WILLIAM RUSSELL (1777-1813):

An Enquiry into his Musical Style falling between the Classical and Romantic periods, and comprising observations, critical and illustrative, concerning this *eminent Composer*, together with a description of his life in London among his numerous contemporary musicians, both native and foreign, and including, *newly edited*, and for the *first time* made available to the General Publick, the scores of his ORATORIO, *Job*, having the instrumental parts reconstructed, the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*, and a solo arrangement of his Grand CONCERTO for ORGAN.

In Four Volumes

Volume I

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Gillian Ward Russell BA, MPhil(CNAA), FRCO

Department of Music

Leicester University

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Abstract

That eighteenth-century England produced no composer of the calibre of Haydn, Mozart, or Beethoven cannot be denied; however, in the past this fact has led to an unjust dismissal of English music of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. More recently there has been an awakening of interest in the music of this era. It was a time of intense musical activity in England, but native musicians were coerced, by public taste and fashion, into subservience to foreign performers and composers. This enforced inferior status was not totally unproductive, however, since it brought both professional musicians and the public face to face with new developments from abroad; some indigenous composers deliberately shunned foreign influences, some largely were left untouched by them because of their seclusion in the conservatism of the Church, while others embraced the new style. The life of one musician, who lived and worked in London, is surveyed in the contexts of life and music in the metropolis. William Russell lived at a time of change: it was the end of a musical era when what we term Baroque influences were finally fading, when the Classical style--though established abroad--was not yet totally accepted in England, and yet it was a period of anticipation of the Romantic era. This study explores the answers to the question, 'Was Russell's music a prelude to the Romantic period, a postlude to the old style, or merely an interlude between the two?' Russell's principal works (the large-scale choral compositions and organ concerto--pieces which, traditionally, were performed together in the theatre) form the basis for this comprehensive investigation; study and performance scores are provided, illustrating that not all was dull and lifeless during that era. On the contrary, there was much indigenous productivity whose achievements were, and still are, commendable.

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I owe much gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Robert Meikle, for his guidance, his thorough and positive criticisms, and his perceptive, probing questions.

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I wish to acknowledge the assistance of the librarians at the University of Leicester, the British Library London, the Royal College of Music London, the Bodleian Library Oxford, the University of Cambridge, the Pendlebury Library Cambridge, the National Library of Scotland Edinburgh, the Greater London Record Office, Finsbury Library, the Guildhall Library London, the Royal College of Organists London, the University of Birmingham, Norfolk Library and Information Service, and the Royal Academy of Music London, and the secretaries of the Thomas Coram Foundation for Children and the Royal Society of Musicians.

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Gillian Ward Russell.

PREFACE

The format of this thesis conforms to the system described in the *M.L.A. Handbook for Writers of Research Papers* by Joseph Gibaldi and Walter S. Achtert (New York, Modern Language Association of America, 3rd ed. 1988) and *Writing about Music* by D. Kern Holoman (Berkeley: California UP, 1988). Footnotes are numbered separately for each chapter and give the author's surname (or title if no author's name is available) followed by the date of publication, volume number (upper case roman), and page number (arabic, or in the case of some prefaces, lower case roman). Full details can be found in the Bibliography. Footnote numbers are shown in bold type in order to facilitate their location in the text, and are separated from the preceding character by a single space to ensure absolute clarity both of vision and of meaning.

Locations of material are cited using the sigla as in *Répertoire international des sources musicales (RISM)*, and are as follows:

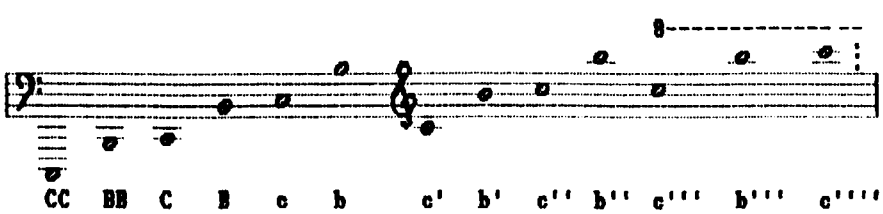
GB Cpl	Cambridge, Pendlebury Music Library
GB Cu	Cambridge, University Library
GB Enls	Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland
GB Ero	Chelmsford, Essex County Record Office
GB Lu	Leicester, University Library
GB GLro	London, Greater London Record Office
GB Hcro	Hertford, Hertfordshire County Record Office
GB Lam	London, Royal Academy of Music
GB Lbm	London, British Library
GB Lcm	London, Royal College of Music
GB Lcro	London, Corporation of London Record Office

GB Lg	London, Guildhall Library
GB Lgro	London, General Register Office
GB Lpro	London, Public Record Office, Chancery Lane
GB Lsm	London, Royal Society of Musicians
GB Lsg	London, Society of Genealogists
GB Ltcf	London, Thomas Coram Foundation for Children
GB Lco	London, Royal College of Organists
GB Lf	London, Finsbury Library
GB Nro	Norwich, Norfolk Record Office
GB Np	Norwich, Public Library
GB Ob	Oxford, Bodleian Library
GB T	Tenbury, St. Michael's College Library (now housed at Ob).
US NYp	New York, Public Library
US Wc	Washington, Library of Congress

Citations of manuscripts at the Thomas Coram Foundation for Children refer to a number of committee minutes: Gen.Comm. (General Committee, the main committee), Sub.Comm. (Sub Committee), and Mus.Comm. (Music Committee).

Certain movement numbers in Russell's works are prefaced with the abbreviation 'GWR'; these indicate the numberings according to the edition prepared by the author, some of which are not numbered in the original, and others which deviate in numbering from the original.

References to pitch use the Helmholtz system, and are as follows:



On occasions tables (figures) are used to present information from the text in a clear and succinct style. Where percentages are included, the figures have been rounded up or down to the nearest whole number, except for numbers which result in X·5.

In addition to chapter headings there are a number of sub-headings which, it is hoped, will be of use to the reader in locating a particular aspect of the study with relative ease.

Illustrations have been reproduced using the best possible photocopying technology; however, it must be borne in mind that the condition of some of the originals is not conducive to providing perfect clarity. There are, unfortunately, no known portraits of William Russell.

The music examples are numbered separately for each chapter; first the chapter number is given (roman), then the example number followed by its title: Ex. VI/1 indicates example no. 1 in chapter VI. Examples which run to more than one page are fully captioned on the first page thus: Ex. VI/4 (1) indicates that this is the first of a multi-page example; the full title/description of the work is given here; subsequent pages are labelled Ex. VI/4 (2), Ex. VI/4 (3), etc. Original syllabification in vocal examples has been retained. Occasionally in facsimile reproductions it has been necessary to improve the legibility by enlarging the gap between systems, clarifying note-heads, and extending barlines to cover whole systems; no editorial decisions were involved--the original material presented no problems, but reproductive processes necessitated some restorative work and clarification of certain examples. Bar numbers and tempo indications in square brackets are editorial additions; where examples begin mid-movement

the composer's tempo indications are given in parentheses and editorial tempo indications are shown in parentheses and square brackets. Few of the examples have been reproduced at their original size due to the restrictions of layout; all the examples appear 'portrait' even when 'landscape' would have allowed a larger copy--the decision was made so that the reader can put the volume on a music desk and play the examples at the keyboard.

CHAPTER I

Introduction: Russell's London.

London: setting the scene.

William Russell was born in London at a time of stimulating change, when the capital was teeming with new developments in industry and art. The population of the metropolis was rapidly growing, though not because of an increase in the birth-rate--indeed, the City was a notoriously unhealthy place to live, and mortality rates (particularly among infants) were high--but due to the large numbers of migrants from the countryside. These newcomers arrived with dreams (if not reality) of prosperity and desires to climb higher up the social ladder: they were filled with hopes fostered by the country's general state of well-being which had been induced by the Industrial Revolution and political supremacy. Many of these people invested all they had in new endeavours, using their compensation from the enforced relinquishment of their land, as enclosures reached their peak between 1760 and 1790. For some, hope was quickly extinguished: several people died of diseases caused, or worsened, by unhealthy living conditions, poor water, air pollution, and bad hygiene; many struggled in the changing circumstances of the increasingly unstable economy, inflation, and high taxation caused by the Napoleonic Wars, and a number of them became victims of bankruptcy. Further disillusionment and even disaster met those who fell foul of the many criminals who were always ready to reap a dishonourable harvest from the unwary. Others, however, received measures of good fortune in their ventures: William Russell's father, Hugh, was a successful craftsman who, although not a

newcomer to London, was ambitious in setting up a new business and in making his mark in society: he truly belonged to the rising middle class. Despite wars and political uncertainty London was a thriving cultural centre and attracted numerous musicians from the continent (see pages 9-10). These foreign artistes, who were doted upon by upper-class audiences, threatened to eclipse indigenous musicians but they brought with them new ideas and styles from abroad, thus apprising native composers of foreign trends. It is in this environment that William Russell carved out his career, thereby achieving hard-won recognition and respect in the world of music.

Before gaining further acquaintance with Russell and his music it is necessary to set the scene in more detail: [1] London, then, as now, was a strange mixture of old and new, of city, town, and village. It was divided into 26 wards, each with its own chief officer (Alderman) and council members, who were elected annually by the Freemen of the City. The Lord Mayor (chosen annually from among the Aldermen) was very powerful, as were the two Sheriffs who were in charge of law and order. In 1801, the year of the first official census, London had almost one million inhabitants--a population more than 11 times greater than any other British city; [2] toward the end of the eighteenth century the thereto slow increase in growth had quite suddenly escalated. Throughout the century the metropolis had extensively spread beyond the limits of the City, with new housing and amenities developing: in 1711 an Act for Fifty

[1] A general picture of London life in the eighteenth century can be gained from the numerous histories available, such as M.D.George (1987), Briggs (1979), Museum of London (1991).

[2] Low (1987), 4.

New Churches had been passed, but in the event only eight were built between that date and 1730; among them were two Churches which feature in Russell's biography: St. Ann's, Limehouse (founded in 1712 and built between 1714 and 1725) and Christ Church, Spitalfields (founded in 1723), both built by Nicholas Hawksmore. During the century nonconformity grew apace, and John Wesley witnessed the building of a magnificent Methodist Chapel in the City Road during the years 1777 and 1778. Later in the century there was only sporadic building of Churches: St. James's, Clerkenwell (Russell's Parish Church for a time) was opened in 1792.

Gradually during the eighteenth century there was an increase in social awareness, and much was achieved to improve the quality of living for the poor, the sick, and the destitute through the greater number and easier accessibility of hospitals, charities, and educational establishments. One such charity (with which Russell was connected) was the Foundling Hospital, founded in 1739 by Thomas Coram to care for and educate young children who had been deserted by their parents or who could no longer be cared for by them--or, more accurately, the mother, who had been abandoned with her child. This and similar institutions brought together the two extremes in social classes: it gave the nobility enormous self-satisfaction to be seen helping (usually financially) the poor and the deprived. The Governors of the Foundling Hospital were remarkably successful in providing care, education, and even affection for the residents, to the extent that after the children had left to take up apprenticeships and, eventually, work, concern for their well-being was still exercised. [3]

[3] McClure (1981), 126-129, 133, 135-136.

From the second half of the eighteenth century onwards gradual improvements were seen in morals (encouraged by the propagation of religious fervour), health, and amenities; these were able to arise partly as a result of the increased strength of the system of local government, which was becoming established in individual parishes. In London most parishes organized funds for the watch, street lighting and cleansing, and for support of the poor. At first many of these services were inadequate, and improvements were slow: for example, the first gas lamps were installed in 1807 in Pall Mall, and were quickly copied in other main thoroughfares in the west of the City, but more than 20 years passed until most parts of London had the same facility. [4] Alleys and side streets remained unlit for a considerable time. Parts of London have always had unsavoury associations, and many eighteenth-century public buildings of note were located in the more disreputable parts of the metropolis: the areas around Covent Garden and Drury Lane theatres were particularly dangerous during the middle of the century because of murderers, highwaymen, and other criminals. However, by the beginning of the nineteenth century the author of a London guide book was able to say 'We venture to assert that no city in proportion to its trade and luxury is more free from danger to those who pass the streets at all hours, or from deprecations, open or concealed, on property.' [5] Pollution in the City was a perpetual danger to health: refuse was thrown out into the street, frequently clogging the kennel (or gutter) which ran down the centre of the road to drain rainwater. Contamination of the atmosphere by the smoke from coal-burning was particularly detrimental, and, along with other

[4] Low (1987), 6.

[5] cited in M.D.George (1987), 24.

features, was often commented upon by foreign visitors to London as well as being bemoaned by the English: [6] in her novels, Jane Austen declared that towns were offensive to every sense except that of sight, but doubtless she found plenty of the visual features--beggars, rubbish, and filth--obnoxious. [7] If members of the London public desired to sample the health-giving properties of 'country' air they could visit the Pleasure Gardens on the outskirts of London, for example those at Vauxhall or Chelsea (Ranelagh Gardens).

As is the case today, certain areas of London were designated higher class than others:

> The west is inhabited by people of fashion, or those who wish to appear as such; and the line of demarcation, north and south, runs through Soho Square. Every minute of longitude east is equal to as many degrees of gentility minus, or minutes west plus. To have a right to emigrate from east to west it is requisite to have an income of at least £3,000 a year; and £6,000 would be safer. [8]

The author of this observation was a French visitor, Louis Simond, who also commented on the English styles of housing, where each floor had its allotted use. The normal plan was for the kitchen to be below the ground floor, then at street level there would be the entrance hall, the family

[6] Cruickshank and Burton (1990), 3, 5.
Landon (1959).
C. Williams (1933).

[7] Lane (1986), 12.

[8] Lane (1986), 165 quotes from Louis Simond's *Journal of a Tour and Residence in Gt. Britain... 1810 and 1811.*

parlour, sometimes the dining room (although often this was on the first floor), and a stairway. Above this was the sitting room, while the bedrooms were accommodated on the second floor, and servants' quarters would have been in the garret. [9] Houses were therefore tall and thin, and usually built in terraces; one property would consist of the house built on the front (road end) of a narrow strip of land. A paved courtyard at the back was all the outdoor space belonging to most modest town houses in the early part of the eighteenth century, but by 1800 it was becoming common to cultivate flower gardens, as the larger, more fashionable houses had done earlier, or to install pots of plants on the window sills. The back garden contained the privy or 'bog house' at the far end; its primitive nature in the narrow space resulted in constant unpleasant smells. The most usual method of lighting houses, up to Queen Victoria's accession, was by burning candles, and coal provided heat. Unless the people were very poor it was normal for a family to occupy a whole house. The census of 1801 points to an average of eight or nine--family and servants--residing in a house containing 10 to 15 rooms. [10] It was unusual for the occupant to be a freeholder in the eighteenth century; mostly properties were rented; [11] the annual rent of a house in the eastern part of the City ranged between £50 and £150, on top of which there was the house tax of between 6d and 1s in the £, and the window tax of 2d per window. [12] The type of house and situation in which William Russell was born in Theobalds Road in 1777 would have been similar to

[9] Cruickshank and Burton (1990), 51-60, 73.

[10] Cruickshank and Burton (1990), 60.

[11] Cruickshank and Burton (1990), 8.

[12] Dymoke (1958), 64.

this, and the house where he lived during his last years was exactly as described above--one house from the terrace at Cobham Row remains.

London: a musical metropolis.

As an up-and-coming organ builder with a family, William's father, Hugh, would probably have had an annual household expenditure of about £400, which was also the average for a middle class family during the latter part of the eighteenth century. [13] His annual income must have been well in excess of this, because he was able to accumulate a sizeable sum in savings (as his will shows: see page 30) and although this sum would have been considerably less than the £3,000 or even £6,000 incomes Simond noted for West End dwellers (see page 5), it would have been sufficient to provide the Russell family with a comfortable standard of living. London, being one of the most important cultural centres in Europe, attracted many musicians--both native and foreign. During William Russell's early career the state of indigenous music in England was markedly less vigorous than it had been earlier in the century: William Parke, in 1830, recalled the decline beginning with the death, in 1790, of a great patron of music, the Duke of Cumberland, and accelerating two years later at the onset of war with the French:

> the soft breathings of the flute gave place to the shrill clamour of the brazen trumpet, and the feminine and graceful tabor to the terrific roll of the thundering drum. Music continued in a depressed state nearly ten years, when at length the political horizon beginning to clear, the arts were again

[13] Besant (1902), 303.
Dymoke (1958), 63.

> descried through the mists which had obscured them and the fascinations of our own popular singer, Mrs. Billington, aided by the powerful talents of Madame Banti, Signora Storace, and others, enabled the muse to regain the high pinnacle from which she had descended. [14]

By the last decade of the eighteenth century music was regarded less favourably as a social grace than had been hitherto the case. It was no longer fashionable to be enthusiastic about music: during the 1790s Lord Chesterfield wrote several letters to his son, informing him in one that no harm would come to him from playing the violin so long as he did not become too proficient, and that his interest in music should not extend to an academic intellectual level. [15] Nevertheless it was still generally considered that men and women of class ought to be competent in musical performance: for the gentlemen this normally meant singing, and for the ladies it was usually playing the fortepiano. Music on this level was socially acceptable in all stations of life: in Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* Mr. Collins says, 'I should have great pleasure, I am sure, in obliging the company with an air; for I consider music as a very innocent diversion, and perfectly compatible with the profession of a clergyman.' [16] Contrary to Lord Chesterfield's advice, one anonymous late eighteenth-century publication recommended that gentlemen should concentrate on the theoretical aspect of music while ladies should be taught only the practice of playing simple pieces. [17]

[14] Parke (1830), II 190.

[15] Raynor (1980), 125.

[16] Austen (1979), 75.

[17] Kassler (1979), II 1107.

In 1794 a directory of musicians in London was published; it contains about 1200 names, among them that of the 16-year-old William Russell. [18] A musician could earn a living wage from working in the theatre, and perhaps additionally in the Church, thus securing a regular income over a long period. Private teaching was potentially remunerative and some musicians were able to advertise that they taught members of the nobility or even royalty: Samuel Wesley

> had the Honour of instructing Lord Viscount Melbourne's two Daughters, the Miss Lambs, whom I attended for several years. They were charming, intelligent, attentive, and diligent Girls, and I inscribed to them a Set of Sonatas, which they acquired so as to perform them in the very best Manner; and to the great Delight of their Parents, and a very extensive Circle of the most fashionable friends and Acquaintance. [19]

Wesley 'received a Guinea per Lesson and from some Pupils as much as twenty five Shillings' in his younger days, but by the time (1836) he was writing his *Reminiscences*, near to the end of his life, he bemoaned the dwindling of prices to three shillings or even half a crown; this he blamed on 'the Influx of musical Pretenders by whom England is now deluged.' [20]

From the time of Purcell the prevailing opinion was that foreign musicians were better, and certainly more fashionable, than native ones. Financially London had been an inviting place for musicians, and in

[18] Doane (1794), 56.

[19] GB Lbm Add. Ms. 27539 f. 172.

[20] GB Lbm Add. Ms. 27539 f. 135.

particular, foreign musicians. The most famous in this category are Handel and Haydn: the former settled in England, the latter visited only; both composers gained a large income from working in London. There was a certain *distingué* element associated with foreign artistes, who were therefore able to demand huge fees for performing and teaching. The French Revolution urged some fleeing royalists to London, among them the violinist Viotti and pianist Dussek. Clementi (an important figure in piano music in London) and Pleyel (who had studied with Haydn and was chiefly known as a composer of instrumental music) competed separately with Haydn for the audience's applause, with opposing concerts mounted by rival entrepreneurs. Although he only visited England when a child, Mozart was the favourite of the English, a fact testified to by the considerable biographical and analytical material published about him. [21] With regard to vocal music, Italian composers and singers were held superior to all others. It has been acknowledged that, during the eighteenth century, England produced no genius of the stature of Haydn and Mozart; perhaps the domination of continental musicians and their music in England was partially responsible for preventing native composers from fulfilling a leading rôle in European music--certainly there was little encouragement in this quarter--but who in England could compete with men of the calibre of the Viennese giants? Not even the best of the continental visitors could rival these. Until Haydn's first visit to London the music of a German composer, Handel, particularly his oratorios and organ concertos, dominated the scene. English composers even continued to imitate his style long after his death in 1759.

[21] L. Langley (1983), 70.

London: a centre for concerts.

When Haydn's hoped-for visit to London in 1782 did not materialize because his employment prevented it, Lord Abingdon, who had invited him, had to mount his concert series without the foreign master; the concerts were not entirely successful financially and were replaced in 1785 by the Professional Concerts instituted by the continental violinists Wilhelm Cramer and Luigi Borghi. The name of the new concert series may have been intended to imply that Abingdon, as an amateur musician, was unlikely to make a success of his venture, whereas the foreign composers were, naturally, professionals. [22] The Professional Concerts highlighted the symphonies of Haydn, so that when he eventually reached London in 1791, at Salomon's (another continental) invitation, his music was already familiar to London audiences; nonetheless his lengthy visit in person, followed by another in 1794-1795, provided a tremendous boost to his popularity. Piqued by Salomon's triumphs in engaging Haydn, the managers of the Professional Concerts promoted Pleyel as a rival attraction; however, they had no realistic hope of success. In 1793 financial problems brought the Professional Concerts to a conclusion; Salomon, who had also promoted the music of Mozart, went out of business two years later because financial constraints led to a diminishing number of concerts during the final decade of the eighteenth century. However, London still remained the chief centre for public concerts in England, with Bath the second most active musical city; elsewhere professional concerts were rare. In addition to these subscription concerts there were benefit concerts, oratorio concerts, opera performances, and outdoor concerts in the

[22] *Blackwell* (1990), IV 251.

Pleasure Gardens.

Social structure played an important part in the evolution of concert promotion, with the whims of the nobility leading the way. The most fashionable music was Italian opera, described by Samuel Johnson in the middle of the eighteenth century as 'an exotic and irrational entertainment which has always been combatted, and has always prevailed', and later, more mildly, as 'a poetical tale or fiction, represented by vocal and instrumental musick.' [23] During his sojourns in England (1791-1792 and 1794-1795) Haydn's popularity among middle-class London audiences was such that they crowded to the front in order better to see him, on one occasion (so the story goes) avoiding the crashing chandelier that gave rise to the title 'Miracle' for the symphony (no. 96) which was being played. [24] In actual fact contemporary newspapers reported that the accident occurred during a performance of Symphony no. 102 [25] in 1795. Haydn held a benefit concert in London in 1795, making himself a profit of £400 in one evening [26]--the equivalent to a whole year's household expenditure for an organ builder (see page 7). For those who had no taste for the Italian opera performed at the King's Theatre, the more varied programmes at the Drury Lane and Covent Garden theatres and the Little Theatre in the Haymarket provided English 'operas', pantomimes, oratorios, and orchestral works. Audiences in Russell's day, as earlier, were far

[23] Johnson (1755), n. p. 'Opera'.
Johnson (1760), n. p. 'Opera'.

[24] Searle (1989), 5.

[25] Landon (1966), 51.

[26] Milligan (1983), 9.

from restrained: chatter punctuated the entertainment and, at times, the audience even became riotous. In the theatres each social class had its own area of seating, with those who were most discerning sitting in the pit (the floor of the house). [27] At the Sadler's Wells theatre, where the season ran from late spring until the Autumn, under the auspices of the proprietors, Charles Dibdin was placed in charge of the productions; he wrote numerous pantomimes and burlettas himself, and employed a company of actor- and actress-singers, dancers, acrobats, and composers, including for a time William Russell. The famous clown Joseph Grimaldi made his début at Sadler's Wells in 1800 in a performance of *Peter Wilkins: or The Flying World*, the music for which had been composed by Russell. The following year Russell and Grimaldi again worked together on one of Russell's compositions, *The Great Devil*. During the performance the clown had to draw and fire a pistol; on one occasion he accidentally discharged it too soon, causing his boot to expand enormously--much to the delight of the audience who believed it to be part of the act--but Grimaldi was left with severe burns to his foot. [28]

As in the theatre, all classes but the most impecunious were able to avail themselves of the delights afforded at the Pleasure Gardens, the largest of which were at Vauxhall and Chelsea (Ranelagh Gardens). These Gardens were centres of many types of diversion: vocal and instrumental music, spectacle, food, and walks. On the domestic scene music-making was available to all who had a modicum of instrumental or vocal competence; thus chamber music provided the main musical experience for many people.

[27] Fiske (1973), gives details.

[28] Neville (1980), 28.

Publications frequently advertised the versatility of the score by stating that the music could be played by a variety of instrumental combinations. From the 1760s German square pianos became popular domestic instruments, gradually superseding the harpsichord by the end of the century. In the years either side of the turn of the century the development of the pianoforte led to a generation of composers writing and playing virtuoso music for it in the concert halls; in London Clementi was the leader in this field. Besides the home, amateur music-making could also take place in taverns and clubs: numerous private societies existed for the practice of certain branches of music, like the Glee Club and the Anacreontic Society. Open to all classes also was Church music as performed liturgically. The standards and qualities of both music and performance were extremely varied, but organ voluntaries and choral anthems (when they were sung) were truly indigenous English music. Most Churches had an organ and someone to play it, but few had a choir: charities such as the Foundling Hospital were renowned for their choir drawn from the resident children, who were professionally trained to unusually high standards compared with the charity children who sang in some Parish Churches, where the training was usually given by amateurs. Music in the Roman Catholic Embassy Chapels was of an increasingly high standard, particularly the choral singing, toward the end of the eighteenth century, and non-Catholics were sometimes attracted to the services because of this.

One important and long-lived organization was the Concert of Ancient

Music [29] which was founded in 1776 and continued until 1848. The title 'ancient' or 'antient' music evolved around the beginning of the eighteenth century, when it was held to refer to music of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. By the 1770s its meaning had changed: the Concert of Ancient Music existed to perform music that was at least 20 years old; the music of Handel dominated many of the concert series, and his bust was prominently displayed at performances. Members of the group were mostly of high social class--most of the board of directors were Peers--and the concerts attracted people of a similar status: 'ancient' music itself became associated with class and therefore became highly fashionable, particularly when royalty were in attendance from 1785. Joah Bates became the musical director in 1776 and shaped the repertoire of the concerts, and by the 1790s the Concert of Ancient Music had reached 'a position of cultural authority' and influence. [30] This was the era when William Russell was a member; the conductor then was Thomas Greatorex, who held the post from 1793 until 1831--much after Russell's time. A typical concert, lasting for three or four hours, would have comprised between 10 and 15 pieces chiefly of English and Italian music--an overture, a mixture of movements from oratorio (solos and choruses), a concerto grosso, and various other instrumental works. Compositions by Haydn and Mozart, and latterly Beethoven, were not included during Russell's time: Haydn's music was not performed by the group until 1829 because this would have been contrary to the principle of 'ancient' music. Mostly the repertoire was serious, though this did not preclude secular music. Membership of the

[29] The Concert of Ancient Music is not to be confused with the Academy of Ancient Music (1710-1792), a group of composers and performers who met 'for the study and practice of vocal and instrumental music' mainly from bygone years. Doane (1794), 76.

[30] Weber (1992), 20, 168.

Concert of Ancient Music doubtless had much influence on Russell's views and musical taste.

In 1784 the directors of the Concert of Ancient Music sponsored a festival to honour Handel: it was called the Commemoration of Handel. The year 1784 was chosen because it was the 25th anniversary of his death and it was calculated to be the centenary of his birth--because of the retention of the Julian calendar in England, Handel's birth was said to have occurred in 1684. [31] Westminster Abbey was the main venue for the festival with five concerts of selections from Handel's music performed by the finest musicians in London. The events had the active encouragement and patronage of the Royal Family and thousands of music lovers flocked to the concerts, which featured anthems, service settings, excerpts from oratorios and operas, and concertos. The performances themselves were on a grand scale (see pages 76-77) and were repeated annually with increasing numbers of participants until 1787. King George III was an ardent Handelian and supporter of the festivals, and when he became ill in 1788 the continuity of the celebrations was disturbed; revivals in 1790 and 1791 attracted less support but were still impressive and spectacular affairs. William Russell attended the last festival as a treble singer (see page 31); the experience must have had a significant influence on him at a stage when he was, at 14 years of age, beginning to make the transition from trainee to professional musician.

[31] Weber (1992), 14n.

Printed music.

At the time of Russell's youth a wide range of printed music was available for purchase: the public were able to obtain scores of the music of both native and continental composers, including Haydn and Mozart. Much was published in Great Britain but also, from the end of the eighteenth century, Longman and Broderip were importing music from Vienna. Some of Haydn's string quartets had been available in England as early as 1772, and 10 years later his symphonies began to be published in London. Much of Mozart's music was available in England, either because it was published in London or because it had been imported. Stephen Storace (1762-1796), the brother of the internationally famous soprano Anna (Nancy) Storace, returned from visiting Mozart in 1787 and brought with him much of the master's work which he published in London. Mozart's piano and chamber music were particularly popular in England, and the Piano Concerto in A Major K.414 was one large-scale mature work which was published in London. Generally full scores were not available: more common were keyboard arrangements which had the advantage that amateurs (and professionals) could play the music at home. Operas, which, until the 1760s, had often been issued in full score, were published as vocal scores. Of the great number of concertos written and performed in London near to the close of the eighteenth century, relatively few were published, and again these tended to be short score arrangements. The need to publish music which was very simple for the unpretentious amateur to play led to the appearance of national folksongs in the form of a melody plus a basic keyboard accompaniment: Scottish song settings had first appeared in 1700, and much later in the century well-known composers such as Haydn and Pleyel were invited to make arrangements of Scottish,

Welsh, and Irish songs. Beethoven also was invited, by the Scottish publisher George Thomson, to arrange some folksongs, which he did about 1809-1810, but the first results were not published until 1814. Interest in folksong was further nurtured by writers on the subject in a number of periodicals. [32] Figure 1 gives a list of the new musical publications which were reviewed in the first 12 issues of the *Monthly Magazine* (1796-1797). The high proportion (over half) of works by foreign composers may be noted; likewise the diversity of genres (with the absence of odes and oratorios) and instruments.

month	composition	composer
February	3 Sonatas for Piano with accompaniments for violin and cello op.73 (including Gypsey *[sic]* Rondo)	Haydn
	Instruction for the Piano	Ross
	2 New Concertos for Piano with an accompaniment for violin	Jarnovick
	Sonatas opp.30 & 32 for Piano with accompaniments for violin and cello	Sterckel
	Windsor Castle, an opera	J.P.Salomon etc.
	2nd set of Quartets op.74	Haydn
	3 Sonatas and Duets for Piano	Collizzi
	Musical remains (compositions of Bach, Abel, Giuliani etc.)	E.Jones ed.
	6 Trios for violin, tenor, cello	W.Shield
	The Adopted Child (Overture and songs)	Attwood
	6 Duets for 2 voices and piano	Asiole
	3rd Concerto arr. for Piano by Dussek	Viotti
	3 Sonatas op.11	Cramer
	12 Italian Canons	Ferrari
	8 English and Italian Canzonets	Mozart
	3 Harp Songs (set 2)	Madame Dussek
	Violin Concerto in G Major	Giornovichi
	6 Airs arr. as Duets for Flutes	Devienne
	Duettinos	N.Corri
	3 Sonatas for piano with accompaniments for violin and cello op.8	Gyrovets *[sic]*
	Songs in *Alceste*	Banti
	Duet in *La Belle Arsene*	Pasiello *[sic]*
	6 English Canzonets	Lyons
	Glees	Cooke
	Duets for Violin and Tenor op.18	Pichl
	Quartets op.1	Sperges
	Concerto for Violin op.2	Feyer

[32] L.Langley (1983), 66.

month	composition	composer
March	*The Lock and Key* [opera]	W.Shield etc.
	6 Piano pieces from Giordani, and 6 Preludes	Haigh
	6 Canzonets	Giordani
	Nel lasciarti amato bene	Andriozzi
	6 Sonatas for the flute and cello opp.40 and 41	Kozebuch *[sic]*
	Sonatas for flute and cello op.19	Gyrovitz *[sic]*
	Sonata op.8	Hoberecht
	Sonatas with accompaniment for Violin	Massi
	The Mysteries of Udolpho (songs)	Percy
	Music for the Pedal Harp	Dussek etc.
April	Principles of Music (Piano or Harpsichord) op.12	J.N.Hullmandel
	Set of English Canzonets, and Elegy	W.Shield
	Per Vivere Contento (song)	Per
	Io Parto mio Bene (song)	Schifmayer
	The Banquet (divertissement)	I.Mazzinghi
	Donzelle Semplice from *Iphigenia in Tauride*	Gluck
	Overture [symphony] arr. for piano by Dussek	Haydn
May	*The Smugglers* (comic opera)	Attwood
	Little Peggy's Love (Scotch Ballet)	Bossi
	L'Amante Statue (ballet)	Bossi
	3 Quartets and 2 Trios for flutes, violin, viola, and cello (various composers)	ed. J.C.Fischer
	Favourite song from *Vortigern* (play)	W.Linley
	Favourite song from *Vortigern* (play)	W.Linley
	La Villageoise enlevée	Capuzzi
June	No reviews	
July	Trio for piano, flute, and violin.	Pleyel
	2 sonatas op.30	Pleyel
	3 Piano Sonatas	Clementi
August	No reviews	
September	*Bannian Day* (opera)	S.Arnold
	The Pianoforte Magazine	publ. Harrison & Co.
	3 Sonatas for Piano or Harpsichord	George Surr
	12 Hymns in 4 parts	John F.Hering
	10 Voluntaries for the Organ.	Jonas Blewitt
	4 Sonatas for Pedal Harp	F.Linley
	3 Sonatas for Piano or Harpsichord (set 2)	Haigh
	Slow March and a Quick March for military band, harp, or piano	H.B.Schroeder
	Strathspey for piano	T.Costello
	The Sympathizing Sigh (song)	J.Ambrose

month	composition	composer
October	Divertimento for Piano with accompaniment for violin, flute, and cello	L.Von Esch
	Villian's Return (song)	J.Ambrose
	The Mariner (song)	John Moulds
	The Lovers Rhapsody	Battishill
	3 Sonatas for Piano or Harpsichord with an accompaniment for flute or violin	W.Howard
	3 Hymns and 3 Anthems	Mrs.Barthélémon
	The Soldier encamped on the Coast (song)	C.Dignum
	Favourite song from *Vortigern* (play)	W.Linley
	The Happy Dreamer (ballad)	Corri
	Country dances, reels, strathspeys, etc.	J.Harbour
	6 easy duets for flutes	F.Raule
	Sweet Jane I always thought of you (song)	Dignum
	3 Sonatas for Piano or Harpsichord with accompaniments for violin	L.Boutmy
	The Muffin Man	J.Moorehead
November	*The Vicklow Mountains* (comic opera)	W.Shield
	3 Trios for 2 flutes and cello	T.Mazzinghi
	A Study for flute	J.Hoffmeister
	Overture to *Harlequin Mariner*, for piano	J.Sanderson
	Cowslips of the Valley (song)	John Moulds
	6 easy duets for 2 cellos	J.Reinagle
	The Soldier and his Dog (song)	Dignum
	To Fortune Lost	Attwood
	Russian Duet (song)	Corri
	Overture [Symphony]	Haydn
	Popular airs from Germany, France, and Italy	arr. Corri
	3 Sonatas for Harp	J.B.Meyer
	6 English Canzonets	J.Huttenes
	3 Rondos by Pleyel arr. for pedal harp	arr. J.F.Bohlius
	The Land of Gold (song)	J.Sanderson
	The Death of Maria (song)	J.Ambrose
December	*Olympus in Uproar* (Overture and Songs)	W.Reeve
	Duet, *Buz and Mum*	J.Moorehead
	Introduction to Playing the Piano with 6 progressive sonatas op.32	Dussek and Pleyel
	20 Airs and 18 Duets for flutes	Devienne
	3 Duets for flutes	Pleyel
	2 Duets for 2 violins	Fiorillo
	Collection of Glees and Rounds	members of the Harmonic Society of Cambridge
	3 Duets for 2 flutes	F.Rault
	3 Sonatas for Piano with accompaniments for violin (or flute) and cello	W.Pichl
January	*The Shipwreck* (comic opera.)	Arnold
	Twelve Canzonets for voice with piano accompaniment	P.Stevenson
	Macbeth arr. piano by B.Jacobi	Locke

month	composition	composer
January cont'd	3 Quartets for flute, violin, and cello *[sic]*	J.G.Graeff
	New Guida di Musica (instructions for the piano)	Francis Sharp
	The Tar's Sheet Anchor and *When many beams the sky adorns* (ballads)	Reeve
	L'Amour & Psyche (ballet)	J.Mazzinghi

Fig. 1: List of new musical publications reviewed in the *Monthly Magazine* from February 1796 to January 1797.

Musical styles.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century music was perceived as embracing two styles: 'ancient' and 'modern'; the term 'Baroque' had not yet acquired meaning with regard to music, and the term 'Classical', although used in a number of contexts, was not applied in the same way as it is today: for example, in an early nineteenth-century French dictionary of the arts 'classic' is described as a term

> applied to composers who are generally admired and who are regarded as authoritative: Palestrina, Durante, Leo, Piccini, Cimarosa, Handel, Hasse, Gluck, Mozart, Haydn, Méhul, Chérubini, Catel, these are classic composers. The word is used moreover in connection with works that are regarded as masterpieces, or at least as excellent, and which have been adopted as models for teaching purposes. Oratorios by Handel, Jomelli, and Haydn, cantatas by Pergolesi, psalms by Marcello, Masses by Palestrina, Mozart and Chérubini, Leo's Miserere, Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater*,

symphonies and quartets by Haydn and Mozart.... [33]

'Ancient' music chiefly referred to the Handelian style but could include music from an earlier era. 'Modern' covered anything that derived from a later fashion. The *galant* style came to England in the 1760s, delayed in its impact by some 20 years because of the continued predominance of Handel, after whose death the stage was set for the appearance of Karl Friederic Abel (1723-1787) and, shortly afterwards, J.C.Bach (1735-1782). The *galant* style was essentially 'a trivialization of music, a lightening of texture, an avoidance not only of counterpoint but also of shapely bass lines and that polarization of the outer parts which is so characteristic of the High Baroque'. [34] There arose heated controversy between those who favoured the 'modern' trend and those who clung to the 'ancient' values, upholding the music of such composers as Handel, Corelli, and Geminiani, but some composers, who had been trained in, and at first wrote in, the 'ancient' style, were willing to move with the times and adopt *galant* features: one such composer was Russell's friend and colleague François-Hippolite Barthélémon (1741-1808), an anglicized Frenchman. The music of Mozart and Haydn bore witness to the advance in style from the *galant* to something even more modern, today termed Classical. Although the Romantic era, as the period from about the 1830s has been generally termed, was some way off, elements of it can be seen in some music from the end of the eighteenth century. This is largely reflected in the attitudes composers had towards music: for much of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries music had been perceived as a science; from about

[33] Millin, Aubin L. *Dictionnaire des beaux-arts* (Paris, 1806) quoted in le Huray and Day (1981), 198.

[34] *Blackwell* (1990), IV 205.

1760 it came to be regarded as something inexplicable or a mystery. During Russell's day there was much writing on music and aesthetics, signalling the rise of Romanticism. [35] In the late eighteenth century 'Romantic' meant exotic, fanciful, or fabulous, but later Charles Pierre Baudelaire's definition was 'the most recent and up-to-date expression of beauty'; he also said, 'romanticism is neither a choice of subject, nor exact truth, but a way of feeling.' [36] Inevitably Romanticism is, in part, bound up with the love of and unity with nature. The imitation or representation of nature in music was an important, but only a basic, expression of Romanticism; it occurs with some frequency in the music of Russell and his contemporaries. Linked with this concept is the growing interest in folksongs and the feeling for elements of a national style found in them. William Russell lived at a time when musical styles were diverse, changing, and controversial. Like some of his contemporaries he did not set out to be either 'ancient' or 'modern' but developed his own blend of the two styles.

Musical literature.

In 1776, the year before Russell's birth, two important histories of music were published: Sir John Hawkins's *General History of the Science and Practice of Music* and the first volume of Dr. Charles Burney's *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period;* subsequent volumes were published in 1782 and 1789. Each history was written from a different viewpoint but together they provided

[35] Kassler (1979), lx-lxii.

[36] le Huray and Day (1981), 6, 549.

authoritative commentaries on music. In 1814, the year after Russell's death, the first English biographical dictionary of musicians of any considerable importance was published: it was the Reverend William Bingley's two-volume *Musical Biography;* the details were gathered, in part, from the persons included in the work, and it is therefore probable that William Russell (who collaborated with Bingley on a publication of Welsh Airs in 1803) furnished the author with his own personal entry (see Appendix III). The professional or amateur musician could read articles on music from a number of periodicals, some dealing solely with music, many of a more varied nature. Sometimes articles might be limited to reviews of new publications, but often essays on some aspect of the art might be included, and, if the ideas propounded were controversial, much correspondence might arise. The composer who was the favourite subject in periodicals was Mozart, not just because of his musical genius but because his life held mystery. [37] Among the most important periodicals containing writings on music during Russell's day were *The Monthly Magazine* (1796-1826), for which Busby reviewed new music, and the short-lived *The New Musical Magazine, Review and Register* (1809-1810), which contains forceful advertising and lively discussion. Before Kollmann's *An Essay on Musical Harmony* (1796) and *An Essay on Practical Musical Composition* (1799) the eighteenth century had seen the publication of few important treatises on composition. Russell subscribed to the latter, which presents clearly and in detail how a young composer should set out to write different types and forms of musical composition. The two publications received good reviews, including one by Burney in the *Monthly Review* (1800) praising the second *Essay* for its comprehensive nature, although criticizing some of the

[37] L. Langley (1983), 70.

German-born author's use of English. [38] Another, by Busby in the *Monthly Magazine* (1799), welcomed the second publication as thorough and containing 'a variety of remarks, which will be found to be curious and edifying.' [39]

Musical training.

Apart from studying printed books and music, a musician's training often came from serving an apprenticeship. The value of apprenticeship to a composer can only be calculated by relating individual circumstances and results: Burney was disparaging of the menial tasks set him by Thomas Arne, and yet the copying of much of his master's work must have taught him a great deal. [40] R.J.S.Stevens evidently was satisfied with the training he received from William Savage: on the expiry of his apprenticeship he 'thanked him sincerely for all his kindness.' [41] Such apprenticeships generally prepared the young musician for work in the Church. Less formal apprenticeships or training were sometimes gained from within the family, as was largely the case with William Russell. There were, at this time, no music conservatories (as there were in Europe), nor training facilities for musicians at the Universities. A young musician could learn a great deal from being allowed to experience the work of rehearsing and composing in the theatre: Samuel Arnold learned

[38] Kassler (1979), 655.

[39] *Monthly Magazine* (1799), 561.

[40] Parkinson (1992).

[41] Argent (1992), 15.

in this way, and later Russell was to do the same. It was probably in this environment that a musician could learn most about the latest styles in composition, and this could be supported by attending concerts of 'modern' music; however, merely watching and listening could not be as educative as being able also to study the score; in fact, with regard to 'modern' music, John Marsh declared, 'it is impossible for any ear to receive and clearly distinguish the effect of many parts together, unless assisted by the eye in looking over the score, at least not till after several hearings.' [42] The study of 'ancient' music has always been part of the English musician's training, and a reverence for music of the past was more evident in England than on the continent. The brothers Charles and Samuel Wesley were typical of the age in being trained primarily in the art of 'ancient' music; those composers who had no sympathy with the 'modern' style, or who displayed no curiosity for it, were destined to remain conservative in their art. How restricted William Russell was by his training and environment will be explored in the ensuing chapters.

[42] Quoted in *Blackwell* (1990), IV 13.

CHAPTER II

The Russell family.

The youthful years.

William Russell was born on 6 October 1777. His parents were Hugh (1737-1825) and Elizabeth (1747-1824); William was their first child and at 20 days old he was baptized at their Parish Church of St. Andrew's, Holborn. [1] The family home was at 28, Theobalds Road, a leasehold property which provided not only housing for the family (and doubtless servants too) but also shops and out-buildings for Hugh's work as an organ builder. Additionally Hugh leased a workshop further along the road at no. 39. It is possible that Hugh Russell had served an apprenticeship with the noted organ builder Samuel Green. [2] However, what is certain is that, during the 1770s and 1780s, Hugh worked with John England building and repairing organs in the London area; later the partnership was dissolved and Hugh went on to provide organs for customers nationwide--in fact two of his instruments were installed in Roman Catholic Chapels in Cork, Ireland. Besides building organs Hugh was a competent player: he was organist at St. Mary Aldermary in the City, and it was for this Church that he had provided a so-called 'annuity' organ. The terms of the contract were unusual but not unique for their day; the concept of an annuity organ arose during the middle of the eighteenth century to enable parishes to obtain an organ without first having to raise funds for it.

[1] GB Lg Ms. 6667 XII.

[2] Freeman (1925), 194.

The scheme meant that the supplier (often the builder) of the instrument also arranged for someone to play it for an indefinite number of years (the lifetime of the annuitant, or, depending on the terms of the contract, his dependants) in return for regular payment from the Church for that duration. This payment covered the cost of the organ and its maintenance, and the services of an organist, and, since the average annual cost of the last two amounted to about the same sum as the annuity payment, it was an attractive venture for Churches who had, until then, no organ. For the annuitant it meant that a regular income was assured for his (and possibly his dependants') lifetime. The scheme predates by half a century what has been considered to be the earliest instances of hire purchase, whereby, from the early years of the nineteenth century, pianos were bought. The first annuity organ to be built was for the Church of St. Katherine Coleman where, in 1741, the instrument was provided by Thomas Griffin, who also played it. Altogether there were 11 annuity organs built in London, the last being at St. Olave Jewry in 1814. Hugh Russell built the organ for St. Mary Aldermary between 1781 and 1783 and played it himself, later giving the job to his children: first to William, and, when William found other employment, to Timothy (whose name appears in the subscribers' list to Russell's first set of Organ Voluntaries of 1804 as 'Organist, St. Mary Aldermary'), and eventually to his second child, Ann; the annual payment for this was 44 guineas, which continued to be paid quarterly or half yearly until Ann's death in 1854. [3] The annual sum exceeded the average salary for an organist in the City (see pages 40-41); thus Hugh Russell could gradually recoup the cost of building the organ and maintaining it, and later the excess was profit. Records do not indicate the cost of the instrument, but organs of a similar size had been

[3] GB Lg Mss.4863 IV, 739B.

purchased for various London Churches for a price in the region of £400-£500. The instrument was pronounced to be 'a very grand organ, both in Tone and Size'; [4] the specification is set out below.

Three manuals; Great and Choir compasses GG-f'''
Swell compass f-f'''

Great		Swell		Choir	
Open Diapason	8	Open Diapason	8	Stopped Diapason	8
Stopped Diapason	8	Stopped Diapason	8	Principal	4
Principal	4	Principal	4	Flute	4
Twelfth	2-2/3	Cornet	III	Fifteenth	2
Fifteenth	2	Trumpet	8	Vox humana	8
Sesquialtera	IV	Hautboy	8		
Furniture	II				
Trumpet	8				
Clarion	4				
Cornet (from c')	V				

Russell's organ at St. Mary Aldermary.

Hugh and Elizabeth had a third child, Timothy, in 1781, but he died in early infancy; their fourth child, another son, was also christened Timothy, on 15 December 1782. [5] Three years later another daughter was born and she was named after her mother, [6] and three years after that the youngest child, Sarah, was born and was baptised on 26 October 1788--exactly 11 years after William's baptism. [7]

There is no evidence indicating how the Russell children were

[4] Gb Lcm Ms. 1161 f. 73v.

[5] GB Lg Mss. 6673 XII and 6667 XIII.

[6] GB Lg Ms. 6667 XIII.

[7] GB Lg Ms. 6667 XIII.

educated. It is possible that they had a private tutor because Hugh was quite well off: he had shares which had been bought through the Bank of England, [8] indicating that his annual income was well in excess of his expenditure of £400 (see page 7). Because of his ownership of the organ building business, and because of its undoubted success--there seems to have been no shortage of work, and both contemporary and later reports [9] on his instruments were full of approval--Hugh probably had an income which was higher than average for his class and station. In any event William's education enabled him to achieve neat handwriting and a fluent use of language (as shown in his letters), [10] and a good understanding of Latin (indicated by his settings of Latin texts to music). William's formal musical education began at the age of eight when he took lessons with William Cope, organist at St. Saviour's Church, Southwark, and seller of music and instruments. [11] Hugh was keen for his son to receive a thorough musical education and sent William to the active and experienced teacher, William Shrubsole, to be taught the highest standards of Cathedral service music. Shrubsole was organist at Lady Huntingdon's Chapel, Spa Fields, Clerkenwell; he had previously been organist at Bangor Cathedral and had been brought up in a Cathedral environment as a chorister at Canterbury Cathedral. Another of Shrubsole's pupils was Benjamin Jacob (1778-1829) who became a close

[8] GB Lpro 611/1705 Last Will and Testament of Hugh Russell.

[9] GB Lg Ms.4864/1 (24 Jan.1781).
Times 1 July 1809.
Musical Journal (1840), 163, 378.
Organ (1950), 123.

[10] GB Ltcf Russell (1798).

[11] Humphries and Smith (1970), 116.

friend of William Russell. [12] For his final stage of training William was sent to study for two years with John Groombridge, organist at St. John's, Hackney and St. Stephen's, Coleman Street. Groombridge was a friend of Arne and published some of his music. After this period of tuition Russell set about the practice of music for himself, both as organist and singer. When he was still only a youth of 11 years, in 1789, Hugh had appointed him as his deputy organist at St. Mary Aldermary where he continued until 1793; in 1790 and 1791 William and Benjamin Jacob were two of the trebles in the choir for the Commemoration of Handel Festivals at Westminster Abbey. Russell became director of music at the Great Queen Street Chapel in 1793; here he put into practice the instruction in Cathedral music which his father had providentially arranged, because at this Chapel 'a small but respectable choir' performed Cathedral-style sung services. [13] He remained in this post until the summer of 1798 when the Chapel became converted into a Methodist meeting house. By 1794, when he was 17, Russell was already established as a professional musician: his entry in Doane's *Musical Directory*, published that year, lists him as organist and choral singer, member of the Cecilian Society and of the Concert of Ancient Music, and chorus singer in oratorio at Covent Garden and in the 'grand performances' in Westminster Abbey. [14] His name is listed as [principal?] chorister along with two others on the case of the old Choir organ at Westminster Abbey; this organ case, which was removed to Shoreham Parish Church in Kent in 1847, also displayed names and dates

[12] Sainsbury (1824), I 386.

[13] Bingley (1814), II 282.

[14] Doane (1794), 56, 73-75.

of the Abbey organists from the eighteenth century. The chorister names appeared thus:

C. J. Dare 1796

W. Russell 1797

N. Phillips 1811 [15]

Russell's established ties with Westminster Abbey were doubtless strengthened when, in 1797 (the year noted on the organ case), he began a three-year period of compositional study with Samuel Arnold (1740-1802) who was organist both at the Abbey and at the Chapel Royal. Benjamin Jacob had become a harmony pupil of Arnold the previous year and, like Russell, was to find this tutor helpful and influential in extending professional engagements. A single quarto page manuscript exists in the British Library [16] in the form of a letter from Arnold to Russell explaining discords, concords, and their application in the realization of a figured bass; in another hand is the note: 'This is evidently the first lesson in Thorough Bass which Russell rec^{d}. from D^{r}. Arnold'. Figure 1 shows a transcription of the 'lesson'.

[15] Payne (1930), 23-24.
A personal communication confirmed the presence of the organ case at Shoreham 30 years ago, but a recent visit showed that the panel with the names carved on it is no longer there, neither are its whereabouts known to the incumbent.

[16] GB Lbm Add. Ms. 11730 f. 17.

Perfect (or Common) Chords are composed of the 3rd, 5th & 8th--these Chords are founded on the key note, the 4th & 5th of the key.

---

concords are 1, 3, 5, 6, 8.

Discords are 2, 4, 7, 9 and any two notes joining to each other, that are struck at the same time (viz.) 6/5 etc.

1-2 3-4 5 6-7 8-9

tis the property of all Discords to Descend a degree & resolve into a Concord, except the sharp 7th: the reason of wch is all sharps must ascend.

Upwards keynote		Common Chord	Downwards keynote		common
2nd	requires a	♮6th	2	requires ____	6
3	_____	6	3	_____	♮6
4	_____	6/5	4	common	5/6
5	common		5	_____	
6	_____	6	6	_____	6
7	_____	6/5	7	_____	♮6
8	common		8	common	

of the account to the figures

a 6th is acc. with	8/3	and is the Comm. Chord to the 3rd below.
a 6/4 is acc. wth	8	and is the Comm. Chord to the 4th above.
a 4/2 is acc. wth	6	and is a Comm. Chord to the note above.
a 6/5 is acc. wth	8	and is a Comm. Chord wth a sixth added.
a 7 is acc. wth	5/3	and is a Comm. Chd. to the 3d above.
♮ (sharp) wth	4/3	
4 wth	8/5	
9 with	5/3	sharp ♮ acc. 5/4/2
9/4 with	5	

Fig. 1: Russell's first lesson in thoroughbass from Arnold.

Early works and employment.

At this time Russell's compositions mainly comprised anthems, which were probably intended for his Chapel choir. On relinquishing his post at the redundant Great Queen Street Chapel in 1798, Russell returned to his old position at St. Mary Aldermary for three months until, in September of that year, he was appointed organist at St. Ann's Church in Limehouse. This area of London was rapidly developing in industry but its population had drastically declined in the eighteenth century: the

population in 1710-1711 of 7,020 was reduced to 4,678 by 1801. [17] However, industry was fast increasing: in 1781 the canal, the Limehouse Cut, was created; between 1800 and 1810 the important thoroughfare, Commercial Road, was built; and between 1804 and 1814 the Regent's Canal Dock was constructed. Russell had some connection with the school at Limehouse, which had been founded in 1779, because he composed a 'Hymn for Limehouse School' on 29 August 1799. [18] It begins 'Father of mercy hear our Prayer for those who do us good'--words which convey a sentiment commonly instilled into the poor and deprived who were in receipt of charity. The hymn may have been written to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the school, which had been opened as a girls' school but soon accepted boys also. Russell must have known Mary Williams who taught the children to sing psalms; she became the next organist at St. Ann's Church.

Before the closure of the Chapel in Great Queen Street, Russell--perhaps seeing redundancy looming--had applied for the post of organist at the Foundling Hospital, one of the most sought-after and highly-prized positions in London. He was one of eight candidates, the others being Mr. Carter, Miss Emily Dowding, (a foundling brought up in the Hospital--she was organist at the Temple and later that year she was appointed at the Magdalen Hospital), Mr. [Charles] Dupuis (son of Dr. Thomas Sanders Dupuis), John Immyns (a nearby resident to the Russell family--he lived at 68 Red Lion Street), Mrs. M. A. Kaylan, Mr. Parkis, and Samuel Wesley (a friend of Russell's). Each week from 18 March until 30 April one

[17] M. D. George (1987), 76-77, 409.

[18] GB Lbm Add. Ms. 51017 f. 42v.

candidate was heard by the Governors and General Committee of the Hospital; it is not surprising that Mrs. Kaylan was overwhelmed by the superior musical rank of her co-applicants and withdrew due to 'powerful competitors'. [19] Prior to their performance each candidate had had to provide testimonials signed by notable professional musicians who would recommend him or her for the post. Russell's testimonials were written by Samuel Arnold and Thomas Attwood, organist of St. Paul's Cathedral; those who also vouched for him by endorsing his application were the Honourable John Spencer, John Wall Callcott, organist at St. Paul's Covent Garden and at the Asylum for female orphans, R. Guise, the Master of the Choristers at Westminster Abbey, Charles Knyvett, organist at the Chapel Royal and alto singer, William Parsons, the Master of the King's Band, and Charles Burney, one of the most respected musicians of the day. After the candidates had all performed, the Committee and those involved in the affairs of the Foundling Hospital voted for the one they preferred. The results of the voting were:

For	Mr. Immyns	50
	Miss Dowding	41
	Mr. Russell	2

[the remainder received no votes]

Whereupon the Vice President declared that Immyns was Organist. [20] Immyns's election was engineered by Joah Bates, an influential Governor of the Hospital. Bingley, in his biography of Russell, wrote of his defeat: 'owing to the powerful interest that had been made for the person who

[19] GB Ltcf Gen. Comm. 14 March 1798.

[20] GB Ltcf Gen. Comm. 9 May 1798.

succeeded, his wishes were at that time frustrated'. [21] As a result of the election, Wesley anonymously published the following song entitled 'The Organ Laid open, or the True Stop Discovered', the words of which Vincent Novello said were written by the Rev. Martin Madan, chaplain to the Lock Hospital:

The Organ Laid open, or the True Stop Discovered.

Come all my brave Boys that want Organists' Places
I'll tell you the fun of the thing,
Curse all your Bravuras, your fine 'Poggiaturas
All the Demis and Semis you'll bring.

You may strike up no matter, 'Malbrook', 'Stoney Batter'
Or whatever comes into your pates,
For let Handel or Worgan go thresh at the Organ
If you've got the right key with Jo B____.

The Foundling's grand Organ was lately the gift
And all were determined to try,
Each made his best shift with a Finger so swift
And 'Cock sure of Election am I'.

But to give 'em their trimmings, up popp'd Maister Immyns
And quickly decided their Fates,
I can't, it is true, move my finger like you,
But I've found out the stop of Jo B____.

[21] Bingley (1814), II 282.

When Nebuchadnezzar his image set up
His frolic appeared rather odd,
That at music so paltry as Sackbut and Psalt'ry
Each knee should bow down to his god.

This prophetic affair one would almost declare
To our Day of Election relates,
For the sounds that combine have but serv'd for a sign
To fall down and worship Jo B____.

Then know by these presents all Men it concerns,
What succession of farces is playing by turns,
In ev'ry sound that your fancy creates
For the true Diapason is Mister Jo B____. [22]

Russell therefore continued with his one organist's position at St. Ann's Limehouse; indeed, he retained the post all his life. He supplemented his lessons with Arnold (which continued until 1800) with personal study of the works of the great masters, particularly Handel (he possessed some arrangements of his vocal music in his youth), Haydn, and Mozart; [23] and he subscribed to a new publication in 1799: *An Essay on Practical Musical Composition* by Augustus Kollmann (1756-1829) an organist, composer, and theorist. This book set out to advise the competent musician in the practice of composing, explaining form and structure, and the use of instruments or voices. There is much emphasis on the writing

[22] *Musical Times* (1902), XLIII 378.

[23] GB Lbm Add. Ms. 51019.
Bingley (1814), II 281.

of invertible counterpoint, which was the most prevalent contrapuntal technique of the period. Kollmann drew upon a wide variety of material to illustrate his teaching--he cites, and sometimes provides examples of, pieces by J.S.Bach, Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Clementi, and many others. In 1800 Arnold gave Russell an opening into the musical world of the theatre by recommending him to the managers of Sadler's Wells. Here Russell was called upon to write music for numerous pantomimes and to rehearse the singers and band, working alongside Charles Dibdin, who, years later, recalled

> For my Coadjutors I had--*Composers*...the late Mr.William Russell, who was one of the finest organists in the Kingdom, and also my Composer and Conductor of the Musical Department, presiding at the Piano Forte in the Orchestra. [24]

Later employment.

At the Foundling Hospital Immyns did not remain in favour for long: in the summer of 1800 he had neglected his duty of teaching a Psalm to the children, [25] and in January 1801 he was severely reprimanded after a special investigation by a sub committee, whose resolutions imply a lack of punctuality, poor personal behaviour, and general laxness:

> That it be recommended to the General Committee, that no Person be admitted into the Organ Loft except by Special Order of one of the Governors attending the Door....
>
> That the Organist be in the Organ Loft Ten Minutes before Eleven

[24] Speaight (1956), 42.

[25] GB Ltcf Sub Comm. 12 July 1800.

> o'Clock in the Morning, and Ten Minutes before Seven o'Clock in the Evening, and do not leave the Loft during Service without some special reason. That the Organist be informed that the Governors expect from him not only punctuality of attendance, but that, he shall always attend decently and properly dressed. [26]

At the beginning of March 1801 Immyns tendered his resignation. [27] It would seem that he played no small part in bringing about Russell's appointment as his successor, because during the following week he wrote to the General Committee saying that 'Mr. Russell would officiate for him on Sunday next', which the Committee approved. [28] Having heard Russell perform at the Sunday services the General Committee resolved unanimously at their meeting 'That Mr. Russell be recommended to the next General Court to be elected Organist to the Foundling Chapel, in room of Mr. Immyns who has resigned'. [29] Accordingly Russell was elected organist on 1 April 1801. In his letter of acceptance he is typically humble, although the contemporary high-flown language may sound somewhat ingratiating to modern ears. He was conscious of the lack of advertising and therefore the absence of competition on this occasion:

[26] GB Ltcf Sub Comm. 17 Jan. 1801.

[27] Ward Russell (1985), 28.

[28] GB Ltcf Gen. Comm. 11 March 1801.

[29] GB Ltcf Gen. Comm. 18 March 1801.

To the General Committee of the Foundling Hospital.

Gentlemen,

I have received from your Secretary a Resolution of the last General Court appointing me to the enviable Office of Organist to your respectable Institution.

If a proper sense of the invaluable honor *[sic]* and the peculiarly handsome manner in which it was conferred can be envinced by a diligent exertion of my humble abilities in the Duties of the Trust reposed; I flatter myself with the hope I shall not be wanting in expressing my Gratitude.

28 Theobalds Road.

Ap. 8th. 1801 I am Gentlemen
with the greatest respect
Your most obed^{t}. and obliged Servt.
William Russell Jun. [30]

Russell's salary was £50 per annum, which was paid quarterly--on Lady Day, Midsummer Day, Michaelmas Day, and Christmas Day. [31] The total annual payments to 'organists, attendants and singers' ranged between £105 and £213 during the years Russell was at the Hospital (he remained in the post until his death in 1813), and indicates the value the Governors put on music. [32] The organist's salary remained at £50 until 1833 when it rose to £60. [33] The average salary for an organist in a London Church

[30] GB Ltcf Gen.Comm. 8 April 1801.

[31] GB GLro A/FH.

[32] GB Ltcf (1802-13), accounts.
Ward Russell (1985), 30.

[33] GB Ltcf Mus.Comm. 17 April 1827.
GB Ltcf A/FH/A/3/12, accounts.

between 1790 and 1820 was £30 [34] (Russell received £45 at Limehouse [35]); however, it should be noted that the Foundling Hospital post was considerably more demanding with its children's choir, singing teaching, composing special anthems for services, and attending meetings. [36]

Russell had not been long at the Foundling Hospital when, in January 1802, he became a Freeman of the City of London by redemption in the [Worshipful] Company of Musicians for the sum of 46s 6d. [37] This step was to prove propitious for future generations of Russells. Soon he was obliged to be excused Sunday duties at the Hospital, chiefly for reasons of ill health. On such occasions he was not only required to provide a deputy, but, as the following resolution specifies, that deputy had to be approved by the General Committee:

> Resolved that the Organist be informed that when he finds himself unable to attend his Duty in the Chapel, that he do send notice thereof to the Sub-Committee on the Saturday preceding (except when Mr.Immyns will attend for him), Name the person he proposes to do his Duty for him and ask leave of absence. [38]

Immyns deputized on a number of occasions, and at other times Russell was able to call upon a colleague from Westminster Abbey, George Williams who was Arnold's assistant at the Abbey and later became the organist. The year 1804 in particular seems to have been one of poor health for Russell,

[34] Ward Russell (1985), 8.

[35] *Grove* (1980), XVI 336.

[36] Ward Russell (1985), 8, 30.

[37] GB Lcro Ms. CF1/1260.

[38] GB Ltcf Gen.Comm. 20 Oct.1802.

judging by the number of absences: for example

> The treasurer reported that Mr. Russell the organist on account of his health applied for leave of absence for the next three Sundays and that Mr. Immyns had been engaged to attend to the Duty in his place.
>
> Resolved, that Mr. Russell's application be complied with. [39]

It was John Immyns who recommended Russell for membership of the Royal Society of Musicians in October 1802. The document, signed by Immyns and Russell, shows that Russell was also teaching the piano privately; his work at Sadler's Wells was no longer being undertaken although he had been there as recently as August of that year for a performance of *Zoa* for which he had written the music; [40] there had been a change of proprietor and management at the Wells, all except one of the employees resigned, and William Reeve became not only a major share-holder but also the new composer. [41] In the same year that Russell had been successful in being granted the position at the Foundling Hospital, he was chosen to accompany three famous singers in a celebrity concert at Covent Garden: John Braham, Anna Storace, and Elizabeth Billington. Braham (1774-1856) was a tenor who had received acclaim both in England and abroad when he was on a five-year tour of Europe with Anna Storace (1765-1817); she was a fine soprano who was half Italian and had received tuition from leading Italian singers; her voice was well-suited to opera buffa and was admired by Mozart who wrote the part of Susanna in *Le nozze di Figaro* for her. Mrs. Billington (1765-1818) also had an international

[39] GB Ltcf Gen. Comm. 1 July 1804.

[40] *Times* 30 Aug. 1802.

[41] Speaight (1956), 52-53, 55.

reputation; she is regarded as one of the finest coloratura sopranos of all time and was famous for her range extending to g''' and for her embellishments, which she added in profusion. Certainly a sensitive and skilful accompanist was required to work with these three singers. Russell's gift in this respect was commented upon by two of his friends: Samuel Wesley (1766-1837) said 'he eminently excelled as an admirable and delicate Accompanyist *[sic]*, and very few could be named with him in executing complicated and difficult Compositions at first sight with Adroitness and Accuracy' [42] and Vincent Novello (1781-1861) described him as 'the most charming and judiciously effective *Accompanyist* [sic]' and 'tho' not equal to the great Samuel Wesley as an extempore fugist, yet as an accompanist he was superior to him.' [43]

Later works.

From his earliest compositions Russell had shown particular interest in vocal music, and he pursued this still further in four odes and two oratorios. Folksong was enjoying a revival of interest among many musicians at this time, particularly Scottish and Welsh songs, and composers both made arrangements of authentic tunes and wrote pastiche folksongs. Haydn's Scottish and Welsh song arrangements were popular and may have influenced Russell. In 1803 the Reverend William Bingley collected 60 Welsh airs; prior to publishing them, though, he needed to adapt them to the keyboard (many were gathered from Welsh 'harpers') and he chose Russell to make the transcriptions, providing him with the

[42] GB Lbm Add. Ms. 27593 ff. 93-94.

[43] GB Lbm Add. Ms. 31120 f. 101.

melodies and what original basses he had, in order that the arrangements might be as close as possible to the original. [44] Russell made simple piano/harpsichord arrangements and wrote sets of variations for several of the songs. His thoroughness was applauded in a review of the publication: 'by his judicious basses and ingenious variations [he] has qualified them as well for the piano-forte practitioner, as the vocal amateur.... [He] has prefixed, in a separate page, both the Welsh and English titles.' [45] His interest in Scottish songs came later, and he wrote some original songs in that style using Scottish texts.

In 1804 Russell's first set of organ voluntaries was published by subscription; the review in the *Monthly Magazine* indicates that Russell was well known as an organ performer and deserved to be better known as a composer; of the music the comments contain nothing but praise. [46] During the next few years Russell composed more theatre music and music for the Roman Catholic church. Since quitting Sadler's Wells he had found similar employment at Covent Garden; among the light operas he wrote for this establishment are *Rugantino* (1805), *The Wild Islanders*, and *Adrian and Orilla* (both 1807). The pantomime *Harlequin and Time*, for which Russell wrote the music in 1806, was performed at the New Royal Circus. During the same year he composed a setting of the Latin Mass--an astonishing thing for a member of the Church of England to do. Roman Catholicism had been suppressed until 1791, when the Mass was permitted to be celebrated in public, but Catholics had had access to the Chapels of the diplomatic

[44] GB Lbm g 443 p, preface.

[45] *Monthly Magazine* (1803), 269.

[46] *Monthly Magazine* (1804), 52.

representatives of various Catholic countries, where, under the protection of international law, full rites could be celebrated. Under the musical leadership of such composers as Arne, the Webbes, and Novello, these Chapels became renowned for the splendour of their music. From 1791 the Chapel choirs who had sung the Mass from about 1767 grew, and larger-scale pieces could be performed, particularly Masses by Haydn, Mozart, and numerous Italian composers. [47] Samuel Wesley had briefly been converted to Roman Catholicism and this resulted in the *Missa de Spiritu Sancto* (1784) which he dedicated to Pope Pius VI. It was the music of the Catholic Church which had attracted Wesley, and doubtless the same may be said of Russell, who showed no signs of theological interest in it. Their mutual friend Vincent Novello was a Roman Catholic, and organist of the Portuguese Embassy, where Wesley sometimes deputized for him and wrote music for the services there. [48] In 1811 Novello published a two-volume *Collection of Sacred Music as performed at the Royal Portuguese Chapel*, which contains Masses or parts of Masses by composers mentioned above. Russell's venture into Catholic music in 1806, although it did not reach publication, was probably performed by Novello at the Portuguese Chapel. [49] Subsequent Latin settings include sketches for a Mass in D Major (1808-1811) and a motet *Domine salvum fac* (1812).

Russell was closely in touch with new developments in organ building through his father's and brother's work--Timothy worked in partnership with Hugh. Many of the improvements carried out on organs by the Russells

[47] Darby (1984), 35, 131.

[48] Darby (1984), 70

[49] Russell's Mass in C Minor (1806) has been edited by Gillian Ward Russell and performed in London (1988) and Branston by Belvoir, Leicestershire (1989).

concerned the adding of a Swell division or extending the existing Swell, and adding pedal pulldowns. They worked on many London organs as well as building new ones in various parts of the country. William naturally wanted to avail himself of the latest improvements, and in 1805 he wrote to the Governors of the Foundling Hospital requesting a major rebuilding of the organ:

> To the Gentlemen of the Committee, Foundling Hospital.
>
> Gentlemen,
>
> The Organ in the Foundling Chapel having for a considerable time past, been very much out of order, I have taken the liberty of writing to explain to the Gentlemen of the Committee what is necessary to be done immediately, and also what improvement I wish to be made to it. At present there is not one Stop in Tune all through the Organ, but I do not mean to attach any blame on that account to the person that has care of it, as it is owing to the Organ being very dirty, having never been cleaned since the Chapel was repaired in 1798:- And as to improvements, the Swell should be new, to consist of 7 stops, viz open Diapason, stop Diapason, Principal, Trumpet, Cornet, Hautboy and Clarion. At present it has only the first four stops, and is productive of little or no Effect. The Flute stop (which is a very good one) should be moved from the Full Organ to the Choir Organ and the Choir Organ Soundboard enlarged so as to make room for it: it has never been played on for many years:- there should be a Cornet stop added to the Full Organ, the Tierce should be made to draw separate, the sesquialtera improved and a greater fulness *[sic]* of Tone given to the Diapasons: there are in most Church Organs seven solo stops: not one of which is in the

Foundling Organ, viz. two Cornets, Hautboy, Clarion, Bassoon, French Horn, and German Flute, the first four Stops should be added to the Foundling Organ, the other three I do not wish for.- At present I have at least three times as much Duty as other Organists, and not above one third of the stops to play upon that the Church Organists have, the consequence of which is that day after day I am obliged to play over and over again continually in the same Stile *[sic]*, because the Organ is not possessed of half the variety it ought to have, and lest that any improper Idea should go abroad with respect to the improvement proposed, I here think it necessary to say that all I wish is to have the Foundling Organ possessed of the same necessary variety of Stops that other Organs have: And as the Organ has the advantage of Quarter Notes, the compass of the keys should be made complete, by adding the double G# and double A♭ all through the Organ, - the Cremona Stop should also be made complete, at present it is only a half stop. - The Organ might be cleaned and the whole improvement added (without stopping one Sunday) for £120, towards which I would with pleasure subscribe £15 and assure the Gentlemen of the Committee, that with the improvement I propose, the Foundling Organ would be nearly, if not quite equal to the Temple [Organ] which is the finest in England; and they would also have the Service performed much better than it is possible to play at present, as instead of 8 or 9 solo stops there are but two, viz. Trumpet and half the Cremona. - The New Swell and all the other improvements except the double G sharp and double A flat, might be done for 80 guineas, but without these two large Notes, the Organ will never

be complete, and in recommendation of the above improvement. I can only add, that should the Gentlemen of the Committee agree to it, they will have as fine an Organ as any in London, and will not want any further addition or repair except when it arises from age.

I am, Gentlemen, with the greatest Respect,
your most obedt. and very humble Servant
Wm. Russell Jun. [50]

After careful deliberation the General Committee decided to approve the plan [51] and the work was carried out by Hugh Russell with Thomas Attwood as consultant. [52] Four years later Hugh Russell carried out similar improvements to the organ at St. Ann's, Limehouse.

Clearly the size and content of the organ were crucial to Russell and influenced him in his organ compositions--or perhaps it was what he desired to achieve in his compositions that led him to request such organ improvements. In June 1807, 'induced chiefly by the excellence of the the organ, which is not only the largest but one of the finest in England,' Russell applied for the post of organist at Christ Church, Spitalfields. [53] He had 10 co-applicants and the results of the voting placed him second; apparently the successful candidate had, for some considerable time, been collecting promises of votes and 'exertions had been made' on his behalf; this and other vestries in London were known for

[50] GB Ltcf Gen.Comm. 6 March 1805.
See also Ward Russell (1985), 33-37.

[51] GB Ltcf Gen.Comm. 13 March 1805.

[52] GB Ltcf Gen.Comm. 19 Feb. 1806.

[53] Bingley (1814), II 282.

their corruption. [54]

Among Russell's friends and colleagues were the Nightingale brothers Joseph (1778-1847), John (1790-1833), and Alfred (1796-1825). Russell recommended the two youngest brothers to membership of the Royal Society of Musicians in 1807 and 1812 respectively. John deputized for Russell at the Foundling Hospital and eventually succeeded him as organist. Russell was diligent in attending Governors' meetings of the R.S.M. and in 1808 he took the chair; he was succeeded in this office by John Nightingale. Joseph was working as pianist at the Royal Circus in 1807, a time when Russell was also employed there; in 1820 Joseph became organist at St. Helen's, Bishopsgate where William Henry Cutler (1792-after 1824) had been organist from 1809 until 1819. Cutler was a pupil of Russell, who taught him theory; as a boy he possessed a fine treble voice and sometimes sang solo parts for Russell; he also became a composer, and in 1811 he dedicated a piano work 'Les deux amis' to his teacher; [55] he obtained his B.Mus. in 1813. One of Russell's best piano pupils was Sarah Jennings, whom Vincent Novello also considered an excellent performer: [56] she herself became a teacher of piano and singing in Hackney.

1808, a year of achievements.

1801 had been an important year in Russell's career, and 1808

[54] Bingley (1814), II 283.
Temperley (1979), I 117.

[55] *Monthly Magazine* (1811), 55.

[56] GB Lsm *Personal file of William Russell*, letter from Novello to R.S.M. (5 Dec.1824), indenture of Mary Ann Russell (26 Sept.1824).

provided another landmark: on 26 January his exercise for the Oxford Bachelor of Music degree was performed at the Music School in Oxford; it is a *Kyrie* and *Gloria* for four soloists, six-part choir, and orchestra. Most supplicant musicians at Oxford were under the aegis of Magdalen Hall, and this is where Russell matriculated. Candidates for the B.Mus. had to provide evidence that they had been in the music profession for at least seven years; their examination comprised conducting a performance of their own vocal composition with orchestral accompaniment; the choruses had to exhibit five-part writing for B.Mus and six- to eight-part writing for D.Mus.; five years had to elapse between the granting of a B.Mus. and the application for a D.Mus.--fate was to preclude Russell from applying for the higher degree. This latter rule had been allowed to lapse during the eighteenth century, to the extent that some musicians were awarded 'accumulated' degrees--the simultaneous awarding of B.Mus. and D.Mus.--however, during Crotch's time as Professor of Music (1797-1847) there was a return to more rigorous adherence to the rules. Russell was a typical B.Mus. supplicant: most candidates were organists in Cathedrals or principal Churches and the award of this degree would be their greatest achievement; [57] certainly Russell advertised his degree in his publications.

The following month, on 18 February 1808, Russell married Mary Ann Morcott at St. Matthew's Church in Bethnal Green. [58] The Church had been consecrated in 1746 and during the early nineteenth century was the civic Church for the area. It was presumably at the time of his marriage that

[57] Wollenberg (1981-1982), 60.

[58] GB GLro Marriage Registers for St. Matthew, Bethnal Green (1808), 484 (682 on microfilm).

William made the short move from the family home at 28, Theobalds Road to 36, Red Lion Street: this was the address from which he wrote to the editor of the *Musical Magazine, Review & Register* in 1809 and 1810, when he took issue with several other correspondents over the inaccuracy of the descriptions of the organs in the Foundling Hospital and the Temple Church, and entered into heated discussion 'relating to Mr. Hawkes' patent'. [59] At the centre of the argument was an instrument made by William Hawkes and tuned in a particular way with extra notes incorporated (for example separate pitches for A sharp and B flat); this rivalled the work of David Loeschman, 'inventor of the Patent Grand Harmonic Piano-forte, Organ &c.' [60] Russell, who was joined in the controversy by (among others) Samuel Wesley and Benjamin Jacob, was clearly well-placed to point out the similar feature in the Foundling Hospital organ. [61]

The year 1808 was a time when Russell attempted to change his organ appointments: he applied to become Music Master at Christ's Hospital, a position which was normally coupled with that of organist at Christ Church, Newgate Street. Had he been successful, presumably he would have resigned from Limehouse because of the long journey; however, it is likely he would have retained his post at the Foundling Hospital (where he was enjoying the benefits of the large sum of money spent on the organ three years earlier) because he was engaged in composing several new anthems and psalm tunes to be included in his revision of the Hospital's own music book: *Psalms, Hymns and Anthems for the Foundling Chapel revised by Mr. W. Russell Mus. Bac. Oxon:*

[59] Kassler (1979), II 472, 913-914.

[60] *Musical Magazine, Review & Register* (1809) I 113-114.

[61] Ward Russell (1985), 21-22.

organist of the chapel was published the following year. Russell was the only rival to the successful candidate Richard J.S. Stevens (1757-1837), who was unanimously elected (or manoeuvred by an influential friend [62]) to the post of Music Master at Christ's Hospital. According to the regulations Russell was ineligible anyway, since he was neither a bachelor nor a widower. [63] Stevens himself resigned the post after two years in order to marry. Not long after the election Russell was to send to Stevens two gifts: copies of two of his anthems ('Hear o Thou Shepherd of Israel' and 'Ponder my Words') with his 'best comp[limen]ts'. [64] This suggests friendship, but in his personal diary Stevens did not show any amicable reciprocity:

> March the 25th, I was unanimously elected Music Master to Christ's Hospital, vacant by the resignation of Mr. Robert Hudson M.B. Mr. Russell, Organist to the Foundling, and Limehouse Church, was a Candidate; but he had not <u>one vote</u>. When his name was called by the Beadle, he did not appear, neither had he sent any letter of resignation. This neglect was thought excessively rude by all the Governors. Russell is undoubtedly a man of Genius and Ability, but by the little intercourse that I have had with him, he is by no means a Gentleman in behaviour. [65]

In July 1808 Russell's friend, the celebrated violinist François Hippolite Barthélémon died; he was a nephew of Arne and had been renowned

[62] Ehrlich (1985), 35.

[63] Dawe (1983), 70.

[64] GB Lam *Miscellaneous* (1809-1815) 2·9.

[65] Argent (1992), 157.

as a virtuoso player and had travelled widely to perform. Barthélémon had been a member of the Cecilian Society, who held a memorial concert which included two works 'composed expressly in honour of his memory': [66] an Elegy by Thomas Everett and 'Man that is born of woman' by Russell; the latter, a funeral anthem for voices and orchestra, was written in the short space of 12 days between 19 and 30 August. Whether Russell was commissioned by the Cecilian Society to write the anthem or whether he composed it as a personal tribute is not known.

The final years.

Following Stevens's resignation from Christ's Hospital in 1810 the post was again advertised. He wrote in his *Recollections* that Russell applied, along with Thomas Everett (possibly the composer of the Elegy mentioned above), Samuel Showell (organist of St. Stephen, Walbrook), and Robert Glenn, (who earlier had been assistant Music Master at Christ's Hospital); the latter was unanimously 'elected Music Master to Christ's Hospital in consequence of my recommendation to the Treasurer and Governors.... Russell did not attend when his name was called!' [67] This situation seems incredible on two counts: first that Russell should again apply for a post for which he was (as a married man) ineligible, and second, that he should twice not attend the announcement of the results; furthermore, there is no mention of Russell's name in the minute books of the Hospital for this date. It would seem likely that Stevens was remembering the earlier occasion when Russell was his opponent and, by the

[66] Henslow (1827), 8.

[67] Argent (1992), 173.

time of writing his *Recollections*, confused the two events.

Also in 1810, between 7 and 18 March, Russell composed a Concerto for Organ, and on 26 September his first child was born: a daughter who was named Mary Ann after her mother, and was baptised at St. James's Church, Clerkenwell on 29 November. [68] It must have been about this time that the Russells moved from the parish of St. Andrew, Holborn to a house in Cobham Row, Coldbath Fields. The terrace of houses had been built during the first quarter of the eighteenth century and the Row was graced with horse-chestnut trees, one splendid specimen remaining as a famous landmark (60 feet in height and seven feet in girth) until 1856. [69] There were seven houses in the Row, no. 1 being the public house The Cobham's Head, a handsome property containing an organ and having attractive grounds, offering a popular place for entertainment. Situated on the opposite side of the street behind a high wall was the House of Correction, and beyond lay open fields. The area would have been pleasant with the feeling of a spacious suburb on the border with the countryside; it was cheaper than living in the most fashionable parts of London (such as Westminster) and doubtless attracted the type of gentleman who was a successful professional person.

Although Russell was undoubtedly successful in his profession he was not a wealthy man. Inflation was running high with the French wars, and this caused many people to economize: Hugh Russell gave up renting his second workshop at 39, Theobalds Road and concentrated everything at number

[68] GB GLro X27/29B Baptism registers for St. James, Clerkenwell.

[69] Pinks (1865), 119.

28. William mentioned in a letter to Novello that he had 'been very short of Cash' but hoped 'to square Accounts in 2 or 3 weeks'. [70] For the musician the main source of income might come from teaching if he had a large enough practice or taught in a school; Russell's largest recorded earnings came from his Church appointments (see above, pages 40-41). The size of Russell's private teaching practice is not recorded, but he had probably built it up over the years: the testimonial signed by Immyns for the Royal Society of Musicians declared that Russell had earned his living in music since at least 1795, and it is likely that private teaching formed an early part of his career. Performance brought in further income: he gave frequent recitals, often on new organs or on instruments which had been rebuilt--as was the case at St. Mary's, Chelmsford (now the Cathedral) where the organ had been repaired and enlarged by Hugh Russell in 1803 and reopened by William, who played 'in a style of uncommon excellence,' on 25 September that year. [71]

Less formal music-making among small groups of professional organists must have been stimulating and enjoyable: on 6 November 1811 at St. Stephen's Church in Coleman Street (where Russell had probably had his lessons with John Groombridge who was the organist from 1775 until 1827) R.J.S.Stevens went to hear

> Mr.Samuel Wesley, Mr.Russell, and Mr.Novello perform on the Organ built by Avery. Mr.Wesley played a Fugue of Sebastian Bach, and Mr.Russell at the same time, doubled the Base *[sic]*

[70] GB Lbm Add.Ms.11730 f.174.

[71] *Chelmsford Chronicle* (30 Sept.1803.)

> notes, an Octave lower, which had a most grand effect.
> Mr. Russell played the Chorus of *Worthy is the Lamb*, of Handel, from the Oratorio of the *Messiah*. It was neatly done, but most certainly too quick. [72]

For some years Wesley had pioneered the performance of music by '*Saint* Sebastian...the great and matchless Genius'; [73] between 1808 and 1816 he corresponded with Benjamin Jacob on the subject, and during the years 1810-1813 collaborated with the German musician Karl Friedrich Horn (who was residing in London) to prepare an edition of Bach's 48 Preludes and Fugues and the Trio Sonatas for organ, which were arranged as duets in order to overcome the problem of the absence of an adequate/German-style pedal board. Russell's duplication of the bass part in the performance described above shows how three-stave organ music could be played on English instruments without losing the 16' pedal effect. Wesley's ardour for the music of Bach must have been infectious for those in his circle, even if it failed to touch the public at large; Russell was not immune: when he was engaged to re-open the organ at St. Nicholas, Gt. Yarmouth with 'two grand organ performances' on 8 and 10 September 1812, his programmes included music by Bach, Handel, Pergolesi, Mozart, Haydn, Baumgarten, J.B. Cramer, Wesley, and himself. [74] These recitals almost certainly introduced Bach's music to Norfolk audiences, also they indicate an interesting variety of styles; doubtless several of the pieces were arrangements of vocal music, following the trend of the times. Russell's own pieces in the programmes may have been played from his newly-published set of *12 Voluntaries for the*

[72] Argent (1992), 184-185.

[73] E. Wesley (1957), 1.

[74] GB Nro Ms. 442, f. 117.

Organ, or Piano-forte, which, the reviewers stated, were 'of distinguished excellence'. [75] The esteem with which he regarded Mozart and Haydn is indicated to some degree by the inclusion of their music in recitals; further evidence is shown in the use of a theme by Haydn (the opening of the *Paradisi gloria* from the *Stabat Mater*, which had been published in London in 1784) for the subject of the fugue in the tenth Voluntary from this 1812 set, and, at a more personal level, his admiration and homage are reflected in the naming of his second child (born on 16 March 1812 and christened on 14 December of that year) William Mozart Russell.

The culmination of Russell's interest in national folksong came in six settings of songs from Walter Scott's *Rokeby* with accompaniments for the harp or for the piano. The harp was a popular instrument at the time and Madame Dussek was one of the best-known exponents. Russell was acquainted with the harpists, the Misses Sharp, and in 1812 wrote for them a 'Harp Duet', which is really a concerto for two harps and orchestra. The use of the harp adds to the folk element of the *Rokeby* songs, and the strophic setting of 'Allen-a-Dale' in particular displays various Scottish characteristics such as a lilting, dance-like rhythm in 6/8 and Scotch-snap rhythms. The songs were published separately, but in reality they make a song cycle. Scott's poetry was in vogue, and other composers were attracted to *Rokeby* too; they include John Clarke [Whitfield], William Gresham, and John Whitaker, whose accompaniments are intended more for the harp than the piano. The reviewer of 'The Cypress Wreath' noted the popularity of these songs among musicians:

> A number of composers have furnished musick *[sic]* for this

[75] *Monthly Magazine* (Sept. 1812), 155.

> beautiful song; and one of the most successful of the number is Mr. Russell. If we had not known him as a distinguished organist, and a sound contrapuntist, this composition alone would have proved him to be a real master. [76]

A few weeks later, on 21 November 1813, William Russell died; he was 36. One week later he was buried--not in the parish in which he resided, but in the parish of his birth, St. Andrew, Holborn. He had been ill for some time, [77] although the nature of the illness and cause of death remain unknown. St. Andrew's burial ground is not close to the Church but along Grays Inn Lane (Road) where there were one and a quarter acres of garden. The sexton's account book shows that the burial cost for William was 16s. 6d; this was considerably more than most, which were either 4s. or 7s. 10d; beside his name the word 'extra' has been inscribed, presumably indicating a large plot suitable for a family vault. [78]

Obituaries appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *Monthly Magazine*. After commenting on his professional merits, the former describes Russell's character with adjectives which conclude that he was 'a most worthy man'; the picture is of a man who was dutiful, punctual, proper in his conduct, honest, unaffected in his manner, open, devoid of jealousy, and free with praise when deserved but disparaging of deception. [79] This contrasts with Stevens's comments on Russell in 1808

[76] *Monthly Magazine* (Oct. 1813), 364.

[77] GB Ltcf Gen. Comm. 30 March 1814.

[78] Cansick (1884-1885), f. 193.

[79] *Gentleman's Magazine* (Dec. 1813), 625.
Monthly Magazine (Jan. 1814), 552.

(see page 52).

At the first Wednesday meeting of the General Committee of the Foundling Hospital following Russell's death the vacancy of the organist's post was discussed and a letter from Samuel Wesley was read: in it Wesley offered to play for one or both of the following Sunday's services. [80] At the same meeting two applications for the organist's position were received; such promptness--even haste--is an indication of the distinguished reputation of the post. The two candidates were J. Pierce and Russell's friend John Nightingale who had, in the past, deputized for him. Wesley's offer was declined and Nightingale 'discharged the duty from that time to the day of his election' to the post. [81]

The family after Russell's death.

Early the following year [82] several of Russell's friends set about planning a memorial concert with the the dual purpose of honouring the man and raising money for his needy family. [83] The main work in the concert was Russell's oratorio *Job;* an account of the preparation and performance is given in chapter IV. There is evidence that Russell was respected both as a musician and as a gentleman at the Foundling Hospital, and his memory lived on there for many years: the Governors were most affable in dealing with Russell's friends in the organizing of the memorial concert; his

[80] GB Ltcf Gen. Comm. 24 Nov. 1813.

[81] GB GLro Sub Comm. 1 Jan. 1814.

[82] GB Lbm Add. Ms. 11729 f. 83.

[83] GB Ltcf Gen. Comm. 30 Mar. 1814.

edition of *Psalms, Hymns and Anthems* continued in use for many years and in the new editions of 1841 and 1861 most of his compositions, which had first been published in the 1809 collection, were retained; today the Thomas Coram Foundation for Children, which continues to administer the Foundling Hospital Charity set up by Captain Coram, maintains a library which contains manuscripts of many of Russell's anthems which were sung in the Chapel.

William Russell died intestate; this situation made it necessary for Mary Ann to apply for letters of Administration, which were granted in May, 1814: his assets amounted to £450. [64] The reduced circumstances of the Russells had been noted by both their friends and colleagues at the Foundling Hospital (see page 55 and chapter IV). Plainly, it was essential for Mary Ann to consider the family's financial future with the utmost care. She had already petitioned the Royal Society of Musicians for the widow's and family allowance, to which she was entitled because of Russell's membership of that Society: in February of 1814 three friends who were members (John Nightingale, and the brothers Nicholas and Thomas Rolfe --respectively pianist and organist) 'explained the circumstances of the family' to a meeting chaired by Novello. [65] It was agreed to pay 'the usual expenses' (£8) for Russell's funeral and to grant Mary Ann 'the allowance from this evening'. The following day she signed the agreement which entitled her to two and a half guineas per month for herself and one guinea for each of the two children; the form of agreement states that the claimant must be in receipt of no more than £20 per annum and if this sum

[64] GB Lg Mss. 9173 CXIX, 9168 XLVI.

[65] GB Lsm Governors' meeting, 6 Feb. 1814.

is exceeded the allowance is reduced accordingly. [86] Mary Ann proved to be a good business woman and managed her small income well. She was able to gain by the sale of some of her husband's music: it was common for the library of a deceased musician to be sold, and Russell's sale took place in 1814; his friend Vincent Novello purchased several items, [87] some of which have subsequently been placed in the Bodleian Library, Oxford and the British Library, London.

In 1824 Mary Ann, then living in Hackney, wrote to the Royal Society of Musicians informing them that her daughter would soon be 14 years old (and therefore at the age when she should become an apprentice). [88] It was Mary Ann's wish that her daughter should become either a 'governess in a family or remain with me and teach music'. These were two of the few occupations which a young lady could follow. Mary Ann had, the previous year, already 'expended all the profits of the Oratorio upon her [daughter's] education'--presumably this refers to money raised at the benefit concert nine years earlier. The young Mary Ann had been privately educated but records do not indicate where. On her fourteenth birthday the girl was apprenticed to Sarah Jennings a 'Professor of the Piano forte and Singing'. [89] The apprenticeship was to run for seven years and the Royal Society of Musicians paid the premium of £25. Sarah Jennings had been one

[86] GB Lsm *Personal file of William Russell*, claim for allowance (7 Feb. 1814).

[87] King (1975), V 12-13, 28, 33.
Russell's scores in GB Lbm and GB Ob bearing Novello's signature.

[88] GB Lsm *Personal file of William Russell*, letter from Mary Ann Russell (29 July 1824).

[89] GB Lsm *Personal file of William Russell*, indenture of Mary Ann Russell (26 Sept. 1824).

of William Russell's 'very best Pupils', according to Novello, who was asked to give a reference to the Society; he added, 'in my estimation she is an excellent Performer--not only as far as regards tasteful execution--but likewise with respect to the rarer attainments of playing from a figured bass--reading at sight with the greatest fluency--and a facility in playing from score.' [90] Sarah Jennings lived at 7, Trafalgar Place, Hackney, which was conveniently situated near to the Russells. Two years later, in 1826, William junior reached the age of 14. It is not recorded what apprenticeship he followed but Mary Ann once more requested help from the Royal Society of Musicians, and had cause to 'feel their kindness more than I can express for the very handsome manner in which they have met my wishes respecting my Son'. [91] In 1831 Mary Ann's apprenticeship came to an end. Sarah Jennings was able to send a good report to the Royal Society of Musicians: her charge had an 'amiable disposition and general good conduct and ability' thereby winning her 'approbation' and assurances that she would 'acquire respectability as a teacher her talent having been particularly developed in that branch of the Profession.' [92]

Changes had occurred among the older generation of Russells as well as the children: Hugh gradually passed more of the organ building work to Timothy as the nineteenth century progressed. Hugh and Elizabeth lived to

[90] GB Lsm *Personal file of William Russell*, letter from V. Novello (5 Dec. 1824).

[91] GB Lsm *Personal file of William Russell*, indenture of Mary Ann Russell (1824).

[92] GB Lsm *Personal file of William Russell*, letter from Sarah Jennings [1831].

old age: Elizabeth died in 1824 at the age of 77 and Hugh died the following year aged 88. [93] Both were laid to rest alongside their son in St. Andrew's burial ground, Holborn. [94] Hugh died a wealthy man: he left £2,000 in the Bank of England, the capital to go to Timothy and 4% interest to be divided between his two spinster daughters, Ann and Elizabeth; there were also bequests to the two grandchildren each of £1000 cash. About this time Timothy married Ellen Chambers, but her early death in 1826 at the age of 27 deprived him of marital happiness for many years. [95] In 1828 Ann married (she was 49); her husband, Philip Reilly, was a surgeon in Bloomsbury; [96] she continued to receive the annuity payments from St. Mary Aldermary and either played the organ herself or provided an organist. [97] By the time the census records of 1851 were being collected, William Mozart was married with a family of three daughters and four sons aged between nine years and three months; he was living in Lower Clapton and working as a clerk and collector of coal duties for the Corporation of London, a position he was able to obtain because of his father's Freedom of the City; he employed a resident governess and a nursemaid for the children, and a house servant. [98] At the same time Mary Ann junior was registered as a widow and head of house in Clay Hill, Bushey, Hertfordshire; she had become Mrs. de Berchem and had two daughters of nine and seven years. [99] Like her

[93] GB Lg Ms.6673 XVIII.

[94] Cansick (1884-1885), f.193.

[95] Tenterden Church, gravestone of Timothy Russell.

[96] Dawe (1983), 140.

[97] GB Lg Ms.4863 IV-VI.

[98] GB Lpro Census (1851), Hackney.

[99] GB Hcro Census (1851), Bushey.

mother, who was living with her, she had been widowed at an early age. On 2 October 1854 William's widow died after nine months of illness [100] suffering from 'decay of nature'; she was 73. Throughout her years as a widow she had constantly promoted recognition of her husband's work; this esteem and affection had evidently been instilled into her daughter too, since Mary Ann junior made the rare attribution on the death certificate 'widow of composer of music, deceased'. [101] During the summer of that year William's sister Ann had died. [102] Timothy, having been a widower for 31 years, remarried; his second wife was his sister-in-law, Anne Chambers, and the ceremony took place at St. Paul's Church, Finsbury. [103] Seventeen months later Timothy died of 'Disease of the Prostate Gland' which he had suffered for 20 years. [104] He left his leasehold property in London as well as his estate in Tenterden, Kent, to his widow and sister-in-law, Mary Chambers; he did not direct what was to happen to the organ building business. Ellen, Timothy, and later (in 1876) Anne, were buried in the same grave in Tenderden churchyard, where the memorial stone still stands. Timothy had a strong connection with this part of Kent, having built organs both for Tenterden parish Church and Rolvenden, nearby.

So lived and died the principal characters in this study. Their collective life-span of a century--from the middle of the eighteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth--was a time of change, both in art

[100] GB Lsm *Personal file of William Russell*, letter of Mary Ann de Berchem (28 Oct. 1854).

[101] GB Lgro Death certificate of Mary Ann Russell.

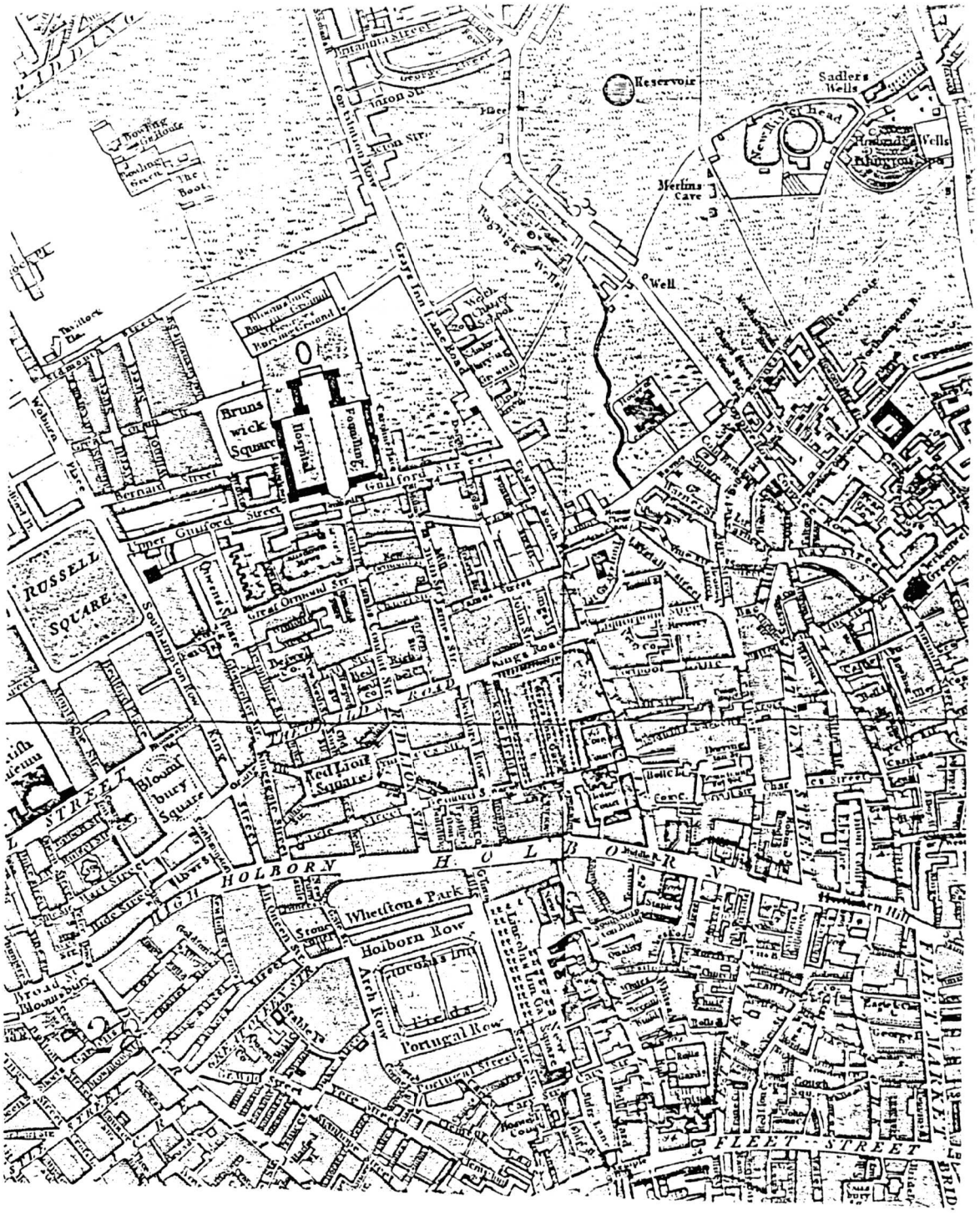
[102] GB Lg Ms. 4863 IV.

[103] GB Lgro Marriage certificate of Timothy Russell and Anne Chambers.

[104] GB Lgro Death certificate of Timothy Russell.

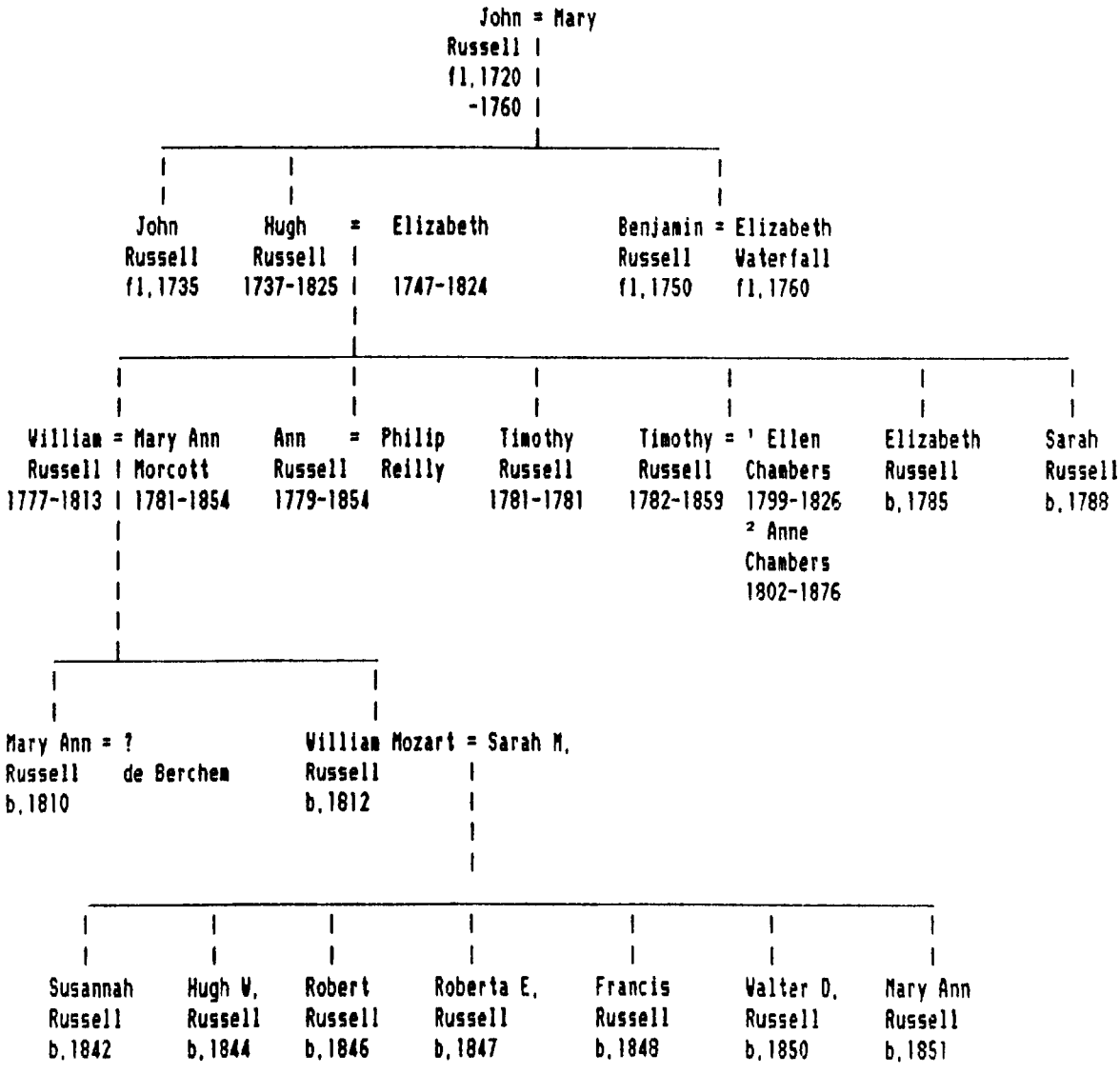
and in industry. William Russell, in his short life, attempted to keep abreast of new developments in the fields of musical composition and organ building, and, through the improvements his father made to organs, he was able to extend the scope of the organ voluntary.[105] Hugh had provided a sound musical education for him; William was unable to do this for his children because of his death when they were respectively three years and one year of age; however, his membership of the Royal Society of Musicians meant that there were sufficient funds available for the education of his children, and his Freedom of the City opened doors not only to his son but also to several of his grandchildren who took up employment in the Corporation of London. Thus William Russell's life--cut short though it tragically was--influenced the lives of the next two generations; his music, however, lives on and still touches the lives of many today.

[105] Ward Russell (1985), 101-152.



Russell's London. GB GLro FH 388.

RUSSELL FAMILY TREE

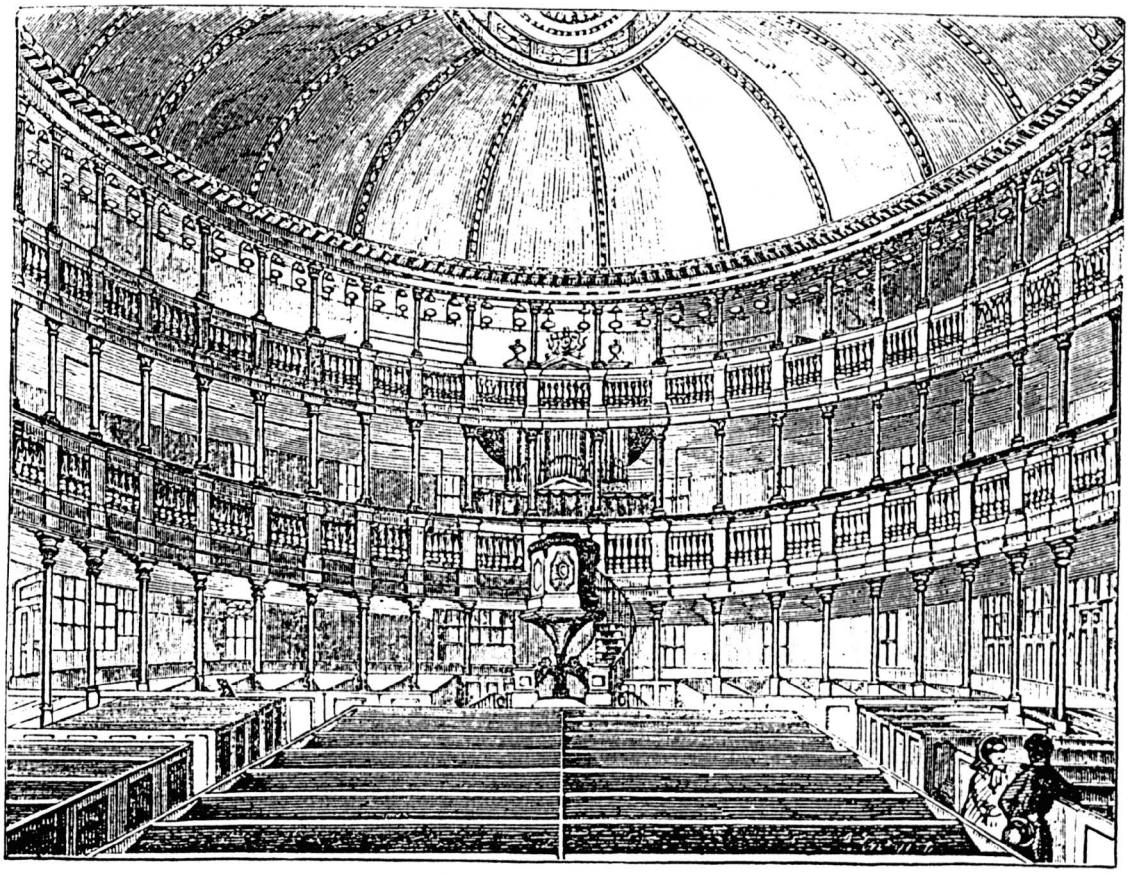


THESE are to Certify, That William Son of Hugh Russell and Elizabeth his Wife was Baptized the Twenty sixth Day of October (Born the 6th) in the Year One Thousand ~~Eight~~ Seven Hundred and Seventy seven as appears in the Register of Christenings belonging to the Parish of St. Andrew, Holborn, and extracted from thence this Second Day of October in the Year 1802

Richd. Perry Parish Clerk & Register

Printed by J. Stratford, Holborn-Hill.

Copy of the certificate of Russell's baptism in 1777.
GB Lrsm (1802).



THE INTERIOR OF SPA FIELDS CHAPEL.

Spa Fields Chapel. Pinks (1880), 147.

Rumball, Thomas, *Violin*, Cho Fu, Han So, Cec So. *Wood-ſtreet, Cheapſide.*

Ruſſell, Charles, *Baſs*, New Mu Fu, Abb.—*Bath.*

Ruſſel, Richard, *Tenor*, Cec So, Abb.—*Dorſet-St. Salisbury-Sq.*

Ruſſell, William, *Organ, Canto*, Cec So, Con, Ora C G, Abb.—*Theobald's-Road.*

Ruſſell, *Organ-Builder.—Ditto.*

Ruſſell, C. *Tenor*, Abb.—*Bath.*

Ruſſell, Mrs. *Canto*, Abb.—*Lancaſhire.*

Rutter, *Baſs*, Wind Ch, Oxf Me 1793, Abb.—*Windſor.*

Ryall, James, *Violin, Flute, Clarinet*, New Mu Fu.—*Dorcheſter.*

S

Sale, John, *Baſs*, Wind Ch, Ora D L, Abb.—*Windſor.*

Sale, John, Junr. *Prin Baſs*, Ro So Mu, Acad, Con, Cha Ro & Wind Cho, Abb, Ora C G.—No. 227, *Piccadilly.*

Sale, Maſter, *Canto*, Con, Wind Ch, Ora C G, Abb.—*Ditto.*

Saile, Robert, *Baſſoon*, New Mu Fu, Abb.—*Stamford, Lincolnſhire.*

Salkeld, James, *Violin, Horn, Trumpet*, New Mu Fu, Abb.—No. 61. *New Compton-St. Soho.*

Salmon, *Alto*, Acad, Cha Ro, St. Pau & Wind Cho, Oxf Me 1793, Abb.—No. 1, *Market-Lane, St. James's, or Windſor.*

Salomon, John Peter, *Prin Violin*, Ro So Mu, Acad.—*Hanover-Sq.*

Salpietro, *Violin*, New Mu Fu, Prof Con, Oper.—No. 9, *Denmark-Str. St. Giles's*

Sandays

Russell's entry in Doane's Musical Directory (1794).

Russell's application for the post of organist at the Foundling Hospital (1798). GB Ltcf.

My Lords and Gentlemen

Mr Thomas Granville having resigned his Place of Organist, at the Foundling Hospital, I beg Leave to offer myself as a Candidate. Should I be so happy as to succeed him, my utmost Endeavours shall constantly be exerted to merit the Favor by an unremitted Attention to the Duty.

I am My Lords and Gentlemen

Your humble Servant

William Russell

No 28 Theobalds Road

1798 10

My Lords and Gentlemen

Mr William Russell being a Candidate for the Place of Organist to your Respectable Charity: and We knowing him to be a very good Performer on the Organ, beg Leave to recommend him as such

Dr Arnold organist & Composer to his Majesty &c.

William Parsons Conductor of his Majesty's Band of Musicians

Chas Burney Organist of Chelsea College

Chas Knyvett Senr Organist of his Majesty's Chapels

Tho. Attwood Composer to his Majesty and Organist of St Paul's Cathedral

R. Guise Gentleman of his Majesty's Chapels Royal and Master of the Choristers at Westminster Abbey

Hon.ble John Spencer

John Wall Callcott Organist of St Paul's Covt Garden & Asylum

Sir

In consequence of your request, I hereby certify, that you have frequently performed Cathedral Duty for me, both at this Majesty's Chapel at St. James's, & at Westr Abby, not only to my perfect Satisfaction, but also that of the whole Choir.

I am Sir

yrs. well wisher &c &c

Duke St. Westr.

J. Arnold

My Lords and Gentlemen.

I have the satisfaction to inform you, that Mr. Wm. Russell, a Candidate for the organist's Place of the Foundling Hospital is a perfect Master of Cathedral duty, and has performed it both at the Chapel Royal & St. Paul's, as my deputy with the greatest satisfaction to myself & the whole Choir.

I have the Honor to be

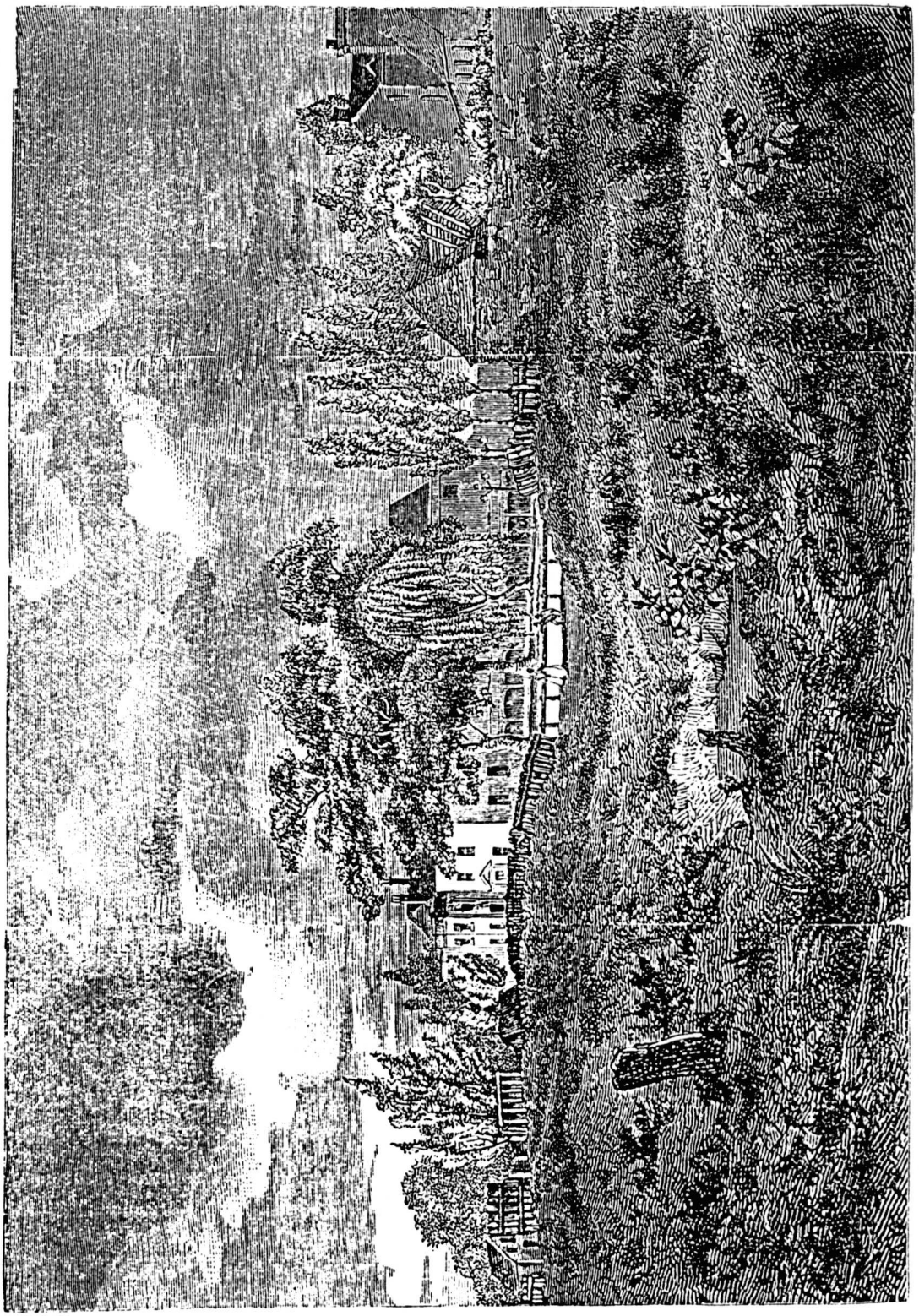
My Lords and Gentlemen, Your most obedient Humble Servant

March 14th 98 –

Jno. Atwood

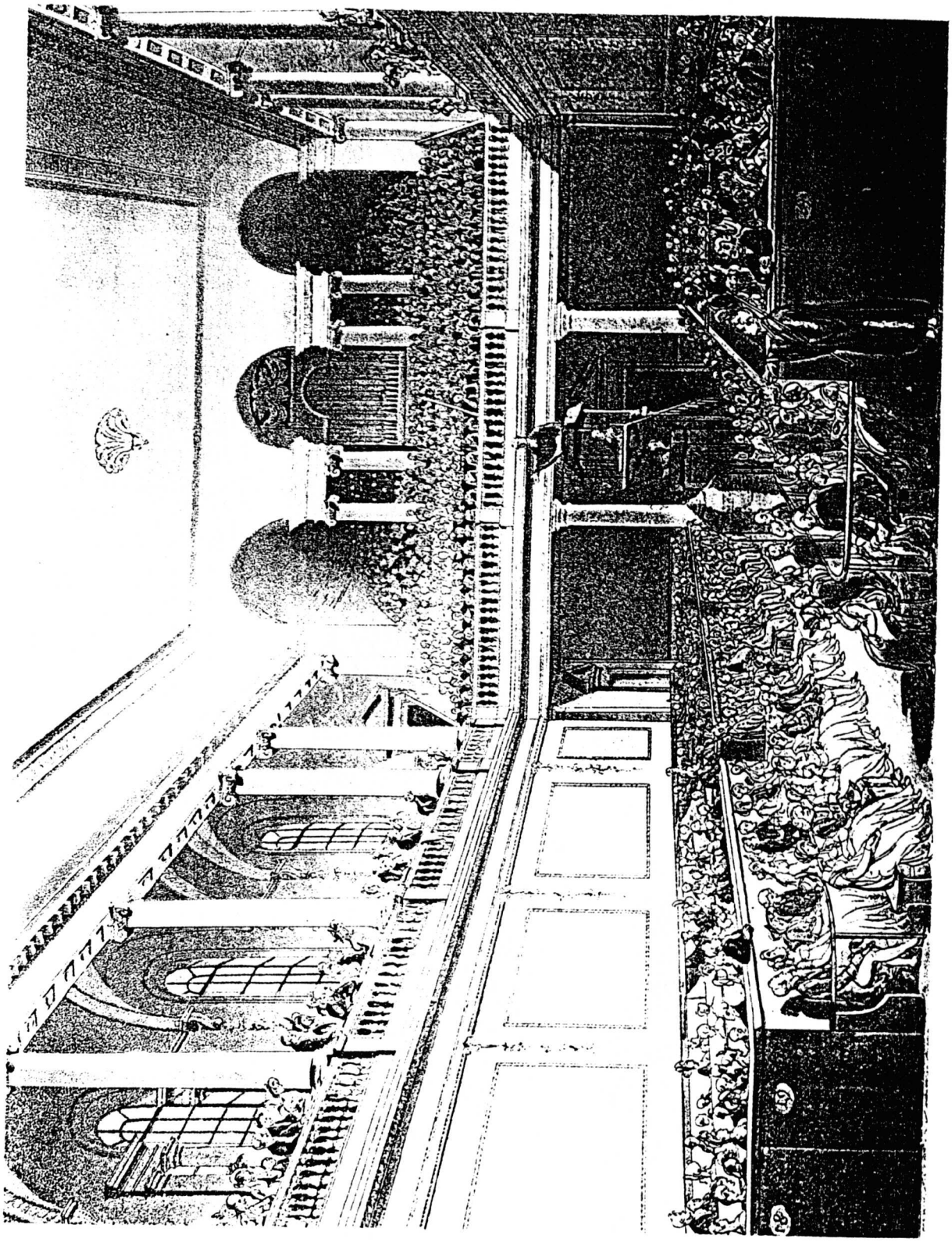
Composer to His Majesties Chapel Royal & Organist of St. Paul's Cathedral

Testimonials accompanying Russell's application for the post of organist at the Foundling Hospital (1798). GB Ltcf.

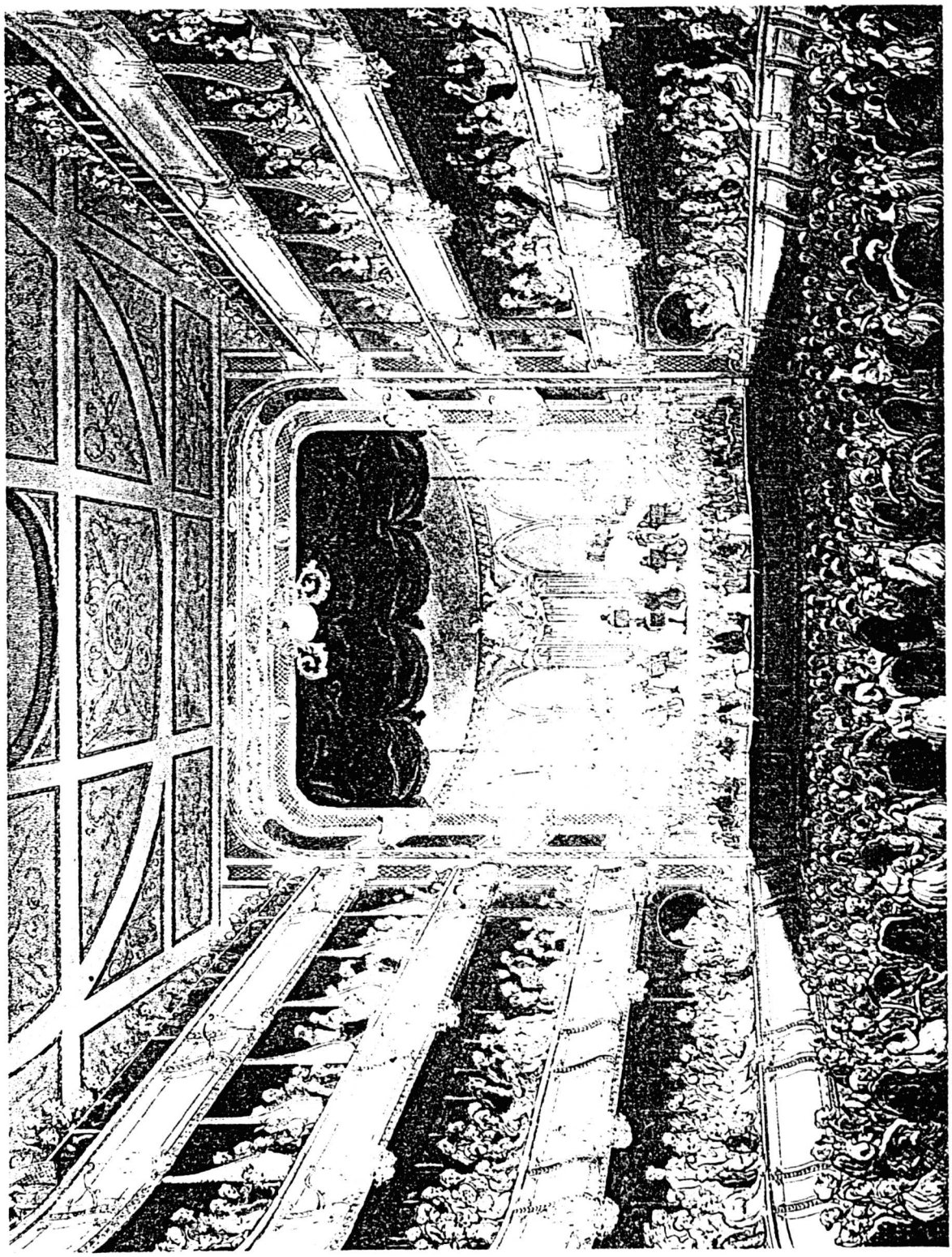


SADLER'S WELLS, 1804.

Sadler's Wells theatre in 1804. Pinks (1880), facing page 313.



The Foundling Hospital Chapel in 1809. St. Aubyn (1985), 194.



An oratorio performance at Covent Garden.
St. Aubyn (1985), 131.

GOVERNORS AND COURT OF ASSISTANTS

OF THE

ROYAL SOCIETY OF MUSICIANS.

GENTLEMEN

I Beg Leave to recommend Mr William Russell Muſician, as a proper Perſon to be a Member of this Society; he has studied and practised music for a livelihood upwards of seven years, ~~Composer and Piano forte player at Drury Lane~~, plays the piano forte at Covent Garden Theatre, teaches the Piano Forte — Organist of St Anne Limehouse and the Foundling Hospital, twenty five years of age, is a single man and not likely to become chargeable to this Society.

I am

Your humble Servant,

John Immyns

3rd Oct 1802
Theobald Road

I do hereby declare the Particulars of the above Recommendation are ſtrictly true; and that I will attend, when ſummoned, in Perſon, or (with Permiſſion of the Governors and Court of Aſſiſtants, or the Committee for the Concert) by Deputy, at St. PAUL'S, and the Society's ANNUAL PERFORMANCE and REHEARSAL, to aſſiſt in ſuch Manner as the Governors and Court of Aſſiſtants, or Committee of the Concert, ſhall think proper to appoint.

William Russell

N. B. If the Gentleman propoſed has ſerved an Apprenticeſhip for Seven Years to Muſic, it muſt be inſerted.

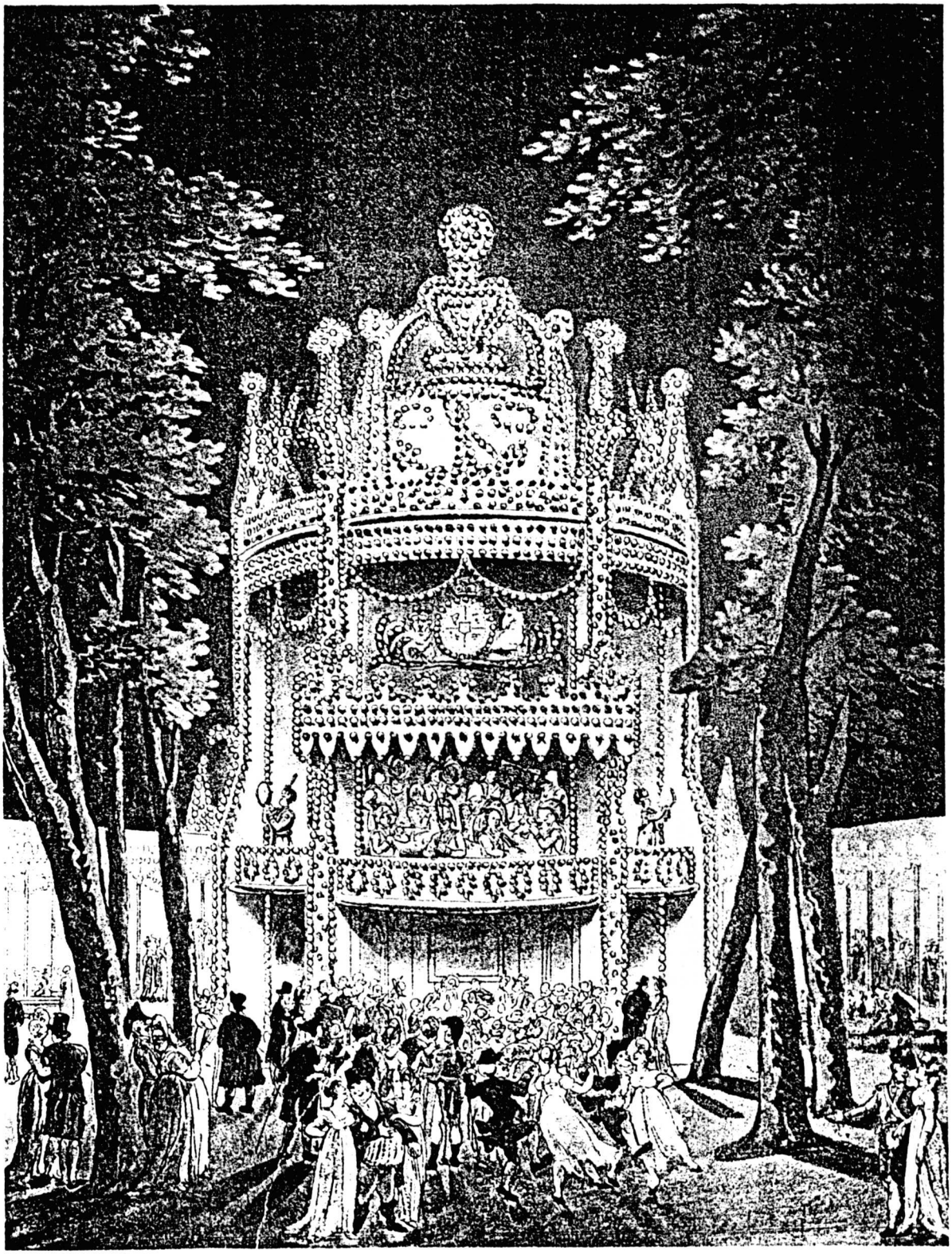
If he has ſtudied and practiſed Muſic for a Livelihood for Seven Years (and ſerved no Apprenticeſhip) it muſt be inſerted.

If there are Children, being a married Man, the Names and Ages of the Children muſt be inſerted.

His Engagements muſt likewiſe be inſerted.

A Certificate of the Gentleman's Age muſt accompany the Recommendation; and if he is a profeſſional Member of the New Muſical Fund, it muſt be inſerted.

Recommendation by John Immyns of Russell to membership of the Royal Society of Musicians (1802). GB Lrsm



Vauxhall Gardens. St. Aubyn (1985), 78.

The School of Music, Oxford.

An Exercise

Composed, for

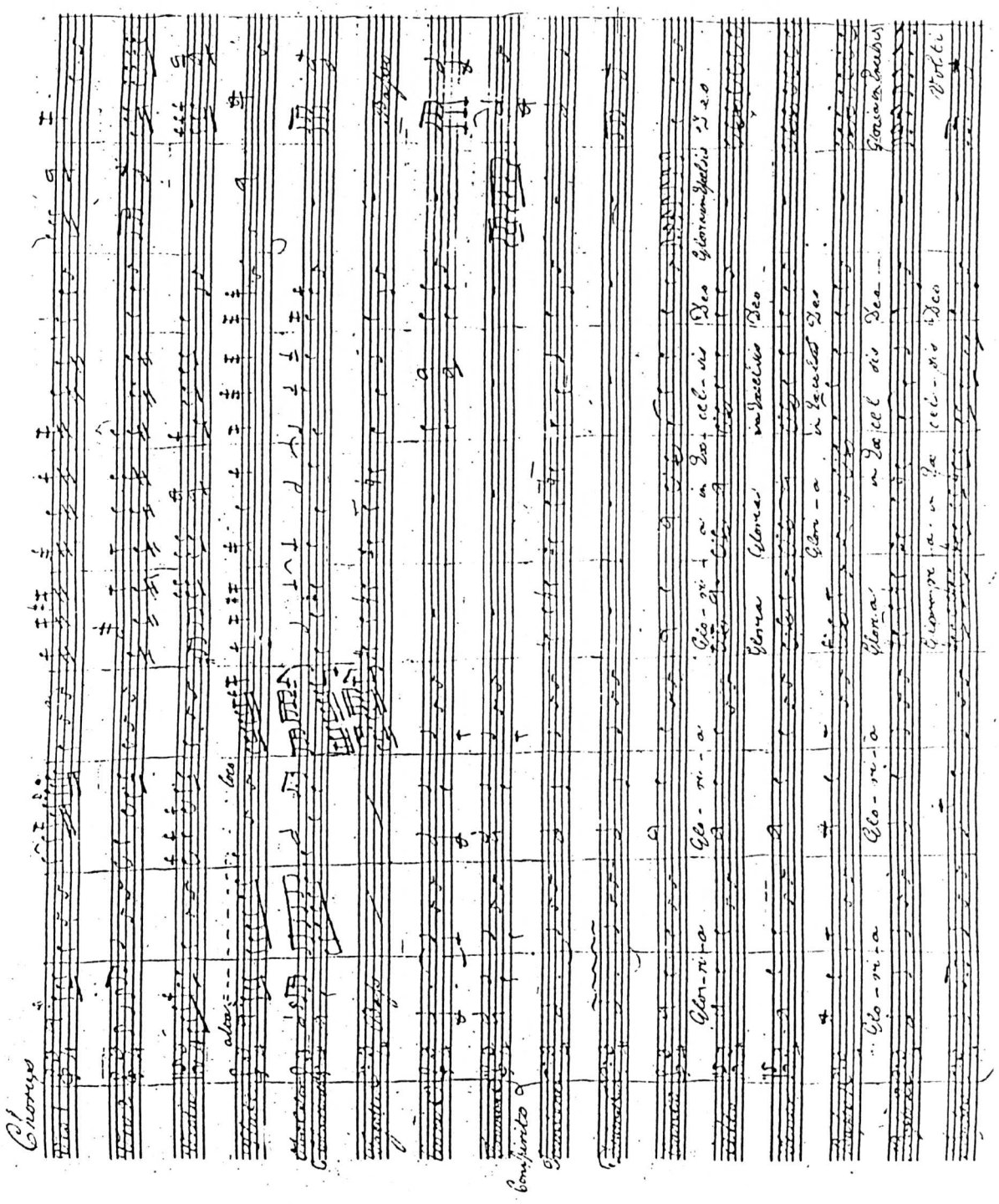
A Bachelors Degree in Music,

By William Russell,

Organist of St Anns, Limehouse, and the Foundling Hospital, London.

As Performed at the Music School, Oxford,

January 26th 1808.



Part of Russell's exercise for the Oxford B.Mus.
GB Ob Ms.Mus.Sch.Ex.d.117.

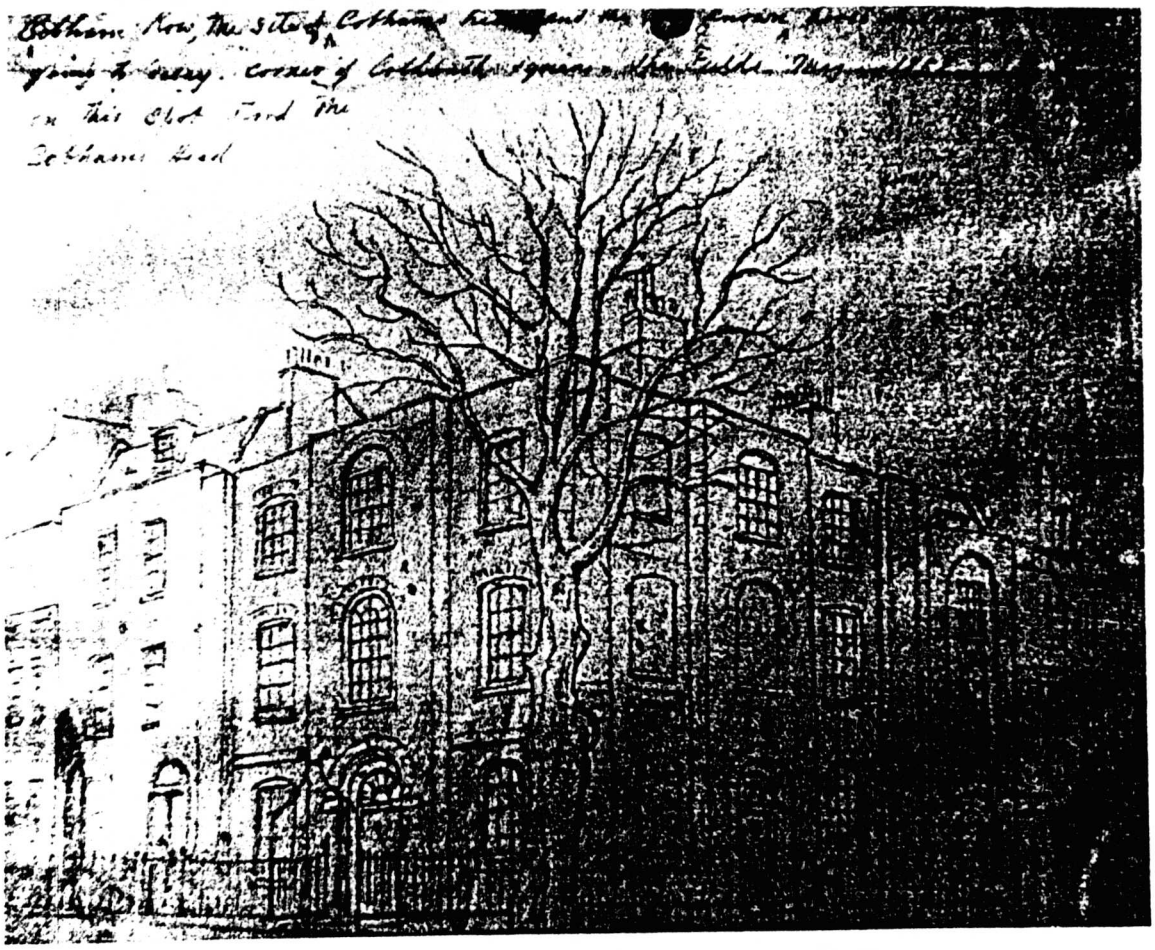
No. 684 } William Russell Bachelor of the Parish of St. Andrew Holborn London and Mary Ann Marcott of this Parish Spinster were Married in this church by Licence this 17th Day of Feby in the Year One Thousand eight Hundred and eighteen By me William Clarke Minr

This Marriage was solemnized between Us { William Russell
Mary Ann Marcott

In the Presence of { Joy Drummer
Margaret Morell

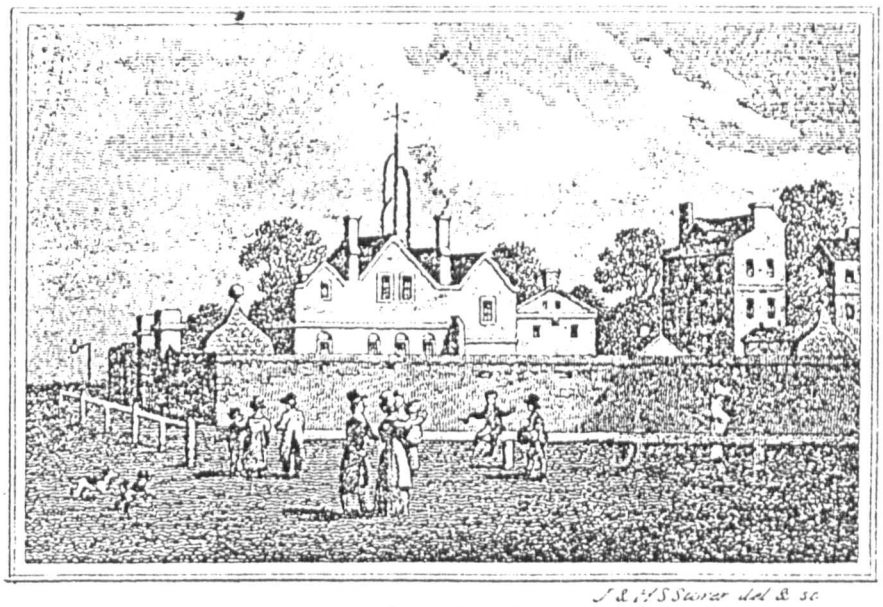
W Drummer

Russell's marriage certificate (1808). GB Glro.



Sketch for a watercolour painting 'Cobham Row with the old chestnut tree' by T.H.Shepherd (1852). GB Lf.

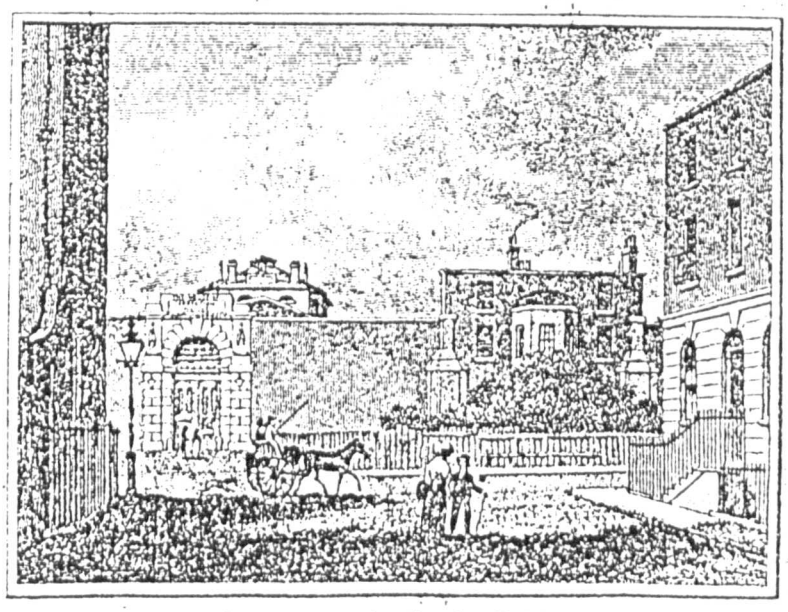
40, Rosebery Avenue, the one remaining property from the Cobham Row terrace.



J & H S Storer del & sc

Cold Bath
as it appeared 1811

The Cold Bath at Cold Bath Fields. Storer, 309.



Prison, Cold Bath Fields.

The House of Correction, Cold Bath Fields. Storer, 245.

Twelve Voluntaries for the Organ, or Piano-forte; composed by William Russell, Mus. Bac. Oxon. 10*s.* 6*d.*

We find in this collection of church instrumental music, many movements of distinguished excellence. In saying that they are all peculiarly adapted for the purpose for which they are intended, we give them but a very small portion of praise to which they are entitled. The adjustment and combinations of the laboured and massy parts of the harmonies, rank them with the best compositions of our times, in the church style; and the melodies of the lighter parts of the work are appropriate and interesting. We venture nothing in saying, that, were the immortal Haydn living, he would receive no small gratification from witnessing the skilful and very masterly manner in which Mr. Russel has treated one of his most celebrated subjects, as a Fugue—alla capella.

Review of Russell's 1812 set of Organ Voluntaries.
Monthly Magazine (Sept.1812), 155.

Nov. 21. In Cobham-row, Cold Bath-fields, aged 36, Mr. William Russell, organist of the Foundling-chapel, and St. Anne's-church, Limehouse. As a scientific musician in general, he deservedly ranked among the first masters of the present day, and as a skilful and powerful organist in particular, his name stood among the best performers on the noblest of all musical instruments. He constantly attended the duties of his profession with the utmost punctuality, rendering himself universally respected and esteemed by his regularity and steadiness of conduct. His musical talents were various and extensive, being not only accurately correct, and ready in the performance of difficult and intricate pieces (even at first sight) but also possessed great ability in that most scarce and valuable gift—extemporaneous composition. His manners were remarkably unaffected; and there was an honest openness of speech, and even bluntness of expression, which at once evinced him superior to deception of any kind. He was totally devoid of that petty and contemptible jealousy so prevalent among his fraternity, and was ever ready and desirous to allow all due praise to real merit wheresoever he found it, although he occasionally bestowed the deserved lash upon impudent imposture. His loss will be long regretted by all sound judges of musical excellence; and his family and friends have to lament not only the removal of a great musician, but of a most worthy man.

Russell's obituary (1813). Gentleman's Magazine (Dec. 1813), 625.

In Cold Bath Square, 36, *Mr. William Russell*, Mus. Bac. Oxon. The loss which the profession has sustained in the death of this young man, cannot be justly appreciated. As a composer, his works testify his genius. His talents, for performance on the organ, were wonderful and unequalled. He was exceedingly partial to the organ at St. Sepulchre's church, Snow-hill; and has been heard to say, that it is one of the finest instruments he ever played, the trumpet not being to be equalled in the kingdom. He has left some valuable compositions, which will soon be published.

Russell's obituary (1814). Monthly Magazine (Jan.1814), 552.

CHAPTER III

Ode and Oratorio in England.

The English ode: definition.

Before scrutinizing Russell's odes and oratorios some exploration of their background seems desirable. *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* defines the English ode as a 'form of extended cantata, originating shortly after the Restoration and remaining in use for at least 160 years'. [1] Broadly speaking, there were two types of musical ode: court odes, which were composed as a tribute to the reigning monarch, and odes which were designed to give praise or thanksgiving for a particular person, event, establishment, or society; the latter category may be subdivided into three: Cecilian odes, odes for educational establishments, and odes for charities. Court odes were frequently offered for a royal birthday while odes to St. Cecilia were performed on her day--22 November. Cecilian celebrations in England date from about 1683 and soon fell into a pattern which comprised a service at St. Bride's Church, Fleet Street, followed by the performance of an ode at Stationers' Hall.

Some early and contemporary examples of odes.

Since Russell wrote no court odes these fall outside the scope of this study. The first ode for St. Cecilia's Day, which was sponsored by

[1] *Grove* (1980), XIII 498.

the Musical Society, a secular group which benefited musicians, was Purcell's 'Welcome to all the pleasures' (1683). The form of this ode is typical of all the early examples, which are constructed in sections, have an introductory instrumental movement, and conclude with a chorus in praise of St. Cecilia. The setting of Pope's 'Ode on St. Cecilia's Day' by Maurice Greene fulfilled a dual purpose: it was the latter's exercise for his doctorate at the University of Cambridge and was performed there in June 1730 to celebrate the opening of Senate House; there was no connection between its conception and St. Cecilia's day. Already the era of the annual Cecilian celebrations had past, not least due to the decline of the Musical Society from 1703. [2] Handel revived an interest in Cecilian odes when his setting of Dryden's 'Ode for St. Cecilia's Day', *Alexander's Feast or The Power of Music* was produced at Covent Garden in 1736. The work is in two parts and begins with a French overture in F Major, which is the home key for the whole composition; the alternation between recitatives, airs, and choruses prevails as in oratorio. In 1739 Handel set another of Dryden's odes for St. Cecilia's Day: 'From harmony, from heav'nly harmony'; this setting is not divided into acts or parts, but in other respects it follows the format of *Alexander's Feast* with an overall key structure (D Major) and opening French overture.

William Boyce owned a copy of *Alexander's Feast* and may have been inspired by its popularity to set a Cecilian ode himself; this he did in 1737 or 1738--Vidal's small-scale poem 'The Charms of Harmony Display'. [3] In 1739 Boyce produced a lengthier work in honour of St.

[2] *Musical Times* (1982), 759.

[3] *Musical Times* (1982), 759.

Cecilia--a setting of John Lockman's 'See Fam'd Apollo and the Nine'. The work is in two parts (a division not implied in the text); each part is preceded by an overture, the first being a French overture with gavotte and minuet (later to be known as Symphony no. 5 in D Major from the set of eight published in 1760); the overture to the second part has two movements. The work is lengthy, with 10 numbers in the first part and 16 in the second, and the style is, like that of Boyce's earlier work, Handelian. There is some evidence too of Boyce's melodic prowess: 'he had established the reputation of a sweet melodist by various airs in his minor oratorio of Solomon, viz. "Softly rise o Southern breezes", "Balmy sweetness"....' [4]

Sometimes an ode was submitted for a degree exercise: a popular text set for this purpose was Thomas Warton's poem 'Ode to Fancy', which was set by William Hayes (1735), William Jackson (c. 1770), John Wall Callcott (1785), and William Crotch (for the Oxford D. Mus., 1799); Crotch was in the unusual position of having to judge his own exercise since he was the Professor of Music at Oxford. Hayes's style was Handelian while Jackson's was essentially melodic and simple, with attention to the effectiveness of the word-setting. Callcott wrote several odes besides that for his degree exercise; they include *Ode to Evening* (composed the same year, 1785) and two written the following year: *Ode to the Humane Society* and *The Bard*. Crotch's *Ode* is a fine composition for soprano, tenor, and bass soloists, two four-part choirs, and an orchestra of flutes, bassoons, horns, trumpet, timpani, strings, harpsichord, and organ; the work retains some Handelian characteristics, particularly in the fugues.

[4] *Musical World* (1836), 134-135.

Dupuis's *Ode to the Genius of Britain* (1788) was submitted as a degree exercise at Oxford and resulted in the awarding of a cumulative degree--B.Mus. and D.Mus. simultaneously. This work is somewhat backward-looking in style and owes much to Handel in its use of French overture and fugue. Example 1 illustrates the 'ancient' style--what can now be termed the Baroque nature--of the fugue subject and the typical late eighteenth-century regularity of entries; sentences conclude homophonically. Evidence of the 'modern' style may be seen in the influence of Arne, J.C.Bach, and sometimes Haydn: the air quoted in example 2 owes much to Arne; it shows Dupuis's fondness for juxtaposing semiquavers and triplet quavers; it is in *da capo* form with the central section at a different tempo and in the relative minor. The *Ode* is scored for flutes, oboes, bassoons, horns, trumpets, timpani, strings, and continuo; the wind instruments are generally used in the 'modern' manner to sustain the harmony over string passage work.

Samuel Wesley set an *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* in 1794; the text had been written a century earlier by his grandfather. During the last year of his life Wesley, having lost the original manuscript, wrote out the work from memory, indicating his regard and esteem for the composition. [5] The *Ode* is scored for soprano, alto, and baritone soloists, five-part choir (S.S.A.T.B.) and an orchestra of two oboes, two bassoons, two horns, two trumpets, timpani, strings, and organ; it received its first performance at Covent Garden on 22 February 1799 as an interval piece between the two parts of Handel's *Acis and Galatea;* the programme also included a performance, given by Wesley, of 'the third of Handel's Organ

[5] GB Lcm Ms.4017.

Concertos.' [6] The tonal centre of the work is D Major and all the other keys are closely related to it; this scheme shows Wesley being uncharacteristically restrained. The style is predominantly 'modern' or Classical but also owes something to the influence of the 'ancient' (Baroque) style, particularly J.S.Bach. The work, which lasts about an hour, consists of 11 numbers, most of which are lengthy (the final chorus has over 700 bars); after the two-movement Overture there is an air with a chorus followed by recitatives and airs until the final two choruses, nos. 10 and 11. The soprano solos, originally written for Elizabeth Billington's fine coloratura voice, were actually first sung by the celebrated Madame Mara; [7] example 3 reproduces part of the duet for soprano and contralto.

English oratorio: definition; Handel's innovation.

Few nineteenth-century music histories define oratorio, and in the eighteenth century too there was, it seems, some confusion about its definition, for the author, Robert Maddison, commented in 1763 on the lack of clarity on the matter; his own definition is that an oratorio

> is a Poem, accompanied with *music*, where unincumbered with the absurdity of a *dramatic exhibition*, they jointly affect the mind, by a representation of some great and interesting subject, impressed with all the force of their combined powers. [8]

Burney, in discussing choruses of Alessandro Scarlatti, Leo, Jommelli, and

[6] *Times* (21 Feb.1799).

[7] *Times* (21 Feb.1799).

[8] Smither (1987), III 199.

Handel, referred to oratorio as 'a species of drama in still life.' [9] In the entry for 'Oratorio' in *The New Oxford Companion to Music* Denis Arnold begins: 'The history of the oratorio is too varied to allow for an exact definition.' [10] Handel used the word 'oratorio' to describe a concert of miscellaneous works, and the term was used later in the eighteenth century with regard to a Lenten concert comprising sacred music; toward the end of the century 'oratorio' was also used in the provinces to indicate a music festival. [11]

When Handel settled in England in 1712 no such form as oratorio existed here: the type of composition closest to it was the sacred dialogue, which was like a dramatic verse anthem; the sacred dialogue might have evolved into oratorio but the form was never strong, and its development was stultified because of the arrival of Handel and his subsequent dominant influence. The English oratorio was Handel's invention: it was born of a fusion of English dramatic masque (a descendant of the old mystery plays) and anthem, Italian oratorio and *opera seria*, German oratorio and French classical drama.

Thomas Busby (1755-1838) stated quite categorically that, although oratorios were common in Italy from the seventeenth century, they 'were never attempted in England, either in public or private, till the year 1720, when Handel set the sacred drama of *Esther*, for the Chapel of the

[9] Burney (1957), II 580.

[10] *Oxford Companion* (1984), II 1323.

[11] Smither (1987), III 201.

Duke of Chandos, at Cannons.' [12] *Esther*, which was probably composed in 1718, [13] was similar to the English masque except that it had a Biblical subject and a prominent rôle for the chorus. Much later, in 1732, Handel revised the work and it was performed at the King's Theatre, Haymarket; its success there as an unstaged presentation encouraged Handel to write more works of a similar type, resulting in *Deborah* and *Athalia*, which were first performed the following year.

Circumstances of oratorio performance.

A tradition of producing oratorios during Lent was begun by Handel; mostly the performances were given in the London theatres since, during the eighteenth century, in this season, there were restrictions on the productions of opera. These Lenten oratorios, which were given on Wednesdays and Fridays, were usually organized on a subscription basis. At Covent Garden Handel's oratorios were heard nearly every year from the 1730s until the end of the century. [14] Occasional performances of oratorios were given to raise money for charity; the most notable of these are the performances of Handel's *Messiah*, given several times at the Foundling Hospital, the first when Handel inaugurated the organ there on 1 May 1750. Both complete oratorios and excerpts were included in the Concerts of Ancient Music, and occasionally oratorios were performed at the London Pleasure Gardens: Handel's *Samson* was heard at Ranelagh Gardens in 1764, and Giardini's *Ruth* was performed there in 1792. Other

[12] Busby (1819), II 432n.

[13] Smither (1977), II 188.

[14] *Blackwell* (1990), V 211.

performances of oratorio tended to be at University festivals or choral festivals in the provinces when there would be several performances on consecutive days. Cities like Bristol, Bath, and Norwich imitated the fashion for oratorio concerts which had been established in London; these festivals generally took place between September and December, and they were important in the fostering of the genre. The Three Choirs' Festival continued to promote Handel's oratorios well into the nineteenth century.

After Handel's death in 1759 John Christopher Smith Jr. (1712-1795), the son of Handel's amanuensis, managed the Lenten oratorios at Covent Garden in partnership with John Stanley (1712-1786) from 1760 until 1770, when they moved to Drury Lane. Smith remained here until 1774 when Thomas Linley Sr. (1733-1795) replaced him. In 1786 Samuel Arnold (1740-1802) succeeded Stanley. [15] The Ashley family took over the oratorios at Covent Garden in 1795; John Ashley (1734-1805) was the manager and his four sons played in the orchestra and contributed concertos--General was a violinist, John James played the organ, Charles the cello, and Richard the viol. These were not the only oratorio concerts to be held in London: rival series were promoted by Thomas Arne (1710-1778) in the 1761-1762 season and in 1773; by Arnold in 1763-1773 and 1776-1777; by J.C.Bach (1735-1782) in 1770-1771 and 1775; and by François Hippolite Barthélémon (1741-1808) in 1774, 1779, and 1784. [16]

Notable among the organizers of oratorio concerts at provincial festivals are Edward Beckwith and his son John; Edward conducted oratorios

[15] Smither (1987), III 202.

[16] Smither (1987), III 202.

by Handel at Norwich Cathedral from the 1770s and John succeeded him in 1785; under him the programmes gradually changed to include selections from Handel's oratorios rather than a complete work.[17] In Cambridge Dr. Charles Hague promoted oratorio concerts periodically during the first two decades of the nineteenth century. These concerts attracted the nobility and local gentry--probably the only people who could afford the ticket prices which were between 7/- and 10/6d.[18] John Ashley Sr. saw a lucrative market for oratorio concerts in the wealthy ports and growing market towns at a time when London audiences were beginning to lose some of their enthusiasm for oratorio, and he organized a touring company of London performers to take oratorios to a number of East Anglian towns: in 1801 his group took a festival programme to Hull, Boston, Kings Lynn, Bury St. Edmunds, and Ipswich; but after 1812 the Ashley provincial festivals concluded because of an economic decline in the area due to the Napoleonic wars and to poor harvests locally.[19]

For the early oratorio concerts a complete oratorio formed the major part of the programme. Between the acts some instrumental music was performed: often this would take the form of a solo concerto. After Handel's death concerts increasingly comprised selections from several oratorios. The oratorios of Handel dominated these concerts, with *Judas Maccabaeus* and *Samson* especially popular, and, toward the end of the eighteenth century, it became customary to close the season with a

[17] Fawcett (1979), 15.

[18] Pritchard (1968), 238.

[19] Pritchard (1968), 238.

performance of *Messiah*.[20] The concertos (not only for organ: Geminiani's violin concertos, for example, were popular) which were part of these concerts were often contemporary compositions, although at Covent Garden in 1792 they were all earlier works, and the organ concertos performed here throughout the 1790s were exclusively by Handel.[21] When a concerto player was engaged for a season (for example the renowned pianist Muzio Clementi at Covent Garden in 1790) he often played his own compositions. When oratorios featured in the musical entertainment at the Pleasure Gardens they were rarely given in their entirety; it was more usual for selected choruses to be performed by the principal singers, each taking a part.[22] From the early years of the nineteenth century both London and provincial oratorio concerts continued to be devoted to the works of Handel, but Haydn's *The Creation* also found a popular place in many programmes.

English oratorio writing after Handel; the Commemoration of Handel.

While Handel was alive he had few competitors in the oratorio market, and they posed no serious threat to his supremacy; even after his death they hardly increased their oratorio writing, and the new works which were produced received only a few performances. London (and latterly provincial) audiences had been conditioned to hearing Handel's oratorios, and the tradition which had built up could not be overturned by new English oratorios--even those which imitated Handel's were (rightly)

[20] Smither (1987), III 202.

[21] Milligan (1983), 10-11, 188.

[22] Pritchard (1968), 190.

pronounced inferior to the master's own. As the eighteenth century drew to a close the chief devotees of the Handelian style were growing older and passing away, and so, very gradually, the concerts of Handel's oratorios held in London became less popular and less well supported: performances were given at one theatre rather than at two rival venues. [23]

During Handel's lifetime a few oratorios were written by Englishmen: principally Maurice Greene, Thomas Arne, and John Stanley; a little later oratorios appeared by (among others) John Worgan Sr., Charles Avison, and Samuel Arnold, but the output in this form was small. By 1818 the editor of the *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* commented that oratorios were 'not only declining, but are departing rapidly from their character in every sense.' [24] Only a small proportion of oratorios gained publication: a small number were published in full score (such as Worgan's *Hannah)* but often movements such as the recitatives were omitted; more often excerpts (chiefly airs) were published.

In 1784, supposing this to be the centenary year of Handel's birth, (see page 16) a massive and magnificent Commemoration festival was held at Westminster Abbey and the Pantheon. For the Commemoration the number of performers was greatly increased from anything Handel would have known or even conceived of: more than 500 voices and instrumentalists were employed. [25] Such was the public reception of the Commemoration that it was repeated over the next few years. Thus a fresh enthusiasm for

[23] Milligan (1983), 18.

[24] Quoted in Pritchard (1968), 488.

[25] Burney (1957), II 893.

Handel's oratorios helped to counteract the gradual decline which had crept in prior to the 1784 festival. John Marsh remarked that the Handel Commemoration of 1784 had revived such an interest in 'ancient' music that the modern style would have 'decayed' altogether had it not been for the music of Haydn. [26] Another effect of the Commemoration was to stimulate further the holding of provincial oratorio festivals, which, following the London example, employed a large chorus (though not nearly as large as that used in the Commemoration) and settled even more firmly into the format of selections from Handel's oratorios. The shift from the dramatic to the gigantic, with the emphasis moving to the chorus, influenced future oratorio composers who came to regard oratorio primarily as a choral work. Haydn attended the Commemoration of 1791, in which Russell was taking part, and it is likely that the experience moved him to compose two oratorios: *Die Schöpfung (The Creation)* in 1798 and *Die Jahreszeiten (The Seasons)* in 1801. After the first London performance of *The Creation* in 1800, a critic found favourable comparison with the success of Handel's oratorios: 'although not equal in grandeur to the divine compositions of the immortal Handel, *[The Creation]* is, nevertheless, on the whole, a very charming production.' [27] Handel still reigned supreme: there was little encouragement for a lesser composer to venture into oratorio writing.

[26] Kassler (1979), II 743.

[27] Quoted in Smither (1987), III 210.

Patterns set by Handel for succeeding oratorio composers.

Libretti.

The libretti of all but two of Handel's sacred oratorios are based on Biblical texts from the Old Testament or Apocrypha, the exceptions being *Theodora* and *Messiah;* the former is non-Biblical however, and the latter, which contains material from the New as well as the Old Testament, is more unusual still in its use of actual quotations of Biblical text. Rarely was a libretto a compilation of Biblical quotations: more often it was a text with *dramatis personae.* The usual libretto format, which was to be the standard pattern for the remainder of the eighteenth century, was a dramatic piece based on events in the Old Testament, rewritten and divided into three acts or parts. (Handel seems to have preferred the term 'Act' for the divisions in his large-scale works; however, in *Messiah* the three sections are called 'Parts'). Only a few oratorios use New Testament stories. This continued to be true for the remainder of the eighteenth century, doubtless due to Handelian influence and models, but also, perhaps, partly due to the greater potential for dramatic stories in the Old Testament, most of which would have been familiar to audiences who, Smither suggests, saw a parallel between the Israelites and the English. [28] The most suitable of the New Testament books are the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, the remainder being mostly educational and descriptive. It may have been considered more difficult to divide the life of Christ into suitable scenes for oratorio; two exceptions are *The Resurrection* (1770) by Arnold and *The Ascension* (1776) by Hook. It was

[28] *Grove* (1980), XIII 669.

also considered improper to personify Christ or God, which would create difficulties in setting the life of Christ (note that in Russell's *Job* God's spokesman is the Angel); by contrast there were no such religious inhibitions on the continent, hence the numerous settings of the Passion story. Most of Handel's libretti take the form of a series of declamations by various characters or a chorus; again *Messiah* is a notable exception. In a dissertation on oratorio the amateur musician, the Reverend John Brown (1715-1766), stated that oratorio is a dramatic genre which must have personages. Accordingly he refused to admit *Messiah* as an oratorio, instead describing it as an 'entertainment' containing anthems drawn from scripture. [29]

Structure and form.

The overall structure in Handel's oratorios is flexible, except that there are normally three acts as opposed to the Italian oratorio which generally contained two. The average performance time is about two and a half hours. There is no set pattern of solos, choruses, and orchestral numbers (this was largely suggested by the libretto): a chorus might be placed at a critical moment in the drama, and occasionally a descriptive instrumental movement might punctuate the structure. Whereas Italian oratorio tended to contain more solos than anything else, Handel's dramatic works placed greater emphasis on the chorus, although the number of airs still tends to outweigh the number of choruses: proportions vary, for example there are 52% airs and 17% choruses in *Hercules*, and 44% of each in *Deborah;* standing alone is *Israel in Egypt*, which contains 21%

[29] Smither (1987), III 240.

airs and 72% choruses; however, on average the proportions are 47% airs and 42% choruses. Many of the airs are *da capo;* sometimes Handel favoured this form, as in *Esther* where only two of the 11 airs are not *da capo; Saul* is the opposite with four *da capo* airs and 26 airs in other forms; in *Theodora* there are more or less an equal number of each: 13 *da capo* airs and 12 without *da capo.* The early oratorios tend to use more of the *opera seria* conventions than the later works, particularly with regard to recitative and *da capo* arias, which gradually appeared less frequently. This is not surprising since Handel came to England with the intention of composing *opera seria.* Many airs are cast in a binary or a ternary form, which continued to be the favoured structures for airs after Handel. A popular style, derived from Handel, and one which continued for succeeding generations, was the air with a simple, melodic vocal line with balanced phrases, and a light accompaniment with a regularly moving bass, which results in quite rapid changes of harmony. As the century progressed the bass line became simpler and the harmonic rhythm slowed down.

Ensembles are usually duets in Handel's oratorios although occasionally a trio or a quartet may appear; these constitute only a small part of the whole work. Handel favoured accompanied recitative more than the *secco* style; later generations of composers tended to write more *secco* recitatives. Formally Handel's choruses are greatly varied, from simple or dense (double choir) chordal textures to complex contrapuntal movements; a single chorus is usually constructed of several textures, which lend contrast and drama to the music, and often arise from word painting or textual imagery portrayed in the music. *Israel in Egypt* shows outstanding use of the latter and, as mentioned above, uses the chorus even more than the other oratorios. The prominence of the chorus remained

a feature of the post-Handelian English oratorio, also taking the English anthem as a model, but the contrast and variety within a chorus are not usually exploited to the extent that they were by Handel. Introductory orchestral numbers are commonly in the form of a French overture although occasionally (as in *Deborah*) this movement looks forward to later material in the work. The retention of the French overture remained normal practice in later English oratorios, with a few instances of the Italian sinfonia being used. It was not often that an orchestral movement was played within the oratorio; when it did appear it usually served to set a new scene or mood.

Individual numbers follow on from each other, thus making larger units, until a scene or act is built up. Winton Dean cites *Athalia* as a particularly fine example of this format. [30] Basic structures can be traced in the placing of choruses and accompanied recitatives, which tend to advance the action. Handel was restricted in some measure with regard to airs since he was obliged to give his soloists some equality or, at least, sufficient material whereby their vocal talents might be displayed. Tonally the structures vary in Handel's oratorios: some have an apparent overall key scheme (*Saul* for instance), others have been constructed in smaller sections or scenes (as in *Jephtha*).

Handel's methods of composition, his instrumentation and forces.

From a study of his manuscripts Winton Dean has ascertained Handel's

[30] Dean (1959), 43.

methods of composition: [31] each one of Handel's works was first conceived as a whole in the composer's mind, and was planned in a skeleton score comprising a bass line with some figuring and a principal top line (voice or first violin part). When he had completed a section Handel dated it and sometimes he indicated the date he had commenced work on it. Recitatives appeared as words only with no indication of the music at this stage. The next step was to fill in the inner parts of the skeleton score and to write the music for the recitatives; at the same time dynamics would be included. Then the names of the solo singers might be added to the score in the relevant places, and any instructions for the copyist listed. A second date with 'völlig geendiget' ('completely finished') and a signature, Dean says, concluded this stage in the composition. After the copyist had completed his task and preparations were in hand for a performance, any necessary adaptations were made to the score: chiefly these were transpositions of sections, but occasionally Handel would alter the libretto; these amendments were incorporated into the autograph score, which was then ready for the first performance. Later (revival) performances usually involved further alterations which might be no more than omissions of certain numbers or some modification of the music; however there might be some incorporation of new music, or the addition of music from another composition.

Like Handel's, Russell's skeleton scores show the treble and figured or unfigured bass, but often Russell added details of dynamics at this stage. Those extant scores of Russell which are in this sketch form show a tendency to work at the keyboard and later to orchestrate the piece;

[31] Dean (1959), 88-91.

Handel seems to have sketched with an orchestrated score in mind, although full scores, such as appear nowadays, were unusual at the time. Some of Russell's melodies perfectly fit the hand at the keyboard (example 4) as do their combination with the realised harmonies; where some of the harmonic progressions seem to have been experimental in *Job* the result may have arisen from improvising at the keyboard (example 5). He shares another characteristic with Handel--that of dating sections of a composition.

Handel's oratorio orchestra generally comprised flutes, oboes, bassoons, horns, trumpets, timpani, strings, harpsichord, and organ. The flute and oboe were usually played by the same person and so too, often, were the horn and trumpet. This partly explains instances such as the scarcity of movements using the flute in *Deborah*, where it is used only in two numbers. Handel often used certain instruments for particular effects--trumpets with drums for martial sounds or scenes of war, and flutes for melancholy. In his early oratorios Handel used about 25 singers and three times that number of players; later he performed with between 17 and 24 singers, between four and nine vocal soloists (who were expected to join with the chorus singers), and 35 or 40 instrumentalists. [32] Chorus singers were all male until well after Handel's death, and much later in the century the size of forces grew immensely until the gigantic proportions of the Commemoration of Handel festivals became the archetype for other choral festivals.

[32] Smither (1987), III 211.

The ode and oratorio as Russell inherited them.

> Formerly, sacred music used to be the chief employment of the first men of genius and scientific knowledge, whilst the cultivation of secular songs was left to the care of inferior composers. Now, the case is altered: our great masters dedicate their time to the service of the theatre or concert exclusively, and that of the temple is almost totally disregarded. Whether it be that the great lustre of Handel's fame in that department has so dampened the spirits of succeeding composers, as to extinguish every hope of success in their bosoms, or whatever other circumstance may have been the cause, certain it is, that a style of music so peculiarly characteristic; solemn, yet pleasing; chaste, yet highly interesting; is left without cultivation, doomed, like the untilled land, to bear no fruit. Yet, notwithstanding this great defect, it is not impossible to gather some few specimens of the present day sufficient, at least, to prove that the modern style is not so enervated or feeble as to be unfit for solemn purposes. [33]

This comment on the state of music in England was made by the London musician J.F.Hering (fl.1780-1807) in 1807. William Russell was one of the few composers in the 'modern' style to devote time to writing oratorio and other large-scale choral works such as odes, anthems, and Latin motets; although he also worked for some time in the theatre, much of his effort and time were given to serious choral music.

[33] *Monthly Magazine* (1807), 317.

Most odes were written for a specific event or occasion; their transitory nature has meant that many have been wholly or partly lost, whereas oratorios have been better preserved, particularly those which were published and received several performances. The ode as Russell inherited it was musically similar to the oratorio of the time; the chief differences were in the texts: oratorios tend to be narrative and odes reflective, although both can be dramatic; oratorios were normally sacred and odes secular. Texts of Cecilian odes, from the earliest examples, often contained references to musical instruments: these sections--usually placed toward the end--gave composers much scope for word painting and special orchestral effects. Busby made no distinction between style in oratorio and ode: he said that the success of his oratorio *Prophecy* encouraged him to produce 'other similar efforts' which included works of both types. [34]

The writing of oratorios was a challenge taken up by relatively few composers at the end of the eighteenth century: some, like Arnold, grasped the opportunity with eagerness, while others avoided it altogether. The writing of odes seems to have come about in phases: several were produced in the 1780s and few in the 1790s, for example; also the type of ode set varied at different times: during the 1780s most odes were on a non-personal subject, like Callcott's *Ode to Evening* (1785); through the 1790s odes for the royal family or for the installation of Chancellors at University were more common--a fact that may be due to the passage of history or which may have reflected a current turning away from the 'to music', 'to fancy', or 'the passions' type of ode. Whatever the trend,

[34] Busby (1819), II 518-519

Russell was moved to write four odes and two oratorios--six large-scale, serious choral works.

Selected oratorios illustrating the development of the genre in England.

Handel's *Joseph*.

In 1807 John Wall Callcott (1766-1821), a noted London organist and composer, wrote of the excellence of Handel's oratorio writing, in particular of *Joseph*. [35] Such enduring reverence for Handel was not uncommon even 50 years after his decease. Callcott had analysed Handel's oratorios and his article in *The Monthly Magazine* mentions some of the 'beauties of expression' he found in them. *Joseph* (1743), Callcott pointed out, was the 'first [oratorio] in order of time,' being the first in scriptural history, as it was Handel's only setting of a libretto from the book of Genesis. The Overture and first air (see example 6) are in E Minor, a key for which Handel showed some fondness and association with 'mournful firmness', (this key was also used for 'Total eclipse' in *Samson* and 'Behold and see' in *Messiah*). The opening words of *Joseph* fit this mood of solidarity:

> Be firm, my soul, nor faint beneath
> Affliction's galling chains;
> When crowned with conscious Virtue's wreath,
> The shackled captive reigns.

The scene of Joseph alone in prison is further enhanced by unison

[35] *Monthly Magazine* (1807), 556-558.

orchestral passages. For the air in which Joseph calls upon the Lord to help him, the key is E flat Major (example 7). Later, in the C-Major chorus 'Joyful sounds! melodious strains', Callcott commented that 'the *caesuras* and harmonic accents are particularly correct' (see example 8); it is often in this area that lesser composers show their lack of experience--Russell is not altogether blameless here (see page 187). Act 1 concludes in D Major but Act 2 returns to E Minor and again progresses to a conclusion in D Major; both acts begin and end with similar moods, each proceeding from solemnity to joy. Callcott recalled that the 'divine' chorus 'O God who in thy heavenly hand' (example 9) was included in the Handel celebrations at Westminster Abbey, and the massive forces used on these occasions, in his opinion, further enhanced the merits of the music. In highlighting some of the numbers in *Joseph* which illustrate the 'expressive union of music and poetry which contributes to the heightening of both', Callcott emphasised the use of keys and their individual characteristics--in particular in the two chief keys in the oratorio: the melancholy key of E Minor, already mentioned, and the brilliance of D Major--and the extra dimension that the correct matching of key and text can give to a composition. Key characteristics have, through the years, meant different things to composers and much has been written on the subject, [36] but it may be seen that Handel's association of keys and moods lived on in later English oratorios.

Thomas Arne's *Judith.*

Arne's early oratorio *The Death of Abel* was first performed in 1744

[36] Steblin (1983). This volume explores the subject and cites many contemporary writings.

during a visit he made to Dublin: Arne (1710-1778) had accompanied Handel there for a performance of *Messiah* in 1742 and stayed for two years. All but one air of this work is lost. Some years later he wrote *Judith* to a libretto by the Irishman Isaac Bickerstaffe; the oratorio received the first of several performances in February 1761 at Drury Lane theatre. Although the choruses are not as impressive as Handel's and the recitatives are often perfunctory, this is a splendid work containing some superb solo movements in which his fame as a melodist is justly apparent.

Judith is in the customary three acts; there are eight characters with solo parts and a chorus of Assyrians for which there are nine lengthy movements: the chorus, as in Handel, has a prominent part. The tonal structure is centred upon D Major, although the work begins and ends in G Major; keys to the sharp side are used in those sections where excitement is at its height, as in the scene at Holofernes's banquet, to which Judith is invited, when the host becomes drunk. Judith's pastoral hymn, 'How cheerful along the gay mead' is in F major, a key which Handel used for a similar mood in *Messiah* (the alto part of 'He shall feed his flock'), and this key is also used for Judith's lullaby 'Sleep, gentle cherub!' Several airs display the more 'modern' (early Classical) characteristic of a simpler melodic line of balanced phrases above an 'ancient'-style linear bass; examples include 'Wake my harp! to melting measures' and the air mentioned above, 'Sleep gentle cherub!' (example 10).

Besides melody, Arne's other forte was his gift for colourful orchestral scoring: he was unusual in his demands for flutes and oboes to play simultaneously, and trumpets and horns are also sometimes heard

together; in addition he occasionally wrote for the clarinet, which was still novel at this time. Generally he gave more importance to the woodwind than did his contemporaries, sometimes scoring passages for them alone. The sparseness of the scoring (for strings and horns) in 'O thou on whom the Weak depend' is most effective in this fine duet, which aptly illustrates the text by making use of echo devices in the vocal parts (example 11). The scoring in the oratorio is for flutes, oboes, bassoons, horns, trumpets, timpani, strings, harp, and both organ and harpsichord continuo; the harp is only heard in the air 'Wake my harp! to melting measures.' The Overture is in the form of an Italian sinfonia of three movements, the central slow one being in the relative minor. Elementary sonata form is used for the fast movements and binary form for the slow movements. [37] The choruses are mostly homophonic: only two contain fugal sections, and these owe much to Handel. Arne must take the credit for introducing ladies' voices into oratorio choruses: this innovation was first heard in public in a performance of *Judith* on 26 February 1773 at Covent Garden Theatre. [38]

Philip Hayes's *Prophecy*.

Both Philip Hayes (1738-1797) and his father William (1707-1777) were, in succession, Professors of Music at the University of Oxford. The Music School, which was situated in the Bodleian quadrangle (the inscription 'Schola musicae' over the doorway can still be seen today)

[37] This work has been described and discussed by Smither (1987), III 261-290.

[38] *Grove* (1919), I 108.

was, by 1780, in need of refurbishment, and three benefit concerts were arranged to raise money for this project. One of the concerts was a performance of Philip Hayes's oratorio *Prophecy;* this was held at the Sheldonian Theatre and £250 was raised. [39] The location of the score is not known. Hayes was acquainted with Edward Beckwith of Norwich and, as a result of this friendship (which extended to Hayes's tuition to Beckwith's son John) and patronising his benefit concerts in Norwich, he 'conducted a performance of his own oratorio' there in 1774; this oratorio may have been *Prophecy.* [40]

Samuel Arnold's *The Prodigal Son* and *Redemption.*

In 1767 Arnold (1740-1802) composed an oratorio called *The Cure of Saul;* the libretto was written by Dr. Brown; the work was so successful with audiences that the following year he wrote another oratorio, *Abimelech,* which 'established the reputation of its composer.' [41] In 1773 *The Prodigal Son* was produced; all of these oratorios were performed at the theatre in the Haymarket, and the latter became the most popular of Arnold's oratorios--it was requested by Lord North to be performed when he was installed as Chancellor of the University of Oxford. The story of Arnold's submission of *The Prodigal Son* to William Hayes for the Oxford D. Mus. is well known: Hayes had heard the work in London and, without scrutinizing it, conferred the degree upon Arnold. The Overture begins in typical French overture style with a simple minuet-like movement following

[39] Wollenberg (1981-82), 90.

[40] Fawcett (1979), 15.

[41] Busby (1819), II 468n.

(example 12). Not long before his death Arnold was visited by Jonathan Battishill, who had last heard a performance of *The Prodigal Son* nearly 30 years previously; Battishill 'played to him by rote' passages from the oratorio 'which the Doctor himself had totally forgotten.' [42] In 1777 another oratorio appeared, *The Resurrection*, which, this time, received its first performance at Covent Garden; apparently 'it produced much less profit than fame' because of the expenses incurred. [43]

Arnold's involvement as sub-director at the Commemoration of Handel in 1784 aroused in him the ambition to edit the complete works of the German-born master; an off-shoot of this work was the compilation of an oratorio entitled *Redemption*. This work is really a pasticcio oratorio--a new libretto set to music which has previously been composed. During the second half of the eighteenth century pasticcio oratorio became widespread, with the music of Handel used either exclusively or primarily; the only new music necessary to be composed was that for recitative. *Redemption* contains music from choruses and airs from the following of Handel's oratorios and operas: *Saul* (four numbers), *Jephtha*, *Semele*, *Suzanna*, *Occasional Oratorio*, *Joseph*, *Judas Maccabaeus*, *Israel in Egypt* (five numbers), *Joshua* (three numbers), *Esther*, *Theodora*, *Alexander Balus*, *Sosarme*, *Alcina*, and *Rodelinda*, as well as some smaller-scale works. Sometimes the music remains true to its original version, occasionally it has been adapted to fit the new text. The selection of music gives an indication of some of the more popular Handelian excerpts near to the close of the eighteenth century. The task of selecting and adapting was

[42] *Monthly Magazine* (1802), 39.

[43] Busby (1819), II 468n.

evidently neither quick nor straightforward, as Arnold remarked to Busby when he complained of the time and effort involved exceeding that taken up by a new composition: 'And after all,' he said, 'I am not augmenting my honours as an *author*.' [44] *Redemption: a sacred Oratorio selected from the great, and favourite works of Mr. Handel* was first performed in 1786 at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane. [45] The frontispiece to the published libretto, which appeared the following year, shows that Arnold had endeavoured to give some cohesion to the Handelian selection through his own connecting passages of recitative. He regretted 'that the compass of time allotted for the performance of an oratorio is so short, as to deprive me of adding more of his [Handel's] capital compositions, that would have greatly enriched the performance.' Arnold went on to describe the 'drama': it begins with the creation of the world and moves on to relate the stories of Abraham's offering of Isaac, Joseph's captivity, and Moses leading the Israelites out of Egypt; this constitutes Part 1 (Arnold does not use the term 'Act'); in Part 2 the stories of Joshua, Deborah, Saul, David, and Solomon are briefly recounted; Part 3 contains prophecies of the Messiah's coming from Jeremiah and Micah, and the story of Christ's birth, mission, death, and resurrection; the work 'concludes with the consequences thereof our REDEMPTION!' [46] This final summary takes the form of the chorus 'Glory be to the Father' from the Utrecht *Jubilate*. *Redemption* received numerous performances both in London and the provinces where choral societies eagerly took it up; among these productions were

[44] Busby (1819), II 470n.

[45] GB Lbm 643 E. 14. (5).

[46] Samuel Arnold, preface libretto of *Redemption* (London, 1787). A photocopy of the original is in Pritchard (1968), III 8.

those in Manchester in August 1789, [47] in Cambridge in June 1805, [48] and in Liverpool (with Mrs. Billington starring as the principal soprano) in September 1805. [49]

By 1798 another oratorio had been written: *Elijah or The Woman of Shunam* to a text by the comedian Thomas Hill; Arnold was less than satisfied with it and requested Busby to make some alterations. [50] Arnold's last oratorio, *Elishma*, received its first performance under his own direction at the Haymarket on 11 March 1801. [51] Busby wrote that, together with some songs, Arnold's oratorios were among his best compositions; even then he was unjustly harsh in his criticism comparing Arnold's oratorios with those of Handel and finding that 'the style of his air was too operatical, and the texture of his chorus too loose and slight'. [52] Being principally a man of the theatre it is hardly surprising that Arnold's airs should be 'operatical'; indeed it is likely that his singers (as well as his audiences) welcomed the opportunity for flamboyance. Perhaps the conviction which Battishill held, that no man should attempt to write oratorio after the supreme examples which had been provided by Handel, [53] was communicated to his pupil, Busby, possibly causing him to make unsatisfactory comparisons between modern oratorios

[47] Pritchard (1969), 16.

[48] Reid (1966), 8.

[49] Pritchard (1969), 7.

[50] Busby (1819), II 471n.

[51] *Times* (2 March 1801).

[52] Busby (1819), II 473.

[53] Spence (1956), 141.

and Handel's works; however, Busby did not not heed this advice himself.

Thomas Busby's *Prophecy*.

Not being one to conceal his own self-confessed ingenuity, Busby wrote:

> After the production of Dr. Arnold's *Resurrection*, no new oratorial music was brought forward until March 1799; when *Prophecy*, a sacred oratorio in two parts, composed by the author of this history, was performed to a very crowded audience, at the Theatre Royal, in the Haymarket. The reception of this piece was sufficiently favourable to encourage other similar efforts; and he successively produced his ode, *British Genius*...; his music to Pope's Ode for St. Cecilia's Day; and to Ossian's Comala...; his oratorio of *Britannia*.... [54]

It is obviously an inaccurate statement that no new oratorios were written, performed, or even published during the 22 years since Arnold's *Resurrection*. Apparently Busby's *Prophecy*, 'his first essay in composition', [55] was 'performed only by his own determination': first he had to bail out William Cramer from the debtors' prison so that he could assist with the production. [56] The first performance took place on 29 March 1799, with William Cramer leading the band, Busby's teacher, Battishill, at the organ, and the composer himself conducting from the

[54] Busby (1819), II 518-519.

[55] *Musical World* (1838), 80.

[56] Spence (1956), 145.

pianoforte.[57] *Prophecy* was a setting of Pope's 'Messiah' which he had written some 20 years earlier; it differs from the normal three-act plan by having only two parts. The performance was reviewed in *The Monthly Magazine:* it was noted that Busby had successfully attempted to blend the grandeur of the 'ancient' style with the 'sweetness of the most admired moderns',[58] and Samuel Wesley considered the work 'contained some very fine choruses, and that one of them would have done honour to Handel'.[59] (It is interesting to note Wesley's comparison with Handel, particularly as he was not regarded as an 'Handelian'.) The work, which underwent various revisions over the years,[60] was never published and the location the manuscript is not known.

On 16 June 1800 Busby's oratorio *Britannia* was performed at Covent Garden for the Royal Humane Society and was described in an advertisement as 'a New Grand, Commemorative Oratorio'. Cramer again led the band and William Russell played the organ, with Busby presiding at the pianoforte; the famous Madame Mara was principal soprano soloist; the other vocal soloists were Master Elliott, and Messrs. Walker, Page, and Denman--all singers who worked with Russell from time to time.[61]

[57] *Times* (8 March 1799).

[58] *Monthly Magazine* (1799), 317.

[59] *Musical World* (1837), 90.

[60] *Musical World* (1838), 80.

[61] *Times* (16 June 1800).

Franz Joseph Haydn's *The Creation.*

Although he was Austrian, Haydn (1732-1809), on hearing English oratorio, was moved to write his own; the resulting two oratorios were performed in England and had the greatest influence--next to Handel's--on English composers. His first oratorio *Il Ritorno di Tobia* had been composed many years earlier, between 1774 and 1775; now fresh inspiration, a direct invitation (from Salomon) to write an oratorio, and greater maturity produced two masterpieces: *Die Schöpfung (The Creation)* and the secular oratorio *Die Jahreszeiten (The Seasons)*. *The Creation* was begun in 1795 but was not completed until three years later: 'I have spent much time over the piece,' Haydn said, 'because I intended it should last.' [62] In summarizing the content and effect of *The Creation* Busby was contemptuous in referring to

> imitations of many things inimitable by music...airs not abundantly beautiful or original...and choruses in which the composer toils under his incumbent weight, labours in fugue...and supplies the absence of true taste and dignity.

In short, Busby stated that 'his failure...in his oratorios [was] almost total'. [63] Few contemporaries shared his opinion and Haydn's oratorios were much enjoyed by English audiences. J.F.Hering disagreed with Busby in a letter to the editor of *The Monthly Magazine* when he cited Haydn's *The Creation* as bearing 'a comparison with some of Handel's best pieces,' [64] and Samuel Wesley, writing in *The Musical World* many years

[62] Busby (1819), II 399.

[63] Busby (1819), II 400.

[64] *Monthly Magazine* (1807), 317.

later said that *The Creation* 'was received with the warmest and most flattering tokens of approbation. It has been considered as a classic and stock composition, ever since its introduction into England.' [65] In his *General History*, which was published before *The Creation* was composed, Burney had noted that Haydn's oratorio *Il Ritorno di Tobia* was as popular in Vienna as Handel's *Messiah* was in England. [66]

The Creation was first performed in 1798 at the Palais Schwarzenberg, Vienna, and was first published in March 1800 with both English and German texts; the first performance in London took place under the direction of John Ashley on 28 March 1800, with another performance by Johann Peter Salomon following on 21 April. [67] It was Salomon (1745-1815) who, as stated above, in 1795, had actually commissioned Haydn to write an oratorio, and who had provided an English text on the subject of the creation of the world. The libretto, which is in the customary three parts, was based partly on scripture and partly on Milton's *Paradise Lost:* its original author is unknown but it is thought to have been prepared for Handel. Haydn engaged one of his patrons, the Baron Gottfried van Swieten, to translate the libretto into German in such a way that both texts would fit the music. [68] There are five characters: Gabriel (soprano), Uriel (tenor), Raphael (bass), Eve (soprano), and Adam (bass). The choruses display the influence of Handel (especially in 'Awake the harp') and often they contain sections for soloists, although the style of

[65] *Musical World* (1836), 3.

[66] Burney (1957), II 959.

[67] Temperley (1988), vi.

[68] Temperley (1988), iii, vi.

the work is unmistakably Haydn's own, owing much to the Viennese Mass and his own symphonic style. *The Creation* and *The Seasons* are not so much works of dramatic impulse as series of narrative scenes.

The tonal structure of *The Creation* seems to have been conceived as a whole: C Major is the main key although the work concludes in B flat Major, symbolising, Smither says, the status of Adam and Eve as lower than the angels. [69] The harmonic language of the orchestral introduction, 'Representation of Chaos', must have seemed daring to the early English audiences (see example 13). Several of the solos are linked with choruses, for example 'The marv'llous work behold amaz'd', and often ensembles are combined with a chorus also; these tend to be in contrapuntal style. The five arias and the accompanied recitatives show Haydn's superb (and sometimes witty) approach to word painting both in the vocal and instrumental parts (see example 14).

One of the most influential aspects of Haydn's music on English musicians was that of orchestration: the combinations and numbers of instruments used in Haydn's London symphonies became the basis for English symphonic composers for the next two generations. In particular the English could now appreciate the art of orchestration which no longer depended upon weight of numbers to enhance the effect: they could learn from Haydn's art of subtly balancing the instruments and treating the woodwind with even greater independence than Arne.

[69] Smither (1987), III 498.

William Crotch's *Palestine*.

When R. J. S. Stevens compared Crotch (1775-1847) with Haydn, the former was found less pleasing: Stevens had attended the first performance of Crotch's oratorio *Palestine* (1812) and although he had taken notes as to the time and key of the various numbers, he was, on his return home, unable to 'recollect one air, or prominent part of the Oratorio', which he always expected to do following one of Haydn's concerts. [70] The reporter of the first London performance (in 1836) of Crotch's earlier oratorio *The Captivity of Judah* (1789) described it as

> less attractive than the author's 'Palestine': notwithstanding, it contains two or three effective choruses, and upon frequent occasions the instrumentation is very masterly, if not in the most modern school of orchestral writing. [71]

Although not effusive in his praise either, Ernest Walker stated that *Palestine* was the only 'moderately outstanding English oratorio' to appear between Arne's *Judith* and Sterndale Bennett's *The Woman of Samaria* (1867). [72] By this cryptic expression Walker must have meant that *Palestine* was the only oratorio of the period which was worthy of mention. More recently Nigel Burton has been positively dismissive when he described *Palestine* as 'absurdly lengthy' and having 'an appalling libretto'. [73] The duration of this oratorio is in excess of two and a half hours, however, it will be recalled that, with regard to *Redemption*,

[70] Trend (1933), 131.

[71] *Musical World* (1836), 159.

[72] Walker (1924), 245.

[73] *Athlone* (1981), V 215.

Arnold had lamented the brevity of time normally allowed for oratorio performances--approximately two and a half hours (see page 92)--even so, the durations of concerts were much longer than those of today, including other works besides the main oratorio. However, Busby, a notoriously harsh critic, felt that *Palestine* 'exhibits his [Crotch's] theatrical knowledge, general powers of vocal conception, and command of instrumental accompaniment.' [74] Individuals differ in their reactions and opinions, particularly of something modern and new, but the fact remains that *Palestine's* first performance was sufficiently successful to warrant numerous repetitions over the next 30 years. [75]

Burton's comment on the libretto of *Palestine* comes from a twentieth-century viewpoint; the elevated language and the length of the text are common to many English oratorio libretti of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: Russell's *Job* is certainly no exception. It must be remembered, though, that the author of *Palestine*, Reginald Heber, had been awarded the Oxford medal for this poem in 1803. The oratorio was modelled on Handel but has only two parts. There are no personages, and just three solo parts (soprano or treble, tenor, and bass), but there are both a chorus and semi-chorus and a large orchestra of flutes, oboes, 'clarionets', bassoons, horns, trumpets, trombones, timpani, strings, harp, and organ. The clarinets are used sparingly but effectively: a high, piercing clarinet solo vividly colours the tenor air 'Vengeance! thy fiery wing their race pursued' (no. 33). One of the dramatic high-points comes in the chorus 'Let Sinai tell' (no. 9), whose harmony, word painting,

[74] Busby (1819), II 520.

[75] Rennert (1975), 52.

and orchestration combine to evoke a powerful image of the scene (example 15). Part 1 is based around the key of C Major while Part 2 moves from G Major to D Major; within this structure there are some interesting changes of key: on no less than six occasions there is a move to a key a third away--this was considered a Romantic trend; [76] it was one which Russell favoured, and a shift to the key a major third lower is often found in the music of Haydn, Beethoven, and Schubert. The keys of individual numbers seem to reflect the nature of the words: the tragedy of the accompanied recitative 'But heavier far the fetter'd captive's doom!' (no. 34) is enhanced by being set in C Minor, while the joyful chorus 'Daughter of Sion' (no. 27) is in the bright key of A Major. Although Crotch set out to write an oratorio in the Handelian style, he not only succeeded in so doing, he managed also to marry many modern characteristics to the music in a masterly fashion.

Having surveyed the state of the ode and oratorio in England from early in the eighteenth century to Russell's time, it is now appropriate to examine Russell's own works in these genres and to consider their comparative qualities.

[76] Rennert (1975), 55.

CHAPTER IV

Russell's Odes and Oratorios.

Incentives for composition.

Why did Russell devote time and energy to writing four odes and two oratorios? None was published during his lifetime, nor is it likely that any of these ventures were financially rewarding. The answer must lie in Russell's personal preference for large-scale forms and serious (particularly religious-based) compositions. Like most composers of his day he worked in the theatre, but his output and the whole of his life-style convey a predilection for the Church rather than the theatre. A man of serious nature, retiring, yet confident in his own professional ability, he fits more happily into the well-ordered rituals of the Church than the constant scurry, the impetuosity, and insecurity of the theatre. This propensity must have come about partly through education and upbringing: early influences were organ playing and choral singing (see pages 30-32). The Cecilian Society, which probably gave Russell the best opportunity to become acquainted with large-scale choral works, was founded in 1785 for the purpose of singing choral music regularly each week; [1] their meeting place and venue for concerts was Albion Hall, London Wall, near to Finsbury Circus. [2] The Society considered itself a prime mover in establishing amateur choral singing, and described itself as the parent of choral societies; 'it has been in existence for more than half a

[1] Doane [1794], 85.

[2] *London Made Easy* (1851), 75.

century; and although it now has to share the public attention with its numerous offspring, it must have shone, in times past, "like Hesperus among the lesser lights," or rather, like Hesperus in the dark.' [3] By the beginning of the Victorian era the frequency of meetings had decreased to the second and fourth Thursdays in every month, [4] presumably to avoid coinciding with meetings held by similar groups. [5] Membership of the Cecilian Society, involvement in the performances of the Concerts of Ancient Music, and Russell's other activities gave him plenty of experience in performing large choral works; one source claims that Russell actually was conductor of the Cecilian Society and that he wrote his oratorio *The Redemption of Israel* for it. [6] Coupled with this saturation in oratorio, Russell doubtless shared with some of his fellow musicians the view that oratorio was the highest form of musical expression (this remained true up to the time of Elgar, who also regarded the symphony in this light); it seems inevitable, therefore, that Russell should have been impelled to write odes and oratorios.

Descriptions of the scores.

Russell wrote four odes: *Ode to Music*, *Ode to the Genius of Handel*, *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*, and *Ode to Harmony*, and two oratorios: *The Redemption of Israel* and *Job*. [7] In addition he wrote other large-scale

[3] *Musical World* (1837), 173.

[4] *Musical World* (1838), 13.

[5] *Musical World* (1837), 248.

[6] *Musical Times* (1902), 378.

[7] Bingley (1814), II 283-284.

sacred choral works in the form of English and Latin services, anthems, and motets; these fall outside the scope of this study and have been referred to elsewhere. [8] Not all this music survives: there are manuscript scores of two complete works: *The Redemption of Israel* and the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day;* only parts of the remaining odes survive, including the manuscript of the Overture to the *Ode to Music;* there also exists a posthumous publication of *Job* (1826); the manuscripts of the two complete works and of the Overture to the *Ode to Music* are housed in the Parry Room at the Royal College of Music, London, and are catalogued ms. 551 (*The Redemption of Israel*), ms. 552 (*Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*), and ms. 553 (Overture to the *Ode to Music*). The latter is an autograph full score of six pages; there is no date but the watermark reveals the year of paper manufacture as 1804. The same year appears in the watermark on various leaves of the manuscript of *The Redemption of Israel*, while that shown in the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* bears the earlier date, 1800. These dates may well indicate the years in which the works were written, since a busy composer such as Russell doubtless used a great quantity of manuscript paper and probably bought his supplies fairly frequently. The words 'Cecilian Society' have been written in ornate script (not by Russell's hand) on the title page of the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*, probably indicating the body for whom the work was written; it is likely that all four odes were written for the Cecilian Society, and perhaps the oratorios too; certainly some of Russell's choral works were performed posthumously by this body: on 26 November 1835 the *Ode on* [sic] *Music;* [9] on 21 July 1836 *The Redemption of Israel* and on 22 September 1836 the *Ode to*

[8] Ward Russell (1985), 77-100.

[9] *Musical Magazine* (1835), 188.

Music; [10] on 22 March 1838 the *Ode to Music*, [11] and on 24 January 1839 *Job*. [12] In addition to the scores mentioned above, there is some untitled music in manuscript, some of which has a text suggesting this is part of an ode or odes: there are two such groups of movements, some with consecutive numbering, contained in a volume chiefly of theatre music; this is housed in the Department of Manuscripts at the British Library, London, Add. Ms. 51017. Two instrumental movements with the titles 'Overture' and 'Sy. to Act 2d' are contained in a bound volume of manuscripts labelled 'Autograph Music' by William Russell, held at the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Ms. no. Acc. 10451; these are movements from *Job*.

The scores of the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* and *The Redemption of Israel*, together with the two *Ode* portions, are in the form of a continuo-player's score, containing a bass which is largely unfigured, principal melodic lines (usually introductory material and 'symphonies'), with occasional indications of the instrumentation, and the vocal parts complete; this type of score was not uncommon at this time, and it is likely that Russell would have played the keyboard part himself, hence detail was unnecessary. The manuscript of the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* indicates that it is a 'harpsichord score'. The published score of *Job* is in the form of a vocal score with accompaniment for organ or piano made by Samuel Wesley from an adaptation of the instrumental parts. While indicating some of the instrumentation (chiefly solos), Wesley gave no

[10] *Musical World* (1836), 64.

[11] *Musical World* (1838), 16.

[12] *Musical World* (1839), 16.

suggestions for the use of manuals or registration.

In 1825 Russell's widow had requested Wesley to make such an arrangement of *Job* for publication. Wesley replied in a letter of 18 April 1825 that the work would take one professional musician a month to complete, and that it would therefore be costly both in terms of time and expense; his suggestion was that three professionals should each take on one act (there are actually four parts in the printed score) so that the time and money expended would be reduced; Wesley offered to revise and proof-read the arrangement and to help in any other way which would be useful, should Mrs. Russell accept his suggestion; this he was willing to do 'in the sense of Friendship <u>only</u>, and totally excluding that of <u>Trade</u>.' [13] It would seem, from the preface to the publication which appeared the following year, that Wesley finally undertook the entire task himself (or, if he did not, he did not acknowledge the work of the arrangers), although evidently it was not with the 'alacrity' which he mentioned:

TO THE MUSICAL PUBLIC

> Having long been on the most friendly and intimate terms with that excellent organist and ingenious composer, the late Mr. William Russell, it was with equal pleasure and alacrity that I embraced the opportunity of rendering my very cordial services to his Widow, by an adaptation of the instrumental parts of his Oratorio to the Organ or Piano Forte. All those who have at any time undertaken a similar task, are well aware, that to produce upon the organ the effect of stringed instruments is impossible,

[13] Wesley, GB Lbm Add. Ms. 11729, f. 246.

> and that violin passages must be frequently and necessarily altered to render them practicable upon a keyed instrument. I have, however, to the utmost of my power, endeavoured to preserve a similarity to such passages as were unmanageable in the original; and I trust, that, upon trial, they will be found neither incommodious for the hand, nor difficult of execution.
>
> S. WESLEY.
>
> Euston Street, May 8th, 1826. [14]

The reason Mary Ann Russell had requested this publication was almost certainly a financial one. The score was published by subscription and sold for two guineas, with non-subscribers paying £2-12s-6d, and Mary Ann dedicated it to the Governors of the Foundling Hospital and signed copies herself. The Governors' acceptance of this dedication 13 years after his death indicates their continued respect for Russell and the years of service he gave to the Foundling Hospital. Mary Ann was doubtless still personally grateful to the Governors both for their consideration to Russell during his long illness and for their generosity in allowing the Chapel to be used free of charge for the benefit concert after his death. The list of subscribers to the publication gives 94 names, 25 of whom had subscribed to Russell's first set of Organ Voluntaries 22 years earlier. This shows the high esteem in which Russell was held; indeed, it indicates affection for his memory during a period when so many benefits, subscriptions, and charities made demands on the public's purse: one has only to read contemporary newspapers to realise this--Barthélémon, for example, found it most difficult to interest the public in subscribing to

[14] Russell (1826), preface.

a monument for his uncle, Thomas Arne, in 1802. [15] Several of the subscribers to *Job* were organists or publishers, mostly in London, but also from as far afield as Durham, Liverpool, Manchester, Bath, Bangor, and Dublin. The organists of St. James's Church, Clerkenwell (the parish where the Russells had spent their married life) and St. Ann's Church, Limehouse (where Russell had been organist for 15 years) also subscribed, showing that Russell was still remembered and respected; at Limehouse Russell is remembered to this day--a copy of *Job*, originally the property of Miss Dicker (organist of St. Ann's 1846-1871) was inscribed thus by her: 'This Volume is presented with the wish it shall become the property of succeeding organists', as indeed it has.

Few of the scores of the works considered in this chapter bear a date of composition: superficially this seems to be unusual for Russell; however, the extant manuscripts may not all have been the original working scores (which would have been the ones to bear a date) and most of the original manuscript of *Job* is presumed lost. The Sy[mphony] to Act 2 is signed and dated 6 March 1813, indicating that *Job* was a very late work, composed only months before Russell's death. The two *Ode* portions in Add.Ms.51017 show the dates 1799 and 1801. Recently the author of this study discovered a fragment of the oratorio in manuscript bound with some compositions of Samuel Wesley; this volume (which is in the Department of Manuscripts at the British Library, London, catalogue number Add.Ms.35003) does not mention Russell, and the catalogue does not attribute this to a composer other than Wesley. The fragment comprises three folios (115^{r}-117^{v}) of manuscript not in Wesley's hand, as

[15] *Times* (22 April 1802).

is the remainder of the volume. No title, signature, or date is given; the preceding folio (114^{v}) gives Wesley's signature and the date 'Feb. 14 1795', and the work which follows (on f. 118^{r}) is in Wesley's distinctive hand but bears no date. The *Job* fragment is on slightly smaller, less discoloured paper, with closer ruling of the staves than on the leaves which precede or follow it; however, the volume contains a variety of paper sizes and types. What is certain is that the volume was bequeathed to the British Museum by Wesley's daughter, Eliza, on 4 May 1895 (this is inscribed at the front of the book) and that she (and therefore, presumably, her father) possessed this tiny portion of *Job*. A comparison of this handwriting with Russell's own in his pantomime of 1800, *Harlequin's Phaeton* (Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. Mus. c. 100), in some of his anthems which exist in manuscript, and in *The Redemption of Israel* strongly indicates that Russell himself wrote this fragment. The three folios contain non-consecutive parts of *Job:* Alcides's recitative 'Horrors increase' (no. 16 [GWR 17]), 'Recit. Treble' 'His soul, tho' lost to happiness and ease' (no. 43 [GWR 44]), and part of the following air, 'O silence fond warblers' (no. 44 [GWR 45]); in the latter all that appear are clefs, key and time signatures, barlines, and text. The whole is on two staves, suggesting a harpsichord or organ part. Figure 1 tabulates the sources and dates of the manuscripts. The differing dates for the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* are problematical: first, old paper may have been used; second, the score seems not to be in the same hand throughout; third, the initials at the end say 'T. R.' not 'W. R.' and are presumably those of the copyist. Although it is likely that watermark dates are close to those of composition, there are other clues which can endorse or refute this

	watermark date	date on score	source
Ode portion a	--	1799	GB Lbm Add.Ms.51017
Ode portion b	--	1801	GB Lbm Add.Ms.51017
Ode on St. Cecilia's Day	1800	1803	GB Lcm Ms.552
Ode to Music (Overture)	1804	--	GB Lcm Ms.553
The Redemption of Israel	1804	--	GB Lcm Ms.551
Job (orchestral movements)	--	1813	GB Enls Ms.10451
Job fragment	--	--	GB Lbm Add.Ms.35003

Fig. 1: Dates and sources of Russell ode and oratorio manuscripts.

assumption: the musical style, and the names written on the score. Stylistically the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* and *The Redemption of Israel* are less mature works than *Job*, and were, on that account, almost certainly written at an earlier date; the manuscripts of the orchestral movements of *Job* show the date 1813, which is presumably the year the whole composition was written; the only other rather vague comment on the subject was by Samuel Wesley, made from memory in old age: he said that Russell 'produced the Oratorio of *Job* whilst yet a young man.' [16] To Wesley, who was 70 when he wrote his *Reminiscences*, Russell had been a young man, having died at the age of 36. Names written on the score of the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* and *The Redemption of Israel* may have been added some time after composition; however, in the case of the oratorio, the name 'Cutler' appears at the head of two soprano airs and a duet for soprano and tenor. William Cutler (1792-after July 1824) was a boy chorister at St. Paul's Cathedral from 1803, and on leaving became a pupil of Russell, studying composition with him. [17] Cutler, 'a remarkably fine

[16] GB Lbm Add.Ms.27593 f.93.

[17] *Grove* (1919), I 648.

boy singer',[18] would have been at St. Paul's until his voice broke (he left in 1807),[19] so in order for him to have sung in *The Redemption of Israel* the work must have been completed before this time. The likelihood is that the oratorio was written at a time when Russell personally knew of Cutler's vocal abilities; this would suggest a date after Cutler's admission to the choir at St. Paul's (Russell was acquainted with Attwood and other members of the music staff there), and a date compatible with the watermark evidence of 1804.

The manuscript of the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* contains not only the date at the end, as mentioned above, but also, originally, a date giving the year of composition after the words 'Ode on S^{t}. Cecilia's Day Compos'd by Wm Russell'; on the edge of the leaf there is a '1' followed by the lower half of a figure eight written aslant (the subsequent trimming of the page has destroyed the rest of the date); this is just discernible in example 1. This page has been written in brown ink with a fine-nibbed pen; the writing is small and neat. Thereafter two types of pen have been used: a fine one for the text and a thicker one for the titles and numbers of movements, tempo indications, and the musical notation. The writing becomes larger and somewhat less neat. There are several inaccuracies in the notation, including incorrect clefs and omitted accidentals, which are incompatible with Russell's normal standard of accuracy. The majority of the errors have been corrected either by erasing and overwriting in ink, or by marking above in pencil. There seems to have been a change of writer from f.1^{v}. If the second person was a copyist, these questions

[18] Garrett (1974), 185.

[19] Dawe (1983), 92.

must be pqsed:

a) was Russell the person who wrote the first page of music?

b) was Russell the composer of this work, or is it an attribution, and possibly erroneous?

His authorship is verified if it can be determined that 'Compos'd by Wm. Russell' is the composer's autograph and that this is in the same hand as the first page of the musical score. The latter seems certain, but a comparison of known signatures of Russell with the name on this work is inconclusive since his autograph varied quite considerably even at similar periods of his life. It seems quite certain that Russell did indeed write an Ode on St. Cecilia's Day: the fullest biography of Russell, written during his lifetime, states this is so; [20] Husk listed the work in his famous study of Cecilian celebrations, and even suggested an approximate date of composition:

> About this period [1800] Christopher Smart's Ode was set to music by William Russell, Mus. Bac. Oxon. Inquiry has failed to discover either the precise date of composition, or the occasion of its production, but it is conjectured that it was written for, and possibly performed on St. Cecilia's day by the Cecilian Society of which the composer was a member. It seems pretty certain that it was performed by that body at Painters' Hall, Little Trinity Lane, in the latter part of the year 1800. [21]

Evidently Husk either did not see the manuscript now in the Royal College of Music, or he failed to note the date 1803 at the end of the work, or he dismissed 1803 as the date of composition; it is also possible that he saw

[20] Bingley (1814), II 283.

[21] Husk (1857), 80-81.

another score (now lost?) of the same work. The records of the Worshipful Company of Painter-Stainers mention the Cecilian Society using their Great Hall, but give no details of individual performances. [22] Husk was the author of Russell's biography in the first edition of Grove's Dictionary (1908). This contains a number of errors, such as incorrect dates and the statement that Russell was organist at St. Mary Aldermanbury when in fact it was not at this Church but at St. Mary Aldermary where he played. Husk probably took this erroneous information from Brown's *Biographical Dictionary of Musicians* (1886). At any rate, if Husk gave incorrect details in Grove's Dictionary, he may have done likewise in his *Musical Celebrations on St. Cecilia's Day*, and this could account for the failure to mention the date 1803.

Referring again to this date at the end of the work ('Decr 1803'), it is unlikely that this is the date of composition for two reasons: first, by this time Russell's style was more mature than this work illustrates; second, December is a strange month to write or complete an ode which would normally (although not always) be performed on or around 22 November. It is more likely that the copyist 'T.R.', who may have been William Russell's brother Timothy, completed his task during December 1803. Timothy was an organ builder, but although he also played the organ, there are no known examples of any musical notation by him with which to compare the manuscript of the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*.

Upon comparing the two hands in this *Ode* with known examples of Russell's handwriting, it seems clear that the bulk of the *Ode on St.*

[22] GB Lg Ms. 5667 III.

Cecilia's Day was not written out by him, but that the first page of music and subsequent pencil corrections could have been. At this stage, then, there is still some doubt as to the authenticity of 'Compos'd by Wm Russell'. If this is not Russell's autograph but an attribution made by another, is it an accurate ascription? Is this a work of William Russell? Further evidence must be sought in the music itself. Compared with other compositions of Russell this work is somewhat rough-cast in places; rather alarmingly, it contains a number of grammatical faults such as consecutive fifths and octaves in the vocal parts. Occasionally there is some awkward, if not actually 'incorrect', movement in the parts; for example, in the chorus 'Neptune in the boist'rous seas' (no. 13), the tenor in bar 3 contains a leap of a diminished fifth, and the part twice falls below the bass, disguising the smooth bass descent; in bar 11 the tenor and alto parts could have been exchanged to produce smoother movement (example 2). Such weaknesses are to be found very occasionally in some early anthems of Russell dating from around 1796, yet this work was plainly written (according to the first page of music) in the nineteenth rather than the eighteenth century, in other words, not earlier than the middle years of Russell's compositional life; so one would expect a greater evenness in the handling of the material and certainly correct and logical part-writing. Of course this is so only if the truncated '18' on the first page refers to the year rather than the day of the month; the latter is unlikely, however, because Russell's habit was to write the date either as month, date, then year, or as year only.

Several stylistic traits of Russell do appear in the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* however, and these help to confirm the ascription on the manuscript. Some of these characteristics are found in the chorus

mentioned above, 'Neptune in the boist'rous seas': the frequent use of repeated notes in a melody, the largely homophonic texture, the simplicity of style, the occasional harmonic colourings (particularly suspensions), and the setting of mood are among the Russell fingerprints; elsewhere some pronounced word painting demonstrates his style. Examples 3-6 illustrate some of the characteristics found in the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* which are found in a work which is unequivocally by Russell--*Job*. The deductions are two-fold: first, that Russell wrote the work in some haste during the middle years of his career (about 1800)--the speed of writing may account for the ungrammatical bars and harmonically awkward passages; second, that Russell began to copy the score then handed it to a copyist to complete, after which he added corrections himself, possibly at the time of rehearsing for a performance--this could account for any lapse in time between the date of composition and the copying of this only known extant version.

The two portions of *Odes* which are bound with the other autograph manuscripts of Russell (Add.Ms.51017) are not titled as such; the first is contained in folios 5-20, the second in folios 34-40 and 42-43. This pagination is probably not Russell's, but was presumably pencilled in at the time the volume was bound; the first ode portion contains no original folio numbering but the second extract (ff.34-40 and 42-43) shows Russell's pagination on each side of the paper (subsequently crossed out in pencil) up to 42^{r} where it ceases. This, and the numbering of the movements, albeit incomplete, indicate that the two extracts contain consecutive music from either one or two odes. Folios 41^{r}-42^{r} contain a two-movement 'Organ Solo'; [23] f.42^{r} contains sketchy fragments including

[23] Ward Russell (1991).

part of the recitative 'Behold th'uplifted hand', which is found on f.34v and is marked 'New'. Between a reworked portion of the chorus 'Hark the Trumpet's warlike sound' (the earlier version began on f.36v) and part of a [new] chorus 'The sons of health arise and join the song' is part of a Hymn, 'Father of mercy', written for Limehouse School on 29 August 1799; part of the remainder of the Hymn appears on f.43v, which also contains (upside down on the page) yet another version of the recitative 'Behold th'uplifted hand' (example 7). All this indicates that these leaves were from Russell's original workbook. The dates on this second portion are two years earlier than those on the first, so it may be inferred that the two parts belong to different works. This is further substantiated by the text where similar patterns emerge: after a laudatory opening (praising 'Music' in the first and 'Harmony' in the second) there are war scenes; each ode extract ends with a pastoral scene; it is unlikely that one work would include two battles and two pastoral scenes. The texts in the opening choruses of each portion suggest that they may be respectively part of the *Ode to Music* and the *Ode to Harmony:* these are the titles by which they will be referred to throughout the remainder of this study, despite the discrepancy of date between the former (1801) and the Overture to the *Ode to Music* full score, which is on paper with an 1804 watermark. The full score layout of the Overture is the same as that which Russell used in his earlier works: by 1808 he was using a different format (see page 249). There are various possible explanations for this discrepancy: the *Ode to Music* may have been composed in sketch form in 1801 and not scored until 1804; alternatively, the Overture may have been written out for some other purpose in 1804.

Performances of the works.

At the time of writing this study no contemporary advertisements for performances of Russell's odes or oratorios during his lifetime have come to light. It is inconceivable, however, that works of such scale and proportion would not have been written for a projected performance, and indeed there is evidence on some of the scores that the works were in fact performed: there are notes for the copyist regarding the number of staves required and the instrumentation in the *Ode to Harmony* extract, for example, but the main evidence is in the form of names of singers which have been pencilled onto the manuscripts of the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* and *The Redemption of Israel*. The use of pencil suggests that the names were added after composition rather than Russell having certain solo singers in mind before he wrote the works, although it is known that he occasionally wrote for a particular singer--Thomas Walsh in the anthem 'The Redeemer gave the word', for example. In the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* the two names on the score appear to be in the same hand as that which made the various pencil corrections--in other words Russell's own hand. On the manuscript of *The Redemption of Israel* the three singers' names were written by different hands: one matches that of the text, indicating Russell's hand; one has much smaller writing; the other has been written with a much darker pencil and the calligraphy appears to belong to a later period. Example 8 illustrates the three hands: the names of Mr.Vincent and Mr.Walker (which have been crossed out) are probably in Russell's hand, Mr.France's name is in smaller writing (also crossed out), and the names of Mr.Walker and Mr.Williams at the top of the page are the later addition.

The names themselves can convey information about the performances by indicating the period in which productions took place and possible venues; also they adduce the calibre of the performances. There are two names on the manuscript of the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day:* those of Mr. Brace and Mr. France, whose names also appear in *The Redemption of Israel* alongside those of Mrs. Barton, Miss M. Gray, Mrs. Harris, Cutler, Vincent, and Messrs. Denman, Pratt, Walker, Warner, and Williams. A perusal of the manuscripts of Russell's theatre music revealed that Miss Gray, a soprano, performed the song 'When William first woo'd', which was probably part of a pantomime written for Sadler's Wells. [24] Contemporary newspaper advertisements for concerts give several of these singers' names: Messrs. Walker and Denman sang in the first performance of Busby's oratorio *Britannia* at Covent Garden in 1800, with Russell playing the organ. [25] Denman, a bass, was much in demand as an oratorio singer both at Covent Garden and at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket: he sang in Haydn's oratorio *The Creation* in 1800 under Salomon's direction, with the other vocal soloists including Madame Mara and James Bartleman, [26] and in 1802 he appeared alongside Mrs. Billington and Mr. Incledon in a concert of excerpts from Handel oratorios at Covent Garden; [27] he generally appeared with renowned singers of the time. This indicates that a first class performance of *The Redemption of Israel*, including some of the best professional soloists, took place--possibly at one of the London opera houses. Mr. Williams, a tenor, was probably George Ebenezer Williams

[24] GB Lbm Add. Ms. 51018.

[25] *Times* (16 June 1800).

[26] *Times* (21 April 1800).

[27] *Times* (2 March 1802).

(1783-1819) who deputized for Russell at the Foundling Hospital; [28] he lived near Russell in Clerkenwell and had been a chorister at St. Paul's Cathedral until 1799 when he became assistant organist to Arnold at Westminster Abbey, eventually being appointed choirmaster after Robert Cooke. Vincent may or may not have been the gentleman who was the first conductor of the Cecilian Society (from 1785 until after 1815); Vincent's successor in this post was Thomas Walker who, by association, could have been the Walker who performed in *The Redemption of Israel* and Busby's *Britannia;* however, this is merely speculative.

Sections of the *Ode to Music* and the *Ode to Harmony* are precisely dated. Russell did this elsewhere on occasions (for example the Funeral Anthem for Barthélémon); it implies that he was working to a deadline, possibly for performance. Whether or not Russell had definite plans for a performance of *Job* is not documented; in the event, his death so soon after the work's completion ended any such project. However, a performance did go ahead the following year, on 15 June 1814; five advertisements appeared in the *Times;* [29] the first ran thus:

> The late William Russell Mus.Bac. Oxon.
>
> The Nobility, Gentry and Public in general are most respectfully informed that The ORATORIO of JOB composed by the above eminent Professor, will be performed in the Chapel of the Foundling Hospital, on Wednesday morning the 15th of June 1814 for the BENEFIT of his Widow and Children. The following professors have formed themselves into a Committee for conducting the

[28] GB Ltcf Gen.Comm. (21 March 1804).

[29] *Times* (9 May 1814; 8 June 1814; 10 June 1814; 13 June 1814; 14 June 1814).

above performance, and farther *[sic]* particulars will be duly announced--Mr. Attwood, Mr. J. B. Cramer, Mr. F. Cramer, Mr. Hanley, Mr. Nicks, Mr. P. *[sic]* Novello, Mr. Webbe jun., Mr. Wesley.

'Mr. P. Novello' is clearly a misprint for 'Mr. V. Novello'. The subsequent notices stated that tickets were available 'at all the principal music shops; and at the Secretary's Office, Foundling Hospital.' The reason for choosing *Job* to form the main part of the benefit concert is not known: it is probable that there were discussions about the programme content with Mary Ann, who must have retained some affection for the work because of her desire to have it published many years later; she may have felt that her husband's last religious choral work was the most apt piece to perform; if Russell had had some intention of performing *Job*, Mary Ann would have felt she was fulfilling his desires. *Job* really was the most appropriate work to be performed on such an occasion, having a suitable duration and, above all, bearing a solemn religious theme which could be associated, to some extent, with Russell's last years of illness and suffering. From Wesley's letters it would seem that he and Novello were the chief members of the committee arranging the concert; in addition to the names given above, other correspondence mentions William Horsley, Samuel Chappell, and Mr. Elliott. [30] Most of the committee members were performing musicians: Wesley, Novello, Attwood, Webbe, and Horsley were organists; François Cramer was a violinist; J. B. Cramer, a pianist and partner of Chappell in the latter's firm; Elliott was probably John Elliott the singer who assisted with the teaching of singing to the boys of the Foundling Hospital; Samuel Chappell, the founder of the publishing house, provided premises in New Bond Street for the meetings. Most of the

[30] GB Lbm Add. Ms. 11729 f. 90.

members were also composers, but only Wesley, Attwood, and Horsley had any real knowledge of Anglican Church music, while Wesley alone had practical experience of oratorio writing. Besides wishing to give financial assistance to the widow of a respected friend, these musicians were publicly commemorating a colleague.

Wesley, who seems to have assumed chairmanship of the committee, was not happy with the choice of work for the benefit concert. On Wednesday 20 April 1814 he wrote a letter to Novello, in which he indulged in his well-known verbal witticisms and divulged his [true?] opinion of *Job:*

> Pray Doctor Know-well-o did not Chappell give you a line to say that our Committee were to Sittee at 7 last night as ever was? - F.Cramer, Webbe, Horsley, Attwood, Elliott & I were all there, & we went through two Acts of poor Russell's (I am sorry to say) poor Oratorio. - We are all agreed (in Masonic Secrecy) *[sic]* that it can never be publickly *[sic]* performed but <u>once</u>, & that it is lucky the Place fixed is a Chapel for that in a Room or Theatre there would be certainly serpentine Symptoms. If your grand <u>Do</u> is not fixed for Friday, I shall depend upon you a dextris meis at the Rehearsal.... Pray let us settle these weighty concerns. On Friday the Committee meet to go over the 3rd Act at ½ past 8 at night.--I hope you will be with us. [31]

The validity of Wesley's criticism of the 'poor Oratorio' will be discussed when *Job* is critically analysed in chapters V to IX. In later years Wesley was to write more favourably about *Job:* the inference in the

[31] GB Lbm Add.Ms.11729 f.90.

preface to the 1826 publication (see page 106) is that Wesley regarded his task as worthwhile and that the work matched the composer's excellence and ingenuity; later still, in 1836, Wesley recalled Russell's 'fertile Talent for musical Composition' and cited *Job* as an example containing a 'Variety of excellent Music'. [32] It is unlikely that Wesley changed his mind about the stature of *Job;* it would seem improbable, also, that he might publicly announce a view which was so completely contrary to his personal feelings, although it can be understood that, in the interest of gaining the attention of the public (and therefore their money both at the performance and later through sales of copies), he would pass over any weaknesses he felt existed; also he may have felt some loyalty toward Mary Ann Russell. Knowing Wesley's fondness for word play, he may have been using the word 'poor' (which occurs twice) in a different way: meaning that Russell himself was either literally poor in the financial sense (for which there is some evidence [33]) or that he was poor in the sense that he was to be pitied for suffering bad health and its attendant hardships. The 'poor Oratorio' might refer not to the technical aspect of the composition but to the belief that the work would not bring--and indeed had not thus far brought--much in the form of remuneration; with the large forces involved, particularly the number of soloists (there are nine characters), *Job* would be an expensive production at any time. There is a temptation to believe that what Wesley wrote in 'Masonic Secrecy' showed his true opinion of *Job,* but it could have been precisely the masonic circumstances which he felt prevailed him to write thus--in other words out of loyalty to a fellow Freemason he would not publicly divulge his dislike of the work;

[32] GB Lbm Add. Ms. 27593, f. 93.

[33] GB Lbm Add. Ms. 11730, f. 174.
GB Lsm *Personal file of William Russell,* widow's claim (7 Feb. 1814).

one further alternative view is that Wesley modified his opinion after a successful first performance.

Despite the problems involved, *Job* was eventually performed for the benefit of Mary Ann Russell and her two young children. The Governors of the Foundling Hospital were obliging to the Committee: the Hospital secretary acted as one of the ticket agents. [34] The Minutes of the Hospital's General Committee for 30 March 1814 record the following:

> The Treasurer reported that Mr. Russell the late Organist of the Chapel of this Hospital, having in consequence of the very long illness which terminated in his death, been reduced in his circumstances, many of his Friends were desirous of having a sacred Oratorio (composed by himself) performed for the benefit of his family and that Messrs. J. and F. Cramer, Mr. S. Westley *[sic]* and other professional performers having formed themselves into a Committee for the purpose of carrying such a plan into effect, had signified their opinion to him (the Treasurer) that it would be of material advantage to the family if this Committee would permit the Oratorio to be performed in the Chapel of this Hospital, on the morning of some day to be fixed hereafter.
>
> Resolved,
>
> That in consideration of the circumstances aforesaid, and of the long and approved services of Mr. Russell, as Organist of this Hospital leave be given to the Friends of Mr. Russell's family to have the sacred Oratorio performed on some morning in the Chapel

[34] *Times* (8 June 1814).

> of this Hospital; and that the Chapel Committee on the part of the Hospital be requested to confer with the professional Committee, on the subject, to prevent (as far as possible) any inconvenience being sustained by the Hospital, by the performance or the preparation, for it. [35]

No record of the meeting of the of the Chapel Committee and the 'professional Committee' is to be found in the minutes of the former. It can only be inferred that, since Russell had been a respected member of the Hospital staff, no money (in the way of a Chapel hiring fee) changed hands and that the business was settled informally.

If *Job* was performed in its entirety (there is no reason to suppose that it was not) the benefit concert was a lengthy affair, although perhaps not by the standards of the day; a performance of *Job* itself lasts in excess of three hours. The concert also included the duet performance on the organ of an *Introduction* composed by Samuel Wesley to Bach's *Grand Fugue* in E flat Major (BWV 552); this was played by Wesley and Novello. The *Introduction* is a short piece of 52 bars; it begins in C Minor which may be considered unusual to precede a fugue which is in the relative major, but it could have been that Wesley wished to convey some solemnity for the occasion, at least in the broad opening idea. The piece exists both alone in autograph, [36] and coupled with Bach's *Fugue* in a copy by Novello which he inscribed:

> This Introductory Movement was written on purpose for me, on the occasion of our performing this Duet together for the benefit of

[35] GB Ltcf Gen.Comm. (30 March 1814).

[36] GB Lbm Add.Ms.14340, f.58.

> Mr. Russell's Widow, when the Oratorio of 'Job' (composed by Wm. Russell) was performed at the Foundling Hospital Chapel in the year 1814. Mr. S. Wesley, of course, played the treble, and I played the bass part of the Duetto. [37]

No record remains of the sum raised for the family at this benefit, but it was well attended [38] and one may surmise that it was an appreciable amount. Some movements of *Job* evidently retained a certain popularity and were sometimes included in concerts, which typically comprised a variety of forms, styles, and genres. Miss Bruce, a regular singer in London concerts and possessor of a 'decidedly ornamental' style, [39] sang a recitative and air from *Job* during the fourth concert season of the 'British Musicians' in 1838, amidst a programme of orchestral, solo, instrumental, and vocal music. [40] Sometimes a popular air or chorus was arranged for organ solo: 'Tho' helpless I came from the womb' (no. 22 from *Job* was thus arranged by John Hiles for his 'Short Voluntaries for the Organ vol. IV' (London: Novello, 1898). Accordingly *Job* lived on after Russell's death, even though it was never performed during his lifetime.

[37] GB Lbm Add. Ms. 14344.

[38] GB Lbm Add. Ms. 27593 f. 93.

[39] *Musical World* (1838), 201.

[40] *Musical World* (1838), 27.

CHAPTER V

Structure in Russell's Odes and Oratorios.

The libretti of the odes.

The author of the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*, which Russell set to music, was the poet Christopher Smart (1722-1771), whose texts on *Hannah* and *Abimelech* Worgan and Arnold respectively had set to music. Smart was educated at Pembroke College, Cambridge, and associated with some of the leading figures in the arts, including Burney and Garrick. His 'Ode for Musick on St. Cecilia's Day' appeared in 1746, [1] but it may have been the publication of his collected poems, which was issued in 1791, that brought the 'Ode' to the notice of the young Russell. Authorship is attributed to Smart on the paper cover of the extant score of Russell's setting, where it reads: 'Smart's Ode / Harpsichord Score'. The authors of the libretti of the remaining works dealt with in this study are not recorded on the scores. Since there was no copyright protection at this time there tended to be much free 'borrowing' of material--both texts and music.

Smart's text is the most outstanding of those Russell chose to set, although, akin to the others, it sounds rather fulsome to late twentieth-century ears. Much of the 'Ode' is concerned with eulogizing the attributes of St. Cecilia and exhortations to hail her. Expounded early on is the thesis that music is a divine art and that 'ev'n Cecilia, mighty maid, / Confess'd she had superior aid'; later it is claimed that 'o'er

[1] Williamson (1987), 93.

the affections too she claims the sway'. The Pythagorean concept of the 'music of the spheres' is referred to in the third line of the text: 'Ye that inform the tuneful spheres'--the belief that music is heavenly and that mortals must attune themselves to it had prevailed since the Middle Ages, but the eighteenth century witnessed a revival of this thinking. This philosophy lasted well into the next century: in 1837 Sir Thomas Brown wrote:

> There is music wherever there is harmony, order, or proportion; and thus far we may maintain the music of the spheres; for those well-ordered motions, and regular paces, though they give no sound unto the ear, yet to the understanding they strike a note most full of sounds. [2]

There are several references to nature and to mythological characters such as Neptune, Arion, Urania, and Amphitrite: these indicate the influence of the seventeenth-century Masque ('Cupid and Death', for example, contains mythological persons; this was the work of James Shirley and was set to music jointly by Christopher Gibbons and Matthew Locke; it was first performed in London in 1653). The traditional mention of musical instruments comes toward the end, with references to kettledrums, trumpets, and horns; also typical references to war are included; finally the 'sacred organs' are deemed to be the most suitable instruments with which to render praise to the Saint. The 'Ode' concludes with a reflection on the end of time when, the poet believes, Cecilia's--music's--powers alone will remain. Most texts of Cecilian odes (such as Nicolas Brady's 'Hail! Bright Cecilia' set by Purcell in 1692) concentrate on distinctive musical features, but one exception is Vidal's

[2] *Musical World* (1837), 159.

'The Charms of Harmony display': like Vidal, Smart was much more general in referring to the effects of music, and the impression is given that the direct references to musical instruments are included because tradition dictated it.

Smart's 'Ode', and therefore Russell's setting, is lengthy; research to date indicates that no other composer set this text to music; however, different texts by Smart were used by musicians: already mentioned are John Worgan's *Hannah* (1764), and Samuel Arnold's *Abimelech* (1768); additionally Arnold used part of Smart's translation of the Psalms in *Omnipotence* (1774), and, in this century for example, Benjamin Britten set *Rejoice in the Lamb* (1943). Smart's 'Ode' ranks in size with Pope's 'Ode on St. Cecilia's Day' (which was set to music by Maurice Greene in 1730) and Lockman's Cecilian ode 'See fam'd Apollo and the Nine' (set by Boyce in 1739). For many years afterwards no musical setting of a Cecilian ode of such magnitude appeared--William Walond's setting of Pope's 'Ode' (c.1759) is longer than contemporary works, but not as large in scale as Russell's *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*.

Smart aimed to use the device of sudden contrasts: features of the Pindaric ode which, he said, 'distinguish it from other species of Poesy', and which he so much admired. [3] The text, which contains eight stanzas, falls into three sections with the first extolling the virtues of music, the second referring to music in certain mythological stories, and the third, a combination of descriptions of instruments and an invitation to praise music and St. Cecilia. Textually each section becomes longer: 44,

[3] Dearnley (1968), 73.

65, and 83 lines respectively, but in terms of musical numbers the first two sections are of similar length while the third is almost as long as the first two put together. In his 'Argument' Smart describes the stanzas thus:

> *Stanza* I, II. *Invocation of Men and Angels to join in the praise of* S. Cecilia. *The Divine origin of Musick. Stanza* III. *Art of Musick, or it's* [sic] *miraculous power over the brute and inanimate Creation exemplified in* Waller *and Stanza* IV, V. *in* Arion. *Stanza* VI. *The Nature of Musick, or it's* [sic] *power over the Passions. Instances of this in it's* [sic] *exciting pity. Stanza* VII. *In promoting Courage and Military Virtue. Stanza* VIII. *Excellency of Church Musick. Air to the memory of Mr.* Purcell.--*praise of the Organ and it's* [sic] *Inventress Saint* Cecilia.

Each stanza concludes with a chorus repeating the previous few lines, a trait not consistently preserved by Russell, although mostly he set Smart's choruses to be sung by the choir; the exceptions are 'Come, ye festive social throng', where Russell sets the last part only ('All hail the muse') as a chorus, and 'Sing some sad some plaintive ditty', which is set as a soprano air. Figure 1 shows Russell's musical organization of Smart's eight stanzas. Movements 1, GWR 14, and GWR 27 are for orchestra.

stanzas	lines	movements
I	1-18	2-3
II	19-38	4-8
III	39-69	9-13
IV	70-95	14 [GWR 15] - 16 [GWR 17]
V	96-117	17 [GWR 18] - [GWR 21]
VI	118-138	20 [GWR 22] - 21 [GWR 23]
VII	139-157	22 [GWR 24] - [GWR 26]
VIII	158-192	25 [GWR 28] - 27 [GWR 30]

Fig. 1: Smart's stanzas as divided into movements by Russell.

The 'Ode' contains passages of three main types: scene-setting, praise, and dramatic action, hereafter referred to as description, laudation, and action. Smart's 'Ode' begins in laudatory mood with some description; the second section contains both action and description, and the final part contains action, description, and laudation. Figure 2 illustrates this textual analysis using the numbers of the movements in Russell's setting.

section 1	section 2	section 3
nos. 1-9	nos. 10-18 [GWR 10-19]	nos. 19-27 [GWR 20-30]
laudation some description	action description	action description laudation

Fig. 2: Textual analysis of Smart's 'Ode on St. Cecilia's Day'.

Turning to a contemporary work, the overall pattern of Samuel Wesley's *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* (1794), the text of which was written by his grandfather the Rev. Samuel Wesley (1662-1735), is similar to, but not so clear-cut as, Smart's: here laudatory sections alternate with action and description, and there is more amalgamation toward the end, including a contemplative passage as figure 3 shows.

movement	content
1-3	laudation
4	action and description
5-6	laudation
7-8	action and description
9	contemplation and laudation
10	action and laudation
11	laudation

Fig. 3: Textual analysis of Wesley's 'Ode on St. Cecilia's Day.'

Although incomplete, the structure and style of the libretti of Russell's surviving extracts of the *Ode to Harmony* and the *Ode to Music* are seen to be similar (see figure 4): both begin with praise, and laud the power that harmony or music has over creation; both then relate how martial music can inspire: the battle scene in the *Ode to Harmony* is short but fierce and bloody, while that in the *Ode to Music* is more elevated in its language--it contains a Biblical reference recalling the trumpet summoning the people of Israel, recently freed from Egypt, to the foot of the holy Mount Sinai, where they would hear God's voice of thunder and receive, via Moses, the Ten Commandments. [4] The two libretti continue with pastoral scenes, in which are given examples of music or harmony ruling and affecting nature. At this point there is a gap in the *Ode to Music:* nos. 27-34 are missing. With no. 35 the battle scene proper occurs, and again there is fast-moving drama with gory description. This gives way to the mourning over the misuse of music when, for example, it happens 't'incite the lust of Conquest or to kindle rage.' Several stanzas follow in the same vein, then the text gradually become more positive in recounting music's attributes before moving on to more pastoral scenes where 'sylvan youths and virgins' partake of 'rural joys'. This is the concluding part of the extant score and since it is set as a chorus and the work has reached no. 49, it might well be the last movement. The final part of the manuscript of the *Ode to Harmony* is a tranquil air and therefore is probably not the end of the work, although pencilled here is '54 minutes': this could be an indication of the duration of the composition; if so, this would probably be the conclusion.

[4] *Exodus* Chapter 20 vv. 16-20.

movement	content
Ode to Harmony	
Hail sacred Harmony	laudation
Behold th'uplifted hand -	action
The battle joins.	
Now to strains of peaceful pleasure	description and laudation
The early lark -	action and description
Mark by yon soft gliding stream	
If delicate delights belong	laudation
Ode to Music	
Various th'effects	laudation
So when of old	laudation and description
But when the solemn Trumpet's	action
piercing Sound - Break ev'ry yoke	
Vast is thy Empire	laudation
nos. 21-24	laudation and description
25-26	laudation
35-36	action
37-43	action and laudation
44-47	description and action
48-49	laudation

Fig. 4: Textual analysis of *Ode to Harmony* and *Ode to Music* extracts.

Structurally the *Ode to Harmony* extract comprises a short laudatory introduction (if this is the beginning of the work), a longer section of action, a brief passage of description and laudation, more action and description, then further laudation. The *Ode to Music* extract begins with six un-numbered movements prior to an accompanied recitative numbered 21; the sense of the words, dating, and musical structure indicate that these are consecutive movements; therefore the first movement in the manuscript (a laudatory piece) is not the beginning of the work. There follows alternation of action and description with laudation.

Stylistically the libretti of these Odes cannot approach the greatness of Smart's work: sometimes the scansion is irregular and awkward, and many of the rhymes are forced, as the following example from

the *Ode to Music* illustrates:

> Come then with all thy various pow'rs
> And soften all our cares,
> Relieve distressing fears
> And cheer our lonely hours.
> Come, Music, come mix the social board
> And give convivial pleasure birth,
> Quicken the soul to cheerfulness and mirth,
> And heartfelt joys afford.

The libretti of the oratorios

The libretto of *The Redemption of Israel* is closely related to the Biblical text, largely having been drawn directly from the Old Testament prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, and some of the minor prophets, often with only a word altered here or omitted there compared with the Authorised Version. Some of the lines are familiar in other contexts: for example, 'Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the Glory of the Lord is ris'n upon thee' (Act 3 no. 13 [GWR 50]) is heard in Handel's *Messiah*, and Brahms later used the following in his *Deutsches Requiem:* 'And the ransom'd of the Lord shall return and come to Zion with songs of Everlasting Joy' (Act 3 no. 11 [GWR 48]). In retaining the scriptural phrases the literary merits of *The Redemption of Israel* are superior to the libretto of *Job*, which is a paraphrase of the Bible story. However, it is as a vehicle for the music that the texts must be judged. Both the oratorio libretti have lengthy sections where the drama is static and as a result the development of the plot is very slow: in *The Redemption of Israel* the first six vocal numbers are all exhortations to the people of Israel to turn from their

wickedness and to follow God's law. The whole of the first act contrasts man's mortality with God's almighty and everlasting power; Act 2 deals with the rebellion of the people, their punishment and subsequent repentance, while Act 3 shows God's mercy upon the nation and the gratitude and praise of his people.

The Biblical narrative of *Job* is a moral tale showing that suffering can be used for good and that, if a person is righteous, he will be justly rewarded in the end. According to the Old Testament the story runs as follows: Job was an upright man; at a meeting of the Court of Heaven, at which Satan was present, God proclaimed Job's faith, and Satan, noting the protection God afforded his servant, suggested that Job's faith might fail if the Lord should allow his family and servants to be harmed and his possessions to be damaged. So Satan was allowed to take command of the circumstances but no injury was to befall Job himself. First Job's cattle and sheep were destroyed, then his servants and children were killed, but Job's faith in God remained unshaken. Satan, seeing his plot had failed, requested permission from God to afflict Job with illness: this was granted provided that Job's life was spared. Amid great suffering Job was advised and encouraged by his friends, although they also attempted to make him admit whatever sin (they thought) must have brought about such disaster; but Job continued to regard himself as righteous in the sight of God and his faith remained firm. However, after God revealed himself to Job more fully, Job repented of his pride and was forgiven, and, after such severe testing, God restored to Job all his possessions and more, and gave him seven sons and three daughters. The libretto of *Job* is pleonastic and a travesty of the Old Testament narrative, for at times the point of the story has been obscured, ignored, or misunderstood: in fact

the Biblical narrative has been telescoped into a simplified version, but the libretto remains lengthy through dwelling on passages of contemplation as Job responds to his sufferings by soliloquizing in numerous airs. It was not unusual for a librettist to use a certain amount of licence in his work--in his oratorios Metastasio, for example, invented characters and sometimes scenes in order to improve the drama, but he always documented his Biblical sources. [5] However, the author of the libretto of *Job* devised his own story which is only loosely based on the Old Testament version, extending this freedom also to the names of the characters. One fundamental difference between the Bible and the libretto is that in the former Job's wife (who is not named) was not killed, and when the torment was over she and her husband were able to create another family; in the libretto Job's wife, here named Salmina, is consumed by 'the fires of heaven' along with her children. When an Angel announces to Job that his trials are over and that he will be blessed with more riches than he previously possessed, Job's reply is (in the circumstances) both unexpected and absurd: 'The Lord is my God and my Friend, He has turned my Griefs into Joy'. The Biblical story contains little drama and the plot in the libretto also lacks excitement and is often static. The best dramatic moments are found in Parts 1 and 2, when the serenity of Job's existence is contrasted with the Demon's (Satan's) plot to shake his faith. The text itself is very poor in places: on receiving the news of his children's death Job sings: 'This is dreadful! How shall I impart the horrid tale to my belov'd Salmina?' The reply of the messenger is almost comical: 'That task is spar'd thee. She fell with the rest.' The following representative examples show that the librettist had little

[5] Smither (1987), III 54.

literary sense, and that the indifferent couplets generate a strong feeling of pathos on nearly every page:

No. 5 Air: Demon

Let God outstretch his hand
And smite his blooming race
And quickly you shall understand
He'll curse him to his face.

No. 7 Air: Angel [note the awkward attempt at rhyme].

The fire of its maker tho' falling from Heav'n
Its princely domain to consume
Amid the disaster both faithful and even
Unaw'd he'll submit to his doom.

No. 9 Air: Demon [Note the clumsy change of metre].

I'll harass and vex him
Distract and perplex him
Till no peace on earth shall he find.
Make him curse God and die
Then to me for aid fly
Nor longer integrity mind.

Job is divided into four Parts as follows:

Part 1:	nos. 1-12
Part 2:	nos. 13-23
Part 3:	nos. 24-42
Part 4:	nos. 43-64

Whether or not this seemingly random division into parts of unequal length (both in terms of duration and number of movements) was made by the librettist, by Russell, or by Samuel Wesley is uncertain, but this is the version which reached publication; there is evidence in the manuscript (which is incomplete) that Russell initially planned the work in three acts (see pages 106 and 234). A pattern emerges whereby each part concludes with a chorus of praise, even when this is inappropriate in the narrative; for example no. 23, 'O praise the Lord', ends the section in which Job accepted the knowledge that 'ev'ry blessing round me is destroyed / and my heart dead to ev'ry pulse of joy' (no. 17). Salmina is introduced near to the end of Part 1 of the oratorio but her adoration of and thanksgiving to God are divided between the first and second parts (nos. 11, 13, and 14). Since Part 2 is the only section which does not begin with an orchestral number (which really would interrupt the dramatic impetus here), it would seem more logical to regard Parts 1 and 2 as a unit, and this is confirmed when taking into account the evidence in the manuscript. A change of scene occurs at no. 15 when Elphizah announces the overpowering turn of events: perhaps a new part might have been more logically placed here. The libretto contains little pure description: scenes are set and described amid the advancing of the action; there is much laudatory material, which is surprising in a story such as this, and, from halfway through Part 2 there are several sections of contemplation which continue until midway through Part 4; otherwise the basic structure is one of action alternating with laudation.

Overall musical structures in Russell's odes and oratorios.

Odes were customarily set as a whole and not divided into acts or parts as oratorios were; an exception is Boyce's 'See fam'd Apollo and the Nine' which the composer divided into two parts. In *The Redemption of Israel* Russell used the Handelian term 'Act', as he did in the manuscript fragment of *Job*, but in the published score of the latter the divisions are described as 'Parts'. Both the Italian term 'aria' and the English 'air' are used in the two oratorios; generally Russell seemed to favour the English terminology, but at times both words are used indiscriminately and synonymously: f.119 of *The Redemption of Israel* states 'Segue Aria' and f.120 refers to the 'Air'; similarly on f.253 there appears 'Volti Aria Basso' and overleaf is found 'Air Basso'--a charming mixture of the two languages. It was not uncommon to use these terms loosely: for instance Dupuis did the same in his *Ode to the Genius of Britain* (1788).

The traditional way in which a libretto was organized into musical numbers was to set descriptive or contemplative passages, or emotionally expressive words as solos or ensembles; sections where the action is advanced were set as recitatives or choruses, and laudatory portions as choruses. There is no such clear-cut arrangement in Russell's music, but the work which comes closest to this plan is the *Ode to Music*, where much of the dramatic impulse comes in the recitatives. However, in the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* the eight choruses <u>are</u> chiefly laudatory although most also contain description and advance the drama (nos. 13, 16 [GWR 17], 17 [GWR 18], and 23 [GWR 26]); no. 17 [GWR 18] deals only with the action. The first section of the *Ode* is almost totally concerned with giving praise, therefore it is not unexpected to find solos with a strong laudatory

element--in fact in only two airs (nos. 11 and 23 [GWR 25]) is this feature absent. The majority of airs in *Job* also have a laudatory nature, although almost as many are contemplative, and a few are also concerned with the action. In *Job* all nine choruses are laudatory ('Sole God of Heav'n' [no. 31] may be regarded as contemplative also) and never contribute to the dramatic impetus, unlike the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*, where only three of the eight choruses are purely laudatory. In the second and third sections of this *Ode* the action is impelled chiefly through the recitatives, secondly in the choruses, and thirdly by the airs. Throughout *Job* description is given and drama is advanced in the recitatives, with, respectively, two and five airs also contributing; there are several lengthy sections of contemplation, largely set as airs. In *The Redemption of Israel* all but one of the recitatives combine action and description (Act 2 no. 18 [GWR 34] is purely descriptive); indeed, in this libretto action and description are largely inseparable; most of the choruses are laudatory, in common with the other works, but several deal with action and a few with description.

In the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* and in both oratorios the choruses are fairly evenly distributed throughout the works, unlike Wesley's Cecilian Ode, where there is one near the beginning (shared with the soprano soloist) and two consecutive lengthy choruses at the end. Sometimes Russell places a chorus following on from a solo and using related thematic material (this was a Purcellian device used for the final chorus of an ode); this occurs four times in the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* (nos. 8, 17 [GWR 18], 19 [GWR 21], and 23 [GWR 26]), once in the *Ode to Harmony* extract (the bass air 'Hark the Trumpet's warlike sound' is taken up by the chorus), twice in the *Ode to Music* extract (the bass air 'Break

ev'ry yoke' leads into a chorus and the soprano air no. 36 is combined with the chorus 'Exulting Victory'), three times in *The Redemption of Israel* (Act 2 no. 17 [GWR 33], Act 3 nos. 7 [GWR 44] and 10 [GWR 47]) and three times in *Job* (nos. 3, 31, and 55). In Wesley's *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* the action is advanced chiefly through the recitatives, with one air and one chorus also contributing; as in *Job*, all the choruses are laudatory.

Russell's odes and oratorios comprise series of movements of varying lengths: several of the numbers in *The Redemption of Israel* are short (for example the two choruses Act 1 no. 14 and Act 2 no. 16 [GWR 32]); this is the opposite of the structure in Wesley's *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*, which chiefly consists of long movements and has the short sections placed together (nos. 4-7). Russell sometimes enhanced the dramatic contrasts of the text through the music, although he did not grasp every opportunity. Mode, key, and metre illustrate the change from the peaceful, pastoral scene to the seascape in nos. 11-13 of the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*, where the major key and compound time of the *Allegretto* air give way to a minor key *Adagio* and *Larghetto*. Similar devices are used to transport the listener from the melancholy of 'some sad, some plaintive ditty' to the 'martial pomp' of the battlefield (nos. 21-22 [GWR 23-24]). The libretto of *The Redemption of Israel* has less in the way of dramatic contrast because it partly consists of long sections of rebellion and punishment; a few choruses and airs expressing God's mercy on his sinful people occasionally allow faster tempi; otherwise the inertia of the drama would become most tedious. Similarly with *Job* there are long periods of contemplation of Job's trials in Parts 2 and 3; again laudatory choruses brighten the effect, albeit rather artificially; nevertheless contrast is achieved.

Metrical structures and tempi.

Russell's odes and oratorios follow the pattern of the period by having a predominance of duple and quadruple metres: in the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* over half the numbers (exclusive of recitatives) are marked ¢, with a little less than a quarter of the numbers in triple time, and just over a quarter in quadruple time. In *The Redemption of Israel* there are similar proportions of triple and quadruple times, and a third more of duple metre movements. In *Job* there is little use of duple metre: the majority of numbers are quadruple. Compound times tended to be reserved for special effects or particularly appropriate texts such as those of a pastoral or light-hearted nature. This is true also of Haydn in *The Creation*. where quadruple time accounts for three-quarters of the numbers. Figure 5 shows the number of Russell's movements cast in the various metres, exclusive of recitatives which were always written with the time signature 'C'. Analysis of Dupuis's organization of metre in his *Ode to the Genius of Britain* shows that Russell, in his *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*, had similar proportions; Cooke, in the *Ode on the Passions* (1773),

	¢ or 2/4	C	3/4 or 3/8	6/8	9/8	12/8
Ode to Harmony	1	5	2	2		1
Ode on St. Cecilia's Day	11	3	5	2		
Ode to Music	4	1	2		1	
The Redemption of Israel	19	14	12	1		
Job	6	21	12	2		

Fig. 5: Number of occurrences of various metres.

favoured quadruple time, using this metre in over half the numbers, and Wesley, in his *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*, used duple time much more than any other.

Tempi vary frequently in Russell's *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* apart from an unusual preponderance of slow movements in the middle (nos. 12-18 [GWR 19]), where the libretto seems to require this; there is similar variety in speed in the *Ode to Harmony* and the *Ode to Music*; in the latter many of the recitatives are marked 'Slow' and are followed by a quick movement. *The Redemption of Israel* has some prolonged periods of slow-moving music (Act 1 nos. 8-15 and Act 2 nos. 1-6 [GWR 17-22]) with most of the fast movements placed in the third act. Tempi in *Job* reflect the story: Part 1 (where plots are made for Job's downfall) and Part 4 (where victory is gained over Satan) are faster-moving than Parts 2 and 3 (where Job undergoes suffering). Wesley achieves continued interest in his *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* by varying the tempi--often within one movement; Cooke also did this in his *Ode on the Passions* (particularly in recitatives such as 'And longer had she sung' [no. 11], which contains a new tempo indication every two or three bars); Dupuis was less successful in the *Ode to the Genius of Britain*, which is overweighed with moderate speeds; where he does achieve contrast is in the juxtaposing of slow and fast sections in two of the airs [nos. 4 and 20] and in the final chorus [no. 27a]. Haydn in *The Creation* mainly uses lively and moderate tempi, and there are relatively few slow-moving numbers.

Tonal structures.

The tables in appendix III show the structural outlines of Russell's

odes and oratorios. The tonal structures of the odes are simpler than those of the oratorios; there are fewer tonal centres and most of the numbers are in keys related to these centres. In the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* Russell viewed the key structure of the whole work as a unit: it begins in C Minor and concludes in C Major; the same is true of *Job* which opens in the key of D Minor and ends in D Major. Elsewhere, according to the evidence of the extant music, it seems that either he constructed each part or act as a unit or he moved through a number of tonal centres. Earlier and contemporary composers in the same genres were similarly inconsistent and there was no feeling of necessity to begin and end a work of this type in the same key; in opera it was more usual to construct the work around a single tonality--Mozart's operas tend to begin and end in the same key--Samuel Wesley had an overall tonality in his *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* and in his Latin [oratorio] *Confitebor* of 1799. Haydn's *Stabat Mater* (1767) has a minor to major structure; this may have influenced Russell in his *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* and *Job.* [6] Cooke's *Ode on the Passions* begins and ends in C Major; Dupuis's *Ode for the Chapel Royal Feast* (1784) and *Ode to the Genius of Britain* respectively begin and end in F Major and D Major. Haydn's *The Seasons* (1800) is structured as four separate parts, beginning and ending as follows:

Part 1 begins in G Minor and ends in B flat Major

Part 2 begins in C Minor and ends in E flat Major

Part 3 begins in G Major and ends in C Major

Part 4 begins in C Minor and ends in C Major.

Haydn had a similary less taut tonal structure in *The Creation:* Part 1 begins in C Minor and ends in C Major, but the remaining two parts begin

[6] Russell was certainly familiar with Haydn's *Stabat Mater:* he borrowed a theme for a fugue subject in one of his organ voluntaries (see Ward Russell, 1991).

and end in keys more distantly related to each other: Part 2 begins in C Major and ends in B flat Major, and Part 3 begins in E Major and ends in B flat Major. This approach seems to have been more usual in earlier English oratorios too: for example Handel's *Messiah* (1741), Arne's *Judith* (1761), Worgan's *Hannah* (1764), and Stanley's *The Fall of Egypt* (1774). A tentative thesis may be proposed: that composers of English odes and oratorios in the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century were more likely than their predecessors to view the tonal structures of these works as a whole.

Key changes between numbers in odes and oratorios of this period were often to a related key, with unusual shifts or remote keys reserved for special effects suggested by the text. Modulation to a key a third away is more evident in Russell's oratorios than his odes, and the 'Romantic' move to a key a major third lower is only achieved once in the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* (between nos. 21 and 22 [GWR 23 and 24]; in this work there is only one example of the use of an unusual or distant key--no. 12 begins in F sharp Minor--and there are only two instances of uncommon modulations: no. 12 modulates from F sharp Minor through B Minor, G Major, D Minor, and B flat Major to G Minor, and no. 20 [GWR 22] moves from E flat Major through C Minor, D Major, and G Major into E Minor; both these numbers are recitatives, where more distant modulations were customarily effected. In the *Ode to Harmony* there is a sudden change from D Major to C Minor between two numbers (the chorus 'Hark the Trumpet's warlike sound' and the recitative 'The battle joins'), which helps to depict the mood change (suggested by the libretto) from the excitement and anticipation of battle to the horrific carnage of war. Two unrelated shifts occur in the *Ode to Music:* from B flat Major to D Major between the air 'So when of old

the minstrel play'd' and the following recitative 'But when the solemn Trumpet's piercing sound', where Russell probably felt obliged to use D Major for a trumpet movement, and from D Major to C Major ('Break ev'ry yoke' and 'Vast is thy Empire') where action gives way to laudation. The overall key structure in *The Redemption of Israel* is simpler than that of *Job*. The tonal centre of the first act of the former is G Major; in Act 2 the music centres around C Major, G Minor, then D Major; the third act has two tonal centres: A Major and C Major. There are five shifts to a key a third away, excluding modulations from a major key to its relative minor or vice-versa. Russell seems gradually to have developed a fondness for juxtaposing keys a major third apart, a feature which is more pronounced in *Job*, in which seven times he begins a number in a key a major third lower than that of the previous movement. This was to become a favourite device of Schubert, but had also been used by others such as Haydn and Beethoven; however in England this procedure was somewhat unusual: another exception is Crotch's *Palestine* (1812) which contains six examples of shifts of a third between numbers. More common was the modulation to a key a third higher: rather earlier (1764) Worgan's *Hannah* has two rising shifts of a major third and one of a minor third between three pairs of airs, and Stanley's *The Fall of Egypt* (1774) contains three shifts of a major third (one descending) and one of a minor third. Part 1 of *Job* is centred at first around D Major, then C Major and B flat Major: thus Part 1 overall falls a major third; Part 2 centres around F Major; Part 3 circles B flat Major, G Major, E Major, and once more G Major; Part 4 has centres of E Major, C Major, and finally there is a return to D major, the tonic of the opening.

The use of key to evoke mood was important to Russell: often he associated C Major with stability and hope, B flat Major with joy, D Major with triumph and splendour, and Russell connected C Minor and F Minor with tragedy and despair. Examples of these are given in figure 6.

work	movement	key	mood
Ode on St. Cecilia's Day	27 [GWR 30]	C Major	hope
Job	[11], [23]	B flat Major	joy
The Redemption of Israel	[GWR 43-44]	D Major	triumph
Job	[19]	C Minor	tragedy
Job	[20-21]	F Minor	despair

Fig. 6: Some examples of uses of key to illustrate mood.

The first three keys are consistent with Haydn's practice in *The Creation*, and the last two keys recall Mozart's usage in the *Fantasie* in C Minor K. 475 (1785). The dramatic effect is increased by Russell when keys such as D flat Major and C Major are juxtaposed: in *Job* the Demon's final recitative and air (nos. 58 and 59)--respectively in the keys of F Minor and D flat Major--in which he reluctantly yields to the Lord's almighty power, are followed by the Angel's recitative (no. 60) in C Major telling Job that his trials are over. The unequal temperament in which English organs were still tuned would have made some of the harmonies in D flat Major out-of-tune: [7] it is possible that Russell deliberately utilised it for the Demon because of its extra-dissonant effect. Russell's use of key is also discussed on pages 189-191. His keen awareness of key

[7] Mackenzie (1979), 56-72.

characteristics and their effects is also evident in his organ voluntaries, the first set of which were written for the organ in the Foundling Hospital Chapel which contained four extra pipes in each octave to provide the correct tuning in the more remote keys. [8] In the organ voluntaries Russell was doubtless exploiting the instrument upon which he played regularly; in his choral music he was allowing himself to respond to the texts of his librettists.

[8] Ward Russell (1985), 21-22, 138-141.

CHAPTER VI

Recitative in Russell's Odes and Oratorios.

Types of recitative.

Russell's odes and oratorios contain both (what are now termed) secco and accompanied recitatives; occasionally arioso sections occur in some accompanied recitatives. The former type normally has an accompaniment for continuo only, while the latter has a written-out orchestral accompaniment; Kollmann described the two forms in *An Essay on Practical Musical Composition*, to which, it will be recalled, Russell subscribed. Kollmann's definitions of secco and accompanied recitative are described respectively as recitatives 'with an accompaniment for a mere *Bass or Thorough-Bass;* and those with an accompaniment for *divers instruments*', which, he said, were 'commonly called *Recitatives accompanied,* or *Accompaniments*'. He stated that occasionally both sorts might be intermixed and that they might be 'interspersed, either with vocal *Ariosos*, or with mere instrumental periods.' [1] The term 'secco' was not used by Kollmann: it came into use during the nineteenth century, superseding the term '*recitativo semplice*'. By 'arioso' he meant a more melodic portion which must be sung in strict tempo, as in an air. Kollmann referred to the secco type as recitative 'in the strictest sense of the word'; it was notated as a vocal line and bass only, generally without a key signature because of the freedom it afforded for modulation, and was usually set in common time 'to assist the vocal and instrumental

[1] Kollmann (1799), 78, 80.

performer in hitting together'. [2] This is the format used by Russell in his secco recitatives. Singers were expected to be flexible in their interpretation of secco recitative--slowing or hurrying as befitted the text--but the composer had to give the words their correct accentuations and observe punctuation. On the whole Russell managed this well, particularly the latter, which he achieved through his use of rests; this is effectively pointed in the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* in no. 4 'And you ye sons of Harmony below' and in no. 10 'In Penshurst's Plains'. Many of Russell's accompanied recitatives have a tempo indication: most are slow; Kollmann approved of composers who gave this assistance to performers and also advocated it in secco recitatives, [3] but Russell did not extend this information to this type of recitative; indeed it was not common for composers to do so. Of his accompanied recitatives Russell indicated the speed for all of those in the *Ode to Music* extract, and for all except one in each of the following works: *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*, *The Redemption of Israel*, and *Job*; but in the *Ode to Harmony* extract none of the recitatives carries any tempo marking. Kollmann stated that there was little difference between secco and accompanied recitative--the accompaniments should still allow the singer rhythmic freedom for the most part, but the singer must sometimes 'adhere to the prescribed measure and a certain movement' if the accompaniment required it. [4] Russell's accompanied recitatives are indeed often similar to his secco recitatives with the exception of orchestral introductions and interludes or fragmentary interjections: one example of this can be seen in *The*

[2] Kollmann (1799), 79.

[3] Kollmann (1799), 79.

[4] Kollmann (1799), 80-81.

Redemption of Israel no. 8 'Hear, ye mountains', (example 1) where the secco style of singing can be preserved; in the *Ode to Harmony* the accompanied recitative 'Behold th'uplifted hand' illustrates more integration between voice and orchestra, and therefore demands a stricter tempo (example 2). Sometimes Russell begins in the manner of accompanied recitative with an instrumental introduction, and the recitative continues in a largely secco style; this integration of the two styles was executed *par excellence* by Haydn (for example in *The Creation* no. 30 'Our duty we have now performed'); Haydn, and indeed earlier Arne, sometimes began their oratorio recitatives in a secco style then proceeded to accompanied recitative; this was a common pattern in Italian opera too, but it is the opposite of Russell's approach when he combines the two (as in *Job* no. 15 'O rev'rend Job').

Types of text set as recitative.

Recitatives in ode and oratorio are often more descriptive than those in opera, possibly due to the lack of staging. [8] Traditionally secco recitative is coupled with dramatic action while accompanied recitative is reserved for exclamation and declamation. However, Russell did not consistently use the two types of recitative for different aspects of the text (shown in figure 1) and when he came close to doing so he deviated from this format: patterns arise in the *Ode to Harmony* and the *Ode to Music* where the secco recitatives are descriptive or laudatory and the accompanied recitatives are concerned with the advancing of the drama. The accompanied recitatives in the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* are mostly

[8] Smither (1987), III 58.

	secco recitatives	accompanied recitatives
Ode to Harmony extract	L (37.5%) L and D (12·5%) L and A (25%) A and D (25%)	A (60%) A and D (20%) L and D (20%)
Ode to Music extract	L (50%) L and D (50%)	A (100%)
Ode on St. Cecilia's Day	A and L (50%) A and D (50%)	A and D (50%) L and D (25%) L and A (12·5%) L, A, and D (12·5%)
The Redemption of Israel	A (83%) D (17%)	A (83%) A and D (17%)
Job	A (37%) L (26%) C (21%) D (11%) A and D (5%)	A (50%) A and D (33%) L (17%)

L = laudation; A = action; D = description; C = contemplation.

Fig. 1: Types of text and their settings as recitative.

descriptive while the secco recitatives are less concerned with description and deal with some of the action and laudatory portions of the text. In *Job* all types of text are set as secco recitative, though there is a predominance of those dealing with action and laudation; the few accompanied recitatives chiefly set dramatic portions of the text, some of them also containing description. The recitatives in *The Redemption of Israel* are either dramatic, or descriptive, or both, but not laudatory. That Russell made no distinction between the two types of recitative for various aspects of the text is illustrated here by the different settings for similar words: nos. 3 and 8 are respectively secco and accompanied recitative; the lines are printed below to indicate their similarity.

No. 3. Hear the Word of the Lord ye Children of Israel,
for the Lord hath a Controversy with his People
because there is no Truth or Mercy in the Land.
They obey'd him not neither inclin'd their Ear
to receive Instruction.

No. 8. Hear ye Mountains the Lord's Controversy
and ye strong foundations of the Earth,
for the Lord hath a Controversy with his People
and he will Plead with Israel.

Where portions of text are suitable for musical illustration and word painting, accompanied recitative is used in favour of secco recitative, for instance 'Set up a standard towards Zion' in *The Redemption of Israel* (Act 2 no. 11 [GWR 27]) where the military theme is established in the dotted rhythm of the introduction. The music modulates from E flat Major into the darker keys of B flat Minor and G flat Major with the solemn warning to the Daughter of Zion (example 3). The proportions of types of recitative used vary from work to work: in the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* there are many more accompanied recitatives than secco (80% of the former), in the *Ode to Music* and *Job* the reverse is almost the case, with respectively 34% and only 24% accompanied. Proportions are exactly equal in *The Redemption of Israel* and the *Ode to Harmony* extract. Figure 2 sets out these proportions. A tentative conclusion may be drawn: that Russell used secco recitative in preference to accompanied recitative in his later works; alternatively it may be asserted that, with the slowness of the plot in *Job*, it was desirable to move through some lines of the text fairly quickly--in secco recitative--to avoid tedium. There had actually

	total number of secco recitatives	total number of accompanied recitatives
Ode to Harmony extract	2	2
Ode to Music extract	8	5
Ode on St. Cecilia's Day	2	8
The Redemption of Israel	6	6
Job	19	6

Fig. 2: Numbers of recitative types in each of Russell's choral works.

been a tendency generally to increase the proportion of accompanied recitatives in oratorio during the later part of the eighteenth century.[6] In *Job* the poorest music is in the more perfunctory recitatives such as 'This, this is dreadful' [no. 20] which lends no pathos to the words.

Stylistic patterns.

In the music of Russell's English predecessors both types of recitative customarily began with a 6/3 chord and concluded with a dominant - tonic cadential formula. Russell often adhered to this plan, particularly in the secco recitatives, for example in the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* no. 6 'But further still our praises we pursue' and no. 14 [GWR 15] 'Behold Arion'; but there are several exceptions in *The Redemption of Israel,* with root position beginnings and some endings as imperfect cadences; in *Job* there is some consolidation of style: of the secco recitatives all but one (no. 51 'Have pity upon me') begin with a first inversion of the tonic chord of the opening key, most end with the usual perfect cadence, and a few conclude with an imperfect cadence, mostly with a chromatic approach. In *Job* also there is more consistency in the use of recitative for modulation to a new key--either by plunging

[6] Smither (1987), III 178.

into a new (possibly not closely-related) key at the beginning, or, often, by modulating to end in a key related to or matching that of the subsequent air.

Kollmann advocated preceding the final vocal note of a recitative by the interval of a third, fourth, or fifth and stated that 'the progression by one diatonic degree to the last note is seldom found in recitatives by great Authors'; here he was referring, in particular, to Handel, whose recitatives he recommended should be studied. [7] Such advocacy of conservatism on Kollmann's part is a sign of the times with regard to oratorio writing generally and to secco recitative writing particularly. Handel's dominance in the field led to widespread imitation, and secco recitative writing in England almost always conformed to this uniform style. Russell was familiar with many examples of recitative from the works of Handel, and comparison between some recitatives in *Job* and in Handel's *Saul* (example 4) shows the extent of dependence on the earlier master's style, particularly the harmonic progression modulating to a sharper key and the use of the minor ninth. Unlike the previous examples taken from *The Redemption of Israel* and the *Ode to Harmony*, the examples from *Job* show a continuo part realized by Samuel Wesley in his 1826 edition.

It is in the secco recitatives that Russell most strongly displays his adherence to tradition by retaining the eighteenth-century formulae, especially at cadence points. Mostly Russell used a perfect cadence formula to end his secco recitatives, where the pattern, leading note -

[7] Kollmann (1799), 80.

tonic - dominant, was given to the voice; example 5, which is taken from the *Ode to Music,* illustrates this. Sometimes Russell's secco recitatives which end with a perfect cadence display a different vocal pattern, resulting in the falling interval of a third (as in *Job* no. 40 'God is my Maker' and no. 48 'His spirit is weary' and in the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* no. 14 [GWR 15] 'Behold Arion'), or a fifth (as in *Job* no. 56 'Yet hate the Day'), or a sixth (as in *Job* no. 46 'My hopes are past'). Russell did sometimes conclude with a move by one degree in the voice at the cadence, but these instances occur (with two exceptions only) where the recitative ends with an imperfect cadence, often approached chromatically, and in each case the vocal line naturally leads into the interval of a second (see example 6). The two exceptions are in the *Ode to Music* no. 23 'Great Newton's deep researches' and in *Job* no. 20 'This, this is dreadful'; in the former the recitative becomes more melodic--almost arioso-like--and the cadential chords are played <u>with</u> the voice rather than <u>after</u>, as was customary [•] (example 7); in the latter the conclusion is an inverted perfect cadence. Twice in *The Redemption of Israel* Russell presented the alternative conclusion of a rising fifth at the final imperfect cadence: example 8 shows one of these. These data appear in figure 3.

[•] Dean (1990), 83.
Westrup (1962), 244, 248.

	perfect cadence	imperfect cadence	vocal line with Kollmann's recommended intervals	vocal line with different interval
Ode to Music extract	6	2	5	1 (2nd) 2 (2nd)
Ode on St. Cecilia's Day	2		2	
Ode to Harmony extract	1	1	1	1 (2nd)
The Redemption of Israel	2	4	2 2	2 (2nd)
Job	14	5	13	1 (2nd) 5 (2nd)

Fig. 3: Numbers of occurrences of different types of endings in secco recitatives.

Final cadences in Russell's secco recitatives.

The placing of the final continuo cadence takes eight different forms in the secco recitatives in Russell's large-scale choral works. Most frequently encountered are those which

a) leave the final vocal notes unaccompanied then complete the recitative with a perfect cadence

and *b)* conclude with the voice in a different cadence (usually imperfect or Phrygian).

Other types are:

c) where the continuo perfect cadence comes after the voice (as in *a)* but the voice is not left unaccompanied immediately prior to this,

d) where the first chord of the continuo perfect cadence coincides with and harmonizes with the last vocal note, and the preceding vocal notes are unaccompanied,

e) where the first chord of the continuo perfect cadence coincides with the last vocal note (as in *d)* but the voice is not left unaccompanied immediately prior to this,

f) where the continuo perfect cadence is inverted (Vb-I) and coincides with the vocal perfect cadence,

g) where the continuo perfect cadence coincides with the vocal perfect cadence,

and *h)* where the first chord of the continuo perfect cadence coincides with the last vocal note, resulting in a clash of tonic and dominant harmonies.

Example 9 shows one of each type and figure 4 indicates the numbers of instances of these secco recitative endings (*a-h*) together with their percentage usage.

recitative ending	number of occurrences	proportion of total
a	14	37%
b	13	34%
c	1	2·5%
d	4	11%
e	3	8%
f	1	2·5%
g	1	2·5%
h	1	2·5%

Fig. 4: Numerical analysis of secco recitative endings.

No discernible rule or reason is apparent for Russell using any of these types of ending; but there is a change or development in the type used: in the *Ode to Harmony* and the *Ode to Music* extracts all the continuo

cadences coincide with the vocal ending--this may be regarded as archaic, although the style of (perfect) cadencing had changed approximately half a century earlier, so the 'new style' of the continuo following after the voice was well-established (see note 8 above); it does seem that Russell consolidated his style in the later compositions. Figure 5 shows the types used in each work.

work	types of secco recitative ending							
	a	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	*f*	*g*	*h*
Ode to Harmony		1		1				
Ode to Music		2		1	3		1	1
Ode on St. Cecilia's day	1		1					
The Redemption of Israel	2	5						
Job	11	5		2		1		

Fig. 5: Numbers of instances of various types of secco recitative endings.

Type *a* is that most commonly encountered in secco recitatives of this period, so it is not surprising that it is the one most frequently used by Russell; nearly all Haydn's recitatives in *The Creation* and *The Seasons* end with type *a* but there is one example of type *d* in the former (no. 30 'Our duty we have now performed') and two examples of it in the latter (nos. 24 'Whate'er the blossom'd Spring' and 45 'Truth only lasts'). Handel favoured type *e* but there are some variants--for example in *Messiah* where there is one example of type *b* (no. 34 'Unto which of the Angels'); in no. 14a 'There were shepherds' the case is slightly unusual because the perfect cadence with the voice (type *g*) is heard over a tonic pedal. In *Palestine* Crotch predominantly used type *a* endings but he wrote one example of type *f* in no. 21 'No workman steel'. Of the remaining types, *c* and *h*, Russell used each of these once only; the former is merely a delayed version of *a*, but the latter is worth comment because of the

resulting clash of harmonies--for which there is no obvious apparent reason.

Composers were better able to display their artistry in accompanied recitative than in secco recitative, but before leaving the latter, some of the meritorious details in one fine example by Russell may be observed (see example 10): the Angel triumphantly tells the Demon that his evil plan has not been successful--note the deliberation in the use of the minor ninth in the second bar; the negative changes to the positive in the text at bar 4 where the music modulates from minor to major, the voice rising to its highest point for its reference to God, 'Supreme', and later (in bar 10) returning to this register for 'celestial patience'. The expected perfect cadence (bars 7-8) does not arrive and is, instead, replaced by a shift back to G Minor, signifying Job's 'resignation to the will of God'.

Russell's accompanied recitatives.

As stated above, many of Russell's accompanied recitatives share the vocal characteristics of his secco recitatives: the majority differ only in respect of having an orchestral introduction and interludes between the vocal phrases; a few have short sections of arioso: there are five examples of arioso in the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* out of the eight accompanied recitatives, two of the five in *The Redemption of Israel*, and also in no. 10 'The gods that have not made' which is arioso throughout (example 11), and one in *Job*. The orchestral introductions and interludes serve to set the scene and to anticipate the words; this 'musical picture' presented before the vocal entry, seems to have been the invention of

Haydn.[9] The technique is used to particularly good effect in *Job* where, for example, in no. 2 'Rebellious still against the Lord' the opening flute solo is set two octaves above the accompaniment, signifying the Angel. The mood of the introduction, which begins softly, changes at bar 13 where it becomes loud and more energetic with a forceful rising arpeggio figure, a rhythmic tonic pedal (bars 15-18), and angry semiquavers (bars 19-22), which modulate dramatically to the tonic minor (bars 19-26), only returning to the major with the vocal entry. This lengthy introduction vividly sets the scene of the appearance of the Angel--the symbol of God's word and of purity--and of his chastising message to the rebellious Demon (example 12). The introduction to no. 15, 'O rev'rend Job', is a mere three and a half bars long, but its slow unison motif in D flat Major is stark and forbidding, particularly as it follows the relaxed and happy duet in F Major between Job and Salmina (see example 13). Worse news comes to Job in no. 17, 'Horrors increase and sorrows multiply'; here the *agitato* introduction in C Minor--the key often associated by composers (such as Beethoven) with darkness and lamenting[10]--has its strength in the use of syncopation and suspension; these are continued in the first two orchestral interjections (bars 14-17 and 20-24), but the first is modified by the '*Più Lento*' indication in bar 16, which prepares the listener for Alcides's awful task of finding the words to break to Job the tragic news of the deaths of the members of his family. The short interlude before Job responds is marked '*Adagio Pia[no]*' and completely changes the mood from violence to desolation and finally (as suggested in the fall to the chord of a diminished seventh in the final interlude, bars

[9] Temperley (1991), 67.

[10] Steblin (1983), 130, 174.

31-32) to resignation (example 14). The key is significant in the Angel's recitative no. 60 'Thy Woes are ended': the previous air, sung by the Demon, was in D flat Major, then the Angel returns to the scene in C Major, a key which, in eighteenth-century music, was often associated with security, serenity, and purity, as in the Pastoral Symphony in Handel's *Messiah* and the duet 'By Thee with bliss' from *The Creation* by Haydn. The descending quaver figure of the introduction depicts the Angel coming down from Heaven; in the interludes the pattern is inverted and at the end the music soars up to top C, symbolising the Angel's return to Heaven (example 15). Some of the accompanied recitatives in the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* are lengthy--it is interesting to note that 113 out of a total of 213 lines of text (in other words just over half) are set as recitative, whereas in *The Redemption of Israel* only a little over a third of the text is given to recitative. One lengthy example in the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* is admirable in its versatility in depicting the changing moods: in no. 18 [GWR 19] 'He sung' the sustained opening is calm and still, and this is maintained with the vocal entry (example 16). The winds are 'charm'd' with an augmented sixth chord. This opening is full of beautifully-judged juxtapositions of rising and falling phrases: the orchestral introduction, with its mixture of stillness and well-proportioned rising and falling movement, suggests the calm of the sea; in bars 12-16 the vocal line rises, and is balanced with a falling figure in both voice and orchestra in bars 16-18; in bar 20 a rising figure is heard in the orchestra and the voice descends scalewise in bars 22-23; the gentle wave-like movements which continue to bar 32 suggest calm waters, which is fitting since the scene is still concerned with the sea. At bar 33 there is some action--'Amphitrite her dolphin sends'--and the gently throbbing quavers turn into a tremolando while the vocal line becomes more energetic. Amphitrite was

the wife of Poseidon--she is the feminine personification of the sea in Greek mythology; Neptune, the god of the sea, is the Roman mythological equivalent to Poseidon, who had asked Amphitrite to wed him, but she refused and fled away; Poseidon sent a dolphin to find her and bring her back to marry him: hence the reference to 'the nobly perjur'd dame'. The text gives a vivid image of the dolphin leaping out of the water and its path across the sea shown by the reflections of the light: this is musically depicted in the semiquaver and triplet quaver patterns and tremolandi of the accompaniment (bars 37-49). The appearance of the triplet figure is not dissimilar in its dramatic effect to the 6/8 section of the recitative 'Straight opening her fertile womb' (no. 22 of Haydn's *The Creation*) although pattern and tempo are different here and the music is describing 'the flexible tiger'; playfulness and agility, however, are common to both (see example 17). (In *The Creation* Haydn achieved a further sudden change of effect in a recitative with the introduction of a triplet pattern in no. 4 'And God made the firmament'.) Russell's rising semiquaver scale figure in bar 48 is remarkably similar to a section in the trio in *The Creation*, no. 27a 'On Thee each living soul awaits': even the key is identical. Russell was depicting 'streams of lustre' rising while Haydn was illustrating the unfolding of 'new strengths and new delights' from the 'revived earth' (example 18). Russell's recitative concludes with scale patterns giving an image of the dolphin riding the waves and making for the shore.

To summarize, it is evident that Russell remained conservative in his approach to recitative, particularly secco recitative, where he continued to use common idioms and formulae, and where the chief musical interest (such as it exists) is in its function of changing the tonality; however,

in his accompanied recitatives he showed more awareness of any drama that can be found in the text and, at times, he illustrated the scenes with vividness and imagination.

CHAPTER VII

Airs and Ensembles in Russell's Odes and Oratorios.

Definition.

According to Kollmann, 'the characteristic of an *Air* is: *melodious singing*, principally calculated but for *one* performer to each part,' and the three components of airs are melody, harmony [accompaniment] and form. [1] Melody in an air must not only be interesting in its own right (unlike melody in recitative) but also it must suit the character of the text. In this respect Kollmann recommended that airs should usually contain melodies which are simple rather than complicated, and if suitable for the composer to write a more difficult or elaborate melody, it should still retain a certain ease and simplicity: 'a noble *simplicity* is one of the greatest beauties even in the grandest bravura Song.' [2] (Kollmann was echoing the sentiments Gluck had expressed in 1769 in his preface to *Alceste*). The choice of mode and key are important so that they suit the text and, where appropriate, the harmony should reflect the mood. The accompaniment can either duplicate the vocal line or be independent; Kollmann does not state any preference. [3] His categories of air are simpler than those which had been applied to Italian opera and were described by, for example, Thomas Busby in 1828 and Donald Grout in

[1] Kollmann (1799), 81.

[2] Kollmann (1799), 81.

[3] Kollmann (1799), 82.

1947. [4]

Types of air and forms.

Kollmann described two types of air: that which is composed '*simply to express the Text*, without particular regard to figurative passages' and that 'with particular regard to *grandeur* and *brilliant passages*, calculated to shew the abilities of a Singer.' He likened these two types to an instrumental sonata and a concerto, [5] but the analogy is somewhat incongruous since instrumental sonatas and concertos can contain both simple and elaborate passages of music; thus Kollmann's categorization is imprecise, but his general meaning can be understood. He included ensembles (duets, 'tercetts', quartets, etc.) in the same category as solo airs, and for this reason, Russell's ensembles will be considered here. The forms which Kollmann advocated for simple airs are: through-composed, binary (although these are not terms Kollmann used), rondo, and ritornello; however, the latter might be merely through-composed with periodic 'instrumental reliefs'; a more complex or elaborate type of air might comprise several movements, one of which could be a recitative, and the forms might be 'laid out according to any reasonable plan', but there would normally be an extemporized '*fancy* cadence' during the principal movement. [6]

[4] Busby (1828), 12-13.
Grout (1947), 81-82, 185-186.

[5] Kollmann (1799), 82.

[6] Kollmann (1799), 84, 85-86.

Russell rarely wrote multi-movement airs; the exceptions are 'Blow on ye sacred organs', no. 26 [GWR 29] in the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*, and 'Distracted with anguish', no. 47 of *Job*, both of which contain two binary movements, and 'The Lord is your God', no. 52 of *Job*, which has a slow introductory section followed by a faster ternary movement.

No preference is shown either for an accompaniment which is independent of the vocal line(s) or which duplicates it (them). An instrumental introduction and coda were usual, and an elaborate air would generally have an orchestral accompaniment, whereas a simple air could have just a harpsichord accompaniment. [7] Binary form (that is a two-section plan) is that most commonly used by Russell for airs, and this is used in over a third; next most frequently used are ternary, ritornello, and through-composed forms; *da capo* form, which was common in the eighteenth century, is seldom found in Russell's music. Figure 1 gives the types and percentages of forms used in the airs in Russell's five

form	number of occurrences	percentage of total
binary	28	39%
ternary	12	17%
through-composed	11	15%
ritornello	9	13%
extended binary	6	9%
sonata form	2	3%
rondo*	1	1%
da capo	1	1%
unclassified	1	1%
unclear	1	1%

* the instrumental type (ABACA etc. form), not the two-section aria form.

Fig. 1: Forms of airs used by Russell.

[7] Kollmann (1799), 85.

large-scale choral works. The 'unclassified' air ('Come ye festive social throng', no. 19 [GWR 20] in the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day)* fits no established form and the 'unclear' air ('The early lark' from the *Ode to Harmony*) exists only in sketch and contains several symbols which may indicate repeats or sections suggesting a ritornello form, so accurate analysis is impossible. The later works contain a greater variety of forms than the earlier ones, which means that the two oratorios have more diversity than the odes; the reason for this may be purely one of maturity or it could be that the larger format of the oratorio afforded more scope for multiformity. Binary, ternary, and ritornello forms are used in the *Ode to Harmony* and the *Ode to Music* extracts with, additionally, a simple sonata form, an experimental form, and through-composed airs in the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day; The Redemption of Israel* also contains a rondo, and *Job* has airs in extended binary form and sonata form. Figure 2 lists the forms of airs and their proportion of the total number of airs in each work. Binary form is most often at the top of the list and ritornello is plainly used in the odes more than the oratorios--indeed it does not appear in *Job* at all. Through-composed airs account for about the same proportion in the works in which they occur, but this does not mean Russell did not use this form at all in the remaining two compositions (the two odes, of which only extracts survive).

Although it is difficult to determine exactly how Kollmann categorized simple and elaborate airs, it would seem that, in the main, Russell's airs fall into the latter group because they tend to contain a certain amount of decoration and vocal brilliance rather than merely being vehicles for the delivery of the text. Naturally some of these are more

	total number of airs	form	number	percentage of total
Ode to Harmony extract	4			
		binary	3	75%
		unclear	1	25%
Ode on St. Cecilia's Day	10			
		ritornello	3	30%
		binary	2	20%
		through-composed	2	20%
		ternary	1	10%
		sonata form	1	10%
		unclassified	1	10%
Ode to Music extract	11			
		binary	6	55%
		ritornello	4	36%
		ternary	1	9%
The Redemption of Israel	20			
		binary	8	40%
		ternary	5	25%
		through-composed	4	20%
		ritornello	2	10%
		rondo	1	5%
Job	27			
		binary	9	33%
		extended binary	6	22%
		ternary	5	18·5%
		through-composed	5	18·5%
		sonata form	1	4%
		da capo	1	4%

Fig. 2: Forms of airs in each of Russell's choral works.

dignified and less complex than others; certainly Russell's airs are never as basic as syllabic hymn-tune-like settings of the words. In the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* and *The Redemption of Israel* there are about twice as many elaborate airs as simple airs, and in *Job* there is really only one simple air (no.54 'O Lord my Desires were before thee') in which no effort is made at vocal display or melismatic writing. Whether the air is vocally simple or demanding, Russell tended to be constrained by

regularity of phrase lengths; this is in contrast to Samuel Wesley's freer approach in his *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*, where five- and six-bar sentences are not unusual. Of Russell's complex airs, most make provision for a cadenza--the '*fancy* cadence'--which is indicated by a fermata sign in the voice and instrumental parts; rather than write out the cadenza, Russell followed what was customary practice by inviting the singers to extemporize their own flourishes. Figure 3 tabulates his 'simple' airs and ensembles, and figure 4 his elaborate movements, indicating form and where there is provision for a vocal cadenza (* denotes a fermata).

	form
Ode to Harmony	
The early lark	unclear
Ode on St. Cecilia's Day	
no. 5	ternary
no. 17 [GWR 18] trio	binary
no. 26 [GWR 29]	double binary
Ode to Music	
no. 24 duet	ritornello
The Redemption of Israel	
Act 1 no. 4 duet	ternary
Act 1 no. 11 trio	binary
Act 1 no. 15 quartet	binary
Act 2 no. 8 [GWR 24] duet	binary
Act 3 no. 11 [GWR 48]	through-composed
Job	
no. 54	through-composed

Fig. 3: List of Russell's 'simple' airs and ensembles and their forms.

	form	*'fancy'* cadence	percentage using *'fancy'* cadence
Ode to Harmony			
Hark the Trumpet's warlike sound	binary		
Mark where by yon soft gliding streams	binary	*	
Soft meek-ey'd pity	binary		
			33%
Ode on St. Cecilia's Day			
no. 7	sonata form		
no. 9	through-composed	*	
no.11	through-composed	*	
no.15 [GWR 16] duet	ritornello	*	
no.19 [GWR 20]	unclassified	*	
no.21 [GWR 23]	ritornello	*	
no.23 [GWR 25]	[adapted] ritornello		
			71%
Ode to Music			
[no.16]	[extended] ternary	*	
[no.19]	binary		
[no.22]	binary		
no.36	ritornello	*	
no.38	binary	*	
no.40	ritornello		
no.42	binary	*	
no.45	binary	*	
no.48	binary	*	
			67%
The Redemption of Israel			
Act 1 no. 6	ternary	*	
Act 1 no.13	binary	*	
Act 2 no. 3 [GWR 19]	ternary	*	
Act 2 no. 5 [GWR 21]	rondo	*	
Act 2 no. 7 [GWR 23]	ternary		
Act 2 no.12 [GWR 28]	through-composed	*	
Act 2 no.14 [GWR 30]	through-composed	*	
Act 2 no.17 [GWR 33]	binary	*	
Act 2 no.20 [GWR 36] trio	ritornello		
Act 3 no. 3 [GWR 40]	binary	*	
Act 3 no. 6 [GWR 43]	ritornello	*	
Act 3 no. 8 [GWR 45] duet	ternary	*	
Act 3 no.13 [GWR 50]	through-composed	*	
Act 3 no.14 [GWR 51]	binary	*	
Act 3 no.16 [GWR 53]	binary	*	
			87%

	form	*'fancy'* cadence	percentage using *'fancy'* cadence
Job			
no. 3	binary		
no. 5	extended binary		
no. 7	binary	*	
no. 9	extended binary	*	
no.11	extended binary	*	
no.14 duet	extended binary	*	
no.16	ternary	*	
no.18	ternary		
no.21	through-composed	*	
no.22	binary	*	
no.26	ternary	*	
no.28	binary		
no.30	binary	*	
no.33	through-composed		
no.34	through-composed		
no.36	binary	*	
no.39	extended binary		
no.41	sonata form	*	
no.45	ternary	*	
no.47	double binary		
no.49	through-composed		
no.52	ternary	*	
no.57	*da capo*	*	
no.59	extended binary		
no.61	binary	*	
no.63	binary		
			59%

Fig. 4: List of Russell's elaborate airs and ensembles, their forms, and use of the *'fancy'* cadence.

Of the 11 'simple' airs nine are constructed in the way Kollmann recommended, although Russell did not use rondo form here; however, the two remaining airs are in ternary form, which Kollmann did not mention, but which were not unusual in eighteenth-century oratorio. The elaborate airs are built on a variety of forms and (except for the *Ode to Harmony* extract) most make provision for a vocal cadenza. The *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* is the only work which does not use the same forms in both types of air. Figure 5 tabulates the proportion of the various forms used in the elaborate airs of each work. The absence of binary form in the *Ode*

on St. Cecilia's Day is notable, as is the increased variety of forms used in the later works, which was mentioned above.

	form	proportion of airs
Ode to Harmony	binary	100%
Ode on St. Cecilia's Day	ritornello	43%
	through-composed	29%
	sonata form	14%
	unclassified	14%
Ode to Music	binary	67%
	ritornello	22%
	ternary	11%
The Redemption of Israel	binary	33%
	ternary	27%
	through-composed	20%
	ritornello	13%
	rondo	7%
Job	binary	35%
	extended binary	23%
	ternary	19%
	through-composed	15%
	sonata form	4%
	da capo	4%

Fig. 5: Proportions of various forms used in elaborate airs.

Analyses: binary, extended binary, sonata, extended ritornello, ternary, through-composed, and unclassified forms.

Russell is neither consistent in his setting of the words to reinforce the structure nor rigid in his use of form: he does not allow the form to constrain the music--this is particularly true in his binary

and ritornello-derived forms. With regard to text and structure, often he begins new words with a new theme but, if there is a reprise of that theme, the words previously associated with it are abandoned. There seems to be a changing pattern regarding text repetition as the eighteenth century progressed: Handel generally linked lines of the libretto with particular themes or patterns, and as the words were repeated so the music would recur or be similar. By the close of the century Haydn was breaking away from this rigidity and certain exceptions or modifications are found; also, in a small proportion of his airs, the text repetition bears no relation to the musical form; a little later Crotch broke still further away, with the majority of his airs not coupling text and theme as Handel had done. Four examples make this plain: in Handel's *Judas Maccabaeus* all the airs display a strong relationship between the text repetitions and thematic shape; in Haydn's *The Creation* seven airs show this relationship (although three of them contain exceptions when a theme reappears with new words) and three do not; in *The Seasons* seven airs (with one exception as above) relate theme and words and four airs do not; and in Crotch's *Palestine* nine airs (three with exceptions) display the text/theme link and 11 airs do not. Russell, therefore, was following the general trend in this respect: in 35 of his 71 airs and ensembles the text repetition emphasises the structure, but in 36 no such link exists.

Two different treatments of a binary form, modified by Russell, can be seen in the airs 'The Lord is good', Act 2 no. 17 [GWR 33] from *The Redemption of Israel* and 'Tho' afflicted still reverence his name', no. 36 of *Job*. These airs are reproduced as examples 1 and 2; their analyses are shown in figures 6 and 7. This first air divides into its two binary halves at bar 85. A is like a typical *rococo* introduction, containing

bars	material		main keys
1-47	A	orchestral introduction	tonic-dominant-tonic
47-85	B	voice and orchestra	tonic-dominant
85-107	B	voice and orchestra	dominant-relative minor
107-127	C	voice and orchestra	tonic
127 onwards	B/C etc.	chorus	

Fig. 6: 'The Lord is good' (*The Redemption of Israel*) see example 1. unison triadic figures and decorated flurries after the manner of Stamitz in, for example, his Symphony in E flat Major *La Melodia Germanica* no. 3 (c. 1755) and of J.C. Bach in, for example, his Symphony in D Major op. 18 no. 4 (1781). Russell's theme B consists primarily of a firm bass line of leaps of fourths, fifths, and octaves (bars 47-49), striding cadential formulae (bars 50-51), and running quaver scales (bars 70-74); much of it moves in unison with the accompaniment; C is derived from B in its shapes and rhythms and in its unison with the orchestra. Although A does not reappear, it sets the mood and suits the nature of the air without possessing more than a tenuous relationship with B (compare bars 1-4 with bars 47-49); however, the semiquavers in the orchestral coda, which concludes the chorus, recall the introduction, and it is possible that some of the figuration occurs in the instrumental parts, though this must remain speculative. The air is self-sufficient, and the chorus, too, is complete in itself, but the latter provides a fitting climax and conclusion.

The air 'Tho' afflicted still reverence his name' divides into its two sections at bar 28; the key scheme is similar to the previous example except that the modulation in the second half is to a different related

key on the flat side; structurally there are differences because in the first example B appears in both sections and A does not, while here the B material does not reappear but part of A (bars 12-16) does (bars 44-48).

bars	material	main keys
1-8	A orchestral introduction	tonic
8-16	A voice and orchestra	tonic
16-24	B voice and orchestra	tonic-dominant
24-28	codetta orchestra	dominant
28-56	C+ref. to A voice and orchestra	supertonic minor-tonic
56-67	coda orchestra	tonic

Fig. 7: 'Tho' afflicted still reverence his name' (*Job*) see example 2.

An example of Russell's use of extended binary form may be seen in 'The Thunder of Heav'n' no. 39 from *Job* (figure 8 and example 3), where the air divides into two parts at bar 58; the second part is greatly extended until it is more than twice as long as the first part. Themes A and B are contrasted in the manner of first and second subjects in sonata form; A is a straightforward bass line, unadorned and functional yet at the same time bold and strong, befitting the text; B is more melodic, although the

bars	material	main keys
1-18	A orchestral introduction	tonic
18-31	A vocal entry	tonic
31-42	transition voice and orchestra	tonic-dominant
43-58	B voice and orchestra	dominant
58-70	C (some derivation from A and B) voice and orchestra	dominant
70-122	D (some derivation from A, B, and C) voice and orchestra	modulatory section ending in tonic
122-138	A-based orchestral coda	tonic

Fig. 8: 'The Thunder of Heav'n' (*Job*) see example 3.

words are the same as those set to A; the busy semiquaver figuration of the accompaniment is common to both sections. At bar 31 A concludes on the dominant but in the tonic, the transition quickly modulates to the dominant arriving at an important cadence in that key at bars 39-40. After a short instrumental link (bars 40-43), the orchestra introduces theme B, which is in fact derived from the orchestral introduction where it it was heard in semiquavers rather than quavers (compare bars 1 and 44). The stepwise falling figures of the transition (bars 31 and 32-33) also are taken up in C at bars 45-47 and 51-54. This section ends with a firm perfect cadence in the dominant (bars 57-58), then quickly diversifies with a short-lived excursion to E flat Major: this is an exciting moment probably calculated to colour the word 'confound', but there is a rapid return to the dominant via Russell's favourite (and the commonly-found Classical) device of the chord of the augmented sixth. Section C comes to a definite and clear-cut conclusion--yet another strong perfect cadence in the dominant--leading the listener to expect some sort of recapitulation at this point, but although a return is made to the tonic and the opening words return, further thematic derivation continues: the repeated vocal notes of bars 70-72 and 75-78 derive from the vocal entry at bars 18-19, the vocal line resumes its function as a bass, and the semiquaver figuration of bar 1 is developed in a new rhythmic pattern in bars 79-84. At bar 89 the vocal part once more becomes more melodic like B and the stepwise falling figures of B and C reappear in bars 92-93, 94, and 95-96. (Here as elsewhere, Russell--like Samuel Wesley--demands a wide vocal range from his bass soloist.) An inversion of this figure is joined to the oscillating B opening (bars 43-45) in bars 98-100, and the rhythmic extension of it heard in bars 51-54 is referred to in bars 109-110, 112, and 119-121. Bars 58-122 cannot rightly be called a development

section; however, the derivation of material from the two earlier themes (A and B) and the modulatory nature of section D indicate an extension of the simple binary form. This thematic manipulation is admirable, but the air is constricted by having too many strong cadences in the dominant (as mentioned above: at bars 40, 58, 66, and 70); this reliance on the dominant is a weakness, and in section C, shows Russell being cautious when he could have been more adventurous with his modulations; it also gives more bias toward the dominant than the tonic in the first half of the air.

The extension of binary form into a type of embryonic sonata form is not uncommon in the Classical period; Temperley has noted the frequent similarities to the form of the first movement of a concerto. [8] Another example of this development is 'Triumphant and glorious', no.59 from *Job* (figure 9 and example 4). The key of this air is D flat Major: transposed up a semitone this would become a very bright movement, but as it is, the key chosen is 'awfully dark'; [9] triumph remains the Lord's and the Demon admits defeat. The three sections of sonata form are more clearly discernible than in the previous example: bars 1-56 constitute the exposition, bars 56-72 the development, and bars 72-137 the recapitulation. B begins in the tonic but soon modulates to the dominant; as in example 3, again it is more melodic than the first theme, reinforcing the classical trend of contrasting the first and second subjects by making the latter more lyrical. The rhythmical five-note pattern  of bar 4 reappears throughout the first two sections,

[8] Temperley (1991), 71.

[9] In 1817 William Gardiner (1770-1853) thus described the key of D flat Major when he wrote on the characteristics of keys. Quoted in Steblin (1983), 175.

unifying the 'exposition'; it continues, sometimes extended as in bars 58 and 77-79, through the remainder of the air. The 'development' is quite short (16 bars) with the vocal part mostly based on B and modulating from the dominant through the relative minor to the subdominant and, via the chord of the augmented sixth, back to the relative minor. The sudden return to the tonic announces the 'recapitulation' where the voice has a similar theme to A, but there is no actual restatement of A in its original form--even the orchestral coda is a derivation from it rather than a restatement. This might be viewed as a move toward the Romantic trend where a Classical-type recapitulation was neither desirable nor suitable; Chopin was regarded by some as forward-looking and by others as inexpert when, in the first movement of his Piano Sonata in B Minor, he did not restate his first subject. Returning to Russell, at bar 80 theme B is recapitulated and remains in the tonic; its accompaniment is modified to comprise rising semiquaver scales which convey added excitement. A vocal melisma, doubled in the orchestra, corresponds to the cadenza in a concerto movement; it is followed by oblique references to A and an

bars	material		main keys
1-16	A	orchestral introduction	tonic
16-32	A	vocal entry	tonic
32-48	B	voice and orchestra	tonic-dominant
48-56	A-based	orchestral codetta	dominant
56-72	C with some derivation from B	voice	modulating
72-96	A and B	voice and orchestra	tonic
96-124	vocal 'cadenza' and coda	derived from A voice and orchestra	tonic
124-137	A-based	orchestral coda	tonic

Fig. 9: 'Triumphant and glorious' (*Job*) see example 4.

extended cadence; the orchestra concludes the air with a final suggestion of A.

Actual 'text book' sonata form, with an exposition containing two themes (respectively in the tonic and dominant) divided by a modulatory bridge passage and followed by a development and recapitulation, only gradually evolved into a classic type of form by the early nineteenth century; it developed alongside other interdependent and similar forms like those mentioned above. [10] Russell did use what is now termed 'sonata form' in the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* and *Job;* figure 10 illustrates this in 'My sorrows but last for a day', no.41 from *Job*. The exposition comprises the first 44 bars, the short development is from bar 44 to bar 59, and the recapitulation is from bar 59 to bar 89, making it slightly shorter than the exposition. The orchestral introduction presents the first subject, decorated with a descending semiquaver scale figure between the first and second phrases (bar 2); this figure--merely a scrap--takes on greater importance later: it forms the basis of the codetta which ends the exposition; in the development it becomes inverted (bars 46 and 54) and extended (at bar 58) to resemble the vocal line of the second subject. Also in the development section the falling sevenths of bars 29 and 39 are recalled at bar 55. The semiquaver scales are further developed in the orchestra in the recapitulation (bars 65 and 67). The orchestral coda is an extension of the earlier codetta, returning to the descending semiquaver runs. This air clearly illustrates Russell's preference for using basics for his material: scale passages and triadic figures (see the vocal part of bars 16-20); it may be noted that all the airs in Haydn's

[10] Rosen (1988), 138-169.

bars	material	main keys
1-16	orchestral introduction: first subject	tonic
16-24	vocal entry: first subject	tonic
24-32	new material: transition or part of second subject material	tonic-dominant
32-40	second subject proper	dominant
40-44	orchestral codetta based on previous material	dominant
44-59	development	dominant, relative minor, tonic
59-67	first subject	tonic
67-71	new transition	supertonic minor, tonic
71-81	second subject	tonic
81-89	orchestral coda based on previous material	tonic

Fig. 10: 'My Sorrows but last for a day' (*Job*) see example 5.

The Creation make considerable use of arpeggio figures in the melodies, and that this tends to slow the rate of harmonic change. Although the air is in a quite clear-cut sonata form, it is arguable that the section between bar 24 and bar 32 is the start of the second subject material rather than a transition from the tonic to the dominant: certainly the modulation is made straightaway, and features like the falling seventh (bar 29) and the melodic shape at the cadence (bars 31-32) recur during the second subject proper at bars 39-40; however, this material is not restated in the recapitulation, whereas the second subject proper does reappear--modified (or developed) to suit the vocal range. Russell's development of ideas is fairly rudimentary but is, nevertheless, effective, and the mood created in this air is one of contentment, though lacking any carefree qualities--solemnity remains: Job is still suffering; this mood is achieved through metre, rhythm, key, and melody, and makes it one of the most attractive movements in the oratorio.

Russell deviated from simple ternary form and extended it in one air: 'So when of old the minstrel play'd', no. 16 from the *Ode to Music* (example 6). This may have been an experiment with form (Russell did this elsewhere, notably in his organ voluntaries); it can be seen as another move toward sonata form but it is lacking in the transition and recapitulation of the 'second subject' (B); alternatively it may be regarded as being closer to rondo or sonata rondo form or even ritornello form because of the return of A in the middle of the central section. How Russell conceived it will never be known, but the air shows a slightly different approach to the use of a simple form. Figure 11 tabulates the form of this interesting air.

bars	material	main keys
1-8	A orchestral introduction	tonic
9-16	A vocal entry	tonic
16-32	B voice	dominant
32-40	A orchestra	dominant
41-58	C and B voice	dominant, mediant minor
58-61	orchestral link	tonic
62-95	A extended voice	tonic
95-103	A orchestral coda	tonic

Fig. 11: 'So when of old the minstrel play'd' (*Ode to Music*) see example 6

Russell's use of ritornello form may be regarded as acknowledging the 'ancient' style. He used three versions of this form in which the initial theme (or ritornello) recurs in different keys between episodes using new material; the three types can be compared in the airs 'The gallant warriors engage', no. 23 [GWR 25] of the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*, 'Sing with gladness', Act 3 no. 6 [GWR 43] from *The Redemption of Israel*, and 'The eager horse', no. 36 of the *Ode to Music*. These airs are reproduced

as examples 7-9 and their analyses are shown in figures 12-14. In 'The gallant warriors engage' the ritornello theme, A, reappears with modification: C, at bars 19-21 is derived from the opening arpeggio pattern; D shares similarities with both A and B--at bars 56-57 and bars 63-64 it is an inversion of A, while bars 74-76 resemble the shape and rhythm of B at bar 15. Hence A provides an underlying unity for the whole air rather than alternating with completely contrasting and new material as expected in a straightforward ritornello form.

bars	material		main keys
1-8	A	orchestral introduction	tonic-dominant
8-19	B	introduction continued	tonic
19-44	C based on A	vocal entry	tonic-dominant
44-55	A modified	orchestral interlude	dominant
56-108	D based on A and B	voice and orchestra	dominant-tonic
108-120	A and B	shortened orchestral coda	tonic

Fig. 12: 'The gallant warriors engage' (*Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*) see example 7.

As in the previous example, theme A provides a unifying feature for the air 'Sing with gladness' as well as being the ritornello theme; but when it reappears it is less modified (although sometimes shortened) than in example 7--indeed the introduction and coda are identical. Although the vocal entry introduces a new theme, the rhythmical trill figure of A continues in the orchestra, and with the vocal continuation at bar 38 the voice introduces a repeated-note theme which is heard again at C (itself based on the rhythms first of B then of A) while the trill figure of A continues in the accompaniment. During bars 75-118 the three main features are united: the repeated notes of B (bars 75-76 etc.), the semiquaver movement (for instance in bars 76 and 83), and the trill figures of A (for example in bars 84 and 101).

bars	material	main keys
1-25	A orchestral introduction	tonic
26-33	B vocal entry, with accompaniment related to A	tonic
34-37	A orchestra	tonic
38-46	B continued (similar rhythm) voice	tonic-dominant
47-66	C (B rhythm) voice with A patterns in orchestra	dominant
66-74	A modified orchestra	dominant
75-118	B, C, and A voice and orchestra	tonic, subdominant, supertonic minor, tonic
118-143	A orchestral coda	tonic

Fig. 13: 'Sing with gladness' (*The Redemption of Israel*) see example 8.

'The eager horse', no. 36 of the *Ode to Music*, is a *coloratura* air for soprano; it is full of Classical chromatic decoration (favoured by Mozart)--see for example the use of appoggiaturas in bars 51 and 67--while the triplet triadic accompaniment resembles Haydn (compare this with 'By thee with bliss', no. 29 from *The Creation*). Although the form seems to be ritornello, the structure divides into three parts--bars 1-121, 121-172, and 172-255--implying a ternary element; there is a suggestion of a

bars	material	main keys
1-39	A orchestral introduction	tonic
39-63	A voice, orchestra, voice	tonic-dominant
63-75	A orchestra, voice	dominant
75-95	B voice	dominant
95-121	A orchestra	dominant
121-143	C voice, orchestra	dominant
143-161	D voice	relative minor
161-172	E orchestra	relative minor-tonic
172-178	A voice	tonic
178-217	B voice	tonic
217-255	A orchestral coda	tonic

Fig. 14: 'The eager horse' (*Ode to Music*) see example 9.

symmetrical form, with the orchestral introduction repeated exactly at the coda, but this probably results from a convenience or a time-saving device rather than a conscious decision on Russell's part.

Russell wrote some through-composed airs in the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* but he used the form more often in *The Redemption of Israel* and *Job*. Example 10 shows 'My bowels, I am pained', Act 2 no. 14 [GWR 30] of *The Redemption of Israel*, with the opening words later (probably during the Victorian era) altered to 'My Heart is sore pained', which have been pencilled above the vocal stave. The uncompromising translation of the King James version of the Bible hardly prepares the listener for the air's beauty and pathos which arise from the key and the simplicity of the melody, enhanced by beautiful appoggiaturas--particularly those rising chromatically. Figure 15 sets out the form. Russell was fond of the minor/major shift: in *The Redemption of Israel* he not only used the device in this air, but also in the Overture and last chorus (no. 16) of Act 1, and in the final chorus (no. 17 [GWR 54]) of Act 3. This modulation naturally divides the air into two parts which are of roughly equal length. The first part has more subdivisions than the second, and also more integration of material with the short orchestral reference to A at bars 32-36. Theme E shares some characteristics of A--enough to give the piece unity: compare bars 46-47 with bars 16-17. The orchestral coda also is loosely based on A, repeating the dotted rhythm anacrusis of bar 16 in bars 72 and 74, and the fragmentation (through the use of rests) of bars 17-18 in bars 76-78.

bars	material	main keys
1-16	A orchestral introduction	tonic
16-22	A vocal entry	tonic
22-24	A orchestral ritornello	tonic
24-32	B voice	tonic, submediant major, flattened leading note major, relative major
32-36	A-based orchestra	relative major
36-46	C voice	relative major-tonic ending on the dominant.
46-72	E (some derivation from A) voice	tonic major with modulations
72-86	orchestral coda loosely based on A	tonic major

Fig. 15: 'My bowels, I am pained' (*The Redemption of Israel*)
see example 10.

One of Russell's airs is neither through-composed nor in any of the usual forms: 'Come ye festive social throng', no. 19 [GWR 20] of the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*, example 11. Perhaps this is another example of Russell's experimentation with form--certainly the outcome is logical and balanced. [11] Figure 16 indicates the structure which is a loose tripartite form with the sections defined by key rather than by theme. At bar 44, following the vocal entry (which might be labelled 'first subject') and the modulation to the dominant, a new theme or second subject is expected; however, the initial material reappears, at first suggesting ritornello form, but this is not pursued further. Russell adopted a similar procedure in his Organ Concerto (see page 346). Other unusual features of the air are the coda, which bears no thematic or rhythmic relationship to previous material, and the vocal entry, which (unusually for Russell) states a new theme instead of taking up that

[11] For another 'experimental' form see Russell's Organ Voluntary set 2 no. 2 (1812) in Ward Russell (1991) and a description in Ward Russell (1985), 122-124.

bars	material		main keys
1-16	A	orchestra	tonic
17-44	B	vocal entry	tonic-dominant
44-52	A	orchestra	dominant
52-76	C	voice and orchestra	subdominant, tonic
76-79	orchestral link		tonic
79-110	B-based with some A		tonic
110-118	D	orchestral coda	tonic

Fig. 16: 'Come ye festive social throng' *(Ode on St. Cecilia's Day)* see example 11.

announced in the introduction; indeed the voice has nothing to do with the orchestral themes at all; this was not unprecedented in eighteenth-century operatic arias where an instrumental introduction might not provide appropriate material for the voice; it is also a feature of Russell's Organ Concerto, where the soloist has an entirely new theme. The only place where material overlaps in this air is at bars 84-115 where there are some subtle references in the orchestra to A (compare bars 79-81 with bar 3). If this has suggested a disjointed form, the picture is inaccurate: there is sufficient similarity of shape and melodic structure between the themes to give unification to the air--A, B, and D are largely formed from triadic figures for example, and the return of B at bar 79 gives the feeling of a restatement of the principal vocal theme; if D were more obviously related to A instead of subtly reusing some features such as the octave leaps in the bass (compare bars 114-115 with bars 9-10) and the repeated semiquavers (compare bars 114-115 with bars 83-85), a more satisfying conclusion would have been achieved.

Word setting and accompaniments.

Normally Russell's word setting is effective and accurate in terms of stresses, metres, and caesuras, and although it is difficult to be certain how pronunciation differed in the eighteenth century, there are some occasions when the syllabification is weak or awkward when twentieth-century pronunciations are employed. Russell himself was sometimes inconsistent in his accentuations: examples of lapses in his expertise are most apparent in *The Redemption of Israel*, and in examples 12-15 particular instances have been cited of ineffective word placement or incorrect emphases being made, rhythms which do not suit the words, changes of accentuation, and unsuitable repetition of words or phrases. In 'The Lord is good', Act 2 no. 17 [GWR 33] from *The Redemption of Israel*, the wrong part of the word is accented (example 12); in 'Therefore shall Zion for your sakes be plowed *[sic]* as a field', Act 2 no. 3 [GWR 19] from *The Redemption of Israel*, the rhythm is not appropriate for the words (example 13) and although the correct syllables are accented, the first word is given too much importance by taking up four notes and three quarters of a bar; a change of emphasis is made for the word 'judgements' in 'Seek ye the Lord', Act 1 no. 6 of *The Redemption of Israel* (example 14)--it seems that musical desire (a perfect cadence rather than a feminine ending) outweighed correctness of word-setting; music again takes priority in 'Break ev'ry yoke', [no. 19] from the *Ode to Music* where a word is unnecessarily (and not sensibly) repeated (example 15). It is strange that so many imperfections appear in *The Redemption of Israel*, a composition of Russell's maturity: only speculation can hint at the reason. However, there are some notable instances of effective word-setting in this oratorio, including the syncopated treatment of the word

'tremble' which adds a feeling of insecurity to the otherwise confident air 'Blow ye the Trumpet in Zion', Act 2 no. 7 [GWR 23] (example 16). Two examples of Russell giving rhythmic variety, when he might easily have been predictable by maintaining the rhythm of the opening, may be seen in the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day:* in 'Come ye festive social throng', no. 19 [GWR 20], the predominant lilt of a long, accentuated syllable followed by a short, unaccented one is maintained up to bar 81, after which the words are declaimed much faster; similarly in 'Sing some sad, some plaintive ditty', no. 21 [GWR 23], where the steady quaver movement and basic rhythms are interspersed with a run of semiquavers (bar 19) or other rhythmic patterns such as those at bars 43, 51, and 107-108.

Much of Russell's word painting is concerned with obvious illustrations such as in 'Arise, shine, for thy light is come', Act 3 no. 13 [GWR 50] from *The Redemption of Israel*, where the first word is set to an upward leap, and 'is ris'n upon thee' is given an ascending scale. This was common fare--indeed from the time of Handel it was expected that a dramatic text should be clearly and realistically illustrated in the music. [12] Handel did so when he set these same words in *Messiah*, and Samuel Wesley used the same devices in the chorus 'Tis here a sacred Vestal' no. 10 of the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* for the words 'still upward go' and the reverse figure for 'look down' (example 17). The effect is pleasing when several conjunct words are mirrored in the music: example 18 shows this in a phrase from 'By the bright beams of Cynthia's eyes', no. 15 [GWR 16] of the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*. The melodic shape depicts the waves (compare Samuel Wesley's similar effect in 'Hark, hark Arion sweeps

[12] Young (1949), 94.

the sounding string', no. 4 from his *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*); there is an ascending scale towards 'rise', at 'actuate' there is more movement--one syllable per semiquaver--and the music comes to rest on a lower note for 'deep'. From the same work the air 'In all the woods', no. 11, contains some picturesque interplay between the voice and the orchestra where the latter answers by copying (sometimes at the octave) what the voice has stated (example 19). For this tranquil pastoral scene the metre is 6/8 and the gentle lilt of the rhythm helps to convey a peaceful calm.

In *Job* several of the airs display good portrayal of mood and scene through the use of key, accompaniment, and word painting. One example is 'Retire o loathsome light', no. 33 (example 20): the key is C Minor, which, Werner Lüthy says in *Mozart und die Tonartencharakteristik*, is 'used for inevitable fate and despair'. [13] The air comes at the point in the oratorio where Job, hitherto lamenting but submissive in the face of his afflictions, becomes angry and desperate; the result is a tense and dramatic air with strong melodic leaps in the voice and a turbulent accompaniment which is full of sudden loud outbursts of rising triadic figures (see for example bars 20, 22, and 28). The syncopated introduction and dark harmonies (the Neapolitan Sixth of bars 9 and 10) set the mood--disturbed and ominous. After the first vocal outburst (bars 16-20), which is set in the middle to upper range of the voice, the next imperative plunges low in the register--sinister for 'spread low thy curtain's night'; frustration and anguish mingle at the end of the first sentence (bars 30-32) as melodic movement increases, words come faster, and the voice rises chromatically to 'joy' on G. At this point the

13 Quoted in Steblin (1983), 2.
See also the earlier reference to C Minor on page 160.

orchestra cadences on the dominant and the voice enters unaccompanied in the relative major. 'Despair' and the horrors of the 'malignant fiends' are vividly portrayed in the unexpected *fortissimo* C flat-Major chord in bar 35; the music shifts to E flat Minor--still an extreme and little-used key at this time. There is the first hint of hopelessness in the falling melody of bars 39-41 but the rising figures of bars 42-45 are menacing. Some of Job's fighting spirit returns briefly with the vocal entry at bar 62; by now the music has settled into E flat Major and the flashes of light are depicted both in the vocal leaps and in the staccato figures of the orchestra (bars 62-66). Soon, though, the vocal line becomes more sustained (from bar 67) and the music moves into F Minor (in bars 67-70 and again in bars 83-84) then returns to C Minor (bar 87). During the last 20 bars the music gradually becomes softer and more sustained; the mood becomes restful, and the orchestra finally lulls Job's 'sorrows to serene repose' in C Major. Russell effectively points the form of this through-composed air by setting a new line of text to new material, thereby enhancing the changing moods as the movement progresses.

The accompaniment obviously can greatly contribute to the effectiveness of the mood portrayal, as is the case in the previous example, but because of the incompleteness of the extant scores it is not possible to comment in detail on the accompaniment in the odes and *The Redemption of Israel*. In *Job* the following points are discernible: 16 of the 27 airs (59%) have accompaniments which largely follow the contours of the vocal line, while the remaining 11 airs contain a more independent accompaniment; however, both types display varying degrees of idiomatic figurations in the accompaniments, and in all the airs the accompaniment follows the voice to a certain extent--if only at cadences. The

accompanimental figurations which occur most frequently in *Job* are patterns of semiquavers used in the *furioso* airs (example 21), broken chords (example 22), repeated chords (example 23), and scalic figures (example 24). The duet (no. 14) also contains some illustrative *tremolandi* and *subito f - p* effects for the words 'trembling and fearing we thy glorious throne draw nigh' (example 25). This is the only vocal ensemble in *Job* and it is one of the loveliest movements (example 26); the nature is warm and sunny, with a pastoral mood evoked in the F-Major triple time introduction and the woodwind solos. At first the voices move together as in a hymn to the Almighty, then at bar 51 they are in imitation, heightening the meaning of the words, as they approach the Lord as individuals. Here the modulations and changes in the accompaniment transport the listener to a higher plane before returning to earth again at bar 100 for the reprise of the opening theme.

Another picturesque rural scene is illustrated in 'O silence fond warblers' no. 45 (example 27) where the flutes and flageolet (a wooden recorder-like instrument) imitate the song of the birds (as in bars 4-6 and 28-30). The key is E Major, one in which Russell wrote some of his most expressive--and Romantic--music. Lüthy said that in Mozart 'E Major belongs to elevated, other-worldly events, to scenes of high expectations, to the hazy shimmering of light rippling sea waves.' [14] The first part of this description fits Russell's air but the scene is one of peaceful landscape--perhaps in some quiet forest--rather than tranquil sea. An evocative introduction presents a decorated melody over a delicate and flowing semiquaver accompaniment; this is interspersed by the demisemiquaver bird song effects. The vocal line is elegant and

[14] Steblin (1983), 1.

ornamented but retains a basic simplicity which enhances the mood: too much decoration and bravura passage work would have destroyed Job's 'stupor' (no. 44) and the calm of this beautiful air.

Russell was able to use the air as a vehicle for some of his most expressive gestures, and, because of this, it is in this genre that he could be at his most 'modern' and even experimental. At worst his airs can be workmanlike but at best they contain a depth of emotion and intensity that was to become common among Romantic composers.

CHAPTER VIII

Choruses in Russell's Odes and Oratorios.

Two types of chorus.

There are two types of chorus defined by Kollmann: 'plain' and 'imitative'; in the former the singers declaimed the same words simultaneously, and in the latter 'detached parts of the Text are imitated so as *not* to appear in all parts *at the same time*'. [1] These rather loose descriptions are coupled with examples from Handel's *Messiah:* 'Since by man came death' is a plain chorus, and 'Unto us a Child is born' *[sic]* is 'a sort of medium between plain and imitative' because of the intermixing of the two styles; Kollmann found it unnecessary to give examples of imitative choruses, which 'are found written by Handel...as every one knows who is acquainted with his masterly Oratorios.' Imitative choruses might be loosely or strictly contrapuntal, and the strict category could take the form of a canon or a fugue. Some choruses might contain intermixed elements of both types. Kollmann recommended that choruses normally be accompanied by the organ (this is particularly appropriate in the simplest of choruses) or by organ and orchestra, and, if unaccompanied at all, that the movement be short 'in order to prevent the parts getting too flat, and consequently out of tune with the succeeding piece'. [2] This is an enlightening comment on the quality of choral singing at the end of the eighteenth century. The accompaniment, Kollmann said, might double

[1] Kollmann (1799), 86.

[2] Kollmann (1799), 87.

the voices or select 'only their harmonies, like as in Chords of thorough Bass' or comprise obbligato parts. [29] Both types of chorus could be either 'simple' (in other words for a single choir) or double; Russell used only the former and his norm was four parts (S. A. T. B.). He predominantly wrote in a hybrid style, using a free intermixing of the 'plain' and 'imitative' features and reserving the purely 'plain' type for the remainder. Although few polyphonic choruses of the late eighteenth century are contrapuntal throughout, Russell's always contain sizeable portions of homphony--even the fugues have homophonic codas. Sometimes a chorus follows an air, using the same words and, at times, the same or similar thematic material, but Russell did not set up dialogue between a soloist and the chorus as Haydn did in *The Creation* and even more so in *The Seasons*. Figure 1 shows the number of choruses and their type for each of Russell's major choral works; in the allocating of choruses to an appropriate column, Kollmann's definitions have been followed as strictly as possible, having regard to the freedom with which Russell interpreted them: thus homophonic choruses appear in the column headed 'hybrid' when, periodically, the words are not sung simultaneously by all parts; however, the brief occurrence of a passage where the voices do not synchronize with the words (as in *Job* no. 3 bars 99-101) does not exclude a chorus from the 'plain' category.

	plain	imitative/hybrid	follows air using the same words
Ode to Harmony extract	Hail sacred Harmony	Hark the trumpet's warlike sound The sons of health arise E'en delicate delights belong	Hark the trumpet's warlike sound

[29] Kollmann (1799), 86, 87.

	plain	imitative/hybrid	follows air using the same words
Ode on St. Cecilia's Day		no. 3	
		no. 8	no. 8
		no.13	
		no.16	
		no.17 [GWR 18]	no.17 [GWR 18]
		[GWR 21]	
		[GWR 26]	[GWR 26]
	no.27 [GWR 30] 1st part	no.27 [GWR 30] 2nd part	
Ode to Music extract		no.[19]	no.[19]
		no.26	
	no.36a		no.36a
		no.39 'glee'	
		no.43	
		no.49	
The Redemption of Israel		Act 1 no.5	
		Act 1 no.7	
	Act 1 no.12		Act 1 no.12 (previous number ends in the dominant and chorus follows with new text)
		Act 1 no.14	
		Act 1 no.16	Act 1 no.16 (ditto)
	Act 2 no.4 [GWR 20]		
	Act 2 no.6 [GWR 22]		
	Act 2 no.10 [GWR 26]		
	Act 2 no.13 [GWR 29]		
	Act 2 no.16 [GWR 32]		
	Act 2 no.17 [GWR 33]		Act 2 no.17 [GWR 33]
		Act 2 no.19 [GWR 35]	
		Act 2 no.21 [GWR 37]	
		Act 3 no. 4 [GWR 41]	
		Act 3 no. 7 [GWR 44]	Act 3 no. 7 [GWR 44]
		Act 3 no.10 [GWR 47]	
		Act 3 no.12 [GWR 49]	
		Act 3 no.15 [GWR 52]	
		Act 3 no.17 [GWR 54]	

	plain	imitative/hybrid	follows air using the same words
Job	no.3		no.3
		no.12	
		no.23	
		no.31	no.31
		no.37	
		no.42	
		no.50	
		no.55	no.55
		no.64	

Fig. 1: Types of chorus in Russell's odes and oratorios.

It is clear from figure 1 that Russell favoured the hybrid form of chorus. Of the 47 choruses listed (counting no. 27 [GWR 30] of the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* as two choruses since they are quite distinct in structure), 12 (26%) are 'plain' and 35 (74%) are hybrid. Figure 2 shows the proportions of chorus types for each work. The greatest number of 'plain' choruses occur in *The Redemption of Israel* and figure 1 shows that most of them appear in Act 2; this may have been a conscious response by Russell to the text--Act 2 describes Israel's sinfulness and subsequent

	plain	imitative/hybrid
Ode to Harmony extract	25%	75%
Ode on St. Cecilia's Day	11%	89%
Ode to Music extract	17%	83%
The Redemption of Israel	42%	58%
Job	11%	89%

Fig. 2: Proportions of chorus types in Russell's odes and oratorios.

repentance--whereby he felt it more appropriate for simpler choruses to predominate; it is possible that Russell was aiming to depict the Israelites as a unit--one body turning back to God--and that he felt an homophonic approach was the most appropriate method of so doing; there is no obvious explanation. There are a few choruses which do not completely fulfil the criteria for allocation as 'plain' or 'imitative' but the exceptions are so slight as not to warrant more than a listing here: in *The Redemption of Israel* Act 2 no. 16 [GWR 32] and in *Job* no. 3 there are short periods where the words are not sung simultaneously, and the following choruses in the *Ode to Music* no. 39 (a glee), the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* [no. 21], and *The Redemption of Israel* Act 1 no. 14, Act 3 no. 7 [GWR 44], and Act 3 no. 12 [GWR 49] are not imitative in the normal sense of the word, but the voices answer each other and do not always sing the words at the same time.

The varying proportions of choruses in Russell's choral works.

The largest number of choruses is found in *The Redemption of Israel* (19 out of a total of 54 movements) and the smallest is in *Job* (nine out of 64); this is less than the average found in Handel's oratorios. English and German oratorios generally contained more choruses than Italian oratorios; there is little other evidence of Italian influences in Russell's choral works, although he valued being in possession of some manuscripts of sacred music by Leo, Sabbatino, and Fago. [4]

[4] GB Lbm Add. Ms. 14334.

The general tendency for English odes and oratorios to have a reasonably high proportion of choruses is shown in figure 3, which first lists Russell's works, then selected works by other composers in reverse chronological order of date of composition. Taking the examples by other composers, the average percentage of choruses is 33; discounting the two ode extracts, because of their incompleteness, Russell's use of the chorus in the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* and *The Redemption of Israel* was about the average for the period, but was well below this in *Job*. The reason for the latter may be lack of suitability of the text or it may have been that, for some reason, Russell was following the Italian trend of writing a higher proportion of airs: there are several characters in *Job* whose lines, of necessity, demand recitatives and often airs too.

	total number of movements	number of choruses	proportion of the whole
Ode to Harmony extract	14	4	29%
Ode on St. Cecilia's Day	30	9	29%
Ode to Music extract	28	6	21%
The Redemption of Israel	54	19	35%
Job	64	9	14%

	total number of movements	number of choruses	proportion of the whole
Crotch: *Palestine* (1812)	43	14	32%
Haydn: *The Seasons* (1801)	46	13	28%
Haydn: *The Creation* (1798)	33	11	33%
S. Wesley: *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* (1794)	11	3	27%
Dupius: *Ode to the Genius of Britain* (1788)	28	7	25%
Arnold: *Redemption* (1786)	58	15	26%
Stanley: *The Fall of Egypt* (1774)	25	8	32%
Cooke: *Ode on the Passions* (1773)	24	9	37.5%
Worgan: *Hannah* (1764)	23	5	22%
Arne: *Judith* (1761)	31	10	32%
Handel: *Judas Maccabaeus* (1747)	68	17	25%
Handel: *Samson* (1742)	65	18	28%
Handel: *Messiah* (1742)	53	20	38%
Handel: *Israel in Egypt* (1739)	39	27	69%
Boyce: *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* (Vidal) (1737/1738)	6	2	33%

Fig. 3: Proportion of choruses in selected choral works.

The rôle of the chorus.

Russell was consistent in the content of his choruses, accommodating both laudation and action; often the chorus continues the mood of the preceding number by commenting on the situation, although in *Job* the connections are sometimes tenuous--as at the end of Part 2 where a chorus of praise follows Job's acceptance of his tragic misfortunes. In *Job* the chorus members are seldom participants in the action, but instead are reduced to surveying the situation; this results in lost opportunities for dramatic strokes--for example in Part 1 where the chorus could have become more involved in the action between the Angel and the Demon--and unnecessarily lengthy hiatuses in the drama during the large choral fugues. Comparing Russell's use of the choral fugue with Handel's in *Israel in Egypt* (where horror is expressed in a masterly way in the fugue 'They loathèd to drink of the river', no. 4) or Haydn's in *The Creation* (for example the casting out of the wicked spirits in 'Despairing, cursing rage', no. 3), his overlooking of many of the dramatic possibilities for fugue can be seen, and although a choral fugue appears at the climactic conclusions of both *The Redemption of Israel*, where the chorus represent the children of Israel, and *Job*, they are so long that any impetus is lost. If Russell displayed weaknesses in this aspect of chorus writing he certainly did not do so in the music itself, which is nearly always eminently singable, suits the voices admirably, is fairly easy to learn, is often immediate in its appeal to an audience, and is sometimes arresting and dramatically appropriate.

Accompaniments.

Accompaniments to the choruses are normally for orchestra but occasionally are for organ only: in *The Redemption of Israel* two choruses (Act 1 no. 14 'Behold we are come unto thee' and Act 2 no. 19 [GWR 35] 'Remember o Lord') are marked *'senza stromenti'*; however, a bass line is provided below the vocal parts, indicating that the organ is to continue to support the chorus (as recommended by Kollmann). It is not possible to comment in detail on the accompaniments of any of the works except *Job* because of the incompleteness of the other scores where, after the introduction (if there is one) usually there is only a bass line indicating the accompaniment until the concluding ritornello. In *Job* the accompaniments to the choruses contain, freely intermixed, both elements of independence and of shadowing the vocal lines; only the *Largo Maestoso* of no. 42, 'We will praise thee o God', is independent throughout; sometimes the accompaniment is heavily weighted towards one element, for example in no. 12, 'Therefore will we the righteous ways of providence proclaim', where it becomes independent only for the final 17 bars. The independent features of these accompaniments display certain recurring motifs: figure 4 shows where these characteristics occur; it employs the same letters and numerals with which the relevant passages are identified in examples 1-3; the key following the table details the symbology.

chorus	accompaniment doubles voices	accompaniment is independent
no. 3	a, b, d	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6
no. 12	a, b, c, d, e	for the last 17 bars: 1, 3, 9
no. 23	a, b	1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9
no. 31	a, b	2, 4, 8
no. 37	d	a few examples of 2, 4, 9
no. 42		
Largo Maestoso	none	7, 10
Andante	a, b, c, d	6, 9
no. 50	b, c	very little: 3, 4, 7, 9
no. 55	b, d	1, 2, 4, 8, 9, 11
no. 64		
Largo Maestoso	b	2, 7, 9, 10
Allegro Commodo	c, d	1, 3, 4, 8, 9 increasing toward the end

Fig. 4: Instances of devices in the accompaniments to choruses in *Job*.

Key: where the accompaniment follows the voices:

a) repeated vocal notes are tied in the accompaniment.
b) the accompaniment doubles the treble an octave higher and/or the bass an octave lower.
c) the harmony is thickened by further doubling and sometimes also by extra parts (such as a 7th).
d) the accompaniment decorates the chorus parts with appoggiaturas.
e) there is accompaniment for a single vocal line.

Where the accompaniment is independent of the voices:

1) there is elaborate semiquaver decoration of a vocal line.
2) triadic figures are employed.
3) *tremolando* figures are used.
4) syncopated chords are employed.
5) semiquaver shake figures occur.
6) semiquaver scale patterns are used.
7) repeated chords occur.
8) turn figures decorate the vocal line.
9) trill figures decorate the vocal line or constitute an independent pattern in the accompaniment.
10) there are figures in dotted rhythms, often chords based on the choral harmony.
11) there is extensive use of an independent obbligato which is not related to the vocal parts.

Among the accompanimental features where the voices are shadowed, the most frequently used devices are those of doubling at the octave and decorating with appoggiaturas. Of the independent accompaniment devices the use of ornamentation with trills, triadic figures, syncopated chords and semiquaver weaving around the vocal line are most common; there is only one example of extensive use of an obbligato figure (in no.55). In the fugues the accompaniment almost exclusively duplicates the chorus parts (as was customary) until near the end, when it becomes more elaborate and independent; otherwise the chorus with the least independence in the accompaniment is no.50 (example 1). The piquancy of the rhythm of the obbligato figure and of the soprano suspensions in no.55 lend movement and interest to a sustained chorus without disturbing the calm which is created by the homophonic treatment of the voice parts (example 2). Chorus no.23 contains the greatest variety of features in the accompaniment and these are indicated in example 3.

Four commonly-found features in Russell's choruses.

Russell's choruses display various stylistic characteristics, some of which are derived from the oratorios of earlier composers, particularly Handel. The first such device is to commence homophonically and later to become imitative or contrapuntal (Handel did this in 'O first-created beam' from *Samson).* In two of the three choral fugues in *Job* there is an introductory chordal movement which is quite separate and at a slower tempo than the fugue itself; this also occurs in the choruses which conclude Acts 2 and 3 of *The Redemption of Israel;* it was a useful device for providing contrast, and was often used particularly for fugues placed at the end of acts, for example in Haydn's *The Creation* and *The Seasons,*

and later in Mendelssohn's *St. Paul* and *Elijah*. Russell used the device in non-fugal choruses too, for example in the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* [no.21] 'All hail the Muse ascending on her throne', where the harmonic opening gives way to imitation at bar 5 (example 4). Here the imitative point grows naturally from the homphonic material and the transition from one to the other is smoothly and subtly effected, in contrast to the fugues where the introductory material is quite separate. There are examples of similar treatment of non-fugal choruses in Crotch's *Palestine* (for instance no.9 'Let Sinai tell') and in Haydn's *The Seasons* (no.14 'Behold on high he mounts').

The second commonly-found feature in Russell's choruses is one also found in Leo's choruses, some of which Russell would have known (see page 197); the device was to begin in octaves before continuing with alternating sections of homophony and polyphony; Russell rarely wrote in unison or octaves except sometimes to highlight a climax: these instances mostly occur in the *Ode to Music* extract and *Job*, and always come at a high point in the movement, for example in *Job* no.64 'Great art thou o Lord' at bars 163-166, where the octaves give added emphasis to the words (which, by this time, have been much repeated) before the homophonic closing section. In *Job* also, no.50 'Salvation to the Lord belongs' actually does begin in octaves and provides a solid and powerful start to the chorus; later (at bars 73-77) the same device is used with a *subito pianissimo* to lead to a harmonic surprise (see example 1). In the same way, in no.55 'O Lord, his Desires were before thee', a soft passage in octaves leads to an unexpected modulation; there follows a magical and beautiful harmonic passage before a *fortissimo* outburst (see example 2 bars 42-68). This sudden change of mood is dramatic indeed, and is the

third feature found in Russell's choruses: the contrasting of moods within a chorus was not uncommon for Handel, but it became increasingly rare in post-Handelian oratorios and odes. Once again it is in *Job* that there are most occurrences of this feature. In no. 23 'O praise the Lord' besides the contrasting tempi, metres, and rhythms of the two sections, there is a change from the powerful opening to a gentler, more contemplative section between bars 38 and 47, where not only is the dynamic reduced and the chorus more sustained but also the energetic, dotted rhythm accompaniment is abandoned for a calmer, pulsating figure of repeated quaver chords (see example 3 bars 14-25 and 38-47).

There are many instances of the fourth feature: Russell increases the note-lengths toward the end of a chorus, giving the effect of broadening the tempo: all the choruses in the *Ode to Harmony* extract do this, as do the majority of choruses in all the other major choral works except the *Ode to Music* extract. This is a feature which Russell also used extensively in his organ voluntaries; the final choruses in Mendelssohn's two oratorios share the same characteristic, which is in contrast to Haydn, who maintained the momentum to the end. Figures 5-8 tabulate the data concerning these characteristics in Russell's choruses.

	choruses which begin homophonically then become contrapuntal or imitative		choruses not in that category	
Ode to Harmony extract	Hark the Trumpet's warlike sound The Sons of health arise E'en delicate delights belong to Thee	75%	Hail sacred Harmony	25%
Ode on St, Cecilia's Day	no,13 (brief counterpoint bars 17-21) no,16 [GWR 17] no,17 [GWR 18] [GWR 21] [GWR 26] no,27 [GWR 30]	75%	no,3 no,8	25%
Ode to Music extract	[no,19] no,26 no,49	50%	no,36a no,39 no,43	50%
The Redemption of Israel	Act 1 no, 5 Act 1 no, 7 Act 1 no,16 Act 2 no,21 [GWR 37] Act 3 no,15 [GWR 52] Act 3 no,17 [GWR 54]	32%	Act 1 no,12 Act 1 no,14 Act 2 no, 4 [GWR 20] Act 2 no, 6 [GWR 22] Act 2 no,10 [GWR 26] Act 2 no,13 [GWR 29] Act 2 no,16 [GWR 32] Act 2 no,17 [GWR 33] Act 2 no,19 [GWR 35] Act 3 no, 4 [GWR 41] Act 3 no, 7 [GWR 44] Act 3 no,10 [GWR 47] Act 3 no,12 [GWR 49]	68%
Job	no,31 no,42 no,50 no,64	44%	no, 3 no,12 no,23 no,37 no,55	56%

Fig. 5: Proportion of choruses beginning homophonically before incorporating counterpoint.

	choruses using octaves at climactic points	choruses not in that category
Ode to Harmony extract	none 0%	all 100%
Ode on St. Cecilia's Day	[GWR 26] 12·5%	no. 3 no. 8 no. 13 no. 16 [GWR 17] no. 17 [GWR 18] [GWR 21] no. 27 [GWR 30] 87·5%
Ode to Music extract	[19] no. 36a no. 43 (incomplete) 50%	no. 26 (incomplete) no. 39 no. 49 50%
The Redemption of Israel	none 0%	all 100%
Job	no. 23 no. 37 no. 50 no. 55 no. 64 56%	no. 3 no. 12 no. 31 no. 42 44%

Fig. 6: Proportions of choruses containing octave passages at climactic points.

	choruses which contain a contrast in mood	choruses not in that category
Ode to Harmony extract	none 0%	all 100%
Ode on St. Cecilia's Day	no. 8 12·5%	no. 3 no. 13 no. 16 [GWR 17] no. 17 [GWR 18] [GWR 21] [GWR 26] no. 27 [GWR 30] 87·5%
Ode to Music extract	none 0%	all 100%
The Redemption of Israel	Act 2 no. 6 [GWR 22] Act 2 no. 16 [GWR 32] Act 2 no. 17 [GWR 33] Act 2 no. 21 [GWR 37] Act 3 no. 17 [GWR 54] 26%	Act 1 no. 5 Act 1 no. 7 Act 1 no. 12 Act 1 no. 14 Act 1 no. 16 Act 2 no. 4 [GWR 20] Act 2 no. 10 [GWR 26] Act 2 no. 13 [GWR 29] Act 2 no. 19 [GWR 35] Act 3 no. 4 [GWR 41] Act 3 no. 12 [GWR 49] Act 3 no. 15 [GWR 52] 74%
Job	no. 23 no. 42 no. 50 no. 55 no. 64 56%	no. 3 no. 12 no. 31 no. 37 44%

Fig. 7: Proportions of choruses containing changes of mood.

	choruses containing longer notes at the final cadence	choruses not in that category
Ode to Harmony extract	all 100%	none 0%
Ode on St. Cecilia's Day	no. 8 no. 13 no. 16 [GWR 17] no. 17 [GWR 18] [GWR 21] [GWR 26] no. 27 [GWR 30] 87·5%	no. 3 12·5%
Ode to Music extract (no. 43 is not included because the final part is missing)	no. 26 no. 36a 33%	[19] no. 39 no. 49 67%
The Redemption of Israel	Act 1 no. 7 Act 1 no. 12 Act 1 no. 16 Act 2 no. 10 [GWR 26] Act 2 no. 16 [GWR 32] Act 2 no. 19 [GWR 35] Act 2 no. 21 [GWR 37] Act 3 no. 7 [GWR 44] Act 3 no. 10 [GWR 47] Act 3 no. 15 [GWR 52] Act 3 no. 17 [GWR 54] 58%	Act 1 no. 5 Act 1 no. 14 Act 2 no. 4 [GWR 20] Act 2 no. 6 [GWR 22] Act 2 no. 13 [GWR 29] Act 2 no. 17 [GWR 33] Act 3 no. 4 [GWR 41] Act 3 no. 12 [GWR 49] 42%
Job	no. 23 no. 31 no. 42 no. 50 no. 64 56%	no. 3 no. 12 no. 37 no. 55 44%

Fig. 8: Proportions of cadences using longer note-values toward the final cadence for a broadening effect.

Forms.

Kollmann did not actually recommend any forms which he considered particularly suitable for choruses, but he did make mention of fugues. [5] The forms Russell used include fugue, extended binary form, a palindromic form, and an experimental form, but the majority of his choruses are through-composed. The fugues vary somewhat in their structural proportions, and, as Tovey stated, 'Fugue is a texture the rules of which do not suffice to determine the shape of the composition as a whole.' [6] Sometimes the typical homophonic coda is brief, as in Act 2 no.21 [GWR 37] 'The Heav'ns and the Earth shall shake' of *The Redemption of Israel*, and at other times it is developed into an extensive section, as in no.64 'Great art thou O Lord' from *Job*. The through-composed choruses fall into three categories:

a) those using a new idea for each new phrase of the text

b) those where there is a repetition of earlier words to new music

c) those which are too short to be divided into sections.

Figure 9 shows the number of times Russell used these forms, and figure 10 indicates their proportions in each work.

[5] Kollmann (1799), 86.

[6] Tovey (1963), 36.

form	number of occurrences	percentage of total
through-composed (total)	32	68%
type a	16	34%
type b	11	23%
type c	5	11%
fugue preceded by through-composed introduction	5	11%
extended binary	4	9%
fugue without introduction	2	4%
binary with ternary element	1	2%
palindromic	1	2%
experimental	1	2%
incomplete chorus	1	2%

Fig. 9: Forms in choruses by Russell.

	total number of choruses	form	number	percentage of total
Ode to Harmony extract	4			
		through-composed a	2	50%
		through-composed b	1	25%
		palindromic	1	25%
Ode on St. Cecilia's Day	9			
		through-composed a	1	11%
		through-composed b	5	56%
		through-composed c	1	11%
		extended binary	1	11%
		experimental	1	11%
Ode to Music extract	6			
		through-composed b	1	17%
		extended binary	3	50%
		binary with ternary element	1	17%
		incomplete	1	17%
The Redemption of Israel	19			
		through-composed a	8	42%
		through-composed b	4	21%
		through-composed c	3	16%
		fugue with through-composed introduction	3	16%
		fugue without introduction	1	5%
Job	9			
		through-composed a	5	56%
		through-composed b	1	11%
		fugue with through-composed introduction	2	22%
		fugue without introduction	1	11%

Fig. 10: Forms of choruses in each work.

There is a greater variety in the forms used in the earlier works, particularly in the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* and in the *Ode to Music* extract; there are only two types of form used in the two oratorios: through-composed and fugue. This is in contrast to the airs which are more varied in form in the oratorios than the odes. In figure 11 the choruses are listed in their various categories. In the fugues with a through-composed introduction the type of through-composed movement is indicated in parentheses. The choruses which follow straight on from a solo air or ensemble take up the mood and general thematic shape of the previous number rather than repeating any of the earlier motifs; example 16 shows the normal practice for Russell: the nature of the chorus remains the same as that of the air, but in this instance the theme is altered after the first three notes.

	Ode to Harmony extract	follows air
through-composed a through-composed c palindromic	Hail sacred Harmony; Hark the Trumpet's warlike sound E'en delicate delights The Sons of health arise	Hark the Trumpet's warlike sound
	Ode on St. Cecilia's Day	
through-composed a through-composed b through-composed c extended binary experimental	no.13 nos.17 [GWR 18], [GWR 21], [GWR 26], 27 [GWR 30] (both parts) no.16 [GWR 17] no.3 no.8	 no.17 [GWR 18] follows trio no.8
	Ode to Music extract	
through-composed b extended binary binary with ternary element incomplete	[no.36a] nos.[19], 43, 49 no.39 no.26	[no.36a]
	The Redemption of Israel	
through-composed a through-composed b through-composed c fugue with through-composed introduction fugue without introduction	Act 1 nos.5,12,14; Act 2 nos.10 [GWR 26], 13 [GWR 29], 16 [GWR 32], 17 [GWR 33],19 [GWR 35] Act 1 no.16, Act 2 no.6 [GWR 22], Act 3 nos.12 [GWR 49], 15 [GWR 52] Act 2 no.4 [GWR 20], Act 3 nos.7 [GWR 44], 10 [GWR 47] Act 1 no.7 (c), Act 2 no.21 [GWR 37] (a), Act 3 no.17 [GWR 54] Act 3 no.17 [GWR 54] (a) Act 3 no.4 [GWR 41]	Act 2 no.17 [GWR 33] Act 3 no.7 [GWR 44]
	Job	
through-composed a through-composed b fugue with through-composed introduction fugue without introduction	nos.3, 23, 31, 50, 55 no.37 nos.42 (b), 64 (a) no.12	nos.31, 55

Fig. 11: Choruses categorized according to form.

Analyses of selected choruses follow, illustrating the different types of form Russell used. 'Salvation to the Lord belongs', no. 50 of *Job*, is through-composed type a. Figure 12 and example 1 give the analysis of this laudatory chorus. Each of the three lines of the libretto is set to a new theme up to bar 52, then two further new themes (D and E) appear for the remaining repetitions of the third line, as in type b of this form. Although varied, these themes have the common feature of repeated notes. The key is C Major, associated with security (see page 161), and is most appropriate for the theme of this chorus. The unison start gives power and emphasis to the opening words. After some rhythmic imitation the music gradually becomes more reflective, with note values increasing (bars 29-36). Theme D begins with another rhythmic and lively motif which is treated imitatively (bars 53-56) then gives way to a smoother, more elegant idea, which is similarly used (bars 57-62), before returning at bar 63. The fugato treatment aptly illustrates the sharing of God's blessings which 'he extends to all'. The first part of theme D is heard again as the fugue subject of the final chorus (no. 64) with the rhythm slightly altered to fit the words 'Blessed be thy holy name'; this is the only cyclic trait in *Job*. At the hushed *pianissimo* unison section of bars 73-78 the orchestral writing becomes more adventurous with the harmony and the *crescendo* is most effective too--in fact the dynamic control of the last 27 bars is masterly and dramatic, allowing expression of the different emotions of the text: the vastness of God's goodness, the generosity of His blessings, and the quiet assurance that faith in Him brings.

bars	material	main keys
1-24	A choral entry	tonic-dominant
25-36	B	tonic
36-40	orchestral link	tonic
40-52	C	subdominant, supertonic minor, tonic
53-69	D	tonic, supertonic minor, subdominant, tonic
69-89	E	tonic

Fig. 12: 'Salvation to the Lord belongs' (*Job*) see example 1.

Examples of a through-composed chorus type b are 'All hail the Muse' [GWR 21] from the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* and 'And they shall go into the holes' Act 2 no. 6 [GWR 22] from *The Redemption of Israel*. An analysis of the former is set out in figure 13. In this chorus the two lines of the libretto are set in their entirety right at the beginning, leaving no option to relate them to two separate musical themes. The alteration of the first word from Smart's 'And' to 'All' may have been deliberate in order to give a more positive opening to the chorus and to avoid using a conjunction; during the course of the chorus there is a return to the original wording. The melodic interest of the beginning is displaced by repeated notes in the soprano part to the extent that, at one point, the interest is solely in the harmony (bars 29-37). This may be compared with bars 17-26 of 'And they shall go into the holes' (example 5); in this chorus there is little melodic interest at all--most bars comprise only repeated notes and the harmony moves slowly (usually changing at each new bar). This chorus <u>does</u> begin with the word 'And'; perhaps Russell thought better of tampering with words of scripture!

bars	material	main keys
1-5	A choral entry	tonic-dominant
5-9	B fugal	tonic-subdominant
9-14	C	dominant minor
14-20	D	supertonic minor, relative minor
20-22	orchestral link	relative minor
22-29	E	relative minor-tonic
29-37	F	tonic
37-46	G	tonic, subdominant, tonic
46-49	H	tonic
49-53	orchestral coda	tonic

Fig. 13: 'All hail the muse' (*Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*) see example 4.

One chorus in the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* is constructed according to the through-composed type b plan, but it also contains an element of ternary form by restating the two initial themes: it is the *Allegro* from no. 27 [GWR 30]. The chorus is reproduced as example 6 and the analysis appears below in figure 14. Theme A is positive and joyful; the opening phrase is announced by the chorus and repeated by the orchestra, then the chorus continues with the next phrase which is followed by its repeat in the orchestra. This opening sentence has close affinities with Haydn's

bars	material	main keys
42-58	A choral entry with orchestral repeats	tonic
58-66	B	tonic-dominant
66-70	orchestral link	tonic-dominant
70-121	C	tonic, modulations, dominant
121-123	orchestral link	tonic
123-137	trio	tonic-dominant
137-141	orchestral link	tonic-dominant
141-153	D	tonic
153-157	A modified	tonic
157-169	A	tonic
169-258	E	tonic

Fig. 14: 'Thy pow'r shall last' (*Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*) see example 6.

'The Heavens are telling the glory of God' from *The Creation.* After Russell's homophonic introductory section, which is in the tonic, gradually the writing becomes more contrapuntal as the music moves to the dominant. Several fugato or imitative sections appear, alternating with chordal passages, mainly in the tonic or the dominant but with one more modulatory part in section C (bars 70-121); frequently the modulations are frustrated by a sudden return to the tonic (see, for instance bars 64-71, 119-122, and 134-137). There is a short section for three solo voices but this theme does not provide material for the chorus to develop. Eventually, at bar 157, following a disguised version of A, the orchestra brings back the opening theme which the chorus repeats. There follows another lengthy section (bars 167-258) of counterpoint and homophony which complements the earlier section C, but there is no real thematic linking between C and E.

An example of a very short through-composed chorus is 'Great Amphitrite' no. 16 [GWR 17] from the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day;* example 7 reproduces the chorus. In its 17 bars it modulates from the tonic to a conclusion in the dominant--the next number returns to the tonic. The chorus is mainly homophonic with the words set simply and simultaneously in each of the four parts; there is, additionally, some brief imitation (at bars 5-6).

It is in his fugal movements for chorus that Russell can sound academic and sometimes dull; that is not to imply that there are no good points because there certainly are, but most of the fugues are so long that the initial interest becomes lost. There tends to be a monotonous regularity of entries--every four bars--which leads to predictability and

results in a lack of drama. Another weak feature is the addition (after a strong perfect cadence) of an ineffectual codetta ending with a weaker plagal cadence instead of a firmer conclusion emphasizing the strength of the preceding perfect cadence. Some illustrative cases of choral fugue are now considered. The opening of 'O that the Salvation of Israel were come' Act 3 no.4 [GWR 41] of *The Redemption of Israel* (example 8) is promising--Russell breaks away from the usual four-bar statement and answer, and instead overlaps the answer with the ending of the subject (bar 4); however, there is no countersubject to accompany the answer (bars 4-7) and the tenors, with a continuo accompaniment, insert a trite little codetta before the subject appears in the soprano part. The answer, in this instance, is real; it seems somewhat strange to begin on the supertonic and merely to transpose the subject into the key of the dominant, but it does allow for a smoother harmonic progression from bar 3; often Russell modulates <u>to</u> the dominant just prior to the answer, rather than allowing that answer to lie <u>on</u> the dominant as a tonal answer. Russell's use of real answers elsewhere is satisfactory; overall he showed no particular preference for real or tonal answers. Two of the three fugues in *Job* conclude with a coda ending with a plagal cadence: in no.64 (see example 9) where the fugue's text is 'Blessed be thy holy name for ever and ever', there is a lengthy coda (the last complete entry of the subject comes 69 bars before the end, although fragments of the subject continue to be used); during this coda the excitement mounts through increasingly busy passage work, a larger dynamic, and fuller orchestration, but after a strong perfect cadence at bars 193-194 the music continues for a further seven bars, concluding with a plagal cadence, thus weakening the tension built up through the coda. Perhaps the characteristic was derived from Russell's organ improvisation during

services, where sometimes a few extra bars may have been required to fill a gap in the worship.

The fugue (no. 42) which concludes Part 3 of *Job* contains much of merit in its technical achievement, albeit workmanlike. The subject was doubtless conceived as a sound bass-line with strong harmonic implications, so it lacks melodic and rhythmic interest, but nonetheless it functions well; it bears a marked resemblance to Stanley's 'Bell *Allegro*' (example 10). At first the fugue progresses in the normal way and there is, typically, an absence of any regular countersubject, but during the middle section each voice has the subject in augmentation, then in inversion, and lastly in diminution; this is laudable, but again the regularity of the entries makes the music predictable. It is also typical of Russell that the counterpoint rarely ventures beyond three parts: duplication of notes, or rests in one voice-part prevent the fullness of four-part contrapuntal writing. There is no customary final section heralded by the original version of the subject in the home key; instead there is a 32-bar episode which becomes markedly less contrapuntal and leads to a rhetorical *Adagio* ending with a plagal cadence. Figure 15 sets out the analysis of the fugue which appears as example 11.

bars	material	main keys
40-51	exposition	
48-49	redundant entry in alto	tonic
50-51	redundant entry in soprano	dominant
51-125	middle section	
51-61	episode	tonic, dominant, tonic, subdominant
62-63	entry in bass	subdominant
64-65	entry in tenor	tonic
66-67	entry in alto	dominant
68-71	episode	supertonic minor, tonic, relative minor
72-73	entry in alto	relative minor
74-76	episode	supertonic minor, tonic, dominant
77-78	entry in tenor	dominant
79-80	entry in soprano	tonic
81-82	episode	tonic
83-87	entry in bass in augmentation	tonic
87-91	entry in tenor in augmentation	dominant
91-95	entry in alto in augmentation	tonic
95-99	entry in soprano in augmentation	dominant
99-102	entry in bass in augmentation	tonic
102-110	episode	tonic
111-112	entry in soprano in inversion	subdominant
113-114	entry in alto in inversion	tonic
115-116	entry in tenor in inversion	dominant
117-118	entry in bass in inversion	tonic
119-121	entry in bass in augmentation	tonic
122	entry in tenor in diminution	tonic
123	entry in bass in diminution	dominant
124	entry in soprano in diminution	tonic
125	entry in alto in diminution	dominant
126-160	final section	
126-157	episode	tonic, supertonic minor, relative minor, tonic
157-160	coda	tonic

Fig. 15: Fugue 'And give thanks unto thy name' (*Job*) see example 11.

An example of a chorus in extended binary form, where the word-setting corresponds with the sections of the form, is 'Disdainful of fantastic play', no. 3 of the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*. Figure 16 tabulates the form, which clearly falls into two parts (although Russell seldom repeats each section in his binary forms); it is unusual in having the first section ending in the tonic instead of the dominant (see example 12). The text associated with A at the beginning is again coupled with it at the restatement approximately halfway through; likewise with B and C. Theme B comprises several motifs heard at bars 13-14, 15, and 23-24. Theme C is the shortest; when it reappears at bar 48 it is extended and combined with the shape of one of the B motifs (compare bars 23 and 49): this is a form of elementary development.

bars	material	main keys
1-6	A orchestral introduction	tonic
6-12	A choral entry	tonic-dominant
13-30	B	subdominant, relative minor, tonic, supertonic minor, tonic
30-35	C	tonic
35-40	A	tonic
40-48	B-based	tonic
48-57	C-based with some similarities to B	tonic
57-62	A orchestral coda	tonic

Fig. 16: 'Disdainful of fantastic play' (*Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*) see example 12.

The chorus 'Tumultuous shouts ascend the vaulted sky' from no. 19 of the *Ode to Music* follows the air 'Break ev'ry yoke' and takes up the last two lines of the text of the air. The form is extended binary but, unlike the previous example, the two lines of text are not associated with themes in a way that emphasizes the form; instead the setting of the text is quite abitrary. Theme B repeats the words used for A and the new line of text occurs halfway through the second appearance of A; so it is clear that Russell did not intend to set the text in such a way as to reinforce the form. The chorus is reproduced as example 13 and the form set out in figure 17.

bars	material	main keys
90-98	A choral entry	tonic
98-106	B	dominant-tonic
106-114	A-based	tonic-dominant
114-122	A- and B-based	tonic-dominant
122-126	A-based	tonic
126-130	B-based	tonic
130-150	A-based	tonic

Fig. 17: 'Tumultuous shouts ascend the vaulted sky' (*Ode to Music*)
see example 13.

A glee is included in the *Ode to Music*, 'Ah why should conquest', no. 39; it is somewhat surprising to find this isolated unaccompanied number in the *Ode*, yet it is the lack of accompaniment which indicates its closest relationship to the glee. Russell does not state that it is to be sung by male voices; however it was not particularly uncommon for glees to contain a soprano part when the intention was that they be sung by mixed voices: indeed Russell did specify the soprano voice in his glee

'Far from the world'. [7] He follows the normal rule for glee writing in the example from the *Ode to Music:* that of setting one line of text at a time, but what is less usual is the overlapping of some words and the return to a previous theme. Having said this, Samuel Webbe (1740-1816) wrote a number of glees in rondo form (for example 'Do not ask me, charming Phyllis'). Most of Russell's glees are multi-section works, as was common at the time, but a few short settings, such as 'Come melancholy' [8], are in binary form. Word painting was an important feature in glee composition, and here Russell illustrates the 'trickling drops' (bars 6-8), and the rests between 'Lament', 'Husband', and 'Father' (bars 25-26) lend a pathos to the music. The glee is cast in binary form but has a ternary element about it arising from the allusion to part of the first theme, A, where new words are set. The element of recapitulation is, of course, quite compatible with binary form. Russell probably viewed the form primarily as being binary because he inserted double bar lines in bar 20; the ternary element is fairly subtle because the second reference to A (at bar 29) is related not to the first phrase of this theme (bar1) but to bars 9-12; a little later the opening melody returns, modified (compare bars 41-45 with bars 1-5). The overall impression of the glee is its appealing simplicity which contrasts with some of the vigorous choruses elsewhere in the work. The movement is analysed in figure 18 and reproduced in example 14.

[7] GB Lbm Add. Ms. 31806

[8] GB Lbm Add. Ms. 31804

bars	material	main keys
1-20	A	tonic-dominant
20-28	B	relative minor
29-52	A-based	tonic

Fig. 18: 'Ah why should conquest' (*Ode to Music*) see example 14.

The score of 'The sons of health arise' from the *Ode to Harmony*, analysed in figure 19, contains numerous coded markings--crosses and struck-out zero signs--which may indicate repeats or insertions should be made: for example, it appears likely that in place of bars 15-24, which have been deleted, the three bars at the end of the third system on that folio should be inserted (see example 15). This makes exact analysis impractical, but the overall shape can be ascertained nonetheless: it could be described as palindromic, but much of the material is derived from the opening theme, making definite conclusions impossible. Theme A comes from the preceding air which sets different words; this is the only link with it: normally the chorus would take up the text as well as the theme. Because of the derivations from A of B and C, the chorus has a unity and can be regarded as a piece of continuous development from a single theme. This may have been the result of an experiment with form.

bars	material	main keys
1-9	A choral entry	tonic-dominant
9-24	B (derived from A)	dominant-tonic
24-32	C (derived from A)	tonic, subdominant, tonic
32-36	B with varied rhythm; sequential	subdominant, dominant
36-57	A	tonic

Fig. 19: 'The sons of health arise' (*Ode to Harmony*) see example 15.

Following on from the seemingly exploratory nature of the previous example, 'Higher swell the sound', no.8 of the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*, certainly does seem to have been experimental: it follows an air using the same text and similar music--Russell rarely retains themes exactly in these circumstances, preferring to continue with music in the same vein and similar shape (see example 16). 'Higher swell the sound' is an interesting hybrid of fugue and sonata form; its analysis is tabulated in figure 20. The chorus falls into three parts corresponding to the exposition (bars 1-40), development (bars 41-62), and recapitulation (bars 63-96) of sonata form. The second subject comprises a group of ideas: B (in two parts--bars 16-20 and 20-24) and C. In the 'development' or middle section Russell does not stray far from the tonic: often in his choral music he denied himself the freedom demonstrated in his organ music where he modulated to more distant keys. The return of A at bar 63 with new words necessitates some small alterations to the music; otherwise it remains the same as before. A codetta returns the music to the tonic, as befits the sonata form recapitulation (compare bars 16 and 78-79); however, there are obvious associations with fugue, such as the exposition of bars 1-16. The marriage of fugal counterpoint with lengthy passages of homophony are common both to Russell and to the period.

bars	material	main keys
1-16	A fugal exposition	tonic-dominant
16-24	B imitative episode	tonic-dominant
25-28	C homophonic episode	dominant
28-36	B-based episode	dominant
36-40	orchestral link	dominant
41-50	A-based episode	dominant-tonic
51-58	C-based episode	tonic minor
58-62	B-based episode	tonic
63-79	A fugal final section	tonic-dominant-tonic
79-95	B-based episode	tonic
95-96	orchestral codetta	tonic

Fig. 20: 'Higher swell the sound' (*Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*)
see example 16.

This survey of Russell's choruses has evaluated his personal style in terms of characteristics, the forms he used and adapted, and the types of accompaniment employed. It has been noted that, in this field, his music is somewhat workmanlike, but seen in the historical context together with the rôles in which he cast the chorus, Russell was not untypical of his time nor inferior to his English contemporaries.

CHAPTER IX

Orchestral Movements and Orchestration in Russell's Odes and Oratorios.

The function of orchestral movements.

An overture, if nothing else, establishes a starting point in a work, and a key from which the music can move away and perhaps to which it can return as a home base; in some instances it will also set the mood for what is to follow immediately, and sometimes it can refer obliquely to the several moods which will be prevalent during the work; however, it was not at all unusual for the overture to bear no specific connection with the music which followed it, nor with the story--one such example is the four-movement Overture to Handel's *Theodora*. Most eighteenth-century odes and oratorios contain an overture or some sort of orchestral introduction: a notable exception is Handel's *Israel in Egypt* which contains no orchestral movements at all; some short odes also have no overture, for example Dupuis's *Ode for the Chapel Royal Feast*, Cooke's *Ode on Handel*, and Samuel Wesley's *Drusi Laudes*, each of which comprises choruses only. There is rarely any thematic link between orchestral numbers and the remainder of the work. Handel's Overture to *Esther* can be regarded as somewhat unusual in signifying the story which is about to unfold; it has been described thus: the first movement expresses Haman's wickedness, the second movement alludes to the complaints of Israel, and the third movement portrays deliverance. [1] If an overture has any dramatic links with the ode or

[1] Young (1949), 54.

oratorio, it more often prepares the ground for the opening scene rather than anticipating the complete story: Haydn's 'Representation of Chaos', with which *The Creation* opens, is a case in point--this is a piece of programme music with the tonality deliberately clouded, the rhythm fluid, the melodies fragmentary, the textures changeable, and the harmonies unexpected--all contributing to depict chaos and the formless state of the universe prior to the Creation.

It is comparatively rare in Handel and in post-Handelian works to find subsequent orchestral movements; where they do appear they normally function as a form of punctuation between scenes, or they might provide a short descriptive interlude such as the Pastoral Symphony (no. 13) does in Handel's *Messiah*. A short Sinfonia in Handel's *Samson* (no. 83) gives dramatic emphasis to the text by noisily interrupting Manoah's recitative with Micah: 'Heav'n! What noise? Horribly loud,' he cries as it ceases. In *The Seasons* Haydn explained his orchestral movements the Overture to 'Spring' and the Introduction to 'Winter' respectively as 'expressing the passage from Winter to Spring' and 'expressing the thick fogs at the approach of Winter'. Samuel Wesley provided a two-movement Overture to his *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day;* the shorter second movement is a *pomposo* march-like piece, which prepares the listener for the noble call to praise St. Cecilia, but the opening 341-bar movement does not have any connections with the remainder of the work. By contrast, the Overture to Crotch's *Palestine* can be regarded as depicting some of the scenes in the oratorio and outlining certain aspects of the story: it begins in the tragic key of C Minor; the first two movements conjure not the deserted scene of mourning referred to in the first vocal number, 'Reft of thy sons' (no. 2), but the image described in no. 3 'Where the wild desert rears

its craggy stone; / While suns unblest their angry lustre fling.' The third movement of the Overture is more poised--even stately--but it does not suggest the singing valleys of the conclusion to the oratorio, because there remains a hint of pathos.

Russell's overtures vary from a detached introduction to an integral part of the whole work. The 'Introduction' to the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* is not in the usual grand style: it is remarkably restrained, not least because of the slow tempo and the key (C Minor). This sombre opening to the *Ode* contains a spacious air of mystery, particularly near the end (bars 107-134) where *forte* and *piano* phrases alternate and are separated by rests (example 1); the Introduction thus provides a feeling of anticipation and hereby makes the listener alert to what will happen next. What does transpire is a dramatic recitative, whose lengthy introduction contains the type of opening which might have been expected in the orchestral number; it is arresting, and has the same alternation of *forte* and *piano* fragments heard at the beginning of no. 1--even the shape of the soft phrases is similar (example 2). The text deals with the mystery of the music of the spheres, which was probably the element Russell was anticipating in the Introduction, but it is largely through contrast of mood between no. 1 and the start of no. 2 that he achieves his effect, first grasping the listeners' attention, then soothing them into a receptive frame of mind for what is to follow.

The Overture to the *Ode to Music* first displays grandeur in the *Largo Maestoso*, then a mood of joy and vivacity in the *Allegro* (example 3). Since the score of this work is incomplete, it is not possible to comment on the relevance of these moods to the opening of the text; however, one

would expect a chorus extolling the power of music and praising its ability to bring gladness to mankind.

In *The Redemption of Israel* the Overture begins in the grandiose French overture style, but soon a more elegant oboe melody is coupled with the energetic initial idea, lending a grace and charm which are more in the manner of the *galant* than the Baroque style of the opening. With the *Allegro* the mood becomes more urgent, and, when the fugato changes to the tonic major, an air of triumph manifests itself (example 4). The change from minor to major and the increased cheerfulness of the latter section are indicative of what is to follow in the oratorio, but this is achieved in an overall sense rather than by any specific thematic linking of music and story.

A comparison of the manuscript (see page 105) and the printed version of the Overture to *Job* shows that in the former there were two extra movements which follow the *Allegro*. The manuscript is mainly in two parts (Russell's usual keyboard score format) with a list of instruments at the beginning, but with no cues in the music except for 'Viol$^{\circ}$' (indicating cellos without double basses) and dynamic markings. The printed score gives instrumental cues, fills out the harmony, adds some decoration (in the form of *acciaccaturas* and *appoggiaturas*) and extra dynamic markings; octave dispositions are sometimes altered in the printed score; otherwise the two versions of the *Largo* and *Allegro* are the same. The first extra movement is an *Andantino*, an 18-bar movement in D Major featuring an oboe solo, resembling the first movement of Russell's Voluntary no.4 from his first set; this is followed by a slow March, also in D Major: it is in ternary form and displays a mixture of the Handelian style (in the

powerful dotted rhythms) and the *rococo* style (in the use of *appoggiaturas* and feminine endings). It is not known whether this manuscript was an early version which Russell revised, and whether Wesley worked from the revision when he made the organ score, or if Wesley took it upon himself to make certain alterations and cuts.

In *Job* Russell takes the function of the overture a stage further than he had in *The Redemption of Israel*, and further than Crotch did in *Palestine:* in *Job* there is a more obvious attempt to sum up the essence of the narrative in the opening music. The *Largo* can be said to depict Job's well-ordered life and contented existence: the music is well-ordered, there is something of a steadiness--a march-like tread--running through this section, and the short solo woodwind phrases add a serene beauty to the movement (see example 5 bars 1-41). The strong D-Minor *Allegro* which follows seems to be indicative of Job's trials and suffering--his anguish can be felt in the rising chromatic figures, but the spark of hope is also present in the semiquaver figuration (see example 5 bars 42-93). As in the Overture to *The Redemption of Israel* the minor moves into the major, and here the effect is to transform the motifs into something glorious (see example 5 bars 94-145). The *Andantino*, with its Romantic-style melodic opening (example 6) creates a calm serenity while the March perhaps celebrates the triumph of Job's faith (example 7).

The second and third Acts of *The Redemption of Israel* and Parts 3 and 4 of *Job* are preceded by an orchestral movement: as stated above, this was unusual unless the music served a particular purpose such as illustrating a new and contrasting scene, as in Haydn's *The Seasons*. In such lengthy works as Russell's two oratorios these orchestral movements provide

punctuation to the drama as well as variety by including further non-vocal numbers. Due to the bass line being the only extant remains of the Sinfonia to Act 2 of *The Redemption of Israel*, little can be determined of its function besides providing a natural break and a fresh introduction to a new act. However, the Sinfonia to Act 3 seems to have relevance: it comes at a point in the story where the people of Israel have repented of their evil ways and have turned again to God, whom they acknowledge in gratitude and praise. This Sinfonia, which is in the bright key of A Major, opens with a short declamation (*Adagio*) leading into a lyrical and relaxed *Andantino;* this mood is in contrast to those in earlier movements and, in this way, reflects the unfolding of the story. The '*pizz*^{o} .' in the bass suggests a lightness of texture and orchestration, and these undoubtedly help to convey the mood and to set the scene for the final act (example 8).

There seems to be no link between the Sinfonia [no. 24] in *Job* and Part 3 which follows it. After an elegant and rather solemn (but not undramatic) *Largo* there is a gentle *Andantino* movement which is poised and unhurried: this would seem to suggest an end to Job's afflictions, but in fact his situation becomes worse. However, it could be that Russell was being much more subtle by painting a musical portrait of a man who, although suffering, retained his faith in the ultimate goodness of God. This movement also exists in manuscript alongside the Overture (see page 105), and its heading is 'Sy. to Act 2^{d}'. There are four clearly marked Parts in the printed score, although the labelling is inconsistent: after no. 12 comes the note 'End of the first Part'; there is no heading for either Part 1 or Part 2; at the end of no. 23 is the note 'End of the

Second Part'; no. 24 is preceded by the heading 'Part the Third'; finally no. 43 is headed 'Part Third'. The simplest explanation is that the last heading should read 'Part Fourth', but if Russell intended his Sinfonia to precede no. 24 (a recitative which begins in G Minor), he must have planned the work in three acts: nos. 1-23, nos. 24-42, and nos. 43-64; indeed, Samuel Wesley had described *Job* as an oratorio in three acts (see page 106); however, Russell may have intended the Sinfonia to precede no. 13 (a recitative which also begins in G Minor). There are more differences between the manuscript and printed versions of this movement than in the Overture: in addition to the filling out of the harmonies and added decorations in the printed score, there are some extra bars and a shortened section (example 9); it is uncertain whether Russell reworked his original ideas or Wesley made various alterations to the text.

The case with the untitled orchestral number [no. 43] at the beginning of Part 4 is quite different and its function is clear: following a grand *Largo* introduction, an *Andantino* movement sets the scene for the subsequent recitative and air (which speak of the song of the birds) by introducing a semiquaver figure imitative of birdsong and played on the flageolet; this figure reappears in the air 'O silence fond warblers' [no. 45] sung by Dela (treble). Example 10 shows the similarities.

Other orchestral numbers which occur during the course of an ode or oratorio, as has been previously stated, should have definite reasons for inclusion: sometimes these reasons are clear and at other times their function is not plain. It is interesting to calculate the proportion of instrumental numbers in each of Russell's large-scale choral works which

survive complete, and to compare these statistics with selected earlier and contemporary compositions: figure 1 tabulates these details. Despite the variations in the lengths of the works, it can be seen that Russell certainly included as many orchestral numbers as his contemporaries and predecessors and sometimes he provided more instrumental movements than they did in similar compositions.

work	number of orchestral movements	total number of movements	proportion of orchestral movements
Ode on St. Cecilia's Day	4	30	13%
The Redemption of Israel	4	54	7%
Job	4	64	6%
Handel: *Samson*	3	96	3%
Stanley: *The Fall of Egypt*	1	26	4%
Dupuis: *Ode to the Genius of Britain*	1	28	4%
S.Wesley: *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*	1	12	8%
Haydn: *The Creation*	2	33	6%
Crotch: *Palestine*	1	43	2%

Fig. 1: Proportions of orchestral movements in selected odes and oratorios.

The March was a popular extra orchestral movement with Handel and succeeding generations of composers, and it appears in four of the five works of Russell which appear in this study. The March in the *Ode to Harmony* sets a new scene, transporting the listener to the battlefield; it makes use of the typical military march features of dotted rhythms and fanfare figures. In the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* the March is coupled with a Quickstep--a light, lively movement--(no.24 [GWR 27]); each is discussed in the next section of this chapter; they conclude a battle scene and act as a division between that stanza and the next, when St. Cecilia appears. In *The Redemption of Israel* there is no obvious reason for the Slow March (Act 2 no.9 [GWR 25]): it merely delays the coming of

'the Day of the Lord'; it might have been better placed before Act 2 no. 11 [GWR 27], which speaks of setting up a standard, and paints an image of invaders marching from foreign lands. In *Job* the Dead March [no. 19] is used in the traditional way as Handel had done in *Saul* and *Samson*, inviting the listener to pause, to remember, and to mourn. Key, tempo, rhythms, a predominantly descending melody, a slow harmonic rhythm, and stark, unaccompanied repeated notes combine to convey tragedy, loss, and despair (example 11).

The function of the *Pastorale Sy[mphony]* in the *Ode to Harmony* is to divide two contrasting scenes: in 13 bars it dispels the ravages of the battlefield and heralds a new dawn which will rise upon a more tranquil, rustic scene as the lark 'salutes the rising morn'. The *Pastorale* movement is in the same key (C Major) as the vocal numbers either side of it. The gentle lilt of the customary 12/8 rhythms, the short drone effects of bars 1, 3, 9, and 11, and the lyrical nature of the movement all combine to create a completely different mood from that of the preceding scene: 'The battle joins, fell discord stalks around' (example 12). The Sinfonia [no. 14] in the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* is used in a similar capacity--it divides two stanzas of the text--prior to it Neptune was spreading peace over the seas, and after it a new character, Arion, appears; although the sea is still the setting, the arrival of Arion, who is Neptune's offspring--half man and half wild horse--brings a change of mood: he is 'great in distress' as he 'accosts the mistress of the main'. This stanza is full of pictorial contrasts and changing moods from the awesome and frightening to the silent and beautiful. The Sinfonia hardly prepares the listener for the drama of the ensuing section, but instead retains the peaceful calm of the preceding chorus, 'Neptune in the

boisterous seas / Spreads the placid bed of peace' (no. 13) and continues the melancholy mood, remaining in the key of G Minor; the *raison d'être* of the Sinfonia must primarily be a punctuation between the stanzas and, secondly, a coda to the chorus which it follows.

Terminology and forms.

Russell used the following terminology to describe his orchestral movements: Introduction, Overture, Sinfonia, Sy[mphony], March, and Quickstep; in order to ascertain whether the first three titles were consciously ascribed and definitely planned, or whether they were used in an arbitrary fashion, it is first necessary to refer to early nineteenth-century definitions of these terms. Busby's music dictionary [2] was published in 1828 and therefore describes the common usage of these terms over the preceding decades. Busby said an introduction is 'the opening movement of any piece: that movement by which the attention is bespoken, and the ear prepared, for the subsequent portions of the composition'. [3] An overture is 'an introductory symphony to some musical drama'; [4] and for the sinfonia he refers the reader to the entry under 'symphony', where he says: 'in its modern sense, implies either a grand and richly variegated composition, or interposed instrumental passages, in songs, the purposes of which are, to heighten the effect of the melody, and to relieve the singer'. [5] Busby gave the strictest definition of a march as 'a military

[2] Busby (1828).

[3] Busby (1828), 97.

[4] Busby (1828), 130.

[5] Busby (1828), 167.

piece intended to accompany and regulate the footsteps of soldiers'; [6] he did not mention the march in the context of choral or symphonic music. The quickstep, he said, is 'a lively march, the measure of which is generally that of two crotchets'. [7]

Taking into account the most salient points of Busby's definitions of these terms, they must now be seen in the light of Russell's use of them. Does the Introduction to the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* prepare the ear for what follows? With respect to key it does indeed establish that which will be used in the following number, but further than this, the Introduction arrests the attention of the listener by the starkness of its opening and the sudden dynamic alternations between *forte* and *piano*.

According to Busby an overture presupposes that a musical drama follows: this is true of the *Ode to Music*, which (as far as the extant portion shows) comprises a series of dramatic scenes; *The Redemption of Israel* is a drama--a story, though with little action; and *Job* is a drama in the sense of being a narrative and containing some action. The Overture to the *Ode to Music* immediately attracts the listener's attention by its majestic Handelian opening--like a French overture; the fugue retains interest through its lively and tuneful subject, which is a memorable theme. Like the Introduction to the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*, the Overture to *The Redemption of Israel* relies partly on quick variations of dynamics (which also occur in the Overture to *Job*), however, it does not prepare the listener for the many changes of mood which will be

[6] Busby (1828), 109.

[7] Busby (1828), 143.

encountered in the oratorio. In the Overture to *Job*, which is a work containing great emotion, there is much to hold the attention: variety of material, of rhythm, of texture, and of mood.

Russell did not use the term 'Sinfonia' to suggest any Italian attributes--certainly his sinfonias do not follow the Italian three-movement form; sometimes they are short interludes between two vocal movements, sometimes they form a lengthier instrumental punctuation between the numbers, but none of the sinfonias can rightly be described as 'grand' or 'richly variegated'. It would appear that Busby was referring to the Classical symphony. In the *Ode to Harmony* the Sinfonia is a short pastoral movement which comes between two contrasting vocal numbers. In the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* the Sinfonia provides a short, reflective pause before a change of scene. The Sinfonias in the two oratorios are lengthier pieces; again they function as instrumental punctuation between acts or parts of the works. It is not possible to comment on the Sinfonia which precedes Act 2 of *The Redemption of Israel* because of the incompleteness of the score (only the bass line is given), but the Sinfonia to Act 3 serves only to break up the singing, to lighten the atmosphere, and to interrupt the action which was concerned with praising God, the almighty Saviour and Redeemer of the human race. The Israelites were assured of their redemption in Act 2 no.20 [GWR 36]--two numbers before the end of the act. There are no further developments in the drama: the text continues praising God and reiterating what the future will bring. The Sinfonia which opens Part 3 of *Job* is much more effective because of the better division of the parts compared with the acts in *The Redemption of Israel;* it comes at a crucial point in the drama where a crisis is reached--Job has had the most terrible afflictions cast upon him

with the loss of his family and possessions, and now the Angel is about to return to the Demon to suggest that the time has come to end the persecution. The Sinfonia opens a new scene and contrasts well with the chorus of praise [no. 23], which so inaptly ended Part 2, and returns, at first, to solemnity; however, the *Andantino*, which follows the opening *Largo*, is lighter and more relaxed, giving the listener the false expectation that Job's circumstances will improve. The instrumental introduction to Part 4 bears no title; it can be regarded as a lengthy prelude to the succeeding recitative 'His soul, tho' lost to happiness and ease' [no. 43] and air 'O silence fond warblers' [no. 44]: it is an admirable piece of musical scene-setting.

At the conclusion of the battle section in the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* there is a March, which is followed by a Quickstep (no. 24 [GWR 27]); the victory of 'Harmony, terrific maid' is thus celebrated. The March uses dotted rhythms typically associated with military music, but the Quickstep--defined as a lively march--does not resemble a march at all and does not follow the normal duple metre; instead it is cast in 3/8 and is more like a joyful and light-hearted dance. The positioning of the Slow March in *The Redemption of Israel* has already been mentioned; a little later in the text military references are made, but the bass line of the Slow March conveys no obvious connection with these. The strange feature concerning the positioning of the Dead March [no. 19] in *Job* is that it is played before Job learns of the death of his wife; in nos. 15 and 17 news was brought to him of the destruction of his livestock and the deaths of his servants and, later, his children. On receiving each disastrous message Job soliloquizes in airs [nos. 16, 18, and 21], so it seems a little odd to insert the Dead March in the middle of this chain of

recitatives and airs. Positioning apart, the Dead March follows the conventions regarding time, rhythms, key, and instrumentation for such a piece.

The French overture was often the form adopted for the opening instrumental number in odes and oratorios from Handel's time and during the succeeding generation: Handel's *Judas Maccabaeus* and *Messiah*, for example, each have a two-movement overture comprising a slow introduction in dotted rhythm, followed by a faster-moving fugue; on listening to the Commemoration performance of *Messiah* at Westminster Abbey on 29 May 1784, Burney applauded the lack of a frivolous dance movement in the Overture, which would have been inappropriate in this sacred work, and he noted that those who were not familiar with the work would expect, on hearing the introduction to the first recitative 'Comfort ye my people', a 'light minuet, gavot *[sic]*, or jig, with which Overtures are usually terminated' to follow. [e] The Overture to *Samson* does include a minuet, as does that to Stanley's *The Fall of Egypt;* Cooke's *Ode on the Passions* has a slow dotted-rhythm introduction, a fugue, a minuet, and then a binary *con spirito* movement. Gradually the strict French overture format died out, although a late example is to be found in Dupuis's *Ode to the Genius of Britain* (1788), which has a double fugue--Dupuis was, with good reason, regarded as a conservative--even old-fashioned--composer. Later works sometimes have a through-composed overture, or use variations, binary, or ternary form. Haydn primarily composed his overtures to prepare the listener for the opening scene of his oratorios and the instrumental introductions in *The Seasons* (preludes to Spring, Autumn, and Winter--

[e] Young (1949), 110

Summer has no introduction) and in *The Creation* contain verbal explanations of the musical scene setting. The Overture to 'Autumn' and the Introduction to 'Winter' are through-composed, while the Introduction to Part 3 of *The Creation* is, like Russell's to Part 4 of *Job*, an extended introduction to the first vocal number. The Overture to 'Spring' from *The Seasons* is cast in ternary form, as is 'The Representation of Chaos', which is the 'Overture' to *The Creation;* the latter has more than a hint of ternary form about it and can also be regarded as a loose type of sonata form. The Sinfonia which opens Samuel Wesley's *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* is in two movements: the first is a lengthy (285 bars) piece which divides into three sections and is developed from two themes--on the surface this seems to be describing sonata form, but this is not strictly the case, particularly as the key structure is not compatible with normal usage in sonata form. As an example of experimental form the structure of this movement is set out below in figure 2; the main themes are quoted in example 13. The movement which follows this is a march in binary form: this is traditional--Handel used binary form for the march in *Judas Maccabaeus*, for instance. Crotch adopted a modified French overture form for the Overture to *Palestine:* there is a slow introduction followed by a fugue then an *Andantino* comprising a binary march-like theme with variations. So there seems to have been a gradual moving away from the French overture to something more flexible and sometimes more obviously connected with the moods or scenes of the oratorio.

bars	material	main keys
1-33	A arpeggio figures	tonic
34-59	B high chords, low quaver passage work, and arpeggios	tonic-dominant
60-114	A and B	dominant
115-127	B	tonic
127-145	B-based quaver passage work	tonic-relative minor
145-182	A and B	dominant, mediant minor, supertonic minor, tonic minor
182-202	A developed	tonic minor, subdominant minor
203-215	B	tonic minor
216-231	A	tonic
232-243	C new material based on rhythms from A and B	tonic
244-272	B with references to A	tonic
273-285	Coda based on the rhythm of A	tonic

Fig. 2: Samuel Wesley: Overture (*Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*), first movement (see example 13).

Counting the March and Quickstep from the the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* as two separate pieces, there are 15 instrumental numbers of Russell to be considered here: six different forms were employed, including the French overture and the freer through-composed movement. Figure 3 lists the forms used with their proportions of the total, and figure 4 indicates their use in each work. Russell favoured ternary form and, for

form	number of instrumental movements	proportion of instrumental movements
ternary	5	34%
French overture	3 (1 has a ternary introduction)	20%
da capo	2	13%
binary	2	13%
through-composed	2	13%
double or extended binary	1	7%

Fig. 3: List of forms and their extent of use in instrumental movements of Russell's choral works.

	form	number of movements	proportion of instrumental movements (complete works only)
Ode to Harmony extract	ternary	2	
Ode on St. Cecilia's Day	binary	2	50%
	double or extended binary	1	25%
	da capo	1	25%
Ode to Music extract	French overture	1	
The Redemption of Israel	French overture	1	25%
	da capo (with short introduction)	1	25%
	ternary	1	25%
	through-composed	1	25%
Job	ternary	2	50%
	French overture (with ternary introduction)	1	25%
	through-composed	1	25%

Fig. 4: Forms of instrumental numbers in Russell's odes and oratorios.

introductory movements, the French overture; the through-composed movements are either very short (in *The Redemption of Israel*) or (in *Job*) are used in the manner of Haydn in *The Seasons* as descriptive programme music. Figure 5 lists the orchestral numbers in each work, and their forms.

Russell was a traditionalist in much of his use of form, for example in writing his *Pastorale* in the *Ode to Harmony* in ternary form, and in using a typical French overture to open the *Ode to Music*, but at times he modified the forms to suit his requirements or maybe just to break with tradition: thus the March in the *Ode to Harmony* and the Dead March in *Job* are in ternary form rather than in binary form, as exemplified by Handel

	number	form
Ode to Harmony extract	March	ternary
	Sy[mphony] *Pastorale*	ternary
Ode on St. Cecilia's Day	Introduction no.1	double or extended binary
	Sinfonia [GWR 14]	binary
	March no.24 [GWR 27]	binary
	Quickstep no.24 [GWR 27]	*da capo*
Ode to Music extract	Overture [no.1]	French overture
The Redemption of Israel	Overture Act 1 no.1	French overture
	Sinfonia Act 2 no.1 [GWR 17]	through-composed
	Slow March Act 2 no.8 [GWR 24]	ternary
	Sinfonia Act 3 no.1 [GWR 38]	*da capo* (with short introduction)
Job	Overture [no.1]	French overture (with ternary introduction)
	Dead March [no.19]	ternary
	Sinfonia to Part 3 [no.24]	ternary (with through-composed introduction)
	[Sinfonia to Part 4] [no.43]	through-composed

Fig. 5: List of Russell's orchestral numbers and their forms.

in *Samson* and *Saul*. Some case studies follow, illustrating some of Russell's deviations from what was strictly 'correct' regarding form.

The Overture to *The Redemption of Israel* is basically a French overture with an introductory slow movement in a dotted rhythm, but the ensuing fast movement is a fugato rather than a fugue. This is partly a sign of the times when composers felt less bound to the strictures of fugal form. The introductory *Largo Maestoso* begins in the customary manner of the French overture: pompous and rhetorical (bars 1-18), but this is soon abandoned for a poised and calmer oboe solo accompanied by bassoons in thirds (bars 18-28), although the return of the tutti (at bar 28) brings with it further dotted rhythms, the grandeur of the opening has

been replaced by something more elegant (see example 4). The *Allegro* theme is first stated not as a single line, as one would expect in a fugue, but in treble and bass in octaves (bars 43-44); thereafter the theme is tossed between the parts and appears in various related keys. This fugato section divides into two parts: the first in G Minor and the second in G Major (again see example 4). The first section draws to a close by following an unaccompanied octave statement of the theme by tonic - dominant passage work, and concludes on the dominant; the second section (in the major) begins as a transposition of the first and treats the theme similarly, though this part is much shorter--30 bars as opposed to 80 bars.

The Overture to *Job* has many similar structural features--notably the minor to major shift in the *Allegro*. The *Largo* introduction and the fugato nature of the *Allegro* have obvious connections with the French overture, but the length and variety of material in the *Largo* move a step further away even than the Overture to *The Redemption of Israel*. The *Largo* is in ternary form with two contrasting ideas between the opening and closing material. Sudden *forte* - *piano* contrasts, which appeared in some of the other introductory instrumental movements, also appear here. Following the loud but bare octave Ds of the first bar, a quiet, sombre theme (A) is announced; this uses dotted rhythms, but not in the forceful and declamatory way normally associated with the French overture. This opening melody is developed by inversion; then a more eloquent and relaxed theme (B) is heard over pulsating quaver chords; soon there is an interruption and theme C introduces the sort of rhythmical material expected in a French overture. Subtly theme A returns under the disguise of the mood of C before subsiding to *pianissimo* as the *Allegro* is about to

bars	material	main keys
1-9	A	tonic
9-19	A inverted	tonic
19-25	B	tonic, subdominant, relative major
25-30	C	relative major
30-41	A-based	tonic-dominant

Fig. 6: *Largo* from Overture (*Job*) (see example 5).

take over. Figure 6 sets out the form (see example 5). The *Allegro* is a fugato in two parts--one in D Minor, one in D Major--like that in the Overture to *The Redemption of Israel*. The chromatic nature of the start of the theme (bars 42-44) is not allowed to undermine the tonality; it begins like a double fugue, with two subjects announced simultaneously, and the upper theme and the cadence pattern combine to ensure that the key is indisputable. The two subjects (D) are developed for 19 bars, then there follows what at first seems to be a short episode introducing more semiquaver movement (bars 61-63), but is in fact a new idea (E) with which D is periodically combined. A further new theme (F) appears; it is martial in character although it is played over an active semiquaver accompaniment. References to D and E continue to be made right to the end of the movement, and a similarity of rhythm and shape between F and A may be noted here: compare bars 78-79 with bars 1-2. Figure 7 indicates the structure.

bars	material	main keys
42-60	D fugato with two subjects	tonic, subdominant, relative major
61-78	E with some reference to D	relative major, dominant
78-93	F with references to E, D, and A	relative major, tonic, dominant
94-145	D and E fugato	tonic major, dominant, tonic

Fig. 7: *Allegro* from Overture (*Job*) (see example 5).

Tentatively the following theory is suggested: that Russell felt more inclined to treat form with a greater freedom in his later works, and to experiment more in these, using more variety of forms as he progressed and developed as a composer.

Orchestration in Russell's odes and oratorios.

In dealing with Russell's orchestration in his odes and oratorios it is only possible to comment in part. Of the works considered in this study a full score is available only for the Overture to the *Ode to Music;* the extant material for the remainder of this work and of the *Ode to Harmony* comprises incomplete scores largely sketched out on two staves, with some of the movements preceded by a list of instruments used and the number of lines the copyist was to make ready for Russell to write out a full score. The *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* and *The Redemption of Israel*, though complete in a sense, survive only in harpsichord scores, and only the latter contains references (very few at that) to the instrumentation. The published score of *Job* is like a modern-day vocal score with some instrumental cues similar to a Piano-Conductor's part, though not nearly as detailed. Fortunately there are other full scores of Russell's music which are extant: these include the Organ Concerto, the Funeral Anthem for Barthélémon, a *Jubilate* setting in D Major, a Latin motet *Domine salvum fac*, and various pantomimes for the theatre. The extant full scores show that Russell basically wrote for the standard late eighteenth-century orchestra as used for accompanying large choral works, comprising two flutes, two oboes, two bassoons, two horns, two trumpets, timpani, and strings, with keyboard continuo (organ, harpsichord, or piano). Piano continuo was used in the pantomime pieces he wrote for the theatre; organ

and harpsichord would have been more appropriate for the sacred works, and it seems that both were used, possibly simultaneously, perhaps separately--the indications are imprecise, but in *The Redemption of Israel* (a harpsichord score) there is mention of the organ in, for example, Act 2 no. 19 [GWR 35] 'Remember o Lord what is come upon us', implying that the two played simutaneously at these points. Quite often Russell's orchestra includes parts for two clarinets: when they play the oboes are silent, and it could be that the practice was still for the same performers to play both instruments; occasionally a single trombone part is included (see page 254).

Russell used two types of full score layout: in his early works (the *Jubilate* in D Major and *Harlequin Phaeton)* the timpani, brass, and woodwind are placed above the strings as Haydn did in, for example, Symphonies nos. 96 and 101; [9] included in this format is the Overture to the *Ode to Music*. In later works the upper strings appear at the top followed by woodwind, brass, timpani, voices, and organ--a scheme used by Hook in his 'modern' songs for Vauxhall Gardens.

The *Ode to Harmony* extract calls for several combinations from Russell's orchestra; the March is scored for the unusual blend of flageolet, trumpet, timpani, and strings--doubtless designed to emphasize the military nature of this section of the ode; the recitative 'Hark the Trumpet's warlike sound', which follows, has a solo trumpet part with timpani and strings, and in the subsequent chorus (which sets the same

[9] Photographs of Haydn's manuscripts are reproduced in Searle (1989), 20, 21.

lines of text) oboes are added. The Pastoral Symphony evokes rustic sounds with flutes, horns, and strings. There is a different combination for nearly every movement: the air 'The early Lark begins to rise' is accompanied by flutes, bassoons, horns, and strings; the chorus 'The sons of health arise' by oboes, horns, and strings; the air 'Mark where by yon soft gliding stream' by flutes and strings, including a solo violin; unusual and effective use of the low-register strings (cello solo, string bass, and continuo) to accompany a low register (alto) voice is made in the air 'Soft meek-ey'd Pity'. All this indicates Russell's attempts to enhance the libretto through his instrumentation, although how much he varied the colour within a movement it is not possible to tell from most of the short scores; however, where there is more evidence (such as in the Overture to *Job)* it seems that Russell favoured the variety of colour associated with his Viennese contemporaries rather than the sustained orchestral tone of the 'ancient' style.

There is almost as much instrumental variety in the *Ode to Music* extract as there is in the *Ode to Harmony:* the only duplicated combination (apart from strings only) is that of oboes, bassoons, and strings, which occurs in the Overture, the air 'Let thy persuasive voice' (no. 38) and two choruses: 'In swift succession' (no. 43) and 'Deck'd with fair flow'rs' (no. 49). This is modest scoring for the Overture; here the bassoons double the cello line throughout, but the oboes are given a measure of independence in the *Largo Maestoso,* where they have a brief duet in thirds and sixths accompanied only by the basses; elsewhere in this slow introduction the oboes either sustain chords above the faster-moving strings or they reinforce the melodic line at the cadences; for much of the fugue they are silent, only filling in the harmony here and

there or duplicating the upper string parts. Russell used two different 'full orchestra' combinations in the *Ode to Music* extract: in the recitative 'But when the solemn Trumpet's piercing sound' the scoring is for flutes, bassoons, horns, trumpets, 'drum', and strings, and in the chorus 'Exulting Victory' [no. 36a] it is for oboes, clarinets, horns, trumpet, timpani, and strings; this is the only place where Russell uses oboes and clarinets simultaneously. Variations on a moderately-sized orchestral combination can be seen in the recitative 'Nature is full of thee', no. 21 (flutes, horns, and strings), in the chorus 'And while the winged tribes aspire', no. 26 (oboes, horns, and strings), and in the air 'Not whistling winds', no. 22 (flutes, clarinets, bassoons, horns, and strings); in order to convey 'a dreadful sound' in the recitative 'But hark a dreadful sound' (no. 35) Russell wrote for the unusual mixture of bassoons, trumpet, timpani, and strings. A solo violin energetically introduces 'The eager horse' (no. 36) which, 'with trampling prance...is furious to engage'; this contrasts with the effect of the solo violin in the *Ode to Harmony* where it introduced a 'sick soul [which] is charmed to hear sweet Music's soothing melancholy strains' in the air 'Mark where by yon soft gliding streams'; the latter is certainly the more effective. The combination of flageolet and strings in the air 'Be lively, brisk, and gay' (no. 42) enhances the rustic mood and provides colour in the dance-like melody, illustrating the words 'bring forth the pipe and tabret too'; the flageolet is not given an obbligato part such as the one in 'O silence fond warblers' (no. 45 of *Job*), and the solo is given to the flute (accompanied by strings) in 'His warbling flute' (no. 45), see example 14.

Most of the indications of instrumentation in *The Redemption of Israel* occur in the airs and ensembles; additionally they occur in one

orchestral movement (the Sinfonia to Act 3 [GWR 38]) and an accompanied recitative (Act 2 no. 11 [GWR 27]). There is no list of instruments as in the two ode extracts: here chiefly they point out the woodwind solos or show string pizzicato sections; there is usually only one mention of the instrumentation within a movement, but the air 'My bowels, I am pain'd' (Act 2 no. 14 [GWR 30]) shows a variety of tonal colourations beginning with a clarinet solo in the introduction, then clarinet and flute solos accompanied by pizzicato strings, and ending with two bassoons and continuo (example 15). The clarinet is indicated in two other numbers: the air 'O Daughter of my people' (Act 2 no. 12 [GWR 28]), where it plays in the orchestral ritornelli, and in the duet 'The Sun shall be no more thy light by day' (Act 3 no. 14 [GWR 51]) where it has solos in the introduction and at the end. Russell seems to have been fond of the bassoon, which has solos in the orchestral ritornelli in the air 'Therefore shall Zion for your sakes be plowed [sic]' (Act 2 no. 3 [GWR 19]); the bassoon duet with continuo in 'The Gods that have not made' (Act 1 no. 10) provides appropriate atmosphere in the introduction to this air (example 16). The blend of bassoon and flute in the introduction to the duet 'Let the wicked forsake his way' (Act 1 no. 4) creates an interesting colour; the continuo would fill in the harmony, but it is unclear whether the strings would still be playing (example 17). Bassoon and oboe provide a similarly colourful duet in the Overture, and the oboe has a solo in the introduction to the recitative 'Set up a standard toward Zion' (Act 2 no. 11 [GWR 27]); each of these contain somewhat soft and delicate melodic fragments. More robust, naturally, is the trumpet part in 'Blow ye the trumpet' (Act 2 no. 7 [GWR 23]) where the use of the solo recalls that in 'Hark the Trumpet's warlike Sound' in the *Ode to Harmony*, although there it has a more florid part.

As with *The Redemption of Israel*, most of the indications for the orchestration of *Job* occur in airs; the others occur in two choruses and two of the orchestral movements; the other similarity (concerning instrumentation) between these two works is that chiefly the markings point out woodwind and brass solos: flute, flageolet, oboe, clarinet, bassoon, horns, and trumpet. The bassoon features quite prominently--sometimes associated with the Demon's cunning (in 'Let God outstretch his hand' [no. 5], and sometimes with the Angel (as in 'Consoling delegate of Virtue stay' [no. 26]); the dark tone is obviously well-suited to the Demon's wiles, but also lends a subdued colour to the Angel's air, which reflects on the nobility of the silent suffering of Job. The latter requires the bassoon to play high in its register; the final chorus, 'Great art thou o Lord' [no. 64], has A above middle C for the bassoon, suggesting Russell knew his bassoonist was a very capable player. The obbligato flute and flageolet parts in the air 'O silence fond warblers' [no. 45] provide a picturesque image of birds singing; a similar figure is used in the orchestral number which opens Part 4 [no. 43] and sets the scene (see example 10). The flute is also used symbolically in the first recitative sung by the Angel, 'Rebellious still against the Lord your God' [no. 2]; the flute is placed high up, away from the accompaniment, giving a vivid image of the Angel conveying a message from God (example 18). The clarinet solos occur in two airs sung by Job [nos. 16 and 18]; both are slow, tender melodies, the second is accompanied by two bassoons (example 19). The horn sections which are marked are mere fragments; they occur in the duet 'Heav'nly Father, Lord most holy' [no. 14] and the air 'Tho' afflicted still reverence his name' [no. 36]; both use traditional 'horn fifth' figures (example 20), which occur elsewhere (for example in the introduction to no. 36), implying the same instrumentation. The one

mention of the trumpet (in the air 'The Thunder of Heav'n', [no.39]) is for a martial-like repeated-note figure (example 21).

It would be unfair and probably unjust to state that *Job* contains less interesting orchestration than the other works, with such paucity of evidence. As a generalisation it can be said that in all his large-scale choral works Russell attempted to reflect the nature of the words in his instrumentation, which often resulted in the most traditional use of instruments such as the trumpet and horn, but sometimes also evolved into colourful and noteworthy writing.

Orchestration in earlier and contemporary large-scale choral works.

Russell's orchestra was basically that commonly used in the late eighteenth century; it corresponds to the largest orchestra used by Stanley (in *The Fall of Egypt)* except that here there is only one bassoon part; some composers had an orchestra of more modest size, omitting trumpets and timpani, for example Worgan in *Hannah*. The Concert of Ancient Music had an orchestra comprising oboes, bassoons, horns, trumpets, trombones, timpani, and strings, [10] and their performances were weighted heavily in favour of Handel's oratorios. The inclusion of trombones seems unusual in England, but they were gradually becoming a regular feature of the orchestra and were used to double alto, tenor, and bass parts in Viennese choral music. Russell wrote for trombone in his Mass in D Major and in his sketch for an untitled work--probably a symphony (1810)--but there is no mention of a trombone in his odes or

[10] Smither (1987), III 214.

oratorios. The Latin Mass setting was doubtless inspired by hearing Viennese Masses sung at the Portugese Embassy under the direction of Novello. [11] Many of the particular instrumental effects used by Russell had been used by Handel too--for example trumpets and drums for battle scenes. Handel had the same performers playing both the trumpet and the horn parts as required, and possibly the same practice occurred for the flute and oboe parts, while Russell used trumpets and horns together and only alternated oboe and clarinet--the two are only once heard simultaneously (in the chorus 'Exulting Victory' [no. 36a] in the *Ode to Music*). In Handelian oratorios the trumpets tended to be reserved for particular effects, such as military scenes, or for triumphant and powerful choruses; the timpani were employed with the trumpets. Post-Handelian examples of this are to be found in J.C. Smith's *Paradise Lost* (1760) and in Arne's *Judith* (1761). Handel is notable for his richness of colour in orchestration--in *Alexander Balus* fullness is provided in the choruses, and the use of harp and mandoline in Cleopatra's air 'Hark! he strikes the golden lyre' lend an appropriate exotic quality. Russell did not write for unusual instruments in his orchestra--even the flageolet was not particularly uncommon, although it was reserved for special use. There are several important solos for the clarinet in Russell's music, suggesting that he was writing for a particular player: besides the works discussed in this study, there are clarinet parts but no oboe parts in the Overture in A Major (1808) and the Harp Duet (1812). Russell wrote for clarinets in A, B flat, and C; although the instrument had been manufactured in England since the 1770s, it was still early days in the instrument's evolution and use in this country. Haydn had two clarinet

[11] Darby (1984), 96, 106, 150.

parts in *The Creation* as well as three trombones (alto, tenor, and bass), and a contrabassoon; he had rarely written for the clarinet previously and the presence of the contrabassoon arose from the composer hearing it during the Handel Commemoration he had attended in Westminster Abbey. The Handel festivals (as stated in chapter III) had become increasingly large both in terms of the numbers of performers and the numbers and types of orchestral instruments employed (see pages 76-77): Handel's orchestration was modified and enlarged for these occasions. Crotch's large orchestra for *Palestine* included a solo clarinet part played--surprisingly--by (according to Rennert) the leader of the orchestra. [12]

After the death of J.C.Bach in 1782, there was not the same opportunity for London audiences to hear contemporary orchestral music by European composers; the Bach-Abel concerts had kept musicians as well as the general public in touch with modern developments. It was not until Haydn visited England a few years later that, once more, there was a chance to hear the latest continental music. Earlier Handel and his followers, although acutely aware of orchestral colour, had worked within a framework of contrasted tone, in much the same way as dynamics were expressed--in the terraced manner. With Haydn's symphonies British audiences were introduced to a new concept of orchestration: besides the size of forces used there was the delicate balancing of timbres to give maximum effect. The prevailing tendency in England was to use larger and larger forces in the mistaken belief that weight of sound was the major influence on the musical effect. Haydn's technique was to use smaller numbers in such a way as to obtain greater richness and variety; even so,

[12] Rennert (1975), 53-54.

when he presided over nearly 40 players led by Salomon, it was the largest orchestra Haydn had conducted. With Haydn's orchestration the continuo was made redundant (although it continued to be used for some years by English composers) because oboes and horns were used to sustain the harmony; Haydn and Mozart also introduced a new liberation in the woodwind parts, allowing free discourse between them and the strings. Beside the old-style use of the wind to reinforce the tone, it could now also be used in place of the continuo or independently in obbligato figures. The lower woodwind instruments are used to great effect in 'Now heav'n in fullest glory shone' (no. 22 in *The Creation*) to illustrate the moving about of the 'heavy beasts'. Flutes, regarded in England as inferior to oboes, were used to brighten the tone, and clarinets mellowed the sound. The clarinet solos written by Russell are emotionally expressive (for instance 'While Love and Joy were in their prime', [no. 16] of *Job*, see example 19) and are suggestive of a warmth of tone. Alert to the effectiveness of the woodwind in illustrating the text, Haydn combined flute and first violins to represent sunrise, and later cellos and double basses to depict moonrise in 'In splendour bright' (no. 12 of *The Creation*). Russell used the flutes both to brighten the texture and to illustrate a lamenting melody (in 'His warbling flute', no. 45 of the *Ode to Music*) or a pastoral scene (the Pastoral Symphony in the *Ode to Harmony* and ' O silence fond warblers', [no. 45] in *Job*).

From the small number of Russell's extant full scores it would seem fair to say that he often approached orchestration in a traditional English/Handelian way, but that he was also aware of new trends, particularly from Haydn, and incorporated many of these traits into his music. Although there is always provision for a continuo, it is not

always necessary, and his writing for the woodwind is expressive and colourful. He does not approach the tonal variety nor the genius for matching orchestral colour with the text that Haydn displayed, but nonetheless much of Russell's orchestration displays a keen awareness for tonal colour.

CHAPTER X

The Organ Concerto in England I

Definition and invention.

At the end of the eighteenth century 'Concerto' was defined in Kollmann's *Essay on Practical Musical Composition* as follows:

> A *Concerto* is a grand Instrumental Piece, chiefly calculated to shew the abilities of a Player on a certain Principal Instrument. It consists of *Tuttis*, in which it resembles a Symphony, and of *Solos* that are like the principal passages of a grand Sonata; and consequently may be considered as a Compound of Symphony and Sonata. [1]

As a subscriber to Kollmann's *Essay*, Russell would no doubt have been familiar with this definition. A few years later, in 1806, in his *Complete Dictionary of Music*, Thomas Busby simply defined 'concerto' as 'A composition expressly written for the display of some particular instrument, with accompaniments for the band.' [2]

Charles Burney (1726-1814) claimed that Handel originated the organ concerto, and in 1752 Charles Avison (1709-1770), himself a composer in this genre, described keyboard concertos as 'a species of Composition of late invention.' [3] In a sense Handel was the inventor of the organ

[1] Kollmann (1799), 20.

[2] Busby (1806), n. p.

[3] Cudworth (1953), 52.

concerto, and his own works in the genre instituted an English school of organ concerto writing that was to remain popular for nearly a century; but he was also building upon an English tradition of combining the organ with other instruments. The 'symphonies', in other words the obbligato organ sections, in the anthems of Orlando Gibbons (1583-1625) were integrated into works for strings and organ by composers of the succeeding generation. A century before Handel's first set of organ concertos was published, the organ was assuming a rôle of much greater importance than that of continuo in instrumental music of the early Stuart period: the consort music of William Lawes (1602-1645) contains examples of this trend, as does the music of Giovanni Coperario (c. 1570-1627), Alphonso Ferrabosco II (c. 1575-1628), and Henry Lawes (1596-1662), all of whom were in the service of the royal family. In some of their chamber sonatas and fantasias a new genre was evolving: one in which the organ and viols or violins discoursed on equal terms. Examples of these works may be seen in *Musica Britannica* IX nos. 98a-103c and XXI nos. 12-17, including William Lawes's Sonata no. 8 in D Major in which the organ is both often the initiator of themes imitated by the violin and bass viol and provider of harmony and counterpoint in the texture. Had the organ's rôle continued to become still more important, the path to the organ concerto may have been more direct. As it was, when further developments in chamber music were made, Italian influence became stronger, with the result that, in the trio sonata, the continuo part again became subservient to the solo parts. However, the obbligato melodic use of the organ continued to grow in the anthem, particularly with Purcell (1659-1695). There were times in Handel's early works in Italy when he had written-out organ parts, as in *Il Trionfo del Tempo e del disinganno* (1708) where a 'Sonata', a single lively movement for organ solo, is introduced after a recitative and aria

in which there are important organ passages. The 'Sonata' (the title emphasizing the contrast between an instrumental and a vocal movement) displays the type of figuration later to be used in his organ concertos, and the form is similar to that of Concerto op. 4 no. 2. [4] Mention should be made here of the trends abroad: in Italy Vivaldi used the organ as a member of the *concertino* section in concerti grossi--it was not a fully independent solo instrument but it provided imitative discourse with the violin: in Germany Johann Sebastian Bach's Fifth *Brandenburg Concerto* in D Major (c. 1721) was the first concerto grosso to use a keyboard instrument as part of the *concertino*, which also comprised flute and violin; as such it is important in the establishing of keyboard concertos, although it was not until the end of the 1730s that they began to be widely written and popular in Germany. During his English period Handel used the organ as an *obbligato* instrument in oratorio: in *Deborah* (1733) he used it in a similar way to that of *Il Trionfo del Tempo* and, doubled by the flute, the organ provides extensive elaborate and idiomatic figuration in the airs 'In the battle fame persuing' (no. 41) and 'Tears such as tender fathers shed' (no. 56). Whether it was merely a natural continuation of his Italian work, or whether Handel consciously developed his style whilst at the same time building upon what was already present in England, is difficult to say.

Handel developed the organ concerto during the middle years of the 1730s and established the practice (which by the end of the century had become a tradition) of performing a concerto as interval music between the acts of an oratorio. The first recorded occasions that Handel played his

[4] Williams (1988), 1.

own concertos are during the performances of *Deborah* and *Esther* in 1733. [5] Sir John Hawkins, in his *General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, noted that Handel was not only an organist of the first rate, but also that he had an eye to commercial benefit:

> finding that his own performance on the organ never failed to command the attention of his hearers, he set himself to compose, or rather make, concertos for that instrument and uniformly interposed one in the course of the evening's performance. [6]

The first organ concerto to be published in England was included in a series called *The Lady's Entertainment*, a publication of Walsh which appeared in September 1738; the organ concerto was that in B flat Major op. 4 no. 2 by Handel. The complete set of Six Concertos op. 4 appeared shortly afterwards. The first organ concertos to be published by a native Englishman were a set by Henry Burgess (fl. c. 1720-c. 1781) in 1740; on 16 June 1741, he played his 'grand new concerto for the organ' at Cuper's Gardens on the South bank of the Thames, where there was an instrument built by Bridge. Burgess's concertos were not particularly distinguished: the fast movements contain some lively themes but the solo part is almost entirely made up of mechanical passage work. Burney recalled 'little Harry Burgess' playing his own concertos at Drury Lane 'as clean and unmeaning as if set on a barrel.' [7] It was not until 1744 that the first

[5] Cudworth (1953), 52.

[6] Hawkins (1875), II 889.

[7] Burney (1957), II 1008

notable English organ concertos appeared: they were by William Felton (1715-1769).

The function of organ concertos; circumstances of performance.

Having considered the musical-historical background to the emergence of the English organ concerto, the question now to be addressed is why were organ concertos written at all--what sort of demand existed? It was well-established from the seventeenth century that the organ blended well with orchestral instruments both as a continuo instrument and in a solo rôle; the organ was sufficiently developed (indeed in Germany it was highly developed) to render it capable of playing a solo part against an orchestral accompaniment. The musical forms which were used in solo organ literature were well-established, the partiality for virtuosic display in most instruments was increasing, and the solo concerto was found to be an ideal medium for it. Organ concertos tend, even now, to be written for a specific occasion, using a certain instrument, and usually for a particular soloist (for instance William Mathias's Organ Concerto written for Gillian Weir in 1984 and Francis Jackson's Organ Concerto op.64 written in 1985 for the sesquicentenary celebrations of the birth of Andrew Carnegie): this obviously influences the composer's style and sometimes has resulted in the music being ephemeral. Some concertos remained in the repertoire for many years however--particularly those of Handel which were still being played in oratorio concerts at the end of the eighteenth century--but even these, with their traditional links with Handel's oratorios, faded in popularity, and by 1837 it was quite unusual

to hear them performed.[e] Another feature that is relevant here is the composer's desire to satisfy the demands of his audience for technical display and *bravura* performance--elements which were so much a part of opera but somewhat lacking in oratorio--hence the popularity of including organ concertos in oratorio concerts. The element of entertainment in the concerto did not necessarily result in inferior music or music of short-lived popularity: the fact that Handel's output for the organ centred on the concerto rather than on solo works is pertinent. The opera house remained the venue at which most organ concertos were performed, and these works provided something short, light-hearted, virtuosic, and contrasted to the principal piece; they were 'interval music'. Because of Handel's reputation not only as a composer but also as a fine organist, his concerto performances were extremely popular and eagerly awaited. Some, if not all, of Handel's organ concertos were written for performance during particular oratorios: op. 4 nos. 2 and 3 were composed to be played with *Esther* in 1733, and op. 4 no. 5 with *Deborah*. Op. 4 no. 6 was played in a concert with *Alexander's Feast* in 1736; originally it was a harp concerto--evidently well-suited to be coupled with a Cecilian ode, particularly as it was placed after the recitative:

> Timotheus, plac'd on high
> Amid the tuneful quire,
> With flying fingers touched the lyre;
> The trembling notes ascend the sky,
> And heav'nly joys inspire.

A little later performances of organ concertos extended beyond the

[e] *Musical World* (1837), 59.

theatre to concert rooms, Pleasure Gardens, meetings of private clubs or societies, homes of the wealthy who possessed a chamber organ, and Churches. In the concert rooms, where well-known soloists often appeared, there would be a comparatively attentive audience, as in the opera houses; however, organ concertos never appeared in the major subscription concert series. By contrast, in the Pleasure Gardens such as those at Ranelagh and Vauxhall, the music would be heard by many but it was probably listened to by few; these open-air concerts, held during the summer months, provided a pleasant background to walking or supping, lingering or flirting in amiable surroundings. An organ was built in 1737 for Vauxhall (the builder is unknown); Bridge built an organ in 1740 for Marylebone Gardens, and in 1746 John Byfield built one for Ranelagh Gardens. At Vauxhall the organ was on the first floor of an open-sided two-storey rotunda; the band stood in front of the organ, and, if there were vocal soloists, they stood in front of the band. The setting was picturesque with little canopies and hanging lanterns to illuminate alcoves where there were tables at which people could eat; the whole was encircled by trees and pathways and decorated with archways and statues. The oldest garden, at Marylebone, had employed an orchestra of players from the theatre since 1738; in 1762 the organist played (presumably solos as well as with the band) from five o'clock until eight. [9] Handel, as a visitor, heard his own music here, and the Mozart family visited this and the other two major Gardens in 1764. James Hook (1746-1827) succeeded George Berg (who died in the 1770s) as organist in 1769 when Samuel Arnold took over as proprietor. Three years later Hook left to take a similar position at Vauxhall where James Worgan (1715-1753) had been the first organist in

[9] Matthews (1968), 35.

1737. Worgan, who died at the age of 38, was succeeded by his brother John (1724-1790), during whose time the performance of organ concertos became very popular. The eight-year-old Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart played the organ at Ranelagh Gardens on 29 June 1764, some 20 years after the organ had been installed. The first organist at Ranelagh was John Keeble (1711-1786); later John Stanley was appointed.

The performances of organ concertos which took place at the meetings of various societies or clubs were generally given and listened to by amateurs; this may have led composers to be conservative. The Cecilian Society, of which Russell was a member, occasionally included an organ concerto in its concerts. [10] Freemasons had regular meetings when keyboard concertos were sometimes played (several lodges had organs and their own organist); members would normally read the instrumental parts at sight. [11] Such performances were not advertised since they were private to the membership (although the Anacreontic Society allowed each member to bring one guest), but occasionally a newspaper report might subsequently appear; sometimes a society would organize a charity concert including an organ concerto, and this would be advertised in the daily press--for example Samuel Wesley played a concerto during a concert to raise money for the Freemasons' Charity for Female Children in 1810. [12] Toward the end of the eighteenth century the number of societies continuing this practice of *ad hoc* performances was in decline. On the occasion of a special celebration an organ concerto might be performed in Church:

[10] *Musical World* (1837), 169.

[11] Judd (1992), 123.

[12] *Times* (24 Feb. 1810).

newspaper advertisements indicate that the concerto was played in place of the Middle Voluntary. On the continent it was not uncommon for an organ concerto to be performed during the Mass, usually between the *Sanctus* and *Benedictus* or between the *Gloria* and the *Credo*, as was the case with Mozart's Epistle Sonatas.

Organ specifications, registration, and temperament.

Set below are the specifications of some of the organs used in the performance of concertos.

Drury Lane Theatre [13]

The organ was built by John Byfield and Samuel Green in 1769 for the lessees, Messrs. Stanley and Smith, for £180; it was used in oratorios and concertos, and two famous players were Handel and Stanley; it was destroyed when the theatre burned down on 25 February 1809.

One manual (from which both divisions were played); compass GG (long octaves) - e''', the Swell stops were half compass (from c').

Great		Swell	
Open Diapason (from G)	8	Open Diapason	8
Stopped Diapason	8	Principal	4
Principal	4	Cornet	III
Flute	4	Hautboy	8
Fifteenth	2		
Sesquialtera	III		
Trumpet	8		

[13] Sumner (1973), 410.

Covent Garden Theatre [14]

The organ was built by Abraham Jordan. It was burned down with the building in 1808 and a new organ by William Allen was erected in 1810: this was the 'oratorio' organ; the previous year Hugh Russell had built and installed an organ of similar size but without the reeds. The specification of the original organ was:

One manual; compass GG (long octaves) - d'''

Open Diapason	8	Fifteenth	2
Stopped Diapason	8	Tierce	1-3/5
Principal	4	Trumpet	8
Twelfth	2-2/3		

The specification of the organ by Allen was:

One manual; compass GG (long octaves) - f'''

The Hautboy (compass c - f''') was enclosed in a Swell box.

Open Diapason	8	Fifteenth	2
Stopped Diapason	8	Sesquialtera	III
Principal	4	Trumpet	8
Twelfth	2-2/3	Hautboy	8

Vauxhall Gardens [15]

An organ was built c.1758 replacing the original instrument; no builder's name is given in Pearce. It was in the Gothic style 'painted white and bloom colour and having a dome surmounted by a plume of feathers.' [16]

[14] Pearce (1912), 160-161.

[15] Pearce (1912), 162.

[16] Matthews (1968), 36.

One manual; compass CC (no CC#) - g'''

Open Diapason	8	Twelfth	2-2/3
Stopped Diapason	8	Fifteenth	2
Principal	4	Sesquialtera	IV
Flute	4		

St. Andrew's Church, Holborn [17]

The organ was built by Renatus Harris for the Temple Church in 1684; it was divided and part of it erected in Holborn in 1699, the remainder going to Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin. John Stanley, an eminent composer of organ voluntaries and concertos, was organist here.

Two manuals; compass GG (short octaves)-d'''

Great		Choir	
Open Diapason	8	Open Diapason	8 from Great
Stopped Diapason	8	Stopped Diapason	8 from Great
Principal	4	Principal	4 from Great
Twelfth	2-2/3	Principal	4
Fifteenth	2	Flute	8
Tierce	1-3/5	Open Flute	4
Larigot	1-1/3	Twelfth	2-2/3
Sesquialtera	III	Fifteenth	2
Mixture	II	Tierce	1-3/5
Cornet	V	Bassoon	8
Trumpet	8	Vox Humana	8
Clarion	4		

It will be noticed that these organs, with the exception of that at St. Andrew's, Holborn, were quite small, consisting chiefly of a flue chorus up to mixtures (or mutations) and sometimes including a reed (usually a Trumpet). The Holborn organ was merely a larger version of these with more mixtures and a greater variety of reed stops (this organ contained the first 4' reed stop in England). Pedals did not normally appear until late in the eighteenth century, and even then their inclusion

[17] Routh (1973), 193-194.
Pearce (1909), 7.

or addition was rare; it was not until the nineteenth century was well advanced that pedals became at all common in England. This style of organ building, established by Renatus Harris and Bernard ('Father') Smith by the beginning of the eighteenth century, was to remain for the next one hundred years. It therefore follows that organ concertos were works for manuals only and that registration was limited to a certain degree; with a two-manual organ variety was easily achieved, while on a single-manual instrument changes of registration could be effected easily by the player if there was a 'shifting movement' (operated by a pedal) which removed the upperwork, enabling *forte* to *subito piano* changes and vice versa. Alternatively an assistant may have been employed to change the stops if it was deemed necessary by the performer, but there is no documentary evidence of this. The fact that, during the first half of the eighteenth century and earlier, solo organ music in England rarely bore any indication of which stops should be used is reflected in the concerto repertoire. As the century progressed it remained unusual for registration to be noted on the score; composers who did so were inconsistent: for example Handel (in one concerto only), Thomas Arne (1710-1778) (in one concerto), Charles Wesley (1757-1834) (in certain movements only), William Russell (in the first movement only), and Matthew Camidge (1758-1844) (in certain movements only). Their registrations are those which had commonly been used in the organ voluntary for many years. [18]

[18] For details of the different types of voluntary and their registrations see Ward Russell (1985), 101-153.

Organs in Churches continued to be tuned in unequal temperament until at least the 1830s: the Church authorities (and some organists) resisted any change, unlike the proprietors of theatres and concert rooms, who (according to contemporary tuning manuals) adapted their instruments to equal temperament. [19] This duality must have resulted in some problems with Church performances of concertos. Everything was fairly straightforward if only simple keys were used--as generally was the case in early organ concertos. Philip Hayes (1738-1797) was the first composer to use more adventurous keys in this field (see the reference to Concertos 4 and 6 on page 296); his 'Six Concertos for Organ, Harpsichord or Forte Piano' were published in 1769. No doubt the degree of 'inequality' in the tuning varied quite considerably: Kollmann distinguished between 'a good unequal distribution' and 'an *improper* temperament...which...is still too frequently met with.' He urged that 'every Organ Composer should write like a beginner, who when he modulates towards many Sharps or Flats, cannot find his way through them, and therefore avoids them.' [20] Perhaps composers like William Crotch (1775-1847), William Russell, and occasionally Charles Wesley, who wrote in keys with several sharps or flats, had access to, or had their music performed on, organs with equal temperament; it is known that Russell's organ at the Foundling Hospital had a mechanism and extra pipework to accommodate the remote keys. [21] Alternatively, one wonders if (in the opinion of the eighteenth-century musician) a modulation from a simple key to a distant one had its effect enhanced or at least emphasized by the tuning in an organ with unequal

[19] Kent (1990), 29-30.

[20] Kollmann (1799), 97.

[21] Ward Russell (1985), 21-22, 34 gives details.

temperament--certain chords (D flat Major or E flat Minor, for example) can provide a pleasant piquancy if the tuning is not too extreme.

Orchestration.

Kollmann noted that the size and content of an orchestra to accompany any solo instrument in a concerto could vary widely:

> The smallest number of accompaniments generally used for a Concerto on the Piano Forte is: two Violins, a Tenor [viola], and a Bass [cello, and possibly double bass], though *Christian Bach* has even omitted the Tenor in a set dedicated to Her Majesty. To these may be added Flutes or Hautboys, and Horns, or all the instruments of a grand orchestra, as circumstances permit or require it. [22]

The pattern of orchestration in organ concertos was basically the following: in the early days, four-part strings with two oboes (and occasionally bassoons), with some examples for three- or four-part strings only. In those concertos with accompaniments for two violins and cello, the works are really organ solos with a few slender orchestral additions. Later in the century oboes and bassoons were replaced by flutes and horns, with trumpets and timpani added in some festive or lively movements. By the early years of the nineteenth century some composers such as Crotch and Russell were using a much larger orchestra with flutes, oboes, bassoons, horns, trumpets, trombones, timpani, and

[22] Kollmann (1799), 23.

even clarinets which had begun to appear some 20 years earlier in the Viennese Classical orchestra.

A few works were written and entitled '[Organ] Concerto' but are solo pieces. They differ from the conventional concerto only in their absence of instrumental accompaniment: all the other usual ingredients are present--the organ imitates bold tuttis and contrasts thinner-textured solo passages. Bach's organ arrangements of violin concertos by Vivaldi and his own *Italian Concerto* achieve the same effect, the latter on a two-manual harpsichord. Kollmann said:

> Because the essence of the Concerto is to express Grandeur, and as it is more necessary to distinguish in them the fullness of Tuttis from the nicety of Solos...they cannot be properly written for any other Solo instrument, but the *Organ*...particularly one with two or more sets of *manuals*, and a good set of *Pedal* keys. For on such an instrument, the grandest tuttis may not only be executed, but also the finest solos imitative of particular instruments. [23]

It has already been noted that pedals on English organs were rare even at the time Kollmann was writing; as a German he would have been acquainted with indigenous organs which had a fully developed pedal department. The usefulness of the 'shifting movement' to effect quick changes of registration on a single manual organ has already been mentioned.

[23] Kollmann (1799), 24-25.

Forms.

The forms and numbers of movements used in organ concertos varied as the eighteenth century progressed. German keyboard concertos (which were mainly for the harpsichord and appeared in the late 1730s) and Italian violin concertos traditionally had three movements: fast, slow, fast; the Italian works had great emphasis on technical display. In Handel's concertos the virtuoso element was still a dominant feature but he did not always conform to the three-movement structure: the Concerto in D Minor for two organs and orchestra is in one movement, the Concerto in F Major from volume XLVIII of the Handel-Gesellschaft edition has six movements; however, in eight out of 15 concertos Handel wrote on a three-movement plan. Concertos of the succeeding generations, composed from the late 1750s onwards, that were deliberately written in the 'ancient' style, tended to adopt the three-movement format with the next most common structure having four movements. *Galant* concerto composers continued to favour a three-movement plan, but a two-movement structure became the second most popular format, and works in this genre with more than three movements were more unusual. The concertos of Thomas Arne contain some of these exceptions; he used the three-movement plan only once while four of his six concertos are in four movements and one has five movements; Charles Wesley and his brother Samuel (1766-1837) both used four- as well as three-movement structures. More usual were the structures used by John Stanley, two of whose concertos have three movements, and four have two movements; it is possible that a slow movement was improvised between the two fast ones, in the manner of Handel. Two recurrent plans are set out below in figure 1; the first is basically the Italian Sinfonia and the second owes its ancestory to the *sonata da Chiesa* and the French overture.

Plan for a three-movement concerto

1) *Allegro* ritornello movement, or later a concerto (sonata) form movement.

2) Either a short *Largo* or *Adagio* movement or a lengthier, more expressive *Affettuoso* movement.

3) *Allegro* or *Presto* dance movement, or later a rondo.

Plan for a four-movement concerto

1) *Largo* rhythmic (often dotted) introduction.

2) *Allegro* (lengthiest movement) ritornello or fugue.

3) Either a short slow movement (homophonic, or related to the first movement) or a longer expressive movement.

4) Fast dance movement of a light-hearted nature.

Fig. 1: The two most common structures for organ concertos.

For the fast movements the most commonly used form was ritornello, but the fugue was also popular; binary form was often used for a slow movement or a dance movement, and when it was used in an opening movement it sometimes displayed the device of corresponding cadences. Middle movements in Baroque concertos were usually in the relative minor or major with some occurrences of the tonic major or minor, or other closely related key, or they remained in the tonic; *galant* concertos most commonly remained in the tonic or used the dominant or subdominant, with only a few instances of the relative minor or major, or the tonic minor or major. Variation form in a slow movement or the finale occurs throughout the century; it tended be be favoured by certain composers, among whom may be mentioned Avison and Hook. Although ritornello form was used by most composers of organ concertos for the first quick movement, by the latter part of the century it tends to reflect a backward-looking or conservative

approach; some composers attempted to be more up-to-date by using sonata form; Arne did so once in his fourth concerto, and Hook--ever the modernist--also made use of this form. Haydn, one of whose organ concertos was available in England from 1772, used both binary and sonata forms. Dance movements in concertos include minuets most commonly, but also gavottes, bourrées, and gigues. Other forms include ternary and (late in the period) extended forms, which Russell in particular developed, and Crotch used in the first movement of his Concerto in B flat Major. The average length of an eighteenth-century organ concerto is 12 minutes; it became lengthened by those composers who used these extended forms (this will be discussed more fully later in this chapter).

In concertos often there was a cadenza implicity or explicitly indicated on a climactic chord near the end of a movement--generally the first, but it could occur anywhere (Philip Hayes favoured it in his slow second movements). Of the few written-out cadenzas the figurations show that there was no thematic relationship with previous material in the movement, and that patterns were predominantly scalic or based on broken chords. Examples of written-out cadenzas can be seen in Hook's op.55 no.6 (third movement), Philip Hayes's Concerto no.3 (second movement), and Russell's Concerto (second movement). The indication 'cadenza' appears in the Hayes and Russell movements; often '*ad libitum*' or a fermata sign, or both, imply that a cadenza should be improvised. Where there is no provision for an improvised cadenza the final tutti has often been preceded by bravura passage work which may be regarded as a written-out cadenza.

Style.

Concertos, like voluntaries, were often published 'for the organ or the harpsichord,' and later, also 'the Piano Forte.' Usually this was merely an attempt to sell them to a wider performing public because they were supposedly playable on all three instruments. It has already been noted that few composers gave registrations for the organ (which would seem to exclude the harsichord and the pianoforte) and those who did so only indicated them occasionally. The majority of concertos, particularly from the post-Handelian period until the end of the century, could be played convincingly on the organ, the harpsichord, or the piano because the nature of the style and figuration do not strongly suggest or require one instrument in favour of the others. Thomas Chilcot (c.1700-1766) is one exception: his two sets of Six Concertos (1756 and 1765) specify the harpsichord. These works were much influenced by Domenico Scarlatti (1685-1757), whose harpsichord sonatas were popular in England--his *Essercizi per Gravicembalo* were published in London in 1739 and later that year Thomas Roseingrave (1690-1766) published a set of his sonatas--but had relatively little influence on native composers; Chilcot's concertos display the Scarlattian characteristics of rapid thirds and hand-crossing patterns, which also are to be found in concertos by Arne, Philip Hayes, and Charles Wesley. Sometimes a particular concerto may seem more suited to one instrument than another: for example Concerto no.2 in G Major by Arne should be played on the organ--he gives registrations for the second and third movements; however, realising the necessity for versatility, he stated in a note at the end of the first movement: 'When this concerto is performed on the Organ, the three following Solo Movements are intended to be played; but if a Harpsichord be the Instrument, may be left out, or

only the last Allegro, in 3/8 played'. The Scarlattian echoes and hand-crossing patterns in the fifth concerto make this work more suited to the harpsichord. On the other hand, Philip Hayes's Concerto no. 3 in F Major, with its sustained *Pastorale* movement, is best suited to the organ. Long, expressive melodic phrases in slow movements, such as those in Charles Wesley's sixth concerto or Stanley's fourth concerto, would not sound well on the harpsichord without decoration, but they are admirably suited to a solo stop on the organ where the melody can be both prominent and sustained. Philip Hayes (in 1769) was the first composer to list the piano as one of the instrumental options--this came only one year after J. C. Bach's inceptive piano recital in London on 2 June 1768. [24] Samuel Arnold's deliberately simple and *galant* Three Concertos (1782) were published for 'Organ, Harpsichord, or Piano Forte', and are versatile in their suitability because of the limited figurations used. William Smethergell (1751-1836) favoured the piano, and his concertos (six, 1775 and one, 1784) do not mention the organ, only the harpsichord and the piano. His 'Favorite Concerto' (1784) in particular is best suited to the piano, which emphasises its anticipation of the Romantic style of John Field (1782-1837).

English keyboard concertos of the eighteenth century can be said to fall into five main categories of style (examples of which appear below: see pages 285-334):

[24] Kirby (1966), 24.

1) Handelian.

2) Handelian and *rococo* styles mixed.

3) Scarlattian.

4) Classical.

5) Classical moving toward Romantic.

Handel's music continued to influence composers throughout the century, indeed Handel's effect on the organ concerto was every bit as great as his effect on the oratorio--Avison and Felton were entrenched in this style, which remained the overriding one up to the time of Stanley. Some of Stanley's concertos, while still owing a debt to Handel, incorporate certain *rococo* features, including a reduction in the number of movements, a slower harmonic pulse, filigree figuration above repeated quaver bass notes, and much use of sequential formulae. Scarlatti's influence has already been mentioned. The advent of the pianoforte as a concert and domestic instrument played an important rôle in the changing style of music: its expressive qualities were exploited in the music written for it, while at the same time influencing works for other instruments. A natural extension of its solo powers was to use it in concertos, and as a concerto instrument the piano gradually came into its own--piano virtuosi such as J.C.Bach, Clementi, Cramer, Dussek, Hummel, and Mendelssohn flourished--thus it soon became independent from the keyboard concerto which was written for 'harpsichord, organ, or piano'. Composers who were willing to move with contemporary trends--and many remained stubbornly old-fashioned--began to react to and feel sympathy with the Classical style which they met in works by continental composers. Philip Hayes's concertos exhibit the greater subtleties of dynamics and expression which the piano helped to nurture; likewise, Smethergell was aware of new possibilities. One problem was yet to be solved--that of form. English

composers had not yet had a chance to grasp the intricacies of sonata form: they continued with binary form and corresponding cadences; the seeds of sonata form are present in embryo and await development; the major problem was how to break away from the parallelism of the two halves of binary form. Smethergell attempted to solve this, and had some measure of success by deferring the return to the tonic until nearer the end of the movement. Sustained counterpoint is rare in concertos in this style, as is powerful harmony; predominant is the melody in the right hand, to which the left hand is nearly always subservient. This melodic style has always suited the English--both composers and audiences--and it easily accommodated the use of currently popular songs and dances, sometimes with variations, as a final movement in a concerto. This type of music was immensely popular and eminently well-suited for performance in the Pleasure Gardens. Late in the eighteenth century and early in the nineteenth century some organ concerto movements are to be found in sonata form. In an effort to reconcile a display of brilliance of technique with depth of feeling, composers like Russell and Crotch (in his third concerto) re-emphasized the importance of harmony, often using daring or unusual progressions, and generally instilling into the music a more serious tone than that found in *galant* compositions generally and in popular tunes and light dance movements of composers like Hook in particular. Form, which was always something of concern to the Romantic school, was experimented with by this category of composers, generally resulting in larger structures which were knit together by various means including thematic transformation. This will be discussed in more detail in chapter XI with regard to Russell's music.

The decline of the organ concerto.

Although during the first 15 years of the nineteenth century some composers regarded the organ concerto as an archaic form, they still felt obliged to pay homage to, or were unable to break free from, the style of Handel, the great god of the oratorio and the organ concerto. Concertos continued to be heard in theatres along with oratorios well into the nineteenth century; they were still being played at the major London Pleasure Gardens, even though the age of the Garden was nearly over--certainly the hey-day was past and the clientèle was not so desirable as it had been. The growing number of complaints from nearby residents about the noise of the music and fireworks from the Pleasure Gardens doubtless hastened their demise. [25] Perhaps the problems of style and form in the organ concerto were too great for some composers to take trouble over; there are no known examples of an organ concerto of this period written by a non-organist. The growing interest in symphonic forms, in the right hands, might have been adapted to the organ concerto, but this was not to come for many years and not from an English composer: late in the nineteenth century two French composers--Guilmant and Saint-Saëns--wrote organ symphonies which combine elements of concerto with symphonic writing: Guilmant's Symphony no. 1 in D Minor dates from 1878 (he arranged it for organ solo shortly afterwards, and in this form it is known as Sonata no. 1) and the 'Organ' Symphony (no. 3 in C Minor) by Saint-Saëns dates from 1887. Although Kollmann, in his definition of 'Concerto', referred to the tuttis as resembling a symphony, he did not mean that this implied structural similarities. For the London audiences of Russell's

[25] Matthews (1968), 40.

day opera, particularly Italian opera sung by Italian singers, remained their firm favourite. A further reason for the decline of the organ concerto was the development of the instrument itself: by the early years of the nineteenth century there was a trend for building larger, more powerful instruments. The inclusion of 'character' stops to imitate orchestral instruments, but which in reality could not sound like their counterparts, together with the technology which enabled organists to play much larger instruments which included pedals, changed the nature of the organ and therefore the music which composers were to write for it. The organ was, by the middle of the century, capable of playing symphonic music, particularly arrangements of orchestral music which became extremely popular--indeed it was only through transcriptions of symphonies, operatic overtures, etc. by men like W.T.Best (1826-1897) that many audiences outside London could hear this music. The late twentieth century has seen a renewed interest in the genre of the organ concerto in England, America, and Europe--still, as in the eighteenth century, mainly written for a particular organist to perform on a certain organ, but (the composer hopes) living on much longer.

Many of the organ concertos of the eighteenth century have been lost and only their titles survive; most of the remainder have not been performed since their period of composition--many were intended as ephemera, to entertain in the most popular style of the day--but among those which still exist there is much of interest, and some (such as those by Philip Hayes, Arne, the Wesleys, Crotch, and Russell) which are worthy to be installed and retained in the repertoire; thankfully, concertos by Stanley, Arne, and the Wesleys are still occasionally included in concert programmes, and at the present time one of England's foremost organists is

preparing a series of recordings of eighteenth-century organ concertos and is considering the possibility of including Russell's Organ Concerto.[26]

[26] Confidential communication to the author.

The Organ Concerto in England II

The development of the organ concerto.

In this section of the chapter the development of the organ concerto is traced through selected works by composers who are listed in figure 2.

composer	work	earliest established date *
Burgess (fl.c.1720-1781)	Six Concertos	1740
Handel (1685-1759)	Six Concertos op.4	1738
	Six Concertos arr. from op.6	c.1740
	Six Concertos op.7	Publ.posth.1761
Felton (1715-1769)	Six Concertos op.1	1744
	Six Concertos op.2	c.1747
	Six Concertos op.4	c.1752
	Six Concertos op.5	c.1755
	Eight Concertos op.7	1762
Michael Haydn (1734-1806)	Duo Concertante for Viola and Organ	c.1760
William Hayes (1708-1777)	Concerto in G Major	Publ.posth.1988
Cooke (1734-1793)	Concerto in D Major	1749
Mudge (1718-1763)	Six Concertos	c.1749
Mantel (1707-1761)	Six Concertos op.3	1752
Edwards (1729-1785)	Six Concertos	c.1760
Roseingrave (1690-1766)	Concerto in D Major	Publ.posth.1770
Dupuis (1733-1796)	Six Concertos	1759
	Five Concertos	Publ.posth.1796
Avison (1709-1770)	Two Concertos op.1	1742
	Eight Concertos op.4	c.1747
	Twelve Concertos op.9	1766
C.P.E.Bach (1714-1788)	Three Concertos op.3	c.1750
	Concerto in E flat Major	1759
	Concerto	1765
	Three Concertos	1775
J.C.Bach (1735-1782)	Six Concertos op.1	1763
Herschel (1738-1822)	Two Concertos	1767 (ms.)
Philip Hayes (1738-1797)	Six Concertos	1769
Stanley (1713-1786)	Six Concertos (arr. from op.2 1742)	c.1745
	Six Concertos op.10	1775
Stamitz (1717-1757)	Six Concertos	c.1775
Graun (1702/3-1771) and Agrell (1701-1765)	Six Concertos	1762
Joseph Haydn (1732-1809)	Concerto in C Major Hob.XVIII/1	1756
attrib. Haydn	Concerto in F Major Hob. XVIII/7	1766 publ.1772
S.Arnold (1740-1802)	Three Concertos	1782
Camidge (1758-1844)	Six Concertos op.13	c.1800
Charles Wesley (1757-1834)	3 sets of Concertos	1775-1778 (ms.)
	Six Concertos op.2 selected from above	1781
Arne (1710-1778)	Six Concertos	c.1754-1772 Publ.posth.1793

composer	work	earliest established date *
Hook (1746-1837)	Two Concertos for Vauxhall	1774
	Six Concertos op.1	c.1775
	Three Grand Concertos op.20	c.1781
	Six Grand Concertos op.55	1790
	Concerto per il organo o cembalo	1797 (ms.)
	Concerto in B flat Major	1816 (ms.)
Samuel Wesley (1766-1837)	Concerto in D Major	1800 (ms.)
	Concerto in B flat Major	1811 (ms.)
	Concerto in C Major	1815 (ms.)
Crotch (1775-1847)	Three Concertos	1804-1805 publ.c.1805

* Sometimes it is unclear from the material whether dates refer to composition or publication, or even performance; therefore the date given is the earliest in connection with each work.

Fig. 2: Organ concertos referred to in the text of the History part II, in the order in which the composers appear.

The earliest English organ concertos: Burgess and Handel.

The essence of the concertos of Henry Burgess is that of display: there is no real attempt at musical development: instead showy figurative passages for the soloist alternate with the main material of the tutti without any integration between them. By contrast the organ concertos of Handel abound in variety: variety of mood, of texture, even of the number of movements, and yet there is a pattern which is logical on the one hand but not without surprise on the other. In performances of his concertos Handel, according to Hawkins, always began in the same way by playing an improvised introductory prelude:

> When he gave a concerto, his method in general was to introduce it with a movement on the diapasons, which stole the ear in a slow and solemn progression; the harmony close-wrought, and as full as could possibly be expressed; the passages concatenated

> with stupendous art, the whole at the same time being perfectly intelligible, and carrying the appearance of great simplicity. This kind of prelude was succeeded by the concerto itself, which he executed with a degree of spirit and firmness that no one ever pretended to equal. [27]

Improvisation formed an important part of Handel's organ concertos: sometimes there was not even an harmonic skeleton, just the words 'Organo ad libitum' as in op. 7 no. 6. Handel's op. 4 concertos were published as a set by Walsh in 1738. Their popularity was doubtless increased by the fact that the composer performed them, but they continued to be played in oratorio concerts for many years after his death. Such was the demand from players and audiences that Walsh collected together six other concertos of Handel and published them as op. 7 in 1761, possibly with the assistance of J. C. Smith, the composer's amanuensis; indeed Walsh had also arranged some organ concertos from Handel's Concerti Grossi op. 6 in about 1740 in order to supply public demand. Handel's organ concertos set a precedent for succeeding generations, yet, surprisingly, succeeding composers of the genre rarely maintained such an element of drama or, indeed, variety, in their concertos. Composers tended to slip into their own less elaborate pattern, rarely, if ever, to deviate from it; Avison, for example, used a four-movement *sonata da Chiesa* type of structure as follows:

[27] Hawkins (1875), II 912.

1) *Adagio* or *Maestoso* often using dotted rhythms.

2) *Allegro:* fugal or in binary form.

3) *Adagio* or *Largo* leading to

4) *Andante* 'aria', a simple melodic movement with or without variations.

Felton.

The first notable organ concertos by an English composer were written by the Reverend William Felton, whose Six Concertos op. 1 were published in 1744; between this date and 1762 he wrote a total of 32 organ concertos, making him the most prolific composer of this genre; opp. 1, 2, 4, and 5 each contain six concertos, and op. 7 (1762) contains eight; all were published in London by John Johnson. Although Burney commented that Felton only 'produced two concertos out of three sets that were worth playing in London' and Handel, when asked to subscribe to Felton's op. 1, retorted, 'A barson make concerto? Vy he no make sarmon?'; some of these concertos have remained in the performing repertoire, and Handel indeed did subscribe to the first set. [28] Felton's organ concertos were not only turned out of an Handelian mould, but also they show the influence of Vivaldi, whose music was very popular in England at that time: the language is often a mixture of Handel and Vivaldi but the form owes more to the latter than to the former. Felton's fast movement themes are generally bold and energetic with good rhythmic impetus; he used them effectively as ritornelli in first movements--indeed, in op. 1 no. 1 the theme appears no less than eight times; later his use of the form became

[28] Quoted in Cudworth (1953), 53.

less protracted, although the weight and main musical interest are always in his first movements (this was to remain true of the majority of organ concertos in this study). From the evidence in the music itself it is not surprising to find that Felton was a fine organist: on occasion his ability led him to write some over-lengthy sections of showy passage work for the soloist (example 1). Handelian influence is much in evidence in Felton's Concerto in B flat Major op. 4 no. 5 (which was published in about 1752), notably in the ritornello theme (example 2), in solo figuration (example 3), in dialogue/repetition between organ and orchestra (example 4), and in cadential formulae (example 5). The moving to and fro between duplets and triplets is not uncommon in Baroque music: for instance, Handel did so in *Messiah* in the arias 'Why do the nations so furiously rage together?' and 'I know that my Redeemer liveth', and the device lived on through the *rococo* period. Felton's use of it is the same as J. S. Bach's in the pedal solo of the Toccata, Adagio, and Fugue in C Major (BWV 564), a work which was unknown in England at this time (example 6). The harmonic progression through bars 67-71 of this Felton first movement is a parallel to that of the first section of Vivaldi's *Gloria* (example 7). Further evidence of Vivaldi's influence may be seen in the use of the upward resolving suspension (example 8), in the brisk, lively quality of the fast movement--qualities so inherent in Vivaldi's *allegro* string movements--and in the figurations, several of which are typical violin patterns (example 9). There are two unusual features in Felton's Concerto in D Major op. 7 no. 4: the abrupt changes of key and mood at bar 92 (example 10), also bar 135 of the first movement, and the use of arpeggiation in the second movement (example 11). The former is not dissimilar to a section in the tonic minor in the second movement of Handel's Concerto in G Minor op. 4 no. 1 (example 12), and Samuel Wesley was

to use a similar device in his Concerto in D Major (1800). Rapid arpeggio figures are more commonly associated with the harpsichord, although James Nares (1715-1783), a fine harpsichord player as well as an organist, wrote such patterns in the fifth fugue of his Six Fugues with Introductory Voluntaries, which were published in 1772 (example 13); Michael Haydn (1737-1806) did so in the second movement of his *Duo Concertante for Viola and Organ* (c. 1760), and Felton himself had written a wide-ranging *Solo Arpeggiando* in the first movement of op. 4 no. 5 (example 14). In the Haydn movement and in Felton's op. 7 no. 4 the arpeggiation is used as a decoration for the melody in a slow movement; in Felton's op. 4 no. 5 and in Nares's fugue the figuration is more in the nature of virtuoso passage work.

Typically in post-Handelian concertos there is a three-movement structure of a quick, a slow, and another quick movement. Felton maintained this format. His middle movements are either an harmonic *Largo* in which the soloist can embellish a melody, as in op. 4 no. 5 (example 15), or a melodic *Larghetto* based on a single theme, as in op. 7 no. 4 (example 16). The finales are dances in binary form (a gigue in op. 4 no. 5 and a gavotte in op. 7 no. 4) or a set of variations, a form which became increasingly popular as the century progressed. Felton's scoring remained true to his Handelian models; he wrote for two oboes and four-part strings; he did not indicate organ registration on the score, he merely made inconsistent use of *piano* and *forte* dynamic markings.

Other Handelian composers.

Other composers who were indebted to Handel and who continued to write organ concertos in the Handelian style include William Hayes (1708-1777), Benjamin Cooke (whose Concerto in D Major of 1749 is firmly entrenched in the Baroque era), the Reverend Richard Mudge (who published an organ concerto--no. 6 of Six Concertos in seven parts--about the same time), Johann Christian Mantel (the first of whose Six Concertos op. 3, published in 1752, is remarkably similar to Handel's op. 4 no. 1--both are in the key of G Minor and both begin with rapidly ascending scalic sweeps), and Thomas Edwards (who published six concertos around 1760). Thomas Roseingrave, whose Concerto in D Major was published four years after his death, displays little evidence of the fact that he studied with Domenico Scarlatti in Italy; Thomas Sanders Dupuis was a naturally conservative composer whose first set of Six Concertos (published in 1759) contains evidence of his technical expertise on the organ. Charles Avison published Two Concertos op. 1 in 1742, Eight Concertos c. 1747 and 12 in 1766; his second and third sets were arrangements of his Concerti Grossi, respectively op. 4 and op. 9, and were published as organ solos, but with the option that the instrumental parts *[ripieno]* from the string concertos might serve as an accompaniment if desired; the lack of keyboard style betrays their derivation from the Concerti Grossi. Stanley had made similar arrangements of his own Concerti Grossi about two years previously (see page 298). Avison certainly had an eye to the market because he arranged 20 of Corelli's Concerti Grossi as organ concertos. The appearance of Corelli is, perhaps, significant: Avison was openly anti-

Handel, preferring the Italian masters, [29] but this does not mean that all Handelian features are absent from his music--indeed his fast movements, particularly the fugal ones, often recall Handel (example 17); some of the introductory *Largo* movements, especially those using the dotted rhythms of the French overture, are Handelian (example 18). Avison wrote in a four-movement format: slow, fast, slow, *Andante*, on the same lines as Corelli's *Sonate da Chiesa* (see page 287). Sometimes the slow movements, particularly those placed after the fast movement, are little more than a few bars long--either they are short introductions to the following section or possibly it is intended they should provide a basis for improvisation. Avison's finales are often in the nature of an aria--he frequently heads them *Aria Andante;* these are simple in texture, melodic in nature, and sometimes have one or more variations; the style of these *'arias'* is somewhat contrasted with the remainder of the concertos, being more intricate and almost sentimental (example 19); this style was also prevalent in Germany during the middle years of the eighteenth century in the works of such composers as W.F.Bach and Quantz.

Early continental organ concertos in England.

It was not only English organ concertos that were heard in this country: Handel's publisher, Walsh, printed 'Three Concertos for the harpsichord or organ op.3' by C.P.E.Bach in about 1750, followed by a later collection of Concertos 'for the Harpsichord or Organ, with Accompanyments *[sic]* for Violins...' in about 1765 [30] and 10 years later

[29] Cudworth (1953), 51.

[30] Wilson (1968), 34n.

Longman, Lukey, & Co. published 'A Second Set of Three Concertos for the Organ or Harpsichord with Instrumental Parts' by the same composer. His Concerto in E flat Major for organ with strings and horns (1759) is a meeting point for the Baroque and *rococo* styles: the inclusion of horns in the orchestra is a *rococo* feature; the fast movements (placed, as usual, first and third) are in the lively Vivaldian manner and display Baroque rhythms; the slow central movement is more forward-looking in its use of chromatically embellished melody--several years later Samuel Wesley was to write somewhat angular chromatic melodies like this: indeed, Wesley's Organ Duet in C Major (1812) uses material which is not dissimilar to Bach's main theme. C.P.E.Bach wrote over 50 keyboard concertos (not all specified the organ), many of which display his awareness of the importance of inter-relating the solo and tutti parts: this he achieved either by repetition, answering phrases, or varying the original statement. A generation later this became general practice in concerto writing.

In 1762 J.C.Bach settled in London where he spent his remaining years. His keyboard concertos (played on the organ or the harpsichord) are more settled into the *rococo* style than those of his brother Carl Philipp Emanuel. The Six Concertos op.1 (1763) were dedicated to Queen Charlotte and the finale of the sixth is a set of variations on the English national anthem; such display of affection and respect for the royal family secured Bach the position of the Queen's Music Master. This work shows typical *rococo* features such as continuous repeated quavers in the bass, often as a dominant pedal, and a light-hearted mood prevails throughout; in the first movement there appear tiny fragments of imitative counterpoint, but these are rapidly dismissed in a flurry of activity in

all parts. The middle movement has a lucid, often only a two-part, texture in which a melody--freely moving in duplets and triplets--is woven over a broken chord pattern; it owes something to the Italian style, and is similar to the slow movement of Perscetti's Organ Sonata in C Minor. R. J. S. Stevens (1757-1837), whom, it seems, was always hard to please even as a youth, recalled attending an oratorio concert in 1770 at which J. C. Bach

> endeavoured to play a Concerto upon the organ (by the express command of her Majesty, who as well as His Majesty were present). But this Concerto gave no pleasure to the Audience, and was absolutely hissed: all our boys laughed at the exhibition; so different was it from the true Organ Style of playing, to which we had been accustomed from hearing Worgan, Michael Arne, Doctor Dupuis, and Jonathan Battishill, unquestionably some of the greatest organists of the English School in their day. [31]

This criticism of Bach's playing presumably is primarily a comment on his composition in a new style not yet appreciated by the traditionalists. The concerts which J. C. Bach organized in London with C. F. Abel (1723-1787) brought much contemporary music to the ears of the audiences. The new Classical style was being introduced, but many English composers--particularly those associated with Church music--resisted its influence. Some composers of organ concertos, however, did attempt to break away, albeit only in part, from the Baroque tradition. Another continental musician whose compositions reflect aspects of the new *galant* style, while retaining many Baroque features, is Sir William Herschel, a German who

[31] Trend (1933), 130.

became the Astronomer Royal in England in 1781; he wrote two organ concertos (in G Major and D Major) in 1767 and another at a later date; the works, which are in manuscript, were privately sold by the family during the present century; the first two are in the British Library but the whereabouts of the later work is not known. [32] It is possible that the latter was a forward-looking composition, in the sense that it is known to have been written for a larger orchestra than the earlier Concerto in G Major, which is scored for organ and strings only.

Philip Hayes.

One of the first successful English composers to modernise his style in the organ concerto was Philip Hayes, whose relatively early opus, 'Six Concertos with accompaniments; for the Organ, Harpsichord or Forte-Piano', was published in 1769. These works were the first English concertos to list the piano as one of the possible solo instruments, although some movements have a texture more suited to the organ--notably those which contain indications for the registration. Hayes's Six Concertos were influential, with a list of 374 subscribers--many more than for similar publications--indicating his considerable social status: this list includes many fellows and clergy connected with the colleges of Oxford University (where Hayes's father, William, was Professor of Music and where he was to succeed him in 1777), members of the nobility (including the honourable Mrs. Wykam and William Wykam Esq., the dedicatee, a resident of Swalcliff in Oxfordshire), organists (Dupuis subscribed to three copies), music sellers, and music societies. Subscribers resided in all

[32] Blume (1957), VI 183.

parts of the country and a few were foreigners or lived abroad (Peter Valton, who had been an organist in London, emigrated and became organist at St. Philip's Church, Charles Town, South Carolina). The 'Advertisement' begins with Hayes thanking his subscribers 'who have honoured him with their Names', then he goes on to apologize

> for his having exceeded the Time he had fixed for the Publication of this Work; which has been owing to no neglect of his, but to many unforseen Accidents, and unavoidable Hindrances; such as the Engravers Illness, and the innumerable Errors and Omissions in the Proof-sheets....

In order to make 'some Amends' and to be 'pardoned for the delay', Hayes included a short two-movement 'Harpsichord Sonata' which comes after the concertos. It is interesting to note that Hayes points out his deliberate avoidance of 'uncommon' 'Cliffs' (in other words the C clefs) with which 'young and unexperienced Practitioners' might find difficulty; 'this, also, hath caused him no small additional trouble'. Although the G and F clefs were those most commonly used, composers freely used C clefs (particularly alto and tenor) in keyboard and other music; the practice was continued well into the nineteenth century (for instance by Brahms) and the ability to read C clefs as well as G and F clefs was an important rudiment for all music scholars (indeed, present-day candidates for the Fellowship examination of the Royal College of Organists are required to be fluent readers of the alto and tenor clefs). If a keyboard player was sufficiently accomplished to perform Hayes's (or any other composer's) concertos, one would have expected him to possess a certain proficiency in all the clefs.

The style of Hayes's Six Concertos is a mixture of the Baroque and the *galant:* an example of this duality may be seen in the first movement of Concerto no. 2 in B flat Major which opens with a lively, rhythmic melody over an active bass chiefly moving in quavers--this is typical of the Baroque style; by contrast, the phrases which conclude each of the two halves of the movement are *galant* in harmony and figuration (example 20). A similar mixture of styles is evident in the first movement of Concerto no. 4 in A Major with its Baroque sequential formulae and *galant* cadences (example 21). Hayes uses a variety of forms, favouring an extended binary form for the first movement (Concertos 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6) and triple time dances for the second and third movements (minuets appear in Concertos 2, 4, 5, and 6); variation form is used for the third (final) movements of Concertos 3, 4, and 6, and rondo form features in the first three concertos. The term '*affettuoso*' is applied to three second movements (in Concertos 2, 5, and 6): in each case the key is E flat Major. Ritornello form is only used once (in the first movement of Concerto no. 3 in F Major) but much of the style here is *galant* with the use of chromatic appoggiaturas and elegant figuration in the right hand of the solo part (example 22). This movement gives an example of Hayes's fondness (like Dupuis's) for triplets in small denominations. Concertos 1 (the most 'modern' in the set: it is thoroughly *galant*), 4, and 6 indicate a liberal approach to keys and modulation--the first movement of Concerto no. 1 moves from the tonic (G Major) to the mediant minor; a similar modulation occurs in the first movement of Concerto no. 4 in A Major, which has a lengthy section in C sharp Minor; in the first movement of Concerto no. 6 the unusual keys of B flat Minor and E flat Minor (the tonic minor) are used; Hayes does not seem to have considered the 'young and unexperienced Practitioners' here, nor the temperament of the organ.

Hayes gave a choice of instruments for the performance of his concertos; no complete work is obviously suited to a particular keyboard: within one work an individual movement might be more effective on one instrument, but the remainder could fittingly be played on any keyboard. However, Concerto no. 1 clearly states *'Cembalo solo':* indeed the Alberti bass figures and demisemiquaver scales suit the harpsichord (or piano) much better than the organ; Concerto no. 2 states 'Org: Solo'. In the first movement of Concerto no. 3 in F Major, the use of thirds in the right hand and rapid repeated notes in semiquavers make it well-suited to the piano (see example 22); the second movement, however, would not be at all satisfactory on the piano because of its sustained melodic line and lengthy bass notes (which would also rule out the harpsichord): thus, the obvious and most effective instrument to use here is the organ (example 23). In the third movement, *Aria con variationi*, for the third variation ('Trio'), Hayes instructs *'senza Organo e Cembalo'*--note there is no mention of forte piano; in actual fact this movement, with its two-part texture and semiquaver figurations, sounds best on the harpsichord. Elsewhere references to registration clearly indicate the organ; as Charles Wesley was to do 12 years later, Hayes only registered slow movements--his *affettuoso* movements are played with the melody (right hand) on the 'Hautboy stop in the swelling Organ' and the accompaniment (left hand) on the Stopt Diapason. Dynamics, including crescendi, are marked during these organ solos: composers usually left the operation of the Swell to the discretion of the performer; these concertos are therefore important in terms of the composer giving the player more specific instructions for interpretation.

Hayes's Concertos 3 and 4 are scored for an orchestra of four-part strings, two flutes, and two horns, (the third Concerto also has a bassoon solo indicated in the cello part); the remainder are for strings only. The string parts are not merely a functional accompaniment but are interesting in their own right with double stopping (occasionally four-note chords in the violins) and pizzicato sections alternating with *'con l'arco'* passages. The viola writing is (typically for the time) undemanding. The flutes normally play in thirds, doubling the violins at the octave; however, in variation 3 of the third movement of Concerto no. 3 the solo flute plays the melody in sixths above the first violin. The horns outline the melody of the slow movements or fill out the harmony (example 24).

To summarise, the Six Concertos of Hayes form an important landmark in the history of the organ concerto because of their blend of the new, *galant* style with established Baroque features, their mention of the piano, the use of adventurous keys, and the detail on the score regarding performance.

Stanley.

There remains much of the Baroque style in the organ concertos of John Stanley too, but there are also some *galant* features. His first set of Six Concertos comprises his own arrangement of his Concerti Grossi op. 2, among the finest English examples of the form, and were published in organ concerto form in about 1745 (the Concerti Grossi were published in 1742). These are undoubtedly Baroque compositions, but Stanley's Six Organ Concertos op. 10 (1775) show a gradual modernising of style and form.

It is not unexpected that Stanley should have retained something of Handel in these works: he was nurtured in that style and performed much of the master's music--indeed he often played organ concertos by Handel, including one during the performance of *Alexander's Feast* at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket on 2 March 1753--and after Handel's death he worked with J.C.Smith in organizing the oratorio seasons at both the Covent Garden and Drury Lane theatres, frequently appearing himself as soloist in concertos. [33]

Opus 10 contains a variety of styles and forms, probably indicating that the works had been composed over a period of several years and collected together for publication. The set can be divided in half stylistically: the first three concertos seem to have been composed several years earlier than the last three. The third is a reworking of the Concerto Grosso op.2 no.6 but without the original's third movement (*Largo*)--perhaps this was considered to be too much in the 'ancient' style for inclusion here--the fugue is retained but with extended episodes for the soloist (this is the only instance of a fugue in Stanley's op.10). Like most of J.C.Bach's concertos the first two and the last of Stanley's op.10 contain only two movements, both fast and lively; it is not known whether Stanley, like Handel, intended the player to improvise a slow movement between them. Concerto no.1 is firmly Baroque throughout: the opening bars set the mood (example 25). The opening of Concerto no.2, with its broken chords in octaves and its repeated quaver chords, sets the piece nearer to the *rococo* style (example 26), but the solo figuration remains Baroque; the semiquaver broken chord figures suggest the

[33] Gifford (1986), iii.

harpsichord rather than the organ (example 27). Like most other composers of keyboard concertos, Stanley published his own 'for the Organ, Harpsichord or Piano Forte', although the first was uppermost in his mind because all the indications on the score, such as '*Senza Organo*' or '*Con Org.*' specifically refer to this instrument. Opus 10 no. 3, the reworking of op. 2 no. 6, is in the form of a French overture, beginning with a slow introductory movement in dotted rhythm, followed by an *Allegro* fugue (so far entirely Baroque), and concluding with a modern and lively 'gavot'--which is actually a bourrée since it starts on the fourth beat of the bar--(example 28). Although the Concerto op. 10 no. 4 is still Baroque in style it is more 'modern' in spirit, and it possesses great expressive power and conveys depth of feeling; this serves to indicate that not all organ concertos were intended as light-hearted entertainment. Stanley achieves his expression partly through the use of the key of C Minor (during the second half of the eighteenth century few concertos--for organ or other instruments--were written in the minor) and partly through melody (notably in the second movement) and 'dark' chromatic harmonies such as the Neapolitan Sixth. Example 29 shows how the mood of the second movement's lyrical and eloquent theme is enhanced by the embellishments in the solo part. In the fifth concerto the *rococo* style is evident from the opening with its repeated semiquavers in the upper strings (example 30); as in the first movement of the Concerto op. 10 no. 2, the arpeggiation in the solo part is derived from string figuration and suggests the harpsichord rather than the organ (example 31). Stanley provides a six-bar harmonic *Adagio* leading into a lively and contemporary-sounding minuet (example 32). Opus 10 no. 6 is the most modern concerto in the set: once again this is evident from the very beginning with its lively repeated notes and rocket-like ascending melody (example 33); the form is more

up-to-date, the old ritornello form having been abandoned in favour of a type of extended binary form. Here the figuration in the solo part is less suited to the organ than the other concertos: perhaps the piano is the best choice for performance (example 34). The second movement, *Rondeau,* has the principal theme of eight bars introduced by the soloist; this is then repeated in its entirety by the orchestra; for its subsequent appearances the soloist takes the first four bars followed by the orchestra continuing the last four. This approach, together with the *Rondeau* theme subtly re-introduced each time by the soloist, is refreshingly different from the traditional orchestral ritornelli. Stanley's op. 10 concertos are simply scored using three-part strings (no viola); unlike his organ voluntaries there are no suggested registrations, just *forte* and *piano* indications.

Later continental organ concertos in England.

About the time of the publication of Stanley's op. 10, Six Organ Concertos by Johann Wenzel Anton Stamitz, director of the court orchestra of Mannheim, were published in London. According to the Breitkopf catalogue of 1763 only three of these works were by Stamitz, two having being written by Johann Gottlieb Graun and one by the Swede, Johann Agrell. 'Six Concertos for the Harpsichord or Organ compos'd by Sig^r Graun and Agrell' had been published by Walsh in 1762. Of Stamitz's Six Concertos, no. 1 in D Major is certainly one of his own; it is the only one to survive complete with its orchestral parts. The style and form are *rococo;* the first movement, in extended binary form, is notable for its economy of material; the rhythm and pattern of the opening figure provide all the material for the lengthy movement (example 35). The concertos of

Stamitz were played by Hook at Vauxhall Gardens, alongside contemporary works of other Europeans such as J.C.Bach, Pleyel, and Haydn. [34]

Haydn wrote most of his organ concertos during the 1750s when he was working as a free-lance musician in Vienna; mostly the works were performed during the Mass; they were possibly modelled on the violin concertos of Vivaldi, whose music was extremely popular in Vienna at the time--certainly there is a vivacious and spirited quality in the music which is *galant* in style. Haydn used a three-movement structure and either simple sonata form or extended binary form for the first movement and a triple metre binary or sonata form for the finale; the slow central movements are decorated melodies played by the organist with a simple accompaniment of repeated chords from the strings. Typical figures are given in example 36. The Organ Concerto in F Major Hob.XVIII/7, which was written in 1766 but may be spurious, received its first English publication in 1772. Noteworthy in this work are the use of fragmentary figures in developing the material--a device rarely found in English music of the period--and the sudden use of the minor key within the major key movements. Although the Concerto in C Major Hob.XVIII/1 was composed 10 years earlier, in 1756, it is the most Classical in style of Haydn's organ concertos, and it is also the longest, having a duration of 17 minutes. The finale is a brilliant *Allegro Molto* in 3/8; although it is in binary form its recurring theme (example 37) gives the feeling of a rondo. The orchestra for this concerto is larger than the others of Haydn, which are scored for three-part strings; here there are also parts for oboes and horns and optional 'clarini' (trumpets).

[34] R.Langley (1986), preface.

Charles Wesley.

The organ concertos of Charles Wesley are scored similarly to Haydn's C-Major Concerto Hob.XVIII/1; the size of the orchestra was one of the few modern features in the former's compositions. Fourteen keyboard concertos by Charles Wesley are extant: some, which contain wide-ranging and rapid arpeggio figurations, are better suited to the harpsichord than the organ; it seems that the composer regarded most of them as dual-purpose works playable on either instrument, but some organ registrations and one *cembalo* registration (for the harp stop in op.2 no.6) indicate a favoured instrument. These concertos, all early works, date approximately from the period 1775 to 1778; later six of them were chosen for publication as a set (op.2) in 1781. Charles played his concertos at the subscription concerts which he organized with his younger brother Samuel, who often led the orchestra or joined him in duets at the organ. These concerts were held at the family home in Chesterfield Street, Marylebone between 1779 and 1785; the house contained two organs and a harpsichord. The boys' father (the hymn-writer Charles Wesley) said to his brother John (the founder of Methodism), by way of apology, that the musical evenings kept the lads out of mischief and that the revenue went towards their musical studies. Those who attended the concerts included members of the nobility, among them Samuel Johnson in 1780 and 1781, the Lord Mayor of London, and the Earl of Mornington, [38] who gave Charles junior an invaluable introduction to the royal family. When the concerts ceased this did not mean there was an end to the public performance of Charles Wesley's concertos: there was sometimes an opportunity to play them at one

[38] Routh (1973), 221.

of the theatres during the Lenten oratorio season, indeed the name of Charles Wesley appears more frequently than most (with the exception of John Ashley who was the resident organist at Covent Garden) in this connection: one such occasion was on Friday 21 March 1794, when Charles appeared as a guest soloist at Covent Garden in a concert which included Handel's *L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato,* and one of the principal vocal performers was the celebrated Madame Mara. [36]

Charles Wesley's concertos largely date from the time of his studies with Dr. Boyce (1710-1779), and this may partly explain why the works are formally and stylistically backward-looking: Boyce would not have encouraged his pupil to imitate the new style which was being introduced to London audiences in the concerts organized by J.C. Bach and Abel. Samuel Wesley described his brother's style as a mixture of Handel and Boyce, and it was to remain so throughout his career--Samuel referred to him as 'that obstinate Handelian', and wrote, as late as 1808, 'I am yet of the Opinion that if he could even now defend the Pre-eminence of Handel he would'. [37] The works do, however, display much worth, particularly in the scoring and in the counterpoint (for example in the use of close imitation in the first movement of the third concerto). The fast movements bear witness to the composer's undoubted skill as a performer, and some of the slow movements give the soloist opportunity to play expressively. The expressive movements are registered for the Hautboy--one of the chief solo stops on organs of the time--accompanied by the Stopped Diapason in the left hand. These movements are the only ones to

[36] *Times* (20 March 1794).

[37] E. Wesley (1957), 16-17.

contain organ registration, which appears (the same) three times: in the second movement of op. 2 no. 2 and in the second and fourth movements of op. 2 no. 3. Charles Wesley seems to have attached more importance than most of his contemporaries to the aspect of indicating expression in the music; certainly this is reflected in his inclusion of dynamic markings: in addition to the customary *f* and *p* he calls for *mf*, *mp*, *pianiss[imo]*, *fortiss[imo]*, *crescendo*, and *rin[forzando]*. Colour, too, is important in the orchestration. The scoring in op. 2 is a little more expansive than in earlier organ concertos, having oboes and horns added to the four-part strings, and thus showing that, at least in one respect, Charles Wesley was following the general trend. Among the concertos which were not published in Wesley's lifetime there are examples of scoring for four-part strings, with oboes and flutes doubling the violins, but providing no alternatives for the wind instruments when the violins play outside their range. [38] Of the tonal colourings, particularly worthy of comment is a passage in the second movement of the Concerto in F Major op. 2 no. 2 where, at bars 105-112 and 121-128 the first oboe plays a rapid staccato decoration of the theme accompanied by pizzicato strings and staccato horn chords (example 38).

Two of Charles Wesley's concertos may be named as typical of his style: one is entirely Baroque in its outlook (the Concerto in G Minor composed in 1776 but not published until 1988 [39]), the other (the Concerto in D Major op. 2 no. 3) combines Handelian traits with a more up-to-date Englishness such as may be found in, for example, the music of Thomas

[38] GB Lcm Ms. 4023.

[39] R. Langley (1988), 36.

Arne. The G-Minor Concerto is a four-movement work on the plan slow, fast, slow, fast. A *[Largo]* introduction in dotted rhythm is typically Handelian (example 39); it concludes on the dominant, ready to lead straight into the next movement, *Allegro mod[eralto,* which opens with a bold statement of the ritornello theme (example 40). The third movement is a charming *pastorale* in the tonic major which sounds so Handelian that one could be forgiven for thinking that it had come from the pen of Handel himself (example 41). The fourth movement, *Allegro,* begins like a strict fugue (example 42) but soon all counterpoint is abandoned; the Baroque device of hemiola appears several times. The D-Major Concerto is again a four-movement work, this time on the plan fast, slow, fast, slow; it displays a mixture of *rococo* and Baroque styles, with the format reminiscent of Avison with his concluding 'aria' movement. The *Allegro Moderato,* with which the work opens, is a fugal movement with the orchestra delivering the subject in the usual manner (example 43); the soloist takes this up then breaks off into passage work which is largely thematically unrelated. The ritornello principle is still at work with the orchestra re-announcing the subject intermittently; however the final cadence is strangely *rococo* (example 44). The second movement, *Largo Affettuoso,* is in the tonic minor. The use of the word *'Affettuoso'* often signifies a more modern approach, or at least, more tender and intimately expressive writing which is generally absent from quick movements. Here the melody (for the Hautboy stop) is characterised by the Scotch-snap rhythm, a fairly recent feature in English music as composers became interested in Scottish folk song. The rhythmic fluidity of the first three bars disappears abruptly along with the modernism, and the termination of the phrase is decidedly Handelian (example 45). Formally the movement is disappointing: the orchestra exactly repeats what the

soloist has played. The third movement, *Allegro*, is a lively Baroque double fugue containing some colourful echo effects, illustrating Charles Wesley's ability to write good invertible counterpoint. The finale is a tranquil *Andante Affettuoso*, again registered for Hautboy accompanied by Stopped Diapason; it is one of Charles Wesley's most modern-sounding pieces and has the same character that William Russell was to use in some of his melodic *Andantino* movements in the Organ Voluntaries. Particularly refreshing are the chromatically descending melody and cadence decoration (example 46).

Arne.

A similar mixture of Baroque and *rococo* styles occurs in Thomas Arne's Six Organ Concertos which were written probably during the period c.1754-c.1772. They were never published during his lifetime but they were frequently heard in performances given by Arne's precocious young son Michael. The preface to their eventual publication in 1793 by Harrison stated:

> Those Amateurs and Professors who witnessed the astonishing effect of these Concertos, when they were so successfully performed under the masterly execution and direction of the doctor's son, the late Mr.Michael Arne, have never failed to bear the handsomest testimony to their merits.

This preface explains that Dr.Arne proposed to publish the concertos by subscription 'but from some of those untoward circumstances known to have generally attended this great man through life' he was not able to do so. In 1784 Michael Arne planned to publish the concertos along with some of his father's choral music, but once again the scheme was not executed.

Finally, in 1793, the organ concertos were collected and edited by Arne's colleague John Groombridge, who was, about this time, teaching the young William Russell. While Arne's organ concertos are generally not so 'modern' as his symphonies, numbers 4 and 6 are stylistically in advance of the other concertos. The influence of J.C.Bach is evident in the opening of no.4 in B flat Major (example 47) which begins in similar vein to Charles Wesley's op.2.no.2 (example 48). Arne's opening movement is in a loose type of sonata form, something he--in common with other Classicists--had been gradually working towards via ritornello and binary forms and a blend of the two. The orchestral ritornello or introduction, with its unison opening (also a feature of the first movement of Concerto no.3 and the *Allegro con spirito* of Concerto no.5), presents only the first subject before the solo entry; thereafter the movement evolves in what is now termed sonata form, with two themes in the second subject group, the exposition repeated from the solo entry, and (after the cadenza) a coda based on the first subject. The development recalls the ritornello style and consists of portions of the first subject stated in various related keys alternating with solo passage work which modulates to each new key.

The second movement of Concerto no.4 is a *Minuetto* with a variation; this popular dance form was also used by Arne in his first, third, and sixth concertos, all with variations. The minuet themes are all *rococo* in style but in the variations of nos.1 and 3 the solo figuration tends to lapse into Baroque patterns, whereas in nos.4 and 6 the style is better preserved (example 49). Drama and surprise are important elements in these works: after a lengthy opening movement in a blend of ritornello and sonata forms, Concerto no.6 continues with a solo '*ad lib.*' beginning in G

Minor with the unfolding of an arpeggio idea to which demisemiquaver runs are joined; after coming to a point of rest on the dominant the movement is suddenly propelled '*Veloce*' with scales and figures flying the compass of the keyboard before a rather more tranquil '*ad lib.*' conclusion. All this contrast and drama is reminiscent of C.P.E.Bach's keyboard fantasias. Next follows a fugue (in the Baroque style) for the soloist, then the final minuet already mentioned. Unlike Wesley, Arne seems to have made a conscious effort to be 'modern' in at least some of his concertos and, in the case of no.1, he returned to rewrite it sometime later. This first concerto, like no.5, has a *Largo* introduction in the style of a French overture before the main movement; in the case of Concerto no.5 the opening contains some powerful harmonies (example 50). The work continues with a ritornello/sonata form movement in which the first subject is similar to a theme used by Arne's teacher Michael Festing (d.1752) in his Sonata in C Minor op.4 no.2 (1736). The same imitative treatment shows Arne in Baroque mood (example 51). For finales he seems to favour a gigue or a minuet. The solo writing in all six concertos is technically demanding, sometimes with virtuosity for the sake of show: this is particularly noticeable in the number of times the hands cross in Scarlatti fashion (this happens in all but Concerto no.4) and in the large leaps the left hand has to make above and below the right hand (again a Scarlattian feature).

Thus Arne's concertos display a variety of styles and forms; they also show a mature approach to orchestration, particularly in terms of texture and context. The scoring is for two oboes and four-part strings in Concertos 2-6, and for strings, oboes, bassoon, horns, and timpani in no.1, where the violas double the bass either at the unison or octave--an

old-fashioned device--but in the other concertos they maintain an important and independent part. The oboes are used in the Baroque manner: doubling the violins, sustaining harmony above the strings, and providing melody to string accompaniment as in Charles Wesley's concertos. Arne's symphonies allow the woodwind greater freedom and importance than his concertos, in which there is more integrated dialogue between orchestra and soloist than in Wesley's concertos and, indeed, than in most earlier concertos with the notable exception of Handel's; there is rarely sustained background harmony to accompany or mask the organ passage work--more often the orchestra provides rhythmic punctuation or reinforcement at the cadences in the solo sections.

Hook.

James Hook's stylistic outlook was the antithesis of his backward-looking contemporary, Charles Wesley. He spent most of his life composing for and playing at the Pleasure Gardens--White Conduit House in Clerkenwell, Marylebone Gardens, and finally Vauxhall Gardens where he worked for 46 years (1774-1820). Here he was expected to provide entertainment in the most recent style and to play an organ concerto each evening during the season the Gardens were open (from the end of May until about the end of September, depending on the weather). This encouraged Hook to be completely independent of the 'ancient' style. The frivolity of the *rococo* style was perfect for this situation and for Hook's music, even if it resulted in music which was not always of a consistent or high standard. Example 52 shows the type of entertainment available at Vauxhall Pleasure Garden. Hook's organ concertos are the only surviving examples of the genre specifically written for the Pleasure Garden. The

Concerto in C Major op.1 no.1 is simple in form and texture--often only two parts; its style is that of the very early Haydn piano sonatas. A simple accompaniment is provided by strings. The first movement opens with an elegant and shapely melody with plain tonic and dominant harmony (example 53). The short slow movement is in the relative minor and, like Arne, Hook provides a quasi improvisatory piece for the soloist. Also like Arne, and Philip Hayes too, Hook favoured the minuet: this dance provides the final movement; unlike Arne (except in the sixth concerto) but like Charles Wesley, Hook allows the organ to introduce the theme (example 54).

After the publication of his first organ concerto, Hook continued to compose prolifically in the genre; those which survive cover a period of 40 years. Most of these are published works: over 20 concertos are extant (though not all are complete) including 'Two Favourite Concertos for the Harpsichord or Organ...as performed at Vauxhall Gardens' (1774), 'Three Grand Concertos for the Organ, Harpsichord or Piano Forte with Accompaniments...' op.20 (c.1781), and Hook's last publication of organ concertos, 'Six Grand Concertos for the Organ or Harpsichord, with Accompaniments' op.55 (1790); some concertos survive in manuscript, such as the *'Concerto per il organo o cembalo'* (1797) at the Library of Congress, Washington, and the Concerto in B flat Major (1816) at the Norfolk and Norwich Record Office. [40] Two of Hook's concertos--the first of the two Concertos for Vauxhall (1774) and the Concerto op.20 no.2 -- have recently appeared in modern editions: the first in Volume 8 'The Concerto Repertoire 1740-1815' of the anthology *English Organ Music*

[40] The author is grateful to Annette Bumstead for drawing attention to this manuscript.

(Novello, 1988) and the second in no.59 of *Musica da Camera* (Oxford University Press, 1986). Hook's op.55 was not published by subscription; no doubt his established fame, particularly in connection with his work at Vauxhall Gardens, and the dedication of the set 'to his Majesty', were sufficient advertisement for this publication. The fact that op.55 was Hook's last publication of organ concertos reflects the decline of the genre: Hook turned his attention to other instrumental forms such as sonatas, although evidently he continued to write concertos for Vauxhall (probably he composed the 1816 Concerto in B flat Major to play there).

Hook's organ concertos maintain a surprising evenness of style over almost half a century; however, structurally the early works have two movements (usually an *Allegro* and a Rondo) and the late pieces have three movements (fast, slow, fast); the 1816 Concerto in B flat Major is an exception: it begins with a *Largo Maestoso* and continues with a Romance *(Allegro)* and a triple-time finale [minuet]. Hook's music owes much to current trends in London, and the influences of J.C.Bach and Mozart are obvious. The light-hearted jollity of J.C.Bach's *rococo* style perfectly suited Hook's aim to entertain his audiences; other influences are seen in the use of a tonic pedal to accompany a theme (example 55), Alberti bass accompaniments, and elegant chromatic grace notes. Unison openings, which appear in concertos by several other composers, are almost the rule in Hook's first movements--five of the six concertos op.55 conform to this style. Hook's organ concertos tend to be a little longer than those considered so far in this chapter, reflecting the current trend towards the nineteenth century (see Crotch and Russell below). The forms are fairly restricted: first movements tend to be more or less in the Classical concerto form as used by Mozart: Hook's orchestra presents the

main material--the first and second subjects, both in the tonic, with a transition between them which modulates to the dominant but straightaway returns to the tonic for the second subject. Although this procedure was customary for Hook it was unusual in Classical concerto form; however this modulation meant that the first subject and transition could be repeated exactly when the soloist entered, although Hook occasionally varied it in some of his later concertos. The soloist then has an exposition, normally restating the first subject as presented at the start, following with a transition (which may be longer than previously) modulating to the dominant, and continuing with the second subject in the new key. Equally common in Hook is a similar scheme, but one where the soloist introduces a new idea before or after the second subject stated in the introduction. Mozart repeatedly used this design, one example being the first movement of his D-Major Piano Concerto K.537. Whereas Mozart refers to all the themes in his recapitulation, Hook models his final section on the introduction--a useful short-cut in composition although less satisfactory musically. A type of sonata rondo form is used in the first movements of the D-Major Concerto for Vauxhall and the G-Major Concerto op.55 no.4; in these works Hook did not follow the pattern used by Mozart in his piano concertos; furthermore, he deviated from the more usual practice of referring to the first subject in the tonic when it reappears after the second subject at the end of the exposition: his version uses the scheme shown in figure 3.

Hook's development sections average 21% of the length of the movement; some are very short passages containing little or no reference to previous material: Concertos op.55 nos.3 and 5 mainly comprise modulatory passage work for the soloist; two earlier concertos (the

D-Major Concerto for Vauxhall (1774) and the Concerto op. 20 no. 2) have longer development sections but contain no real thematic development. The Concerto in A Major op. 55 no. 2 has a short development section, 13% of the movement, but it is based on material from the exposition--the first subject and bridge passage. Three concertos with longer developments are op. 55 nos. 1, 4, and 6, respectively 20%, 25%, and 32% of the first movement; the first chiefly develops thematically through the use of sequences; no. 4 contains solo passage work with ritornello-like interjections of first subject material--this is similar to Arne's

exposition

orchestral ritornello (introduction)	first subject in the tonic
	transition modulating to the dominant
	second subject in the tonic
	first subject in the tonic
solo entry	first subject in the tonic
	transition modulating to the dominant
	second subject in the dominant
	first subject in the dominant

development

mainly solo	chiefly passage work

recapitulation

tutti	first subject in the tonic
solo	transition *
	second subject in the tonic
tutti	first subject in the tonic

* In the earlier concerto this section modulates to the dominant as in the exposition; in the later work it is modified to remain in the tonic.

Fig. 3 Hook's sonata rondo form as used in the Concerto in D Major for Vauxhall (1774) and the Concerto in G Major op. 55 no. 4 (1790).

development section in his fourth Concerto in B flat Major (example 56); in Concerto no. 6 the development section contains new material as well as sequentially developing fragments of earlier themes. In none of these concertos does Hook attain the heights reached by Haydn and Mozart in their handling of material, but who could compete with these masters?

In his slow movements Hook favoured a minor key, either the tonic minor (in Concertos op. 20 no. 2, op. 55 nos. 1, 5, and 6) or the relative minor (op. 55 no. 4); the 1774 Vauxhall Concerto in D-Major has its central movement in the subdominant, while those of op. 55 no. 3 and the Concerto in F Major of 1797 remain in the tonic. The forms are chiefly ternary (Vauxhall D-Major Concerto of 1774, op. 55 nos. 1, 5--*da capo* form--and 6) and rondo (op. 20 no. 2 and op. 55 no. 3, which recalls the old ritornello form). Two very short slow movements are through-composed: op. 1 no. 1 which is improvisatory in style, and op. 55 no. 4 which uses a somewhat old fashioned Baroque-style dotted rhythm. The central movement of the 1797 Concerto is entitled '*musette*' [41] although it does not retain a drone bass; its simple style and tuneful melody using the Scotch-snap rhythm may have had associations, in Hook's mind, with Scottish bagpipes; it certainly sounds more Scottish than Wesley's Scotch-snap movement in his Concerto in F Major op. 2 no. 2 (example 57).

Hook's finales are mostly rondos, except for op. 55 no. 5 which is in the form of a '*gavotta*' theme and variations. Rondos were commonly used in finales in Classical concertos and sonatas. The 1797 Concerto in F Major is unusual in displaying the technique of thematic transformation

[41] Milligan (1983), 199.

between the second and third movements (example 58). [42] Such simple, memorable, and tuneful themes, often accompanied by an Alberti bass, must have been ideal for the light, outdoor entertainment for which they were intended.

None of Hook's concertos has indications for the registration, and dynamics (which are restricted to *f* and *p*) are few. Of the extant complete concertos most are scored for strings only (two violins and cello); the 'Three Grand Concertos for the Organ, Harpsichord or Piano Forte' op. 20 have 'Accompaniments for Violins, Oboes, Flutes, French-Horns, Trumpets, Bassoons and Violoncellos'. In the absence of the instrumental parts (only the solo part survives) the editor of the recent publication suggests that these instruments were not used in all three concertos, but that Concerto no. 1 in B flat Major (a work that looks back to the 'ancient' style) was scored for strings with oboes and bassoons, and that no. 3 in D Major, which has 'God save the King' as the basis for its final movement, would have included the festive trumpet. The reconstructed score of op. 20 no. 2 uses two flutes, two horns, two violins, and cello. [43]

Hook's organ concertos display a lack of stylistic development over some 40 years, and yet they were the 'modern' music of their day; this in turn indicates the settled state of musical style and public taste in the Pleasure Gardens at the time. It is known that there were several people who continued to favour the 'ancient' style, among them George III, the

[42] Milligan (1983), 272.

[43] R. Langley (1986).

dedicatee of Hook's op.55, but the monarch probably found these works rather too 'modern' for his taste. The typical features of Hook's organ concertos are the simple melodies and accompaniments, regular phrase lengths, clear-cut sections dividing thematic material from solo passage work, unison openings, and the almost total absence of contrapuntal writing, and, above all, an extrovert and light-hearted quality.

Dupuis.

In 1759 Thomas Sanders Dupuis, Organist and Music Master to Princess Sophia Matilda of Gloucester, had published six organ concertos which were very much in the Handelian style--as might be expected from their date. He continued to write concertos but they were not published until after his death, which occurred in 1796. The estimated date of this publication of 'Five Concertos for the Organ or Harpsichord with Instrumental Accompaniments' is 1797. [44] The posthumous opus had been dedicated to the Princess Sophia Matilda and was published by subscription. Only 44 names are printed in the subscribers' list, although seven hand-written names were added. The names of the Duke of Gloucester and the Princess appear at the head of the list, followed in order of rank by five other members of royalty and nobility, musicians who worked for the royal family (Arnold, Charles Knyvett, and Attwood), and other musicians such as John Wall Callcott, George Smart, John Stafford Smith, Samuel Webbe, and 'Mr.Corfe organist of Salisbury Cathedral'. The Concerto which appears first in the collection 'was Composed and Performed [by Dupuis] for the Opening of the New Organ at Salisbury Cathedral. August 1792'.

[44] Cudworth (1953), 55.

Considering the date of this concerto, its style is extremely conservative, containing some Baroque as well as some *rococo* features; the work comprises a ritornello movement in which demanding solo episodes appear--unrelated both to each other and to the tutti material--and a movement consisting of variations on 'God save the King' (the organ at Salisbury was the gift of George III). The remaining concertos, which probably date from any time during the last 30 years of Dupuis's career, all display leanings toward the 'ancient' style; however, at times *rococo* mannerisms are in evidence. The first movement of the fourth concerto is typically in the Handel/Stanley style, while the first movement of Concerto no. 2 and the third movement of Concerto no. 4 show a Scarlattian influence (example 59) and some *rococo* features. The first movement of the first concerto is more evenly *rococo* in style, although it has not completely thrown off Baroque conventions. *Rococo* unison openings are a feature of all except the last concerto; the start of no. 2 is not dissimilar to Hook's op. 55 no. 4 (example 60). The final movements tend to be the most 'modern', particularly those with simple rondo themes (example 61); also contemporary in style is the *siciliano*-like middle movement of Concerto no. 5, with its slow moving harmony: here Dupuis poses answering fragments in respectively high and low registers, a feature he also used in the second movement of Concerto no. 2. The *galant* melody of the third movement of Concerto no. 2 is stylistically restrained by its accompaniment of a striding bass, which belongs to the Baroque era (example 62).

Some virtuosity is required on the part of the soloist in these concertos: in addition to the customary figurations there are rapid repeated notes, chains of thirds, sixths, and broken sixths, and *acciaccatura* figures. The solo part often breaks into a three-part

texture (example 63 shows similar treatment by Dupuis and Charles Wesley), or three-part chords in the left hand with right hand figuration above, as in the first movement of Concerto no. 1, where the feet also have to assist by playing the pedals (doubtless included to demonstrate the new feature on the Salisbury organ). In the third movement of Concerto no. 4, a gigue, there is Scarlattian-type crossing of the hands with 'L' and 'R' indicating where the hands should go (see example 59). Dupuis shows a fondness for rapid triplet semiquavers in his solo passage work, rather like Philip Hayes, and he even wrote triplets in compound time in the second movement of Concerto no. 5. All these features are an indication of Dupuis's prowess as a performer (example 64 will serve to indicate something of this); unfortunately such a variety of figuration and scarcity of theme in the solo passage work result in a lack of cohesion, particularly in the first movements, which are all constructed in ritornello form: the episodes rarely bear any resemblance to the ritornello theme which periodically makes self-conscious interjections.

The first and third concertos have two movements, the first being a fast moving one, the second being of moderate speed in the form of a theme and variations. In the first concerto the theme is 'God save the King'--a suitably patriotic gesture for the occasion of the first performance. The variations immediately launch into rapid semiquaver arpeggios which, apart from the rhythmic third variation for orchestra only, are maintained throughout. Variation 2 is entirely in octaves and is based on the harmony rather than the melody of the theme. The fourth and final variation is again derived from the harmony and comprises triplet semiquavers. Comparing Dupuis's variations with those of Charles Wesley ('God save the King with New Variations for the Organ or Harpsichord'

c.1795), the latter has more variety of texture, rhythm, and figuration, and adheres more closely to the theme. Both restate the theme at the end: Dupuis intended that the audience should sing at this point, as he indicated 'voices' with the 'full band'. The remaining three concertos in this set by Dupuis are in three movements on the usual fast, slow, fast plan. Binary form is used for the middle movements of Concertos 4 and 5 and for the last of no.4; the final movements of Concertos 2 and 5 are rondos, and the second movement of no.2 is a mono-thematic ternary form: A - B(=A in dominant) - A.

Dupuis's concertos contain no reference to organ registration except for the mention of 'Swell' for the minor key variation of the minuet theme in the second movement of Concerto no.3; only a few dynamic markings (*f* and *p*) appear in the tutti sections: in the third movement of Concerto no.2 *subito* changes provide dramatic effect which is enhanced also by plunging into the tonic minor. There is no reference to the orchestral scoring in the organ part (which is the only extant copy of this collection) except in the final movement of the first concerto (the variations on 'God save the King'), where two leaves of full score containing the theme for 'full band' (excluding the solo part) appear at the end of the solo part; here the scoring is for two oboes, two bassoons, two horns, two trumpets, timpani, and four-part strings. No two parts exactly double one another; the first oboe, first trumpet, and first violins play different decorated versions of the melody, the remaining strings maintain quaver movement, the second oboe, second trumpet, and horns fill in the harmony and provide fanfare-like rhythmic interest, while the bassoons are used to give firm alto and tenor lines. The '*tutti Basso*' [sic] line is partly figured, which implies either keyboard

continuo apart from the solo organ, or the organ is to provide support (the solo part gives a simple two-part melody and bass texture). Few concerto scores make it clear whether or not the soloist should play throughout; an exception is Philip Hayes, who, in the second movement of his sixth concerto, states 'Senza Organo' for the first eight bars.

Samuel Wesley.

As a child Samuel Wesley received lessons on the harpsichord from David Williams, an organist living in Bristol; part of his repertoire at this stage included several of Handel's Organ Concertos which he 'acquired so as to execute them with Justness and Precision'. [45] At the time of writing his *Reminiscences* in 1836, Wesley advocated Handel's *Suites pour le Clavecin* for developing a 'fine, smooth and close style of Organ playing', rather than the organ concertos which

> although excellent are notwithstanding deficient in that rich vein of Harmony which characterizes and dignifies the Lessons [for the harpsichord], rendering them one of the most precious musical volumes that ever was engraved in any country. [46]

Samuel Wesley wrote three organ concertos between 1800 and 1815--after the heyday of the genre. The organ concertos of both Wesley and Russell remain unpublished; it may be recalled that Wesley's brother Charles's publication of organ concertos had been achieved much earlier, in 1781. The manuscripts of three organ concertos of Samuel Wesley are in the British Library (Add. Ms. 35009) with fragments elsewhere (for example part

[45] GB Lbm Add. Ms. 27593 f. 6.

[46] GB Lbm Add. Ms. 27593 f. 127.

of the D-Major Concerto is at the Norfolk Record Office). The Concerto in D Major is the only one that survives in its entirety; it is dated 'March 22 1800' and bears the composer's autograph. Of the other two concertos only the instrumental parts remain. Approximate datings of these two concertos can be made from the watermarks in the paper on which they were written: for the Concerto in B flat Major, 1811, and for the Concerto in C Major, 1815. One of the concertos (perhaps the D-Major, possibly an earlier, shorter version) was referred to by Wesley in his *Reminiscences* [47] and this extract is reproduced as example 65. When the Ashleys were managers of Covent Garden, Wesley was engaged to play the organ for the oratorios for several seasons, for which he received six guineas per night 'regularly and punctually'; when he was also playing an organ concerto he received ten guineas per night. [48] A performance on 30 January 1810 at Covent Garden of the D-Major Concerto was advertised in the *Times* on 25 and 27 January 1810; it was played between the first and second parts of Handel's *Messiah*, and it was announced that Wesley would introduce into it a 'Fugue of Sebastian Bach'.

The D-Major Concerto owes much to the Baroque style, particularly in the first movement; other parts, however, are 'modern' and display many of Wesley's personal characteristics such as an angular melody of wide compass, the use of *acciaccaturas* to embellish both slow and animated melodies, and much variation in the harmonic rhythm. It is evident from the score that the work was originally written in three movements: a lively first movement (no tempo marking is given), a slow movement (*Largo*

[47] GB Lbm Add. Ms. 27593 f. 102.

[48] GB Lbm Add. Ms. 27593 f. 139.

Cantabile) in the dominant, and a hornpipe finale. The score comprises the organ part, with separate staves for the orchestral parts, but instrumentation is rarely indicated; the work is largely notated on five staves: two treble, alto, and treble and bass for the organ. An extra movement was inserted between the slow movement and the finale, probably at a later date. This movement is an arrangement of J.S.Bach's Fugue in D Major from book 1 of *Das Wohltemperierte Klavier*. Doubtless the inclusion of the fugue fulfilled two purposes: Wesley's homage to Bach and a vehicle for promoting Bach to the public. The latter was certainly successful, for Wesley related to his friend and fellow member of the 'Sebastian Squad', Benjamin Jacobs, that this concerto was not only very well received at the Tamworth Music Festival in 1809, but that 'the Fugue of our Sebastian produced a glorious effect with the Instruments' and 'the effect of the Fugue among the Orchestra was such, that they were perpetually humming the Subject whenever I met any of them in the Streets, either by day or by Night'. [49]

The first movement of Wesley's D-Major Concerto begins boldly with a broken-chord figure treated imitatively; although the repeated-note fragment lends a little lightness--almost a *rococo* style--to the music, the bass line, most of the thematic material, and the form, suggest Baroque influence (example 66). The form is loosely ritornello, using more than one theme, although the sections of sonata form are just discernible through key and thematic development followed by a recapitulation. The three principal themes, which provide the main material for the first movement, are indicated in example 66; there is no

[49] E.Wesley (1957), 34-35.

second subject idea as one would expect in a sonata form movement. Toward the end there is the customary climax over a dominant pedal and a solo cadenza, after which the movement comes to a softer and almost sudden conclusion. The whole is a careful and economical construction largely comprising continuous development of the three fragments mentioned above; even the solo passage work emerges from previous themes illustrating a laudable economy of material.

The second movement, *Largetto Cantabile*, is a melodic piece in the dominant, and, although it is both shorter and simpler in style than the first movement, it avoids the inconsequential nature of many slow movements found in these later organ concertos, for example those of Hook. Wesley's melodic contours are typically wide-ranging and elegant here, if not as angular as he is often inclined to be. The harmony tends to be faster moving than in contemporary slow movements; indeed, variety of harmonic rhythm is a Wesleyan characteristic, and the unexpected chromatic chord here and there may have influenced Russell. The sections in this movement are well-defined with straightforward alternation between orchestra and soloist. The theme, stated initially by the orchestra (example 67) falls into two-bar phrases; it is taken up by the soloist and decorated with turns and *acciaccaturas*. After a short orchestral codetta a new section begins with the organ announcing a second theme which starts in the supertonic minor; this is followed by the reappearance of the first theme. The whole of the second section is repeated with modifications in the decoration and instrumentation, after which the organ states the first theme in the minor. The movement concludes with a return to the major for the first theme, a final reappearance of the second theme, and lastly the initial theme once more. The use of a fermata during the last sentence of

the principal theme lends a sentimental mood to the music, a characteristic not often associated with Samuel Wesley.

A pencilled note on the score indicates that the Bach fugue follows, but no music is provided. The instrumental parts show that the organ plays the entire fugue first, then it is repeated by the full orchestra. The final movement, *Allegro moderato* is a hornpipe with variations (example 68). The hornpipe, a lively English dance in triple time, had been used by Handel, the best-known examples being two in his Water Music. In terms of duration it matches the first movement and results in an overall performance time of approximately 22 minutes; this seems to be a sign of the times--very gradually organ concertos were becoming lengthier works: some of Hook's later works, for example, last over a quarter of an hour. The tendency seemed to accelerate with the concertos of the 'serious' composers such as Samuel Wesley, Crotch, and Russell--some of the few organists still writing concertos for the organ.

Wesley, like Russell, often noted the registrations in his organ works, and this concerto is no exception. The interesting feature here is not the registration itself, which is quite unremarkable, but the necessity for changing the stops during a movement; this aspect of organ playing was gradually to become a more integral feature as the nineteenth century progressed: it is evident in Russell's voluntaries, for example. Opportunities to change the stops during a movement are generally more plentiful in a concerto than in a solo work, and some could be effected by the use of the 'shifting movement', but the growing necessity for rapid hand registration mid-course is an interesting feature of this period and is probably associated with the growing awareness of the effect of varying

tonal colours and the developing art of orchestration. Wesley's Concerto in D Major opens with the organ using the two Diapasons, Principal, and Fifteenth; later there are instructions 'without Fifteenth' and 'Fuller / with Fifteenth'. The second movement begins with Diapasons and Principal and later 'without Princip.' Similar combinations occur in the hornpipe, including 'Full without Trumpet'.

At the end of the score is a page with a list of parts and, in some cases, the numbers of players: '5 violino primo, 4 violino secondo, 3 viola, 2 violoncello, 2 double basses, 2 corni, 2 trombi, 2 flauti, fagotto, tympani, trombone, organo. 26 parts'. Parts were written for all these plus two oboes; also bound in the same volume are parts for two bassoons and three trombones: '1^{mt}, alto; 2nd tenor; 3rd basso'. Strings and horns are used in all the movements; oboes and bassoons play in the first and last movements; flutes play only in the second movement (perhaps Wesley was being old fashioned in expecting the oboists to double as flautists); trumpets and trombones are heard in the Bach fugue and final movement, and the timpani part only relates to the last movement. Much of the music is scored for organ and strings, with the woodwind reinforcing the climaxes: all this was usual practice at this time. A few details of orchestration are noteworthy however: the second movement contains some attractive writing for organ and flute, where the latter doubles the melody at the octave; one variation in the hornpipe movement displays a delicate combination of solo violin playing the melody, and a soft arpeggio--almost harp-like--accompaniment on the organ; the scoring for the Bach fugue is greatly enriched by the additional instruments, which produce a grand effect. The names of the principal first violinists appear, indicating not only who performed but the minimum number of

performances of this concerto that were given over a number of years. The names are: 'Mr.G.Ashley Jan.30 1810 / Mr.F.Cramer March 12 1810 / Dr.Hague July 6 1813 / Mr.Mori March 4 1825 / W.Cramer May 5 1826'.

Wesley's Organ Concerto in B flat Major begins with one of his angular and rhythmic melodies (example 69) which is the first subject in this concerto form movement. The second subject is in the customary more relaxed and melodic style (example 70). There are many dynamic markings including *ff*, *sf*, and *dolce*. The second movement, an *Andante* in the subdominant, opens with a seven-bar organ solo which is probably the theme taken up by the woodwind (example 71). The third movement also begins with the organ; the first violins continue with a Baroque dance-like theme (example 72); later there emerges a new idea which may be a second subject of a sonata form movement, or the second theme in binary form, but with several blank bars for organ solo it is impossible to be precise about the form.

The Concerto in C Major retains the structures and key plan for the movements used in the B flat-Major Concerto; additionally there is a finale of variations on 'Rule, Britannia'. The inclusion of a well-known song--particularly a patriotic song--was not unprecedented (J.C.Bach's, Dupuis's, and Hook's variations on 'God save the King' have already been noted); possibly this patriotic pride was induced by the Napoleonic Wars, or it might have been intended as a courtesy to the royal family (which was the case with Dupuis, J.C.Bach, and Hook), or simply a desire to present a popular melody to the audience. The first movement, *Allegro moderato*, begins somewhat strangely with a broken augmented triad in the second violins and is followed by a soft melody in the first violins, first running then striding, passing from the relative minor, through the

supertonic minor into the tonic, thence to the supertonic minor once more and on to the dominant--all in the space of eight bars (example 73). A new idea appears at bar 25 (example 74); this may be the first theme of the second subject group, or it may be bridge passage material. A *dolce* theme, which is certainly a main theme, occurs at bar 36 (example 75). The second movement begins with an organ solo of 31 bars; this is followed by a theme similar to that in the slow movement of the D-Major concerto (example 76). Again the organ introduces the third movement: the theme seems to be that played at bar 17 by the orchestra (example 77). The variations in the finale alternate between organ solo and orchestra; one section presents the decorated theme in triplets.

The Concerto in B flat Major was performed in 1813: f.135 of the manuscript states: 'Violino Princypale. *[sic]* Mr.F.Cramer / Mr.G.Ashley 17 March 1813'; this may indicate two performances at different dates, one with each leader. The orchestration for all three organ concertos is broadly similar except that the B flat-Major Concerto has no flutes and the C-Major Concerto has no trombone or timpani parts; both the B flat- and C-Major Concertos have parts for clarinets: respectively, 'clarionetto' primo and secondo, and '2 clarinetti in C'. As in the Concerto in D Major, not all the instruments are heard in each movement: in the B flat-Major Concerto the clarinets, bassoons, and trumpets do not play in the first movement, but the former have obbligato parts in the second movement, which has some interesting wind and organ combinations. The C-Major Concerto also contains some colourful wind solos with discourses between flute, oboe, clarinet, and solo violin in the second movement.

Another organ concerto by Wesley was described by C.W.Pearce in *The*

Organ. [50] Its date of composition, Pearce states, was 1788, and the first movement is in sonata form. Eliza Wesley lent the manuscript to Pearce 'who adapted it for the modern Organ'. The work is in two movements, *Andante moderato* and *Allegro,* but 'there are no signs of orchestral accompaniment'.

Crotch.

Crotch's works for organ solo are small in scale and are relatively unimportant compositions in his output; his three organ concertos, however, are far weightier works. The concertos were written in 1804 and 1805 and were published c. 1805. The publications appeared, like Hook's Concertos, in the form of keyboard scores containing reductions of the orchestral parts, although, unlike Hook, extra staves with small notation show important instrumental melodies or figures. Crotch performed his first organ concerto at Bartleman's benefit concert on 17 May 1805, [51] and his third Concerto in B flat Major received its first performance in Oxford on 25 June 1805. [52] The first two concertos owe much to Handel, for instance the secondary theme in the first movement of Concerto no. 1 in F Major (example 78) and, later in the same piece, a cadential formula with hemiola (example 79). There are *galant* features too: the cadence which concludes the first sentence of the second Concerto is *galant* although the rhythm of the theme, its shape, and the accompanying bass are all Baroque in character (example 80). Like Charles Wesley, Crotch tends to be more modern--even Romantic, in the sense of being intensely

[50] Pearce (1927), 38-41.

[51] *Times* (17 May 1805).

[52] Rennert (1975), 105.

expressive and evocative--in his slow movements: it is often here that he makes prophetic use of chromatic harmony. The opening theme of the *Andante* of Concerto no. 1 (example 81) resembles the beginning of the slow movement of Samuel Wesley's Concerto in D Major (see example 67) with its melody based on rising intervals of the chord progression. The final movement of Crotch's first Concerto contains some features of the piano music of the Viennese Classical school, which is all the more surprising since the movement is a fugue: the rhythmic bass figure, derived from the countersubject and later transferred to an inner part, the repetition of fragments, and the bass pattern in bars 16-19 (example 82) are features also found, for instance, in Schubert's piano music, particularly the *Eccossaises* and the Fantasia D. 894, and (used motivically) in the finale of the String Quintet in C Major D. 956. Concerto no. 3 in B flat Major is undoubtedly the most forward-looking of Crotch's organ works. The taut construction, economical use of thematic material--particularly in episodes or 'developments'--bold harmonies, and changes of mood, are chiefly responsible for this more 'modern' result, and the extensive use of keys reflects his advocacy of equal temperament. [53]

With regard to construction, each of Crotch's Concertos has three movements on the conventional lines: fast, slow, fast, and in each case the final movement is a fugue, but the third Concerto additionally has an *Adagio* introduction which begins, unexpectedly, in B flat Minor (example 83). The mood is sombre and mysterious with a gradual increase of tone from *pianissimo* to *forte* throughout the first eight bars, then a *diminuendo* up to bar 13, suddenly followed by *fortissimo* chords. Much of the drama is conveyed through the dynamics, but the harmonies are also a

[53] Kent (1990), 29.

powerful portrayal of solemnity and grandeur. The *Allegro* which follows begins with a statement in octaves of the (new) principal theme: a bold figure which surges upwards in two large strides before descending chromatically (see example 83). This theme is almost treated fugally but the movement is not a fugue, for a second subject appears (in the tonic) at bar 49: it is a theme of a contrasting nature with stepwise movement in thirds. The opening tutti concludes at bar 95 and the organ combines a new theme in the right hand with the first theme/subject in the bass (example 84); this is followed by a section of passage work in triplets modulating to the dominant. The orchestra then returns with the second subject in the dominant; this is briefly developed in the organ part which breaks into semiquaver passage work. A tutti codetta with chromatic quaver movement recalls the first subject and the first section ends in the dominant. By this stage it is clear that Crotch is using a modified type of concerto form. The development section uses both subjects and the organ's new theme from bar 96. Crotch is economical with the material here, with most of it derived from what has gone before. The development is a short section, however, like Russell's: indeed its proportionate lengths both to the recapitulation and to the whole movement (16%) are about the same as in Russell's Concerto. The music modulates to a key as remote as B Major and returns through the cycle of fifths to F Major, but this is not quite the end of the section because Crotch slips in and out of G flat Major and B flat Minor before reiterating four dominant chords (example 85). At bar 232 the organ begins the recapitulation by restating the first subject, as before, in octaves. The semiquaver passage work is extended and may be regarded as a written-out cadenza concluding with the customary trill (at the perfect cadence) and orchestral coda.

The second movement of the Concerto in B flat Major, like that of the

first Concerto, is in the subdominant. It is in variation form, as are the slow movements in the first two Concertos, and it is marked *Larghetto piano e sostenuto*. The tranquil theme is presented as a cello solo; it is taken up by the organ accompanied by strings, and gradually takes on different guises by altering the register of the theme and varying the accompaniment figures (example 86).

The fugue, marked *Allegro Spiritoso*, has an energetic subject containing leaps of a sixth (example 87) which recall the first subject in the *Allegro*. After the exposition in the orchestra the organ enters with the subject at bar 53, and the second exposition follows much the same pattern as the first. When the organ develops the semiquaver patterns into passage work the orchestra punctuates with the first four notes of the fugue subject. The lengthy middle section continues along these lines, ending with a modulation to G flat Major and a chromatic harmonic progression (which again recalls the first movement) and elevating it above the usual exciting but light and fast-moving finales by lending weight and unity to the whole work. After this dramatic section comes the final statement of the subject in the tonic (example 88). The performance time of this Concerto is 23 minutes--a further testimony to the increasing length of such works.

Crotch strongly felt the need for a more accurate way of conveying the speed of a piece of music than the conventional Italian terms like *Allegro* and *Largo*. Because 'the terms of time, now used, are indefinite, and of very little service' he utilized a 'chronometer' or swinging pendulum of variable length to indicate tempi; Crotch explained his

principle in a letter to the editor of the *Monthly Magazine* in 1800. [54] The first and third Organ Concertos show the tempi in this way (see example 83). The simplicity of this device--which Crotch explained further in a lecture in 1806--and its accessibility to everyone were valuable assets. The pendulum was made of a piece of lead which was attached to a ribbon or tape of about four feet in length, with the measurements from the lead marked on it in inches. [55] The player would simply hold the tape at the required length and let the lead swing. Crotch was still using this simple and accurate device in 1817 when he was criticised for not progressing to Maelzel's Metronome which was becoming widely used. [56] Figure 4 translates Crotch's indications in Concerto no. 3 into their equivalent settings on Maelzel's Metronome.

Adagio	30 inches	M. M.	= 63
Allegro	7 inches	M. M.	= 112
Larghetto	24 inches	M. M.	= 72
Allegro Spiritoso	9 inches	M. M.	= 104

Fig. 4: Metronome equivalents of Crotch's pendulum indications.

In his letter to the editor of the *Monthly Magazine* Crotch also noted tempi of authentic performances of other music by composers such as Handel, Bach, and Haydn, giving players and singers of today a valuable insight to this fundamental element of tempo.

The figurations used in the organ parts of Crotch's concertos are all traditional although some are quite demanding for the left hand. Samuel Wesley noted that, from childhood, Crotch was ambidextrous, and this might

[54] *Monthly Magazine* (1800), 941-943.

[55] Kassler (1979), 230.

[56] Kassler (1979), 230-231.

'partly account for his Power in all Passages for the bass, which he executes with such Facility'. [87] A passage of double octaves in the first movement of Concerto no. 3 testifies to this, also to the fact that Crotch was a fine pianist too--indeed parts of this Concerto are quite pianistic, such as the double octaves themselves in the first movement in bars 232-244, the rapid Alberti bass accompaniments in bars 159-161 and 306-308, and the broken chord patterns in both hands in bars 320-325 and (in the second movement) in bars 85-111. The organ is the only instrument specified on the title pages; however, there are no instructions for registration. The scorings for the three Concertos are different: no. 1 is scored for flute, 2 horns, and strings, no. 2 for flute, 2 trumpets, timpani, and strings, and no. 3 for a larger orchestra of flutes, oboes, clarinets, bassoons, horns, trumpets, 3 trombones, timpani, and strings. Some of Crotch's combinations are noteworthy: in the second movement of the Concerto in A Major pizzicato strings (violins alone at first) accompany a single melodic line in the organ, resulting in a transformation of the homogeneous and subdued low-register theme into something delicate and almost ethereal (example 89); later in the same movement a cello solo is accompanied by the organ whose wide-compass semiquaver patterns refuse to let the melody become turgid or even subdued (example 90). Similar combinations are also heard in the second movement of Concerto no. 3 (see example 86). Answering fragments in the wind and strings, similar to those used by Russell in the first movement of his Organ Concerto and in parts of *Job*, occur in the finale of Concerto no. 3 (example 91).

[87] GB Lbm Add. Ms. 27539 f. 96.

Conclusion.

This survey of the organ concerto as it had evolved during the generations following Handel has served to indicate the background against which Russell's composition in this genre must be viewed. Shortly after the time of Russell, musicians were to look back at the organ concerto as a form of music enjoyed by all the social classes, and to muse that the concerto organist has for many years proved a character

> almost unknown...Vauxhall no longer boasts of a Roseingrave, a Stanley, or a Worgan; Lent oratorios have ceased to afford an opportunity for organ display, and there is now no representative of Handel, C. Wesley, S. Wesley...in the announcements of the performances at the provincial festivals. But if there has been no public arena for the concerto player, there has ever existed a remnant, a small but affectionate band, who have not forsaken the assembling of themselves together, and with whom the organist, *(par excellence)*, has been held in that honour and esteem to which his talents entitle him. [56]

[56] *Musical World* (1838), 208.

CHAPTER XI

Russell's Concerto for Organ (1810).

Definition and Form.

Returning to the definitions of 'Concerto' by Kollmann and Busby given on page 259, it is clear that a concerto was considered primarily as a work displaying the skills of the soloist and that the rôle of the orchestra was a subsidiary one. This is particularly obvious in some concertos, for example by Avison, Felton, Cooke, William Hayes, and Hook, where the orchestra only provides rudimentary support in addition to the tuttis; sometimes, with ever shorter tuttis and lengthier solo passages, the old idea of contrasting two bodies of sound, as in the concerto grosso, is lost. The reason for this may lie partly in the fact that the majority of eighteenth-century organ concertos were performed by the composer, who naturally wanted to display his own technical skills. Gradually, however, the orchestra increased in size, and, in the hands of some composers, its rôle as accompanist grew in importance as the nineteenth century approached. Busby wrote specifically of the organ concerto:

> Like other *Concertos*, it admits of very considerable diversity in its plan and style; yet seems to be exclusively entitled to, as it is exclusively fitted for, the introduction of the *fugue;* which should always form a portion of the *Organ Concerto.* [1]

[1] Busby (1818), 479.

This explanation allows for a variety of styles and forms provided a fugue is included: it is strangely conservative for 1818, by which time composers were occupied with other genres and the English organ concerto had almost died out.

How closely does Russell (in 1810) conform to these definitions? Although Kollmann's *Essay* predates this Concerto, Busby's *Grammar* was published eight years after the composition, and therefore theorizes on what had been the practice up until that time. As far as the inclusion of a fugue goes, Russell fulfilled this requirement in the final movement. Concerning plan, he maintained the three-movement scheme; regarding the work purely as an opportunity for displaying the solo instrument, this work again fits the concept, but it does not give the impression of being a vehicle solely for virtuoso display. Kollmann and Busby both emphasized the aspect of spectacular technical execution, and much of the music in the eighteenth-century concerto repertoire (not only for the organ) satisfies this expectation; newspaper reports of concerto performances show that those which displayed the most difficult, and particularly rapid, passages by the soloist were the ones to receive the most applause from the audience and the highest praise from the critics. Among some musicians, however, there was, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, a growing dissatisfaction with music where expression and emotion often were abandoned in favour of sheer *bravura*. From the evidence in all Russell's organ music and much of his vocal music, it is certain that he held the opinion that drama and expression must come first and virtuosity either second or incidentally. In 1802 Russell's aquaintance, Richard J.S. Stevens, offered his own thoughts on the subject in a lecture:

> Suffer me to lament the revolution which of late years has taken place in the musical taste of the public: and to regret the seemingly predominant ambition in our Instrumental performers, to excite astonishment, by violent rapidity on keyed and other instruments.... I must fear, that from these propensities in the public, and in public performers, we shall in time lose the elegance and Expression, which have so often charmed us, in a cantabile song; and that the exquisite delight which the *adagio* movement of an Abel, or a *Barthélémon* has inspired will be unknown to us. [2]

Russell's methods of achieving expression in the Concerto will be discussed later in this chapter (see pages 379-385).

Kollmann gave many details of the various movements of the concerto--sufficient to guide a young or inexperienced composer. [3] The first movement, he says, 'is generally an *Allegro*' consisting of two sections (or four subsections). Figure 1 indicates Kollmann's plan. This describes an extended binary form movement, and bears the outline of elementary sonata form as used in first movements of early Classical concertos and as found, in a refined form, in the piano concertos of Mozart (several of whose keyboard works were available in England during Russell's day).[4] The first subsection is the orchestral ritornello, the second is the solo exposition, the third corresponds to the development, and the fourth is the recapitulation. Stanley and Arne, two examples of

[2] GB Lg Gresham music Ms. 472, XIV ff. 16-17.

[3] Kollmann (1799), 21-22.

[4] *Times* (3 Feb. 1810).

composers of concertos (not just for the organ) mentioned by Kollmann, use this two-section/four-subsection form (for example Stanley's Concerto in E Major op. 10 no. 1 and Arne's Concerto no. 4 in B flat Major).

division	proportionate length	material
section 1	25% - 30% subsection 1	tutti, statement of 'Principal Subjects' in the tonic moving to the dominant.
	70% - 75% subsection 2	solo interspersed with short tuttis, 'Principal Subjects', perhaps varied, ending in the dominant.
section 2	45% subsection 3	solo interspersed with short tuttis, with 'Modulation and Elaboration'; must end with an imperfect cadence in the tonic.
	55% subsection 4	solo 'Principal Subject' in tonic with further 'Modulation and Elaboration', cadenza, tutti coda.

Fig. 1: Kollmann's plan for the first movement of a concerto.

The second movement, Kollmann says:

> is generally an *Adagio*, or other slow movement. It may consist of two long Sections, planned similar to those of the first movement; or of two short Sections, with variations; or be set in the form of a proper or improper *Rondo*, without, or with variations of the Subjects or in any other well calculated form.

His first two suggestions are again basically binary forms; Kollmann explained the terms 'proper' and 'improper' rondos respectively as those where the first section always recurs in the original key, and those where the first section also appears in different keys [as in ritornello form].

The third movement is another quick piece: possibly, Kollmann says, the fastest of all the movements. 'It may be set in any of the different forms mentioned' earlier by him: this covers almost any possibility of form and allows for even greater variety than that permitted in the second movement. The emphasis remains on contrasts between solo and tutti textures, as it had been in the Baroque concerto, but by the 1770s it included the Classical harmonic plan of modulation from the tonic to the dominant (or from the tonic minor to the relative major) at the end of the first section, and back to the tonic via various related keys. Besides this basic key-scheme, the Viennese Classical composers and those influenced by them contrasted themes (first and second subjects)--a feature which came to have much more importance with succeeding generations through the Romantic period.

Analysis.

Does Russell's Organ Concerto conform to Kollmann's and late eighteenth-century composers' plans? Figures 2-4 below set out analyses of each movement, indicating the 'principal Subjects' and themes which are quoted in examples 1, 4, 7, and 9; also given are more detailed descriptions of the movements with a comparison between Russell's work and Kollmann's theories. Reference also can be made to the author's edition for organ solo (1988).

First movement.

The slow introductory section of 24 bars, although of sufficient length, does not have the formal structure that would give it independent

coherence to be considered as a separate movement. In it four thematic ideas are stated (A^1, A^2, B, and C), two of which are either developed or transformed in the *Allegro;* the decorated ending of the introduction on the unresolved chord of the dominant seventh permits of no gap between the *Largo* and the main part of the movement. In symphonic writing of the period it was becoming increasingly common to have a slow introduction to the first (sonata form) movement: there are examples in symphonies by Haydn, Pleyel, and Beethoven for instance; but the procedure is unusual in contemporary concertos (except those which were modelled on the 'ancient' style with the French overture type opening or on the *sonata da Chiesa* plan) and Mozart did not adopt the format in any of his 23 piano concertos. The broken chord figure of the first two bars of Russell's Concerto is not merely functional in establishing the key of G Major: its repeated notes and dotted rhythms are important ingredients which reappear in the *Allegro,* and, together with their unison treatment, a mood of grandeur is set. Throughout the whole of the Classical era themes built on triadic figures were common. The pairs of falling slurred notes in bars 2-4 are contrasted with the little rising melody with chromatic harmony in bars 4-5. The link between them in bar 4--the repeated Gs in quavers--although seeming to provide only a link, is shortly to form the accompaniment to the next main idea in bars 9-12: fragmentary dialogue between oboe and bassoon. The melodic transfer between treble and bass either side of a dominant pedal is an Haydnesque feature, used, for example, in the first three movements of Haydn's Symphony no. 100 ('The Military')--indeed Haydn's use of it in the first movement may have furnished Russell with the idea (see example 2). This device was also used in other concertos, for example in the second movement of the

bars	material	description	tutti or solo	key
Largo Maestoso				
1-9	A^1 and A^2	fanfare-like figure *forte* and soft melody	tutti	tonic
9-13	B	dialogue between treble and bass	tutti	tonic
14-17	C	organ entry	solo	tonic
17-24	B	dialogue; ends with imperfect cadence	tutti and solo	tonic - tonic minor
Allegro ma non troppo				
24-27	D^1	rising trill figure derived from A^2	tutti	tonic
27-31	D^2	quaver arpeggios similar to A^1	tutti	tonic
32-39	D^3	rhythmic repeated-note figure derived from A^2	tutti	tonic - dominant
39-53	D^1 and D^2	developed	tutti	dominant
53-61	E	linking passage based on rising figures A^2, D^1, and D^3	tutti	dominant
61-69	B	earlier material developed	tutti	tonic
70-80	F^1	passage work based on rising semiquaver scales	tutti	tonic
81-85	G	extended cadence over tonic pedal related to E	tutti	tonic
85-89	A^1 and D^1	cadence	tutti	tonic
90-105	H based on A^1, C, and D^2	organ entry with new theme	solo	tonic
105-117	D^2 and D^3	orchestral restatement	tutti	tonic
118-133	H	organ theme extended	solo and short tuttis	tonic-dominant
133-136	F^1	passage work	solo and tutti accompaniment	dominant
137-143	D^3	earlier material varied, retaining rhythm and shape but omitting repeated note feature	solo and tutti accompaniment	dominant - mediant minor
144-162	F^1	passes through D, B Minor, A, F♯ Minor, D	solo and tutti accompaniment	modulating
163-178	H	varied	solo	dominant
178-191	F^1	with material from A^1, A^2, D^1, D^2, and D^3	solo with tutti accompaniment	dominant
191-195	D^2	restatement	tutti	dominant
195-202	D^3	varied	tutti	dominant
203-207	G	restatement	tutti	dominant
207-211	D^1	restatement	tutti	dominant

bars	material	description	tutti or solo	key
212-227	H	developed	solo	dominant
227-248	F^2	triplet passage work derived from F'	solo with tutti accompaniment	dominant - mediant minor
249-258	D^2 and D^3	development of themes	tutti	mediant minor
258-262	I	linking chordal passage derived from A^2, D', D^3, F, and G	tutti	mediant minor ending on dominant
263-278	H	developed	solo	tonic
278-283	D^3 and H	fugal passage derived from earlier material	solo	tonic
283-300	F'	passage work developed sequentially and written out cadenza	solo	tonic
300-304	D^3 and H	fugal passage	tutti	tonic
304-307	F'	sequential development	tutti	tonic
308-312	G	restatement	tutti	tonic
312-315	D'	restatement	tutti	tonic
315-318	D' and D^3	cadence based on earlier material	tutti	tonic

Fig. 2: Plan of the first movement of Russell's Organ Concerto.

Concerto in F Major op. 3 no. 1 for Harpsichord or Piano Forte (c. 1772) by the German composer Johann Samuel Schroeter (c. 1752-1788), who was one of the earliest European piano virtuosi to settle in London. The *Minuetto Rondo* of this concerto uses broken-chord melodies in dialogue between treble and bass with a simple triplet accompaniment in the middle. Returning to Russell's Concerto, the organ, silent till now, enters alone at bar 14 with an elegant and shapely melody with chordal accompaniment on the Diapasons; it combines the traditional solidity of English organ tone with the melodic elegance of the Classical style. After further treble and bass dialogue above and below repeated chords and a dominant pedal, an oboe solo announces an abrupt change to the tonic minor (bar 19), a device which had occasionally been used (for instance by Handel, Felton, and in

the F-Major Concerto attributed to Haydn). The organ re-enters for the cadence and only at the very last moment does the music revert to the major--a marvellous moment of blossoming out and anticipation--ready for the extrovert and joyful *Allegro*.

The main part of the first movement is headed '*Allegro ma non troppo*'. Achieving the correct tempo is crucial here, but not easy: there must be enough movement to acknowledge the '*Allegro*' but '*non troppo*' otherwise the semiquaver passage work becomes too rushed, some of the faster-moving harmonies lose their meaning, and the melodic niceties (for example the first--surprise--E flat in bar 84) cannot be appreciated; naturally in a resonant building the pace cannot be too quick because the semiquavers will become blurred. Russell's tempo indication gives as much information as he could readily achieve, short of something on the lines of Crotch's pendulum (see pages 332-333). Composers have often resisted attaching strict speed indications to music, even after Maelzel's metronome was marketed (about the time Russell was composing the Organ Concerto), on the grounds that it is too restricting for the performer. The pulse-beat theory (each crotchet beat played at the rate of each heartbeat for an *Allegretto* movement) as expounded by Johann Joachim Quantz (1697-1773) in *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversière zu Spielen* (Berlin, 1752, translated into English as *Easy & Fundamental Instructions...* c.1790) was beginning to be regarded as outmoded. *

At the beginning of the *Allegro ma non troppo* the mood of anticipation, set from the unresolved dominant seventh of bar 24, is

* See Reilly (1966) for Quantz's suggestions converted into metronome marks.

continued in bar 25 with the soft, slurred pairs of notes decorated with trills; then at bar 28 a loud outburst establishes the mood of poised gaiety which pervades the movement. The almost constant use of rising themes fuels this feeling of *joie de vivre;* also contributing to this mood is the modulation--first to the dominant then to the dominant of the dominant; thus the listener is prepared for a new theme or subject. At bar 53 a fresh idea (E) does appear--more elegant and restrained--but it is not entirely new, being related to A^2, D^1, and D^3, and it is only a linking passage preparing the listener for the subtle change of mood which will come with the solo entry. However, before this happens there is a return to the treble and bass dialogue first heard in the *Largo,* a somewhat weak link bar (bar 69) leading to some exuberant semiquaver scales (F^1), and a restful extended cadence with a melodic theme (G)--similar to A^2 and E, and sharing the shape of D^1--over a tonic pedal. There is a brief reference to the opening notes of the *Largo* at bar 85 which is followed by the repetition of D^1 itself. The orchestral introduction concludes with a cadence using longer note values: Russell often slows the momentum at main cadences, unlike Mozart (for example) who tends to increase the movement towards the close.

The organ entry presents a new theme (H)--again a melody which is mainly rising; it is full of character and contains enough variety of rhythm to make it of particular interest in this respect: note the jaunty semiquaver at the end of bar 91--to have used all quavers here would not have given that contrast with the more relaxed rhythm of bars 92 and 93. There is a certain similarity with a theme in the first movement of Mozart's Piano Concerto in G Major K.453 (example 3). The theme itself is based on an inversion of the fanfare-like broken chord (A^1) at the start

of the movement. The organ sentence comprises four phrases each of four bars' length; the first ends with the attractive use of a chromatic passing note (in bar 93) which may indicate some Mozartian influence (there are several instances of this in his Piano Concerto in G Major K.453, for example); during the Victorian age this decoration became over used. The shape of the second phrase is complementary to the first, and bar 96 recalls the first short appearance of the organ in the *Largo*, particularly bar 14. The third phrase is a decoration of the first with yet more fluidity of rhythm; there is a modulation to the dominant, but as the music flows into the final phrase it returns to the tonic with colourful chromatic harmony (note the 'Victorian' chromatic sliding in bar 104). Theme H is not only presented by the soloist as fresh material, but it is reserved only for the soloist's use: this was a device much used by J.C.Bach and developed by Mozart in his piano concertos (for example K.467, K.482, and K.503) where this material is more idiomatic to the solo instrument. With Russell the theme's melodic/homophonic style is both well-suited to the organ and contrasted to the remaining material.

Following the organ declamation the orchestra (at bar 105) restates the material D^2 and D^3, including a slightly awkward modulation to A Minor (bar 113), before a second account (at bar 118) of the solo material, which this time is presented with differences and is extended with a modulation to the dominant. The organ has a short section of semiquaver scales, derived from an earlier tutti, before moving on to an imitative and sequential development of D^3. In further semiquaver passage work, punctuated by light orchestral chords, the music moves through various keys as far away from the tonic as F sharp Minor, where it remains for six bars. A smooth transition to the dominant heralds a third statement of

the organ theme at bar 163, this time in the dominant, and with more emphasis on the elegantly paired quavers derived from C. If H is regarded as the first subject in a sonata/concerto form movement (bar 90) here (at bar 163) it may be viewed as a substitute for a second subject, in other words indicating a mono-thematic sonata form. Between bars 173 and 175 the relationship between the organ theme (H) and D' (as it appears initially in bars 24-26) can be seen clearly. Also notable at this point are the subtle and colourful changes in the melody (the B flat in bar 175) and in the harmony (bars 175-176). This in turn gives way to semiquaver scale patterns based on the tetrachord, which are accompanied by portions of the same figure (related to A^1, A^2, D^1, and D^3) and broken chords (derived from A^1 and D^2). The quaver broken chords of D^2 reappear at bars 191-195 followed by a variant of the repeated note figure (D^3); then the melodic extended cadence and rising trill figure, which concluded the first subsection, draws this first main section to a close in the dominant at bar 211.

The next subsection, the 'development', contains numerous modulations as expected, but the preceding subsection also had several modulations, which is unusual. The 'development' opens with a fourth exposé of the organ theme (H), once again not exactly as any other appearance, but instead a variation of the third statement. There follows a lengthy section of passage work in triplet quavers, modulating from the dominant to the mediant minor, where the rising scales in the left hand (derived from earlier semiquaver passage work) are balanced by descending broken chords in the right hand. At bar 249 a return is made to the D^2 and D^3 themes, the latter treated sequentially. In a short linking passage (bars 258-262) the music returns to the tonic; at first glance these few bars

seem purely functional--moving back to the home key--but the oboe and flute melodies preserve the rising shape of the principal themes. There is a pause on the chord of the dominant seventh, similar to that at the end of the *Largo;* it is practical for the flautist to add some embellishment at this point: had the organ been playing, a cadenza would be expected as the return to the tonic is anticipated.

The fifth and last statement of the organ theme, now back in the tonic, indicates the beginning of the final or recapitulatory section (bar 263); it varies only in small details from its first entry. This is the start of the 36-bar long organ solo in which a fugato develops; its subject (bars 278-279) is an amalgam of D^{3} and the first three notes of the organ theme (H). Further semiquaver passage work and a written-out cadenza lead to the fugato in the orchestra and on to the extended cadence and rising trill figure which concluded the first and second subsections; lastly comes the typically Classical final cadence of alternating tonic and dominant chords, but with one difference: instead of exactly reiterated chords, the melody rises through four notes, reflecting the pattern used in D^{3} and the shape of many of the themes.

Russell begins by conforming to Kollmann's rules of form and length. It has been noted that Kollmann said the first movement should be an *Allegro:* Russell's first movement is an *Allegro*, albeit preceded by a *Largo* of some weight; the *Allegro* should fall into two main sections and four subsections: Russell's *Allegro* does this. Suggested lengths of the first two subsections are that the first should be a third or a quarter of the length of the first main section: Russell's are about right with the proportion 35% for the first and 65% for the second subsection. It is in

the second main section that differences arise: Kollmann says the third subsection 'may be a little shorter than the second Subsection': Russell's is only 50 bars in length as compared with 121 bars in the second subsection; the rule for ending the third subsection with an imperfect cadence in the tonic is complied with. The fourth subsection up to the cadenza should be about as long as the previous one: again Russell shortens this part--there are only 32 bars (not 50) before the cadenza. Russell's two main sections are respectively 187 bars and 106 bars in length, making the proportion 64% to 36% of the whole *Allegro* section. It might be observed that the latter, particularly the 'development' section, is somewhat short, but this is not evident in performance since the development of material begins very early on (at bar 61) when theme B from the *Largo* is transformed; development, in the sense of modulation, begins in the second subsection not the third. The development section is often quite brief in Mozart's piano concertos where the composer sometimes regards it only as a section of transition back to the tonic: only five of the 23 piano concertos contain a section where material from the exposition is used (K.271, K.365, K.466, K.503, and K.595). Russell broadly keeps to Kollmann's key scheme with the exception of the opening tutti modulating to the dominant; his deviations from Kollmann's prescribed lengths of sections may indicate significant experimentation with form on Russell's part.

Kollmann and Busby both agree that the solo entry should show the powers of the instrument and the player, and Kollmann notes that the material used here should have been introduced in the opening tutti. Russell may be said to fulfil the first two criteria concerning the instrument and the player, although if virtuosity was implied in the

definitions, Russell saves it until later; but with regard to material he does not comply because the solo instrument presents new material which is to become the principal theme; this theme is heard at the beginning of each subsection except, of course, the first, and its appearance in the tonic at bar 263 is important in locating the start of the recapitulation. The first motif in the opening tutti of the *Allegro* (D') is subsequently used as a codetta rather than opening material in the second and fourth subsections. The *cantabile* nature of the organ theme (H) makes its first appearance seem like the second subject of sonata form, but the movement is not in sonata form and this theme eclipses all others, making it a monothematic movement with subsidiary recurring and developing themes, many of which are inter-related or derived from each other. This economy of material is seldom found in the medium of the organ concerto of this period.

Second movement.

Kollmann is less rigorous in his specifications for the second and third movements of concertos; this reflects the variety of forms used by eighteenth-century composers, and has been previously noted. Russell's slow movement is not marked *Adagio* as Kollmann recommended, but a broader *Larghetto*. It is in the subdominant key, C Major, and is the key-relationship favoured by Mozart for the central movements of his piano concertos. The movement falls into four sections and is in variation form, although not that typically used by *galant* composers like Arne, who would take a short binary theme and follow it with variations, each with its own rhythmic or figural feature. Serious slow movement variations are somewhat rare but Mozart used the form in his piano concertos K.450 and

K. 456. Russell's theme evolves over the first 30 bars and is not in the customary binary form. Figure 3 outlines the form of the whole movement.

bars	material	description	tutti or solo	key
1-30	J	theme	tutti	tonic
30-58	J'	theme with different ending	solo and tutti	tonic
58-94	J^2	theme in minor and cadenza	solo with some tutti accompaniment	tonic minor
95-140	J^3	theme decorated and extended	solo and tutti	tonic

Fig. 3: Plan of the second movement of Russell's Organ Concerto.

The melody itself is, at first, fragmentary (nearly all of the first 15 bars contain rests) and ornamented--not with the addition of trill, turn, or mordent signs, but by the shapely and elegant demisemiquavers. The lyricism of this movement and the chromatic grace-notes of the melody indicate Russell's fondness for Mozart. The accompaniment, a simple rocking figure, is Mozartian in texture and pattern (see Mozart's Piano Concertos in D Major K. 537, *Larghetto* bars 17-22, and in G Major K. 453, *Andante* bars 5-18, example 5). Also similar are the rhythms of the melodies: compare the Mozart example bars 12-15 with Russell's bars 5-8. Russell's opening phrase of eight bars is answered by one of 10 bars; bars 16-18 form an extended cadence to the second phrase which begins in the same way as the first. The brief period in the dominant in bars 7-8 is balanced by a fleeting reference to the subdominant in bar 11. At bar 18 a new, subsidiary idea emerges with much chromatic movement in the melody and harmony; the bass and inner parts become more important, featuring rising chromatic patterns above which the melody remains static, then, as the underparts in turn become stationary, rest, or return to the opening accompaniment figure, the melody blossoms again in much the same way as it did before. Particularly appealing is the modulation to D flat Major

(bars 22-23) with its chromatic approach from C Major via F Major and F Minor; the return to the tonic is effected by treating the D flat harmony in bar 23 in a similar way to the Neapolitan Sixth and following it with dominant (seventh) harmony; this is not a Neapolitan Sixth, however, because the chord of D flat is in root position and has not appeared as an isolated chromatic chord--there has been a proper modulation to this key, albeit a short-lived excursion. This type of modulation to a distant key, particularly one related to a chromatic chord, is a significant device more frequently encountered in Romantic music, and is a way of moving smoothly to unrelated keys; Russell may have been introduced to the idea through his studies of music by Haydn and Mozart: occasionally Haydn used the technique in his string quartets and Mozart used it in the introduction of the Overture to *Don Giovanni*. Noteworthy too (although not unique) is Russell's use of the chord of the Added Sixth in bar 26, technically brought about by suspending (in fact reiterating) the A in the melody and resolving it by falling a sixth instead of the customary second. The chord of the Added Sixth is not uncommon in Mozart; for instance it occurs in the Piano Concertos in F Major (K.413) and A Major (K.414); Russell's usage is particularly close to the former (example 6). Bars 27-30 provide a codetta which concludes the first section.

Historically in variation form the theme was sometimes introduced by the soloist (for example in the fourth movement of Arne's Concerto no.6 in B flat Major and in the second movement of Charles Wesley's Concerto in F Major op.2 no.2, where, in both, the binary form theme has each half repeated by the orchestra) and sometimes in the orchestra (as in the second movement of Concerto no.3 in B flat Major by Crotch). In Russell's case the orchestra announces the theme and at bar 30 the organ takes it

up, repeating, in the next 12 bars, almost exactly what occurred in the tutti; there follows a modified cadence concluding this first organ sentence at bar 46. The organ was unaccompanied for the first 10 bars, except for a soft reinforcement of the bass line from the cellos and double bass. Thereafter the orchestra provides a discreet accompaniment.

At bar 46 a new *forte* staccato figure in contrary motion is heard in the full orchestra, followed by references to some of the principal melodic shapes of the theme; the section concludes at bar 58. The organ re-enters with the theme in C Minor; the melody is even more fragmented here than at the opening. As in the first movement there is a predominance of upward movement: this has an important bearing on the mood, because the key of C Minor--which nowadays is inferred as often having been associated with tragedy and pathos--can lead to the musical effect becoming depressing or overwhelming in its grief; but here, although there is a yearning, there is also hope. Partly because of the change of mode and partly because of the constant transformation and developing of the theme, the melody is not merely a transposition into the minor of previous material: the theme continues to move in new directions, and at the halfway point in this section it arrives in the dominant minor. Still climbing, now over a dominant pedal (bars 74-77), the music slips into the submediant, A flat Major, on its way to the relative major, E flat (bars 79-86); the theme becomes more flowing, the rhythm is even more fluid with use of triplets against the steady regularity of the rocking accompaniment, and it acquires a positively sunny nature. From bars 86-90 the melody subsides once more and returns to C Minor; the codetta in bars 91-93 recalls the close of the first and second sections with its repeated Cs and anacrusic pattern of three semiquavers at the end of the bar. As

the music rests on the dominant chord a short written-out cadenza, once again rising, moves back to C Major for the final variant of the theme which, this time, is both decorated and extended. The melodic ornamentation is subtly changed and expanded: compare bars 5 and 99, bars 3 and 97; the melodic line becomes an elegant melisma at bars 107-110, terminating with a chromatic interrupted cadence which is typical of Russell. The music continues with a brief reference to the tonic minor, which, together with the downward movement in the melody between bars 111 and 112, and in bars 113, 116, and 117, adds a touch of pathos. Transitory modulations heard in J and J' are amplified in J^{3}, and the modulation to D flat Major, first heard in bars 22-23, is modified and extended by a repeat at bars 124-133. The final cadence is a variant of that heard at the end of J (bars 27-30) but not used at the ends of the intervening sections; both times it is played by the orchestra and it provides the movement with a fitting conclusion.

Third movement.

Russell adhered to customary practice, as set out by Busby, by including a fugue in his Organ Concerto. Although the art of writing fugues had never completely died out, the age of instinctive fugal counterpoint was past, and it had became largely an academic exercise; the result is that few late eighteenth-century organ concertos contain a fugue: composers preferred to write light-hearted rondos or variations (for example Arne and Hook). By the latter part of the eighteenth century it was considered that the composer who ventured into the writing of fugue was serious and academic in his pursuit of music. Some musicians used it as a criticism of other composers, and an indication of being old-

fashioned, while others maintained that the the ability to write a good fugue showed a true understanding of the science of music. Kollmann held the latter view: he said

> [fugal writing] admits, and requires, a closer combination of the arts of harmony, imitation, and double counterpoint, than any other piece of composition; and therefore writing a good Fugue is not only the surest proof of a composer's being a perfect harmonist, but the knowledge of it also enables the composer to write any other sort of musical pieces more original, and with more ingenious inventions, than what he would be able to do without such a knowledge. [6]

J.C.Bach and his followers had abandoned all counterpoint but Mozart was one of the first composers to reinstate its riches in the new style: the finale of his Piano Concerto K.459 contains a fine fugato. There was not only a dichotomy of opinion among musicians concerning fugal writing: it was no longer widely appreciated by the public in England, a fact bemoaned by the Reverend William 'Nayland' Jones (1726-1800), an advocate of the 'ancient' style: 'as Rhymes can give no pleasure to the Ears which are ignorant of the language in which the Poetry is written; so the Fugue seldom pleases much till there is a competent knowledge of the language of music.' [7] Russell was primarily a serious composer, with the exception of some comic pieces for the theatre; his organ and choral works indicate a liking for formality, and writing of fugues was an exercise he maintained throughout his working life. The fugue which constitutes the final movement of the Organ Concerto is typical both of his own fugues and those

[6] Kollmann (1799), 25.

[7] Jones (1784), 49.

of his time, particularly with regard to the proportion of counterpoint to homophonic writing. As a finale to the Organ Concerto it is less than satisfactory particularly with respect to the lack of invention in the melodic shape of the subject and the absence of interaction between soloist and orchestra; Russell followed Samuel Wesley's pattern in the D-Major Concerto where a fugue (of Bach) is played first by the soloist then by the orchestra. Russell's fugue falls into five main sections: the initial exposition and middle section are for organ solo; at the orchestral entry there is another exposition and middle section, then the final section (for orchestra) concludes the movement.

In a review, Busby noted that Kollmann's 'definition of a *fugue*, given in [his] Chapter 5, is succinct, and scientifically correct.... His remarks [in the sixth Chapter] on simple fugues, are perfectly just, and the examples judiciously selected.' [8] These comments by Busby show that he was in accord with Kollmann's explanations which are based on Marpurg's writings on the subject. It should be mentioned that Albrechtsberger's *Gründliche Anweisung zur Komposition* was published in Germany in 1790 and that it combined much from the writings of Marpurg and Fux on fugue; the latter's *Practical Rules for learning Composition* (translator unknown) was published in London in 1791; [9] it is not known whether Russell was familiar with these works. Kollmann said that the fugue subject 'should be simple, and energetic. For the more simple it is, the more room it leaves for agreeable melodies in the other parts; and the more energetic, the more strength and dignity it gives a Fugue.' [10] Russell's subject is

[8] *Monthly Magazine* (1799), 561.

[9] Mann (1958), 58, 328.

[10] Kollmann (1799), 31.

simple in terms of its length (a little over two bars) and its compass (it is contained within the space of a perfect fourth which restricts its melodic interest); it is not particularly simple in its rhythms which are varied and interesting throughout its length. This variety of rhythm gives the fugue an in-built energy which does not rely on a quick tempo, and the tied note provides strength. The tempo indication is *'A Tempo Giusto'* which Thomas Busby explained in his *Musical Manual or Technical Directory* (1828) as meaning 'in exact or correct time'; he defined *'giusto'* thus: 'with steadiness and propriety, in time and manner'. Kollmann recommended that the compass of the subject should remain within the octave in a three- or four-part fugue to avoid too much crossing of parts, and that the subject should begin on the keynote or another note which will readily determine the key of the piece: Russell's subject complies with all of these requirements, and also the one regarding ending the subject on an accented beat of the bar. '' There is a significant similarity between this subject and that of the Prelude and Fugue in E Major from Book Two of *Das Wohltemperierte Klavier* by J.S. Bach: the former differs only in respect of the decorated cadencing (example 7); the order of entries is the same in both works (although Bach's is a four-part fugue) and the return to the tonic for the third entry is handled in much the same way. It is perfectly possible that Russell knew 'the 48'; indeed his friendship with Samuel Wesley (who, with Horn, published an edition of these works in 1808) argues that he must have been aware of these works; however, rather than a reworking of the subject using Bach's fugue as a model, Russell composed his own fugue in the contemporary style, having absorbed something from a possible study of Bach's fugues--a study which

'' Kollmann (1799), 31-32.

did not go so far as to use fugal devices such as stretto, which Bach exploited in his E-Major fugue.

Russell's answer, which is real, comes on the dominant--as in 'the most proper and most cultivated sort of Fugues'. [12] Kollmann lists approved orders of entry, among them Russell's order (bass, alto, treble) in the first and second Expositions. [13] The redundant entry in the treble in bar 8 initially leads the listener to expect a four-part fugue, but this is not the case; except for choral fugues (which are normally in four parts) Russell favoured a three-part texture, occasionally filling out the harmony with either one, two, or even three extra parts, as in bars 44-47 and bars 91-99. This 'free' treatment of counterpoint is quite usual in Russell's music and is not at all uncommon in other works of the period: the age of strict counterpoint was over, and most composers wrote 'simple fugues' (those without a regular countersubject) with fewer examples of 'double fugues' (meaning fugues using a regular countersubject in invertible counterpoint as well as fugues with two subjects) which had been the most common type throughout the Baroque era.

Kollmann used Marpurg's term 'counter-harmony' for the music which accompanies the subject; it must be 'an *Obbligato* melody, different from the Subject in its notes and motions, but related to it in character'. [14] Russell's counter-harmony in bars 3-5 does vary in rhythm from the subject apart from the linking idea of a crotchet tied to a quaver; the chain of

[12] Kollmann (1799), 33.

[13] Kollmann (1799), 38.

[14] Kollmann (1799), 40.

quavers balances and gives stability to the varied note-values of the subject. The counter-harmony does move in contrary motion to the subject and is both related to it and diverse in character from it: the leaps and energetic rhythmic pattern across the barline dividing bars 4 and 5 relate it to the subject, and the flowing quavers form a contrast. Some or all of the features of this initial counter-harmony are preserved in various guises with each entry of the subject, for example in the entry at bar 50 the quaver movement is preserved in the alto part with a different melody, and the pair of semiquavers occurs at the same point. Russell's counter-harmony will work as a regular countersubject since it makes good invertible counterpoint: it must be assumed that he preferred a freer approach. Example 8 shows how this is possible, though not necessarily desirable.

There should be at least three sections in a fugue, according to Kollmann, and they may be 'distinct' or 'indistinct' in their divisions--in other words the sections might be obviously divided or subtly concealed. [18] As figure 4 shows, Russell's fugue comprises five sections; they are 'indistinct'. In keeping with the normal fugal plan the first and last sections are mainly in the tonic (the answers in the exposition are either in the dominant--a short linking modulation having preceded the entry--or result in modulations to the dominant); the two modulatory passages are the lengthy middle section of the organ solo and the short second middle section heard in the orchestra. The new keys are mostly closely related to the tonic with the exception of the dominant minor (bars 39-41). The subject itself remains intact at each entry with the

[18] Kollmann (1799), 41.

division	bars	material	tutti or solo	key
exposition	1-3	subject in bass	solo	tonic
	3-5	answer (real) in alto		moving to dominant
	6-8	subject in treble		tonic
	8-10	redundant entry in treble		dominant
	10-13	codetta K		tonic modulating to dominant
middle section	13-16	episode L	solo	tonic modulating to relative minor
	16-18	subject in bass		relative minor
	19-21	subject in treble		supertonic minor
	22-24	subject in treble		dominant
	24-25	episode L modified		tonic
	26-28	subject in bass		tonic
	28-32	episode L modified		dominant, tonic, subdominant
	32-34	subject in bass		subdominant
	35-39	episode L		supertonic minor to dominant minor
	40-42	subject in bass		dominant minor to tonic
	42-50	episode L rhythm and M		tonic, subdominant, supertonic minor, subdominant
	50-52	subject in treble		subdominant
	52-54	episode L		tonic minor, dominant minor, supertonic minor, relative minor
	55-57	subject in bass		mediant minor
	57-70	episode D and N		relative minor, dominant, tonic
second exposition	71-73	subject in bass	tutti	tonic
	73-75	answer in alto		moving to dominant
	76-78	subject in treble		tonic
	78-80	redundant entry in treble		dominant
	80-84	codetta K and L		supertonic minor, tonic
second middle section/ counter exposition	84-86	subject in bass	tutti	dominant
	86-88	subject in treble, stretto		tonic
final section	88-90	subject in bass	tutti	tonic
	90-114	episode, M and N		tonic and tonic minor
	114-118	coda of alternating dominant and tonic chords		

Fig. 4: Plan of the third movement of Russell's Organ Concerto.

only variation arising from its termination, in which the trill is sometimes plain and followed by a quaver (as in bar 2) or lengthened and a turn added (as in bar 5). In order to draw attention to the first middle entry, which is in the bass (bar 16) Russell sounds the octave below with the first note; this device for accenting notes (which Russell also uses elsewhere in the score for bass entries) was recommended by John Marsh, [16] and was also used by Russell in some Voluntaries (for example the second movement of Voluntary no. 11 of set 2).

Codettas and episodes, which Kollmann calls 'Intermediate Harmony', should preserve the nature of the subject, he says, and not be a 'discontinuation' of it; the purpose of it is to give variety, to avoid 'constraint', and to lengthen the fugue. [17] Russell uses very short links (only a few notes) between subject and answer in the exposition; these merely maintain some movement where the music might otherwise be static but also they result in a predictability of entry which, it has been noted, was one of his weaknesses. Later, however, episodes abound, particularly in the middle section, as one would expect. The codettas and episodes do relate to previous material and are based on four ideas (see example 9):

K) the rhythm used in the treble part of bars 10-13 ()

L) the rhythmical figure featuring a trill in the treble part of bars 13-14 (

)

M) a steady quaver rhythm heard in bars 45-46

N) the semiquaver movement as used in bars 61-70.

[16] Marsh (1791), 5.

[17] Kollmann (1799), 40-41, 43.

K is derived from the counter-harmony in bars 4-5, and is used chiefly in the two codettas, at bars 10-13 and 80-84. L is a development of the rhythm of part of the fugue subject (bar 2); this rhythmic pattern is used extensively in episodes throughout the fugue and has obvious similarities to K. M is an extension of the quaver link heard at the end of the subject in bar 3, and is also derived rhythmically from the counter-harmony of bars 3-4; it appears in various guises, notably at the coda (bars 114-118) and either coupled with the rhythm of L (as in bars 42-50) or with the N rhythm (as in bars 57-70). N is obviously related to M because it moves in even note values as a diminution of the latter; it provides customary passage work both in the solo and orchestral parts. The links between and within the episodes themselves and with the subject and counter-harmony themes enable a quite lengthy movement to be worked out of relatively little material, and create a homogeneous effect while allowing variety.

The use of form is one of the aspects of Russell's Organ Concerto which makes it sound 'modern' for its date. The length is greater than many of the contemporary concertos, the performance time of which, until late in the eighteenth century, had remained about 12 minutes ever since the genre had been invented; the duration of Russell's Organ Concerto is 24 minutes. By the early years of the nineteenth century, the growing trend was to produce lengthier concertos, and Samuel Wesley's Organ Concerto in D Major (1800) is another example: it lasts about 21 minutes. Formally progressive composers became experimental: this is evident in the first movement of Russell's Concerto, which does not strictly adhere to any of the conventional formalistic plans; although the *Largo* introduction is not unusual in itself or in its subtle links with the *Allegro*, the

latter illustrates a deviation from a set form as described by Kollmann (see page 338). The use of this form, with its somewhat experimental nature, was to become common in the large-scale compositions of the early Romantic composers, both in England and on the continent, and some composers like Samuel Wesley were already making their own inventions and experiments with form.

Style.

The two musical styles prevalent in Russell's day ('ancient' and 'modern') were largely diverse, although some composers attempted to marry features of both. Some of the chief characteristics of the 'modern' style are: newly evolved forms, less counterpoint, a mostly homophonic texture, repetitive phrases, feminine cadences, and a slower harmonic rhythm. [18] The 'ancient' style displayed one emotion or sentiment while the 'modern' style might contain many; sudden changes of mood or texture (found, for example, in the sonatas of D. Scarlatti) result in dramatic tension. [19] Russell drew upon aspects of both the 'ancient' and 'modern' styles in his compositions. Other features of a composer's music which characterize his style in addition to form, are rhythm, melody, harmony, and his treatment or development of the material, all of which are now considered.

[18] Bukofzer (1948), 245, 323.

[19] Rosen (1971), 43.

Rhythm and melody.

Rhythms in Baroque music (or music in the 'ancient' style), because they often contain lengthy phrases--perhaps using a chain of quavers, semiquavers, triplets, or a pattern of a quaver and two semiquavers--tend to have more continuity than those in the Classical (or 'modern') style. They often feature a great deal of syncopation and devices such as hemiola; phrases usually begin with an anacrusis, especially in fugal movements. Later music tended both to be simpler (for example the repeated quavers in a *rococo* bass line) and to display a greater variety of rhythms within a shorter space: it has been noted that Russell's fugue in the Organ Concerto begins on the first beat of the bar and contains much rhythmic variety in the subject; this is also true of much of the first movement, where the rhythm is used chiefly to characterize the thematic idea, in fact themes A^1, A^2, B, D^1, D^2, and F^1 are primarily identifiable by their rhythm, and links between different ideas become most clearly apparent through rhythm: for example the derivation of the opening of the *Allegro* (D^1) from the slurred pairs of notes of A^1 (bars 2-4) in the *Largo* relies on the rhythmic relationship of the two themes.

The lengthier melodies of Baroque music, on the whole, tended to become replaced by shorter figures during the Classical period. The statement of several short motifs in the first and second movements of Russell's Organ Concerto illustrates the move in this direction (see also pages 370-372); the first five bars of the *Largo* contain three melodic ideas: the fanfare opening of the first two bars, the three slurred pairs of notes which follow this, and the rising melody of bars 4-5. The first melodic idea of any great length is not heard until the organ entry at bar

14, when a shapely and elegant theme is introduced. Melodies like this and the main organ theme of the *Allegro* (first heard at bars 90-105) are tuneful, and easily remembered. The *Larghetto* movement again mainly comprises a melody of fragmentary nature. Melody has an important rôle in providing coherence to this movement; this is primarily achieved by the use of variations, and is another mark of the forward-looking composer. The fugue has a short, bold subject, easily remembered for its being contained within a small compass, but also rather more restricted in its melodic appeal because of this.

Some of Russell's melodic patterns and embellishments are Mozartian: shapes like those in the first movement at bars 1-4 and 11-14 are similar to those used in Mozart's Church Sonata no. 17 in C Major K. 336, which was written in 1780. The first 20 bars of Russell's slow movement are Mozartian in their melodic shape, particularly the decoration in bars 4-7 and bar 19. The repeated notes in the melody, as in bars 32-33 etc. of the *Allegro*, are also met in bars 15, 19, 37, etc. of Mozart's Church Sonata mentioned above.

Solo figuration.

The figurations Russell used in solo passage work indicate a traditional approach to this aspect of the music. There is hardly any development or modification in solo figuration--let alone invention--in the history of the organ concerto up to and including the time of Russell. Certain patterns of solo figuration are to be found in organ concertos throughout the eighteenth century and afterwards, chiefly those based on scales, arpeggios, turn figures, broken thirds, scalic movement alternating with a reiterated note, and Alberti figures. These patterns are always constructed to fit the composer's harmonic plan and were by no means unique to the organ concerto--they also appear in harpsichord and early piano music, indicating a general 'keyboard' style. As the piano developed so figurations for it were invented and modified. Perhaps the lack of development throughout the eighteenth century is a reflection of the conservatism with which the organ concerto was regarded: certainly Russell did not attempt to break away from this aspect of style. Examples 10-18 and figure 5 indicate those patterns which are most common, together with some of the works in which they are found.

pattern	see example	examples of other composers' usage
scalic figures	10	Handel, Avison, W. Hayes, Stanley, Arne, Charles Wesley, Hook, Mozart, Haydn, Samuel Wesley, and Crotch.
decorated scalic figures (variants of the above)	11	Handel, Felton, Stanley, Arne, and Crotch, and, in its inverted form, Stanley, Charles Wesley, and Hook.
arpeggio figures	12	Handel, Avison, Stanley, Arne, Felton, Hook, and Crotch.
other broken chord figures based on arpeggio figurations	13	Arne, Charles Wesley, and Crotch.
four-note scalic fragments	14	Handel, Stanley, Arne, and Crotch
four-note figures	15	Arne and Charles Wesley.
broken third figures (cf. ex. 11), much used in cadenzas	16	Handel, Philip Hayes, Stanley, Arne, Charles Wesley, Hook, and Crotch; also Mozart.
'anchor'-note figure	17	Handel, Felton, W. and P. Hayes, Stanley, Arne, Haydn, Charles Wesley, Hook, and Crotch, but not in Russell.
Alberti figures	18	Handel, William Hayes, Philip Hayes, Stanley, Arne, Dupuis, Samuel Wesley, and Crotch.

Fig. 5: Common patterns of solo figuration.

Harmony.

Unison passages or passages in octaves, such as the opening of Russell's Organ Concerto and the beginning of the *Allegro*, were favourite devices of Haydn (for instance the opening of Symphony no. 60 *Il*

Distratto), and also of Arne (used in the first movement of his third and fourth concertos), Hook, and Samuel Wesley. The sudden use of the tonic minor within a major section (excluding a minor variation of a major theme) was rare in England when William Hayes utilized it in his Concerto in G Major; this device of colouring the major movement with the tonic minor key was a feature of the Classical ('modern') style from the 1720s, and was a dominating feature in Mozart's music from much later--the 1780s--in, for example, *Idomeneo* (1781) and the Piano Concerto in C Major K.503 (1786). Arne had similar sections contrasting major and minor in his second and sixth Concertos (for example Concerto no.2, first movement, bars 27-32 and Concerto no.6, first movement, bars 17-31). Mozart used the device in his Church Sonata no.17 in C Major K.336 at bars 78-81 and 92-97, and Russell used it similarly in his first movement, *Largo* bars 19-24 and *Allegro* bars 94-98.

Chromatic harmonies of the Neapolitan Sixth, Augmented Sixth, and Diminished Seventh were favourites of Russell and occur frequently in all his music: for example in bars 79 and 95 of the first movement of the Organ Concerto. A particularly interesting development to be found in bar 23 of the second movement where (as stated earlier) there is really a modulation to the flattened supertonic major--D flat Major--and the return to the tonic is effected by treating the D flat Major harmony in the same way as if it were a Neapolitan Sixth, which it is not because the chord is in the root position here. Russell tends to have a transitory modulation to a flat key early in a phrase or certainly before the customary modulation to the dominant, for example in the organ theme of the *Allegro* (from bar 90) the music slips in and out of the relative minor and the supertonic minor at bars 94-96 before veering toward the dominant at bar

100. Flat key or minor harmonies where major ones are expected are other characteristics in Russell's music, particularly the use of the minor chord of the subdominant (as in bar 34 of the first movement). Sliding chromatic harmony (such as in bar 104 of the first movement) appears frequently enough in Russell's music to be eloquent and characteristic, but not so often as to become distasteful as it did in much Victorian music.

Textures.

The lucid two-part texture of earlier organ concertos, such as those by Stanley, is mainly preserved by Russell only for sections of solo passage work, although there is often thickening with chords in one hand (as in bars 159-162 of the first movement) or in the orchestra (for example bars 150-152). Russell generally writes in at least three parts, reflecting the trend for a more dense texture: Arne had used two- and three-part textures, with some bass lines doubled in octaves; Haydn used more three- than two-part textures and also used much doubling in octaves in the left hand (for example in the Concerto in F Major Hob.XVIII:7, which is attributed to him, and various other works using the keyboard such as the Trio in C Major for harpsichord, violin, and cello, Hob.XIV:C1). Charles Wesley's concertos chiefly display three-part solo writing, as do those of Crotch, but the latter also uses more four-part writing and generally thicker textures. The slow movements of Russell's Concerto and Crotch's third Concerto indicate this tendency toward a more solid timbre: Russell's has a four-part and a five-part texture in the organ (from bar 31 onwards), see example 19, and Crotch's melody is close to its harmonic accompaniment, mostly in the centre of the manual compass

and with some octave doubling of the bass (example 20). Russell allows his melody greater freedom and does not keep it bound up with the harmony, indeed this particular melody was probably intended to be played on a different manual.

Development of material and thematic inter-relationships.

Russell uses the technique of thematic inter-relationships or transformation, whereby the same sequence of notes used in different ways (perhaps with altered harmony or a divergent rhythm) gives rise to new themes in fresh contexts. Whether this was a conscious or subconscious procedure cannot categorically be determined; however, this device became more widespread in England as the nineteenth century progressed; Haydn's use of monothematic structures may have influenced English composers like Russell. Thematic inter-relationship is particularly evident in the first movement of Russell's Concerto where several of the motifs are related. The technique links the *Allegro* with the preceding *Largo* since D^1 (bars 24-27) is a product of A^2 (bars 4-5); A^2 is quickly developed from its initial simple rising melody, (bars 4-5) via a reference to A^1 and two trill figures (bars 6-9) into an inversion of its melodic shape (B, a descending figure) terminating with the original rising scale pattern, this time incorporating the trill figure (bars 9-13); the trill in bar 13 also points the way to the transformed version of D^1. The organ entry with theme C incorporates the same rising scalic fragment in bar 16. Thus a single idea unifies not only the two sections of the first movement (the *Largo* and the *Allegro*) but binds together the *Largo* itself. The rhythmic transformation between A^2 and D^1 gives the themes markedly different characters, the first being tranquil in mood, the second full of

anticipation. D^3 (bar 32 etc.) is another transformation of A^2 but the addition of repeated quavers at the end of the motif makes this the most characteristic part of it; this version is used sequentially for the most part. There are links between the opening of the organ theme (H), being basically a rising broken chord figure (bars 90-91), and the beginning of the movement (A^1), which has a descending broken chord figure (bars 1-2), and D^2, ascending and descending arpeggios (bars 105-108).

It may be argued that these two basic patterns--a portion of a scale and an arpeggio--are fundamental to any music; here, however, the taut construction of the work and the economical use of material show a deliberate and intelligent employment; moreover these patterns, whether or not they are treated to thematic transformation, are characteristic of much of Russell's music.

The development or extension of fragmentary motifs into themes was a practice of the Classical period. The second movement of Russell's Organ Concerto is an example of this: it opens with a rhythmical fragment which is repeated at a different pitch (bars 1-2), together these form a broken chord which provides a link with the preceding movement; the fragment is extended by the addition of one note (the semiquaver B) in bar 3; this in turn is lengthened in bars 4-5 and, by bars 6-8 there is a longer chain of demisemiquavers to conclude the first phrase. The first two fragments are repeated in bars 8-10 followed by an extension of the demisemiquaver pattern. Thus the melody gradually evolves until, at bar 15, it is flowing freely without any rests for several bars. The divisions in the variations are subtle: the variety is brought about chiefly through melodic alteration or elaboration, which is an ongoing feature throughout

the movement, rather than a subjection to one type of treatment for each variation, as in the third movement of Arne's Concerto no.3 in A Major and in the second movement of Crotch's Concerto no.2 in A Major.

The development of material in codettas and episodes in the third movement of Russell's Concerto is derived from four themes (K, L, M, and N); their use has been discussed on pages 361-362.

Registration and the use of the pedals.

Registration indications are sparse in Russell's Organ Concerto, an unusual omission when compared with the 24 Organ Voluntaries, where the stops are specified. Possible reasons for this lack are that Russell had memorised the registration because he was to play the organ part himself, or, if a separate organ part existed, this may have contained the relevant information; had the work been published the situation might have been different. With the solo organ repertoire few composers had ever seen a necessity to list the stops at the beginning of a piece, and to some degree this was understandable since an organist ought to know how to register a Trumpet Voluntary or a Cornet Voluntary for example, but for other types of movement such as fugue and variations there was no guideline. Registration was a point touched upon in some tutors of the period, for instance those by Marsh and Blewitt, [20] but it really needed the composer to specify his requirements: Russell was one of the earliest composers to fill this gap consistently and thoroughly in his

[20] Marsh (1791), preface, v.
Blewitt (c.1794), 2-9.

Voluntaries. [21] Of his contemporaries Samuel Wesley seems to have been the most fastidious composer with respect to registration: his Organ Concerto in D Major (1800) is not remarkable for the stop combinations themselves but for the variety required (see page 326).

On his score Russell instructs that 'Diapasons' (indicating both the Open Diapason and Stopped Diapason on the Great Organ) should be used at the organ entry in the first movement. This moderately loud, smooth, well-rounded tone is ideally suited to the texture of melody with chordal accompaniment. For the organ entry in the *Allegro* (bar 90) there is no indication of change in the registration, possibly because none was intended: the Diapasons would again suit the homophonic texture but it might be desirable to have added the Principal, and possibly the Fifteenth, in readiness for the figuration (beginning at bar 133) which would then glitter brightly through the orchestral accompaniment. As in Wesley's D-Major Concerto there is ample opportunity between the organ sections to add or subtract stops; this would have the benefit of varying the colour of the organ theme (H) each time it appears: the entry at bar 212 might be played on a reduced registration which would add a delicacy to the lighter texture of the triplet figuration which follows, then a more robust sound, with Mixtures (Sesquialtera and Cornet) could be used for the final solo section (bars 263-300) which is unaccompanied until bar 299.

[21] Ward Russell (1985), 101-152.

It was in the slow movements that composers tended to note the registration if they did so at all (see for example the Concertos of Charles Wesley), so it is frustrating that Russell's score bears no such indication in the second movement. The organ part is able to accommodate the three chief constituents in this movement (melody, rocking accompaniment, and bass) in the following way: the melody is given to the right hand, the rocking accompaniment to the left hand, and the bass (some of it in octaves) to the pedals. The stipulation 'Pedale' is unmistakable, and, if it is surprising in the organ concerto repertoire, it is not so in Russell's output for this instrument: 13 of his 24 Voluntaries (1804 and 1812) indicate the use of pedals to provide the bass line, but there are other places where their use is necessary or implied. [22] These works show that Russell was a good exponent of pedal playing (see Voluntary no. 11 from the 1812 set) and that he regarded the function of the pedals as an obligatory, not optional, part. The notable early example of use of pedals in an organ concerto is in Handel's Concerto in B flat Major op. 7 no. 1 which, after much research, still remains an enigma. Since few organs in England had been built or fitted with pedals even by 1810, Russell must have had a particular instrument (with pedals) in mind for the performance of his Concerto. The soft string bass, which duplicates the organ pedal part, may have been included so that the piece could have been performed on an organ without pedals, although this seems unlikely because no such provision is made in bars 59-64, 68-78, 85-90, and 95-104. Russell's pedal line in the organ part fills a similar rôle to that in the Voluntaries: it plays the bass, leaving the left hand available to cope with the inner parts and the right

[22] Ward Russell (1985), 149-150.

hand free to play the melody line in a much higher register. Because of the texture and layout it is possible, and maybe desirable, to play the melody on a solo stop on a different manual; there is no indication on the score of Russell's intention but there are two possible clues to his design: first the fact that the movement begins with strings only with the melody played by the first violins implies that Russell wanted an homogeneous sound rather than contrasting colours for melody and accompaniment; later flutes and clarinets are used with the strings, but only to reinforce certain fragments of melody or to fill out the harmony. This assumption that Russell required an homogeneous tone is reinforced by the dynamic indication in the opening tutti where each part, the first violins included, is marked '*mez. for.*' The second point of view is that Russell would have memorized the registration, as he presumably played the organ part himself, and it could have been that he used one of his favourite solo stops--either the Hautboy or the Cremona.

The fugue again has no instruction for registering the movement. In the fugal movements in the Voluntaries Russell usually indicates 'Full Organ': the Diapasons, Principal, Fifteenth, Sesquialtera, Cornet, and Trumpet, possibly reserving the latter for the final cadence.

The score and orchestration.

The existence of a full score of the type Russell left is rare for the period: his is like a modern full score in all aspects except the order of instruments, which shows the upper strings at the top followed by the woodwind, brass, timpani, organ and cello/bass parts; this was the format

he normally used (example 21). Music in England at this time shows a diversity of arrangements: J.C.Bach's Overture to the opera *Temistocle* (1772) places the woodwind between the violins and lower strings; [23] Dupuis, in his D-Minor Organ Concerto, places the trumpets and horns above the oboes, underneath which are the strings and, at the foot of the page, the timpani. Dupuis's arrangement is similar to that of Haydn who placed the brass and timpani above the woodwind, which was placed above the strings. [24] Usually an English composer of organ concertos wrote out the solo part with some orchestral cues, rarely noting to which instrument or instruments the cues referred; most extant organ concertos of the period are in this form, the tuttis appearing in short score, on two staves and the organ sections marked 'solo'; additional directions such as '*senza* organ' indicate that the organ does not fulfil its customary continuo rôle at that point, and '*con* organ' shows where the organ rejoins the orchestra. Example 22 is typical and is taken from Stanley's Concerto op.10 no.4. It was also common for harp and other keyboard concertos to be published in this two-stave form; it replaced the earlier method of providing only a figured bass during the tuttis, and had the advantage of being a ready-made solo transcription, although, on occasions, the orchestral parts do not lie comfortably under the hands as in some of Charles Wesley's Concertos. Sometimes, late in the period of study, a compromise between the two-stave and full score types was made: Crotch sometimes added a stave, which was printed smaller, above the organ part to accommodate an important orchestral line (example 23) and sometimes he inserted an orchestral part in small notes on one of the organ staves.

[23] Becker (1964), 60-61.

[24] Véscey (1960), 34, 45, 46.

In his Concerto in D Major Samuel Wesley left a score which contains, in addition to the solo part, varying numbers of staves for the orchestral parts; mostly these are not labelled and they do not give a complete picture of the work when compared with the separate parts; in this instance this is either Wesley's original draft and/or it is the score from which the soloist played (because of the registration indications)--certainly it serves to give the organist a clear idea of what is happening in the orchestra. This seems to be the closest type of contemporary score to that of Russell, who was forward-looking in this respect, and is anticipating the Romantic period generally, when composers became far more specific about their requirements for all aspects of performance. Russell was a composer who liked to give the performer as much information as possible--hence his attention to marking details of phrasing and dynamics--and it can be clearly seen from his full score (where the organ has two separate staves and does not share the 'basso') that he regarded it purely in a solo rôle and not providing a continuo part.

In published concertos of the two-stave type, and up to the time of Crotch, the instrumentation is normally shown on the title page. The size of the orchestra grew from strings with or without oboes, to include horns and flutes, and later a full woodwind section and brass. This trend was paralleled in the development of the piano concerto through to the 1790s when the smallest orchestra consisted of two oboes or flutes, two horns, and strings; indeed Mozart's piano concertos from the period 1782-1784 have an orchestra as large as this. Dussek's *Grand Military Concerto* in B flat Major op.40, which was first performed in 1798 and published in London the following year, has an orchestra of flutes, oboes, clarinets, bassoons, horns, and strings with solo piano. The increased use of wind

instruments was heard in England in Haydn's London Symphonies: those of 1791-1792 contain a complete wind section except for clarinets and trombones, and those of 1794-1795 include clarinets. The clarinet was beginning to appear more frequently as a solo instrument in the 1790s: John Mahon (c. 1746-1834) had been the first clarinet performer to appear in London, and this was as early as 1773; he appeared twice at Covent Garden during the oratorio seasons in the 1790s, and his brother William Mahon (c. 1750-1816) performed a clarinet concerto at Ranelagh Gardens in 1791. In English orchestral compositions wind instruments were used sparingly, usually they double the strings in tutti sections and only occasionally take a melodic line. Russell, Samuel Wesley, and Crotch wrote for a large orchestra in their Organ Concertos; Russell's Concerto is scored for two flutes, two oboes, two clarinets, two bassoons, two horns, two trumpets, timpani, and strings (this being the largest orchestra Mozart used in his piano concertos, indeed he only used it in K. 491 and there is only one flute part); the organ concertos of Samuel Wesley and the third Concerto by Crotch also use a similar orchestra but additionally include trombones. The string writing in Russell's Concerto is often in four parts, as at the opening of the second movement, which begins with strings only; periodically some double stopping is required in the violins; another string texture is the Haydnesque two-part writing created by the violins playing in unison on the one hand, and the violas playing an octave apart from the cellos and double basses on the other. Yet another Haydn characteristic, of which Russell made much use, was the dialogue between flute and bassoon or oboe and bassoon, often spaced as widely apart as two octaves (for example in bars 61-69 of the first movement). These features may have been introduced to Russell through hearing performances of Haydn's London Symphonies. The woodwind are given

several melodic phrases particularly in the *Largo:* flutes and oboes an octave apart are answered by the bassoons in octaves at bars 17-19, and the woodwind are used alone as a unit in bars 4-5 and bars 19-21--a further feature which shows the influence of Haydn. In the second movement the oboes are replaced by clarinets in C, but these do not play any part of melodic importance: instead they serve to reinforce the texture or to emphasize the melody at the cadence. By contrast the clarinets have a much more important rôle in *Job* which contains some lengthy solos and obbligato passages. Trumpets and timpani are reserved for the final movement of the concerto, which begins with a lengthy organ solo working out a fugue; after the orchestral entry at bar 71 the organ makes no further appearance; this is how Samuel Wesley treated Bach's D-Major Fugue from Book One of *Das Wohltemperierte Klavier* which he inserted as a penultimate movement in his D-Major Concerto; here the organ plays the fugue complete and it is repeated by the orchestra. Russell uses the brass in a fashion which was conventional at the time: to add weight and colour, to provide fanfare figures and, with the woodwind, to provide harmony for the string passage work (as in bars 94-98 of the last movement). As with these later concertos generally, the orchestra is self-sufficient--there is no necessity for the organ to double as continuo, and indeed it is not intended to.

Expression, interaction of forces, and masonic references.

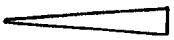
In Russell's Organ Concerto the structure and, in particular, the dialogue between soloist and orchestra are all-important in making this a 'modern' composition--indeed, in terms of the organ concerto Russell was forwarding the genre by integrating earlier ideas (for example of Mozart)

and contemporary developments (of Crotch, for instance). Expansion of the form may have come from both these composers, while the increased size of the orchestra perhaps owes something to Crotch. Although the orchestra does, at times, provide a subsidiary accompaniment to the organ, both in passage work and in melodic sections, this is not its primary rôle: both parties are given prominence, with the emphasis sometimes on one and sometimes on the other. Both, at various times, share moods and ideas, and at other times display contrasting emotions and different thematic material. The essence of concerto is the contrast between the solo and the tutti forces. In the English organ concerto the soloist had largely gained the dominant rôle, while the orchestra provided a framework for display (for example Arne's Concerto no.6 in B flat Major, where the second and third movements and the first two variations of the last movement have no orchestral accompaniment at all). In Russell's Concerto the emphasis is on the contrast and combination of different sonorities to make an harmonious whole; the element of combat between the forces was to come with Beethoven and later composers. [28] Tonal and textural contrasts are most clearly shown in the first movement where, initially, the orchestra appears both bold and the more masterful (bars 1-13) compared to the organ's initial entry at bar 14, but later (at bar 22) it becomes subservient, accompanying discreetly, or (at bars 133-163) adding weight and colour to the virtuoso solo part. The orchestra again takes the initiative in the *Allegro* when it quickly establishes a feeling of anticipation which explodes into a mood of joy and excitement; the entry of the organ follows a *pianissimo* return to the anticipatory motif (D')

[28] The derivations of concerto and the essence of concerto style at different periods is discussed in Grove (1980), IV 626 and Palisca (1981), 66-67.

and brings with it a new theme, one of confidence and serenity, not of effervescence and virtuosic semiquavers (at least not yet); an analogy might be drawn with the suspense and sudden hush before an important person or celebrity arrives on stage and delights the audience with a simple and sincere greeting. In the second movement, following the orchestral statement, soloist and tutti combine amicably to deliver the eloquent theme and its variants. The only hint of struggle is the *forte* interruption by the orchestra at bar 46, but this is only a repetition of part of the initial statement. When the organ is playing the orchestra automatically subsides into accompaniment; the soloist never accompanies the orchestra as Mozart so often did, but this was not customary in English organ concertos except where the soloist might provide the continuo too (there are instances where the indication '*senza* organ' means that the soloist does not double as continuo player; elsewhere it may be inferred that it was possible the soloist took on this dual rôle). Russell's third movement has no interplay between the two parties: the organ has the first statement and the orchestra reiterates the ideas and brings them to a conclusion. This is a strange and somewhat unsatisfactory arrangement; even if Russell intended the soloist to keep playing through the tutti (and there is no indication that this is the case--indeed, as stated above, it seems Russell did not wish this to happen), the element of contrast between solo and tutti, which (Kollmann said) should be a characteristic, is almost entirely lost, and there is no final combat or climactic tension between the two forces.

The nature of Russell's Concerto as well as his precision in marking dynamics and phrasing are indications of the importance he attached to personal expression. He calls for a wide range of dynamic levels from *pp*

to *ff* with both sudden and gradual changes; he uses the sign  for a short *crescendo*. The views of his friend R. J. S. Stevens on the matter of expression have already been noted at the beginning of this chapter, and it seems that relatively few composers were prepared to be specific and willing not to pander merely to what would gain immediate, if not lasting, appreciation from the public. It is true that many audiences were neither discerning nor wholly attentive, and therefore could more easily react with pleasure to a dazzling feat of technical display than to a moving emotional and musically intelligent performance. In an article on tempo in music Crotch was ready to answer any potential criticism that he was more concerned with speed than expression:

> Some may urge, that the time of music is not of so much consequence as the expression, and that the attention will consequently be diverted from an important to an unworthy object. To this I answer, that I have not the least wish that my plan should interfere with the expression, which I think of far greater importance than accuracy of time; I therefore wish all composers to retain the words *grazioso, spiritoso, cantabile, sostenuto, staccato, maestoso, agitato,* and all other terms of expression, as well as to adopt definite characters of time. [26]

Curiously enough, the second most desirable element of musical performance, and the one which, after virtuosity, was most likely to arouse admiration in a contemporary audience, was the ability to stimulate different emotions and to evoke a variety of moods. This was partly possible by the performer's compliance with all the directions given on the score by the composer, and partly by the individual interpretation of

[26] *Monthly Magazine* (1800), 941.

each performer. Little is known of the latter, which is why the detail on the score was so important then and still is today. The combination of virtuoso performance and personal expression in the concerto was difficult for a composer to handle, as Abraham Veinus stated:

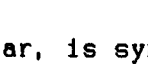
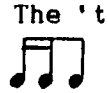
> In the concerto self-expression had formidable competition in virtuoso self-interest.... The concerto, therefore, was not a medium which would interest the romantic composer for its own sake, which may explain in part why he turned to it with relative infrequency. [27]

Russell's Organ Concerto puts the emphasis on personal expression rather than virtuosic display: it seems as if he was aiming to achieve a level of expression on the organ which composers like Clementi, Field, and Pinto were drawing from the piano--for example Field's Piano Sonata in E flat Major op. 1 no. 1 (1801) and Pinto's Sonatas in E flat Minor op. 3 no. 1 (1801) and C Minor (1802-3), (see example 24)--this is most evident in Russell's slow movement which contains a great depth of feeling. The mood evoked here is one of tranquillity following the exuberance of the opening movement of the work; there is also security and confidence here which pervade the whole composition.

One further aspect of expression in Russell's Organ Concerto remains to be explored--that of Masonic cryptography. Freemasons had certain musical patterns--rhythmic or melodic or both--which symbolize various aspects of the Craft; these would have been well-known to musical Freemasons. [28] The masonic composition *par excellence*, of course, is

[27] Veinus (1964), 132.

[28] Thomson (1977), 42-44.

Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte* (1791). It has not been possible to establish that Russell was a Freemason because registers of the period are incomplete, but it seems probable that he was on two counts: there are evidences of masonic patterns in his organ music (the Concerto and the Voluntaries) and there is the knowledge that his friends and those for whom he worked were Freemasons--those who gave him testimonials when he applied for the post of organist at the Foundling Hospital in 1798 were Freemasons, as were his friends who organized a benefit concert for his family after his death. The Organ Concerto and several of the Voluntaries contain masonic figures, which, although in themselves are not unusual in compositions of the period, are sometimes unusual in the contexts in which they appear. Once it is established that a certain figure has a masonic connotation, it follows that other figures, which it was thought may or may not be masonic, are likely to be so. One obvious feature pointing to masonic cryptography appears at the conclusion of the Concerto, which quite satisfactorily could have ended with the chord on the first beat of bar 117; instead there follows a repeated three-note figure in dotted rhythm  or similar, is symbolic of the promotion by the craft of resolution and courage. The 'triple knock' is a similar three-note rhythmical figure (such as  and) which indicates the initiant seeking entrance to the masonic lodge. The first movement opens with such a figure, which continues with a triadic pattern: this again may be significant--anything connected with the figure 'three' is important in Freemasonry and most masonic songs are in three-part harmony; often they are in triple time, and have a key signature of three sharps or

three flats; they might have chains of thirds and be constructed in a three-section form. The first movement of Russell's Organ Concerto contains parallel thirds and sixths (bars 62-69) which symbolize harmonious relationships and the shared feelings of Freemasons. There may be symbolism in the three groups of three-note figures here too. These are accompanied by repeated notes in quavers, a formula which denotes the mason's hammer striking the chisel against the stone. The significance of the figure three is most apparent in the second movement which is in triple time, contains three-note motifs (for example bars 1-2), has a triadic accompaniment, and a section with a key signature of three flats (symbolic of the stonemasons' trowels used in the building of the temple). The third movement has a predominantly three-part texture, although this is common in Russell. Further evidence of masonic cryptography is apparent in the first movement, which contains slurred pairs of notes (bars 2-4 and 25-27); these, together with suspensions and tied notes (for instance in bars 49-51 and 74-76) signify the brotherhood ties of the members. The dialogues between treble and bass (bars 9-12 and 17-20) denote the questions and answers to and from the initiant wishing to gain membership. The quantity of evidence in this music, coupled with the knowledge that Russell moved within a circle of men who were Freemasons, would seem to indicate that it is most likely that he too belonged to the Craft, and that these musical figures were not merely included as part of the contemporary musical language, but were deliberately used in order to convey masonic allusions.

Why the Concerto was written.

The question 'why did Russell write an organ concerto?' must now be addressed. There is no indication in the score to answer this question precisely. Contemporary organ concertos continued to be written for and played most commonly either during the oratorio season at the theatres or at the Pleasure Gardens during their season. It may be assumed that the work was written for a specific reason and that it was performed somewhere--perhaps at one of the Cecilian Society concerts which sometimes included an organ concerto,[29] or possibly at the Cobham's Head (near Russell's home) which was 'a very select place of entertainment' some 60 years earlier and which had an organ judged 'one of the finest for its beautiful tone and variety of stop'.[30] It is unlikely that a busy man would take so much time and trouble with a large-scale work if there was no projected performance. At this time Russell would have been concerned with discussing and supervising the major additions to the organ at St. Ann's, Limehouse; at the Foundling Hospital he would have been engaged in rehearsals of Easter music and preparations for the special anniversary services; he was working on two other large-scale pieces--a Mass and an orchestral work, and possibly some of the Organ Voluntaries which were to be published in 1812; also he was shortly to become a father. The score of the Organ Concerto itself, which is an autographed manuscript (the work was never published), is held at the Bodleian Library, Oxford Ms. Mus. c.99, ff.75-100); it bears Russell's initials and the dates March 7 and 14, 1810 at the beginning and, at the end 'Finis Sunday March 18. 1810'

[29] *Musical World* (1837), 169.

[30] Pinks (1865), 120.

with his autograph (example 25). This information, taken together with the fact that the handwriting is less clear than Russell's usual neat one, shows that the work was composed in some haste--possibly to meet a deadline for performance. Russell did not normally date sections of his compositions, but where he did (in some theatre music, the *Ode to Harmony*, *Ode to Music*, and in his Funeral Anthem for Barthélémon), he seems to have been working to a time limit. Further evidence that a performance took place, or was at least projected, is found in the notes for the copyist near the end of the second movement (example 26) and the totals of bar numbers at the end of each movement.

The type of organ required for this Concerto must have had pedals (for the second movement); this rules out the organs in the theatres. It does not seem to be the type of concerto to be found suitable for performance at one of the Gardens, even if there was an organ there with pedals: the work demands an attentive audience apart from anything else. There are four likely venues: the Foundling Hospital, St. Ann's, Limehouse, the Cobham's Head, and (if he was a Freemason) the masonic temple of Russell's Lodge (the last two subject to the organs having pedals). Two of the dates on the score were Wednesdays--days when Russell worked at the Foundling Hospital--which may or may not be significant. Since the organ at St. Ann's was being enlarged, the Concerto may have been intended for inclusion in the opening concert to display the new additions, which included a second Open Diapason, a 'Furniture' and Cornet on the Great, and a much enlarged Choir division. However, the the initial stimulus for the composition of this fine piece remains a mystery.

CHAPTER XII

Summary and Conclusions: Russell in Retrospect.

A musician's London.

During William Russell's lifetime London was an important musical centre where, even taking account of the decline commented upon by Parke (see pages 7-8), there was much and varied activity: indeed the public must have felt overwhelmed by the profusion of both printed music and concert programmes. With such a thriving situation boding well, a musician's life in London should have been stimulating and fulfilling, but the massive influx of foreign performers and composers, and their prejudiced reception from the public, denied indigenous musicians their rightful position and respect. Artistes from the continent were elevated as geniuses of fashion, with the social element masking any want of artistic integrity; the truth of the matter is that few of these immigrants and visitors were better than the English musicians. One notable exception was Haydn, who clearly ranks above his English contemporaries. It became the vogue to measure the achievement of a composer by comparing him to acknowledged masters such as Haydn, yet English musicians were denied the training and patronage he had enjoyed, and they had no opportunity in their own country for formal training in an academy or conservatory (such as was the case in Italy); Haydn's musical education in the Cathedral choir school in Vienna was greatly superior to that received in the English equivalent (at St. Paul's Cathedral, London). This disparate situation earned England the reputation of being a land devoid of great native music; even well after Russell's death the view of the French writer Lablache, published in *Le Monde*

Parisien, reflected the same censure:

> The reputation of England, as far as music is concerned, is not yet established in Europe. The exalted position which Great Britain occupies in a commercial point of view, the immense progress which that country has made in the useful arts, the ardour with which the advances on the road of material improvement, have led to the adoption of the opinion that there can be little room in English heads for any thought about the fine arts.... The present inferiority of England is a geographical question rather than one of organisation.... Moreover, at the period when the musical revolution broke out in Italy, England was busily engaged in the accomplishment of a social revolution: she was organizing her political unity, and it is not during such struggles that nations are found disposed to receive the fruitful seeds of letters and the arts. [1]

At the same time, Lablache conceded that London was alive with all kinds of musical performance. The industrial revolution and the geographical location may have been responsible in part for the depressed state of English music, but it was largely the attitude of the nobility (who dictated fashion) which kept English musicians in the shadow of their European counterparts. It is important to comprehend the rigid nature of class distinction and the social structure of Russell's day; some musicians (like Charles Wesley) who were either fortunate enough to have been born into a family who might readily mingle with the aristocracy, or who were able by some means to enter into society, could enjoy an eminent status performing for or teaching members of the royal family or nobility;

[1] *Musical World* (1837), 166

however, these were relatively few. Russell does not seem to have had delusions of grandeur or even the wish to raise his status in this meretricious way; largely he relied on his own professional ability. He was born and lived much of his life in a part of London now in the West City; it was respectable--many of his neighbours were organists, organ builders, and craftsmen--but not fashionable: wealthier musicians such as Burney and Arnold had addresses in Chelsea and Westminster respectively. However, Russell did not shun the élite but his associations with them were probably secondary to his musical interests (for example the Concert of Ancient Music); he involved himself with another influential group of people by becoming a Freeman of the City of London, although this seems to have assisted his children and future generations of Russells rather than himself. Membership of the Royal Society of Musicians both confirmed his professional status and insured him and his family against financial ruin, should disaster strike.

Russell's training, his ambitions.

Russell's musical training began within the family, with his father probably giving him initial elementary tuition in organ playing before sending him to private teachers; additionally Russell learned--or at least absorbed--knowledge of organ building from his father, so that later he could discuss and advise on organ construction. He undertook no continental tours nor training abroad, so his early study was of and received from conservative English musicians. His first teachers, Cope, Shrubsole, and Groombridge, gave him essential training in organ playing and equipped him to direct the music for a Cathedral (in other words sung) service. The organs he played later, particularly the large instruments at

Limehouse and at the Foundling Hospital, gave him opportunities to experiment with organ colour and to use the pedals more than his contemporaries had done; he was fortunate also in being allowed to oversee the substantial enlarging of both these organs by his father. The Organ Concerto and Voluntaries reflect the desire for a larger and more versatile instrument. Russell had only one teacher in composition: Arnold; some early anthems were probably written as exercises for him; they contain corrections of grammatical errors such as consecutive fifths and octaves. [2] Although he held two prestigious organ posts (at Westminster Abbey and the Chapel Royal) and therefore must have been more than a competent performer, Arnold wrote little for the instrument. Russell must have gleaned little or nothing from his teacher in this regard; however, in vocal music there is more evidence of influence: Russell's *Magnificat* from the Evening Service in A Major displays similarities with Arnold's *Magnificat* in the same key. It is not possible to detect any stylistic traits in Russell's large-scale choral compositions which can be said to owe their origins specifically to Arnold; the teaching seems to have been broadly concerned with basic techniques of composition, and Russell's stylistic development was probably gained over a period of time spent performing and studying the music of others. The area where Arnold undoubtedly exerted most influence was in gaining Russell an appointment at the Sadler's Wells theatre, where he was able to benefit from the invaluable experience of composing, rehearsing, perhaps adapting, and directing performances of his own music. Similar learning through experience must have occurred during Russell's Church appointments, particularly early on at the Great Queen Street Chapel where, unusually, there was a trained choir.

[2] GB T ms.664
See also Ward Russell (1985), 78.

From early years, either at his own instigation or from parental encouragement and foresight, Russell took many opportunities to perform and study the music of others. Singing in performances of oratorios promoted by the Concert of Ancient Music and the Cecilian Society would have provided profound insight and influence on the young composer. Such experience, particularly as a member of the chorus rather than a soloist, gave him insight into vocal writing and doubtless helped to furnish him with the ability to write choruses which are eminently accessible to choirs, and to compose airs which demonstrate a technical as well as artistic knowledge of the voice. Personal study of music by Haydn and Mozart was clearly regarded by Russell as greatly important in his learning process, because he made a point of including this fact in his biography:

> An ardent and laudable desire to attain eminence in his profession first led this gentleman to examine the writing of Hadyn *[sic]* and Mozart, two of of *[sic]* the greatest musicians the world ever knew; and it is perhaps in a great measure from an attentive study of their scores that he may date his present knowledge and excellence in the art, both as a performer and composer. [3]

The first sentence of this extract describes Russell as a 'gentleman' rather than a 'composer' or 'musician'; this attribution is almost certainly intended to illustrate more clearly than the other titles the kind of person Russell was, or at least how he regarded himself and how he wished to be esteemed by others. The opening phrase indicates that he was ambitious and willing to devote himself wholeheartedly to succeeding in his career. This also can be seen clearly in his degree, which he proudly

[3] Bingley (1814), II 281-282.

displayed by adding 'Mus.Bac.Oxon.' after his name on his publications--not that this was pretentious or unusual: it was a natural and common thing for composers to be proud of such an achievement. These aspirations show that Russell was far from being an unprogressive composer like R.J.S. Stevens, for example, who was conservative in taste and unvaried in compositional styles despite attending concerts 'to hear the modern German style of music'; [4] however, Russell was not as progressive in some fields as certain of his English contemporaries such as Pinto (1785-1806), 'a prophet of the keyboard' [pianoforte] who was regarded as advanced for his thematic unification in his Piano Sonatas op.3 (1801). [5]

The influence of Handel.

Handel's music had affected every English composer from his lifetime until the end of the eighteenth century; many composers were content to imitate it, others attempted to adapt its forms and structures to a more 'modern' musical vocabulary. There was no escaping its influence as long as the public demanded to hear it. Toward the end of the century, as Handel's supremacy was waning, musicians and public alike took sides in the battle of the 'ancient' style versus the 'modern', with strong language and argument emanating from the correspondence in musical periodicals. One writer (signing himself 'W.X.') observed that the prevailing musical style was the most powerful criterion for judging the character and manners of an age, and he decried the 'vanity and caprice' of the public who tempted

[4] Argent (1992), vii.

[5] Temperley (1985), xiv.
Russell's use of thematic unification is discussed in Ward Russell (1985), 85-88, 147-149.

musicians to pander to 'a perverse generation' demanding frivolous music with 'little to commend, and much to reprobate'.[6] Although this correspondent conceded that no composer was nor could be perfect in his work--he slighted Handel for a number of 'improprieties', some of them 'reprehensible'--he stated that 'notwithstanding these defects, the merits of those composers [Purcell, Corelli, and Handel] will always predominate, and their works will remain as monuments of their exalted genius'. Russell had grown up with Handel's music: in his youth he collected organ arrangements of excerpts from some of Handel's oratorios,[7] and he encountered more of Handel's music at the Foundling Hospital where the Governors still revered the master for his generous help towards the Charity. Some absorption of the Handelian style is detectable in a few of Russell's early anthems, but thereafter instances are rare. Handelian influence on Russell is subtle: it concerns structure and form more than the rhythms and figures of the 'ancient' style. Russell was always drawn to large forms--ode, oratorio, concerto, symphony,[8] pantomime--and he extended the length and form of the organ voluntary and concerto; perhaps, as with Haydn, it was the 1791 Commemoration of Handel (in which Russell sang while Haydn attended as a member of the audience) that supplied Russell with the greatest incentive to write large-scale choral works. Nigel Burton states that

> the musical life of nineteenth-century Britain was governed not by opera, as in the rest of Europe, but by oratorio.... In 1800

[6] *Monthly Magazine* (1799), 624-625.

[7] GB Lbm Add. Ms. 51019.

[8] GB Ob Ms. Mus. c. 99 contains an untitled work which appears to be a sketch for a symphony.

> Handel's oratorios were a national institution, evoking strong patriotic feelings (more than ever in time of war). [9]

This statement would suggest that, in devoting much of his time to writing oratorios, Russell was following current trends, but this is not so, for Handel's reign was coming to an end and his influence was declining; although Handel's oratorios were still heard, performances were less frequent and rarely included a complete work, but rather excerpts from several oratorios intermixed with music by other composers. There was little incentive here for a composer to write oratorio. Russell was, in a sense, moving against the tide of fashion.

The influence of Bach.

Samuel Wesley constantly disputed with his brother, Charles, the supremacy of Handel, claiming that J.S.Bach was the superior composer. Through his friendship with Wesley, Russell became familiar with the music of Bach. Apart from the similarities between the fugue in Russell's Organ Concerto and Bach's E-Major fugue from Book Two of *Das Wohltemperierte Klavier*, Bachian influence is not obvious; it is possible that a knowledge of Bach's organ works encouraged Russell to lead the way in the use of the pedals, and indeed to encourage the adding of pedals to organs which had only manuals.

The influence of Mozart and Haydn.

It is likely that Russell himself felt more indebted to Mozart than

[9] *Athlone* (1981), V 214.

to any other composer: certainly the esteem in which he held Mozart was endorsed when he paid homage to him by naming his son after him. In Russell's music, especially in the Organ Concerto, there are a number of stylistic features--particularly melodic and harmonic elements--which reveal a fondness for Mozart's music; these include melodic shapes and embellishments, chromatic passing notes and grace notes, figuration at cadences, tonic minor sections in a major movement, and key relationships between movements. Some of these characteristics may not owe their derivation solely to Mozart: the last two are found in other English composers such as Arne and Crotch, for example. Mozart and Haydn were important in the advancement of orchestration, particularly with regard to the use of woodwind, which took on increasing independence. In Russell's scores this is reflected in the use of clarinets as well as oboes and flutes, important bassoon parts, and some effective tonal colouring by the woodwind; Russell may have been familiar with Arne's music, which also showed colourful use of the woodwind (see pages 88-89). However, one example which is similar to, and therefore indicates the influence of, Haydn, is the dialogue between flute and bassoon, and between oboe and bassoon in the first movement of the Organ Concerto (see pages 341 and 379); Russell may have detected this characteristic in the Haydn symphonies which were played in London. Haydn and Russell shared a fondness for the effect of juxtaposing a slow movement in a minor key with a fast one in the tonic major. Russell's propensity for concluding with a slow coda, thus balancing a slow introduction, may owe something to Haydn's understanding of structural balance, although it is not a procedure Haydn himself followed. In Russell's Organ Voluntary no. 10 in G Major (set two, 1812) he directly paid tribute to Haydn by writing a fugue on a subject from the

latter's *Stabat Mater*. [10] In 1806 writing *Hints to Young Composers of Instrumental Music*, John Marsh stated that Haydn did much to improve 'modern' music, which had degenerated 'into a light, trivial and uniform character'. [11] Russell certainly strove to compose music which had seriousness, depth, and variety; on the whole he was successful, although at times he becomes a touch predictable in his harmony or figuration--a criticism which can hardly ever be levelled at Haydn.

Other influences.

Russell was affected to varying degrees by the trends and current interests of his day: the growing cult surrounding national songs was one. It may have been Bingley who awakened his curiosity about folksongs when he invited him to arrange a volume of Welsh Airs (1803). Single Scottish-style songs were written by Russell over the next few years, and 'Ellen of Windermere', a ballad composed in 1808, [12] reflects the nation-wide attention drawn to the Lake District, particularly by the paintings of artists like Turner and by the writings of the Romantic poets such as Coleridge and Wordsworth. It has been stated that 'the great merit' of English music was melody 'but the only strong feeling was patriotic enthusiasm'. [13] The first part of this statement has some truth, and often it is reflected in Russell's music, although at times his melodies become rather overburdened with the repeated notes which are a characteristic of English folk song; the second part of the statement is only true in part:

[10] Ward Russell (1985), 137-138.

[11] Quoted in Milligan (1983), 5.

[12] GB Lbm Add. Ms. 51018.

[13] Davey (1969), 391.

there is little evidence of a nationalistic fervour which penetrated all spheres of British music--chiefly it was confined to certain areas such as songs, ballads, and instrumental variations on folk songs or the national anthem. Apart from any portions of pantomime having a patriotic text, which Russell was employed to set to music, his only composition to show any *amor patriæ* is a song with orchestral accompaniment called 'The British Soldier' (1801); the text, by Ensign John Eason, was dedicated to the Duke of York, and the song was sung by Charles Dignum at Vauxhall Gardens. The other works by Russell which show that he was caught up in the Romantic concept of love of the countryside and of nature, are those mentioned above in connection with folk song styles; these are not truly patriotic gestures, rather they are a response to a contemporary interest; there is no real sign of nationalism in the works which form the major part of this study.

The advances in instrumental and orchestral techniques, which were very much in evidence during Russell's day but which were not to escalate until well after his death, both influenced him and (in terms of the organ) were influenced by him. Better orchestral playing techniques meant that he could write interesting and demanding obbligato parts for wind instruments, particularly the clarinet and bassoon. With regard to the organ, Russell exploited the standard eighteenth-century specification by using colour changes in a new and more complex way, and by writing obbligato pedal parts; these features, which are implicit in the Organ Concerto, are clearly stated in his Organ Voluntaries. Russell was fortunate in having a father who was an organ builder, because he was able to instigate the extension of the Swell into a viable independent manual, and to have extra stops added to the organs he played. Doubtless it was a result of his

son's own superb playing technique and the subsequent increased demands he made of the organ itself that impelled Hugh Russell to incorporate these features into his new organs, and often to add pedals to existing instruments which had been built without them. The emphasis on colour, which is such a feature of Russell's organ music, anticipates the Romantic organ of the Victorian age, when the instrument became an alternative to and imitator of the orchestra. Russell's intimate knowledge of organ building and playing left him well-placed to discuss matters of temperament, which became a controversial issue argued in the *Musical Magazine, Review and Register* in 1809 and 1810: William Hawkes claimed that his design for an organ, constructed by Thomas Elliott, totally overcame the imperfections of tuning which existed on other keyboard instruments; Russell disputed and corrected some of Hawkes's inaccurate statements regarding organs he himself knew well, and promoted a rival system which was being developed for the pianoforte by David Loeschman. [14] It is clear that Russell did not work in a vacuum, but became involved in the many and varied musical developments of his day.

Methods of composition and stylistic features.

Most of Russell's compositions were for voices or organ, but even in the former he appears to have conceived many of his ideas--particularly harmonic progressions--at the keyboard (see pages 82-83). This is neither unusual nor a criticism, but was a natural method for a keyboard player to follow. Further evidence of compositional procedure occurs in the manuscripts themselves--the differences between those of his early works

[14] Kassler (1979), I 472-473, II 697-700, 913-914.

and those of his later ones is best seen in two aspects: in the former the handwriting is neat and carefully executed, with meticulous directions for performance (also a feature of his published material) while the latter show a more rapid approach to writing down the composition, and less attention to adding every detail of phrasing or dynamic, presumably because he carried this information in his head. A bass line (usually unfigured) with a vocal line or principal melodic line were all the detail given in many of the manuscripts. The filling up of the texture was presumably completed at the stage of writing out the parts. Where a complete score is extant, it is clear that Russell favoured three-part rather than four-part counterpoint; many of the homophonic movements are in four (and sometimes more) parts, but fugal choruses for soprano, alto, tenor, and bass, for example, contain lengthy passages of three-part writing, either because one voice is resting or because the duplication of notes is such that the texture is thinner than the expected four parts. The three-part texture is the commonest in Russell's Organ Voluntaries (although here he also experimented with dense and thick textures, for example in Voluntary no. 11 in E Minor from the first set); this is another indication that Russell composed at the keyboard.

Like Haydn, Russell favoured basic thematic material, such as scale passages and arpeggio figures, for the basis of his compositions. Triadic melodies, which are frequently heard in Russell's music, were common fare among the Classical symphonists; these lent themselves to sequential development, a device heavily relied upon not only by Russell but also by his contemporaries such as Pleyel in his symphonies, which were popular among English audiences. Pleyel, however, lacked the motivic development and thematic transformation which are evident in Russell, albeit sometimes

rudimentary. The technique of melodic extension was a useful device for Russell (in the Organ Concerto, for example: see page 371); at such times, and also in certain airs, for instance, he displays a melodic charm which is both quintessentially English yet, in its decorative quality, owes something to Mozart.

There are a number of features which are characteristic of Russell's music, although not unique to his style: one is the fondness for beginning a major movement in a minor key--this occurs three times in *The Redemption of Israel*, and in four minor-key Organ Voluntaries the final movement or movements are in the tonic major; another characteristic is the sudden short-lived modulation to the tonic minor in a major movement (in the Organ Concerto, for example). A favourite characteristic of Russell is briefly to modulate, in the opening bars, to the supertonic minor or subdominant--often, but not always, this takes the form of a deviation from his route to the dominant; although this progression is not uncommon in itself, Russell's use of it is a personal trait, especially with regard to his early placing of the detour to the flat side of the tonic. Sometimes he achieves a similar result by briefly entering the key of the relative minor. Examples can readily be observed in each of the chief works in this study, for instance see examples VI/5 *(Ode to Music)*, VIII/1 *(Job)*, VIII/6 *(Ode on St. Cecilia's Day)*, IX/15 *(The Redemption of Israel)*, XI/5 and XI/20 (Organ Concerto). Certain harmonic manœuvres are typical of Russell's style, the most personal being a type of chromatic interrupted cadence, (see the Organ Concerto, second movement, bar 14 and example XI/6) and the use of the minor chord on the subdominant (see page 369); later these procedures became common--indeed they were overstated in the mid-Victorian period--and the former was used as late as 1890 by Elgar in his

Allegro in D Minor for organ op. 14 no. 2 (bars 25-26). Formulae such as those used in secco recitative, and those which feature augmented sixth chords indicate the extent to which Russell was content to imitate composers of the past.

Coupled with his vision toward a larger and more comprehensive organ is Russell's propensity for working with large forces and structures; this does not indicate a disposition to hyperbolical gestures, rather it shows an awareness for the need to develop existing forms and procedures. The text he selected for his Cecilian ode was one of the lengthiest available, and it had not been set to music by any other composer. The task of unifying sections in large structures was one which he addressed with some success in the Organ Voluntaries, but thematic unity was not customary in odes and oratorios of the eighteenth century, and Russell felt no obligation to alter this situation. He set out as a traditionalist in respect of form, but frequently explored modifications of the common frameworks, sometimes even experimenting with new formats. There is less variety of structure in Russell's choruses than in his airs and orchestral movements; in the airs the diversity is greater in the later works. At times a 'modern' idea may be partly attributed to an awareness of an 'ancient' practice: the slow introduction in the first movement of the Organ Concerto was unusual in contemporary concerto writing and comparatively new in symphonic writing, but it was common in the old concerto grosso and *sonata da Chiesa* structure. Even when Russell was using a traditional form he was inconsistent (either in the sense of being haphazard, or because he was experimenting) in the relationships of text to theme (see pages 172-173). In his choruses he was least progressive; here he displays strong characteristic features: a homophonic start to a

contrapuntal movement, unison or octaves at climactic points, and increased note lengths at the end of a piece. Russell's fugues vary in format although they are all lengthy; in the works studied here, no preference is shown for real or tonal answers, but in the Organ Voluntaries he wrote mainly the former. In his recitatives Russell is seen to move against the contemporary trend to write more accompanied than secco recitatives: certainly in his later choral works he favoured the secco type, yet it is in his accompanied recitatives that he is able to display more artistry, particularly in orchestral scene-setting. Some of the orchestral movements are effective in this way also, particularly in the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* and *Job*, where certain of them are dramatically integral to the whole work: at other times the movement is linked to what follows only by key. Russell, like Crotch, wrote for a slightly larger and more varied orchestra than was common at the end of the eighteenth century; this is a further indication of his desire to extend what was customary in terms of structure of composition and in terms of variety of players. This is doubtless coupled with his interest in colour in the Organ Voluntaries, and it may extend to the large number of solo singers needed in *Job*, where there are nine characters. In the Organ Concerto Russell indicates how the colours of the orchestra can marry with those of the organ to produce further variety, yet each instrument retains its own character--Russell shows an understanding of all the instruments for which he wrote, which must be the key to his success in the field of orchestration. Although he possessed a deep knowledge of the various instruments for which he wrote, Russell never allowed virtuosity to supersede drama or emotional expression; this is perhaps best seen in the Organ Concerto where the soloist is set apart by means of idiomatic thematic material and does not have to resort to bravura display to gain ascendancy over the orchestra. His natural leaning here is

in line with many of his contemporaries, who scorned the triviality of much 'modern' music; for some composers the answer seemed to lie in returning to the 'ancient' style and values, but for those, like Russell, who had vision, this was insufficient in itself: there needed, additionally, to be development and anticipation of the Romantic style; in this context 'Romanticism' is used in the sense of music which is 'emotional and inspired rather than [having merely] rational expression'. '[18]

Apart from his work in the theatre, Russell's life revolved around the Church and its music; therefore the *rococo* style, because of its frivolity, was inappropriate; however, there remained two options: one was to return to the 'ancient' style, the other was to build on the best and most suitable aspects of both 'ancient' and 'modern' music, and thereby to advance musical style. Russell attempted the latter with some success--his direction was not opposed to the Classicism in which he enveloped himself--but, due to his early death, further progress toward Romanticism was not possible.

Stylistic weaknesses.

Russell was not a Romantic composer: his voice was not sufficiently individual, and there are a number of weaknesses in his compositional technique, which, although not outweighing the good points, do naturally have a bearing on the degree of success he achieved. At worst Russell's music can be predictable, falling into pedestrian phrases, with fugue subjects entering with monotonous regularity, feminine endings and falling

[18] Longyear (1973), 2.

sequences abounding. Cadences often follow a slowing-down of rhythm, thus losing the music's momentum. Occasionally word-setting is inconsistent with regard to emphasis and accentuation, and much word painting is obvious, although usually effective. In his choral works Russell tends to modulate only to keys closely related to tonic; this may have been a self-imposed limitation because he was writing for voices--certainly he displays a freer approach to modulation in the instrumental works. The choral fugues are placed at moments of climax or dramatic tension in the libretto, but their length and academic nature (which was probably deliberate in order to show his expertise in the field) result in a loss of impetus and a temporary postponement of the action. Although this last feature seems to be a weakness, it may not have been regarded as such by Russell's contemporaries; in any event his powers as a contrapuntalist were extolled. [16]

Conservative characteristics.

In some quarters the ability to write a good fugue was commended, in most it was regarded as old-fashioned and worthless (see pages 354-355); Russell held the former view--he was never one to be swayed by popular opinion. An interest in fugue--and indeed in counterpoint generally--may not only have been a sign of acknowledging a past age; it was doubtless nurtured by a radical movement begun by Pinto, Samuel Wesley, Horn, and their circle (which, of course, included Russell): the propagation of the music of J.S.Bach. How far Russell set out to emulate Bach in his contrapuntal music cannot be ascertained: knowledge of Bach's

[16] GB Lbm Add.Ms.27593 f.94.
Gentleman's Magazine (Oct.1813), 364.

music must have been contributory to an increased awareness of counterpoint and fugal procedures, but on the whole Russell's fugues are typical of their day in that they do not contain regular counter subjects and at certain points homophony takes over. Further conformity to established patterns of writing can be seen in the use of traditional keyboard figurations in the organ music--the Organ Concerto in particular--and in the retention of the formulae customary in secco recitative. The use of the archaic ritornello form also shows a conservatism, but this is tempered by his various modifications of form. In his orchestration Russell used the time-honoured instrumental effects to illustrate such scenes as battles and birdsong. There was little encouragement for an English composer to be revolutionary, and, even if he had the artistry, Russell had not the character of a radical. The blame for this lack of incentive has been laid at the door of England's political and social status, the stultifying effects of which were renewed by the arrival (much later) of the music of Mendelssohn: the 'weak points of his music' have been described as 'a lack of dramatic confrontation, due to material too classical, and continuity of mood and texture too baroque, and moments of sentimental religiosity [which] became the norm in England'. [17] These 'weaknesses' are elements which were already present, to some extent, in Russell's music, the 'sentimental religiosity' only occasionally appearing in some anthems and Organ Voluntaries; these features are really elements which anticipate the music of Mendelssohn.

[17] *Athlone* (1981), V 23.

Forward-looking features.

Forward-looking features in Russell's music are those which contributed to the coming Romantic style: the use of folk melodies or national idioms, fondness for the melodic use of the sixth, four-bar phrases and regular sentence lengths, chromatic harmony, a renewed interest in counterpoint, the 'um-pah-pah' accompaniments, [18] experimentation with keys and forms, changing colours within a movement, flexibility and a mixture of moods within a movement (especially when they are not linked to particular themes), dominance of the keyboard and use of it to compose and experiment with new harmonies, and an individuality of style. Some of these feature are more obvious in Russell's music than others: the use of folk melodies was largely limited to works outside this study, but certain elements which are common in English song (be it traditional or composed) are present in Russell's melodies, giving them an essentially English quality: two strongly English features are melodic-scale passages and repeated notes, both of which are heard, for example, in Arne's 'Rule Britannia!' and both of which were essential ingredients in Russell's compositions. Melodic use of the sixth abounds, particularly in airs in the later works ('To him our all of life we owe' and 'My sorrows but last for a day', [nos. 11 and 41] from *Job*, for instance). Regularity of phrase length can be seen in almost any of Russell's compositions, and counterpoint and changing tone colours are also more in evidence than some of the other features. There is one clear-cut example of Russell using the 'um-pah-pah' type of accompaniment: this is in the anthem 'Ponder my words'; it is possible that this pattern is also used in some of the works

[18] Newman (1972), 6-7.

for which only basic scores survive and which therefore do not indicate the figuration of the accompaniment. There is much evidence of a keen awareness of key relationships and key associations in the large-scale works, and attempts to handle great structures in a logical and convincing manner; the integration of the overture into the rest of the work by means not only of key but also of dramatic significance, is particularly important. Increased instances of experimenting with form in later works on the one hand are coupled with a consolidation of style on the other. Individuality of style is more difficult both to explain and to evaluate; Russell's stylistic characteristics have already been noted as owing something to the influence of his predecessors and contemporaries; suffice it to say that Russell's voice was sometimes individual in the use of a common musical language, most notably when he became deeply involved in the emotional content of his music: like Crotch, Russell had a predilection for 'serious' music where the importance of harmony could be re-emphasised and depth of feeling was a foremost concern. In these ways Russell advanced organ and choral music at a stage when the organ concerto, the organ voluntary, and the ode were coming to the end of an era, and the oratorio had yet to finally break free from Handelian influence.

The 'ancient' style versus the 'modern' style.

Much credit must be afforded to Russell for his vision and forward-looking techniques at a time when the battle of 'ancient' versus 'modern' music still raged. The growing interest in 'ancient' music was commented upon by Lablache, who noted the ever-increasing membership of the Concert

of Ancient Music, which he said stood at 1200 subscribers; [19] this figure was challenged by an anonymous writer who responded with the fact that membership had reached its height in 1805 when there were 735 subscribers. [20] For a considerable time--from about 1770 until 1840--'modern' music, when it was referred to in the context of being the opposite to 'ancient' music, meant that which was light, frivolous, and highly ornamented--in other words *rococo*. Occasionally the term was used in a less disparaging way, for instance with reference to Haydn. It seems that the majority of musicians (and certainly those who were less competent in their art, or amateurs) could not or would not attempt to reconcile 'ancient' and 'modern': they had to be loyal to one camp. 'W.C.', a self-confessed advocate of the 'ancient' style, compared the two: 'the ancient style of music may be compared with the sublime style in painting, and the modern style with the ornamental'; [21] in other words the latter lacked substance. With these definitions it seems that the 'ancient' style was best suited to 'serious' music and the 'modern' to secular theatre music. This is borne out to a large degree in Russell's works: his pantomimes contain much shallow music, but the reasons for this are twofold--he had to write music for a producer whose prime concern was to keep his audiences happy, and he had to match the music with the triviality of the texts which were provided for him. The light, 'modern' style was, of course, eminently well-suited to this type of music, which had to conform to the conventions of the theatre, including subservience to the plot. Although a theatre composer in Russell's position supposedly had a free hand, and was able to

[19] *Musical World* (1837), 168.

[20] *Musical World* (1837), 191.

[21] *Monthly Magazine* (1801), 506.

hear his music immediately it was written, the limitations of tradition were too restricting to allow for free or serious experimenting with forms and timbres. Thus Raynor's statements that 'the theatre remained the single place in which a composer could earn a decent living and write as he wished to write' and that 'it was in the theatre that something new, in style as well as content, was always required' are not entirely true. [22] A widely-held view of music in the Church conjures up a picture of composers narrowly confined to traditional forms and style. Evidence in Russell's music does not support this: it has been seen that he was able to develop many aspects of sacred music. John Marsh looked back on the arrival of 'modern' music and described it as 'the great change, which took place' in the 1760s 'so as to produce a perfect contrast to the music before that period'; he did not refer to the slightness of the 'modern' style, but attached it to the development of the symphony, praising the advances of orchestration; he also reprobated the attaching of musicians to one style or the other. [23] 'W.X.' had made a similar comment in his letter to the *Monthly Magazine* in 1799, when he also outlined the problems composers faced; he regretted 'that musicians can be found who will sacrifice their better judgement to the vanity or caprice of an ignorant patron', [24] albeit that 'patron' (the public audience) was the source of the musicians' income. 'W.X.' continued

> if he shakes off the fetters of fashion, and exhibits a composition founded on the solid <u>basis</u> of reason and science, he will scarcely fail of proper encouragement and applause.... If,

[22] Raynor (1980), 123.

[23] Marsh (1806), 1.
Monthly Magazine (1796), 981.

[24] *Monthly Magazine* (1799), 625.

> for the present, he does not obtain that pecuniary encouragement which his merit entitles him to expect, he will, at least, have the approbation of the discerning few; and the satisfaction of transmitting to succeeding ages works of which the present are not worthy.

This sums up Russell's position in English music.

Thirty years later Crotch published some lectures on the subject of musical styles, which he divided into three categories: 'the sublime, the beautiful, and the ornamental--which are sometimes distinct and sometimes combined'. [25] The first was associated with the best elements of the 'ancient' style and, in particular, its application to sacred music. With such 'high, lofty, elevated' descriptions given by Crotch, it is understandable both how daunting a composer might find its application to large-scale works such as ode and oratorio, and yet how tempting to try to emulate the style. Crotch applied the adjective 'beautiful' to small-scale, simple and symmetrical compositions which displayed the perfection of a 'Grecian temple'. The ornamental style was, Crotch said, the least pleasing; it lacked logic and contained 'broken and varied rhythm, wild and unexpected modulation'. This is not so much applied to the *rococo* style as to the Classical advances made by composers such as Haydn and, later, Beethoven, where surprise is often an important element. The latter's Symphony no. 3 in E flat Major (the *Eroica*) was performed in London in 1807; [26] together with Haydn's earlier concerts in London, this formed the

[25] Crotch (1831) quoted in le Huray and Day (1981), 431.

[26] Searle (1989), 29.

basis for the establishing of a recognized repertory of orchestral concerts; however, it was not until 1813, when the Philharmonic Society was formed, principally for the performance of modern music, that the idea could develop. This came too late for Russell--he had begun to compose a symphony and other orchestral works but they were never published, and indeed some of them were never completed--and his work chiefly remained in the 'sublime' realms of organ and choral music.

Aesthetics; Church music versus theatre music.

Russell deliberately shunned the more remunerative sources of income which he could have enjoyed from publishing vast amounts of music which would appeal to the current popular taste. There were firmly-held opinions among those who admired such resistance to the volatility of fashion: Thomas McGeary summarized the aesthetic theories of the end of the eighteenth century thus: 'the basis for analysing music's effects is the pleasure it provides the mind... its highest aim is to affect or move the passions of the listener'. [27] Hence vocal music was regarded as superior to instrumental music because (through the text) it could aid the listener's understanding of the emotions the composer was seeking to excite. Here is further contemporary proof of the sublimity of large-scale choral works. The contrast is great between this view and that of novelty and instant gratification--of music's ornamental place as a background to socializing. Perhaps in the Organ Concerto Russell can be seen to derive the best qualities of entertainment and to link them to the higher plane of stirring the passions. J.F.Hering noted in the *Monthly Magazine* (1807)

[27] Quoted in *Blackwell* (1990), IV 417.

that most of the great English composers of the past had dedicated themselves to sacred music rather than theatre music, whereas at the time he was writing the situation was reversed (see page 84).

Russell's music after his decease.

Russell was not alone in pioneering a restoration of the superior qualities of the art and science of music: among others were Samuel Wesley and William Crotch. The brevity of Russell's career naturally curtailed his efforts, but his music lived on to affect future generations. As was customary, after his death Russell's library of music was sold. Many of his works were in manuscript--evidently publication of some of the music was imminent, [28] but only one piece, a 'grand Theatrical Overture' for piano, seems to have reached publication at this time. Vincent Novello purchased a great deal of Russell's music--organ works, Church music, pantomimes, and his B.Mus. exercise; some of these scores which Novello bought were sold at auction in 1852, some were donated to the British Museum, and some were sold in 1862, the year after his death. [29] Subsequently scores have been acquired by the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the Royal College of Music, London, and others are to be found in libraries as far distant as Edinburgh and New York.

Mary Ann Russell played her part in the perpetuation of her husband's reputation as a composer, chiefly in 1826 when, at her instigation, Samuel

[28] *Monthly Magazine* (1814), 552 (obituary).

[29] King (1975), 12-13 (1852 sale catalogue), 28, 33 (1862 sale catalogue).

Wesley prepared the score of *Job* for publication; she must have had confidence also that this, of all his unpublished works, would provide her family with the best monetary income. The score was prized by a later organist, Miss Dicker, at St. Ann's, Limehouse, who bought a copy which she donated for the use of future organists (see page 108). Another copy was presented to the library of the Sacred Harmonic Society in 1872 by J.R.Burchett. [30] In 1850 J.A.Novello reissued the score of *Job* with Wesley's accompaniments, and additionally published the following separate movements which must have been considered by him to be the most popular ones: 'To Him our all of life we owe' [no.11], 'Heavenly Father, Lord most holy' [no.14], 'Rest, tender joy' [no.18], 'O silence, fond warblers' [no.45], 'Distracted with anguish' [no.47], and 'O let him take comfort' [no.49]. [31] Other posthumous publications of Russell's music include his Morning and Evening Services in A Major (1829), which were widely used in English Cathedrals, and organ music--both sets of voluntaries were republished by Monro and May in 1839, [32] and selected movements from the Voluntaries and separate pieces previously unpublished were collected by Novello [33] --which continued to be reissued during the second half of the nineteenth century and frequently throughout the twentieth century with gaps varying between one and 14 years. Later editions of the Foundling Chapel book of *Psalms, Hymns, and Anthems* preserved Russell's music up to the 1861 publication; this volume was not superseded until 1874. Three of the large choral works received performances by the Cecilian Society in the

[30] S.H.S. (1872), 69.

[31] J.A.Novello (1850), 17.

[32] *Musical World* (1839), 156.

[33] V.Novello, ed. (1840) and (1848).

late 1830s: the *Ode to Music* (1835, 1836, and 1838), *The Redemption of Israel* (1836), and *Job* (1839)--see pages 104-105. These took place around the twenty-fifth anniversary of Russell's death and they seem to signal a revival of his music at about that time.

It would be pretentious to state that these later editions had a great effect on the compositions of future generations and musical development in England generally, but Russell's music certainly continued to provide pleasure to its performers and audiences. Similarities between the music of Russell and Mendelssohn have been noted above; whereas it would be exaggerated to claim that Russell's music influenced Mendelssohn, it is possible that the German composer knew of Russell's Voluntaries, and when asked to write a set of organ pieces for English publishers, he undoubtedly provided what he considered to be according to English taste--in other words music like that which Russell had written more than 30 years earlier. English organ voluntaries after Russell gave way either to single extended movements or to sonata-type works as seen in Thomas Adams and Henry Smart. Where the title 'voluntary' occurs it has no longer a strong connection with the eighteenth-century format. With Mendelssohn, Smart, and later composers like W.T.Best (who also arranged much orchestral music for the organ) registration and colour became of prime importance--an advance greatly aided by the development of the instrument and the pedals. Since then organ building has taken various paths from the Romantic orchestra substitute to the neo-classical, and, more recently back to the organ of the type Mendelssohn and Smart knew in England: coincidentally this course has been taken by the firm N.P.Mander at Russell's first Parish Church of St. Andrew Holborn, where the old Foundling Hospital organ case which Russell knew so well has been restored to house a new instrument. Since

this was the type of organ Russell foresaw, his organ music can be convincingly played on such instruments; however, there are some organs remaining from his lifetime which largely have escaped the ravages of time and unscrupulous rebuilding: one such is the Byfield organ at St. Mary's, Rotherhithe, enlarged by Hugh Russell and in the care of the Russells for over half a century. [34] The odes and oratorios pose a problem with modern performance: to twentieth-century ears the libretti can form a barrier which was not present in Russell's day. That said, however, a performance of *Job* took place in 1980 (see appendix I), and other works, which would seem to have similar disadvantages, are currently receiving revival productions. With regard to the Morning and Evening Services in A Major, which exhibit Russell's typical [sublime] Church style, Francis Jackson recalled singing them as a treble at York Minster; however, when he became organist and revived them in 1947, he was told that they were 'too jolly'--referring to the *Glorias* in particular--and their further use was forbidden. Dr. Jackson blames this austerity on the recent memory of World War II. [35] Russell would have been amazed, and perhaps a little amused, at this incident.

A typical English musician?

Was Russell a typical musician of his day? A reviewer in the *Monthly Magazine* described him as a 'composer of several estimable works in the

[34] A recording of three of Russell's Organ Voluntaries, discussed and played on this organ by Gillian Ward Russell, was made by the BBC in 1992 and broadcast on Radio 3 on 18 Jan. 1993.

[35] Private conversation between Dr. Francis Jackson and the author, Sept. 1988.

more recondite departments of musical science'. [36] True, oratorio writing and Church music in general had taken second place to theatre and secular music (see Hering's remarks, page 84), but Russell's music can hardly be described as 'recondite'. Since Busby was the staff writer for music in the *Monthly Magazine*, [37] it is probable that he was the author of this statement; later, in his *General History of Music*, he described Russell briefly as 'a sound musician, and man of genius'. [38] Cyril Ehrlich selected three typical musicians to illustrate how a living could be earned from music in England: they were Stevens, Crotch, and Sir George Smart. [39] The former earned most of his money from teaching, the second was a child prodigy but he severely restricted his performing and composing activities when he acquired the Chair of Music at Oxford, and Smart chiefly devoted himself to directing concerts of instrumental music. Russell's life does not match with any of these. In some ways he was typical of a musician from a past generation, but he tried to use his situation to achieve distinction in the music he loved the best. The respect he won from his contemporaries shows that he was successful in his ambition. Now, nearly 200 years on, his position in musical history and his contribution to the development of music can be seen in clearer perspective. His compositions show a rather uneven technical application at times, however there is much that was visionary, and a great deal that remains valuable and pleasure-giving today. Composers need not--indeed should not--be judged solely by their technical accomplishments, but also by the extent of their aims:

[36] *Monthly Magazine* (1814), 65.

[37] L. Langley (1983), 17.

[38] Busby (1819), II 520.

[39] Ehrlich (1985), 32-42.

those whose purpose it was to widen the experience of music, both in terms of extended use of forms and increased emotional content, more justly deserve remembrance. Although 'innovator' is too strong a title to apply to Russell, he did extend and increase the experience of music, further developing the arts of performance and composition which he had inherited, and taking them a step closer to Romanticism, thereby earning the respect and admiration of his contemporaries and, above all, a well-deserved position in the history of music in England.

In short, Russell's contribution to English music was no mere interlude of little consequence or worth, on the contrary, there is much of value in his output; in some ways his music was a postlude to the old style, but the overriding quality of his legacy is the anticipation of--the forming of a prelude to--an unknown future. Russell himself, primarily 'the organist, *(par excellence)*, has been held in that honour and esteem to which his talents entitled him'. [40]

[40] *Musical World* (1838), 208.

APPENDIX I

William Russell: Select Works List

Not included in this list are subsequent editions of voluntaries and oratorio excerpts, some pantomime excerpts, some anthems and mass movement settings, chants, and some songs.

Organ works.

title	date	ms.	publ.
12 Voluntaries for the Organ or Piano forte	1804	? lost	GB Lbm, GB Lco etc.
12 Voluntaries for the Organ or Piano forte	1812	? lost	GB Lbm, GB Lco etc.
Tantum ergo (in 'Select Organ Pieces' ed. V.Novello)	publ. 1840	? lost	GB Lbm
Pastorale, March (in 'Short Organ Melodies' ed. V.Novello)	publ. 1848	? lost	GB Lbm

Large-scale choral works.

Ode to Harmony	?1799	?frag. GB Lbm Add.Ms.51017	
Ode on St. Cecilia's Day	?1800	GB Lcm Ms.552	
Ode to Music	?1801	overture GB Lcm Ms.553, ?frag. GB Lbm Add.Ms.51017	
Ode to the Genius of Handel	?	? lost	
The Redemption of Israel	?1804	GB Lcm Ms.551	
Job	1813 publ. 1826	frags. GB Lbm Add.Ms.35003 ff.115-117, GB Enls Ms.no.Acc.10451	GB Cu

Orchestral Works.

title	date	ms.	publ.
Overture in A	1808	GB Ob Ms.Mus.c.99	
Concerto Organ	1810	GB Ob Ms.Mus.c.99	
[Symphony]	1810	GB Ob Ms.Mus.c.99	
Duetto Harpo	1812	GB Ob Ms.Mus.c.99	

Stage works (pantomimes unless otherwise stated).

The Black Pig, or The Wife's Hobby Horse	1800	? lost	
The Grand Junction Canal, or A Trip to Paddington	1800	? lost	
Harlequin Phaeton, or Chaos	1800	GB Ob Ms.Mus.c.100	overture GB Lbm
The Highland Camp, or A Soldier for me	1800	? lost	overture GB Ob US NYp
Moses and Mammon, or The Widow and the Lawyer	1801	GB Lbm Add.Mss.51016, 51017	
Peter Wilkins, or Harlequin in the Flying World	1800	? lost	programme GB Lbm
The Death of General Abercrombie	1801	? lost	
The Ethiop, or The Siege of Granada	1801	? lost	
Harlequin Alchymist *[sic]*	1801	? lost	
Harlequin Benedict, or Mother Shipton's Ghost	1801	? lost	
Fox and Geese, or The Amorous Quaker	1802	GB Lbm Add.Ms.51016	
The Great Devil, or The Robber of Genoa	1802 ov. publ. 1805	GB Lbm Add.Ms.51016	overture GB Lu
Harlequin's Habeas, or The Hall of Spectres	1802	? lost	programme GB Lbm

title	date	ms.	publ.
[Ko and] Zoa, or The Belle Sauvage	1802	? lost	overture and programme GB Lbm
Old Sadler's Ghost, or The Wells in the Days of Queen Bess	1802	GB Lbm Add.Ms.51017	
St. George, or The British Champion	1802	GB Lbm Add.Ms.51016	overture GB Ob
Wizard's Wake, or Harlequin's Regeneration	1802	GB Lbm Add.Ms.51018	overture and programme GB Lbm
Rugantino, or The Bravo of Venice	1805	? lost	*Pas Seul* GB Lbm
The Sorcerer	1805 or 1808	overture GB Lcm Ms.554	
The Wild Islanders, or The Court of Pekin (ballet)	1805	overture GB Lcm Ms.554	overture and programme GB Lbm
Adrian and Orrila, or A Mother's Vengeance	1806	GB Lcm Ms.554	excerpts GB Ob
False Friend, or The Assassin of the Rocks	1806	GB Lcm Ms.554	duet GB Ob
Harlequin and Time	1806	overture GB Lcm Ms.554	overture GB Ob

Anthems

The Redeemer gave the Word	1795 rev. 1797	GB T Ms.664	GB Lbm
Bow down thine ear O Lord	1796	GB T Ms.664	
Blessed is the man	1797	GB T Ms.664	
Hear o thou Shepherd of Israel	1797	GB T, Ms.664, copies at GB Ltcf, US Stanford u	GB Lam
Lord what love have I	1797	GB T Ms.664	
When we the glorious fabric see	1802	GB Ltcf vol.101	
Lord thou hast been our Refuge	1803	GB Ltcf vol.101	

title	date	ms.	publ.
Man that is born of a woman (Funeral anthem for Barthélémon)	1808	GB Ob Ms.Mus.c.99	
O King eternal and divine	1808 publ. 1809	? lost	GB Ltcf
On God we build our sure defence	1808 publ. 1809	? lost	GB Ltcf
The sacrifice of God	1808	GB Ltcf vol.108	
Then were there brought unto him little children	1808 publ. 1809	GB T Ms.664	GB Ltcf
Ponder my words	1809	GB Ltcf vol.102	GB Ltcf, GB Lam

Anglican services.

Morning service in E flat with Communion Service in E flat	n.d.	GB T Ms.664	
Jubilate in D	1796	GB Lcm Ms.1011, copy GB T Ms.1158	
Sanctus and Kyrie in C	1811	GB T Ms.664	GB York Minster
Sanctus in D	publ. 1825	? lost	GB Cu
Morning and evening services in A	publ. 1829	? lost	GB Lam, GB York Minster

Latin services and motets.

title	date	ms.	publ.
Mass in C Minor	1806	GB Lcm Ms.550, sketch GB T Ms.664	
Kyrie and Gloria (Exercise for B.Mus.)	1808	GB Ob Ms.Mus.Sch. Ex.d.117	
Mass in D	1808-1811	GB T Ms.664	
Domine salvum fac	1812	GB T Ms.664	

Hymn and psalm tunes.

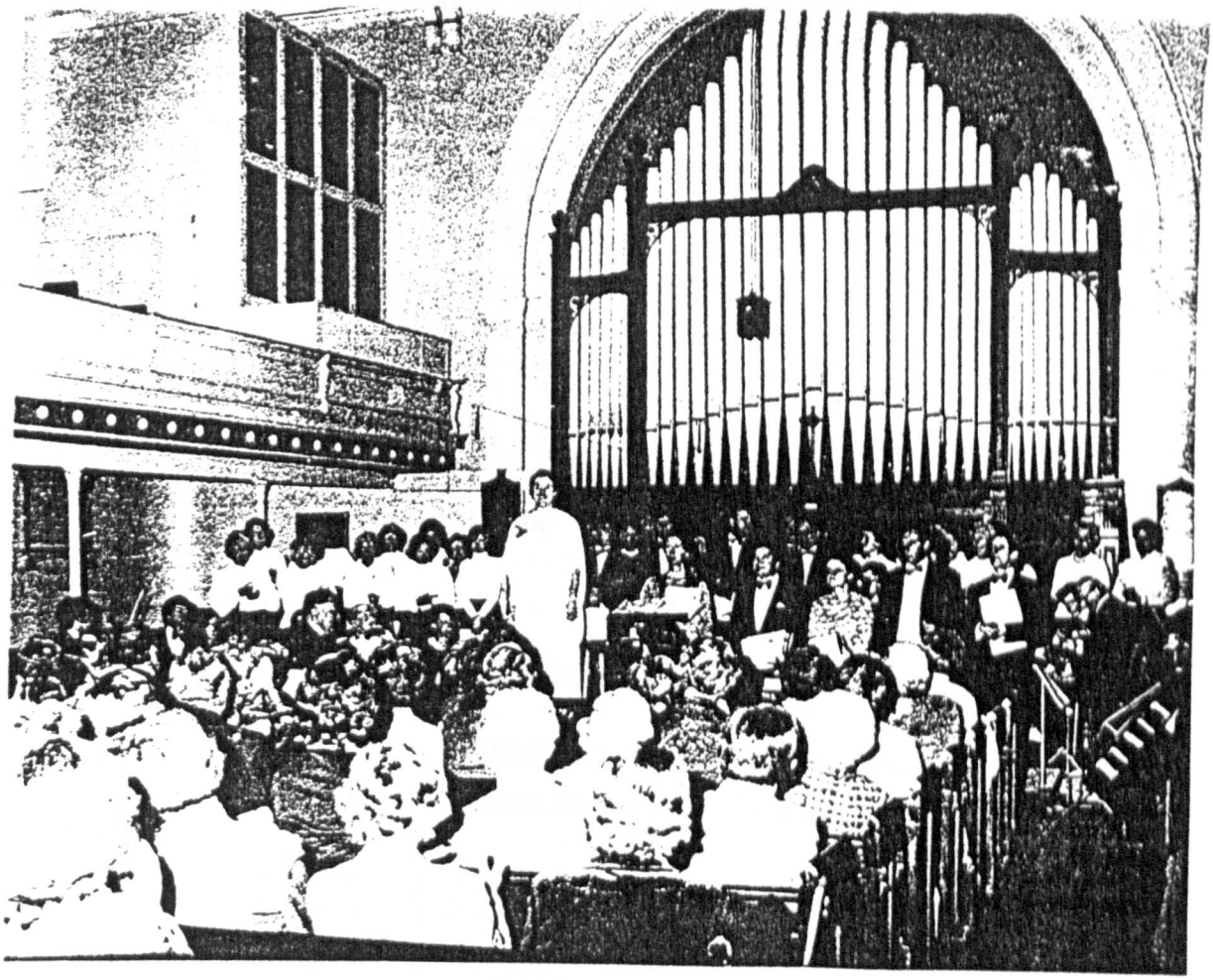
Aldermary	n.d.	GB Lbm Add.Ms.31420	
Carlisle	n.d.	GB T Ms.664	
Hymn for Limehouse School	1799	GB Lbm Add.Ms.51017	
Exeter	1808 publ. 1809	? lost	GB Ltcf
Limehouse	1808 publ. 1809	? lost	GB Ltcf
St. John's	1809	? lost	GB Ltcf
St. Agnes	1809	GB T Ms.664	
Norwich	1809	GB T Ms.664	

Songs.

title	date	ms.	publ.
Young Jammie my darling's the laddie for me (for Vauxhall)	n.d.	? lost	US Wc
One evening sitting garters knitting (for Vauxhall)	n.d.	? lost	US Wc
Hamlet's letter to Ophelia	1800	? lost	GB Ob, GB Lbm
The British Soldier	1801	? lost	GB Ob, GB Lbm
60 Welsh Airs (collected by W.Bingley, arr. Russell)	1803	? lost	GB Lbm
And is it thee my ain dear lord	1806	GB T Ms.664	
The day is declining	1807	GB Lbm Add.Ms.51018	
Young Jackie is a blythsome lad	1808	GB Lbm Add.Ms.51018	
6 songs from *Rokeby*	1813	? lost	GB Ob

Glees.

By winding streams	n.d.	GB Lbm Add.Ms.31806	
Come melancholy	n.d.	GB Lbm Add.Ms.31804	
Drink, drink about	n.d.	GB Lbm Add.Ms.31806	
Far from the world	n.d.	GB Lbm Add.Ms.31806	
Hark, the bugle horn	n.d.	GB Lbm Add.Ms.31806	
Let me awhile on earth	n.d.	GB Lbm Add.Ms.31806	
Lone Minstrel	n.d.	GB Lbm Add.Ms.31804	
In rosy bow'rs	after 1808	? lost	GB Cu Rowe



The performance of Job (1980)

B R A I N T R E E C H O R A L S O C I E T Y

in association with Braintree District Arts Festival

present

J O B

by

W I L L I A M R U S S E L L
(1777 - 1813)

United Reformed Church, Braintree

on Saturday 31st May 1980 - at 7.30 p.m.

Soloists:

Salmina, Dela	MARGARET NOTLEY	soprano
Elika	SHEELAGH WHITEAR	mezzo-contralto
Job	CHARLES CORP	tenor
Angel, Ephizar, Alcides	PETER ILEY	tenor
Demon, Zaphnus	DENNIS BOWEN	baritone

Conductor: GILLIAN WARD RUSSELL

Programme 20p

APPENDIX II

An Account of the Performance of *Job* on 31 May 1980.

One vitally important part of musicological research is, I feel, the bringing alive of music through performance. Whilst researching for my master's degree on the subject of William Russell and the Foundling Hospital (1985), I was able to perform much of the relevant music: my own organ recitals and the Church services for which I played provided opportunities to perform all of Russell's Organ Voluntaries, several small-scale organ pieces, and some of his anthems. During this time I rediscovered *Job* because of its connection with the Foundling Hospital, where it was first performed in 1814. After some study of the score I realised that it contains a wealth of fine music, and my immediate thoughts turned to the possibilities of a revival performance. At that time I was the conductor of a local amateur choral society of modest proportions and musicianship, who might be able to provide me with the basic resources for the performance. Since at that time there was no alternative choice apart from discarding the whole idea, I decided to proceed. An assessment of the choruses in *Job* showed both that the music was within the capabilities of the choral society and that there would be sufficient choral material to build a suitable concert programme.

Before rehearsals could begin there were a number of issues which I had to address: the first was the length of the oratorio, which is too long for a normal evening concert nowadays; the second concerned the number of soloists required (there are nine characters--nine soloists, each commanding a fee); the third was the question of accompaniment--the choral

society usually sang with the organ rather than an orchestra, the premise being that costs should be kept to a minimum--I wished to employ an orchestra; the fourth was the need to provide scores for the performers when all I had to work from was a xerox copy of Wesley's 1826 edition, where (as was customary for that period) the notes are not aligned in accordance with modern practice and the alto and tenor parts are written in C clefs, also the organ accompaniment provides only sketchy and irregular cues indicating the instrumentation; the fifth and last point was that I had to persuade the choral society committee to agree to the idea of performing an unknown work by an unknown composer. This proposition turned out to be the least of my problems: I suppose my ebullient enthusiasm and enterprise captured the imagination of the members; at any rate they agreed in principle to the production taking place on the proviso (a daunting one) that I could negotiate a grant from somewhere so that we would not make a financial loss.

I returned to the score to make further detailed calculations. Each movement was played on the piano, timed, and a metronome mark added. The duration of the oratorio had to be reduced by about 30%: I typed out the libretto and deleted numbers which would not result in a loss of story line, and thus lessened the performance time to two hours. Sadly some of the loveliest music was made redundant in the process, but I felt that the sense of the narrative must take precedence. Next I considered how to decrease the number of soloists, and decided that five (S.A.T.T.B.) was a convenient and affordable number; three of the soloists would have to change character from time to time, but I felt that the printed programme ought to make everything clear to the audience, and there was a precedent for this in Haydn's performances of *The Creation* (see Notes to the edition

of *Job*). The orchestra--or rather the lack of a full score--was a major problem. I studied Russell's full scores, listed the instruments mentioned in Wesley's edition of *Job*, and calculated that Russell had envisaged a large orchestra--too large to balance with my choir of 40 (not strong) singers. Preservation of the variety of tone colours needed to take priority, so it was necessary to reduce the weight of sound by employing just a small body of 10 strings with the necessary woodwind and brass. This, as with the flexibility over numbers of soloists, was compatible with the practice in Russell's day. The total number of performers was quite large nonetheless, and this created another difficulty--that of venue. A visit to the three largest Churches in the area (there was no concert hall in the vicinity) found me puzzling over fresh obstacles: either there were insuperable staging and layout problems or, at the one Church which was suitable in this respect, the organ was tuned too sharp for an orchestra to play with it. However, it was this venue which I settled upon, and I decided to hire a chamber organ; this was devastatingly expensive, so I made enquiries of a small firm who built electronic organs, and we reached an agreement whereby I would be loaned a small continuo-style instrument which would both blend with the orchestra and sound convincing when it was more prominent in recitatives. I was assured that this particular instrument had been used a number of times with satisfactory results by Paul Steinitz and the Bach Choir.

After calculating the estimated cost of mounting the performance (hire of the venue, hire of the electronic organ, payment to soloists and orchestral players--some of them were friends, whom I persuaded to aid me by lowering their fees--advertising, printing of programmes, and purchasing of materials used in the preparation of parts), I presented myself to the

chairman of the District Arts Council, explained the project, and applied for a grant. It was not a good time to ask for favours: inflation was running high in the late 1970s. The chairman was interested in the venture and wished he could lend support, but, due to the financial climate, a direct grant was not possible; however, he was able to offer me a guarantee against loss up to my estimated figure of £250. In the circumstances this was good news, and preparations for the performance could proceed.

There followed 12 long months of writing: copying all the chorus parts using G and F clefs (I omitted the accompaniments except for some necessary cues), making, covering, and comb binding 50 copies for the choir (the extras, made in case we attracted any new members, were put to good use), making orchestration notes on my xerox score, writing out the individual parts, heat copying, covering, and binding them for the instrumentalists, and photocopying the recitatives and airs for the soloists (the alto and tenor soloists were left to read from the C clefs). There was insufficient time to make a realisation of the continuo part and to write out a full score for myself--those tasks were not completed until very recently.

Eventually the 'books' of music were distributed to the various performers, and rehearsals commenced. There was never any doubt in my mind that people would not enjoy the music. At the first practice with the choral society I initially introduced them to the simplest of the choruses, 'Sole God of Heav'n' [no. 31]. They sight-sang it beautifully and were completely won over. Soloists and orchestral players were all booked and eager, or at least intrigued; it just remained to fire the imagination of the public so that they would throng into the Church on performance day. The publicity, which I placed in the capable hands of my husband,

emphasized the historicity of the occasion, also it linked the performance with the Thomas Coram Foundation for Children (which continues the work of the Foundling Hospital, though in a way more suited to the present century), who provided material about their charitable work which we could distribute to the audience, who in turn were invited to make a donation to their funds.

For a choral society who had never before experienced a full house, the performance of *Job* on 31 May 1980 was the closest they had ever come to one. There was a real sense of anticipation in the Church that evening, a feeling of history being made or perhaps re-enacted. The performance was lively and sincere, though it was not one of technical perfection either from the choir or the players, but probably I was extra sensitive to any blemishes. We did suffer one unfortunate disappointment: during the interval 'Job' (sung by Charles Corp) told me that his throat was becoming sore and that he feared some huskiness was developing--it turned out to be tonsillitis. He was concerned that he might not be able to continue singing to the end of the work, so we hastily devised a system of signals whereby he could indicate to me (and I could transmit the information to the other performers) when (or if) he was forced to retire. The audience must have been deeply moved by the 'emotion' in Charles's voice in the recitative, 'Mine agonies increase, my woes are multiplied' [no.29] as his high G took on a different timbre; however, I knew that the throat was the cause. Mercifully we had to cut only Job's final air, 'Put thy trust, o my soul' [no.63].

My main feeling that evening (apart from an immense sense of achievement on everyone's part) was one of tremendous pleasure; this arose

both from participating in the performance and from reacting to the audience's wonderfully-expressed enjoyment and gratitude at being present on this special occasion. This euphoria was not merely a result of my own heightened emotions, it was borne out in the newspaper reports which were subsequently published. The whole venture is proof that Russell's music, and *Job* in particular, is, and should be, kept alive through performance.

APPENDIX III

Structural Tables

Ode to Harmony extract.

number	category	voice	title	tempo indication	metre	key
-	Chorus	S & B given + some A '4 voices' [SATB]	Hail sacred Harmony	-	¢	F
-	Recit. [Accomp]	Basso	Behold th'uplifted hand	-	C	B flat-d
-	March	-		-	C	D
-	Solo	Basso	Hark the Trumpet's warlike sound	Andante	C	D
-	Chorus		Hark the Trumpet's warlike sound	Andante	C	D
-	Recit. [Accomp]	[T or S]	The battle joins	-	[C]	c/C
-	Sy[mphony]			Pastorale	12/8	C
-	Recit.	Tenor	Now to strains of peaceful pleasure	-	C	C
-	Air	Tenor	The early lark begins to rise	- then Allegro	6/8	C
-	Chorus	'4 voices' [SATB]	The sons of health arise	Allegro	6/8	C
-	Solo	Soprano	Mark where by yon soft gliding stream	Larghetto	C, 3/4	a/A
-	Semi Chorus	'4 voices' [SATB]	The delicate delights belong to thee	-	C	A
-	Recit.	Alto	The passions all submit	-	[C]	D-b
-	Solo	Alto	Soft meek-ey'd pity gentle love	Largo	3/4	b

number	category	voice	title	tempo indication	metre	key
-	Recit [Accomp]	[T or S]	Behold th'uplifted hand [alternative version]	-	C	B flat
-	[Solo]	-	Hallelujah [fragment]	Allegro	3/4	C
-	Chorus	S and B sketched	Hark [the] trumpet's warlike sound [fragment of alternative version]	-	[C]	D
-	Chorus	S and B sketched	The sons of health arise	-	6/8	C
-	Recit [Accomp]	Bass	Behold th'uplifted hand [fragment of further alternative version]	-	¢	B flat

Ode to Music extract

number	category	voice	title	tempo indication	metre	key
[1]	Overture			Largo maestoso, Allegro	C, 3/4	F
[15]	Recit.	[S or T]	Various th'effects o music of thy pow'r	-	[C]	F-B flat
[16]	Air	[S or T]	So when of old the minstrel play'd	Allegro	2/4	B flat
[17]	Recit. [Accomp]	[B]	But when the solemn Trumpets	Slow	[C]	D
[18]	Recit. [Accomp]	[B]	Again I hear the Trumpet blow	Slow	¢	D
[19]	Solo & Chorus	Basso [SATB?] sketch	Break ev'ry yoke	Spirituoso	C	D
[20]	Recit.	[S or T]	Vast is thy Empire	-	[C]	C-A flat
21	Recit. [Accomp]	[S or T]	Nature is full of thee	Slow	C	E flat
22	Air	[S or T]	Not whistling winds	Andante	3/4[9/8]	E flat
23	Recit.	[S or T]	Great Newton's deep researches	-	[C]	c-G
24	Duett	[SS or TT]	Her rays like music's chords	Andante	¢	G
25	Recit.	[S or T]	Music it is thy charming voice	-	[C]	e-a
26	Chorus	[SATB?] sketch	And while the winged tribe aspire	-	¢	C
35	Recit. [Accomp]	[B]	But hark a dreadful sound	Maestoso	¢	c
36	Air [and]	Soprano	The eager horse with trampling prance	Risoluto (spirituoso is crossed out)	¢	C
[36a]	Chorus		Exulting Victory		¢	C
37	Recit.	[S or T]	Music thou choicest most perverted gift of heav'n	-	[C]	a-F

number	category	voice	title	tempo indication	metre	key
38	Air	[S or T]	Let thy persuasive voice	Affettuoso	3/4	F
39	Glee	SATB	Ah why should Conquest	Largo	3/4	F
40	Air	[S or T]	When gentle spirit	Andantino	3/4	d
41	Recit.	[S or T]	Come then with all thy various pow'rs	-	[C]	C-G
42	Air	[S or T]	Be lively [brisk] and gay	Allegretto	6/8	G
43	Chorus	[SATB]	In swift succession	Allegro	[3/8]	G
44	Recit.	[S or T]	But see all pensive and alone	-	[C]	G-e
45	Air	[S or T]	His warbling flute is taught to languish	Larghetto	3/4	e
46	Recit.	[S or T]	His mind thus tranquilized	-	[C]	e-G
47	Recit. [Accomp]	[S or T]	But hark upon the the swelling gale	Slow	C	E
48	Solo	[S or T]	Tis nature's holiday	Allegretto	6/8	E
49	Chorus	[SATB]	Deck'd with fair flowers	Allegretto	2/4	A

Ode on St. Cecilia's Day

number	category	voice	title	tempo indication	metre	key
[1]	Introduction	-	-	Larghetto	3/4	c
2	Recit.Accomp.	B	From your lyre enchanted Tow'rs	Larghetto Maestoso	¢	c-E flat
3	Chorus	SATB	Disdainful of fantastic play	Allegro	¢	E flat
4	Recit.Accomp.	[S]	And you ye sons of Harmony	Andantino	C	B flat
5	Solo [Air]	[S]	Shall Echo from her vocal Cave	Andante	3/4	B flat
6	Recit.	[S]	But further still our praises we pursue	-	C	D
7	Solo [Air]	A	Higher swell the sound	Allegro	¢	D
8	Chorus	SATB	Higher swell the sound	Allegro	¢	D
9	Solo [Air]	A	Music's a celestial art	Larghetto	3/4	G
10	Recit.Accomp.	T	In Penshurst's Plains	Andante	¢	D
11	Air	[T]	In all the woods	Allegretto	6/8	D
12	Recit.Accomp.	[T]	But Medway melancholy mute	Adagio	¢	f#-g
13	Chorus	SATB	Neptune in the boist'rous Seas	Larghetto	¢	g
- [GWR 14]	Sinfonia	-	-	Andantino	6/8	g
14 [GWR 15]	Recit.	[T or S]	Behold Arion, on the stern	-	¢	B flat-F
15 [GWR 16]	Duetto	ST	By the bright beams of Cynthia's Eyes	Vivace	2/4	B flat
16 [GWR 17]	Chorus	SATB	Great Amphitrite	Largo	C	B flat
17 [GWR 18]	Trio and Chorus	STB soloists followed by SATB Chorus	Hence waft me fair Goddess	-	2/4	B flat
18 [GWR 19]	Recit.Accomp.	B	He sung, the winds are charm'd to sleep	Adagio	¢	E flat

number	category	voice	title	tempo indication	metre	key
19 [GWR 20]	Solo [Air]	B	Come ye festive social throng	Spirituoso	3/4	E flat
- [GWR 21]	Chorus	SATB	All hail the Muse ascending	Con spirito	¢	E flat
20 [GWR 22]	Recit. [Accomp.]	[S]	But o'er th'affections too she claims the sway	-	C	E flat-e
21 [GWR 23]	Solo [Air]	[S]	Sing some sad, some plaintive ditty	Larghetto	2/4	e
22 [GWR 24]	Recit. [Accomp.]	T	Wake, Wake the Kettle Drum	Spirituoso	¢	C
23 [GWR 25]	Air	T	The Gallant warriors engage	Spirituoso	¢	C
- [GWR 26]	Chorus	SATB	The Gallant warriors engage	Allegro	¢	C
24 [GWR 27]	March and Quick Step		-	-	2/4 and 3/8	C
25 [GWR 28]	Recit. Accomp.	[T or S]	But hark the Temple's hallow'd roof resounds	-	¢	a-B flat
26 [GWR 29]	Solo [Air]	A	Blow on ye sacred organs	Largo; Andantino	C	F
27 [GWR 30]	Chorus	SATB	When Death shall blot out ev'ry name	Largo; Allegro	C	C

The Redemption of Israel.

Act the First

number	category	voice	title	tempo indication	metre	key
1	Overture			Largo Maestoso; Allegro	4/4 ¢	g g/G
2	Recit.Accomp.	'Tenor Voice'	Cry aloud spare not	-	¢	C
3	Recit.	[T]	Hear the Word of the Lord	-	C	G-C
4	Duett	ST	Let the Wicked forsake his way	Larghetto	C	E flat
5	Chorus	SATB	Then shall thy light break forth	Spirituoso	3/4	E flat
6	Aria	S	Seek ye the Lord	Andante Vivace	C	G
7	Chorus	SATB	Ye shall out with joy	Allegro	3/4	C
8	Recit.Accomp.	[T]	Hear, ye mountains	Largo	C	a
9	Recit.	[T]	The Customs of the People	-	C	a-g
10	[Recit. Accomp.]	[T]	The Gods that have not made	Larghetto	¢	g
11	Trio	ATB	But the Portion of Jacob	Andantino	C	G
12	Chorus	SATB	But the Lord is a True God	Largo	C	G
13	Aria	S	Return thou backsliding Israel	Larghetto	¢	c
14	Chorus	SATB	Behold we come unto thee	Largo	¢	g
15	Quartetto	SATB	We lie down in our shame	[Larghetto‡	C	g
16	Chorus (with quartet)	SATB	Truly in vain is Salvation hoped for	Spirituoso	¢	g/G

‡ Page-trimming has resulted in the loss of the first part of the tempo marking; the text, setting, and length of the movement suggest *Larghetto* rather than *Allegretto*.

Act 2d

number	category	voice	title	tempo indication	metre	key
1 [GWR 17]	Sinfonia			Largo	C	c
2 [GWR 18]	Recit.	T	Run ye to and fro thro' the streets	-	C	c-a
3 [GWR 19]	[Air]	[T]	Therefore shall Zion	Larghetto	¢	a
4 [GWR 20]	Chorus	SATB	Enter into the Rock and hide thee	Largo	3/4	f
5 [GWR 21]	Duett	AT	And the loftiness of man shall be bowed	-	¢	C
6 [GWR 22]	Chorus	SATB	And they shall go into the holes	Largo Maestoso	3/4	c
7 [GWR 23]	[Air]	[T]	Blow ye the Trumpet in Zion	Allegro	¢	C
8 [GWR 24]	Duett	[BB]	Alas for the Day of the Lord	Larghetto	3/4	g
9 [GWR 25]	Slow March			'Slow'	¢	g
10 [GWR 26]	Coro	SATB	And the Lord shall utter his voice	-	¢	B flat
11 [GWR 27]	[Recit. Accomp.]	[B]	Set up a standard toward Zion	Maestoso	¢	E flat
12 [GWR 28]	Air	[B]	O Daughter of my people	Affettuoso	¢	E flat
13 [GWR 29]	Chorus	SATB	How hath the Lord covered	-	3/4	c
14 [GWR 30]	Air	S	My bowels/heart, I am pain'd	Larghetto	2/4	f
15 [GWR 31]	Recit.	[S]	The Lord hath done that	-	C	F-d
16 [GWR 32]	Chorus	SATB	How is the Gold become dim	-	3/4	d
17 [GWR 33]	Air [and Chorus SATB]	[B]	The Lord is good	Maestoso non troppo; Andante Vivace	¢ 3/4	D
18 [GWR 34]	Recit.	[T]	The Land is utterly emptied	-	C	D-b
19 [GWR 35]	Chorus senza stromenti	SSATTBBB	Remember O Lord what is come upon us	Grave	C	b
20 [GWR 36]	Trio	ATB	Fear not o Land, be glad and rejoice	Spirituoso	3/4	G
21 [GWR 37]	Chorus	SATB	The Heav'ns and the Earth	Maestoso; Allegro	¢; 3/4	E

Act the Third.

number	category	voice	title	tempo indication	metre	key
[GWR 38]	Sinfonia			Adagio; Andantino	C; ¢	A
2 [GWR 39]	Recit.	T	For the Lord will have mercy	-	C	a
3 [GWR 40]	Air	[S]	He that scattered Israel	Allegretto	C	A
4 [GWR 41]	Chorus	SATB	O that the Salvation of Israel	Allegro	¢	A
5 [GWR 42]	Recit. [Accomp.]	[B]	God is jealous	Largo[?]; Allegro	C	d
6 [GWR 43]	Air	B	Sing with gladness	Allegro	3/4	D
7 [GWR 44]	Chorus	SATB	Sing with gladness	[Allegro]	3/4	D
8 [GWR 45]	Duett	SS	Then shall the Virgin rejoice	Allegretto	6/8	G
9 [GWR 46]	Recit.	[T]	In the last day	2nd pt. Largo	C	e-G
10 [GWR 47]	Air & Chorus SATB	T	For the law shall go forth	Larghetto	¢	C
11 [GWR 48]	Duett	ST	And the ransom'd of the Lord	Allegretto	¢	C
12 [GWR 49]	Chorus	SATB	Sing o Heav'ns and be joyfull *[sic]*	Spirituoso	3/4	C
13 [GWR 50]	Air	B	Arise, shine, for thy light is come	Allegro Spirituoso	C	F
14 [GWR 51]	Duett	[AB]	The sun shall be no more	Andantino	C	B flat
15 [GWR 52]	Chorus	SSATB	Break forth into Joy	Spirituoso	3/4	E flat
16 [GWR 53]	Air	[T]	The Lord thy God in the midst	Allegretto	C	G
17 [GWR 54]	SSATB (with one verse for 4 voices)	SSATB	O Lord I will praise Thee	Adagio; Allegro; Fugue	C; C; ¢	c;C;C.

Job.

[Part one]

number	category	voice and character	title	tempo indication	metre	key
[1]	Overture		-	Largo; Allegro	C	d; d; D
[2]	Recit.Accomp.	T Angel	Rebellious still against the Lord	Andantino Maestoso	C	D
[3]	Air & Chorus	T Angel & SATB	The Lord worketh wonders	Spirituoso	C	D
[4]	Recit.	B Demon	His servant Job	-	C	D-G
[5]	Air	B Demon	Let God outstretch his hand	Maestoso	C	g
[6]	Recit.	T Angel	Then by commandment	-	C	C
[7]	Air	T Angel	The fire of its maker	Allegro	3/4	C
[8]	Recit.	B Demon	Thanks for thine aid	-	C	a
[9]	Air	B Demon	I'll harass and vex him	Risoluto	3/4	a
[10]	Recit. [Accomp.]	T Job	O my Salmina	Andantino	C	F
[11]	Air	S Salmina	To him our all of life we owe	Largo	C	B flat
[12]	Chorus	SATB	Therefore will we the righteous ways	Tempo Giusto	C	B flat

[Part two]

number	category	voice and character	title	tempo indication	metre	key
[13]	Recit.	S Salmina	Our lovely children	-	C	g-F
[14]	Duetto	S Salmina T Job	Heav'nly Father, Lord most holy	Andantino	3/4	F
[15]	Recit. Accomp.	2 T Job, Elphizar *[sic]* B Zaphnus	O rev'rend Job	Largo	C	D flat-E flat
[16]	Air	T Job	While love and joy were in their prime	Larghetto	C	E flat
[17]	Recit. [Accomp.]	2 T Job, Alcides	Horrors increase	Agitato	C	c
[18]	Air	T Job	Rest tender joy	Adagio	C	A flat
[19]	Dead March	-	-	Adagio	C	c
[20]	Recit.	2 T Job, Elphizah	This is dreadful	-	C	f
[21]	Aria	T Job	These were thy gifts	Largo	C	f
[22]	Aria	T Job	Tho' helpless I came	Largo	3/8	F
[23]	Chorus	SSATB	O praise the Lord	-; Allegro con spirito	C 3/4	B flat

Part the Third

number	category	voice and character	title	tempo indication	metre	key
[24]	Sinfonia	-	-	Largo; Andantino	C; 3/4	E flat
[25]	Recit.	T Angel	Now own that thy temptations	-	C	g-d
[26]	Aria	T Angel	Consoling delegate of virtue	Larghetto	C	B flat
[27]	Recit.	T Angel, B Demon	He bears his woes	-	C	g-B flat
[28]	Air	B Demon	The net for his feet	Con spirito	3/4	d
[29]	Recit.	T Job	Mine agonies increase	-	C	c-g
[30]	Air	T Elphizar *[sic]*	Sole God of heav'n	Largo	¢	G
[31]	Chorus	SATB	Sole God of heav'n	-	C *[sic]*	G
[32]	Recit.	T Job	Perish the day	-	C	a-c
[33]	Aria	T Job	Retire O loathsome light	Andante vivace	C	c
[34]	Air	T Job	Let the night also mourn	Agitato	3/4	A flat
[35]	Recit.	A Elika	Blaspheme no more	-	C	F-E
[36]	Air	A Elika	Tho' afflicted still reverence	-	C	E
[37]	Chorus	SATBB	O come let us worship	Largo	¢	E
[38]	Recit.	B Zaphnus	Be steadfast	-	C	a-C
[39]	Air	B Zaphnus	The thunder of heav'n	Spirituoso	C	C
[40]	Recit.	T Job	God is my maker	-	C	F-g
[41]	Aria	T Job	My sorrows but last for a day	Andantino grazioso	6/8	E flat
[42]	Chorus	SATB	We will praise thee	Largo maestoso; Fuga; Andante	C C	G G

'Part Third' [Fourth].

number	category	voice and character	title	tempo indication	metre	key
[43]	[Sinfonia]	-	-	Largo; Andantino	¢;¢	E
[44]	Recit.	Treble Dela	His soul, tho' lost to happiness	-	C	f#-B
[45]	Air	Treble Dela	O silence fond warblers	Larghetto	6/8	E
[46]	Recit.	T Job	My hopes are past	-	C	e-C
[47]	Air	T Job	Distracted with anguish	Allegro agitato	C; 3/8	a-A
[48]	Recit.	A Elika	His spirit is weary of life	-	C	C
[49]	Aria	A Elika	O let him take comfort	Andantino	¢	C
[50]	Chorus	SATB	Salvation to the Lord belongs	A Tempo Ordinario	¢	C
[51]	Recit.	Treble Dela T Job	Have pity upon me	-	C	F-a
[52]	Air	Treble Dela	The Lord is your God	Larghetto; Allegro	C	F
[53]	Recit.	T Job	O the the grave	-	C	E flat-c
[54]	Aria	T Job	O Lord my desires were before thee	Larghetto	3/4	E flat
[55]	Chorus	SSATB	O Lord his desires were before thee	Largo	3/4	E flat
[56]	Recit.	T Job T Elphizah	Yet hate the day	-	C	F-g
[57]	Aria	T Job	Why do the people so rashly advise me	Maestoso	C	c
[58]	Recit. [Accomp.]	B Demon	He triumphs still	-	C	f
[59]	Air	B Demon	Triumphant and glorious	Con spirito	C	D flat
[60]	Recit. [Accomp.]	T Angel	Thy woes are ended	Affettuoso	C	C
[61]	Air	T Angel	All nations surrounding	Allegro	3/4	F

number	category	voice and character	title	tempo indication	metre	key
[62]	Recit.	T Job	The Lord is my God	-	C	d
[63]	Aria	T Job	Put thy trust, o my soul	Allegro maestoso	¢	A
[64]	Chorus	SATB	Great art thou o Lord	Largo Maestoso; Fuga: Allegro commodo	C C	D D

APPENDIX IV

Bingley's Biography of Russell: Bingley (1814), II 281-284.

WILLIAM RUSSELL, MUS. BAC. is the son of an highly respectable organ-builder, still living in Theobald's Road, Red Lion Square, and was born in the year 1777. At the age of eight years he was placed under the tuition of Mr. Cope, organist of the Church of St. Saviour, Southwark; but his father being partial to cathedral music, engaged also Mr. Shrubsole, the organist of Spa Fields Chapel, who had formely been in the Cathedral of Canterbury, and the organist at Bangor, to instruct him in cathedral service. Afterwards, as a sort of finishing master, he was put under Mr. Groombridge, the organist of Hackney, and of the the Church of St. Stephen in Coleman Street. With him he continued about two years. Mr. Russell then left off all masters till the year 1797, when he placed himself for about three years under the late Dr. Arnold.

An ardent and laudable desire to attain eminence in his profession first led this gentleman to examine the writings of Hadyn and Mozart, two of of the greatest musicians the world ever knew;

and it is perhaps in a great measure from an attentive study of their scores that he may date his present knowledge and excellence in the art, both as a performer and composer.

In the year 1789, his father appointed him his deputy, as organist of St. Mary Aldermary, in Bow Lane; and he continued to officiate there till the autumn of 1793, when he was appointed organist of Queen Street Chapel in Lincoln's Inn Fields. At the time that Mr. Russell was engaged in this chapel, a cathedral service was performed there by a small but very respectable choir. He continued in this engagement till the middle of 1798, when the chapel was converted into a methodist meeting-house. He then returned, for about three months, to St. Mary Aldermary, till September of the same year, when he was elected organist of St. Ann's, Limehouse. On the first of April, 1801, he was unanimously elected organist of the Foundling Hospital. In the year 1798, he had been a candidate, with six others, for this situation, at the resignation of Mr. Grenville; but, owing to the powerful interest that had been made for the person who succeeded, his wishes were at that time frustrated. In the month of June, 1807, induced chiefly by the excellence of the organ, which is not only the largest but one of the finest in England, he offered himself a candidate for the place of organist at Christchurch, Spittalfields. He was opposed by no fewer than

ten rivals; yet, such was his fame and excellence as a performer upon this instrument, that, although he was personally unknown to every person in the parish except one, he was only out-numbered in votes by the person who succeeded, and for whom exertions had been made, and promises of votes obtained, for several years before.

With respect to his theatrical engagements, Mr. Russell's entrée was (at the recommendation of his friend and master Dr. Arnold) as pianoforte-player and composer at Sadler's Wells in the year 1800. He continued to hold these situations for four seasons, till a change of proprietors took place, and Mr. Reeve purchased an eighth in the concern, after which his services, of course, were no longer wanted. In 1801, the managers of Covent Garden Theatre engaged him to preside at the pianoforte there, for the express purpose, as they stated to him, of accompanying Mrs. Billington, Storace, and Braham.

Mr. Russell's theatrical compositions are numerous, but consist chiefly of *dramatic spectacles* and *pantomimes*. They amount, in the whole, to about twenty, and have been principally written for Covent Garden, Sadler's Wells, and the Circus. He has composed also two *oratorios*, "*The Redemption of Israel*," and *Job*, and four *odes*, one on Music, another to the Genius of Handel, a third on St. Cecilia's Day, and the fourth to Har-

mony; besides several *voluntaries*, *glees*, and single *songs*.

As a composer Mr. Russell has great excellence, and it is only to be wished that the managers of Covent Garden had put into his hands things of greater importance than pantomimes. As a performer on the pianoforte and organ he has few equals.

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