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Music for Mercer's: The Mercer's Hospital Music Collection and Charity Music in Eighteenth-Century Dublin.

Tríona O'Hanlon
Technological University Dublin

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**Music for Mercer's:
The Mercer's Hospital Music Collection
and
Charity Music in Eighteenth-Century Dublin**

Tríona O'Hanlon

**Conservatory of Music and Drama,
Dublin Institute of Technology,
Rathmines,
Dublin**

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**Music for Mercer's:
The Mercer's Hospital Music Collection
and
Charity Music in Eighteenth-Century Dublin**

TRÍONA O'HANLON B.A., M.A., DipABRSM

**Thesis submitted for the degree of Ph.D.
to the Dublin Institute of Technology**

Lead Supervisor Dr Kerry Houston

Advisory Supervisor Prof. Barra Boydell

**Conservatory of Music and Drama,
Dublin Institute of Technology,
Rathmines,
Dublin**

February 2012

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines and analyses the contents of the Mercer's Hospital Music Collection. The collection includes fifty manuscript and seven printed volumes of music containing works by Handel, Greene, Boyce, Purcell, Corelli, Humfrey, Avison, Barsanti, Stanley and Festing. Selected works were performed at the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts, established in April 1736 to provide important financial support to the hospital, which opened on Stephen Street, Dublin in 1734. Mercer's was the first voluntary Dublin hospital to initiate a series of benefit concerts. The Mercer's benefit concerts attracted the participation of a wide range of Dublin-based performers, both singers and instrumentalists. The surviving contents of the hospital's eighteenth-century music collection raise several questions in terms of source studies. The Mercer's Hospital Music Collection is one of the most significant eighteenth-century music collections surviving in Ireland and its examination reveals important information about musical life and performance practice in eighteenth-century Dublin, setting the contents of the collection within the wider context of extant sources for works by George Frideric Handel, Maurice Greene and William Boyce.

DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis which I now submit for examination for the award of Ph.D., is entirely my own work and has not been taken from the work of others, save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

This thesis was prepared according to the regulations for postgraduate study by research of the Dublin Institute of Technology and has not been submitted in whole or in part for another award in any other third level institution.

The work reported on in this thesis conforms to the principles and requirements of the DIT's guidelines for ethics in research.

DIT has permission to keep, lend or copy this thesis in whole or in part, on condition that any such use of the material of the thesis be duly acknowledged.

Signature _____ Date _____

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Finally, I wish to acknowledge the immense support and encouragement that I received from my family throughout this project.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A	alto
Apr.	April
attrib.	attributed
Aug.	August
B	bass
bap.	baptised
<i>Blessed is he</i>	<i>Blessed is he that considereth the sick</i> , orchestral anthem composed 1741 by William Boyce
Bs	bassi
bsn	bassoon
c.	circa
CA	Chapter Acts
CAL	Choir Attendance List
CC	Christ Church, Dublin
CCCA	Christ Church, Dublin, Chapter Acts
CCCAL	Christ Church, Choir Attendance List
<i>CCM</i>	<i>Country Craftsman</i>
<i>CHE</i>	<i>The Cambridge Handel Encyclopedia</i>
<i>CJ</i>	<i>The Country Journal</i>
cor	horn, French horn
Ct	countertenor
Cp	canto primo
d.	pre-decimalisation pence, e.g. 4d. is 4 pence
<i>d</i>	died
db	double bass
<i>D–B</i>	Berlin Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz Musikabteilung, Germany
<i>DC</i>	<i>Dublin Courant</i>
diss.	dissertation
Dec.	December
<i>DHR</i>	<i>Dublin Historical Record</i>
<i>D–Hs</i>	Hamburg, Staats-und Universitätsbibliothek, Musikabteilung, Germany
<i>DG</i>	<i>Dublin Gazette</i>
<i>DJ</i>	<i>Dublin Journal (Faulkner's Dublin Journal)</i>
<i>D–LEm</i>	Leipzig, Leipziger Städtische Bibliotheken, Musikbibliothek, Germany
<i>DM</i>	<i>Dublin Mercury</i>
<i>DNL</i>	<i>Dublin Newsletter</i>
ed., eds.	editor, editors
Esq.	Esquire
f., ff.	folio, folios
Feb.	February
Fig.	Figure

fl	flute
fl.	floruit
fn.	footnote
<i>GB-Cfm</i>	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Great Britain
<i>GB-Ckc</i>	King's College, Cambridge, Great Britain
<i>GB-CRr</i>	Cheshire and Chester Archives, Chester, Great Britain
<i>GB-Cu</i>	Cambridge University Library, Cambridge, Great Britain
<i>GB-Drc</i>	Durham Cathedral Library, Durham, Great Britain
<i>GB-EXcl</i>	Exeter Cathedral Library, Exeter, Great Britain
<i>GB-GL</i>	Gloucester Cathedral Library, Gloucester, Great Britain
<i>GB-H</i>	Hereford Cathedral Library, Hereford, Great Britain
<i>GB-Lbl</i>	British Library, London, Great Britain
<i>GB-Lcm</i>	Royal College of Music, London, Great Britain
<i>GB-Lg</i>	Guildhall Library, London, Great Britain
<i>GB-Lfom</i>	Gerald Coke Handel Collection, Foundling Museum, London, Great Britain
<i>GB-Mp</i>	Manchester Public Libraries, Manchester, Great Britain
<i>GB-Ob</i>	Bodleian Library, Oxford, Great Britain
<i>GB-Och</i>	Christ Church Library, Oxford, Great Britain
g.fl	German flute
<i>GHB</i>	<i>Göttinger Händel-Beiträge</i>
<i>GSJ</i>	<i>Galpin Society Journal</i>
HHa	Hallische Händel-Ausgabe
Hon.	Honourable
hpcd	harpsichord
<i>IARY</i>	<i>Irish Arts Review Yearbook</i>
<i>IMS 1</i>	<i>Irish Musical Studies</i> Volume 1
<i>IMS 4</i>	<i>Irish Musical Studies</i> Volume 4
<i>IMS 10</i>	<i>Irish Musical Studies</i> Volume 10
incl.	including/inclusive
<i>IRL-Dm</i>	Marsh's Library, Dublin, Ireland
<i>IRL-Dmh</i>	Mercer's Hospital Music Collection, Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland
<i>IRL-Dn</i>	National Library of Ireland, Dublin, Ireland
<i>IRL-Dna</i>	National Archives of Ireland, Dublin, Ireland
<i>IRL-Drcb</i>	Representative Church Body Library, Dublin, Ireland
<i>IRL-Dtc</i>	Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland
Jan.	January
<i>JISA</i>	<i>Journal of the Irish Society for Archives</i>
<i>Jub</i>	<i>Jubilate</i>
L.	pre-decimalisation pound e.g. 3L. is £3 (pounds)
<i>MA</i>	<i>Musical Antiquary</i>
Mar.	March
MB	Music Britannica
MHMB	Mercer's Hospital Minute Books
<i>ML</i>	<i>Music & Letters</i>

Ms, Mss	Manuscript, Manuscripts
<i>MT</i>	<i>Musical Times</i>
N/a	Not applicable
n.d.	no date
<i>NG</i>	<i>Norwich Gazette</i>
<i>NGD</i>	<i>New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i> , 1 st edition (1980)
<i>NGD II</i>	<i>New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i> , 2 nd edition (2001)
<i>NHI</i>	<i>New History of Ireland</i>
Nov.	November
NUI	National University of Ireland
ob	oboe
Oct.	October
org	organ
p., pp.	page, pages
<i>PO</i>	<i>Pue's Occurrences</i>
Ref.	Reference number
rev.	revised
Rev.	Reverend
RISM	Répertoire International des Sources Musicales
<i>RSAl</i>	<i>Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland</i>
S	soprano or treble
s.	pre-decimalisation shilling e.g. 5s. is 5 shillings
Sept.	September
<i>Sing we merrily</i>	<i>Sing we merrily unto God our strength</i> , orchestral anthem composed 1740 by Maurice Greene
<i>SNL</i>	<i>Saunders's Newsletter</i>
SPC	St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin
SPCCA	St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, Chapter Acts
str	strings
T	tenor
TCD	Trinity College, Dublin
<i>TD</i>	<i>Te Deum</i>
t.fl	transverse flute
timp	timpani
tr	trumpet
<i>US-NYcc</i>	City University, Music Library, New York, United States of America
<i>US-NBu</i>	Rutgers University, Music Library, New Brunswick (New Jersey), United States of America
<i>US-Cum</i>	University of Chicago, Music Collection, Chicago, United States of America
va	viola
vc	violoncello
vn	violin
vol., vols	volume, volumes

w/m
ZimP

watermark
Franklin B. Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell 1659–1695: An
analytical Catalogue of His Music*

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INTRODUCTION

Musical activity in eighteenth-century Dublin has been well documented in publications, papers, articles and theses, in particular W. H. Grattan Flood, Ita Hogan, Denis Arnold, T.J. Walsh, Brian Boydell, Harry White, Donald Burrows, Barra Boydell, Kerry Houston and David Hunter.¹ While Hogan's study provides a general account of Anglo-Irish music and its development between 1780 and 1830, research by Walsh, Arnold, Brian Boydell, Barra Boydell and Houston individually focuses on musical activity in each of the three main outlets for eighteenth-century musical performance; the theatre (opera), the cathedrals and charity concerts. Articles by White, Burrows and Hunter examine Handel's Dublin, while Grattan Flood's article contributes to knowledge of eighteenth-century Dublin performers.

¹ W.H. Grattan Flood, 'The Dublin "City Music" from 1560 to 1780', *RSAI* (1906), pp. 231–8; Ita Hogan, *Anglo-Irish Music* (Cork, 1966); Denis Arnold, 'Charity Music in Eighteenth-Century Dublin', *GSJ* 21 (Mar. 1968), pp. 162–74; T.J. Walsh, *Opera in Dublin 1705–1797 The Social Scene* (Dublin, 1973); Brian Boydell, 'Venues for Music in 18th Century Dublin', *DHR* 29 (1) (Dec. 1975), pp. 28–34; Brian Boydell, 'The Dublin Musical Scene, 1749–50 and its background', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 105 (1978–9), pp. 77–89; Brian Boydell, 'Music 1700–1850', in *A New History of Ireland IV Eighteenth-Century Ireland 1691–1800*, T.W. Moody and W.E. Vaughan (eds.), (Oxford, 1986); Harry White, 'Handel in Dublin: a Note', *Eighteenth-century Ireland* ii (1987), pp. 182–6; Brian Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar 1700–1760* (Dublin, 1988); Brian Boydell, 'Music at the Rotunda Gardens in Dublin 1771–91', in *IMS* 1, Gerard Gillen and Harry White (eds.), (Dublin, 1990); Brian Boydell, *Rotunda Music in Eighteenth-Century Dublin* (Dublin, 1992); T.J. Walsh, *Opera in Dublin 1798–1820: Frederick Jones and the Crow Street Theatre* (Oxford, 1993); Barra Boydell (ed.), *Music at Christ Church Before 1800: Documents and Selected Anthems* (Dublin, 1999); Donald Burrows, 'Handel's Dublin Performances', in *IMS* 4, Patrick Devine and Harry White (eds.), (Dublin, 1996), pp. 46–70; Kerry Houston, 'The Eighteenth-Century Music Manuscripts at St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin: Sources, Lineage and Relationship to other Collections' (Ph.D. diss., TCD, 2002); Barra Boydell, *A History of Music at Christ Church Cathedral Dublin*, (Woodbridge, 2004); David Hunter, 'The Irish State Music from 1716 to 1742 and Handel's Band in Dublin', *GHB* 11 (2006), pp. 171–98; Kerry Houston, 'Reformation to the Roseingraves, music 1550–1750', in *St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin A History*, John Crawford and Raymond Gillespie (eds.), (Dublin, 2009), pp. 231–56; Kerry Houston, 'Music before the Guinness restoration, 1750–1860', in *St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin A History*, John Crawford and Raymond Gillespie (eds.), (Dublin, 2009), pp. 286–307; Kerry Houston, 'Restoration and consolidation: music, 1865–1977', in *St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin A History*, John Crawford and Raymond Gillespie (eds.), (Dublin, 2009), pp. 353–82.

This introductory chapter provides a review of literature and discusses extant editions of relevant music from the Mercer's Hospital Music Collection. The chapter provides a short account of musical activity and the occurrence of charitable concerts in eighteenth-century Dublin with the purpose of providing relevant background information to the subject of this thesis.

Review of literature

Denis Arnold's article 'Charity Music in Eighteenth-Century Dublin' provides an account of music performed for charitable purposes in the city.² The article serves more as an introduction to the subject rather than as a comprehensive insight to Dublin's eighteenth-century charity music scene. The need for establishing charitable foundations in the city is highlighted. Following two newspaper accounts, which document early performances in aid of Mercer's Hospital, and several citations from Mrs Delany's memoirs, the article focuses on the eighteenth-century benefit concerts which took place in support of the Rotunda Hospital (Dr Mosse's Lying-in Hospital).³

Brian Boydell's article 'Venues for Music in 18th Century Dublin' describes the venues used for concerts including charity and non-charity performances. Even though charity music is not the main focus of the article, Boydell's research provides an overview of charity music at that time.

² Arnold, 'Charity Music', pp. 162–74.

³ Mrs Delany, *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs Delany*, 3 vols (London, 1861). Mrs Delany was married to Rev. Patrick Delany, Dean of Down. She frequently attended musical events in Dublin, her memoirs and correspondence provide a comprehensive contemporary account of several musical performances and events.

The most comprehensive account of music performed for charitable purposes published to date is Brian Boydell's *Rotunda Music in Eighteenth-Century Dublin* (1992). Boydell's main findings are based on the contents of the surviving Rotunda Hospital archives, which include Minutes of the Board of the Governors of the Lying-in-Hospital, Register's Accounts and Miscellaneous documents.⁴ Boydell's research has greatly contributed to knowledge of musical fundraising in support of voluntary hospitals. He examines the management, planning and costs associated with the Rotunda Hospital benefit concerts, and also discusses performers, performance standards and repertoire, providing detailed insight into one of the most successful eighteenth-century musical ventures in the city. Mercer's Hospital is referred to in the introduction together with six other charitable hospitals. This introduction offers a brief insight into the social importance attached to attendance at the Mercer's benefit concerts, the relationship between Mercer's and the Philharmonic Society, and the charity's association with the *Messiah* première.⁵ It is clear from Boydell's study that no music collection associated with the Rotunda Hospital survives.

The Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts which took place between 1736 and 1759 are documented by Boydell in *A Dublin Musical Calendar 1700–1760*. The date, year and month in which each of the Mercer's benefit concerts took place are recorded together with the venues used and the works performed. Information about performers for the first Mercer's benefit concert is also included. Primary sources for Boydell's calendar include surviving eighteenth-century Dublin newspapers and periodicals.

⁴ Boydell, *Rotunda Music*, p. 209.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

Supplementary information regarding Mercer's Hospital has been obtained from the surviving hospital minutes and the typewritten notes of A.H. Mann. In the 1890s Arthur Henry Mann transcribed minutes relating to musical performance from the Mercer's Hospital administrative records.⁶ The omission of five Mercer's public rehearsals from Boydell's calendar highlights a discrepancy between the calendar and the Mercer's hospital minutes and is discussed in Chapter 2. The nature of Boydell's calendar does not permit detailed analysis of the Mercer's benefit concerts and their organisation, however, by their inclusion in the calendar, they are set in context within musical life in eighteenth-century Dublin.

Otto Erich Deutsch's publication *Handel: A Documentary Biography* documents the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts which took place during Handel's lifetime i.e. 1736 to 1759.⁷ There is an overlap between the period examined by Deutsch and Boydell's calendar. Deutsch's study places the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts and their repertoire within the context of documented performances of Handel's works which took place during the composer's lifetime. The biography does not include a detailed analysis of Deutsch's findings, however explanatory notes accompany some of the Mercer's entries, which were acquired from the hospital minutes, surviving newspaper accounts and the typewritten notes of A.H. Mann.⁸ In the article 'Handel's Dublin Performances' Burrows states the following,

⁶ *GB-Ckc*, A.H. Mann, 'Early music in Dublin and Musical Performance for the Benefit of Mercer's Hospital, Dublin Dec. 15 1737 to Nov. 2 1771, Being extracts from the Hospital Governors' Minutes' (n.d.). *IRL-Dna* Mercer's Hospital Governors' Minute Books Boxes 1-2, Ref. 2006/97. A.H. Mann came to Dublin in 1895, see Burrows, 'Handel's Dublin Performances', p. 47.

⁷ Otto Erich Deutsch, *Handel: A Documentary Biography* (London, 1955).

⁸ See fn. 6.

When Otto Erich Deutsch was preparing his *Documentary Biography of Handel*, he relied extensively on Mann's typewritten notes (now in the Rowe Library, King's College Cambridge) as well as Townsend's work, and only partially returned to the original documents. The result is that, although the basic documentary material about Handel's time in Dublin is to be found in Deutsch's book, the extracts are rather incomplete, and sometimes inaccurate on points of detail. Mostly the deficiencies are irritating rather than significant, though there is one serious mistake: two entries relating to a supposed church service with Handel's music in aid of Mercer's Hospital on 18 February 1742 — during Handel's time in Dublin — should be placed a year later: the extracts are correctly located in 1743 in Mann's notes.⁹

Had Deutsch relied to a greater extent on the contents of the hospital minutes his entries about Mercer's would have been more reliable. Comments regarding changes made to the repertoire for the December 1745 Mercer's benefit concert appear to be purely speculative and are fully investigated in Chapter 2.¹⁰ In his accompanying notes Deutsch makes two separate references to a manuscript score of *Messiah* HWV 56 which Handel supposedly gave to Mercer's Hospital.¹¹ No music for *Messiah* survives in the Mercer's Hospital Music Collection and the composer's supposed generous contribution is not recorded in the surviving hospital minutes.

Horatio Townsend's *The History of Mercer's Charitable Hospital in Dublin* (1860) is the first publication which documents the history of Mercer's Hospital.¹² Townsend included several references to Mercer's in his earlier publication, *Handel's visit to Dublin* (1852), however these mainly relate to the performance of Handelian works in support of the hospital and the charity's status as one of the three benefactors from the

⁹ Burrows, 'Handel's Dublin Performances', pp. 47–8.

¹⁰ Deutsch, *Documentary Biography*, p. 625.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 757, 789.

¹² Horatio Townsend, *The History of Mercer's Charitable Hospital in Dublin* (Dublin, 1860).

Messiah première.¹³ Townsend's history of Mercer's is very detailed and provides important information regarding the establishment of the hospital. The accompanying footnotes complement the content of the main text, providing relevant information about Dublin's social and local history, such as biographical details of people associated with the hospital and information about Dublin's street names, parishes and the development of various areas within the city, (for example the North-bank of the Liffey, St Stephen's Green and Leopardstown). The history of the hospital beyond 1742 is not explored.¹⁴ The inclusion of the sub-heading 'Part I' at the bottom of the title page suggests that Townsend intended publishing a second volume to this history, which is confirmed in his acknowledgements, where he states that the 'second part is to be published with as little delay as possible.'¹⁵ An overview of the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts and the repertoire performed is included. The benefit concerts that took place between 1736 and 1742 are not documented in detail, however particular focus is placed on the first benefit concert (8 April 1736) through the inclusion of several excerpts from surviving newspaper accounts.¹⁶

Arthur Henry Mann's typewritten notes (1890s) document the Mercer's benefit concerts which took place from 1738 to 1771, and extend beyond the period explored by Townsend, i.e. 1736 to 1742. Mann's notes merely provide a direct transcription of the

¹³ Horatio Townsend, *Handel's visit to Dublin* (Dublin, 1852), pp. 30, 32, 37–9, 41, 45–7, 53–7, 66–7, 108, 117.

¹⁴ The full title of the publication is *The History of Mercer's Charitable Hospital in Dublin to the end of the year 1742*.

¹⁵ Townsend, *Mercer's*, p. viii. Townsend uses the heading 'Advertisement' where modern publications would include an acknowledgements section or preface, see pp. vii, viii. It is not clear why Townsend failed to publish the second part to Mercer's history. Part I was published in 1860. Townsend died in 1864, perhaps before it was possible to complete the second part. See <http://www.astro.wisc.edu/townsend/tree/record>, accessed 20 Feb. 2012.

¹⁶ Townsend, *Mercer's*, pp. 34–8.

hospital minutes relating to music. Analysis of the contents of the minutes and conclusions regarding the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts are not presented. There is an oversight in Mann's note taking in the omission of two entries from the hospital minutes: 8 or 28 [?] September 1741 and 12 December 1741. The minute dated 8 or 28 [?] September 1741 details the conditions under which a loan was given to the Philharmonic Society by the trustees of the hospital for the purchase of an organ. The content of the minute dated 12 December 1741 is very significant as it records that Dr Wynne, the chairman of the board of governors, was to thank Handel for his attendance at the Mercer's benefit concert of 10 December 1741.¹⁷ The first extract transcribed by Mann is dated 20 January 1738. Details relating to the benefit concerts are recorded in the hospital minutes from as early as 28 May 1736.¹⁸

J.B. Lyons' *The Quality of Mercer's: The Story of Mercer's Hospital 1734–1991* (1991) records the history of the hospital as a functioning medical institution.¹⁹ The hospital's association with music is afforded a seven-page account in Chapter 1. Lyons extracts the main points regarding music from the hospital minutes and provides an overview of the role of music in providing much needed financial support to the hospital during the eighteenth century.

The Mercer's benefit concerts are referred to briefly in Barra Boydell's *A History of Music at Christ Church Cathedral Dublin* and Donald Burrows' article 'Handel's

¹⁷ MHMB 1736–72, p. 95 (Meeting dated 8 Sept. 1741); MHMB 1738–50, p. 57 (Meeting dated 28 Sept. 1741). See Mann, 'Extracts Mercer's', pp. 33, 35.

¹⁸ MHMB 1736–72, p. 1. Four volumes of administrative records are relevant to the period examined in this thesis and are discussed later in the introduction.

¹⁹ J.B. Lyons, *The Quality of Mercer's: The Story of Mercer's Hospital 1734–1991* (Dublin, 1991).

Dublin Performances’.²⁰ Boydell’s publication provides information not contained in the surviving Mercer’s hospital records. Hospital minute books for the years 1772 to 1786 do not survive. Information regarding the development of the Mercer’s benefit concerts during the 1770s and early 1780s is therefore largely reliant on surviving newspaper accounts and other supplementary sources. In documenting the various Dublin charities which benefited from the participation of members of the Christ Church Cathedral choir at non-cathedral performances, Boydell’s publication reveals that the Mercer’s benefit concerts continued to 1777 at least.²¹ Donald Burrows’ article focuses on performances given by Handel while in Dublin (November 1741–August 1742). References to Mercer’s and its benefit concerts in this context serve to highlight Handel’s musical contributions while in Dublin.

The complete contents of the Mercer’s Hospital Music Collection remain undocumented apart from their inclusion in the Trinity College, Dublin, Manuscripts and Archives Research Library, Music Catalogue II which is primarily intended for practical library use.²² Numerous annotations found among the part-books show that Robert Prescott Stewart carried out a preliminary examination of the collection during the 1860s or 1870s. Stewart’s findings and conclusions have not been formally documented and were never published in any of his lectures or writings, however they

²⁰ Boydell, *Christ Church*; Burrows, ‘Handel’s Dublin Performances’.

²¹ Boydell, *Christ Church*, pp. 120–125; *IRL–Drcb* C6.1.7.7, CCCA 1770–93, p. 54.

²² *IRL–Dtc* ‘Music Catalogue vol. II’, Manuscripts and Archives Research Library, TCD. The TCD music catalogue contains an index to the Mercer’s Hospital Music Collection, listing the contents of each surviving manuscript and printed volume.

are analysed here in Chapter 3 Section 3.1.²³ The surviving part-books are referred to in four of the aforementioned publications; Townsend's *Mercer's Charitable Hospital* and *Handel's Dublin visit*, Deutsch's *Documentary Biography* and Boydell's *Calendar 1700–1760*.²⁴

Mercer's manuscript sources for the 'Utrecht' *Te Deum-Jubilate* HWV 278–9 and the two Chapel Royal anthems, *I will magnify thee* HWV 250b and *Let God arise* HWV 256b, are included in the introduction, description of sources and list of variant readings in Hallische Händel-Ausgabe, Serie III: Kirchenmusik Band 3 and Hallische Händel-Ausgabe, Serie III: Kirchenmusik Band 9.²⁵ The Mercer's parts for the 'Utrecht' *Te Deum-Jubilate* have not been collated for the HHA edition and the editor, Gerald Hendrie, draws attention to anomalies identified in the designation of parts within the collection.²⁶ Hendrie's account of the Mercer's sources is descriptive and serves its purpose within the context of the critical commentary to each respective edition of Handel's church music.

²³ Robert Prescott Stewart was the professor of music at Trinity College Dublin (1861) and a professor at the Irish Academy of Music (1871). Stewart was an organist, conductor, composer and teacher. See W. H. Husk and Joseph J. Ryan, 'Robert Prescott Stewart', *NGD* II 24, p. 383. Lisa Parker-Fitzpatrick kindly confirmed the omission of information concerning the Mercer's Hospital Music Collection from Stewart's writings via email 24 Sept. 2010. Lisa Parker, 'Robert Prescott Stewart (1825–1894): an assessment of his compositions and contribution to musical life in Dublin' (MA diss. NUI Maynooth, 2000); Lisa Parker, 'Robert Prescott Stewart (1825–1894): A Victorian Musician in Dublin' (Ph.D. diss., NUI Maynooth, 2009).

²⁴ Townsend, *Mercer's*, p. 34, Townsend, *Handel's visit*, p. 38, Deutsch, *Documentary Biography*, p. 662, Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 320.

²⁵ George Frideric Handel, *Te Deum zur Feier des Friedens von Utrecht HWV 278 Jubilate zur Feier des Friedens von Utrecht HWV 279*, Gerald Hendrie (ed.), Serie III: Kirchenmusik Band 3 Hallische Händel-Ausgabe (Kassel, Basel, London, New York, Prag, 1998); George Frideric Handel, *Anthems für die Chapel Royal HWV 251a, 251d, 249a, 250b, 251c/e, 256b, 251e*, Gerald Hendrie (ed.), Serie III: Kirchenmusik Band 9, Hallische Händel-Ausgabe (Kassel, Basel, London, New York, Prag, 1992).

²⁶ Hendrie, HHA, Serie III: Band 3, p. 161; Hendrie, HHA, Serie III: Band 9, p. 328.

The contents of the Mercer's Hospital Music Collection include both manuscript and printed music sources and are listed in the index in Appendix 6 of this thesis. Two-thirds of the manuscript collection contain Handelian works, while one-third of the printed music also contains Handelian works. The publications of Donald Burrows document Handel's life and career together with providing important information regarding the conditions surrounding the composition of the 'Utrecht' *Te Deum-Jubilate* HWV 278–9, the four coronation anthems HWV 258–61 and the Chapel Royal anthems, (only the anthems HWV 250b and 256b are relevant to this study). Details regarding first performances and performers are comprehensively discussed. Analysis of surviving Handelian autographs has also been published.²⁷ A detailed examination

²⁷ Donald Burrows, 'Handel's Peace Anthem', *MT* 114 (1973), pp. 1230–2; Donald Burrows, 'Handel's Performances of Messiah: The Evidence of the Conducting Score', *ML* 56 (1975), pp. 319–34; Donald Burrows, 'Thomas Gethin: A Handel Tenor', *MT* 116 (1975), pp. 1003–6; see also *MT* 117 (1976), pp. 34–5; Donald Burrows, 'Handel and the 1727 Coronation', *MT* 118 (1977), pp. 469–73; Donald Burrows, 'Handel and the Foundling Hospital', *ML* 58 (3) (Jul., 1977), pp. 269–84; Donald Burrows, 'Sir John Dolben, Musical Patron; Sir John Dolben's Music Collection', *MT* 120 (1979), pp. 65–7, 149–51; Donald Burrows, 'Some Misattributed Eighteenth-Century Anthems', *MT* 121 (1980), pp. 521–3; Donald Burrows, 'Sources for Oxford Handel Performances in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century', *ML* 61 (1980), pp. 177–85; Donald Burrows, 'Handel and the English Chapel Royal during the Reigns of Queen Anne and King George I' (Ph.D. diss., The Open University, 1981); Donald Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal*, Church Music Society Lecture (London, 1984); Donald Burrows, 'The Autographs and Early Copies of *Messiah*: Some Further Thoughts', *ML* 66 (1985), pp. 201–19; Donald Burrows, 'Handel and Hanover', in *Bach, Handel, Scarlatti; Tercentenary Essays*, Peter Williams (ed.), (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 35–9; Donald Burrows, 'Handel's "As pants the Hart"', *MT* 126 (1985), pp. 113–16; Donald Burrows and Martha Ronish, *A Catalogue of Handel's Musical Autographs* (Oxford, 1994); Donald Burrows, 'Handel's 1738 Oratorio: A Benefit Pasticcio', in *Georg Friedrich Händel—ein Lebensinhalt: Gedenkschrift für Bernd Baselt*, Klaus Hortschansky and Konstanze Musketa (eds.), (Halle an der Saale, 1995), pp. 11–38; Donald Burrows, 'Handel's Teaching Exercises', in *Festa Musicologica: Essays in Honor of George J. Buelow*, Thomas J. Mathiesen and Benito V. Rivera (eds.), (Stuyvesant, New York, 1995); Burrows, 'Handel's Dublin Performances', *IMS* 4, pp. 46–70; Donald Burrows, 'Of Handel, London Trumpeters, and Trumpet Music', *Historic Brass Society Journal* 11 (1999), pp. 1–9; Donald Burrows, 'Handel's 1735 (London) Version of *Athalia*', in *Music in Eighteenth-century Britain*, David Wyn Jones (ed.), (Aldershot, 2000); Donald Burrows, 'Who does What, When? On the Instrumentation of the Basso continuo and the Use of the Organ in Handel's English Oratorios', paper given at the American Handel Society Conference, College Park, Md., (May 2001); Donald Burrows, *Handel*, (Oxford, 2001); Donald Burrows and Rosemary Dunhill, *Music and Theatre in Handel's World: The Family Papers of James Harris 1732–1780* (Oxford, 2002); Donald Burrows, 'Handel, Stuarts and Hanoverians: Handel's English church music and the image of the British Monarchy', *Händel-Jahrbuch* 49 (2003), pp. 95–103; Donald Burrows 'Handel and the London Opera Companies in the 1730s: Venues, Programmes, Patronage and Performers', *GHB* 10 (2004), pp. 149–65; Donald Burrows, 'German

and analysis of the Handelian sources contained in the Mercer's Hospital Music Collection are required and are provided in this thesis.

Even though past research has focused on the life and works of Maurice Greene and William Boyce, research on the surviving sources for orchestral anthems by Greene and Boyce contained in the Mercer's Collection has remained undocumented until now (Greene *Sing we merrily unto God our strength*, Boyce *Blessed is he that considereth the sick*). Mercer's sources for both anthems are included in the works list in *New Grove II* articles for each composer.²⁸ As *Blessed is he that considereth the sick* was commissioned especially for performance at the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts the anthem is particularly significant. Extant sources contained in manuscript collections in the British Isles include three different settings of Boyce's orchestral anthem, however no distinction is made between these sources in *New Grove II*.²⁹ Bartlett and Bruce provide a more detailed examination of the anthem in their 2010 publication *William Boyce A Tercentenary Sourcebook and Compendium*. Bartlett and Bruce's *Sourcebook* documents the anthem's inclusion in eighteenth-century Dublin and London repertoire, and its inclusion in the repertoire at the Three Choirs Festival is also explored.³⁰

Chorales and English Hymns: The Work of Three Germans in London (Jacobi, Lampe and Handel)', *Händel-Jahrbuch* 51 (2005); Donald Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal*, (Oxford, 2005). Donald Burrows has also edited and co-edited several editions of Handel's works.

²⁸ H. Diack Johnstone, 'Maurice Greene', *NGD II* 10 (London, 2001), pp. 361–65; Henry Burnett, 'The Sacred Music of Maurice Greene (1696–1755): A Study of the Problems Confronting the Composer of English Church Music During the Early Eighteenth Century' (Ph.D. diss., NYcc, 1978); E. Walker, 'The Bodleian Manuscripts of Maurice Greene', *MA* i (1909–10), pp. 149–65, 203–14; Ian Bartlett and Robert J. Bruce, 'William Boyce', *NGD II* 4, pp. 155–62; Ian Bartlett and Robert J. Bruce, 'William Boyce's "Solomon"', *ML* lxi (1980), pp. 28–50; Ian Bartlett and Robert J. Bruce, *William Boyce a Tercentenary Sourcebook and Compendium* (Newcastle, 2010), pp. 26–8.

²⁹ Bartlett and Bruce, 'William Boyce', *NGD II* 4, pp. 157, 160.

³⁰ The Three Choirs Festival was established c.1715. This annual festival, largely choral, alternated between Gloucester, Hereford and Worcester. The works of Handel were regularly included in the

Surviving contemporary manuscript sources for the work are briefly discussed by Bartlett and Bruce, however despite highlighting the fact that revisions were made to the original music, a detailed comparison of extant sources is not provided in the *Sourcebook*. The authors acknowledge that the anthem's textual history has yet to be fully explored.³¹ Boyce's anthem is discussed in detail in Chapter 3 of this thesis. A performance of the anthem by the Enchiridis Choir, directed by Marion Doherty, took place at the launch of The Mercer's Institute for Research on Ageing, St James's Hospital on 14 November 1990.³² Doherty examined and edited the surviving Mercer's parts and compiled a performing edition of the anthem. Doherty's edition is currently unpublished, however plans are in progress to create an edition over the 2011/12-winter period.³³

Greene composed two anthems bearing the title *Sing we merrily onto God our strength*. Both works are clearly differentiated in the *New Grove* II works list by inclusion of the scoring for each. The surviving Mercer's sources bear the incorrect title *Sing ye merrily* and no surviving records document performance of the anthem at the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts. The relationship between the Mercer's sources for *Sing we merrily* and extant sources for the same setting of the anthem, contained in collections in London and Oxford, are explored in Chapter 3.

festival programme. See Watkins Shaw and John C. Phillips, 'Three Choirs Festival', *NGD* II 25, pp. 431–33; Percy M. Young/R, 'Festivals', *NGD* II 8, pp. 735–6.

³¹ Bartlett and Bruce, *Boyce Tercentenary*, pp. 26–8.

³² Lyons, *Quality of Mercer's*, p. 182.

³³ Information kindly provided by Marion Doherty via email on 1 Sept. 2011.

The inclusion of a chant, attributed to Pelham Humfrey, included in all Mercer's instrumental manuscript part-books is interesting on a number of levels. Humfrey composed a single Chant in C. An edition of the chant, compiled by Peter Dennison, is included in Pelham Humfrey's *Church Music II* and the chant is also recorded in Dennison's 1986 publication about the composer.³⁴ Differences between the Mercer's version of the chant and that, which was edited and published by Dennison, are investigated in Chapter 3 together with two Mercer's parts for a *Gloria*, which apparently correspond to the chant.

The majority of above mentioned publications provide an overview of the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts placing their occurrence either within the context of musical performance in eighteenth-century Dublin or within the context of Handelian works performed during the composer's lifetime. As a result published information concerning the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts is general and somewhat fragmentary. A comprehensive account detailing the management and occurrence of the eighteenth-century Mercer's benefit concerts is therefore necessary. To date research has not focused on the contents of the Mercer's Hospital Music Collection. Scholarly analysis of its contents highlights Dublin's active charity music scene thus drawing attention to possibly the largest Irish collection of eighteenth-century sacred music manuscript sources in use outside the two Dublin cathedrals. The provision of two catalogues; one scholarly and analytical, and one online, are essential in terms of assessing the collection and in turn making it accessible to other musicologists and

³⁴ Peter Dennison, *Pelham Humfrey Complete Church Music: II*, Music Britannica A National Collection of Music XXXV (London, 1985), pp. xvii, 120; Peter Dennison, *Pelham Humfrey* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 75, 115.

researchers. The function of the scholarly and analytical catalogue is to provide a detailed analysis of the paper types and collations identified in the collection. The online catalogue documents the contents of the collection, its provenance, history, and its place within surviving eighteenth-century music collections and is available online, see <http://www.rism.org.uk>. One of the principal aims of this research was to catalogue the contents of the Mercer's Hospital Music Collection according to RISM (Répertoire International des Sources Musicales) guidelines and to make it available on the RISM UK website.

Charity Music in Eighteenth-Century Dublin

During the course of the eighteenth century, Dublin developed a very busy concert scene. Several musical organisations were in existence in the city, which also attracted some of Europe's most distinguished performers including Niccolò Pasquali (1718–57), Francesco Geminiani (1687–1762), Tommaso Giordani (1730–1806) and George Frideric Handel (1685–1759), all of whom spent considerable periods living and working in the city. Apart from theatre music, music performed for charitable purposes or in a liturgical context is the best representation of art music heard in eighteenth-century Dublin. Charitable activity was prevalent during the eighteenth century. The upper classes were responsible for establishing numerous institutions, including charitable schools and hospitals and they generously supported Dublin's many charities by contributing donations and legacies. Several societies, which catered for imprisoned debtors, distressed families and indigent musicians and their families were also founded. Between 1718 and 1753 seven charity hospitals were established in Dublin. The first to

open was the Charitable Infirmary on Cook Street (1718). The hospitals are often referred to as voluntary hospitals for which private funding was sourced through subscriptions, sponsorship, donations, benefactions and musical concerts. The hospitals were primarily established in order to provide medical care for the city's poor. Dublin gave the lead in this respect, as the Westminster Hospital, established by the Westminster Association and the first great voluntary hospital founded in London, did not open until 1719.³⁵

Musical concerts in aid of hospitals and various charities were held frequently in eighteenth-century Dublin. The best documented of these were the concerts held at the Rotunda (Dr Mosse's Lying-In Hospital). Other Dublin hospitals which sourced funding from musical events include; the Charitable Infirmary, Dr Steevens' Hospital, Mercer's Hospital, the Hospital for the Incurables (Beaumont), the Meath Hospital and St Nicholas' Hospital Francis Street.³⁶ For the purposes of this study, all eighteenth-century fundraising events, which included musical performance, are referred to as benefit concerts.

Dublin's eighteenth-century musical calendar was very busy and concert organisers competed for venues and performers, as well as trying to attract a reliable and distinguished audience. Even though Mercer's Hospital was the third voluntary hospital

³⁵ Gary A. Boyd, *Dublin 1745–1922 Hospitals, spectacle and vice* (Dublin, 2006), p. 14; T.P.C. Kirkpatrick, *The History of Dr Steevens' Hospital 1720–1920* (Dublin, 1924), p. 3. Boydell, *Calendar*, pp. 267–9.

³⁶ Dr Steevens' Hospital was founded in 1733. Mercer's Hospital was founded in 1734. The Hospital for the Incurables (Beaumont) was founded in 1743. The Rotunda Hospital was founded in 1745. The Meath Hospital was founded in 1753. St Nicholas' Hospital Francis Street was founded in 1753. Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 267.

established in Dublin (1734), it was the first to initiate a series of annual, and occasionally bi-annual, benefit concerts, the first of which took place on 8 April 1736. The benefit concerts provided the funding needed to maintain and develop the hospital. The Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts began as a grand occasion and continued to attract the elite of Dublin society throughout the eighteenth century. During the 1740s several other charity hospitals began holding similar fundraising events. The frequency and regularity with which some benefit concerts took place provided seasonal employment for many Dublin and European musicians.

Dublin's eighteenth-century benefit concerts contributed greatly towards the development of repertoire. They facilitated the introduction of new works such as the *Messiah* HWV 56 and the Dublin première of *Deborah* HWV 51. It is likely that the first performance of Handelian sacred music in Dublin took place at the inaugural Mercer's Hospital benefit concert.³⁷ The Mercer's Collection is representative of the type of repertoire performed in eighteenth-century Dublin and highlights the availability of works by eighteenth-century composers in the city, including the works of Handel, Greene and Boyce.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 15.

THE MERCER'S HOSPITAL MUSIC COLLECTION

The Mercer's Hospital Music Collection consists of fifty-seven vocal and instrumental part-books in both manuscript and printed form. The collection was kept in storage at Mercer's Hospital until 13 May 1981 when it was deposited at Trinity College Dublin (TCD) by the Board of Mercer's Hospital. It is currently housed at the Manuscripts and Archives Research Library TCD. The collection contains works that were performed at the Mercer's Hospital annual and bi-annual benefit concerts which began in 1736 and continued to 1780 at least. The collection may be divided into three categories:

1. The core repertoire, *IRL-Dmh* Mss 1–44, provide vocal and instrumental manuscript sources for works by Handel, Boyce, Greene, Purcell and Humfrey. The works contained in Mss 1–44 were most frequently performed at the hospital's annual and bi-annual benefit concerts. The largest number of surviving parts in the collection are contained within this category.
2. *IRL-Dmh* Mss 45–50 contain manuscript sources for Handel's Overture to *Esther* HWV 50 and Corelli's *Concerto Grosso* No. 8 in g minor, Op. 6. The works contained in this category appear to have been used less frequently and fewer parts survive here than in the core repertoire.
3. *IRL-Dmh* Mss 51–57 include seven volumes of printed instrumental parts for a selection of concerti, sonatas and overtures by Avison, Barsanti, Festing, Handel and Stanley. All printed works were published before 1743.

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the Mercer's Hospital Music Collection; document and analyse adaptations made to parts in order to accommodate performing forces available in eighteenth-century Dublin; identify dates of copying; identify the

collection's provenance and transmission route and its relationship with other collections within the British Isles. Two detailed catalogues of the contents of the collection are provided. The first catalogue, included in a separate volume (see Appendix 9), contains the manuscript sources only i.e. the contents of categories 1 and 2 (*IRL-Dmh* Mss 1–50). This also serves as an index to the collection. The second catalogue, which was compiled by the author of this thesis, is available online (see <http://www.rism.org.uk>) and contains the manuscript and printed sources i.e. the contents of categories 1 to 3, the complete Mercer's Collection (*IRL-Dmh* Mss 1–57). The contents of the collection have been catalogued according to RISM guidelines (Répertoire International des Sources Musicales) and are included on the RISM UK online database. This is the first major project undertaken in direct collaboration with RISM since the formation of the Irish RISM committee. Historical analysis of the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts and an account of Mercer's performers are also included in this thesis.

This project adds to existing music research on several levels:

1. The provision of new information draws attention to this valuable collection of eighteenth-century music manuscripts and in so doing adds to our knowledge of eighteenth-century Dublin repertoire, highlighting the performance of sacred works outside the two cathedrals, St Patrick's and Christ Church.
2. The Mercer's Hospital Music Collection and benefit concerts add to our knowledge of charity music in eighteenth-century Dublin and provide a

complementary study to Brian Boydell's *Rotunda Music in Eighteenth-Century Dublin*.

3. Performance practice issues such as the adaptation of works for performance in eighteenth-century Dublin are identified and analysed.
4. The provision of a scholarly catalogue of Mercer's paper types and copyists enhances our knowledge of the various paper types available in eighteenth-century Dublin, eighteenth-century Dublin copyists, the activity of copying and how music was collated and stored. The Catalogue of Mercer's Paper Types is the first such catalogue of eighteenth-century Dublin paper types and the detailed analysis of paper types and collations contained therein may be used as a basis for the study of other contemporary collections.
5. The inclusion of the Mercer's sources in the RISM UK online database is significant in terms of providing other researchers and musicologists with worldwide access to information about this collection of Irish sources.
6. The identification of the relationship between the Mercer's Hospital Music Collection and other collections reveals the significance of the Mercer's Collection within the wider context of surviving eighteenth-century manuscript sources, establishing possible links with contemporary materials in Irish and international libraries.
7. Identification of the relationship between Mercer's Hospital and other Dublin institutions illustrates the circulation of music within eighteenth-century Dublin.
8. Examination of the printed sources highlights the availability and circulation of printed music in eighteenth-century Dublin.

9. This project also adds to our knowledge of the active network of musicians in eighteenth-century Dublin.

The Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts consisted of a charity sermon and church (cathedral) service including music. Terms employed in the hospital minutes and surviving newspaper accounts to describe this event include 'musical performances', 'cathedral service', 'musical service' and 'divine service performed after the cathedral manner'.³⁸ Mercer's benefit concerts never took place in either of the Dublin cathedrals; venues include St Andrew's Church, Suffolk Street, St Michan's Church, Church Street and St Peter's Church, Aungier Street. Deutsch explains,

The term "in the cathedral way" was repeatedly used in Dublin during the following years, after 1736 [*sic*], to ensure that the Church authorities would not expect a concert of sacred music, but church music. Originally it may have referred to St Paul's Cathedral where the same works of Handel's were performed for charity.³⁹

The charity alluded to in Deutsch's quotation is the Sons of the Clergy, who, since 1655, held an annual benefit concert in St Paul's Cathedral, London. Similarities between the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts and benefit concerts in support of the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy are examined in Chapter 2.

³⁸ MHMB 1736–72, pp. 23, 44, 69, 70, 76, 86, 88–9, 109, 112, 119, 124, 130, 132–3, 136, 142–3, 145, 153, 156, 161, 168–70, 184, 199, 211, 221, 234, 242, 249, 264, 278, 294, 299, 314; MHMB 1738–50, pp. 28, 35, 45, 48, 49, 70, 74–5, 84, 89, 97, 104, 113, 115, 117, 125, 128, 131, 139, 140–1, 156–7, 171; MHMB 1750–68, pp. 6, 22, 44–5, 56, 69, 106, 147, 164, 174, 205. Some newspaper reports describe the benefit concerts as a church service and other reports use the term cathedral service. The term cathedral service was most likely employed in order to reflect the grandeur of the occasion or to get permission for cathedral singers to participate.

³⁹ Deutsch, *Documentary Biography*, pp. 402–3.

In documenting the occurrence of the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts a terminal date of 1780 is fixed for the following reason. The absence of hospital administrative records for the period 1772 to 1786 makes it difficult to determine if concerts occurred during that fourteen-year period. The final benefit concert recorded in the hospital minute books took place on Thursday 12 December 1771. However, Townsend's reference to a surviving word-book, printed in 1780 for a Mercer's performance of *Messiah*, suggests that the benefit concerts continued until 1780 at least.⁴⁰ The hospital's administrative records resume in 1786. Hospital records for the period 1786 to 1833 were examined in order to establish if the benefit concerts had fully ceased by 1786 or if they had evolved into some other type of fundraising event. The hospital records document the occurrence of charity sermons from 1786 to 1833, however there is no record of music having been performed. As it is unclear if music was included at the charity sermons which took place during this latter period, fundraising events which occurred in aid of Mercer's Hospital between 1786 and 1833 will not be referred to as benefit concerts in this thesis, but as charity sermons.

Even though Mercer's Hospital opened in 1734, the earliest surviving records date from May 1736. Separate volumes of eighteenth-century hospital minutes survive. The earliest volume, bound in a green vellum cover, contains the transcripts from the governors' meetings that took place between 28 May 1736 and 11 January 1772. Volumes dated 1738 to 1750 and 1750 to 1768, each bound in a brown vellum cover, and bearing the respective titles *Managing Committee Minute Book* and *Book of*

⁴⁰ Townsend, *Handel's visit*, p. 83.

Minutes of Governors, contain copies of the transcripts recorded in the earliest volume.⁴¹ Several differences in the contents of the volumes can be identified such as the omission of some notes, variations in wording and the dates recorded. This would suggest that on occasion note taking at the governors' meetings may have been somewhat careless or at least lacked some consistency in what and where information was recorded. Thus it should be noted that the Mercer's administrative records do not contain all details concerning the benefit concerts.⁴²

It should also be noted that the Mercer's Hospital administrative records are in accordance with the old financial year i.e. April to April, the year beginning 6 April.⁴³ For this study details will be discussed as per calendar year i.e. January to January. This method has been employed for ease of understanding and for ease of comparison with similar charity events and the contents of related publications. The pre-decimal currency (L. s. d.) was in use in Ireland during the eighteenth century, therefore the pre-decimal system is used when discussing finances in this study. Under this system there were twelve pence in a shilling and twenty shillings in a pound.

⁴¹ See Appendix 1 vol. 2. Townsend provides the following description of the surviving Mercer's administrative records: 'The keeping of the minute books of the Hospital seems to have been commenced in 1736. The entries in the volume of earliest date are transcripts, by the clerk of the Hospital, from the previous separate written memoranda of the secretary. This volume is bound in green vellum. Another volume bound in plain vellum, was begun to be kept in 1738, as the secretary's-book [*sic*]. The entries in this volume are in different autographs, from the 12 January, 1738–9 word for word the same as copies in the clerks-book'. See Townsend, *Mercer's*, p. 38.

⁴² Several of the Dublin newspapers including: *Dublin Journal*, *Faulkner's Dublin Journal/Gazette*, *Dublin Gazette*, *Dublin Courant*, *Pue's Occurrences*, *Universal Advertiser* and *Saunders's Newsletter* regularly published advertisements for the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts and/or accounts describing what happened at the benefit concerts and who attended.

⁴³ See Michael Jones, *A Handbook of dates for students of British History*, C.R. Cheney (ed.), (Cambridge, 2000).

The contents of the Mercer's Hospital Music Collection have been bound in fifty-seven individual part-books or volumes. *IRL-Dmh* Mss 1–50 contain manuscript sources only, while *IRL-Dmh* Mss 51–57 contain printed music. *IRL-Dmh* Mss 1–44 include twenty-two vocal part-books and twenty-two instrumental part-books, the contents of which have been collated and bound according to vocal or instrumental part. Some parts have been incorrectly bound. This is discussed in detail in Chapter 3. When discussing individual parts it is necessary to identify the part-book in which the music is contained. The manuscript number and an abbreviation of the part-book type will be included therefore for the easy identification of music and parts within the collection. For example, if referring to the contents of *IRL-Dmh* Ms 8, which is an alto part-book, the following will be used; *IRL-Dmh* Ms 8 (A). See List of Abbreviations.

This thesis has been divided into four chapters and 10 appendices. Appendices are provided in three separate volumes. The nature of this study makes it impossible to eliminate repetition. To do so would involve excessive cross-referencing and would reduce clarity. The bibliography follows the Harvard Referencing System.

Chapter 1 'Benefit Concerts in aid of Eighteenth-Century Dublin Hospitals: an overview'. This chapter provides an overview of the musical performances which were held in aid of six eighteenth-century Dublin charity hospitals. The contents are primarily based on newspaper entries catalogued by Brian Boydell in *A Dublin Musical Calendar 1700–1760*.⁴⁴ Other sources consulted include publications which document

⁴⁴ Boydell, *Calendar*.

the history of some of the hospitals discussed and have been referenced, where relevant, throughout the text. The Burney Collection was also consulted. The Burney Collection contains a selection of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century British, Irish and American Colonial newspapers and pamphlets, collected by the Reverend Charles Burney (1757–1817). Dublin Newspapers extant in the collection include the *Dublin Gazette*, *Dublin Journal*, *Dublin Mercury*, *Faulkner's Dublin Journal* and *Hoey's Dublin Mercury*.⁴⁵ Consultation with the Burney Collection, namely the *Dublin Journal* and *Dublin Mercury* newspapers, was useful in gathering information about benefit concerts and assemblies that took place in support of the Charitable Infirmary and St Nicholas' Hospital. According to Boydell's *Calendar* a performance of *Deborah* HWV 51 for the support of the Charitable Musical Society took place in either the Philharmonic Room or Fishamble Street Theatre on 28 January 1748. An issue of *Faulkner's Dublin Journal* dated 22–26 Dec. 1747 and extant in the Burney Collection, reveals that a performance of *Deborah* HWV 51 in support of the Charitable Infirmary took place on this date and confirms the venue as the Fishamble Street Theatre. Information regarding St Nicholas' Hospital circa 1770 was not offered in Boydell's *Calendar* which covers the period 1700 to 1760. This chapter contextualizes the role of Mercer's Hospital within Dublin's active charity music scene and the influence Mercer's may have had on the establishment of benefit concerts in aid of other Dublin hospitals.

⁴⁵ See <http://www.bl.uk/reshelp/findhelpprestype/news/newspdigproj/burney>, accessed 24 May 2012. The Burney Collection is available to search online via <http://www.galegroup.com/bncn>, and may be accessed in the reading room at the National Library of Ireland, Kildare Street, Dublin. Other Irish titles in the Burney Collection include the *Hibernian Journal* or *Chronicle of Liberty*, *Public Register* or *Freeman's Journal*, *Limerick Chronicle* and *Northern Star* (Belfast). <http://www.galegroup.com/bncn>, accessed 24 May 2012.

Chapter 2 ‘Mercer’s Hospital Benefit Concerts: a narrative and financial account’. This chapter provides a detailed narrative and financial account of the Mercer’s Hospital annual and bi-annual benefit concerts and their contribution towards music making in eighteenth-century Dublin. The chapter was compiled using information contained in the hospital’s administrative records, housed at the National Archives, Bishop Street, Dublin. Donnelly states that the hospital holdings ‘were greatly augmented in 2006 by the transfer of several collections of great interest from the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland, mainly relating to institutions which were closed in the 1980s’.⁴⁶ Supplementary information is provided from surviving newspaper accounts, Christ Church and St Patrick’s Cathedral records and existing publications as mentioned in the review of literature. The establishment, organisation and running of the Mercer’s Hospital benefit concerts from 1736 to 1780 are discussed. Examination of the financial management of the benefit concerts reveals how significant they were to the overall maintenance of the hospital.

Chapter 3 ‘Music for Mercer’s: an analysis’. This chapter concentrates on the Mercer’s Hospital Music Collection and its contents. Due to the nature of the collection and the various aspects examined, Chapter 3 is divided into six sub-sections, each of which is clearly identified. As most of the collection consists of manuscript sources these will be examined separately, the criteria in use will differ from criteria employed when examining printed sources. Chapter 3 Sections 3.1 to 3.4 focus on the Mercer’s manuscripts and examine the background to the manuscript collection and its contents.

⁴⁶ Brian Donnelly, ‘Hospital Records in the National Archives of Ireland’, *JSAI* 15 (Winter 2008), p. 15; *IRL-Dna* Ref. 2006/97: Reference for Mercer’s Hospital Minute Books.

Adaptations made to parts and performance practice issues are also discussed. Information regarding Mercer's copyists and paper types is presented and the challenges encountered in establishing possible dates of copying for surviving works in the collection are also explored. Appendices 8 and 9 contain samples of handwriting and a catalogue of Mercer's paper types. Appendix 9, the catalogue of Mercer's paper types, includes details of watermarks, paper types, folio collations and order of works, folio format and size, rastra, copyists, identification of sets, adaptations and additions to folios for each manuscript volume in the collection. Appendices 8 and 9 are central to Chapter 3. A comparison of sources and variant readings for works by Handel, Greene and Boyce establishes important information regarding the provenance of the collection. Links between the transmission route of musical sources between Dublin and Britain are also explored. The Mercer's printed sources are discussed, as is the inclusion of all contents of the collection on the RISM UK online database.

Chapter 4 'Mercer's Performers and Venues'. This chapter discusses known performers who participated in the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts. The status and background of Mercer's performers and the significant cross-over in musical personnel participating in eighteenth-century Dublin concerts are explored. The movement of musicians between Dublin and London is also considered. The venues used for the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts add further to the exploration of performance practice issues. This chapter also draws together the main aspects of the previous three chapters and leads to more specific conclusions regarding the Mercer's Hospital Music Collection and the hospital's series of eighteenth-century benefit concerts.

Appendix 1 lists the surviving Mercer's Hospital administrative records (minute books) housed at the National Archives, Bishop Street, Dublin.

Appendix 2 lists the names of the governors of Mercer's Hospital as detailed on page 1, and page 209–10 in MHMB 1736–72.⁴⁷

Appendix 3 contains a table detailing the Mercer's Hospital Performance Calendar, listing the year, date, venue, conductor(s) and music performed at the benefit concerts that took place from 1736 to 1780. The years in which a Mercer's benefit concert did not take place are also included.

Appendix 4 includes four tables, compiled from the financial figures recorded in the Mercer's Hospital administrative records 1736–68. Some of the amounts have been calculated editorially and are indicated thus. Appendix 4 also includes a photograph of the surviving bill for the 1759 Mercer's performance of *Acis and Galatea* HWV 49.

Appendix 5 provides an account of the state of Mercer's Hospital for the year ending 25 December 1768. This account, transcribed here, is typewritten and is affixed inside the back of MHMB 1736–72. The source of information for the typewritten account is unknown, however it is possible that it was compiled from information contained in the 1736–72 minute book. Appendix 5 also includes a list of subscribers and benefactions

⁴⁷ *IRL-Dna* Ref. 2006/97, Box 1.

to the hospital for the year ending Christmas 1768, transcribed from page 356 of MHMB 1736–72.

Appendix 6 contains two tables, the first lists the recorded repertoire performed at the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts and the second lists the surviving contents of the Mercer's Hospital Music Collection. Appendix 6 also contains a list of the surviving part-books in the collection.

Appendix 7 lists all annotations made in the surviving Mercer's parts by Robert Prescott Stewart. The contents of Appendix 7 are analysed in Chapter 3.

Appendix 8 provides samples of handwriting (the work of Mercer's copyists) identified in the surviving manuscript works contained in the collection.

Appendix 9 includes a catalogue of Mercer's paper types. This catalogue includes detailed folio collation diagrams, schematic watermark and folio illustrations, information regarding Mercer's paper types, rastra, folio format and size. Adaptations and additions to folios have also been recorded in the catalogue as have details regarding Mercer's copyists and identified sets of parts. Appendix 8 and 9 should be consulted together and are central to Chapter 3 of this thesis.

Appendix 10 lists sources present in extant collections in Ireland, Britain, Europe and America for Mercer's Handelian works and works by Greene and Boyce.

CHAPTER 1
BENEFIT CONCERTS IN AID OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY
DUBLIN HOSPITALS: AN OVERVIEW

Dublin's social and political life developed greatly throughout the eighteenth century. The city was second only to London in terms of importance within the British Isles and its population grew from an estimated 50,000 in the early part of the century to approximately 129,000 by 1771. British rule prevailed and Dublin's Anglo-Irish community enjoyed a lifestyle embracing much socialising and elegant living. The city experienced many advantages in terms of the development of trade, finance and communication resulting in considerable prosperity. The construction of new buildings and streets reshaped the landscape of the city. Among the new buildings were a number of hospitals.⁴⁸

Seven prominent voluntary hospitals were founded in Dublin between 1718 and 1753. There was a growing awareness of the need to provide for the sick and poor owing to the high mortality rate prevalent at the time. Dublin's voluntary hospitals were primarily set up in order to provide medical care for the city's sick poor and received funding in the form of benefactions, donations and legacies from sponsors and subscribers.⁴⁹ A number of the hospitals developed and expanded greatly throughout the eighteenth

⁴⁸ J.L. McCracken, 'The social structure and social life 1714–60', in *NHI IV Eighteenth-Century Ireland 1691–1800*, T. W. Moody and W. E. Vaughan (eds.), (Oxford, 1986), pp. 31, 44–5.

⁴⁹ Boyd, *Hospitals, spectacle and vice*, p. 14; Kirkpatrick, *Dr Steevens'*, p. 3.

century, while some continued to operate throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century.⁵⁰

A large number of charitable musical societies organised musical performances in support of the city's charity hospitals.⁵¹

Mercer's Hospital assisted for a period by the Philharmonick Society [*sic*] [...] and individual charitable musical societies ran regular benefits for the Charitable Infirmary, the Hospital for the Incurables and Dr Steevens's [*sic*] Hospital.⁵²

Dublin's eighteenth-century musical calendar was very full, a significant number of concerts took place every week during the winter and summer seasons. Concert organisers were competing for venues and performers, as well as trying to engage a reliable and distinguished audience. Many concerts had to be postponed or rescheduled due to the number of events taking place in the city at this time. Concert organisers wanted to attract as large an audience as possible and the socially conscious public wished to be seen attending as many events as they could. Rescheduling was of interest to all concerned and may often have depended on the availability of performers.

⁵⁰ The Rotunda and Beaumont Hospitals (formerly the Hospital for the Incurables) remain open and continue to function to this day. Mercer's Hospital closed at the end of May 1983. The Charitable Infirmary closed in 1987. Dr Steevens' Hospital closed in 1997 when its services were divided between a new hospital in Tallaght and St James' Hospital. The Meath Hospital merged with the Adelaide and Children's Hospital Harcourt Street to form the new hospital at Tallaght in 1997. The year of closure for St Nicholas' Hospital is unknown, however an advertisement in an issue of the *Public Register* or *Freeman's Journal* dated 20–22 August reveals that the hospital was still open and functioning up to August 1771 (see Burney Collection <http://www.galegroup.com/bncn>, accessed 24 May 2012). Lyons, *Quality of Mercer's*; Eoin O'Brien, *The Charitable Infirmary, Jervis Street, 1718–1987: a farewell tribute* (Dublin, 1987), p. 1; Kirkpatrick, *Dr Steevens'*; Peter Gatenby, *Dublin's Meath Hospital* (Dublin, 1996), p. 1; Davis Coakley, *Dr Steevens' Hospital: a brief history* (Dublin, 1992), p. 48; <http://www.addictionireland.ie/about>, accessed 30 Dec. 2010; McCracken 'The social structure and social life', pp. 50, 811. Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 267.

⁵¹ Boydell, *Calendar*, pp. 267–69.

⁵² Boydell, *Rotunda Music*, p. 17.

Mercer's Hospital was the first eighteenth-century Dublin hospital to benefit from the organisation of a series of benefit concerts, which provided necessary funding towards the maintenance and development of the hospital. The first Mercer's Hospital annual benefit concert took place on 8 April 1736. This was, and in subsequent years the Mercer's benefit concerts continued to be, a grand occasion which attracted the elite of Dublin society. Mercer's Hospital was a prominent Dublin charity. The success of its annual and bi-annual benefit concerts, which continued for at least a forty-four year period, was a catalyst for other hospitals to follow suit. During the 1740s and 1750s several other charity hospitals began holding similar fundraising events. These hospitals are discussed in chronological order according to the year in which each hospital was founded. The majority of benefit concerts in aid of Dublin's charity hospitals appear to have ceased before the conclusion of Boydell's *Calendar*, i.e. before 1760.⁵³ The exceptions to this are the Rotunda, Mercer's and Meath hospitals. Benefit concerts in aid of the Rotunda Hospital ceased in 1791, benefit concerts in aid of Mercer's Hospital continued until 1780 at least, and benefit concerts in support of the Meath Hospital continued until 1787 at least. Assemblies in support of St Nicholas' Hospital continued until 1770 at least.⁵⁴

⁵³ Benefit concerts in aid of the Charitable Infirmary and the Hospital for the Incurables appear to have ceased in 1753. The last recorded assembly in aid of St Nicholas' Hospital took place in December 1757. Benefit concerts in aid of Dr Steevens' Hospital only occurred during the 1743–4 season. Boydell, *Calendar*, pp. 173, 175, 232, 252.

⁵⁴ Boydell, *Rotunda Music*; MHMB 1736–72; MHMB 1738–50; MHMB 1750–68; MHMB 1786–1807, pp. 3, 13; Townsend, *Handel's visit*, p. 83; DM 6–8 Feb. 1770.

The Charitable Infirmary

The Charitable Infirmary, which opened in 1718 in Dublin, was the first voluntary hospital in Ireland. It became known as the Jervis Street Hospital in 1792.⁵⁵ The early minute books of the Jervis Street Hospital are kept by the Charitable Infirmary Charitable Trust (CICT) at what is now The Drug Treatment Centre Board located at Trinity Court on Pearse Street, Dublin.⁵⁶ The Charitable Infirmary was an important eighteenth-century Dublin institution and it was one of the three charities that benefited from the *Messiah* première in 1742. The hospital received £127 from the proceeds raised on that occasion.⁵⁷

The hospital was open for twenty-five years before it initiated its own series of benefit concerts, which began on 4 May 1743 at the Fishamble Street Theatre with a performance of Handel's oratorio *Alexander's Feast* HWV 75. From 1745 to 1753 Handel's oratorio *Deborah* HWV 51 was performed annually. The January 1745 performance of *Deborah* was the first Dublin performance of this work.⁵⁸ After its second performance on 23 January 1746, in aid of the Charitable Infirmary, Mrs Delany

⁵⁵ O'Brien, *The Charitable Infirmary*, pp. 1–3; <http://www.addictionireland.ie/about>, accessed 30 Dec. 2010; McCracken 'The social structure and social life', pp. 50, 811.

⁵⁶ Information kindly provided via email on 23 Feb. 2010 by Mary O'Doherty, Assistant Librarian, The Mercer Library, Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland, Mercer St Lower, Dublin. See also O'Brien, *The Charitable Infirmary*.

⁵⁷ Two other charities also benefited from the occasion, Mercer's Hospital and imprisoned debtors. During the eighteenth century people who failed to pay taxes or rent were imprisoned. *DJ* 13–17 Apr. 1742; *PO* 13–17 Apr. 1742; *DG* 17–20 Apr. 1742. *DJ* and *PO* state that upwards of £400 was raised and detail the individual amount donated to each charity. The report included in *DG* 17–20 Apr. 1742 does not include the amount raised on this occasion.

⁵⁸ Boydell documents ten performances of *Deborah* between 1745 and 1757, seven of which were in support of the Charitable Infirmary. *Deborah* was composed in 1733. *Alexander's Feast* was composed in 1736. Boydell, *Calendar*, pp. 93, 102, 105, 108, 114, 124, 135–6, 148, 158–9, 173, 223, 267. *DJ* 19–22 Dec. 1748; *DJ* 29 Dec. 1748–2 Jan. 1749; *DJ* 4–7 Mar. 1749; *DJ* 1–5 Feb. 1757; *DJ* 19–22 Feb. 1757.

described *Deborah* as a ‘charming piece of music and was extremely well performed.’⁵⁹

The initial performance must have proven successful enough to repeat the same work for the following seven benefit concerts.

The earliest surviving record in the Hospital account book is dated 1748, when 351 tickets were issued, and the proceeds were £194.10s.3d., which were invested. The names of all ticket holders are preserved, and the last entry for a ‘Deborah’ was in 1753.⁶⁰

The table at Figure 1 lists all musical performances in aid of The Charitable Infirmary which took place between 1742 and 1753. The asterisk highlights performances that were preceded by a public rehearsal, which usually took place a couple of days before the main performance. Several eighteenth-century Dublin musical events were preceded by a public rehearsal, which gave the public an opportunity to see what was in store in the grand performance.⁶¹

Fig. 1 Table of benefit concerts in aid of The Charitable Infirmary

Year	Date	Venue	Music Performed
*1742	13 April	Fishamble Street Theatre	<i>Messiah</i> HWV 56
1743	4 May	Fishamble Street Theatre	<i>Alexander’s Feast</i> HWV 75
*1745	31 January	Fishamble Street Theatre	<i>Deborah</i> HWV 51
1746	23 January	Fishamble Street Theatre	<i>Deborah</i> HWV 51
1746	18 December	Fishamble Street Theatre	<i>Deborah</i> HWV 51
1748	28 January	Fishamble Street Theatre	<i>Deborah</i> HWV 51
1750	7/13 February	Fishamble Street	<i>Deborah</i> HWV 51

⁵⁹ Mrs Delany, *Autobiography and Correspondence* 2, p. 415; Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 105.

⁶⁰ J.D.H. Widdess, ‘The Charitable Infirmary Jervis Street Dublin’, *The Charitable Infirmary Jervis Street Dublin, 1718–1968* (Dublin, 1968), p. 8.

⁶¹ The 1750 Charitable Infirmary benefit concert appears to have been rescheduled from 7 to 13 February. A public rehearsal may have taken place on 7 February, however this is not specified in the advertisement. Boydell, *Calendar*, pp. 135–6.

		Theatre	
*1751	14 February	Fishamble Street Theatre	<i>Deborah</i> HWV 51
*1751	16 December	Fishamble Street Theatre	<i>Deborah</i> HWV 51
*1753	23 January	Fishamble Street Theatre	<i>Deborah</i> HWV 51

Tickets to the Charitable Infirmary benefit concerts cost a half guinea. The hospital appears to have been in desperate need of funding and expansion during 1753 as the advertisement for the January benefit concert details how the number of patients had to be reduced from forty to twenty-four that year, i.e. from 10 November 1751 to 10 November 1752.⁶²

Excluding the *Messiah* performance, newspaper advertisements documented by Boydell highlight that benefit concerts in aid of The Charitable Infirmary were held over a ten-year period. The occurrence of benefit concerts was a little irregular during this ten-year period, with no benefit concerts taking place in 1744, 1747 and 1752. Two benefit concerts took place in 1746 and 1751.

Dr Steevens' Hospital

Dr Steevens' Hospital was founded after the death of Dr Richard Steevens, president of the College of Physicians in 1703 and 1710 and Professor of Medicine at Trinity College Dublin (1710). Dr Steevens died on 5 December 1710. The contents of his will stated that he wished

⁶² Tickets for the January 1753 performance were advertised at half a guinea each. It is presumed that this was the usual fee charged for attendance at all benefit concerts in aid of the Charitable Infirmary. Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 173; *DJ* 9–13 Nov. 1753.

to provide one proper place or building within the City of Dublin for an hospital for maintaining and caring from time to time such sick and wounded persons where distempers and wounds are curable.⁶³

Steevens' twin sister Grizel was principal benefactor of his will. Grizel decided to carry out her brother's wishes without delay. Plans for building Dr Steevens' hospital began in 1717 when a board of trustees was appointed. Three and a half acres of land were purchased at the end of James' Street and the hospital opened on 2 July 1733.⁶⁴

Dr Steevens' Hospital benefited from concerts given by the Charitable Musical Society of Vicar's Street during the 1743–4 season.⁶⁵ Boydell documents sixteen performances by the Charitable Musical Society for that season. Only two entries specifically name Dr Steevens' Hospital as a benefactor. The Charitable Musical Society held weekly events throughout the 1743 season, January to May. It is not clear if Dr Steevens' Hospital gained funding from regular or occasional performances given by the society since it was regularly advertised in conjunction with other charities.

On 15 January 1743 *The Recruiting Officer*, a play with songs, was performed in aid of the hospital by order of the Charitable Musical Society. The performance took place at Smock Alley Theatre.⁶⁶

⁶³ Kirkpatrick, *Dr Steevens*, pp. 15–16; See pp. 335–7 for the contents of the wills of Richard and Grizel Steevens. Coakley, *Dr Steevens*, pp. 8–10. Surviving records for Dr Steevens' Hospital are currently held at The Royal College of Physicians of Ireland, Kildare Street, Dublin. Information kindly provided via email on 18 Feb. 2010 by Dr Robert Mills, Librarian, The Royal College of Physicians of Ireland.

⁶⁴ Coakley, *Dr Steevens*, pp. 8–15.

⁶⁵ Up to twelve musical societies used the name The Charitable Musical Society. The different societies are denoted by inclusion of the location of their meetings or the charity they supported.

⁶⁶ Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 90; *DJ* 11–15 Jan. 1743. Information about the *Recruiting Officer* kindly received from Rachel Talbot via email on 9 Jan. 2012.

On 1 August 1743 a benefaction of £102.19s.6d was received from the society. This assisted greatly in completing the building of the hospital.⁶⁷ It is not clear if this sum of money was the proceeds of one or more than one benefit concert or if the amount was presented to the hospital at the end of the season.

The Governor's [*sic*] of Doctor Stephen's [*sic*] Hospital have received a Benefaction of £102.19s.6d. from the Musical Society in Vicars-st [*sic*], towards finishing said Hospital [...]⁶⁸

Perhaps benefit concerts in aid of Dr Steevens' Hospital were held only in order to find the funding needed to complete the hospital, as detailed in the advertisement. Once built the hospital may have had no further need for fundraising. Nonetheless, the advertisement dated 1 August 1743 demonstrates how benefit concerts contributed towards the expansion of the hospital. Knowledge of the repertoire performed and musicians engaged at performances in support of Dr Steevens' Hospital would greatly enhance our understanding of this apparently short-lived series of benefit concerts. Presumably most performers were members of the Charitable Musical Society and performed popular pieces of the day.

The Hospital for the Incurables (Beaumont)

The Hospital for the Incurables was located on Lazer's Hill, which was subsequently renamed Townsend Street after Viscount George Townshend, Lord Lieutenant and General Governor of Ireland.⁶⁹ Usually fundraising for Dublin's charity hospitals did

⁶⁷ Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 94.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 94; *DNL* 30 Aug.–3 Sept. 1743.

⁶⁹ <http://www.dublin1798.com>, accessed on 28 Mar. 2011; <http://www.maps.google.ie>, accessed on 28 Mar. 2011; Cheyne Brady, *The History of the Hospital for Incurables* (Dublin, 1875), p. 9. The Hospital moved to Donnybrook in 1792.

not begin for a number of years after the hospital opened, however the first benefit concert recorded in aid of the Hospital for the Incurables appears to have occurred before the hospital opened. The hospital was supported by the Charitable Musical Society which met in Crow Street, and the society became known as the ‘Charitable Musical Society for the Support for the Hospital for Incurables on Lazer’s Hill’. There is a certain ambiguity attached to several newspaper entries which use the word ‘Incurables’ without the inclusion of the word ‘hospital’. It is likely that the term ‘Incurables’ was associated with the charity hospital. Bearing in mind the ambiguities of some newspaper advertisements all newspaper entries including the word ‘Incurables’ have been considered in relation to benefit concerts in support of the Hospital for the Incurables. Several Dublin newspapers use the wording ‘Charitable Musical Society for the Support of Incurables’ and do not specify the hospital in this respect. This wording was used in both the *Dublin Journal* and the *Dublin Newsletter* advertising performances given by Mathew Dubourg on 16 November 1743 and 25 January 1744 at the Crow Street Theatre, ‘Dubourg to perform his Birthday Ode for the Charitable Musical Society for support of Incurables.’⁷⁰ These performances took place five to seven months prior to the opening of the hospital on 23 May 1744.⁷¹ The occurrence of both benefit concerts suggests that fundraising, specifically in the form of musical performance, may have contributed to the building of the hospital and not just to its subsequent upkeep and maintenance.

⁷⁰ Boydell, *Calendar*, pp. 95, 97; *DJ* 12–15 Nov. 1743, *DNL* 8–12 Nov. 1743; *DJ* 17–21 Jan. 1744.

⁷¹ Boydell, *Calendar*, pp. 99, 267–9.

‘The Philharmonic Society for the Support of Incurables’ also ran benefit concerts in aid of the hospital.⁷² It is likely that the majority of performers engaged in benefit concerts in support of the Hospital for the Incurables were members of both societies. An advertisement dated 25 January 1744 details how the Charitable Musical Society had recently increased in numbers and therefore enlarged the numbers participating in their orchestra.⁷³

Thirty-six musical performances in aid of the Hospital for the Incurables took place between 1743 and 1753, with up to twelve performances in any one season. The table at Figure 2 highlights the occurrence of benefit concerts in aid of the hospital during this ten-year period. The majority of concerts took place during the winter season and usually at Crow Street Theatre or the Philharmonic Room, while occasionally Fishamble Street Theatre was used. The choice of venue most likely depended on the programme chosen and on the involvement and support of various musical societies.

Fig. 2 Table of benefit concerts in aid of the Hospital for the Incurables

Year	Date	Venue
1743	16 November	Crow Street Theatre
1744	25 January	Crow Street Theatre
1745	25 September	Crow Street Theatre
1747	8 October	Philharmonic Room
1747	3 December	Philharmonic Room
1748	3 November	Philharmonic Room
1749	2 November	Philharmonic Room
1750	27 September	Philharmonic Room
1750	31 October	Philharmonic Room
1750	14 November	Philharmonic Room

⁷² Boydell assumes an eventual amalgamation between The Philharmonic Society, which met at a room on Fishamble Street opposite St John’s Church, The Charitable Musical Society at the Philharmonic Hall on Fishamble Street and The Philharmonic Society for the Support of Incurables. *Ibid.*, pp. 267–9.

⁷³ Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 97; *DJ* 17–21 Jan. 1744.

1750	21 November	Philharmonic Room
1750	5 December	Philharmonic Room
1750	12 December	Philharmonic Room
1750	19 December	Philharmonic Room
1751	23 January	Philharmonic Room
1751	31 January	Fishamble Street Theatre
1751	13 February	Philharmonic Room
1751	27 February	Philharmonic Room
1751	6 March	Philharmonic Room
1751	27 March	Philharmonic Room
1751	1 July	Philharmonic Room
1751	9 October	Philharmonic Room
1751	23 October	Philharmonic Room
1751	6 November	Philharmonic Room
1751	13 November	Philharmonic Room
1751	23 December	Philharmonic Room
1752	13 January	Philharmonic Room
1752	3 February	Fishamble Street Theatre
1752	24 February	Philharmonic Room
1752	25 October	Philharmonic Room
1752	1 November	Philharmonic Room
1752	29 November	Philharmonic Room
1752	6 December	Philharmonic Room
1753	24 January	Philharmonic Room
1753	31 January	Philharmonic Room
1753	8 February	Philharmonic Room

During the 1752 season the benefit concerts developed into a grander occasion with the introduction of a ball for ladies, which took place after each concert, except when oratorios were performed. The usual subscription fee of one guinea (21s.) entitled the subscriber to be accompanied by two ladies who were to pay an additional fee of a British sixpence (6d.) each to cover the extra costs incurred in organising a ball. Non-subscribers and non-ticket holders could also attend on payment of 2s.8d. for ladies and a British crown (5s.) for gentlemen.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 173; *DJ* 12–16 Dec. 1752; *DJ* and *DG* 19–23 Jan. 1753.

Tickets were required in order to attend the benefit concerts and could be acquired by subscription at a fee of one guinea (21s./£1.1s.0d.). For this fee subscribers were entitled to two tickets. From the wording of a number of advertisements it would appear that only ladies required tickets.

Members of THE CHARITABLE MUSICAL SOCIETY [*sic*] of CROW STREET [*sic*] on account of their great Experience in support of the Hospital for Incurables, have settled the Subscription of One Guinea for each Gentleman, who shall have two Tickets for Ladies each Night[...]

[...] each Member, upon paying one Guinea at subscribing, and sixpence each Night he attends, to have two tickets for Ladies each Night[...]

All Members of the Society are desired to provide themselves with Metal Tickets, as no Ladies will be admitted hereafter without them[...]

Books open at Mr Manwaring's. Subs. One Guinea each Member which entitles them to two tickets for Ladies as usual.⁷⁵

These excerpts, relating to the benefit concerts of 25 September 1745, 8 October 1747, 3 November 1748 and 1 November 1752, show that different regulations regarding tickets and fees must have been employed on various occasions. For example, a further fee of six pence (6d.) each night was required together with the subscription fee of one guinea (21s.) for the two benefit concerts held during the 1747 season. The tickets themselves must have been rather elaborate. They are described in the following manner in the *Dublin Courant*. 'They are gilt, a Samaritan on one Side, and Trophies of Musick [*sic*] on the Reverse.'⁷⁶ Tickets to eighteenth-century concerts were decorative and ornate. A surviving subscriber's ticket for admittance to a Handel commemoration concert at Westminster Abbey on 26 May 1784 depicts the composer's head in profile, in a wreath and placed above a monument. A surviving ticket to a benefit concert in

⁷⁵ Boydell, *Calendar*, pp. 103, 111, 119, 170; *DC* 15–19 Oct. 1745; *DC* 29 Sept.–3 Oct. 1747; *DJ* 25–29 Oct. 1748; *DJ* 24–28 Oct. 1752.

⁷⁶ Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 103; *DC* 15–19 Oct. 1745.

support of the Choral Fund depicts two cherubs holding a banner and at the centre of the banner is Handel's head in profile. This image is surrounded by decorative writing which provides information regarding the venue and time of the concert. As detailed on the ticket, this benefit concert took place at the Haymarket Theatre and was one of the 1784 Handel commemoration concerts.⁷⁷ It must have been important for each charity and musical organisation to have its own distinctive tickets, thus preventing the admittance of people who had not subscribed or paid. Indeed the production of elaborate tickets more than likely reflected the grandeur attached to the occasion.

Subscribers to the benefit concerts in aid of the Hospital for the Incurables were unique in that they were entitled to decide how the money raised was used.⁷⁸ This is not evidenced to date for subscribers to any other series of benefit concerts in support of Dublin's charity hospitals. On occasion the accounts or money raised for some charities were published in the Dublin newspapers.

The absence of benefit concerts after 1753 suggests that the hospital may have been financially secure. The cessation of benefit concerts after 1753 may also indicate that problems were encountered in organising them. This was most likely due to increased rivalries with other institutions and events. The Rotunda and Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts were well established at this stage and benefit concerts in aid of the Meath

⁷⁷ *GB-Lfom*, Donald Burrows and Katharine Hogg, *Handel the Philanthropist* (London, 2009), pp. 9, 46, 59. See also Burrows, 'Handel and the Foundling Hospital', *ML* (July 1997). A revised edition of Burrows' article is included in *Handel the Philanthropist*. See The Gerald Coke Handel Collection on the second floor of the Foundling Museum, 40 Brunswick Square, London. Information was also kindly provided via email on 5, 7 and 19 Jan. and 3, 4 and 10 Feb. 2011 by Colin Coleman and Nick Castell, Foundling Museum, London.

⁷⁸ Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 111; *DC* 29 Sept.–3 Oct. 1747.

Hospital and assemblies in aid of St Nicholas' Hospital were initiated the following year (1754). Brady documents how funds for the hospital were sourced into the nineteenth century.

Amongst the various steps taken to increase the funds of the charity, we find proposals for benefit plays and charity sermons. Of the result of the former we cannot find any entry but the charity sermons at one time were an unfailing source of revenue. In 1811, a sermon in St. Anne's church produced £83, and another in St. Mary's £122, while in the following year the charity sermon in St. Anne's realized for the hospital £208. In 1813 the collection in St. Anne's amounted to £198, but the largest sum contributed by any charity sermon to the funds of this hospital appears to have resulted from an appeal by the Rev. James Dunn in St. Peter's Church in 1815, when the collection amounted to £626.⁷⁹

Charity sermons were a popular means of fund-raising during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. They may have proven more successful for the hospital than benefit concerts.

Rotunda Hospital

Dr Mosse's Lying-in Hospital opened at its first location, on George's Lane, in 1745. It was founded by doctor, amateur musician and music promoter Bartholomew Mosse. In order to raise money to support the hospital its founder initiated a series of very successful benefit concerts.⁸⁰

Unlike the Charitable Infirmary [...] and Dr Steevens' [...] and Mercer's [...] Hospitals, Mosse's Lying-in Hospital did not enjoy the benefit of a substantial bequest to aid its foundation and early activities.⁸¹

In 1748 Mosse acquired a plot of land bordering Great Britain Street, now Parnell Street, which was to be used for a new hospital and gardens.⁸² London's Vauxhall

⁷⁹ Brady, *Hospital for the Incurables*, p. 20.

⁸⁰ Boydell, *Rotunda Music*, p. 221; Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 285.

⁸¹ Boydell, *Rotunda Music*, p. 18.

Gardens, a popular outdoor venue, particularly inspired Mosse as he laid out the land surrounding the new maternity hospital in the same style as London's Vauxhall.⁸³ The layout of the gardens not only accommodated musical performances but additional facilities such as a coffee-room were also provided. Over time the gardens, known as the Great Britain Street Gardens due to their location, would host thousands of concerts, which in turn provided a prestigious platform for numerous Irish-based and visiting European musicians. Following the building of the Rotunda Room in 1767 the hospital was referred to thereafter as the Rotunda.⁸⁴ For the purposes of this study benefit concerts in aid of this hospital will be referred to as the Rotunda benefit concerts.

The Rotunda benefit concerts began in 1749 and included performances of vocal and instrumental music. The concerts were held three times a week (Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays) during the summer months (May to October) for approximately a forty-year period. Boydell states that 'up to 1788, the concerts were divided into three 'Acts'; and thereafter the custom of two Acts, as in present-day programming, was adopted.'⁸⁵

Owing to the establishment of a number of hospitals and benefit concerts prior to 1749, it was important that the Rotunda benefit concerts would have the potential to attract both an audience and the musicians needed to provide an interesting and exciting

⁸² Ibid., pp. 19, 20, 26; <http://www.dublin1798.com>, accessed on 28 Mar. 2011, <http://www.maps.google.ie>, accessed on 28 Mar. 2011.

⁸³ Arthur Jacobs and Gabriella Dideriksen, 'London (i) V, 3: Musical life, 1660–1800: Pleasure gardens', *NGD* II 15, pp. 125–30.

⁸⁴ Boydell, *Rotunda Music*, pp. 19, 20, 26, 75–83.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 150.

repertoire. The early concert repertoire was highly reflective of that of the mid-eighteenth century with music in the Italian baroque style dominating the Rotunda concert programme from 1749 well into the 1760s.

After the death of Dr Mosse in 1759 a committee was established to take charge of the organisation of the Rotunda concerts. Over the course of the next twenty-two years various musicians contributed to their continued success and development. Charles Claget [Clagget] (1740–95) was appointed director of the Rotunda benefit concerts for a total of six seasons, five of which were consecutive, 1763–7 and 1769. A violinist and inventor born in Waterford in 1740, Claget was very active working as a musician in Dublin during the 1760s. Other Dublin appointments held by Claget included positions at Smock Alley, Crow Street and Capel Street Theatres. While English violinist and conductor Thomas Pinto (1714–83) was in charge, a period of financial and popular success and stability was achieved. As director of the Rotunda benefit concerts from 1776 to 1782, Pinto developed the repertoire introducing works by J.C. Bach, Abel, Schwindel, Esser and Philidor.⁸⁶

The manner in which the hospital expanded and in particular the building of the Rotunda Room (1767), is reflective of the success and impact the benefit concerts were having. The Rotunda Room contributed towards the longevity and development of the benefit concerts by providing an extra purpose-built venue and one which allowed the concert organisers to cope with the problems posed by the unpredictable Irish weather.

⁸⁶ Ibid., pp. 77–84, 103–21, 214, 223; Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 274, 287; Barra Boydell, ‘Charles Clagget’, *NGD* II 5, pp. 888–9; Nicholas Temperley, ‘Thomas Pinto’, *NGD* II 19, p. 762.

The Rotunda Room could be hired out by other charities and organisations thus providing another source of income for the hospital.⁸⁷

Detailed financial accounts for the Rotunda survive in the Register's Accounts 1760–84.

Therein are recorded meticulous details of receipts and expenditure, including the fees to soloists and musicians, the box-office receipts for each individual concert and such necessary accoutrements as music-stands, heads for the kettle-drums and double-bass strings. These accounts provide invaluable evidence of the economics of concert promotion in Dublin throughout the second half of the eighteenth century.⁸⁸

The average profit made by the hospital from 1760 to 1769 was £424.13s.10½d. The average profit from 1770 to 1779, excluding the years 1772 and 1773 (for which no profit was recorded) was £593.15s.1d. The highest recorded profit of £1101.17s.7d. was received for the 1777 season, during Pinto's time as director. For the years 1780 to 1784 an average of £457.12s.11d. profit was received.

Admittance to the Rotunda concerts was by seasonal subscription. The hospital's register of accounts for 1760–84 records a subscription fee of one guinea. This increased to two guineas in 1767 to cover the costs associated with the opening of the new Rotunda Room. On the occasion of the performance of Thomas Arne's *Artaxerxes* at Smock Alley Theatre in March 1772, subscribers were admitted to 'any part of the house' while varying prices were quoted in the advertisement for non-subscribers. Non-subscribers' fees ranged from 1s.1d. for the upper gallery to 2s.2d. in the middle gallery,

⁸⁷ Boydell, *Rotunda Music*, pp. 80–2.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 29 and see Appendices IV and V, pp. 175–208.

3s.3d. in the pit and 5s.5d. in the boxes and lattices. It is not entirely clear if this may have been the case on other occasions, however it was likely that subscribers were given priority seating over non-subscribers. Non-subscribers could also attend the concerts on payment at the gate. On ‘excepted occasions’ subscriptions alone did not permit admittance, a fee of 1s.1d. was required from ladies, while gentlemen paid 2s.2d. Averages for audience attendance varied considerably between 1759 and 1784, with the highest average attendance of 1000 in 1780 and the lowest average attendance of 220 in 1762. The overall average audience attendance for this twenty-five-year period (1759–84) was 590 each season.⁸⁹

The accounts for 1760 to 1784 are very comprehensive in documenting expenses associated with running the Rotunda benefit concerts. They provide detailed insight into the resources required and the attention given to their organisation. Boydell has carried out a detailed survey of performers’ fees for engagements. He sets the salaries earned by eighteenth-century Dublin musicians in context by comparing the Rotunda fees with similar figures for London-based musicians. He also compares musicians’ fees to incomes from other professions during that period. The fees received by London rank and file players were slightly higher than those received by Dublin players during the 1780s. However the fees demanded by Dublin solo singers were comparable to their London counterparts, thus indicating that the venue or location was not important in influencing the fees demanded by soloists.

⁸⁹ Ibid., pp. 82, 115, 175–200, Appendix IV. A loss of £83.9s.11d. was recorded for the 1782 season. Hospital Minutes 4 Nov. 1768, 21 Jan. 1769 and 6 Feb. 1769.

Apart from payments to performers, costs were also incurred due to the following: the repair, hire and carriage of instruments; the purchase, delivery and copying of music; advertisements; candles (for evening concerts); travel and postage. This level of detail is most informative and the maintenance of such detailed accounts reveals a number of points in relation to the Rotunda benefit concerts. A regular network of musicians was established for participation at the benefit concerts and the hospital's governors must have acquired a substantial library of popular eighteenth-century music. References to the repair of some instruments imply that the hospital may have owned some musical equipment. Considering the frequency of the Rotunda concerts during the season it would have made more sense for the hospital to own as many resources as possible, including music.

The only evidence for the type of repertoire performed at the Rotunda concerts is to be found in the surviving documented concert programmes. Unfortunately no surviving music has been identified. The existence of manuscript or indeed printed music performed at Rotunda concerts would certainly complement existing recorded facts in relation to this significant series of benefit concerts. The Rotunda Hospital benefit concerts were very successful in attracting, building and maintaining a regular audience for over a forty-year period, despite rivalries and competition from other charities. On examination of similar events it is evident that the Rotunda benefit concerts succeeded where many other organisations failed. They provided both employment for Dublin and European musicians and a platform for the introduction of new musical works to Dublin audiences, which in turn facilitated the broadening of musical horizons in the city.

The Meath Hospital

The Meath Hospital opened in the Upper Coombe in 1753. The hospital, first located in rented accommodation, was established ‘to provide healthcare for the poor of Dublin’s Liberties’.⁹⁰ The hospital was re-located a number of times; in 1756 it re-located to Skinner’s Alley, in 1760 the hospital opened in Meath Street and in 1764 it re-located once again to Earl Street. In 1770 a new hospital was built in the Coombe and the Meath Hospital remained at this location for fifty years.⁹¹ Donnelly notes ‘a very large collection relating to the Meath Hospital, which includes a wide range of administrative and operational records from 1805 is held at the National Archives.’⁹²

During the early nineteenth century the Meath Hospital experienced considerable difficulty due to lack of funds and difficulty in organising fund-raising events. Plans to extend the hospital were not followed up for this reason. The hospital was primarily funded by voluntary donations, subscriptions and a parliamentary grant. During the eighteenth century the hospital raised money through a series of benefit concerts established in 1754.⁹³

In relation to newspaper advertisements for Meath benefit concerts Boydell states that

the wording for the advts [*sic*] for these concerts does not make it clear whether each individual concert actually took place or not. The references are quoted in full, and continued through to the end of the season in September; since they reveal a suspicion of antagonism to this new series of charity concerts,

⁹⁰ <http://www.meathfoundation.com/about>, accessed 23 Dec. 2010.

⁹¹ Gatenby, *Meath Hospital*, pp. 1–3.

⁹² Donnelly, ‘Hospital records’, p. 15. *IRL–Dna* Ref. 2007/128.

⁹³ Gatenby, *Meath Hospital*, p. 11.

engendered perhaps by rivalry with Dr Mosse of Great Britain Street and the Marlborough Green concerts.⁹⁴

The advertisement for the first Meath benefit concert is transcribed below,

On Monday the 17th June Inst. At the CITY BASON in James's-Street, will be performed on the Water, a GRAND CONCERT of Wind Instruments, and the Musick [*sic*] will be such as is best adapted to the Nature of the Place; particularly Handel's celebrated Water Piece. To begin exactly at Seven O'clock in the Evening. Price a British Shilling.⁹⁵

The following advertisements, printed in the *Dublin Journal* dated 18–22 June and 22–25 June 1754, support Boydell's conjecture as outlined above.

The Band of Musick [*sic*] that performed at the Bason on Monday last for the Benefit of the Meath Hospital, think it their Duty to inform the Publick [*sic*], of their Power to attend there on Thursday next.

[...]

The Governors of the Meath Hospital return their hearty Thanks to the numerous Company of Gentlemen and Ladies that appeared on Monday last at the City Bason, and hope for the Continuance of their Favour on future occasions, when effectual Care will be taken to keep the Avenues more clear, and prevent Disturbance of any kind; and to render the Entertainment perfectly agreeable, an Addition of Wind Instruments will be made to the Band.

For the Benefit of the MEATH HOSPITAL On Thursday next being the 27th of this Inst. June, 1754, at the CITY BASON in James's-Street, will be performed on the Water, a Grand Concert of Musick [*sic*] to begin exactly at 7 O'clock in the Evening. Price a British Shilling.⁹⁶

The Band of Musick [*sic*] that performed at the Bason on Monday last for the benefit of the Meath Hospital, think it their Duty to inform the Publick [*sic*], that as they are all in Articles to perform at the Marlborough-Green, it is out of their Power to attend there on Thursday next WHEREAS the Band of Musick [*sic*] which performed at the Bason on Monday the 17th Inst. Have published an Advertisement intimating, that they cannot attend there on Thursday next; the Governors of the Meath Hospital think it necessary to inform the Publick [*sic*]; that they have not the least Dependance upon said Band, having dismissed them, and engaged another, and larger, consisting chiefly of Wind Instruments, which being better adapted to the Place, they hope will give great satisfaction.

[...]

⁹⁴ Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 195.

⁹⁵ *DJ* 8–11 June 1754.

⁹⁶ *DJ* 18–22 June 1754.

The Governors of the Meath Hospital return their hearty Thanks to the numerous Company of Gentlemen and Ladies that appeared on Monday last at the City Bason, and hope for the continuance of their Favour more clear, and prevent Disturbances of any kind; and to render the Entertainment perfectly agreeable, an Addition of Wind Instruments will be made to the Band.

For the Benefit of the MEATH HOSPITAL On Thursday next being the 27th of this Inst. June 1754, at the CITY BASON in James's-Street, will be performed on the Water, a grand concert of MUSICK [*sic*]. To begin exactly at 7 O'clock in the Evening. Price a British shilling.⁹⁷

Consultation with Dublin newspapers extant in the Burney Collection revealed no further evidence regarding the occurrence of these Meath Hospital benefit concerts.⁹⁸

Notes made in the Mercer's Hospital administrative records indicate the continuance of benefit concerts in aid of the Meath Hospital up to 1787. The governors of the Meath Hospital requested a loan of music from Mercer's Hospital on two separate occasions, in 1786 and 1787.⁹⁹ The Meath and Mercer's Hospital share more in common than repertoire. Similarities between both organisations can be identified in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, firstly through the establishment of a series of charity sermons and subsequently as beneficiaries of the Hospital Sunday Fund. The Hospital Sunday Fund collected money on a designated Sunday and this was subsequently distributed to the individual hospitals. This form of funding replaced charity sermons. It would appear that by the early nineteenth century the occurrence of charity sermons in aid of the Meath Hospital superseded the benefit concerts. Gatenby records details of a memorial documenting the receipt of £260 in 1811 from annual charity sermons and donations.¹⁰⁰ Charity sermons in aid of the Meath commenced

⁹⁷ *DJ* 22–25 June 1754.

⁹⁸ See <http://www.galegroup.com/bncn>, accessed 24 May 2012.

⁹⁹ MHMB 1786–1807, pp. 3, 13.

¹⁰⁰ Gatenby, *Meath Hospital*, p. 11, 171.

before the beginning of the nineteenth century. The *Dublin Journal* advertised a charity sermon in support of the Meath in April 1785.¹⁰¹

The first benefit concert in aid of the Meath Hospital took place on 17 June 1754 at the City Bason, which was located behind what is now the site of the Guinness Brewery. This performance included Handel's *Water Music*. Benefit concerts in aid of the Meath were often accompanied by elaborate entertainments such as rope dancing, tumbling and fireworks.¹⁰² The table at Figure 3 lists the occurrence of known musical performances in aid of the Meath. Entries accompanied by an asterisk indicate the occurrence of assemblies. An assembly involved a gathering of people where different activities such as card playing and dancing took place.¹⁰³

Fig. 3 Table of benefit concerts in aid of the Meath Hospital

Year	Date	Venue
1754	17 June	City Bason
1755	13 June	Marlborough Green
1755	16 June	Marlborough Green
1755	25 June	Marlborough Green
1755	30 June	Marlborough Green
1755	2 July	Marlborough Green
1755	14 July	Marlborough Green
1755	8 September	Marlborough Green
*1755	10 December	Fishamble Street Theatre
1756	17 March	Crow Street Theatre
1756	26 July	City Bason
1756	4 August	City Bason
1756	23 August	City Bason

¹⁰¹ *DJ* 20–23 Apr. 1785. 'Charity Sermon for Meath Hospital now County Dublin Infirmary Sunday 8th May.'

¹⁰² Boydell, *Calendar*, pp. 195–6, 207–8, 266.

¹⁰³ 'Originating in London, the spa towns and developing seaside resorts to provide entertainment for their seasonal influx of visitors, Assemblies consisted of a concert followed by dancing, card games and a light supper', see Irene Waters, 'Charles Avison: discovering an eighteenth-century musician', <http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi>, accessed 30 Dec. 2010.

1756	26 August	City Bason
*1757	3 December	Fishamble Street Theatre
1758	3 May	Fishamble Street Theatre
1759	19 July	Marlborough Green
1759	26 July	?
1786	30 May	St Andrew's Church
1786	1 June	St Andrew's Church
1787	?	?

Initially the Meath Hospital benefit concerts were planned to be held every Monday, Wednesday and Friday during the summer season, as happened in the case of the Rotunda Hospital benefit concerts. However, as Figure 3 demonstrates, the regularity of the benefit concerts was relatively short-lived. The Meath benefit concerts suffered the effects of bad weather during the 1755 season and the hospital's governors responded to difficulties by arranging assemblies and plays.¹⁰⁴

By appointment of the Governors of the MEATH HOSPITAL, On Wednesday the 10th of December 1755, AT the GREAT MUSICK-HALL [*sic*] in Fishamble-Street, will be an Assembly, conducted in the genteelest manner. Tickets to be had at the Hospital on the Coomb, and at the Musick-hall [*sic*] in Fishamble-Street, at an English Crown.

This charity was set on Foot, in order to relieve the great Numbers of poor Manufacturers inhabiting a Quarter of the Town, so distant from the City Hospitals, as often rendered it difficult, and sometimes impossible to apply: which consideration induced several Gentlemen of the Earl of Meath's Liberty, and others, equally well disposed to subscribe towards supporting an Institution likely to prove so useful...But these Subscriptions and the Annual Benefit Play, always falling short of the Expence [*sic*], (the Numbers of poor Objects being so very great) the Governors last summer undertook an Entertainment at the Marlborough Green, which in their Opinion promised to produce considerable Profits; but the Event proving otherwise, entirely owing to the extraordinary Wetness of the Season, lays them under the present necessity of intreating [*sic*] the Publick [*sic*] Favour.

¹⁰⁴ Assemblies were arranged for 13 Dec. 1755 and 3 Dec. 1757. *The Merchant of Venice* was staged on 25 April 1757 and *Julius Ceasar and the Oracle* on 4 May 1757. Both plays were performed at the Smock Alley Theatre. Boydell, *Calendar*, pp. 212, 214, 226, 241.

The Hospital was opened on the 2d. [*sic*] of March 1753, since which Time, it appears by the Books, that there have been no less the 18583 poor Objects relieved, besides 89 actually maintained in the House and cured of Disorders. It is humbly requested, that the Ladies will not have any Drum on the above Night.¹⁰⁵

Morning and evening concerts were organised in aid of the Meath, however admission fees varied. Variation in fees most likely depended on the concert format and on the possible inclusion of additional activities such as fireworks. The standard admission fee was 1s., however on 17 March 1756, when a public breakfast preceded the concert, an admission fee of 5s.5d. was charged. Outdoor events were less expensive to attend, 1s. was charged for events at the City Bason and Marlborough Green. The choice of venue too may have influenced the admission charge. Meath benefit concerts held at Fishamble Street Theatre were more expensive than those held at other Dublin venues. The cost of attending each of the three Fishamble Street performances ranged in price from 3s. to one guinea (21s.).¹⁰⁶

Newspaper advertisements documented by Boydell provide little detail of the repertoire performed at the Meath benefit concerts. It is likely that a combination of popular vocal and instrumental music was performed. The various types of accompanying activities such as fireworks and rope tumbling may have superseded the importance of the music in this instance. Surviving newspaper advertisements and accounts of the Meath benefit concerts are not as regular or as reliable as those associated with the Rotunda and Mercer's Hospitals. Doubts concerning some of the earlier Meath benefit concerts

¹⁰⁵ *DJ* 29 Nov.–2 Dec. 1755.

¹⁰⁶ Boydell, *Calendar*, pp. 195, 212, 214, 219, 232, 241.

actually having taken place raise questions about their credibility. The inclusion of extra activities probably reflects an attempt to distinguish these benefit concerts from others. Perhaps the earlier Meath benefit concerts did not experience the same level of success as the Rotunda benefit concerts since they were too similar in format.

St Nicholas' Hospital

St Nicholas' Hospital, Francis Street opened in 1753. Little is known of the hospital or even for what purpose it was established. The hospital must have been in need of some form of supplementary income during the mid-1750s as a total of five assemblies took place between 1754 and 1757.¹⁰⁷

For the Support of St NICHOLAS's HOSPITAL At the Great Musick-hall [*sic*] in Fishamble Street, on Tuesday the 18th of February Inst. Will be an ASSEMBLY, conducted in the genteelest Manner. Tickets to be had at the Hospital and Musick-hall [*sic*], at an English Crown each.¹⁰⁸

Numerous assemblies were advertised in eighteenth-century Dublin newspapers, however detail regarding the specific activities taking place at individual Dublin assemblies is sparse. An assembly for the benefit of a Mrs Deane, which took place on 19 February 1752, was to include 'dancing, tea, coffee, cards'.¹⁰⁹ However details regarding specific musical items performed at Dublin assemblies are not recorded. Music may have been performed for the purpose of accompanying the dancing which appears to have been a popular feature. If Dublin followed the fashion set in London, which it usually did, it is likely that musical performance was an integral part of eighteenth-century Dublin assemblies also. 'Mr Johnson's assembly', which took place

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., pp. 193, 204, 212, 223, 232.

¹⁰⁸ *DJ* 28 Jan.–1 Feb. 1755.

¹⁰⁹ Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 162.

on 5 October 1742 at Crow Street Theatre, is the first assembly documented by Boydell, and was advertised in the *Dublin Journal* 25–28 September 1742. Assemblies appear to have been popular or at least frequently advertised in the Dublin newspapers, particularly throughout the 1750s. They were usually organised in aid of a particular charity or individual, for example, ‘For the benefit of a ‘Gentlewoman in distress,’ or a ‘benefit for a gentleman incumbered with debts.’¹¹⁰

The first recorded assembly in aid of St Nicholas’ Hospital was held on 25 March 1754. All five assemblies in aid of St Nicholas’ hospital were held at Fishamble Street and an admission fee of 5s. was charged. Five shillings seems a reasonable fee compared with the admission fees demanded by other charity events i.e. half a guinea (10s.6d.). Admission fees for assemblies varied between 1s. and a half crown (2s.6d.) on average and appear to have depended on the benefactor and/or the charity involved and possibly also on the types of entertainment one could expect.¹¹¹

Fundraising events in aid of St Nicholas’ Hospital appear to have been irregular and rather short-lived with only five events taking place in a three-year period, however an advertisement in the *Dublin Mercury* provides evidence for the continuation of assemblies in support of the hospital up to 1770 at least.

For the benefit of St Nicholas’ Hospital On Wednesday the 14th Inst. Will be an ASSEMBLY at the Great Musick-hall [*sic*] in Fishamble Street, conducted in the genteelest manner. Said Hospital situated in the most populour [*sic*] and indigent part of this city and capable of admitting 40 intern surgical patients From the 1st of November, 1768, to the 1st of November, 1769, were received

¹¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 86, 150.

¹¹¹ Ibid., pp. 193, 204, 212, 223, 232.

276 interns and 11685 [?] externs were relieved. Tickets to be had at the Musick-hall at Said Hospital, and at the printer hereof.¹¹²

Donations and benefactions appear to have provided the hospital with its main source of income.

For the Support of ST NICHOLAS's HOSPITAL in Francis-Street On Monday the 12th of December 1757, will be an Assembly, at the Great Musick-hall [*sic*] in Fishamble-Street, conducted in the politest Manner. Tickets, a British Crown each, to be had at, the Hospital, and at the Musick-hall [*sic*] aforesaid. This Charity has been hitherto entirely supported by voluntary subscriptions Benefactions and from Assemblies, it is hoped this will likewise meet with Encouragement in proportion to the Benefit the Public receive from it. There are from 15–20 Patients constantly supported and furnished with all necessities in the House, Interns relieved by this charity from the first of November 1756 to the first of November 1757, 197 Externs supplied with Medicines, and dressed according to their different Exigencies, 9867.¹¹³

Repertoire & Performers

Benefit concerts in aid of charity hospitals were responsible for introducing a wide ranging and varied repertoire to Dublin, however the works of Handel were extremely popular and dominated programming for the majority of benefit concerts. Popular vocal repertoire included excerpts from numerous Handelian operas and oratorios. Full opera and oratorio performances also took place. Various concerti by Pietro Castrucci (1679–1752), Francesco Geminiani (1687–1762), Guiseppe Tartini (1692–1770), Arcangelo Corelli (1653–1713), Antonio Vivaldi (1678–1741) and George Frideric Handel (1685–1759) were the most popular type of instrumental music performed.¹¹⁴

¹¹² DM 6–8 Feb. 1770, see Burney Collection <http://www.galegroup.com/bncn>, accessed 24 May 2012.

¹¹³ DJ 3–6 Dec. 1757.

¹¹⁴ The following is a list of the advertised Handelian excerpts to be included in performances in aid of the Hospital for the Incurables. Overture to *Pastor Fido* HWV 8; Overture to *Tamerlano* HWV 18; Overture to *Lotario* HWV 26; Overture to *Parthenope* HWV 27; Overture to *Atlanta* HWV 35; Overture to *Justin* HWV 37; 'O Beauteous Queen' from *Esther* HWV 50; Overture to *Esther* HWV 50; 'In the

The music performed at hospital benefit concerts was generally well received; however, eighteenth-century audiences did not find all performances to be satisfactory, as evidenced by an unsigned letter published in the *Dublin Journal*, and also by a letter written by Mrs Delany dated 18 February 1751, both of which describe performances of Handel's *Joshua* HWV 64 in support of the Hospital for the Incurables.

I was last week at the Great Hall in Fishamble-Street to hear a Piece of Mr Handel's Musick [*sic*] performed, for the Charity set on Foot for the comfort of Incurables. The Musick [*sic*] was conducted and the several Parts performed to the highest point of perfection. But the Harmony, however beautiful, did not give me the pleasure which I received in seeing so great an Assembly, cheerfully convened for the Purpose of Charity, a pleasing Satisfaction appeared in every face, but I am persuaded their Hearts felt more secret Transport in piously contributing to so good a Work, than their Tongues could utter or Language can describe.¹¹⁵

fatiguing — hot, crowded, troublesome to get from — that we are resolved to go to no more evening music: — and I can't say it was very well performed.¹¹⁶

Development of repertoire varied over the lifetime of the different hospital benefit concerts. Annual hospital benefit concerts demonstrate little development of repertoire while weekly hospital benefit concerts necessitated a greater variety of works in order to prove both profitable and successful. There was no variation or development of the

battle Fame pursuing', 'Smiling Freedom', 'Virtue Thou Ideal Name', 'So much beauty', 'Cease the Anguish', 'Choirs of Angels', 'Awake the ardour of my Soul' from *Deborah* HWV 51; 'Ah can'st Thou but prove me' from *Athalia* HWV 52; 'Constant Lovers', 'Myself I shall adore', 'Leave me loathsome light' from *Semele* HWV 53; 'Thou shalt bring them in' from *Israel in Egypt* HWV 54; 'Let me wander', 'Mirth admit of thy Crew' from *L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato* HWV 55; 'He was despis'd', 'I know that my Redeemer', 'Behold I'll tell you a mystery' from *Messiah* HWV 56; 'Honour and Arms' from *Samson* HWV 57; 'Prophetic Raptures' from *Joseph* HWV 59; 'How Blessed the Maid', 'The Sword that's drawn in virtue's cause, Begone my fears' from *Hercules* HWV 60; 'O Sword and Thou all daring Hand' from *Occasional Oratorio* HWV 62; 'Father in Heaven' from *Judas Maccabeus* HWV 63; 'Hark 'till the Linnet' from *Joshua* HWV 64; 'Crystal Streams', 'Clouds Overtake', 'Would Custom bid melting Fair', 'Hence, hence is hence away', 'When thou art high' from *Susanna* HWV 66; 'The Floods shall quiet the Oceans' from *Otho* [probably *Ottone, Re di Germania* HWV 15]; Overture to *Otho* [probably *Ottone, Re di Germania* HWV 15]. Boydell *Calendar*, pp. 131, 143–5, 149–51, 171; *DJ* 17–20 1750.

¹¹⁵ Boydell, *Calendar*, p.147, *DJ* 29 Jan.–2 Feb. 1751.

¹¹⁶ Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 161; Mrs Delany, *Autobiography and Correspondence* 3, p. 90.

repertoire performed over the ten years of benefit concerts in support of the Charitable Infirmary (1743–53). As the first Dublin performance of *Deborah* HWV 51 was well received performances of the oratorio most likely became synonymous with the charity.

In contrast to the unchanging nature of the Charitable Infirmary concerts, those held in support of the Rotunda Hospital featured the inclusion of new works by a wide range of composers. A selection of vocal works by English composers such as Pelham Humfrey (1647–74), Thomas Arne (1710–78), William Boyce (1711–79) and John Stanley (1712–86), were included in the earlier concerts. From the 1770s onwards, vocal repertoire performed at the Rotunda benefit concerts included songs from popular English and Italian operas, ‘drinking’ and ‘hunting’ songs and songs with a nationalist flavour. The works of Haydn (1732–1809) were introduced to the Rotunda instrumental repertoire.¹¹⁷

Works by Dublin-based performers were also included in hospital benefit concert repertoire. A *Birthday Ode*, to honour the King, and composed by Master of State Music, Mathew Dubourg (1703–67), was performed at three benefit concerts in support of the Hospital for the Incurables. This hospital’s benefit concerts also included excerpts from William Boyce’s (1711–79) *Solomon*. Boyce’s work was performed in full at the hospital’s benefit concert of 21 November 1750.¹¹⁸ Handel’s *Acis and*

¹¹⁷ Early performances in aid of the Rotunda included the Handelian oratorios *Esther* HWV 50, *Alexander’s Feast* HWV 75 and *Judas Maccabeus* HWV 63 all of which were performed annually between 1746 and 1748. Boydell, *Rotunda Music*, pp. 18, 148–170.

¹¹⁸ Dubourg’s *Birthday Ode* was frequently performed in Dublin. The three benefit concerts in support of the Hospital for the Incurables which included Dubourg’s *Birthday Ode* took place on 16 November 1743, 3 December 1747 and 3 November 1748. Excerpts from Boyce’s *Solomon* include: ‘Fair and

Galatea HWV 49 and *Joshua* HWV 64 were performed in support of the Hospital for the Incurables on the following dates, 25 January 1751 and 25 October 1752 (*Acis and Galatea*), 23 and 31 January 1751 and 3 February 1752 (*Joshua*).¹¹⁹

A distinct change in programming and format can be identified in the benefit concerts in aid of the Meath Hospital. The first benefit concert in aid of the Meath included Handel's popular *Water Music*, however the borrowing of music from the governors of Mercer's Hospital in 1786 and 1787 indicates the introduction of sacred works to the Meath repertoire.

Resolved that the music belonging to this Hospital be lent to the governors of the Meath Hospital and be delivered to Arthur Guinness [*sic*] Esq Treasurer to said Hospital for its use at the approaching musical performance for the benefit of the Meath Hospital in said Mr Guinness' [*sic*] receipt to restore all the said music before the tenth day of time next.

Resolved that the musick [*sic*] belonging to this hospital be lent to the Governors of the Meath Hospital and be delivered to Arthur Guineas [*sic*] Esq Treasurer to said Hospital for its use at the approaching musical performance for the Benefit of the Meath Hospital on said Mr Guinness's [*sic*] receipt to restore all the said musick [*sic*] before the 10th of June next.¹²⁰

The following newspaper advertisement complements the information contained in the Mercer's Hospital records, detailing two planned benefit concerts in support of the Meath Hospital, one in May 1786 and the second in June.

comely' and 'Softly rise a southern breeze'. Boydell, *Calendar*, pp. 95, 112, 119, 131, 143–5, 149–51, 171; *DNL* 8–12 Nov. 1743; *DJ* 12–15 Nov 1743; *DC* 24–28 Nov. 1747; *DJ* 29 Oct.–1 Nov. 1748; *DC* 21–28 Oct. 1748; *DJ* 17–20 Nov. 1750.

¹¹⁹ Mathew Dubourg conducted the performance of *Joshua* that took place on 3 February 1752 and Batholomew Manwaring conducted the performance of *Joshua* that took place on 31 January 1751. *Acis and Galatea* was composed in 1718, rev. 1732–6. *Joshua* was composed in 1747. Boydell, *Calendar*, pp. 147, 161, 170; *DJ* 29 Dec. 1750–1 Jan. 1751; *DJ* 12–15 Jan. 1751; *DJ* 19–22 Jan. 1751; *DJ* and *DG* 23–26 Nov. 1751; *DJ* 24–28 Oct. 1752.

¹²⁰ MHMB 1786–1807, pp. 3, 13. Mercer's Governors' Meeting 18 May 1786 and Mercer's Governors' Meeting 7 April 1787.

For the Benefit of the MEATH HOSPITAL. On Tuesday the 30th Inst. And Thursday the 1st June, Will be performed at St. ANDREW'S CHURCH, A SELECTION OF SACRED MUSICK [*sic*] FROM HANDEL THE SAME WITH THAT NOW PREPARING IN LONDON FOR THE COMMEMORATION THE GENTLEMEN OF THE CHOIR, Have humanely offered their Assistance on this Occasion, and the Instrumental Parts will be filled by a Considerable Number of GENTLEMEN OF RANK, Who are so obliging and charitable as to promise their Aid In Addition to this, the Governors (who are determined to spare neither Pains nor Expen^{ce} [*sic*] to render the Performance as complete as possible) have engaged the best publick [*sic*] Performers both Vocal and Instrumental, And they flatter themselves that by unremitting Assiduity they will render this Performance Superior to any Thing of the Kind that has appeared for many Years in this Kingdom. Organ, Mr. COGAN, First Violin, Mr. WEICHSELL. The Whole to be conducted by DOCTOR DOYLE. The following Noblemen and Gentlemen have humanely Condescended [*sic*] to act as Directors and Stewards upon the Occasion: Earl of MEATH, Earl of BELEVEDERE, Earl of ALDBOROUGH, Lord Viscount VALENTIA, Lord Bishop of KILMORE, Lord DELVIN, Right Honourable LUKE GARDINER, Right Honourable DAVID LATOUCHE, Dean of St Patrick's, Honourable and Reverend Dean HEWITT, BARON DILLON. Tickets at Half a Guinea each (admitting to both Performances) to be had at Mr. Lee's, Music Shop, Dame-Street; from the Treasurer; Arthur Guinness [*sic*], Esq., James'-gate; and from the Physicians and Surgeons of the Hospital. — The Performance on Tuesday will begin at Twelve, and that on Thursday at One.¹²¹

The sacred music of Handel, referred to in the advertisement, most likely was the 'Utrecht' music and possibly a selection of the coronation or chapel royal anthems, since the music for the Meath concerts was borrowed from Mercer's Hospital. Parts for these works survive in the Mercer's Hospital Music Collection.¹²² The Meath advertisement also conveys the concept of social status associated with the hospital's benefit concerts. *Messiah* HWV 56 was performed at Christ Church Cathedral in April 1788 in aid of the Meath and two other charities.¹²³

¹²¹ *DJ* 23–25 Apr. 1786.

¹²² *IRL–Dmh* Mss 1–57 [in *IRL–Dtc*].

¹²³ *IRL–Dn* 7833.h7 *The Messiah*, a sacred oratorio. Word book, 'The music composed by George-Frideric Handel, Esq [*sic*]; as it will be performed at Christ Church, on Saturday the 12th April, 1788, for the benefit of the fund for decayed musicians, the Meath Hospital, and the Lying-in Hospital', see

Some hospital benefit concerts included unusual and novel entertainments, for example, at the Meath benefit concert of 23 August 1756 a Mr Poekrich (c.1695–1759) performed on the musical glasses.¹²⁴ Theatrical performances were organised on several occasions — the Charitable Infirmary, the Hospital for the Incurables, the Meath Hospital and Mercer's Hospital all benefited from at least one non-musical performance.¹²⁵ However, the staging of popular eighteenth-century plays in support of Dublin's hospitals was an infrequent event. Due to competition from the Dublin theatres these plays may have proven less profitable for the hospitals concerned.

Due to the lack of information in surviving records it has not been possible to be more specific in identifying the music performed at the eighteenth-century benefit concerts in support of Dr Steevens' Hospital and assemblies in support of St Nicholas' Hospital.

<http://www.catalogue.nli.ie>, accessed 28 Mar. 2011. This word-book was printed in Dublin in 1788 by W. Sleater.

¹²⁴ Glasses of water filled to different levels which produce musical notes when a finger moves around the rim of the glass. The musical glasses date back to the seventeenth century and became popular during the eighteenth century. Mr Poekrich introduced the musical glasses to Dublin in 1743, thirteen years before his Meath Hospital performance. George Grove, 'Harmonica', in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 1, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 662–3; Boydell, *Calendar*, pp. 93, 219.

¹²⁵ *The Conscious Lovers* was performed at the Aungier Street Theatre on 9 February 1742 in aid of the Charitable Infirmary. *The Fair Penitent* and *The Double Dealer* were performed at the Smock Alley Theatre in aid of the Hospital for the Incurables, on 19 March 1747 and 11 May 1758. The following works were performed at Smock Alley in aid of the Meath Hospital; *The Merchant of Venice* and *Lethe* on 25 April 1757, *Julius Caesar* and *The Oracle* on 4 May 1758. In 1737 the play *Hamlet* was performed at the Theatre Royal in Aungier Street in aid of Mercer's Hospital. 'On 4 December 1736, the Dublin Daily Advertiser announced 'Last night was acted to a crowded audience at the Theatre in Smock Alley, The Beaux' Stratagem, for the Benefit of the Charitable Infirmary' [...] The play written by George Farquhar in six weeks during his last illness, was one of the most popular with Dublin audiences.' See J.D.H. Widdness, *Charitable Infirmary*, p. 6; MHMB 1736–72, p. 14–15; Boydell, *Calendar*, pp. 62, 109–10, 241; DC 10–14 Apr. 1747.

Hospital benefit concerts attracted a very high standard of performer, many of whom had experience of working in London and Europe. In many cases performers contributed their services free of charge as an act of goodwill towards the charity, however Rotunda performers received a fee for their participation at the hospital's benefit concerts. The Rotunda benefit concerts were important in providing the city's musicians with summer employment as the theatres opened only during the winter season. Until 1763 English performers dominated the Rotunda stage, Italians did not appear until after the introduction of Italian opera to Dublin during the 1760s. During the 1770s, the introduction to the Rotunda of London-based musicians was in response to increased rivalries with other Dublin musical events, in particular those held at the Ranelagh Gardens.¹²⁶

Known instrumentalists who participated at hospital benefit concerts include Italian composer, violinist and theorist Francesco Geminiani (1687–1762); London born violinist and state musician Matthew Dubourg (1703–67); Italian composer and violinist Niccolo Pasquali (1718–57); Belgian violinist Pierre van Maldere (1729–68); Irish organist, composer and pianist Philip Cogan (1748–1833); London born violinist and conductor Charles Weichsell [Weichsel] Junior (1766–1805); Irish composer and organist Richard Broadway (fl. 1747–60, *d* 1760); violinist and conductor Gian Battista Marella (arrived in Dublin 7 October 1750, fl. 1746–77); violinist Bartholomew Manwaring (fl. 1741–58, *d* 1758); Irish violinist, publisher and music seller Samuel Lee (fl. 1745–60, *d* 1776) and a Mr Andrew (fl. 1748–53), French horn player. A

¹²⁶ Boydell, *Rotunda Music*, p. 65. The Ranelagh Gardens opened in 1768 and was a popular outdoor venue during the latter half of the eighteenth century. See Boydell, 'Music, 1700–1850', p. 583.

significant number of musicians were engaged from the Dublin theatres, including Smock Alley and Crow Street and members of the cathedral choirs were frequently requested to participate in charitable performances. Male singers included Irish countertenor Daniel Sullivan (fl. 1737–60, *d* 1764), Michael Leoni (*c.*1745–97), Italian soprano castrato and composer Venanzio Rauzzini (1746–1810) and Thomas Echlin (fl. 1758–59). Female singers included Mrs Arne, neé Elizabeth Storer (1711–89), Miss Oldmixon (fl. 1746–54), Mrs Pinto, neé Charlotte Brent (*c.*1735–1802), Miss Spencer (fl. 1756–57), English sopranos Anne Catley (1745–89), Elizabeth Billington (*c.*1765/68–1818) and Mrs Crouch, neé Anna Maria Philips (1763–1805).¹²⁷

Hospital benefit concerts reflect a wide network of Dublin-based and international performers. The influx of musicians to the city reflects the attractive and busy schedule in operation in Dublin at that time. The frequency and regularity with which some hospital benefit concerts took place provided regular employment for many Dublin and

¹²⁷ Boydell, *Calendar*, pp. 93, 95, 97, 105, 108, 112, 114, 119, 136, 142–3, 151, 156–7, 159, 161–3, 170–1, 173, 176, 183, 195, 207, 214, 267, 269–70, 278, 284, 287–8, 290–91; Boydell, *Rotunda Music*, pp. 48–74, 211, 215, 219–20, 222–3, 225. *DJ* and *DNL* 26–30 Apr. 1743; *DNL* 8–12 Nov. 1743; *DJ* 12–15 Nov. 1743; *DJ* 17–21 Jan. 1744; *DC* 24–28 Nov. 1747; *DJ* 28 Nov.–1 Dec. 1747; *DJ* 29 Oct.–1 Nov. 1748; *DC* 21–25 Oct. 1748; *DJ* 18–22 Sept. 1750; *DJ* 24–28 Sept. 1751; *DC* and *DG* 28 Sept.–1 Oct. 1751; *DJ* 1–5 Oct. 1751; *DJ* 12–15 Oct. 1751; 29 Oct.–2 Nov. 1751; *DJ* and *DG* 23–26 Nov. 1751; *DJ* 4–7 Jan. 1752; *DJ* 4–8 Feb. 1752; *DJ* 18–22 Feb. 1752; *DJ* 24–28 Oct. 1752; *DJ* 28 Nov.–2 Dec. 1752. David Johnson, ‘Niccolo Pasquali’, *NGD* II 19, pp. 185–7; Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, ‘Cecilia Young [Mrs Arne]’, *NGD* II 27, p. 670; Peter Holman and Todd Gilman, ‘Thomas Arne’, *NGD* II 2, pp. 36–46; Enrico Careri, ‘Francesco Geminiani’, *NGD* II 9, pp. 637–44; Brian Boydell, ‘William Manwaring’, *NGD* II 15, p. 789; Suzanne Clercx-Lejeune, ‘Pierre van Maldere’, *NGD* II 15, pp. 683–4; Brian Boydell, ‘Richard Broadway’, *NGD* II 4, p. 411; Winton Dean, ‘Daniel Sullivan’, *NGD* II 24, p. 703; Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, ‘Michael Leoni’, *NGD* II 14, p. 564–5; Kathleen Kuzmick Hansell, ‘Venazio Rauzzini’, *NGD* II 20, pp. 860–2; Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson ‘Anne Catley’, *NGD* II 5, pp. 284–5; Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, ‘Elizabeth Billington’, *NGD* II 3, pp. 572–3; Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, ‘Anna Maria Crouch’, *NGD* II 6, p. 733; Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, ‘Charlotte Brent’, *NGD* II 4, p. 319; Kalman A. Burnim, Philip Highfill and Edward A. Langhans (eds.), *A biographical dictionary of actors, actresses, musicians, dancers, managers and other stage personnel in London 1660–1800* 10, (Carbondale and Edwardsville, 1973), p. 92; Burnim, Highfill and Langhans, *A biographical dictionary* 11, p. 112; Burnim, Highfill and Langhans, *A biographical dictionary* 14, pp. 311, 337–8.

European musicians. As the work was seasonal, irregular (some hospital benefit concerts occurred once annually) and often unpaid, hospital benefit concerts would not have provided musicians with a main source of income. However, participation at these benefit concerts would have reflected greatly on the benevolence of performers, which in turn would have had some positive outcome on their careers.

Conclusion

This chapter has established that six prominent eighteenth-century Dublin hospitals benefited from annual and weekly concerts, which took place during both winter and summer seasons. Previous research has not focused on bringing this information together in one source and making comparisons. Existing publications mainly focus on the history of these medical institutions and some refer only briefly to the vital role music played in acquiring the necessary funding to establish and maintain hospital services which mostly catered for the city's poor. All hospital benefit concerts were successful in terms of raising money acquired from ticket sales, however success experienced in terms of longevity varied — benefit concerts in support of the Rotunda Hospital continued for more than four decades (1749–91) while benefit concerts in support of Dr Steevens' Hospital took place for one season only (1743–4). The varying levels of success experienced may have been due to the capabilities of hospital benefit concert organisers, the choice of repertoire performed or the charity involved. External factors such as weather affected the successful organisation of many outdoor social events. In this respect the Rotunda Hospital secured a distinct advantage over others once the Round Room was built in 1767. The Round Room provided the hospital with

an alternative indoor venue on the same site should the weather be inclement. The building also provided the Rotunda with its own concert venue whereas other charities had to hire a venue. Other benefit concert venues included Smock Alley, Crow Street and Fishamble Street Theatres, the Philharmonic Room, City Bason, Marlborough Green and St Andrew's Church.

Not only were the benefit concerts successful in providing much needed financial support to hospitals, but they were also responsible for introducing new repertoire to Dublin and for providing regular seasonal employment for musicians. Hospital benefit concert repertoire was wide ranging and included opera, oratorios, concerti, popular songs and sacred works by Handel, Vivaldi, Corelli, Geminiani, Tartini, Arne, Boyce, Humfrey and Stanley. The first performance of *Messiah* HWV 56 and the Dublin première of *Deborah* HWV 51 both came about through the organisation of benefit concerts and it is likely that the first performance of Handel's sacred music in Dublin took place at the inaugural Mercer's Hospital benefit concert.¹²⁸ Consequently, hospital benefit concerts made a significant contribution to the development of musical tastes within the city.

The background information provided in this chapter contextualizes the role Mercer's Hospital had within Dublin's eighteenth-century charity music scene, revealing that Mercer's was one of seven voluntary hospitals to benefit from the establishment and

¹²⁸ Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 15. The repertoire performed at the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts always included a performance of one of Handel's settings of the *Te Deum-Jubilate*, either HWV 278–9 (Utrecht), or HWV 243 (Dettingen), and a selection of Handel's coronation and/or Chapel Royal anthems HWV 258–61, HWV 260b and HWV 256b. The Mercer's Hospital benefit concert repertoire is discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

continuance of this type of fundraising. Chapter 1 provides new and significant comparisons between the benefit concerts in support of the six hospitals discussed here and the Mercer's hospital benefit concerts, which were unique in terms of format and content.

CHAPTER 2

MERCER'S HOSPITAL BENEFIT CONCERTS:

A NARRATIVE AND FINANCIAL ACCOUNT

Mercer's Hospital opened on Stephen Street, Dublin, in 1734. The hospital was founded in order to provide medical care for the poor and destitute. The management of the hospital was the responsibility of a board of governors and trustees which included hospital surgeons and physicians together with several distinguished, wealthy, non-medical members of Dublin society, including several bishops, archbishops, lords and barons. A Mary Mercer donated the building, which originally served as an alms-house for the reception of poor girls. Mary Mercer had a house on Great Ship Street, Dublin. She was unmarried and on the death of her father, a native of Lancashire, she inherited an estate and lands in West Derby, England as co-heiress with her sister Alice whom she survived. Mary Mercer died on 4 March 1735 and was buried at Christ Church Cathedral. After her death the deeds of the hospital transferred to the parishes of St Peter, St Bride, St Luke and St Nicholas. The hospital was not specified among her endowments, however her last will and testament states that her executors should use the profits accrued from the purchase of lands to the value of £2000 to support the sick poor of the aforementioned parishes.¹²⁹

¹²⁹ Lyons, *The Quality of Mercer's*, pp. 17, 19–21; MHMB 1736–72, see introductory page – List of the Governors of Mercer's Hospital and p. 209–210. See also Appendix 2 in vol. 2 of this thesis; Townsend, *Mercer's*, pp. 17–19; DG 8 Mar. 1735. IRL-Dna Ref. 999-836-2 'Probate of Mrs Mercer's Will of 8th August 1733, Death 4th March, 1735'. The will consists of two and a half pages detailing Plans of Mercer's School House Rathcoole. 'Executors Right Rev Robert Lord Bishop of Killala, Rev Doc [sic] Patrick Delaney, Minister of ST. Warbroughs [sic] Parish Church Dublin and Revd [sic] Dr William Jackson Minister of ST. [sic] John's Parish Church Dublin'.

In 1736 the hospital governors decided to establish a series of annual benefit concerts in order to provide the hospital with much needed financial support. The Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts consisted of a church service which included a charity sermon and the performance of sacred musical works.¹³⁰ Sermons were preached by some of the country's most eminent bishops including the bishops of Kildare, Ferns, Derry and Ossory. The works of Handel dominated the Mercer's repertoire from the earliest years. The format and content of the Mercer's benefit concerts suggest that they were closely modelled on charity performances which took place in St Paul's Cathedral, London, in support of the Sons of the Clergy.

The charitable organisation known as The Sons of the Clergy was founded in 1655. It held an annual service, known as the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy, in order to provide financial support to distressed families of clergymen. From 1697 the annual service was held in St Paul's Cathedral, London. A public rehearsal usually preceded the main performance by a couple of days. The service included a sermon, a collection and the performance of musical works. Henry Purcell's *Te Deum-Jubilate* in D major Z.232, composed in celebration of St Cecilia's Day 1694, was included at the earlier services. From 1713 Handel's 'Utrecht' *Te Deum-Jubilate* HWV 278–9 together with a selection of his coronation anthems were included. From 1743 onwards the 'Dettingen' *Te Deum* replaced Handel's 'Utrecht' music. The best performers were engaged to participate and members of the Chapel Royal choir and the choirs of St Paul's and

¹³⁰ As stated in the introduction to this thesis various terms were employed to describe the benefit concerts throughout the hospital minutes and in newspaper accounts.

Westminster Cathedrals also participated. The cathedral service was usually followed by a meal.¹³¹

The first Mercer's Hospital benefit concert took place on 8 April 1736 at St Andrew's Round Church, Suffolk Street.¹³² The following advertisement and account included in the *Dublin Gazette* and in *Pue's Occurrences* respectively, provide a description of the first Mercer's benefit concert.

We hear that for the Benefit of Mercer's Charitable Hospital in Stephen-street, towards the Maintenance and Support of the distressed Sick Poor received therein, there will be a solemn grand Performance of Church Musick [*sic*] at St. Michan's Church, on the 31st of this Inst., at Eleven O'clock, with the Church Service, and a Charity Sermon. Beside the best publick [*sic*] Performers in this Kingdom, there will assist about forty Gentlemen, skilled in Musick [*sic*] on various Instruments. The Musick [*sic*] appointed is the celebrated Te Deum and Jubilate of the famous Mr Handel, with his Coronation Anthem, made on the King's Accession to the Crown, never heard before. Tickets will be distributed at the said Hospital at Half a Guinea each.¹³³

On Thursday last was Preached a Charity Sermon at St. Andrews, by the Revd. [*sic*] Dean Maddin, for the Benefit of Mercer's Hospital; at the Same Time was perform'd, A Grand Te Deum Jubilate, and an Anthem Compos'd by the famous Mr. Handel, Mr Dubourg Play'd the first Violin, Signor Pasquellini, the first Bass.

¹³¹ Percy M. Young, 'Festival of the Sons of the Clergy', *NGD* II 8, p. 735–6; Deutsch, *Documentary Biography*, pp. 61, 270–1, 281, 302, 305, 575, 598, 640–1, 686, 705, 742, 798. Deutsch states the following in relation to performance of the 'Dettingen' music at the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy: 'With the appearance of the *Dettingen Te Deum* [*sic*] and *Anthem* [*sic*], the popularity of the Utrecht Te Deum and Jubilate, in use since 1713, began to wane. Only the Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy, at their annual concerts in St. Paul's Cathedral, did not take to the new Te Deum; they revived Henry Purcell's *Te Deum* [*sic*] when they abandoned the Utrecht one'. See Deutsch, *Documentary Biography*, p. 575. As the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts were closely modelled on the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy benefit concerts, it is possible that the Mercer's benefit concert organisers also did not take to the 'Dettingen' *Te Deum* and continued to perform the 'Utrecht' setting.

¹³² MHMB 1736–72, p. 1; Boydell, *Calendar*, pp. 60–1; *DG* 16–20 Mar. 1736; *PO* 6–10 1736. The first benefit concert was originally planned to take place in St Michan's Church, Church Street. See following paragraphs.

¹³³ *DG* 20 Mar. 1736; Deutsch, *Documentary Biography*, p. 401. The coronation anthem referred to here is probably *The King shall rejoice* HWV 260, which was most likely performed at the enthronement (intronisation) of King George II at the coronation service in Westminster Abbey, London, on 11 October 1727.

The principal Voices were, Mr. Church, Mr. Lamb, Mr. Bailys, and Mr. Mason. The Performers were upwards of 70 in Number, among whom were several Noblemen and Gentlemen of Distinction, besides the best publick [*sic*] Hands in this Kingdom; twas the grandest Performance ever heard here, the whole was conducted with the utmost Regularity and Decency. There were Present, Their Graces the Duke and Duchess of Dorset, and Lady Caroline, attended by a vast Number of Nobility and Gentry of the first Rank.¹³⁴

The Mercer's benefit concerts were usually held in February or December.¹³⁵ Sometimes two performances were held during the same year, in February and December. Mercer's benefit concerts were normally held at St Andrew's Round Church on Suffolk Street, but occasionally they were held in St Michan's Church, Church Street and on one occasion in St Peter's Church on Aungier Street.¹³⁶ (See Mercer's Performance Calendar Appendix 3). As Morning Service had to be suspended in order to accommodate the Mercer's benefit concert, the availability of the church depended upon the permission of the vicar, churchwarden and parishioners. The hospital minutes reveal that not all members of the public supported the use of their parish churches for this purpose.

Ordered that Mr Isaac Steel do desire to know from Richd Pue Printer published an invitation that any person gave opposition to the musical performance at St Michan's Church for the support of Mercer's Hospital and that the Governors expect he will publish in his paper of Tuesday next that he had not any directions from the governors of said hospital to insert any such paragraph.¹³⁷

It is not surprising that the use of parish churches for the benefit concerts was met with opposition from time to time. Local parishioners may not have liked the inconvenience they experienced by the suspension of morning service in order to accommodate such

¹³⁴ PO 6–10 Apr. 1736.

¹³⁵ Exceptions are the years 1736, 1742, 1761 and 1763 when benefit concerts were held in April. In 1740, 1749 and 1753 benefit concerts took place in March, January and November respectively.

¹³⁶ The 1742 and 1759 oratorio performances of *Messiah* HWV 56 and *Acis and Galatea* HWV 49 took place in Mr Neal's Music Hall in Fishamble Street.

¹³⁷ MHMB 1738–50, p. 103.

performances. The first Mercer's benefit concert was originally advertised to take place at St Michan's Church but permission was refused owing to a misunderstanding regarding the nature of the performance.¹³⁸

Whereas the Parish of St. Michan's have refused the use of their Church for the Performance of Divine Service in the Cathedral way (and not of an Oratorio, as falsely advertised), for the Benefit of Mercer's Charitable Hospital; This is to inform the Publick, [*sic*] that the same charitable intention will be pursued at St. Andrew's Church, and a Sermon preach'd suitable to the Occasion.¹³⁹

The hospital records indicate that no Mercer's benefit concerts were held during the years 1737, 1738, 1746, 1748, 1756, 1760, 1764 and 1770. In 1737 the play *Hamlet* was performed in support of the hospital at the Theatre Royal in Aungier Street. It was planned to stage another play in 1738, however there is no record that it took place.¹⁴⁰ Because of the busy Dublin theatre life the hospital governors may have found it difficult to source and engage actors for planned theatre performances in support of Mercer's. Perhaps the benefit concerts proved more profitable than the single 1737 theatre performance resulting in the governors reverting to the benefit concert format. Reasons for not scheduling benefit concerts in 1738 and 1756 include the following: in 1738 a gallery for performers, paid for by the hospital, was built in St Andrew's Round Church and most likely would have caused the church to close for a period of time, and in 1756 the hospital underwent renovations.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ MHMB 1736–72, pp. 70, 134; MHMB 1738–50, pp. 59, 100; Deutsch, *Documentary Biography*, pp. 401–2.

¹³⁹ Deutsch, *Documentary Biography*, p. 402; *DG* 27 Mar. 1736. See also excerpt from *DG* referred to in fn. 132.

¹⁴⁰ MHMB 1736–72, pp. 14, 40; Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 62 – 'the part of Hamlet to be performed by Miss Woffington', *DNL* 22 Jan. 1737.

¹⁴¹ MHMB 1736–72, pp. 24, 258; MHMB 1750–68, p. 95.

The Mercer's benefit concerts always took place at noon with the exception of the 1759 performance of *Acis and Galatea* HWV 49 which took place at either six thirty or seven o'clock in the evening.¹⁴² A public rehearsal was generally held two days before the performance, also taking place at noon. Exceptions to this include the rehearsals for *Messiah* HWV 56 and for the February 1743 Mercer's benefit concert both of which took place at eleven o'clock in the morning.¹⁴³ The hospital records indicate that a public rehearsal did not always take place or at least was not always recorded. See Figure 4.

Fig. 4 Recorded Mercer's Public Rehearsals

Year	Date
1741	10 February
1741	n.d.December
1742	9 April
1743	3 February
1743	n.d.December
1747	n.d.February
1747	1 December
1749	24 January
1750	27 November
1751	3 December
1752	5 December
1753	27 November
1754	3 December
1755	2 December
1757	29 November
1759	3 February
1759	4 December
1763	29 November
1765	12 February
1767	17 February
1771	10 December

¹⁴² Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 248; MHMB 1736–72, p. 275; MHMB 1750–68, p. 131. 6:30 p.m. is recorded in Boydell's *Calendar* but the time of seven o'clock is recorded in the hospital minute books.

¹⁴³ MHMB 1736–72, p. 113; MHMB 1738–50, p. 76.

A discrepancy between sources has been identified regarding the Mercer's public rehearsals. Rehearsals for the years 1741, 1743, 1749, 1752 and 1755 are not included in Boydell's *Calendar*.¹⁴⁴ Two Mercer's benefit concerts took place in 1747, in February and December. Boydell does not record a rehearsal for the February concert of that year. The rehearsal for the 1759 concert is included in Boydell's *Calendar* but not in the hospital records.¹⁴⁵ As Boydell's survey of Dublin events is based on concerts advertised in the Dublin newspapers, the omission of these rehearsals suggests that perhaps not all Mercer's rehearsals were open to the public, or, alternatively not all rehearsals were advertised in the newspapers. The following entry in the administrative records, concerning the rehearsal for the Mercer's benefit concert of 10 December 1741, strengthens this supposition. 'That no person be admitted to the Rehearsal at St. Andrew's Church but the performers and stewards.'¹⁴⁶

The organisation of the Mercer's benefit concerts required much co-operation from the hospital's board of governors and trustees. Hospital governors were usually assigned to look after or 'wait on' important members of the audience. Constables or guards, including a captain's guard, were appointed to attend performances and rehearsals.¹⁴⁷ Stewards were also appointed and notified by letter. The role of the steward is not clearly defined in the hospital records, however it would appear to have been one of importance, such as master of ceremonies. Members of the board of governors were

¹⁴⁴ Boydell, *Calendar*. Consultation with Burney Catalogue provided no further evidence in this respect.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 248; *DJ* and *DG* 6–9 Jan. 1759; *DJ* 3–6 Feb. 1759; *DJ* 6–10 Feb. 1759.

¹⁴⁶ MHMB 1736–72, p. 100; MHMB 1738–50, p. 62.

¹⁴⁷ MHMB 1736–72; MHMB 1738–50; MHMB 1750–68.

frequently appointed to the role.¹⁴⁸ Stewards who were Lords carried gilt rods and all other stewards carried white rods.¹⁴⁹ This illustrates the status attached to the individuals who held the role of steward.

Steward to the hospital, Isaac Steel [Steell] contributed greatly to organising the Mercer's benefit concerts. The date of his appointment to the hospital is uncertain but it seems likely that he was appointed after 1736. Minutes from the hospital's governors' meeting dated 28 May 1736 make reference to a Mr Dormelly [Donnelly?] for his 'service of filling the tickets for the musical performance.'¹⁵⁰ As the responsibility for the tickets was usually given to Steel, it is possible that Steel was Dormelly's [Donnelly's?] successor. Typical duties carried out by Isaac Steel included the management of tickets and the notification of performers and stewards. He occasionally held responsibility for inserting advertisements for the benefit concerts in the relevant newspapers.¹⁵¹ Newspaper advertisements also included the route coaches were required to take to St Andrew's and St Michan's churches, presumably to facilitate the safe arrival and departure of the audience. Steel was also responsible for collecting subscription fees. It would appear that Isaac Steel worked exceptionally hard and played a vital role in ensuring the smooth and successful running of the Mercer's

¹⁴⁸ Lord Mountjoy and Lord Tullamore were Mercer's stewards. Lord Mountjoy acted as steward at the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts on a number of occasions. He also assisted in the organisation of the hospital's benefit concerts, liaising with invited guests such as the Lord Lieutenant. Lord Tullamore was a governor of Mercer's Hospital (1736). He acted as a steward at the benefit concerts on several occasions and directed the December 1747 benefit concert. He often liaised with invited guests to the benefit concerts, and requested, or expressed thanks to guests for their attendance and support.

¹⁴⁹ MHMB 1736–72, p. 73; MHMB 1738–50, p. 32.

¹⁵⁰ MHMB 1736–72, p. 2 and see typewritten account of the state of Mercer's Hospital 1768. See Lyons, *The Quality of Mercer's*, p. 38. Lyons refers to Steel's predecessor as Robert Donnelly.

¹⁵¹ The concerts were regularly advertised in the following Dublin newspapers: *Dublin Journal*, *Faulkner's Journal/Gazette*, *Dublin Gazette*, *Pue's Occurrences*, *Universal Advertiser* and *Saunders's Newsletter*.

benefit concerts for which his efforts did not go unacknowledged. He consistently received payment of at least three pounds annually for carrying out these tasks, which was increased to four pounds in 1745.¹⁵² Steel served as clerk to Mercer's Hospital until his death in 1773.¹⁵³

Tickets were necessary for admission to the Mercer's benefit concerts and could be purchased from the hospital for half a guinea each.¹⁵⁴ For the 1739 concert it was also possible to purchase them at Mr Manwaring's Shop on College Green.¹⁵⁵ The administrative records frequently state that one thousand, and occasionally fifteen hundred tickets were printed in preparation for the performance.¹⁵⁶ See Figure 5. It would appear that the hospital took charge of printing the tickets rather than giving the task to one of the many established printers in the city. Consequently, the Mercer's tickets may not have been as elaborate as the tickets for other charities.¹⁵⁷ The second excerpt quoted below provides an outline of the type of design used. By employing a template, such as that highlighted in the excerpt, the hospital governors could use the same plates for printing tickets for a decade at a time, thus saving on expenses incurred.

¹⁵² For payments to Isaac Steel see MHMB 1736–72, pp. 54, 98, 124; MHMB 1738–50, p. 89.

¹⁵³ *PO* 13–16 Mar. 1773: 'To the Right Honourable and Honourable the Governors and Governesses of Mercer's Hospital. The office of steward being now vacant, by the Death of Mr Isaac Steel, I humbly offer myself a candidate for said office, if I should be so happy as to meet your Approbation, it shall be my principal study to discharge that trust with the utmost fidelity and ever retain a greater sense of the favour conferred on me, Your most obedient humble servant JAMES MATHEWS'. This notice was also published in the following three editions of the newspaper. It is likely that James Mathews was a relative of the copyist John Mathews who came to Dublin in 1776. John Mathews was a member of both cathedral choirs and was a principal music copyist at both Dublin cathedrals post 1781.

¹⁵⁴ MHMB 1736–72; Boydell, *Calendar*, see corresponding dates for benefit concerts.

¹⁵⁵ MHMB 1736–72, p. 45; William Manwaring (*d* Dublin 1763), was a violinist and music publisher. He was Treasurer of various Charitable Musical Societies. Tickets for numerous concerts were sold at his music shop in College Green see Boydell, *Calendar*, pp. 284, 259.

¹⁵⁶ MHMB 1736–72, pp. 43, 68, 89, 109, 128; MHMB 1738–50, pp. 27, 49, 70, 81, 93.

¹⁵⁷ See Chapter 1 description of tickets for attendance at benefit concerts in support of other hospitals and events.

Ordered that Isaac Steel take care that 1500 tickets be struck off with the large plate in yellow.

Ordered that Mr Grierson be desir'd to get a new copper plate engraved of a small quarto size with this inscription

For the benefit of Mercer's Hospital at St. _____
Church on the _____ day of 174_____

Mr Putland produced a new copper plate for the tickets at the next performance of cathedral service.

Mr. Putland is desired to direct Mr Steel to get a plate ingraved [*sic*] for rehearsal tickets.¹⁵⁸

Fig. 5 Table of Tickets printed for various Mercer's benefit concerts

Number of tickets printed	Benefit concert
1000	February 1739
1500	March 1740
1500	December 1741
1000	February 1743
1500	December 1743
1000	February 1745

The number of tickets listed in Figure 5 is misleading in terms of indicating audience attendance, as tickets were allocated to performers and were also required in order to attend the public rehearsal. It is also unlikely that the church venues used were large enough to accommodate audiences of up to 1500. Boydell notes that the ticket entitled

¹⁵⁸ MHMB 1736–72, pp. 101, 109, 207; MHMB 1738–50, pp. 63, 70.

the holder to attend the public rehearsal and the performance, however the hospital records show that different procedures were in use at different times.¹⁵⁹

The Governors of Mercer's Hospital give notice that there will be a rehearsal of the musick [*sic*] at St Andrews Church on Tuesday the first of Dec at 12 o'clock to which all persons who bring their tickets will be admitted a part of the tickets will be torn off and the remaining part will be received at the Grand Performance on Thursday the 3rd of December.¹⁶⁰

That 1000 blank cards be provided for the rehearsal Tickets to be given with the Tickets for the Publick [*sic*] Performance.¹⁶¹

Agreed that John Putland Esq be desired to sign the performance tickets and the Revd [*sic*] Mr Edkins those for the rehearsal.¹⁶²

Tickets for said performance to be had at said hospital at half a guinea each with the tickets for the rehearsal as usual.¹⁶³

Initially audience attendance was high. Eight hundred people are recorded as having attended the 1739 Mercer's benefit concert and according to the *Dublin Journal* 'above 700' were in attendance at the *Messiah* première in 1742.¹⁶⁴ The Mercer's audience profile was very much that of the eighteenth-century Anglo-Irish nobleman, for example the Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Devonshire attended the concert of 6 March 1740. Courts and sessions at the House of Commons were requested to adjourn on the day of

¹⁵⁹ Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 15.

¹⁶⁰ MHMB 1736–72, p. 173; MHMB 1738–50, p. 144. Meeting of 21 Nov. 1741. Separate references for the quotes are included in order to highlight the various practices in operation regarding ticket sales for different benefit concerts.

¹⁶¹ MHMB 1736–72, p. 201; MHMB 1738–50, p. 174. Meeting 11 Nov. 1749.

¹⁶² MHMB 1736–72, p. 229; MHMB 1750–68, p. 35. Meeting 11 Nov. 1749. There is a slight difference in wording between both copies of the hospital's administrative records. The 1736–72 version is quoted in the text. The 1750–68 version is quoted here: 'Agreed that John Putland Esq [*sic*] be desired to sign the performance tickets. The Revd [*sic*] Mr Edkins those for the rehearsal'. John Putland was a governor of Mercer's Hospital. He was elected Treasurer in 1757. He acted as a steward at the benefit concerts a number of times. Rev. Mr James Edkins was a governor of Mercer's Hospital. He conducted four benefit concerts during the 1750s. See Mercer's Performance Calendar, Appendix 3.

¹⁶³ MHMB 1736–72, p. 275; MHMB 1738–50, p. 131. Meeting of 6 Jan. 1759.

¹⁶⁴ MHMB 1736–72, p. 48; MHMB 1738–50, p. 5; *DJ* 13–17 Apr. 1742. It is important to note that the 1742 *Messiah* performance (première) was in support of three charities; Mercer's Hospital, The Charitable Infirmary and imprisoned debtors. Handel directed the performance which would account for the large number in attendance.

the Mercer's performance. This permitted the attendance of the Lord Justice and Speaker of the House of Commons. Such grand gestures reflect the social importance attached to the occasion. Carpets, cushions and floor matting were laid out in the church in preparation.¹⁶⁵

The hospital minute books document very few details regarding the performers engaged in the Mercer's benefit concerts. Newspaper advertisements provide some information in this respect and the presence of names on several surviving manuscript parts contained in the Mercer's Hospital Music Collection contributes towards the identification of Mercer's performers. (Mercer's Performers are discussed in Chapter 4). The participation of members of Christ Church and St Patrick's Cathedral choirs was very important to the success of the Mercer's benefit concerts. The governors of the hospital had to 'apply' annually to the Deans of the two cathedrals requesting the participation of their respective choir members.¹⁶⁶ The Deans of St Patrick's and Christ Church Cathedrals did not look favourably upon members of their respective choirs participating in secular performances. Difficulty in engaging choir members is evident in the hospital's minute books. An oratorio performance due to take place in February 1765 was unable to proceed since it was found 'inconvenient' for members of the choirs to perform. It was agreed instead that the usual benefit concert (cathedral/church

¹⁶⁵ MHMB 1736–72, pp. 73, 76; MHMB 1738–50, pp. 32, 33. See various entries in the Hospital Minutes. Lord Lieutenant William Cavendish was the third Duke of Devonshire from 1737 to 1744. William, the fourth Duke of Devonshire, was Lord Lieutenant from 1755 to 1757. The Lord Justice was appointed by a commission under the great seal of Ireland to preside over the government during the Lord Lieutenant's absence in England. From 1700 to 1767 the chief executive authority in Ireland rested in the hands of lords justices. See *NHI IV*, pp. 61, 63, 117, 120–1, 579; John Ponsonby, governor of Mercer's Hospital was speaker in the House of Commons from 1756 to 1771, see *NHI IV* pp. 117–18, 120–2, 206.

¹⁶⁶ MHMB 1736–68.

service) would be performed.¹⁶⁷ The cathedral authorities showed their approval if members of the cathedral choirs were participating in a divine service.

Considering the frequency of charity and non-charity concerts in eighteenth-century Dublin, it is not surprising that the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts were postponed or re-scheduled on occasion. A benefit concert planned for 14 February 1740 was postponed until 6 March of that year and the benefit concert that took place on 3 December 1747 was brought forward from 10 December.¹⁶⁸

Sr Marmaduke Wyvil and a Committee from the charitable Musical Society in Fishamble Street having represented that the performance of the Cathedral Service for the Benefit of this hospital on the 10th Instant would interfere with a musical performance intended for their society for the enlargement of imprisoned Debtors and desiring the governors of the hospital to alter the Day that the two charitable designs may not mutually obstruct each other.

Agreed that the musical performance for the Benefit of this hospital be upon Thursday the third of December next and that tickets and advertisements be issued accordingly.¹⁶⁹

The performance of 7 December 1749 was originally planned to take place on 14 December and prior to the December 1759 concert the following request was sent to the hospital's governors from the Reverend Mr Harman via Isaac Steel.¹⁷⁰

A message by the Revd [*sic*] Mr Harman having been related by Mr Steell [*sic*] desiring the next musical performance may be changed for some other day.

Agreed that Mr Steell [*sic*] return the following answer to the Revd [*sic*] Mr Harman viz that the Advertisement for the Musick [*sic*] having been long published and the tickets distributed and many gentlemen engaged in the

¹⁶⁷ MHMB 1736–72, p. 314; MHMB 1750–68, p. 205.

¹⁶⁸ MHMB 1736–72, pp. 73, 169; MHMB 1738–50, pp. 32, 140; Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 67.

¹⁶⁹ MHMB 1736–72, p. 169; MHMB 1738–50, p. 140. Sir Marmaduke Wyvil acted as a steward at the benefit concerts.

¹⁷⁰ MHMB 1736–72, p. 199; MHMB 1738–50, p. 171.

performance the governors are of opinion the day of the intended performance cannot be changed.¹⁷¹

Concert organisers were competing for venues, performers, audience members and profits. Re-scheduling was in the interest of all concerned.

Mercer's Hospital was one of three charities to benefit from the first performance of *Messiah* HWV 56 which took place in the Fishamble Street Theatre on 13 April 1742. The other two charities to benefit included The Charitable Infirmary and imprisoned debtors.¹⁷² It is not entirely clear why Mercer's was selected as one of the three benefiting charities, however it was most likely due to the connections the charity had with the Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Devonshire, William Cavendish, who invited Handel to Dublin to perform a series of concerts.¹⁷³ The Duke of Devonshire was a regular supporter of Mercer's.

There is little reference to *Messiah* and Handel in the hospital's administrative records. This is hardly surprising however as *Messiah's* subsequent importance could not have been predicted. Only three entries contained in the minute books relate directly to Handel and the *Messiah* première. The first record details the request of the hospital's governors for Handel to play the organ at the Mercer's benefit concert of 10 December 1741. This benefit concert also included the first performance of William Boyce's

¹⁷¹ MHMB 1736–72, p. 278; MHMB 1750–68, p. 135. Rev. Harman was a governor of Mercer's Hospital from 1762[?]. He was also a subscriber to the hospital.

¹⁷² The Charitable Infirmary was the first voluntary hospital to open in Dublin, 1718. The hospital benefited from annual performances of Handel's oratorio *Deborah* HWV 51 from 1745 to 1753. See Chapter 1 Charitable Infirmary.

¹⁷³ Lyons, *The Quality of Mercer's*, p. 32; Watkins Shaw, *The Story of Handel's Messiah* (London, 1963), pp. 1–18.

anthem *Blessed is he who considereth the sick*, an orchestral anthem specially commissioned for the hospital.¹⁷⁴

Ordered that Mr Putland, Dean Owen and Dr Wynne be and are hereby desir'd to wait on Mr Handel and ask the favour of him to play the organ at the musical performance at St. Andrew's Church.¹⁷⁵

A subsequent entry in the minutes, recorded at the meeting of 12 December 1741, extends thanks from the hospital's governors to Handel for his attendance at the Mercer's benefit concert.

Order'd That the Secretary wait upon the Lord Primate to know when he will receive the Trustees Accts, [*sic*] & that D:r [*sic*] Wynne be desir'd to thank Mr: [*sic*] Handel for his attendance.¹⁷⁶

Controversy surrounded this particular benefit concert. Handel's attendance undoubtedly overshadowed the première of Boyce's orchestral anthem. In a letter to James Harris of Salisbury, The Fourth Earl of Shaftsbury appears to have been quite appalled by the Mercer's benefit concert organisers and their request that Handel might accompany Boyce's work.

Some of the Irish people have behaved like true natives in severall [*sic*] respects towards Handel, which I have not time to speak of in this. One of these Irishisms was the asking of Handel to accompany one Mr Bois's [*sic*] (a Disciple of Dr Greene's here at London) new anthem lately sent them from England. The occasion being a public charity[,] Handel had promised to accompany all his own music which they perform that day, but beg'd excuse for Mr Bois's. So they keep this curious piece for last. Debourg [*sic*] was enraged

¹⁷⁴ Boyce's anthem *Blessed is he that considereth the sick* was composed in 1741. Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 74; *DJ* 17–21 Nov. 1741; *DJ* and *DNL* 8–12 Dec. 1741; Bartlett and Bruce, 'William Boyce', *NGD* II 4, pp. 155–62; Bartlett and Bruce, *Boyce Tercentenary*, pp. 26–8; MHMB 1736–72, p. 101; MHMB 1738–50, p. 64.

¹⁷⁵ MHMB 1736–72, p. 98; MHMB 1738–50, p. 60. Rev. Dean Owen and Rev. Dr Wynne both were governors of Mercer's Hospital. Rev. Dean Owen preached the sermon at the December 1741 benefit concert.

¹⁷⁶ MHMB 1736–72, p. 101; MHMB 1738–50, p. 62. Dr Hugh Boulter became Lord Primate of Ireland in 1724. See Townsend, *Mercer's*, pp. 21, 24–5, 38 and *NHI IV* pp. 32–3, 40, 62–3, 65, 69, 72, 75, 78, 88–90, 114–17, 119, 442, 688.

at this proposal & said his own playing should depend on their behaviour towards Handel.¹⁷⁷

Boyce's association with Maurice Greene may have been the main reason for Handel's objection to accompanying the anthem. A strong rivalry between Handel and Greene existed, since Handel was the preferred composer for the 1727 coronation of King George II and Queen Caroline. It seems unlikely that Handel would have attended the Mercer's benefit concert without contributing a performance, particularly when the programme included his 'Utrecht' *Te Deum-Jubilate* HWV 278–9 and two anthems.¹⁷⁸

The final reference to *Messiah* details the request for the participation of members of the cathedral choirs at that performance.

The Dean & Chapter of St. Patrick's are ready to concur with the Dean & Chapter of Christ Church in permitting the choir to assist at the Musical Performance of the Philharmonic [*sic*] Society if the Dean & Chapter of Christ Church will concur with them in permitting the Choir to assist at Mr Handel's. [...] Mr Handel having offer'd & being still ready in return for such a favour to give the Governors some of his choisest Musick, [*sic*] & to direct & assist at the performance of it for the benefit of the hospital, which will in one night raise a considerable sum for their use.¹⁷⁹

Messiah was performed once again in aid of Mercer's Hospital in December 1773, thirty-one years after the work premièred.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁷ Matthew Dubourg [Debourg] (1703–67) was Master of State Music in Ireland from 1728 to 1764/5. Dubourg regularly performed Handel's works. Burrows and Dunhill, *Music and Theatre*, p. 131 Letter dated 10 December 1741 4th Earl of Shaftsbury London to James Harris [Salisbury] Hants Record Office 9M73/G350/22/1.

¹⁷⁸ Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 74; *DJ* 17–21 Nov. 1741; *DJ* and *DNL* 8–12 Dec. 1741.

¹⁷⁹ MHMB 1736–72, p. 103; MHMB 1738–50, pp. 64–5.

¹⁸⁰ *PO* 13–16 Mar. 1773 [Tues Dec 14] 'The Messiah was performed at St Andrew's Church for the benefit of Mercer's Hospital; His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant and many of the nobility were present'.

Due to the absence of administrative records for the years 1772–86 it is difficult to determine when exactly the eighteenth-century series of Mercer’s Hospital benefit concerts ceased. The final Mercer’s benefit concert recorded in the administrative records took place on Thursday 12 December 1771.¹⁸¹ Entries in the St Patrick’s and Christ Church Cathedral chapter act books reveal the participation of cathedral choir members at a Mercer’s performance in 1777.

Application having been made by Doctor Woodward for the Leave of the Dean and Chapter, that he, the Members of the Choir, & Choir Boys, may Sing & Assist at the Public, Sacred, Musical Performances proposed to be given by them & others in the next Lent.

Ordered that Doctor Woodward, the Choir, — and Boys or Such of them as may be Judged necessary — may have leave to Sing & Assist at the proposed Public Sacred, Musical Performances in the next Lent, — provided an Orchestra shall be erected to separate the Choir from any Stage Players, And provided that Doctor Woodward can prevail on Mr. Webster to give his Assistance for the Benefit of Mercers Hospital — Gratis, And that the Rev.d [sic] Doc.r [sic] King, The Rev.d [sic] Dean Ledwich, And The Rev.d [sic] Mr Drury be & are hereby — Appointed a Committee to engage Doc.r [sic] Woodward & the Persons concerned with him to give the best — Assistance in their Power, Gratis, to Serve the — Musical Performance for the Benefit of Mercers [sic] — Hospital, and to consent with the Governors in — what manner the Charity can best be Served upon this occasion.¹⁸²

Leave to sing at Sacred Musical Performance.¹⁸³

On which day it was agreed that leave be given to the Gentlemen and Boys of the Choir to perform in the oratorios at Crow Street Theatre under the inspection of Doctor Woodward, Provided M.r [sic] Webster be prevailed on them Sing Gratis for the Benefit of Mercers [sic] Hospital and that the Gentlemen of the Choir do also perform for the Benefit of said Charity without any Emolument, Except that of receiving two Ticketts [sic] each.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸¹ MHMB 1736–72, p. 350.

¹⁸² *IRL–Drcb* C6.1.7.7 CCCA 1770–93, p. 54; Boydell, *Christ Church*, p. 122. Anthony Webster was a baritone and actor. He was visiting from London and participated in benefit concerts in support of the Rotunda Hospital. See Boydell, *Rotunda Music*, pp. 54, 109–111, 164, 173, 193, 201, 204, 226. Richard Woodward junior was one of the most important eighteenth-century Anglo-Irish cathedral musicians and composers.

¹⁸³ Written in margin, *IRL–Drcb* C6.1.7.7 CCCA 1770–93, p. 54.

¹⁸⁴ *IRL–Drcb* C.2.1.3.9 SPCCA 1764–92, p. 92.

Townsend makes reference to a word-book, printed in Dublin in 1780, for a performance of *Messiah* in support of Mercer's. He states that the word-book is preserved together with old Mercer's programmes and the music used at the benefit concerts.¹⁸⁵ No programmes or word-books for *Messiah* survive in the Mercer's Collection today. However, Townsend's findings suggest that the Mercer's benefit concerts continued until 1780, indicating that the Mercer's benefit concerts ran for at least a forty-four year period.

From 1786 to 1833 inclusive the hospital minute books document the occurrence of charity sermons, the first of which took place on Sunday 19 March 1786 at St Ann's Church, Dawson Street.¹⁸⁶ Charity sermons were popular in Dublin between 1783 and 1786, particularly during the winter months. In various 1786 editions of the *Dublin Journal* columns were devoted to advertising charity sermons. Such charities as the Orphan Females and various charity schools associated with their respective Dublin parishes, including St John's, St Peter's and St Nicholas' were among those most represented.¹⁸⁷

It is probable that over time the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts developed into charity sermons. Invited bishops preached sermons at the Mercer's benefit concerts that took place between 1736 and 1771 — it is possible that music was included at charity sermons that took place between 1786 and 1833. The organisation of the Mercer's

¹⁸⁵ Townsend, *Handel's visit*, p. 83.

¹⁸⁶ MHMB 1786–1834. Mercer's Hospital Records beyond 1834 were not examined.

¹⁸⁷ See 1786 editions of *DJ*.

charity sermons followed a very similar plan to that of the benefit concerts. Apart from such figures as the Reverend Gilbert Austin and Reverend James Dunn, who were engaged to preach the sermon, various noblemen including the Earl of Milltown, Sir (Dr.) Francis Hutchinson, Morgan Crofton and the Right Honourable Joshua Cooper were appointed as ‘collectors’.¹⁸⁸ Presumably the role of the collector involved collecting donations made to the charity. Money acquired from such donations was frequently recorded in the hospital minute books. Unlike the Mercer’s benefit concerts, admittance to Mercer’s charity sermons was not reliant on tickets.

St Ann’s Church, Dawson Street and St Peter’s Church, Aungier Street were the two principal venues for Mercer’s charity sermons that took place between March 1786 and December 1833, see Figure 6.¹⁸⁹ Similar to the benefit concerts, the charity sermons had to be postponed on occasion as the following excerpt from the hospital records reveals.

Resolved unanimously that the season of the year is too far advanced to have a charity sermon preached for the benefit of this hospital and that it be postponed to a more favourable opportunity when the town shall be fuller.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸ MHMB 1786–1834, pp. 1, 3, 13, 15, 17, 21, 29, 31, 31B, 33, 39B, 42, 63, 69, 75–7, 81, 96, 103, 108B, 116, 120, 122, 178B. The Rev. Gilbert Austin was a governor of Mercer’s Hospital and was appointed to the organising committee for Mercer’s charity sermons. He also preached at the Mercer’s charity sermon which took place on 31 January 1796. The Earl of Milltown was a member of the Leeson family who were very important in the development of Dublin during the eighteenth century see *NHI IV* pp. 504, 508, 512, 532, 681, Joseph Leeson was the first Earl of Milltown. Dr Francis Hutchinson is not to be confused with Archdeacon Hutchinson. Both were members of the Mercer’s board of governors. Dr Francis Hutchinson was elected treasurer to Mercer’s board of governors in 1791. Morgan Crofton was a subscriber to Mercer’s Hospital and was a member of the board of governors in 1771. He was elected secretary to Mercer’s board of governors in 1791. The Right Honourable Joshua Cooper was a governor of Mercer’s Hospital and a subscriber to the charity.

¹⁸⁹ It is presumed that the churches in question here are St Ann’s Church, Dawson Street and St Peter’s Church, Aungier Street.

¹⁹⁰ MHMB 1786–1808, p. 19.

This minute was recorded at the meeting of 19 May 1787. It highlights the fact that the planning of the charity sermon was left too late into summer for satisfactory attendance.

The hospital records reveal difficulties experienced in organising charity sermons. Their occurrence was less frequent than the benefit concerts. There were gaps of ten to twelve years between Mercer's charity sermons but never more than an interval of twenty-six months between the benefit concerts which took place up to 1771. This indicates some changes in how money was raised and how the hospital was supported financially. (See Figure 6 below and compare with Appendix 3 Mercer's Performance Calendar).

Fig. 6 Table of Mercer's Hospital Charity Sermons 1786–1833

Year	Date	Venue
1786	Sunday 19 March	St Ann's Church
1796	Sunday 31 January	St Ann's Church
1800	Sunday 9 March	St Ann's Church
1802	Sunday 12 December	St Peter's Church
1807	Sunday 22 November	St Peter's Church
1812	Sunday 15 March	St Ann's Church
1813	Sunday 27 June	St Ann's Church
1825	Sunday 20 November	St Ann's Church
1827	Sunday 9 December	St Ann's Church
1828	Sunday 23 November	St Ann's Church
1831	Sunday 13 November	St Ann's Church
1833	Sunday 15 December	St Ann's Church

Even though music was the predominant feature at the benefit concerts the Mercer's charity sermons may too have had some musical content. The Christ Church Chapter Acts contain important information in this respect. An entry in one of the cathedral's chapter act books, dated Friday 24 February 1786, details the requested participation of members of the choir at an upcoming charity sermon in St Ann's Church. The entry

states that the charity sermon is to take place on ‘Sunday next’ i.e. 26 February.¹⁹¹ The date obviously does not coincide with that of the first recorded Mercer’s charity sermon and unfortunately the Christ Church entry does not name the charity that was to benefit. The Christ Church entry is significant however as it shows that music was an integral part of some Dublin charity sermons during the late 1700s. Members of the cathedral choir also assisted at charity sermons, which took place in St Mary’s Church and the Rotunda Chapel, December 1800.¹⁹² The Mercer’s Hospital benefit concerts and charity sermons may not have differed greatly in terms of format and content. Perhaps the main difference was the language used to describe each occasion. As outlined in the introduction to this thesis different terms are used throughout the hospital’s administrative records and in newspaper accounts to describe the benefit concerts, ‘musical performances’, ‘cathedral service’, ‘church service’ and ‘divine service performed after the cathedral manner.’ The occurrence of charity sermons between 1786 and 1833 indicates that fundraising in support of the hospital continued well into the nineteenth century.

Mercer’s Repertoire

Despite the longevity of the eighteenth-century Mercer’s Hospital benefit concerts (1736–80 at least) no significant development of repertoire took place. The contents of the Mercer’s Hospital Music Collection, specifically the manuscript sources, are representative of the type of repertoire performed at the Mercer’s benefit concerts.¹⁹³

As Mercer’s benefit concerts consisted of a church service (cathedral service) the

¹⁹¹ *IRL–Drcb* C6.1.7.7 CCCA 1770–93, p. 110. Boydell, *Christ Church*, p. 123.

¹⁹² Boydell, *Christ Church*, p. 123; Boydell, *Music: Documents*, pp. 124, 132.

¹⁹³ See *IRL–Dmh* Mss 1–50.

benefit concert repertoire was primarily comprised of sacred works i.e. service settings and orchestral anthems. Not all surviving works in the Mercer's collection were recorded as having been performed at the hospital's benefit concerts. Programme details included in eighteenth-century newspapers tended to be rather vague, the titles of the works performed were not always specified.

Handel's 'Utrecht' *Te Deum-Jubilate* HWV 278–9, was performed annually up to 1745 at least.¹⁹⁴ Handel wrote the 'Utrecht' *Te Deum-Jubilate* HWV 278–9 between 1712 and 1713 in anticipation of the celebrations and Thanksgiving Service which would follow the signing of the Utrecht Treaty. The Spanish War of Succession (1701–14) caused much unrest and conflict across Europe. When the French prince, Philip of Anjou, became King of Spain, unity between France and Spain became a distinct possibility. An alliance between Britain, The Netherlands, Prussia and Austria was formed to prevent Prince Philip's accession to the Spanish throne. The Utrecht Treaty, which consolidated peace between Britain and France, was drawn up and signed in 1713.¹⁹⁵

It is not known whether Handel received an invitation from the court to contribute to the Thanksgiving service [...] Possibly Handel wrote the music speculatively, relying on rumour and reputation to first win public and later official acceptance. The Thanksgiving service took place on 7 July 1713 [...] and served to put Handel at the centre of London's musical life.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁴ MHMB 1736–72, pp. 44, 48, 89, 112; MHMB 1738–50, pp. 5, 28, 49, 75. See also surviving newspaper advertisements and accounts.

¹⁹⁵ Robert G.L. Waite 'Peace of Utrecht', *The World Book Encyclopedia* 19 (Chicago, 1970), p. 198; Robert G.L. Waite, 'The War of Spanish Succession', *World Book* 17, pp. 757–8.

¹⁹⁶ Burrows, *Chapel Royal*, pp. 78–9.

When he composed the ‘Utrecht’ music Handel was still employed by the Elector of Hanover. Hanover did not benefit from the outcome of the Treaty and Handel’s actions led to his subsequent dismissal.¹⁹⁷ A number of public rehearsals of the ‘Utrecht’ music took place prior to the work’s official première in St Paul’s Cathedral. The Thanksgiving service was filled with grandeur and ceremony and was attended by members of parliament, lords, dukes, bishops and barons.

The first Dublin performance of Handel’s ‘Utrecht’ music most likely took place at the inaugural Mercer’s Hospital benefit concert in April 1736. Handel’s ‘Dettingen’ *Te Deum* HWV 283, composed in 1743, was performed at the February 1745 Mercer’s benefit concert.¹⁹⁸ Although performances of a *Te Deum-Jubilate* are documented in the surviving newspapers from 1745 to 1771, they do not specify whether the ‘Dettingen’ or ‘Utrecht’ music continued to be performed from 1745 onwards. On the occasion of the Mercer’s February 1745 benefit concert Deutsch speculates that the ‘Dettingen’ *Te Deum* replaced performance of the ‘Utrecht’ music, as was the case at the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy. Deutsch later concludes that the ‘Dettingen’ *Te Deum* and ‘Utrecht’ *Jubilate* were performed at the February 1745 Mercer’s benefit concert, a practice, which he states, was common in Dublin. On the occasion of the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy, which took place on 7 May 1747, Deutsch states that the ‘Dettingen’ *Te Deum* and ‘Utrecht’ *Jubilate* were performed ‘as in Dublin’.¹⁹⁹ Deutsch provides no documentary evidence, such as a newspaper account or

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 77; HHA Serie III: Band 3, p. xiii.

¹⁹⁸ MHMB 1736–72, p. 132; MHMB 1738–50, p. 97; Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 102; Deutsch, *Documentary Biography*, pp. 598, 607. See Mercer’s Performance Calendar, Appendix 3.

¹⁹⁹ Deutsch, *Documentary Biography*, pp. 598, 607, 625, 640, 641.

advertisement, in support of his conclusions. Townsend states that the ‘Dettingen’ *Te Deum* was performed at the February 1762 Mercer’s benefit concert, citing the eighteenth-century Dublin newspaper *Faulkner’s Journal* as his source. As no parts for the ‘Dettingen’ *Te Deum* survive in the Mercer’s Collection it is likely that the ‘Utrecht’ music continued to be included as part of the Mercer’s Hospital benefit concert programme. The ‘Utrecht’ music was very much associated with Mercer’s from the earlier benefit concerts. Adaptations made to the surviving Mercer’s parts, contained in the hospital’s surviving music collection, suggest that the ‘Utrecht’ music continued to be performed at the later Mercer’s benefit concerts, despite the introduction of the ‘Dettingen’ *Te Deum* at the February 1745 benefit concert.²⁰⁰ The inclusion of the names of several cathedral singers and performers who were active in Dublin from the mid-1740s onwards, written on various parts in the collection, further supports this theory. Considerable adaptation of the ‘Utrecht’ music would have been necessary, given the distinct probability that the ‘Utrecht’ music continued to be included as part of the Mercer’s repertoire for a thirty-five year period. The pool of available musicians would have changed considerably within that time and the availability of performers would subsequently dictate the appropriate adaptation of parts. Adaptations would suggest that performing forces were limited since for example solo vocal parts are included in chorus parts and instrumental parts also include some vocal leads. This reveals how the Mercer’s Hospital benefit concert organizers decided to adapt and rearrange works rather than alter repertoire and possibly the Mercer’s benefit concert

²⁰⁰ See *IRL–Dmh* Mss 1–44 and Appendices 3 and 6.

format. (Adaptations to surviving works in the Mercer's Hospital Music Collection are discussed in Chapter 3).

Sources for the 'Dettingen' music survive in the Christ Church Cathedral Music Collection.²⁰¹ It is possible that parts were on loan to Mercer's from the cathedral for the February 1745 benefit concert and for other possible Mercer's performances of the work. The exchange of music between organizations was commonplace. The Mercer's minute books reveal how on two occasions the hospital facilitated the loan of music to the Meath Hospital.²⁰² Boydell records a single non-Mercer's Dublin performance of the 'Utrecht' music which took place on 25 April 1749. Both the *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* were performed as part of a thanksgiving service which took place at Christ Church Cathedral in honour of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. Lord Mornington conducted the service which also included one of Handel's coronation anthems. The music for both works was borrowed from Mercer's Hospital.²⁰³

On application of the Dean & Chapters of Christ Church to the governors of this hospital to lend them the scores & parts both vocal and instrumental of Mr Handel's *Te Deum Jubilate* and one coronation anthem to be performed before the government in their cathedral on the 25th of this instant April being the thanksgiving day for peace.

Ordered that the treasurer do deliver the said pieces of Musick [*sic*] to the order of Dean Maturin Sub-Dean & Chapter taking a receipt from such person as he shall so appoint.²⁰⁴

²⁰¹ *IRL-Drcb Te Deum* C6.1.24.3.29, C6.1.24.3.30r, C6.1.24.3.32, C6.1.24.3.33, C6.1.24.3.34, C6.1.24.3.35, C6.1.24.3.36r, *Jubilate* C6.1.24.3.29, C6.1.24.3.30r, C6.1.24.3.32, C6.1.24.3.33, C6.1.24.3.34, C6.1.24.3.35, C6.1.24.3.36r — all vocal parts: 2 treble, 2 countertenor, 2 tenor and 1 bass part.

²⁰² MHMB 1786–1807, pp. 3, 13.

²⁰³ Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 126; *DC* 22–25 Apr. 1749; MHMB 1736–71, p. 191; MHMB 1738–50, p. 162; Burrows, *Chapel Royal*, p. 171 (fn. 21). Lord Mornington Garret Colley Wesley established the Musical Academy in 1757. He also had a strong association with Mercer's Hospital.

²⁰⁴ MHMB 1736–72, p. 191; MHMB 1738–50, p. 162.

The Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts also regularly included a performance of one or more of Handel's coronation anthems: *Zadok the priest* HWV 258, *Let thy hand be strengthened* HWV 259, *The King shall rejoice* HWV 260 and *My heart is inditing* HWV 261. Handel composed the four coronation anthems for performance at the coronation of King George II and Queen Caroline, which took place on 11 October 1727 at Westminster Abbey, London. Each anthem was performed at a particular point in the service, and most likely in the following order; *Let thy hand be strengthened* HWV 259 at the recognition, *Zadok the priest* HWV 258 at the anointing, *The King shall rejoice* HWV 260 at the enthronisation (enthronement) and *My heart is inditing* HWV 261 at the Queen's coronation.²⁰⁵

Parts for the four coronation anthems, HWV 258–61, survive in the Mercer's Hospital Music Collection.²⁰⁶ Newspaper advertisements and accounts usually did not specify the title(s) of the coronation anthem(s) performed at the Mercer's benefit concerts. This makes it difficult to identify exactly which coronation anthems were performed at various Mercer's benefit concerts. On occasion the words 'two anthems' or just the word 'anthem' was used, for example,

'Handel's *Te Deum Jubilate* and two new anthems.'

²⁰⁵ Burrows, *Chapel Royal*, pp. 259–65. Burrows draws attention to discrepancies between the information recorded in various sources i.e. the Cheque Book, the printed order of service and a copy of William Wake's printed copy of the service which includes handwritten annotations by Wake. The discrepancies referred to by Burrows include uncertainties regarding the order of the service and the points in the service where Handel's anthems were performed.

²⁰⁶ See *IRL-Dmh* Mss 1–44 and Appendices 3 and 6. The contents of the Mercer's Collection include forty-three parts for *Zadok the priest*, one part for *Let thy hand be strengthened*, twenty-two parts for *The King shall rejoice* and forty-two parts for *My heart is inditing*.

The Mercer's benefit concerts for which the performance of a coronation anthem(s) is specified in newspaper reports include; April 1736, February 1743, December 1745, February 1747 and December 1751. It is likely that the coronation anthem performed at the inaugural Mercer's benefit concert was *The King shall rejoice* HWV 260, referred to in a newspaper advertisement as the 'Coronation Anthem, made on the King's Accession to the Crown'.²⁰⁷ On the occasion of the February 1743 Mercer's benefit concert the coronation anthems *My heart is inditing* HWV 261 and *Zadok the priest* HWV 258 were named in the newspaper account published in the *Dublin Journal*. On the occasion of the 1771 Mercer's benefit concert, conducted by organist and Christ Church cathedral musician Richard Woodward Junior, three anthems, (titles unspecified) were performed.²⁰⁸

Handel's coronation anthems were regularly performed together with the 'Utrecht' music throughout Britain at such events as the Three Choirs Festival and at venues in London, Salisbury, Bath and Oxford.²⁰⁹ Non-Mercer's Dublin performances of the coronation anthems include a performance of *Zadok the priest* HWV 258, together with *Acis and Galatea* HWV 49, at Fishamble Street Theatre on 17 December 1742.²¹⁰ *My heart is inditing* HWV 261 was performed as part of the inaugural concert of The Musical Society for the Support of Decay'd and Indigent Musicians or Their Families, which took place at Fishamble Street Theatre on 21 November 1751. *Alexander's Feast*

²⁰⁷ *DG* 20 Mar. 1736; Deutsch, *Documentary Biography*, p. 401.

²⁰⁸ *DJ* 12–14 Dec. 1771.

²⁰⁹ See Deutsch, *Documentary Biography*.

²¹⁰ *DJ* 7–11 Dec. 1742; Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 88.

HWV 75 was also performed on this occasion.²¹¹ It is likely that Handel's coronation anthems were performed as part of the repertoire at Dublin's Christ Church Cathedral. Eleven individual parts for *Zadok the priest* survive in the cathedral's collection of music, the majority of which are in the hand of copyist John Mathews, who came to Dublin in 1776 and was a principal copyist at Christ Church (1781–99) and St Patrick's Cathedrals (1776–99).²¹² Christ Church parts, copied by Mathews, were most likely used for late eighteenth-century cathedral performances. Earlier cathedral performances of the coronation anthems may have involved using the Mercer's parts, as on the occasion of the 1749 thanksgiving service which took place at the cathedral.

Parts for two of Handel's Chapel Royal anthems survive in the Mercer's Collection, *I will magnify thee* HWV 250b and *Let God arise* HWV 256b.²¹³ No specific reference to the performance of either Chapel Royal anthem is recorded in any of the surviving newspaper reports or in the hospital's administrative records. The omission of the word 'coronation' from newspaper advertisements and accounts helps to differentiate between the performance of coronation and possible non-coronation anthems. As stated above, coronation anthems were included at the April 1736, February 1743, December 1745, February 1747 and December 1751 Mercer's benefit concerts. Consequently the Chapel Royal anthems may have been included at the majority, if not all of the remaining benefit concerts.

²¹¹ *DJ* 22–26 Oct. 1751; *DG* 26–29 Oct. 1751; Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 157.

²¹² *IRL–DrCb* C6.1.24.3.29, C6.1.24.3.32, C6.1.24.3.33, C6.1.24.3.30, C6.1.24.3.34, C6.1.24.3.35, C6.1.24.3.36, C6.1.24.5.1, C6.1.24.5.3, C6.1.24.5.4. Boydell, *Christ Church*, pp. 129–130. Houston, *St Patrick's*, pp. 32–7, 133–4, 151–4; Hugh Jackson Lawlor, *The Fasti of St Patrick's Dublin* (Dundalk, 1930), pp. 230n, 233.

²¹³ See *IRL–Dmh* Ms 1–44 and Appendices 3 and 6. Thirty-seven parts for *I will magnify thee* HWV 250b survive and thirty-nine parts for *Let God arise* HWV 256b survive in the collection.

The composition of both Chapel Royal anthems is certainly dated post 1718. Handel was first engaged at the Chapel Royal in September 1714 when a *Te Deum*, presumably the ‘Utrecht’, was performed in acknowledgement of the arrival of King George I to Britain.²¹⁴ Handel composed a new *Te Deum* in celebration of the arrival of King George’s wife. The ‘Caroline’ *Te Deum* was performed at the Chapel Royal on 17 October 1714. The composer did not contribute towards a Chapel Royal service again until the 1720s.²¹⁵ *I will magnify thee* HWV 250b was first performed in the Chapel Royal on 5 January 1724 while *Let God arise* HWV 256b was first performed there on 16 January 1726.²¹⁶ Music at the Chapel Royal was composed for the regular Morning Prayer services and Sunday morning services, and was performed by the Chapel Royal singers and King’s Musicians. The Chapel Royal was a small venue; therefore it was important that the works performed reflected this.²¹⁷

Handel’s Chapel Royal anthems are thematically based on the anthems he composed while in the service of James Brydges, the Earl of Carnarvon who later became the Duke of Chandos (the ‘Chandos’ or ‘Cannons’ anthems). During the summer of 1717 Handel stayed at Brydges’ residence at Cannons. He composed several works of church music during his stay, all of which were performed at the local parish church there (the parish church of St Lawrence). *I will magnify thee* HWV 250b is comprised of six

²¹⁴ Surviving newspaper reports are unclear in recording the details regarding the music performed on this occasion.

²¹⁵ Burrows, *Chapel Royal*, pp. 114–66.

²¹⁶ Anthony Hicks, ‘Handel 5: Cannons’ and ‘Handel 20: Church Music’, *NGD* II 10, pp. 751, 773. HHA Serie III: Band 9, pp. xiii–xvii.

²¹⁷ Burrows, *Chapel Royal*, pp. 251–2.

movements, reconstructed from the following four ‘Cannons’ anthems: *I will magnify thee* HWV 250a, *O sing unto the Lord* HWV 249b, *My song shall be always* HWV 252 and *O come, Let us sing* HWV 253. The opening and closing movements of the ‘Cannons’ anthem HWV 250a are retained in the Chapel Royal anthem HWV 250b while the inner movements provide newly composed music.²¹⁸ Two versions of HWV 250b exist, one in A major and one in G major. It is the G major version that is present in the Mercer’s collection. *Let God arise* HWV 256b is the shortest Chapel Royal anthem consisting of four movements. The performance of the Chapel Royal anthems at the Mercer’s Hospital benefit concerts meant that the works were performed in a very different context from that which was originally intended. None of the Mercer’s works are present among surviving St Patrick’s Cathedral, or Trinity Chapel, Dublin, sources, however a fragmented organ score for *Let God arise* HWV 256b is present in a surviving Christ Church organ book, thus emphasising Christ Church’s role as an Irish Chapel Royal.²¹⁹

The orchestral anthem *Sing we merrily unto God our strength* was composed in 1740 by English composer and organist Maurice Greene (1696–1755), and is the earlier of the two non-Handelian anthems contained in the Mercer’s Hospital Music Collection. Greene’s works include twenty-three orchestral anthems most of which were composed for performance at the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy. *Sing we merrily* is comprised of five movements and is scored for treble, alto and tenor soloists, SSATB chorus,

²¹⁸ Hicks, ‘Handel Cannons’, and ‘Handel 20: Church Music’, *NGD* II 10, pp. 751, 773. HHA Serie III: Band 9, pp. xiii–xvii; Burrows, *Chapel Royal*, pp. 218–232, 242–250.

²¹⁹ *IRL–Drcb* C6.1.24.7.2.

strings, two transverse flutes, two oboes, two trumpets, timpani and bassi including violoncello, double bass, bassoons and organ.²²⁰ Greene also composed a second anthem bearing the same title, but it is not clear which was composed first. The alternative version to the Mercer's anthem is scored for alto and tenor soloists, SATB chorus, strings, two oboes, two trumpets, and bassi including violoncello, double bass and bassoons.²²¹

There is no record of Greene's anthem ever having been performed at the Mercer's benefit concerts despite the large number of vocal and instrumental parts surviving in the collection. It is likely that *Sing we merrily* was performed at several Mercer's benefit concerts together with a selection of the Handelian works which now survive in the collection. The absence of extensive adaptations in surviving Mercer's parts for *Sing we merrily*, and such as those identified in Mercer's 'Utrecht' parts, suggests that Greene's anthem may have been performed less frequently at the hospital's benefit concerts than the Handelian works. An un-named anthem (possibly *Sing we merrily*), composed by Greene, was performed together with a Handelian *Te Deum-Jubilate* at

²²⁰ Various terms inscribed on the Mercer's sources include: 'Canto Primo', 'Soprano Primo', 'Soprano', 'Soprano Secondo', 'Canto Secondo', 'Canto Ripiano [Repiano]' [*sic*]. See various Mercer's RISM entries, <http://www.rism.org.uk>. The use of the term 'treble', employed throughout this thesis, reflects the fact that these parts would have been sung by boys rather than female voices. All works contained in the Mercer's Hospital Music Collection were written for and performed in cathedral settings where the use of female voices was unheard of in the eighteenth century.

²²¹ H. Diack Johnstone, 'Maurice Greene', *NGD* II 10, pp. 361–65; Henry Burnett, 'The Sacred Music of Maurice Greene', p. 125. Movements in the Mercer's version of Greene's anthem: No. 1 *Sing we merrily* (chorus), No. 2 *It is a good thing* (solo tenor and chorus), No. 3 *Blessed is the man* (duet for treble and alto), No. 4 *Lord, thou has been our refuge* (solo air for alto), No. 5 *So we that are thy people* (chorus). Detailed analysis of extant sources for Greene's anthem *Sing we merrily* are discussed in Chapter 3 Section 3.4. Information re sources for Greene's anthem kindly provided by Sally Chestnutt, Music Section, Bodleian Library, Oxford via email on 19 Aug. 2010 and Dr Harry Johnstone, Oxford, via email on 22, 28 Sept. and 2, 10, 21, 25 and 26 Oct. 2011.

two benefit concerts in support of the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy, on 7 May 1747 and on 26 May 1750.²²²

William Boyce's (1711–79) orchestral anthem *Blessed is he that considereth the sick* was specially commissioned for Mercer's Hospital. The anthem was composed in 1741 and received its first performance at the Mercer's Hospital benefit concert of 10 December of that year.

[...] a Grand Anthem compos'd on the occasion by Mr Boyce...at the request of several well-wishers to the Charity.²²³

Ordered that the Thanks of this Board be given to Mr Boyse [*sic*] for the Anthem he favoured us with for the last performance at St Andrew's Church, and that Dr Owen be desired to acquaint him therewith.²²⁴

The initial request for Boyce's commission has not been recorded in the hospital minutes and Boyce was not in attendance for the work's première. The anthem was sent to Dublin from England.²²⁵ As already referred to elsewhere in this thesis Handel attended the Mercer's benefit concert of 10 December 1741.²²⁶ It was suggested that he might accompany Boyce's anthem but it seems more likely that he accompanied his own music only. It is likely that arrangements with Boyce were made prior to the concert organisers becoming aware that Handel would be in attendance at this particular benefit concert.²²⁷

²²² Deutsch, *Documentary Biography*, pp. 640–1, 686.

²²³ Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 74; *DJ* 17–21. Nov. 1741; *DJ* and *DNL* 8–12 Dec. 1741.

²²⁴ MHMB 1736–72, p. 101; MHMB 1738–50, p. 64.

²²⁵ Burrows and Dunhill, *Music and Theatre*, p. 131.

²²⁶ Handel arrived in Dublin in November 1741.

²²⁷ Burrows and Dunhill, *Music and Theatre*, p. 131.

The excerpt from the Earl of Shaftsbury's letter, quoted earlier in this chapter informs us about the order of works on this occasion. The 'Utrecht' *Te Deum-Jubilate* HWV 278–9 and two un-named coronation anthems took precedence over Boyce's anthem and according to the Earl's letter Boyce's anthem was performed last. It is difficult to ascertain if performance of the coronation anthems preceded performance of the 'Utrecht' music on this occasion. It is also difficult to determine the usual order of works performed at the Mercer's benefit concerts. Handel's *Te Deum-Jubilate* is always listed first in surviving newspaper accounts, which may indicate the usual order of works performed.

A second performance of Boyce's anthem in support of Mercer's took place on 12 December 1745.²²⁸ A Handelian *Te Deum-Jubilate* and unspecified coronation anthem were also performed on this occasion. It is likely that Boyce's anthem received several performances in aid of the hospital even though its title was not recorded in any other surviving newspaper advertisements or accounts. The re-copying of the work in 1757, detailed in the hospital minutes, suggests that Boyce's anthem remained in the Mercer's repertoire for at least a sixteen-year period.²²⁹ As the anthem was written specifically for the hospital, it would be unusual if it was given only two performances over the lifetime of the benefit concerts.

²²⁸ Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 104; *DJ* 10–14 Dec. 1745; *DC* 15–19 Oct. 1745.

²²⁹ MHMB 1736–72, p. 267; MHMB 1750–68, p. 113; Bartlett and Bruce, *Boyce Tercentenary*, pp. 26–27.

Boyce's anthem was performed at the Three Choirs Festival in 1743 and 1752 and a further six times between 1792 and 1799. It is also likely that the anthem was performed at the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy.²³⁰ The Mercer's setting of the anthem may have been an early draft for later English performances. It is a large-scale work comprising eight movements including an extensive orchestral introduction, scored for alto, tenor and bass soloists, four-part chorus, strings, two oboes, two flutes, and bassi which include double bass, bassoon and organ. Boyce chose the text from Psalm 41 in the Book of Common Prayer. He aptly altered the text from *Blessed is he that considereth the poor* to *Blessed is he that considereth the sick*. The text reverted to its original form for performances in support of other charities.²³¹ Performance of the anthem would indeed have suited such London venues as St Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey.

Having for some years deputized for Greene as conductor of the annual charity concert held in April or May at St Paul's Cathedral in aid of the Sons of the Clergy, Boyce now took on this responsibility as well. His much admired orchestral anthem *Lord, thou has been our refuge*, composed for this event in April 1755, and his earlier anthem for Dublin, *Blessed is he that considereth the sick* (with its title adroitly amended to refer to 'the poor' rather than 'the sick') were now featured regularly in these concerts, alongside various works by Handel.²³²

Comparison of the Mercer's setting of the anthem with extant sources present in collections in Britain reveals that the anthem was significantly revised for performance in London and at other British venues. Detailed examination of the Mercer's sources

²³⁰ Bartlett and Bruce, *Boyce Tercentenary*, pp. 26–7.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 27; See also entries in Deutsch, *Documentary Biography*, pp. 705, 723–4, 726, 739, 742, 765, 772–3, 797–8, 815.

²³² Bartlett and Bruce, 'William Boyce', *NGD* II 4, p. 157.

and comparison with extant sources in other surviving Irish and British Collections are discussed in Chapter 3.

Variations in the Mercer's programme can be identified at the benefit concerts that took place on 7 December 1749, 29 November 1750 and 6 February 1759. (See Appendix 3 Mercer's Performance Calendar). Henry Purcell's (1659–95) *Grand Te Deum* Z.232 in D major, composed for St Cecilia's day 1694 and Arcangelo Corelli's (1653–1713) *Concerto Grosso* No. 8 in g minor, Op. 6, together with the usual works by Handel (*Te Deum-Jubilate* and an anthem), were performed at the benefit concert of 7 December 1749. Corelli's *Concerto Grosso* was also included in the 1750 benefit concert. Incomplete sources for both works are present among the manuscript sources in the Mercer's Hospital Music Collection.²³³ Purcell's *Te Deum-Jubilate* was regularly performed in Dublin and London as part of the St Cecilia's day celebrations.²³⁴ This feast day is celebrated on 22 November. Corelli's first, fifth and eighth concerti had been performed at St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, together with Purcell's *Te Deum*, to honour St Cecilia's Day in 1731.²³⁵ Although the 1749 Mercer's benefit concert did not take place on St Cecilia's day it was scheduled close to the occasion.

Arcangelo Corelli's (1653–1713) collection of *Concerti Grossi* Op. 6 was composed c.1708. About this time Corelli withdrew from public performance and concentrated

²³³ A single cello part for Purcell's *Te Deum-Jubilate* Z.232 is present in *IRL-Dmh* Ms 36 (vc). Surviving Mercer's parts for Corelli's concerto include 6 parts: one violin II part, one viola part, one cello/bass part and three oboe II/repiano [*sic*] II parts, see *IRL-Dmh* Ms 45–50 and Appendices 3 and 6.

²³⁴ See Deutsch, *Documentary Biography*; Delany, *Autobiography and Correspondence*; Boydell, *Calendar*.

²³⁵ Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 48.

on preparing his concerti for publication. French born music printer Estienne Roger (1665/6–1722) published the first set of Corelli's Concerti Grossi in Amsterdam in 1714. The concerti came into circulation in London in January 1715 and John Walsh senior (1665/6–1736) published the first English edition.²³⁶ The musical effects employed by Corelli in this particular compositional form were quite remarkable. The contrast in tempo between the slow and fast movements is very effective and the composer's successful use of a concertino of instruments i.e. two violins and a cello, accompanied by string orchestra, is very distinctive. Performance of Corelli's concerti traditionally made use of the church galleries, thus the alternation between full orchestra and the concertino group resulted in a double choir effect.²³⁷ Corelli's concerti were regularly performed by various Dublin musical societies including the Philharmonic Society.²³⁸ It is difficult to establish at what point in the cathedral service a concerto would have been performed, unless it was played as an interlude or perhaps a recessional piece. If performers needed to re-organise, the placing of the concerto at the end of the service would cause the least amount of disruption.

²³⁶ Arcangelo Corelli, *Concerto Grosso g minor Op. 6, No. 8*, Richard Platt (ed.), Eulenburg Edition (London, 1997), preface p. iii. Estienne Roger was a French music printer who lived and worked in the Netherlands see Samuel F. Pogue and Rudolf A. Rasch, 'Estienne Roger', *NGD* II 21, pp. 512–14. John Walsh was a leading music seller, printer and publisher in London from about 1690. His son, also John, took over the business c.1730. John Walsh junior was the principal publisher of Handelian works during the eighteenth century, see Frank Kidson, William C. Smith, Peter Ward Jones and David Hunter, 'John Walsh (i)' and 'John Walsh (ii)', *NGD* II 27, pp. 49–51.

²³⁷ Platt, *Concerto Grosso g minor*, p. iv; John Spitzer, Neal Zaslaw, 'Orchestra, No. 4 Lully and Corelli' *NGD* II 18, pp. 532–3.

²³⁸ Boydell, *Calendar*, pp. 43, 47–8, 54, 124–5, 128–9, 130, 132, 138, 142–3, 146, 149–51, 160, 167–8, 170–1, 199, 208.

The music for a chant, attributed to Pelham Humfrey, is present among the twenty-two surviving Mercer's instrumental part-books.²³⁹ Pelham Humfrey (1647–74) was an English Court and Chapel Royal Musician. His compositions mainly consisted of church music. Within this form of composition Humfrey gained much respect and was noted for his artistic individuality. Active as a composer between 1663 and 1674 his works include a single chant in C major, written in four parts, treble, alto, tenor and bass.²⁴⁰ As is the case for many seventeenth-century chants, Humfrey's chant was written for unaccompanied voices. The Mercer's chant is not contained in any of the surviving vocal part-books *IRL–Dmh* Mss 1–22. It would appear that it was transcribed for performance on instruments, the first violins playing the treble line, the second violins playing the alto line, and so on. It is also possible that instruments, doubling the vocal lines, accompanied the chant. Performance of the chant is not recorded in any surviving source, however it is likely that its performance was integral to the service which constituted the Mercer's benefit concerts. The presentation of this work and its apparent revision are discussed in Chapter 3.

Six surviving parts for Handel's Overture to *Esther* HWV 50 are contained in *IRL–Dmh* Mss 45–50.²⁴¹ There is no record of the overture to *Esther* ever having been performed

²³⁹ The chant has been attributed to Pelham Humfrey by Robert Prescott Stewart. Inside the front cover of *IRL–Dmh* Mss 24 (vn I) and 31 (vn II) Stewart has written the following notes: 'an orchestral version of P. Humphreys chant; and a voice part for it appears at top of page 1 of this book. It seems to have been used for the Gloria Patri at the performances of Sacred Music held in St Andrews Church for the benefit of the Hospital', see *IRL–Dmh* Ms 24 (vn I). 'on page 1 of this part, is an attempt to write down the voice part of this chant which seems to have been used for the Gloria Patri in St Andrews Church', see *IRL–Dmh* Ms 31 (vn II).

²⁴⁰ Dennison, *Pelham Humfrey*, Music Britannica XXXV, pp. xvii, 120; Dennison, *Humfrey*, pp. 75, 115.

²⁴¹ Corelli's Concerto No. 8 and Handel's Overture to *Esther* are bound in the same six volumes, *IRL–Dmh* Mss 45–50. See Appendix 3.

at a Mercer's Hospital benefit concert, nevertheless it seems likely that the overture and Corelli's concerto were performed at the same benefit concert(s) as both works are copied on conjoined folio and the parts appear to date from the late 1740s to the 1750s.²⁴² Handel composed *Esther*, his first oratorio, in 1718 while he was still under the patronage of James Brydges, the Duke of Chandos and Earl of Carnarvon. *Esther* was extensively revised in 1732 and the re-worked version was first performed under the composer's direction, at the King's Theatre Haymarket, London, on 10 June of that year.²⁴³ The overture was regularly played as a prelude at the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy.²⁴⁴ The overture to *Esther* would have aptly served as a prelude to the Mercer's benefit concerts (cathedral service), signifying commencement of the proceedings and thus following the example from the work's inclusion at the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy.

Brian Boydell records twenty-one Dublin performances of *Esther* all of which took place between 1742 and 1757. The Charitable Musical Society performed the oratorio a number of times and it was also performed at various benefit concerts in the city. The advertisement recording the first Dublin performance of *Esther*, which took place at the Fishamble Street Theatre on 3 February 1742, describes the oratorio as *Esther* 'with additions', obviously referring to the revised version of the work.²⁴⁵

²⁴² See Chapter 3 Section 3.3 Dating the Collection.

²⁴³ George Frideric Handel, *Esther* HWV 50a, Howard von Sewer (ed.), Serie I: Oratorios and Grand Cantatas Band 8 Hallische Händel Ausgabe (Kassel, London, 1995), pp. xiii–xix; Hicks, 'Handel', *NGD* II 10, pp. 751, 754–5, 784; Burrows, *Chapel Royal*, pp. 288–97.

²⁴⁴ Deutsch, *Documentary Biography*, p. 271

²⁴⁵ Boydell, *Calendar*, pp. 77–8, 80, 101, 106, 109, 111–2, 118–9, 124, 132, 138, 143, 149–50, 156, 170, 176, 194, 225. The benefit concerts referred to here include benefit concerts put on by an individual musician to provide a source of income and not hospital benefit concerts.

A distinct change in Mercer's programming is observed at the benefit concert of 6 February 1759. Handel's oratorio *Acis and Galatea* HWV 49 was performed at Fishamble Street Theatre on this occasion.²⁴⁶ This performance was exceptional for a number of reasons. The Mercer's benefit concerts usually took place at twelve noon, however the performance of *Acis and Galatea* took place at either 6:30 or 7 o'clock in the evening. The later performance time must have been arranged to facilitate the marriage of Lord Mornington, Garret Colley Wesley, to the eldest daughter of Viscount Dungannon, which took place earlier that day.²⁴⁷ Lord Mornington Garret Wesley was the son of Baron Mornington Richard Wesley who died in 1758. Richard Wesley was on the hospital's board of governors and was a dedicated supporter of the Mercer's benefit concerts since they began in 1736. On his father's death Garret Wesley was appointed to the hospital's board of governors. He established the Musical Academy in 1757 and he was engaged as a conductor at the 1759 Mercer's performance of *Acis and Galatea*, which would account for the necessity to reschedule this particular performance.²⁴⁸ Re-scheduling the performance would also have ensured a better attendance. No music for this work survives in the Mercer's Collection. It is possible that the music for the oratorio no longer survives, however parts may have been borrowed from another musical institution or organisation and returned after the performance.

²⁴⁶ It was originally planned to perform the oratorio *Esther* HWV 50 in 1759, see MHMB 1736–72, p. 275; MHMB 1750–68, p. 130.

²⁴⁷ Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 248; *DJ* 6–10 Feb. 1759; Townsend, *Mercer's*, pp. 44–6, 50–1.

²⁴⁸ Boydell, *Calendar*, pp. 248, 285, 292–3.

Acis and Galatea was regularly performed in eighteenth-century Dublin. The first recorded Dublin performance of the work took place on 1 May 1734, at a benefit performance for soprano Mrs Raffa.²⁴⁹ Thirty subsequent performances, including the single performance in aid of Mercer's Hospital, are recorded in Boydell's *Calendar*.²⁵⁰ The apparent popularity of the oratorio may have inspired the governors of Mercer's hospital to depart from the pieces that were customary. The change in Mercer's programming may also have been arranged to acknowledge Lord Mornington's wedding.

It is evident that not one work by an Irish composer is present among the manuscript sources for the eleven pieces contained in the Mercer's manuscript collection, i.e. *IRL–Dmh* Mss 1–50, indicating that the majority of music performed at the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts was imported. This happened even though a number of Irish or Anglo-Irish composers were active in Dublin throughout the eighteenth century. Most Dublin-based eighteenth-century Irish composers were attached to establishments such as St Patrick's and Christ Church Cathedrals. Mercer's had a good relationship with Dublin's cathedral musicians; members from the two cathedral choirs regularly participated in the annual and bi-annual benefit concerts and between December 1769 and December 1771 Anglo-Irish organist and composer Richard Woodward Junior (1743[?]-1777) conducted at least three Mercer's benefit concerts.

²⁴⁹ Boydell *Calendar*, pp. 56, 288. *Acis and Galatea* was also performed in support of the Hospital for the Incurables, see Chapter 1 The Hospital for the Incurables (Beaumont) and fn. 119.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 248, 300. See fn. 119 and fn. 210.

An anthem composed by Lord Mornington Garret Wesley, *I will give thanks unto thee O Lord*, text from Psalms IX and XVIII, was included at the Mercer's benefit concert that took place on 18 February 1762.²⁵¹ This was the first recorded performance of a work by an Anglo-Irish composer at a Mercer's Hospital benefit concert.

The same day Mr Handel's Te Deum Jubilate and Coronation anthem, were performed at St Andrew's Church with the greatest Decency and Exactness possible, for the Benefit of Mercer's Hospital, several gentlemen assisted at the Performance. His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant honoured the hospital with his Presence; and there was a numerous audience of the Nobility and principal persons in this Kingdom. We think it our Duty to inform the Public, that an Anthem composed on the occasion in a familiar style by the Right Hon the Earl of Mornington, was not less admired by the best Judges; and it is with Pleasure we congratulate our country on the honour which it derives from this composition of a Nobleman, not less distinguished by his Genius than his Virtues.²⁵²

The text of Mornington's anthem, copied from a printed programme, is included in Townsend's history of Mercer's Charitable Hospital. Townsend states that the programme was preserved in Mercer's Hospital and that the music is lost.²⁵³ Unfortunately no programmes documenting the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts survive and there is no reference to the compilation or printing of programmes for the benefit concerts in the surviving hospital administrative records.

An anthem composed by Richard Woodward Junior was performed at two Mercer's benefit concerts, 14 February 1765 and 17 December 1767. The title of the anthem performed on each occasion is not specified.

²⁵¹ Townsend, *Mercer's*, pp. 50–1.

²⁵² *DJ* 16–20 Feb. 1762.

²⁵³ Townsend, *Mercer's*, pp. 50–1.

On Thursday next, Cathedral Service will be performed at St Andrew's Church for the Benefit of Mercer's Hospital when a new anthem composed by Mr Richard Woodward junr. will be performed.

Cathedral Service was performed at St Andrew's Church, for the Benefit of Mercer's Hospital, before a very polite Audience, when an Anthem (composed by MR. [*sic*] Richard Woodward, Jun. of this City) was likewise performed, and for its Grandeur and Elegance of Composition, met with uncommon Approbation.²⁵⁴

On Thursday last MR [*sic*] Handel's Te Deum and two Anthems, one composed by Mr Handel and the other by Mr Richard Woodward was performed at St Andrew's Church with the greatest regularity and exactness possible, for the benefit of Mercer's Hospital. His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant honoured the hospital with his presence and there was a numerous audience and nobility and principal persons of this kingdom.²⁵⁵

Woodward's 1771 printed edition of cathedral music includes seven verse anthems, a number of service settings and chants.²⁵⁶ It is likely that one of the anthems included in this edition was performed as part of the Mercer's programme. A note written by Stewart inside the front cover of *IRL-Dmh* Ms 13 (T) suggests that Woodward's anthem *O be joyful in God* was performed.²⁵⁷ It is also likely that Woodward accompanied performance of his works on the organ. Even though no music for the anthems by Woodward or Mornington survives in the Mercer's collection the inclusion of Anglo-Irish music at the Mercer's benefit concerts during the 1760s is significant. This demonstrates that Dublin repertoire included works composed by Anglo-Irish composers and works by international composers.

²⁵⁴ *DG* 5–9 Feb. and 12–16 Feb. 1765.

²⁵⁵ *PO* 19–22 Dec. 1767.

²⁵⁶ Woodward's anthems include *Behold now praise the Lord*, (3 voices, 2 trebles, bass), *Hear O thou shepherd*, (3 voices countertenor, tenor, bass), *My heart showeth me* (solo bass), *O praise God in his* (4 voices treble, countertenor, tenor, bass), *O be joyful in God* (3 voices & chorus, countertenor, tenor, bass solos), *Sing O ye Heavn's* (4 voices, treble, countertenor, tenor, bass), *They that go down* (3 voices, 2 trebles, tenor).

²⁵⁷ See Appendix 7 *IRL-Dmh* Ms 13 (T).

Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts: Financial Report

The Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts were established in order to provide much needed financial support to the hospital, which also received funding in the form of annual subscriptions, donations, benefactions, legacies, bonds, lands, rents and a state-run lottery. The benefit concerts are referred to in the hospital's administrative records as providing the 'principal support' available to Mercer's during the eighteenth century.²⁵⁸ Financial records specifically in relation to the Mercer's benefit concerts were quite inconsistent. The absence of an organised and systematic accounting system makes it difficult to accurately determine what profits were made. For this reason financial analysis is somewhat speculative. On occasion the profits accrued from Mercer's benefit concerts were recorded in the administrative records see Figure 7. The table at Figure 8 details the finances in relation to the inaugural Mercer's benefit concert.²⁵⁹ As evidenced in Figure 7 profits accrued from benefit concerts were sometimes recorded some months following the actual event.

Fig. 7 Table of Recorded Balances accrued from Mercer's benefit concerts

Concert	L.	s.	d.	Profit/Amount recorded on:
1743 (Dec.)	£228	15	02	3 Dec. 1743
1745 (Dec.)	£104	02	06½	1 Aug. 1747
1749 (Dec.)	£230	08	05	20 Nov. 1750
1750 (Nov.)	£161	15	03½	25 May 1751
1751 (Dec.)	£222	12	02	4 Nov. 1752
1755 (Dec.)	£139	00	05½	6 Mar. 1756
1767 (Dec.)	£123	12	03	4 Feb. 1769 Abstract of Accounts for 1768

²⁵⁸ MHMB 1736–1834; The Charitable Infirmary and the Rotunda Hospital also participated in the State run lottery see Lyons *The Quality of Mercer's*, p. 31.

²⁵⁹ MHMB 1736–72, p. 1.

Fig. 8 Table of accounts 28 May 1736 relating to the Mercer's benefit concert 8 April 1736

Date Received	Income	L.	s.	d.	Date Paid	Expenses	L.	s.	d.
28 May 1736	By cash arising from Yrs tickets	402	18	02½	28 May 1736	Music expenses	2	06	07
28 May	Mr Dobbs tickets	114	08	00	28 May	Performance as paid for by Mr Wesley	14	18	02½
7 June	218 tickets sold	113	05	06	28 May	Fee unknown Performer	0	18	06
					28 May	Mr Dormelly [Donnelly?] Clerk	3	00	00
					7 June	Copyist	8	00	00
	Total from Ticket Sales	630	11	08½		Total Music Expenses	29	03	03½

The table at Figure 9 lists the amounts raised from benefit concerts in support of other Dublin, London and English charities. Money was received by various methods, depending on the organisation. For example, at the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy, collections were made at the rehearsal, at the benefit concert and also at the dinner, which followed in Merchant Taylor's Hall, London. Dublin charity hospitals primarily relied on monies received from ticket sales, however extra donations were also received.²⁶⁰

²⁶⁰ Deutsch, *Documentary Biography*, pp. 270–1, 305, 400, 798–800; Widdess, *Charitable Infirmary*, p. 8; Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 94; *DNL* 30 Aug.–3 Sept. 1743; Boydell, *Rotunda Music*, Appendices IV and V (average figures calculated from the contents of the appendices); See also Chapter 1 The Charitable Infirmary, Dr Steevens' Hospital, The Rotunda Hospital. The information included in the table at Figure 9 is listed in chronological order beginning with the Irish charities followed by the British charities.

Fig. 9 Table of profits made from benefit concerts in support of Dublin and English charities

Charity	Year	Amount Received	Charity Event
Dr Steevens' Hospital, Dublin	1743	£102.19s.6d.	Not clear if sum amounted from one or more benefit concerts
Charitable Infirmary, Dublin	1748	£194.10s.3d.	Amount received from 351 ticket sales for annual benefit concert
Rotunda Hospital, Dublin	1760s	£424.13s.10½d.	Average profit for weekly benefit concerts that took place between May and October
Rotunda Hospital, Dublin	1770s	£593.15s.1d.	Average profit for weekly benefit concerts that took place between May and October
Rotunda Hospital, Dublin	1777	£1101.17s.7d.	Highest recorded profit from 1760–84 for benefit concerts that took place during that period
Festival of the Sons of the Clergy, London	February 1731	£203.9s.0d.	Amount collected at the rehearsal, which took place prior to benefit concert (cathedral service) St Paul's Cathedral, London
Festival of the Sons of the Clergy, London	February 1731	£476.0s.0d.	Amount collected at the dinner which followed the benefit concert (cathedral service) St Paul's Cathedral, London
Festival of the Sons of the Clergy, London	February 1733	£945.10s.3d.	Amount collected at the rehearsal, at the benefit concert (cathedral service) St Paul's Cathedral, London and at the dinner that followed
Festival of the Sons of the Clergy, London	February 1736	£84.3s.6d.	Amount collected from the choir at the benefit concert (cathedral service) St Paul's Cathedral, London
Festival of the Sons of the Clergy, London	February 1736	£505.3s.6d.	Amount collected at the dinner which followed the benefit concert (cathedral service) St Paul's Cathedral, London
Foundling Hospital, London	1751–77	£10,299.0s.0d.	Total amount received from annual performances of <i>Messiah</i> for the period 1751–77
General Hospital, Bath	May 1758	£180.0s.0d.	Amount received following two benefit concerts (26 and 27 April)

Some charities, such as the Rotunda Hospital, Dublin and The Sons of the Clergy, London, appear to have had a greater capacity for acquiring money, mainly due to the format of their respective benefit concerts and the procedures they had in place for acquiring money. The Rotunda Hospital benefit concerts took place three times a week between the months of May and October. The potential for a good financial return was strong due to the charity's busy performance schedule. The Sons of the Clergy organised up to three collections structured around the main benefit concert performance. People in attendance at the rehearsal, the main performance and the dinner most likely contributed to all three collections.

The profits accrued at the Mercer's benefit concerts mainly derived from substantial ticket sales. Tickets were sold for half a guinea each. From examining the financial records it would appear that on many occasions more than half a guinea was received per ticket. The tables in Appendix 4 illustrate how, on numerous occasions, donations were received on entrance to the Mercer's benefit concerts without issue of any tickets. In the case of the 1739 Mercer's benefit concert £1.12s.10d. was received from the Lord Lieutenant i.e. 16s.5d. per ticket.²⁶¹ Although the advertised fee of half a guinea was received from other supporters and attendees, the apparent variation in fee would suggest a number of possibilities: (i) the fee may have varied for different performances, (ii) perhaps there was a price difference according to seating (iii) as the Mercer's benefit concerts were a social charity event it is possible that some of the aristocratic audience members may have made a more substantial contribution than half a guinea for a ticket.

²⁶¹ MHMB 1736–72, p. 92; MHMB 1738–52, p. 52. This figure was not accounted for in the Hospital Minutes until 4 April 1741.

As stated earlier in this chapter, the minute books frequently record the printing of one thousand, and on occasion, fifteen hundred tickets for various Mercer's benefit concerts, see Figure 5.²⁶² If all these tickets were sold at half a guinea each the hospital would have enjoyed a return of £525 for the sale of 1000 tickets or £787.10s. for the sale of 1500 tickets. There was, in theory, the potential to achieve such returns from the benefit concerts either annually or bi-annually. If the hospital printed and sold fifteen hundred tickets during a year in which they held two benefit concerts the figures suggest a potential annual earning of £1,575 from Mercer's benefit concerts alone. However the allocation of tickets to performers, possible fees for rehearsal tickets and/or the provision of complimentary tickets for noted invited guests may account for apparent discrepancies between the number of tickets that were printed and recorded figures for ticket sales.

The minute dated 26 October 1751 indicates that other sources of income were comparable to amounts accrued from the hospital's benefit concerts:

The expense for the year ending Michaelmas last £625	
Annual Subscriptions	£144:14:3
Benefactions & Legacies	£247:13:10½
Benefit by last year's musick [<i>sic</i>]	£161:15:3½ ²⁶³

The amount of £161.15s.3½d. relates to the November 1750 Mercer's benefit concert. As evidenced here income received from benefactions and legacies for the year 1750 was considerably higher than that received from the benefit concert. Benefactions and

²⁶² MHMB 1736–72, pp. 43, 68, 89, 109, 116, 128; MHMB 1738–50, pp. 27, 49, 70, 81, 93.

²⁶³ MHMB 1736–72, p. 221; MHMB 1750–68, p. 22.

legacies would, by nature, be a variable source of income, the amount received being strongly dependent upon the status of the benefactor. Nonetheless the figures quoted above indicate that the November 1750 Mercer's benefit concert provided the hospital with 29% of its income during that period. Inconsistent financial records make it difficult to compare the annual income received from Mercer's benefit concerts with that received from benefactions, legacies and donations. Income received from Mercer's charity sermons was comparable also to that received from benefit concerts, the hospital receiving £330.14s.3d. from the 1807 charity sermon.²⁶⁴ The Mercer's benefit concerts were not immune to eighteenth-century political developments. The poor return for the December 1745 benefit concert is justified in the minute books by stating that this benefit concert took place 'in the time of the Scotch Rebellion'.²⁶⁵

A decline in the hospital's income from benefit concerts and subscriptions is observed from the 1760s.

The governors of Mercer's hospital think it necessary to inform the publick [*sic*] that there are in the new built house 52 beds, but that it is capable of containing many more if their fund was sufficient to maintain them.

To their Annual expense for Intern Patients with the Medicines for the Externs, and incidental Expenses amounts to about £800 per annum.

That their certain annual income exclusive of the benefit arising from the musical performance is scarcely £280 per annum, that the musical performance which at first produced £500 has of late years yielded but about £100.

That several of the most considerable annual subscribers, as the late Lord Chancellor Jocelyn, Dr Hart late Lord Arch Bishop of Tuam, Rt Honble [*sic*] Earl of Arran, Dr Claton late Lord Bishop of Clogher, Mrs Connolly, Rt Honble

²⁶⁴ MHMB 1786–1807, p. 178B.

²⁶⁵ MHMB 1736–72, p. 164; MHMB 1738–50, p. 135

[sic] Edwd Southwell and Luke Gardiner Esqrs Edward Danse being Dead the income of the hospital is thereby considerably diminished.²⁶⁶

The tone and content of the excerpts quoted above provide an interesting contrast to the minute recorded at the governors' meeting dated 10 January 1739 which describes the development of the hospital owing to the success experienced by the benefit concerts.

The Governors of Mercer's Charitable Hospital give this public notice that there will be a sermon Preach'd at St. Andrew's Church on Tuesday the 13th of February next for the support of that charity, Divine Service will be performed as formerly after the Cathedral manner, with Te Deum, Jubilate and two new anthems compos'd by Mr Handel. The favour of the Town having been formerly experienced upon the like occasion and there having been a very extraordinary expense this year by an additional building which will contain 30 more Sick Poor.²⁶⁷

Records show that the hospital's main sources of income were supplemented, on occasion, by other moneymaking methods. These measures were sometimes taken during the years where no benefit concerts took place. Mercer's provided loans, not only for such organisations as the Philharmonic Society, but also for individuals. Extra income in the form of interest received on the repayment of such loans may have proven of great benefit to the financial running of the institution. In 1741 the trustees of the hospital provided the Philharmonic Society with a loan of £200 to purchase an organ. The terms of the loan state that twenty guineas was to be repaid annually and the hospital was to retain ownership 'after such time & notwithstanding the payment of the said Principal.'²⁶⁸ In November 1748 the governors sold music for twenty-five pounds

²⁶⁶ MHMB 1736–72, p. 277; MHMB 1750–68, p. 134.

²⁶⁷ MHMB 1736–72, p. 44; MHMB 1738–50, p. 28. Note that the entry in MHMB 1738–50 records 14 February as the date of the benefit concert and does not record the detail regarding the additional building.

²⁶⁸ MHMB 1736–72, p. 95; MHMB 1738–50, p. 57; Lyons, *The Quality of Mercer's*, p. 31.

and the sale of the Philharmonic organ was also advertised.²⁶⁹ Obviously the loan arranged for the Philharmonic Society was not successful. A benefit concert did not take place in 1748; therefore some action may have been required in order to provide necessary income to the hospital.

A newspaper advertisement detailing the sale of a sermon given by the Rev. Gilbert Austin at the Mercer's charity sermon on 31 January 1796 indicates how at this point, sixty-years after the establishment of benefit concerts, the governors of the hospital may have been turning to other methods in order to acquire funds.

This day is published,

A SERMON,

For the support of Mercer's Hospital, preached at St.

Anne's Church the 31st January, 1796.

By the Rev. GILBERT AUSTIN, A. M.

And printed at the request of the Governors of the
Hospital.

The profits, should any arise from the sale of this sermon, are to be given to the Hospital. To be had at J.

Archer's, 80 Dame Street; R.E Mercier and Co. Anglesea-Street; and Watson and Con, Capel-Street – price,
2s. 2d.²⁷⁰

Only one financial entry relating to the *Messiah* première is included in the minute books. This details the receipt of £18.4s. in return for eleven tickets sold by a Mr

²⁶⁹ 'Dean Owen paid to the Treasurer twenty-five pounds for musick [*sic*] belonging to the late Philharmonick [*sic*] Society and now sold to the Musical Society at Mr Neils Room in Fishamble Street. Agreed that the treasurer give one guinea to Dean Owen to pay for advertising the sale of the Philharmonick [*sic*] Organ'. MHMB 1736–72, p. 181; MHMB 1738–50, p. 153.

²⁷⁰ *SNL*, 25 Feb. 1796.

Wall.²⁷¹ The following excerpt, taken from an account published in the *Dublin Journal* dated 13–17 April 1742, details the amount of money raised on this occasion and how the total fund was divided between the three benefiting charities. The account also reveals how Handel and other participating performers relinquished their payment to the three charities.

It is but Justice to Mr. Handel, that the World should know, he generously gave the Money arising from this Grand Performance, to be equally shared by the Society for relieving Prisoners, the Charitable Infirmary and Mercer's Hospital, for which they will for ever gratefully remember his Name; and that the Gentlemen of the two Choirs, Mr. Dubourg, Mrs. Avolio, and Mrs. Cibber, who all performed their Parts to Admiration, acted also on the same disinterested Principle, satisfied with the deserved Applause of the Publick, [*sic*] and the conscious Pleasure of promoting such useful, and extensive Charity. There were above 700 People in the Room, and the Sum collected for that Noble and Pious Charity amounted to about 400l. out of which 127l. goes to each of these great and pious Charities.²⁷²

The sum of £127 is considerably lower than some amounts raised at typical Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts. Indeed the total amount of £400 is approximately two hundred pounds less than the total amount from ticket sales recorded in the 1736 table of accounts included at Figure 8. It is difficult to say how accurate the numbers are for recorded attendance at these events. Newspaper reports may have been prone to exaggeration. Additional support, in the form of donations received on attendance at the benefit concerts, would undoubtedly have inflated the overall amount received by the charity at different times. This additional support would also have varied depending on who was in attendance.

²⁷¹ MHMB 1736–72, p. 125; MHMB 1738–50, p. 90.

²⁷² *DJ* 13–17 Apr. 1742; *PO* 13–17 Apr. 1742 — this account states that upwards of £400 was raised and the individual amount donated to each charity; *DG* 17–20 Apr. 1742 — this report does not include the amount raised.

In order to examine the expenses the hospital incurred in organising the Mercer's benefit concerts, payment to musicians, hire of venue, payment for advertising, payment to copyists and payment for music, must all be considered. The participation of members of both St Patrick's and Christ Church cathedral choirs is widely documented in the minute books without mention of payment. Extracts from the chapter acts for both cathedrals, already referenced in this chapter, demonstrate how the participation of members of both choirs was agreed on a 'no fee' basis.²⁷³ As Mercer's Hospital was a prestigious charity, it seems likely that performers agreed to perform without payment, however the administrative records contain six entries regarding the payment of performers for their participation. The first recorded payment of 18s.6d. was for an unnamed performer who, according to the hospital's minutes, was 'unable to bestow his trouble gratis and it was resolv'd that he should be paid and his name concealed.'²⁷⁴ In 1741 a Silvan Tubman was paid three half crowns (7s.6d.) for his attendance at the benefit concert. It is not clear if he was a performer, although the wording of the minute dated 7 November 1741 suggests he was a person of some importance.²⁷⁵ This is the earliest item of information confirming that performers engaged at the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts did not usually receive a fee. The choir received payment on one occasion, at the benefit concert of 21 February 1765.²⁷⁶ Three further payments to performers were recorded in the administrative records, one to each of the following, singer Elizabeth Storer, flute player Mr Heron and the orchestra engaged for the *Acis*

²⁷³ See fn. 182–4.

²⁷⁴ MHMB 1736–72, p. 2.

²⁷⁵ MHMB 1736–72, p. 96; MHMB 1738–50, p. 58. 'The Petition Silvan Tubman being read order'd he be paid three half crowns English for his attendance at the last musical and that instructions be given to him to bring in a regular act/account[?] of his attendance for the future', MHMB 1736–72, p. 96.

²⁷⁶ MHMB 1736–72, p. 316; MHMB 1750–68, p. 208.

and *Galatea* HWV 49 performance, see Appendix 4.²⁷⁷ All three payments listed here relate to the 1759 performance of *Acis and Galatea*. The itemisation of expenses for this performance, which took place at the Music Hall on Fishamble Street, is one of the most comprehensive accounts of expenses incurred in relation to music recorded in the hospital minutes. The expenses incurred for the oratorio are comparable to those included in the table at Figure 8 for the inaugural Mercer's benefit concert. The *Acis and Galatea* bill reveals that £12.10s.3d. was paid to the 'band of musick'. The payment of £14.18s.2½d., recorded in Figure 8 as 'Performance as paid for by Mr Wesley', most likely refers to payment of the orchestra on the occasion of the inaugural benefit concert. Weekly payments of the Rotunda band for the years 1760, 1761 and 1762 were as follows; £16.3s.6d. per week (1760), £18.5s.4d. per week (1761) and £18.5s.4d. per week (1762).²⁷⁸ The Rotunda band performed three times a week in return for these payments. It is likely that the Mercer's orchestra was larger than the regular Rotunda orchestra, particularly for this unique performance of Handel's oratorio. The *Acis and Galatea* bill also includes the purchase of candles at a cost of £1.4s.2d.²⁷⁹ Presumably the majority of winter concerts were held during the day in order to avail of the natural light.

An entry in the hospital minutes dated 17 May 1766 records the payment of £5.19s.10d. to a Mr Lefebure[?], who conducted two Mercer's benefit concerts: 14 February 1765 and 19 February 1767. This amount is referred to as being the balance

²⁷⁷ MHMB 1750–68, p. 141.

²⁷⁸ Boydell, *Rotunda Music*, pp. 176–8.

²⁷⁹ MHMB 1750–68, p. 141.

of Mr Lebure's bill of costs.²⁸⁰ The majority of Mercer's performers may not have received cash payment, however payment in kind was received several times, as on the day of the performance either dinner or breakfast was provided for performers.²⁸¹ In return for meals provided after the 1751 benefit concert, a donation of £10 was given to the Charity for the Support of Decayed Musicians. Further donations to this charity were made after the 1753, 1754 and 1755 Mercer's benefit concerts.²⁸²

Incidental expenses accounted for over the years include payments to copyists, the sexton of St Andrew's and payment to an organ blower. The only annual expense which was continually recorded, and which was sometimes in arrears, was the payment of the clerk Isaac Steel.²⁸³ It also appears that the expense incurred from building the gallery for performers in St Andrew's Church in 1738 was covered by the hospital.²⁸⁴

Conclusion

As the first Dublin hospital to benefit from the performance of musical works, Mercer's had a pioneering role in promoting charitable music performance in the city. The success experienced by Mercer's was a catalyst for the establishment of benefit concerts in support of other hospitals and Mercer's proved its durability, continuing for approximately two-thirds of the eighteenth century and competing with six other

²⁸⁰ MHMB 1736–72, p. 324; MHMB 1750–68, p. 222.

²⁸¹ MHMB 1736–72, pp. 87, 144, 225, 251; MHMB 1738–50, pp. 47, 116; MHMB 1750–68, pp. 29, 75.

²⁸² MHMB 1736–72, pp. 225, 231, 237; MHMB 1750–68, pp. 29, 37, 48.

²⁸³ Boydell's *Calendar* includes an entry describing a character called Crazy Crow, who was paid one guinea as musical porter after the benefit concert of 4 December 1755. See Boydell, *Calendar*, pp. 89, 275–6; MHMB 1750–68, p. 75. For payments to copyists see MHMB 1736–72, pp. 2, 237, 251; MHMB 1750–68, pp. 48, 75. For payment to the sexton of St Andrew's see MHMB 1736–72, pp. 191, 251; MHMB 1738–50, p. 161; MHMB 1750–68, p. 75. For payment to the organ blower see MHMB 1736–72, p. 127. For payments to Isaac Steel see MHMB 1736–72, pp. 54, 98, 124; MHMB 1738–50, p. 89.

²⁸⁴ See Table 1 Appendix 4 and MHMB 1736–72, p. 24.

hospitals. Mercer's pioneering role in terms of musical promotion is further emphasised when compared with the two other main representations of eighteenth-century art music i.e. theatre music and music performed within a liturgical context. The purpose of introducing music into the theatres was to provide entertainment. Music performed in a liturgical context contributed towards the solemnity experienced in cathedral and church worship. The main purpose of musical performance within the context of the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts was to raise money and this is the earliest Irish example of charity concert promotion.

This chapter provides a comprehensive insight into the management, organisation, format, content, repertoire and finances associated with Mercer's Hospital's eighteenth-century benefit concerts and it is the first account to document the occurrence of benefit concerts in support of the hospital from 1736 to 1780. The possible cessation or gradual transformation from benefit concerts to charity sermons after 1780 demonstrates that fundraising events in support of Mercer's continued for almost one hundred years (1736–1833). The benefit concerts were not the hospital's principal source of income and amounts received from benefactions, rents, and legacies often exceeded profits accrued from the benefit concerts. However, benefit concerts were a significant source of regular income contributing greatly towards the hospital's development, allowing it to expand its capacity for beds and patients, permitting the hospital to cater more effectively for Dublin's sick poor.

Handel's contribution to Mercer's, both directly through the *Messiah* première, and indirectly, through the regular performance of his works in the Mercer's programme, was undoubtedly of great significance. The impact of *Messiah* does not appear to have affected the success of the benefit concerts either way, which had already experienced audiences of up to eight hundred people prior to 1742.²⁸⁵ However, the association between Mercer's and *Messiah* may have brought a new level of attention to the charity, raising its profile even further, and possibly contributing to the successful continuation of this series of benefit concerts, which in 1742 had been established for six years only.

Mercer's hospital was the only charity to hold regular annual and bi-annual performances, to perform sacred Handelian works and to regularly use a church venue, which was necessary as the benefit concerts consisted of a church or cathedral style service. Largely reliant on the performance of sacred Handelian works, and influenced by developments at London events such as the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy, the Mercer's benefit concerts demonstrate little development of repertoire. Despite the introduction of the 'Dettingen' *Te Deum* to the repertoire in 1745, it is likely that the 'Utrecht' *Te Deum–Jubilate* HWV 278–9 and not the 'Dettingen' continued to be performed at the majority of Mercer's benefit concerts owing to the fact that no parts for the latter are present in the collection. As the 'Dettingen' *Te Deum* was less popular at the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy this too may have influenced Mercer's to revert and continue to perform the 'Utrecht' music. In view of the uncertainty surrounding the inclusion of the overture to *Esther* at the benefit concerts and the two isolated

²⁸⁵ An account of the 1739 benefit concert records an audience of eight hundred in attendance, see MHMB 1736–72, p. 48; MHMB 1738–50, p. 5.

performances of Corelli's concerto, the contents of *IRL-Dmh* Mss 45–50 are not representative of the regular repertoire performed at the Mercer's benefit concerts. Any of the works contained in the core repertoire could have been performed within the context of a cathedral service, despite being too long for regular cathedral use. Moreover due to restricted performing numbers an orchestra would not usually be engaged in this context.

Apart from the two Dublin cathedrals, Christ Church and St Patrick's, the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts provided one of the main outlets for the performance of sacred music in the city. Mercer's benefit concerts also brought about the inclusion of orchestral anthems by leading English cathedral composers (Maurice Greene, William Boyce) to the Dublin repertoire and they provided a platform for the performance of music by leading Anglo-Irish composers (Lord Mornington, Richard Woodward). The performance of works which no longer survive in the collection i.e. the anthems by Mornington and Woodward, suggests that Mercer's repertoire was more varied than the surviving collection reflects.

CHAPTER 3

MUSIC FOR MERCER'S: AN ANALYSIS

The Mercer's Hospital Music Collection is possibly the largest surviving Irish collection of eighteenth-century music apart from that which survives in the collections of St Patrick's and Christ Church Cathedrals.²⁸⁶ This chapter gives a detailed analysis of the Mercer's Collection, providing a comprehensive account of its background and contents. The collection contains fifty vocal and instrumental manuscript part-books, *IRL-Dmh* Mss 1–50, (twenty-two vocal *IRL-Dmh* Mss 1–22 and twenty-eight instrumental *IRL-Dmh* Mss 23–50) and seven printed volumes of instrumental music, *IRL-Dmh* Mss 51–7. (See Appendix 6). The surviving music provides primary evidence for the type of repertoire performed at Mercer's Hospital's eighteenth-century series of benefit concerts, which ran from 1736 to 1780 at least.²⁸⁷ Through the identification, examination and analysis of several adaptations and revisions made to some works in the surviving manuscript part-books (*IRL-Dmh* Mss 1–50), the Mercer's Collection affords an insight into eighteenth-century Dublin performance practice issues. The manuscript works appear to have been copied at various stages between 1736 and 1771. Examination of the collection's provenance raises several questions in terms of source studies and reveals how the collection relates to extant Irish and British manuscript collections. The surviving printed music (*IRL-Dmh* Mss 51–7) provides evidence for the transmission of instrumental music by popular European composers to Dublin. The contents of both the Mercer's manuscript and printed collections have

²⁸⁶ The surviving music collections belonging to St Patrick's and Christ Church Cathedrals are housed at the Representative Church Body Library, Braemor Park, Churchtown, Dublin. See catalogue *IRL-Drcb*.

²⁸⁷ As evidenced in the previous chapter the benefit concerts continued until 1780 at least, however the 1780 benefit concert included a performance of *Messiah* and not the usual repertoire.

been catalogued according to RISM (Répertoire International des Sources Musicales) guidelines. The RISM cataloguing process and the advantages attached to this method are explained and discussed in Chapter 3 Section 3.6.

In order to discuss each topic clearly and in detail, the chapter is divided into the following six sections:

- 3.1 *Background to the Mercer's Hospital Music Collection*
- 3.2 *Music for Mercer's: Adaptations, Revisions and Anomalies*
- 3.3 *Dating the Collection*
- 3.4 *Comparison of Sources and Transmission Route*
- 3.5 *The Printed Sources*
- 3.6 *RISM (Répertoire International des Sources Musicales)*

Issues discussed in Sections 3.1 to 3.4 are relevant to the Mercer's manuscript sources only, *IRL-Dmh* Mss 1–50. Section 3.1 provides a description of the Mercer's Manuscript Collection, its condition and presentation. This sets the manuscript collection and its contents in context and clarifies the criteria applied for its subsequent analysis and examination under the remaining three sections.

3.1 Background to the Mercer's Hospital Music Collection

The Mercer's Hospital Manuscript Collection contains fifty individual manuscript part-books, with as many as ten works bound together in each volume. The music contained therein is in very good condition. There is no evidence of significant damage or deterioration and all the music is clearly legible. The apparent infrequent use of the

Mercer's parts (the Mercer's benefit concerts took place at most twice a year) accounts for the good condition of the collection. Information contained in the hospital's administrative records suggests that the music was kept in storage between performances and occasionally was on loan to other institutions and organisations.

Fig. 10 References to storage and possible ownership of the music used at the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts

Governors' Meeting 15 November 1740

Ordered that John Putland Esq be desired to apply to Mrs Goodwin for the Musick [*sic*] in her hands and delivered to Mrs Goodwin by Mr Dobbs.

Governors' Meeting 6 December 1740

Whereas Mr Lindon in the Name of the Musical Academy in Crow Street has consented the Musical books now in the custody of the Exers of the late Revd [*sic*] Mr Goodwin shall be deposited in Mercer's Hospital and then he will give an order to that purpose.

Ordered and agreed with the said Mr Lindon that the Governors of this hospital will receive the said books as a Trust and engage to restore them and every one of them to the right owners as soon as the property shall be determined and in the mean time to allow the full and free use of them to the said Academy upon their giving a proper Receipt under Mr Lindon's hand and promise of returning them in a limited time reserving also to themselves the same use of them when they shall have occasion.

It is further agreed and ordered that the limited time mentioned shall not be understood to extend beyond four days.

Governors' Meeting 10 January 1741

The Rt Honable [*sic*] Lord Anglesey, Mr Lyndon and Mr Dubourg claimed the Musick [*sic*] here in Right of the Musical Academy in Crow Street and declare that the Academy will not agree to giving the hospital any promise of returning said musick [*sic*] to the hospital or of depositing it here but insist upon its being absolutely delivered up to them, but agree that the Academy will enter into and sign a resolution that it shall be but to the hospital whenever the hospital have occasion to make use thereof.

Ordered that a general board be summoned to meet on Monday to consider of the above demand and proposal.

Governors' Meeting 12 January 1741

Agreed the secretary be desired to write to Mr Lindon for the musical books necessary for the performance and that he be empowered to give a promise of returning them if required.

Governors' Meeting 12 [14] November 1741

Ordered that Doctr Wynne be desir'd to get the Musick [*sic*] necessary for the performance from Mr Dubourg and that he be empowered to engage [*sic*] that they shall be return'd if such a promise be requir'd.

Governors' Meeting 3 February 1743

The Following parts of Musick [*sic*] were deliver'd by Mr McFarran to Isaac Steel, 1 Trumpet, 2 Hautboys, 5 Violins, 4 Canto's [*sic*], 1 Bass, being the property of this hospital – the said parts are this day deliver'd to Richard Wesley Esqr.

Governors' Meeting 12 November 1743

Order'd that Doctr [*sic*] Wynne be desir'd to apply to Mr Dubourg for the Musick [*sic*] necessary for the ensuing performance and be hereby warranted to ingauge [*sic*] for the restoring it when the performance shall be over and that Isaac Steell [*sic*] immediately acquaint him there with.

Governors' Meeting 17 November 1743

Order'd that John Putland Esq and Dean Hutchinson apply to Mr Dubourg for the Musick [*sic*] necessary for the ensuing Performance and be hereby warranted to engage for the returning it when the performance shall be over. Dr Wynne having been prevented applying to him by his indisposition.

Order'd that the Musick [*sic*] belonging to this Hospital be constantly deposited with the Treasurer and not deliver'd out by him but persuent [*sic*] to the order of this board upon a receipt and promise of returning it from the person to whome [*sic*] it shall be deliver'd.

Governors' Meeting 10 November 1744

That John Putland Esq and Dean Hutchinson apply to Mr Dubourg for the Musick [*sic*] necessary for said Performance and be here by warranted to engage [*sic*] for returning it when the performance shall be over.

Governors' Meeting 3 December 1748

Agreed that the reverend dean owen [*sic*] be desired to treat with Mr Church for such pieces of Musick [*sic*] in his possession as are usefull [*sic*] in the musical performance for the benefit of this hospital.

Governors' Meeting 7 December 1754

The Revd [*sic*] Mr Edkins is hereby desired to provide such musick [*sic*] as he shall judge necessary for any future performance.

Governors' Meeting 24 November 1759

Memorandum [*sic*] the scores of the musick [*sic*] belonging to this hospital and all the parts are left with Mr George Walsh by Mr Carre upon his going to England except those lately copied which are in the custody of Dr Hutchinson.²⁸⁸

The hospital minutes reveal the frequent circulation of music within Dublin, between different organisations and individuals who had an involvement with music in the city. Some entries are ambiguous and create uncertainties regarding the ownership of the music, which appears to have been kept in storage between performances. The circulation of music would account for the loss of parts and the need to re-copy parts.

The following list provides an example of the type of anomalies identified in the Mercer's manuscripts, missing parts, incomplete works, the adaptation of parts and errors in copying. Copying errors identified include missing beats or too many beats, the absence of text, the omission of titles, missing bar-lines, missing time signatures and discrepancies in pitch, rhythm, text, performance directions and scoring. The duplication of works within some part-books together with the misrepresentation of parts in other part-books within the core repertoire (*IRL-Dmh* Mss 1–44) are also evident. The title of the part-book is printed on a small label affixed to the front cover of the majority of part-books in the collection, however this title does not always correspond to all the parts that are contained therein.²⁸⁹ For example *IRL-Dmh* Ms 35 is a viola part-book. 'Viola Mercer's Hospital' is written on the front cover, however a

²⁸⁸ MHMB 1736–72, pp. 82, 84–6, 98, 113, 120–1, 130, 184, 243, 285; MHMB 1738–50 pp. 41, 44–5, 59, 76, 85–6, 97, 157; MHMB 1750–68, pp. 58, 149.

²⁸⁹ Hendrie, HHA Serie III: Band 9, p. 328. In the critical commentary Hendrie describes the labels as follows: 'the part-books have actual pasted-on labels, apparently original'. The original titles are printed in red ink.

violoncello part for Greene's anthem *Sing we merrily* is contained in the part-book, no viola part for Greene's anthem is contained in *IRL–Dmh* Ms 35 (va). Figure 11 provides a summary of the contents and the misrepresentation of parts within each volume in the core-repertoire. The order of information is presented according to the year of birth for each composer. The first column lists the composer and his date of birth and death, the second column lists the title of each work and its date of composition, the third column lists the part-book in which each work is bound and the fourth column lists general information regarding the duplication of parts and incomplete parts. This information further verifies that the parts were not bound until after they were withdrawn from use.

Fig. 11 Summary of the contents of the Mercer's Hospital Music Collection, *IRL–Dmh* Mss 1–44, and the misrepresentation of parts within the collection

Composer	Work and Date of Composition	Part-Books Found	General Comments
Pelham Humfrey (1647–74)	Chant in C (Date of composition unknown) <i>Gloria</i> [?]	<i>IRL–Dmh</i> Mss 23–44 (instrumental parts only) Ms 24 (vn I) and Ms 31 (vn II)	Two copies in <i>IRL–Dmh</i> Mss 23 (vn I), 29 (vn II), 30 (vn II) and 36 (vc). Three copies in Ms 44 (timp).
Henry Purcell (1659–95)	<i>Te Deum–Jubilate</i> in D Zim.232 (1694)	<i>IRL–Dmh</i> Ms 36 (vc) only (a single cello part)	
George Frideric Handel (1685–1759)	'Utrecht' <i>Te Deum</i> HWV 278 (1713)	All except <i>IRL–Dmh</i> Mss 6 (S), 7 (S), 16 (T), 33 (va) and 44 (timp)	Incomplete in <i>IRL–Dmh</i> Mss 1 (vl) and 9 (A). Incomplete alto and tenor parts bound in <i>IRL–Dmh</i> Ms 9 (A). Two copies in <i>IRL–Dmh</i> Ms 43 (tr).

George Frideric Handel (1685–1759)	‘Utrecht’ <i>Jubilate</i> HWV 279 (1713)	All except <i>IRL–Dmh</i> Mss 6 (S), 7 (S), 16 (T) and 44 (timp)	Incomplete in <i>IRL–Dmh</i> Mss 1 (vl), 9 (A) and 15 (T). Incomplete alto and tenor parts bound in <i>IRL–Dmh</i> Ms 9 (A). <i>Jubilate</i> only in <i>IRL–Dmh</i> Ms 33 (va). Two copies in <i>IRL–Dmh</i> Ms 43 (tr).
George Frideric Handel (1685–1759)	<i>I will magnify thee</i> HWV 250b (1724?)	All except <i>IRL–Dmh</i> Mss 1 (vl), 11 (A), 33 (va) and 42 (ob II)	Title of work only present in <i>IRL–Dmh</i> Mss 11 (A) and 42 (ob II).
George Frideric Handel (1685–1759)	<i>Let God arise</i> HWV 256b (1726?)	All except <i>IRL–Dmh</i> Mss 1 (vl), 33 (va) and 42 (ob II)	Two copies in <i>IRL–Dmh</i> Ms 34 (va).
George Frideric Handel (1685–1759)	<i>Zadok the priest</i> HWV 258 (1727)	All except <i>IRL–Dmh</i> Mss 1 (vl), 8 (A) and 33 (va)	Incomplete in <i>IRL–Dmh</i> Ms 7 (S). Two copies in <i>IRL–Dmh</i> Mss 14 (T) and 22 (B). Three copies in <i>IRL–Dmh</i> Ms 44 (timp), two of which are incomplete.
George Frideric Handel (1685–1759)	<i>Let thy hand</i> HWV 259 (1727)	<i>IRL–Dmh</i> Ms 30 (vn II) only (a single violin II part)	
George Frideric Handel (1685–1759)	<i>The King shall rejoice</i> HWV 260 (1727)	<i>IRL–Dmh</i> Mss 11 (A), 12 (T), 19 (T), 20 (B), 22 (B), 24–26 (vn I), 28 (vn II), 30 (vn III), 32 (vn II), 34–5 (va), 37–8 (vc), 39 (Bs/bsn), 41 (ob I), 42 (ob II), 43 (tr), 44 (timp)	Incomplete in all part-books except <i>IRL–Dmh</i> Mss 30 (vn III), 43 (tr) and 44 (timp). Two copies of the final two movements in <i>IRL–Dmh</i> Ms 43 (tr).
George Frideric Handel (1685–1759)	<i>My heart is inditing</i> HWV 261 (1727)	All except <i>IRL–Dmh</i> Mss 1 (vl) and 33 (va)	Two copies in <i>IRL–Dmh</i> Mss 16 (T), 43 (tr) and 44

			(timp).
Maurice Greene (1696–1755)	<i>Sing we merrily unto God our strength</i> (1740)	All except <i>IRL– Dmh</i> Mss 1 (vl) and 33 (va)	Cello part bound in viola part-book <i>IRL–Dmh</i> Ms 35 (va). Bassoon and double bass part bound in cello part- book <i>IRL–Dmh</i> Ms 37 (vc).
William Boyce (1711–79)	<i>Blessed is he that considereth the sick</i> (1741)	All except <i>IRL– Dmh</i> Mss 1 (vl) and 33 (va)	Basso part bound in <i>IRL–Dmh</i> Ms 37 (vc) a cello part- book. Flute part included in oboe part-book <i>IRL–Dmh</i> Ms 42 (ob II).

In terms of the number of surviving parts, the collection is very comprehensive overall. Gaps in the collection can be identified through the lack of surviving parts for trumpets and the identification of missing parts and movements for Handel’s coronation anthem *The King shall rejoice* HWV 260. Given the longevity of the Mercer’s benefit concerts and the age of the collection it is likely that some parts were lost or perhaps were destroyed at some stage.

Trumpets are scored for all works in the core repertoire (*IRL–Dmh* Mss 1–44) except the Chapel Royal anthems *I will magnify thee* HWV 250b and *Let God arise* HWV 256b. Trumpet II parts for the ‘Utrecht’ *Te Deum–Jubilate* HWV 278–9, three of the coronation anthems; *Zadok the priest* HWV 258, *The King shall rejoice* HWV 260 and *My heart is inditing* HWV 261, and the orchestral anthems by Greene and Boyce survive in the collection. Only two copies of trumpet I music survive. The two trumpet

I parts are contained in *IRL–Dmh* Ms 44 (timp) and are for the coronation anthem *My heart is inditing* HWV 261. Trumpet III is scored throughout *Zadok the priest* HWV 258, in No. 1, 3, 4 and 5 in *The King shall rejoice* HWV 260 and in No. 1 and No. 4 in *My heart is inditing* HWV 261. No trumpet III parts survive for any work contained in the Mercer’s collection.

Handel’s coronation anthem *The King shall rejoice* HWV 260 is incomplete in seventeen of the twenty Mercer’s part-books in which it is present. The first movement is the best represented and is complete in all parts. The majority of other movements are incomplete or missing. Mercer’s parts do not survive for treble, alto I, trumpet I, trumpet III and organ. The surviving parts for the *King shall rejoice* are discussed in detail in Section 3.2 in relation to the adaptation of parts and identified anomalies in the collection.

It is also important to note that only a single surviving violin II part for the coronation anthem *Let thy hand be strengthened* HWV 259 and a single violoncello part for Purcell’s *Te Deum-Jubilate* Z.232 survive in the collection. See *IRL–Dmh* Ms 30 (vn II) and *IRL–Dmh* Ms 36 (vc) respectively. The presence of single parts for some works in the collection suggests that perhaps this music was on loan to Mercer’s and not all parts were returned. Only one performance of Purcell’s *Te Deum* was recorded, at the Mercer’s benefit concert of 7 December 1749. Uncertainties regarding the performance of specific coronation anthems are discussed in Chapter 2.

Archival work on *IRL–Dmh* Mss 1–44 was completed by Stuart O’ Sullivan, a member of staff at the Manuscripts and Archives Research Library, Trinity College Dublin. In the Mercer’s Collection several musical works are bound together to comprise a part-book (forty-four part-books, each containing between seven and ten works in total). The majority of individual works include original pagination i.e. the work was paginated at the same time that the music was copied. Standardised pagination was added to each volume by O’Sullivan in 1993 where the page number, beginning on the first page of the manuscript and following sequentially to the last page of the manuscript, is written in pencil and is included at the top right or left hand corner of each page. The table at Figure 12 provides an example listing the contents of *IRL–Dmh* Ms 2 (S). The total number of pages in the volume has been provided as an indication of the size of the volume (part-book) and individual works are listed with their original pagination followed by the standardised pagination in square brackets. In keeping with standard archival practice, O’Sullivan has not paginated the majority of folios that contain empty staves.²⁹⁰

Fig. 12 *IRL–Dmh* Ms 2 (S), pp. 1–56

List of works	Pagination
‘Utrecht’ <i>Te Deum</i> HWV 278	1–10 [1–10]
‘Utrecht’ <i>Jubilate</i> HWV 279	10–16 [10–16]
<i>My heart is inditing</i> HWV 261	1–7 [17–23]
<i>Zadok the priest</i> HWV 258	No original pagination [25–28]
<i>Sing we merrily unto God our strength</i>	1–11 [29–39]
<i>I will magnify thee</i> HWV 250b	1–7 [41–47]
<i>Let God arise</i> HWV 256b	No original pagination [49–52]
<i>Blessed is he that considereth the sick</i>	No original pagination [53–56]

²⁹⁰ O’Sullivan used pagination and not foliation in his archival examination of the Mercer’s Collection. O’Sullivan’s initials (SOS) are present at the back of all manuscript volumes in the core repertoire (Mss 1–44), except *IRL–Dmh* Mss 1 (vl) and 33 (va). The archival description was kindly provided by Kate Manning, Archivist, University Archives Service UCD Archives, James Joyce Library, UCD Belfield, Dublin 4, received via email on 12 Apr. 2010.

The same order is consistently employed in each manuscript volume where the works are bound as outlined in Figure 12 above. Where present in the collection the anthem *The King shall rejoice* HWV 260 is bound between the anthems *Zadok the priest* HWV 258 and *Sing we merrily*. Parts contained in *IRL–Dmh* Mss 43 (tr) and 44 (timp) include trumpet II and timpani music. These instruments are not scored for all works contained in the collection. Therefore the order of works bound in *IRL–Dmh* Mss 43 (tr II) and *IRL–Dmh* Ms 44 (timp) differ from the majority of part-books.

Describing the Mercer's manuscript volumes as part-books in the traditional sense is inaccurate due to the order in which the material has been bound. The music in its current format has been arranged for ease of storage and safekeeping and not for performance purposes. The misrepresentation of parts within certain part-books, the absence and duplication of works within other part-books, coupled with the presence of standardized and original pagination in *IRL–Dmh* Mss 1–44, all suggest that this music was not bound until after the parts had been withdrawn from use. The manner in which each volume has been bound i.e. stab bound with hard covers, does not facilitate use of the material on music desks, which would indeed have been necessary for instrumentalists participating at the Mercer's benefit concerts. Blue hard covers present on all but two volumes of the first forty-four part-books were typically used up to 1850.²⁹¹ It is possible that the Mercer's part-books were bound c.1775–85. Some are

²⁹¹ Professor Donald Burrows has observed that the covers used in the Mercer's Collection are like those used for William Boyce's George III Coronation Anthems. Boyce composed nine anthems for the coronation of King George III in 1761; *Behold O God our defender*, *Come Holy Ghost*, *I was glad*, *Let*

bound in quarter sheep and many in quarter calf. The use of either type of binding together with the blue hard covers was common for the period.²⁹² Other evidence suggests binding did not occur until later, possibly the early nineteenth century. Two references to the binding of the music are contained in the hospital's administrative records, the first at the governors' meeting of 1 December 1753 and the second at the governors' meeting of 3 December 1757.

Order'd that the Treasurer do pay ten pounds to the charity for decayed musicians and the bill for writing and binding musick [*sic*] and the usual cost attending the musical performance.

Agreed that Mr Carre be requested to order the Musical Books belonging to the hospital to be bound and Dr Boyces [*sic*] Anthem Composed for the Hospital to be copied.²⁹³

The content and context of both references suggest that parts were bound between performances presumably for storage purposes. The parts bear the evidence of several sets of pinholes. Pinholes are significant when establishing how sheets of music paper were ruled, however the presence of several sets of pinholes may signify the temporary re-binding of parts. As the hospital's administrative records document the occurrence of charity sermons between 1786 and 1833 it is possible that parts were not bound in their current format until the early years of the nineteenth century.²⁹⁴ The way in which the parts are bound suggests that this would not have been done until the governors of Mercer's were reasonably sure that the music would not be used in performance again.

my prayer come up, My heart is inditing, Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem, The King shall rejoice, The Lord is a sun. IRL-Dmh Mss 1 (v1) and 33 (va) have been placed in acid free folders.

²⁹² Information kindly provided by Dr Charles Benson, Department of Early Printed Books, Trinity College Library, College Street, Dublin 2, via email on 9 June 2010.

²⁹³ MHMB 1736–72, pp. 237, 267; MHMB 1750–68, pp. 48, 113.

²⁹⁴ The hospital administrative records contain no reference to the performance of music at the nineteenth-century charity sermons. See Chapter 2 for a full description of the Mercer's Hospital charity sermons.

The collection has not evaded musicological investigation since the music was withdrawn from use. Robert Prescott Stewart (1825–94) examined the parts and his handwriting and comments pervade the collection. Stewart was appointed professor of music at Trinity College Dublin in 1861 and became a professor of the Irish Academy of Music in 1871. He was a very accomplished organist, conductor, composer and teacher active in many Dublin musical organisations during the mid-nineteenth century.²⁹⁵ Stewart listed the contents of the majority of Mercer’s part-books at the beginning of the volume and also included handwritten titles or headings on the front cover of the majority of part-books in the collection.²⁹⁶ Stewart’s headings accompany the apparently original labels affixed to the front cover of each manuscript volume. His handwritten comments indicate that he critically examined and analysed the contents of the Mercer’s Collection, and identified parts, works and composers present therein. Stewart identified errors in parts such as the omission of text, incomplete works, and the incorrect binding of parts. He also attempted to make corrections to some parts through writing in clef changes, adding accidental signs and inserting text. He includes notes on possible Mercer’s performers — the names of several eighteenth-century Dublin musicians are written on various parts in the collection. Stewart’s annotations also reveal that he attempted to date the collection and draw conclusions regarding its provenance. Stewart’s handwriting is very distinctive through his use of red, purple and

²⁹⁵ Husk and Ryan, ‘Robert (Prescott) Stewart’, *NGD* II 24, p. 383.

²⁹⁶ Robert Prescott Stewart’s handwriting is identified on flyleaf iii in *IRL–Dmh* Ms 25 (vn I). Stewart’s handwriting also pervades the surviving music manuscript sources contained in the St Patrick’s Cathedral Collection. Information kindly provided by Dr Kerry Houston.

blue ink. A complete list of his annotations and comments are included in Appendix 7 of this thesis.

Considering the era in which Stewart lived and worked, the presence of his handwritten comments on Mercer's parts for *The King shall rejoice* HWV 260 would indicate that this work has been incomplete since the 1860s or 1870s at least, and possibly earlier. In fact Stewart's comments tell us that the Mercer's collection, as it is currently bound and presented, has not altered from the era in which he examined the collection. It seems likely therefore that the Mercer's parts were collated and bound prior to the mid-nineteenth century. The Mercer's Collection was not on deposit in Trinity College during Stewart's professorship, it remained in the possession of Mercer's hospital until it was deposited in the Manuscripts and Archives Research Library, Trinity College, Dublin, in May 1981. Due to his professional position and reputation Stewart was probably well known to the senior staff in Mercer's. It is unclear if his interest in the collection was from a musicological perspective only or if he had intended directing performances of Mercer's works.

3.2 Music for Mercer's: Adaptations, Revisions and Anomalies

Examination of the surviving Mercer's parts contained in *IRL-Dmh* Mss 1–50 reveals that the works performed at the hospital's annual and bi-annual benefit concerts were significantly adapted, presumably to accommodate performing forces available in eighteenth-century Dublin. Identified adaptations, which include the substitution of parts and changes in scoring, are indicative of the constraints experienced in eighteenth-

century Dublin performance practice, particularly in relation to the performance of service settings and orchestral anthems. The adaptation of Mercer's parts has been achieved through the attachment of extra staves of music to some folios, the pasting-in of staves of music to other folios (it is not possible to view the material covered by pasted-in staves), the removal of parts and the omission of parts.²⁹⁷ Some adaptations were included at the time of copying, showing no evidence of pasted-in material.

The result of the identified adaptations and revisions is very significant when attempting to classify the surviving Mercer's parts for each work in the collection. The majority of surviving parts are designated, for example the part i.e. 'alto primo' or 'violin secundo' is written on title pages of most surviving works. However, mainly due to adaptations, discrepancies can be identified in this respect i.e. the contents of the parts sometimes differ from the part indicated on the title page. This is also very significant when considering how several parts in the collection have been incorrectly bound. Gerald Hendrie states the following in relation to the surviving Mercer's sources for Handel's Chapel Royal anthems *I will magnify thee* HWV 250b and *Let God arise* HWV 256b.

Caution is necessary with regard to the bass parts of HWV 250b and 256b in D7. The part-book labelled 'Basso' [...] has had the letters 'on' added in red ink, making 'Bassoon'. However, this part-book is a compilation of Basso, Bassoon and Violoncello parts. For HWV 250b the part is, in fact, a genuine Basso part (as first described on the outer label) and not a Bassoon part; it is thus a duplicate Basso copy. For HWV 256b, the part within the same part-book is designated as a Violoncello part, which is correct. There are thus no Fagotto

²⁹⁷ The occurrence of pasted-in staves and additional staves is documented in the 'Commentary' column included in the Catalogue of Mercer's Paper Types Appendix 9. As only a single violin II part for the coronation anthem *Let thy hand* HWV 259 and a single violoncello part for Purcell's *Te Deum-Jubilate* Z.232 survive in the Mercer's collection these works are not discussed in this section.

parts for the Chapel Royal Anthems in the present volume within the above 44 sets of parts.²⁹⁸

Parts contained in *IRL–Dmh* Mss 36–39 (vc and Bs/bsn) are a compilation of violoncello, double bass, bassoon and organ music. Hendrie is correct in stating that no bassoon part for the Chapel Royal anthem *I will magnify thee* HWV 250b is present in *IRL–Dmh* Ms 39 (Bs/bsn), however this is not the case for *Let God arise* HWV 256b where passages of bassoon music are included in all four surviving Mercer’s ‘violoncello’ parts for the anthem. Handel includes bassoons in both Chapel Royal anthems. This anomaly is discussed in detail later in this section in relation to the adaptation and revisions identified in the Chapel Royal anthems surviving in the Mercer’s Collection. Several other inconsistencies are evident in parts bound in *IRL–Dmh* Mss 36–9 (vc and Bs/bsn), such as the inclusion of organ solos in some violoncello parts, and inconsistencies in the use of clef changes making it difficult to differentiate between violoncello and possible double bass parts. Cranmer explains Handel’s use of the three different C-clefs in the continuo part.

In the three C-clefs, the continuo part is written two different ways: either a single line, a basso seguente, is figured to a greater or lesser extent and should be realized in the usual way, or there is an organ part in two or occasionally three parts. This is probably the complete organ part, indicating the actual notes to be played, rather than a mere guide or cue. These two methods of writing are not confused in Handel’s manuscript, though they have been in later editions.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁸ Hendrie, HHA Serie III: Band 9, p. 328. Hendrie includes a short description of the Mercer’s Collection in the critical commentary in Serie III: Bands 3 and 9 and places the collection within the context of extant Handelian sources. D7 is the code Hendrie allocates to the Mercer’s sources. It denotes the authority attached to the Mercer’s Hospital sources within the context of surviving Handelian sources and its significance is explained in Section 3.4 of this thesis.

²⁹⁹ G.F. Handel, *My heart is inditing*, Damien Cranmer (ed.), Eulenburg Edition (London, Mainz, New York, Paris, Tokyo, Zürich, 1980), p. v.

The use of the bass clef in a continuo part indicates celli and basses. The tenor clef implies that the double bass drops out and the alto clef implies that only the organ plays. It is difficult to ascertain if this convention was always adhered to in practice. Handel sometimes writes *senza contra bassi* when he writes the tenor clef but the intention is to include bassoons.³⁰⁰ Separate staves were not used for basso instruments in some early printed editions. If copyists using printed editions were not familiar with what the various clefs represented errors could have easily been transmitted into instrumental bass parts, thus making it difficult to distinguish between the different parts.

Reference to specific movements from the different works is frequent in this section. For clarity and ease of understanding movements are abbreviated to No. 1 for the first movement, No. 2 for the second movement, and so on. Where making a distinction between the 'Utrecht' works the movements are classified as follows: *Te Deum* No. 1, *Jubilate* No. 1, *Te Deum* No. 2, *Jubilate* No. 2. The *Te Deum* comprises ten movements and the *Jubilate* comprises seven movements.

The 'Utrecht' Te Deum-Jubilate HWV 278–9

Forty-one parts for the 'Utrecht' *Te Deum* HWV 278 and forty-two parts for the 'Utrecht' *Jubilate* HWV 279 are present among the surviving Mercer's manuscript sources.³⁰¹ Hendrie states that the Mercer's sources for the 'Utrecht' music derive from a 1731/2 John Walsh printed edition, which would indeed account for most of the

³⁰⁰ Information kindly provided by Professor Donald Burrows on 15 Apr. 2011.

³⁰¹ An extra 'Utrecht' *Jubilate* HWV 279 part survives in *IRL-Dmh* Ms 33 (vla). The 'Utrecht' *Jubilate* HWV 279 is the only work contained in *IRL-Dmh* Ms 33 (vla). The contents of *IRL-Dmh* Ms 1 (vl) are not included in this analysis and are discussed later in this section.

variant readings identifiable in the Mercer's sources.³⁰² The pasting in of music and the attachment of extra staves of music to certain folios suggests a further adaptation of parts extending beyond direct transcription from a printed edition. The identification of adaptations made to approximately 30% of the surviving Mercer's 'Utrecht' parts reveals that this is the most adapted work in the collection. This is not surprising however given the distinct probability that the 'Utrecht' music continued to be included as part of the Mercer's repertoire for at least a thirty-five year period (1736–71).

Figure 13 includes several tables listing the surviving Mercer's parts for each movement in the 'Utrecht' *Te Deum-Jubilate* HWV 278–9. The first column in each table lists the scoring, the second column lists the manuscript number in which that part is bound and the third column lists identified adaptations and anomalies in surviving Mercer's parts. Where parts reveal no evidence of adaptations or revision the third column is left blank. The table format included in Figure 13 is repeated throughout Section 3.2 for each adapted work in the Mercer's Collection.

Fig. 13 Surviving Mercer's parts 'Utrecht' *Te Deum-Jubilate* HWV 278–9

We praise thee O God (No. 1)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL– Dmh</i>
Treble solo	2, 3, 4, 5 (S)	Treble solo copied in the flute part, see Ms 40 (fl).
Treble chorus	2, 3, 4, 5 (S)	Treble chorus copied in the flute part, see Ms 40 (fl).
Alto solo	8, 9, 10, 11 (A)	The final 10 bars of the movement are missing

³⁰² Hendrie, HHA Serie III: Bands 3 and 9. See Critical Commentary. For comparison of the Mercer's sources with Walsh's edition see Section 3.4.

		from the alto part bound in Ms 9 (A).
Alto chorus	8, 9, 10, 11 (A)	
Tenor solo	12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 (T)	
Tenor chorus	12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 (T)	
Bass chorus	20, 21, 22 (B)	
Oboe I	41 (ob I)	Bar 1–2 violin I part copied. Bar 67–72 treble I part copied. Last note in bar 22 and all of bar 23 erased and re-copied to include treble part. Second beat bar 42 to first beat bar 44 treble part copied. Third beat bar 44 to bar 45 oboe II part copied. Bar 47 treble (cue). Anomaly identified in the pitch of the third and fourth beat bar 74. Bar 75–76 cross-over with violin I and violin II parts. Bar 79–80 treble part copied. Bar 86–88 anomaly identified in the pitch and rhythm.
Oboe II	42 (ob II)	Bar 1–2 violin II part copied. Bar 75–76 pitch crosses-over with oboe I part. Bar 83–86 omitted, scored as rests.
Trumpet I		No trumpet I part survives in the collection.
Trumpet II	43 (tr II)	Two copies. Both parts identical.
Violin I	23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	Last beat in bar 44 to end of bar 46 violin II in the violin I part bound in Ms 26 (vn I).

Violin II	27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)	
Viola	34, 35 (va)	
Violoncello	36, 37, 38 (vc)	Bar 1–2 crossed out in violoncello part bound in Ms 36 (vc). Organ solos copied in violoncello part bound in Ms 36 (vc), see bars 40, 86, 87–90. Change to tenor clef omitted from fourth beat bar 32 in violoncello parts bound in Mss 37 and 38 (vc).
Double bass		No double bass part survives in the collection.
Bassoon	39 (Bs/bsn)	
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.

To thee all angels cry aloud (No. 2)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL–Dmh</i>
Alto I solo	8, 10 (A)	Bar 3–7 alto I solo copied in alto part bound in Ms 8 (A) (part crossed out). Alto I solo begins on the second half of the fourth beat in bar 5 and is marked 'Chorus' in the alto part bound in Ms 10 (A).
Alto II solo	8, 11 (A), 12 (T)	Bar 12 to the end of the movement alto II solo copied into the alto part bound in Ms 8 (A) part (part crossed out). Alto II solo and two bars of cello introduction copied in the tenor part bound in Ms 12 (T).
Tenor chorus	9 (A), 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 (T)	Tenor part bound in Ms 9 (A) incomplete.

Bass chorus	20, 21, 22 (B)	
Violin I	23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	
Violin II	27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)	
Viola	34, 35 (va)	
Violoncello	36, 37, 38 (vc)	
Double bass		No double bass part survives in the collection.
Bassoon	39 (Bs/bsn)	Bar 1–5 violoncello music included in bassoon part bound in Ms 39 (Bs/bsn).
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.

To thee Cherubin (No. 3)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL–Dmh</i>
Treble I solo	2, 3, 4 (S)	
Treble I chorus	2, 3, 4 (S)	Treble I chorus copied in flute part, see Ms 40 (fl).
Treble II solo	5 (S)	
Treble II chorus	5 (S)	
Alto chorus	8, 10, 11 (A)	This movement is copied out twice in the alto part bound in Ms 8 (A).
Tenor chorus	9 (A), 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 (T)	Tenor part bound in Ms 9 (A) incomplete.
Bass chorus	20, 21, 22 (B)	
Trumpet I		No trumpet I part survives in the collection.
Trumpet II	43 (tr II)	Two copies. Both parts identical.
Oboe I	41 (ob I)	Bar 1–8 treble solo copied. Bar 13 to the end of the movement has been adapted. Treble I chorus and oboe I parts alternate.
Oboe II	42 (ob II)	Bar 3 to the end of the movement has been adapted. Treble II and oboe II parts alternate. Pasted-in staves.

Violin I	23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	
Violin II	27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)	
Viola	34, 35 (va)	
Violoncello	36, 37, 38 (vc)	
Double bass		No double bass part survives in the collection.
Bassoon	39 (Bs/bsn)	Bar 1–8 violoncello and organ music copied in Ms 39 (Bs/bsn) part.
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.

The glorious company (No. 4)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL– Dmh</i>
Treble I solo	2, 3, 4 (S)	Treble I copied in flute part, see Ms 40 (fl).
Treble II solo		No treble II solo for this movement survives in the collection.
Treble I chorus	2, 3, 4 (S)	
Treble II chorus	5 (S)	
Alto solo	8, 10, 11 (A)	
Alto chorus	8, 10, 11 (A)	
Tenor solo	12, 14 (T)	Tenor solo part added to tenor part bound in Ms 12 (T).
Tenor chorus	9 (A), 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19 (T)	Tenor part bound in Ms 9 (A) is incomplete.
Bass solo	22 (B)	Bass solo added to bass part bound in Ms 22(B).
Bass chorus	20, 21, 22 (B)	
Oboe I	41 (ob I)	Bar 44 to the end of the movement adapted and pasted-in. Bar 51–66 treble solo copied. Bar 67 anomaly in the rhythm. Bar 97–99 treble solo copied. Bar 107–141 treble I solo

		copied.
Oboe II	42 (ob II)	Bar 45–100 pasted-in. Bar 107–141 pasted-in. Oboe II and treble II parts alternate.
Violin I	23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	
Violin II	32 (vn II)	Additional staves added to the violin II/III part bound in Ms 32 (vn II).
Violin III	27, 28, 29, 30, 31 (vn II)	
Viola	34, 35 (va)	
Violoncello	36, 37, 38 (vc)	Organ solo included bar 96–98 in violoncello part bound in Ms 36 (vc). Change to alto clef bar 97 omitted from violoncello parts bound in Mss 37 and 38 (vc). Change to tenor clef bar 149 omitted in violoncello parts bound in Mss 37 and 38 (vc).
Double bass		No double bass part survives in the collection.
Bassoon	39 (Bs/bsn)	
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.

When thou tookest upon thee (No. 5)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL–Dmh</i>
Treble I solo	2, 3, 4 (S)	Treble I solo copied in flute part, see Ms 40 (fl).
Treble I chorus	2, 3, 4 (S)	
Treble II chorus	5 (S)	
Alto solo	11 (A)	Extra staves attached to include alto solo to alto part bound in Ms 11 (A).
Alto chorus	8, 10, 11 (A)	
Tenor solo	12, 13, 14 (T)	Tenor solo added to tenor chorus parts bound in Mss 12, 13 and 14 (T).
Tenor chorus	9 (A), 12, 13, 14, 15, 17,	Tenor part bound in Ms 9

	18, 19 (T)	(A) incomplete.
Bass solo	22 (B)	Bass solo added to bass part bound in Ms 22 (B).
Bass chorus	20, 21 (B)	
Oboe I	41 (ob I)	Bar 15–19 solo treble, resulting from two pasted in staves.
Oboe II	42 (ob II)	Bar 15–25 pasted-in. Bar 20–25 violin II copied. Bar 30–31 alternates between oboe II and treble II parts. Bar 34–37 treble I copied. Bar 38–39 music not identifiable in any other part. Bar 40–41 oboe I copied. Bar 42 rest. Bar 43–49 treble II copied.
Violin I	23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	Bar 20–25 violin II copied in violin I part bound in Ms 23 (vn I).
Violin II	29, 30 (vn II)	
Violin III	27, 28, 31, 32 (vn II)	Bar 35–50 re-copied in violin part bound in Ms 28 (vn II). Additional staves added to violin part bound in Ms 32 (vn II).
Viola	34, 35 (va)	
Violoncello	36, 37, 38 (vc)	Organ solo included in bar 52–54 without the alteration from bass clef to alto clef in the violoncello part bound in Ms 36 (vc).
Double bass		No double bass part survives in the collection.
Bassoon	39 (Bs/bsn)	
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.

We believe that thou shalt come (No. 6)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL– Dmh</i>
Treble solo	2, 3, 4 (S)	Treble solo copied in oboe I part, see Ms 41 (ob I). Treble solo copied in flute part, see Ms 40 (fl).
Treble I chorus	2, 3, 4 (S)	Last beat in bar 22 to the end of bar 25 the treble II solo and chorus are copied into the treble part bound in Ms 3 (S). Last beat bar 22 to end of bar 23 the treble II solo is copied into the treble part bound in Ms 4 (S). Treble I chorus copied in flute part, see Ms 40 (fl) but scribbled out. Treble I chorus copied in oboe part, see Ms 41 (ob I).
Treble II solo	3, 4 (S)	Treble II solo copied bar 22–23 only. Treble II solo copied in oboe part, see Ms 42 (ob II).
Treble II chorus	5 (S)	Treble II chorus copied in oboe part, see Ms 42 (ob II).
Alto solo	8, 10, 11 (A)	Bar 1–8, 13–17 and 22–23 of solo alto music crossed out in alto part bound in Ms 8 (A). Opening bars re-copied omitting alto solo from the alto part bound in Ms 8 (A). Alto solo bars 16, 17, and 22–23 are included in the alto part bound in Ms 10 part.
Alto chorus	8, 10, 11 (A)	Bar 14–16 are scored as rests in the alto part bound

		in Ms 8 (A), omitting alto solo. Bar 13–15 and bar 21 are scored as rests in the alto part bound in Ms 10 (A).
Tenor solo	9 (A), 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19 (T)	Tenor part bound in Ms 9 (A) incomplete.
Tenor chorus	9 (A), 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19 (T)	Tenor part bound in Ms 9 (A) incomplete.
Bass solo	22 (B)	Bass solo added to bass part bound in Ms 22 (B).
Bass chorus	20, 21, 22 (B)	Five staves of music pasted onto folio 4r in bass part bound in Ms 20 (B) including bars 25–29 of bass chorus music.
Flute (Transverse)	40 (fl)	Treble I solo and chorus parts copied in flute part and the correct flute part is also included as an addition, see Ms 40 (fl).
Violin I	23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	
Violin II	27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)	
Viola	34, 35 (va)	
Violoncello	36, 37, 38 (vc)	
Double bass		No double bass part survives in the collection.
Bassoon	39 (Bs/bsn)	
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.

Day by day we magnify thee (No. 7)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL–Dmh</i>
Treble I chorus I	2, 3, 4 (S)	
Treble II chorus II	5 (S)	
Alto I chorus I	10 (A)	
Alto II chorus II	8, 11 (A)	
Tenor I chorus I	12, 14, 15 (T)	
Tenor II chorus II	9 (A), 13, 17, 18, 19 (T)	
Bass chorus	20, 21, 22 (T)	Five staves of pasted-in music on folio 4r in bass

		part bound in Ms 20 (B), bar 12–16 bass chorus.
Oboe I	41 (ob I)	
Oboe II	42 (ob II)	
Bassoon	39 (Bs/bsn)	Bar 11–12 cello and organ music included in bassoon part bound in Ms 39 (Bs/bsn).
Trumpet I		No trumpet I part survives in the collection.
Trumpet II	43 (tr II)	Two copies. Both parts identical.
Violin I	23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	
Violin II	27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)	
Viola	34, 35 (va)	
Violoncello	36, 37, 38 (vc)	Omission of bar 1–4 in violoncello parts bound in Mss 37 and 38 (vc).
Double bass		No double bass part survives in the collection.
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.

And we worship thy Name (No. 8)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL– Dmh</i>
Treble I chorus	2, 3, 4 (S)	
Treble II chorus	5 (S)	
Alto chorus	8, 10, 11 (A)	
Tenor chorus	9 (A), 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19 (T)	This movement is copied out twice, see folios 5v and 6r in Ms 15 (T). The music on folio 6v is crossed out and the first four and a half bars of tenor music are omitted. The duplication of <i>And we worship</i> (No. 8) appears to have been the result of an error in copying. Tenor part bound in Ms 9 (A) incomplete.

Bass chorus	20, 21, 22 (B)	
Oboe I	41 (ob I)	
Oboe II	42 (ob II)	
Trumpet I		No trumpet I part survives in the collection.
Trumpet II	43 (tr II)	Two copies. Both parts identical.
Violin I	23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	
Violin II	27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)	
Viola	34, 35 (va)	
Violoncello	36, 37, 38 (vc)	
Double bass		No double bass part survives in the collection.
Bassoon	39 (Bs/bsn)	
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.

Vouchsafe, O Lord (No. 9)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL-Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL-Dmh</i>
Treble I solo	2, 3, 4 (S)	
Treble II solo	5 (S)	
Treble I chorus	2, 3, 4 (S)	
Treble II chorus	5 (S)	
Alto I solo	8, 11 (A)	Extra staves attached to the alto part bound in Ms 11 (A) resulting in the inclusion of the alto I solo music. Movement pasted-in to the alto part bound in Ms 8 (A) part resulting in the inclusion of alto I solo music.
Alto II solo	12 (T)	The alto II solo part on folio 31v in the tenor part bound in Ms 15 (T) appears to have been copied subsequent to the binding of the Mercer's parts.
Alto I chorus	8, 10, 11 (A)	This movement is pasted-

		in to the alto part bound in Ms 8 (A).
Alto II chorus		No alto II chorus part survives in the collection for this movement.
Tenor solo	9 (A), 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19 (T)	The alto II solo part on folio 31v in the tenor part bound in Ms 15 (T) appears to have been copied subsequent to the binding of the Mercer's parts. Tenor part bound in Ms 9 (A) incomplete.
Tenor chorus	9 (A), 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19 (T)	The alto II solo part on folio 31v in the tenor part bound in Ms 15 (T) appears to have been copied subsequent to the binding of the Mercer's parts. Tenor part bound in Ms 9 (A) incomplete.
Bass solo	20, 21, 22 (B)	
Bass chorus	20, 21, 22 (B)	
Oboe I	41 (ob I)	Bar 19–21 treble solo copied in oboe I part, see Ms 41 (ob I) – some erasing and re-copying of the part is evident. Bar 25 to the second beat of bar 28 treble I copied in oboe I part, see Ms 41 (ob I).
Oboe II	42 (ob II)	Bar 17–21 treble II solo music copied into oboe II part, see Ms 42 (ob II). Bar 25–28 treble I music copied into oboe II part, see Ms 42 (ob II). Bar 28 to the third beat of bar 30 the treble II music is copied in oboe II part, see Ms 42 (ob II). All adaptations Pasted-in.
Violin I	23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	

Violin II	27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)	
Viola	34, 35 (va)	Movement crossed out in viola part bound in Ms 35 (va).
Violoncello	36, 37, 38 (vc)	
Double bass		No double bass part survives in the collection.
Bassoon	39 (Bs/bsn)	
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.

O Lord, in thee have I trusted (No. 10)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL-Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL-Dmh</i>
Treble I chorus	2, 3, 4 (S)	
Treble II chorus	5 (S)	
Alto chorus	8, 10, 11 (A)	
Tenor chorus	9 (A), 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 (T)	Tenor part bound in Ms 9 (A) incomplete.
Bass chorus	20, 21, 22 (B)	
Trumpet I		No trumpet I part survives in the collection.
Trumpet II	43 (tr II)	Two copies. Both parts identical.
Oboe I	41 (ob I)	
Oboe II	42 (ob II)	
Violin I	23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	Movement pasted-in to the violin I part bound in Ms 26 (vn I) see folio 3r.
Violin II	28, 31, 32 (vn II)	Additional staves added to violin part bound in Ms 32 (vn II).
Violin III	27, 29, 30 (vn II)	
Viola	34, 35 (va)	
Violoncello	36, 37, 38 (vc)	
Double bass		No double bass part survives in the collection.
Bassoon	39 (Bs/bsn)	
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.

‘Utrecht’ Jubilate HWV 279

O be joyful (No. 1)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer’s Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL– Dmh</i>
Treble chorus	2, 3, 4, 5 (S)	Treble chorus copied in flute part, Ms 40 (fl).
Alto solo		No solo alto part survives in the collection for this movement.
Alto chorus	8, 10, 11 (A)	
Tenor chorus	9 (A), 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19 (T)	
Bass chorus	20, 21, 22 (B)	
Oboe I	41 (ob I)	Bar 4–6 omitted, scored as rests. Bar 33 omitted, part continues from bar 34. Violin I copied from the second half of beat three bar 32 to bar 34. Treble I copied from bar 35 to the end of the movement. Bar 36 and 38 repeated. Adaptations pasted-in.
Oboe II	42 (ob II)	Bar 4–6 omitted, scored as rests. Bar 32 third beat violin II copied. Bar 38–43 omitted, scored as rests. Bar 44 to the end of the movement alto chorus part copied.
Trumpet I		No trumpet I part survives in the collection.
Trumpet II	43 (tr II)	Two copies. Both parts identical.
Violin I	23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	
Violin II	27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)	
Viola	33, 34, 35 (va)	
Violoncello	36, 37, 38 (vc)	

Double bass		No double bass part survives in the collection.
Bassoon	39 (Bs/bsn)	Bar 12 to the third beat of bar 32 bassi solo copied in bassoon part, see Ms 39 (Bs/bsn).
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.

Serve the Lord with gladness (No. 2)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL-Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL-Dmh</i>
Treble I chorus	2, 3, 4 (S)	Treble I and II chorus copied in oboe II part, see Ms 42 (ob II). See below. Bar 35–37 treble II music copied. Bar 38 rest. Bar 39–47 treble I copied. Bar 48–49 treble II copied. Bar 50–52 treble I copied. Bar 53 to the end of the movement treble II copied. Treble I chorus copied in flute part, see Ms 40 (fl).
Treble II chorus	5 (S)	Treble I and II chorus copied in oboe II part, see Ms 42 (ob II). See below. Bar 35–37 treble II copied. Bar 38 rest. Bar 39–47 treble I copied. Bar 48–49 treble II copied. Bar 50–52 treble I copied. Bar 53 to the end of the movement treble II copied.
Alto chorus	8, 10, 11 (A)	
Tenor chorus	9 (A)	Tenor part bound in Ms 9 (A) incomplete.
Bass chorus	20, 21, 22 (B)	
Trumpet I		No trumpet I part survives in the collection.
Trumpet II	43 (tr II)	Two copies. Both parts identical.

Violin I	23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	
Violin II	27, 29, 31, 32 (vn II)	
Violin III	28, 30 (vn II)	
Viola	33, 34, 35 (va)	
Violoncello	36, 37, 38 (vc)	Bar 1–7 and 15–17 include organ solos in violoncello part bound in Ms 36 (vc). Bar 17–21 omitted and scored as rests in the violoncello parts bound in Mss 37 and 38 (vc).
Double bass		No double bass part survives in the collection.
Bassoon	39 (Bs/bsn)	
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.

Be ye sure (No. 3)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL– Dmh</i>
Alto solo		No alto solo part survives in the collection for this movement.
Bass solo	22 (B)	Bass solo added to bass part bound in Ms 20 (B).
Oboe I	41 (ob I)	Solo and tutti oboe parts included.
Oboe II	42 (ob II)	Tutti oboe section omitted, bar 34 to the end of the movement.
Violin I	23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	Violin solo added to violin I part bound in Ms 24 (vn I).
Violin II	27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)	Tutti oboe part copied from bar 34 to the end of the movement in the violin parts bound in Mss 30 and 32 (vn II).
Viola	33, 34, 35 (va)	
Violoncello	36, 37, 38 (vc)	Bar 7–8 and 14–15 scored as rests in violoncello part bound in Ms 37 (vc).
Double bass		No double bass part

		survives in the collection.
Bassoon	39 (Bs/bsn)	Complete movement copied in bassoon part bound in Ms 39 (Bs/bsn). This is a solo bassi movement.
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.

O go your way into his gates (No. 4)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL–Dmh</i>
Treble chorus	2, 3, 4, 5 (S)	Treble chorus part copied in flute part, see Ms 40 (fl). Treble chorus copied in oboe II part, see Ms 42 (ob II).
Alto chorus	8, 10, 11 (A)	
Tenor chorus	9 (A), 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19 (T)	Tenor part bound in Ms 9 (A) incomplete.
Bass chorus	20, 21, 22 (B)	
Violin I	23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	Violin I part copied in oboe I and II parts, see Ms 41 and Ms 42 (ob I and II).
Violin II	27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)	Violin II part copied in oboe II part, see Ms 42 (ob II). Bar 31–38 violin II music added, bars originally omitted from violin part bound in Ms 28 (vn II).
Viola	33, 34, 35 (va)	
Violoncello	36, 37, 38 (vc)	Bar 19–23 and 48–50 organ solos copied in violoncello part bound in Ms 36 (vc). Bar 84–86, 120–124, 134, 142 and 151 are scored as rests in the violoncello parts bound in Mss 37 and 38 (vc).
Double bass		No double bass part survives in the collection.

Bassoon	39 (Bs/bsn)	
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.

For the Lord is gracious (No. 5)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL– Dmh</i>
Alto solo I	11 (A)	Alto I solo added into alto part bound in Ms 11 (A).
Alto solo II	8 (A), 12 (T)	Alto II solo crossed out in alto part bound in Ms 8 (A). Alto II solo added to tenor part bound in Ms 12 (T).
Bass solo	22 (B)	Bass solo added to bass part bound in Ms 22 (B).
Oboe I	41 (ob I)	
Oboe II	42 (ob II)	
Violin I	23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	
Violin II	27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)	Bar 35–50 re-copied on folio 6v of violin part bound in Ms 28 (vn II). Bar 6–44 omitted from violin part bound in Ms 29 (vn II), rests scored. Bar 15–24 pasted-in and violin II music copied in violin part bound in Ms 30 (vn II). Bar 20–26 pasted in to the violin part bound in Ms 32 (vn II).
Viola	33, 34, 35 (va)	
Violoncello	36, 37, 38 (vc)	Bar 7–8 and 14–15 rests in violoncello part bound in Ms 37 (vc).
Double bass		No double bass part survives in the collection.
Bassoon	39 (Bs/bsn)	
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.

Glory (No. 6)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL– Dmh</i>
Treble I chorus	2, 3, 4 (S)	Treble I chorus copied in flute part, see Ms 40 (fl).
Treble II chorus	5 (S)	
Alto I chorus	10, 11 (A)	
Alto II chorus	8 (A)	
Tenor I chorus	9 (A), 12, 14, 15 (T)	Tenor part bound in Ms 9 (A) incomplete.
Tenor II chorus	13, 17, 18, 19 (T)	
Bass I chorus	20, 21, 22 (B)	
Bass II chorus		No bass II chorus part survives in the collection for this movement.
Oboe I	41 (ob I)	
Oboe II	42 (ob II)	
Trumpet I		No trumpet I part survives in the collection.
Trumpet II	43 (tr II)	Two copies. Both parts identical.
Violin I	23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	
Violin II	27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)	
Viola	33, 34, 35 (va)	
Violoncello	36, 37, 38 (vc)	
Double bass		No double bass part survives in the collection.
Bassoon	39 (Bs/bsn)	
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.

As it was in the beginning (No. 7)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL– Dmh</i>
Treble I chorus	2, 3, 4 (S)	Treble I chorus copied in flute part, see Ms 40 (fl). Treble I chorus copied in oboe I part, see Ms 41 (ob).
Treble II chorus	5 (S)	
Alto chorus	8, 9, 10, 11 (A)	Alto part bound in Ms 9 (A) is incomplete, bar 1–39 are missing.
Tenor chorus	9 (A), 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 19 (T)	The tenor part bound in Ms 9 (A) is incomplete – the final ten bars are missing. Movement is missing from Ms 15.
Bass chorus	20, 21, 22 (B)	
Trumpet I		No trumpet I part survives in the collection.
Trumpet II	43 (tr II)	Two copies. Both parts identical.
Oboe I	41 (ob I)	Treble I chorus is copied from bar 6 to the end of the movement, see Ms 41 (ob I).
Oboe II	42 (ob II)	Treble II chorus is copied from the third beat in bar 10, see oboe II Ms 42 (ob II). Bar 73 anomaly in pitch and rhythm.
Violin I	23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	
Violin II	27, 28, 29 (vn II)	Bar 6–26 violin III music crossed out and replaced by violin II music, in the violin part bound in Ms 28 (vn II).
Violin III	30, 31, 32 (vn II)	Violin III part crossed out in the violin part bound in Ms 32.
Viola	33, 34, 35 (va)	
Violoncello	36, 37, 38 (vc)	

Double bass		No double bass part survives in the collection.
Bassoon	39 (Bs/bsn)	
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.

Significant adaptations have been identified in fourteen Mercer's parts. See Figure 14.

Fig. 14 List of adapted Mercer's parts

Vocal/Instrumental IRL-Dmh Ms No.

Part

Alto	8, 11
Tenor	12, 13, 14, 15
Bass	22
Violin I	24
Violin II/III	29, 30, 32
Flute	40
Oboe I	41
Oboe II	42

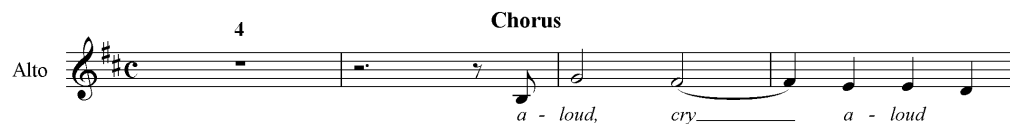
The tables illustrate a ratio of 3:1 between treble I and treble II parts, and a very large number of tenor parts (eight tenor parts) survive, suggesting an imbalance between the number of singers engaged at the Mercer's benefit concerts. It is unlikely that all parts were used at the same time, however the large number of tenor parts in the collection reflects the larger number of tenors engaged in both cathedral choirs (St Patrick's and Christ Church) at this time. There is no differentiation between alto, tenor and bass solo and chorus parts for some movements (see *Te Deum* No. 1, 4, 6 and 9) and identified adaptations result in the inconsistent representation of parts within several surviving vocal parts. For example the alto part bound in *IRL-Dmh* Ms 8 (A) includes alto I solo, alto II solo, alto chorus and alto II chorus music for various movements. The alto part bound in *IRL-Dmh* Ms 11 (A) is a combination of alto I solo, alto II solo, alto chorus and alto II chorus music. This implies that performers who used these parts sang the

different alto parts as required and perhaps the same singers sang both the solo and chorus parts. The only adaptation in common between the alto parts bound in *IRL–Dmh* Mss 8 and 11 (A) is the inclusion of the alto I solo music for *Te Deum* No. 9. Revisions, such as those identified in *Te Deum* No. 5 and No. 9 in the alto part bound in *IRL–Dmh* Ms 11 (A), are clearly indicated to the performer through the use of handwritten symbols which are very similar to *da capo* markings. Some adaptations may be reflective of changes implemented at various Mercer’s benefit concerts. No complete alto I solo part for *Te Deum* No. 2 and no solo alto part for *Jubilate* No. 3 survive in the collection.

The inclusion of the word ‘chorus’ in *Te Deum* No. 2 in the alto part bound in *IRL–Dmh* Ms 10 (A) suggests that perhaps the chorus sang some solo sections or vice versa. Musical Example No. 3.1 illustrates what is copied in the alto part bound in *IRL–Dmh* Ms 10 (A). Musical Example No. 3.2 illustrates the alto I solo music from bar 1–7.

Ex. 3.1

‘Utrecht’ *Te Deum* HWV 278, No. 2 *To thee all angels*, bar 1–7, *IRL–Dmh* Ms 10 f. 2r.



Ex. 3.2

‘Utrecht’ *Te Deum* HWV 278, No. 2 *To thee all angels*, bar 1–7.



Figure 13 reveals that the ‘Utrecht’ tenor parts bound in *IRL–Dmh* Mss 12–15 (T) have been adapted to include alto I solos, alto II solos and tenor solos for various movements. It seems most likely that these adaptations were carried out in order to accommodate available singers. The same singer may have sung alto and tenor solos where required. The majority of adaptations to Mercer’s tenor parts have been made through the inclusion of pasted-in staves and the addition of what appears to be a completely revised folio. The tenor part bound in *IRL–Dmh* Ms 12 (T) is the most adapted tenor part in the collection and it is possible to identify corresponding adaptations between the tenor part bound in *IRL–Dmh* Ms 12 (T) and three other tenor parts, each of which is bound in *IRL–Dmh* Mss 13–15 (T).

Adaptations made to the violin parts contained in *IRL–Dmh* Mss 29, 30 and 32 (vn II) provide evidence for reduced scoring and the substitution of instrumental parts. For example, the violin part contained in *IRL–Dmh* Ms 29 (vn II) has thirty-eight bars rest scored in *Jubilate* No. 5 i.e. bar 6–44. This movement is scored for a trio of solo voices. First and second violins are scored in unison throughout the movement. If a large number of violinists were engaged at a particular Mercer’s benefit concert it may have been agreed that not all violinists would play for solo vocal movements to facilitate the balance between soloists and orchestra. The inclusion of the tutti oboe music from *Jubilate* No. 3 in the violin parts bound in *IRL–Dmh* Mss 30 and 32 (vn II) corresponds to the omission of this music from the oboe II part bound in *IRL–Dmh* Ms 42 (ob II). Musical Example 3.3 illustrates the oboe part included in *IRL–Dmh* Mss 30 and 32 (vn II), from bar 34 to the end of *Jubilate* No 3. Musical Example 3.4 illustrates the violin

part for these bars. If two oboists were not available to perform, another instrumentalist could have played the second oboist's music, thus conserving the overall texture of the work. As violins and oboes are often scored in unison in the 'Utrecht' music, the substitution of the oboe music by a violinist would work satisfactorily. As two copies of this adaptation are contained among surviving violin parts it is possible that this adaptation was employed more than once at the Mercer's benefit concerts. Alternatively, two violinists may have played the tutti oboe section together, possibly with one oboist.

Ex. 3.3

'Utrecht' *Jubilate* HWV 279, No. 3 *Be ye sure*, bar 34 to the end of the movement, tutti oboe *IRL-Dmh* Mss 30 and 32 (vn II).



Ex. 3.4

'Utrecht' *Jubilate* HWV 279, No. 3 *Be ye sure*, bar 34 to the end of the movement, tutti violin.



The six surviving violin parts contained in *IRL-Dmh* Mss 27–32 (vn II) contain music for both violin II and violin III for various movements. The identification of violin II and violin III music within the same manuscript part is not indicative of an error in

binding. Movements were not copied separately but on conjoined folio. Violin II is scored in all movements and violin III is scored in *Te Deum* No. 4, No. 5 and No. 10 and in *Jubilate* No. 2 and No. 7. Three violin parts, each of which is bound in *IRL–Dmh* Mss 28, 30 and 31 (vn II), have the following written on each respective title page ‘Vio: 2d 3° No 6’, ‘Vio 2d & 3d’ and ‘Violino Secondo é Terza N.o 1’. Three other violin parts, each of which is bound in *IRL–Dmh* Mss 27, 29 and 32 (vn II) have no such information written on their respective title pages. This is misleading in terms of identifying the parts copied for each movement as all six parts are bound in violin II part-books. The table at Figure 15 shows which Mercer’s parts contain the violin II music and which parts contain the violin III music for each movement. The table also highlights parts that have been adapted through the inclusion of pasted-in material or the addition of extra staves.

Fig. 15 Arrangement of surviving Mercer's violin II and violin III parts for the 'Utrecht' *Te Deum-Jubilate* HWV 278-9

Ms Number <i>IRL-Dmh</i>	Movement	Part	Part as indicated on title page of Ms	Adapted
27	<i>The glorious company of the Apostles praise thee (TD No. 4)</i>	Violin III	Not indicated	No
28	<i>The glorious company of the Apostles praise thee (TD No. 4)</i>	Violin III	Vio: 2d 3 ^o No 6	No
29	<i>The glorious company of the Apostles praise thee (TD No. 4)</i>	Violin III	Not indicated	No
30	<i>The glorious company of the Apostles praise thee (TD No. 4)</i>	Violin III	Vio 2d & 3d	No
31	<i>The glorious company of the Apostles praise thee (TD No. 4)</i>	Violin III	Violino Secondo é Terza N.o 1	No
32	<i>The glorious company of the Apostles praise thee (TD No. 4)</i>	Violin II	Not indicated	Yes Additional staves attached
27	<i>When thou tookest upon thee to deliver man (TD No. 5)</i>	Violin III	Not indicated	No
28	<i>When thou tookest upon thee to deliver man (TD No.</i>	Violin III	Vio: 2d 3 ^o No 6	Bar 35-50 re- copied.

	5)			
29	<i>When thou tookest upon thee to deliver man (TD No. 5)</i>	Violin II	Not indicated	No
30	<i>When thou tookest upon thee to deliver man (TD No. 5)</i>	Violin II	Vio 2d & 3d	No
31	<i>When thou tookest upon thee to deliver man (TD No. 5)</i>	Violin III	Violino Secondo é Terza N.o 1	No
32	<i>When thou tookest upon thee to deliver man (TD No. 5)</i>	Violin III	Not indicated	Yes Additional staves attached
27	<i>O Lord in thee have I trusted (TD No. 10)</i>	Violin III	Not indicated	No
28	<i>O Lord in thee have I trusted (TD No. 10)</i>	Violin II	Vio: 2d 3° No 6	No
29	<i>O Lord in thee have I trusted (TD No. 10)</i>	Violin III	Not indicated	No
30	<i>O Lord in thee have I trusted (TD No. 10)</i>	Violin III	Vio 2d & 3d	No
31	<i>O Lord in thee have I trusted (TD No. 10)</i>	Violin II	Violino Secondo é Terza N.o 1	No
32	<i>O Lord in thee have I trusted (TD No. 10)</i>	Violin II	Not indicated	Yes Additional staves attached
Ms Number IRL-Dmh	Movement	Part	Part as indicated on title page of Ms	Adapted
27	<i>Serve the Lord with gladness (Jub No. 2)</i>	Violin II	Not indicated	No

28	<i>Serve the Lord with gladness (Jub No. 2)</i>	Violin III	Vio: 2d 3° No 6	No
29	<i>Serve the Lord with gladness (Jub No. 2)</i>	Violin II	Not indicated	No
30	<i>Serve the Lord with gladness (Jub No. 2)</i>	Violin III	Vio 2d & 3d	No
31	<i>Serve the Lord with gladness (Jub No. 2)</i>	Violin II	Violino Secondo é Terza N.o 1	No
32	<i>Serve the Lord with gladness (Jub No. 2)</i>	Violin II	Not indicated	No
27	<i>As it was in the beginning (Jub No. 7)</i>	Violin II	Not indicated	No
28	<i>As it was in the beginning (Jub No. 7)</i>	Violin II	Vio: 2d 3° No 6	Yes. Crossed-out and re-copied
29	<i>As it was in the beginning (Jub No. 7)</i>	Violin II	Not indicated	No
30	<i>As it was in the beginning (Jub No. 7)</i>	Violin III	Vio 2d & 3d	No
31	<i>As it was in the beginning (Jub No. 7)</i>	Violin III	Violino Secondo é Terza N.o 1	No
32	<i>As it was in the beginning (Jub No. 7)</i>	Violin III	Not indicated	Crossed out

As evidenced by the table, the representation of violin II and violin III parts is not consistent within each individual part. For example, the violin part bound in *IRL-Dmh* Ms 27 (vn II) contains the violin III music for *Te Deum* No. 4 but the violin II music for *Jubilate* No. 2. The majority of surviving parts contain the violin III music for the movements where third violins are scored. The inclusion of violin II and violin III music in the same part suggests that the second violin section divided for the

movements where violin III is scored. The distribution of the surviving parts among players would result in different violinists playing the violin III music for various movements. The dominance of violin III parts in *IRL–Dmh* Mss 27–32 (vn II) is representative only of what now survives. Several complete violin II parts, which did not include violin III music, may have been lost or destroyed. A ratio of 4:6 is evident between surviving violin I and violin II/III parts for the ‘Utrecht’ *Te Deum–Jubilate* HWV 278–9. A greater number of second violinists would have been required if the section was to divide in order to include the third violin part.

The extensive adaptation of the surviving Mercer’s flute and oboe parts (see *IRL–Dmh* Mss 40, 41 and 42) indicates that Mercer’s instrumentalists substituted or supplemented several treble passages in the ‘Utrecht’ music. Flute (transverse) is scored in the sixth movement of the *Te Deum* only. In the Mercer’s flute part, music is copied for all movements of the *Te Deum* and all movements in the *Jubilate* except *Jubilate* No. 3 and No. 5. The adaptation of the Mercer’s flute part results in the instrument doubling the treble line, or the treble I line where scored. Oboes are scored in all movements except *Te Deum* No. 2 and No. 6 and *Jubilate* No. 2 and No. 4. Adaptations made to oboe parts result in the inclusion of the instrument in movements where oboe was not originally scored, and the omission of some originally scored music for oboe. Several treble I and II passages are copied into the Mercer’s oboe I and II parts, see Figure 13. Some additions may have served as cues, however the inclusion of dynamics in other examples suggests performance of this music by Mercer’s oboists. It may have been decided that a wind player would add support to the treble line, particularly to solo

sections and on occasions when an inadequate number of chorus singers was available. As boy trebles were most likely engaged to sing the treble parts the additional support from flute and/or oboes would certainly provide support to less experienced younger singers. The importance attached to the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts should also be considered when justifying the expansion of the flute part (*IRL-Dmh* Ms 40). Most Dublin musicians would have been eager to participate in one of the grandest social and musical events of the year. As a flautist is required for one movement only the part may have been considered to be of lesser importance. The expansion of the flute part would permit the inclusion of a flautist in more than one movement. Three members of the 1757 Musical Academy were flautists, Reverend Jos Johnson, Lord Lucan and Captain Reid. It is possible that the flute part was adapted to accommodate the participation of one of these players, or indeed all three players may have used the part on separate occasions.

A single sample of pasted-in material can be identified in the surviving Mercer's flute part (*IRL-Dmh* Ms 40). Five staves of music are attached to the edge of folio 2r. The correct flute part as scored for *Te Deum* No. 6 is copied out on this addition, which obviously replaces the three staves and three bars of music that have been scribbled out on folio 2v. Despite the music on f.2v having been crossed-out, it is possible to decipher a treble I solo and treble chorus part for *Te Deum* No. 6. This suggests one of two possibilities; at some stage during the hospital's benefit concert series it must have been decided to revert to the correct flute part for *Te Deum* No. 6, or, the Mercer's flautist supplemented the treble I line for all movements except *Te Deum* No. 6.

Despite identifying some inconsistencies between the violoncello and bassoon parts bound in *IRL-Dmh* Mss 36–39 (vc and Bs/bsn) the correct classification of Mercer’s instrumental bass parts for the ‘Utrecht’ *Te Deum-Jubilate* HWV 278–9 appears to be as follows: three violoncello parts, bound in *IRL-Dmh* Mss 36–8 (vc), and one bassoon part, bound in *IRL-Dmh* Ms 39 (Bs/bsn).³⁰³ These parts contain no pasted-in material, however some unexpected readings are evident. Several organ solos are included in the violoncello part bound in *IRL-Dmh* Ms 36 (vc), see Figure 13. The inclusion of organ solos is not consistent between all three violoncelli parts. It seems likely therefore that the organ solos included in the violoncello part bound in *IRL-Dmh* Ms 36 served as cues. The irregular inclusion of organ solos suggests that cues were only copied out where needed. The bassoon part bound in *IRL-Dmh* Ms 39 (Bs/bsn) includes several cues and solos from celli and organ.

The omission of some violoncello music from *Te Deum* No. 7, and *Jubilate* No. 2, No. 4 and No. 5, in the parts bound in *IRL-Dmh* Mss 37 and 38 (vc) implies that a reduced scoring in the cello section may have been employed on some occasions. The inclusion of solo bassi passages from *Jubilate* No. 1 in all three surviving violoncello parts suggests that perhaps not all solo indications were adhered to, or alternatively all violoncellists played if no bassoon or double bass player was available. It is likely that only a small number of bass players were active in Dublin at this time. In his article,

³⁰³ ‘Violoncello’ and ‘Violoncello Principal’ are written on the title page of the ‘Utrecht’ parts bound in *IRL-Dmh* Mss 37 and 38 (vc). ‘Violoncello principale’ is written in pencil on the title page of the part bound in *IRL-Dmh* Ms 36 (vc). ‘Bassoon’ is written on the title page of the part bound in *IRL-Dmh* Ms 39 (Bs/bsn).

‘The Irish State Music from 1716 to 1742 and Handel’s Band in Dublin’, Hunter refers to four bassists, two of whom also played cello.³⁰⁴

The music contained in *IRL–Dmh* Ms 1 (vl) is distinct from all other parts that survive in the Mercer’s collection. The only work contained in *IRL–Dmh* Ms 1 (vl) is the ‘Utrecht’ *Te Deum–Jubilate* HWV 278–9. The *Jubilate* is incomplete; the final 50 bars are missing. *IRL–Dmh* Ms 1 (vl) is catalogued as a ‘canto primo’ part-book.³⁰⁵ The music is copied out on two staves and includes most of the vocal leads for the ‘Utrecht’ music. The part cannot be mistaken for an organ score as the instrumental bass line is only occasionally copied out and no figured bass is included. Instrumental cues are included in some bars. A soloist could not have used the part as the music copied out alternates between the various vocal lines. The part may have been used as a conducting score and was possibly used to direct the choir. The tables at Figures 16 and 17 highlight the layout and contents of *IRL–Dmh* Ms 1 (vl).

Fig. 16 Contents of *IRL–Dmh* Ms 1 (vl) ‘Utrecht’ *Te Deum* HWV 278

Movement	Part Scored	Bars
<i>We praise thee</i> (No. 1)	Bassi	Bar 1–5 (first beat)
<i>We praise thee</i> (No. 1)	Oboe I	Bar 5–9 (first beat)
<i>We praise thee</i> (No. 1)	Bassi	Bar 9 (third beat)–16
<i>We praise thee</i> (No. 1)	Treble & vocal bass	Bar 16–end of movement
<i>To thee all angels</i> (No. 2)	Violoncello	Bar 1–2
<i>To thee all angels</i> (No. 2)	Alto I solo & Violoncello	Bar 3–5
<i>To thee all angels</i> (No. 2)	Alto I solo & vocal bass chorus	Bar 6–8 (second beat)
<i>To thee all angels</i> (No. 2)	Alto I solo & Violoncello	Bar 8 (third beat)–10 (third beat)
<i>To thee all angels</i> (No. 2)	Alto solo & vocal bass	Bar 10 (last beat)–end of

³⁰⁴ Hunter, ‘The Irish State Music’, pp. 183, 190, 193–5, 198.

³⁰⁵ See *IRL–Dtc* Music Catalogue II.

	chorus	movement
<i>To thee Cherubin</i> (No. 3)	Treble solo I & II	Complete movement (from bars 1 and 3 respectively)
<i>The glorious company</i> (No. 4)	Oboe I & bassi	Bar 1–7
<i>The glorious company</i> (No. 4)	Tenor solo & bassi	Bar 14 (second beat)–35
<i>The glorious company</i> (No. 4)	Bass solo & bassi	Bar 36–50
<i>The glorious company</i> (No. 4)	Treble solo I & II	Bar 51–end of movement
<i>When thou tookest</i> (No. 5)	Bassi	Bar 1–4
<i>When thou tookest</i> (No. 5)	Alto solo & bassi	Bar 5–13
<i>When thou tookest</i> (No. 5)	Treble I solo & bassi	Bar 15–19
<i>When thou tookest</i> (No. 5)	Treble chorus I & II	Bar 20–25
<i>When thou tookest</i> (No. 5)	Alto chorus	Bar 26–30 (first beat)
<i>When thou tookest</i> (No. 5)	Treble I & II chorus	Bar 34–end of movement
<i>We believe</i> (No. 6)	Bass solo	Bar 5–7
<i>We believe</i> (No. 6)	Treble solo & bassi	Bar 8–9 (last beat)
<i>We believe</i> (No. 6)	Alto & tenor solo	Bar 13 (third beat)–16
<i>We believe</i> (No. 6)	Treble I & II chorus	Bar 17–end of movement
<i>Day by day</i> (No. 7)	Trumpet I & II	Bar 1–10
<i>Day by day</i> (No. 7)	Treble I & II chorus	Bar 11–end of movement
<i>And we worship</i> (No. 8)	Treble I & II chorus	Complete movement (from bar 1 and 3 respectively)
<i>Vouchsafe, O Lord</i> (No. 9)	Alto solo I & II	Bar 5–17 (first beat)
<i>Vouchsafe, O Lord</i> (No. 9)	Treble I & II	Bar 19 & 17 (second beat) respectively
<i>O Lord in thee have I trusted</i> (No. 10)	Treble I & II chorus	Complete movement

Fig. 17 Contents of IRL–Dmh Ms 1 (vl) ‘Utrecht’ Jubilate HWV 279

Movement	Part Scored	Bars
<i>O be joyful</i> (No. 1)	Bassi	Bar 1–12
<i>O be joyful</i> (No. 1)	Alto solo & Bassi	Bar 12–32
<i>O be joyful</i> (No. 1)	Treble & bass Chorus	Bar 32–end of movement
<i>Serve the Lord</i> (No. 2)	Treble I & II	Bar 5–11
<i>Serve the Lord</i> (No. 2)	Alto	Bar 12–21
<i>Serve the Lord</i> (No. 2)	Treble I & II	Bar 22–end of movement
<i>Be ye sure</i> (No. 3)	Omitted from Ms 1	
<i>O go your way</i> (No. 4)	Alto	Bar 1–3
<i>O go your way</i> (No. 4)	Bass	Bar 4–6
<i>O go your way</i> (No. 4)	Treble & Bass	Bar 7–48
<i>O go your way</i> (No. 4)	Alto	Bar 48 (third beat)–49

<i>O go your way</i> (No. 4)	Tenor	Bar 50–51
<i>O go your way</i> (No. 4)	Treble & Tenor	Bar 52–54
<i>O go your way</i> (No. 4)	Treble & Bass	Bar 55–end of movement
<i>For the Lord is gracious</i> (No. 5)	Omitted from Ms 1	
<i>Glory</i> (No. 6)	Violin I & II	Bar 1–11
<i>Glory</i> (No. 6)	Treble I & II	Bar 12–45
<i>Glory</i> (No. 6)	Violin I & II	Bar 46–48
<i>As it was in the beginning</i> (No. 7)	Bass	Bar 1–6 (second beat)
<i>As it was in the beginning</i> (No. 7)	Treble I & II	Bar 6 (third beat)–end of movement

The Chapel Royal Anthems

Thirty-seven parts for *I will magnify thee* HWV 250b and thirty-nine parts for *Let God arise* HWV 256b survive in the Mercer's Collection. Despite the presence of comprehensive sources for both Chapel Royal anthems no specific reference to the performance of either work at the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts is recorded in any of the surviving administrative records or newspaper reports. However, identification of several adaptations, the majority of which were included at the time of copying, suggests that the anthems were indeed performed from these sources.³⁰⁶ Adaptations to surviving parts for Handel's Chapel Royal anthems include reduced scoring, the inclusion of alto and tenor solos in tenor chorus parts and the omission of movements. Figures 18 and 19 list the contents of the surviving Mercer's Chapel Royal sources.

³⁰⁶ Only one example of pasted-in material has been identified among the surviving parts for each anthem.

Fig. 18 Surviving Mercer's parts for *I will magnify thee* HWV 250b

I will magnify thee (No. 1)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL– Dmh</i>
Alto solo	9 (A)	
Oboe	41 (ob I)	
Violin I	23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	
Violin II	27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)	
Viola	34, 35 (va)	
Violoncello	38 (vc)	
Double bass	36, 37 (vc), 39 (Bs/bsn)	Bar 16–22 and bar 26 to the end of the movement are scored as rests in bass parts bound in Mss 36, 37 (vc) and 39 (Bs/bsn) parts.
Bassoon		No bassoon part survives in the collection.
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.

O worship the Lord (No. 2)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL– Dmh</i>
Alto solo	9 (A)	
Bass solo		No solo bass part survives in the collection for this movement.
Oboe	41 (ob I)	
Violin I	23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	
Violin II	27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)	
Viola	34, 35 (va)	
Violoncello	38 (vc)	
Double bass	36, 37 (vc), 39 (Bs/bsn)	
Bassoon		No bassoon part survives in the collection.
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.

Glory and worship (No. 3)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL– Dmh</i>
Treble solo	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 (S)	
Alto solo		No solo alto part survives in the collection for this movement.
Tenor solo	16, 17, 18, 19 (T)	
Bass solo	20, 21 (B)	
Alto chorus	8, 9, 10 (A)	
Tenor chorus	12, 13, 14, 15 (T)	Bar 1–18 tenor solo in tenor chorus part bound in Ms 15 (T).
Bass chorus	20, 21, 22 (B)	
Oboe	41 (ob I)	
Violin I	23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	
Violin II	27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)	
Viola	34, 35 (va)	
Violoncello	38 (vc)	Change to alto clef omitted bar 18 and 19.
Double bass	36, 37 (vc), 39 (Bs/bsn)	Bar 1–2 organ and cello music copied in bass parts bound in Mss 36, 37 (vc) and 39 (Bs/bsn) — most likely included as a cue.
Bassoon		No bassoon part survives in the collection.
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.

Tell it out (No. 4)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL– Dmh</i>
Alto solo	8, 9, 10 (A)	
Bass solo	20, 21 (B)	Music copied from bar 38 only in bass parts bound in Mss 20 and 21 (B). Bar 114 missing from bass part bound in Ms 21 (B).

		Error in copying bar 123–126 in bass part bound in Ms 21 (B).
Treble chorus	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 (S)	
Alto chorus		No alto chorus part survives in the collection for this movement.
Tenor chorus	12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 (T)	Bar 51–56 alto music copied in tenor chorus parts bound in Mss 13, 14 and 15 (T).
Bass chorus	22 (B)	
Oboe	41 (ob I)	
Violin I	23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	
Violin II	27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)	
Viola	34, 35 (va)	
Violoncello	38 (vc)	Change to tenor clef omitted bar 45.
Double bass	36, 37 (vc), 39 (Bs/bsn)	Bar 19–45 is scored as cello and organ. Bar 36–54 scored as rests in bass parts bound in Mss 36, 37 (vc) and 39 (Bs/bsn).
Bassoon		No bassoon part survives in the collection.
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.

Righteousness and equity (No. 5)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL–Dmh</i>
Alto solo	9 (A)	
Oboe	41 (ob I)	
Violin I	23, 25, 26 (vn I)	
Violin II	27, 28, 30, 32 (vn II)	
Violoncello	38 (vc)	Pasted-in material bar 28–46, violoncello music copied in violoncello part bound in Ms 38 (vc).
Double bass	36, 37 (vc), 39 (Bs/bsn)	Bar 11–32 rests and bar 53–59 omitted in bass

		parts bound in Mss 36, 37 (vc) and 39 (Bs/bsn).
Bassoon		No bassoon part survives in the collection.
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.

My mouth shall speak (No. 6)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL-Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL-Dmh</i>
Alto solo	8, 9, 10 (A)	Alto solo bar 10–13 copied in alto parts bound in Mss 8 and 9 (A). Bar 19–32 scored as rests in alto parts bound in Mss 8 and 9 (A). Alto solo copied from bar 32 to the end of the movement in alto parts bound in Mss 8 and 9 (A).
Bass solo	20, 21 (B)	Bass solo copied from bar 22 in bass parts bound in Mss 20 and 21 (B).
Treble chorus	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 (S)	
Alto chorus	8, 10 (A)	Bar 9–13 addition Mss 8 and 10.
Tenor chorus	12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 (T)	Bar 19–31 alto solo music copied in tenor chorus parts bound in Mss 12 and 15 (T).
Bass chorus	22 (B)	
Oboe	41 (ob I)	
Violin I	23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	
Violin II	27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)	
Viola	34, 35 (va)	
Violoncello	38 (vc)	
Double bass	36, 37 (vc), 39 (Bs/bsn)	
Bassoon		No bassoon part survives in the collection.
Organ		No organ parts survives in the collection.

Figure 18 reveals that the representation of alto solo and chorus parts is not consistent. This suggests that parts were copied as needed. The omission of the alto solo music from No. 6 in the alto parts bound in *IRL–Dmh* Mss 8 and 9 (A) coincides with the inclusion of this music in two tenor parts, each of which is bound in *IRL–Dmh* Mss 12 and 15 (T). Similar to adaptations identified in the surviving Mercer’s ‘Utrecht’ parts, it would appear that alto parts for *I will magnify thee* HWV 250b were sung by tenors — as male singers sang both tenor and alto parts this seems very likely. Musical Example 3.5 illustrates the alto solo music omitted from bar 19–31 in No. 6 in the alto parts bound in *IRL–Dmh* Mss 8 and 9 (A). Rests are scored from bar 19–31 in *IRL–Dmh* Mss 8 and 9 (A).

Ex. 3.5

I will magnify thee HWV 250b, No. 6 *My mouth shall speak*, bar 19–31 alto solo.

The adaptation made to No. 4 in the three tenor parts bound in *IRL–Dmh* Mss 13, 14 and 15 (T) results in the inclusion of alto music from bar 51–56. The part is copied out a fifth higher in the tenor part bound in *IRL–Dmh* Ms 15 (T), resulting in parallel fifths if sung together with another tenor part. Musical Example 3.6 illustrates the tenor part from bar 51 to bar 56 in No. 4. Musical Example 3.7 illustrates the music copied in the

tenor part bound in *IRL–Dmh* Ms 15 for these bars. Musical Example 3.8 illustrates the alto part copied into the tenor parts bound in *IRL–Dmh* Mss 13 and 14 (T).

Ex. 3.6

I will magnify thee HWV 250b, No. 4 *Tell it out*, bar 51–56 tenor chorus.



Ex. 3.7

I will magnify thee HWV 250b, No. 4 *Tell it out*, bar 51–56 copied a fifth higher in *IRL–Dmh* Ms 15 (T).



Ex. 3.8

I will magnify thee HWV 250b, No. 4 *Tell it out*, bar 51–56 *IRL–Dmh* Mss 13 and 14 (T).



No solo bass part for No. 2 survives in the collection. The twenty-one bars rest scored at the beginning of No. 6 result in the omission of all vocal bass music until bar 22 in both manuscript parts, suggesting a reduced scoring was employed for this movement. There is no differentiation between the surviving solo and chorus treble parts.

One violoncello and three double bass parts for *I will magnify thee* HWV 250b survive. The violoncello part is bound in *IRL–Dmh* Ms 38 (vc), and the three bass parts are

contained in *IRL-Dmh* Mss 36, 37 (vc) and 39 (Bs/bsn).³⁰⁷ The only occurrence of pasted-in material identified in this work can be found in the violoncello part bound in *IRL-Dmh* Ms 38 (vc). Two staves of music are pasted-in to folio 21r. Copied out on the pasted-in material is bar 28–46 of violoncello music from No. 5. No adaptation of the part can be identified and it is not possible to view the music originally copied underneath.

Adaptations identified in the three surviving double bass parts result in a reduced scoring in some movements; bar 16–22 and bar 26 to the end of No. 1, bar 36–54 and 71–8 in No. 4 are omitted from all three parts. The inclusion of two passages of music scored for celli and organ only, bar 1–2 in No. 3 and bar 19–49 in No. 4, most likely served as cues.

The omission of bars 53–9 in No. 5, from all three surviving double bass parts is not identifiable in any other surviving Mercer's part. As a result, these three parts could not have been used in conjunction with any other surviving Mercer's parts for this movement. Musical Example 3.9 illustrates the music that has been omitted i.e. bars 53–9. Musical Example 3.10 illustrates what has been copied into the three Mercer's double bass parts. Note that sixteen bars rest precede bar 53 and that bar 37, as illustrated in Musical Example 3.10, only corresponds to the parts bound in *IRL-Dmh* Ms 36, 37 (vc) and 39 (Bs/bsn).

³⁰⁷ 'Basso Repiano' [*sic*] is written on the *IRL-Dmh* Mss 36 (vc), 37 (vc) and 39 (Bs/bsn) parts. 'Violoncello Principale' is written on *IRL-Dmh* Ms 38 (vc) part.

Ex. 3.9

I will magnify thee HWV 250b, No. 5 *Righteousness and equity*, bar 53–63 (end of the movement).



Ex. 3.10

I will magnify thee HWV 250b, No. 5 *Righteousness and equity*, bar 37 to the end of the movement *IRL–Dmh* Mss 36, 37 (vc) and 39 (Bs/bsn).



The violoncello part bound in Ms 38 (vc) does not include the cut from bar 53–9, as identified in the three Mercer's double bass parts, consequently this single Mercer's violoncello part does not correspond to the three surviving double bass parts.

No bassoon part for *I will magnify thee* survives in the Mercer's Collection. No. 5 is omitted from the violin I part bound in *IRL–Dmh* Ms 24 (vn I) and from two violin II parts, bound in *IRL–Dmh* Mss 29 and 31 (vn II). As No. 5 is scored for solo alto, it appears as if a reduced scoring was employed for this movement.

Fig. 19 Surviving Mercer's parts for *Let God arise* HWV 256b

Let God arise (No. 1)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL– Dmh</i>
Alto solo	8, 9, 10 (A)	
Bass solo		No solo bass part survives in the collection for this movement.
Treble chorus	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 (S)	
Alto chorus	11 (A)	
Tenor chorus	12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 (T)	
Bass chorus	20, 21, 22 (T)	
Oboe	41 (ob I)	
Violin I	23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	
Violin II	27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)	
Viola	34, 35 (va)	Two copies in Ms 34 (va). Both identical.
Violoncello	36, 37, 38 (vc), 39 (Bs/bsn)	Change to tenor clef bar 33 omitted.
Double bass		No double bass part survives in the collection.
Bassoon		No separate bassoon part survives in the collection. See tables for Nos. 2, 3 and 4.
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.

Like as the smoke (No. 2)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL– Dmh</i>
Alto solo	8, 9, 10 (A)	
Bass solo		No solo bass part survives in the collection for this movement.
Oboe	41 (ob I)	
Violin I	23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	

Violin II	27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)	
Viola	34, 35 (va)	Two copies in Ms 34 (va). Both identical.
Violoncello	36, 37, 38 (vc), 39 (Bs/bsn)	Bassoon music copied bar 38–40 in violoncello parts bound in Mss 37, 38 (vc) and 39 (Bs/bsn).
Double bass		No double bass part survives in the collection.
Bassoon	37, 38 (vc), 39 (bsn)	Bassoon part copied in bar 38–40 in violoncello part bound in Mss 37, 38 (vc) and 39 (Bs/bsn).
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.

O sing unto God (No. 3)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL–Dmh</i>
Alto solo	8, 9, 10 (A)	Bar 1–7 alto part pasted in Ms 8 (A).
Bass solo		No solo bass part survives in the collection for this movement.
Oboe	41 (ob I)	
Violin I	23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	
Violin II	27, 28, 29, 31, 32 (vn II)	
Violoncello	36, 37, 38 (vc), 39 (Bs/bsn)	Bassoon part copied bar 1–12 and bar 19 to the end of the movement in all four violoncello parts see Mss 36–9 (vc and Bs/bsn).
Double bass		No double bass part survives in the collection.
Bassoon	36, 37, 38 (vc), 39 (Bs/bsn)	Bassoon part copied bar 1–12 and bar 19 to the end of the movement in all four violoncello parts see Mss 36–9 (vc and Bs/bsn).
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.

Blessed be God (No. 4)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL– Dmh</i>
Alto solo	8, 9, 10 (A)	
Bass solo	21, 22 (B)	
Treble chorus	2, 3, 5, 6, 7 (S)	
Alto chorus	11 (A)	
Tenor chorus	12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 (T)	
Bass chorus	20 (B)	
Oboe	41 (ob I)	
Violin I	23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	
Violin II	27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)	
Viola	34, 35 (va)	Two copies in Ms 34 (va). Both identical.
Violoncello	36, 37, 38 (vc), 39 (Bs/bsn)	Bar 12 to the end of the movement bassoon part copied in violoncello parts bound in Mss 36, 37 (vc) and 39 (Bs/bsn).
Double bass		No double bass part survives in the collection.
Bassoon	36, 37 (vc), 39 (Bs/bsn)	Bar 12 to the end of the movement bassoon part copied in violoncello parts bound in Mss 36, 37 (vc) and 39 (Bs/bsn).
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.

Despite music for solo vocal bass having been scored in all movements in *Let God arise* HWV 256b, (alto and bass solos predominate), no complete solo bass part survives in the collection. No. 3 is omitted from the violin II part bound in *IRL–Dmh* Ms 30 (vn II) and No. 4 is omitted from the treble part bound in *IRL–Dmh* Ms 4 (S). As evidenced in other works, a reduced scoring may have been employed for both these movements.

A single occurrence of pasted-in material can be identified in the alto-part bound in *IRL-Dmh* Ms 8 (A). Music has been pasted-in to the third and fourth staves of folio 20r. The first seven bars of No. 3 have been copied out on the addition. No obvious adaptation to the part is evident and it is not possible to view the originally copied music underneath. Some occurrences of pasted-in material may have been included to correct errors in copying.

The inclusion of music originally scored for bassoon at bar 38–40 in No. 2, bar 1–12 and bar 19 to the end of No. 3, and from bar 12 to the end of No. 4, in the four surviving Mercer's violoncello parts suggests a number of possibilities.³⁰⁸ *Let God arise* HWV 256b is scored for the following bassi instruments: violoncello, bassoon, double bass and organ. In No. 3 the bassoon part is in unison with violoncello, contrabass and organ from bar 4 to the first beat of bar 12, and from bar 13–18. In No. 4 bassoon is not in unison with other bassi instruments in the following bars; bar 12 to the second beat of bar 18, bar 34, bar 38 to the third beat of bar 40, the last beat of bar 45 to the second beat of bar 47 and from bar 71–73. Burrows states the following in relation to Handel's instrumentation for this anthem:

Throughout the work Handel took some care over the instrumentation of the bass line, using separate staves to clarify his intentions. In No. 1 one staff is given to bassoon and cello, leaving a separate (unlabelled) Basso Continuo part that was presumably for organ and double bass. The same arrangement is continued in No. 2, specific references being made to double basses next to the continuo staff. In both movements Handel referred to a violoncello in the singular, obviously intending that a soloist would play with the bassoon. If there were any ripieno cello players they presumably followed the continuo line: there are no references to them, however, and it is possible that Handel's orchestra for this anthem included one cello and two double basses. One obvious inference

³⁰⁸ All four surviving parts have 'violoncello' written on each respective title page.

from his layout of the score is that the basso continuo group might have consisted of double bass and organ rather than cello and organ. In No. 2 bar 42, at the bass soloists, final cadence and the place where a cadenza would have occurred in an operatic aria, Handel treated the instrumental bass line in exactly the same manner as for the theatre, silencing the solo cello/bassoon part and leaving the accompaniment to the basso continuo stave. In Nos. 3 and 4 the bassoon has a separate stave in the score, so the cello and double bass parts were presumably to be derived from the continuo line.³⁰⁹

The source used to copy the Mercer's parts may not have clearly indicated the correct instructions for basso players, resulting in the identified discrepancies in the surviving Mercer's violoncello parts. Due to the logistics involved in arranging performers, it is unlikely that a bassoonist and a cellist read from the same part, and it is also unlikely that four bassoon parts were required. It is possible that cellists substituted the bassoon line. As the bassoon music is included in more than one part, only two of which belong to the same set, it would seem that the inclusion of the bassoon music was intentional.³¹⁰ Two possible Mercer's bassoonists were also members of the 1757 Musical Academy, Columbine Lee Carre and a W. Dean. Columbine Lee Carre conducted eight Mercer's benefit concerts. Lee Carre's role as conductor may have resulted in the absence of a bassoonist for the 1749, 1750, 1757, 1759, 1761, 1762 and 1763 Mercer's benefit concerts, which may have necessitated substitution of the bassoon music. Although a separate bassoon part is not present in the collection the inclusion of music for bassoon in the violoncelli parts, at the bars listed above, contradicts Hendrie's conclusion regarding the absence of bassoon music in both HWV 250b and 256b.

³⁰⁹ Burrows, *Chapel Royal*, p. 249 (fn. 47).

³¹⁰ Mercer's Sets are identified in Section 3.3.

The Coronation Anthems

The Mercer's sources for Handel's coronation anthems contain few adaptations or revisions. The majority of adaptations and anomalies can be identified in the surviving Mercer's sources for *My heart is inditing* HWV 261. Figure 20 includes several tables listing the surviving parts and adaptations identified in Mercer's sources for Handel's coronation anthems.

Fig. 20 Surviving Mercer's parts for Handel's Coronation Anthems HWV 258, 260 and 261.

Zadok the priest HWV 258

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL– Dmh</i>
Treble I chorus	2, 3, 4 (S)	
Treble II chorus	5, 6, 7 (S)	
Alto I chorus	9, 10 (A), 14 (T)	Alto part bound in tenor part-book Ms 14 (T).
Alto II chorus	11 (A)	
Tenor chorus	12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 (T)	
Bass I chorus	20 (B)	
Bass II chorus	21, 22 (B)	Two copies in Ms 22 (B). Both identical.
Trumpet I		No trumpet I part survives in the collection.
Trumpet II	43 (tr II)	
Trumpet III		No trumpet III part survives in the collection.
Timpani	44 (timp)	Three copies of the timpani part are bound in Ms 44 (timp), two of which are incomplete.
Oboe I	41 (ob I)	Bar 1–31 oboe II music copied in oboe part bound in Ms 41 (ob I).
Oboe II	42 (ob II)	
Bassoon I	39 (Bs/bsn)	
Bassoon II		No bassoon II part survives in the collection.

Violin I	24, 25, 26 (vn I)	
Violin II	27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)	
Violin III		No violin III part survives in the collection.
Viola	34, 35 (va)	
Violoncello	36, 38 (vc)	
Double bass	37 (vc)	Bar 1–31 organ music copied in bass part bound in Ms 37 (vc). No figured bass included in this part.
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.

***The King shall rejoice* HWV 260**

The King shall rejoice (No. 1)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL–Dmh</i>
Treble chorus		No treble part survives in the collection.
Alto I chorus		No alto I chorus part survives in the collection for this movement.
Alto II chorus	11 (A)	
Tenor chorus	12, 19 (T)	
Bass I chorus	20 (B)	
Bass II chorus	22 (B)	
Trumpet I		No trumpet I part survives in the collection.
Trumpet II	43 (tr II)	Two copies. No. 1 missing from both copies of trumpet part bound in Ms 43 (tr II).
Trumpet III		No trumpet III part survives in the collection.
Timpani	44 (timp)	
Oboe I	41 (ob I)	
Oboe II	42 (ob II)	
Violin I	24, 25, 26 (vn I)	
Violin II	28, 32 (vn II)	
Violin III	30 (vn II)	

Viola	34, 35 (va)	
Violoncello	38 (vc)	
Double bass	37 (vc)	
Bassoon	39 (Bs/bsn)	
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.

Exceeding glad shall he be (No. 2)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL-Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL-Dmh</i>
Treble chorus		No treble part survives in the collection.
Alto chorus	11 (A)	
Tenor chorus	12, 19 (T)	
Bass chorus	20, 22 (B)	
Oboe I	41 (ob I)	Bar 1–2 and bar 8–9 oboe II music copied in oboe I part bound in Ms 41 (ob I). Movement incomplete in oboe part bound in Ms 41 (ob I), 7 bars missing.
Oboe II	42 (ob II)	Bar 3–4 oboe I music copied in oboe II part bound in Ms 42 (ob II). Incomplete oboe part bound in Ms 42 (ob II), 11 bars missing.
Violin I		No violin I part survives in the collection for this movement.
Violin II		No violin II part survives in the collection for this movement.
Violin III	30 (vn II)	
Viola	34, 35 (va)	Incomplete in viola parts bound in Mss 34 and 35 (va), 4 bars missing.
Violoncello	37 (vc)	Incomplete in violoncello part bound in Ms 37 (vc), 5 bars missing.
Double bass	38 (vc)	Incomplete in bass part bound in Ms 38 (vc), 4 bars missing.

Bassoon	39 (Bs/bsn)	Incomplete in bassoon part bound in Ms 39 (Bs/bsn), 14 bars missing.
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.

Glory (No. 3)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL–Dmh</i>
Treble chorus		No treble chorus part survives in the collection for this movement.
Alto I chorus	11 (A)	
Alto II chorus		No alto II chorus part survives in the collection for this movement.
Tenor chorus	12, 19 (T)	
Bass I chorus	20 (B)	
Bass II chorus		No bass I chorus part survives in the collection for this movement.
Trumpet I		No trumpet I part survives in the collection.
Trumpet II	43 (one copy) (tr II)	No. 3 missing from one trumpet II part bound in Ms 43 (tr II).
Trumpet III		No trumpet III part survives in the collection.
Timpani	44 (timp)	
Oboe I		No oboe I part survives in the collection for this movement.
Oboe II		No oboe II part survives in the collection for this movement.
Violin I		No violin I part survives in the collection for this movement.
Violin II		No violin II part survives in the collection for this movement.
Violin III	30	
Viola		No viola part survives in

		the collection for this movement.
Violoncello		No violoncello part survives in the collection for this movement.
Double bass		No double bass part survives in the collection for this movement.
Bassoon		No bassoon part survives in the collection for this movement.
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.

Thou hast prevented him (No. 4)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL-Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL-Dmh</i>
Treble chorus		No treble part survives in the collection.
Alto I chorus	11 (A)	Incomplete, 39 bars missing.
Alto II chorus		No alto II chorus part survives in the collection for this movement.
Tenor chorus	12, 19 (T)	
Bass I chorus	20 (B)	
Bass II chorus		No bass I chorus part survives in the collection for this movement.
Trumpet I		No trumpet I part survives in the collection.
Trumpet II	43 (tr II)	Two copies of trumpet II music for this movement bound Ms 43 (tr II). Both identical.
Trumpet III		No trumpet III part survives in the collection.
Timpani	44 (timp)	
Oboe I		No oboe I part survives in the collection for this movement.
Oboe II		No oboe II part survives in the collection for this

		movement.
Violin I		No violin I part survives in the collection for this movement.
Violin II		No violin II part survives in the collection for this movement.
Violin III	30 (vn II)	
Viola		No viola part survives in the collection for this movement.
Violoncello		No violoncello part survives in the collection for this movement.
Double bass		No double bass part survives in the collection for this movement.
Bassoon		No bassoon part survives in the collection for this movement.
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.

Alleluia (No. 5)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL-Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL-Dmh</i>
Treble chorus		No treble part survives in the collection.
Alto I chorus		No alto I chorus part survives in the collection for this movement.
Alto II chorus		No alto II chorus part survives in the collection for this movement.
Tenor chorus		No tenor chorus part survives in the collection for this movement.
Bass I chorus		No bass I chorus part survives in the collection for this movement.
Bass II chorus		No bass II chorus part survives in the collection for this movement.

Trumpet I		No trumpet I part survives in the collection.
Trumpet II	43 (tr II)	Two copies of trumpet II music for this movement bound in Ms 43 (tr II). Both identical.
Trumpet III		No trumpet III part survives in the collection.
Timpani	44 (timp)	
Oboe I		No oboe I part survives in the collection for this movement.
Oboe II		No oboe II part survives in the collection for this movement.
Violin I		No violin I part survives in the collection for this movement.
Violin II		No violin II part survives in the collection for this movement.
Violin III	30 (vn II)	
Viola		No viola part survives in the collection for this movement.
Violoncello		No violoncello part survives in the collection for this movement.
Double bass		No double bass part survives in the collection for this movement.
Bassoon		No bassoon part survives in the collection for this movement.
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.

***My heart is inditing* HWV 261**

My heart is inditing (No. 1)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL– Dmh</i>
Treble solo	2, 3, 4, 5 (S)	
Treble chorus	2, 3, 4, 5 (S)	
Alto I solo	8, 9, 10 (A)	
Alto I chorus	8, 9, 10 (A)	
Alto II chorus	11 (A)	Alto II chorus part crossed out from alto part bound in Ms 11 (A).
Tenor solo	12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 (T)	Two copies of tenor part bound in Ms 16 (T).
Tenor chorus	12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 (T)	
Bass solo	20, 21, 22 (B)	
Bass chorus	20, 21, 22 (B)	
Trumpet I	44 (timp)	One trumpet I part including timpani.
Trumpet II	43 (tr II)	Two copies of trumpet part bound in Ms 43 (tr).
Trumpet III		No trumpet III part survives in the collection.
Timpani	44 (timp)	Two copies of timpani part bound in Ms 44 (imp), one including trumpet I.
Oboe I		No oboe I part survives in the collection.
Oboe II	41 (ob I), 42 (ob II)	
Violin I	23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	
Violin II	27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)	
Viola	34, 35 (va)	
Violoncello	36 (vc), 39 (Bs/bsn)	Ms 39 (Bs/bsn) may be a double bass part, bar 23–73 are scored as rests.
Double bass	37, 38 (vc), 39 (Bs/bsn)	Figured bass in bass part bound in Ms 37 (vc). Ms 39 (Bs/bsn) may be a double bass part, bar 23–73 are scored as rests.
Bassoon		No bassoon part survives

		in the collection.
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.

King's daughter's (No. 2)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL– Dmh</i>
Treble chorus	2, 3, 4, 5 (S)	
Alto I chorus	8, 9, 10 (A)	
Alto II chorus	11 (A)	
Tenor chorus	12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 (T)	Two copies of tenor part bound in Ms 16 (T).
Bass chorus	20, 21, 22 (B)	Movement originally omitted from bass part bound in Ms 22 (B). Bass part added to Ms 22 part. Bar 26–33 of <i>We praise thee O God (Te Deum</i> No. 1) copied on reverse of folio added to bass part bound in Ms 22(B).
Oboe I		No oboe I part survives in the collection.
Oboe II	41 (ob I), 42 (ob II)	Third and fourth beats bar 7, and bar 12–41 violin II music copied into oboe part bound in Ms 41 (ob II). Third and fourth beats in bar 7 and bar 12 to the first beat in bar 17 violin II music copied in oboe part bound in Ms 42 (ob II). Bar 41 anomaly in pitch in oboe part bound in Ms 41 (ob I). Bar 18–41 scored as rests in oboe part bound in Ms 42 (ob II).
Violin I	23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	
Violin II	27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)	
Viola	34, 35 (va)	
Violoncello	36 (vc), 39 (Bs/bsn)	Bar 10–20 are scored as

		rests in bass part bound in Ms 39 (Bs/bsn).
Double bass	37, 38 (vc), 39 (Bs/bsn)	Figured bass included in bass part bound in Ms 37 (vc). Bar 10–20 are scored as rests in bass part bound in Ms 39 (Bs/bsn).
Bassoon		No bassoon part survives in the collection.
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.

Upon thy right hand (No. 3)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL–Dmh</i>
Treble chorus	2, 3, 4, 5 (S)	
Alto I chorus	8, 9, 10, 11 (A)	Bar 22–23 alto I music copied into alto part bound in Ms 11 (A), probably a cue.
Alto II chorus	11 (A)	Bar 22–23 alto I chorus copied into alto part bound in Ms 11 (A).
Tenor chorus	12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 (T)	Two copies of tenor part bound in Ms 16 (T).
Bass solo	20, 21, 22 (B)	
Bass chorus	20, 21, 22 (B)	
Oboe I		No oboe I part survives in the collection.
Oboe II	41 (ob I), 42 (ob II)	
Violin I	23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	
Violin II	27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)	
Viola	34, 35 (va)	
Violoncello	36 (vc), 39 (Bs/bsn)	Bar 23–35, last beat bar 70 to second beat bar 73 are scored as rests.
Double bass	37, 38 (vc), 39 (Bs/bsn)	Figured bass included in bass part bound in Ms 37 (vc). Bar 23–35, last beat bar 70 to second beat bar 73 are

		scored as rests.
Bassoon		No bassoon part survives in the collection.
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.

Kings (No. 4)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL-Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL-Dmh</i>
Treble chorus	2, 3, 4, 5 (S)	
Alto I chorus	8, 9, 10 (A)	
Alto II chorus	11 (A)	
Tenor chorus	12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 (T)	Two copies of tenor part bound in Ms 16 (T).
Bass chorus	20, 21, 22 (B)	
Trumpet I	44 (timp)	Copied out on two staves including trumpet I and timpani parts.
Trumpet II	43 (tr II)	Two copies of trumpet part bound in Ms 43 (tr II).
Trumpet III		No trumpet III part survives in the collection.
Timpani	44 (timp)	Two copies of timpani part bound in Ms 44, one includes trumpet I.
Oboe I		No oboe I part survives in the collection.
Oboe II	41 (ob I), 42 (ob II)	
Violin I	23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	
Violin II	27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)	
Violin III		No violin III part survives in the collection.
Viola	34, 35 (va)	
Violoncello	36 (vc), 39 (Bs/bsn)	Last beat bar 16 to third beat bar 20, second beat bar 25 to bar 30 are scored as rests in part bound in Ms 39 (Bs/bsn).
Double bass	37, 38 (vc), 39 (Bs/bsn)	Figured bass copied in bass part bound in Ms 37 (vc). Last beat bar 16 to third

		beat bar 20, second beat bar 25 to bar 30 are scored as rests in bass part bound in Ms 39 (Bs/bsn).
Bassoon		No bassoon part survives in the collection.
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.

Forty-three parts for *Zadok the priest* HWV 258 and forty-two parts for *My heart is inditing* HWV 261 survive in the Mercer's Collection. Parts for both coronation anthems are among the best-represented sources in the collection. Twenty-two parts for *The King shall rejoice* HWV 260 survive. The tables included at Figure 20 reveal some evidence of adaptations to the surviving Mercer's parts for Handel's three coronation anthems, however some discrepancies in parts may result from errors in copying.

The inclusion of music for organ in the surviving bass part for *Zadok the priest* HWV 258, bound in *IRL-Dmh* Ms 37 (vc), suggests that a double bass player may have substituted the organ line.³¹¹ No pasted-in material or extra staves have been added to the part and figured bass instructions are also absent.

The omission of bars of music from bass and oboe parts in various movements in *My heart is inditing* HWV 261 suggests a reduced scoring in some movements. The inclusion of figured bass in the bass part bound in *IRL-Dmh* Ms 37 (vc) suggests that an organist may have used the part. The omission of organ solos from the last beat in bar 16 to the third beat in bar 20, and from the second beat in bar 25 to the end of bar 31 in

³¹¹ 'Anthem 2.o Basso Repiano' [*sic*] is written on the title page of the part.

No. 4 implies that the part was originally a double bass part which may have been adapted for use by organist. A double bassist and organist may also have shared the part.

The cross-over in Mercer's oboe I and II parts in *Zadok the priest* HWV 258, in No. 2 in *The King shall rejoice* HWV 260, and in violin II and oboe II parts in No. 2 in *My heart is inditing* HWV 261, are indicative of possible errors in copying. If the source from which the Mercer's parts were copied did not use separate staves for all instruments it would be easy to misread or misinterpret the division in parts, resulting in such errors. John Walsh's edition of Handel's coronation anthems does not use separate staves for all parts.³¹² In No. 2 in *My heart is inditing* HWV 261 violin I and oboe I share a stave from bar 1 to bar 12, and violin II and oboe II share a stave from bar 2 to bar 12. Oboes and bassoons share the same stave in Walsh's edition of *Zadok the priest* HWV 258. If the Mercer's parts were copied out from Walsh's printed edition the layout of parts in the edition may have caused confusion for the copyist. This could account for some identified discrepancies in the Mercer's parts.

Treble, alto I, trumpet I, trumpet III and organ parts for *The King shall rejoice* HWV 260 do not survive in the Mercer's Collection. The overall number of surviving parts for this anthem is lower than for other works in the collection and the number of surviving individual parts is also lower. On average three alto parts survive for the

³¹² G.F. Handel, *Handel's Celebrated Coronation Anthems in Score for Voices & Instruments Vol. I*, Walsh (London, n.d.). No date of publication was evident on the consulted edition, however it is thought these works were first published c.1743, see William C. Smith and Charles Humphries, *Handel: A descriptive catalogue of the early editions*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1970).

other ten choral works in the collection. On average six tenor parts survive for the other ten choral works in the collection. Only a single alto II and two tenor parts for *The King shall rejoice* now survive. The surviving Mercer's sources may represent an abridged version of the work. The anthem is incomplete in seventeen of the twenty part-books in which it is present and the first movement is the best represented among all surviving parts. As the first movement is the best represented, perhaps it was decided to perform only the first movement on the occasion of the Mercer's benefit concerts. The first movement works as a complete unit beginning and ending in the tonic key of D major. However, the presence of three complete parts for this work, a violin III part, a trumpet II part and parts for timpani, add weight to the supposition that this work most likely existed in its entirety in the collection at one stage.³¹³

Sing we merrily unto God our strength (Maurice Greene)

Forty-one Mercer's parts for Maurice Greene's anthem *Sing we merrily unto God our strength*, composed in 1740, survive. There is no record of Greene's anthem ever having been performed at the Mercer's benefit concerts, however what is contained in the parts would suggest that Greene's anthem received a number of performances. Figure 21 lists the surviving Mercer's parts together with listing adaptations and anomalies.

³¹³ The violin III part is contained in *IRL-Dmh* Ms 30 (vn II). The trumpet II part is contained in *IRL-Dmh* Ms 43 (tr II). The timpani part is contained in *IRL-Dmh* Ms 44 (timp).

Fig. 21 Surviving Mercer's parts for *Sing we merrily unto God our strength* by Maurice Greene

Sing we merrily (No. 1)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL– Dmh</i>
Treble chorus I	2, 3, 4, 5 (S)	
Treble chorus II	6, 7 (S)	
Alto chorus	8, 9, 10, 11 (A)	
Tenor chorus	12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19 (T)	
Bass chorus	20, 21, 22 (B)	
Trumpet I		No trumpet I part survives in the collection.
Trumpet II	43 (tr II)	
Oboe I	41 (ob I)	
Oboe II	42 (ob II)	
Violin I	23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	Order of folios incorrect in violin I part bound in Ms 23 (vn I).
Violin II	27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)	
Viola	34 (va)	
Violoncello	35 (va), 36, 38 (vc)	Violoncello part bound in Ms 35 (va).
Double bass	37 (vc), 39 (Bs/bsn)	Violoncello/organ line copied in parts bound in Mss 37 (vc) and 39 (Bs/bsn).
Bassoon	37 (vc), 39 (bs/bsn)	Violoncello/organ line copied in parts bound in Mss 37 (vc) and 39 (Bs/bsn).
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.
Timpani	44 (timp)	

It is a good thing (No. 2)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL-Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL-Dmh</i>
Treble chorus	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 (S)	
Alto chorus	8, 9, 10, 11 (A)	
Tenor solo	12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19 (T)	In the tenor part bound in Ms 17 (T) two copies of No. 2 are included. The first copy includes the tenor chorus part only. The second copy, written on two staves, includes the tenor solo and instrumental bassi accompaniment. All tenor chorus sections are omitted, however violin and bass are copied out where rests are scored for tenor solo. A cue for the duet movement separates the tenor chorus and solo sections in the part bound in Ms 17 (T). In the tenor parts bound in Mss 18 and 19 (T) the tenor chorus parts, excluding tenor solos, are copied. A cue for the duet movement is then included. After the cue the tenor solo part excluding tenor chorus sections is copied.
Tenor chorus	12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19 (T)	In the tenor part bound in Ms 17 (T) two copies of No. 2 are included. The first copy includes the tenor chorus part only. The second copy, written on two staves, includes the tenor solo and instrumental bassi accompaniment. All tenor

		chorus sections are omitted, however violin and bass are copied out where rests are scored for tenor solo. A cue for the duet movement separates the tenor chorus and solo sections in the part bound in Ms 17 (T). In the tenor parts bound in Mss 18 and 19 (T) the tenor chorus parts, excluding tenor solos, are copied. A cue for the duet movement is then included. After the cue the tenor solo part excluding tenor chorus sections is copied.
Bass chorus	20, 21, 22 (B)	
Oboe I	41 (ob I)	
Oboe II	42 (ob II)	
Violin I	23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	Order of folios incorrect in violin I part bound in Ms 23 (vn I).
Violin II	27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)	
Viola	34 (va)	
Violoncello	35 (va), 36, 38 (vc)	Violoncello part bound in Ms 35 (va).
Double bass	37 (vc), 39 (Bs/bsn)	
Bassoon	37 (vc), 39 (Bs/bsn)	
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.

Blessed is the man (No. 3)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL-Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL-Dmh</i>
Treble solo	2, 3, 4, 5 (S)	
Alto solo	8, 9, 10 (A)	
Violin I	23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	Violin I music copied in flute part bound in Ms 40 (fl), see bar 10–

		16, bar 54–59, bar 68–71, and bar 80–83. Order of folios incorrect in violin I part bound in Ms 23 (vn I).
Violin II	27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)	
Viola	34 (va)	
Violoncello	35 (va), 36, 38 (vc)	Violoncello part bound in Ms 35 (va).
Double bass	37 (vc), 39 (Bs/bsn)	
Bassoon	37 (vc), 39 (Bs/bsn)	
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.

Lord, thou hast been our refuge (No. 4)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL-Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL-Dmh</i>
Alto solo	8, 9, 10 (A)	
Flute I (Transverse)	40 (fl)	
Flute II (Transverse)		No flute II part survives in the collection.
Violin I	23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	Order of folios incorrect in violin I part bound in Ms 23 (vn I).
Violin II	27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)	
Viola	34 (va)	
Violoncello	35 (va), 36, 38 (vc)	Violoncello part bound in Ms 35 (va).
Double bass	37 (vc), 39 (Bs/bsn)	
Bassoon	37 (vc), 39 (Bs/bsn)	
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.

So we that are thy people (No. 5)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL-Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL-Dmh</i>
Treble chorus	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 (S)	
Alto chorus	8, 9, 10, 11 (A)	
Tenor chorus	12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19 (T)	
Bass chorus	20, 21, 22 (B)	
Violin I	23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	Order of folios incorrect in violin I part bound in Ms 23 (vn I).
Violin II	27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)	
Viola	34 (va)	
Violoncello	35 (va), 36, 38 (vc)	Violoncello part bound in Ms 35 (va).
Double bass	37 (vc), 39 (Bs/bsn)	
Bassoon	37 (vc), 39 (Bs/bsn)	
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.
Timpani	44 (timp)	

The information contained in the tables at Figure 21 reveals changes in scoring and the substitution of parts. Two flutes are scored in No. 4 of *Sing we merrily*. No. 4 is in two sections, the first section is in the key of a minor and the second section is in the key of d minor. Flutes begin to play at bar 20 i.e. the beginning of the second section. The Mercer's flute part includes music from No. 3. There is no indication for flutes to play in No. 3 in other surviving sources for the work.³¹⁴ The expansion of the Mercer's flute part, to include music from No. 3, does not result in the instrument supporting the vocal line, as was possibly the case in the expansion of the flute part in the surviving Mercer's sources for the 'Utrecht' *Te Deum-Jubilate* HWV 278–9. The inclusion of flute at bar 10–16, bar 54–59, bar 68–71, and bar 80–83 in No. 3 emphasises the triplet passages

³¹⁴ See *GB-Ob* Ms Mus.D.42, *GB-Ob* Ms Mus.D.49 (wholly autograph) and *GB-Lbl* Add. 31694.

played by violins in the third movement. No second flute part survives in the Mercer's Collection. It would be interesting to know if a second flute part survived in the collection at one point and if so, was music from the second violin part included for No. 3. Musical Example 3.11 illustrates the music copied in the Mercer's flute part bound in *IRL–Dmh* Ms 40 (fl).

Ex. 3.11

Sing we merrily unto God our strength, No. 3 *Blessed is the man*, *IRL–Dmh* Ms 40 (fl).

The musical score consists of five staves, all in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. The first staff is labeled 'Flute' and begins with a tempo marking of 'Largo Andante' at measure 9. It contains several triplet markings (3) and a trill (tr) at measure 36. The second staff is labeled 'Fl.' and includes tempo markings of 'Adagio' and 'Andante' at measures 1 and 36 respectively. The third staff is labeled 'Fl.' and has a triplet marking at measure 7. The fourth staff is labeled 'Fl.' and has a triplet marking at measure 8. The fifth staff is labeled 'Fl.' and has a triplet marking at measure 22. The score concludes with a double bar line at the end of the fifth staff.

Surviving instrumental bass parts for *Sing we merrily*, bound in *IRL–Dmh* Mss 37 (vc) and 39 (Bs/bsn), have the words 'Bassoon E Contra bass' written on the first folio in each part, above the title of the work.³¹⁵ In Greene's autograph score bassi divide for the first and last movements. In No. 1 violoncello and double bass share the same stave while bassoons and organ share a separate stave, while in No. 5 it is the cello and organ which share one stave (with bassoon and double bass on another).³¹⁶ In both the

³¹⁵ Both parts belong to the same set and are the work of Copyist N (unidentified).

³¹⁶ See autograph score *GB–Ob* Ms Mus.D.49.

Mercer's parts the violoncello/double bass part is copied out for No. 1. This suggests that double bass players and not bassoonists in fact used both surviving Mercer's parts. It may however have been intended for bassoon to double the violoncello/double bass line.³¹⁷

A single occurrence of pasted-in material can be found in the instrumental bass part bound in *IRL-Dmh* Ms 37 (vc). Eight bars of music are attached to stave six on folio 14r, i.e. the first folio in the part. Contained on the addition is the music from bar 37–44. It would appear as if the copyist omitted these bars. Musical Example 3.12 illustrates what was originally copied. The corrected version is included at Musical Example 3.13. The addition is cleverly attached to the part. It neatly folds over when the part is not in use.

Ex. 3.12

Sing we merrily unto God our strength, No. 1 *Sing we merrily*, bar 35–47 omitting bars 37–44, *IRL-Dmh* Ms 37 (vc).



Ex. 3.13

Sing we merrily unto God our strength, No. 1 *Sing we merrily*, corrected version bar 37–47 *IRL-Dmh* Ms 37 (vc).



³¹⁷ Dr Harry Johnstone, commenting on the Mercer's 'Bassoon E Contra' bass parts, has suggested that there probably never was any separate independent bassoon part and that the bassoon simply doubled the Contra Bass. Information kindly received via email on 30 September 2011.

The contents of the seven surviving tenor parts include both tenor solo and chorus music for the anthem. Tenor chorus is scored in No. 1 and No. 5, while tenor solo and chorus are scored for No. 2. No. 2 is a fifty-nine bar movement. Short chorus sections, included at bar 34–40 and bar 53–59 break-up the tenor solos which occur at bar 9–33 and 41–52. In the four tenor parts bound in *IRL–Dmh* Mss 12–15 (T), the solo and chorus parts are copied out in full. In the tenor parts bound in *IRL–Dmh* Mss 17, 18 and 19 (T) the chorus part only is copied out first. A cue for the duet movement, No. 3, follows. After the cue the tenor solo part from No. 2, excluding all chorus sections, is copied. The inclusion of the instrumental bass and violin music for No. 2 in the tenor part bound in *IRL–Dmh* Ms 17 (T) obviously provided direction (cues) to the soloist using this part. No figured bass is included in the part therefore it is unlikely that this two-stave part is a stray organ score.

Two parts for *Sing we merrily* have been incorrectly bound. The order of folios for the violin I part bound in *IRL–Dmh* Ms 23 (vn I) is incorrect and a violoncello part has been incorrectly bound in *IRL–Dmh* Ms 35 a viola part-book.³¹⁸ This further shows that Mercer's parts were not bound until after the music was withdrawn from use. No viola part is included in *IRL–Dmh* Ms 35 (va), which means that only one viola part for *Sing we merrily* survives in the Mercer's collection, see *IRL–Dmh* Ms 34 (va). Musical Example 3.14 illustrates the first vocal entry, which occurs at bar 16 for tenors, bar 17 for basses and bar 18 for trebles and altos, from No. 1 in *Sing we merrily*.

³¹⁸ See Appendix 7. The following note, in the hand of Robert Prescott Stewart, is written on folio 18r in the violoncello part bound in *IRL–Dmh* Ms 35: 'Vcello page for viola'.

The adaptations identified in Greene's anthem, although significant, are less extensive than those identified in the Mercer's Handelian sources, which may suggest that Greene's anthem was performed less frequently and posed fewer problems in terms of scoring and performance practice.

Ex. 3.14

Sing we merrily unto God our strength, No. 1 *Sing we merrily*, bar 16–20 transcribed from IRL–Dmh Mss 3, 8, 12, 21, 23, 28, 34, 36, 37, 41, 42, 43 and 44.

The musical score is for a choral and instrumental ensemble. It begins at bar 16, marked with a '16' and a trill (tr) above the first Oboe part. The key signature is one sharp (F#). The vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) enter in bar 18 with the lyrics 'Sing ye'. The instrumental parts (Trumpet, Timpani, Violins, Viola, Violoncello, Bassoon) enter in bar 16. The Tenor and Bass parts have lyrics 'mer - - ri - ly' in bar 19. The Soprano and Alto parts have lyrics 'Sing ye' in bar 20. The score ends at bar 20.

Ob. ¹⁶ *tr*

Ob. *tr*

Tpt.

Timp.

S. *Sing ye*

A. *Sing ye*

T. *Sing ye mer - - ri - ly mer - - ri - ly*

B. *Sing ye mer - - ri - ly*

Vln. I *tr*

Vln. II *tr*

Vla.

Vc.

Bsn.

19

Ob.

Ob.

Tpt.

Timp.

S.

A.

T.

B.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Bsn.

mer - - ri - ly mer - - ri - ly

mer - - ri - ly un - - - to

mer - - ri - ly mer - - ril - ly

mer - - ri - ly mer - - ri - ly

Blessed is he that considereth the sick (William Boyce)

William Boyce's orchestral anthem *Blessed is he that considereth the sick* was specially commissioned for Mercer's Hospital. The anthem was composed in 1741 and received its first performance at the Mercer's Hospital benefit concert of 10 December of that year.³¹⁹ Forty-two parts for *Blessed is he* survive in the Mercer's collection, the tables at Figure 22 list the surviving Mercer's parts.

Fig. 22 Surviving Mercer's parts for *Blessed is he that considereth the sick* by William Boyce

Symphonic Introduction (No. 1)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL– Dmh</i>
Violin I	23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	
Violin II	27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)	
Viola	34, 35 (va)	
Violoncello	36, 38 (vc)	
Double bass	37 (vc), 39 (Bs/bsn)	
Bassoon		No bassoon part survives in the collection.
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.
Oboe I	41 (ob I)	
Oboe II	42 (ob II)	
Flute I		No flute I part survives in the collection.
Flute II	42 (ob II)	Flute II music incorrectly bound and inserted with oboe II part in Ms 42 (ob II).

³¹⁹ Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 74; *DJ* 17–21 Nov. 1741; *DJ* and *DNL* 8–12 Dec. 1741; MHMB 1736–72, p. 101; MHMB 1738–1750, p. 64.

Blessed is he (No. 2)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL– Dmh</i>
Treble chorus	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 (S)	
Alto chorus	8, 9, 10, 11 (A)	
Tenor chorus	12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 (T)	
Bass chorus	20, 21, 22 (B)	
Violin I	23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	
Violin II	27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)	
Viola	34, 35 (va)	
Violoncello	36, 38 (vc)	
Double bass	37 (vc), 39 (Bs/bsn)	
Bassoon		No bassoon part survives in the collection.
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.
Oboe I	41 (ob I)	
Oboe II	42 (ob II)	

The Lord will preserve him (No. 3)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL– Dmh</i>
Alto solo		No alto solo survives in the collection for this movement.
Tenor solo	12, 13, 14, 15 (T)	
Violin I	23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	Solo passages for first violin are included at bar 20–26 and 40–44 in the violin I parts bound in Mss 25 and 26 (vn I).
Violin II	27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)	
Viola	34, 35 (va)	
Violoncello	36, 38 (vc)	
Double bass	37 (vc), 39 (Bs/bsn)	All violoncello solos are copied in the bass part bound in Ms 39 (Bs/bsn).

Bassoon		No organ part survives in the collection.
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.
Flute I		No flute I part survives in the collection.
Flute II	42 (ob II)	Flute II part incorrectly bound and inserted with oboe II part in Ms 42 (ob II).

The Lord will strengthen (No. 4)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL– Dmh</i>
Alto solo	8, 9, 10 (A)	Bar 64–72 and bar 81–114 crossed out.
Violin I	23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	Bar 60–124 crossed out in two violin I parts, bound in Mss 23 and 24 (vn I). Bar 63–71 and bar 86–115 (Ms 25) crossed out in violin I part bound in Ms 25 (vn I). Bar 63–71 and bar 81–114 crossed out in violin I part bound in Ms 26 (vn I). Solo passages for first violin are included at bar 15–20, 28–32, 73–85 and 94–123 in the violin I parts bound in Mss 25 and 26 (vn I).
Violin II	27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)	Bar 60–103 crossed out in five violin II parts, bound in Mss 27, 28, 30, 31, 32 (vn II). Bar 60–127 crossed out in violin II part bound in Ms 29 (vn II).
Viola	34, 35 (va)	Bar 60–103 crossed out in the two viola parts bound in Mss 34 and 35 (va).
Violoncello	36, 38 (vc)	Bar 64–72 and bar 81–114

		crossed out in two violoncello parts bound in Mss 36 and 38 (vc).
Double bass	37 (vc), 39 (Bs/bsn)	Bar 84–124 crossed out in bass part bound in Ms 37 (vc). Bar 60–88 crossed out in bass part bound in Ms 39 (Bs/bsn). Violoncello solo from third beat bar 110 to the second beat in bar 118 copied in the bass part bound in Ms 37 (vc).
Bassoon		No bassoon part survives in the collection.
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.
Oboe I	41 (ob I)	Bar 63–67 and bar 76–109 crossed out in oboe part, see Ms 41 (ob I).
Oboe II		No oboe II part survives in the collection for this movement.

The Blessing of him (No. 5)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL– Dmh</i>
Bass solo	20 (B)	
Violin I	23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	
Violin II	27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)	
Viola	34, 35 (va)	
Violoncello	36, 38 (vc)	
Double bass	37 (vc), 39 (Bs/bsn)	Sections marked with the dynamic <i>piano</i> are omitted from the bass parts bound in Mss 37 (vc) and 39 (Bs/bsn) i.e. bar 1–17, beat 3 bar 24 to first beat bar 30, beat 2 bar 31 to first beat bar 32, beat 2 bar 33 to first beat bar 34, beat 4

		bar 35 to bar 55, beat 4 bar 58 to bar 66.
Bassoon		No bassoon part survives in the collection.
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.

I was eyes to the blind (No. 6)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL–Dmh</i>
Alto solo	8, 9, 10 (A)	
Violin I	23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	
Violin II	27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)	
Viola	34, 35 (va)	
Violoncello	36, 38 (vc)	
Double bass	37 (vc), 39 (Bs/bsn)	Sections marked with the dynamic <i>piano</i> omitted from bass parts bound in Mss 37 (vc) and 39 (Bs/bsn) i.e. bar 13–15, bar 19 to the second beat bar 25, bar 29–31, bar 35–37, bar 41–46, last beat bar 50 to bar 53.
Bassoon		No bassoon part survives in the collection.
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.

Blessed be the Lord God of Israel (No. 7)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL–Dmh</i>
Treble chorus	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 (S)	
Alto chorus	8, 9, 10, 11 (A)	
Tenor chorus	12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 (T)	
Bass chorus	20, 21, 22 (B)	
Oboe I	41 (ob I)	

Oboe II	42 (ob II)	
Violin I	23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	
Violin II	27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)	
Viola	34, 35 (va)	
Violoncello	36, 38 (vc)	
Double bass	37 (vc), 39 (Bs/bsn)	
Bassoon		No bassoon part survives in the collection.
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.
Trumpet I		No trumpet I part survives in the collection.
Trumpet II	43 (tr II)	
Timpani	44 (timp)	

Hallelujah (No. 8)

Voice/ Instrumental Part scored	Mercer's Hospital Music Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>	General Comments/ Anomalies in Parts <i>IRL– Dmh</i>
Treble Chorus	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 (S)	
Alto solo	8, 9, 10 (A)	
Alto chorus	8, 9, 10, 11 (A)	
Tenor Solo		No tenor solo survives in the collection for this movement.
Tenor Chorus	12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 (T)	
Bass Solo	20 (B)	
Bass Chorus	20, 21, 22 (B)	
Violin I	23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	
Violin II	27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)	
Viola	34, 35 (va)	
Violoncello	36, 38 (vc)	
Double bass	37 (vc), 39 (Bs/bsn)	Violoncello solo third beat bar 93 to first beat bar 95 copied in bass part bound in Ms 37 (vc).
Bassoon		No bassoon part survives in the collection.
Organ		No organ part survives in the collection.

Oboe I	41 (ob I)	
Oboe II	42 (ob II)	
Trumpet I		No trumpet I part survives in the collection.
Trumpet II	43 (tr II)	
Timpani	44 (timp)	

Figure 22 reveals that no alto solo part for No. 3 and no tenor part for No. 8 survive in the Mercer's Collection. The omission of the double bass music from several bars in No. 5 and No. 6 implies a reduced scoring for both movements, which are scored for solo vocalists only. No. 5 is scored for solo bass and No. 6 is scored for solo alto. The inclusion of violoncello solos from No. 2 and No. 8 in the bass parts, bound in *IRL–Dmh* Mss 39 (Bs/bsn) and 37 (vc) respectively, may have been included as cues. However the bass part bound in *IRL–Dmh* Ms 39 (Bs/bsn) is identical to each violoncello part bound in *IRL–Dmh* Mss 36 and 38 (vc). A distinction may have been made between parts for solo violoncello and ripieno cello.³²⁰

No. 4 includes two significant cuts, indicated by crossing-out several bars of music, in twenty out of the twenty-one surviving parts for the movement. The first cut omits approximately nine bars and the second cut omits approximately thirty-four bars of music. No score for *Blessed is he that considereth the sick* survives in the Mercer's Collection. However, a complete score-book for the anthem, which was re-bound during the nineteenth century, survives in the Christ Church Cathedral Music

³²⁰ 'Basso Repiano [*sic*] No: 4' is written on the title page of the part bound in *IRL–Dmh* Ms 37 (vc) and 'Basso Repiano [*sic*] N:o 3' is written on the title page of the part bound in *IRL–Dmh* Ms 39 (Bs/bsn). 'Violoncello [*sic*] N:o 1' is written on the title page of the part bound in *IRL–Dmh* Ms 36 (vc) and 'Violoncello [*sic*] N:o 2' is written on the title page of the part bound in *IRL–Dmh* Ms 38 (vc).

Collection.³²¹ Even though the Christ Church score is the work of a non-Mercer's copyist and appears to have a later date of copying than that identified for the Mercer's parts, the Christ Church score contains the same setting of the anthem as that identified in the Mercer's parts.³²² Two cuts, equivalent to those identified in No. 4 in the Mercer's sources, are also present in the Christ Church score. The table included in Figure 22 reveals that the length of the cuts in No. 4 varies between several Mercer's parts. In the Christ Church score the first cut begins in bar 64 and ends in bar 72. The word 'End' is written in bar 72. The second cut in the Christ Church score is indicated from bar 81 to bar 114. The word 'End' is written in bar 113.³²³

The cuts result in the omission of 43 bars in total, excluding two passages of solo alto music plus the accompanying orchestral music.³²⁴ Consequently the movement is reduced from 140 bars to 97 bars. No. 4 can be divided into two sections. The opening *Largo Andante* section, in g minor, is set in common time, while the *Vivace* section, which begins at bar 39, and which remains in the key of g minor, is set in 3/2 time. This is the second of three solo alto movements scored in the anthem. The organisers of the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts may have considered the movement too long, resulting in the inclusion of the cuts as outlined. The long solo movement may have

³²¹ *IRL–DrCb* C6.1.24.1.6. A note written on the first page of the anthem suggests it was incorrectly attributed to Handel at one stage: 'This anthem is composed by W.^m Boyce not Handel. See "Boyce's own" vol. IV p. 42 and Editorial note therein'. J.F. Fitzgerald 1906. The name G. F. Handel is crossed out from the top right hand corner of the first page. *Blessed is he that considereth the sick* is not contained in Boyce's *Cathedral Music*.

³²² Identification of the Christ Church copyist for Boyce's anthem and the date of copying: Sue Hemmens personal comment. The Mercer's parts for *Blessed is he* date from 1741 to 1757. The Mercer's sources use the term alto but the Christ Church score includes the term countertenor.

³²³ A large cross or 'X'-like symbol is present in bar 63 and from bar 114 to bar 115 in *IRL–DrCb* C6.1.24.1.6.

³²⁴ No. 4 is scored for solo alto and orchestra.

been too demanding for Mercer's soloists, who may also have been required to sing a number of tenor and alto solos. Musical Examples Nos. 3.15 and 3.16 illustrate the cuts identified in No. 4. Examples have been transcribed using both the Mercer's and Christ Church sources.

Ex. 3.15

Blessed is he that considereth the sick, No. 4 *The Lord will strengthen*, bar 64–72, IRL–Dmh Mss 2–44 and IRL–Drcb C6.1.24.1.6.

64

Oboe

Alto

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Violoncello

Bassi

and shall set me be-fore thy face for E

7 7 6 #3 5 # 6 5 6 7

68

Ob.

A. ver be-fore thy_ face for ever_

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Bassi

7 6 7 7 7 7 5 # # 6

Ex. 3.16

Blessed is he that considereth the sick, No. 4 The Lord will strengthen, bar 81–114, IRL–Dmh Ms 2–44 and IRL–Drcb C6.1.24.1.6.

81

Oboe

Alto and shall set me be-fore thy face for E_

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Bassi

7 7 # 6 7 7 #

86

Ob. *Forte*

A. *ver Tutti* and when I am in health thou up - *Soli*

Vln. I *Forte*

Vln. II *Forte*

Vla. *Forte*

Bassi *Forte* *Violoncello* *Piano*

6 5
4 #

91 *Soli*

Ob.

A. hold - est me up - hold - est - me *Soli* and shall

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Bassi

ø 6 # 7 6 # 6 7

96

Ob.

A.

set me be-fore thy face shall set me be-fore thy face for

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Bassi

5 6 6 5 6 5 6

100

Ob.

A.

E ver Tutti and shall set me be-fore thy

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Bassi

Pia 6 7 7 6 # 5

104 *Soli*

Ob. *face for E ver be-fore*

A. *face for E ver be-fore*

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Bassi

6 5 6 7 7 6 7 7 6 7 7 5

5b #

109 *Soli*

Ob. *thy face for Ever*

A. *thy face for Ever*

Vln. I *Soli*

Vln. II

Vla.

Bassi

6 7 7

3

112

Ob.

A.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Bassi

3 5 7 7 3 5 6 6

The names of singers are written at the beginning of various solo movements in the Christ Church score. This source therefore contains relevant information regarding singers who participated in Dublin performances of Boyce's anthem. At the beginning of No. 3 in the Christ Church score, the name 'M.r Church' is written above the solo countertenor (alto) part. 'M.r Baylis' is written above the solo tenor part and 'M.r Mason' is written at the beginning of No. 5, a solo bass movement. Mr Church's name is written again, at the beginning of No. 6, a movement for solo countertenor (alto). The names 'M.r Church', 'M.r Lamb' and 'M.r Mason' are written over each solo part respectively in the final movement (No. 8). In all probability these names must refer to John Church, James Bailys, John Mason and William Lamb. All singers were members of the cathedral choirs (Christ Church and St Patrick's) and participated at the inaugural Mercer's Hospital benefit concert. Bailys, Mason and Lamb were soloists at the *Messiah* première. It is likely that all four singers regularly participated at the hospital's benefit concerts.

The Dublin version of *Blessed is he that considereth the sick* may have been an early draft for later London performances. Sources for the work present in library collections throughout Britain reveal that significant revisions were made to the anthem.³²⁵ Detailed analysis of these revisions is provided in Section 3.4 of this chapter.

Chant in C, Pelham Humfrey

Pelham Humfrey's Chant in C is written in four parts: treble, alto, tenor and bass. No voice parts for the chant are present in the Mercer's Collection, however twenty-eight instrumental parts, including some duplicates, for a chant set in the key of D major, are contained in *IRL-Dmh* Mss 23–44. According to Robert Prescott Stewart's annotations, the *Gloria* music on f.1r in *IRL-Dmh* Ms 24 (vn I) and Ms 31 (vn II) corresponds to the chant. (See Appendix 7). However the Mercer's *Gloria* is in C major and the Mercer's chant is in the key of D major.

The Mercer's version of the chant does not correspond to Peter Dennison's edition of Humfrey's chant.³²⁶ The differences in melody and rhythm are significant. Parts for the Mercer's chant are not copied on full manuscript folios, apart from some duplicate copies. The majority of parts are pasted to the inside front cover of each instrumental part-book in the collection, *IRL-Dmh* Mss 23–44.³²⁷ Musical Example No. 3.17 provides a transcription of the Mercer's chant. A critical commentary is included at

³²⁵ See Section 3.4. See also Bartlett and Bruce, *Boyce Tercentenary*, pp. 26–8.

³²⁶ Dennison, *Pelham Humfrey*, *Music Britannica* XXXV, p. 120.

³²⁷ More than one copy of the chant is contained in some part-books. See Figure 11. Duplicate and triplicate copies are in pencil and found within the contents of the part-books.

Figure 23. Musical Example No. 3.18 provides a transcription of the Mercer's *Gloria* contained in *IRL–Dmh* Mss 24 (vn I) and 31 (vn II) only.³²⁸

Ex. 3.17

Chant, transcribed from *IRL–Dmh* Mss 23–44, attributed to Pelham Humfrey.

The image shows a musical score for a chant, attributed to Pelham Humfrey. The score is written for a variety of instruments: Flute, Oboe, Oboe II, Bassoon, Trumpet in D, Timpani, Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Violoncello. The music is in G major (one sharp) and common time (C). The score is divided into two systems by a double bar line. The first system contains measures 1 through 4, and the second system contains measures 5 through 8. The instruments are arranged in a standard orchestral layout, with woodwinds and strings on the left and brass and timpani on the right. The notation includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings.

³²⁸ Two voice parts, one tenor and one bass, for Humfrey's chant survive in the music collection held at Durham Cathedral Library, see *GB–Drc* Ms C12 p. 274 and Ms C28 p. 507h. A keyboard realisation (for clavicembalo, harpsichord or virginal) survives in a manuscript held at the British Library in London. This manuscript dates from the second half of the seventeenth century and although it is set in C major is very similar to the arrangement of the chant present in the Mercer's sources, see *GB–LbI* Add. 2948. See <http://www.rism.org.uk> to access this source. An organ part for a version of a chant by Humfrey set in F major is present in the music collection at St Paul's Cathedral Library, London, see *GB–Lsp* Ms Organ vol. 10. 18th century. Under the General Note section in the RISM entry the following note has been made: 'No single chant in F appears on Humfrey's work list in the New Grove (2nd ed.), though there is a single chant in C'. <http://www.rism.org.uk>, accessed 19 July 2010.

**Fig. 23 Critical Commentary, Chant attributed to Pelham Humfrey, *IRL–Dmh*
Mss 23–44**

Bar 1	Vn I, Vn II	time signature common time Ms 23 (vn I), Ms 29 (vn II) note unclear Ms 26 (vn II), could be g''
	Vn II	too many beats Ms 30 (vn II) (duplicate), attempt to copy a third higher than vn II part first note unclear Ms 31 (vn II), could be e''
	Bs	violoncello or bassi
	Fl	as violin I
	Ob I, Ob II	as violin I and violin II respectively
Bar 2	Vn II	too many beats Ms 30 (vn II) (duplicate) fermata first note Ms 30 (vn II)
	Bs	first note g, Ms 36 (vc)
	Bs	two minims, f, d, Ms 36 (vc) (duplicate)
Bar 3	Vn I	fermata omitted Ms 23 (vn I)
	Vn II	note unclear, could be d'', Ms 29 (vn II)
	Va	note unclear, could be f#', Ms 35 (va)
Bar 3–4	Vn I	double bar line Ms 23 (vn I)
	Timp	double bar line Ms 44 (timp) (duplicate)
Bar 4	Vn II	note unclear, could be b', 'C' written in blue ink underneath (Robert Prescott Stewart) Ms 30 (vn II)
	Timp	semibreve, a, Ms 44 (timp) (duplicate)
Bar 5	Bs	two minims, d', g, Ms 36 (vc) (duplicate)
Bar 6	Bs	semibreve, a, Ms 36 (vc) (duplicate)
	Timp	semibreve, a, Ms 44 (timp) (duplicate)
Bar 7	Vn II, Timp	fermata, Ms 29 (vn II) (duplicate), Ms 44 (timp) (duplicate)

Ex. 3.18

Mercer's *Gloria*, *IRL–Dmh* Mss 24 (vn I) and 31 (vn II), attributed to Pelham Humfrey.

The musical score is written for four staves: Violin I, Violin II, Viola I, and Viola II. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are written below the staves. The first system covers the first two measures, and the second system covers the next two measures. The lyrics are: "Glor y be &c to the Son & to y.e holy____" for Violin I and Violin II, and "ghost as it was &c ever shall be world wth.out end A____ men" for Viola I and Viola II. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and bar lines.

The standard *Gloria* text; Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit, is not copied in the Mercer's *Gloria*, and no *Gloria* is listed among Humfrey's sacred works.³²⁹ The Mercer's *Gloria* may have been used for a psalm sung at the 'cathedral service' (Mercer's benefit concerts).

IRL–Dmh Mss 45–50: *The Overture to Esther* HWV 50 and *Corelli's Concerto*

The contents of *IRL–Dmh* Mss 45–50 include six manuscript parts for Corelli's *Concerto Grosso* No. 8 in g minor Op. 6 and the overture to Handel's oratorio *Esther* HWV 50. These parts appear to have been used less frequently than the music contained in the core repertoire (*IRL–Dmh* Mss 1–44). The small number of surviving parts for each work suggests that perhaps this music was on loan to Mercer's. Unlike the contents of the core repertoire, (*IRL–Dmh* Mss 1–44), the contents of *IRL–Dmh* Mss 45–50 are not bound in hard covers. Each volume is loosely bound with string and in

³²⁹ Dennison, *Humfrey*, p. 115. The text included in Musical Example No. 3.18 has been transcribed directly from *IRL–Dmh* Mss 24 (vn I) and 31 (vn II).

some cases conjoined folios have frayed. The correct identification of parts is listed in Figure 24. The overture is the first work bound in each volume. Despite containing two inner parts (violin II and viola) and a bass part, it would not be possible to achieve a satisfactory performance from the contents of *IRL–Dmh* Mss 45–50 due to the absence of a violin I part for either work. As discussed in Chapter 2, the overture may have been performed as a prelude and the concerto could possibly have been performed as a recessional piece at the Mercer’s benefit concerts. There is no other obvious place for performance of these works within a cathedral service.

Fig. 24 Surviving Mercer’s parts for the Overture to *Esther* HWV 50 and Corelli’s *Concerto Grosso* No. 8 in g minor, Op. 6

Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>	Ms 45	Ms 46	Ms 47	Ms 48	Ms 49	Ms 50
Overture to <i>Esther</i> HWV 50	Violin II	Viola	Basso	Hautboy Secondo	Hautboy Secondo	Hautboy Secondo
Corelli <i>Concerto Grosso</i> No. 8 in g minor Op. 6	Violin II concertino	Viola	Basso concerto grosso	Violin II concerto grosso	Violin II concerto grosso	Violin II concerto grosso

Figure 24 reveals that three oboe II parts for the overture survive, however only one oboe is scored for this work. All surviving oboe II parts are identical, see *IRL–Dmh* Mss 48–50, and suggest that an alternative scoring was employed for the overture, which is scored for oboe, violin I, violin II and bassi, which include violoncello, double bass, bassoon and cembalo. Music for violin II has been copied in all three oboe II parts and in No. 3 (*Allegro*) the oboe, violin I and violin II parts are copied for various bars.

Figure 25 outlines the music copied for the overture in the three manuscripts designated ‘hautboy secondo’ (*IRL–Dmh* Mss 48–50).

Fig. 25 Music copied in *IRL–Dmh* Mss 48–50, ‘Hautboy secondo’, for the Overture to *Esther* HWV 50, No. 3 *Allegro*

Part	Bars
Oboe	Bar 1–first beat bar 18
Rests	Bar 18 second beat–bar 26
Violin I/Oboe I (in unison)	Bar 27 beat 2–bar 32 beat 1
Oboe I (in unison with violin I bar 37–44 and bar 50–beat 3 bar 61)	Bar 32 beat 2–bar 62
Violin II	Bar 63–beat 3 bar 65
Oboe I	Bar 65 beat 4–the end of the movement

The above evidence demonstrates how the Mercer’s parts for the overture have been adapted and it also indicates that parts were substituted. As the overture is scored for one oboe only, it is unlikely that all three oboe secondo parts were in use at the same time. It is unusual that three identical oboe parts, containing the same adaptations, were copied. If string players were small in number it may have been decided to include an extra oboist in order to add to the texture of the music. It is possible, however, that the overture parts designated ‘hautboy secondo’ were not necessarily used by an oboe player, but perhaps by a second violinist, who may have been substituting some of the oboe music. The pairing of the ‘Hautboy Secondo’ parts for the overture with a violin II concerto grosso part for Corelli’s work makes this supposition more likely. Consequently the designation of ‘Hautboy Secondo’ on all three parts is misleading.

The surviving viola part for the overture has also been adapted. Music scored for bassi has been transposed into the alto clef and copied into the surviving viola part. Some pitches have been altered by an octave to accommodate the range of the instrument.

The violoncello solo from the second beat in bar 30 to the first beat in bar 33 is omitted, however, the bassoon solo from the second beat of bar 26 to the first beat of bar 30 is included. This implies that a viola player may have had to substitute the bassoon line. The copyist would have required a considerable knowledge of music in order to transpose the part correctly from the bass clef to the alto clef and to take into consideration the difference in pitch between both instruments. The overture part designated basso, *IRL-Dmh* Ms 47, includes both the bassoon and violoncello solo bars and three passages are written in the tenor clef.³³⁰ The Mercer's parts for Corelli's concerto have not been adapted.

Conclusion

The aim of Section 3.2 was to identify if any of the surviving Mercer's parts had been adapted, and if so, what type of adaptations were employed. The Mercer's Collection is complex and highly significant, illustrating the difficulties experienced in eighteenth-century performance, whereby the number of available performers would not always meet the scored requirements for popular works. All works contained in *IRL-Dmh* Mss 1–50 were adapted except Corelli's *Concerto Grosso* No. 8 in g minor Op. 6. This means that surviving Mercer's parts for Handel's 'Utrecht' *Te Deum-Jubilate* HWV 278–9, three coronation anthems HWV 258, 260 and 261, two Chapel Royal anthems HWV 250b and 256b, the overture to *Esther* HWV 50, Greene's orchestral anthem *Sing we merrily*, Boyce's orchestral anthem *Blessed is he that considereth the sick* and a chant and *Gloria* attributed to Pelham Humfrey, were adapted. The collection also

³³⁰ 'cello c/o' is written in blue ink on the title page. This is the handwriting of Robert Prescott Stewart. Tenor clef bar 22, bar 52–4 and bar 63 last note to the last note in bar 64.

reveals the various performance practices employed in eighteenth-century Dublin, such as the substitution of vocal parts by instrumentalists, the substitution of alto parts by tenors, the substitution of solo parts by chorus and vice versa, the employment of a reduced scoring and the performance of abridged versions of works. The adaptations, which greatly affected the arrangement of the music performed, demonstrate how the availability or otherwise of performers did not lead to any great change in Mercer's repertoire. It would have been necessary to give careful consideration to the types of adaptations made in order to preserve the overall effect of the music performed and considerable musical knowledge would also have been required from Mercer's benefit concert organisers, Mercer's copyists and conductors, to ensure a satisfactory performance. All this raises questions concerning the standard of performance at the Mercer's benefit concerts. The use of the Mercer's parts by other organisations demonstrates that these adaptations were also employed for non-Mercer's performances of works contained in the collection's core repertoire. Therefore performance related problems encountered at the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts are representative of the type of performance practice issues encountered in eighteenth-century Dublin.

Prior to completion of Section 3.2 the correct classification of parts contained in *IRL–Dmh* Mss 1–50 had not been carried out. The tables included at Figures 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24 and 25 clearly list the surviving Mercer's parts for each movement in each work, indicating adapted parts. Therefore, each table now provides a clear representation of surviving parts for all works contained in the Mercer's Collection. The tables are also highly significant in indicating parts which do not survive in the

collection and prove a useful resource when comparing the contents of the Mercer's Collection with other surviving eighteenth-century manuscript sources. Even though the chant attributed to Humfrey and the Mercer's *Gloria* are not included in these tables, the musical examples included at Ex. 3.17 and 3.18 and the critical commentary included at Figure 23 provide clear examples of these works and can easily be compared with other sources and printed editions.

The absence of orchestral scores and organ scores for all works in the collection is remarkable. However, it is clear that scores existed during the eighteenth century, as evidenced by two entries in the hospital minutes.³³¹

The division of the music for the overture to *Esther* and Corelli's *Concerto Grosso* No. 8, into separate manuscript volumes, distinguishes the contents of *IRL-Dmh* Mss 45–50 from the contents of *IRL-Dmh* Mss 1–44. The works contained in *IRL-Dmh* Mss 45–50 were most likely used less frequently than the music contained in the core repertoire. The work of two copyists and a paper type not identifiable elsewhere in the collection, are also evident. Consequently the surviving parts for both works may not have belonged to the hospital originally and may have been borrowed from another organisation, probably the Philharmonic Society whose repertoire included Handelian oratorios and popular eighteenth-century instrumental works. The Philharmonic Society had a strong association with Mercer's. As the hospital benefited from weekly performances given by the Philharmonic Society the music performed at these concerts

³³¹ MHMB 1736–72 pp. 191, 285; MHMB 1738–50, p. 191; MHMB 1750–68 p. 149. See Figure 10. Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 292.

would most likely have been stored with the music performed at the hospital's own series of benefit concerts, resulting in the contents of *IRL–Dmh* Mss 45–50 becoming part of the Mercer's Collection. The absence of vocal music from *IRL–Dmh* Mss 45–50 is in marked contrast with the contents of *IRL–Dmh* Mss 1–44, which are comprised of sacred choral works, including seven orchestral anthems and a service setting.

3.3 Dating the Collection

This section identifies Mercer's copyists and establishes dates of copying for all manuscript works contained in the collection, i.e. the contents of *IRL–Dmh* Mss 1–50. The composition of the part-books, as discussed in Section 3.1, the use of different paper types and the work of several copyists, indicate the presence of a number of 'sets' of vocal and instrumental parts, and emphasise the necessity to de-construct the part-books and re-arrange the works into their respective sets according to copyist and paper type.

Even though printed music was widely available in eighteenth-century Dublin, (a total of thirty-one outlets where music could be bought were established in Dublin during this period); the employment of copyists and the subsequent distribution of material were also important means of promotion for new works.³³² Institutions engaged in the performance of music i.e. theatres, cathedrals and charitable organisations, employed copyists. The majority of cathedral copyists were also members of one or both Dublin

³³² Boydell, *Calendar*, pp. 259–61; Mary Pollard, *Dublin's Trade in Books 1500–1800* (Oxford, 1990); Sue Hemmens, 'The Christ Church Music Books', Unpublished paper Queen's University Belfast, Northern Ireland, 9 Jan. 2009, Ireland, Britain and the Americas: The International Book Trade in the Long Eighteenth Century, Conference.

cathedral choirs. John Phipps, Charles Taylor, John Mason and John Mathews were eighteenth-century Christ Church copyists. The work of John Mathews and John Mason is also present in the eighteenth-century manuscripts contained in the St Patrick's Cathedral music books, together with the work of copyists John Walsh, William Taverner, Ralph Roseingrave, Samuel Murphy, John Church and John Butler.³³³ Extracts from the Rotunda Hospital's Register of Accounts for the period 1760 to 1784 record the payment of three different copyists during this period, a Mr McGrath, a Mr Gittner and a Mr Forster. A number of payments where the copyist is not identified are also included in the Rotunda records.³³⁴

Mercer's Copyists

The work of a possible thirty-seven copyists has been identified in the Mercer's Collection. Appendix 8 includes samples of handwriting and should be consulted in conjunction with the contents of this section. Apart from John Mason, the Mercer's copyists are not from the same pool of copyists found in the Christ Church and St Patrick's Cathedral Collections.³³⁵ Other copyists, apart from two named in the minute books (a Mr Cross and a Mr Kelly), remain unidentified.³³⁶ It has not been possible to identify which handwriting samples represent their work. Classification of the Mercer's copyists posed a number of problems, as some handwriting samples were very similar, proving it difficult to differentiate between the use of certain shapes and flourishes.

³³³ Boydell, *Christ Church*, pp. 127–131. Houston, *St Patrick's*, pp. 28–82, vol. 1, (Sections 1.5 and 1.6).

³³⁴ Boydell, *Rotunda Music*, pp. 176–200.

³³⁵ Sue Hemmens kindly assisted in examining samples of handwriting from the Mercer's Collection and assisted in establishing information regarding the Mercer's copyists. Houston, *St Patrick's*, pp. 39–84, vol. 3 (Hands and watermarks found in the manuscripts in St Patrick's Cathedral).

³³⁶ MHMB 1736–72, pp. 251, 280; MHMB 1750–68, pp. 75, 141.

Different writing schools may have been in existence in the city, thus making the identification of copyists difficult to establish, particularly in cases where the employment of some shapes and flourishes in the termination of words is very similar.³³⁷ It is likely that most of the Mercer's copying was completed by musicians who participated in the hospital's benefit concerts — a violin player may have been given the task of copying all first and second violin parts, a singer may have been given the task of copying all vocal parts.

Seven references to copyists and copying are recorded in the hospital's minute books. The minutes reveal that music was copied in 1736, 1743, 1753, 1755, 1757 and 1759. Two Mercer's copyists are identified. The references inform as to who was in charge of having the music copied and they also provide information regarding the payment of copyists. All seven entries from the minute books are transcribed and included at Figure 26.

Fig. 26 References to Copyists and Copying transcribed from MHMB 1736–72, 1738–50 and 1750–68

Governors' Meeting 7 June 1736

No1: Ordered that the steward (Mr Hall) in the absence of the Treasurer pay the bill of eight pounds brought in for writing out the musical books for the performance at St. Andrew's church.

Governors' Meeting 29 January 1743

That Mr Wesley get such musick [*sic*] copied as he thinks necessary for the ensuing performance.

³³⁷ Sue Hemmens, 'The Christ Church Music Books'. Information also kindly received via email on 18 Jan. 2011.

Governors' Meeting 1 December 1753

Order'd that the Treasurer do pay ten pounds to the charity for decayed musicians and the bill for writing and binding musick [*sic*] and the usual cost attending the musical performance.

Governors' Meeting 13 December 1755

[...] and that Mr Cross be paid for the writing and putting in order the musick [*sic*] for the performance at St Andrews church.

Governors' Meeting 3 December 1757

Agreed that Mr Carre [*sic*] be requested to order the Musical Books belonging to the hospital to be bound and Dr Boyces [*sic*] Anthem Composed for the Hospital to be copied.

Governors' Meeting 5 May 1759

Mr Kelly copyist paid 1:13:11.

Governors' Meeting 24 November 1759

[...] those lately copied which are in the custody of Dr Hutchinson.³³⁸

It has not been possible to verify any information about Mr Cross, however it is possible that Mercer's sources dating from *c.*1755 include a sample of his work.³³⁹ A cellist and horn player by the name of Thomas Kelly was a member of the City Band in 1753 and played horn at the opening of the Rotunda Hospital in December 1757. He participated at several benefit concerts that took place at Marlborough Green with violinist and conductor Samuel Lee.³⁴⁰ Thomas Kelly may be the same 'Mr Kelly' who copied parts for the Mercer's 1759 performance of *Acis and Galatea* HWV 49.³⁴¹ No parts for *Acis and Galatea* survive in the Mercer's collection.

³³⁸ MHMB 1736–72, pp. 1, 113, 237, 251, 266 285; MHMB 1738–50, p. 76, MHMB 1750–68, pp. 48, 75, 113, 141, 149.

³³⁹ See Sets 1, 15, 25, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36 and 38 and corresponding handwriting samples in Appendices 8 and 9.

³⁴⁰ Boydell, *Calendar*, pp. 140, 152, 166, 182, 195, 199, 282–3. The benefit concerts put on by Kelly and Lee were not hospital benefit concerts but were benefit concerts which provided musicians with a source of income.

³⁴¹ See Appendix 4.

The governors of the hospital were responsible for decisions concerning the copying of music. Sometimes the task was assigned to a particular member of the board. For example at the meeting of 29 January 1743 Richard Wesley was in charge of having music copied and at the meeting of 3 December 1757 Columbine Lee Carre took charge of this task. Both Wesley and Lee Carree were amateur musicians and directed a total of nine Mercer's benefit concerts between them. Their involvement in musical circles would enable them to know who to engage to copy music for the benefit concerts. It would appear that this task was assigned to a governor who had knowledge of music rather than to one who had a particular position on the board, such as the chairperson or secretary.

The duty of paying the copyist(s) was the responsibility of the hospital's treasurer. The sum of eight pounds (£8), recorded for the payment of the copyist for the first Mercer's benefit concert, is significant. It would have been necessary to copy a complete set of new parts for all works performed at the inaugural benefit concert. If approximately seventy performers took part at the first Mercer's benefit concert, approximately forty parts for each work must have been required.³⁴² It is unlikely that eight pounds (£8) was spent every time music was copied. The Mercer's parts demonstrate that two groups of copyists contributed towards creating the collection, copyists for the majority of parts and another group of copyists for occasional or supplementary parts. The copying of supplementary parts would have been less costly.

³⁴² *PO* 6–10 Apr. 1736 ('upwards of 70 in number').

Mercer's bills for copying sometimes included other expenses such as binding and putting the music in order.³⁴³ Payments recorded in the proctor's accounts at St Patrick's Cathedral include the 'writing and pricking' of the music books. Amounts of up to £26 were recorded for writing new music for the Cathedral.³⁴⁴ The Rotunda Hospital register of accounts (1769–84) includes twelve recorded payments to copyists. The maximum price paid of £8.16s.1d. was paid to Mr McGrath for the 'writing of musick' performed during the 1769 season. Lesser amounts spent on copying for the Rotunda include 8s.8d. for copying a march composed by the Earl of Mornington. This payment was made during the 1773 season. During the 1784 season 13s.7d. was spent on copying.³⁴⁵ Smaller amounts spent on copying indicate that fewer parts may have been needed. As the contents of the Rotunda music library grew, the need for copying most likely decreased and as a result the cost of copying most likely decreased over time. The Rotunda records show that a music librarian was employed by the hospital. There is no record of an official librarian for the Mercer's parts, however, the parts were entrusted to various individuals between performances. See Figure 10.

The costs involved in copying music may be more clearly appreciated when compared with salaries earned in various professions during the eighteenth century. A lay vicar choral, serving at Christ Church Cathedral, earned an annual salary of £195, while a lay vicar choral at St Patrick's Cathedral earned an annual salary of £156.6s.6¾d. A lay vicar serving at both cathedrals could earn up to £351.6s.6¾d. annually. At Christ Church the organist earned an annual salary of £50 in 1727 (as the cathedral organist

³⁴³ MHMB 1736–72, pp. 237, 251; MHMB 1750–68, pp. 48, 75.

³⁴⁴ Houston, *St Patrick's*, pp. 6–10, vol. 3 (Appendix 4).

³⁴⁵ Boydell, *Rotunda Music*, pp. 185–200.

was also a vicar choral the organist's salary would supplement the basic salary received by a vicar choral). In 1726 and in 1727 an amount of £111 is recorded as the annual salary for Master of the Boys.³⁴⁶ The amount of £8, recorded for copying music for the inaugural Mercer's benefit concert, would represent *c.*2.3% of the annual earnings of a person engaged as a lay vicar choral at both Dublin cathedrals. It would represent 16% of the annual salary of the Christ Church organist and *c.*7.3% of the salary earned by Master of the Boys at Christ Church. The amount of £26 recorded for copying at St Patrick's Cathedral represents 7.4% of the annual salary earned by a lay vicar choral at both Dublin cathedrals, 24% of the annual salary of Master of the Boys in 1726 and 52% of the annual salary of a Christ Church organist in 1727.

Mercer's Paper

France, Italy and Switzerland dominated the paper making trade during the mid to late seventeenth century. Paper made in all three European countries was exported to Britain until the eighteenth century when most British paper imports came from Holland and were of Dutch manufacture.³⁴⁷ Dutch paper was classic and was of the best quality used in London.³⁴⁸ Even though varying industries, including paper mills, developed around Ireland's major ports i.e. Dublin, Cork and Belfast, it was highly probable that most of the paper used in Dublin during the eighteenth century was imported from

³⁴⁶ Boydell, *Christ Church*, pp. 104, 111, 118. The following amounts were obtained using www.measuringworth.com. Measuring Worth is a service for calculating relative worth over time. Calculations are based on sterling figures. The following amounts are calculated using average earnings, for example £8 in 1736 is worth £13,300 in 2010; £26 in 1750 is worth £43,500 in 2010.

³⁴⁷ W.A. Churchill, *Watermarks in paper in Holland, England, France etc., in the XVII and XVIII centuries* (Amsterdam, 1935) pp. 40, 43, 46.

³⁴⁸ Donald Burrows, 'Eighteenth-Century Manuscripts Workshop', Unpublished Lecture Marsh's Library, Dublin 27 Mar. 2010.

London.³⁴⁹ This can be ascertained from the watermarks identified in surviving manuscript records and collections. Determining the dates when this paper was bought and made available in Dublin is therefore very significant.

Cathedral accounts for both Christ Church and St Patrick's Cathedrals record the purchase of paper in 1722/3 (Christ Church) and in 1720, 1738 and 1753 (St Patrick's).³⁵⁰ The Rotunda Hospital register of accounts (1760–84) includes one recorded payment for the purchase of paper over a twenty-four year period of benefit concerts. Bearing in mind that the Rotunda benefit concerts took place three times a week over a five-month period (May–October), the absence of records detailing the purchase of paper is remarkable. It is possible that this expense was included with other payments without itemisation. The single payment, which was made during the 1769 Rotunda season to a 'Mr Giordani for Musick Paper', suggests that paper may have been acquired from musicians participating at the hospital's benefit concerts.³⁵¹

Paper was widely available from the numerous music shops and printers established in the city. It is unusual therefore that no information regarding the purchase of paper is recorded in the Mercer's hospital administrative records. The largest expenditure on paper would have occurred most likely in preparation for the inaugural Mercer's benefit

³⁴⁹ L.M. Cullen, 'Economic development 1750–1800', in *NHI IV*, pp. 182, 668. Burrows, 'Manuscripts Workshop'.

³⁵⁰ Boydell, *Christ Church*, p. 127; Houston, *St Patrick's*, pp. 6–10, vol. 3 (Appendix 4) — '1720 payment 16 £1:5:0 paid for Large paper book containing 6 Quires of Royal Paper. 1738 £4:8:0 payment 27 two reams of Royal paper for new musick [*sic*] books to be used in the choir Edwd Exshw. 1753 £1:10:0 payment 44 8 quires of paper delivered to Mr Taverner for the Musick [*sic*] books of the cathedral'.

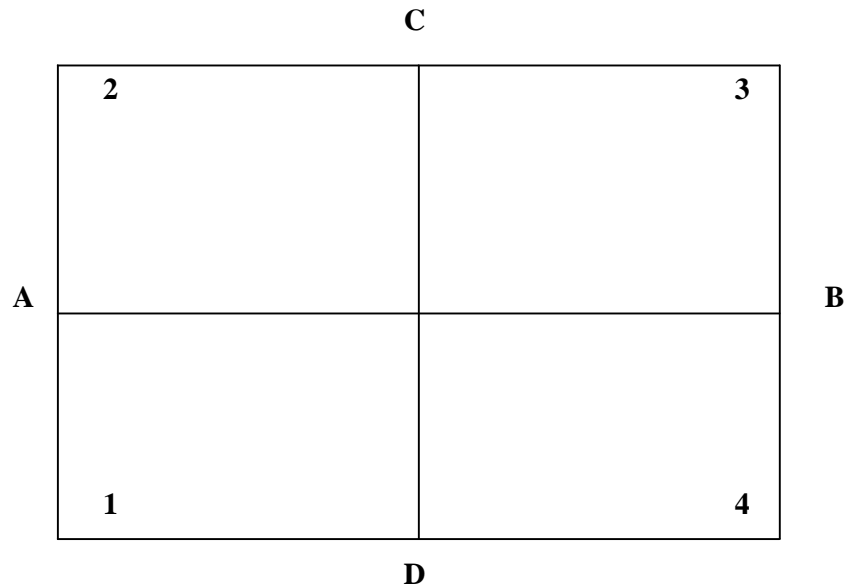
³⁵¹ Boydell, *Rotunda Music*, pp. 185, 217. Tommaso Giordani (1733–1806) was an Italian keyboard player and composer. He conducted the Rotunda benefit concerts in 1769 and 1783 and became an important figure in Dublin's musical scene during the latter half of the eighteenth century.

concert, which would have necessitated the copying of all parts for the works performed. As Mercer's was a charitable institution, which enjoyed the benefits of association with several well-to-do board members and subscribers, it is possible that paper was donated free of charge. Paper may have been acquired from other institutions such as the city's cathedrals or from individual musicians who had an association with the hospital. Individuals from various facets of Dublin's music scene, including cathedral musicians and members of the various musical societies, participated at the hospital's benefit concerts.

Appendix 9 provides a catalogue of the different paper types used to copy the surviving Mercer's sources. Appendix 9 is central to Section 3.3 but due to its format and presentation it is included in a separate volume. It should be consulted in conjunction with the contents of Chapter 3 Section 3.3 and the contents of Appendix 8 Samples of Handwriting for Mercer's Copyists. In order to categorize the Mercer's paper types the following data has been recorded: folio format, rastra, folio size and watermark type. All paper types found in the Mercer's collection have been cut by the upright method. This method of paper cutting was typically used during the eighteenth century for instrumental works that accompanied choir i.e. Format II.³⁵² The illustration at Figure 27 demonstrates the way in which a Format II folio is cut and created.

³⁵² Burrows, 'Manuscripts Workshop'. Burrows and Ronish, *Handel's Autographs*, pp. xxvii–xxxii.

Fig. 27



To create a Format II folio the sheet of paper was cut from point C to D and then folded from points A to B. The four areas created by the horizontal and vertical lines are called quadrants, numbered 1 to 4 as illustrated in Figure 27. Each quadrant comprises one quarter of the complete sheet before it is cut and folded. A folio comprises one quadrant. Format II folio usually consist of 12 stave-ruling.³⁵³

The upright method of cutting paper presents some problems when trying to identify watermarks. Due to the use of this method and the subsequent folding of the folio the majority of watermarks in the Mercer's Collection are present in the binding. See Figure 28.

³⁵³ Burrows and Ronish, *Handel's Autographs*, pp. xxvii–xxix.

Fig. 28

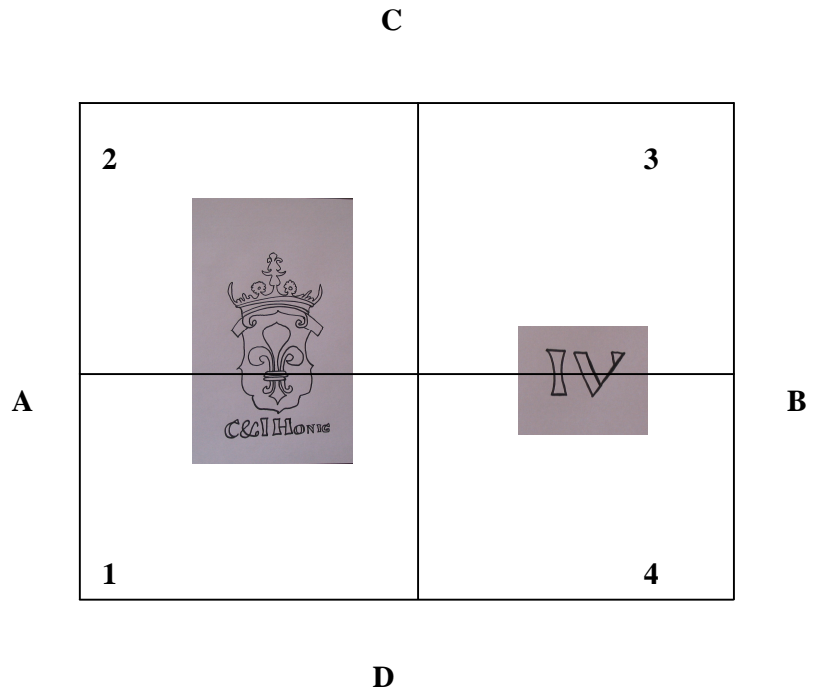


Figure 28 illustrates the position in the sheet of paper where watermarks are formed i.e. usually in the centre of each half of the sheet. Once the sheet is cut, from point C to D, and subsequently folded, from point A to B, the configuration of watermarks in the Mercer's Collection becomes clear, i.e. they are mostly found in the binding.

Watermarks indicate the origin and quality of the paper used. A variety of decorative symbols are used in their creation. A main design is included on one half of the sheet and a countermark, which usually comprises letters or initials, is included on the remaining half. The identity of the paper manufacturer can be deciphered from the initials included in the countermark or main design. Specific watermarks are found on paper of a particular size and both elements work together in terms of identifying the

paper type. For example the predominant paper size in the Mercer's Collection, bearing the crowned fleur-de-lis watermark together with the C & I Honig and IV countermarks varies between approximately 33.5 x 23.5 cm and 34 x 24 cm with 12 stave-ruling. The smaller of the two folio sizes is indicative of fraying rather than an alternative paper type.

Paper size and stave ruling help narrow down possibilities in terms of dating the paper used in the Mercer's Collection and contribute towards the identification of patterns of conjoined folios.

Rastra characteristics provide valuable corroborative evidence for the reconstruction of paper conjunctions, because in most cases conjunct pages were originally ruled as a single opening before bifolio were folded. On connected bifolia the staves do not cross the central margin (which falls as the gutter when the sheets are combined into gatherings) but the staves on either side of this margin line up horizontally. Where two folios with identical watermarks are equal candidates for the completion of a gathering, the pattern of conjunctions can frequently be resolved by matching the rastra spacings.³⁵⁴

The occurrence of conjoined folio in the Mercer's manuscripts is easy to identify. This is partly due to the presence of loose or frayed binding in some volumes. Few occurrences of more than one gathering per work have been recorded while the average number of gatherings per volume is three or four.³⁵⁵ The number of gatherings or folios used to copy a work depends on the length of the work, the style of handwriting employed by the copyist together with the folio size and number of ruled staves.

³⁵⁴ Ibid., p. xxx.

³⁵⁵ An average of 3.7 gatherings per manuscript volume was calculated. Seven gatherings are recorded in *IRL-Dmh* Ms 36 (vc) i.e. the greatest number of gatherings identified in a single Mercer's manuscript volume. This volume also contains the most works.

The table at Figure 29 lists the watermarks identified in the Mercer's Collection.

Fig. 29 Mercer's Watermarks

Code	Watermark
A	No Watermark
B	Fleur-de-lis with variants
B*	Crowned fleur-de-lis with variants
C	Fleur-de-lis LV
E*	Crowned fleur-de-lis with variants
G 1	Fleur-de-lis GR
Harp	Harp in a circle
L10 variant	C & I Honig
Lion	Lion in a circle with variants
PP	Pro Patria with variants
Br	Britannia with variants
Letters	Letters with variants

Each watermark type has been allocated an identifying code or letter. The codes used in Figure 29 correspond to the watermark classifications employed by Larsen, Burrows and Ronish, Churchill and Heawood.³⁵⁶ However some of the Mercer's watermarks do not correspond directly to the codes and illustrations recorded in the cited publications. For some watermark types it was necessary to develop and use variants of the main codes, see Figure 30. The word 'variant' has been applied to watermarks which share a fixed design such as the crowned fleur-de-lis or pro patria symbols but which also have varying countermarks.

Similarly to Larsen's observations in his survey of watermarks found in Handel's *Messiah* manuscripts and authentic copies, the various countermarks associated with the different Mercer's watermark types, particularly those associated with the fleur-de-lis

³⁵⁶ Jens Peter Larsen, *Handel's Messiah, Origins, Composition, Sources* (London, 1957), pp. 278–84; Burrows and Ronish, *Handel's Autographs*; Churchill, *Watermarks*; Ed Heawood, *Watermarks mainly of the 17th and 18th centuries* (Hilversum, 1950).

variants, such as the IV countermark, are frequently found scattered over several sheets of music.³⁵⁷ This occurrence can be observed in Appendix 9 in examples where the gatherings show either the main watermark design or the countermark. Due to the interference of sheet order it is difficult to be certain where corresponding watermarks and countermarks occur within the collection, if at all. This can easily be seen in the single occurrence of watermark types B* 1 variant (crowned fleur-de-lis) and G 1 variant (fleur-de-lis/GR) in *IRL-Dmh* Ms 33 (va). (See Appendix 9). Watermarks, which appear to be affected by sheet order, have the word ‘variant’ accompanying the identifying code.

All categories of Mercer’s watermarks and their variants are listed in the tables at Figure 30. The first table lists watermarks identified across the four quadrants of a sheet of paper. The second table lists the watermarks identified across two quadrants of a sheet of paper. The superscript number following the titles of columns two and three indicates the relevant quadrants.

Fig. 30 Mercer’s Watermarks and Identifying Codes

Table 1

Code	Watermark Quadrant^{1/2}	Watermark Quadrant^{3/4}
B	Fleur-de-lis	IV
BCIH	Fleur-de-lis C & I Honig	IV
BCIH 1 variant	Fleur-de-lis C & I Honig	
B 1 variant	Fleur-de-lis	
B 2 variant		IV
B 3 variant	Top only of Fleur-de-lis	
B*	Crowned fleur-de-lis	IV
B* 1 variant	Crowned fleur-de-lis	

³⁵⁷ Larsen, *Messiah*, pp. 278–9.

B* 2 variant	Crowned fleur-de-lis intersecting Ws	
B* 3 variant	Crowned fleur-de-lis W	IV
B* 4 variant	Bottom fleur-de-lis in shield W	
B* 5 variant	Crowned fleur-de-lis WS	
B* 6 variant	Top only crowned fleur-de-lis	IV
B* 7 variant	Crowned fleur-de-lis W	
B* 8 variant	Top only crowned fleur-de-lis	
B* 9 variant	Crowned fleur-de-lis V	
B* 10 variant	Bottom fleur-de-lis in shield W C & I Honig	
B* 11 variant	Bottom fleur-de-lis in shield	
B*CIH	Crowned fleur-de-lis C & I Honig	IV
B*CIH 1 variant	Crowned fleur-de-lis C & I Honig	
B*CIH 2 variant	Crowned fleur-de-lis W C & I Honig	IV
B*CIH 3 variant	Crowned fleur-de-lis W C & I Honig	
B*CIH 4 variant	Crowned fleur-de-lis intersecting Ws C & I Honig	IV
B*CIH 5 variant	Crowned fleur-de-lis C Honig	IV
B*CIH 6 variant	Crowned fleur-de-lis C & I Honig	V
C 1 variant	Fleur-de-lis LV	
E*10	Crowned fleur-de-lis WR	IV
E*10 variant	Crowned fleur WR	
E*10 2 variant	Crowned fleur WR C & I Honig	
G 1 variant	Fleur-de-lis GR	

Table 2

Code	Watermark Quadrant¹	Quadrant²
Br	VI	Britannia
Br 1 variant	V	Britannia
Harp		Harp in a circle
Harp variant	C & I Honig	Harp in a circle
L 10 variant	C & I Honig	
Letters	Letters	No watermark
Letters 1 variant		upside down V
Letters 2 variant		IV
Letters 3 variant		V or W
Letters 4 variant		unidentified letters

Lion	No watermark	Lion in a circle
Lion W	W	Lion in a circle
Lion 1 variant	Lettering	Top half of lion in a circle
Lion 2 variant	VI or WC	Lion in a circle
PP	No watermark	Pro patria
PPGR	GR	Pro patria
PPGR 1 variant	GR with crown	Pro patria
PP 1 variant	VI or WC	Pro patria
PP 2 variant	IV or W	Pro patria
PP 3 variant	IV or WI	Pro patria
PP 4 variant	C IV	Pro patria
PP 5 variant	WV	Pro patria
PP 6 variant	WV or VI	Pro patria
PP 7 variant	IV	Pro patria
PP 8 variant	CAW or WAC	Pro patria
PP 9 variant	Crown	Pro patria
PP 10 variant	C & I	Pro Patria

No watermark can be identified on a number of folios in the collection (Code A). The absence of a watermark can in itself be indicative of a particular paper type or indeed inform as to the period in which the paper was made. Heawood states that

[...] at almost all periods we find papers without any watermarks of designs or names [...] only the wire lines of the moulds [...] but these were always exceptional after the first introduction of such marks. Their absence may sometimes be due to the unwillingness of printers to spoil the appearance of their papers by marks that might be too obtrusive, especially when it was a question of plate or maps.³⁵⁸

In some cases it is not possible to establish the presence of a watermark due to the fact that a Mercer's manuscript volume has been tightly bound. In other cases the absence of a watermark(s) indicates the use of an older paper type and the presence of older sources within the collection.

³⁵⁸ Heawood, *Watermarks*, p. 38.

The most common paper type used to copy the surviving Mercer's parts is that produced by the Dutch paper-making firm Honig. The Honigs produced a lot of paper for the British market between 1683 and 1787.³⁵⁹ The initials 'C & I Honig' denote this paper type, which was the main good quality paper type available in Dublin during the eighteenth century. The majority of Honig paper used in the Mercer's Collection includes the crowned fleur-de-lis watermark design. Some samples include the fleur-de-lis and shield while other variants can also be identified. The initials IV frequently appear in conjunction with the C & I Honig watermark. The initials IV were originally the trademark of French paper-maker Jean Villedary. The paper produced by Villedary was noted for its quality and therefore the watermark was associated with a good product. During the first half of the eighteenth century watermarks established by one or two paper-makers were increasingly used by other firms to denote quality. The IV watermark is used in conjunction with several other paper-makers including Lubertus van Gerrevink, Adriaan Rogge and Van der Ley. The use of the initials of Jean Villedary (IV) as a watermark covers a period of c.150 years (1668–1812).³⁶⁰

The paper types bearing either the pro patria, lion or Britannia watermarks and their variants are noticeably different in size and quality from the C & I Honig and Villedary papers. Paper made in Holland, France and other countries for the British market included the pro patria, lion (vryheyt) and Britannia watermarks. Churchill refers to the designs as 'British royal ciphers and watermarks'.³⁶¹ The pro patria design depicts the maid of Holland (or Hollandia), seated within a palisade or garden and holding a hat on

³⁵⁹ Churchill, *Watermarks*, pp. 9, 15.

³⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. 9, 15, 21–2; Larsen, *Messiah*, pp. 276–8.

³⁶¹ Churchill, *Watermarks*, p. 46.

the point of a spear. The Britannia watermark appears to have evolved from a pro patria watermark. The lion is portrayed in a circle, sometimes a crowned circle, holding a spear and seven darts. The three designs can be identified in the collection and are frequently accompanied by varying countermarks such as the initials IV, GR or CAW. In the examples found in the Mercer's Collection the initials GR and CAW occupy a similar position to the initials IV. Churchill's samples of the British royal ciphers and watermarks date from 1690 to 1780 for the pro patria, 1711 to 1785 for the lion in a circle and 1763 to 1764 for the Britannia watermark.³⁶²

The catalogue at Appendix 9 clearly illustrates the following conclusions regarding Mercer's paper types. The work of individual copyists can be identified on certain paper types, which in turn contributes towards the establishment of the 'original' sets of Mercer's parts. The presence of split sheets, single quadrants and bifolios demonstrate both how Mercer's paper was used and how various paper types were distributed throughout the collection. These characteristics also reveal that paper, regardless of type, was used according to its availability. Interruptions in patterns identifiable in the paper and watermark types used may be attributed to the use of old assortments of paper, which possibly were kept in storage and accessed when needed.

The way in which the Mercer's works are collated has significant implications. Collation diagrams included in Appendix 9 indicate new sections for each work. There are very few identifiable cross-overs between conjoined folio and works, which would

³⁶² Ibid., pp. 11–2, 14, 28, 40, 43, 46.

suggest that the parts may originally have been bound according to work as opposed to binding by instrument or vocal part. The temporary binding of works between benefit concerts, primarily for storage purposes, is discussed in Chapter 3 Section 3.1. The examination and classification of the paper types found in the Mercer's Hospital Music Collection indicate the different paper types that were in circulation in eighteenth-century Dublin. A large amount of paper produced by manufacturers Honig was available and accessible as evidenced by its predominance in the Mercer's Collection. Paper produced by Honig is also present in the St Patrick's collection, although when compared with the Mercer's sources some variation in the watermark types is evident. The majority of Mercer's Honig samples include the crowned fleur-de-lis while the Honig fleur-de-lis, which is not crowned, is present in the St Patrick's Collection. Samples of the fleur-de-lis watermarks, both crowned and uncrowned, with and without countermarks are also evident in the St Patrick's Collection.³⁶³ It is possible that some Mercer's paper was acquired from the quantity purchased by St Patrick's in 1738 and/or 1753.

Four paper types identified in the Mercer's music books have also been identified in the hospital's administrative records. Paper by J. Villedary was used to copy the principal minute book, dated 1736 to 1772 and bound with a green vellum cover. The folios are larger than those used in the music books, measuring 42 cm long and 26 cm wide, however the pages may have been trimmed and ruled prior to copying the music. The pro patria watermark is evident throughout the managing committee record book dated

³⁶³ Houston, *St Patrick's*, pp. 6–10, 62–84 vol. 3, (Appendix 4 and Appendix 7).

1738 to 1750 bound in a brown vellum cover. A lion in a crowned circle, accompanied by a 'GR' countermark, is evident in the paper used to copy the 1750 to 1768 governors' book, bound in a brown vellum cover. Each of the minute books described above indicates that paper used in the Mercer's administrative records, and possibly the Mercer's music books, dates from 1736, 1738 and 1750. Unlike the music books, one paper type is used throughout each minute book. By comparing the paper used to copy the administrative records with the paper types identified in the music books it appears that all of the paper used to copy the music pre-dates 1786. The 1786–1807 and the 1808–34 minute books include paper types that are not present in the music books.³⁶⁴ The lack of any surviving records specifying the purchase of paper makes it difficult to establish specific dates of production for the paper types used in the Mercer's Collection. Paper made from 1791 onwards usually included the year of production in the watermark.³⁶⁵ As none of the paper used in the Mercer's Collection includes a date, all Mercer's paper types pre-date 1791, which is not surprising considering the period in which the benefit concerts took place (1736–80). Their possible decline and cessation post 1780 suggests that any music performed at the nineteenth-century Mercer's 'charity sermons' was most likely performed using the eighteenth-century sources.

Criteria for establishing dates of copying

The identification of watermarks and paper types alone does not prove conclusive in dating the sources contained in the Mercer's collection. The possible use of older paper types, which may have been kept in storage, is misleading in terms of establishing the

³⁶⁴ MHMB 1786–1804 C TAYLOR countermark/Britannia watermark. MHMB 1808–34 GR countermark/Crowned fleur-de-lis WMD watermark.

³⁶⁵ Burrows, 'Manuscripts Workshop'.

date of copying for some works. Dates of copying must be assessed in conjunction with information contained within the manuscript sources and documented in the hospital's administrative records. The dates associated with samples used in Churchill and Heawood's publications are only relevant to the specific samples used in their studies, and do not indicate the earliest use of certain watermarks. Some watermark types, as evidenced in the case of the IV countermark (Jean de Villedary), were in use for over a century (1668–1812).³⁶⁶

Reconstructing the original format of the contents of the Mercer's Collection is essential in order to obtain critical information concerning possible dates of copying. The table at Figure 31 lists the works contained in each set. The surviving Mercer's Hospital sources have been grouped into forty-four different sets according to copyist and paper type. Adaptations are included in a separate table and are useful in drawing attention to the employment of occasional copyists who can be linked to a number of supplementary parts. (See Figure 32).

The following criteria have been applied for establishing dates of copying for the surviving manuscript parts: copyist, paper type, date of composition, references to copying contained in the administrative records, the examination of works included in the performance calendar (Appendix 3), the documenting of works in newspaper accounts and advertisements, the presence of dates written on parts in the collection, the use of the prefix 'Mr' or 'Dr' for the composers who received doctorates, the presence

³⁶⁶ Churchill, *Watermarks*, pp. 21–2; Larsen, *Messiah*, p. 277.

of the names of performers on various parts and adaptations made to several parts in the collection.

All of the Handelian works surviving in the Mercer's Collection were composed prior to the commencement of the Mercer's benefit concerts. The earliest possible date for copying surviving Mercer's 'Utrecht' parts, and surviving parts for the coronation anthem *The King shall rejoice* HWV 260 is 1736, the year in which the benefit concerts began. Surviving parts for the two Chapel Royal anthems are unlikely to pre-date 1739. The language used in surviving newspaper accounts helps narrow down possibilities in terms of which anthems were performed i.e. coronation or non-coronation anthems. The first recorded use of the term 'anthem' without the inclusion of the word 'coronation' can be found in the newspaper account describing the February 1739 benefit concert.³⁶⁷ This was the second Mercer's Hospital benefit concert to take place; therefore non-coronation anthems may have been introduced into the Mercer's repertoire as early as 1739. Apart from the newspaper advertisements and accounts, which document the 1736 benefit concert the word 'coronation' is not included again in a surviving newspaper account until the 1745 benefit concert.³⁶⁸

The anthems by Greene and Boyce were composed during the lifetime of the Mercer's benefit concerts. As Greene's anthem was composed in 1740, surviving Mercer's sources will not pre-date that year. It is difficult to ascertain how soon new compositions were made available in Dublin and introduced into the Mercer's

³⁶⁷ *DJ* 8–12, 9–13, 12–15, 26–29 Jan. 1739; 5–9 Feb. 1739.

³⁶⁸ *DJ* 10–14 Dec. 1745.

repertoire, however Houston has demonstrated how quickly newly composed repertoire was copied into the St Patrick's Cathedral part-books. This is evident in relation to an anthem by English composer and organist John Blow (bap. 1648/9, *d* 1708). Blow's *I was glad when they said unto me* was composed in 1697. It was written for the opening of the choir in St Paul's Cathedral which took place on 2 December of that year. The anthem appeared in Ireland within a few months.³⁶⁹ Boyce's anthem was written in 1741 therefore surviving parts cannot pre-date 1741. As the work was specially commissioned for Mercer's the collection possibly includes the earliest surviving sources for *Blessed is he that considereth the sick*.

The seven references to copying contained in the hospital's minutes prove very significant when attempting to establish dates of copying for the Mercer's works. The tables at Figures 31 and 33 illustrate how the seven references compare with the Mercer's performance calendar. It is unusual that so few references to copying are contained in the hospital minutes, considering the large number of parts which survive in the collection. The content and context of all references are clear and unambiguous apart from that recorded at the governors' meeting of 3 December 1757, see Figure 26. This is the only reference providing details regarding the work copied i.e. 'Dr Boyces [*sic*] Anthem Composed for the Hospital'. Since a number of 'musical books' were to be bound and only 'Dr Boyce's anthem [...] to be copied' this in itself is remarkable. A further ambiguity can be identified in the date i.e. 3 of December, and the use of the phrase 'to be copied'. The December 1757 benefit concert took place on 1 December

³⁶⁹ Kerry Houston, 'Music fit for a king: the Restoration of Charles II and the Dublin cathedral repertoire', in *IMS* 10, Barra Boydell and Kerry Houston (eds.), (Dublin, 2009), pp. 161–2; Bruce Wood, 'John Blow', *NGD* II 3, pp. 718–27.

and all other copying references use the past tense. Other copying references show that parts were copied in preparation for an upcoming benefit concert. The instruction to copy Boyce's anthem after the occurrence of the 1757 benefit concert is unusual in this respect. It is not clear if Boyce's anthem was performed at the December 1757 benefit concert. Newspaper accounts documenting performances of the anthem in 1741 and 1745 include the title of the work.³⁷⁰ It is possible that the anthem was indeed one of the two unspecified anthems performed at the December 1757 benefit concert. As the hospital minutes also included an instruction for music books to be bound, which seems to have been common practice prior to storing parts between Mercer's benefit concerts, the use at that point of the newly copied Boyce anthem is uncertain.³⁷¹ It is possible that the work was copied for use at a non-Mercer's performance, however it may have been the practice that Mercer's parts were re-copied before they were put into storage in order to build and preserve the collection.

Dates are included at the back of two part-books in the collection, *IRL-Dmh* Ms 5 (S) and Ms 7 (S). It is unlikely that the dates provide any evidence for ascertaining dates of copying for the surviving works, however they are significant when trying to establish when some of the surviving Mercer's parts were used. In *IRL-Dmh* Ms 5 (S) the following note is written, 'for the Boys of the Coire [*sic*] in the year of our Lord 1768'.³⁷² Inside the back cover of *IRL-Dmh* Ms 7 (S) the date 'June 19 1765' is

³⁷⁰ *DJ* 17–21 Nov. 1741; 8–12 Dec. 1741; *DNL* 8–12 Dec. 1741; *DJ* 10–14 Dec. 1745; *DC* 15–19 Dec. 1745.

³⁷¹ It is likely that a temporary form of string binding was in use for storing parts between benefit concerts.

³⁷² *IRL-Dmh* Ms 5 (S), written inside the back cover in black ink in an unidentified hand.

preceded by the name of a St Patrick's chorister, Edward Murray.³⁷³ Hendrie makes reference to both dates (1765 and 1768) in the critical commentary that accompanies the HHA editions of the 'Utrecht' music and Chapel Royal anthems.³⁷⁴ Considering the longevity of the Mercer's benefit concerts and the presence of a large number of sets of parts it is unlikely that the surviving parts were used only between 1765 and 1768. Possible dates of copying show that some of the parts may have been used as early as 1741 and possibly at the inaugural benefit concert.

Maurice Greene and William Boyce are the only two composers associated with the collection who received doctorates. The prefix 'Dr' is included on all Mercer's sources for Greene's anthem *Sing we merrily*. Greene received his doctorate in 1730, which pre-dates the composition of the anthem, written in 1740. This therefore does not help to establish dates of copying for the Mercer's sources for this work. It does however contribute to establishing possible dates of copying for the surviving sources for Boyce's anthem, *Blessed is he that considereth the sick*. This anthem was composed in 1741 and Boyce received his doctorate in 1743. As all the Mercer's sources for Boyce's anthem include the prefix 'Mr' it is likely that the surviving sources for this work date between 1741 and 1743. This supposition should not be taken at face value however as it does appear flawed. It is possible that the copyists working in Dublin were not aware

³⁷³ *IRL-Dmh* Ms 7 (S), written in black ink. Presumably the signature of Edward Murray. See Chapter 4 for information on Mercer's Performers. The following note is written in an unidentified hand in *IRL-Dmh* Ms 7: 'from the signature of one of the coirboys [*sic*], Edw. Murray [who subsequently sang as a Man in the Cathedrals] we find the date of these performances in St Andrews church for the benefit of Dublin Hospitals to be 1765– to 1768; the latter date appears in another book of the set]. The tone of this note is similar to that of several notes written in the part-books by Robert Prescott Stewart. Stewart may have employed an assistant while examining the Mercer's Collection, who helped listing the contents of several of the part-books.

³⁷⁴ Hendrie, HHA Serie III: Band 3, p. 161; HHA Serie III: Band 9, p. 328.

that Boyce received a doctorate although the connection between the composer and the charity would suggest that members of the hospital's board of governors would have been aware of developments in the composer's career. It is also possible that later Mercer's copies of Boyce's anthem were copied from earlier Mercer's parts i.e. those which pre-date 1743, and resulted in the transfer of errors in parts, not only in the musical content but in the spelling of words in the vocal parts and in the names and titles of composers. Consequently, Mercer's parts for Boyce's anthem appear to date from 1741–57.

Although the names of performers on various parts in the collection prove helpful in determining when the surviving Mercer's parts were in use they are not conclusive in establishing dates of copying. This is evident where names of performers are written on the front covers of various part-books. The presence of performers' names on individual parts is more conclusive. By cross-referencing the four surviving parts, which contain the names of five performers, with the performance calendar, it is possible to narrow down the possible date of copying for these four parts.

The table at Figure 31 is laid out as follows: the first column identifies the set and the copyist. Each set is numbered and unidentified copyists are allocated a letter, for example Copyist A, Copyist B etc. Some copyists are allocated a letter and a number, for example Copyist A1. The allocation of a letter and a number signifies that the work,

for instance, of Copyist A1 is very close to that of Copyist A.³⁷⁵ Mercer's parts copied by Copyist A and Copyist A1 may indeed be the work of the same scribe, however identified differences and inconsistencies between handwriting styles, such as the termination of words, the employment of certain shapes and flourishes, the inclusion or absence of tempi indications, the order of sharps and the formation of clef signs, necessitate the employment of these groupings when classifying the Mercer's copyists. Individual handwriting styles can vary over time; the employment of new styles and influence from different writing schools may account for inconsistencies between similar handwriting styles. The employment of aging scribes must also be considered. The second column in Figure 31 lists the surviving number of parts contained in each set. The third column lists the contents of each set. The fourth column lists the date of copying together with the paper types used and the final column lists the criteria applied for establishing the information contained in the previous four columns. Unidentified paper types are recorded thus. Four parts contain only the title of the music followed by a number of blank folios; see the 'Utrecht' music in *IRL-Dmh* Ms 16 (T), *I will magnify thee* HWV 250b in *IRL-Dmh* Mss 11 (A) and 42 (ob II) and *Zadok the priest* HWV 258 in *IRL-Dmh* Ms 8 (A). (See also Appendix 9). As no music is written out on these parts they have not been included in the tables below. The titles of all four parts are the

³⁷⁵ This applies to all groupings of Mercer's copyists; the work of Copyist B1 is close to that of Copyist B, the work of Copyists C1 and C2 are close to that of Copyist C etc. The work of Copyists Q1, Q1(a), Q2, Q2(a), Q3 and Q4 are very similar to the work of copyist Q. Q1 and Q1(a) are very similar. Q2 and Q2(a) are very similar. See Appendix 8 for samples of handwriting.

work of Copyist B, Set 22.³⁷⁶ Samples of handwriting are included in Appendix 8 and should be consulted together with Figure 31.

Fig. 31 Mercer's Sets, Copyists, Paper Types and Dates of Copying

Set & Copyist	Number of Parts	Contents of Sets	Date of Copying and Paper Type	Evidence
Set 1 Copyist A	10 (1 vocal leads, 2 S, 1 T, 1 B, 2 vn I, 2 vn II, 1 ob II)	'Utrecht' <i>Te Deum-Jubilate</i> HWV 278–9 <i>Zadok the priest</i> HWV 258 <i>My heart is inditing</i> HWV 261	c.1743–55 Honig Villedary Pro Patria Unidentified	The contents of Set 1 correspond to the works performed at the Feb. 1743 benefit concert. Paper types. Additions made to set 32.
Set 2 Copyist John Mason (A1)	17 (2 S, 1 A, 1 T, 1 B, 2 vn I, 3 vn II, 1 va, 1 fl, 1 ob I, 1 ob II, 1 vc, 1 tr II, 1 timp)	<i>Sing we merrily</i>	1760s Honig Villedary Unidentified	Set 2 is the work of copyist John Mason who was active as a Christ Church (Dublin) copyist during the 1760s.
Set 3 Copyist A2	11 (2 S, 1 A, 2 T, 1 vn I, 2 va, 1 vc, 1 db, 1 ob I)	<i>I will magnify thee</i> HWV 250b <i>My heart is inditing</i> HWV 261	c.1739 onwards Honig Villedary Unidentified	Set 2 contains parts for one chapel royal anthem. The first surviving newspaper account recording the performance of 'anthems' not including the word 'coronation' dates from Feb. 1739. Paper types. Style of writing employed by the copyist.
Set 4 Copyist A3	4 (1 T, 2 B, 1 vn I)	<i>I will magnify thee</i> HWV 250b	c.1739 onwards	Close to the work of copyist A2. Set contains parts for one

³⁷⁶ This suggests that parts were prepared for copying works. It is possible that one copyist wrote the text and another copyist completed the notation. The vocal or instrumental part is written beside the title of the work in all cases except that of the part bound in *IRL-Dmh* Ms 42 (ob II).

			Honig Villedary	chapel royal anthem. The first surviving newspaper account recording the performance of 'anthems' not including the word 'coronation' dates from Feb. 1739.
Set 5 Copyist B	84 (17 S, 13 A, 33 T, 17 B, 1 vn I, 2 va, 1 vc/bsn)	'Utrecht' <i>Te Deum-Jubilate</i> HWV 278–9 <i>I will magnify thee</i> HWV 250b <i>Let God arise</i> HWV 256b <i>Zadok the priest</i> HWV 258 <i>My heart is inditing</i> HWV 261 <i>Sing we merrily</i> <i>Blessed is he</i>	1741–60 Honig Unidentified	The inclusion of Henry Rippingham's name suggests the parts were used during the period 1763–84, when Rippingham was a member of both cathedral choirs (St Patrick's and Christ Church). The parts were most likely copied prior to the 1760s. Paper types. Style of writing employed by the copyist. Anthems by Greene and Boyce were composed in 1740 and 1741 respectively. It is likely that all parts in Set 5 were copied out at the same time.
Set 6 Copyist B1	5 (3 va, 1 vc, 1 tr)	'Utrecht' <i>Te Deum-Jubilate</i> HWV 278–9 <i>My heart is inditing</i> HWV 261	1741–60 Honig Villedary?	Close to the work of copyist B. Paper types.
Set 7 Copyist C	8 (3 S, 1 A, 3 T, 1 B)	<i>Blessed is he</i>	1741–57 Pro Patria Lion Villedary Unidentified	Use of prefix 'Mr' before Boyce's name. Date of composition. Paper types. Reference to copying in administrative records.
Set 8 Copyist C1	5 (2 S, 1 A, 2 T)	<i>Blessed is he</i>	1741–57 Villedary	Close to the work of copyist C. Use of prefix 'Mr' before

				Boyce's name. Date of composition. Paper type. Reference to copying in administrative records.
Set 9 Copyist C1 or C2	17 (2 B, 4 vn II, 2 va, 2 vc, 2 db, 1 ob I, 1 ob II, 1 fl, 1 tr, 1 timp)	<i>Blessed is he</i>	1741–57 Villedary? Unidentified	Close to the work of copyist C. Use of prefix 'Mr' before Boyce's name. Date of composition. Paper type. Reference to copying in administrative records.
Set 10 Copyist C or I	1 (A)	<i>My heart is inditing</i> HWV 261	c.1741 Lion and Letters	Close to the work of copyist C. Paper type.
Set 11 Copyist D	18 (3 S, 1 A, 5 T, 1 B, 2 vn I, 3 vn II, 1 va 2 vc/bsn)	'Utrecht' <i>Te Deum-Jubilate</i> HWV 278–9 <i>I will magnify thee</i> HWV 250b <i>Let God arise</i> HWV 256b <i>My heart is inditing</i> HWV 261	1745–71 Lion Pro Patria Lion and Letters Unidentified	The number of anthems performed not specified in surviving newspaper accounts recording the benefit concerts which took place in Dec. 1745, Dec. 1747, Jan. 1749, Dec. 1749, Dec. 1759, Dec. 1761, Apr. 1763, Dec. 1768 and Feb. 1771. Paper types. Style of handwriting employed by the copyist.
Set 12 Copyist Possibly D	1 (1 A)	<i>My heart is inditing</i> HWV 261	1745–71 Unidentified	Close to the work of copyist D. The number of anthems performed was not specified in surviving newspaper accounts recording the benefit concerts which took place in Dec. 1745, Dec. 1747, Jan. 1749, Dec. 1749, Dec. 1759, Dec. 1761, Apr. 1763, Dec. 1768 and Feb. 1771. Paper type. Style of handwriting employed by the copyist.

Set 13 Copyist E	1 (1 S)	'Utrecht' <i>Te Deum</i> HWV 278	1736 onwards Pro Patria	Paper type. Copyist E's handwriting has been classified as an earlier style of handwriting due to the formation of various shapes and flourishes identified in this handwriting style.
Set 14 Copyist E, L or W	1 (1 tr I plus timp 2 stave score)	<i>My heart is inditing</i> HWV 261	1739 onwards Unidentified possibly Honig or Villedary	Paper types. Copyist's handwriting has been classified as an earlier style of handwriting due to the formation of various shapes and flourishes identified in this handwriting style.
Set 15 Copyist F	1 (1 S)	'Utrecht' <i>Jubilate</i> HWV 279	Post 1755 Pro Patria	Paper type. Additions made to Set 30.
Set 16 Copyist G	6 (2 S, 2 A, 1 T, 1 B)	<i>Let God arise</i> HWV 256b	c.1739 onwards Villedary Unidentified	Set contains parts for a Chapel Royal anthem. The first surviving newspaper account recording the performance of 'anthems' not including the word 'coronation' dates from Feb. 1739. Paper types. Style of handwriting employed by the copyist.
Set 17 Copyist H	1 (1 S)	'Utrecht' <i>Te Deum-Jubilate</i> HWV 278–9	1736 onwards Honig	Paper type. Work of copyist has the appearance of an earlier style of handwriting due to the formation of various shapes and flourishes identified in this handwriting style.
Set 18 Copyist I	1 (1 S)	<i>Sing we merrily</i>	c.1740 onwards Unidentified	Paper type. Copyist I's handwriting has been classified as an earlier style of handwriting due to the

				formation of various shapes and flourishes identified in this handwriting style.
Set 19 Copyist J	5 (1 A, 2 T, 2 vn II)	<i>I will magnify thee</i> HWV 250b	c.1739 onwards Honig Villedary	Set contains parts for a Chapel Royal anthem. The first surviving newspaper account recording the performance of 'anthems' not including the word 'coronation' dates from Feb. 1739. Paper types. Style of handwriting employed by the copyist.
Set 20 Copyist K	45 (1 S, 4 A, 2 T, 7 B, 6 vn I, 2 vn II, 5 va, 2 bsn, 3 vc, 3 db, 2 ob I, 2 ob II, 5 tr, 2 timp)	<i>Let God arise</i> HWV 256b <i>Zadok the priest</i> HWV 258 <i>The King shall rejoice</i> HWV 260 <i>My heart is inditing</i> HWV 261	c.1739 onwards Villedary? Honig Unidentified Pro Patria	The first surviving newspaper account recording the performance of two anthems (note the word 'coronation' is not specified). Paper types. Style of handwriting employed by the copyist.
Set 21 Copyist K or A	2 (2 vn II)	<i>Zadok the priest</i> HWV 258 <i>The King shall rejoice</i> HWV 260	c.1739 onwards Honig	Either the work of copyist A or K. Similar contents to Set 1. The first surviving newspaper account recording the performance of two anthems (note the word 'coronation' is not specified). Paper type. Style of handwriting employed by the copyist.
Set 22 Copyist L	4 (2 A, 2 T)	'Utrecht' <i>Te Deum-Jubilate</i> HWV 278–9 <i>Zadok the priest</i> HWV	c.1743 Pro Patria Villedary	The contents of Set 22 are the same as those listed in the performance calendar for the Feb. 1743 benefit concert. Paper types.

		258 <i>My heart is inditing</i> HWV 261		Style of handwriting employed by the copyist.
Set 23 Copyist M	1 (1 T)	<i>Zadok the priest</i> HWV 258	Post 1743/5 Unidentified	Additions made to Sets 5, 12, 22. Paper types. Style of handwriting employed by the copyist.
Set 24 Copyist N	8 (1 T, 1 B, 2 vn I, 2 vn II, 2 bsn/db)	<i>Sing we merrily</i>	c.1740 onwards Honig Villedary	Date of composition. Paper types. Style of writing employed by the copyist.
Set 25 Copyist O	5 (2 vn I, 2 vc, 1 bsn)	'Utrecht' <i>Te Deum-Jubilate</i> HWV 278–9 <i>I will magnify thee</i> HWV 250b	Post 1755 Honig Unidentified	Paper types. Style of writing employed by the copyist. Adaptations made to Sets 30 and 36.
Set 26 Copyist O1	28 (5 vn I, 8 vn II, 2 va, 5 vc/db, 1 ob I, 1 ob II, 1 fl, 1 tr II, 3 timp)	Chant	c.1736 onwards Unidentified	Duplicate copies made in pencil may date from the latter half of the century.
Set 27 Copyist Possibly O	3 (1 vn I, 2 vc)	<i>Sing we merrily</i>	c.1740 onwards (IV) Britannia Lion	Date of composition. Work of copyist is close to that of Set 26.
Set 28 Copyist O or P	2 (1 vn II, 1 db)	<i>My heart is inditing</i> HWV 261	c.1739 onwards Honig	Paper type. Style of handwriting employed by the copyist.
Set 29 Copyist P	3 (2 vn I, 1 vn II)	<i>My heart is inditing</i> HWV 261	c.1739 onwards Honig	Paper type. Style of handwriting employed by the copyist.
Set 30 Copyist Q	14 (4 vn I, 7 vn II, 1 ob I, 1 ob II, 1 tr II)	'Utrecht' <i>Te Deum-Jubilate</i> HWV 278–9 <i>I will magnify</i>	1753–55 Pro Patria Honig Villedary	Reference to copying in administrative records. Contents correspond to the works included in the performance calendar for

		<i>thee</i> HWV 250b <i>Let God arise</i> HWV 256b <i>Gloria</i>	Unidentified	the 1753 and 1755 benefit concerts. The word 'coronation' is not included in surviving newspaper accounts documenting the 1753 and 1755 benefit concerts. Adaptations made to violin I part (Ms 24) possibly by John Mason (A1) during the 1760s.
Set 31 Copyist Q1	6 (1 vn I, 5 vn II)	<i>My heart is inditing</i> HWV 261 <i>Zadok the priest</i> HWV 258	1753–55 Honig Unidentified	Close to the work of copyist Q. Reference to copying in administrative records. Contents correspond to the works included in the performance calendar for the 1753 and 1755 benefit concerts. The word 'coronation' is not included in surviving newspaper accounts documenting the 1753 and 1755 benefit concerts.
Set 32 Copyist Q1(a)	1 (1 fl)	'Utrecht' <i>Te Deum-Jubilate</i> HWV 278–9	1753–55 Villedary	Close to the work of copyist Q. Reference to copying in administrative records. Contents correspond to the works included in the performance calendar for the 1753 and 1755 benefit concerts.
Set 33 Copyist Q2	5 (1 db, 1 vn I, 1 vn II, 1 va, 1 vc incl. bsn)	<i>I will magnify thee</i> HWV 250b <i>Let God arise</i> HWV 256b	1753–55 Honig Villedary Unidentified	Close to the work of copyist Q. Reference to copying in administrative records. Contents correspond to the works included in the performance calendar for the 1753 and 1755 benefit concerts. The word 'coronation' is

				not included in surviving newspaper accounts documenting the 1753 and 1755 benefit concerts.
Set 34 Copyist Q2(a)	7 (1 db, 2 vn I, 2 vn II, 1 ob I, 1 ob II)	<i>I will magnify thee</i> HWV 250b <i>Let God arise</i> HWV 256b <i>My heart is inditing</i> HWV 261	1753–55 Pro Patria Honig Villedary Unidentified	Close to the work of copyist Q. Reference to copying in administrative records. Contents correspond to the works included in the performance calendar for the 1753 and 1755 benefit concerts. The word ‘coronation’ is not included in surviving newspaper accounts documenting the 1753 and 1755 benefit concerts.
Set 35 Copyist Q3	3 (1 db, 2 vn II)	<i>I will magnify thee</i> HWV 250b <i>Let thy hand</i> HWV 259 <i>The King shall rejoice</i> HWV 260	c.1739–55 Honig Pro Patria	Paper types. Style of handwriting employed by copyist. References to copying.
Set 36 Copyist Q4	1 (1 vn II)	‘Utrecht’ <i>Te Deum-Jubilate</i> HWV 278–9	1753–55 Pro Patria	Close to the work of copyist Q. Reference to copying in administrative records. Contents correspond to the works included in the performance calendar for the 1753 and 1755 benefit concerts.
Set 37 Copyist R	5 (3 vn I, 2 vn II)	<i>Blessed is he</i>	1741–57 Villedary	Use of prefix ‘Mr’ before Boyce’s name. Date of composition. Paper type. Reference to copying in administrative records.
Set 38 Copyist S	1 (1 vn I)	‘Utrecht’ <i>Te Deum-Jubilate</i>	Post 1755 Unidentified	Paper type. Style of handwriting employed by the copyist.

		HWV 278–9		Adaptations made to sets 30 and 36.
Set 39 Copyist T	1 (1 vc)	<i>Zadok the priest</i> HWV 258	c.1739 onwards Unidentified	Paper type. Style of handwriting employed by the copyist.
Set 40 Copyist U	1 (1 vc)	<i>Te Deum-Jubilate</i> Z.232	c.1749 Lubertus van Gerrevink	Year of first performance of contents of Set 40 in aid of Mercer's. Paper type. Style of handwriting employed by the copyist.
Set 41 Copyist V	1 (1 tr II)	'Utrecht' <i>Te Deum-Jubilate</i> HWV 278–9	c.1736 onwards Unidentified	Contents may have been used at the inaugural benefit concert. Paper type. Style of handwriting employed by the copyist.
Set 42 Copyist X	2 (2 timp)	<i>Zadok the priest</i> HWV 258	c.1739 onwards Honig	Paper type. Style of handwriting employed by the copyist.
Set 43 Copyist Y	10 (2 vn II, 2 va, 2 vc/db, 4 ob II)	Overture to <i>Esther</i> HWV 50 Corelli <i>Concerto Grosso</i> No. 8 in g minor, Op. 6	c.1749 Unidentified	The date of the first recorded performance of Corelli's concerto is 7 Dec. 1749. As the contents of Set 43 are copied on conjoined folios the same dates of copying for both works apply.
Set 44 Copyist Z	2 (ob II)	Overture to <i>Esther</i> HWV 50 Corelli <i>Concerto Grosso</i> No. 8 in g minor, Op. 6	c.1749 Honig	The date of the first recorded performance of Corelli's concerto is 7 Dec. 1749. As the contents of Set 43 are copied on conjoined folio the same dates of copying for both works apply.

The work of Copyist B (Set 5) is the dominant hand in the collection and is identifiable in eighty-four surviving parts (approximately 27% of the surviving collection). Set 5

comprises the largest set of surviving works, the majority of which are vocal parts. The administrative records include no information regarding the possible identity of Copyist B, however this person was entrusted with writing out a large set of parts containing all works from the core repertoire. It is possible, due to the large number of vocal parts, that the copyist was a singer. It is also possible that an equal number of vocal and instrumental parts for each work contained in Set 5 existed at one time. The possibility that Mercer's performers were requested to copy parts is likely and could account for the dominance of certain copyists within the vocal or instrumental parts. Copyist B may be the Mr Cross referred to in the administrative records. The date of copying for Set 5 is 1741–60, Mr Cross was active as a copyist in 1755.

John Mason (Copyist A1) was the only Mercer's copyist whose work was possible to identify with any degree of certainty. Mason's work can be identified in seventeen surviving parts for Greene's anthem *Sing we merrily*. He was one of the major copyists at Christ Church Cathedral before John Mathews, who was principal copyist at the Cathedral post 1781.³⁷⁷ He was a bass singer and vicar choral at St Patrick's Cathedral from 1729 to 1783 and was also a member of the Christ Church Cathedral choir from

³⁷⁷ Boydell, *Christ Church*, pp. 129–30. Sue Hemmens January 2011 'The hand of [your] Ms 4.31 [*IRL–Dmh* Ms 4 page 31], on reflection, looks very like the hand of John Mason, who was (apparently) one of the major copyists at Christ Church before Mathews. Mason was appointed stipendiary in 1729 and vicar choral in 1732. His work was to be examined by John Church when Church was appointed as successor to Charles Taylor. He was also paid for copying in 1766 (£17) and 1767 (£6:15:11½). Mathews recorded frequently in the part books the point to which Mason had been paid. We can thus be reasonably confident that the hand above this remark (which is the same in each case) is that of Mason though it has been suggested that the person receiving payments may not always have been the actual copyist. The difficulty with the ascription to Mason is that a very similar hand appears in the St Patrick's part-books, and there the account books and receipts refer to William Taverner at this period, Mason being credited only with copying some (apparently lost) score books. The hand [Mason's] really is very similar to your hand A1, with a variable lower-case d and a fairly fixed form of the lower-case r...If the dates work, I think this may well be Mason'. The dates identifying Mason's work as a copyist do coincide with the occurrence of the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts.

1732 to 1784. Mason was a soloist at the *Messiah* première and was listed among the principal voices for the inaugural Mercer's Hospital benefit concert.³⁷⁸ Apart from an adaptation possibly made by Mason to a violin I part for the 'Utrecht' music, bound in *IRL-Dmh* Ms 24 (vn I), his work as a Mercer's copyist is exclusive to Greene's anthem. Mason's set (Set 2) contains five vocal and twelve instrumental parts. The Mason vocal parts include one treble I part, one treble II part, an alto, tenor and bass part. The Mason instrumental parts include one violin I part, three violin II parts, one viola part, one cello part, one flute part, two oboe parts (I and II), one trumpet II and a timpani part.³⁷⁹ Set 2 dates from *c.*1760, the era in which Mason was engaged as a Christ Church copyist. It is likely therefore that the Mason parts for Greene's anthem were copied from earlier Mercer's parts for the anthem, some of which date back to *c.*1740. (See Figure 31). Given the apparent lack of violin I parts it seems likely that Set 2 was used in conjunction with another set of parts for the same work, possibly Set 24 or Set 27. Set 24 contains three violin I parts and two double bass parts which are missing from Set 2. Set 27 contains two violoncello parts, which are also missing from Set 2. The parts, which do not survive in Set 2 may have been copied by Mason but were subsequently lost or destroyed.³⁸⁰ Other surviving Mercer's parts for *Sing we merrily*, belonging to Sets 5, 18, 24 and 27, are not the work of Greene's London copyists, therefore none of

³⁷⁸ *PO* 6–10 Apr. 1736. Boydell, *Calendar*, pp. 61, 284; Lawlor, *Fasti*, pp. 225, 232, 245n, 246 (2), 247.

³⁷⁹ *Sing we merrily* Set 2 (Mason) vocal copies are bound in *IRL-Dmh* Mss 4 (S), 6 (S), 8 (A), 15 (T) and 21 (B). Set 2 (Mason) instrumental copies are bound in *IRL-Dmh* Mss 23 (vn I), 28 (vn II), 29 (vn II), 32 (vn II), 34 (vla), 35 (vla), 40 (fl), 41 (ob I), 42 (ob II), 43 (tr II), 44 (timp).

³⁸⁰ The Set 24 violin I parts for *Sing we merrily* are bound in *IRL-Dmh* Mss 25 (vn I), 26 (vn I) and 27 (vn II), the double bass parts are bound in *IRL-Dmh* Mss 37 (vc) and 39 (Bs/bsn). The Set 27 violoncello parts for *Sing we merrily* are bound in *IRL-Dmh* Mss 36 (vc) and 38 (vc). The Set 5 vocal parts are bound in *IRL-Dmh* Mss 2 (S), 3 (S), 9 (A), 10 (A), 11 (A), 12 (T), 13 (T), 14 (T), 18 (T), 19 (T) and 22 (B).

the surviving Mercer's parts for *Sing we merrily* were produced by Greene's regular London copyists and sent to Dublin.

The contents of each Mercer's set indicate which works were most likely performed as part of the same programme. For example, Set 11 contains parts for the 'Utrecht' *Te Deum-Jubilate* HWV 278–9, *I will magnify thee* HWV 250b, *Let God arise* HWV 256b and *My heart is inditing* HWV 261. As the titles of the anthems performed at the Mercer's benefit concerts were rarely specified in surviving newspaper accounts the identified sets may provide a guide to varying Mercer's programmes.

A number of the Mercer's sets contain a single part for one or two works, mainly the 'Utrecht' music, coronation and chapel royal anthems. It is most likely that these isolated parts were supplementary parts, copied to replace missing or lost parts or copied when a greater number of performers participated. The frequent occurrence of these types of sets indicates that it may have been necessary to supplement parts on more than one occasion. Despite the fact that parts were kept in storage between Mercer's performances the occurrence of misplaced and lost parts must not be discounted especially when the circulation of the Mercer's parts between various Dublin institutions, including Christ Church, the Musical Academy and the Meath Hospital, is considered. (See Figure 10). As the Mercer's parts were loaned out for performances by other institutions and organisations it may have been found on occasion that not all parts were returned and subsequently parts had to be re-copied. Changes in the numbers of performers participating from year to year would also dictate if extra parts were

needed. Such circumstances would account for the occurrence of a small number of examples of the work of a particular copyist. The single surviving cello part for Purcell's *Te Deum-Jubilate* Z.232, which includes the work of Copyist U and a paper type not identified for any other work in the Mercer's Collection, equally suggests that on occasion music may have been on loan to Mercer's and that all parts were not returned.

Figure 32 lists the occurrence of adaptations, the copyist who made the adaptation and the copyist for the 'original' part. Rarely has the 'original' copyist also made adaptations to the same part. When compared with the contents of Figure 31 it becomes obvious that some copyists were responsible for several adaptations together with copying single or supplementary parts. As the adaptations were made after the original copying of the parts the identification of the 'adaptation' copyist helps to establish dates for the 'original' parts. Adaptations made to surviving Mercer's parts also reveal information regarding copying practices. The inconsistent representation of parts within some volumes suggests that parts were copied as needed, i.e. if one alto chorus part including the solo from *Te Deum* No. 6 was needed, that is precisely what was copied. Adaptations indicate that changes were made over a period of time and that pasted-in material was added to parts after they were originally copied.

Fig. 32 Adaptation Copyists

Title of Work	Part & Ms Number IRL–Dmh	Set	Copyist for Part	Copyist for Adaptation
‘Utrecht’ <i>Te Deum-Jubilate</i> HWV 278–9	Alto (Ms 8)	Set 22	Copyist L	Copyist L
<i>Let God arise</i> HWV 256b	Alto (Ms 8)	Set 16	Copyist G	Copyist G
‘Utrecht’ <i>Te Deum-Jubilate</i> HWV 278–9	Alto (Ms 11)	Set 22	Copyist L	Copyist M
<i>My heart is inditing</i> HWV 261	Alto (Ms 11)	Set 12	Possibly Copyist D	Copyist M
‘Utrecht’ <i>Te Deum-Jubilate</i> HWV 278–9	Tenor (Ms 12)	Set 5	Copyist B	Copyist B folio 2r and 4v, Copyist M folio 6 and 9v
‘Utrecht’ <i>Te Deum-Jubilate</i> HWV 278–9	Tenor (Ms 14)	Set 5	Copyist B	Copyist M
‘Utrecht’ <i>Te Deum-Jubilate</i> HWV 278–9	Bass (Ms 20)	Set 11	Copyist D	Copyist D
‘Utrecht’ <i>Te Deum-Jubilate</i> HWV 278–9	Bass (Ms 22)	Set 5	Copyist B	Copyist M
<i>My heart is inditing</i> HWV 261	Bass (Ms 22)	Set 5	Copyist B	Copyist M
‘Utrecht’ <i>Te Deum-Jubilate</i> HWV 278–9	Violin I (Ms 24)	Set 30	Copyist Q	Possibly John Mason (A1)
‘Utrecht’ <i>Te Deum-Jubilate</i> HWV 278–9	Violin I (Ms 26)	Set 38	Copyist S	Copyist S
‘Utrecht’ <i>Te Deum-Jubilate</i> HWV 278–9	Violin II (Ms 30)	Set 30	Copyist Q	Copyist S
‘Utrecht’ <i>Te Deum-Jubilate</i> HWV 278–9	Violin II (Ms 32)	Set 36	Copyist Q4	Copyist O or Q4 f. 2r, Copyist O f. 3v, Copyist S f. 4r, Copyist Q4 f.5r
<i>I will magnify thee</i> HWV 250b	Violoncello (Ms 38)	Set 3	Copyist A2	Copyist A2
‘Utrecht’ <i>Te Deum-Jubilate</i> HWV 278–9	Flute (Ms 40)	Set 32	Copyist Q1(a)	Possibly Copyist A
‘Utrecht’ <i>Te Deum-Jubilate</i> HWV 278–9	Oboe I (Ms 41)	Set 30	Copyist Q	Copyist Q f. 6, Copyist S f. 1, 2, 3v and 4r
‘Utrecht’ <i>Te Deum-Jubilate</i> HWV 278–9	Oboe II (Ms 42)	Set 30	Copyist Q	Copyist S f. 1v, 2r and 3,

				Possibly Copyist O f. 5r, Copyist F f. 6v
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Figure 33 compares the copying references recorded in the hospital minutes with the Mercer's performance calendar. The first column lists the date on which the activity of copying was recorded in the hospital's records. The second column lists the date of the Mercer's benefit concert to which the reference most likely relates. The final column lists the works performed on each occasion, as recorded in various surviving newspaper advertisements and accounts and some entries in the hospital minutes. No titles are recorded in the references to copying.

Fig. 33 Comparison of the recorded activity of copying within the contents of the Mercer's Collection and the Mercer's Performance Calendar

Reference to Copying	Date of Mercer's Benefit Concert	Works Performed
7 June 1736	8 April 1736	'Utrecht' <i>Te Deum-Jubilate</i> HWV 278–9, coronation anthem (Handel, no title recorded)
29 January 1743	8 February 1743	'Utrecht' <i>Te Deum-Jubilate</i> HWV 278–9, <i>Zadok the priest</i> HWV 258, <i>My heart is inditing</i> HWV 261
1 December 1753	29 November 1753	<i>Te Deum-Jubilate</i> , two anthems (no titles recorded)
13 December 1755	4 December 1755	<i>Te Deum-Jubilate</i> , two anthems (no titles recorded)
3 December 1757	1 December 1757	<i>Te Deum-Jubilate</i> , two anthems (no titles recorded)
5 May 1759	6 February 1759	<i>Acis and Galatea</i> HWV 49 (Handel)
24 November 1759	6 December 1759	Works not specified in any source Reference could relate to the music copied for the February 1759 benefit concert (<i>Acis and Galatea</i>)

		HWV 49)
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Conclusion

The aim of Section 3.3 was to identify the copyists and dates of copying for surviving works in the Mercer's Collection. Identification of the various sets of Mercer's parts and the creation of a catalogue of paper types were also central to this section. The table included at Figure 31 provides a clear representation of surviving Mercer's sets, copyists, paper types and dates of copying and may be easily compared with similar information deriving from other extant collections of eighteenth-century music. To summarise, the Mercer's manuscript collection dates from 1736–71, contains forty-four sets of parts for thirteen works, and includes the work of a possible thirty-seven copyists. As one Mercer's copyist only was also active in the Dublin cathedrals (John Mason), this section concludes that a second network of non-cathedral based Dublin copyists was active during the eighteenth century. Several cathedral singers were employed as cathedral copyists, therefore it is probable that several Mercer's performers, both singers and instrumentalists, were employed to copy music for the hospital's benefit concerts.

The Mercer's sets illustrate a number of copying trends and provide an interesting comparison with the copying practices evident in both cathedrals and for the Rotunda Hospital benefit concerts. The identification of a number of Mercer's sets which date from the same period reveals the likelihood of co-copying i.e. more than one copyist was engaged in copying parts for a work at the same time; on average the work of six copyists can be identified for all works contained in *IRL-Dmh* Mss 1–44, and none of

the principal works surviving in the core repertoire result from the work of a sole copyist. It is likely that each identified set represents only a fragment of the original collection and the presence of a number of sets for the same work indicates the re-copying of works and possible re-introduction of works to the repertoire. The work of certain copyists is specific to particular works and/or particular types of work. For example, copyist K dominates surviving parts for the coronation anthems *Zadok the priest* and *The King shall rejoice* and the work of Copyist N is specific to parts for *Sing we merrily*. Consequently, the employment of new copyists resulted in the introduction of new music into the Mercer's repertoire.

The Catalogue of Mercer's Paper Types included in Appendix 9 provides the first comprehensive analysis of eighteenth-century paper types in use in any collection of music extant in Ireland. The catalogue clearly illustrates how paper was used in eighteenth-century Dublin and how music was collated and stored. This catalogue serves as an index to the collection and provides a clear representation of the contents and layout of each surviving part-book through the use of collation diagrams. The schematic Mercer's watermark illustrations, also provided in the catalogue, can be easily compared with examples recorded by Churchill, Heawood, Larsen, Burrows and Ronish.³⁸¹

³⁸¹ Churchill, *Watermarks*; Heawood, *Watermarks*; Larsen, *Messiah*; Burrows and Ronish, *Handel's Autographs*.

3.4 Comparison of Sources and Transmission Route

This section examines the origins of the Mercer's Handelian works and orchestral anthems by Greene and Boyce. Examination and analysis of the collection's provenance primarily serves to establish the relationship between the Mercer's Collection and other collections extant in Ireland and Britain. The Mercer's Collection serves as an important archival resource when considering the transmission of music to eighteenth-century Dublin. The first Dublin performance of Handel's sacred works most likely took place at the hospital's inaugural benefit concert.³⁸² The hospital and its governors may therefore be accredited with acquiring the first eighteenth-century Dublin sources for Handel's 'Utrecht' music and the coronation anthem *The King shall rejoice* HWV 260, thus introducing these works to the Dublin repertoire. As Boyce's anthem, *Blessed is he that considereth the sick*, was commissioned for the hospital, Mercer's also appears to have acquired the first manuscript copies for this anthem.

A large number of sources for the Handelian works survive in collections throughout Britain, Europe and America (see Appendix 10). These include autographs, co-primary sources, manuscript sources of good authority, manuscripts of little independent authority, early, middle and late manuscript copies, printed editions and manuscript copies transcribed from printed editions.³⁸³ Surviving manuscript sources for the anthems by Greene and Boyce are less in number. (See Appendix 10).³⁸⁴

³⁸² Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 15.

³⁸³ Hendrie, HHA Serie III: Band 3, pp. 154–62; Hendrie, HHA Serie III: Band 9, pp. 319–30.

³⁸⁴ Johnstone, 'Maurice Greene', *NGD* II 10, p. 364; Bartlett and Bruce, 'William Boyce', *NGD* II 4, p. 160.

Existing research places the Mercer's sources for the 'Utrecht' *Te Deum-Jubilate* HWV 278–9 and the Chapel Royal anthems, *I will magnify thee* HWV 250b and *Let God arise* HWV 256b, within the wider context of extant Handelian sources. In the critical commentary to the HHA editions for these works, Gerald Hendrie classifies surviving sources according to authority, beginning with the most authoritative source, i.e. the autographs. Hendrie allocates a letter to each source beginning with the letter 'A' for the autographs, 'B' for manuscript copies or co-primary sources, etc. In the case of the 'Utrecht' *Te Deum-Jubilate* the classification of parts ceases with the letter 'D'. This denotes sources that derive from John Walsh Junior's early printed edition (1731–2). The classification of parts for the Chapel Royal anthems also ceases with the letter 'D', which denotes later manuscript copies. In order to differentiate between sources each category includes a letter and a number. Hendrie categorizes the Mercer's 'Utrecht' and Chapel Royal parts as 'D7'. This indicates that the Mercer's 'Utrecht' parts derive from Walsh's early printed edition and that the Mercer's Chapel Royal parts derive from later manuscript copies. The Mercer's parts were not collated prior to their inclusion in the critical commentary of the editions, however they provide an important starting point when attempting to establish the origins of Mercer's Handelian sources.

Comparison of the Mercer's parts for Greene and Boyce's orchestral anthems with surviving manuscript collections, present in libraries throughout Britain, reveal that both anthems were revised subsequent to their introduction to the Mercer's repertoire.

Mercer's Handelian Sources

Gerald Hendrie states that the parts for HWV 278 and 279 derive from Walsh.³⁸⁵ London based publisher John Walsh Junior (1709–66), son of John Walsh who established the printing firm during the 1690s, was responsible for publishing almost all of Handel's later works. Walsh Junior was given a monopoly on the publishing of Handel's works for a period of fourteen years. Handel's relationship with the firm, namely Walsh Senior, was first established in 1711 with the publication of *Rinaldo* HWV 7. Between 1711 and 1734 the firm published the first editions of twenty-three works by the composer, including songs from several operas and oratorios, parts for the Water Music HWV 350 and the score for the 'Utrecht' *Te Deum-Jubilate* HWV 278–9. From the early 1730s onwards Walsh Junior was in charge of the firm. He developed a new relationship with Handel. Editions from this period (1730s) suggest that Walsh Junior may not always have had the composer's approval to publish his works, however the relationship between publisher and composer appears to have become more steadfast c.1738. Walsh Junior published the 'Utrecht' music between 1731 and 1732 following its performance at the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy, which took place annually in St Paul's Cathedral, London.³⁸⁶ Walsh's edition was available in London at least two years before the first Mercer's benefit concert. The earliest documented newspaper advertisement for the edition is dated 23 February 1734. Walsh cleverly included an advertisement in the *London Evening Post* to coincide with a performance

³⁸⁵ HHA Serie III: Band 3, pp. 155, 161.

³⁸⁶ Kidson, Smith, Ward Jones, Hunter, 'John Walsh (ii)' *NGD* II 27, p. 50; Hendrie, HHA Serie III: Band 3, p. xvii; Donald Burrows, 'John Walsh and his Handel Editions', in *Music and the Book Trade from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century*, Robin Myers, Michael Harris and Giles Mandelbrote (eds.), (London, 2008), pp. 69–104. Burrows records the date of publication for the 'Utrecht' *Te Deum-Jubilate* HWV 278–9 as 'end 1733', see p. 98.

of the ‘Utrecht’ music at St Paul’s Cathedral, which took place on 19 February 1734, as part of the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy.³⁸⁷ This suggests that even though Walsh’s edition was published c.1731–2 the edition may not have been on sale until early 1734, however the work may have been advertised on other printed editions prior to 1734.

Walsh’s printed edition provided an alternative source for copyists, however it is difficult to ascertain precisely when it became available in Dublin. What was often referred to as ‘New Music’ i.e. newly published or printed music, and details of where it was available, were frequently advertised in eighteenth-century Dublin newspapers. It is impossible to know if all new music published was advertised as it became available. No advertisements for any of the works in the Mercer’s collection are present in surviving newspaper editions examined.³⁸⁸ Works were often advertised on printed editions perhaps reducing the need for newspaper advertisements. If the eighteenth-century Dublin music book trade imitated developments in the general Dublin book trade, it is possible that title pages were also pasted on shop doors as a means of advertising new music or publications.³⁸⁹ It is also possible that the governors of Mercer’s Hospital may have acquired the Walsh edition through subscription, however there is no record of such a payment in the surviving hospital minute books.

³⁸⁷ Deutsch, *Documentary Biography*, p. 358. The inclusion of the publisher’s number 212 on Walsh’s edition permits Deutsch to conclude that the ‘Utrecht’ *Te Deum-Jubilate* was published around the middle of the year 1732.

³⁸⁸ Incomplete runs of eighteenth-century Dublin newspapers survive. See Catalogues Dept. of Early Printed Books Trinity College Dublin [*IRL-Dtc*], Gilbert Library, Pearse Street, Dublin [Dublin City Library *IRL-Dcla*] and Burney Collection <http://www.galegroup.com/bncn>, accessible at the National Library of Ireland, Dublin.

³⁸⁹ Pollard, *Dublin’s Trade in Books*, p. 188.

Walsh's 1731–2 edition of the 'Utrecht' music contains three major errors; an incorrect reading on the first and last notes in bar 2 of the trumpet II part in No. 7 from the *Te Deum*, and the wrong final chord to the *Te Deum*. The final chord in question is that of G major, the key of the final movement of the *Te Deum* being D major. Music transcribed from Walsh's edition is therefore likely to contain the three errors. Hendrie states that errors, including the incorrect final chord to the *Te Deum*, 'were transmitted through to Arnold's edition of 1788 and to Chrysander's of 1869.'³⁹⁰ The majority of Mercer's 'Utrecht' parts share the three major errors in Walsh's edition. The error in the trumpet II part has been transmitted to one of the two surviving Mercer's trumpet II parts, both of which are bound in *IRL–Dmh* Ms 43 (tr II). Musical Example No. 3.19 illustrates the trumpet II autograph reading as recorded in HHA. Musical Example No. 3.20 illustrates the reading found in Walsh's edition and one of the Mercer's trumpet II parts (f. 1–2 *IRL–Dmh* Ms 43), both of which are incorrect. Musical Example No. 3.21 illustrates the reading found in the second Mercer's trumpet II part (f. 3–4 *IRL–Dmh* Ms 43), which includes an incorrect reading for the final note in bar 2, possibly an error in copying. Alternatively, an attempt to correct the Mercer's part may have been made.

Ex. 3.19

'Utrecht' *Te Deum* HWV 278, No. 7 *Day by day*, bar 1–3, trumpet II, HHA autograph reading.



³⁹⁰ Hendrie, HHA Serie III: Band 3, p. xvii.

Ex. 3.20

‘Utrecht’ *Te Deum* HWV 278, No. 7 *Day by day*, bar 1–3, trumpet II Walsh edition (as listed in HHA and 1735[?] printed edition) and *IRL–Dmh* Ms 43 f. 1–2 reading.



Ex. 3.21

‘Utrecht’ *Te Deum* HWV 278, No. 7 *Day by day*, bar 1–3, trumpet II *IRL–Dmh* Ms 43 f. 3–4 reading.



The error in the final chord has been transmitted to all except three Mercer’s parts; an alto part bound in *IRL–Dmh* Ms 8 (A) and two violin II parts bound in *IRL–Dmh* Mss 28 (vn II) and 31 (vn II). Musical Example No. 3.22 comprises two bars of music. The first bar illustrates the final chord from Walsh’s edition and the second illustrates the notes transcribed from each surviving Mercer’s part. Flute is not scored in No. 10 in the *Te Deum*, however the Mercer’s flute part doubles the treble I part in several *Te Deum* movements including No. 10.³⁹¹ No trumpet I part for the ‘Utrecht’ music survives in the Mercer’s collection, hence the inclusion of a rest for this part. Both surviving Mercer’s trumpet II parts share the same note for the final chord. The alto f#’ is present in the alto part bound in *IRL–Dmh* Ms 8 (A), the violin II f#’ is present in the violin part bound in *IRL–Dmh* Ms 28 (vn II) and the violin II g’’ is present in the violin part bound in *IRL–Dmh* Ms 31 (vn II). For the alto g’ see *IRL–Dmh* Ms 11 (A) and for the violin II b’ see *IRL–Dmh* Ms 32 (vn II).³⁹² Perhaps an alternative source to Walsh, or a revised Walsh edition, was used to copy these parts. The four Mercer’s parts, which do

³⁹¹ See Section 3.2 Mercer’s Adaptations, Revisions and Anomalies.

³⁹² Two Mercer’s alto parts and three Mercer’s violin II parts including *TD* No. 7 survive.


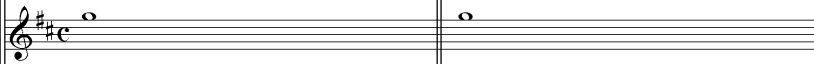
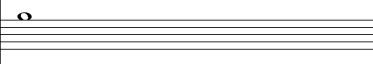
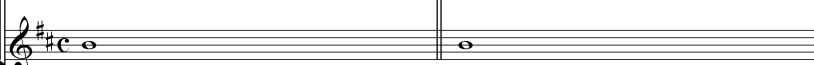

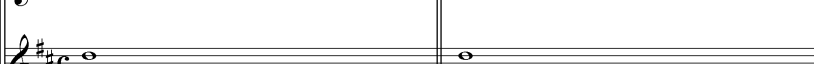
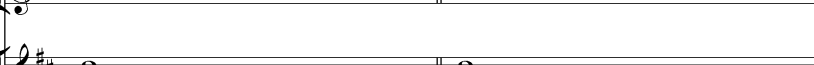

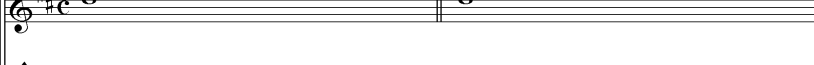
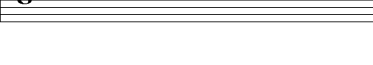


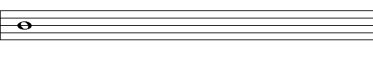

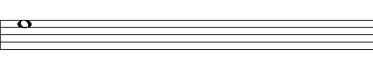
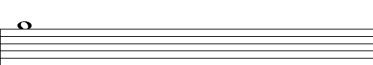


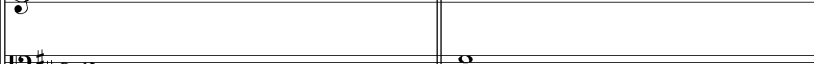
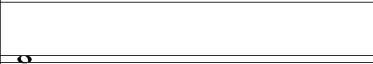
not include the errors identified in Walsh, belong to two different sets. The alto 'Utrecht' part contained in *IRL-Dmh* Ms 8 (A) belongs to Set 22, dates from c.1743 and is the work of Copyist L (unidentified). The Mercer's trumpet part, and the two violin parts (*IRL-Dmh* Mss 43 (tr), 28 (vn II) and 31 (vn II)) belong to Set 30 and date from c.1753 to 1755 and are the work of Copyist Q (unidentified).

Attempts were made to change/correct the final chord in the Mercer's parts, as evidenced by the inclusion of annotations and corrections made to five parts. In the bass part included in *IRL-Dmh* Ms 22 (B) it appears as if a D was erased and replaced by a G. In the violin I parts contained in *IRL-Dmh* Mss 23 (vn I), 24 (vn I), 25 (vn I) and 26 (vn I) the letter 'G' is written in pencil underneath the final note in the *Te Deum*. The word 'certainly', in inverted commas, is included in the *IRL-Dmh* Ms 26 (vn I) violin part. A red line is marked through the final note i.e. g'', in the violin part contained in *IRL-Dmh* Ms 27 (vn II), and the letter 'F' is written underneath in red ink. This correction appears to be the work of Robert Prescott Stewart, who was obviously aware of the error in the final chord of the *Te Deum*.

The errors identified in the Mercer's 'Utrecht' parts are very significant when it comes to the issue of performance. Mercer's benefit concerts were usually preceded by a rehearsal, in which case there would have been time to identify errors and correct them. It is likely that performers were made aware of errors, such as the incorrect final chord, and may have been told to change notes.

Ex. 3.22

‘Utrecht’ *Te Deum* HWV 278, No. 10 *O Lord in thee have I trusted*, final chord.

	Walsh	Mercer's
Flute		
Oboe I		
Oboe II		
Trumpet I		
Trumpet II		
Soprano I		
Soprano II		
Alto		
Tenor		
Bass		
Violin I		
Violin II		
Violin III		
Viola		
Bassi		

Comparison of the Mercer's 'Utrecht' parts with variant readings listed in the HHA edition, and with a surviving printed Walsh edition (*GB-Lbl* Hirsch IV.786), reveal a number of differences between sources.³⁹³ The table at Figure 34 lists all variant readings recorded in the critical commentary of the HHA edition. The Mercer's parts that share readings with the HHA Walsh readings are listed in the table as 'As WA'. In cases where Mercer's parts do not share the same reading as the HHA Walsh reading, the Mercer's reading is provided. Mercer's manuscript numbers are included for the easy identification of parts. This serves to highlight the Mercer's parts which most likely derive from Walsh's edition, and those which may derive from an alternative source. Examination of the Walsh edition, (*GB-Lbl* Hirsch IV.786), resulted in the identification of seventeen differences between the printed music and the readings listed for Walsh in the HHA edition. *GB-Lbl* Hirsch IV.786 has an approximate publication date of 1735. Although not stated in the critical notes, it is possible that an earlier Walsh edition was used to compile the HHA edition.³⁹⁴ The readings present in the *GB-Lbl* Hirsch IV.786 Walsh edition, which differ from those listed in the critical commentary in HHA, are also included in the table at Figure 34. Shared readings are listed in the table as 'As WA HHA'. In cases where the *GB-Lbl* Hirsch IV.786 edition

³⁹³ Hendrie, HHA Serie III: Band 3, pp. 163–80. See *GB-Lbl* Hirsch IV.786 Note inside the front cover reads: 'King's Head Club Book'. Typed note inside the title page: 'No. 18 TE DEUM ET JUBILATE. For Voices and Instruments, Perform'd [*sic*] before the Sons of the Clergy at the Cathedral-Church of St. Paul. Compos'd [*sic*] by George Frederick Handel. Printed for & Sold by John Walsh, London, [1725?]' First edition, contemporary calf, with leather lettering label, engraved. The score. A very good copy. The backstring of the binding is split.' The title page reads: 'TE DEUM ET JUBILATE FOR VOICES AND INSTRUMENTS Perform'd [*sic*] before the SONS of the CLERGY at the Cathedral-Church of St. PAUL. Compos'd [*sic*] BY George Frederick Handel. Note, Where these are Sold may be had great variety of Church-musick [*sic*] London. Printed for & Sold by Iohn [*sic*] Walsh Musick [*sic*] Printer and Instrument maker to his Majesty at the Harp & Hoboy in Catherine Street in the Strand. No. 212'. The item is listed in the catalogue with the publication date as 1735[?].

³⁹⁴ It was not possible to consult with an earlier edition than that present in the British Library dated 1735[?].

does not share the same reading as listed in HHA the alternative reading is provided. Where this thesis employs the term treble, the HHA edition employs the abbreviation Sopr. (Soprano).

Fig. 34 Comparison of Mercer’s ‘Utrecht’ sources with Walsh and HHA readings ‘Utrecht’ *Te Deum-Jubilate* HWV 278–9

Walsh Reading as Listed HHA	Mercer’s Reading	Mercer’s Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>	Walsh Reading 1735[?] Edition
<i>Te Deum</i> HWV 278			
No. 1 <i>We praise thee O God</i>			
Alto bar 27/8 no tie	As WA	Mss 8–11 (A)	As WA HHA
Tenor bar 34 fifth note a third lower	As WA	Mss 12–15, 17–19 (T)	As WA HHA
Tenor bar 49/50 text layout *See Musical Example No. 3.23	*See Musical Example No. 3.23	Mss 12–15, 17–19 (T)	*See Musical Example No. 3.23
Tenor bar 66/7 no tie	As WA in 4 Mercer’s parts Tie in 3 Mercer’s parts	Mss 9 (A) ³⁹⁵ , 13, 17, 18, 19 (T) Mss 12, 14, 15 (T)	As WA HHA
Bass bar 97/8 no ties	Ties in all Mercer’s bass parts	Mss 20–2 (B)	As WA HHA
Violin I bar 38 # on third note	As WA	Mss 23–6 (vn I)	As WA HHA
Violin I and Oboe I bar 44 no indication on the shared stave that oboe should be dropped from bar 43–44	Second beat bar 42 to first beat bar 44 treble and third beat bar 44 to bar 45 oboe II part. See adaptations Chapter 3 Section 3.2. Last beat in bar 44 to end of bar 46 violin II in 1 Mercer’s violin I part. See adaptations Chapter 3 Section 3.2.	Ms 41 (ob I) Ms 26 (vn I)	As WA HHA

³⁹⁵ *IRL–Dmh* Ms 9 (A) contains an incomplete alto and an incomplete tenor part for the *Te Deum-Jubilate* HWV 278–9.

Violin II bar 14 no indication for Oboe I diversion ' <i>jusqu'icy</i> '	As WA	Mss 27–32 (vn II)	As WA HHA
Violin II bar 20 and 22 no instruction ' <i>tous les Hautb. avec le 2. Viol.</i> '	As WA	Mss 27–32 (vn II)	As WA HHA
Violin II bar 95 # omitted	As WA	Mss 27–32 (vn II)	As WA HHA
Bassi bar 11 # omitted	As WA	Mss 36–9 (vc, Bs/bsn)	As WA HHA
Bassi bar 33 no figures	As WA	Mss 36–9 (vc, Bs/bsn)	As WA HHA
Bassi bar 39 beat 3–4 as vocal bass i.e. dotted crotchet quaver	As WA	Mss 36–9 (vc, Bs/bsn)	As WA HHA
Bassi bar 40 'soli'	No 'solo' indication in any Mercer's part	Mss 36–9 (vc, Bs/bsn)	As WA HHA
Bassi bar 44 'Coro' and beats 2–3 crotchets	No 'Coro' indications in any Mercer's part As WA for rhythm in all Mercer's parts and 1 part includes a tie	Mss 36–9 (vc, Bs/bsn) Mss 36, 37 (vc) 39 (Bs/bsn) no tie Ms 38 (vc) tie	As WA HHA
Bassi bar 97–8 no ties	As WA	Mss 36–9 (vc, Bs/bsn)	As WA HHA
Oboe I bar 3 <i>senza Hautb.</i>	No instruction in Mercer's Oboe I doubles Violin I See adaptations in Chapter 3 Section 3.2	Ms 41 (ob I)	As WA HHA
Oboe I bar 20 <i>tous les Hautb.</i> – Italian equivalent abbreviation	No instruction in Mercer's part	Ms 41 (ob I)	No instruction
Oboe I bar 22 <i>jusqu'icy</i>	No instruction in Mercer's part	Ms 41 (ob I)	No instruction
Oboe II bar 14 <i>jusqu'icy</i> indication omitted	As WA	Ms 42 (ob II)	As WA HHA
Oboe II bar 95 # omitted	As WA	Ms 42 (ob II)	As WA HHA
No. 3 To thee Cherubin			
Treble I bar 9 fermata	As WA	Mss 1 (vl) –	As WA HHA

		4 (S)	
Treble I and II bar 12 ‘Sabbath’	As WA	Mss 1 (vl) – 4 (S)	As WA HHA
Alto bar 12 ‘Sabbath’	As WA 1 Mercer’s alto part	Ms 8 (A)	As WA HHA
	‘Sabboath’ 1 Mercer’s alto part	Ms 11 (A)	
Tenor bar 12 ‘Sabbath’	As WA	Mss 12–15, 17–19 (T)	As WA HHA
Bass bar 12 ‘Sabbath’	‘Sabboath’ all Mercer’s vocal bass parts	Mss 20–2 (B)	As WA HHA
Bassi bar 6 # omitted	As WA	Mss 36–9 (vc, Bs/bsn)	As WA HHA
Trumpet II bar 21–22 *See Musical Example No. 3.24	As WA	Ms 43 (tr) (two copies)	As WA HHA
No. 4 <i>The glorious company</i>			
Treble I bar 51 ‘soli’	No indication for ‘soli’ in 2 Mercer’s parts	Mss 2, 3 (S)	No ‘soli’ indication
	Indication for ‘verse’ in 2 Mercer’s parts	Mss 1, 4 (vl, S)	
Treble I bar 157/8 no tie	As WA in 1 Mercer’s part	Ms 3 (S)	As WA HHA
	Tie in 3 Mercer’s parts	Mss 1 (vl), 2, 4 (S)	
Treble II bar 52 no solo indication	As WA	Ms 5 (S)	As WA HHA
Treble II bar 75 no #	F# in Mercer’s	Ms 5 (S)	As WA HHA
Treble II bar 103 second note c’’#	As WA	Ms 5 (S)	As WA HHA
Treble II bar 155–7 text underlay *See Musical Example 3.25	As WA	Ms 5 (S)	As WA HHA
Alto bar 154/55 omit tie	Tie present in all Mercer’s alto parts	Mss 8, 10, 11 (A)	As WA HHA
Bass bar 94/5 no ties	Ties present in all Mercer’s bass parts	Mss 20–2 (B)	As WA HHA
Violin II bar 42 #	As WA	Ms 32 (vn II)	As WA HHA
Violin III bar 154/55 omit ties	Ties in all Mercer’s violin III parts	Mss 27–31 (vn II)	Ties included
Viola bar 42 no #	As WA in 1 Mercer’s part	Ms 34 (va)	As WA HHA

	# in 1 viola part	Ms 35 (va)	
Viola bar 52 <i>p</i>	As WA in 1 viola part	Ms 35 (va)	<i>pia</i> :
	<i>pia</i> in 1 viola part	Ms 34 (va)	
Viola bar 96 no flat	As WA in one viola part	Ms 35 (va)	As WA HHA
	Flat in one viola part	Ms 34 (va)	
Bassi bar 91–2 # above the third note (added after the note was engraved)	# present on first, third and sixth notes in bar 91	Ms 36 (vc)	# above third note in bar 91, no # in bar 92
	# present on first and third note bar 91	Ms 37 (vc)	
	# present on the first, third and sixth note and over the fourth note in bar 91	Ms 38 (vc)	
	# on the first, third and sixth note bar 91	Ms 39 (Bs/bsn)	
	No # bar 92	Mss 36–9 (vc, Bs/bsn)	
Bassi bar 94–5 no ties	As WA	Mss 36–9 (vc, Bs/bsn)	As WA HHA
Bassi bar 110/111 no tie	As WA in 1 part	Ms 36 (vc)	As WA HHA
	Bars not scored in three parts See adaptations Chapter 3 Section 3.2	Mss 37–9 (vc, Bs/bsn)	
Oboe II bar 42/43 no tie	Tie in Mercer's part	Ms 42 (ob II)	As WA HHA
Oboe II bar 44/45 no tie	Tie in Mercer's part	Ms 42 (ob II)	As WA HHA
Oboe II bar 91/92 no tie	As WA	Ms 42 (ob II)	As WA HHA
No. 5 When thou tookest			
Treble I bar 15 'solo'	'solo verse' in 3 parts	Mss 2, 3, 4 (S)	As WA HHA
	No 'solo' indication in 1 part	Ms 1 (vl)	
Treble I bar 49 crotchet minim	As WA in 1 part	Ms 1 (vl)	As WA HHA
	Two crotchets in 2 parts	Mss 2, 3, 4	

		(S)	
Treble II bar 36 slur beats 1–2	No slur	Ms 5 (S)	As WA HHA
Alto bar 12–15 no slurs	As WA in 2 parts	Mss 10, 11 (A)	As WA HHA
	Slurs in 1 part	Ms 8 (A)	
Alto bar 15 ‘solo’	No ‘solo’ indication	Mss 8, 10, 11 (A)	As WA HHA
Alto bar 43–4	As WA	Mss 8, 10, 11 (A)	As WA HHA
Bass bar 36 slur between notes 1–2	As WA in 2 parts	Mss 20, 21 (B)	As WA HHA
	No slur Ms 22	Ms 22 (B)	
Violin I bar 1–2 first trill only	No trill in 1 part	Ms 23 (vn I)	Second trill only
	Trill on seventh note in 3 parts	Mss 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	
Violin I bar 15 ‘solo’ indication	‘solo’ indication omitted	Mss 23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	As WA HHA
Violin I bar 25 <i>ada</i> omitted	As WA	Mss 23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	As WA HHA
Violin I bar 26 <i>Allegro</i>	As WA 3 parts	Mss 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	As WA HHA
	<i>All: o</i> 1 part	Ms 23 (vn I)	
Violin II bar 1 first trill	No trills in 3 parts	Mss 29, 30 (vn II)	Second trill only
Bassi bar 46 alto clef	As WA in 1 part	Ms 36 (vc)	As WA HHA
	Rest in 3 parts	Mss 37, 38 (vc), 39 (Bs/bsn)	
No. 6 <i>We believe that thou shalt come</i>			
Treble II bar 22 ‘solo’ indication	No ‘solo’ indication	Ms 5 (S)	As WA HHA
Treble II bar 26 slur between beats 1–2	No slur	Ms 5 (S)	As WA HHA
Alto bar 8 natural sign beside fifth note	As WA in 2 parts	Mss 8, 11 (A)	As WA HHA
	Bar 8 crossed out in Ms 8		

	alto part. Voice part does not enter until bar 9 in the Ms 10 alto part. See adaptations to Ms 8 alto part in Chapter 3 Section 3.2		
Alto bar 14 text ‘numbred’	As WA in 1 part Text crossed out in 1 part No text in 1 part	Ms 11 (A) Ms 8 (A) Ms 10 (A)	As WA HHA
Tenor bar 14 ‘numbred’	As WA	Mss 9 (A), 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19 (T)	As WA HHA
Tenor bar 26 slur between beats 1–2	As WA in 6 parts No slurs in 2 parts	Mss 9 (A), 12, 14, 17, 18, 19 (T) Mss 13, 15 (T)	As WA HHA
Violin I bar 29 fermata	As WA	Mss 23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	As WA HHA
Violin II bar 29 fermata	As WA	Mss 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)	As WA HHA
Viola bar 10 fourth note b flat	As WA	Mss 34, 35 (va)	As WA HHA
Viola bar 29 fermata	As WA	Mss 34, 35 (va)	As WA HHA
Flute bar 29 fermata	As WA	Ms 40 (fl)	As WA HHA
No. 7 <i>Day be day we magnify thee</i>			
Trumpet II bar 2 first note c’’# last note e’’ *See Musical Examples 3.19–3.21	As WA 1 part First note e’’ last note d’’ 1 part	Ms 43 (tr II) Ms 43 (tr II) (two copies in Ms 43)	As WA HHA
No. 8 <i>And we worship thy Name</i>			
Viola bar 6 no #	As WA 1 part # last note 1 part	Ms 34 (va) Ms 35 (va)	As WA HHA
No. 9 <i>Vouchsafe, O Lord</i>			
Treble II bar 25–6 as	As Treble I	Ms 5 (S)	As Treble I

Violin I			
Violin I bar 33 fermata	As WA	Mss 23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	As WA HHA
Violin II bar 30/31 tied	As WA in 2 parts No tie in 4 parts	Mss 27, 30 (vn II) Mss 28, 29, 31, 32 (vn II)	As WA HHA
Violin II bar 33 fermata	As WA	Mss 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)	As WA HHA
Viola bar 10–17 octave too low from third beat	As WA	Mss 34, 35 (va)	As WA HHA
Oboe I bar 31/2 tied	As WA	Ms 41 (ob I)	As WA HHA

‘Utrecht’ *Jubilate* HWV 279

Walsh Reading as Listed HHA <i>Jubilate</i> HWV 279	Mercer’s Reading	Mercer’s Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>	Walsh Reading 1735[?] Edition
No. 1 <i>O be joyful</i>			
Treble I bar 39 third note c#	As WA	Mss 1 (vl), 2, 3 (S)	As WA HHA
Alto bar 12–13 <i>p, pp</i>	Rests scored	Mss 8, 10, 11 (A)	Rests scored, alto enters bar 17
Alto bar 24 rhythm and text layout	Rests scored	Mss 8, 10, 11 (A)	As WA HHA
Alto bar 32 ‘tutti’ indication and alto entry	As WA in 2 parts Alto enters bar 34 in 1 part See Chapter 3 Section 3.2 for adaptations to parts	Mss 8, 10 (A) Ms 11 (A)	As WA HHA
Violin I bar 18 <i>p</i>	<i>piano</i> in 2 parts <i>piani</i> in 1 part Dynamic omitted in 1 part	Mss 23, 26 (vn I) Ms 24 (vn I) Ms 25 (vn I)	<i>pia</i>

Violin II bar 18 <i>p</i>	Dynamic omitted in 1 part <i>piano</i> in 2 parts <i>pia:</i> in 1 part	Ms 27 (vn II) Mss 29, 32 (vn II) (<i>pia:</i> and <i>piano</i> erased from part) Ms 31 (vn II)	<i>pia</i>
Oboe II bar 18 <i>p</i>	No <i>p</i>	Ms 42 (ob II)	<i>pia:</i>
No. 2 <i>Serve the Lord with gladness</i>			
Alto bar 6 beats 2–3 no tie on crotchets	As WA in 2 parts Tie in 1 part	Mss 8, 10 (A) Ms 11 (A)	As WA HHA
No. 3 <i>Be ye sure</i>			
Violin I bar 39 fermata	As WA in 3 parts Omitted in 1 part	Mss 23, 25, 26 (vn I) Ms 24 (vn I) (the Mercer's part in Ms 24 includes pasted-in material — see adaptations Chapter 3 Section 3.2)	As WA HHA
No. 4 <i>O go your way into His gates</i>			
Treble I bar 12–15 text layout	As WA	Mss 1 (vl), 2, 3, 4 (S)	As WA HHA
Alto bar 56 two minims no tie	As WA	Mss 8, 10, 11 (A)	As WA HHA
Tenor bar 96 natural sign omitted	As WA	Mss 9 (A), 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19 (T)	As WA HHA
Violin II bar 80 second note c'	As WA	Mss 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)	As WA HHA
No. 5 <i>For the Lord is gracious</i>			
Violin I bar 24 slurs beat 2	As WA	Mss 23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	As WA HHA
Violin II bar 24 slurs beat 2	As WA in 5 parts Slurs omitted in 1 part	Mss 27, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II) Ms 29 (vn II)	As WA HHA
Bassi as vocal bass	As WA	No Mercer's double bass part survives. As WA Mss 36, 37, 38 (vc) and 39 (Bs/bsn)	As WA HHA
Oboe II bar 24	As WA	Ms 42 (ob II)	As WA HHA

slurs			
No. 6 Glory			
Treble I bar 12/13 no tie in any part	As WA	Mss 1 (vl), 2, 3, 4 (S)	Tie in all parts
Tenor bar 12/13 no tie in any part	As WA	Mss 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19 (T)	tie
Bass bar 12/13 no tie in any part	As WA	Mss 20, 21, 22 (B)	As WA HHA
Violin I bar 12/13 no tie in any part	As WA	Mss 23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	tie
Violin I bar 20 f	As WA in 3 parts for bar 19 in 1 part	Mss 24, 25, 26 (vn I) Ms 23 (vn I)	As WA HHA
Violin II bar 12/13 no tie in any part	As WA	Mss 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)	tie
Violin II bar 20 f	As WA	Mss 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)	As WA HHA
Viola bar 12/13 no tie in any part	As WA	Mss 33, 34, 35 (va)	As WA HHA
No. 7 As it was in the beginning			
Tenor bar 22 first natural added second beat	Natural sign omitted	Mss 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19 (T)	As WA HHA
Tenor bar 94 natural sign omitted	As WA	Mss 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19 (T)	As WA HHA
Viola bar 22 first natural second beat	As WA	Mss 33, 34, 35 (va)	As WA HHA
Viola bar 80 # omitted	As WA	Mss 33, 34, 35 (va)	As WA HHA
Bassi bar 22 natural second beat	As WA in 1 part Bar not scored in 3 parts See adaptations Chapter 3 Section 3.2	Ms 36 (vc) Mss 37, 38 (vc), 39 (Bs/bsn)	As WA HHA

Ex. 3.23

‘Utrecht’ *Te Deum* HWV 278, No. 1 *We praise thee O God*, bar 49/50, tenor
Walsh HHA.



‘Utrecht’ *Te Deum* HWV 278, No. 1 *We praise thee O God*, bar 49/50, tenor
IRL-Dmh Mss 12–15 and 17–19.

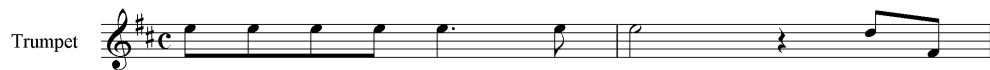


‘Utrecht’ *Te Deum* HWV 278, No. 1 *We praise thee O God*, bar 49/50, tenor
Walsh 1735 [?].



Ex. 3.24

‘Utrecht’ *Te Deum* HWV 278, No. 3 *To thee Cherubin and Seraphin continually do cry*,
bar 21–22 trumpet II, Walsh, IRL-Dmh Ms 43 (both copies).



Ex. 3.25

‘Utrecht’ *Te Deum* HWV 278, No. 4 *The glorious company of the Apostles praise thee*,
bar 155–157 treble II.



Figure 34 reveals that a significant number of readings present in Walsh’s edition differ from those identified in the Mercer’s parts. The table at Figure 35 lists the total number of surviving Mercer’s parts for each movement of the ‘Utrecht’ *Te Deum-Jubilate*

including the percentage of surviving Mercer's parts which do not share readings recorded for Walsh as listed in Figure 34.³⁹⁶

Fig. 35 Number and percentage of Mercer's parts that deviate from Walsh readings

Movement	Total Number of Mercer's Parts	Percentage of Parts Which Contain Alternative Readings to Walsh Edition
<i>Te Deum</i> HWV 278		
No. 1 <i>We praise thee O God</i>	39	30% (12 parts)
No. 3 <i>To thee Cherubin</i>	32	12.5% (4 parts)
No. 4 <i>The glorious company</i>	37	62% (23 parts)
No. 5 <i>When thou tookest</i>	37	78% (29 parts)
No. 6 <i>We believe that thou shalt come</i>	35	11% (4 parts)
No. 7 <i>Day by day we magnify thee</i>	37	3% (1 part)
No. 8 <i>And we worship thy Name</i>	37	3% (1 part)
No. 9 <i>Vouchsafe, O Lord</i>	35	20% (7 parts)
<i>Jubilate</i> HWV 279		
No. 1 <i>O be joyful</i>	39	31% (12 parts)
No. 2 <i>Serve the Lord with gladness</i>	30	3% (1 part)
No. 3 <i>Be ye sure</i>	19	5% (1 part)
No. 5 <i>For the Lord is gracious</i>	23	4% (1 part)
No. 6 <i>Glory</i>	40	2.5% (1 part)
No. 7 <i>As it was in the beginning</i>	42	7 % (3 parts)

Figure 35 reveals that in *Te Deum* No. 4 and No. 5 above 50% of the surviving Mercer's parts deviate from Walsh readings. As evidenced in Section 3.3, *Te Deum* No. 4 and

³⁹⁶ The total number of surviving Mercer's parts for each movement varies owing to the scoring employed and also owing to the number of parts that survive in the Mercer's Collection.

No. 5 include significant adaptations, as does *Te Deum* No. 1. Figure 36 draws together the evidence listed in the previous two tables, Figures 34 and 35, identifying the Mercer's parts and sets which most likely derive from Walsh's printed edition. The set, part, manuscript number and date of copying are included, together with identified adaptations.

Fig. 36 Identifying Mercer's/Walsh sets

Set	Part	Ms No. <i>IRL-Dmh</i>	Date of copying	Additions and Adaptations
Set 1	Choral director's score [?]	Ms 1 (vl)	c. 1743–55	Not adapted
Set 1	Violin II	Ms 27 (vn II)	c. 1743–55	Not adapted
Set 5	Treble	Ms 2 (S)	c. 1741–60	Not adapted
Set 5	Treble	Ms 3 (S)	c. 1741–60	Not adapted
Set 5	Alto	Ms 10 (A)	c. 1741–60	Not adapted
Set 5	Tenor	Ms 12 (T)	c. 1741–60, additions 1743/5	Adapted (incl. pasted-in material)
Set 5	Tenor	Ms 13 (T)	c. 1741–60, additions 1743/5	Adapted
Set 5	Tenor	Ms 14 (T)	c. 1741–60	Adapted (incl. pasted-in material)
Set 5	Tenor	Ms 15 (T)	c. 1741–60	Adapted
Set 5	Tenor	Ms 17 (T)	c. 1741–60	Not adapted
Set 5	Tenor	Ms 18 (T)	c. 1741–60	Not adapted
Set 5	Tenor	Ms 19 (T)	c. 1741–60	Not adapted
Set 5	Bass	Ms 21 (B)	c. 1741–60	Not adapted
Set 5	Bass	Ms 22 (B)	c. 1741–60, additions 1743/5	Adapted (incl. pasted-in material)
Set 6	Viola	Ms 33 (va)	c. 1741–60	Not adapted
Set 6	Viola	Ms 34 (va)	c. 1741–60	Not adapted
Set 6	Viola	Ms 35 (va)	c. 1741–60	Not adapted
Set 6	Violoncello	Ms 36 (vc)	c. 1741–60	Adapted
Set 11	Alto	Ms 9 (A)	1745–71	Not adapted
Set 11	Tenor	Ms 9 (A)	1745–71	Not adapted
Set 11	Bass	Ms 20 (B)	1745–71	Adapted (incl. pasted-in

				material)
Set 13	Treble	Ms 4 (S)	<i>c.1736 Te Deum</i> only	Not adapted
Set 15	Treble	Ms 4 (S)	Post 1755 <i>Jubilate</i> only	Not adapted
Set 17	Treble	Ms 5 (S)	<i>c.1736 onwards</i>	Not adapted
Set 22	Alto	Ms 8 (A)	<i>c.1743</i>	Adapted (incl. pasted-in material)
Set 22	Alto	Ms 11 (T)	<i>c.1743</i> , additions post 1743/5	Adapted (incl. pasted-in material)
Set 25	Violin I	Ms 23 (vn I)	Post 1755	Not adapted
Set 25	Violoncello	Ms 37 (vc)	Post 1755	Adapted
Set 25	Violoncello	Ms 38 (vc)	Post 1755	Adapted
Set 25	Bassoon	Ms 39 (Bs/bsn)	Post 1755	Adapted
Set 30	Violin I	Ms 24 (vn I)	1753–55, additions 1760s	Adapted (incl. pasted-in material)
Set 30	Violin I	Ms 25 (vn I)	1753–55	Not adapted
Set 30	Violin II/III	Ms 28 (vn II)	1753–55	Not adapted
Set 30	Violin II/III	Ms 29 (vn II)	1753–55	Adapted
Set 30	Violin II/III	Ms 30 (vn II)	1753–55, additions post 1755	Adapted (incl. pasted-in material)
Set 30	Violin II	Ms 31 (vn II)	1753–55	Not adapted
Set 30	Oboe I	Ms 41 (ob I)	1753–55, additions post 1755	Adapted (incl. pasted-in material)
Set 30	Oboe II	Ms 42 (ob II)	1753–55, additions <i>c.1740</i> –post 1755	Adapted (incl. pasted-in material)
Set 30	Trumpet II	Ms 43 (tr II)	1753–55	Not adapted
Set 32	Flute	Ms 40 (fl)	1753–55, additions post 1755	Adapted (incl. pasted-in material)
Set 36	Violin II	Ms 32 (vn II)	1753–55, additions <i>c.1740</i> –post 1755	Adapted (incl. pasted-in material)
Set 38	Violin I	Ms 26 (vn I)	Post 1755	Adapted (incl. pasted-in material)

Set 41	Trumpet II	Ms 43 (tr II)	c.1736 onwards	Not adapted
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Figure 36 reveals all sets listed in the table post-date publication of Walsh's printed edition. Walsh's 1731–2 edition may indeed have been the primary source for copying the earliest Mercer's 'Utrecht' parts. Subsequent sets may have been copied from earlier Mercer's parts or from a different source. As discussed in Chapter 3 Section 3.2, the 'Utrecht' *Te Deum-Jubilate* is the most adapted work in the Mercer's Collection, which would account for the large number of variants identified between both sources. Detailed analysis and cross-referencing between the Mercer's parts and Walsh's edition identifies the extent to which alterations were made to the 'Utrecht' *Te Deum-Jubilate*, further emphasizing the adaptation of the music for the work's performance at the hospital's benefit concerts.

A total of ten other extant collections, both manuscript and printed, are believed to derive from John Walsh's edition. These sources are contained in public and private music collections in both England and Germany.³⁹⁷ See Figure 37.

³⁹⁷ Hendrie, HHA Serie III: Band 3, p. 155. A detailed description of other sources deriving from Walsh's edition is provided in HHA Serie III: Band 3, pp. 155–62.

Fig. 37 Other sources deriving from Walsh's printed edition

Collection	Description
Gerald Coke Handel Collection, Ms [i]	Score, c. 1735, contains three major errors from Walsh
<i>GB–Och</i> Oxford Christ Church, Mus Mss 68, 69, 72	Parts, treble, canto 2do, canto, tenor, c. 1738–41, incomplete, derived from Walsh
<i>GB–H</i> Hereford Cathedral Library, Music Ms B.30.vi	Organ score, 1742, contains the errors in the trumpet II part only from Walsh
<i>D–Hs</i> Hamburg, Staats-und Universitätsbibliothek, Musikabteilung, M B/1661	Score, contains three major errors from Walsh
<i>D–Bsb</i> Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, AM. Bibl. 133	Score, contains three major errors from Walsh
<i>D–Lem</i> Leipzig, Leipziger Städtische Bibliotheken, Musikbibliothek, Ms III, 2.77	Score, dating from c. middle or second half of the eighteenth century
Manuscript in the possession of Geoffrey Chew of the Royal Holloway and Bedford, New College, (London University)	2 staves, basso and basso continuo, deriving from Walsh, dates from the second half of the eighteenth century
Randall's edition, London 1767	Re-issue of Walsh's edition, 1767
Gerald Coke Handel Collection, Ms[ii]	1780?, contains errors in trumpet II part only from Walsh
J. A. Hiller's Edition, Leipzig 1780	Published in Leipzig 1780

The Leipzig collection (*D–Lem* Ms III, 2.77) is of particular significance to the Mercer's Collection. Hendrie states that the Leipzig Collection may relate, possibly as a draft, to the Mercer's sources and J.A. Hiller's Leipzig edition, published in 1780.³⁹⁸ This relates only to parts for No. 7, *Day by day we magnify thee*. The library in which the Leipzig sources are held is currently under renovation and work will not be

³⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 161.

completed before autumn of 2012. All materials are in storage and were not accessible prior to completion of this thesis.³⁹⁹

Walsh's first edition of coronation anthems, entitled *Handel's Celebrated Coronation Anthems in Score, for Voices & Instruments, Vol. I. London*, was not published until c.1743, though possibly earlier.⁴⁰⁰ *The King shall rejoice* HWV 260 was performed at the first Mercer's Hospital benefit concert in 1736; the earliest surviving sources for this anthem appear to date from c.1739. The overall date range of surviving Mercer's sources for Handel's coronation anthems is c.1739 to 1771. Consequently, some Mercer's sources for Handel's coronation anthems possibly derive from an alternative source to Walsh. Even though surviving Mercer's parts for Handel's coronation anthems possibly pre-date publication of John Walsh's printed edition, comparison of these sources establishes valuable information regarding the origins of the Mercer's parts. The table at Figure 38 lists the seventeen sets of coronation anthems identified in the collection, their contents and possible dates of copying. Adapted parts are also shown.

³⁹⁹ Information kindly provided by Brigitte Geyer, Leiterin der Musikbibliothek/Sondersammlungen, Leipziger Städtische Bibliotheken, via email 20 Oct. 2011.

⁴⁰⁰ Smith and Humphries, *Handel Catalogue*, p. 150.

Fig. 38 Mercer's sets for the coronation anthems HWV 258–61

Set	Part	Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>	Date of copying	Additions and Adaptations
<i>Zadok the priest</i> HWV 258				
Set 1	Treble	Ms 7 (S)	c.1743–55	Not adapted
Set 1	Tenor	Ms 14 (T)	c.1743–55	Not adapted
Set 1	Bass	Ms 21 (B)	c.1743–55	Not adapted
Set 1	Violin II	Mss 27, 31 (vn II)	c.1743–55	Not adapted
Set 5	Treble	Mss 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 (S)	c.1741–60	Not adapted
Set 5	Alto	Mss 9, 10, 11 (A)	c.1741–60	Not adapted
Set 5	Tenor	Mss 13, 15, 17, 18 (T)	c.1741–60	Not adapted
Set 5	Bass	Ms 22 (B)	c.1741–60	Not adapted
Set 11	Alto	Ms 11 (A)	c.1739 onwards	Not adapted
Set 11	Tenor	Ms 12 (T)	c.1739 onwards	Not adapted
Set 20	Tenor	Ms 19 (T)	c.1739 onwards	Not adapted
Set 20	Bass	Mss 20, 22 (B)	c.1739 onwards	Not adapted
Set 20	Violin I	Mss 24, 25, 26 (T)	c.1739 onwards	Not adapted
Set 20	Violin II	Ms 32 (vn II)	c.1739 onwards	Not adapted
Set 20	Oboes I and II	Mss 41 (ob I), 42 (ob II)	c.1739 onwards	Adapted Ms 41 (no pasted-in material)
Set 20	Timpani	Ms 44 (tiimp)	c.1739 onwards	Not adapted
Set 21	Violin II	Ms 28 (vn II)	c.1739 onwards	Not adapted
Set 22	Tenor	Ms 16 (T)	c.1743	Not adapted
Set 23	Tenor	Ms 14 (T)	Post 1743/5	Not adapted
Set 31	Violin II	Mss 29, 30 (vn II)	1753–55	Not adapted

<i>Let thy hand be strengthened</i> HWV 259				
Set 35	Violin II	Ms 30 (vn II)	c.1739–55	Not adapted
<i>The King shall rejoice</i> HWV 260				
Set 20	Alto	Ms 11 (A)	c.1739 onwards	Not adapted
Set 20	Tenor	Mss 12, 19 (T)	c.1739 onwards	Not adapted
Set 20	Bass	Mss 20, 22 (B)	c.1739 onwards	Not adapted
Set 20	Violin I	Mss 24, 25, 26 (vn I)	c.1739 onwards	Not adapted
Set 20	Violin II	Ms 32 (vn II)	c.1739 onwards	Not adapted
Set 20	Viola	Mss 34, 35 (va)	c.1739 onwards	Not adapted
Set 20	Double bass	Ms 37 (vc)	c.1739 onwards	Not adapted
Set 20	Violoncello	Ms 38 (vc)	c.1739 onwards	Not adapted
Set 20	Bassoon	Ms 39 (Bs/bsn)	c.1739 onwards	Not adapted
Set 20	Oboes I and II	Mss 41 (ob I), 42 (ob II)	c.1739 onwards	Not adapted
Set 20	Trumpet II	Ms 43 (tr II) (two copies)	c.1739 onwards	Not adapted
Set 20	Timpani	Ms 44 (timp)	c.1739 onwards	Not adapted
Set 21	Violin II	Ms 28 (vn II)	c.1739 onwards	Not adapted
Set 30	Violin II	Ms 30 (vn II)	c.1739–55	Not adapted
<i>My heart is inditing</i> HWV 261				
Set 1	Part violin I	Ms 23 (vn I)	c.1743–55	Not adapted
Set 1	Oboe II	Ms 42 (vn II)	c.1743–55	Not adapted
Set 3	Viola	Ms 34 (va)	c.1739	Not adapted

			onwards	
Set 3	Violoncello/Double bass	Ms 39 (Bs/bsn)	<i>c.</i> 1739 onwards	Adapted (no pasted-in material)
Set 5	Treble	Mss 2, 3, 4, 5 (S)	<i>c.</i> 1741–60	Not adapted
Set 5	Alto	Mss 8, 9, 10 (A)	<i>c.</i> 1741–60	Not adapted
Set 5	Tenor	Mss 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19 (T)	<i>c.</i> 1741–60	Not adapted
Set 5	Bass	Mss 20, 21, 22 (B)	<i>c.</i> 1741–60, additions to Ms 22 post 1743/5	Adapted (additional folio attached to Ms 22)
Set 6	Timpani	Ms 44 (timp)	<i>c.</i> 1739–60	Not adapted
Set 11	Tenor	Mss 12, 16 (T)	1745–71	Not adapted
Set 11	Violin II	Ms 31 (vn II)	1745–71	Not adapted
Set 12	Alto	Ms 11 (A)	1745, additions post 1743/5	Adapted (pasted-in material)
Set 12	Violin I	Ms 26 (vn I)	1745, additions post 1743/5	Not adapted
Set 14	Trumpet I and Timpani	Ms 44 (timp)	<i>c.</i> 1739 onwards	Not adapted
Set 20	Viola	Ms 35 (va)	<i>c.</i> 1739 onwards	Not adapted
Set 20	Violoncello	Ms 36 (vc)	<i>c.</i> 1739 onwards	Not adapted
Set 20	Double Bass	Ms 38 (vc)	<i>c.</i> 1739 onwards	Not adapted
Set 20	Trumpet II	Ms 43 (tr II) (two copies)	<i>c.</i> 1739 onwards	Not adapted
Set 22	Tenor	Ms 16 (T)	<i>c.</i> 1743	Not adapted
Set 28	Part Violin I	Ms 23 (vn I)	<i>c.</i> 1739 onwards	Not adapted
Set 28	Violin II	Ms 28 (vn II)	<i>c.</i> 1739 onwards	Not adapted
Set 28	Double bass	Ms 37 (vc)	<i>c.</i> 1739	Not adapted

			onwards	
Set 29	Violin II	Ms 30 (vn II)	c.1739 onwards	Not adapted
Set 29	Viola	Ms 35 (va)	c.1739 onwards	Not adapted
Set 31	Violin I	Ms 34 (va)	1753–55	Not adapted
Set 31	Violin II	Mss 27, 28, 29 (vn II)	1753–55	Not adapted
Set 34	Oboe II	Ms 41 (ob I)	1753–55	Not adapted

It is evident from Figure 37 that eight sets date from c.1743, or possibly later. The earliest date of copying for Sets 1, 22 and 23 is c.1743. The earliest date of copying for Sets 11 and 12 is 1745. The earliest date of copying for Sets 31 and 34 is 1753. The remaining seven sets possibly pre-date Walsh's edition: Sets 3, 5, 6, 14, 21, 28 and 30 possibly date from c.1739.

Figure 39 lists the variant readings recorded for Walsh's edition of coronation anthems as identified by Damian Cranmer and is presented in the same format as Figure 34.⁴⁰¹

⁴⁰¹ G.F. Handel, *Zadok the priest*, Damian Cranmer (ed.), Eulenburg Edition (London, Mainz, New York, Paris, Tokyo, Zürich, 1980); G.F. Handel, *Let thy hand be strengthened*, Damian Cranmer (ed.), Eulenburg Edition (London, Mainz, New York, Paris, Tokyo, Zürich, 1980); G.F. Handel, *The King shall rejoice*, Damian Cranmer (ed.), Eulenburg Edition (London, Mainz, New York, Paris, Tokyo, Zürich, 1980); Handel, *My heart is inditing*.

Fig. 39 Variant Readings identified in Walsh's printed edition of Coronation Anthems HWV 258–61

Variant Reading Walsh Edition	Mercer's Reading	Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>
<i>Zadok the Priest</i> HWV 258		
Timpani bar 24 note 1 minim	As WA	Ms 44 (timp)
All vocal parts bar 33–34 '-joyc-d'	'joi-ced' 'joy-ced' 'joi-c'd'	Mss 2, 3, 5 (S) 9, 10, 11 (A), 12, 14 (second copy), 19 (T), 20, 21, 22 (first copy) (B) Mss 4 (S), 13, 14 (first copy), 15, 17, 18 (T) 22 (second copy) (B) Mss 6, 7 (S) 16 (T)
Trumpet I bar 52 notes 3 and 4 dotted quaver, semiquaver	No Mercer's trumpet I part survives	
Oboe I bar 60 dotted minim	As WA	Ms 41 (ob I)
Oboe II bar 60 dotted minim	As WA	Ms 42 (ob II)
Violin II bar 76 no tie	Tie	Mss 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)
Alto II bar 90 eighth note e'	Eighth note d'	Ms 11 (A)
Violin II bar 108 no trill	As WA No trill	Mss 27, 28, 29, 30, 32 (vn II) Ms 31 (vn II)
Bass II bar 111 fifth note d	As WA Fifth note f#	Ms 21 (B) Ms 22 (both copies) (B)
<i>Let thy hand be strengthened</i> HWV 259		
<i>No. 1 Let thy hand be strengthened</i>		
Bar 14 beat 3 <i>pp</i> instrumental parts	Pianiss.o	Ms 30 (vn II)
Violin I bar 19 note wedge	N/a part not present in Mercer's Collection	

Viola bar 46 beat 4 rest	N/a part not present in Mercer's Collection	
Alto II bar 48 fourth note d'	N/a part not present in Mercer's Collection	
Treble and bass note bar 57 'let'	N/a part not present in Mercer's Collection	
No. 2 <i>Let justice and judgement</i>		
Violin I bar 32 third note a'	N/a part not present in Mercer's Collection	
Organ bar 46 minim d'', minim rest	N/a part not present in Mercer's Collection	
Bass bar 47 dotted minim	N/a part not present in Mercer's Collection	
Vocal parts bar 64 'mercy'	N/a part not present in Mercer's Collection	
Violin I bar 68 first and second note two quavers	N/a part not present in Mercer's Collection	
Violin II bar 82 second note a'	Second note g'	Ms 30
Tenor bar 122 second to fourth note '-ia-al-le-lu'	N/a part not present in Mercer's Collection	
<i>The King shall rejoice</i> HWV 260		
No. 1 <i>The King shall rejoice</i>		
Trumpet I, Oboe, Violin II and Viola bar 42 no tie	No tie bar 42 but tie bar 41–42	Mss 30 (vn II), 34, 35 (va), 41 (ob I), 42 (ob II)
Treble bar 44 fifth and sixth note d'–c'	N/a part not present in Mercer's Collection	
Oboe I, violin I, violin III bar 46 no trills	As WA	Mss 24, 25, 26 (vn I), 30 (vn II), 41 (ob I)
Organ bar 53 first note dotted crotchet	N/a part not present in Mercer's Collection	
Treble bar 54 third note c#''	N/a part not present in Mercer's Collection	
Tenor bar 61 fifth note semiquaver	As WA in 1 part Quaver in 1 part	Ms 19 (T) Ms 12 (T)
No. 2 <i>Exceeding glad shall he be</i>		
Violin III bar 1 (<i>ff.</i>) shown in unison with viola	No <i>ff</i>	Ms 30 (vn II)

Oboe I and II (in unison) bar 1–4 identical to that for the final ritornello of this section i.e. bar 103–106	As WA	Mss 41 (ob I), 42 (ob II)
All instrumental parts bar 4 no trill	N/a movement is not present in Mercer's Collection	
Violin, viola bar 22 <i>f</i> [forte]	N/a in all violin parts as movement is not present in Mercer's Collection for: 2 viola parts	Mss 34, 35 (va)
Organ bar 48 figures on note	N/a part not present in Mercer's Collection	
Organ bar 50 figures on note	N/a part not present in Mercer's Collection	
Organ bar 53 <i>f</i> [forte]	N/a part not present in Mercer's Collection	
Viola bar 62–3 tied	As WA	Mss 34, 35 (va)
Bass bar 64–65 text 'shall — he be'	As WA	Mss 20, 22 (B)
Organ bar 68–9 tied	N/a part not present in Mercer's Collection	
Violin bar 77 second note <i>g#</i> ', third note <i>a</i> '	N/a movement is not present in Mercer's Collection	
Violin bar 78 second note <i>f#</i> ', third note <i>g#</i> '	N/a movement is not present in Mercer's Collection	
Violin bar 81 second note <i>c#</i> '', third note <i>d#</i> ''	N/a movement is not present in Mercer's Collection	
Alto and tenor bar 88–89 'in' for 'of'	As WA	Mss 11 (A), 12, 19 (T)
Bass bar 94 minim, crotchet rest	Dotted minim	Mss 20, 22 (B)
Oboe bar 94 dotted minim	No dot	Ms 41 (ob I)
Oboe II bar 95 first note <i>c#</i> ''	As WA	Ms 42 (ob II)
No. 3 <i>Glory</i>		
All parts bar 4 quavers on last beat	As WA in 7 parts N/a in 7 parts movement is	Mss 11 (A), 12, 19 (T), 20, 22 (B), 30 (vn II), 43 (tr) (one copy) Mss 24, 25, 26 (vn I), 28,

	not present in Mercer's Collection	32 (vn II), 37, 38 (vc)
All vocal parts bar 4 omit 'and'	'and' is present	Mss 11 (A), 12, 19 (T), 20, 22 (B)
No. 4 <i>Thou has prevented him</i>		
Alto II bar 77 second note trill	N/a as bar 55 to the end of the movement is missing	Ms 11 (A)
No. 5 <i>Alleluia</i>		
Trumpet I bar 9 third note crotchet, quaver rest	N/a as part is not present in Mercer's Collection	
Alto I bar 24 fourth note # to g'	N/a movement is not present in Mercer's Collection	
Violin II bar 38 no trill	As WA	Mss 28, 32 (vn II)
Alto II bar 52 col AI	N/a movement is not present in Mercer's Collection	
Organ bar 65 notes 6–8 and bar 66 note 1 an octave higher	N/a part not present in Mercer's Collection	
All parts bar 68 pause on note	N/a movement not present in Mercer's Collection	
Oboe I bar 70 fourth note d''	N/a movement not present in Mercer's Collection	
Oboe I bar 71 first note d''	N/a movement not present in Mercer's Collection	
<i>My heart is inditing</i> HWV 261		
No. 1 <i>My heart is inditing</i>		
Organ bar 2 and bar 4 trill occurs inconsistently [bar 23, 42, 46 etc.]	N/a part not present in Mercer's Collection	
Bass II misinterpreted bar 22, 24 (2 basses in autograph)	Bass solo (I) present from bar 22. When parts are divisi bass solo I is present	Mss 20, 21, 22 (B)
Tenor bar 53 first note no #	As WA	Mss 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 (both copies), 17, 18, 19 (T)
Alto, second alto misinterpreted bar 63, (2 altos in autograph)	3 parts begin bar 63 1 part begins bar 73 but crossed out See Chapter 3 Section 3.2	Mss 8, 9, 10 (A) Ms 11 (A)
Treble bar 64 minim,	Minim, crotchet rest	Mss 2, 3, 4, 5 (S)

crotchet		
Alto II bar 92 first and second note a'	As WA	Mss 8, 9, 10, 11 (A)
No. 2 <i>King's daughters</i>		
No source has separate staves for oboes, which are shown first with violins and later <i>colla parte</i> bar 1–47	May have affected Mercer's scoring for oboe	Mss 41 (ob I), 42 (ob II) See adaptation of parts Chapter 3 Section 3.2
Organ bar 27 note 2–3 and 8–9 tied	N/a part not present in Mercer's Collection	
Viola bar 31 natural sign omitted	As WA	Mss 34, 35 (va)
Treble bar 37 eighth note two quavers, e''	As WA	Mss 2, 3, 4, 5 (S)
Violins and oboes bar 42 notes 5 and 6, 11 and 12, dotted semiquaver, demi-semiquaver	As WA two parts Dotted semiquaver demi-semiquaver notes 5 and 6 but semiquaver on note 11 and note 12 All semiquavers in seven parts	Mss 23, 26 (vn I) Ms 24 (vn I) Mss 25 (vn I), 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)
No. 3 <i>Upon thy right hand</i>		
Violins bar 58 first and second note, dotted quaver, semiquaver	As WA	Mss 23, 24, 25, 26 (vn I), 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)
Viola bar 63–4 tied	As WA	Mss 34, 35 (va)
Violin II bar 72–3 no tie	Tie	Mss 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II)
Violin I bar 82 notes 3–5, quaver, two semiquavers	As WA in two parts Two semiquavers, quaver in two parts	Mss 24, 25 (vn I) Mss 23, 26 (vn I)
No. 4 <i>Kings shall be</i>		
Organ bar 37 fifth note figure on note	N/a part not present in Mercer's Collection	
Violin III bar 56 sixth note c#''	N/a part not present in Mercer's Collection	
Violin III bar 57 note 13 e''	N/a part not present in Mercer's Collection	
Alto I and tenor bar 70 two notes to the word 'Queens'	As WA in five parts Placement of text in seven	Mss 8, 9, 10 (A), 14, 18 (T)

	tenor parts shows two notes to the word ‘thy’—careless layout of text	Mss 12, 13, 15, 16 (both copies), 17, 19 (T)
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A total of 74 variant readings are recorded for Walsh’s edition of coronation anthems. Figure 39 reveals several inconsistencies, for example, from bar 62 to bar 63 in No. 2 in *The King shall rejoice*, the two surviving Mercer’s viola parts have the same reading as Walsh’s edition, however, the dynamic reading in bar 22 is not the same. Surviving Mercer’s parts therefore share some, but not all, readings with Walsh’s printed edition. If all surviving Mercer’s parts were used during the same benefit concert it would inevitably lead to discrepancies in performance such as the inconsistent inclusion of slurs, ties and dynamics. When the Mercer’s coronation anthem sources were directly compared with Walsh’s edition, a total of 240 Mercer’s readings did not correspond to the printed edition. These include slurs, ornamentation, rhythmic variations, variations in notes, differences in dynamics and articulation. As more than 50% of the Mercer’s sets pre-date Walsh’s edition it is likely that the Mercer’s parts for Handel’s coronation anthems derive from an alternative source, however the evidence is non-conclusive as some of the Mercer’s parts that contain the same readings as Walsh’s edition possibly pre-date its publication. As the date of publication for Walsh’s edition is c.1743, but possibly earlier, this leads to further uncertainty in this respect.⁴⁰²

Two other Dublin collections contain manuscript sources for Handel’s coronation anthems, the Christ Church Cathedral Music Collection, and the music collection at

⁴⁰² Smith and Humphries, *Handel Catalogue*, p. 150.

Marsh's Library.⁴⁰³ The Christ Church collection contains eleven vocal parts for *Zadok the priest* HWV 258, ten of which are the work of copyist John Mathews. A manuscript score for *Let thy hand* HWV 259, also in the hand of John Mathews, is present in Marsh's Library. John Mathews was a principal copyist at St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin from 1776 to 1799 and at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin from 1781 to 1799. Mathews did not come to Dublin until 1776, therefore the Mercer's sources pre-date Mathews' work. When compared, it transpired that not enough evidence emerged to establish a link between Mathews' sources and the Mercer's sources. Consequently, John Mathews' Dublin work represents a separate line of transmission of musical sources, which has no connection to the Mercer's Collection. Mathews facilitated the introduction of new repertoire to Dublin and was responsible for the transmission of music of Irish origin to England. He held positions in Winchester, Salisbury and Durham prior to coming to Dublin. A significant link exists between Mathews' Dublin work and copies of his work contained in the music collection at Durham Cathedral; he sent two volumes of music to Durham from Dublin. Four volumes of sacred music in Mathews' hand (including the score of *Let thy hand* HWV 259, referred to above) are contained in the music collection at Marsh's Library, Dublin, including a score of Handel's *Messiah*.⁴⁰⁴

Extant sources for Handel's Chapel Royal anthems, *I will magnify thee* HWV 250b and *Let God arise* HWV 256b, survive in collections throughout Britain and in Germany

⁴⁰³ *IRL–Drcb* C6.1.24.3.33 Treble Cantoris, C6.1.24.3.29 Treble Decani, C6.1.24.3.30 Alto Decani, C6.1.24.3.32 Bass Decani, C6.1.24.3.34 Contra Tenor Cantoris, C6.1.24.3.35 Tenor Cantoris, C6.1.24.5.1 Treble, C6.1.24.5.3 Counter Tenor. *IRL–Dm* Z1.2.28 '14 Anthems by Different Authors'.

⁴⁰⁴ *IRL–Dm* Z.1.2.25–8. See Brian Crosby, *A Catalogue of Durham Cathedral Music Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1986); Boydell, *Christ Church*, p. 129. Houston, *St Patrick's*, pp. 32–7, 133, 134, 151–54.

and America. Apart from the Mercer's Collection both anthems appear in four other manuscript collections; Manchester Public Library in Great Britain, the British Library, London, University of Chicago, Department of Special Collections, America and in the New Brunswick Library at Rutgers University New Jersey, America.⁴⁰⁵

Two versions of the Chapel Royal anthem, *I will magnify thee* HWV 250b exist; in the key of A major and G major. The G major version is present in the Mercer's Collection. Unlike many other Handelian works *I will magnify thee* HWV 250b was not published by John Walsh.⁴⁰⁶ It is most likely that the Mercer's sources for *I will magnify thee* derive from early or middle-period manuscript copies. Two other collections containing G major sources are extant in Britain, one at Christ Church Library, Oxford (*GB-OCh* Mus Ms 71 and *GB-OCh* Mus Ms 1141A) and the other at the Guildhall Library, London (*GB-Lg* Mus Ms 365, *GB-Lg* Mus Ms 366). Both collections contain two surviving parts only.

The Christ Church Oxford sources, contained in the Fawcett Collection, include one violin II part and one oboe part. In each part the first movement only has been transcribed into G major. The Oxford sources are in the hand of Richard Fawcett who was active on the Oxford music scene between 1730 and 1754. Fawcett was also associated with Corpus Christi College, Oxford and was Prebendary of Durham from

⁴⁰⁵ Hendrie, HHA Serie III: Band 3, pp. 319–330. *GB-Mp* Ms 130 Hd 4, vol. 47; *GB-Lbl* Egerton Ms 2911 g; *US-Cu* Ms 437; *US-Nbu* M2038.H14A5 vol. 1.

⁴⁰⁶ Burrows, 'John Walsh Handel Editions', pp. 69–104.

1778 to 1782. The Oxford G major parts for *I will magnify thee* HWV 250b date from c.1735–40.⁴⁰⁷

The Guildhall G major sources include one oboe and one violoncello part, *GB–Lg* Mus Mss 365 and 366. Both parts date from c.1735. Hendrie states that these parts ‘appear to derive from the autograph independent of other extant sources.’⁴⁰⁸ Figure 40 lists the variant readings recorded by Hendrie for each British G major source (*GB–Och* Mus Ms 71 violin II, *GB–Och* Mus Ms 1141A oboe, *GB–Lg* Mus Ms 365 oboe and 366 violoncello). The table shows where readings are in common and where readings differ between all three collections of G major sources i.e. Mercer’s Dublin, Christ Church Oxford and London Guildhall.

Fig. 40 Comparison of surviving G major sources for *I will magnify thee* HWV 250b

Source	Reading	Mercer’s Reading	Mercer’s Ms No. <i>IRL–Dmh</i>
No. 1 <i>I will magnify thee</i>			
<i>GB–Lg</i> Mus Ms 365	Oboe bar 10 <i>p</i> only last half of bar	Oboe bar 10 pianiss.o third beat	Ms 41 (ob I)
<i>GB–Och</i> Mus Ms 71	Oboe, Violin II bar 10 <i>pp</i> only last half of bar	Violin II bar 10 <i>pianiss</i>	Ms 27 (vn II)
		Violin II bar 10–11 <i>pianiss</i>	Ms 28 (vn II)
		Violin II bar 11 <i>pianissimo</i>	Ms 29 (vn II)
		Violin II bar 10–11 <i>pianiss</i>	Ms 30 (vn II)

⁴⁰⁷ Crosby, *Catalogue of Durham Cathedral*, pp. 76, 166, 326; Hendrie, HHA Serie III: Band 9, pp. 325–26.

⁴⁰⁸ Hendrie HHA Serie III: Band 9, p. 325.

		Violin II bar 11 <i>pianissimo</i>	Ms 31 (vn II)
		Violin II bar 10–11 no dynamic	Ms 32 (vn II)
		Oboe bar 10 third beat <i>pianiss</i>	Ms 41 (ob I)
<i>GB-Lg</i> Mus Ms 365	Oboe, Violin II, bar 13 <i>f</i>	Reading not present in Mercer's parts	
<i>GB-Lg</i> Mus Ms 365	Oboe bar 20 <i>p</i>	Reading not present in Mercer's parts	
<i>GB-Lg</i> Mus Ms 365	Oboe bar 23 <i>f</i>	Reading not present in Mercer's parts	
<i>GB-Lg</i> Mus Ms 365	Oboe bar 25 <i>p</i>	Reading not present in Mercer's parts	
<i>GB-Lg</i> Mus Ms 365	Oboe bar 36 <i>for</i> :	Reading not present in Mercer's parts	
<i>GB-Lg</i> Mus Ms 365	Oboe bar 37 <i>po</i>	Reading not present in Mercer's parts	
<i>GB-Och</i> Mus Ms 71	Oboe bar 37 <i>pia</i>	Reading not present in Mercer's parts	
<i>GB-Lg</i> Mus Ms 365 and <i>GB-Och</i> Mus Ms 71	Oboe bar 38 <i>pianiss</i> :	Reading not present in Mercer's parts	
<i>GB-Och</i> Mus Ms 71	Violin II bar 38 <i>pianis</i> :	Reading not present in Mercer's parts	
<i>GB-Lg</i> Mus Ms 365 and <i>GB-Och</i> Mus Ms 71	Oboe bar 41/42 tied	Oboe no tie	Ms 41 (ob I)
<i>GB-Lg</i> Mus Ms 365	Oboe bar 47 <i>pia</i> :	Oboe <i>pia</i> :	Ms 41 (ob I)
<i>GB-Och</i> Mus Ms 71 and <i>GB-Och</i> Mus Ms 1141A	Oboe, violin II bar 50 tempo and dynamics placed at second half of beat 2 i.e adjacent to	Tempo placed at third beat in three violin II parts Tempo placed on	Mss 27, 30, 31 (vn II) Mss 29, 32 (vn II)

	quaver	first beat in two violin II parts Tempo placed on second half of second beat in one violin II part and in oboe part No dynamic in any part bar 50	Mss 28 (vn II), 41 (ob I) Mss 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (vn II), 41 (ob I)
No. 6 <i>My mouth shall speak the praise of the Lord</i>			
<i>GB-Lg Mus Ms</i> 366	B.c. bar 18 B.c. <i>solo</i>	Reading not present in Mercer's parts	Mss 36, 37 (vc), 39 (Bs/bsn)

Figure 40 reveals that there is not enough evidence to make a connection between the Mercer's sources for *I will magnify thee* and other surviving G major sources. When compared directly with the Mercer's parts other differences between readings, such as variations in dynamic markings, slurs, rhythms and ties can also be identified. As only two parts survive in both the Christ Church Oxford and London Guildhall collections any similarities between the surviving sources are non-conclusive. It is possible that the Mercer's sources were transcribed into G major to accommodate the pitch of the organ. However, a primary source would have been needed to facilitate transposition of the work and it seems likely that the primary source derives from a separate line of transmission.

Hendrie has recorded a number of readings that are specific to the Mercer's parts. These include the following:

No. 1 alto bar 19 two quavers on the last beat

No. 2 alto bar 25 trill on beat 2
 No. 2 alto bar 45 and 51 trill on beat 2
 No. 5 bar 59 alto crotchet, dotted crotchet tied to quaver (and layout of text)
 No. 6 alto bar 10 Cho.⁴⁰⁹

No. 1, No. 2 and No. 5 are not scored in two of the three surviving Mercer's alto parts
 i.e. *IRL-Dmh* Mss 8 and 10.

The Mercer's sources for *Let God arise* HWV 256b share two readings with the autograph and all other secondary sources. These include the following; In bar 38 in No. 1, the use of the word 'fly' instead of 'flee', as in the Cannons version of the anthem HWV 256a. Bar 58–61, 79–82, 85–89 and 96–97 in No. 1 are notated as follows: minim, minim on a bar line — this indicates a tie across a bar line. This method of notating a tie is included in ten Mercer's parts only.⁴¹⁰ The standard symbol for a tie is used in all remaining parts.⁴¹¹ HHA records that the Mercer's sources mostly lack staccato marks at bar 58–61, 79–82, 85–89 and 96–97 in No. 1.⁴¹² The inclusion of staccato marks is inconsistent among surviving Mercer's parts for *Let God arise* HWV 256b.

Two readings listed in the critical commentary in HHA are specific to the Mercer's sources; in bar 50 in No. 2 the rhythm is quaver, two semiquavers, quaver, including slurs. In bar 15 in No. 3 the sharp symbol is omitted. Other errors identified in the Mercer's parts for *Let God arise* include the omission of tempi, variations in

⁴⁰⁹ Hendrie, HHA Serie III: Band 9, pp. 341–44.

⁴¹⁰ *IRL-Dmh* Mss 2 (S), 3 (S), 4 (S), 8 (A), 9 (A), 10 (A), 12 (T), 13 (T), 14 (T), 15 (T).

⁴¹¹ *IRL-Dmh* Mss 5 (S), 6 (S), 7 (S), 11 (A), 16–19 (T), 20–22 (B), 23–26 (vn I), 27–32 (vn II), 34–35 (vla), 36–39 (vc/Bs/bsn), 41 (ob).

⁴¹² Hendrie, HHA Serie III: Band 9, p. 342.

performance indications such as slurs, ties, dynamics, and staccato markings, and variations in spelling the word ‘Alleluja’ in No. 4 (Hallelujah).⁴¹³ Such inconsistencies not only indicate the various sets copied for the anthem but they also suggest that various sources may have been used in copying the work.

Examination of a fragmented organ score for *Let God arise* HWV 256b, contained in the Christ Church Cathedral Collection shows no significant links with the Mercer’s sources.⁴¹⁴ As the Christ Church source is incomplete, comparison with the Mercer’s parts is not satisfactory. Bar 34 to 103 in No. 1 from the Christ Church source is missing, as is all of No. 3. Bar 58 to the end of No. 4 is also missing. No. 2, a solo bass movement, is omitted from all surviving Mercer’s bass parts. In the Christ Church organ score a different paper type and hand can be identified on page 199. Apart from the spelling of the word ‘Hallelujah’ on page 199, identified errors in the vocal parts of the Christ Church organ score do not correspond to identified errors or variant readings identified in the Mercer’s vocal parts.

⁴¹³ ‘Alleluja’ *IRL–Dmh* Mss 2 (S), 3 (S), 5 (S), 6 (S), 7 (A), 8 (A), 9 (A), 10 (A), 12 (T), 13 (T), 14 (T), 15 (T). ‘Hallelujah’ *IRL–Dmh* Mss 11 (A), 16 (T), 17 (T), 18 (T), 19 (T), 20 (B), 21(B), 22 (B). Movement not scored in *IRL–Dmh* Ms 4 (S).

⁴¹⁴ *IRL–Drcb* C6.1.24.7.2.

Mercer's non-Handelian Sources

It is not clear how the governors of Mercer's Hospital acquired parts for Greene's orchestral anthem *Sing we merrily*. As the Mercer's parts do not include the work of Greene's regular London copyists, it is most likely that this music was sent over to Dublin from England and copied locally. As Greene's anthem was composed for performance at the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy, it is probable, due to the similarities between both events, that its introduction to the Mercer's repertoire resulted from its performance at the London event. Greene's music was in circulation in Dublin during the mid-eighteenth century, however he is not known to have published any collections of works prior to 1743. Copies of Greene's anthems dating from 1735, and identified as the work of Christ Church copyist Charles Taylor, suggest the circulation of Greene's works in handwritten form prior to the commencement of the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts.⁴¹⁵ Greene's anthems were very popular in eighteenth-century Dublin and are well represented in the St Patrick's Cathedral Collection, many of which are in the hand of copyist William Taverner, who held several vicar choralship positions in St Patrick's from 1725 to 1775. Taverner's copies of Greene's anthems date from the late 1730s. The Dean and Chapter of St Patrick's Cathedral subscribed to the *Forty Select Anthems* in 1743.⁴¹⁶

When compared with surviving sources present in other collections it becomes evident that *Sing we merrily* was revised. Despite the identification of a significant number of variant readings between both sources, the setting of the anthem present in the Mercer's

⁴¹⁵ Boydell, *Christ Church*, p. 128.

⁴¹⁶ Houston, *St Patrick's*, pp. 30–2, 172–4. *Sing we merrily* is not contained in Greene's *Forty Select Anthems*.

Collection is the same as that present in the surviving autograph score (*GB-Ob* Ms Mus.D.49).⁴¹⁷ Two surviving manuscript score copies include an alternative setting of No. 4 *Lord, thou hast been our refuge*; *GB-Ob* Ms Mus.D.42 is mostly in the hand of Greene's pupil, Martin Smith, who became organist of Gloucester Cathedral in 1739 and *GB-Lbl* Add. 31694 is wrongly catalogued as 'by John Alcock'. A note written in the British Library source states that the manuscript once belonged to the 'Musick Clubb of Glocester' [*sic*]. In Smith's copy, *GB-Ob* Ms Mus.D.42, folios 19–22v are in Greene's hand. The revised version of No. 4 can be found on these folios.

It appears that the Mercer's sources pre-date Greene's revision of the anthem, however, the identification of variant readings between both sources indicates that the Mercer's parts were not directly transcribed from the autograph. Musical Example No. 3.26 illustrates the opening bars from No. 4 present in the Mercer's sources and the autograph *GB-Ob* Ms Mus.D.49. Musical Example No. 3.27 illustrates the opening bars from the revised version of No. 4 present in *GB-Ob* Ms Mus.D.42 and *GB-Lbl* Add. 31694.

⁴¹⁷ Variant readings between the Mercer's sources and *GB-Ob* Ms Mus.D.49 include the presence and omission of performance markings: slurs, trills, tempi and dynamics. Some differences in pitch have also been identified.

Ex. 3.26

Sing we merrily unto God our strength, No. 4 *Lord thou has been our refuge*, bar 1–9, transcribed from *IRL–Dmh* Mss 8, 23, 28, 34 and 36 and *GB–Ob* Ms Mus.D.49.

Largo

Alto

Lord thou hast been our refuge—

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Bass

5

A.

Lord thou hast been our refuge— from one generation to

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Bassi

8

A.

another from one generation

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Bassi

Ex. 3.27

Sing we merrily unto God our strength, No. 4 *Lord thou has been our refuge*, bar 1–9, transcribed from *GB–Ob Ms Mus. D.42* and *GB–Lbl Add. 31694*.

Largo e Pia:

Alto

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Bassi

5

A.

Thou hast been our refuge hast been our refuge from one genera

Violoncello in the Tenor

Bassi

Records indicate that the Mercer's parts for William Boyce's anthem, *Blessed is he that considereth the sick* were sent over to Dublin from England.⁴¹⁸ It is not clear if Boyce sent over a score, from which a local copyist(s) subsequently copied the Mercer's parts, or if a score and parts were sent over. None of the surviving Mercer's parts are in Boyce's own hand and a score copy of the anthem does not survive in the Mercer's Collection. Perhaps the music sent over by Boyce was returned to the composer once all Mercer's parts had been copied. It seems likely, considering the work was commissioned for the hospital, that the surviving Dublin sources for *Blessed is he* derive from the autograph, which no longer survives in any British collection.

Extant sources for the anthem, present in library collections in London, Oxford and Hereford reveal that Boyce's anthem was significantly revised for performance in Britain.⁴¹⁹ Subsequent to the Mercer's première the anthem was performed at the

⁴¹⁸ Burrows and Dunhill, *Music and Theatre*, p. 131. Letter dated 10 December 1741 4th Earl of Shaftesbury London to James Harris [Salisbury] Hants Record Office 9M73/G350/22/1.

⁴¹⁹ See *GB-Lbl* Add. 28967 score, *GB-Lcm* Ms 783 score, *GB-Ob* Ms Mus.D.23 score and *GB-H* 30.B.6 organ score.

Meetings of the Three Choirs in 1743, 1752 and on six occasions between 1792 and 1799. Although its title is not recorded in surviving programmes for the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy, which took place in London, it is highly likely that the anthem was performed at this event between 1751 and 1754. It was also performed at the Nottingham Festival in 1789.⁴²⁰ The surviving Christ Church Dublin score for the anthem is the only known surviving source including the same setting of the anthem as that present in the Mercer's Collection.⁴²¹ A large number of variant readings have been identified between both Dublin sources. These mainly include differences in rhythmic notation and the presence or absence of performance indications such as slurs, ties, staccato and tempi markings. Of major significance is the presence of two cuts in No. 4, evident in both the Mercer's and Christ Church sources.

Bartlett and Bruce state the following in relation to the revisions made to Boyce's anthem,

It is clear that various revisions were subsequently made to the original music, perhaps instigated by Boyce himself. As the Dublin parts reveal, the opening chorus was first preceded by a short, slow orchestral introduction, but in the later Lcm MS, on which Ashley relied for his edition, it is replaced by a longer and more imposing French overture. Novello on the other hand, basing his edition on the Lbl source, cut out the central tenor solo, 'I did weep', and replaced it with the then popular duet for tenor and bass, 'Here shall soft charity', from Boyce's sacred ode, 'Lo! On the thorny bed of care' (1774). Ashley published the latter as a supplement in the same volume. These MS sources, including the early parts preserved at Dublin, provide evidence that various cuts were made, particularly in the vocal solos in the central part of the work. Because of the 60 years that separated the composition of this work from its publication, the wide dispersal of its MS sources and the intricate relationships between them, its textual history has yet to be fully explored.⁴²²

⁴²⁰ Bartlett and Bruce, *Boyce Tercentenary*, pp. 26–7.

⁴²¹ *IRL–Drcb* C6.1.24.1.6.

⁴²² Bartlett and Bruce, *Boyce Tercentenary*, pp. 27–8.

Comparison of the Mercer's anthem with the surviving British sources establishes the extent to which Boyce's Dublin anthem was revised for performance in London and elsewhere in Britain. The *GB-Lcm* Ms 783 score was copied during the first half of the eighteenth century. The *GB-Ob* Ms Mus.D.23 score was copied during the second half of the eighteenth century and contains the same setting of the anthem as that identified in *GB-Lcm* Ms 783, however No. 7 in *GB-Lcm* Ms 783 is incomplete. Both versions of the anthem use the text *Blessed is he that considereth the sick and needy* in the opening chorus.⁴²³ The *GB-Lbl* Add. 28967 score, using the text *Blessed is he that considereth the poor and needy* in the opening chorus, corresponds to the surviving organ score *GB-H* 30.B.6, however, two pages from the beginning of the organ score are missing, it begins at bar 23 in No. 2. Consequently, it is not possible to establish which version of No. 1 is present in *GB-H* 30.B.6.⁴²⁴ *GB-H* 30.B.6 is listed in the catalogue as *Blessed is he that considereth the poor and needy*. A variation in the title of the anthem and the text used for the opening chorus is evident in all extant sources, however this does not serve to indicate corresponding settings of the anthem.

Blessed is he begins with an orchestral introduction. In *GB-Lbl* Add. 28967 the opening orchestral introduction is twenty bars long. The orchestral introduction in *GB-Lcm* Ms 783 and *GB-Ob* Ms Mus.D.23 is 46 bars long.⁴²⁵ The orchestral introduction contained in the Mercer's version, is 224 bars long, and can be divided into three

⁴²³ *GB-Ob* Ms Mus.D.23 is wrongly listed in the catalogue as *Blessed is he that considereth the poor and needy*. Information re Boyce sources kindly received from Michael Mullen, Royal College of Music, London, Library, via email on 21 Sept. 2010, Sally Chestnutt, Bodleian Library, via email on 6 Sept. 2010 and Rosalind Caird, Hereford Cathedral Library, via email on 8 Sept. 2010.

⁴²⁴ Bartlett and Bruce document the source *GB-Lbl* Add. 28967 as 28969.

⁴²⁵ This setting of the introduction corresponds to Ashley's printed edition referred to by Bartlett and Bruce.

sections; *Largo* (61 bars)—*Allegro* (127 bars)—*Largo* (36 bars).⁴²⁶ A change in scoring occurs in the third section (*Largo*) where oboes are replaced by flutes. The key system employed in both Mercer's and *GB-Lbl* Add. 28967 is the same, the first movement begins in d minor and ends on an A major chord. In *GB-Lcm* Ms 783 and *GB-Ob* Mus.D.23 the orchestral introduction begins and ends in d minor. Differences in scoring for all movements can be identified between the different settings of the anthems.

No. 6 and No. 7 are the same in all settings, however *GB-Lbl* Add. 28967, *GB-Lcm* Ms 783 and *GB-Ob* Ms Mus.D.23 include trumpets. Trumpets are not included from bar 7–10 in *GB-Lcm* Ms 783 and *GB-Ob* Ms Mus.D.23. The same key structure is retained between all settings, beginning in D major, the movement concludes on an A major chord, however the final 32 bars from *GB-Lcm* Ms 783 are missing.

There are no differences between the Mercer's (*IRL-Dmh*) and *GB-Lbl* Add. 28967 settings for No. 2. The *GB-Lcm* Ms 783 and *GB-Ob* Ms Mus.D.23 setting of No. 2 contain several variations when compared with the Mercer's and *GB-Lbl* Add. 28967 sources. In both *GB-Lcm* Ms 783 and *GB-Ob* Ms Mus.D.23 the following variants have been identified: semiquaver rhythms in bars 26, 43, 46–48 and 56–58 in oboe, violin and viola parts, differences in pitch and rhythm in the viola and alto parts in bar 26, differences in pitch and rhythm in the oboe I, violin I, viola, treble and tenor parts in bar 31, the pitch of the last two notes in bar 38 in the violin parts, the pitch and rhythm in the oboe II part in bar 53 and the pitch and rhythm in the alto part in bar 58. The

⁴²⁶ Contrary to Bartlett and Bruce's findings, see fn. 422 and corresponding quote.

The final movement is the same in the Mercer's and *GB-Lbl* Add. 28967 anthems, comprising of 184 bars and the movement is scored for three soloists in the verse sections, full chorus and orchestra. Differences in pitch between both versions of the timpani part can be identified from bar 173 to the end of the movement. See Musical Examples No. 3.28 and 3.29 for a comparison of timpani parts.

Blessed is he that considereth the sick, No. 8 *Hallelujah*, bar 173–184, *IRL–Dmh* Ms 44 (timp).

Blessed is he that considereth the poor, No. 8 *Hallelujah*, bar 173–184, transcribed from GB-Lbl Add. 28967 timpani.

330

No. 8 is shorter in *GB-Lcm* Ms 783 and *GB-Ob* Ms Mus.D.23, comprising of 168 bars. The music from bar 138 to the end of the movement differs considerably from that scored in the Mercer's and *GB-Lbl* Add. 28967 sources.

The Mercer's setting of No. 3 contains 173 bars, *GB-Lbl* Add. 28967 contains 145 bars and *GB-Lcm* Ms 783 and *GB-Ob* Ms Mus.D.23 both contain 135 bars. Differences between Mercer's and the *GB-Lbl* Add. 28967 setting are evident from bar 60 where pitch, rhythm and scoring have been altered. A number of differences are also evident in the *GB-Lcm* Ms 783 and *GB-Ob* Ms Mus.D.23 scores. In *GB-Lcm* Ms 783 and *GB-Ob* Ms Mus.D.23 violin I, violin II and viola are scored from bar 61–69, bar 110–113 is an octave higher in *GB-Lcm* Ms 783 and *GB-Ob* Ms Mus.D.23, and bar 128–135 differ completely. See Musical Examples No. 3.30, 3.31 and 3.32.

Ex. 3.30

Blessed is he that considereth the sick, No. 3 *The Lord will preserve him*, bar 60–70, transcribed from *IRL–Dmh* Mss 12, 26, 27, 34, 36, 37–39 and *IRL–Drch* C6.1.24.1.6 (no alto solo for No. 3 survives in the Mercer’s Collection).

60

Flute

Flute

Alto

Tenor

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Bassi

Bles — sed — up-on the Earth shall be Bles - sed

ed — up-on the Earth shall be Bles - sed

Tutti

Forte

6 5 6 6

5_h

6

6

6

65

Fl. *Piano*

Fl. *Piano*

A. *shall be Bless*

T. *shall be Bless*

Vln. I *Piano*

Vln. II *Piano*

Vla. *Piano*

Violoncello *Piano*

Bassi

5 7 6 6
3 5 4

68

Fl. *Forte*

Fl. *Forte*

A. *ed up-on the Earth*

T. *ed up-on the Earth*

Vln. I *Forte*

Vln. II

Vla.

Bassi

5 7 6 6 6 5
3 5 4 4 3

Ex. 3.31

Blessed is he that considereth the poor, No. 3 *The Lord will preserve him*, bar 60–70, transcribed from *GB-Lbl* Add. 28967.

68

Fl.

Fl.

A.

T.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Bassi

8

ed

ed

Ex. 3.32

Blessed is he that considereth the sick, No. 3 *The Lord will preserve him*, bar 60–70, transcribed from *GB-Lcm* Ms 783 and *GB-Ob* Ms Mus.D.23.

60

Flute

Flute

Alto

Tenor

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Bassi

Bless

Bless

64

Fl.

Fl.

A.

T.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Bassi

Bless

Bless

64

A.
T.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Bassi

68

A.
T.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Bassi

In the Mercer's sources, No. 4 is a solo setting for alto and orchestra. The movement is set in g minor. In *GB-Lbl* Add. 28967, *GB-Lcm* Ms 783 and *GB-Ob* Ms Mus.D.23 the movement, for tenor soloist, is set in c minor. The British sources for No. 5 have been completely revised when compared with the Mercer's setting. In the Mercer's sources

this solo bass movement is set to the text *The blessing of him that was ready to perish*. In *GB-Lbl* Add. 28967, *GB-Lcm* Ms 783 and *GB-Ob* Ms Mus.D.23 the text *I did weep for him that was in trouble* is employed. The Mercer's setting contains 83 bars and is set in the key of F major whereas No. 5 in *GB-Lbl* Add. 28967, *GB-Lcm* Ms 783 and *GB-Ob* Ms Mus.D.23 contains 72 bars, begins in g minor and concludes in the key of G major.

Boyce's anthem was performed in Dublin, London, Nottingham and at the Three Choirs Festival, which alternated between Gloucester, Hereford and Worcester. Revisions made to the anthem therefore represent the different versions performed at the different venues. Bartlett and Bruce state that

The Novellos were mistaken in their belief, expressed in the *Lbl* MS on which they based their edition, that it was a Boyce autograph. This MS, however, does contain the signature 'W. Felton' written in pencil. This must be that of William Felton, an organist, composer, and vicar-choral at Hereford Cathedral, who also sometimes acted as a Steward at the Three Choirs Festival. The appearance of his name there, whether as its owner or as its copyist, would suggest that the MS and hence the Novello edition, represent the form the anthem took when it was done at the Three Choirs.⁴²⁷

The surviving Hereford organ score (*GB-H* 30.B.6) corresponds to the *GB-Lbl* Add. 28967 source and therefore must also represent the version of the anthem performed at the Three Choirs. The Bodleian (*GB-Ob* Ms Mus.D.23) and Royal College of Music (*GB-Lcm* Ms 783) sources represent the version of the anthem performed at the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy, the following note is included in the Bodleian Library catalogue entry

⁴²⁷ Bartlett and Bruce, *Boyce Tercentenary*, p. 27.

Anthem in score “Blessed is he that considereth the poor and needy” (mistake left in) Dr. Boyce, performed annually at St. Paul’s [London] at the meeting of the Sons of the Clergy. In English, on paper: written in the second half of the 18th century 12/9 4/8 in 108 pages.⁴²⁸

Conclusion

Works contained in the Mercer’s Collection were copied from early printed editions and early manuscript copies. None of the surviving works was copied directly from an autograph score, except in all probability the music for Boyce’s *Blessed is he that considereth the sick*. This reveals significant information regarding the provenance of the collection and how music was transmitted to Dublin during the eighteenth century. Due to the presence of the three major copying errors, it is highly probable that the earliest Mercer’s sources for the ‘Utrecht’ *Te Deum-Jubilate* HWV 278–9 were copied from Walsh’s printed edition. Extensive adaptations affect the original contents of some parts and suggest the possibility that Walsh’s edition was used as a guide or template from which the benefit concert organisers adapted and modified the music, identifying their needs re instrumentation and vocal scoring. Later Mercer’s parts were almost certainly copied from the earlier parts. The earliest Mercer’s sources for the coronation and Chapel Royal anthems seem to derive from early manuscript copies. The absence of surviving Mercer’s manuscript scores is very significant in this respect.

None of the surviving Mercer’s sets is complete, i.e. not a single set contains all parts for each work contained in the core repertoire. Consequently, the loss of parts has been considered. There may be a gap in the sources; it is probable that the source from which

⁴²⁸ Information kindly received from Sally Chestnutt, Music Section, Bodleian Library, via email on 6 Sept. 2010.

the Handelian anthems were copied no longer survives. It can be concluded that Handel did not bring music for the principal Mercer's sources to Dublin. The first Mercer's performance of Handel's 'Utrecht' music, coronation anthems and possibly the Chapel Royal anthems pre-dates 1741 and manuscript sources and printed editions for Handel's works were available in Dublin prior to his visit.

Evidence presented in Section 3.4 eliminates sources extant in Irish and British collections from this investigation, namely *IRL-Drcb* C6.1.24.3.29–30, C6.1.24.3.32–35, C6.1.24.5.1, C6.1.24.5.3, *IRL-Dm* Z1.2.28 for Handel's coronation anthems; *GB-Och* Mus Ms 71, *GB-Och* Mus Ms 1141A and *GB-Lg* Mus Ms 365 and *GB-Lg* Mus Ms 366 for Handel's Chapel Royal anthems. These sources reveal no significant connection with surviving Handelian works present in the Mercer's Collection, therefore the Mercer's sources for Handel's coronation anthems *Zadok the priest* HWV 258, *Let thy hand* HWV 259 and the Chapel Royal anthem *I will magnify thee* HWV 250b derive from a separate line of transmission from the sources listed above.

Section 3.4 also reveals how the Mercer's sources relate to extant Irish and British collections, namely *GB-Ob* Ms Mus.D.49, *GB-Ob* Ms Mus.D.42 and *GB-Lbl* Add. 31694 for Greene's anthem *Sing we merrily* and *IRL-Drcb* C6.1.24.1.6, *GB-Lcm* Ms 783, *GB-Ob* Ms Mus.D.23, *GB-Lbl* Add. 28967 and *GB-H* 30.B.6 for Boyce's anthem *Blessed is he*. Mercer's sources for Greene's anthem appear to be the earliest surviving copies pre-revision, apart from the autograph, and are the only surviving Irish sources for *Sing we merrily*. Consequently, the only known Irish performances of Greene's

anthem took place at the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts. A large number of variant readings can be identified between the Mercer's sources and the autograph, which suggests the Mercer's sources were not copied directly from the autograph; there may be a missing intermediate source. Various revisions made to the anthem highlight the different settings performed at venues in both Britain and Ireland. As the Mercer's sources contain the same setting of the anthem as that contained in the autograph, *GB-Ob Ms Mus.D.49*, it can be concluded that the setting present in the autograph, and composed for performance at the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy, was also performed in Dublin.

Mercer's sources for Boyce's anthem also appear to represent the earliest surviving copies of the work before its revision for London and other British performances. As *Blessed is he* premiered at the December 1741 Mercer's Hospital benefit concert, the Mercer's sources must have been copied from the original autograph which the composer sent to Dublin. A score copy of *Blessed is he* present in the Christ Church Dublin music collection, *IRL-Drcb C6.1.24.1.6*, reveals that the work was also performed in the cathedral, thus performances of *Blessed is he* were not unique to Mercer's. Detailed comparison of the Dublin sources with sources extant in Britain (*GB-Lcm Ms 783*, *GB-Ob Ms Mus.D.23*, *GB-Lbl Add. 28967*, *GB-H 30.B.6*) reveals that the Dublin version was not performed elsewhere in the British Isles.

3.5 Mercer's Printed Sources

The Mercer's printed sources, *IRL-Dmh* Mss 51–7, contain seven volumes of instrumental parts for a selection of concerti, sonatas and overtures by Charles Avison (1709–70), Francesco Barsanti (1690–1772), Michael Christian Festing (1705–52), George Frideric Handel (1685–1759) and John Stanley (1712–86). Two-thirds of the printed collection consist of Handelian works. The surviving parts are arranged in separate volumes, according to work, each of which is stab bound. Some volumes have blue paper covers while others have no covers.⁴²⁹ The condition of the binding varies between parts but the overall condition of the Mercer's printed music is very good. Only two works contain a complete set of surviving parts, Festing's Six Sonatas and one volume of Stanley's Six Concerti.⁴³⁰ The remaining works are incomplete in terms of the number of surviving parts, however some sets contain duplicate parts. The table at Figure 41 lists all works and surviving parts for the Mercer's printed collection. The scoring for each work is also included.

Fig. 41 Contents of Mercer's Printed Collection and Surviving Parts

Composer	Work	Scoring	Surviving Mercer's Parts <i>IRL-Dmh</i>	Total Number of Mercer's Parts
Charles Avison	Six Concerti in Seven parts Op. 2 (Joseph Barber, Newcastle & London 1740)	4 vn, va, vc, hpcd	vn II, va, vc, b Ms 51 parts 1–4	4
Francesco Barasanti	Ten Concerti Grossi Op. 3	2 cor, 2 vln, vla, basso, timp	cor I, cor II, tr (2 copies) vc/bc (4	10 (including

⁴²⁹ The instrumental part, composer and work are identified and written on the front cover of each volume. The handwriting of Robert Prescott Stewart is identifiable on *IRL-Dmh* Mss 51, 54 and 55. An unidentified hand is present on the cover of the four remaining volumes, *IRL-Dmh* Mss 52, 53, 56 and 57.

⁴³⁰ See *IRL-Dmh* Ms 53 parts 1–3 (Festing) and *IRL-Dmh* Ms 56 parts 1–7 (Stanley).

	Nos. 1–5		copies), cor I/ob I, timp	duplicates)
	Nos. 6–10 (Edinburgh 1742)	ob, tr, 2 vln, vla, basso, timp	Ms 52 parts 1–10	
Michael Christian Festing	Six Sonatas in Three parts Op. 6 (Smith, London 1742)	2 vn, b	vn I, vn II, b Ms 53 parts 1–3	3
George Frideric Handel	Twelve Grand Concerti in Seven Parts, Op. 6 (Walsh, London 1739)	2 vn, vc, str, bc	vn I ripieno, vn II concertino (2 copies), vn II ripieno, va (2 copies), vc, bc (2 copies) Ms 54 parts 1–9	9 (including duplicates)
George Frideric Handel	XXIV Overtures for violins &c in Eight Parts (Walsh, London 1740)	2 ob, 3 vln, va, vc, bsn (bc), org, b (bc)	ob, vn II, vn III, b Ms 55 parts 1–4	4
John Stanley	Six Concerti in Seven Parts Op. 2 (London 1742)	str	vn I concertino, vn I ripieno, vn II concertino, vn II ripieno, va, vc, b Ms 56 parts 1–7	7
	Second copy		vn I ripieno, vn II concertino, vn II ripieno, va, vc Ms 57 parts 1–5	5

The contents of the printed collection provide an interesting mix of English and Italian composers. Charles Avison lived and worked in Newcastle, England. Avison was given the opportunity to work in London, York and Dublin but declined all offers. He was very active on the music scene in both Newcastle and Durham and his works were frequently performed at concerts which took place in both cities. Avison is best known

for his concerti grossi for strings. The concerti contained in the Mercer's collection were published in 1740. The works were revised in 1758 and became Avison's Op. 6.⁴³¹

Francesco Barsanti was born in Lucca, Italy in 1690. His compositional output mainly consists of instrumental music, sonatas and concerti. Barsanti spent eight years living and working in Scotland. His Op. 3 is considered one of his finest works.⁴³²

Michael Christian Festing had a strong association with Maurice Greene, with whom he established the Apollo Academy, London. Festing was one of the founding members of the Fund for the Support of Decay'd Musicians and their Families, established in London in 1738. He composed a number of instrumental and vocal works including concerti, sonatas, songs and cantatas.⁴³³

John Stanley was an English composer, organist and violinist. Even though he became blind at the age of two he studied music and developed a successful and respected career. Stanley's organ concerti (1775) and his Op. 2 are highly regarded.⁴³⁴

The Mercer's printed sources reveal a number of trends in the transmission of music to Dublin and its circulation within the city. All surviving printed music was published in Britain between 1739 and 1742. The works contained in *IRL-Dmh* Mss 51–57 may

⁴³¹ Norris L. Stephens, 'Charles Avison', *NGD* II 2, pp. 254–6.

⁴³² David Johnson, 'Francesco Barsanti', *NGD* II 2, p. 775.

⁴³³ Melaine Groundsell and Elizabeth M. Lamb, 'Michael Christian Festing', *NGD* II 8, pp. 732–3.

⁴³⁴ Malcom Boyd and Glyn Williams, 'John Stanley', *NGD* II 24, pp. 287–9.

have been purchased separately, as each edition of music became available, or all may have been bought at the same time. Boydell's calendar includes several advertisements for the publication of new music and the availability of new musical works from 1739 onwards. Some works were published in Dublin, however a great deal of music was imported from London and some from Italy.⁴³⁵ Five general music shops were in business in the city and eight printing or publishing firms also sold music.⁴³⁶ Consequently musicians and concert organisers had ample access to printed music.

The Mercer's printed sources indicate that some works were acquired through subscription, reflecting trends in the general eighteenth-century book trade. Three of the surviving Mercer's printed parts include a list of subscribers. Subscribers to Barsanti's Ten Concerti Grossi in seven parts, Op. 3 included the Charitable Society of Musick [*sic*] in Dublin, the Philharmonick [*sic*] Society of Musick [*sic*] in Dublin, Mr Bernard Fitz-Patrick [*sic*] of Dublin and James Mc-Farlan [*sic*] of Dublin Esq. Subscribers to Festing's Sonatas in three parts, Op. 6 included Mr Dubourgh [*sic*]

⁴³⁵ Boydell, *Calendar*, pp. 64, 68, 71–2, 81, 90, 94, 96, 107, 109–10, 112, 118, 127, 134, 138, 147, 151, 160, 169–70, 172, 179, 181, 183, 185–7, 194–5, 201, 225, 252.

⁴³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 259–61. Dennis Connor (music printer and seller) Little Christ Church Yard 1746–75. Samuel Lee (publisher, music seller and instrument maker) Little Green, Bolton Street 1752–63, the Harp and Hautboy, Fownes Street 1764–8 and 2 Dame Street 1769–76. Samuel's Lee's son, John, established an independent music shop at 64 Dame Street in 1775. John Lee's music shop moved to 70 Dame Street in 1778. William Manwaring (music publisher and instrument seller) Corelli's Head on College Green 1738–63, continued by Manwaring's wife until 1788. John Neal (music printer, publisher, instrument maker and importer), Christ Church Yard 1721–34. William Neal succeeded his father, John Neal, in the business in 1734. Thomas Benson Shakespeare's Head 1728. Simon Button [?] Anglesea Street 1712–19. G. Ewing The Angel and Bible Dame Street 1729. John Hicks Smock Alley 1708. Peter Lawrence Bridge Street c.1698. Merchant's Quay c.1706. R. Norris Essex Street 1730. Benjamin Rhames 16 Upper Blind Quay (Exchange Street) 1750–75. W. Smith Hercules Dame Street 1729.

Master of His Majesty's Musick [*sic*] at Dublin, Mr De la Hoyde of Dublin, John Smith of Dublin, Mr David Wyer of Dublin and the honourable [*sic*] Ponsonby Esq.⁴³⁷

Surviving lists of subscribers show how Dublin musical societies and Dublin residents subscribed to works published in both London and Edinburgh. Mercer's is not included among the list of subscribers, however names included indicate that the hospital must have acquired some, if not all, of its printed music indirectly through subscriptions made by musical societies and, or, various individuals. The Charitable Music Society (location not specified) acquired two sets of Barsanti's concerti. The Charitable Music Society located in Vicar Street and the Charitable Music Society located at the Bull's Head in Fishamble Street, acquired two sets of Festing's sonatas.⁴³⁸ One copy of either work could have been given to Mercer's. Some of the printed music could possibly have been acquired through the hospital's association with Mathew Dubourg, who led the orchestra on the occasion of the first benefit concert. The hospital's administrative records show that music was often left in the care of Dubourg between benefit concerts. Parts may have been acquired from James McFarlan, a trumpet player who possibly participated at the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts or from John Ponsonby who was on the hospital's board of governors. Brian Boydell suggests that the surviving music

⁴³⁷ See *IRL-Dmh* Ms 52 part 2 (hn II), Ms 52 part 3 (tr) and Ms 53 part 1 (vn I). Mr De la Hoyde was a musician. John Smith succeeded Mathew Dubourg as Master of State Music in 1765/6. A John Smith was also organist at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin. The honourable Ponsonby Esq. presumably refers to John Ponsonby speaker in the House of Commons from 1756 to 1771 and governor of Mercer's Hospital.

⁴³⁸ A large number of musical societies were established in eighteenth-century Dublin. The precise identity of these societies is difficult to determine; some share similar names. The place of meeting helps differentiate between the different musical societies. Ten eighteenth-century musical societies use the name the Charitable Musical Society. The Charitable Musical Society of the Bull's Head Fishamble Street supported the release of prisoners. The Charitable Musical Society on Vicar's Street held musical performances in support of Dr Steevens' Hospital, see Chapter 1.

for Stanley's concerti may have been part of the same set of music bought by Dr Bartholomew Mosse, of the Lying-in Hospital, in September 1754.⁴³⁹ It seems more likely however that all the music contained in the Mercer's printed collection was acquired through the hospital's association with the Philharmonic Society. A large number of the surviving printed parts possess the stamp of the Philharmonic Society in either red or blue ink. The Philharmonic Society met in Fishamble Street, Dublin, at their premises opposite St John's Church. They gave weekly performances between 1742 and 1752. Music performed included orchestral overtures and concerti, and oratorio performances were also popular.⁴⁴⁰ The relationship between Mercer's Hospital and the Philharmonic Society is very significant. Players were drafted in from the society to participate at the benefit concerts and the hospital also benefited from performances given by the society. An entry in the hospital minutes records how in November 1748 the hospital governor, Dean Owen, paid twenty-five pounds for music belonging to the Philharmonic Society.⁴⁴¹ Unfortunately no titles or composers for this music are recorded. The exchange of music highlights the possibility of repertoire common to both organisations and is very significant in relation to the manuscript music contained in the core repertoire. A surviving word-book printed in 1742 to accompany performances by the Philharmonic Society supports this statement. The title on the word-book reads,

⁴³⁹ Boydell, *Calendar*, pp. 201–2, 305. Mosse purchased a large number of works by Handel, including overtures, concerti, sonatas, songs and airs, works by Geminiani, Corelli, Bononcini, Castrucci, Locattelli, Alberti, Albinoni, Vivaldi, Tassarini and Veracini.

⁴⁴⁰ Boydell, *Calendar*, pp. 86–171, 268.

⁴⁴¹ MHMB 1736–72, p. 181; MHMB 1738–50, p. 153. 'Dean Owen paid to the Treasurer twenty-five pounds for musick [*sic*] belonging to the late Philharmonick [*sic*] society and now sold to the musical society at Mr Neils [*sic*] Room in Fishamble Street'. This suggests that the Philharmonic Society ceased to exist. If the parts were no longer needed by the society this could account for the sale of music to Mercer's.

Te Deum, Jubilate, Anthems, Odes, Oratorios and Serenatas As they are performed by the Philharmonic Society in Dublin For the Improvement of Church Musick [*sic*] and the Further Support of Mercer's Hospital.⁴⁴²

The contents of the Philharmonic word-book include the text for Handel's 'Utrecht' music, the four coronation anthems, the Chapel Royal and Cannons versions of *I will magnify thee*, and the Chapel Royal version of *Let God arise*.⁴⁴³ Works that do not possess the stamp of the Philharmonic Society include parts for Avison's concerti and Handel's overtures. These works may have been acquired from another musical organisation or from an individual.

Prices included on some printed parts reflect how the purchase of printed music was primarily an upper class privilege. Festing's edition of sonatas cost half a guinea. Coincidentally this was the same price as the entry fee to a Mercer's benefit concert. Barsanti's Concerti cost 11½d.

Since the format of the Mercer's benefit concerts consisted of a cathedral service and charity sermon at which music was performed, the presence of printed instrumental music within the Mercer's Collection is a little unexpected. When were the printed works performed in aid of the hospital? There is no evidence to suggest that concerts of instrumental music were organised by the hospital, however it is possible that works contained in the printed collection were performed at weekly concerts given by the

⁴⁴² *IRL-Dtc* 109.u.151 Department of Early Printed Books.

⁴⁴³ The Philharmonic word-book (*IRL-Dtc* 109.u.151) has the name 'Elizabeth Gast' written on the title page. The contents also include the text for the following Handelian works: two wedding anthems, *Acis and Galatea*, *L'Allegro*, *Il penseroso ed Il moderato*, *Alexander's Feast*, *Deborah*, *Esther* and Boyce's *Solomon*.

Philharmonic Society in support of Mercer's. It is evident from the contents of Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 Section 3.2 that instrumental music was performed at two Mercer's benefit concerts — Corelli's *Concerto Grosso* No. 8 in g minor Op. 6 was performed at benefit concerts that took place in December 1749 and November 1750. Evidence presented in Chapters 2 and 3 is not conclusive in identifying the point at which the concerto was performed in the proceedings, however it may have been played as a recessional piece. Concerti or sonatas contained in the printed collection may have replaced performance of Corelli's concerto.

By identifying performances of works by composers contained in the printed collection their popularity within Dublin's eighteenth-century concert scene is established. Brian Boydell speculates that a number of the unspecified concerti for trumpet or two horns, programmed at concerts that took place in 1744, 1745, 1746 and 1752, were by Barsanti.⁴⁴⁴ A concerto by Festing was performed at Marlborough Green in August 1753. One of Festing's cantatas, possibly *Sylvia* composed in 1744, was performed at a benefit concert for French horn player Mr Foster in June 1752 at Marlborough Green. An un-named Festing cantata was performed again in September 1754.⁴⁴⁵ Festing wrote a collection of five English canatas and songs in 1750. Works by Stanley appear to have been more frequently performed. A cantata composed by John Stanley was performed on 24 April 1749 at Smock Alley Theatre. Stanley produced three collections of cantatas, Op. 3, Op. 8 and Op. 9, all of which were published in London between 1742 and 1751. Various concerti by Stanley were performed at concerts that

⁴⁴⁴ Boydell, *Calendar*, pp. 99, 102, 105, 170–1, 297.

⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 167, 184, 199–200, 299. Groundsell and Lamb, 'Festing', *NGD* II 8, p. 733.

took place in 1752 and 1754 at both Crow Street Theatre and Marlborough Green.⁴⁴⁶ William Manwaring imported a set of concerti by Stanley, together with a large selection of other music in October 1753.⁴⁴⁷

Conclusion

Prior to completion of Section 3.5 the contents of the Mercer's Hospital printed music collection had not been fully explored. This music, which includes instrumental works by Avison, Barsanti, Festing, Handel and Stanley, once belonged to the Philharmonic Society which gave weekly concerts in support of Mercer's Hospital. It is not entirely clear how this music became part of the Mercer's Collection, however evidence established in Section 3.5 concludes that the society sold or gave the music to the hospital.

The printed collection illustrates a number of trends in the transmission of music to Dublin during the eighteenth century. Dublin musical societies and individuals resident in the city subscribed to various eighteenth-century works, and works came to Dublin from London and Edinburgh. The contents of the printed collection also provide evidence for the circulation of music within the city, which may account for the loss of several printed parts. The contents of the printed collection contrast greatly with the contents of the manuscript collection. This is not surprising however as concerts given by the Philharmonic Society mainly included oratorio, orchestral overtures and concerti. In order to attract an audience, it would have been important that the Philharmonic

⁴⁴⁶ Boydell, *Calendar*, pp. 126, 166, 168, 200. Boyd and Williams, 'Stanley', *NGD* II 24, p. 288.

⁴⁴⁷ Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 186.

Society presented a contrasting programme to that performed at the hospital's series of benefit concerts. The surviving word-book, printed in 1742, contains works that were performed at both the Mercer's benefit concerts and Philharmonic Society concerts, further emphasising the relationship between both organisations.

3.6 RISM (Répertoire International des Sources Musicales)

The contents of the Mercer's Hospital Music Collection have been catalogued according to RISM guidelines by the author of this thesis and are included in the RISM UK online database. This is the first major project undertaken in collaboration with RISM since the formation of the Irish RISM committee.

Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM) was established in 1952 by the International Musicological Society and International Association of Music Libraries. The goal of RISM is to locate and catalogue all surviving musical sources dating from the earliest times to about 1800, and in doing so to bring them to the attention of a much wider public.⁴⁴⁸

The UK and Ireland database holds details of the 17th- and 18th-century music manuscripts preserved in libraries and archives in the UK and Ireland. It includes manuscripts from national, public and academic libraries, county and city record offices, cathedral and chapel libraries and some private collections.⁴⁴⁹

The RISM UK cataloguing process is detailed, yet user friendly. Information is catalogued using collection and item templates. The collection templates are used to catalogue manuscript volumes of music such as part-books and score books. Item templates are used to catalogue individual manuscript works. Incipits of no more than three bars are provided with each item template and are taken from the beginning of the work. The RISM guidelines require one incipit per work. In the case of large-scale

⁴⁴⁸ <http://www.rism.org.uk/pages/rismabout>, accessed 18 Feb. 2009.

⁴⁴⁹ <http://www.rism.org.uk>, accessed July–Aug. 2007 and 18 Feb. 2009.

works such as oratorio and opera, incipits are taken from the opening of the instrumental movements, from the first recitative and aria from each act. For masses, concerti and symphonies the opening of each movement is provided. In the case of vocal works it may be decided to provide the opening phrase of music. In such cases the incipit may be longer than three bars.⁴⁵⁰

As much descriptive information as possible is recorded in the RISM templates. The information is entered under specific headings. The type of information recorded in the collection templates includes the date of the material (date of copying), the contents of the volume, where the material is held i.e. the name of the library or institution, a physical description of the volume detailing anything deemed unusual such as blank folio(s) or damage such as fading or torn pages. The total number of folios in a volume and the type of binding used is also recorded. Relevant background information such as known performances and provenance are also catalogued. A sample of a blank collection template is provided at Figure 41. Item template headings are more specific in relation to recording information for individual manuscript works. Details such as composer, scoring, opus or thematic number and instrumentation are catalogued in item templates. A sample of a blank item template is provided at Figure 42.

Collection and item templates share some headings. Headings such as ‘Detailed instrumentation’ and ‘Library siglum’ require the use of codes or abbreviations. A full copy of the RISM cataloguing guidelines is available from RISM UK and abbreviations

⁴⁵⁰ Owing to a problem with the display system on RISM, and owing to the current upgrade to the system, the RISM website is not currently displaying new incipits. Information received from Sandra Tuppen via email on 4 Apr. 2011 and 8 Feb. 2012.

and designations are available through the RISM website, see <http://www.rism.org.uk>.⁴⁵¹ Not all headings present on collection and item templates are relevant to cataloguing the contents of the Mercer's Collection. On completion all templates and incipits are forwarded via email to the RISM UK central office for assessment and subsequent inclusion in the RISM online database. The author of this thesis created all RISM records for the Mercer's sources. Examples of one completed collection template and one completed item template for Mercer's RISM records, including incipits, are provided in Figures 43 and 44.

In order to catalogue the Mercer's printed sources the following information was recorded; a transcription of the title page of each volume, the call number or shelf-mark of the volume and date of publication. If the date of publication is not given on the title page an approximate date of publication is provided.⁴⁵² No official templates were in use for recording printed items. Figure 45 provides an example of how I catalogued the Mercer's printed music.

The inclusion of the Mercer's sources in the RISM UK database is significant in terms of providing other researchers and musicologists with worldwide access to information about this collection. It is important that researchers are aware of the Mercer's Collection and that they are given the opportunity to consider its contents alongside other sources for works by composers such as Handel, Greene and Boyce. The benefits

⁴⁵¹ RISM A/II Cataloguing Guidelines were received from Sandra Tuppen, Curator and Editor of RISM UK Music Manuscripts database at the British Library. Guidelines received via email on 16 May 2008.

⁴⁵² Guidelines for the inclusion of the Mercer's printed sources in the RISM printed catalogue were received from Sandra Tuppen via email on 9 June 2009.

of collaborating with RISM are threefold. Applying the RISM cataloguing methodology provided focus and guidance to this research project. The compilation of such a catalogue has been fundamental to the development of the project and brings information regarding the content and pedigree of the collection into the public domain. Inclusion of the Mercer's Collection in the RISM international database has given RISM UK the opportunity to widen its scope and to gain access to Irish manuscript material. RISM Ireland adopts the same mission statement as RISM UK, however RISM Ireland has extended its remit to include material that dates from the nineteenth century.

RISM Ireland is working in close co-operation with the RISM UK Trust to undertake the systematic cataloguing of musical sources in Ireland, both north and south. Religious and secular manuscript and printed music, music librettos and books about music are central to the project, as is the issuing of RISM sigla to previously unidentified music repositories. Physical objects relating to music such as instruments, paintings, etc. are also being noted for the purposes of a future project. Sources may be either public or private but must be accessible to *bona fide* researchers: totally private repositories are therefore excluded from the project.⁴⁵³

RISM Ireland is currently in the process of establishing a website and it is planned to transfer all Mercer's RISM files to the Irish website on its completion.⁴⁵⁴

⁴⁵³ <http://www.musicologyireland.com/index.php/research-resources/rism-ireland>, accessed 12 Jan. 2012.

⁴⁵⁴ Information on RISM Ireland's website kindly provided by Dr Catherine Ferris via email on 26 and 27 Oct. 2011.

Fig. 42 Blank RISM Collection Template

Collection record (used for a description of an anthology volume)

Date range of Ms, e.g. 16001700	
Three-digit codes for language(s) of any sung text, e.g. eng	
Holding institution name	
Special collection name	
Standardized title	
Title on manuscript	
Subtitle on manuscript	
Attribution on manuscript	
Variant on MS	
Address on MS	
Date of the MS, in words and numbers	
Format and foliation (e.g. 1 ms. score: 7f)	
Dimensions	
Physical arrangement of the volume	
General notes	
Creation/production note	
References	
Performer note	
Date of an event note	
Summary description	
Supplementary material	
Reproduction note	
Biographical note	
Language note	
Unpublished finding aid	
Provenance	
Binding	
Former MS number	

Autograph note	
Composer's name (when MS is in autograph)	
Local notes	
Personal name and function code (for people associated with whole MS, e.g. former owners)	
Library siglum	
Manuscript number	

Fig. 43 Blank RISM Item Template

Item record, attributed (used when composer is known)

Date range of MS, e.g. 16001700	
Three-digit codes for language(s) of any sung text, e.g. eng	
Composer	
Standardized title	
~ scoring summary	
~ opus/thematic cat. no.	
~ arrangement statement	
~ key of the work	
Title on manuscript	
~ subtitle on manuscript	
~ attribution on manuscript	
Variant title on MS	
Date of copying of the item, in words and numbers	
Format and foliation (e.g. 1 ms. score: f. 1r-17r)	
Dimensions	
General notes	
Contents note	
Creation/production note	
References	
Performer note	
Date of an event note	
Biographical note	
Language note	
Unpublished finding aid	
Autograph note	

Composer's name (when MS is an autograph)	
Physical parts held	
Detailed instrumentation	
Dramatic roles named	
(in opera/oratorios)	
Local notes	
Personal name and function code	
Holding institution name	
Special collection name	
Text incipit, modernized	
Text incipit, original spelling	
Library siglum	
Manuscript number	

Fig. 44 Completed RISM Collection Template

Collection record (used for a description of an anthology volume)

Date range of Ms, e.g. 16001700	17001800
Three-digit codes for language(s) of any sung text, e.g. eng	eng
Holding institution name	Trinity College Dublin, Manuscripts and Archives Research Library, TCD, Dublin, Ireland
Special collection name	Mercer's Hospital Music Books
Standardized title	Collection
Title on manuscript	[Flyleaf: Vio: Primo / Mercers, Hospital]
Subtitle on manuscript	'Orch. l parts for Selection / Handel, Green & Boyce' – written in blue ink in the hand of Robert Prescott Stewart as identified on Ms 25
Attribution on manuscript	'Mr. Handels' 'D. r Green' 'G:F:H.' 'M. r Boyce'
Variant on MS	
Address on MS	
Date of the MS, in words and numbers	18 th century (c.1736-1771)
Format and foliation (e.g. 1 ms. score: 7f)	1 ms. part: 29f. (55 numbered pages)
Dimensions	34.5 x 24 cm
Physical arrangement of the volume	f. 28v and f. 29 are blank The inside front cover is numbered ii A flyleaf is present at the front of this volume paginated iii on the recto side and iv on the verso side An un-paginated flyleaf is present at the back of the volume
General notes	This music was performed at the annual and bi-annual benefit concerts which took place in aid of Mercer's Hospital, Stephen Street, Dublin, Ireland. The benefit concerts ran from 1736 to 1780 at least. The collection is now on deposit in the Manuscripts and Archives Research Library, Trinity College Dublin, Ireland. The contents of this volume are written in red, blue and black ink on flyleaf iii. The handwriting in red and blue ink is that of Robert Prescott Stewart as identified on Ms 25. Robert Prescott Stewart was appointed professor of music at Trinity College Dublin in 1861 and became a professor of the Irish Academy of Music in 1871. He was an organist, conductor, composer and teacher. Preliminary research and examination of the Mercer's Hospital

	<p>Music Collection has been completed by Stewart whose handwriting and comments pervade the collection. The handwriting in black ink is unidentified.</p> <p>The contents of this volume are listed as follows: ‘1st Violin Part / Contents / P. Humphreys Chant / Utrecht Te D. & J.} Handels / My heart is inditing } Cor. A / Sing <u>ye</u> merrily – D Greene / [of this page 3 & 4 are misplaced] / I will magnify thee Handel’s Cor. A / Let God arise – Handel’s Chan. A / Blessed is he – Boyce’</p> <p>In the contents list the word ‘Cor.’ is crossed out.</p> <p>The following is written in pencil, inside the back cover: ‘Paginated / ii-iv, 1-55/ SOS / 24/3/93’</p> <p>Stuart O’ Sullivan, who worked in the Manuscripts and Archives Research Library, Trinity College Dublin, paginated the Mercer’s collection in 1993. His initials, the date and overall pagination are recorded inside the back cover of each volume, except MSs 1 and 33.</p> <p>Two copies of a chant attributed to Pelham Humfrey are present in this volume. This is the first occurrence of this work in the overall collection. No copies of this work are present in the vocal part-books, this work is only present among the instrumental part-books.</p>
Creation/production note	
References	
Performer note	
Date of an event note	Performed at the Mercer’s Hospital annual and bi-annual benefit concerts which took place in Dublin, Ireland between 1736 and 1780 at least.
Summary description	Violin 1 part-book for a collection of anthems by Handel, Boyce and Greene, two copies of a chant attributed to Pelham Humfrey and the ‘Utrecht’ Te Deum-Jubilate by Handel
Supplementary material	
Reproduction note	
Biographical note	
Language note	
Unpublished finding aid	Printed Library Catalogue (Music Catalogue II, Manuscripts and Archives Research Library, Trinity College Dublin, Ireland)
Provenance	The contents of the collection were performed at the Mercer’s Hospital annual and bi-annual benefit concerts, the first of which took place on 8 April 1736. A series of benefit concerts was established in order to provide important financial support to the hospital. The manuscripts were deposited in Trinity College Dublin in May 1981. The library catalogue describes the collection as ‘A virtually complete set of forty-four vocal and instrumental parts, including some duplicates, of music by Handel,

	Greene, Boyce, Pelham Humphrey and Purcell with performances for the benefit of the hospital which took place in nearby St Andrew's Church between 1765-68. The evidence for these dates is found in the parts, a choirboy, Edward Murray having written "June ye 9 1765" at the end of vol. 5. There are various statements within the covers of the parts affirming the above connection. Nevertheless, it is not impossible that the parts themselves were written somewhat earlier.' [See also HHA Serie III: Band 3, p. 160 and HHA Serie III: Band 9, p. 327] The date of copying for items contained in this volume is 1736-71.
Binding	Thread bound, stab bound – hard cover. Some part-books are bound in quarter sheep and many in quarter calf. The presence of blank folio at the end of some works and the presence of original and standardised pagination suggest that the works were not bound until after they were withdrawn from use.
Former MS number	
Autograph note	
Composer's name (when MS is in autograph)	
Local notes	
Personal name and function code (for people associated with whole MS, e.g. former owners)	Mercer's Hospital, Stephen Street, Dublin Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland
Library siglum	IRL Dmh [IRL Dtc]
Manuscript number	TCD Ms Mercer's Hospital Ms 23

Fig. 45 Completed RISM Item Template**Item record, attributed (used when composer is known)**

Date range of MS, e.g. 16001700	17001800
Three-digit codes for language(s) of any sung text, e.g. eng	eng
Composer	Handel, George Frideric
Standardized title	'Utrecht' Te Deum-Jubilate
~ scoring summary	vl
~ opus/thematic cat. no.	HWV 278-9
~ arrangement statement	
~ key of the work	D major
Title on manuscript	(M: r Handels; Te Deum
~ subtitle on manuscript	Violino Primo No. 4
~ attribution on manuscript	'M: r Handels'
Variant title on MS	
Date of copying of the item, in words and numbers	18 th century (1736 to post 1755)
Format and foliation (e.g. 1 ms. score: f. 1r-17r)	1 ms. part: f. 1r-7r (page 1-14) f. 1r-4r (page 1-7) Te Deum, f. 4v-7r (page 8-14) Jubilate
Dimensions	30 x 23.5 cm
General notes	Some textual cues present throughout this part. f. 6 (page 11-12) is smaller than other folio used to copy this work (21 x 23.5 cm). It would seem as if the bottom stave of f. 6 has been cut off.
Contents note	Te Deum-Jubilate
Creation/production note	
References	
Performer note	
Date of an event note	Performed at the Mercer's Hospital annual and bi-annual benefit concerts which took place in Dublin, Ireland between 1736 and 1780 at least.
Biographical note	

Language note	
Unpublished finding aid	
Autograph note	
Composer's name (when MS is an autograph)	
Physical parts held	Violino Primo
Detailed instrumentation	strings 10000
Dramatic roles named	
(in opera/oratorios)	
Local notes	
Personal name and function code	Mercer's Hospital, Stephen Street, Dublin TCD, Dublin, Ireland
Holding institution name	Manuscripts and Archives Research Library, Trinity College Dublin, Ireland
Special collection name	Mercer's Hospital Music Books
Text incipit, modernized	
Text incipit, original spelling	
Library siglum	IRL Dmh [IRL Dtc]
Manuscript number	TCD Mercer's Hospital Ms 23

‘Utrecht’ *Te Deum* HWV 278



‘Utrecht’ *Jubilate* HWV 279



Fig. 46 Printed Music Template (RISM)

Printed Sources Template: Mercer's Hospital Music Collection Ms 53, parts 1–3

Summary Description: A complete set of three parts for Michael Christian Festing's Six Sonatas published in London in 1742. The following parts are present in this volume: violin I, violin II and bass. Each part has been thread bound and stab bound with a blue, paper cover. The condition of the binding and cover are poor but the condition of the printed music is very good. On the front cover of each part the following notes are written, using black ink, and in an unidentified hand: 'Festin[s. Sonata[s / Violino primo' (vn I), 'Festin[s. Sonata[s' (vn II) and 'Festin[s. Sonata[s / Basso' (b).

The stamp of the Philharmonic Society [Philharmonick Society of Musick in Dublin] is present in red ink on each part. The Philharmonic Society met in Fishamble Street, Dublin, at their premises, a room, opposite St. John's Church. A list of subscribers is present at the front of part 1 pages i-iv.

The folio size varies, 35 x 25 cm part 1, 35.5 x 25 cm part 2 and 35 x 25.5 cm part 3. The size of the plate used in printing also varies, 25.5 x 19.5 cm part 1, 25.5 x 18 cm part 2 and 26 x 18 cm part 3. Watermarks include a circle with an image resembling a harp[?] in the middle of a circle, some lettering, possibly 'CR' is also present.

Transcription of title page: Six Sonata's for Two violins & a Bass dedicated to William Trumbull Esq; compos'd by Michael Christian Festing opera sesta London: Printed by William Smith, in Middle Row, Holburn, and sold only by the Author, at his House in queen street, near Golden Square (Price half a guinea) where maybe had, compos'd by the same author, opera prima, being 12 solo's for a violin, &c price one guinea opera secunda, being twelve sonatas in three parts, price one guinea. Opera Terza, being twelve concertos in seven parts price one guinea and a half opera quarta, being & solos for a violin &c price half a guinea. Opera Qunita, being eight concertos in seven parts price one guinea M.D.CC.XXXII.

Call number/shelfmark: Mercer's Hospital Music Ms 53 (53/1, 53/2, 53/3)

Date of publication: 1742

CHAPTER 4

MERCER'S PERFORMERS AND VENUES

Eighteenth-century Dublin provided musicians with many opportunities for employment and attracted some of Europe's most distinguished performers including Nicolo Pasquali (1718–57), Francesco Geminiani (1687–1762), Tommaso Giordani (1730–1806) and George Frideric Handel (1685–1759), all of whom spent significant periods living and working in the city. Concert venues included theatres such as Smock-Alley and Crow Street, St Patrick's and Christ Church Cathedrals, several churches, outdoor venues, and four important concert halls including Mr Neal's Great Room on Fishamble Street, a venue that is synonymous with the première of Handel's *Messiah*.⁴⁵⁵ Mercer's repertoire, being largely reliant on large scale Handelian works, required comprehensive orchestral and choral forces; performers included cathedral singers, state musicians, theatre musicians and members of various Dublin musical societies.

Dublin enjoyed a very active amateur music scene, playing host to more than twenty musical societies, some of which were charitable bodies.⁴⁵⁶ Mercer's had a strong association with three of the city's musical societies: the Philharmonic Society, the Musical Academy and the Musical Society for the Support of Decay'd and Indigent Musicians and their Families. The participation of amateur musicians was just as

⁴⁵⁵ Popular Dublin church venues included St Andrew's Round Church on Suffolk Street, St Michan's Church on Church Street and St Werburgh's Church on Werburgh Street. Theatres included Aungier and Capel Street Theatres. Popular garden and outdoor venues included the City Bason, the Great Britain Street Gardens at the Rotunda Hospital, Marlborough Bowling Green and Spring Gardens on St Stephen's Green.

⁴⁵⁶ Boydell, *Calendar*, pp. 267–9.

important to the success of the hospital's benefit concerts as was that of professional musicians. The eighteenth-century definition of a professional musician was slightly different from our understanding of the role as it is generally accepted and defined in the twenty-first century. During the eighteenth century the musician's role was akin to that of a servant. This is highlighted by one of the statutes of the 1757 Musical Academy.

No public mercenary performer, professor or teacher of music, shall be admitted into any rank in the Academy on any account whatsoever.⁴⁵⁷

Consequently, members of the upper classes who could also play musical instruments were deemed eligible to join the 1757 Musical Academy and were held in greater esteem socially than professional musicians. As the Mercer's benefit concerts were at most a bi-annual event, the city's most notable performers, or at least the best known performers in social circles, congregated and contributed their services. It was therefore very important that no other musical event was scheduled on the same day as a Mercer's benefit concert.

This chapter examines the network of performers engaged at the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts, drawing on references made in the hospital's administrative records, eighteenth-century newspaper accounts and evidence found in the surviving part-books contained in the Mercer's Hospital Music Collection; the names of thirteen eighteenth-century Dublin performers are written on various surviving Mercer's parts.⁴⁵⁸ Names written on part-book covers and on individual parts help identify the parts from which

⁴⁵⁷ Townsend, *Mercer's*, p. 47.

⁴⁵⁸ See *IRL-Dmh* Mss 5 (S), 7 (S), 11 (T), 12 (T), 13 (T), 22 (B), 31 (vn II), 38 (vc), 39 (Bs/bsn), 43 (tr II), 45 (vn II).

certain musicians read and their role within the choir or orchestra. Names written on the covers of part-books might suggest that some performers had their own book of music allocated to them. This assumption is however misleading, as the way in which each part-book is collated suggests that the music was not bound in its current format until after it was withdrawn from use. (See Chapter 3 Section 3.1). A short biographical account for each known Mercer's performer is provided here together with an analysis of possible performing numbers. Examination of the size, structure and layout of the venues used to host the benefit concerts reveals how Mercer's performers may have been arranged and accommodated.

Mercer's Performers

References to thirty-nine Mercer's performers have been recorded in newspaper advertisements, in the hospital's minute books and on several instrumental and vocal parts present in the Mercer's Hospital Music Collection. There is no evidence to suggest that all performers discussed in this chapter participated at the same Mercer's benefit concerts or at every Mercer's benefit concert. They are representative of the broad selection of musicians who participated over the course of a forty-four year period of benefit concerts, i.e. 1736–80. Known Mercer's performers include violinists, cellists, wind players and singers. Some of those who participated at the *Messiah* première were visiting and not regular Dublin or Mercer's performers. It should be noted that the *Messiah* performance was exceptional in many respects and is not representative of typical Mercer's benefit concerts in terms of repertoire, performers or occasion.

English violinist and state musician Matthew Dubourg (1703–67) was engaged as first violin at the inaugural Mercer’s Hospital benefit concert and for the *Messiah* première. As a distinguished violinist and well-known performer it is likely that Dubourg took on the role of leader-conductor; this was often the case if the conductor also happened to be a violinist.⁴⁵⁹ Born in London, Matthew Dubourg was a pupil of Geminiani. Dubourg became Master of State Music in Ireland in 1728, a position he held until 1764/5. Although smaller, the State Music was a parallel establishment to the Royal Musicians under the Lord Chamberlain’s Department in London.⁴⁶⁰ Dubourg was a regular and popular Dublin musician who frequently partook in performances in support of various charities, including the Charitable Infirmary, the Hospital for the Incurables and the Charitable Musical Society.⁴⁶¹ He was engaged as leader of the band during Handel’s visit to Dublin and his efforts in championing Handel’s compositions did not go unnoticed, his receiving a bequest of £100, as evidenced in the composer’s will.⁴⁶² The hospital minute books include only five references to Dubourg for the period in which the violinist was living and working in Dublin. None of the entries refer to the violinist’s participation at any of the Mercer’s benefit concerts. Consequently it is not clear if Dubourg participated regularly or only occasionally at Mercer’s benefit

⁴⁵⁹ Boydell, *Rotunda Music*, pp. 30–1. During the eighteenth century the conductor often presided from the harpsichord and later from the pianoforte. If he was a violinist he was also first violinist (leader of the orchestra). During the nineteenth century the role developed. In the modern role the conductor does not play an instrument and positions him/herself in front of the orchestra.

⁴⁶⁰ Burrows, ‘Handel’s Dublin performances’, p. 57.

⁴⁶¹ Boydell, *Calendar*, pp. 95, 97, 100–5, 108, 112, 119, 142, 161.

⁴⁶² Boydell, ‘Dubourg’, *NGD* II 7, p. 633. See also Hunter, ‘The Irish State Music’, pp. 173, 177–9. A copy of Handel’s will is on display in the Gerald Coke Handel Collection, Foundling Museum, 40 Brunswick Square, London, *GB-Lfom* Ms 2190.

concerts. Dubourg appears to have been one of the people responsible for looking after the music between benefit concerts. See Figure 10, Chapter 3.

Other string players associated with the Mercer's benefit concerts include violinists Benjamin Johnson, Charles Claget and Henry Mountain, cellists Pasqualini and Mr Hoey. Benjamin Johnson was admitted to City Music in July 1738. City musicians were appointed by the corporation to perform as requested at various city events. The Dublin City Company of Musicians dates back to the early sixteenth century. The number of city musicians employed and the salary they earned varied with the passing of time, however the accepted duties of the city musician generally remained the same from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.⁴⁶³ The following excerpts, taken from the hospital minutes, recount Johnson's suspension, presumably from the City Music Band. Johnson also participated at the Rotunda benefit concerts. He appears to have been an accomplished violinist; he was leader of the Rotunda band during the 1758 season.⁴⁶⁴ The excerpts also highlight the relationship between Mercer's and the Philharmonic Society.

Order'd [*sic*] that the Rev'd [*sic*] Archdeacon Congreve be desir'd [*sic*] to make a request to his grace the Lord primate of all Ireland in the name of the governors of Mercer's Hospital that if his Grace judgeth it not improper he would be pleas'd [*sic*] to apply to his Grace the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to take off the suspension which they are informed is laid on Mr Benjamin Johnson and to give leave to him or to Mr Woder to Assist the Philharmonick [*sic*] Society in the Performance, which is chiefly intended for the Benefit of the said Hospital.⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶³ Grattan Flood, 'City Music', pp. 231–8.

⁴⁶⁴ Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 282; Boydell, *Rotunda Music*, p. 218; Hunter, 'The Irish State Music', p. 180.

⁴⁶⁵ MHMB 1736–72, p. 102; MHMB 1738–50, p. 64. Mr Woder was probably violinist John Woder, who performed in Dublin on 25 July 1749, 4 July 1750 and 4 July 1751, see Boydell *Calendar*, pp. 127, 141, 153; *DJ* 22–25 July 1749, 4 July 1750 and 4 July 1751.

It having been represented to this board, that Mr Ben Johnson continues suspended from his place in the Band of Musick [*sic*] for his attending the Philharmonick [*sic*] Society which is very instrumental in supporting the interest of this hospital,

Agreed that the secretary be desired to write to his grace the Lord primate in the name of this Board requesting his Grace if his grace does not judge it improper, to interpose his good office with his grace the Lord Lieutenant to get said Johnson restored, that a copy of this be immediately sent to Dean Maturin.⁴⁶⁶

Strict rules were in place for City Musicians and their participation in musical activities organised by other institutions was sometimes condemned. Grattan Flood records several instances where musicians were suspended from their services during the early eighteenth century. Reasons for suspension included unfulfilled duties and poor behaviour.⁴⁶⁷ Musicians associated with specific organisations often required permission to participate in other events. For example members of Christ Church and St Patrick's cathedral choirs needed permission from the Dean and Chapter of their respective cathedrals before participating in the Mercer's benefit concerts. Musicians employed at the Smock Alley Theatre during the 1740s by Thomas Sheridan were contracted and only permitted to participate in concerts which took place outside the terms of their contracts.⁴⁶⁸

Irish born violinist Charles Claget was active in Dublin during the 1760s as leader of the Smock Alley Theatre orchestra and he also directed six seasons of Rotunda Hospital

⁴⁶⁶ MHMB 1736–72, p. 108; MHMB 1738–50, p. 69.

⁴⁶⁷ Grattan Flood, 'City Music', pp. 236–7.

⁴⁶⁸ Roy Johnston, 'The Pleasures and Penalties of Networking: John Frederick Lampe in the Summer of 1750', in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (eds.), (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 226–8.

benefit concerts.⁴⁶⁹ As he was mainly active in Dublin during the 1760s it is probable that Claget participated at Mercer's benefit concerts which took place during that decade. He may have been leader of the second violin section, hence the presence of his name on the cover of *IRL-Dmh* Ms 31 (vn II).

Henry Mountain was a violinist, music seller and publisher. He was leader of the City Music from 1765 to 1785 and participated at many Rotunda benefit concerts between 1751 and 1784. The name 'Mr. Mountain' is written on the title page of both works contained in *IRL-Dmh* Ms 45 (vn II) in the Mercer's Music Collection. *IRL-Dmh* Ms 45 (vn II) contains the violin II music for the *Overture to Esther* HWV 50 and Corelli's *Concerto Grosso* No. 8, Op. 6 in g minor. The only recorded Mercer's performances of Corelli's *Concerto* were at the benefit concerts of 7 December 1749 and 29 November 1750.⁴⁷⁰ It is possible that Mountain participated at both benefit concerts. He is listed as a violinist in the Rotunda band as early as 1751. It is likely also that Mountain participated in later Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts; he was active in Dublin during the same decade as Charles Claget, i.e. the 1760s.

Relatively little is known about the cellists who participated at the Mercer's benefit concerts. Signor Pasquelini [Peter Pasqualini or Pasqualino] was the principal cellist at the first Mercer's benefit concert. Pasquelini participated in a number of Dublin performances between 1736 and 1746. These performances included benefit concerts in

⁴⁶⁹ See *IRL-Dmh* Ms 31 (vn II) and Appendix 7. Boydell, *Rotunda Music*, pp. 77–84, 214; Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 274; Barra Boydell, 'Charles Claget', *NGD* II 5 pp. 888–9; William H. Husk, Esq., 'Charles Clagget', *Grove's Dictionary*, pp. 359–60.

⁴⁷⁰ Boydell, *Calendar*, pp. 132, 144; *DJ* 10–13 Nov. 1750.

aid of other charities or individuals. It is also likely that Pasquelini participated at various Handel performances during the composer's visit to Dublin.⁴⁷¹ Considering Pasquelini's presence and continued activity in Dublin between 1736 and 1746 it seems likely also that he participated in more than one Mercer's benefit concert.

A music publisher and printer named James Hoey was active in Dublin *c.*1730.⁴⁷² The name Hoey is written on the flyleaf of *IRL-Dmh* Ms 38 (vc). The following note is written in the hand of Robert Prescott Stewart underneath Hoey's name, 'Hoey, a well known family in old Dublin Exigr [*sic*] 'Hoeys' Court' off Werburgh St'.⁴⁷³ It is likely that Hoey had some connection with the Mercer's benefit concerts, possibly as a cellist. However the Mercer's violoncello part-books are not completely reliable in this respect; they are a compilation of violoncello, double bass and bassoon music. It is possible that the name Hoey may in fact read Hoeg; the final 'y' or 'g' of these two names could have been misread. A Christopher Hoeg was a bass player in the Rotunda Hospital band in 1782 and 1783.⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁷¹ Boydell, *Calendar*, pp. 70, 81, 96, 99, 106; *DNL* 21–24 Feb. 1741; *DJ* 27 Apr.–1 May 1742; *DJ* 17–20 Dec. 1743; *DJ* 14–17 Apr. 1744; *DJ* 4–8 Feb. 1746; Burrows, 'Handel's Dublin Performances', p. 55; Burnim, Highfill and Langhans, *A biographical dictionary* 11, p. 232. Brian Boydell suspects Pasquelini to be the same person [Signor Pasqualino] who was employed for four years by Bishop Berkeley of Cloyne, to teach his children music, see Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 287. Professor Brian Boydell's private research notes, accessed by kind permission of Professor Barra Boydell: entry reads: 'Celebrated as one of Handel's Orchestral Performers'.

⁴⁷² Boydell, 'Card Index'. See 'James Hoey'.

⁴⁷³ Flyleaf iv, *IRL-Dmh* Ms 38 (vc). See Appendix 7.

⁴⁷⁴ Boydell, *Rotunda Music*, p. 217.

Other Mercer's instrumentalists include a Mr Stokes and Rowland Jacob.⁴⁷⁵ It is likely that the Mr Stokes in question here was a bassoon player and was the same Stokes that played both bassoon and oboe in the Rotunda band in 1783.⁴⁷⁶ A Rowland Jacob is named among the ten musicians newly appointed to the City Music band in 1752.⁴⁷⁷ All ten members of the City Music were active in Dublin during the 1750s. The majority of these musicians participated at the Rotunda benefit concerts and some participated at concerts held at Marlborough Bowling Green.⁴⁷⁸ Rowland Jacob played trumpet in the Rotunda band in 1757 and 1758.⁴⁷⁹

The flute player Luke Heron participated at the 1759 performance of *Acis and Galatea* HWV 49. Heron appeared frequently in Dublin during the 1750s performing at Marlborough. He was paid £1.2s.9d. for participating in the Mercer's performance of *Acis and Galatea*.⁴⁸⁰ This is one of the few recorded payments to a musician for participation at a Mercer's benefit concert.

Trumpet player James Macfarlane is named among the list of subscribers to a 1741 printed edition of Barsanti's concerti. Ten parts for this work, some of which are duplicates, are present among the printed sources contained in the Mercer's Hospital

⁴⁷⁵ The name 'Mr Stokes' is written on the front cover of *IRL-Dmh* Ms 39 (Bs/bsn) and 'Rowland' is written on f. 3r in *IRL-Dmh* Ms 43 (tr II). *IRL-Dmh* Ms 43 contains two copies of the 'Utrecht' music. 'Rowland' is written on the second copy.

⁴⁷⁶ Boydell, *Rotunda Music*, p. 225; Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 290.

⁴⁷⁷ Grattan Flood, 'City Music', p. 237. Other musicians named include Samuel Lee, William Jackson, John Clarke, James Forster, Frederick Seaforth, George Fitzgerald, Thomas Kelly, Callaghan McCarthy and George Wade.

⁴⁷⁸ See Grattan Flood, 'City Music', p. 237; Boydell, *Calendar*, pp. 274, 279, 285, 289, 292; Boydell, *Rotunda Music*, pp. 214, 216, 218, 219, 224, 226.

⁴⁷⁹ Boydell, *Calendar*, pp. 281–2; Boydell, *Rotunda Music*, p. 218.

⁴⁸⁰ MHMB 1750–68, p. 141; Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 281.

Music Collection.⁴⁸¹ The presence of Macfarlane's name among the list of subscribers is not sufficient evidence to prove that he participated at the Mercer's benefit concerts, however this information proves useful when trying to establish how the governors of Mercer's hospital may have acquired several parts of printed music which survive in the collection.

Mercer's Hospital appears to have benefited from weekly performances given by both the Philharmonic Society and the Musical Academy. The Philharmonic Society met at a room in Fishamble Street opposite St John's Church, gave regular performances between 1742 and 1752, and usually held weekly concerts on Wednesdays during the winter season, often beginning in October. The music performed included orchestral works such as overtures and concerti and oratorio performances were also popular.⁴⁸² The Musical Academy appears to have been that which was founded *c.*1729 for the practice of Italian music. Lord Mornington's Musical Academy was not founded until 1757. Boydell speculates that after 1741 the 1729 Musical Academy became the Philharmonic Society. However a reference included in the Mercer's minute books, dated 12 January 1742, refers to the Musical Academy and Philharmonic Society as two separate organisations. The following excerpts, taken from the hospital minutes, provide information about the hospital's relationship with both societies.

Ordered that Bath Cramer Esq and the Rev Dean Hutchinson do apply to the Musical Academy and desire their assistance at the said musical performance.

⁴⁸¹ See *IRL-Dmh* Ms 51/1–10.

⁴⁸² Boydell, *Calendar*, pp. 86–171, 268.

Agreed that John Putland Esq., John Balthazar Cramer Esq and Dean Hutchinson be desired to wait on the Musical Academy to desire their assistance.

Agreed that the said Mr Putland, Dean Hutchinson and Dean Maturin wait on the Philharmonic Society on the same errands.

Ordered that John Rochford, John Putland and Richard Baldwin Esq be desir'd [*sic*] to apply in the name of the Governors of Mercer's Hospital to the Rev'd [*sic*] the Dean and Chapter of St Patrick's Dublin for their leave that such of their choirs as shall be willing may assist at the Philharmonick [*sic*] Society Performances which are principally intended for the Benefit of the said hospital and to notifie [*sic*] them that the Dean and Chapter of Christchurch have been pleas'd [*sic*] to grant them the same request.

Mr Rochford having acquainted this Board that upon his application to the Rev'd [*sic*] the Dean of St Patrick's for leave that the choir of his cathedral might assist at the Philharmonick [*sic*] Society, the Dean hath granted his license to six of the vicars and to two of the choristers to assist at their weekly performances, upon account of their being chiefly intended for the benefit of this hospital — and the said licence being produced and read.

Ordered that Messrs Rochford, Putland and Baldwin be desired to wait upon the Dean to return him the thanks of this Board for the favour done to this Hospital.

Agreed that Mr Carrees [*sic*] be desired to apply to the Philharmonick [*sic*] Society to request them to permit the performers of that society to assist at the musical performance for the benefit of this hospital on Thursday 26 Jan next.

Agreed that Mr Shewbridge desire Doctr Hutchinson to apply to the Managers of the Gentlemens Musical Academy if he shall judge it proper in the name of the governors of this hospital to give this hospital the benefit of a publick [*sic*] performance.⁴⁸³

Some excerpts clearly indicate that instrumental performers were drafted in from both societies to participate at the benefit concerts.

Mercer's Hospital governors Columbine Lee Carre and Dr Hutcheson were both members of the 1757 Musical Academy and it is likely their connection would have strengthened the relationship between the society and the hospital. It is possible that

⁴⁸³ MHMB 1736–72, pp. 70, 86, 103–4, 185, 268; MHMB 1738–50, pp. 45, 64, 66, 157; MHMB 1750–68, p. 115. Meetings of 12 Jan. 1741, 4 Jan. 1742, 27 Jan. 1742, 10 Dec. 1748, 28 Jan. 1758.

other members of the 1757 Academy and State or City Musicians, apart from those already referred to in this chapter also participated at the Mercer's benefit concerts. The tables at Figures 47 and 48 list known members of the 1757 Musical Academy and City Musicians from 1736 to 1780. The tables provide a more comprehensive representation of musicians active in eighteenth-century Dublin than was previously possible.

Fig. 47 Known Members of the 1757 Musical Academy

Name	Type of Musician
The Rev. Dean Bayley	Violinist
The Earl of Bellamont	Cellist
Rt. Hon. William Brownlow	Harpsichordist
Rev. Dean Burke	Cellist
Columbine Lee Carre [Caree, Cary]	Bassoonist
Miss Cavendish	Harpsichordist
Mr Connor	Violinist
W. Dean	Bassoonist
Sir John Dillon	Cellist
Lady Freke	Harpsichordist
The Hon. Rev. Archbishop Hamilton	Cellist
The Right Hon. Sackville Hamilton	Violinist
Dr Hutchinson	Violinist
Rev. Jos Johnson	Flautist
Lord Lucan	Flautist
Hugh Montgomery Lyons	Vocalist
Mrs Monk	Vocalist
Count M'Carthy	Violinist
John Neale	Violinist
Miss Nichols	Harpsichordist
Miss O'Hara	Vocalist
Miss Plunket	Vocalist
Dr Quin	Harpsichordist
Captain Reid	Flautist
Rt. Hon. Lady Caroline Russell	Vocalist
Miss Stewart	Vocalist

The fact that members of the Musical Academy were amateur musicians does not mean that the standard of performance from members of this society was poor. On the

contrary, violinist John Neale, who was a surgeon at the Charitable Infirmary from 1756 to 1789, played for King George II and was regarded as a very fine violinist.⁴⁸⁴ Figure 47 highlights how a reasonably broad range of instrumentalists and vocalists were members of the Academy. With a membership of nine string players (six violinists and three cellists), two bassoonists and three flautists, the Musical Academy would have proven useful in providing instrumentalists for the Mercer's benefit concerts. As aristocratic amateurs, many members of the Musical Academy would presumably have performed at the Mercer's concerts by their own choice.

Only City Musicians appointed after 1723 have been included in Figure 48. Any City Musician who was dismissed prior to the commencement of the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts has not been included in the table. It is presumed therefore that any musician appointed from 1723 onwards was still a member of the City Band up to and including 1736.

Fig. 48 Known City Musicians from 1723

Name	Instrument	Date Appointed to City Music
Jeremiah Carty	?	26 April 1723
Rice Carty	?	20 August 1723
John Clark	French Horn	January 1753
Samuel Cooke	Trumpet/Drum Major	November 1734*
Thomas Cooke	Trumpet/Drum Major	November 1734*
George Fitzgerald Senior	?	1733
George Fitzgerald	?	1753

⁴⁸⁴ Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 286. King George II reigned from 1727 until his death in 1760.

Senior/Junior?		
William Fitzgerald	Violinist/Trumpet	?
James Forster	French horn	January 1753
Humphrey French	Trumpet/Drum Major	November 1734*
Richard Grattan	Trumpet/Drum Major	December 1734*
Robert Hackett Junior	?	18 January 1734
Thomas How	Trumpet/Drum Major	November 1734*
Percival Hunt	Trumpet/Drum Major	November 1734*
William Jackson Junior	Hautboy	July 1741
William Jackson Senior/Junior?	Hautboy?	January 1753
John Johnson	Trumpet	20 February 1742
Nathaniel Kane	?	November 1734*
Thomas Kelly	Horn	January 1753
Samuel Lee	Violinist	April 1745
William Meakin	?	April 1735
Robert Meakins	Violinist	August 1750
Callaghan McCarthy (M'Carty)	Flautist	15 October 1725
George Nangle	?	?
Frederick Seafort	Hautboy/violin	1753
George Wade	Horn	26 April 1723
John Whelan	?	April 1749

Figure 48 reveals that the majority of City Musicians were trumpeters or string players.⁴⁸⁵ State musicians, whose duties included playing for the Lord Lieutenant and for special celebrations, may also have participated at the Mercer's benefit concerts.⁴⁸⁶

⁴⁸⁵ Records show that approximately seventeen musicians were members of the State Music in 1717, which included six trumpeters, a kettle drum player, and possibly ten string players, see Burrows, 'Handel's Dublin Performances', p. 57. See also Arthur Henry Mann, *Manuscripts and Sketches by G. F. Handel* [Fitzwilliam Museum]. The asterisks included in Figure 48 indicate that these are not dates of

Singers who participated at the Mercer's benefit concerts included members of both St Patrick's and Christ Church Cathedral choirs. The surviving Christ Church choir attendance books date back to 1762 only and no surviving eighteenth-century choir attendance list for St Patrick's cathedral survives. The names of many of the choir members of both cathedrals are known from lists of vicars choral and lists of choristers in attendance for the annual visitation of the archbishop, recorded in the cathedrals' chapter acts. Notes made in the Christ Church choir attendance book on Tuesday and Thursday during the weeks beginning 27 November to 4 December 1763, 13 to 20 December 1767 and 27 November to 4 December 1768, correspond with days on which Mercer's rehearsals and performances typically took place.⁴⁸⁷

The following cathedral singers were named as 'principal voices' for the first Mercer's benefit concert, Mr Church, Mr Lamb, Mr Bailys and Mr Mason.⁴⁸⁸ John Church was a member of both St Patrick's and Christ Church cathedral choirs. Church was half-vicar at St Patrick's cathedral in 1732 and was full vicar choral with Christ Church from 1741 to 1759.⁴⁸⁹ Church was engaged as conductor for at least two Mercer's benefit concerts. At the governors' meetings of 13 February and 14 November 1741, a Mr Church was requested to 'beat time' and 'conduct and dispose of the music at St Andrew's as

appointment to the City Music Band. The players' names accompanied by an asterisk were referred to as Members of City Music on the dates in question.

⁴⁸⁶ Hunter, 'The Irish State Music', p. 184.

⁴⁸⁷ The surviving choir attendance lists for St Patrick's date from the nineteenth century only. See St Patrick's Cathedral Records *IRL-Drcb*.

⁴⁸⁸ *PO* 6–10 Apr. 1736.

⁴⁸⁹ Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 274.

usual'.⁴⁹⁰ The following entry suggests that John Church had influence in deciding the programme for the benefit concert which took place on 12 December 1745.

That a letter be sent to Mr John Church desiring to meet the governors at Mercer's Hospital next Saturday in order to fix on the service and anthems to be performed.⁴⁹¹

See Appendix 3 for a list of the works performed on this occasion.

William Lamb was a countertenor and member of both cathedral choirs. He became Master of the Boys at St Patrick's and Christ Church Cathedrals in August 1746.⁴⁹²

James Bailys [Bayley, Baileys or Baylys] was a tenor vicar choral at St Patrick's from 1727 until 1754.⁴⁹³ John Mason was a bass vicar choral at St Patrick's from 1729 to

1783.⁴⁹⁴ He was also a member of Christ Church Cathedral choir from 1732 to 1784 and is the only Mercer's copyist whose work in the collection has been identified.⁴⁹⁵

Church, Lamb, and Mason were all soloists for the *Messiah* première.⁴⁹⁶

Organist and composer, Richard Woodward Junior (1743[?]-77) conducted a number of Mercer's benefit concerts from 1767 until his death in 1777. Woodward was organist and composer at Christ Church Cathedral from February 1765 to 1777. He became

⁴⁹⁰ MHMB 1736-72, pp. 88, 97; MHMB 1738-50, pp. 48, 59. See also Appendix 3.

⁴⁹¹ MHMB 1736-72, p. 141; MHMB 1738-50, p. 112. This excerpt also suggests that perhaps the service (*Te Deum-Jubilate*) performed at the benefit concerts may have alternated between the 'Utrecht' and 'Dettingen' settings.

⁴⁹² Lawlor, *Fasti*, pp. 225, 229, 238, 240, 243.

⁴⁹³ The name 'Mr Bayley's' is written at the beginning of the second movement of the 'Utrecht' *Te Deum* on f.1v in the alto part bound in *IRL-Dmh* Ms 11 (A). This would suggest that James Bailys was soloist for *Te Deum* No. 2, however his name may have been written in as a cue. Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 272; Lawlor, *Fasti*, pp. 225, 238, 243.

⁴⁹⁴ Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 284; Lawlor, *Fasti*, pp. 225, 232, 245n, 246 (2), 247.

⁴⁹⁵ Mason copied a large number of surviving Mercer's parts for Greene's anthem *Sing we merrily*. See Section 3.3.

⁴⁹⁶ Boydell, *Calendar*, pp. 274, 282; Townsend, *Handel's visit*, p. 84.

vicar choral at St Patrick's Cathedral in 1770 and was one of the most significant eighteenth-century Dublin cathedral musicians. An anthem composed by Woodward was performed at two Mercer's benefit concerts, February 1765 and December 1767. Unfortunately the title of the anthem performed on each occasion is not specified in any primary source.⁴⁹⁷ There is no possibility of confusing Richard Woodward Junior with his father, Richard Woodward Senior in this instance, as the Mercer's Hospital records refer to Woodward as 'organist of Christ Church' and 'Mr Richard Woodward Junr' [*sic*]. However this does not explain the presence of the name 'Richd Woodward' written on two vocal parts in the Mercer's collection, unless perhaps Woodward Senior participated as a singer at the benefit concerts. Woodward Senior was Master of the Choristers at Christ Church, vicar choral at St Patrick's from 1754 to 1795 and at Christ Church from 1758 to 1795.⁴⁹⁸

The names 'I. Butler', 'I. Parkinson' and 'I. Wann', written on the front cover of *IRL-Dmh* Mss 12 (T), 13 (T) and 22 (B), respectively, possibly refer to the cathedral singers John Butler, John Parkinson and John Wann. John Butler was vicar choral at St Patrick's from 1759 to 1781 and at Christ Church from 1769 to 1781. John Parkinson was a chorister in Christ Church in 1754. His name appears in the Christ Church choir attendance list for 1779 to 1794. John Parkinson was a member of St Patrick's Cathedral choir from 1760 to 1772.⁴⁹⁹ A Mr Wann is included in the Christ Church choir attendance list for December 1763 to 1768, together with Mr Ripplingham, Mr

⁴⁹⁷ See Mercer's Repertoire Chapter 2.

⁴⁹⁸ MHMB 1736–72, pp. 333, 338, 342; Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 294; Brian Boydell, 'Richard Woodward', *NGD* II 27, p. 555. See *IRL-Dmh* Mss 11 (A) and 13 (T).

⁴⁹⁹ Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 273. Lawlor, *Fasti*, pp. 230, 233, 246; *IRL-Drcb* C6.1.7.7 CCCA 1770–93; *IRL-Drcb* C6.1.23.2 CCCAL 1775–94; *IRL-Drcb* C6.1.23.4 CCCAL 1796–1802.

Butler, Mr Mason, Mr Higgins and the two Mr Woodwards.⁵⁰⁰ Wann, presumably John Wann, was vicar choral at St Patrick's Cathedral from 1772 to 1776 and at Christ Church Cathedral from 1745 to 1776 and is the only known Mercer's bass singer apart from John Mason.⁵⁰¹ Henry Wilson Ripplingham was a member of St Patrick's choir from 1764 to 1784. Given their long service to both cathedral choirs it is likely that Butler, Parkinson and Wann participated in several Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts. All three would have gained considerable experience as members of both cathedral choirs.

Edward Higgins was organist at Bristol Cathedral from 1759 to 1764. He joined the choirs of St Patrick's and Christ Church cathedrals in 1765.⁵⁰² The note written inside the back cover of *IRL-Dmh* Ms 7 (S), referred to elsewhere in this thesis, refers to Edward Murray, who is included in the list of choristers in the St Patrick's Chapter Acts 1766–73.⁵⁰³ It is unlikely that the participation of members of both cathedral choirs was confined only to singers named in newspaper accounts or those whose names are written on various part-books in the collection.

The only documented occasions where female singers participated in Mercer's performances include *Messiah* in 1742 and the 1759 performance of *Acis and Galatea*. Several treble solos are scored in three works contained in the Mercer's core repertoire;

⁵⁰⁰ *IRL-Drcb* C6.1.23.1 CCCAL 1762–69. Ripplingham, Parkinson, the two Woodwards, Mason and Wann continue to be included in the CCCA list up to 1775. Only Parkinson and Woodward Senior are included in the list that continues up to June 1794 and only Parkinson [Dr Parkinson] is included in the list dated 24 January 1802, see *IRL-Drcb* C.6.1.23.2–4 CCCAL 1775–1802.

⁵⁰¹ Lawlor, *Fasti*, p. 233.

⁵⁰² Ed Higgins is written inside the front cover of *IRL-Dmh* Ms 13 (T).

⁵⁰³ *IRL-Drcb* C.2.1.3.9 SPCCA 1764–92. See Section 3.4.

the ‘Utrecht’ *Te Deum* HWV 278, *I will magnify thee* HWV 250b and *My heart is inditing* HWV 261. Scored treble solos in all three works are listed at Figure 49.

Fig. 49 Mercer’s works scored for treble

Work	Movement	Treble Solo	Length of Solo	Bars
‘Utrecht’ <i>Te Deum</i> HWV 278	No. 1	Treble solo	2 bars and 1 beat	42–first beat bar 44
	No. 3	Treble I solo	8 bars	1–8
	No. 3	Treble II solo	6 bars	3–8
	No. 4	Treble I solo	16 bars	51–66
	No. 4	Treble II solo	15 bars	52–66
	No. 5	Treble I solo	5 bars	15–19
	No. 6	Treble I solo	5 beats	Second quaver third beat in bar 8 to end of beat 3 in bar 9
	No. 6	Treble II solo	5 beats	Fourth beat bar 22 to end of bar 23
	No. 9	Treble I solo	3 bars and 1 beat	19 to the first beat in bar 22
	No. 9	Treble II solo	5 bars and 1 beat	17 to the first beat in bar 22
<i>I will magnify thee</i> HWV 250b	No. 3	Treble solo	Complete movement	1–44
<i>My heart is inditing</i> HWV 261	No. 1	Treble solo	27 bars and 1 beat	45 to third beat bar 73

As evidenced by Figure 49 the majority of treble solos are not particularly long. As identified in Chapter 3 Section 3.2, the surviving Mercer’s flute and oboe parts for the ‘Utrecht’ music were adapted to include large portions of treble music. The instrumental parts were most likely adapted in order to provide support to the vocal line, which would have been sung by boy trebles.

German soprano Christina Avoglio (1727–46) and English singer and tragedienne Susanna Maria Cibber (1714–66) both had principal roles in the *Messiah* première. Christina Avoglio [Avolio neé Croumann or Graumann] sang in Brussels, Hamburg, Prague and St Petersburg. She was married to Giuseppe Avoglio. Around 1740 Christina became closely associated with Handel. She travelled to Dublin with the composer and sang principal soprano for *Messiah*. She performed in several Handelian works while in Dublin and became a member of Handel’s company in Covent Garden for the 1743 and 1744 seasons.⁵⁰⁴

Susanna Maria Cibber was sister to composer Thomas Arne. Commonly referred to as Mrs Cibber in newspaper reports and advertisements, she made her singing début at the Little Theatre in Haymarket in 1732. Mrs Cibber established a lifelong friendship with Handel and performed many of the composer’s works. She married the actor Theophilus Cibber in 1734 and in 1741 she came to Dublin. While in Dublin she was engaged at the Aungier Street Theatre. Mrs Cibber returned to London in 1742. She was very popular with audiences who felt they could engage well with her singing. Reviews of Mrs Cibber’s performances were usually very complimentary.⁵⁰⁵ Both female vocalists were well received after the *Messiah* première, as evidenced in the following newspaper report.

On Tuesday last Mr. Handel’s Sacred Grand Oratorio the MESSIAH, was performed in the New Musick-Hall [*sic*] in Fishamble-Street; the best Judges allowed it to be the most finished piece of Musick [*sic*]. Words are wanting to express the exquisite Delight it afforded to the admiring crouded [*sic*] Audience. The Sublime, the Grand, and the Tender, adapted to the most elevated, majestick

⁵⁰⁴ Winton Dean and Daniel E. Freeman, ‘Christina Avoglio’, *NGD* II 2, p. 258; Klaus-Peter Koch, Angela Baier (trans.), ‘Avoglio’, *CHE* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 79.

⁵⁰⁵ Molly Donnelly, ‘Susanna Maria Cibber’, *NGD* II 5, pp. 832–3; Eva Zöllner, ‘Cibber’, *CHE*, p. 154.

[sic] and moving Words, conspired to transport and charm the ravished Heart and Ear. It is but Justice to Mr. Handel, that the World should know, he generously gave the Money arising from this Grand Performance, to be equally shared by the Society for relieving Prisoners, the Charitable Infirmary, and Mercer's Hospital, for which they will for ever gratefully remember his Name; and that the Gentlemen of the two Choirs, Mr. Dubourg, Mrs. Avolio, and Mrs. Cibber, who all performed their Parts to Admiration, acted also on the same disinterested Principle, satisfied with the deserved Applause of the Publick [sic], and the conscious Pleasure of promoting such useful, and extensive Charity.⁵⁰⁶

Elizabeth Storer was the wife of Charles Storer, an actor with the Smock-Alley Theatre Company. She took part in the Mercer's 1759 performance of *Acis and Galatea*. She previously took part in the same work in December 1742 and in October and November 1749. Storer participated in many Dublin performances between 1742 and 1760, including benefit concerts in aid of the Charitable Infirmary and the Hospital for the Incurables.⁵⁰⁷

The exact role of conductor or director at the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts is undefined. During the eighteenth century the conductor was in charge of keeping the ensemble together and often presided from the harpsichord and later the pianoforte. If the conductor was a violinist he also played first violin (leader of the orchestra). The modern conductor indicates to the players both tempo and required interpretation.⁵⁰⁸

The words 'conduct' or 'conducting' have been used in the hospital minute books twenty-five times in relation to various individuals and their participation at the benefit concerts. The words 'direct' and 'the direction of the musical performance' are used sixteen times. When examined in context it would seem that all terms outlined above

⁵⁰⁶ *DJ* 13–17 Apr. 1742.

⁵⁰⁷ MHMB 1750–68, p. 141; Boydell, *Calendar*, see various entries and pp. 88, 130, 131, 290; *DJ* 7–11 Dec. 1742; *DJ* 17–21 Oct. 1749; 31 Oct.–4 Nov. 1749.

⁵⁰⁸ Boydell, *Rotunda Music*, pp. 30–1.

were used to describe the role of beating time.⁵⁰⁹ However, for the January 1749 benefit concert the *Dublin Journal* records that Mr Carey conduct and Lord Mornington Richard Wesley direct.⁵¹⁰ The difference between conducting and directing in this instance is unclear.

The person appointed to the position of conductor or director varied from year to year. Sometimes, as in the case of Richard Woodward, an individual filled the role for a number of successive years. The appointment of the conductor/director was usually filled, at most, approximately six to eight weeks before the ensuing performance and probably depended largely on the availability of personnel. Several Mercer's conductors were members of the hospital's board of governors and included: Baron Mornington Richard Wesley, John Rochford Esq., The Right Honourable John Ponsonby, Columbine Lee Carre Esq., Reverend James Edkins, Dean Hutchinson, Dr Hutcheson and William Brownlow. (See Appendix 3).

On several occasions more than one person was asked to conduct or direct.⁵¹¹ The arrangement of performers in the galleries and perhaps also at ground level, in the respective church venues, most likely determined the need for more than one conductor.

⁵⁰⁹ The term 'beat time' is only used on one occasion in the hospital minutes.

⁵¹⁰ Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 122; *DJ* 27–31 Dec. 1748; *DJ* 24–28 Jan. 1749. Richard Wesley was the first Baron Mornington and the father of Garret Wesley, the second Baron Mornington and the Lord Mornington referred to earlier in this thesis (married on 6 February 1759, and conducted the Mercer's performance of *Acis and Galatea* HWV 49 which was performed on the same day). Both Wesleys had a strong association with Mercer's and were on the hospital's board of governors.

⁵¹¹ MHMB 1736–72, pp. 88, 97, 110, 119–20, 131–2, 141, 153, 200, 210, 220, 229, 242–3, 249, 251, 261, 263, 275, 278, 294, 297, 302–3, 314, 324, 326, 328; MHMB 1738–50, pp. 48, 72, 59, 84–5, 97–8, 112, 126–7, 141, 157–8, 172; MHMB 1750–68, pp. 5, 21, 34, 44, 56, 58, 69, 73, 101, 104–5, 113, 147, 164, 167, 177, 183, 192, 205, 250.

As the Mercer's programme rarely changed it is unlikely that the choice of repertoire influenced the choice of conductor.

Four individuals were requested to 'conduct and dispose of the music' at the December 1741 benefit concert, Mr Lyndon, Mr Church, Mr Taverner [*sic*] and Mr Farron.⁵¹² The phrase 'conduct and dispose the music' is ambiguous. It seems unlikely that all four were engaged to conduct at the same benefit concert. Handel was in Dublin at this time and the hospital minutes record his attendance at this particular Mercer's benefit concert. As already referred to in Chapter 2 it seems unlikely that Handel attended without participating and most likely he agreed to accompany all his own music.⁵¹³ Handel's participation does not explain the planned participation of four conductors or directors however, unless they were required to assist Handel and help with the co-ordination of events on the day.

The Mr Lyndon, requested to participate at the December 1741 benefit concert, was not a member of the hospital's board of governors. He is referred to in the hospital minutes on five separate occasions. On three of these occasions he is requested to account for tickets received and/or money received for tickets. A Geo. Lyndon is requested to prepare a dinner for performers at the Mercer's benefit concert of 6 March 1740. Mr Lyndon is also named in the hospital minute books where a dispute with the Musical

⁵¹² MHMB 1736–72, p. 97; MHMB 1738–50, p. 59. 'Agreed that Mr Taverner [*sic*], Mr Lyndon, Mr Church and Mr Farron be desired to conduct and dispose the musick [*sic*] at St Andrew's Church as usual and that a copy of this order be sent to them and signed by the secretary'. The entry in the hospital minute books dated 14 November 1741 is the only reference found to a Mr Farron among the administrative records.

⁵¹³ Burrows and Dunhill, *Music and Theatre*, pp. 130–1.

Academy, regarding the ownership of music, is recorded.⁵¹⁴ (See Figure 10 Chapter 3). The Mr Taverner [*sic*], referred to above, was probably William Tavernor, vicar choral at St Patrick's cathedral from 1725 to 1775. Tavernor was requested to conduct at the February 1741 benefit concert, together with John Church, and was asked to read prayers at the February 1747 benefit concert.⁵¹⁵

John Rochford conducted four Mercer's benefit concerts between 1743 and 1747, three of which he conducted together with John Ponsonby. John Ponsonby continued to participate as conductor at the various Mercer's benefit concerts which took place between 1749 and 1755. He conducted four out of the five benefit concerts which took place between 1751 and 1755 together with the Reverend James Edkins. Columbine Lee Carre conducted eight Mercer's benefit concerts between 1749 and 1763. He was the only conductor engaged for the three subsequent benefit concerts held between 1761 and 1763.⁵¹⁶

Lord Tullamore, who had brought Geminiani to Dublin in 1733, was requested to direct the Mercer's benefit concerts of December 1747 and December 1749.⁵¹⁷ John Ponsonby and Columbine Lee Carre were also requested to conduct the December 1749 benefit concert. It was requested at the governors' meeting dated 12 November that a Mr Walsh conduct the benefit concert which took place on 1 December 1763. This may

⁵¹⁴ MHMB 1736–72, pp. 29, 85, 87, 97, 119, 126; MHMB 1738–50, pp. 47, 59, 83, 91.

⁵¹⁵ Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 291; MHMB 1736–72, pp. 88, 97, 159; MHMB 1738–50, pp. 59, 130; Lawlor, *Fasti*, pp. 229, 243.

⁵¹⁶ No reference was made in the hospital minutes regarding the conductor for the November 1753 benefit concert. See Appendix 3.

⁵¹⁷ Charles Moore, Baron of Tullamore was Geminiani's Irish Patron, see Enrico Careri, 'Francesco Geminiani', *NGD* II 9, p. 639.

have been George Walsh, organist at Christ Church Cathedral from 1747 to 1765 and organist at St Patrick's Cathedral from 1761 to 1765.⁵¹⁸ An earlier reference to a Mr George Walsh can be found in the hospital minutes. This entry details how George Walsh was left the musical scores by Mr Cary [Columbine Lee Carre], who was going to England.⁵¹⁹

The 1759 performance of *Acis and Galatea*, which took place on 6 February, engaged the services of no less than three conductors, Mr [William] Brownlow, Dr Hutchinson and Lord Mornington Garret Wesley. Lord Mornington not only conducted this performance but had also married the eldest daughter of Viscount Dungannon earlier that day.⁵²⁰

A Mr Lefebure [Lefabure?] conducted the benefit concerts of February 1765 and February 1767. He is referred to four times in the hospital minutes in relation to Mercer's benefit concerts that took place during the 1760s. At the governors' meeting of 19 January 1765 the following was recorded; 'Ordered that Mr Lefebure be requested to conduct the instrumental parts of the service.'⁵²¹ This suggests that perhaps one person was engaged to conduct the orchestra and another was engaged to conduct the choir. Lefebure is the only person recorded to conduct at the 1765 benefit concert. Alternatively, as only one person is recorded to have conducted at the 1765 benefit concert, some of the printed instrumental works contained in the Mercer's Music

⁵¹⁸ Boydell, *Calendar*, p. 292.

⁵¹⁹ MHMB 1736–72, pp. 285, 307; MHMB 1750–68, p. 149.

⁵²⁰ Boydell, *Calendar*, pp. 248, 285, 292–3. Townsend, *Mercer's*, pp. 44–6, 50–1. See Chapter 2.

⁵²¹ MHMB 1736–72, p. 314; MHMB 1750–68, p. 205.

Collection may have been performed on this occasion. Lefebure is the only conductor recorded as having received payment for his services, no other references to payment of conductors can be found among the hospital minute books.⁵²²

Performing Numbers

About seventy performers participated at the first Mercer's benefit concert.⁵²³ It is difficult to say if the number quoted can be accredited merely to animated journalistic conjecture of if indeed seventy performers participated at this and/or subsequent Mercer's benefit concerts. The number of surviving parts in the Mercer's Hospital Music Collection helps to establish some information in this respect. The average number of surviving parts for each work contained in the collection is fifteen vocal parts and sixteen instrumental parts. Eleven of the fourteen manuscript works in the collection are choral works. It is likely that one vocalist read from each part book, mainly owing to the restricted lighting that was available, and also, the reading of the parts would be made easier if each singer read from his/her own copy. If we presume that two performers read from each string part and only one performer read from each of the wind parts, up to twenty singers and approximately forty instrumentalists could have been engaged at the Mercer's benefit concerts, giving a total of approximately sixty performers. Performing numbers for the first Mercer's benefit concert may have been greater than for subsequent Mercer's benefit concerts. Donald Burrows suggests that perhaps 'Handel produced at least some of his Dublin performances with a reduced scoring', due mainly to the availability of performers in Dublin, which would not have

⁵²² MHMB 1736–72, p. 324.

⁵²³ *PO* 6–10 Apr. 1736. 'The Performers were upwards of 70 in Number'.

matched that of London.⁵²⁴ The employment of a reduced scoring and the substitution of parts are clearly evident within the contents of the Mercer's Collection. (See Chapter 3 Section 3.2).

Examination of performing numbers engaged at other Dublin concerts sets estimated performing numbers for the Mercer's benefit concerts in context. Burrows speculates that if all members of both St Patrick's and Christ Church cathedral choirs sang for Handel up to fifteen singers may have been engaged at the *Messiah* première. However, Burrows also emphasises that it is doubtful if the full complement of cathedral singers were available on this occasion. Some were in clerical orders meaning they would probably not have sung in secular concerts, although an exception may have been made for *Messiah*. Burrows concludes that the number of singers to each voice part therefore would realistically have been no more than three or four.⁵²⁵ It is therefore highly unlikely that all members of the cathedral choirs participated at Mercer's benefit concerts; it seems more likely that only a select number of performers were allowed to participate. An entry made in the Mercer's minute books records the participation of six vicars and two choristers from St Patrick's Cathedral at weekly performances given by the Philharmonic Society in 1742.⁵²⁶

An imbalance in the number of surviving Mercer's vocal parts is evident. Between eight and nine tenor parts survive for most works in the core repertoire (*IRL-Dmh* Mss 1–44). On average, between three and five parts for trebles, altos and basses survive for

⁵²⁴ Burrows, 'Handel's Dublin Performances', p. 57.

⁵²⁵ Ibid., p. 56.

⁵²⁶ MHMB 1736–72, p. 104; MHMB 1738–50, p. 66.

most works in the core repertoire. (See Figures 13 and 18–22 in Chapter 3 Section 3.2). All parts can be divided into first and second parts and solo and chorus, however as evidenced in Chapter 3 Section 3.2, the copying and representation of vocal music within individual parts is inconsistent. It appears that Mercer’s tenors also sang alto solos when required.⁵²⁷ The adaptation of some Mercer’s tenor parts to include alto solos must be considered in this respect and may account for the extra copying of tenor parts. Consequently the number of tenors that participated at the Mercer’s benefit concerts may have exceeded the number of other vocalists, but this would have been due to the substitution of parts.

Lists of personnel for the Rotunda Hospital orchestra for the years 1758 and 1783 are indicative of orchestral numbers in Dublin during the mid to late eighteenth century. In 1758 nineteen orchestral musicians were employed for the Rotunda benefit concerts that took place that year. Twenty-five years later, in 1783, twenty orchestral musicians participated in Rotunda Hospital benefit concerts. The Rotunda lists highlight how the number of orchestral musicians employed at that hospital’s benefit concerts did not decrease over a twenty-five year period, thus providing a good indication of the size of a typical eighteenth-century Dublin orchestra. Members of the Rotunda ‘band’ included several City Musicians and musicians who participated at various hospital benefit concerts and other concerts held in the city. Some musicians appear to have been exclusively Rotunda performers.⁵²⁸ An advertisement in the *Dublin Gazette* dated 20

⁵²⁷ All eighteenth-century cathedral singers were male.

⁵²⁸ Boydell, *Rotunda Music*, p. 45 see Table III. The various benefit concerts referred to here include hospital benefit concerts and benefit concerts organised by individuals.

March 1736 is indicative of the number of intended instrumentalists for the first Mercer's benefit concert.

Beside the best publick [*sic*] Performers in this Kingdom, there will assist about forty Gentlemen, skilled in Music on various Instruments.⁵²⁹

The type of repertoire performed at the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts differed greatly from that performed at the Rotunda benefit concerts. The Rotunda benefit concerts provided musicians with regular employment over a twenty-one to twenty-two week period annually and therefore the number of musicians employed each season remained quite constant. As the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts were either an annual or bi-annual occurrence, it could be expected that as many players as possible were required to participate. Not alone would this ensure a higher standard of performance but undoubtedly it added to the overall grandeur of the occasion.

Surviving Mercer's string parts contribute towards estimating the number of string players engaged at the Mercer's benefit concerts. Several violin, viola, violoncello and bass parts have 'No. 2', 'No. 3', 'No. 4', 'No. 5' or 'No. 6', written on title pages.⁵³⁰ For example, the violin II part for Boyce's anthem, bound in *IRL-Dmh* Ms 28 (vn II), has 'Violin 2.do N:o 4' written on the title page of the work, most likely indicating that this was the fourth copy of a set of parts. Some violin parts bear the number six, suggesting up to six violin parts were copied out for some works. Therefore there may have been up to six Mercer's players in each violin section. Alternatively, one copy of

⁵²⁹ Deutsch, *Documentary Biography*, p. 401; *DG* 20 Mar. 1736.

⁵³⁰ It is most likely that the numbers are original, however they may have been added later. Some variations in handwriting can be identified between the titles and parts as written on some Mss.

the music may have been written out per desk, which would suggest that up to twelve violinists played in each section.

The number of surviving Mercer's parts for the orchestral anthems by Greene and Boyce is more or less equal to the number of surviving parts for the Handelian works which survive in the collection. As the works of Handel dominated the Mercer's benefit concert programme, the number of engaged performers most likely would have been determined by the scoring for his works, with any additionally scored players drafted in to perform other works as required.

Mercer's Venues and Performance Conditions

Excluding the *Messiah* performance (1742) and that of *Acis and Galatea* (1759), a total of three different venues were used for Mercer's eighteenth-century benefit concerts. The principal venue was St Andrew's Round Church on Suffolk Street, used for the majority of benefit concerts held between 1736 and 1780. St Michan's Church on Church Street was used on six occasions and on one occasion St Peter's Church on Aungier Street was used. (See Mercer's Performance Calendar Appendix 3).

St Andrew's Church was suitable for large public concerts, provided a central location for the attending audience and therefore was ideal.⁵³¹ However, these factors may not have influenced the choice of venue to that extent. As evidenced in Chapter 2, the choice of venue most likely depended upon its availability and permission of the vicar,

⁵³¹ Boydell, 'Venues for Music', p. 29. St Andrew's was used for other charitable performances including that of the Meath Hospital in May and June 1786, see *DJ* 23–25 Apr. 1786.

churchwarden and parishioners. St Andrew's Church was built in 1670.⁵³² It became known as the 'round church' because of its oval design. The church was redecorated and rebuilt a number of times. In 1745 a new roof was installed, by 1793 the church had decayed and had to be rebuilt, and in 1860 it was destroyed by fire; a new church was then built.⁵³³ Unfortunately the surviving architectural plans for St Andrew's prove of little use when trying to determine the possible arrangement of performers for the Mercer's benefit concerts; no architectural plans of the eighteenth-century building survive. However, Goslin states that the 1793 church was 'built upon the skeleton of the old church and therefore assumed the same unusual elliptical form.' In fact the lower part of the old church remained intact for the 1793 rebuild.⁵³⁴ Therefore the basic layout and structure of the church during the lifetime of the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts may have been reasonably close to that illustrated in the 1793 plans. A gallery is not included in Johnstons's 1793 floor plan or in the nineteenth-century floor plans surviving in the church records. The Mercer's minutes record the building of a gallery for performers at the governors' meeting dated 27 January 1738.⁵³⁵ This shows that a gallery was not present in St Andrew's for the first Mercer's benefit concert.

⁵³² The 1670 church was built on the same site as the present church which now houses a Dublin tourist office.

⁵³³ Bernadette Goslin, 'St. Andrew's Church', *IARY* (1990/1991), p. 81; *A walking tour of Dublin Churches* (Dublin, 1988), p. 54.

⁵³⁴ Goslin, 'St Andrew's', p. 81. Floor plans and elevations of the church, dating from 1862, are among the parish records held at the Representative Church Body Library, Braemor Park, Churchtown, Dublin, see *IRL-Drcb* Portfolio 13 and P.0059.05.1 Vestry Book St Andrew's Dublin 1756–1819. A large number of drawings for St Andrew's Church are contained in the Murray Collection, held at the Irish Architectural Archive, Merrion Square, Dublin. These drawings mainly consist of plans by Francis Johnston dating from c.1800–10. Drawings by W. H. Lynn, for the new church in the 1860s are also contained in the collection. See <http://www.iarc.ie>, accessed 9 Feb. 2011. Information regarding The Murray Collection was kindly provided by Aisling Dunne, Archivist, Irish Architectural Archive, Merrion Square, Dublin, received via email 10 Feb. 2011. A floor plan by architect Francis Johnston for the 1793–1807 rebuild is included in G.W.O. Addleshaw and Frederick Etchells, *The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship* (London, 1948), p. 184.

⁵³⁵ MHMB 1736–72, p. 24.

No 2: That the Treasurer be desired to pay to Rich Wesley the sum of fifty three pounds four shillings for Building a Gallery in St. Andrew's Church for the performers and for other expenses mentioned in his bills.⁵³⁶

It appears as if the gallery was built specifically in order to accommodate Mercer's performers and was paid for by the hospital. The gallery must have been completed before 1740 as a later entry in the hospital minutes refers to the placement of two guards, or stewards, at the passage to the performers' gallery.⁵³⁷ It is likely therefore that performers used the gallery for this and subsequent Mercer's benefit concerts. If as many as seventy performers took part in the first benefit concert it must have been very difficult to arrange them satisfactorily prior to the building of the gallery.

It is likely that the arrangement of performers was not as ordered as that of today's choirs and orchestras. The arrangement of the Mercer's performers may very well have been close to that discussed by Burrows in relation to Robert Trevitt's engraving of the 1706 Thanksgiving Service at St Paul's Cathedral, London. In this engraving the performers are placed in the galleries, either side of the organ loft. String players and wind players are mixed, performers do not appear to be arranged in instrumental sections. A number of people, standing beside the instrumentalists, appear to have no instruments and possibly represent the singers. Trevitt's engraving appears to illustrate that more than one instrumentalist read from the same part or desk.⁵³⁸ The gallery of St Andrew's would obviously have been a great deal smaller than that at St Paul's, however it is possible, and highly likely, that the instrumentalists and singers who

⁵³⁶ MHMB 1736–72, p. 24; Ibid., '24 building the Gallery in St Andrews Church £43:4s.:4d..75 [*sic*]', p. 352.

⁵³⁷ MHMB 1736–72, p. 75; MHMB 1738–50, p. 33. Relates to the benefit concert of 6 March 1740.

⁵³⁸ Burrows, *Chapel Royal*, Plate I between pp. 312 and 313.

performed at St Andrew's were mixed i.e. not all violins were placed together, an instrumentalist may have been standing beside a singer, a violinist may have been placed beside an oboist.

An organ was present in St Andrew's Church from 1757 onwards. Several references to the payment of an organist, bellows blower and various repairs made to the organ are recorded in the parish records. No organ score survives in the Mercer's Collection, however as both Woodward and Walsh were established organists, it is likely that they directed the Mercer's benefit concerts from the organ. All benefit concerts conducted by Woodward took place in St Andrew's and the single performance conducted by Walsh, presumably George Walsh, took place in St Michan's.⁵³⁹ The organ at St Andrew's was re-located in 1793. This coincides with the re-development of the church that took place at this time. Plans were made to move the organ to the back of the front gallery.⁵⁴⁰ This suggests that more than one gallery was present in the church and it is not certain if the organ was located in the galleries prior to 1793. It would be significant, in terms of performance practice if the organ was located at ground level and musicians were located in the gallery. Proposal plans for the interior of St Andrew's by Thomas Cunningham, dating from c.1800, include a drawing for an organ gallery.⁵⁴¹ It is difficult to say if Cunningham's plan simply modified the existing

⁵³⁹ See Appendix 3 for a full list of Mercer's performances, conductors and venues.

⁵⁴⁰ *IRL-Drcb* P.59/5/1 St Andrew's Vestry Book No. 1 1757–1817. Notes from St Andrew's Parish Records were kindly provided by Denise Neary, via email on 31 May 2011. Information on St Andrew's Parish Records was also kindly provided by Dr Susan Hood, Archivist & Publications Officer, Church of Ireland Library, RCB Library, Braemor Park, Churchtown, Dublin 14. Information received via email on 23 May 2011. Parish Records for St Andrew's Church prior to 1757 do not survive.

⁵⁴¹ Goslin, 'St Andrew's', p. 81.

gallery or completely replaced the gallery that had been built in 1738. The positioning of the 1738 gallery within the church is not clear from records examined.

The Mercer's benefit concerts took place in St Michan's Church on six occasions (see Appendix 3).⁵⁴² The church originally dates from 1095 and was rebuilt in 1686.⁵⁴³ The organ at St Michan's Church was first installed in 1725, twenty years prior to the first Mercer's benefit concert. It was located in the centre of the west gallery.⁵⁴⁴ Mercer's performers may have been arranged either side of the organ and along the side galleries.

St Peter's Church on Aungier Street was used for the benefit concert of 19 February 1767. The church dates from 1610. During the early 1680s a new church was built and was completed in March 1685. In 1744 it was necessary to repair the roof and repaint the church. Two charity schools existed in the area surrounding St Peter's, one for girls and one for boys. The charity schools were supported by the proceeds of charity sermons held in the church.⁵⁴⁵ Therefore, St Peter's was already an established venue for holding charity events prior to its use by Mercer's Hospital for the 1767 benefit concert. St Peter's Church closed following divine service on 28 September 1975 and was subsequently demolished.⁵⁴⁶ Since information regarding the interior of the church

⁵⁴² MHMB 1736–72, pp. 134–6, 140, 145, 159; MHMB 1738–50, pp. 100–4, 111, 113–18, 125, 128–131, 135.

⁵⁴³ Barra Boydell, 'St. Michan's Church Dublin: The installation of the organ in 1725 and the duties of the organist', *DHR* 46 (2) (Autumn 1993), p. 101; *Dublin Churches*, p. 24.

⁵⁴⁴ Boydell, 'St Michan's organ', pp. 101–20.

⁵⁴⁵ Desmond F. Moore, 'St. Peter's Church, Aungier Street', *DHR* 14 (2) (August 1956), pp. 57–60.

⁵⁴⁶ Information kindly provided by Dr Susan Hood, Archivist & Publications Officer, Church of Ireland Library, RCB Library, received via email on 23 May 2011.

has proved impossible to access, it could not be determined how Mercer's Performers would have been arranged in St Peter's Church.

Conclusion

This chapter has established which Dublin-based performers participated at the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts, how many performers were engaged, and the venues used. Musicians from the city's cathedrals, theatres, music societies, and state organisations (Dublin Castle) came together to perform at the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts. An active group of hospital benefit concert performers existed in the city, as many of the same performers were engaged at benefit concerts held in support of the Rotunda Hospital, Charitable Infirmary and the Hospital for the Incurables. The involvement of amateur and professional musicians was equally important and serves to highlight the different strata that existed amongst Dublin's eighteenth-century network of musicians (professional eighteenth-century musicians were akin to servants, amateur musicians, who were also members of the upper classes, were held in greater esteem socially). The crossover in musical personnel can be identified in all aspects of eighteenth-century musical life and Mercer's Hospital was one of several charities to benefit from Dublin's combined performing forces.

Mercer's performers were predominantly Irish or Anglo-Irish. London-based or foreign musicians did not travel to Dublin specifically to take part in Mercer's benefit concerts — the *Messiah* première was exceptional and it was performed within the wider context of Handel's prolonged visit to Dublin. Unlike the Rotunda benefit concerts and the

city's theatres, Mercer's did not provide musicians with regular employment. The non-payment of Mercer's performers highlights the willingness of accomplished musicians to participate and appreciate the importance of the hospital's benefit concerts.

Evidence presented in this chapter reveals that approximately twelve singers and forty instrumentalists were engaged at Mercer's benefit concerts. Performing numbers discussed in this chapter are significant and compare well with numbers engaged in Dublin concerts in general. Mercer's venues included St Michan's and St Peter's Churches. St Andrew's Round Church on Suffolk Street, which accommodated twenty-six Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts between 1736 and 1773, was the principal and the most suitable venue.

OVERALL CONCLUSION

The aim of this thesis has been to examine and analyse the contents of the Mercer's Hospital Music Collection, which is currently on deposit in the Manuscripts and Archives Research Library, Trinity College Dublin, and to provide a detailed account of the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts, which took place between 1736 and 1780. Prior to the undertaking and completion of this thesis, the contents of the Mercer's Hospital Music Collection were listed in the Manuscripts and Archives Research Library catalogue only, moreover, the collection had not been the object of examination and analysis. A definitive account of the hospital's eighteenth-century series of annual and bi-annual benefit concerts, covering the period 1736–80, had not been completed or documented in any source. Prior to completion of this study reference to the hospital's benefit concerts was scant and fragmentary, focusing mainly on the details surrounding the hospital's inaugural benefit concert and *Messiah* première. Detailed examination and analysis of the collection and its provenance are also provided in this thesis.

Mercer's Hospital was one of seven Dublin charity hospitals to establish a series of benefit concerts. The hospital was not unique in this respect, however the Mercer's benefit concerts were particularly significant for many reasons. Mercer's was the first Dublin hospital to initiate a series of annual and bi-annual benefit concerts, which provided important financial support towards the maintenance and management of the hospital for more than forty years. Mercer's was also the only hospital to include the regular performance of sacred Handelian works and was one of two Dublin hospitals to

benefit from the *Messiah* première, an event, which no doubt, further raised the profile of this popular charity.

Chapter 1 provides the first comprehensive account of benefit concerts in support of Dublin's eighteenth-century voluntary hospitals, expanding on existing publications by Arnold and Boydell.⁵⁴⁷ Chapter 1 not only contributes towards contextualising the role of Mercer's Hospital within Dublin's charity music scene, but also contributes to existing knowledge regarding music in eighteenth-century Dublin and complements publications and research completed by Hogan, Walsh, Brian Boydell, Barra Boydell and Houston.⁵⁴⁸

Chapter 2 fully explores the management, planning and occurrence of the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts. Examination of the surviving eighteenth-century hospital administrative records, housed at the National Archives of Ireland, Dublin, and surviving eighteenth-century Dublin newspapers contributes towards the content and outcomes of this chapter. Chapter 2 provides the most comprehensive account of the hospital's eighteenth-century benefit concerts to date, highlighting the successes experienced by the hospital during this forty-four-year period (1736–80).

The Mercer's Hospital Music Collection is one of the most significant collections of manuscript and printed music extant in Ireland. Chapter 3 fully examines and analyses

⁵⁴⁷ Arnold, 'Charity Music'; Boydell, *Rotunda Music*. See fn. 1.

⁵⁴⁸ Hogan, *Anglo-Irish Music*; Walsh, *Opera in Dublin*; Walsh, *Crow Street Theatre*; Boydell, 'Venues for Music'; Boydell, 'Music 1700–1850', Boydell, *Calendar*; Boydell, *Rotunda Music*; Boydell, *Christ Church*, Houston, *St Patrick's*. See fn. 1.

the collection and assesses its significance. Copied in Dublin between *c.*1736 and *c.*1771 the manuscript sources demonstrate little development in the repertoire performed at the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts and when compared with the hospital's performance calendar it becomes apparent that the collection does not contain sources for all works performed at Mercer's eighteenth-century benefit concerts. The printed music and contents of *IRL-Dmh* 45–50 represent the repertoire performed at weekly concerts given by the Philharmonic Society in support of the hospital. Consequently, the hospital benefited from two series of benefit concerts, which greatly augmented its source of income.

The contents of *IRL-Dmh* 1–44 are particularly significant in terms of source studies. They provide evidence for the performance of Handel's 'Utrecht' *Te Deum-Jubilate* HWV 278–9, four coronation anthems HWV 258–61, two chapel royal anthems HWV 250b and HWV 256b, and orchestral anthems by Greene and Boyce in eighteenth-century Dublin, and the transmission of this music across the Irish Sea. The collection also brings particular focus to performance practice in eighteenth-century Dublin. The extensive adaptation of Mercer's parts, which includes the substitution of parts for vocalists and instrumentalists and the employment of a reduced scoring, addresses issues raised by Burrows and Hunter in their articles, and contributes to knowledge of the practices and difficulties experienced in eighteenth-century performance, specifically in Dublin.⁵⁴⁹

⁵⁴⁹ Burrows, 'Handel's Dublin Performances'; Hunter 'The Irish State Music'. See fn. 1.

Mercer's copyists and dates of copying, discussed in Section 3.3, draw attention to the activity of copying by non-cathedral copyists. This information is very significant in bringing attention to the activity of copying in eighteenth-century Dublin and contributes towards existing research completed by Boydell and Houston on the copying practices evident at the two Dublin Cathedrals, Christ Church and St Patrick's.⁵⁵⁰ However the Mercer's Collection represents a separate line in the transmission of new works to Dublin.

Section 3.4 fully examines the provenance of the collection, provides an account of its various origins and concludes that surviving Mercer's sources were copied from early printed editions and early manuscript copies. This conclusion has been reached by comparing the Mercer's sources with contemporary sources extant in collections in Dublin and Britain. The findings in relation to Mercer's Handelian sources would suggest a need to revise and update the Mercer's entries in the HHA editions for Handel's 'Utrecht' *Te Deum-Jubilate* HWV 278–9 and the Chapel Royal anthems *I will magnify thee* HWV 250b and *Let God arise* HWV 256b. Parts for these works were not collated prior to completion of this thesis. The outcomes of Section 3.4 will also contribute to future editions of Handelian works contained in the collection, namely Handel's four coronation anthems. Examination and analysis of the Mercer's sources for the orchestral anthems by Greene and Boyce, also carried out in Section 3.4, have lead to significant conclusions regarding the textual history of *Sing we merrily unto God our strength* (Greene) and *Blessed is he that considereth the sick* (Boyce), and have

⁵⁵⁰ Boydell, *Christ Church*, Houston, *St Patrick's*. See fn. 1.

expanded on the issues raised in the research of Burnett, Johnstone, Walker, Bartlett and Bruce.⁵⁵¹ The Mercer's sources present early versions of both works, which were later revised for performances in London and elsewhere in Britain. Consequently, the Mercer's sources must be considered prior to producing modern printed editions of the anthems by Greene and Boyce. The Mercer's sources for *Sing we merrily* are the only surviving manuscript sources apart from those present in British library collections. The Mercer's and Christ Church Dublin sources for *Blessed is he* are the only surviving manuscript sources apart from those present in British library collections. The conclusions reached in Chapter 3 emphasise the significance of the Mercer's Collection in terms of source studies and draw attention to the collection's relationship to extant Dublin and British collections.

The RISM catalogue, compiled by the author of this thesis and accessible through <http://www.rism.org.uk>, and the Catalogue of Mercer's Paper Types, included in Appendix 9, together with the complete contents of Chapter 3, provide the most comprehensive information now available regarding the Mercer's Hospital Music Collection. The inclusion of the contents of the collection on the RISM UK and RISM Ireland websites provides worldwide access to this eighteenth-century collection of Irish manuscript and printed sources. It is hoped that inclusion of the Mercer's Collection on the RISM UK and RISM Ireland websites will instigate the future inclusion of other Irish Collections in both online catalogues. The Catalogue of Mercer's Paper Types provides important information regarding the copying, collation and storing of

⁵⁵¹ Burnett, 'Sacred Music Maurice Greene'; Johnstone, 'Maurice Greene', *NGD* II 10; Walker 'Bodleian Manuscripts Maurice Greene'; Bartlett and Bruce, 'William Boyce', *NGD* II 4; Bartlett and Bruce, *Boyce Tercentenary*. See fn. 28.

eighteenth-century music and the use of eighteenth-century paper types that were available in Dublin. This is the first comprehensive analysis of eighteenth-century paper types used for music copying and this catalogue provides the basis for the future study of other contemporary collections. It also provides revealing comparisons with the *Catalogue of Handelian Autographs* compiled by Burrows and Ronish.

Chapter 4 discusses musicians who participated at the Mercer's Hospital benefit concerts. Mercer's performers were drawn from several performing groups and included cathedral, theatre, state, city, amateur, professional, foreign, Irish and Anglo-Irish musicians. Collectively, the Mercer's performers are highly representative of the network of musicians active in eighteenth-century Dublin. Examination of the performing numbers engaged at Mercer's benefit concerts affords insight into the availability of performers, and their willingness to participate at the hospital's benefit concerts without payment. Mercer's benefit concerts changed venue on a number of occasions, however the principal venue was St Andrew's Round Church on Suffolk Street. The information contained in this chapter contributes to existing research carried out by Brian Boydell, Barra Boydell, Burrows, Houston and Hunter, specifically in relation to eighteenth-century Dublin performers, performance practice and performance conditions.⁵⁵²

This thesis provides a contrasting study to Lyons' account of Mercer's Hospital which concentrates on the medical history of the institution from 1734 to 1991 and expands on

⁵⁵² See fn. 1, fn. 548 and fn. 549.

the information contained in Townsends' 1860 account of Mercer's. Townsend provides a preliminary examination of the hospital's relationship with music up to 1742.⁵⁵³ The thesis presents new information, thus drawing attention to this valuable collection of eighteenth-century music, and adding to knowledge of eighteenth-century Dublin repertoire, performance practice and the frequent occurrence of benefit concerts in support of Dublin charity hospitals.

It is hoped that the contents of Chapter 1 will lead to further research. A large amount of information regarding benefit concerts in support of other Dublin hospitals exists. The detailed examination of surviving hospital records and surviving eighteenth-century Dublin newspapers, specifically from 1760 onwards, would no doubt contribute greatly towards this research area and provide interesting comparisons with Boydell's *Rotunda Music* and the outcomes of this thesis. It would be important to establish if any collections of music used at other hospital benefit concerts now survive. The development of such research has the potential to lead to a detailed comparative study between benefit concerts in support of Dublin's voluntary hospitals and London and other British voluntary hospitals.

⁵⁵³ Lyons, *The Quality of Mercer's*; Townsend, *Mercer's*.

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IRL-Drcb C6.1.24.3.33 Treble Cantoris

IRL-Drcb C6.1.24.3.34 Contra Tenor Cantoris

IRL-Drcb C6.1.24.3.35 Tenor Cantoris

IRL-Drcb C6.1.24.3.36 Bass Cantoris

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