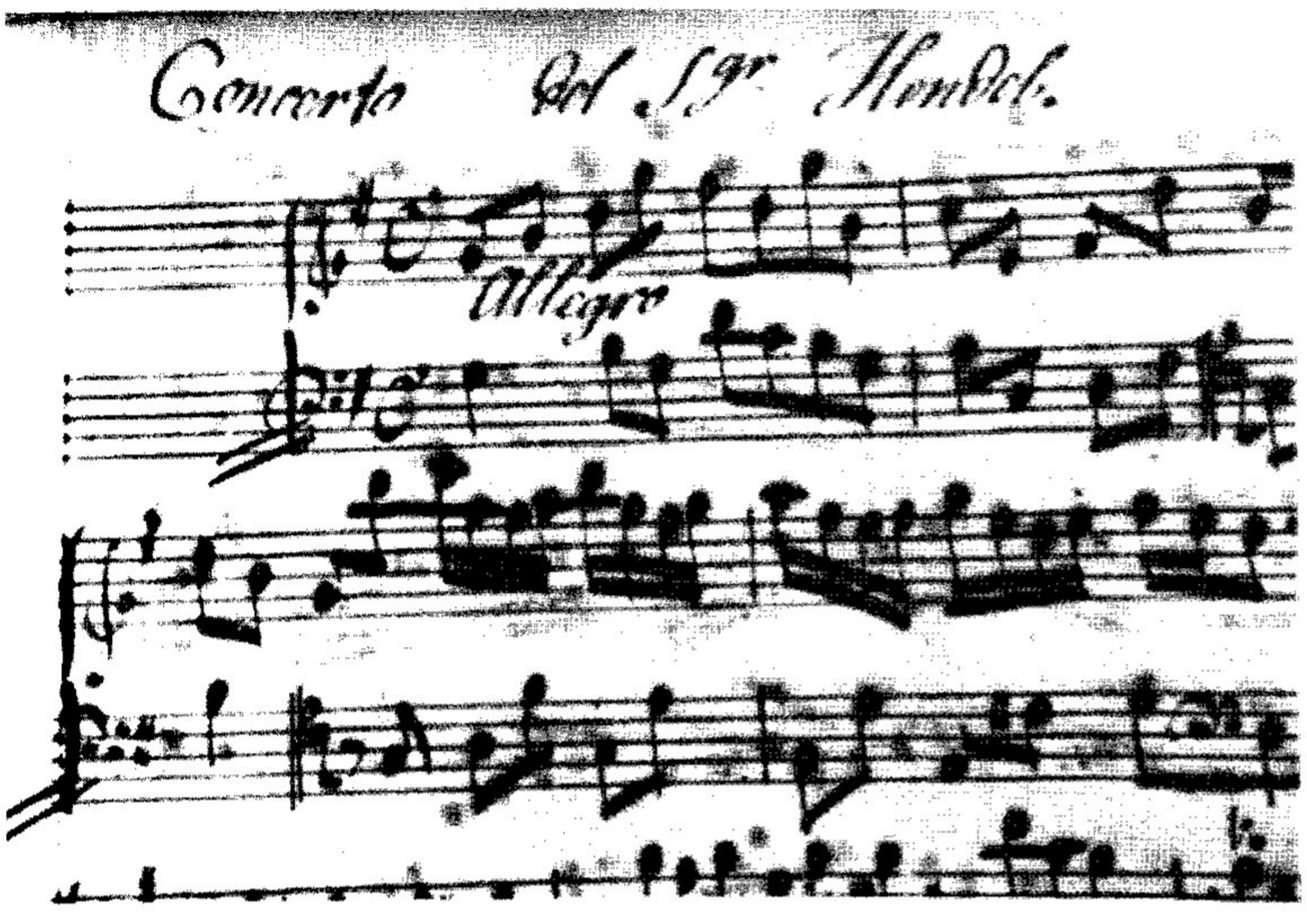
---

[1] London, 1957.

[2] Might it be that the elder Smith assigned these varying C clefs as a method of determining which copyist should be paid for a certain work?

clearly show, there are a number of other individual peculiarities which may be observed: the unique trill signs, the downward-sloping sharps, the 'hook' at the top of the common time C, and the snake-like cul de lampe which sometimes follows the double bar at the end of a work.

Young Smith hand with downward-sloping sharps, 'hook' on the common time C, and trill sign over the last note in the example. The word 'Concerto' is in Smith's hand, but not the attribution 'del Sgr Hendel'. R.M. 18.b.8, f.12



Young Smith's snake-like flourish after 'Finis' (*Mourning Muse of Alexis*, 1729), *D-Hs* M A/760, p. 99[3]

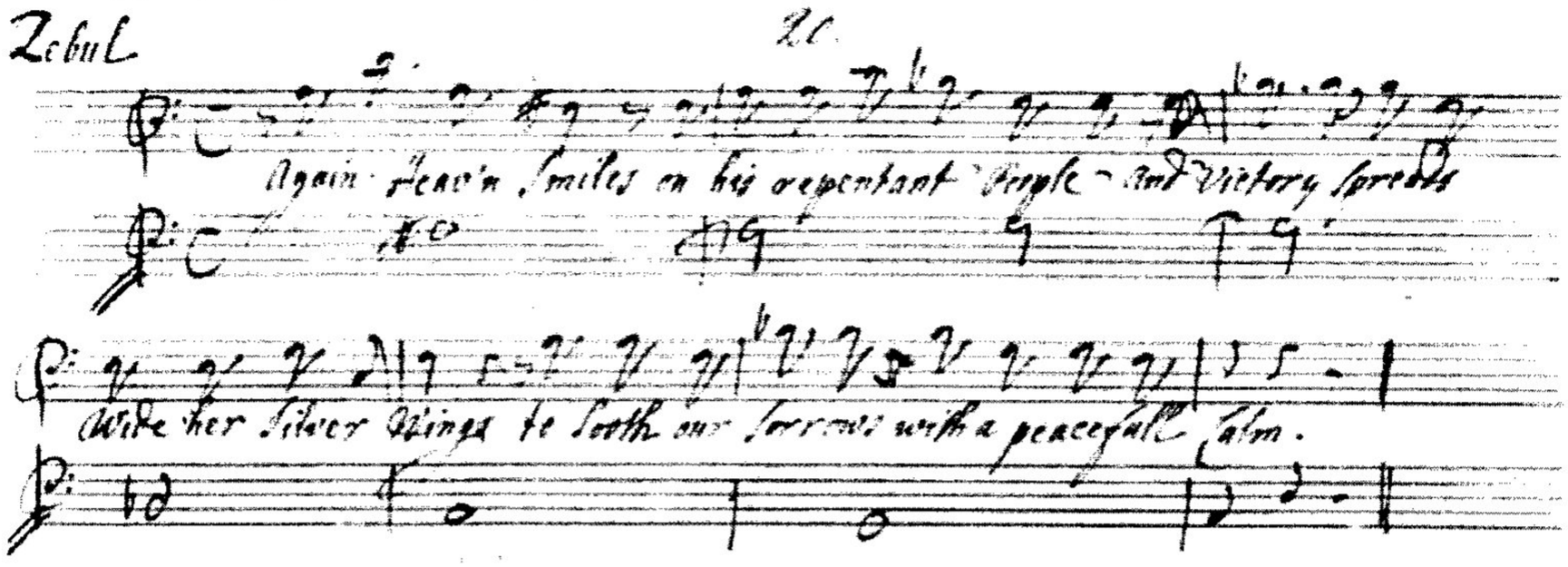


In the evolution of Smith's musical hand, three distinct stages may be discerned: early, middle, and late. The first is distinguished by those features already noted, and also by the use of stems consistently written on the modern side of the notes to which they belong, the appearance of the whole being rather neat and 'upright'. In the middle period copies, however, all stems are moved to the right and all descenders in the verbal text (especially the letters 'g' and 'y') become noticeably longer. Sometimes the notes lean to the right when the music looks as if it had been written in a hurry.

---

[3] Graham Pont, 'Some questions concerning Handel's early London copyists, *Early Music* XLIV, No. 2 (July 2016), 291 and fn. 28, infers that Smith learned this flourish from William Babell.

Elongated letter 'g' and forward-leaning notes (New recitative for *Jephtha* (*D-Hs* M A/1024) before 'Freedom now once more possessing', Act II, f. 20, probably 1753. The distinctive hook on the time signature has disappeared by this time.



This progressive elongation of the strokes when writing words as opposed to notes becomes even more marked in Smith's later hand, and the appearance here is generally rather untidy by comparison with that of his early hand. From 1740, the composer placed strokes on the right-hand side of every note and he retained the distinctive C clef which is common to all three periods. Though it is now accepted – among the community of Handel scholars at any rate – that the younger Smith was not a regular Handel copyist as such, his hand turns up in some rather odd places. In the discussion that follows, therefore, I have not only located these in the manuscripts in which they are to be found, but also attempted to answer some of the questions raised by their appearance in these particular contexts.

So far as the Handel copies are concerned, there are no fewer than four separate situations in which Smith's hand appears. In the first (A), the music was seemingly written between 1722 and 1729,[4] most likely as exercises assigned to him by Handel himself (as Smith's instructor in the earliest stages of his musical education). According to William Coxe, Smith began lessons with Handel when he was 13 years old (1725), but he prefaced that statement by saying that Smith had already given 'signs of a strong propensity to that science [music]'.[5] Even though the watermarks associated with several of these works

---

[4] Smith would have been ten years old in 1722.
[5] Coxe, 38.

would seem to place the manuscripts within this early date range, Smith could easily have availed himself of Handel's stockpile of older paper.

All the music in category B was copied by Smith in the late 1720s and very early 1730s, either as an actual (paid?) member of his father's copying team, or else, most likely, for his own use as a continuo player in Handel's operatic performances of the same period.[6] Category C, as will be seen, contains only three examples: the basso continuo or organ part for *Il Trionfo del Tempo e della Verità* before he had changed all down strokes to the right side, another with text only from 1740 (*Imeneo*), and the third (the organ concerto Op. 4 no. 6 most likely from 1737, as an arrangement of the harp part to bring it within organ range. Those copies written in Smith's mature hand under Handel's direction after the onset of the master's blindness (*c.*1753-59) and those copies from 1760-80s are grouped together under D.

For a full description of each item in the lists that follow, the reader is referred to Bernd Baselt's invaluable *Händel-Handbuch* under the individual HWV numbers. Whenever possible, watermarks (WM) have been identified, and the dates of those earlier than 1760 have been taken from the *Catalogue of Handel's Musical Autographs* by Donald Burrows and Martha J. Ronish. Post-Handelian dates, on the other hand, follow those of Hans Dieter Clausen, refined in some cases by the results of my own research and that of Donald Burrows.[7] Except where otherwise indicated, all numbers refer to folios rather than pages, and single upper or lower case letters in square brackets to keys, major or minor as the case may be. In many works, particularly those listed under category D, Smith supplied new text and/or other verbal addenda (including singers' names),[8] and for all of these, I have retained the original spelling. However, in order to distinguish between

---

[6] See Chapter I, 39, for a discussion of Smith's hand on *Imeneo.*

[7] 'Rastra, watermarks and copyists in the late insertions in the Conducting Scores of Handel's oratorios', Hans Joachim Marx (ed.), *Göttinger Händel-Beiträge,* Bd. VIII (Göttingen, 2000).

[8] While Smith occasionally wrote a full stop after titles (i.e. 'Mr.'), I have omitted all of them on the lists of singers.

titles (in single inverted commas) and those words (including title headings) actually in Smith's own hand, the latter are always contained with quotation marks proper (i.e.," Concerto"). All references to oratorios have been limited to the years during which Smith himself was involved: 1751or 1752 -59 in association with Handel, and 1760-74 with John Stanley. In those few instances where it is difficult to be certain whether individual words – singers' names especially – are in Smith's hand or that of his father, the problem is so noted.

A

1. *GB-Lbl*, R.M. 18.b.4 (Aylesford Collection)
This volume contains several opera arias in the hands of Smith, S2, and another unidentified person, and also a small number of keyboard pieces, the last four of which were copied by Smith. The WM here is Bc2 (Burrows/Ronish as B60; 1717-1730).[9]

67-68v [Prelude and Allegro] [in a] (HWV 576)
69-71 "Harpeggio" and "Gigue" [in g] (HWV 573 and 493b)

2. *GB-Lbl*, R.M. 18.b.8 (Aylesford Collection)
This volume contains a great many pieces, mostly for the harpsichord, and mostly (though not entirely) in Smith's juvenile hand.[10] Though some were included in contemporary Walsh publications such as *The New Flute Master for the Year 1729* and *Handel's Favourite Minuets*, Books I-IV (*c.*1755-62), many were unknown prior to 1928 when Barclay Squire and J. A. Fuller Maitland published their edition of the *Aylesford Pieces*. Several items from *Daphne* and *Florindo*, two very early Hamburg operas, are especially important, as they are the only extant copies (see also 4 below, *GB-Mp* MS 130 Hd. 4.v.11).

In the list that follows, only those pieces actually copied and/or titled in Smith's hand are included (except in two cases for 3 below: ff.5v and 31v); those for which no autographs, eighteenth-century prints or other manuscript copies are known to exist are marked with an asterisk (*). It appears that the plethora of minuets (or menuets) was a specific assignment for Smith since they are (with few exceptions) arranged by key. The WMs involved are Bc2 (1722, 1724) and Cc I and II (1728-40). Whoever numbered the

---

[9] See the beginning of the bibliography for a short explanation of the differences between Clausen's and Burrows/Ronish's watermarks.
[10] For commentary and a good modern edition of all those generally considered to be authentic, see Terence Best (ed.), *George Frederic Handel: Twenty Overtures in Authentic Keyboard Arrangements* (hereafter Best *Overtures*), 3 vols. (London, 1985).

folios omitted numbers for blank pages, so I have listed the works in the order in which I found them.

	Folio	Title	Key	HWV	Comments
*	5v-6	"Toccato"	g	586	Handel autograph lost, no other copies. The attribution to 'Mr. Handel' is not in Smith's hand.
	6v-7	"A tempo guisto del Sigr Handel"	g	583	The direction "Volti" together with the "Fine" on f. 7 would seem to suggest that this and HWV 586 above were intended by Smith to be played as a pair. Baselt labels 583 a 'Sonatina'.
	12-12v	"Concerto del Sigr Handel"	G	487:1	"Allegro" "Volti Segue" [to next item]
	13-13v	"Andante"	G	487:2	
	17v	"Air"	B ♭	471	Baselt: 'Kopie von Smith junior, *c.*1730'
	23-24	'Sonatina"	B ♭	585	"del Sigr Hendel" [*sic*]
	31-32v	"Aria pour des [*sic*] Corne de Chasse"	F	411	"del Sigr. Hendel" [*sic*] Copyist S2. Title only by Smith
	58v	"Fuga Sigr Handel"	G	582	Baselt: 'Sonatina'
*	61	"Imper-tenence"	g	494	Baselt: 'Bourée'
*	61v-63	"Coro"	B ♭	352:1	From *Daphne* (HWV 4).[11] This and the following seven movements (all from *Daphne*) obviously belong together and, unlike the rest of the music in this manuscript, are all set out in open score. Those marked "tutti" are clearly intended for oboes, bassoon and strings. The opening Coro and the two following movements, on the other hand, would appear to be for four-part strings only.
*	63-63v	[Bourrée]	B ♭	352:2	From *Daphne*
*	64-64v	"Allemande"	g	352:3	From *Daphne*
*	65-65v	"Rigadon a deux Hautbois"	G	352:4	"Basson" [*sic*]. From *Daphne*
*	65v-66v	"Allemande Tutti"	g	353:1	From *Daphne*
*	66v-67	"Bourre [*sic*] a deux Hautbois"	g	353:2	From *Daphne*
*	67v-68	"Tutti"	g	353:3	Baselt: 'Minuet'. From *Daphne*. The second half of this movement Smith marks "Violin Senza Oboei".
*	68-69v	"Allemande tutti Oboei e Violini"	G	353:4	From *Daphne* [Two folios both numbered 68]

[11] Dean, in *Operas i* links the two Hamburg operas *Daphne* and *Florindo*, 72-7 (see 4. Manchester Public Library below).

	72-72v	"Air"	F	465	And "Double 1", "Double 2". See Rivers MS 31v below.
	74v	"Menuet"	d	367a:1	
	77	"Menuet"	d	367a:7	
	77v-78	"Menuet"	d	508a	A variant form of HWV 508b below. From *Flavio* 16:5
	78	"Minuet"	d	507a	Baselt: 'Arrangement von Smith junior'. Smith copy *US-Bfa* E.M. Ripin Collection, 134-145. (See Chapter VII, 174) (See Chapter VII, 173, fn. 15)
	78v	"Menuet"	d	507a	
	79	"Minuet"	D	501	
*	79v	"Minuet"	D	502	From *Florindo* (HWV 3). See also HWV 344:2.
	80	"Minuet"	D	503	See also *Water Music*, Suite 1 (HWV 348:7)
	80v	"Minuet"	D	504	From *Radamisto* (HWV 12a:32)
	81	"Minuet"	e	508b	From *Flavio* (HWV 16:5). See also 77v above.
	82	"Minuet"	E ♭		Has no HWV number, but see *Il Floridante* (HWV 14:28c) and HWV 97:3.
	83	"Minuet"	F	509	
	83v	"Minuet"	F	510	See also *Il Floridante* (HWV 14:28a).
	83v	"Minuet"	F	511	"Adago". Trio in f. See also *Water Music*, Suite 1 (HWV 348:7).
*	84v	[Minuet]	F	512	From *Siroe* (HWV 24:30)
	85	"Menuet"	F	519	"Mr. Handel"
	85v	"Menuet"	F	513a	
	86	"Menuet"	F	514a.	Similar to 87v below
	86	"Minuet"	F	515a	
	86v	"Menuet"	F	516a	See also Concerto Op. 3 no. 4 (HWV 315:4) and Sonata in F for recorder and bc (HWV 363a:5).
	86v	"Menuet"	F	517	Also used as middle section of the last movement of Op. 3 no. 4
	87	"Menuet"	G	522	See also Concerto in B flat, Op. 3 no.2 (HWV 313:4) and Sonata in C for recorder and bc (365:5). A B ♭ version of this same movement (also in Smith's hand) appears on 98v below.
*	87v	"Minuet"	G	514b	Similar to the first minuet on 86 above. This is the only known copy.
	88	"Minuet"	G	524	
	89	"Menuet"	g	535b	Baselt: 'The Princess Sophie's favourite Minuet'
	89v	"Menuet"	g	534a	
	89v	"Menuet"	g	536	
	90	"Menuet"	g	537b	
	90v	"Minuet"	g	538a	
	90v	"Minuet"	g	539a	
	91	"Minuet"	g		Has no separate HWV number, but see Suite no. 1 in d, Second set (HWV 434:4)
	91v	"Minuet"	g	540b	
	92	"Minuet"	g	541	
*	93	"Menuet"	a	547	.
	94	"Minuet"	A	544	
	94	"Minuet"	A	545	See 'Phyllis be kind and hear me' (HWV 228:16).
	95	"Menuet"	D	558	See also *Poro* (HWV 28:31 and 32).
*	96	"Minuet"	B ♭	551	
	96v	"Minuet"	B ♭	552	
	96v-97	"Minuet"	B ♭	553	

	97	"Minuet"	B ♭	554	
	97v	"Minuet"	B ♭	555a	
	98	"Minuet"	B ♭	556	
	98	"Minuet"	B ♭	555b	
	98v	"Minuet"	B ♭	557	See also 87 above.
	99	"Menuet"	C	497	Keyboard arrangement of the last movement of the overture to *Rodelinda* (HWV 456[4]. Another copy, also in Smith's hand is *GB-Lfom*, Rivers MS, 18v below
	99v	"Minuet"	C	498	
	99v	"Passepied"	C	559	See also *Radamisto* (HWV 12a:31 and 32) in D.
	100	"Minuet"	C	499	Keyboard arrangement of the last movement of the overture to *Tamerlano* (HWV 18)

3. *GB-Lfom*, Gerald Coke Collection accession no. 1278; Rivers MS[12]
This volume is a collection of harpsichord pieces (mostly arrangements) very similar to that in R.M.18.b.8 above, and contains some of the earliest surviving Smith copies. There are also a few compositional exercises assigned to him by Handel. The WMs are a type C, no later than 1728 when Smith would have been 16 or younger.[13] The two items marked with a # are NOT Smith jnr copies. The first Smith copy begins on ff.17v-18v

Folio	Title	Key	HWV	Comments
# 5v	Aria	C	482[1]	Baselt (280) mistakenly lists this as a Smith copy.
17v-18v	Minuet	C	497	Keyboard arrangement [in conjunction with copyist HB1] of the last movement of the overture to *Rodelinda* (HWV 19). See also f. 99 above.
19-21	Gigue	F	7	An arrangement of the last movement of the overture to *Rinaldo*
22-23	Ouverture dell Opera Rinaldo	B ♭	7a:29	An arrangement of the second movement of the Sinfonia in Act III of *Rinaldo*
27-28v	"Ouverture del Opara [*sic*] Admeto"	d	22	An arrangement of the overture containing an extra Larghetto.
29-30	"Symfonie [*sic*] dell' Opera Admeto"	g	22:14	An arrangement of the instrumental movement before Act II of *Admeto*.
30v-31	"Symphonie [*sic*] in Admeto"	d	22	[Following this item is a minuet by Bononcini in Smith's hand, f.31v]
#31v	Air and 2 Doubles	F	465	Baselt (271) mistakenly lists this as a Smith copy.
31-33	"Overture in Alexander"	G	21	Best, *Overtures*, Vol. II, xxii, dates the copy *c.*1726-7
36v-37	Exercise [Fugue]	C		An exercise based on the subject of No. 6 of *Six Fugues or Voluntaries* (HWV 610)
40v-44	Thoroughbass studies			Two of these studies, in Handel's autograph, have been reproduced in Mann, 23 and 47.

---

[12] The manuscript bears the word 'Rivers'. Lady Rivers (*c.*1750-1835) was Smith's step-daughter. Alfred Mann, *Composition Lessons from the autograph collection in the Fitzwilliam collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge* (hereafter Mann), (London, 1978), 10, wrote that Smith copied these items for Lady Rivers, but she hadn't even been born yet.
[13] Donald Burrows kindly assisted with this identification.

45v-46	"Concerto del Sigr Hendel"	G	487	See also *Scipione* (HWV 20:28a). For another copy in Smith's hand, see R.M. 18.b.8 above, 12-13.
	"Allegro"	d	475	

4. *GB-Mp*, MS 130 Hd.4.v.11 (Newman Flower Collection)

This volume contains a copy of *Agrippina* (HWV 6) in the hands of copyists S2, H3, and Smith snr and also five movements from the early Hamburg opera *Florindo* (HWV 3) copied by Smith jnr about 1728.[14] The heading 'del Florindo' and the attribution to 'Sigr. Handel', however, are in another hand. Though the voice parts are lacking – the relevant staves are blank – all five are presented in full score. The WM is probably Bc2 (1722, 1724).

	Folio	Title	Key	HWV	Comments
*	85-87	"Aria"	a	3	From *Florindo*
*	87-87v	"Chorus"	D	3	From *Florindo*
*	88-88v	"Menuet"	D	3	A more complete version of the Minuet also copied by Smith on f. 79v in R.M. 18.b.8 above, from *Florindo*
*	89-92	"Aria"	e	3	"Andante" from *Florindo*
*	93-94v	"Aria"	d	3	"Larghetto" from *Florindo*. According to Winton Dean and John Merrill Knapp,[15] this is the earliest surviving Handel siciliano.

5. *GB-Lbl*, Add. MS 59795 (52-52v)

This manuscript is a keyboard arrangement in Smith's early hand of the overture to *Tolomeo* (HWV 25) and is much fuller in texture than any of the Smith arrangements in R.M. 18.b.8 above, but whether it too was a Handelian 'assignment' or was produced simply for Smith's own enjoyment, one cannot say. The WM shows only a fleur measuring 17.5/41/41.

6. *GB-WCr*, Malmesbury Collection 9M73/724, 9M73/725, 9M73/738, and 9M73/739[16]

	Number	Title	Date	HWV	Comments
*	9M73/724	Scipione Opera/Del/Sgr. G.F. Handel	1726	20	The volume contains the full score of the whole opera.[17] Winton Dean and John Merrill Knapp[18] describe this as 'the only score of this version [i.e., the March 1726 version of the opera] – or indeed of any other'. Words by Smith snr. WM Cb (1717-30)[19]
	9M73/725	*Alessandro*	1726	21	Smith worked closely with copyist S2, alternating even within a single movement. Smith copied pages 17-52, 58-62, 75-258 and 265-328. WM Cb (1717-30)

---

[14] Letter from Winton Dean, 1983.

[15] Dean *Operas i*, 75.

[16] Best, *Overtures*, 37-8. I am grateful to H. Diack Johnstone who personally identified specific sections in Smith's hand for me.

[17] Information concerning both *Alessandro* and *Scipione* kindly supplied by Winton Dean, letter 1984.

[18] Dean *Operas i*, 627.

[19] For watermarks and specific page numbers, I have referred to Terence Best and Donald Burrows: 'Guide to the Malmesbury Collection' (np, 1991), 48-50 and 76-79.

	9M73/738	Sonata's/and/Concerto's/Compos'd/ by/George Fredrick [*sic*] Handel Esq[r]:/ Partitura/London	1727	316, 312	'Sonata 6[a]' [actually Op. 3 no. 5] (HWV 316) is the first item in Smith's hand. 'Concerto Grosso', Op. 3 no.1 (HWV 312). Smith also wrote tempo directions for sections of four of the other sonatas.
	9M73/739	Keyboard arrangements of operatic overtures, sinfonias and other movements along with a few opera arias and harpsichord suite no. 3. See also R.M. 18.b.8, folio 78 above and the Menuet at *GB-Cfm* 265, 95-6.	1722[20]	436, 22	Smith began on page 222 with 'Suite de Pieces pour le Clavecin'. Everything else is in his hand including a keyboard arrangement of the Ouverture in *Admetus*, Act I (page 232) and later an Ouverture to *Admetus,* Act 2 (page 237). WMs Cb (1717-30) and Bb (1717-23)

B

1. *GB-Ob*, MS Mus. C. 108

This is a volume of Handel arias in which all those copied by Smith are from *Riccardo I* (HWV 23). In one form or another each is headed "Sung by [singer's name] in the Opera Richard Composed by Mr. Handel" – from which we may perhaps infer that they were prepared with a view to publication, and probably for the Cluer/Smith snr edition of 1730. All are in Smith's youthful hand and the WMs are Cb I and II (1718-1728).

Folio	Aria Title from *Riccardo I*	HWV	Comments
9-12	'Quel gelsomino, che imperla il prato'	23:14	'Sung by S[gra] Faustina'
13-16	'Di note il pellegrino'	23:11	'… by Cuzzoni'
17-19v	'Caro, vieni a me!'	23:15	'… by Cuzzoni'
20-20v	'Quanto tarda il caro bene'	23:16	' … by Senesino'
21-25v	'Ai guardi tuoi son pur vaga'	23:18	' … Faustina.'
26-31	'T'amo, sì!' "Duetto"	23:24	
36-39	'Tutta brillanti rai'	23:37	' … Faustina'

2. *D-Hs*, M A/1042a

This manuscript is a score of Handel's opera *Poro* (HWV 28) that Smith (together with his father and Hb1) copied, probably in January 1731. The WM is Cc (1728-40). This Clausen describes as a 'Cembalo-partitur (as opposed to the 'Direktionspartitur' of MS MA/1042), and it was probably produced for the younger Smith's own use as a continuo player during the 1736-7 season at Covent Garden. In addition to the 'Cembalo-partitur' above, Smith and his father shared the copying of the aria 'Serbati a grandi'. The elder Smith began writing on f. 103, the younger Smith taking over on f. 106. His hand is on the following long recitative and begins the accompagnato on f. 108v while his father carried on from f. 110 to the end. The existence of two such scores – *Poro* and *Orlando* (see below) – sets a pattern for the probable use of Smith as a continuo or organ player for Handel in at least some of the Italian operas.[21]

3. *GB-Lbl*, Add. MS 31565

This manuscript is a complete score of the opera *Orlando* (HWV 31), copied *c.*1733, probably for his own use as a keyboard continuo player at the King's Theatre in the

---

[20] Best, *Overtures* (xiv) dates all four works 1724-7.

[21] For further discussion of this point, and that in B3 below, see Ch. I, 27.

Haymarket. In several cases, however, the scoring is unspecified, and various other markings are also missing. This manuscript may be the 'Cembalo partitur' that Clausen (184) considers lost. The WMs are Cc (1728-40) and an unidentified C* type.

C

1. *D-Hs*, M A/1060 ff. 48v-49

This is Clausen's insertion 3 into Handel's *Il Trionfo del Tempo e della Verità* (HWV 46b). Smith wrote the basso continuo or organ part from 'Venga il Tempo', (HWV 46a:12) probably for his own use. The bass line was later used in the chorus of Baal's Priests in *Deborah* (HWV 51:20). WM is Bh (Clausen 1737-38).

2. *GB-Lbl*, R.M. 20.g.13

This is a score of the organ concerto in B flat, Op. 4 no. 6 (HWV 294) in Handel's own hand. 'Copy, in the hand of Smith junior, of 2-stave solo part for Concerto, Op. 4 no. 6, presumably for organ …'[22]

3. *D-Hs*, M A/1023

This is the conducting score of *Imeneo*, written for the 1740 production, and later altered into a concert version for Dublin and performed there on 24 and 31 March 1742. Smith wrote "Con 2d Violini Soli" above the aria 'V'è un n'infelice che per te more'.[23]

D

In actual fact, as the entries in section D show, it was not until 1753 that Smith next wrote upon or copied anything inserted into a Handel autograph or any one of the conducting scores normally used in performance. These consist largely of verbal addenda in his own hand: singers' names, directions for cuts, the transposition of certain movements, and the incorporation of others extracted from a variety of music both sacred and secular. With only one or two exceptions, all the later Smith/Handel material is of this type. These exceptions are 'new' arias, recitatives, and other concerted musical items produced for various revivals during the period when Smith was acting as Handel's assistant, but more particularly for his own performances of the oratorios given between 1760 and 1774.[24] Many of these addenda can be positively dated; nevertheless, there remain a fair number that cannot, and some of the suggestions made in what follows are necessarily tentative. Though Clausen lists all the musical additions to the Hamburg

---

[22] Burrows/Ronish, 197.
[23] Copy of folio with Smith's hand from Donald Burrows, *c.*1990, see Ch. I, 39. Baselt gives different words.
[24] See Chapter VII.

conducting scores in Smith's hand, he does not identify the purely verbal addenda as such. But these also shed a good deal of light on the kind of alterations to the oratorios made during the last years of Handel's life, and more still on the changes which followed after his death. Some of those musical alterations and additions which clearly belong to the immediate pre-1760 period are thoroughly discussed by Anthony Hicks in his article 'The late additions to Handel's oratorios and the role of the younger Smith',[25] and while some of these may well be, as Hicks conjectures, by Smith himself, it is those made after this date which more clearly define the nature of Smith's role in the posthumous history of Handel's oratorios.

Since a discussion of these alterations and additions concludes this dissertation, I have confined Smith's handwriting examples in section D to singers' names and specific directions for additions or transpositions.[26] This section includes all the oratorios performed during the seasons 1751-74 (whether or not Smith wrote on them) and also some non-oratorio works in the British Library and in the Fitzwilliam Museum,

Cambridge.

1. *Alexander Balus* (HWV 65)
(*D-Hs* M A/1001)
This conducting score covers revivals of 1754, 1768, and 1773.
Smith wrote the music for the recitative 'My Jonathan, didst thou mark' (between HWV 65:6 and 7) and directed that the following aria be "a note higher". He also wrote the music for the aria 'Beauty sure must spring' (E4, 1768) for Elizabeth [Linley, 1773] and after the aria 'Convey to me' Smith wrote "Chorus", effectively cutting a recitative and solo between the two. Because of the relatively long time span between the dates, it is fairly easy to place most of the singers in the appropriate years. WM Cp (1754-6)

- "Miss [Charlotte] Brent", 1754 (Aspasia)
- "Mrs Gervasio" replaced Brent 1768
- "Miss M[ary] Linley" replaced Gervasio in 1773
- "[Elizabeth] Weischell"(erased) (Alexander). For the 1773 performance Smith indicated that the aria 'Fury with red sparkling eyes' should be transposed up an octave
- "Miss E[lizabeth] Linley" (Cleopatra) in 1773, sang the higher part in a duet with her sister Mary

---

[25] Hicks, 147-69.
[26] See Appendix IV for Smith's oratorio singers.

2. *Alexander's Feast* (HWV 75)
(*D-Hs* M C/263)
This conducting score covers revivals of 1751, 1753, 1755, 1762-63, 1765-66, 1768, and 1770-74. Smith wrote only the singers' names, but with so many performances involved it is almost impossible to tell who sang what when. Though Smith, from 1762 onwards, almost always presented a coronation anthem in conjunction with *Alexander's Feast*, the conducting score for these anthems (MC/259) shows no signs of having passed through Smith's hands. The words "For Galli" and "Mr. Low" were added by Handel himself in 1751, and were written legibly but very large and slanted using a heavy dark pencil lead.

- "[Giulia] Frasi", 1751 and later
- "[Robert] Wass", 1753 and probably 1755
- "[Christina]"Passerini", 1755
- "Mrs [Isabella] Scott", 1755 and later
- "Miss [Charlotte] Brent", 1762 [?] and later
- "Mrs [Elizabeth] Weichsell", replaced Brent in 1767 or 1770
- "Sigra. Mosor" [sang 1762-1774]
- "Mr [Giusto Ferdinando] Tenducci", replaced Mosor *c.*1770
- "Mr [Tomasso] Guarducci", sang 1762, 1766, 1768

3. *L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato* (HWV 55)
(*D-Hs* M A/1002)
This conducting score covers revivals in 1754, 1755, 1764, 1772, and 1773. After 1755 Smith omitted the 'Moderato' section. The following singers' names are in Smith's hand, but nothing else is:

- "[Giulia] Frasi", 1754 and probably 1755
- "[Christina] Passerini", 1754 and probably 1755
- "[Gaetano] Guadagni", 1754 and probably 1755
- "Miss [Charlotte] Brent", 1764 [?]
- "Mrs [Isabella] Scott, 1764 [?]
- "[John] Beard", 1954, 1955, 1964

4. *Athalia* (HWV 52)
(*D-Hs* M C/264)
Performed only in 1756
Direction: "Chorus around let acclimation. Anthem The King shall rejoice. Finis."
Singers' names are

- "[John] Beard" (Nathan)
- "[Robert] Wass" (Abner)
- "[Giulia] Frasi" (Josabeth)
- "[Rosa] Cur[ioni]" (Athalia)
- "[Catherine] From[antel]", [actually Fourmantel] (Joad)
- "Boy" (Joas)

5. *Belshazzar* (HWV 61)
(*D-Hs* M A/1009)
Performed only in 1758

Although Smith was obviously responsible for some alterations in 1758, there is nothing else in his hand for this work.
The Hall Collection (*US-PRu*) has a copy of *Belshazzar* in Smith snr's hand. In Volume III Smith jnr corrected his father's tenor and alto clefs and added a soprano clef which his father had forgotten to write. WM is a Ci type (1745).

6. *The Choice of Hercules* (HWV 69)
(*D-Hs* M A/1022)[27]
There are no Smith marks at all on this manuscript.

7. *Deborah* (HWV 51)
(*D-Hs* MC/258)
Revived in 1754, 1756, 1764, 1766, 1767, and 1771
Almost every one of the additions is either a direct parody or an item brought in from another oratorio. The only exception is a new five-measure ritornello at the beginning of 'Our fears', undoubtedly written by Smith.
Smith also wrote the organ part of the fugal exposition for the overture as well as the words "Chorus in Athalia", but whether this was Handel's idea or Smith's is difficult to determine. Smith's hand includes singers' names:

- "Sigra [Giulia] Frasi" (Deborah), 1754, 1756 and probably 1766 and 1767
- "Miss [Isabella] Young" [later Mrs Scott] (Barak), 1754, 1756
- "Mrs Mosor" (Barak) replaced Young 1764 [?]
- "Mrs [Isabella] Scott" (Jael), 1764 or later. For the recitative 'Thy transports', Smith wrote "Mrs. Scott a Note Lower". He also wrote "Hautbois soli" above the duet 'I'll proclaim'
- "Mr [John] Beard" (Sisera), 1754, 1756 and 1764
- "Sigr [Giusto Ferdinando] Tenducci" (Barak) replaced Mosor 1767 or 1771
- "[Christina] Passer[ini]",[28] 1754

8. *Esther* (HWV 50)
(*D-Hs* M C/261a)
Performed 1757, 1767, and 1768
Esther contains a new setting of 'As pants the hart' in e in the hand of S5 but with corrections in Smith's hand, probably in 1767. The other items in Smith's hand are singers' names:

- ["Giulia] Frasi" (Esther, Israelite woman), 1757 and probably 1767 and 1768
- "Arne" [née Cecilia Young], 1757
- "Pinto" [née Charlotte Brent], (Esther), 1767 and1768
- "[Isabella] Young", 1757
- "[Samuel] Champness", (Haman), bass, 1757, 1767 and 1768
- "[Joseph] Vernon", (Ahasuerus) tenor, 1757 and perhaps later,
- "Sigr [Tomasso] Guarducci" (Ahasuerus), 1768

---

[27] Clausen incorrectly lists this as M A/1012.
[28] Clausen lists Curioni [1756], but I was unable to find her name. Neither do I know what part Passerini sang in 1754.

9. *Israel in Egypt* (HWV 54)
(*D-Hs* M C/262)
Performed 1756-58
This is the first of two conducting scores in Hamburg and Smith's hand is limited to singers only.

- "[Catherine] From[antel]", [actually Catherine Fourmantel who flourished 1758-60, her name appearing twice, 1758
- "[Giulia] Fra[si]", 1756-58
- "Miss [Charlotte] Brent", 1756-58
- "[John] Beard", 1756-58
- "[Isabella] Scott", 1758

10. *Israel in Egypt* (HWV 54)
(*D-Hs* M C/262a)
Performed 1765-67, 1769, and 1771
This is the second conducting score on which Smith made drastic alterations (see Chapter VII, 189-91). He also created names for a number of characters: David; the Levites Zechariah, Benaiah, and Mattathiah; and Asaph. Besides the radical alterations, he wrote the following singers' names:

- "[Giusto Ferdinando] Tenducci" (Mattathiah), (1765) erased, "A note higher" f. 5; also ff. 38 and 72).
- "[Giulia] Fr[asi]" (Mattathiah) (ff. 5v-7 and 72), duet with Scott (Part III, ff. 13-4, 1766 and later "Mr Norris" (ff. 8 and 53-4), 1767
- "[Isabella] Scott" (Zechariah) (ff. 26, 57). (Benaiah, f. 59), duet with Weischell (Part III, ff. 13-4)
- "Mrs [Elizabeth] Weischell" (Benaiah), (f. 28), replaced Scott (f. 59), duet with Scott, (Part III, ff. 13-4)
- "Sigr [Giusto Ferdinando] Tenducci" (Mattathiah), (1769-70), replaced Frasi (ff. 38v and 72)
- "Mrs. Mosor" crossed out (f. 72)
- "Brent" (Part III, f. 13), duet with Frasi

Part I new secco recitatives (unless labelled otherwise)

- 'Know then, my Asaph?'(David, f. 8)
- 'Lo! Sire, the sons of music will attend' (Asaph, f. 10)
- 'Jehovah Lord' (accomp.) (f. 5-5v)
- 'Now there arose a new king' (David, ff. 11v-12)
- 'Then sent he Moses, his Servant' (David, (ff. 21v-22 at the bottom)
- 'This the magicians did' (Zechariah, f. 26)
- 'Nor the musicians with their art' (Benaiah, f. 28)
- 'The plague now ceased' (David, f. 29v)
- 'This new creation' (Mattathiah, f. 38v)
- 'Yet pharaoh still exalted' (David, f. 40v)

Part II new secco recitatives (unless labelled otherwise)

- 'Pharaoh now pierced with deep contrition' (accomp.) (David, f. 49v)
- 'When Pharaoh saw the feasting' (Asaph, f. 52v)
- 'Moses left the city' (David, f. 50)
- 'Three days thus' (Zechariah, f. 57)
- 'Thrice happy Israel' (accomp.) (Benaiah, ff. 59v-60)

- 'But soon as pharaoh' (David) (f. 61v)
- 'Hence Israel rejoyc'd' (Matthiah, f. 72
- 'God looking down" (Asaph) (f. 82)

Part III (new folio numbers, beginning with f. 1)

With the exception of singers' names noted above, S5 copied everything in this part.

11. *Jephtha* (HWV 70)

(*D-Hs* M A/1024)

Performed 1753, 1756, 1758 and 1763 (libretto dated 1762 'Printed for the Administrator of J. Watts' (who died in 1763)

See Chapter VII, 204-05, for possible Smith additions to this oratorio.

The recitative 'Again Heav'n smiles on his repentant people' (in his hand, see above, page 212) is probably Smith's.

- "Sigr [Giusto Ferdinando] Tenducci" (Hamor), 1763
- "The Boy"
- "Miss Polly Young" (Angel and Iphis)[29]

12. *Joseph and his Brethren* (HWV 59)

(*D-Hs* M A/1025)

Revivals occurred in 1751, 1755, 1757, and 1768

Smith wrote the following recitative and directions:

- Recit. 'Pardon, that I so long forgot thee, Joseph' (Part 1, scene 3)
- "A third higher" for Guarducci on 'The peasant tastes', 1768
- "One third higher – g" on duet 'O pity'
- "A third higher" for Guarducci on "Come divine inspirer', 1768
- "One note lower in C" for Scott on 'Our fruits, while yet in blossom, die', 1768
- "Adagio" before the double bar in the middle of the chorus 'Hail, Hail, thou youth'
- "Ad libitum" above bar 20 of Asenath's aria 'Prophetic raptures swell'

Smith also names the following singers

- "[Christina] Passerini" (Phanor, originally for alto), 1757
- "[Giulia] Frasi" (Asenath), 1755 and 1757
- "[John] Beard" (Judah), 1755 and 1757
- "[Tommaso] Guarducci" (Joseph), 1768
- "Mrs [Isabella] Scott" (Phanor), 1768
- "Mrs [Charlotte] Pinto" (Asenath), 1768

13. *Joshua* (HWV 64)

(*D-Hs* M A/1027a)

Performed 1752, 1754, and 1769

Smith changed the words 'As charms the sun' to 'As chears the sun' (Achsah). He also wrote the names of two singers on the manuscript:

- "Miss [Charlotte] Brent", for the two insertions (E1 and E2) (Achsah), 1754
- "Sigra Mosor", also named as "Mrs Mosor" (Othniel), 1769

---

[29] Clausen also lists Scott and Tenducci as being probably in Smith's hand, but by the time I was able to examine the manuscript the pencil marks had disappeared or were so light that they could not be read.

14. *Judas Maccabaeus* (HWV 63)[30]
(*D-Hs* M A/1026)
Performed yearly 1751-1774
Smith's hand appears on the organ or bc part for 'Sion now her head shall raise' (Vol. II, ff. 15-16v), WM Cr (1755-58); he also wrote directions for 'Pious orgies' to be transposed "A note lower" for Brent
Smith wrote the following singers' names:

- "Miss [Isabella]Young" (Israelitish Man) crossed out
- "Miss [Charlotte] Brent" following Miss Young above, sometime later (Israelitish Woman)
- "Mrs. [Isabella] Scott" following Miss Brent (Israelitish man)
- "[Giulia] Frasi" (Israelitish woman)
- "Sigra Mosor" (Israelitish man), crossed out, later Israelitish woman, also Israeli messenger)
- "Sigr. [Giusto Ferdinando] Tenducci" (Israelitish man), following Mosor above, at least twice
- "[Gaetano] Guadagni" (Israelitish man), crossed out

Singers for 1773 were Elizabeth and Mary Linley, Elizabeth Weischell, Thomas Norris, and Robert Parry.

15. *Messiah* (HWV 56)
(*GB-Lbl*, MS R.M. 20. F.2)
This is Handel's autograph. On folio 21, the beginning of the duet and chorus 'How beautiful are the feet', "Miss Young" is in Smith's hand. Isabella Young, later Mrs Scott, sang in the Foundling Hospital *Messiah* in 1758 and 1759, and it may have been for her that Handel revived the duet sometime during the last two years of his life.[31] But why Smith should have written on the autograph after having already written on the Tenbury copy (17 below) remains a mystery.[32]

16. *Messiah* (HWV 56)
(*D-Hs* M A/1030)
Performed yearly after Handel's death
Smith wrote the following names:

- "Sigr [Giusto Ferdinando] Tenducci"
- "[Gaetano] Guadagni "Sigra Mosor"
- "[Charlotte] "Brent" and later "[Charlotte] Pinto", née Brent[33]

Smith snr was responsible for 'Frasi' and another unidentified hand for 'Storer'.

---

30 See item 35 for Smith's partial copy of 'Great in wisdom'
31 See Donald Burrows, 'The Autographs and Early Copies of "Messiah": Some Further Thoughts', *ML* 66 (1985), 214-15 for a discussion of this point.
32 Perhaps he wrote first on the autograph and then the following year on the Tenbury MS.
33 She appeared as 'Pinto' in Salisbury, 1766. According to Burrows/Ronish, 306, the names 'Sigr Reciaralli [*sic*]' and 'Miss Young Reciarelli' appear on f. 57, but I was not able to see them.

17. *Messiah* (HWV 56)[34]
(*GB-Ob* Tenbury MSS 346-347)
Performed yearly from 1742
This is a conducting score on which Smith wrote only key changes and singers' names on at least three separate occasions.

- Smith *may* have written "Galli", 1754 or earlier, in red (f. 35)
- Smith wrote "Miss Frederick", 1758, in pen (f. 71)

These names were written with a very sharp pencil:

- "[Angiola] Calori", 1761 and every year through 1774 (f. 20)
- "Mr [Thomas] Norris", 1761 and/or later (f. 59v)

These three also sang together for Smith's *Rebecca* in 1761.
Smith also asked for the following transpositions:

- On f. 20 of Vol. 1, Smith wrote "Calori" in "G flat flat" (i.e. G minor).
- The aria 'He was despised' was to be written for "Mr. Norris in F" (Part II, f. 5).

18. *Occasional Oratorio* (HWV 62)
(*D-Hs* M A/1033)
Performed only in 1763
Smith radically altered this oratorio after Handel's death[35]
Singers' names on the manuscript are

- "[Giulia] Frasi"
- "[Isabella] Scott"
- "P[olly] Young"
- "[John] Beard"

19. *Ode for the Birthday of Queen Anne* (HWV 74)
(*D-Hs* M C/183)
Probably performed for the coronation of George III
Smith wrote the words "My breast a sacred impuls [*sic*] feels./ In rapid strains untaught I sing/ a Nations joy my song revels,/ My lov'd my glorious theme the King", probably to replace the recurring chorus 'The day that gave great Anna birth'.
A 1762 wordbook for *Alexander's Feast* reads '... on occasion of the King's Coronation and Marriage; adapted to Mr. Handel's Musick composed for the Birth-day of Queen Anne, in 1714'.[36]

20. *Ode for St. Cecilia's Day* (HWV 760)
(*D-Hs* M A/1031)
Performed 1754, 1755, 1764,1766, and 1769-74
Except for the first of these dates, the work was performed in conjunction with either *Acis and Galatea*[37] or *L'Allegro.* Smith's addenda are once again confined to singers' names:

- "[Giulia] Frasi", soprano, 1754, 1755 and probably 1764 and1766
- "[Gaetano] Guadagni", alto, 1754 and 1755

---

[34] Beginning on f. 67 of the second and third combined parts, Smith snr and copyist S5 took turns writing: in bars 1-4 and again in bars 24 to the end, Smith snr wrote the music and S5 the words; in bars 5-23, S5 wrote both.
[35] See Chapter VII, 187-88.
[36] Donald Burrows, 'Eternal Source for Speculation', *The Handel Institute Newsletter,* Vol. 20, no.2, (London, Autumn 2009), 5-7. The words 'Frasi' and 'Scott' appear on the M C/183.
[37] Surprisingly, there appears to be no extant conducting score of *Acis and Galatea* associated with Smith.

- "Miss [Charlotte] Brent", soprano, following Frasi, either 1766 or 1769
- "Mrs Scott" [née Isabella Young], alto, 1764, 1766 and probably later

21. *Samson* (HWV 57)
(*D-Hs* M A/1048)
Revivals in 1754-55 and 1759-74

Only singers' names and one transposition in Smith's hand appear on this manuscript and, as is the case with *Alexander's Feast*, exact years have been difficult to determine.

- "Mrs [Giulia] Frasi" (Dalilah), 1755 and probably for every production until at least 1769
- "Miss [Charlotte] Brent" (Philistine woman, virgin and Israelite woman); before 1766 when she became Mrs. Pinto
- "[James] Vernon" (Samson), 1767, replacing Beard
- "Mrs [Isabella] Scott" (Micah), after 1764
- "[Giusto Ferdinando] Tenducci" (Micah), at least three different years (in London 1758-65, returned 1768), replaced Scott in 1768 or later
- "Mr [Thomas] Norris" (Manoah), replaced Vernon after 1767
- "Sigra. Mosor" (Philistine woman), "A note lower", replaced Brent, probably in 1766; last appearance 1769
- "Miss M[ary] Linley" (Micah) 1773, replaced Tenducci

22. *Saul* (HWV 53:11b)
The conducting score covers a 1754 revival only.
What is extremely puzzling is the fact that the last known performance of *Saul* in London was in 1754. It must have been projected for performance in the early 1760s.

23. *Semele* (HWV 58)
(*D-Hs* M A/1050)
Performed in1762 only

- For this manuscript, Smith changed the words from what his father had written in Vol. I
- From 'Hail Cadmus hail' to "Hail Virtue hail"
- From 'Jove salutes the Theban King' to "Fame shall bear thee on its wing"
- From 'Semele enjoys above' to "Joacim will ever prove"
- From 'On her bosom Jove reclining' to "On her bosom soft reclining"
- From 'Useless now his thunder lies' to "Useless now his glory lies"
- From 'To her arms his bolts resigning' to "To her arms his fame resigning"
- From 'and his lightning' to "find his triumphs"

In Vol. II, Smith wrote "Mrs [Isabella] Scott" (Juno) and someone else the words 'for the Girl' in Vol. III

24. *Solomon* (HWV 67)[38]
(*D-Hs* M C/268a)
Performed in 1759 and 1765
Smith wrote "Mrs [Isabella] Scott" above 'How green our fertile pastures' in 1759

---

[38] See Chapter VII, 194-97.

25 *Solomon* (HWV 67)
(*GB-Lbl* R.M. 20.g.3)
On ff. 32-34v of Handel's autograph, Smith wrote the words "Wise, great and good" over Handel's 'Wise, valiant, good' for 1759; also on f. 32 he wrote "for Mr Beard".
On f. 74 he wrote "a 3rd Lower A for Miss Young".[39]

26. *Susanna* (HWV 66)
(*D-Hs* M A/1055)
Performed 1759
Smith's additions to this manuscript consist only of the following directions:

- Over 'Clouds o'ertake the brightest day' he wrote "When the clouds o'ertake the brightest day"; he also added new words to the 'B' section and, at the beginning, the instruction "g to be plac'd into Solomon".
- On Chelsias' recitative, 'Lives there in Babylon', Smith wrote "Wass to speak this Rect."; he did the same in Chelsias's recitative 'The joyful news' in Part III.
- In Part III, for the recitative 'Oh wondrous youth' Smith wrote "Another Bass must speak this Recit."
- Smith directed that the copyist of the chorus 'A virtuous wife' should add "Trumpets and horns".

27. *Theodora* (HWV 68)
(*D-Hs* M A/1058)[40]
Performed 1755, (planned 1759), 1761, and 1767
Smith directed that 'As with rosy steps' be transposed "A note higher D #" for Charlotte Brent, 1761
Singers' names are

- "Mr [John] Beard" (Septimius), 1755, 1759 and 1761
- "Bass" (Valens) for 'Cease ye slaves'. Quilici sang bass for Smith in 1761
- "Miss [Charlotte] Brent" (Irene), 1761, perhaps 1767 before she became Scott
- "Mr [Thomas] Norris" (Didymus, alto),[41] 1761

28. *Theodora* (HWV 68)
(*US-Wc* M.L. 96.H.156, ff. 2-3v)
Performed 1755, (planned 1759), 1761 and 1767

- Smith Autograph 'Lost in anguish quite despairing', ff. 2-3v
- See Chapter VII, 199, for a discussion of this work.

29 *Trionfo del Tempo e della Verità* (HWV 46a)
(*D-Hs,* M S 1060)

- For 'Quel del Ciel', Smith wrote "A Third Lower" (f. 103v)
- Smith wrote the words "Hence I hasten, then fear for thy danger!" (*Deborah*) over the 6/8 version of 'Come nembo che fugge col vento' (HWV 46a:29); (these are different words from those in *Athalia*). Smith also copied the basso continuo part for the chorus (not in MS now) to follow the aria 'Vega il Tempo' which was later transferred to *Deborah* (see C1 above).

---

[39] Borrows/Ronish, 172, 174.
[40] Clausen lists this conducting score as M A/1056.
[41] The part of Didymus is for alto, and 'Mr.' Norris sang other roles as alto in 1761.

30. *The Triumph of Time and Truth* (HWV 71)
(*D-Hs* MA/1060a)
Performed 1757, 1758, and 1760
In Vol. I, Smith wrote "Recit" for 'Sorrow darkens ev'ry feature'
In Volume II, Smith wrote "aria" before 'No more complaining'
In Volume III, Smith wrote "Recit & Song" before 'Once more' and 'Charming beauty'
Singers' names in his hand are:

- "Frasi Solo", 1757
- "Beralta Solo", 1757
- "Miss [Isabella] Young & a Boy", 1757
- "Miss [Charlotte] Brent" (Deceit)
- "[Joseph or Thomas] Baildon" for 'Pleasure submits to pain' (alto clef)
- Elsewhere 'Thomas Baildon' is in the hand of Smith snr

For this oratorio, Smith wrote the words of the aria 'Pleasure's gentle Zephyrs playing' on Handel's score of *Agrippina* (R.M. 20 .a.3, f. 8-8v).[42]

31. Coronation Anthem, Let thy hand be strengthened (HWV 259)
(*GB-Lbl,* R.M. 20.h.5)
Smith copied f. 11, 'probably after 1755, to replace page lost from the autograph' and on the same folio he wrote "Anthems for the Coronation of his Majesty King George the 2nd".[43]
Smith also wrote a few bars of music and text from 'The King shall rejoice' on
f. 34v and more text on f. 35.[44]

32. Dettingen Te Deum (HWV 283)
GB-Lbl, R.M. 20.h.6
It would appear that the last folio (35) of Handel's autograph containing the last seven bars of the final chorus had been lost and that Smith replaced these before presentation to George III in 1775.[45]

33. Italian Cantata (HWV 132c, f.19v)
*GB-Lbl,*MS R.M. 20.g.8
Burrows and Ronish (184) suggest that the words 'Countr./Ten:' may possibly be in Smith's hand, but I have found no other instance where Smith wrote on cantatas.

34. Chandos Anthem 5b (HWV 250b)[46]
GB-Lbl, MS R.M. 18.b.7
This is a replacement for the second half of the anthem which apparently became separated from Handel's autograph when the music was recopied for the last chorus of *Belshazzar*.[47]

35. *GB-Cfm* MS 265 (formerly MS 30.h.15)[48]

---

[42] Burrows/Ronish, 7.
[43] Burrows/Ronish, 212.
[44] Burrows/Ronish, 212-3.
[45] Burrows/Ronish, 214.
[46] Burrows and Ronish, *xi* and *xviii.*
[47] Information from Donald Burrows, June 2017.
[48] See Chapter VII, 172-76, for a discussion of these items.

This manuscript is a miscellaneous collection of Handel items, five of which were written in Smith's mature hand in connection with the late oratorio productions.

Pages 83-9 contain a copy of Op. 7 no. 3 (HWV 308), without the organ part, labelled "Concerto per Organo ed altri stromenti". Smith wrote "Ad libitum" on bars 10-21 and 75-87 and the following unwritten 'Adagio e fuga'. Part of the Spiritoso has also been rearranged with three large "Ad libitum" sections, and there is no Minuet. This copy was probably made in 1755 for a performance of *Alexander's Feast* and *The Choice of Hercules*. The WM is type Cr (1755-1758).

Pages 91-3 contain a Minuet in D (no separate HWV number). The three-stave score for strings (the second marked 'Viola' and 'Viol: 3)' is labelled "Concerto in Otho". Rests in the manuscript make it clear that the organ or woodwind parts are missing. This, like pp. 83-9 above, must have been for one of the oratorios in the later 1750s. The WM is type F2 (1755-1764).

Pages 95-6 contain a copy of a "Menuet" in d (HWV 507a). The middle line of the three-stave score for strings is once again marked "Viola" and "viol: 3". This is a Smith arrangement, based on the Menuetto from the second set of harpsichord suites (HWV 436). Three five-bar rests for all parts were probably filled by Handel's improvisatory organ playing as in HWV 308 above. (See also *GB-Lbl,* R.M.18.b.8, f. 78, item A.2 above). The WM is type Bm (Clausen, 1759).

Pages 97-102 contain a Gavotte in g from Op. 7 no. 5 (HWV 310:6) at the head of which Smith has written "This after the Menuet". This arrangement, the only known manuscript source for the 1761 Walsh publication of this work, is based on a much-used motif (see HWV 6:17, 150:2, 291:4, 360:4 and 379:5). Page 101 has three bars crossed out as if Smith himself (or Handel dictating?) changed his mind. The WM is type Bm (Clausen 1759).[49]

Pages 105-8 contain a partial manuscript of the aria 'Great in wisdom', an addition to the oratorio *Judas Maccabaeus* in 1758. The manuscript has many corrections and additions which suggest that Smith himself is most probably responsible for the arrangement (which is based on *Agrippina* (HWV 6:41).[50]

---

[49] *GB-Lbl* R.M. 19.f.7, f. 57v contains incipts of the organ concerto movements, possibly as a draft for the preparation of Op. 7. Information gratefully supplied from Donald Burrows, June 2017.
[50] See Chapter VII, 206.

APPENDIX II A: *MESSIAH* AND OTHER REVENUE

FROM PERFORMANCES AT THE FOUNDLING HOSPITAL DIRECTED BY SMITH

Date	Tickets	Income	Expenses	Net Profit	Sources[1]
3 May 1759	892	£468.6.0	£59.18.0	£408.8.0	7: 59 (8 May 1759)
2 May 1760	542	£309.0.6[a]	£53.13.6	£256.7.0[a]	7: 269 (May 1760)
24 April 1761	436	£228.18.0	£52.15.0[b]	£176.3.0[b]	7: 430 (May 1761)
5 May 1762	217	£113.18.6	£60.10.6	£53.8.0	8:113 (19 May 1762)
29 April 1763	293	£153.16.6	£54.19.0[c]	£98.17.6[c]	8:259 (4 May 1763)
1 May 1764	243	£127.11.6[d]	£54.10.0	£73.1.6[d]	9:67 (8 May 1764)
2 April 1765	233	£122.6.6	£59.9.0	£63.17.0	9:212 (10 April 1765)
15 April 1766	[377][e]	£197.19.6	£65.10.6	£132.9.0	10:50 (7 May 1766)
29 April 1767	350[f]	£183.15.0	£67.12.6	£116.2.6[f]	10:204 (6 May 1767)
12 May 1768	318	£166.19.0	£57.1.6	£109.17.6	11:98 (18 May 1768)
Totals	3,900	£2,072.11.0	£584.0.0	£1,488.11.0	

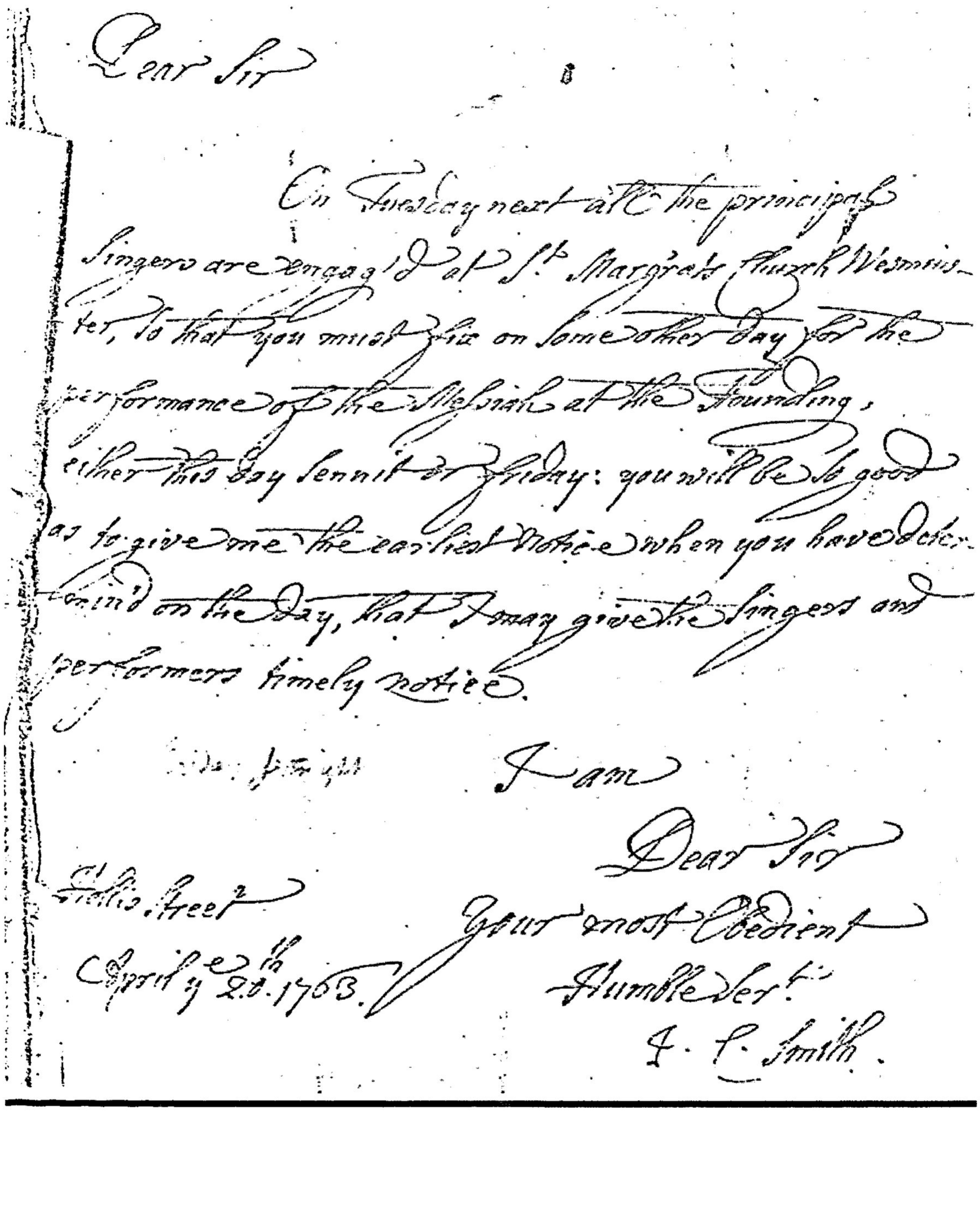
a. includes a £25 benefaction from Princess Amelia
b. includes only expenses for performers (net profit copied as given)
c. includes only expenses for performers (net profit not given, my subtraction)
d. includes a mistake rectified later (2 more tickets sold, add £1.1.0)
e. No ticket count given. At 10s 6d per ticket, there would have been 377 tickets sold with 1 shilling extra
f. Includes a mistake rectified later (2 fewer tickets sold, subtract £1.1.0)

OTHER REVENUE FROM PERFORMANCES DIRECTED BY SMITH

Date	Event	Profit	Source
24 May 1759	Handel Memorial Concert	£83.9.6	7:70 (30 May 1759)
1 June 1760	Anthem and Sermon	£58.13.6	7:279 (4 June 1760)
3 May 1761	Anthem (Sermon?)	£55.9.2	7:430 (6 May 1761)
Total		£202.12.2	

[1] Information is from the Minutes of the General Committee, *GB-Lma* A/FH/K/02/00x (where x is the volume number). The volume no. is given first, followed by the page no. and date of the entry.

APPENDIX II B1[2]
HAND OF SMITH JUNIOR



Sir Henry Fox

On Thursday next all the principal Singers are engag'd at St. Margrets Church Westminster, so that you must fix on some other Day for the performance of the Psalms at the Foundling, either this Day Sennit or Friday: you will be so good as to give me the earliest Notice when you have determin'd on the Day, that I may give the Singers and Performers timely notice.

I am

Dear Sir

Your most Obedient

Humble Serv.t

T. F. Smith.

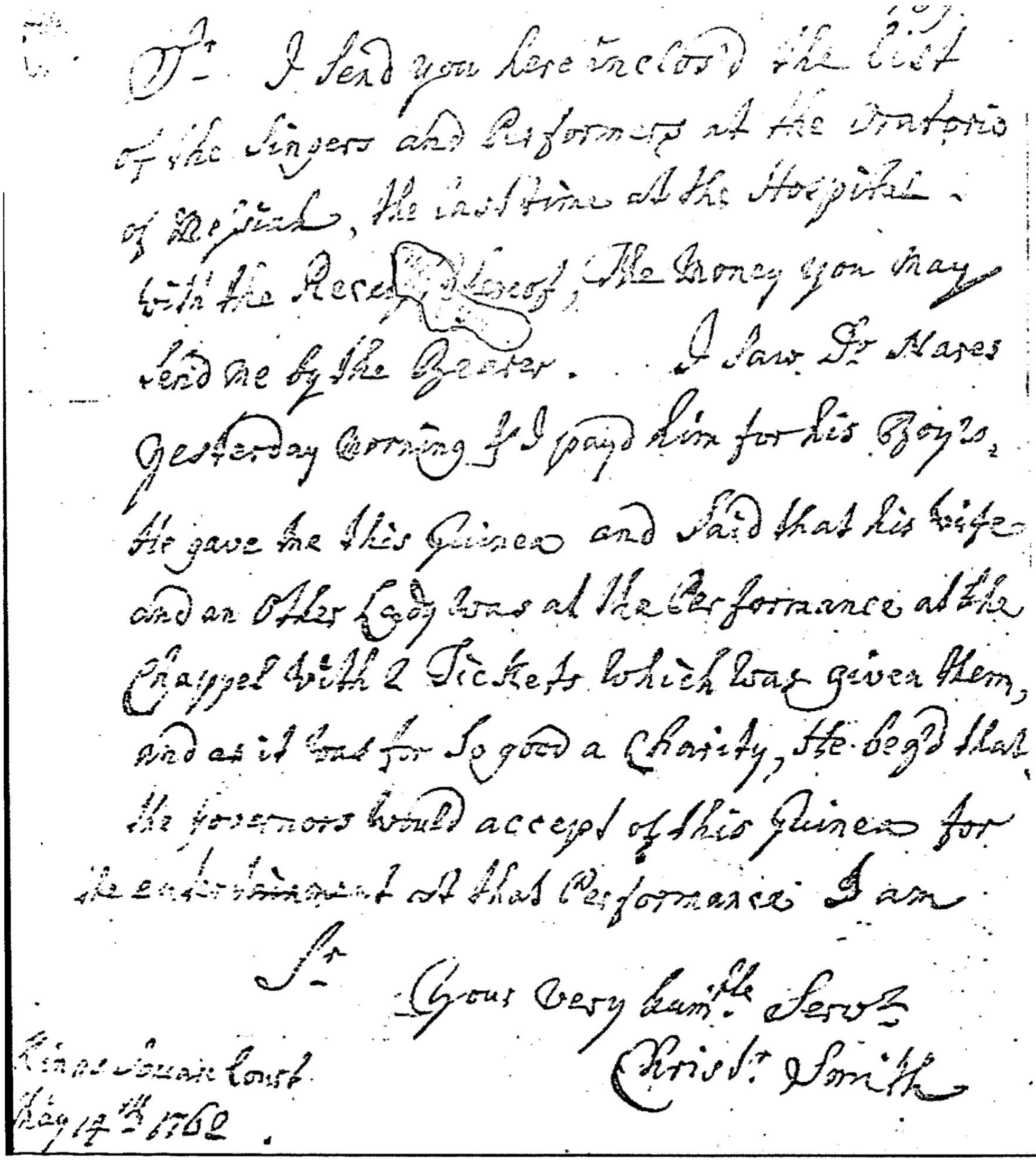
Thos. Greer

Sprin.g Gd.n 20.th 1763.

---

[2] The two letters (II B1 and B2) and the two hymns (II B3 and B4 are now at the London Metropolitan Archives. The Foundling's Hymn was reprinted in *The Christian's Magazine* (in G), [month not available] 1763, 472.

APPENDIX II B2
HAND OF SMITH SENIOR



D^r. I send you here Inclos'd the List of the Singers and Performers at the Oratorio of Messiah, to be Sung at the Hospital on Thursday the 19th Instant. The Money you may send me by the Bearer. I saw St Mary Yesterday Morning & paid him for his Boys, he gave me his Quinea and said that his Wife and an Alto Boy were at Performance at the Chappel with 2 Tickets which was given them, and as it was for so good a Charity, she begd that the Governors would accept of his Guinea for the entertainment of that Performance I am

S^r

Your very humble Servt

Christ^r Smith
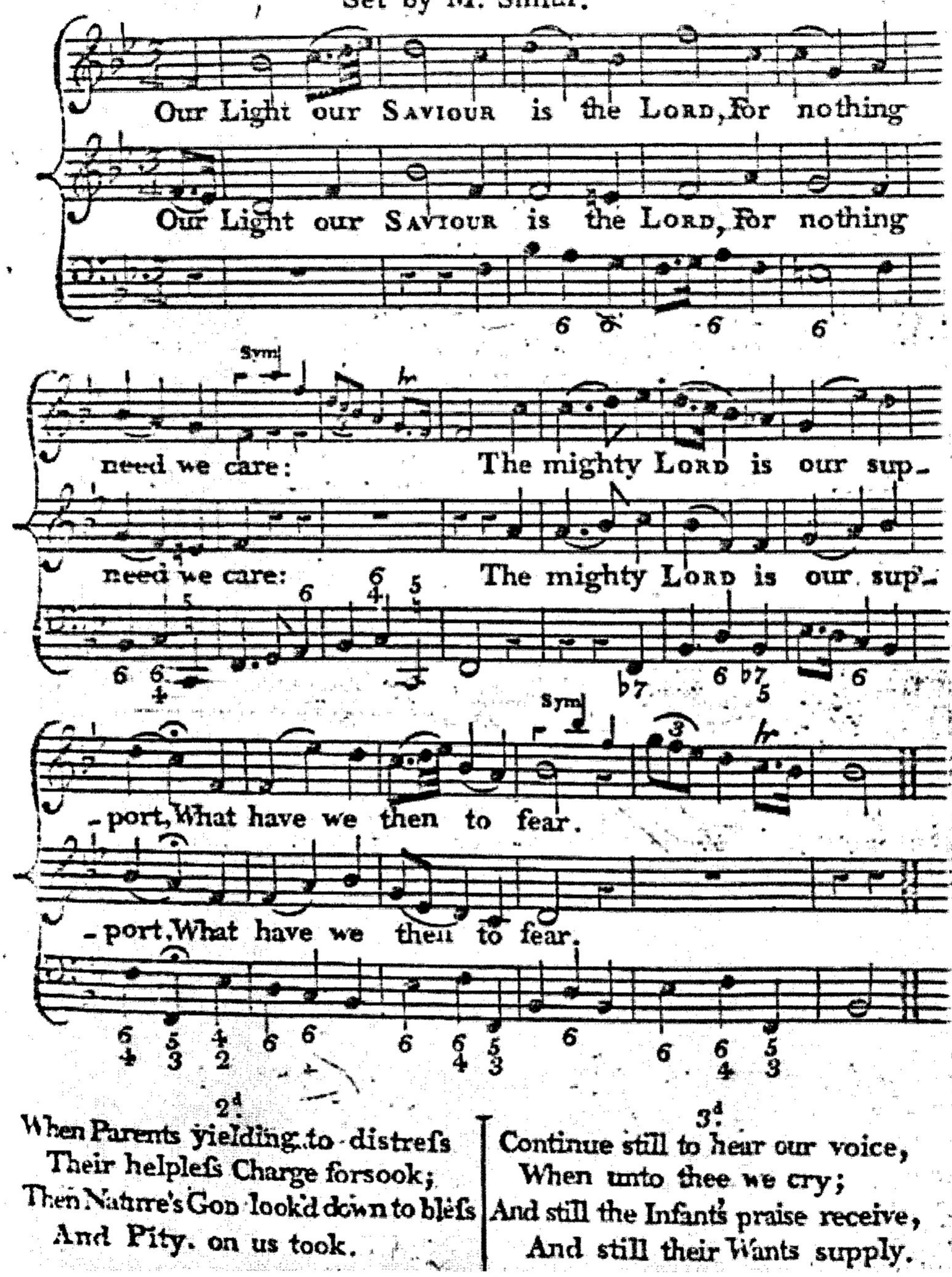
Foundling Court
May 12^th 1760.

APPENEDIX II C1
SMITH'S HYMN 'OUR LIGHT AND SAVIOUR'[3]

THE FOUNDLING'S HYMN. 1

Taken out of PSALM XXVII.

Set by Mr. Smith.



2d.

When Parents yielding to distreſs
Their helpleſs Charge forsook;
Then Nature's God look'd down to bleſs
And Pity on us took.
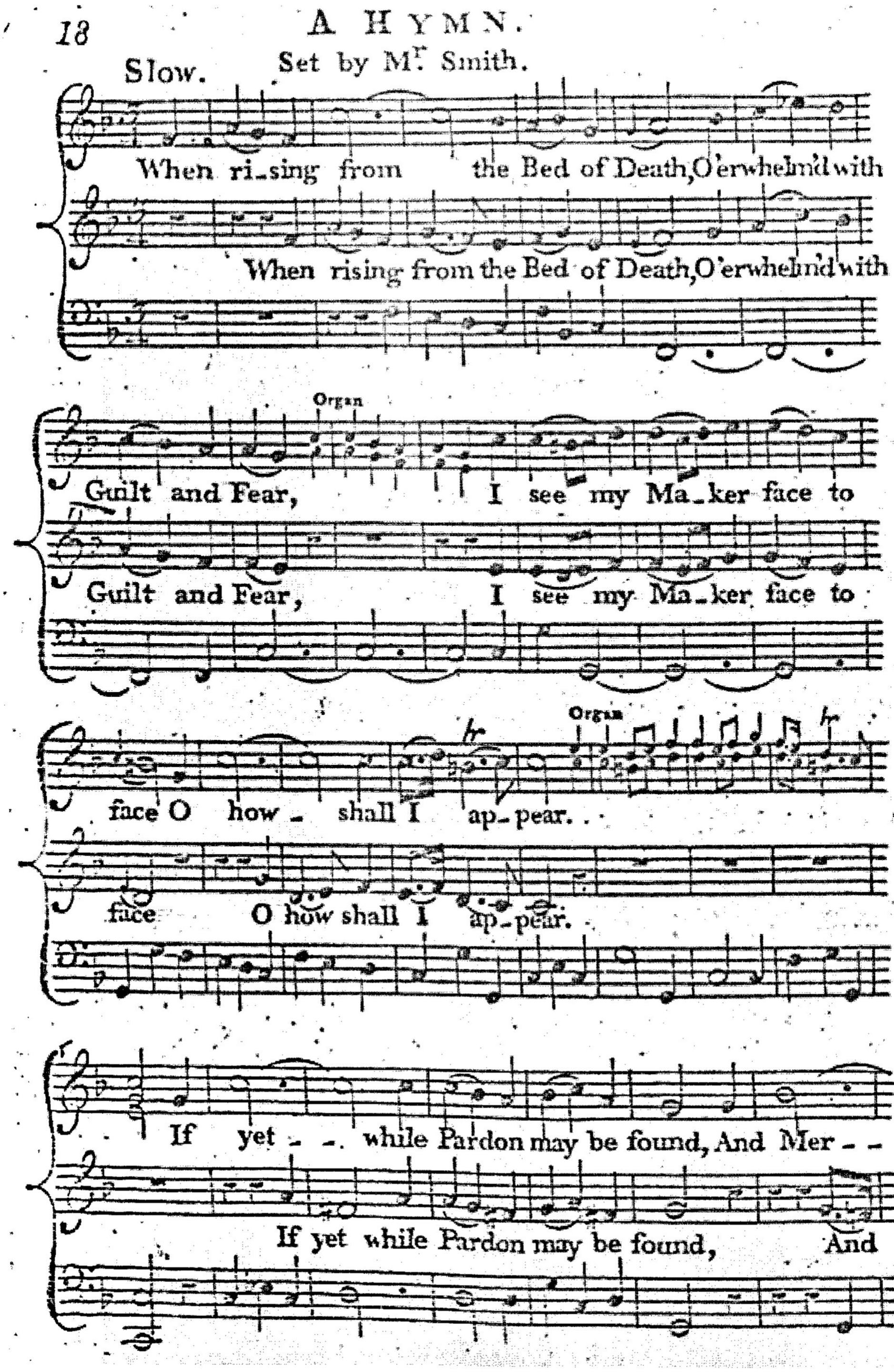
3d.

Continue still to hear our voice,
When unto thee we cry;
And still the Infant's praise receive,
And still their Wants supply.
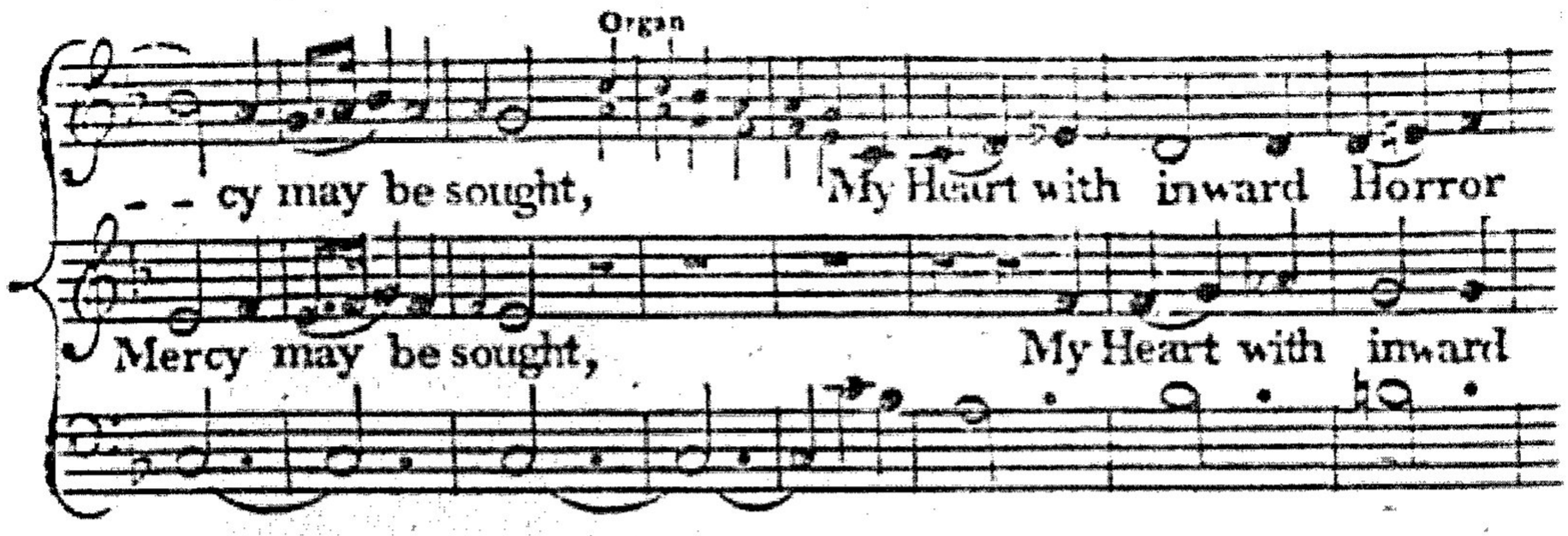
---

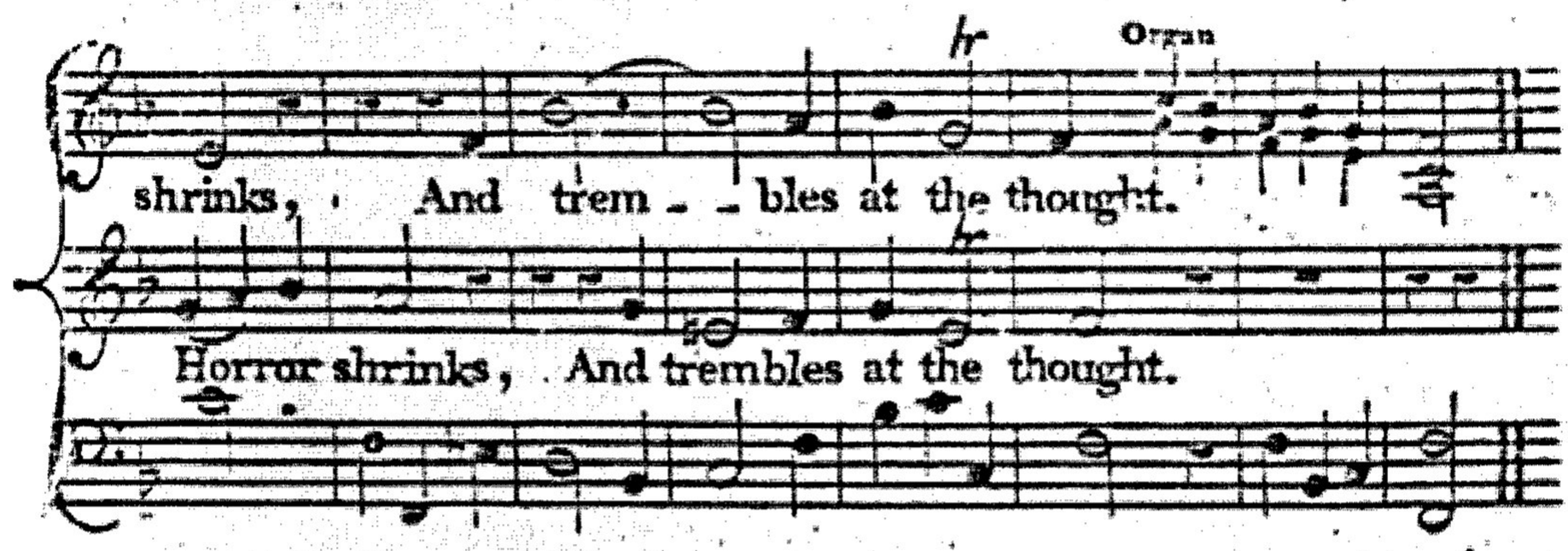
[3] Another version for S and bc, in G. Both printed in Nicholas Temperley and Sally Drage, eds 38-9. *Eighteenth-Century Psalmody*, *Musica Britannica* LXXXV (2007), 38-9.

APPENENDIX II C2
SMITH'S HYMN 'WHEN RISING FROM THE BED OF DEATH'



19
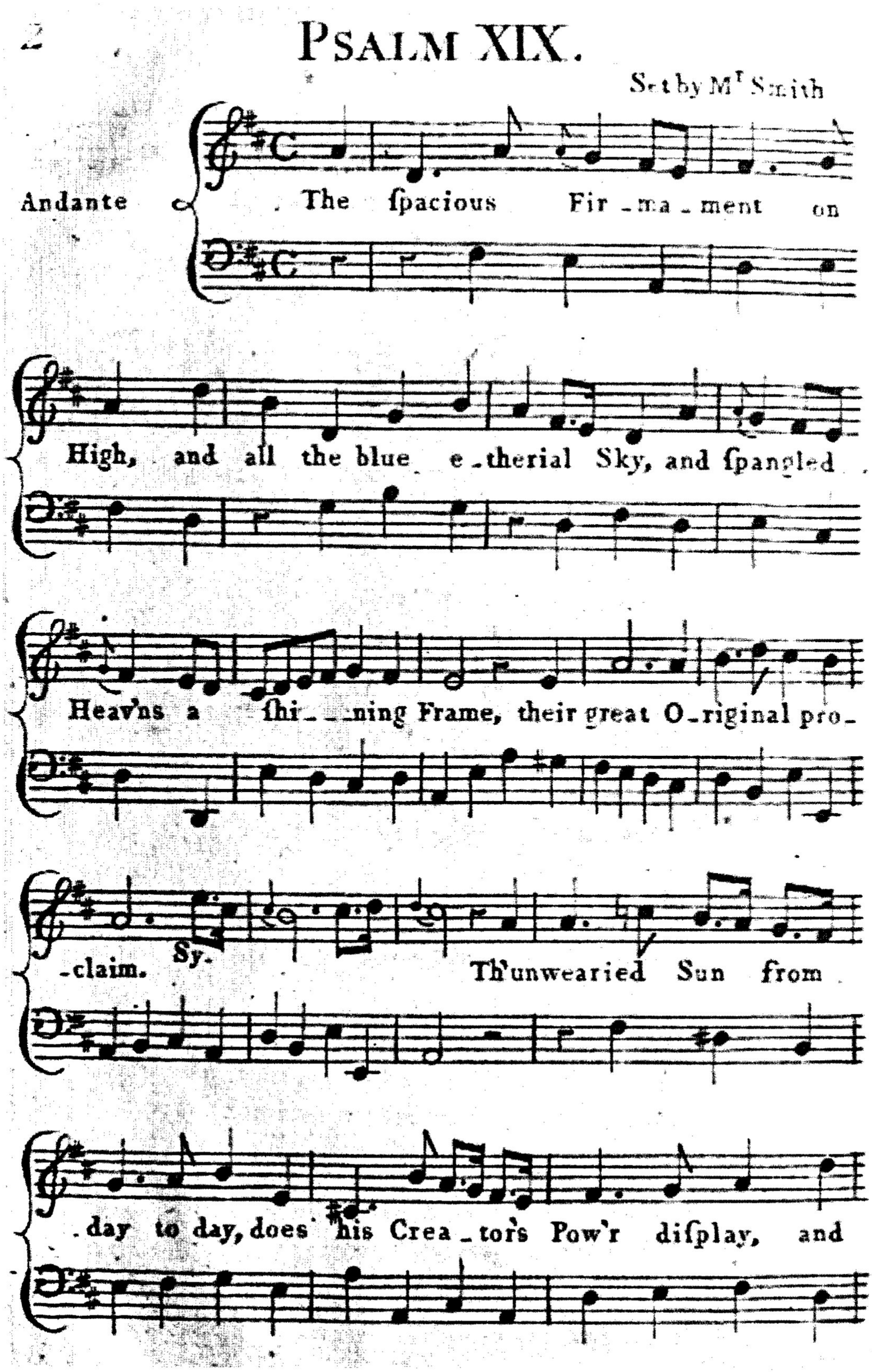




2d

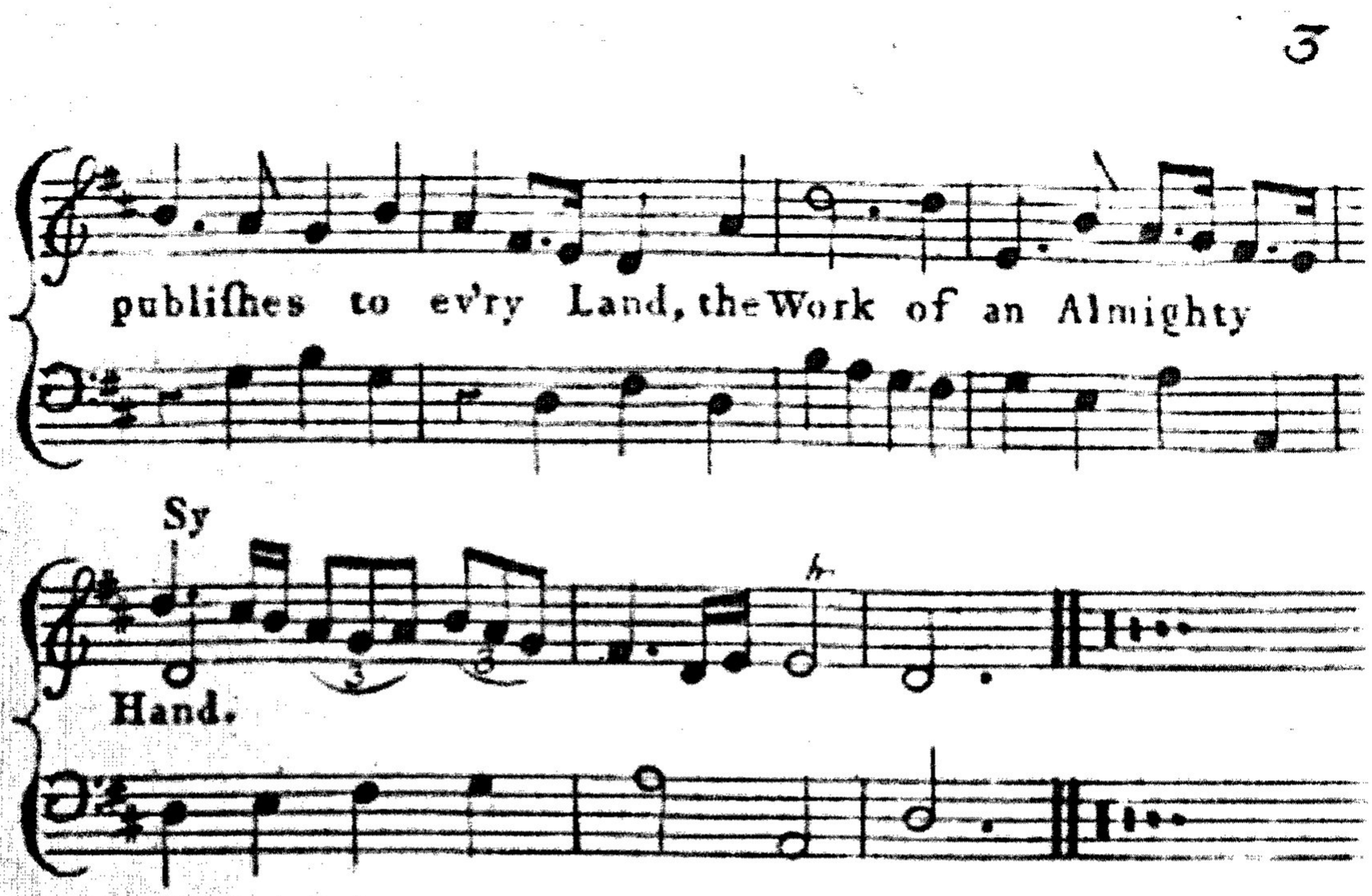
When Thou, O Lord, shalt stand disclos'd
In Majesty severe,
And sit in Judgement on my Soul,
Oh! how shall I appear!
But Thou hast told the troubled Mind
Who does her Sins lament,
The timely Tribute of her Tears
Shall endless Woe prevent.

3d

Then see the Sorrows of my Heart,
E'er yet it be too late;
And hear my Saviour's dying Groans,
To give those Sorrows weight:
For never shall my Soul despair
Her Pardon to procure,
Who knows thine only Son has died
To make her Pardon sure.

APPENDIX II C3
SMITH'S HYMN PSALM XIX ('THE SPACIOUS FIRMAMENT ON HIGH')





2

Soon as the Evening Shades prevail,
The Moon takes up the wond'rous Tale,
And nightly to the liſt'ning Earth,
Repeats the Story of her Birth;
Whilſt all the Stars that round her burn,
And all the Planets in their Turn,
Confirm the Tidings as they Roll,
And ſpread the Truth from Pole to Pole.

3

What tho' in ſolemn Silence all,
Move round the dark terreſtrial Ball?
What tho' no real Voice or Sound,
Amid their radiant Orbs be found?
In Reaſon's Ear they all rejoyce,
And utter forth a glorious Voice;
For ever ſinging as they Shine
The Hand that made us is Divine.

APPENDIX II D1
KNOWN AND PROJECTED SINGERS FOR *MESSIAH*[4]
AT THE FOUNDLING HOSPITAL UNDER THE DIRECTION OF SMITH

1759	**Fees**[5]
Giulia Frasi	£6.6
Isabella (Young) Scott	£3.3
Giuseppi Ricciarelli	£5.5
John Beard	£ –
Samuel Champness	£1.11.6

1760	
Giulia Frasi	£6.6
Isabella Scott	£3.3
John Beard	£ –
Samuel Champness	£2.2

***1761**
Giulia Frasi
Isabella Scott
John Beard
Samuel Champness

***1762**
Giulia Frasi
Isabella Scott
John Beard
Gaetano Quilici or Samuel Champness

1763	
Giulia Frasi	£6.6
Isabella Scott	£6.6
John Beard	£ –
Gaetano Quilici	£4.4

***1764**	
Giulia Frasi	John Beard
Isabella Scott	Samuel Champness

***1765**	**Fees**
Giulia Frasi	
Isabella Scott	
Charlotte Brent	
John Beard	
Samuel Champness	

***1766**
Giulia Frasi
Isabella Scott
Charlotte (Brent) Pinto
John Beard
Samuel Champness

1767	
Giulia Frasi	£6.6
Charlotte Pinto	£6.6
Isabella Scott	£4.4
Mr (?) Clark	£2.2
Samuel Champness	£3.3

***1768**
Giulia Frasi
Charlotte Pinto
Isabella Scott
Joseph Vernon or Thomas Norris
Samuel Champness

1769 [under Felice Giardini]	
Elizabeth Weichsell	£5.5
Isabella Scott	£4.4
Philip Hayes[6]	£ –
Samuel Champness	£3.3

---

[4] The sources for the known performers are listed on the following page. The projected singers for the years marked with an asterisk all sang for the Smith-Stanley oratorios during the same year; singers for a few years are also based on continuation (for example, the same singers were listed for1761 and 1763, so I have presumed they also sang in 1762). Fees are listed only for the known singers.

[5] The line following the £ sign after John Beard's name refers to the fact that he always performed gratis. Philip Hayes also performed gratis in 1769.

[6] Philip Hayes had 'an excellent High Tenor Voice & sang after Mr. Beard retired on account of his deafness, his part in all the birthday & new year Odes composed by Boyce and Stanley' (*GB-Lbl* Add. MS 27691). I am indebted to H. Diack Johnstone for this reference.

APPENDIX II D2
INSTRUMENTALISTS FOR THE PERFORMANCE OF *MESSIAH* AT THE FOUNDLING HOSPITAL DIRECTED BY SMITH (1759-1767) AND GIARDINI (1769)[7]

I have taken the instrumental performers from the following sources:

- **1759:** *The London Stage,* Part 4, 825
- **1760**: Separate sheet in the Foundling Museum for 2 May1760
- **1763**: *GB-Lma,* Bound volume marked 'Miscellaneous', pages 171-2, for 29 Aprill [*sic*] 1763
- **1767**: *GB-Lma* A/FH/A/03/004/008, Appended to the Sub-Committee meeting of 18 November 1769[8]
- **1769**: *GB-Lma* A/FH/A/03/004/008, Sub-Committee meeting of 18 November 1769

In order to facilitate a comparison of the lists, the individual performers' bills have been rendered as follows:

1. The order of the names has been changed to enable the reader to follow the repetition or succession of players from year to year.
2. Spelling from the original lists has been retained.
3. The number following a performer's name for 1759 denotes the number of known earlier performances under Handel (either 1754, 1758, or both).
4. Only the 1759 and 1760 lists specify the instruments played. Brass and percussion, however, are listed together, and I have used the 1759 list (which separates them) as a basis for other years.
5. The instrumentalists for 1769 were specified in *The Public Advertiser,* 21 November 1769. I have noted in square brackets the few places where spellings disagree with Burrows' list from the Foundling Hospital.

---

[7] See Donald Burrows, 'Lists of Musicians for Performances of Handel's *Messiah* at the Foundling Hospital, 1754-1777', *RMARC* 43 (2010), 85-109 for other years. Burrows' lists follow the order from the Foundling Hospital records.

[8] 'It being necessary to keep the Account of the Charges of the Performance of the Messiah in 1767, the Account for the Performance of 1768 being Mislaid [,] Ordered, That the following be inserted in the Minutes of this Committee'. Then follows the list of performers for 1767.

Violins 1759	**Violins 1760**	**Violins 1763**	**Violins 1767**	**Violins 1769**
Freeke (2)	Freek	Freeke	Freeke	Giardini
Wood (2)	Wood	Wood	Wood	Noseri
Wood Junr. (2)	Wood Junr.	Wood Junr.	Wood Junr.	Agus
Jackson (2)	Jackson	Jackson	Jackson	Soderini
Abbington (2)	Abbingdon	Abbington	Abbington	Mazzinghi
Frowd (1)	Froud	Frowd	Frowde	Marella [Mareila]
Collet (2)	Colled	Witzenmuller	Witzen Muller	Borghi
Grossman (1)	Grosman	Rowland	Lava	Barletti
Richards	Rieve	Rieve	Rieve	Marcelli
Brown (2)	Abbingdon Jun.	Abbington Junr.		Shaw
Malchair	Rowland	Hackwood		Buckley
Baumgarden				Long
				Stainer
				Dowman
				Sikes [Sykes]
				Ackwood

Violas 1759	**Violas 1760**	**Violas 1763**	**Violas 1767**	**Violas 1769**
Rash (2)	Rash	Rash	Scovel	Schola
Stockton (2)	Stockton	Stockton	Gibbin	Reeves
Warmer (2)	Warner	Real	Vincent	Zeicler [Zeindler]

Cellos 1759	**Cellos 1760**	**Cellos 1763**	**Cellos 1767**	**Cellos 1769**
Gillier (2)	Gillier	Gillier	Gillier	Paxton
Haron (2)	Haron	Haron	Haron	Crosdill
Hebden	Hebden	Hebden	Jones	Cervetto Junr.
				Waterhouse

Contra Bass 1759	Contra Bass 1760	Contra Bass 1763	Contra Bass 1767	Contra Bass 1769
Sworms (1)	Sworms	Sworm	Sworm	Storace
Dietrich (2)	Thompson	Sickard	Holder	Cordicelli

Oboes 1759	Oboes 1760	Oboes 1761	Oboes 1767	Oboes 1769
Eyeferd (2)	Eyeferd	Eyefert	Scovel	Eiffert
Teede (2)	Weischel	Weischel	Park	Weischel
Vincent (2)	Vincent	Vincent	Vincent	
Teede (1)	Teede	Teede	Teed	
			Teede jnr.	

Bassoons 1759	Bassoons 1760	Bassoons 1763	Bassoons 1767	Bassoons 1769
Baumgarden (2)	Baumgarden	Baumgarden	Baumgarden	Baumgarton [Boumgatten]
Goodman	Goodman	Goodman	Goodman	Ashley
Miller (1)	Miller	Miller	Miller	
Owen	Chapman	Owen	Owen	

Trumpets 1759	Trumpets 1760	Trumpets 1763	Trumpets 1767	Trumpets 1769
Adcock (2)	Adcock	Adcock	Adcock	Adcock
Willis (2)	Willis	Willis	Willis	Jenkings

Horns 1759	Horns 1760	Horns 1763	Horns 1767	Horn, 1769
Miller (2)	Miller	Leander	Leander	Leander
Trova0	Real	Shuman	Kay	Kay
			Gray ?	

Kettledrums 1759	Kettledrums 1760	Kettledrums 1763	Kettledrums 1767	Kettledrums 1769
Vincent	Vincent	Vincent	Nelson	Nelson

SMITH-STANLEY ORATORIO CONFLICTS1760-1774[1]

DATE			
1760	**Covent Garden (Smith-Stanley)**	**Drury Lane**	**LT Haymarket (Barbandt)[2]**
F 15 Feb.			*The Universal Prayer* (Barbandt) and *Sacred Ode* (Barbandt)
F 22 Feb.	*Samson*		
W 27 Feb.	*Samson*		
F 29 Feb.	*Paradise Lost* (Smith)		
W 5 Mar.	*Paradise Lost* (Smith)		
F 7 Mar.	*The Triumph of Time and Truth*		
W 12 Mar.	*Zimri* (Stanley)		
F 14 Mar.	?		?
W 19 Mar.	*Judas Maccabaeus*		
F 21 Mar.	*Judas Maccabaeus*		
W 26 Mar.	*Messiah*		
F 28 Mar.	*Messiah*		
Solos	Stanley (organ), Giardini (violin), Hellendaal (violin)		Barbandt (harpsichord and oboe), William Herschel (violin)

1761	**Covent Garden (Smith-Stanley)**	**Drury Lane (Arne)**	**LT Haymarket (Barbandt)**
W 28 January			*David and Jonathan* (Barbandt)
Th 5 Feb.			*Paradise Regained* (Barbandt)
F 6 Feb.	*Judas Maccabaeus*		
W 11 Feb.	*Judas Maccabaeus* (by command)		
F 13 Feb.	?		?
W 18 Feb.	*Paradise Lost* (Smith)		
Th 19 Feb.			*David and Jonathan* (Barbandt)
F 20 Feb.	*Zimri* (Stanley)		
W 25 Feb.	*Theodora* 'with new Additions and Alterations'		
Th 26 Feb.			*David and Jonathan* (Barbandt)
F 27 Feb.	*Samson*	*Judith* (Arne)[3]	
W 4 Mar.	*Rebecca* (Smith)	*Judith* (Arne)	
F 6 Mar.	*Samson*		
W 11 Mar.	*Messiah*		
F 13 Mar.	*Messiah*		
Solos	Stanley (organ), Giardini (violin)		Jackson (violin), Kottowski (flute)

[1] The days of the week are noted T – Tuesday, W = Wednesday, Th = Thursday, F = Friday.
[2] Information regarding Barbandt from Zöllner, 205-6.
[3] Tenducci sang in these performances (*LS* Part 4, 846).

1762	Covent Garden (Smith-Stanley)	Drury Lane (Arne)	LT Haymarket
F 26 Feb.	*Samson*	*Alexander's Feast* and *Beauty and Virtue* (Arne)	
W 3 Mar.	*Alexander's Feast* and *Coronation Anthem* (by command)[4]	*Alexander's Feast* and *Beauty and Virtue* (Arne)	
F 5 Mar.	*Judas Maccabaeus*	*The Death of Abel* (Arne)	
W 10 Mar.	*Judas Maccabaeus* (by command)	*Samson*	
F 12 Mar.	?	?	
W 17 Mar.	*Judas Maccabaeus* (by command)	*Alfred the Great* (Arne) and *Beauty and Virtue* (Arne)	
F 19 Mar.	*Semele*	*Samson*	
W 24 Mar.	*Alexander's Feast* and *Coronation Anthem* (by command)	*Messiah*	
F 26 Mar.	*Samson*	*Messiah*	
W 31 Mar.	*Messiah* (by command)	*Messiah*	
F 2 Apr.	*Messiah*	*Judith* (Arne)	
Solos	Stanley (organ), Giardini (violin)	Siprutini (cello), Florio (flute), Pinto (violin), Simpson (oboe), Dupuis (organ). Arne's singers were Brent, Miss Thomas, Master Johnson, Tenducci, Aynescombe and Champness.[5]	

1763	Covent Garden (Smith-Stanley)	Drury Lane	LT Haymarket
F 18 Feb.	*Occasional Oratorio* (by command)		
W 23 Feb.	*Alexander's Feast* and *Coronation Anthem* (by command)		
F 25 Feb.	*Occasional Oratorio*[6]		
W 2 Mar.	*Judas Maccabaeus* (by command)		
F 4 Mar.	*The Cure of Saul* (John Brown pasticcio)		
W 9 Mar.	*Jephtha* (by command)		
F 11 Mar.	*Alexander's Feast* and *Coronation Anthem*		
W 16 Mar.	*Acis and Galatea* (by command)		
F 18 Mar.	*Samson*		
W 23 Mar.	*Messiah* (by command)		
F 25 Mar.	Messiah		
Solos	Stanley (organ), Hay (violin)		

[4] An existing 1762 wordbook for *Alexander's Feast* shows that Smith planned to replace the Coronation Anthems with the *Ode for the Birthday of Queen Anne*, beginning with new words 'My breast a sacred impulse feels'. See Donald Burrows, 'Eternal Source for Speculation: Handel's Birthday Ode for Queen Anne', *The Handel Institute Newsletter*, Vol. 20, no.2 (London, Autumn 2009).

[5] *LS*. Part 4, 919.

[6] A riot over ticket prices for Arne's *Artaxerxes* at Covent Garden the evening before caused the cancellation of the performance of *Occasional Oratorio* on 25 February.

1764	Covent Garden (Smith-Stanley)	KT Haymarket	LT Haymarket
F 9 Mar.	*L'Allegro ed il Penseroso* and *Ode for St Cecilia's Day* (by command)		
W 14 Mar.	*Deborah* (by command)		
F 16 Mar.	*Nabal* (Handel pasticcio, arr. Smith)		
W 21 Mar.	*Nabal* (Handel pasticcio, arr. Smith) (by command)		
F 23 Mar.	*Judas Maccabaeus*		
W 28 Mar.	*Samson* (by command)		
F 30 Mar.	*L'Allegro ed il Penseroso* and *Ode for St Cecilia's Day* (by command)		
T Apr. 3		*Hannah* (Worgan)	
W 4 Apr.	*Judas Maccabaeus* (by command)		
F 6 Apr.	*Deborah*		
W 11 Apr.	*Messiah* (by command)		
F 13 Apr.	*Messiah*		
Solos	Stanley (organ)		

1765	Covent Garden (Smith-Stanley)	KT Haymarket	LT Haymarket
F 15 Feb.		*Judith* (Arne)	
F 22 Feb.	*Judas Maccabaeus* (by command)		
W 27 Feb.	*Alexander's Feast* and *Coronation Anthem*		
F 1 Mar.	*Israel in Babylon* (Handel pasticcio, arr. Edward Toms)		
W 6 Mar.	*Samson*		
F 8 Mar.	*Judas Maccabaeus*		
F 13 Mar.	*Israel in Egypt* 'with considerable Alterations and Additions'		
F 15 Mar.	*Solomon*		
W 20 Mar.	*Samson*		
F 22 Mar.	*Judas Maccabaeus*		
W 27 Mar.	*Messiah*		
F 29 Mar.	*Messiah*		
Solos	Stanley (organ), Hay (violin)[7]		

[7] Illness kept Stanley from performing at least a few times during the 1765 season (Editorial by 'Rectus', *LS*, Part 4, 1154).

1766	Covent Garden (Smith-Stanley)	Drury Lane	LT Haymarket
F 14 Feb.	*Deborah* (by command)		
W 19 Feb.	*Alexander's Feast* and *Coronation Anthem* (by command)		
F 21 Feb.	*Samson*		
W 26 Feb.	*Acis and Galatea* and *Ode for St Cecilia's Day* (by command)		
F 28 Feb.	*Judas Maccabaeus*		
W 5 Mar.	*Israel in Egypt* (by command)		
F 7 Mar.	*Alexander's Feast*		
W 12 Mar.	*Samson* (by command)		
F 14 Mar.	*Judas Maccabaeus* (by command)		
W 19 Mar.	*Messiah* (by command)		
F 21 Mar.	*Messiah*		
Solos	Stanley (organ), Barthélemon and Soderini (violin)		

1767	Covent Garden (Smith-Stanley)	Drury Lane	LT Haymarket
F 6 Mar.	*Esther* (by command)		
W 11 Mar.	*Deborah* (by command)		
F 13 Mar.	*Israel in Egypt* (by command)		
W 18 Mar.	*Samson* (by command)		
F 20 Mar.	*Judas Maccabaeus* (by command)		
W 25 Mar.	*Theodora* (by command)		
F 27 Mar.	*Acis and Galatea* and *Ode for St Cecilia's Day* (by command)		
W 1 Apr.	*Judas Maccabaeus* (by command)		
F 3 Apr.	*Acis and Galatea* (by command)		
W 8 Apr.	*Messiah* (by command)		
F 10 Apr.	*Messiah* (by command)		
Solos	Stanley (organ)		

1768	Covent Garden (Smith-Stanley)	Drury Lane	LT Haymarket (Arnold-Toms)
F 19 Feb.	*Samson* (by command)		*The Cure of Saul* (Arnold)
W 24 Feb.	*Alexander's Feast* and *Coronation Anthems* (by command)		*The Death of Abel* (Niccolò Piccinni)
F 26 Feb.	*Esther* (by command)		*The Death of Abel* (Piccinni)
W 2 Mar.	*Joseph and his Brethren* (by command)		*Israel in Babylon* (Handel pasticcio, arr. Toms)
F 4 Mar.	*Judas Maccabaeus* (by command)		*The Cure of Saul* (Arnold)
W 9 Mar.	*Samson* (by command)		*Messiah*
F 11 Mar.	*Acis and Galatea* and *Ode for St Cecilia's Day* (by command)		*Messiah*
W 16 Mar.	*Alexander Balus* (by command)		*Abimelech* (Arnold)
F 18 Mar.	*Judas Maccabaeus* (by command)		*Abimelech* (Arnold)
W 23 Mar.	*Messiah* (by command)		*Messiah*
F 25 Mar.	*Messiah* (by command)		*Messiah*
Solos	Stanley (organ), Guarducci (songs 24 Feb. and 11 March)		Barthélemon (violin), Simpson (oboe), Florio (flute). Singers for *The Cure of Saul* were Mrs Barthélemon (Young), Mrs Mattocks, Vernon and Reinhold.

1769	Covent Garden (Smith-Stanley)	Drury Lane	LT Haymarket (Arnold-Toms)
F 10 Feb.	*Gideon* (Handel pasticcio, arr. Smith) (by command)		*Judas Maccabaeus*
W 15 Feb.	*Gideon* (Handel pasticcio, arr. Smith) (by command)		*The Death of Abel* (Piccinni)
F 17 Feb.	*Acis and Galatea* and *Ode for St Cecilia's Day* (by command)		*Messiah*
W 22 Feb.	*Judas Maccabaeus* (by command)		*Samson*
F 24 Feb.	*Joshua* (by command)		*The Cure of Saul* (Arnold)
W 1 Mar.	*Samson* (by command)		*Messiah*
F 3 Mar.	*Israel in Egypt* (by command)		*Judas Maccabaeus*
W 8 Mar.	*Samson* (by command)		*Samson*
F 10 Mar.	*Judas Maccabaeus* (by command)		*Messiah*
W 15 Mar.	*Messiah* (by command)		*The Cure of Saul* (Arnold)
F f7 Mar.	*Messiah* (by command)		*Messiah*
Solos	Paganini (violin), Fischer (oboe)		Giardini (violin), Simpson (oboe), Florio (flute)

1770	Drury Lane (Smith-Stanley)	Covent Garden (Arnold-Toms)	KT Haymarket (J. C. Bach)
Th 1 Mar.			*La passione* (Jommelli)
F 2 Mar.	*Samson* (by command)	*Messiah*	
W 7 Mar.	*Judas Maccabaeus* (by command)	*Judas Maccabaeus*	
Th 8 Mar.			*La passione* (Jommelli), *Stabat Mater* (Pergolesi)
F 9 Mar.	*Gideon* (Handel pasticcio, arr. Smith) (by command)	*The Resurrection* (Arnold)	
W 14 Mar.	*Alexander's Feast* and *Coronation Anthems* (by command)	*Samson*	
Th 15 Mar.			*La passione* (Jommelli), *Stabat Mater* (Pergolesi)
F 16 Mar.	*Acis and Galatea* and *Ode for St Cecilia's Day* (by command)	*The Passion* (pasticcio, music by Jommelli, Leo, Graun, etc.	
W 21 Mar.	*Judas Maccabaeus* (by command)	*Messiah*	
Th 22 Mar.			*Gioas, re di Giuda* (Bach)
F 23 Mar.	*Messiah* (by command)	*The Resurrection* (Arnold)	
W 28 Mar.	*Alexander's Feast* (by command)	*Israel in Babylon* (Handel pasticcio, arr. Toms)	Duport (cello), Sirmen (violin), Baumgarten (bassoon), Guadagni (songs)
Th 29 Mar.			*Gioas, re di Giuda* (Bach)
F 30 Mar.	*Samson* (by command)	*The Resurrection* (Arnold)	
W 4 Apr.	*Messiah* (by command)	*The Death of Abel* (Piccinni)[8]	
Th 5 Apr.			*Gioas, re di Giuda* (Bach)
F 6 Aril	*Messiah* (by command)	*The Resurrection* (Arnold)	
Solos	Stanley (organ), Fischer (oboe), Barthélemon (violin), Duport (cello), Guadagni arias 14 and 16 Mar.	Rodolphe (horn), Fischer (oboe). Giardini (violin), Crosdill (cello)	Rodolphe (horn), Duport (cello), Lahoussaye (violin), arias by Guadagni and Guglielmi

[8]Zöllner, 216, lists this work as a pasticcio, perhaps by Toms. *LS,* Part 4, 1467, states 'The Music by Sg Nicolò Piccinni, the composer of *La Buona Figliuola maritata* with additional Choruses'.

1771	Drury Lane (Smith-Stanley)	Covent Garden (Arnold-Toms)	KT Haymarket (J. C. Bach)
Th 10 January			*Gioas, re di Giuda* (Bach)
Th 17 January			*Gioas, re di Giuda* (Bach)
F 15 Feb.	*Samson* (by command)	*Judas Maccabaeus*	
W 20 Feb.	*Judas Maccabaeus* (by command)	*Messiah*	
F 22 Feb.	*Israel in Egypt* (by command)	*Messiah*	
W 27 Feb.	*Alexander's Feast* and *Coronation Anthems* (by command)	*The Cure of Saul* (Arnold)	
Th 28 Feb.			*La passione* (Jommelli), *Stabat Mater* (Pergolesi)
F 1 Mar.	*Samson* (by command)	*Samson*	
W 6 Mar.	*Judas Maccabaeus* (by command)	*The Death of Abel* (Piccinni)	
Th 7 Mar.			*La passione* (Jommelli), *Stabat Mater* (Pergolesi)
F 8 Mar.	*Deborah* (by command)	*Messiah*	
W 13 Mar.	*Acis and Galatea* and *Ode for St Cecilia's Day* (by command)	*Messiah*	
F 15 Mar.	*Alexander's Feast* and *Coronation Anthems* (by command)	*The Resurrection* (Arnold)	
W 20 Mar.	*Messiah* (by command)	*Judas Maccabaeus*	
F 22 Mar.	*Messiah* (by command)	*The Resurrection* (Arnold)	
Solos	Stanley (organ), Barthélemon (violin), Duport (cello)		
Singers	With Stanley for Weichsell's benefit (12 April) were Weichsell, Scott, Vernon, Champness, so I assume they also performed at the Drury Lane oratorios this season.	Sirmen (violin), Florio (flute), Guadagni (songs)	Duport (cello), Sirmen (violin), Baumgarten (bassoon), Guadagni (songs)

1772	Drury Lane (Smith-Stanley)	Covent Garden (Arnold-Toms)	LT Haymarket
F 6 Mar.	*Alexander's Feast* and *Coronation Anthems* (by command)	*Messiah*	
W 11 Mar.	*L'Allegro ed il Penseroso* and *Utrecht Te Deum* (by command)	*Judas Maccabaeus*	
F 13 Mar.	*Judas Maccabaeus* (by command)	*Samson*	
W 18 Mar.	*Acis and Galatea* and *Ode for St Cecilia's Day* (by command)	*Messiah*	
F 20 Mar.	*Samson* (by command)	*The Resurrection* (Arnold)	
W 25 Mar.	*Alexander's Feast* and *Coronation Anthems* (by command)	*Abimelech* (Arnold)	
F 27 Mar.	*Joseph and his Brethren* (by command)	Concerto Spirituale	
W 1 Apr.	*Judas Maccabaeus* (by command)	*Messiah*	
F 3 Apr.	*Acis and Galatea* and *Ode for St Cecilia's Day* (by command)	*Messiah*	
W 8 Apr.	*Messiah* (by command)	Concerto Spirituale	
F 10 Apr.	*Messiah* (by command)	Concerto Sprituale	
W 5 May			*Goliath* (Atterbury)
Solos	Punto (French horn), Janson (cello), Ximenes (violin)	Punto (horn), Sirmen (violin), Duport (cello), Fischer (oboe)	
	Playhouse singers for the season included Weichsell, Grassi, Scott, Norris, Parry.		

1773	Drury Lane (Smith-Stanley)	Covent Garden (Arne)	LT Haymarket (Arnold-Toms)
F 26 Feb.	*Judas Maccabaeus*	*Judith* (Arne)	*Messiah*
W 3 Mar.	*Judas Maccabaeus*	*Messiah*	Concerto Spirituale
F 5 Mar.	*Acis and Galatea* and *Ode for St Cecilia's Day* (by command)	*Messiah*	*The Prodigal Son* (Arnold)
W 10 Mar.	*Alexander's Feast* and *Coronation Anthems* (by command)	*Samson*	*The Prodigal Son* (Arnold)
F 12 Mar.	*L'Allegro ed il Penseroso* and Dettingen *Te Deum* (by command)	*Judas Maccabaeus*	*The Prodigal Son* (Arnold)
W 17 Mar.	*Alexander Balus* (by command)	*Samson*	Concerto Spirituale
F 19 Mar.	*Judas Maccabaeus* (by command)	Pasticcio [?]	*The Prodigal Son* (Arnold)
W 24 Mar.	*Acis and Galatea* and *Ode for St Cecilia's Day* (by command)	Pasticcio [?]	*The Resurrection* (Arnold)
F 26 Mar.	*Samson* (by command)	*The Death of Abel* (Piccinni)	*Messiah*
W 31 Mar.	*Messiah* (by command)	*Messiah*	*The Prodigal Son* (Arnold)
F 2 Apr.	*Messiah* (by command)	*Messiah*	*The Prodigal Son* (Arnold)
F 5 May			*Goliath* (Atterbury)[9]
Solos	Stanley (organ), Thomas Linley jnr (violin), Miss E. Linley (aria 10 March)	Spandau (horn), Arne (organ), Barthélemon (violin),	Mahon (clarinet), Florio (flute), Agus jnr (violin), Crosdill (cello)[10]

1774[11]	Drury Lane (Smith-Stanley)	Covent Garden	LT Haymarket (Barthélemon)
F 18 Feb.	*Judas Maccabaeus*		*Messiah*
W 23 Feb.	*Samson*		*Samson*
F 25 Feb.	*Alexander's Feast* and *Coronation Anthems*		*Omnipotence* (Arnold)[12]
W 2 March	*Paradise Lost* (Smith)		*Omnipotence* (Arnold)
F 4 Mar.	*Samson*		*Omnipotence* (Arnold)
W 9 Mar.	*Judas Maccabaeus*		*Omnipotence* (Arnold)
F 11 Mar.	*Acis and Galatea*		*Omnipotence* (Arnold)
W 16 Mar.	*Messiah*		*Omnipotence* (Arnold)
F 18 Mar.	*Messiah*		*Messiah*
W 23 Mar.	*The Fall of Egypt* (Stanley)		*Omnipotence* (Arnold)
F 25 Mar.	*The Fall of Egypt* (Stanley)		*Omnipotence* (Arnold)
Solos	Stanley (organ), Fischer (oboe), Vachon (violin)		Burney (organ), Barthélemon (violin), Tacet (flute), Agus jnr (violin), Sarjeant (trumpet), Master Green (trumpet), Cirri (cello), Polly Barthélemon (song). Singers were Scott, Barthélemon, Vernon, Champness.

[9] Information from Zöllner, 221.
[10] Information from Zöllner, 220.
[11] The soprano Mary Linley probably sang in 1774.
[12] *Omnipotence* was a Handel pasticcio based on the *Chandos Anthems.*

1775 Stanley continues the oratorios at Drury Lane. The Bach-Abel oratorios are at the Kings' Theatre in the Haymarket, and George III supports their oratorio series with the exception of *Judas Maccabaeus* on 10 March when he attended at Drury Lane.

1776 George III once again supports the Drury Lane oratorios, now under the direction of Stanley and Thomas Linley.

SMITH'S SINGERS

This appendix is specifically related to Smith and thus it rarely contains information on the individual singers' performances for other composers. The amount of biographical data included here has been deliberately restricted except in those few cases (see Leoni for example) where information is unavailable elsewhere.[1]

The inclusion of most of Handel's singers in this list is determined by the presence of their names in Smith's hand on the various manuscripts. Thus, many singers involved with the oratorios during the period 1753-59 have been included, and by the same token, some of Handel's singers who continued to perform with Smith after 1759 very probably sang more roles under Smith than are actually listed here. For instance, once Frasi's name had been written by Handel or the elder Smith beside a part on any given manuscript, it has been assumed that Frasi went on singing that role until such time as her name was replaced by that of another singer. Women singers who married during the course of their careers have been listed under the name most frequently used while singing for Smith.

---

[1] Unless otherwise noted, the data for each singer has been compiled from a number of published and archival sources as well as Charles Burney, *An Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster-Abbey* (London, 1785), facs. repr. with a New Introduction by Peter Kivy (New York, 1979); Otto Erich Deutsch, *Handel: A Documentary Biography* (London, 1955) and Da Capo Press (New York, 1974); Donald Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal* (Oxford, 2005); Donald Burrows and Rosemary Dunhill, *Music and theatre in Handel's world: the family papers of James Harris 1732-1780* (Oxford, 2002); Donald Burrows,'Rastra, watermarks and copyists in the late insertions in the Conducting Scores of Handel's Oratorios', *Göttinger Händel-Beiträge* viii (2000), 181-95; Winton Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques* (London, 1959); Winton Dean and J. Merrill Knap, *Handel's Operas 1704-1726* (Oxford, 1987); Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1973); Philip H. Highfill, Jr., Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward A. Langhans, eds, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800*, 16 vols. (Carbondale, 1973-93); Betty Matthews (comp.), *The Royal Society of Musicians of Great Britain: List of Members 1738-1984* (London, 1985); *The London Stage, 1660-1800*: Arthur H. Scouten, ed., Part 3, Vol. 3 (1729-47) (Carbondale, 1961), George Winchester Stone, Jr., ed., Part 4, (1747-76) (Carbondale, 1962), Charles Beecher Hogan, ed., Part 5 (1776-1800) (Carbondale, 1968); Records of the Foundling Hospital (1754, 58, 59, 60, 63, 67, and 69); the *London Public Advertiser; The Theatrical Review* (1758, 63, and 72); Eva Zöllner, *English Oratorio after Handel: the London oratorio series and its repertory, 1760-1800* (Marburg, 2002); and my own examination of Handel's and Smith's printed and manuscript libretti and music.

Abington, Joseph: tenor and trumpeter (died 1806)
Abington's first public appearance was as a trumpeter for a benefit in 1752. His wife, the famous actress Mrs Abington, evidently paid him to live apart from her. He was a member of the chorus for the Handel Commemoration of 1784.

Ventoso in *The Tempest* (1756)

Arne, Cecilia: (née Young) soprano, (1711-89)
Cecilia Arne, the eldest daughter of Charles Young, organist, and the sister of Elizabeth and Esther Young, married Thomas Augustine Arne in 1737. Thomas Davies wrote that 'she was universally cried up as the most pleasing of all our English singers; the melody, fullness, and flexibility of her tones, have not been equalled on our stage'.[2] She was a singer for Smith's subscription series of concerts at Hickford's Room in 1740-41.

Penelope in *Ulysses* (1733) as Miss Young
Rosalinda in *Rosalinda* (1740)
Soprano in *David's Lamentation over Saul and Jonathan* (1740)

Arne, Susanna: (Mrs Cibber), soprano, later alto (1714-66)
Susanna was a part of the English Opera experiment of 1732 and one of Handel's favourite singers. In 1734 she married Theophilus Cibber and eventually became a famous actress.[3] She played the part of the Widow Bellmour in *The Way to Keep Him* at Drury Lane, but it was Maria Macklin who actually sang the song which Smith wrote for the play.

Teraminta in *Teraminta* (1732)

Atkins, [Michael?]: tenor and actor (fl. 1755-75)
Mr Atkins was in the Drury Lane company for the season of 1760-61 and also sang at the pleasure gardens.

Demetrius in *The Fairies* (1755)
Alonson in *The Tempest* (1756)

Barbier, Jane: alto (*c.*1691-1757)
Mrs Barbier's specialty was male roles, which she performed equally well in both Italian and English. She was the leading singer for Pepusch after 1714 and sang the part of Dorinda in Handel's *Il Pastor Fido* and Arcane in *Teseo* in 1712: in 1713 she sang the alto part in the *Ode for the Birthday of Queen Anne* and the part of Rinaldo in *Rinaldo.* She was in the cast of *Camilla* at Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1726. Her performances for Smith were after her second retirement in 1730.

Xarino in *Teraminta* (1732)
Ulysses in *Ulysses* (1733)

Barthlémon, Polly: See Young, Polly.

Beard, John: tenor (*c.*1717-91)[4]
Beard was both Handel's and Smith's favourite tenor. Upon his discharge from the Chapel Royal in 1734, he immediately began his distinguished singing career in many of the types of roles previously reserved for castrati. He sang for Smith's concert series at Hickford's Room during the 1740-41 season. In addition to these listings, Smith

---

[2] *Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick, Esq. ii* (London, 1784), 172.
[3] See *The Theatrical Review* (1758), 14-5 for an illuminating account of her development as an actress.
[4] See Neil Jenkins, *Handel and Garrick's Favourite Tenor*, available online at neiljenkins.info.

apparently used Beard yearly for the oratorio series at Covent Garden until his retirement in 1767. In 1789, he watched the tenor Michael Kelly sing from the Drury Lane orchestra box 'with his trumpet to his ear, for he was very deaf'.[5]

Garcia in *Rosalinda* (1740)
Tenor in *David's Lamentation over Saul and Jonathan* (1740)
Tenor for Foundling Hospital *Messiah* (1751, 1754, 1758, 1759, 1760, 1763 and probably every year from 1751-67)
Tenor for *Messiah* (probably annually from 1751 until 1767)
Sisera in *Deborah* (1754, and probably 1756, 1764 and 1766)
Judah in *Joseph and his Brethren* (1755 and probably 1757)
Septimus in *Theodora* (1755 and 1761)
Mathan in *Athalia* (1756)
Theseus in *The Fairies* (1755)
Prospero in *The Tempest* (1756)
Zadok in *Solomon* (1759? and probably 1765)
Gabriel in *Paradise Lost* (1760 and 1761)
Abraham's servant in *Rebecca* (1761)
Tenor in the *Occasional Oratorio* (1763)
2nd Youth in *The Festival of Darius* (projected in the mid 1760s)
Tenor in *Israel in Egypt* (probably annually from 1751 until 1767)
Tenor in *Judas Maccabaeus* (1765 and probably 1766 and 1767)

Beralta, Sigra: soprano (1757)
Beralta was a member of the Haymarket Opera company in 1756-57. Smith wrote "Beralta Solo" for her part of Deceit in the 1757 *Triumph of Time and Truth.*

Deceit in *Triumph of Time and Truth* (1757)
Israelite in *Esther* (1757)

Brent, Charlotte: (Mrs Pinto), soprano (*c.*1735-1802)[6]
A pupil of Thomas Arne, and apparently also an excellent actress and dancer, Charlotte Brent may have sung for Handel in 1759. She appeared both as Miss Brent and Mrs Pinto for the Smith-Stanley oratorios from 1760 until at least 1769. In 1762 she sang for Arne's oratorio series at Drury Lane and married the violinist Thomas Pinto in 1766. Her last appearance was at the Haymarket in 1786.

Second woman in *Solomon* (1759? and 1765)
Soprano in *Messiah* (1759 and later, both as Brent and Pinto)
Soprano in *Israel in Egypt* (projected 1759 and in 1769)
Merab in *Saul* (projected only, 1759)
Philistine woman, virgin, and Israelite woman in *Samson* (date unknown, but subsequently replaced by Mosor)
Irene in *Theodora* (proposed 1759, and 1761; perhaps 1767)
Israeliish woman in *Judas Maccabaeus* (possibly 1759; 1760 and probably yearly until 1769)
Angel in *Paradise Lost* (1760 and 1761)
Deceit in *The Triumph of Time and Truth* (1760)
Soprano in *Alexander's Feast* (1762 and later; replaced by Weischell in 1768 or 1770)

---

[5] Michael Kelly, *Reminiscences i* (London, 1926/ rpt. New York 1968), 335.
[6] For a perceptive comparison between Miss Brent and her rival Mrs Vincent, see *The British Magazine,* (June 1760), 348-50.

Soprano in *L'Allegro* (1764?)
Queen of Sheba in *Solomon* (1765)
Mezzo-soprano in Foundling Hospital *Messiah* (1767)
Esther in *Esther* (1767 and probably 1768)
Cleopatra in *Alexander Balus* (1768)
Asenath in *Joseph and his Brethren* (1768)
Israelite? In *Joshua* (1769)
Soprano in the *Ode for St Cecilia's Day* (1769 and perhaps later, succeeded Frasi)
Jael in *Deborah* (1764 and later, replaced by Scott)

Burton, George: bass (died 1784)
Mr Burton's first appearance was at Drury Lane in 1749. An occasional chorus singer there until 1776, he was also a member of the chorus for the 1784 Handel Commemoration.

Antonio in *The Tempest* (1756)

Calori, Angiola: soprano (1732- *c.*1790)
Born in Milan, Calori's first London appearance was at the King's Theatre during the 1757-58 season. In 1761 she sang in a benefit for Tenducci, then in a debtors' prison. It is possible that she sang in the oratorios under Smith and Stanley in 1760 as well as in 1761.

Chaldean woman in *Rebecca* (1761)
Soprano in *Messiah* (1761)

Chambers, Isabella: soprano (fl. 1722-1741)
A pupil of Margherita de L'Epine and the rival of Jane Barbier, Chambers' first performance was at Hickford's Room in 1722. During the season of 1729-30 she was at Lincoln's Inn Theatre, but she normally sang only solo songs.

Ardelia in *Teraminta* (1732)

Champness, Samuel: bass (*c.*1732- before 1803)
Between 1748 and 1754 Champness was a chorus bass, but became the featured bass singer singer at Drury Lane from 1755 until 774. He performed for many of the Smith-Stanley oratorios from 1760 until at least 1770, but in 1772 he was at Drury Lane for Arne's oratorio season. His name appears after the part of Zebul on the libretto of *Jephtha* (*GB-Mp* B.R. 310.1.I.Hd 674, 8), undated but after 1763). He appeared in 1777 with Stanley and was one of the principal basses for the 1784 Handel Commemoration.

Egeus in *The Fairies* (1755)
Caliban in *The Tempest* (1756)
Moroc in *The Enchanter* (1760)
Uriel in *Paradise Lost* (1760 and probably 1761)
Darius in *The Festival of Darius* (projected in the mid 1760s)
Chorus Bass for the Foundling Hospital *Messiah* (1754); bass soloist 1758, 1759, 1760, 1767 and probably during all those years between as well as 1768-70)
Bass in *Esther* (1767)
Bass in *Judas Maccabaeus* (1765 and probably until at least 1770)
Joash in *Gideon* (1769 and 1770)

Clark[e], Edward: tenor, organist (*c.*1728-89)
Mr Clark, organist of St Paul's, Covent Garden, may be the same Mr Clarke who sang at Finch's Grotto Gardens during the summer of 1765. He was in the chorus for the Foundling Hospital *Messiah* in 1763 and the Handel Commemoration of 1784.

Tenor for Foundling Hospital *Messiah* (1767, replacing Beard who retired that year)

Curioni, Rosa: soprano (fl. 1754-62)
Signora Curioni may have sung under Handel in 1755 and 56, but she had returned to Venice by 1757. She was in London for the opera season in 1761-62, but apparently never sang for Smith during that season.

Lysander in *The Fairies* (1755)
Ferdinand in *The Tempest* (1756)
Athalia in *Athalia* (1756)
Israelite man in *Judas Maccabaeus* (1755 and1756, replaced by Mrs Scott)

Evans, Master: soprano (fl. 1755)
As Master Evans, his only role was apparently the one mentioned below, but he may have been one of the several Mr Evans who later acted at Drury Lane.

Fairy in *The Fairies* (1755)

Fourmantel (Fromentel), Catherine: soprano (fl. 1756-1760)
Fourmantel sang in Salisbury in 1757 and in London 1758-1760, especially at Ranelagh Gardens. It is just possible that she might have sung for Smith in 1760, but in 1764, in a letter to the Foundling Hospital, Smith wrote 'Mr. Whatley has wrote to me to know whither Miss Fromentels Singing in the Messiah on Tuesday can be of any Service. My opinion is that she can be of no Service at all, for if She was to Sing, you must take away the part from Mrs. Frasi, who is a much more Capital Singer than the other.'[7]

Joad in *Athalia* (1756)[8]
Alto in *Israel in Egypt* (1756, 1757 and1758)

Frasi, Giulia: soprano (fl. 1742-1772)
Signora Frasi performed yearly for Handel beginning in 1749, and for Smith in the Foundling Hospital *Messiah* and the oratorio series until she was replaced sometime in the late 1760s or early70s. The parts listed below are only those assigned to her in Smith's handwriting on the conducing scores, but it must be assumed that she continued to sing all the soprano roles for Smith that she had hitherto performed with Handel. She had 'a sweet and clear voice, and a smooth and chaste style of singing, which, though cold and impassioned, pleased natural ears, and escaped the censure of critics'.[9] For her own benefits, Frasi almost invariably chose roles from Handel's oratorios. Smith evidently thought highly of her ability (see under Fourmantel above).

Soprano for the Foundling Hospital *Messiah* (1754, 1758, 1759, 1760, 1763 and 1767 and surely those years between, and probably 1768 or until replaced by Weischell
Soprano in *L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato* (1754, 1755 and 1764)

---

[7] See Appendix II for a copy of the letter.
[8] Smith abbreviated her name as 'From:,' Frasi as 'Fra:', and Curioni as 'Cur:' on the conducting scores for both *Athalia* and *Israel in Egypt.* Her participation in 1756-1758 is uncertain.
[9] A. Burgh, *Anecdotes of Music, Historical and Biographical, iii* (London, 1814), 128.

Soprano in the *Ode for St Cecilia's Day* (1754, 1755, 1764, 1766 and perhaps later)
Deborah in *Deborah* (1754, and probably 1764 and 1766)
Dalila in *Samson* (1755 and yearly until the late 1760s)
Asenath in *Joseph and his Brethren* (1755, 1757, and probably 1768)
Soprano in *Alexander's Feast* (1755, 1762, and later until replaced by Weischell)
Israelite woman in *Judas Maccabaeus* (yearly until late 1760s)
Soprano in *Messiah* (yearly until late 1760s)
Josabeth in *Athalia* (1756)
Soprano in *Israel in Egypt* (1756-1758, 1760 and later until replaced by Weischell)
Esther in *Esther* (1757)
Eve in *Paradise Lost* (1760 and 1761)
Rebecca in *Rebecca* (1761)
Soprano in the *Occasional Oratorio* (1763)
3rd Youth in *The Festival of Darius* (projected in the mid 1760s)
Israelite woman in *Esther* (1767 and probably 1768)

Frederick, Cassandra: (Mrs Thomas Wynne), mezzo-soprano, organist, harpsichordist (*c.*1741, died after 1779)

At the age of five and a half, Frederick played the harpsichord for her first benefit. She sang for Handel in 1758-59 and perhaps for Smith and Stanley in 1760. Her last known concert was in 1761. For her, Handel added five new airs in 1758 to *The Triumph of Time and Truth* : 'Sorrow darkens ev'ry feature', 'Happy beauty', 'No more complaining', Pleasure's gentle zephyrs playing', and 'Wise men flatt'ring'. Two more airs were added to *Judas Maccabaeus*: 'Far brighter than the morning' and 'Great in wisdom'. Anthony Hicks suggests that Smith may have written all seven of these movements.[10]

Mezzo-Soprano for *The Triumph of Time and Truth* (1758)
Daniel in *Belshazzar* (1758)
Storgè in *Jephtha* (1758)
Israelitish woman in *Judas Maccabaeus* (1758)
Soprano in *Messiah* (1758)

Gervasio, Mrs: mezzo-soprano (fl. 1768)

I have been unable to find any references to a Mrs Gervasio so named, but a Signor Gervasia [*sic*] flourished in 1768 as a mandolin player, and it is possible that she may have been his wife.

Aspasia in *Alexander Balus* (1768)

Grassi, Cecilia (Mrs J.C. Bach): soprano (*c.*1740, died after 1782)

Cecilia Grassi began her singing career in Italy and first performed in London for the 1766-67 season at the King's Theatre. After having returned to Italy at the end of the season, she was again in London by the end of 1769 singing for her future husband Johann Christian Bach at the Bach-Abel concerts. She was a soprano for the Smith-Stanley oratorio series at Drury Lane in 1772. She married sometime between 1774 and 1776, retiring from the stage in the latter year. Those works performed in 1772 were

---

[10] Hicks, 155-61.

Samson	*Judas Maccabaeus*
Israel in Egypt	*Alexander's Feast* with Coronation Anthems
Deborah	*Acis and Galatea* with the *Ode for St Cecilia's Day*
Messiah	*L'Allegro* with the *Utrecht Te Deum*

Guadagni, Gaetano: castrato alto, later soprano (*c.*1725-92)
Guadagni sang for Handel from 1749 until 1755, learning his acting skills from Garrick when he sang in Smith's *The Fairies,* apparently his last appearance before leaving England. He was the original Orfeo in Gluck's *Orfeo ed Euridice* and returned to London in 1769, by which time he had extended his range to that of soprano. In 1771 Mrs Harris wrote 'he is the finest actor, the finest figure, and the finest voice imaginable, and he is undoubtedly the most insolent of all fellows'.[11] He was the festival director for Carlisle House in 1769 and a featured singer between the parts for the Smith-Stanley oratorios at Drury Lane in 1770. Mrs Harris heard him sing in the oratorios in 1771,[12] but there is no way to determine whether he sang for the Smith-Stanley oratorios or those of Arnold during that year. He left England for the last time in 1771.

Alto in the *Ode for St Cecilia's Day* (1754-55, replacing Cibber)
Alto in *L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato* (1754 and 1755)
Alto in *Messiah* (date unknown, but probably 1754 and 1755)
Lysander (soprano) in *The Fairies* (1755)
Soprano in *Messiah* (date unknown, but probably 1770 and perhaps 1771)
Soprano in *Alexander's Feast* (1770)

Guarducci, Tommaso: castrato soprano (*c.*1720, left England 1769
Guarducci appeared at the King's Theatre in 1755 through 1758. He was the featured singer between the parts of the oratorios included in the Smith-Stanley series at Covent Garden in February 1768.

Ahusuerus and Israelite woman in *Esther* (1768)
Joseph in *Joseph and his Brethren* (1768)
Soprano in *Alexander's Feast* (1768?)

Hayes, Philip: tenor, organist, composer (1738-1797)
While Dr Hayes is best known as the Oxford professor of music, (1777-1797), he was a singer at Salisbury in 1757 and a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal from 1767.

Tenor for the Foundling Hospital *Messiah* (1769)

Hussey, Mr: bass, (fl. 1732-1739)
Hussey was probably a member of Handel's chorus and sang the part of the Apparition of Samuel in Handel's *Saul* in 1739.

Gozanes in *Teraminta* (1732)

Jefferson, Elizabeth: soprano, actress (died 1766)
Mrs Jefferson is primarily known as an actress.

Hippolita in *The Fairies* (1755)

Jones, Miss: mezzo-soprano, actress, dancer (fl. 1730-1743?)

---

[11] Burrows/Dunhill, 637.
[12] Burrows/Dunhill, 626.

Miss Jones, sometimes referred to as Miss Jones Senior to distinguish her from a younger Miss Jones (her sister?), was primarily an actress. Her first purely musical role appears to have been in *Teraminta*, but thereafter she sang in several other English musical works as well as acting in the standard repertoire. After *c.*1736, the two Miss Jones are impossible to distinguish.

Cratander in *Teraminta* (1732)

Kelly, John?: countertenor, tenor, actor (fl. 1732-1741)
This Mr Kelly was chiefly a singer for the various playhouses. He is probably the same Kelly who sang the part of the High Priest in Handel's *Saul* in 1739.[13]

Telemachus in *Ulysses* (1733)

Leoni, Michael: soprano, (later tenor) (*c.*1750-1797)[14]
Master Leoni was a very accomplished singer, as his part in Smith's *The Enchanter* demonstrates. He is probably the Jewish Michael Leoni who, as a tenor, made his 'debut' in Arne's *Artaxerxes* in 1775, and by 1777 was considered to be one of the best singers in England. He sang for the Covent Garden oratorios in 1777 and his name is written on a libretto of *Jephtha* (*GB-Mp* B.R.310.I.HD 674, 8) after the mezzo-soprano part for Storgè, perhaps for the 1776 production under Stanley. In 1778 Leoni was dismissed from Jewish services because he had sung in the oratorios as well as in the theatres.

Kaliel (as Master Leoni) in *The Enchanter* (1760)

Linley, Elizabeth: (Mrs Sheridan), soprano (1754-92)
Elizabeth and Mary (below) were daughters of the composer Thomas Linley. Elizabeth began her career in and around Bath, making her London debut at age thirteen. She and Mary both received rave notices when they sang for the Smith-Stanley oratorio series in 1773. The crowds were drawn to Drury Lane, not only to hear her talented voice but also to see the woman who had run away to France with Richard Brinsley Sheridan the previous year. They married in April 1773, and she subsequently retired from public life (see also the entry on Thomas Norris below).

Cleopatra in *Alexander Balus* (1773)
Soprano in *Acis and Galatea* (1773)
Soprano in *Judas Maccabaeus* (1773)
Soprano in *Messiah* (1773)

Linley, Mary: (Mrs Tickell), soprano (1758-1787)
Although overshadowed by her elder sister Elizabeth, Mary was no less gifted. Her London debut was as Sally in Coleman's *Man and Wife* at Covent Garden. She continued to sing with Stanley's oratorios through 1782, marrying Richard Tickell in 1780.

Alexander in *Alexander Balus* (1773)
Micah in *Samson* (1773 and 1774)
Soprano in *Acis and Galatea* (1773 and1774)
Soprano in *Judas Maccabaeus* (1773 and 1774)
Soprano in *Messiah* (1773 and 1774)

---

[13] Mr. Hussey also sang in this production.
[14] Curtis Price, Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, *The Impresario's Ten Commandments: Continental Recruitment for Italian Opera in London 1763-64,* discuss Gabriel Leone, an agent for Giardini. This is another person entirely.

Lowe, Thomas: tenor (*c.*1719-1783)
Lowe, predominantly a singer of ballad opera and other light theatre pieces, began his career at Drury Lane in 1740. He also had great success in the pleasure gardens and sang for Handel in 1743 and 1748-1751.

Zoreb in *The Enchanter* (1760)

Moore, Master: soprano, actor (fl. 1754-1757)
Moore's first known public appearance was as a fairy in *Queen Mab* at Drury Lane on 5 November 1754. Doubtless he is one of the several Mr Moores who later flourished as singers or actors.

Puck in *The Fairies* (1755)

Mosor, Signora: soprano (fl. 1765-1770)
I have been unable to find any references to her except those listed below, but Signora or Mrs Mosor's name appears on the following manuscripts in Hamburg:[15]

Soprano in *Israel in Egypt* (late 1760s, replaced by Tenducci at least twice, but not in 1768-1769 when he was in Edinburgh.
Achsah and Othniel in *Joshua* (1769)
Israelite woman/Israelite messenger in *Judas Maccabaeus* (late 1760s), replaced by Tenducci (at least twice)
Philistine woman in *Samson* (date unknown, replaced Brent)
Soprano but perhaps alto in *Messiah* (date unknown, replaced by Guadagni (*c.*1770)
Soprano in *Alexander's Feast* (1765 and/or 1766, with Weischell (see below), replaced by Guarducci in 1768? and by Tenducci (*c.*1770)
Barak in *Deborah* (1766 and 1767, in which she followed Scott, (see below) and was later replaced by Tenducci

Norris, Thomas: soprano and later tenor, composer, organist (*c.*1741-1790)
Norris began his musical training as a chorister at Salisbury, singing there with Frasi as 'the senior Chorister Norris' in 1758. His first appearance in London was probably as Adam in *Paradise Lost* (1761). On 27 March of that year he had a benefit at Hickford's Great Room with Frasi and made his Drury Lane debut in James Harris' *The Spring* in 1762. His name appears after the part of Jephtha on the libretto (*GB-Mp* B.R. 310.1.I.Hd 674, 8), probably for the 1776 production under Stanley. After receiving his BMus degree from Oxford, he eventually held four musical posts there simultaneously but continued to sing in the provinces as well as in London until his last appearance at Drury Lane in 1785. In 1770 Mrs Harris wrote 'There is great talk of Mr. Watts, a minor, being in love with Miss Linley, the girl who sings. I heard yesterday they had set off for Scotland, the next news must be that Tom Norris has hanged himself, for at our last meeting he appeared greatly smitten, and I thought the same of the young lady ...'.[16] He sang tenor for Smith's oratorios in 1767, 1772, 1773, and 1774, and continued to do so

---

[15] Clausen, 144, lists her name as appearing on the conducting score of *Esther*, (performed in 1767 and 1768), but I was unable to locate her name on the manuscript.
[16] Burrows/Dunhill, 613. See also [Bingley], *Musical Biography*, 2 vols. (London, 1814), *ii*, 207-09 for an account of Norris' infatuation and subsequent health problems.

for Stanley, being the only singer who spanned the years from 1761 to Stanley's retirement in 1785. He was one of the principal tenors for the Handel Commemoration of 1784.

Adam in *Paradise Lost* (1761, as Master Norris)
Laban in *Rebecca* (1761, as Master Norris)
Didymus in *Theodora* (1761, as Mr Norris)
Alto in *Messiah* (1761)
Tenor in *Israel in Egypt* (1767, 1769 and 1771)
Manoah in *Samson* (1767 and yearly through 1774)
Gideon in *Gideon* (1769 and 1770)
Tenor in *Judas Maccabaeus* (1773 and 1774)
Tenor in *Acis and Galatea* (1773)
Tenor in *L'Allegro ed il Penseroso* (1772 and 1773)
Jonathan in *Alexander Balus* (1773)
Tenor in *Alexander's Feast* (1770?, 1772? and 1773)
Tenor in *Messiah* (1767 and yearly through 1774)
Gabriel in *Paradise Lost* (1774)

Parry, Robert: bass, organist, (d. 1792)
A featured bass in the provinces from 1768 until at least 1774, he was probably the Master Robert Parry from Salisbury Cathedral who sang in Salisbury in 1766 and Oxford in 1767. He replaced Samuel Champness in 1771 or 1772.[17] By 1776, Stanley had replaced him with Charles Frederick Reinhold.

Simon? in *Judas Maccabaeus* (1773 and 1774)
Polyphemus in *Acis and Galatea* (1773 and 1774)
Bass in *L'Allegro ed il Penseroso* (1772 and 1773)
Bass in *Alexander's Feast* (1772, 1773 and 1774)
Ptolomee in *Alexander Balus* (1773)
Manoah and Harapha in *Samson* (1773 and 1774)
Bass in *Messiah* (1773 and 1774)
Uriel in *Paradise Lost* (1774)

Passerini, Christina: soprano (fl. 1750-1776)
Passerini, an Italian soprano, was one of Handel's oratorio singers during the period 1754-57 and a soloist for the Foundling Hospital *Messiah* in 1754. She was married to Giuseppe Passerini, a violinist, conductor and composer, and, having been active mainly in the provinces, they settled in Dublin in 1762.

Jael in *Deborah* (1754)
Soprano in *L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato* (1754 and probably 1755)
Soprano in *Alexander's Feast* (1755)
Hermia in *The Fairies* (1755)

Pinto, Mrs.: see Brent, Charlotte

Poitier, Jane: (Mrs Vernon), soprano (fl. 1755-1773)
Miss Poitier sang at Drury Lane and Covent Garden as well as at Ranelagh and Marylebone Gardens. She eloped with Joseph Vernon in 1755 (see below and Chapter

---

[17] Champness may have moved to Covent Garden with Arnold as soon as 1771.

IV, 101-02), but their marriage was later annulled and in 1762 she resumed her maiden name, Poitier.

Helena in *The Fairies* (1755)
Miranda in *The Tempest* (1756)

Quilici, Gaetano: bass (fl. 1754-1765?)
Signor Quilici first appeared in London as a member of the foreign burletta company which gave several performances at Covent Garden during the 1754-1756 seasons.[18] Following the company's demise, he next emerged in London as principal bass at the King's Theatre in 1758. He sang in a concert at the Foundling Hospital on 18 May 1762; his last notice was for a benefit for the Mozart children on 5 June 1764, although he may have sung at the King's Theatre as late as 1765.

Bethuel, Canaanite man and Abraham in *Rebecca* (1761)
Bass in the Foundling Hospital *Messiah* (1763)

Reinhold, Frederick Charles: bass (*c.*1737-1815)
As Master Reinhold, he began his singing career at Drury Lane in 1752, one year after the death of his father Thomas. In 1758 and 1759 he sang bass in the chorus for the Foundling Hospital *Messiah*. Like his father, he sang various types of music, from pantomime to oratorio. In 1783 he became organist of St George the Martyr, Bloomsbury, and was a principal bass at the Handel Commemoration in 1784.

Oberon in *The Fairies* (as Master Reinhold, 1755)

Reinhold, Thomas: bass (*c.*1690-1751)
Reinhold sang all kinds of roles, from burlesque to oratorio, in the London theatres. He was one of Handel's favourite basses as early as 1734, equally competent in Italian opera as well as Handel's oratorios. He continued to sing for him until his death in 1751. The managers of Drury Lane performed a benefit for his family shortly thereafter.

Bass in *David's Lamentation over Saul and Jonathan* (1740)

Ricciarelli, Giuseppi: castrato alto, composer (fl. 1754-1759)

Alto or mezzo-soprano for the Founding Hospital *Messiah* (1759)
Alto in *Messiah* (1759)

Rooker, Edward: baritone, actor, dancer, artist, engraver (1724-1774)[19]
Predominantly an engraver, Rooker was also active at Drury Lane, beginning his career in the season of 1752-1753. He performed the part of Harlequin in various pantomimes until the year of his death.

Stephano in *The Tempest* (1756)

Russell, Mr: countertenor, actor, puppeteer (d. *c.*1747)
Mr Russell gave his first performance at the Haymarket in 1729, and he was a minor singer for the playhouses and summer fairs. His last known appearance was at his benefit in 1741, after which he failed as a puppeteer and was imprisoned for debt.

Nunez in *Rosalinda* (1740)

---

[18] In the eighteenth century, a burletta company performed short comic operas between the acts of opera seria.

[19] I am grateful to Philip Highfill, Kalman Burnim and Edward Langhans, co-editors of *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800*, 16 vols. (Carbondale, 1973-93), who kindly shared their information on Rooker, Russell, and Wilder in advance of publication.

Alto? In *David's Lamentation over Saul and Jonathan* (1740)

Salway, Thomas: tenor (died 1743)
Salway was a playhouse singer from 1722 until his death. He may have been Pepusch's servant at Cannons during 1721-22. He sang for Handel in the 1730s and during the season of 1740-1741.

Tenor in *David's Lamentation over Saul and Jonathan* (1740)

Scott, Isabella: (née Young), mezzo-soprano/alto, organist (d.1791)
Mrs Scott was one of Smith's favourite singers. She was the sister of Polly Young (see below), the niece of Cecilia Arne, and supposedly the pupil of Gustavus Waltz. She sang for Handel from 1755, and from 1760 until 1772 for the Smith-Stanley oratorio series (see actual and projected cast lists below). She married the Hon. John Scott in December 1757. Writing in 1768 about the part of Micah in *Samson*, William Hayes remarked that 'Had Mrs. Scot [*sic*] (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'.[20]

Titania in *The Fairies* (1755)
Alto in *Alexander's Feast* (1755 and probably later)
Ariel in *The Tempest* (1756)
Barak in *Deborah* (1756) and Barak or Jael (1764)
Second Israelite woman in *Judas Maccabaeus* (1756, as Miss Young; later as Mrs Scott on parts for Israelite man)
Mordecai in *Esther* (1757, 1767, and 1768)
Alto for the Foundling Hospital *Messiah* (1758, 1759, 1760, 1763, and 1767 and probably for those years between and until 1772)
Mezzo-soprano and alto for *Messiah* (1758, 1759 and probably yearly until 1772)
Alto in *Israel in Egypt* (1758 and probably yearly until 1772)
Lyssa in *The Enchanter* (1760)
Adam in *Paradise Lost* (1760)
Isaac in *Rebecca* (1761)
Juno in *Semele* (1762)
Alto in the *Occasional Oratorio* (1763)
Alto in *L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato* (1764 and 1772)
1st Youth in *The Festival of Darius* (projected in the mid 1760s)
Phanor in *Joseph and his Brethren* (1768)
Alto in *Israel in Egypt* (1765 and probably 1766, 1767, 1769 and 1771)
Micah in *Samson* (date unknown, but was replaced in at least three years by Tenducci (gone in 1768-1769) who was himself replaced by Mary Linley in 1773)
Alto in *Alexander's Feast* (1770)
Alto in the *Ode for St Cecilia's Day* (1764 and probably later)

Tenducci, Giusto Ferdinando: castrato soprano (*c.*1734-1790)
Tenducci arrived in London in 1758 from Naples and began his career at the King's Theatre. In 1760, while he was in debtors' prison, several concerts were given on his

---

[20] *Anecdotes of the Five Music Meetings* (Oxford, 1768), 5.

behalf. He sang in the Drury Lane oratorios under Arne in 1762 and in the pleasure gardens in 1763. He was in Edinburgh in 1768-1769 and a year later in Salisbury. His colourful exploits, including marriage, fathering two children, and serving at least one other term in prison, are recounted in detail by Angus Heriot,[21] and also more recently by Helen Berry in *The Castrato and His Wife* (Oxford, 2011).

Soprano in the *Occasional Oratorio* (1763)
Hamor in *Jeptha* (1763)
Micah in *Samson* (replaced by Scott at least three times between 1763 and 1773)
Barak or Jael in *Deborah* (1764 and later, replaced Mosor)
Israelitish man in *Judas Maccabaeus* (at least twice following Mosor)
Soprano in *Israel in Egypt* (1765 and later)
Alto in *Messiah* (dates unknown)
Soprano in *Alexander's Feast* (date unknown, but with Weischell)[22]

Vernon, Joseph: tenor (*c.*1739-1782)
Vernon, a choirboy at St Paul's, began his professional career at Drury Lane in 1750 as Master Vernon. In 1755 he eloped with and married Jane Poitier, but the marriage was annulled and he retreated in disgrace to Ireland. Nevertheless *The Theatrical Examiner* praised him highly for the 1762 season: 'We know not in his singing which to admire most, his peculiar delicacy, exquisite taste, or sensible expression; all which it is certain he possesses to a most eminent degree. As an actor too, he may be justly proclaimed a lively and pleasing comedian ...'.[23] Smith and Stanley hired Vernon for the oratorio series when Beard retired in 1767, but for the following few years at least he sang for Arnold's oratorios.

Demetrius in *The Fairies* (1755)
Samson in *Samson* (1767)
Tenor in *Esther* (1767)

Vincent, Isabella (née Burchall): soprano (1735-1802)
Mrs Vincent was a member of the Drury Lane company during 1760-1763. She was firstly the wife of Richard Vincent, a violinist and drummer who died in 1766; shortly afterwards she married Captain John Mills and quit the stage.[24]

Zaida in *The Enchanter* (1760)

Waltz, Gustavus: bass (fl. 1732-1766)
Waltz first appeared with the English Opera in 1732. The following year he began singing for Handel and continued in both Italian opera and English oratorio until at least 1739. He later sang as a member of the chorus for the Foundling Hospital performances of *Messiah* in 1754, 1758, 1759, 1760, and 1763, but by 1767 his name was no longer included in the list of chorus singers. From 1743 until 165, he was also the organist for German Lutheran Church in the Savoy.[25]

Antinous in *Ulysses* (1733)

---

[21] *The Castrati in Opera* (London, 1956), 185-89.
[22] Clausen lists him as a singer for *Solomon* (performed only in 1765), but I was unable to locate his name on the manuscript.
[23] (1763), 36. See Chapter IV, 101-02, for his elopement.
[24] See *The British Magazine,* June 1760, 348-50.
[25] Donald Burrows and Paul Tindall, 'Gustavus Waltz: a New Discovery', *The Handel Institute Newsletter*, Vol. 24 no.1 (Spring 2013)

Wass, Robert: bass (died 1764)
Wass was a Vicar Choral of St Paul's (from 1743), a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal (1744), and a member of the choir at Westminster Abbey (1745). He probably began singing for Handel in 1749 and became his principal bass in 1752 until replaced by Champness around 1757.

Bass in *Alexander's Feast* (1753 and probably 1755)
Bass for the Foundling Hospital *Messiah* (1754, 1758 and 1759)
Abner in *Athalia* (1756)

Weichsell, Frederica: soprano (*c.*1746-1786)
Mrs Weichsell, an English pupil of J.C. Bach, married the German oboist and clarinettist Carl Weichsell most probably in the summer of 1765. She sang in the Handel oratorios performed at the Three Choirs Festival in Gloucester in 1769 but was thereafter replaced by the Linleys. Weichsell began singing for Smith's oratorios in 1768 and remained with him until the 1774 season. She is mainly remembered as a singer at Vauxhall and as the mother of the famous singer Mrs Billington.

Alexander in *Alexander Balus* (1768)
Soprano in *Israel in Egypt* (1765 or later)
Soprano in *Alexander's Feast* (1768 and/or 1770, replaced Brent)
Oreb in *Gideon* (1769-1770)
Deborah in *Deborah* (1771)
Soprano in *L'Allegro* (1772)
Soprano in *Acis and Galatea* (1773)
Eve in *Paradise Lost* (1774)

Wilder, James: bass, actor (b. 1724)
Wilder held small acting and singing parts at Covent Garden from 1748 and at Drury Lane from 1750. Not until the season of 1755-1756 in Edinburgh was he to receive more important roles, acting for Thomas Sheridan in Ireland from the winter of 1756 until 1788, 32 years later. His last known performance took place in 1788.

Egeus in *The Fairies* (1755)

Wright, Mrs: soprano (*c.*1705-?1750)
Mrs Wright was a singer for Handel during the 1727-1728 season and went to Oxford to perform with him in 1733. She was predominantly a singer of pantomimes in Rich's company.

Antigone in *Ulysses* (1733)

Young, Cecilia: (see Arne, Cecilia)

Young, Elizabeth: (see Scott, Isabella)

Young, Polly (Mary): (Mrs Barthélemon), soprano and harpsichordist (*c.*1749-1799)
Polly Young was the sister of Isabella (Young) Scott and niece of Cecilia (Young) Arne (who seems to have supported her). Her first London appearance was in 1762 at Drury Lane when John Beard presented her to the audience. She married the French-born violinist and composer François-Hippolyte Barthélemon in 1766 and played a harpsichord lesson at one of the Arnold oratorios in 1768. She may have sung for the

Smith-Stanley oratorios in other years besides 1763. She later sang for the Queen of Naples and Marie Antoinette, and in 1792 she appeared with Haydn at the keyboard.

Iphis and Angel in *Jephtha* (1763)
Soprano in the *Occasional Oratorio* (1763)
Projected second woman in *Solomon* (1765, name erased and replace by Brent)

KNOWN CAST LISTS FOR SMITH'S OPERAS

1732 *Teraminta*

Teraminta	Susanna Arne
Xarino	Jane Barbier
Cratander	Miss Jones
Ardelia	Isabella Chambers
Gozones	Mr Hussey

1733 *Ulysses*

Penelope	Cecilia Arne
Ulysses	Jane Barbier
Antigone	Mrs Wright
Telemachus	Mr Kelly
Antinous	Gustavus Waltz

1740 *David's Lamentation over Saul and Jonathan*

Soprano	Cecilia Arne
Countertenor	Mr Russell
Tenor	John Beard
Bass	Thomas Reinhold

1740 *Rosalinda*

Rosalinda	Cecilia Arne
Garcia	John Beard
Nunez	Mr Russell

1755 *The Fairies*

Hermia	Christina Passerini
Helena	Jane Poitier
Lysander	Gaetano Guadagni
	Rosa Curioni
Hippolita	Elizabeth Jefferson
Theseus	John Beard
Demetrius	Joseph Vernon
	Michael Atkins
Egeus	Mr Wilder
	Samuel Champness
Titalia	Elizabeth Young
Oberon	Master Charles Reinhold
Puck	Master Moore
Fairy	Master Evans

1756 *The Tempest*

Miranda	Jane Vernon
Ferdinand	Rosa Curioni
Ariel	Isabella Young
Prospero	John Beard
Caliban	Samuel Champness
Ventoso	James Abington
Stephano	Mr Rooker
Antonio	George Burton
Alonzo	Michael Atkins

1760 *The Enchanter*

Zaida	Isabella Vincent
Lyssa	Isabella Young
Kaliel	Michael Leoni
Zoreb	Thomas Lowe
Moroc	Samuel Champness

KNOWN AND CONJECTURED ORATORIO SINGERS BY YEAR

1760

Foundling Hospital *Messiah*
Soprano: Giulia Frasi
Alto: Isabella Scott
Tenor: John Beard
Bass: Samuel Champness

The Triumph of Time and Truth
Deceit: Charlotte Brent

Paradise Lost
Eve: Giulia Frasi
Adam: Isabella Scott
Angel?: Charlotte Brent
Gabriel: John Beard
Uriel: Samuel Champness

1761

Paradise Lost
Eve: Giulia Frasi
Adam: Master Thomas Norris
Angel?: Charlotte Brent
Gabriel: John Beard
Uriel: Samuel Champness

Rebecca
Rebecca: Giulia Frasi
Chaldean woman: Angiola Calori
Isaac: Isabella Young
Laban: Master Thomas Norris
Servant: John Beard
Canaanite man: Gaetano Quilici
Bethuel: Gaetano Quilici
Abraham: Gaetano Quilici

Theodora
Theodora: Giulia Frasi?
Irene: Isabella Scott?
Didimus: Charlotte Brent
Septimus: John Beard
Valens: Gaetano Quilici?

1762[26]
Soprano: Giulia Frasi
Alto: Isabella Scott
Tenor: John Beard
Bass: Gaetano Quilici

1763
Foundling Hospital *Messiah*
Soprano: Giulia Frasi
Alto: Isabella Scott
Tenor: John Beard
Bass: Gaetano Quilici

Semele
Juno: Isabella Scott

Occasional Oratorio
Soprano: Giulia Frasi
Soprano: Polly Young
Alto: Isabella Scott
Tenor: John Beard
Bass: Samuel Champness?

Jephtha
Jephtha: ?
Zebul: ?
Storgè : 'The Girl'
Iphis: Polly Young
Hamor: Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci

1764[27]
Soprano: Giulia Frasi
Mezzo-soprano: Charlotte Brent
Alto: Isabella Scott
Tenor: John Beard
Bass: Samuel Champness

L'Allegro
Soprano: Charlotte Brent
Alto: Isabella Scott

1765
Messiah[28]
Soprano: Giulia Frasi
Mezzo-soprano: Charlotte Brent
Alto: Isabella Scott
Tenor: John Beard
Bass: Samuel Champness

Judas Maccabaeus[29]
Soprano; Giulia Frasi
Mezzo-soprano: Charlotte Brent
Alto: Isabella Scott
Tenor: John Beard
Bass: Samuel Champness

1766[30]
Messiah
Soprano: Giulia Frasi
Mezzo-soprano: Charlotte Brent
Alto: Isabella Scott
Tenor: John Beard
Bass: Samuel Champness

---

[26] Conjectural only; singers inferred by comparing preceding and following [bracketing] years.
[27] Conjectural only; singers inferred from bracketing years. Singers for *L'Allegro* and *Gideon* are known.
[28] Isaac Reed, *The Diaries of Isaac Reed, 1762-1804*, vol. 1 of *University of California Publications in English,* ed. Claude E. Jones (Berkeley, 1946), 28 (hereafter Reed *Diaries*).
[29] *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 27 March 1765.
[30] Reed, *Diaries,* 34. 'The Singers the same as last Year'.

1767
Foundling Hospital *Messiah*
Giulia Frasi: Soprano
Mezzo-soprano: Charlotte Pinto
Isabella Scott: Alto
Tenor: Edward Clarke
Bass: Samuel Champness

1768
Alexander Balus
Cleopatra: Charlotte Brent
Alexander: Frederica Weichsell
Aspasia: Mrs Gervasio?
Jonathan: ?
Ptolemy: Samuel Champness?

Esther[31]
Soprano: Giulia Frasi
Soprano: Elizabeth Arne
Mezzo-soprano: Charlotte Pinto
Alto: Isabella Scott
Tenor: Joseph Vernon
Bass: Samuel Champness

Joseph and his Brethren
Asenath: Charlotte Pinto (Brent)
Phanor: Isabella Scott
Joseph: Tommaso Guarducci

1769[32]
Soprano: Giulia Frasi
Soprano: Frederica Weichsell
Alto: Isabella Scott
Tenor: Jonathan Battishill
Bass: Samuel Champness

Joshua
Soprano: Signora Mosor

Gideon
Oreb: Frederica Weichsell
Gideon: Thomas Norris
Joash: Samuel Champness

1770
Alexander's Feast[33]
Soprano: Gaetano Guadagni
Soprano: Frederica Weischell
Alto: Isabella Scott
Tenor: Thomas Norris [conjectural]
Bass: Samuel Champness [conjectural]

Gideon
Oreb: Frederica Weichsell
Gideon: Thomas Norris
Joash: Samuel Champness

1771[34]
Soprano: Frederica Weichsell
Alto: Isabella Scott
Tenor: Thomas Norris
Bass: Samuel Champness or Robert Parry

1772
L'Allegro[35]
Soprano: Frederica Weichsell
Mezzo-soprano: Cecilia Grassi
Alto: Isabella Scott
Tenor: Thomas Morris

---

[31] *LS*, *iv,* 1226, from the Neville diary.
[32] Isaac Reed, *Notitia Dramatica* (*GB-Lbl* Add. MS 25390-92, f.230. 'Oratorios this year at Cov: Gardn. & ... At the former ...').
[33] Reed, *Diaries,* 63.
[34] Conjectural only: list determined by bracketed years.
[35] Reed, *Diaries*, 74.

Bass: Robert Parry

1773

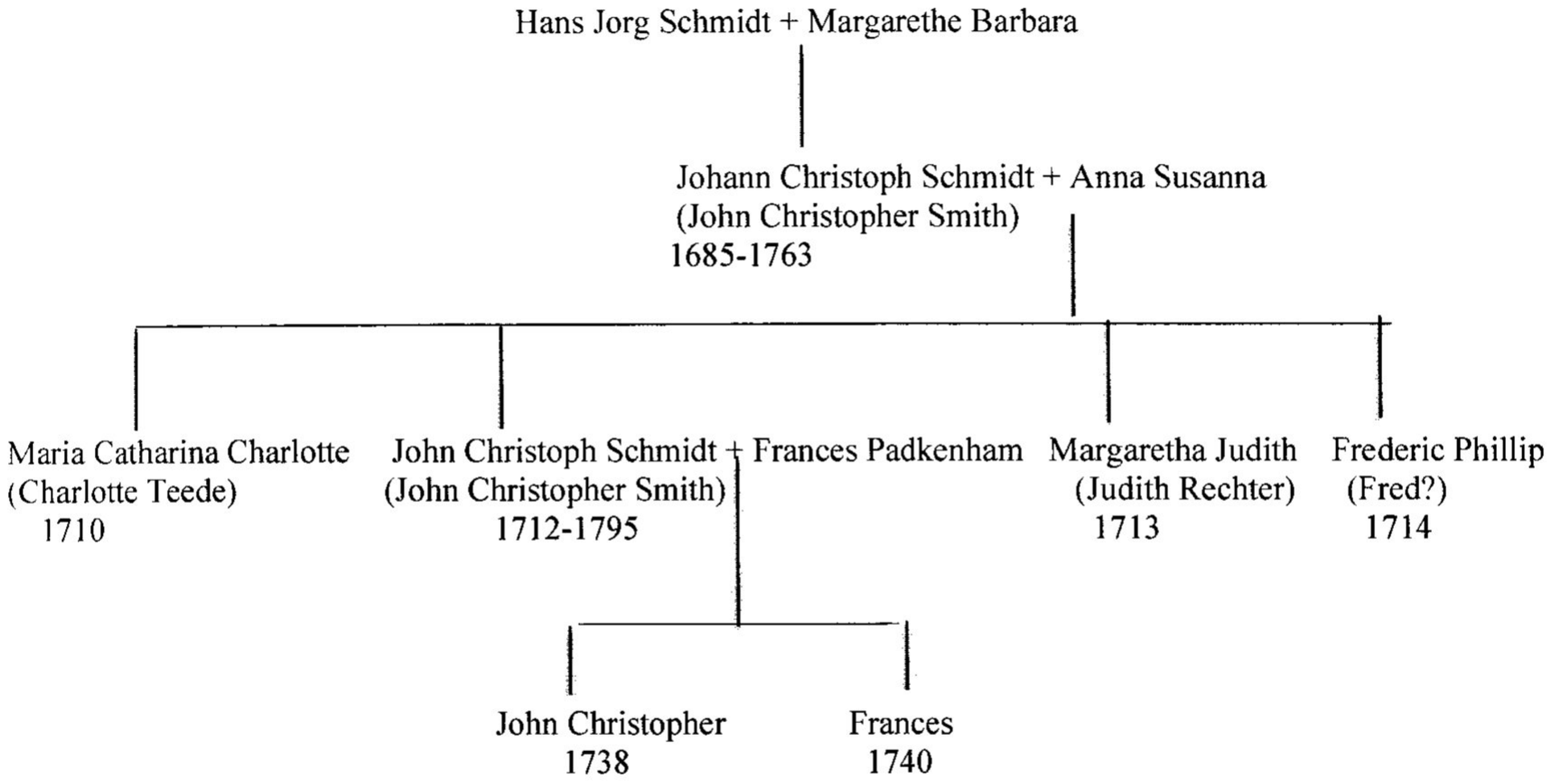
Alexander Balus
Cleopatra: Elizabeth Linley
Alexander: Mary Linley
Aspasia: Mrs Gervasio?
Jonathan: Thomas Norris?
Ptolemy: Robert Parry

Acis and Galatea
Soprano: Elizabeth Linley
Soprano: Frederica Weichsell
Mezzo-soprano: Mary Linley
Tenor: Thomas Norris
Bass: Robert Parry?

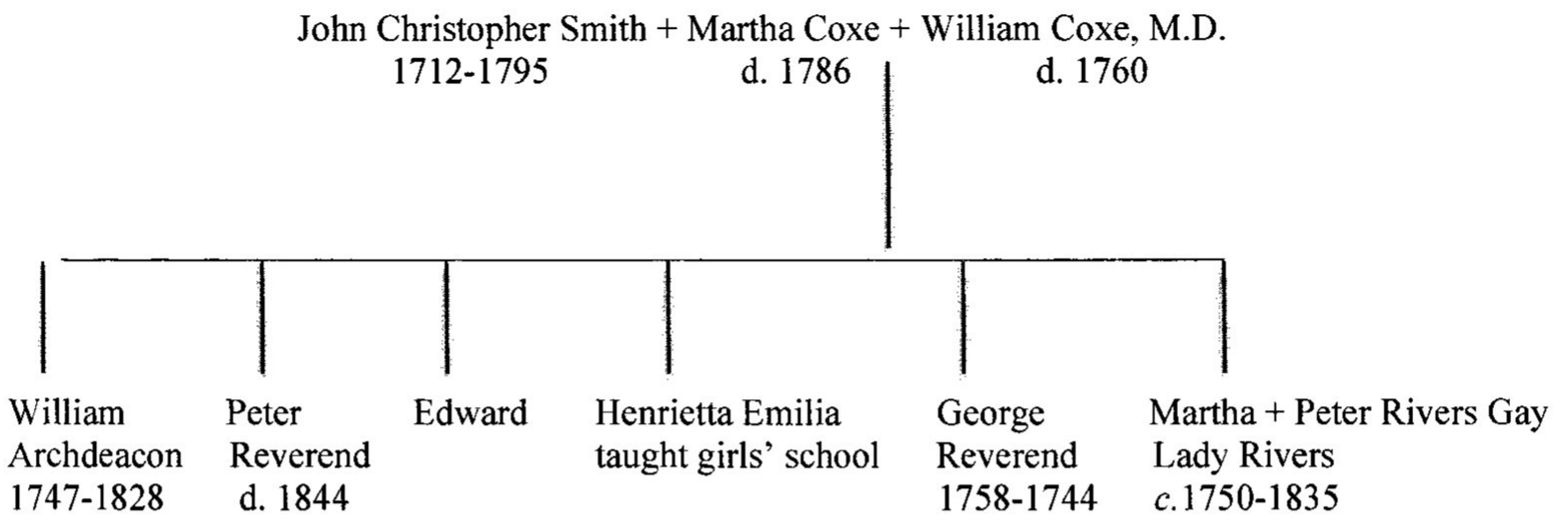
1774[36]
Soprano: Frederica Weichsell
Mezzo-soprano: Mary Linley
Alto: Mrs Gervasio
Tenor: Thomas Norris
Bass: Robert Parry

[36] Conjectural only: list based on 1773. Singers at the Haymarket in 1774 were Polly Young (Barthélemon), Isabella Scott, Joseph Vernon, and Samuel Champness.

John Christopher Smith Family Tree 1[1]



John Christopher Smith Family Tree 2[2]



---

[1] Konrad Sasse, 'Neun Daten zu Johann Christoph Smidt', *Handel-Jahrbuch,* 2nd series 3, 115-23; and *GB-Wpl*, St James Picadilly, Baptisms (microfilm).
[2] Details of the Coxe family from *US-Pru* Hall Collection.

OTHER SMITHS

One of the most frustrating elements of this research has been the constant necessity to differentiate among the various Mr Smiths alive at that time. No attempt has made to examine the lives and works of these other Smiths in detail, but their existence is noted here lest they be in some way confused with John Christopher Smith jnr.

Mr Smith (fl. 1753-*c.*1764)
Actor; Resided opposite the Concert Room in Dean Street, Soho, in 1762.

Adam Smith (fl. 1768-1785)
Organist of Magdalen Chapel; published a few songs sung in the theatre and pleasure gardens as well as psalms and hymns.

Clement Smith (1760- ?)
Published songs, sonatas and glees in the 1790s.

George Smith (fl. 1760s)
Published two songs in the *Royal Magazine* 1764 and 1766.

Isaac Smith (*c.*1750-*c.*1790) Many editions of A Collection of Psalm Tunes (London, 1780?).
Only three edns. listed in *BUCEM*.

James Martin Smith
Published organ voluntaries, *c.*1780.

John Smith Esq. [The following may well be different people]
Married Miss Robinson at St George's Chapel, Hyde Park Corner, 1740.
Subscribed to Thomas Hale's *Social Harmony* (London, 1763) [of Clement's Inn]
Lived on Jermyn Street, 1769.
Subscribed to John Christopher Smith jnr's Op. 1 in 1732.

John Smith Jnr of King-Street, Covent Garden
Subscribed to George Carey's *Balnea* (London 1799).

John Smith of Market Lavington (fl. 1748-1760).
Published various sets of services and anthems for country choirs.

John Smith of Huntingdon
Double bass player in 1775.

The Reverend Mr John Smith
Minor Canon of Worcester Cathedral, Priest in Ordinary of the Chapel Royal 1739-1741.

*John Christopher Smith snr (1685-1763)[1]

Frequently confused with his son. Many library catalogues and indices continue to misattribute the two men's work, particularly their handwriting. A study of this man's life and work, not only in association with Handel, but also with that of other composers whose music he copied, is long overdue.

John Eusebius Smith (fl. 1729-1744)

Vicar Choral of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin 1729-1744

Robert Smith (died before 1813)

Robert Smith was a music collector, for whom the 'Smith' collection in the British Library is named. See Lucy Rowe, 'Robert Smith, Music Collector', *The Handel Institute Newsletter,* Vol. 14, no. 2 (Autumn 2003)

*John Stafford Smith (baptized 1751-1836).

Early published songs often appear by 'Mr Smith'. [His works are generally catalogued correctly].[2] He was the son of Martin Smith, organist of Gloucester cathedral from 1739 until 1781.

*Theodore Smith (c. 1740- c. 1810)

As 'Mr Smith' he published instrumental works and songs for the pleasure gardens. Many of his songs appear to be uncatalogued. [I believe he was a German. His wife sang for Arnold and Toms in 1773.]

---

[1] More detailed information may be found in *New Grove* for composers marked with an asterisk.

[2] *BUCEM* (958) wrongly lists Stafford Smith's *A Collection of songs of various kinds, and for Different Voices* (London, *c.*1785) as the work of J.C. Smith.

Bibliography

WATERMARKS

Burrows, Donald and Martha J. Ronish: *A Catalogue of Handel's Musical Autographs* (Oxford, 1994).

Burrows, Donald: 'Rastra, watermarks and copyists in the late insertions in the Conducting Scores of Handel's Oratorios', *Göttinger Händel-Beiträge* viii (2000), 181-95.

Clausen, Hans Dieter: *Händels Direktionspartituren* (Hamburg, 1972).

Most of the watermarks in this thesis are based on Clausen and on Burrows' 'Rastra' article. It should be noted, however, that Burrows and Ronish have developed an expanded method to describe additional watermarks on 'English' papers. Here Clausen's original descriptions (Ba, Bb, Cb, Cc, etc.) have been changed to B and C followed by numbers in multiples of ten: for example, Ba = B20, Bb = B10 (now earlier than Ba), Cb = C20 and Cc = C30. This system allows for new items not described by Clausen (B30, for instance).

MANUSCRIPTS AND TYPESCRIPTS

Accounts of Covent Garden, 1760-67 (*GB-Lbl* Egerton MSS 2271-2).

Terence Best and Donald Burrows: 'Guide to the Malmesbury Collection' (np, 1991).

Covent Garden Theatre Ledger, 1768-72 (*GB-Lbl* Add. MSS 2273-6).

Coxe, William: Personal papers (*GB-Lbl* Add. MSS 9070 and 29386).

Coxe, William: Personal correspondence (*GB-Ob* MS Eng. Lett. C. 335).

Cross-Hopkins Diary (*US-Ws* W a.104).

Drury Lane Theatre Receipts, 1772-1779 (*GB-Lbl* Add. MS 29709).

Garrick, David: MS notes on Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (*US-Ws* W b. 469).

Garrick, David: Prologue to *The Fairies* (*US-Ws* W b. 467).

Hall, James S.: 'Catalogue of the Aylesford Manuscripts' (typescript, *US-Pru* Harvey S. Firestone Memorial Library, R780.89 HC 41).

Marylebone Parish: rate books (microfilm, Marylebone Library), reels 1-9.

Medlicott, Col. H. E. (comp.): 'The Family Medlicott' (London Genealogical Society

Ac. 13643).

Mormon International Genealogical Index on microfiche at the City of London, Guildhall Library, now available online at Ancester.co.uk (for a fee).

Reed, Isaac: *Notitia Dramatica* (*GB-Lbl* Add. MSS 25390-2).

St Anne's Parish, Soho: Rate books and parish registers (*GB-Wpl*).

St James's, Piccadilly: Rate books and parish registers (*GB-Wpl*).

Coram Foundation Records at *GB-Lma*

Foundling Hospital Coram Library Vols. 9, 10, 12, 28, 32 and 35.
Minutes of the General Committee (1749-72) A/FH/02/003 -012.
Minutes of the General Court (1739-88) A/FH/K/01/001-003.
Minutes of the Sub-Committee (1748-73) A/FH/A/03/005/001-009.
Box of Letters IV (1763-73) A/FH/M01/034.
Box of Psalms, Hymns and Anthems.

LIBRETTI

Larpent Manuscripts in the Huntington Library (*US*: *SM*)

The Desert Island (LA 167)
The Enchanter (LA 178)
Midsummer Night's Dream with MS additions (LA 229)
Nabal (LA 233)
Rebecca (LA 186)
Rosalinda (LA 18)
The Shipwreck (LA K-D 6)
The Tempest (LA 123)

Beaumont, Francis and John Fletcher: *The Chances* (London, 1718).

Beaumont, Francis and John Fletcher: *The Chances,* altered by the Duke of Buckingham [George Villiers] (Dublin, 1751).

Beaumont, Francis and John Fletcher: *The Chances*, altered by David Garrick (London, 1773).

Brown, Dr [John]: *The Cure of Saul* (London, 1763).

Carey, Henry: *Teraminta* (London, 1732 and 1743).

Colman, George: *A Fairy Tale* (London, 1763 and 1777).

[Garrick, David and John Christopher Smith jnr?]: *The Fairies* (London, 1755).

[Garrick, David ?]: *The Tempest* (London, 1756).

Garrick, David: *The Enchanter* (London, 1760 and 1765).

Bibliography

Garrick, David: *The Enchanter* (Cork, 1765).

Lockman, John: *David's Lamentation over Saul and Jonathan* (London, 1736) and 5th edn. (London, 1740).

Lockman, John: *Rosalinda* (London, 1740).

Lockman, John: *A Cantata* (London, 1753).

Morell, Thomas: *Nabal* (London, 1764).

Morell, Thomas: *Gideon* (London, 1769 and 1770).

Murphy, Arthur: *The Desert Island* (London, [1760]).

[Shakespeare and Dryden?]: *The Shipwreck* (1780).

Stillingfleet, Benjamin: *Paradise Lost* (London, 1760).

Stillingfleet, Benjamin: *Rebecca* (London, 1761).

ANONYMOUS PRINTED WORKS

Drury Lane Playbills, (*US-Ws* Bill Box G2 D84, 1756).

Theatrical Biography; or, Memoirs of the Principal Performers of the Three Theatres Royal, 2 vols. (London, 1772).

'Thomas Kerslake', *Somersetshire Archaeological & Natural History Society Proceedings* 37 (1892), 131-32.

BOOKS, DISSERTATIONS, AND PERIODIAL LITERATURE

Abraham, Gerald, ed.: *Handel: A Symposium* (London, 1954).

Baker, David Erskine: *Biographia Dramatica, or, A Companion to the Playhouse,* 2 vols. (London, 1764 and 2nd edn 1782).

Baker, George Pierce, ed.: *Some Unpublished Correspondence of David Garrick* (Boston, 1907).

Baselt, Bernd: *Händel-Handbuch*, 4 vols. (Kassel, 1978-86).

Beechey, Gwilym: 'The Keyboard Suites of John Christopher Smith (1712-1795)', *Revue Belge de Musicologie* 24 (1970), 52-80.

Best, Terence, ed.: *Handel Collections and their History* (Oxford, 1993).

Boyd, Malcolm: 'John Stanley and the Foundling Hospital', *Soundings* 5 (1975), 73-81.

Bibliography

Brown, Beulah Louise: 'The Harpsichord Music of Handel's Younger English Contemporaries, 1710-1760: A Reassessment' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Manchester, 1966).

Brown, John: *An Examination of the Oratorios which Have Been Performed this Season, at Covent-Garden Theatre* (London, 1763).

Brownlow, John: *Memoranda; or, Chronicles of the Foundling Hospital* (London, 1847).

Bruce, Robert J. and H. Diack Johnstone 'A Catalogue of the Truly Valuable and Curious Library of Music Late in the Possession of Dr. William Boyce (1779): Transcription and Commentary', *RMARC* 43 (2010), 111-71.

Burden, Michael: 'Metastasio on the London Stage, 1728-1840: a Catalogue', *RMARC* 40, 2007).

Burney, Charles: *A General History of Music*, 5 vols. (London, 1776-89); modern edn, ed. Frank Mercer (London, 1935; repr. New York, 1957).

Burney, Charles: *An Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster-Abbey* (London, 1785); facs. repr. with a New Introduction by Peter Kivy (New York, 1979).

Burrows, Donald: 'Handel and the Foundling Hospital', *ML* 58 (1977), 269-84.

Burrows, Donald: 'The "Granville" and "Smith" Collections of Handel's Manuscripts', *Sundry Sorts of Music Books: Essays on The British Library Collections Presented to O.W. Neighbour on his 70th Birthday,* ed. C. Banks, A. Searle and M. Turner (London, 1993), 231-47.

Burrows, Donald and Rosemary Dunhill: *Music and theatre in Handel's world: the family papers of James Harris 1732-1780* (Oxford, 2002).

Burrows, Donald: *Handel and the English Chapel Royal* (Oxford, 2005).

Burrows, Donald: 'John Walsh and his Handel Editions', *Music and the Book Trade from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Centuries*, ed. Robin Myers, Michael Harris and Giles Mandelbrote (New Castle and London, 2008), 69-101.

Burrows, Donald: 'The Royal Music Library and its Handel Collection', *British Library Journal*, 2009, article 2 (online).

Burrows, Donald: 'Eternal source for Speculation: Handel's Birthday Ode for Queen Anne' *The Handel Institute Newsletter*, Vol. 20, no. 2 (London, Autumn 2009).

Burrows, Donald: 'Lists of Musicians for Performances of Handel's *Messiah* at the Foundling Hospital, 1754-1777', *RMARC* 43 (2010), 85-109.

Bibliography

Burrows, Donald: *Handel* (Master Musicians), 2nd edn. (paperback) (Oxford, 2012).

Burrows, Donald and Paul 'Tindall:Gustavus Waltz: A New Discovery', *The Handel Institute Newsletter,* Vol. 24, no.1 (London, Spring 2013).

Burrows, Donald, Helen Coffey, John Greenacomb, and Anthony Hicks, eds. *George Frideric Handel*: Vol. 1 (1609-1725), Vol. 2 (1725-1735), and Vol. 3 (1735-1742): *Collected Documents* (Cambridge, 2013, 2015, and 2017 respectively). Vols. 4 and 5 are forthcoming.

Burrows, Donald: 'Organs and organists at the Foundling Hospital, 1750-1800', *A Handbook for Studies in 18th-Century English Music* 20, ed. Colin Coleman and Katharine Hogg (Gerald Coke Handel Foundation, The Foundling Museum, 2016).

Cibber, Theophilus: *Two Dissertations on the Theatres* (London, 1756).

Congreve, William: 'The Mourning Muse of Alexis', *The Complete Works of William Congreve,* ed. Montague Summers (New York, 1964).

Cooper, Barry: 'English Solo Keyboard Music of the Middle and Late Baroque' (D.Phil. dissertation, University of Oxford, 1974).

Coxe, William: *Anecdotes of George Frederick Handel and John Christopher Smith* (1799); facs. repr. with an introduction by Percy M. Young (New York, 1979).

Coxe, William: *Literary Life and Select Works of Benjamin Stillingfleet*, 2 vols. (London, 1811).

Cummings, Norman P.: *The Music Library of Dr. William H. Cummings* (London, 1910).

Dean, Winton: *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques* (London, 1959).

Dean, Winton: *Handel and the Opera Seria* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969).

Dean, Winton, and J. Merrill Knapp: *Handel's Operas 1704-1726* (Oxford, 1987).

Dean, Winton: 'Handel's Early London Copyists' in Dean,*Essays on Opera* (Oxford, 1990)

Dean, Winton: *Handel's Operas 1726-1741* (Woodbridge, 2006).

Deutsch, Otto Erich: *Handel: A Documentary Biography* (London, 1955); Da Capo Press (New York, 1974).

[Dryden, John and Sir William Davenant]: *The Tempest* in *The Works of John Dryden,* Vol. 10 (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1970).

Bibliography

Eckersley, C. M.: 'Aspects of structure and idiom in the music of eighteenth-century England, with special reference to the Scarlatti arrangements of Charles Avison' (D.Phil. dissertation, University of Oxford, 1980).

E[dwards], F.G.: 'The Foundling Hospital and Its Music', *MT* 43 (1902), 304-11 and 377-79.

Fiske, Roger: *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1973).

Foot, Jesse: *The Life of Arthur Murphy, Esq.* (London, 1811).

Fuller Maitland, J.A.: *Catalogue of the Music in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge* (London, 1893).

Garrick, David: *The Dramatic Works of David Garrick, Esq.,* 3 vols. ([London], 1768).

Gillespie, Norman: 'The Text of Stanley's "Teraminta"', *ML* 64 (1983), 218-24.

Hall, James S.: 'John Christopher Smith[:] Handel's Friend and Secretary', *MT* 95 (1955), 132-34.

Hall, James S.: 'John Christopher Smith: His Residence in London', *Händel-Jahrbuch,* 2nd series 3 (1957), 113-37.

Hall, James S.: 'John Christopher Smith: Unveiling of Memorial Plaque', *MT* 99 (1958), 320.

Hall, James S.: 'John Christopher Smith', *Händel-Jahrbuch,* 2nd series 10 (1964-5), 59-69.

Hawkins, Sir John: *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music,* 5 vols (London, 1776); repr. of 1853 edn with an introduction by Charles Cudworth, 2 vols. (New York, 1963).

Heartz, Daniel: *From Garrick to Gluck: Essays on Opera in the Age of Enlightenment*, ed. John A. Rice (Hillsdale, NY, 2004).

Hicks, Anthony: 'The late additions to Handel's oratorios and the role of the younger Smith', *Music in Eighteenth-Century England: Essays in Memory of Charles Cudworth*, ed. Christopher Hogwood and Richard Luckett (Cambridge, 1983), 147-69.

Highfill, Philip H. Jr., Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward A. Langhans, eds: *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800*, 16 vols. (Carbondale, 1973-93).

Hitchcock, Robert: *A Historical View Of The Irish State: From the Earliest Period Down To The Close Of The Season 1788*, Vol. 1 (Dublin 1788). Rpt. Kessinger Legacy Reprints, (np, 2010).

Bibliography

Hogan, Charles Beecher,ed.: *The London Stage, 1660-1800*, Part 5 (1776-1800) (Carbondale, 1968).

Hogwood, Christopher and Richard Luckett, eds.: *Music in Eighteenth-Century England: Essays in Memory of Charles Cudworth* (Cambridge, 1983).

Hoole, John (trans.): *Dramas and Other Poems of the Abbé Pietro Metastasio*, 2 vols. (London, 1800).

Hume, Robert, ed.: *The London Theatre World, 1660-1800* (Carbondale, 1980).

Humphries, Charles and William C. Smith: *Music Printing in the British Isles,* 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1970).

Hunter, David: 'Handel's Ill Health: Documents and Diagnoses', *RMARC* 41 (2008), 69-92.

Hunter, David: *The Lives of George Frideric Handel* (Woodbridge, 2015).

Hutchinson, G.M.L.: 'The Operas of John Christopher Smith Jr.' (M.Litt. thesis, University of Newcastle, 1977).

Hyde, Ralph (notes): *The A to Z of Georgian London,* London Topographical Society, Publication No. 126, (London, 1982).

Jenkins, Neil: *Handel and Garrick's Favourite Tenor* (Bramber, 2012). Available online at neiljenkins.info.

Johnstone, H. Diack and Roger Fiske, eds.: *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain iv: The Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1990).

Jones, David Wyn, ed.: *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot, 2000).

Kelly, Michael: *Reminiscences*, 2 vols. (London, 1826/rpt. New York, 1968).

Keynes, Milo: 'Handel and his Illnesses', *MT* 123 (1982), 613-14.

King, A. Hyatt: *Handel and His Autographs* (London, 1967).

King, Richard G.: 'New Light on Handel's Musical Library', *MQ* 81 (1997), 109-38.

King, Richard G.: 'The Fonds Schoelcher: History and Contents', *Notes*, Second Series, Vol. 53, no. 3 (1997), 697-721

King, Richard G.: 'John Christopher Smith's Pasticcio Oratorios', *ML* 79 (1998), 190-218.

Knapp, J. Merrill: 'The Hall Handel Collection', *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 36 (1974), 3-18.

Bibliography

Knapp, J. Merrill: 'English Theatrical Music in Garrick's Time: *The Enchanter* 1760 and *May Day* 1775', *The Stage and the Page,* ed. George Winchester Stone (Berkeley, 1981).

Larsen, Jens Peter: *Handel's Messiah: Origins, Composition, Sources* (London, 1957).

Little, David M. and George M. Kahrl, eds.: *The Letters of David Garrick,* 3 vols. (London, 1963)

MacMillan, Dougald, ed.: *Drury Lane Calendar 1747-1776* (Oxford, 1938).

MacMillan, Dougald: *Catalogue of the Larpent Plays in the Huntington Library* (San Marino, CA, 1939).

McClure, Ruth K.: *Coram's Children: The Foundling Hospital in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1981).

McCredie, Andrew: 'John Christopher Smith as a Dramatic Composer', *ML* 45 (1964), 22-38.

McKay, David P. (notes): *Francis Hopkinson's Lessons*: *A facsimile edition of Hopkinson's personal keyboard book: an anthology of keyboard compositions & arrangements copied in Hopkinson's own hand* (Washington, D.C., 1979).

[Mainwaring, John]: *Memoirs of the Life of the late George Frederic Handel* (London, 1760); two facs. edns., one (Buren, 1975), the other with an introduction by Ilias Chrissochoidis (Stanford, CA, 2015).

Mann, Alfred, ed.: *Georg Friedrich Händel: Composition Lessons from the Autograph Collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge* (London, 1978).

Mann, Alfred: Handel's successor: notes on John Christopher Smith the younger', *Music in Eighteenth-Century England, Essays in Memory of Charles Cudworth*, ed. Christopher Hogwood and Richard Luckett (Cambridge, 1983), 135-45.

Mates, Julian: *The American Musical Stage Before 1800* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1962).

Matthews, Betty: 'Unpublished Letters Concerning Handel', *ML* 40 (1959), 261-68.

Matthews, Betty: 'Handel – More Unpublished Letters', *ML* 42 (1961), 127-32.

Matthews, Betty (comp.): *The Royal Society of Musicians of Great Britain: List of Members 1738-1984* (London, 1985).

Mee, Arthur: *The King's England: London: The City and Westminster* (London, 1937); rev. Ann Saunders (London 1975).

Minevich, Paula M.: 'Now Performing with Universal Applause: Music at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, 1747-1776', (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Western Ontario, 1998).

Bibliography

Milhous, Judith and Robert D. Hume: 'J.F. Lampe and English Opera at the Little Haymarket in 1732-3', *LM* 78 (November 1997), 502-531.

Murphy, Arthur: *The Life of David Garrick, Esq.,* 2 vols. (London, 1801; repr. New York, 1969).

Newton, Richard: 'The English Cult of Domenico Scarlatti', *ML* 20 (1939), 138-56.

Nicoll, Allardyce: *The Garrick Stage,* ed. Sybil Rosenfeld (Manchester, 1980).

Nichols, R. H. and F. A. Wray: *The History of the Foundling Hospital* (London, 1935).

Odell, George C.C.: *Annals of the New York Stage,* Vol. 1 (New York, 1927).

Pedicord, Harry William and Fredrick Louis Bergmann, eds.: *The Plays of David Garrick*, 4 vols. (Carbondale, 1981).

[Reed, Isaac]: *The Diaries of Isaac Reed, 1762-1804*, Vol. 1 of *University of California Publications in English,* ed. Claude E. Jones (Berkeley, 1946).

Robinson, Percy: 'Handel's Early Life and Mainwaring', *MT* 66 (1925), 814-16 and 820.

Sadie, Stanley: 'Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century England', *PRMA* 85 (1958-9), 17-30.

Sadie, Stanley and Anthony Hicks, eds: *Handel Tercentenary Collection* (Basingstoke, 1987).

Sadie, Stanley, ed: *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, 4 vols. (London, 2000)

Sands, Mollie: 'The Problem of *Teraminta'*, *ML 33* (1952), 117-22.

Sasse, Konrad: 'Neue Daten zu Johann Christoph Schmidt', *Händel-Jahrbuch,* 2nd series 3 (1957), 115-23.

Schneider, Ben Ross, Jr. (comp.): *Index to the London Stage* (Carbondale, London and Amsterdam, 1979).

Schoelcher, Victor: *The Life of Handel,* trans. James Lowe (London, 1857).

Scouten, Arthur H., ed.: *The London Stage 1660-1800*, Part 3, Vol. 3 (1729-47) (Carbondale, 1961).

Seares, Margaret: '*Paradise Lost*: The impact of Political, Social and Market Forces on John Christopher Smith's Oratorio Season of 1774', *Eighteenth Century Music* 10 (2013), 109-18.

Shakespeare, William: *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ed. F.C. Horwood (Oxford, 1939).

Shakespeare, William: *The Tempest,* ed. J.R. Sutherland (Oxford, 1939).

Bibliography

Sheppard, F.H.W., ed.: *The Parish of St. Anne Soho,* Vol. 33 of the *Survey of London* (London, 1966).

Smith, William C. and Charles Humphries: *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by the Firm of John Walsh during the Years 1721-1766* (London, 1968).

Smither, Howard E.: *A History of the Oratorio*, Vol. 2: *The Oratorio in the Baroque Era: Protestant Germany and England* (Chapel Hill, 1977) and Vol. 3: *The Oratorio in the Classical Era* (Oxford, 1987).

Sonneck, Oscar George Theodore: *Early Concert-Life in America (1731-1800)* (New York, 1941).

Sonneck, Oscar George Theodore: *Catalogue of Opera Librettos Printed Before 1800* (New York, 1967).

Squire, William Barclay: *Catalogue of Printed Music in the Library of the Royal College of Music, London* (London, 1909).

Squire, William Barclay: *Catalogue of the King's Music Library: Part I, The Handel Manuscripts* (London, 1927).

Stevenson, Kay Gilliland and Margaret Seares: *Paradise Lost in Short: Smith, Stillingfleet and the Transformation of an Epic* (Madison, WI and London, 1998).

Stone, George Winchester, Jr.: 'A Midsummer Night's Dream in the Hands of Garrick and Coleman', *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association* 54 (1939), 467-82.

Stone, George Winchester, Jr., ed.: *The London Stage 1660-1800,* Part 4, (1747-76) (Carbondale, 1962).

Stone, George Winchester, Jr. and George M. Kahrl: *David Garrick: A Critical Biography* (Carbondale, London and Amsterdam, 1979).

Strohm, Reinhard: *Essays on Handel and Italian Opera* (Cambridge, 1985)

Temperley, Nicholas: 'The Hymn Books of the Foundling and Magdalen Hospital Chapels', *Music publishing & collecting: essays in honor of Donald W. Krummel* (London, 1994), 1-37.

Temperley, Nicholas and Sally Drage (eds.): *Musica Britannica*, LXXXV [:] *Eighteenth-Century Psalmody* (London, 2007).

Thomson, James: *The Seasons,* ed. James Sambrook (Oxford, 1981).

Victor, Benjamin: *The History of the Theatres of London and Dublin,* Vol. 1 (London, 1761).

Bibliography

Victor, Benjamin: *The History of the Theatres of London* (London, 1771).

Walker, Arthur D. (comp.): *George Frideric Handel: The Newman Flower Collection in the Henry Watson Music Library* (Manchester, 1972).

Walters, John: *The Royal Griffin, Frederic Prince of Wales 1707-51* (London, 1972).

Wilkinson, Tate: *Memoirs of His Own Life, by Tate Wilkinson, iv* (York, 1790). Repr Forgotten Books (n.p., 2016).

Williams, A. Glyn: 'Stanley, Smith and *Teraminta*', *ML* 60 (1979), 312-15.

Wollenberg, Susan and Simon McVeigh, eds.: *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot, 2004).

Wood, Bruce: 'The First Performance of Purcell's Funeral Music for Queen Mary', *Performing the Music of Henry Purcell* (London?, 1996), 61-81.

Wyndham, Henry Saxe: *The Annals of Covent Garden Theatre from 1732 to 1897* (London, 1906).

Zȏllner, Eva: *English Oratorio after Handel: The London oratorio series and its repertory, 1760-1800* (Marburg, 2002).