

*The  
Advancement  
of Music  
in Enlightenment  
England*



**Benjamin Cooke and the  
Academy of Ancient Music**

TIM EGGINGTON

# The Advancement of Music in Enlightenment England

# Music in Britain, 1600–2000

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# The Advancement of Music in Enlightenment England

*Benjamin Cooke and the Academy of Ancient Music*

Tim Eggington

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*To Anna and Sophie*







Benjamin Cooke by William Skelton, after unknown artist (late eighteenth-century)

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## Preface and Acknowledgements

I FIRST encountered the music and ideas of Benjamin Cooke during my nine years as a reference librarian at the Royal College of Music in London. First-hand access to the college's extensive early collections, many of them amassed by eighteenth-century collectors, stimulated my fascination with the music and culture of that period. The remarkable range of interests and influences evident in the music-collecting of Cooke and like-minded contemporaries emphasized an enquiring and open-minded aspect to English musical culture of the period that was little appreciated in recent discussion of it. In relation to Cooke this characteristic struck me with particular force. Increasing acquaintance with his music demonstrated the extent to which his apparent engagement with erudite theoretical ideas and the little-known music of the past was driven by essentially creative concerns embodied in his own individual and highly engaging compositional style. The fact that Cooke's interests were by no means peculiar to him, but reflective of broader patterns of behaviour elsewhere in English musical culture of the period, suggested the existence of a compelling and little-known story that was waiting to be told.

In writing this book and undertaking the research that led to it I have incurred enormous debts of gratitude to many people on account of the advice, assistance and encouragement they have provided. Foremost amongst these is Simon McVeigh, who oversaw the PhD research which forms the basis of over half of this book. More recently, Simon has been one of several who have been kind enough to read through and comment on drafts of book chapters, others being William Weber, A. C. N. Mackenzie of Ord, H. Diack Johnstone, Andrew Pink and Angela Escott. I am profoundly grateful to all of them. I should also like to thank Peter Holman for his role in commissioning the book as well as for his advice on how to proceed with it, and Michael Talbot for providing detailed comments on the book as a whole when it was nearing completion. Special thanks are also due to Boydell staff, Michael Middeke and Megan Milan, for their practical assistance and extreme patience during this long project.

Others who have provided much appreciated assistance include Peter Asprey, Paul Banks, Nicolas Bell, David Butterfield, Thomas Christensen, Maurício Dottori, Marianne Fisher, Chris Hogwood (who kindly allowed me to consult his private collection of Academy programmes), Peter Horton, Michael Mullen, Jenny Nex, David Roberts, Jenny Roberts, Caroline Shaw, Sandra Tuppen, Tony Trowles, Roger Wibberley, and Rodney Williams. I am also immensely grateful to Library staff at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, the Bodleian Library, the British Library, the Pendlebury Library in Cambridge and Cambridge University Library, the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, the Gerald Coke Handel Collection at the Foundling Museum in London, Lambeth Palace Library in London, the Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica in Bologna, and the Royal College of Music in London. I am further indebted to Royal

College of Music staff for allowing me to reproduce from college collections all photographed musical examples and the portrait of Cooke.

Above all, I wish to thank my wife Anna, daughter Sophie, and my parents for their encouragement, advice and extensive practical assistance, without which it would not have been possible to complete this book.



# Abbreviations

<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford, 2004)
<i>NG2</i>	<i>New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i> , 2nd edn, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrell (London, 2001)
<i>RCM</i>	Royal College of Music
<i>RMARC</i>	<i>Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle</i>

## *Libraries*

B-Bc	Conservatoire royal de Bruxelles, Bibliothèque
F-Pn	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département de la musique, Paris
GB-Cfm	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
GB-Cu	Cambridge University Library, Cambridge
GB-DRc	Cathedral Library, Durham
GB-H	Cathedral Library, Hereford
Gb-Lbl	British Library, London
GB-Lcm	Royal College of Music, London
GB-LEc	Central Library, Music Library, Leeds
GB-Lfom	Foundling Museum, London
GB-Lwa	Westminster Abbey, London
Gb-Ob	Bodleian Library, Oxford
I-Bc	Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica, Bologna
US-Fay LWL	Yale University, Lewis Walpole Library, Farmington, CT
US-NH	Yale University Library, New Haven, CT
US-NYp	New York Public Library for the Performing Arts
US-Wc	Library of Congress, Music Division, Washington, DC

## *Currency*

1 pound (£1) = 20 shillings (20s)

1 shilling (1s) = 12 pence (12d)

1 guinea (1gn) = £1 1s

## *Musical Conventions*

The Helmholtz system has been adopted for pitch notation (c<sup>1</sup> = middle C). Abbreviations for instrumentation are those used in *NG2*; for voices, upper-case letters indicate chorus, and lower-case letters indicate soloists.



## Introduction

**A**MIDST the cosmopolitan, fashion-obsessed concert life of later eighteenth-century London existed a discrete musical counterculture centring on a regular gathering of musicians at the Crown and Anchor tavern on the Strand. Now forgotten, this school of musical thinkers sought through a high-minded intellectual curiosity to further music by proffering an alternative vision. Perceiving only ear-tickling ostentation in the light and showy styles that delighted London audiences, they sought to raise the status of music as an art of profound expression, informed by its past and founded on universal harmonic principles.

An essential role in this story is played by the composer-theorist Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667–1752) on account of the musical ethos he inspired in an entire generation of pupils and associates. Through the careers and achievements of figures such as Benjamin Cooke (1734–93), William Boyce (1711–79), John Hawkins (1719–89), John Keeble (1711–86), Marmaduke Overend (d. 1790), and John Travers (c. 1703–58) Pepusch's ideas bore fruit as the musical agenda that forms the subject of this study. Common to this group was a studious enthusiasm, unusual in its day, for music's august theoretical traditions (especially Greek harmonic theory), alongside a deep interest in collecting, studying, editing and performing earlier music. A focus for their eccentric preoccupations was provided by a music society founded in 1726 (at the Crown and Anchor) and known initially as the Academy of Vocal Musick, which had been directed by Pepusch from the early 1730s until his death in 1752. During his leadership it became known as the Academy of Ancient Music and adopted a programming policy now deemed a landmark in the western music tradition on account of its performance of what was termed 'ancient music'. A principal component of ancient music was vocal polyphony of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This included masses, motets, and madrigals by composers such as Palestrina, Byrd, Marenzio and Victoria, some of which had been little performed since their initial time of composition, and most of which would have been utterly unknown in eighteenth-century London. By performing ancient sacred music in a public secular context the academicians were engaged in a practice virtually unheard of in their day and which, in certain respects, anticipated the emergence of musical classics later in the century. It would be wrong, however, to perceive in the academicians' musical historicism a backward-looking preoccupation with the past as an end in itself. For academicians historical awareness was, in part, a prerequisite in their broader objective to raise the status of music in relation to other arts. Moreover, if considered collectively, the Academy's activities bring into view a range of prescient developments that would later come to fruition as fundamental components of western musical culture.

It is both as an embodiment and reflection of the Academy's distinctive agenda that the modest yet accomplished musician-scholar Benjamin Cooke

constitutes the central protagonist in this study. As organist of Westminster Abbey and conductor of the Academy of Ancient Music for much of the second half of the eighteenth century, Cooke enjoyed prominence in his day as a composer, organist, teacher, and theorist. Of particular relevance to this story are his well-documented researches into Greek theory, science, and ancient music, all of which were motivated, in part, by the Academy's underlying aspiration to reposition music as an art worthy of serious study and to establish its underlying universal principles. In seeking these principles in nature, numbers, and the forgotten musical past Cooke demonstrated the distinctive *modi operandi* through which academicians sought to appropriate quintessentially Enlightenment methods to achieve musical ends. It should not be thought, however, that the academicians' learnedness placed cold academicism above genuine musical creativity. Indeed the ultimate purpose of the Academy's activities was to advance the art of musical composition. Cooke's highly individual voice, as revealed through a series of extended and ambitious works devised for Academy performances, bears ample testimony to this. By exploring new stylistic directions via a range of innovations in form, style and orchestration, Cooke was immensely successful in realising the Academy's aims.

In the chapters ahead we will begin by examining the Academy's foundation, Cooke's early career, and then the repertoires and practices that solidified at the Academy during his tenure as its conductor after Pepusch's death in 1752. Next, a consideration of the theories and histories written by academicians (including Cooke) will explore their shared philosophical conception of harmony, a component fundamental to the Academy's aspiration to rationalise musical taste and promote their view of music. Finally, Cooke's own music will be examined, concentrating principally on the period from 1764 until 1777 when he reached his creative peak. In addition to unearthing some ground-breaking compositions, this examination will further reveal how Cooke deployed learning and musical creativity as a means to advance the Academy's bold musical agenda.

The significance of Cooke both as composer and as a representative of the Academy's agenda is documented in an extensive collection of manuscript sources once owned by him and now held at the Royal College of Music library. Existing in twenty-seven volumes (GB-Lcm MSS 807–33), this constitutes not just the principal Cooke source but also a focus for the study of this important episode in English musical history.<sup>1</sup>

The Cooke Collection remains, however, a little-known resource. Indeed, for all their undoubted significance, the Academy and Cooke have until recently received scant attention in music histories. Of the two, the Academy has fared much better. Following its shadowy demise, probably in 1802, the Academy received occasional mention in dictionary entries but many of these confused it with another Academy-inspired institution which also forms an important part of this study, the Concert of Ancient Music (1776–1848). In recent times studies have been undertaken mainly in relation to specific aspects of the Academy's earliest years; their authors include Christopher Hogwood, H. Diack Johnstone,

<sup>1</sup> For further details concerning the Cooke Collection see Appendix 3.

Lowell Lindgren, Simon McVeigh, Stephen Rose, Colin Timms, and William Weber, to all of whom I am happy to acknowledge my debt.<sup>2</sup>

If the Academy has been partially remembered, Cooke has since the mid-nineteenth century been largely forgotten and remains so today except for the continued popularity of a published Service in G and a few glees.<sup>3</sup> In English music histories Cooke has generally been lumped together with others of his generation upon whom the influence of Handel (in the words of one account) is deemed to have 'laid a dead weight', crushing 'out of ninety-nine of every hundred composers any vital originality that they might otherwise have displayed'.<sup>4</sup> Although this conception has been vigorously countered<sup>5</sup> its continued currency in wider discussion of English culture is aptly summed up in John Brewer's assessment of English composers as 'shadowy inhabitants of a penumbra between the dazzling achievement of the great seventeenth-century Italians and the brilliance of the Germans and Austrians [...] who shaped classical music as we now know it'.<sup>6</sup>

In relating the hitherto untold story of the Academy during Cooke's period as its conductor this study seeks to address a significant gap in the musical and cultural history of eighteenth-century England. In so doing we will uncover a tale of intellectual ambition, musical creativity, and even internationalism, that belies the charge of narrow parochialism often assigned to English music of this period. Our objective is ultimately, however, more than simply to explain the activities of one person and organisation. To varying degrees, the historicist, theoretical and musical concerns that united academicians are to be seen reflected across English musical culture during the later eighteenth century and after. As we shall see, by shedding much-needed light on the motivations and achievements of Cooke and his associates we illuminate English musical culture more generally.

<sup>2</sup> See Bibliography for details.

<sup>3</sup> Comments inscribed in or around 1847 by the composer and commentator Vincent Novello on a score containing copies he had made of Cooke's sacred works indicate that he was an ardent admirer of Cooke (GB-Lbl Add. MS 65388), as was the early twentieth-century historian of English church music, John Bumpus. He lauded Cooke as 'one of the most solid ornaments of the English school', every one of his sacred works displaying 'the independence of his mind and the individuality of his style': *A History of English Cathedral Music, 1549-1889*, 2 vols (London, [1908]), vol. I, p. 314.

<sup>4</sup> Ernest Walker, *A History of Music in England*, 3rd edn., rev. J. A. Westrup (Oxford, 1952), p. 271.

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, Peter Holman, 'Eighteenth-Century English Music: Past, Present, Future', in *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. David Wyn Jones (Aldershot, 2000), pp. 1-13; and Nicholas Temperley, 'Handel's Influence on English Music', *The Monthly Musical Record* 90 (1960), 163-74.

<sup>6</sup> John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1997), p. 531.



# The Academy of Ancient Music

## Foundation and Early Years

IN 1732 the directors of the Academy of Ancient Music grandly announced in a published letter ‘great Things in Design’ for the ‘Advancement of the Harmonick Science’.<sup>1</sup> No idle boast, this reflected an intention to raise the status of music via a concerted historical and theoretical reassessment of it. Throughout much of the eighteenth century the ambition evident in this statement would resonate in the activities of the Academy and those associated with it.

As one of the earliest organisations to perform a repertory of old music as part of a semi-public concert series, the establishment of the Academy has long been deemed a milestone in music history. On account of this repertory the Academy has justifiably been credited with having helped set the conditions for the emergence of the classical music tradition which would dominate western music from the late eighteenth century onwards. Yet, to consider the Academy only on account of its programming of old music is to misread and underestimate the aims and activities of those who first assembled in 1726 to sing and study ‘Grave ancient vocell Musick’.<sup>2</sup> From the outset, these academicians engaged in a range of interrelated activities which over time would develop into something approaching a discrete philosophy of music. Collecting, theorising, historiography and a perception of the past as a means of artistic advancement all underlie an ambitious design to reposition music as an art form. The extent to which these activities assisted the ‘advancement’ of music will be evident in our discussion of the academicians’ achievements as theorists, editors, compilers, and composers. In all these areas academicians trod new ground. Whilst their historicist predilections were, of course, reflected in wider Enlightenment life, it was their application of them to music that was unusual and prescient at this time. In this chapter we will examine the beginnings of the Academy of Ancient Music, and how its founder-members set the conditions for the achievements of Cooke and his associates later in the century.

The early academicians may well have been inspired in their activities by that celebrated eighteenth-century figure Thomas Britton (the ‘musical small coal man’), who from 1678 until his death in 1714 hosted concerts in a loft above his Clerkenwell shop. As related by the eighteenth-century music historian John Hawkins, this charcoal merchant confounded social conventions associated with his profession to gain renown as a prodigious collector of old books and ancient music, some of which featured in his concerts (‘the weekly resort of the old, the young, the gay and the fair of all ranks, including the highest order

<sup>1</sup> *Letters from the Academy of Ancient Musick at London, to Sigr Antonio Lotti of Venice: with his Answers and Testimonies* (London, 1732), p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Reference to the Academy’s inaugural meeting inscribed on a manuscript now in Durham Cathedral library (GB-DRc MS E15), about which more anon.



Figure 1 A view of the Strand showing the Crown & Anchor on the near right, 1753. Drawn and engraved by J. Maurer.

of nobility’).<sup>3</sup> It is not only through his combination of scholarly interests and musical activities that Britton foreshadowed the subsequent activities of the Academy: three of the musicians named by Hawkins as having performed at Britton’s concerts would later be members of the Academy, two of whom, Henry Needler and Johann Christoph Pepusch, would be its leading lights.<sup>4</sup> Although the Academy was not established until twelve years after Britton’s death, ideas forged on the strength of these earlier gatherings and fermented during the intervening years quite possibly informed the Academy’s aims if not the more practical components of its constitution.

What appears to have been an inaugural meeting of the Academy took place on 7 January 1726 at the Crown and Anchor Tavern on the Strand, at the corner of Arundel Street, just opposite St Clement Danes (Figure 1). This much we know from a bound manuscript volume now in the British Library comprising ‘Orders’ and other documents relating to the Academy (GB-Lbl Add. MS 11732).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* [1776], new edn, 2 vols. (London, 1853), vol. II, p. 700.

<sup>4</sup> The third of these was Abiell Whichello. Hawkins reproduces a catalogue of Britton’s remarkable collection of music in *A General History*, vol. II, pp. 792–3. See also A. Hyatt King, *Some British Collectors of Music, c. 1600–1960* (Cambridge, 1961), p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> An annotation on fol. 18v describes the volume as: ‘Original documents relative to the first establishment of the Academy of Vocal Musick [...] Presented to the British Museum by Vincent Novello [...] May 12th 1840’. A transcription of the volume is available via the online *Handel Reference Database* created by Ilias Chrissochoidis: <<http://ichriss.ccarh.org/HRD/>> (accessed 5 June 2014). See also Christopher Hogwood, ‘“Gropers into Antique Musick” or “A Very Ancient and Respectable Society”? Historical Views of the Academy of Ancient Music’,

In addition to a constitution (the 'Orders') agreed on the first night (Exhibit 1.1), this lists the thirteen founder-members who each contributed 2s 6d to attend that first meeting (Exhibit 1.2), as well as those who went on to pay the 10s 6d levied for eight subsequent twice-yearly subscriptions. (The last of these occurred on 9 April 1730.) Initially calling themselves simply 'the Academy of Vocal Musick', the professional musicians who gathered that first night agreed to the essentials that would underlie the Academy's *modus operandi* for the next fifty-eight years. In these early days at least, the Academy met at 7.00 every other Friday, 'solemn dayes excepted'. Meetings were open to members of the Chapel Royal and the 'Cathedrals', along with such persons 'as profess Musick' and, 'by general Consent', composers, whether or not they were vocal performers. New members were to be proposed for election by ballot, requiring a two-thirds majority of members present. Performances were to be directed in turn by a 'Number of Persons not exceeding Seven', chosen from the Academy's membership. It was further resolved that there be eighteen tickets, a maximum of 'Two to each Member as they Stand in the [subscription] list', for the use of auditors who could listen to proceedings from 'the gallery'. Perhaps most importantly, we see from this constitution how the Academy was in its early days a select body aiming to attract only practising musicians and to bar anybody else. As the academician Nicola Haym explained, 'this exercise is undertaken solely for our study and pleasure, and not to provide unappreciated nourishment for the ignorant.'<sup>6</sup>

Strict rules such as these were a common feature of eighteenth-century club life, reminding us that, for all its high-minded aspirations, the Academy was

*Coll' astuzia, col giudizio: Essays in Honor of Neal Zaslaw*, ed. Cliff Eisen (Ann Arbor, MI, 2009), pp. 127–82. This includes facsimiles of John Hawkins's *Account of the Institution and Progress of the Academy of Ancient Music* (London, 1770) and Joseph Doane's 'History of the Academy of Ancient Music', originally published in his *Musical Directory For the Year 1794* (London, 1794), pp. 76–83.

There has until recently been some confusion as to the date of the Academy's foundation, which Hawkins gave as 'about' 1710 both in his *General History* and in his *Account*. This was taken as fact by Charles Burney in his *Account of the Musical Performances [...] in Commemoration of Handel* (London, 1785), by Cooke in his dedication to *The Morning Hymn* (1773), and in many subsequent accounts of the Academy. It seems likely that Hawkins was himself misinformed by the existence of a memorial plaque to Pepusch installed in the Charterhouse Chapel on the instigation of academicians in 1767 which, curiously, gave the Academy's foundation date as 1710 (a transcription can be found in Hawkins, *A General History*, vol. II, p. 908). Only in recent decades has 1726 been more widely accepted as the correct date. See H. Diack Johnstone, 'The Life and Work of Maurice Greene (1696–1755)', 2 vols. (DPhil dissertation, University of Oxford, 1967), vol. II, pp. 96–8.

<sup>6</sup> Letter from Nicola Haym to Agostino Steffani (13/24 February 1727), transcribed and translated in Colin Timms and Lowell Lindgren, 'The Correspondence of Agostino Steffani and Giuseppe Riva, 1720–1728, and Related Correspondence with J. P. F. von Schönborn and S. B. Pallavicini', *RMARC* 36 (2003), 1–174, at pp. 111–12.

## Exhibit 1.1 The Academy's founding constitution (GB-Lbl Add. MS 11732, fol. 1)

[fol. 1r]	Orders Agreed to by the Members of the Academy of Vocal Musick
	<hr/> Fryday Jan <sup>y</sup> 7 <sup>th</sup> 1725/6.
Resolv'd	To meet every other Fryday (solemn dayes excepted) att the Crown Tavern against S <sup>t</sup> Clements Church in y <sup>e</sup> Strand
Resolv'd	That the Doors be shut, and none admitted (for the present) but the Members of the Academy.
Resolv'd	That any Gentleman of his Majesty's Chappel Royal, or of the Cathedrals may be admitted of this Academy if they desire itt, and no other persons, but such as profess Musick, and shall be approv'd of by the Majority.
Resolv'd	To begin the performance att Seven of the Clock, and to end itt at Nine
Resolv'd	That every Member hereafter admitted shall pay the last Subscription, tho' near the expiration of itt.
Resolv'd	That Composers (by general Consent) may be admitted, tho' not Vocal performers
	Turn Over
[fol. 1v]	Orders
Resolv'd	That a Number of Persons not exceeding Seven be Chosen to direct the performance in their turns.
Resolv'd	If ever it be thought necessary to admit any more Members, that Ev'ry such Person shall be propos'd the Night before he be elected. The Election to be by Ballot. and a Majority of two thirds att least of the Members present is requir'd for such admission. The time of election not to be 'till after 8, and before 9 o'Clock.
Resolv'd	That there be 18 Tickets given for the Gallery every Night. Two to each Mem- ber as they Stand in the list, to be deliver'd after the performance for the Night ensuing. <del>The Tickets to be pro- vided and deliver'd by the Treasurer</del>
April [t]he 9 <sup>th</sup> 1730	
Resolv'd	That the Seven Managers have pow'r to make such Laws for the Government of the Academy as to <del>them</del> they shall think fitt.

Exhibit 1.2 The Academy’s founder members (GB-Lbl Add. MS 11732, fol. 2r)

[fol. 2r] A List of the Members that Assembled on  
Fry-day Jan<sup>y</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> 1725/6 att the Crown  
Tavern in the Strand. who Contributed  
to that first meeting as follows

The Rev <sup>d</sup> M <sup>r</sup> Estwick	o: 2: 6
M <sup>r</sup> Baker	o: 2: 6
M <sup>r</sup> Husband	o: 2: 6
M <sup>r</sup> Carleton	o: 2: 6
M <sup>r</sup> Hughes	o: 2: 6
M <sup>r</sup> Chelsum	o: 2: 6
M <sup>r</sup> Freeman	o: 2: 6
M <sup>r</sup> King	o: 2: 6
M <sup>r</sup> Gates	o: 2: 6
M <sup>r</sup> Weely	o: 2: 6
D <sup>r</sup> Pepusch	o: 2: 6
M <sup>r</sup> Green	o: 2: 6
M <sup>r</sup> Galliard	o: 2: 6
<hr/>	
The Children of St: Pauls Cathedral	£1:12: 6
<hr/>	
Expences of that Ev’ning	
A Coach for y <sup>e</sup> Children	o: 2: 0
Wine and Bread	o:10: 6
for the use of y <sup>e</sup> room fire & Candles	o: 5: 0
The Drawer	o: 1: 0
	<hr/>
	o:18: 6
	<hr/>
Remaines to be carried on	o: 1: [0]

rooted in the convivial club culture of the earlier eighteenth century and before.<sup>7</sup> In contrast, however, to the *ad hoc* meetings in coffee houses and taverns of the previous century, the early Academy manifests the increasingly formal structure of clubs at this time. The Academy’s constitution and membership also reflects the openness of clubs to a wide social and age spread in which business could be advanced and new contacts made. It perhaps goes without saying, however, that in its early days at least, the Academy was the near-exclusive preserve of men (and boys). Club culture being largely confined to men, women had their own sociable spaces in assemblies, neighbourly circles and, later on, in concerts.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> The lengthy *By-laws of the Musical Society at the Castle Tavern* (London, 1731) reflect the extreme regimentation that governed many musical clubs at the time. For an account of musical clubs see Brian Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge, 2006).

<sup>8</sup> Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies, 1580–1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 198–204.



(Significantly, it was in response to the latter that Academy rules would gradually be relaxed to allow women to attend.) The 10s 6d spent on wine and bread at this first meeting underlines the role of drinking in the convivial club environment for which the Academy was no exception (Exhibit 1.2). Until 1784, the Academy's venue remained the Crown and Anchor tavern, where meetings took place in a large room attached to the tavern measuring eighty-one by thirty-six feet. Described by Hawkins as 'in every respect proper for musical performances', this was a favourite choice throughout the century for club meetings and musical societies.<sup>9</sup>

The Academy was, however, more than just a club. It seems not impossible, given their high-minded aspirations, that by using the word 'academy' the academicians might have had in mind the ancient Greeks' usage of the term as a forum at which philosophical problems had been posed and resolved. Likewise, some academicians quite possibly saw themselves as engaged in the same searching out and sharing of forgotten knowledge that motivated early Renaissance academies in Rome and elsewhere in Italy. Inspiration would almost certainly have been derived from the numerous *accademie* devoted to practical and theoretical music that flourished in seventeenth-century Italy, and of which several early academicians had been members. Of these, the internationally prestigious Accademia Filarmonica of Bologna, for which membership required applicants to demonstrate their ability to compose in *stile antico*, undoubtedly influenced the founders of the Academy of Vocal Musick.

An assertion by Haym (in the letter quoted above) that the Academy was 'preparing to choose a name and an insignia' suggests, however, that the use of the word 'vocal' in the society's initial designation constituted a temporary expedient.<sup>10</sup> The fact that the all-significant word 'ancient' was not incorporated into the Academy's name until 1731 should not be taken to mean that the society lacked a historicist agenda in these early years. Indeed, a manuscript volume in the hand of the founder-academician Sampson Estwick (c. 1659–1739), now in Durham Cathedral library (GB-DRc MS E15), indicates this agenda to have pertained from the outset. In addition to a theoretical treatise, this contains vocal works, some of them 'ancient', such as the five-part madrigal 'Dolorosi martir' from *Il primo libro de madrigali* (1580) by the Italian Luca Marenzio, against which the following inscription is entered:

A Musick Meeting being held at y<sup>e</sup> Crown Tavern near S<sup>t</sup> Clements M<sup>r</sup> Galliard at y<sup>e</sup> head of it, & cheifly [*sic*] for Grave ancient Vocell Musick. Wee begann it w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>s</sup> following Song of Lucas De Marenzio Jan 7–1725/6.<sup>11</sup>

By confirming the Academy's adherence to the performance of 'Grave ancient vocell Musick', this important document helps to demonstrate that the

<sup>9</sup> Hawkins, *A General History*, vol. II, pp. 805. See also Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 56–7.

<sup>10</sup> Nicola Haym to Agostino Steffani (13/24 February 1727), in Timms and Lindgren, 'The Correspondence of Agostino Steffani', pp. 11–12.

<sup>11</sup> Quoted in Brian Crosby, *A Catalogue of Durham Cathedral Music Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1986), p. 66.

Academy's *raison d'être* had always been artistic rather than to act merely as a professional club. Even more importantly, that there was more to the academicians' aspirations than simply to sing old music is suggested in the other madrigals and sacred works contained in the volume. These combine earlier composers (Morley and Stradella) with fashionable composers (Handel and Steffani), all of whom would figure in future Academy programmes.<sup>12</sup> Common to much of this ancient and modern music is a seriousness and learnedness suggestive of the quest for timeless musical qualities that would characterise the academicians' endeavours over the subsequent six decades. Likewise, the Academy's related aspiration to establish music's underlying principles is also reflected in the presence of the anonymous treatise, in Italian, on consonance and dissonance.

Although no actual manifesto of the Academy exists, its aims were set out in various correspondences conducted by academicians, in part, as a means to raise the society's profile. In one of these sent to the Italian composer Antonio Lotti in February 1731, the Academy's then secretary, Hawley Bishop, explains that the Academy had been formed:

not for the Management of Theatrical Affairs, but the Improvement of the Science, by searching after, examining, and hearing performed the Works of the Masters, who flourished before, or about the Age of Palestrina: However, not entirely neglecting those who in our Time have grown famous.<sup>13</sup>

A similar aspiration for musical reform is expressed in the letter from Haym (quoted earlier), who explained: 'Seeing that good and true music was everywhere in decline' it had been decided to form a 'band of virtuoso singers and composers' who would meet fortnightly to sing 'Masses, psalms, motets, madrigals, canons, and other well-wrought items in four, five or more parts, without instruments' by 'Josquin des Pres, Orlande de Lassus, Palestrina, [Alfonso] Ferrabosco [the elder], Luca Marenzio, Claudio Monteverdi, [Gesualdo] prince of Venosa, [Francesco] Foggia the elder, Carissimi, and other famous composers'. In the absence of programmes this selection provides a rare glimpse into what was actually being performed (and studied), which, for the period, is extraordinary.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> The contents of GB-DRc MS E15 are as follows:

fols. 1–5: Handel, 'How long wilt thou forget me' [II] (arr. from *Amadigi*)  
 fols. 6–9: Handel, 'Be ye sure that the Lord' ('Utrecht' Jubilate)  
 fols. 10–11: Handel, 'When thou tookest upon thee' ('Utrecht' Te Deum)  
 fols. 12–16: Marenzio, 'Dolorosi martir, fieri tormenti'  
 fols. 17–20: Marenzio, 'Giunto a la tomba'  
 fols. 21–30: Morley, 'De profundis' (= Out of the deep [I])  
 fols. 31–47: Stradella, 'Piangete occhi dolente tanto'  
 fols. 48–54: Steffani, 'Gettano i rè dal Soglio'  
 fols. 55–62: Stradella, 'Clori son fido amanti'  
 fol. 63: Anon., *Old 100th* 'from a Version in French'  
 fols. 63–4: Anon., A discourse in Italian on consonance and dissonance.

<sup>13</sup> *Letters from the Academy*, p. 3.

<sup>14</sup> Nicola Haym to Agostino Steffani (13/24 February 1727), in Timms and Lindgren, 'The Correspondence of Agostino Steffani', pp. 11–12.

Haym's list of composers emphasises the extent to which Italian music played an important part in the programming and thinking of academicians, even to the exclusion of English music. Writing forty or fifty years after the events he describes, John Hawkins, a great champion of both the Academy and the English musical tradition, is interesting in this regard. Whilst reiterating the Academy's design as having been 'to promote the study and practice of vocal and instrumental harmony', he also alludes to the influence on academicians of more recent Italian styles:

The Italian music had for near fifty years been making its way in this country, and at the beginning of this century many persons of distinction, and gentlemen, had attained to great proficiency in the performance on the viol da gamba, the violin, and the flute.

These 'persons of distinction' had, according to Hawkins, 'in conjunction with some of the most eminent masters of the time' conceived the plan for an academy, presumably in order to play as well as listen to this Italian music.<sup>15</sup> Although in reality it was only following the inaugural meeting that 'persons of distinction' figured in Academy affairs, interest in Italian music, both ancient and modern, pertained from the outset. This interest is predominant in what we know of another fundamental component of the Academy's foundation, its library.

### *The Academy of Ancient Music Library*

THE importance of collecting to our story is underlined by Hawkins's assertion that the Academy's foundation was laid in its library, 'consisting of the most celebrated compositions, as well in manuscript as in print, that could be procured either at home or abroad'.<sup>16</sup>

In an age when earlier music was little known and copies of foreign works could be hard to come by, a crucial prerequisite for the Academy's success was the procurement of music and the formation of a library. That the academicians achieved this objective is proclaimed in Hawkins's description of their library as 'perhaps, the most valuable repository of musical treasure in Europe'.<sup>17</sup> In his history of the Academy written at the end of the century Joseph Doane described the Academy library as 'a very large Collection, complete for the Orchestra, of the best Music of almost every kind which the Countries of Italy, Germany, France, Spain, the Netherlands and England have produced in ancient or modern Times'.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Hawkins, *A General History*, vol. II, p. 805.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 806.

<sup>17</sup> Hawkins, *An Account*, p. 9. See also King, *Some British Collectors*, pp. 1–24; D. F. Cook, 'J. C. Pepusch: An 18th-Century Musical Bibliophile', *Soundings* 9 (1982), 11–28; Percy Lovell, '"Ancient" Music in Eighteenth-Century England', *Music & Letters* 60 (1979), 401–15; and Owen Rees, 'Adventures of Portuguese "Ancient Music" in Oxford, London, and Paris: Duarte Lobo's "Liber Missarum" and Musical Antiquarianism, 1650–1850', *Music & Letters* 86 (2005), 42–73.

<sup>18</sup> Doane, *Musical Directory*, p. 82.

Despite its undoubted former fame and importance, the collection has until very recently been considered lost, with few firm facts known as to its original contents. A principal cause of this state of ignorance has been that, unlike many other great eighteenth-century collectors, the Academy rarely included any mark of ownership on its volumes. That our knowledge of the Academy library has of late been improved is due to research undertaken by H. Diack Johnstone into music volumes held at the Westminster Abbey library.<sup>19</sup> Having identified the numbering system deployed by the Academy library (in part, through reference to known Academy volumes in collections elsewhere), he has found that a 'substantial number of works which once belonged to the Academy library are to be found sitting on the Abbey library shelves'. Amongst forty-seven volumes in the Abbey library, twenty-five (containing forty-eight works) exhibit the Academy's numbering system, whilst further volumes also show signs of having once been part of the Academy library.<sup>20</sup> All dating from the 1690s to the 1760s, the Abbey volumes emphasise the taste for Italian sacred music (concerted psalm settings for soloists, chorus and orchestra, oratorios, and mass settings) that lay at the heart of Academy activities, about which we will discover more anon.<sup>21</sup> Lacking much in the way of sixteenth-century polyphony, or the other categories of holdings mentioned by Doane above, this is clearly just a small yet insightful component of the Academy collection as it was prior to its dispersal (probably in the early nineteenth century).<sup>22</sup>

The importance of the volumes now thought to have been in the Academy library both at Westminster Abbey and elsewhere extends beyond their function as a record of musical taste: their copyists, donors and former owners (many of whom have been identified) provide invaluable material evidence of the human relationships and activities that made the Academy the organisation it was, and which play so important a part in our story. As we shall see, the culture of collecting, copying and editing that flourished amongst academicians extended

<sup>19</sup> I am grateful to H. Diack Johnstone for making available to me a draft of his article, 'Westminster Abbey and the Academy of Ancient Music: A Library Once Lost and Now Partially Recovered', forthcoming in *Music & Letters*.

<sup>20</sup> H. Diack Johnstone has also identified several Academy volumes now in other libraries. It is likely that parts of the Academy collection still reside unidentified in, for example, the libraries of the Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum, Royal College of Music, Royal Academy of Music and the British Library, each of which contains works potentially composed for or copied for the Academy. A list of possible candidates is provided in an appendix to Johnstone's forthcoming article (*ibid.*).

<sup>21</sup> The most represented composers being Giovanni Paolo Colonna (1637–95), Giacomo Carissimi (1605–74), Giovanni Battista Bassani (c. 1650–1716), Giovanni Battista Pergolesi (1710–36), and Francesco Negri.

<sup>22</sup> With regard to the Abbey's 'very large collection of late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century printed partbooks, mostly of Italian vocal music', H. Diack Johnstone notes that whilst 'it is possible that these too once formed part of the Academy of Ancient Music library', he has 'been unable so far to prove this to be so': *ibid.*

beyond the Academy to play a significant part in broader eighteenth-century musical culture, as well as in the transmission of early music to the present.

### *The Early Academicians*

As an organisation open to a restricted interest group, and only partially accessible to the public, it is perhaps inevitable that published accounts of the early Academy and its activities are few. Hardly any newspaper reports appear before the 1760s, and it is not until the 1730s that we have a series of printed wordbooks recording what was performed. We can, however, consider the backgrounds and interests of the early members in order to deduce how they collectively set in motion a nascent agenda to advance music. To do this let us return to the Academy 'Orders' subscription lists mentioned earlier, beginning with the thirteen musicians who each paid 2s 6d to attend that first meeting on 7 January 1726 (Exhibit 1.2).

Contrary to Hawkins's assertion that the founding academicians included 'persons of distinction', this list consists almost entirely of professional musicians active in London musical life and, in particular, its choral foundations. All, except two Germans – Pepusch and Galliard, were choristers at St Paul's Cathedral, Westminster Abbey or the Chapel Royal. This concentration of church musicians in the establishment of the Academy is interesting if not unexpected. It partly bears out William Weber's assertion that the taste for ancient music emerged in English choral foundations where a tradition of preserving old works had developed following the momentous events of the interregnum and before.<sup>23</sup> The presence of these musicians also underlines the extent to which the Academy acted as a crucible in which this taste for ancient music developed into a more concerted agenda for musical advancement.

As a musician nurtured in a cathedral environment, and who developed interests in music history, Maurice Greene (1696–1755) typifies a key constituent of the Academy's membership. Undoubtedly the finest composer amongst the founder-members, Greene is now remembered chiefly for his church music, songs and extended vocal works. Reputedly raised in the choir of St Paul's Cathedral under Jeremiah Clarke and Charles King, he had by 1718 achieved the position of vicar-choral in which capacity he acted as organist. Although widely recognised as one of the first English composers to have assimilated the Italian *lingua franca* of the day, Greene also displayed in some of his music historicist interests shared by other academicians. This is perhaps most evident in his full anthems (some of which are now his best-known works), in particular a set of six, each composed in a different church mode.<sup>24</sup> Also a key figure in the collecting and editing of old music, Greene laid the foundations for one of the

<sup>23</sup> William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 1–5.

<sup>24</sup> Johnstone, 'The Life and Work of Maurice Greene', vol. II, pp. 14–15.



most enduring monuments to the historicist agenda surrounding the Academy, Boyce's *Cathedral Music* (1760–73).<sup>25</sup>

Another prominent church musician present at the Academy's first meeting was Bernard Gates (1686–1773), best known as a bass singer (and named as a soloist on several Handel autographs). Taught by Blow whilst a chorister at the Chapel Royal (1697–1705), he later became a Gentleman of the Chapel (1708) and then succeeded William Croft as Master of the Children (1727). Gates was also connected to Westminster Abbey, where he became a lay vicar (1711) and Master of the Choristers (from 1740). Although essentially a practical musician, a scholarly bent is evident in his reputed introduction at the Chapel of solmisation by hexachords, a medieval practice that had lately been revived by Pepusch (to be discussed in Chapter 2).<sup>26</sup> In later chapters we will encounter further experiments in the use of earlier theoretical tools and ideas as a means to address perceived shortcomings in current musical practice.

It is likely that powerful impetus for the Academy's agenda would have come from a further founder academician, the Revd Sampson Estwick (the copyist of the Durham manuscript mentioned above). Although at this point a minor canon at St Paul's, he had previously been chaplain at Christ Church, Oxford. There he was a close associate of the early pioneer of ancient music collecting and performance, Dean Henry Aldrich, and would have encountered other early ancient music enthusiasts who concentrated in Oxford at that time.<sup>27</sup> It seems likely that, as choristers in London choral foundations, the eight lesser musicians at the Academy's inauguration would also have contributed to its design as well as establishing professional standards in its performances.<sup>28</sup>

The presence of the two Germans at this first meeting demonstrates that London choral foundations were by no means the only environments to prove fertile for the cultivation of the Academy and its agenda. Of the two, Johann Christoph Pepusch is by far the most important as the main intellectual force behind the Academy until his death in 1752. Through his engagement with

<sup>25</sup> H. Diack Johnstone, 'The Genesis of Boyce's "Cathedral Music"', *Music & Letters* 56 (1975), 26–40.

<sup>26</sup> Hawkins, *A General History*, vol. II, p. 832 n.

<sup>27</sup> Aldrich and the extensive collection of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century vocal music at Christ Church provided a focus for the developing taste for ancient music in later seventeenth-century Oxford. See Weber, *Rise of Musical Classics*, pp. 32–6.

<sup>28</sup> These were: Charles King, a prolific church composer and teacher of Maurice Greene and William Boyce (King had been a chorister at St Paul's under John Blow and Jeremiah Clarke, whom he succeeded there as Master of the Choristers); John Freeman and Francis Hughes (they had both worked as theatre countertenors, later joining the Chapel Royal choir and singing in the choirs of Westminster Abbey and St Paul's Cathedral); George Carleton (Greene's brother-in-law and sometime subdean of the Chapel Royal), Thomas Baker and Samuel Weely, each of whom had by that time been members of the choirs of the Chapel Royal and St Paul's Cathedral; James Chelsum and John Husband were choir members at the former and latter respectively. See Donald Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal* (Oxford, 2005), p. 562–75.

ancient Greek theory, and his collecting and performing of ancient music, he developed expertise in all the constituent elements that would serve the Academy's agenda. Moreover, as the teacher of many composers, organists and theorists relevant to our story he was critical in creating the entire school of thought that centred around the Academy.

Born around 1667 in Berlin, little is known of Pepusch's early years other than that he studied music theory under Martin Klingenberg, cantor of the Marienkirche in Berlin, and that at around the age of fourteen he gave music lessons to the electoral prince (later Frederick William I of Prussia).<sup>29</sup> Pepusch's subsequent move to London, where he arrived in September 1697, reputedly took place after witnessing 'a terrible act of despotism' by the elector. In England Pepusch prospered as a theatre composer (gaining particular recognition for his involvement with *The Beggars Opera* in 1728) and from around 1719 until 1723 acted as music director to James Brydges, who in 1719 became the 1st Duke of Chandos. Anxious to be 'acknowledged as much for his scholarship as for his musicianship', Pepusch had taken the Oxford DMus in 1713.<sup>30</sup> This interest in the more learned aspects of composition found further focus in the Academy's establishment in 1726, from when Pepusch devoted his energies predominantly to the study of ancient music and music theory. His appropriation of ancient Greek harmonic theory as a means to resolve musical issues of his day is evidenced in a curious paper entitled 'Of the various Genera and Species of Music among the Ancients'. This was published in the Royal Society's journal, *Philosophical Transactions*, and presented by him to that prestigious scientific body on 13 November 1746 following his election as one of its fellows on 13 June 1745.<sup>31</sup> Pepusch cited the mathematician Christiaan Huygens (1629–95) and ancient Greek philosophers in order to demonstrate the natural basis of modern musical language. For Pepusch this was not a dry intellectual pursuit but integral to the broader Academy agenda to raise music's status by demonstrating its foundation upon universal principles. Pepusch supported his scholarly activities through the accumulation of a large and celebrated collection of books and manuscripts. As well as numerous treatises reflecting music's august theoretical traditions, he also amassed much ancient music including the hugely important volume of Elizabethan and Jacobean keyboard music now known as the Fitzwilliam Virginal book (GB-Cfm Mu MS 168).<sup>32</sup>

The significance of Pepusch's interests and activities as a basis for the Academy's reforming agenda is suggested in recollections of his pupil, John Wesley:

<sup>29</sup> See Graydon Beeks, 'Pepusch, John Christopher', *ODNB*.

<sup>30</sup> D. F. Cook, 'The Life and Works of Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667–1752), with special reference to his Dramatic Works and Cantatas' (PhD dissertation, King's College, University of London, 1982), p. 97.

<sup>31</sup> Johann Christoph Pepusch, 'Of the various Genera and Species of Music among the Ancients', *Philosophical Transactions* 44 (1746), 266–74.

<sup>32</sup> Cook, 'J. C. Pepusch'.

[Pepusch] asserted, 'that the art of music is lost; that the ancients only understood it in its perfection; that it was revived a little in the reign of King Henry VIII by Tallis and his contemporaries; as also in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, who was a judge and patroness of it; that after her reign it sunk for sixty or seventy years, till Purcell made some attempts to restore it: but that ever since, the true, ancient, art, depending on nature and mathematical principles, had gained no ground, the present masters having no fixed principles at all'.<sup>33</sup>

Critical here is the belief in a 'true ancient art' reflected in the music of a golden age of 'Tallis and his contemporaries', one that was dependent upon 'nature and mathematical principles'. This perception would later underpin the activities of Pepusch's many pupils and in particular, Cooke: although much modern-day music was considered debased, the art could yet be redeemed and advanced through recourse to its underlying *a priori* principles as evidenced in 'nature' and 'true' art of the past.

The other German founder-academician, Johann Ernst Galliard (c. 1666/87–1747) was, if less remarkable than Pepusch as a scholar, nevertheless an important presence throughout the society's earlier years. Galliard probably originated from Celle, where he became an oboist in the court orchestra (1698–1706), and soon after began studying composition in Hanover with Agostino Steffani (later to become President of the Academy of Ancient Music). Galliard initially came to England in 1706 to act as court musician to Prince George of Denmark, Queen Anne's consort. Like Pepusch in his earlier career, Galliard's known works show his principal area of activity to have been theatre music. Unlike Pepusch, however, he continued to work in this field long after the establishment of the Academy. Galliard is noted for his ultimately unsuccessful attempt, along with the poet John Hughes, to stage an English opera, *Calypso and Telemachus*, in 1712 at the Queen's Theatre, London. A tendency to academic esotericism is evident in his settings to texts by John Hughes and William Congreve of *Six English Cantatas after the Italian Manner* (published in 1716). The learned connotations then associated with this genre were augmented by the publication's inclusion of a history of music in which Galliard expressed a desire that these works bring about an 'Improvement of the *Art of Musick*'. Interestingly, the only other composer to have published cantatas in England was Pepusch (in 1710), suggesting the two shared a common agenda long before the Academy's existence. It is in the spirit of this genre that Galliard set Milton's text *The Hymn of Adam and Eve* (published 1728), later extensively adapted and published by Cooke for the Academy (1773). As we shall see, Cooke's version of the work resonated strongly with the Academy's ethos and would be much performed. Not known to have been a great collector or theorist, Galliard nevertheless clearly engaged with the Academy's agenda.<sup>34</sup> His view, for example, that for music equal to Steffani's one must look to 'the fourteenth and fifteenth

<sup>33</sup> *The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley* [...], ed. Nehemiah Curnock, 8 vols. (London: 1909–16), vol. III, pp. 355–6; entry dated 13 June 1748.

<sup>34</sup> He did, however, publish a translation of Pier Francesco Tosi, *Opinioni de' cantori antichi e moderni* (Bologna, 1723) entitled *Observations on the Florid Song* (London, 1742).

centuries, when study was more in fashion than [...] at present' reveals that same cerebral aspiration for musical reform shared by other academicians.<sup>35</sup>

Already, from this brief sketch a picture emerges of founder-academicians drawing upon elements in intellectual and musical life to forge a distinct agenda. We must not, however, downplay the more worldly attractiveness of the Academy as a professional club or music society. In addition to conviviality, members would undoubtedly have welcomed the prospect of performing and hearing old music without necessarily harbouring grandiose aspirations for musical advancement. It was as a place of entertainment that the Academy would play a distinctive role in the development of London's concert life over the coming decades.<sup>36</sup> For our study of Cooke, however, it is the birth and development of a discrete Academy agenda that is significant. The extent to which these founder-academicians were unwittingly setting in train a musical movement is evident in many of the new members who flocked to join the Academy after its first meeting.

At the second meeting, on 21 January, there were two additional arrivals,<sup>37</sup> one of whom was William Croft (1678–1727), Master of the Children at the Chapel Royal and Organist of Westminster Abbey. Now nearing the end of his life, Croft could not have made a great practical impact as an academician, yet in his musical tastes and ideas he was certainly at one with the emerging Academy ethos. A clear reverence for the past (Tallis and Purcell especially) is evident in his church music, which presents ancient stylistic traits within the broader context of Baroque idioms of his day.<sup>38</sup> In the preface to his published collection, *Musica Sacra* (1724), Croft stated that he had 'endeavoured to keep in [...] View the Solemnity and Gravity of what may properly be called the *Church-Style* (so visible in the Works of My Predecessors) as it stands distinguish'd from all those light Compositions which are used in Places more proper for such Performances'. Challenging the prevalent status of music as a transient commodity, Croft sought a 'new Way of conveying [Music] to Posterity' by engraving and publishing *Musica Sacra* in full score. Croft believed this format would 'greatly tend to the Improvement and Advantage of *Musick*', as printing errors could be better identified and, more importantly, the 'Judicious and Skilful' could 'at one View' 'find out the Beauties, or discover the Imperfections of any *Piece*'. Of further significance is Croft's hope that all 'valuable' ancient church music would one day be published in engraved full score. In this he anticipated and perhaps

<sup>35</sup> Letter from Galliard to Riva (7/18 July, 1727), in Timms and Lindgren, 'Correspondence of Agostino Steffani', pp. 120–2.

<sup>36</sup> As shown in McVeigh, *Concert Life in London*.

<sup>37</sup> This is indicated in the first of the eight six-monthly subscriptions for which all paid 10s 6d, as detailed in the Academy 'Orders', GB-Lbl Add. MS 11732, fol. 2v.

<sup>38</sup> He also is known to have owned two volumes of Italian music including motets and cantatas by Alessandro Scarlatti (1660–1725), Giovanni Battista Bassani (c. 1650–1716), Henry Du Mont (1610–84), Francesco Maria Marini (fl. 1637) and others (GB-Lcm MSS 1101–2).

helped inspire many subsequent Academy-related publishing projects designed to convey ancient music to posterity as art to be performed and studied.<sup>39</sup>

The entire complexion of the Academy must have been transformed following the arrival on 1 March of three internationally famous Italian musicians, Giovanni Bononcini (1670–1747), Francesco Geminiani (1687–1762), and Nicola Francesco Haym (1678–1729). The prestige lent by these individuals undoubtedly acted as a magnet for further arrivals, as well as raising the standard of the Academy's music-making. Despite being at the peak of the musical profession all three were in different ways steeped in music as an intellectual art form. The most prominent of the three was the Modena-born composer and cellist Bononcini. By 1726 Bononcini had long been internationally celebrated as an opera composer, yet his earlier Bolognese musical roots were wholly consistent with the scholarly concerns of the Academy. Having begun his career studying counterpoint with Giovanni Paolo Colonna at San Petronio he had in 1686 been accepted into the famous Accademia Filarmonica of Bologna. Enticed to London in 1720 to compose operas for the Royal Academy of Music he seems also to have been genuinely interested in the Academy of Ancient Music, where he reputedly 'accepted to be one of the principal conductors'.<sup>40</sup> Despite being by far the most eminent composer ever to have attended the Academy as a member, he was, apparently, attracted by the scholarly kudos to be gained as an academician. As we shall see, Bononcini's London career would end in ruin, partly due to events at the Academy.

Of similar importance was the great Italian violinist and music theorist Francesco Geminiani (1687–1762), who had arrived in London in 1714. Born in Lucca, he was thought to have studied with Arcangelo Corelli, a composer whose style was hailed by many in England (Pepusch in particular) as an archetype for harmonic lucidity and order. Geminiani capitalised on this reputed connection, publishing orchestral arrangements from Corelli's op. 5 sonatas in 1726 (the year he joined the Academy), as well as several sets of his own concerti grossi. The op. 7 set (1746) dedicated 'alla Celebra Accademia della buona ed antica Musica' typified an intellectual approach to composition befitting its dedicatee. (It seems likely that a handsomely bound set of parts of this work now in the Westminster Abbey library (GB-Lwa CG 43) are in fact the presentation set given to the Academy by Geminiani.)<sup>41</sup> Conceived as a new and original kind of music, Geminiani hoped these works would achieve pre-eminence amongst fellow composers as exemplars of form and style, as had Corelli's op. 6 concertos earlier in the century. Although his many treatises were essentially practical manuals his *Guida armonica* (c. 1752) clearly manifests ambitions shared by

<sup>39</sup> Croft quite possibly influenced Greene in his plans to publish ancient and modern English church music. See Johnstone, 'The Genesis of Boyce's "Cathedral Music"', p. 28.

<sup>40</sup> Viscount John Perceval, later 1st Earl of Egmont, *Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont: Diary of Viscount Percival, afterwards First Earl of Egmont*, 3 vols. (London, 1920–3), vol. I, p. 202.

<sup>41</sup> See Johnstone, 'Westminster Abbey and the Academy of Ancient Music'.