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DR. JOHN BULL. From a picture painted in Antwerp. Circa 1625.

Frontispiece.

GOD SAVE THE KING

THE ORIGIN AND HISTORY

OF THE

MUSIC AND WORDS

OF

THE NATIONAL ANTHEM

BY

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PREFACE.

SCARCELY a month passes without some paragraph appearing in the public journals concerning the origin of the music of our National Anthem. Untenable theories, which have often been refuted, are paraded as new discoveries; discussions more or less relevant ensue, are read with avidity, and then, becoming forgotten, are allowed to repose in obscurity for a time, but with a certainty that in due course the whole matter will be re-opened. I propose, therefore, in the following pages, to state and consider various theories which have been advanced, and to publish some documents by Dr. Burney and others which are of great weight and value, and which have never before been made public.

Our National Anthem, from long association, has become a sacred part of our national life. The Journal des Débats has pithily remarked : "It is a melancholy fact that France does not possess a song which can be really called national. In a national song the first and most indispensable element is religious sentiment. . . . As for England, we need not mention the air at the sound of which all Englishmen rise and uncover their heads, and which is played at the farthest extremities of the world."

Two striking instances of the sacred use of our National Anthem are worthy of record-the first (iii)

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belongs to a peaceful and happy celebration, and the second to a sad and heart-breaking tragedy.

In 1879, Queen Victoria presented a church organ to the inhabitants of Pitcairn Island, who, it will be remembered, were descendants of the old mutineers of "The Bounty." The instrument was conveyed to the island in Her Majesty's ship "Opal," and on arrival at the island the organ was promptly transferred to the shore and placed in position. The inauguration was attended by the whole population, men, women and children, ninety-three in number. "Then, by one of those picturesquely appropriate touches that strike so happily the mind of a community affected by a single impulse of feeling, the scene became at once as pathetic as beautiful, for hardly had the instrument been opened, than it and the people burst into the music of the National Anthem. The effect was touching in the extreme, as, verse by verse, the grand harmony of 'God save the Queen' rolled from the little church-house on the cliff, and was taken up by the ship's crew on the shore. It was no rehearsed scene, but a spontaneous and uncontrollable outburst of loyal gratitude: Her Majesty's gracious kindness, and such an unexpected and substantial proof of it, transported the Islanders with delight, and in the strains of the National Anthem they celebrated the glad renewal of their allegiance which they had feared was despised."

This narration of the joyous occasion of which the National Anthem formed so conspicuous and appropriate a part, may be contrasted with another

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historic but tragic event, when its strains were adopted by a few heroes as their triumphant deathsong. During the Matabele war, in 1894, thirty-four Englishmen found themselves, after three hours' fighting, absolutely surrounded and hemmed in by the natives. The little band, commanded by Major Wilson, were all wounded and their ammunition was well-nigh expended; the Major, covered with blood from his many wounds, stood erect and continued to fire at the foe, assisted by a wounded comrade who stood by his side and loaded the rifles for him. The natives crawled along the ground and by degrees drew nearer the few surviving English, till at last the supreme and inevitable moment arrived when, in overwhelming numbers, they rushed in upon the devoted band who, of one accord, stood up, uncovered their heads, and joined in singing "God save the Queen," and whilst so engaged were ruthlessly assegaied.

It is not necessary to refer to the numerous interesting and historic occasions of the past, wherein the performance of our National Anthem has formed an important feature; it can, however, be confidently asserted that its hallowed strains will continue to be fervently echoed and re-echoed by the many millions of peoples, throughout the world, who are proud of their allegiance to our beloved King and Emperor, Edward the Seventh.

W. H. C.

March 1902.

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THE NATIONAL ANTHEM.

"GOD SAVE THE KING."

Ich muss den Engländern ein wenig zeigen, was in dem "God Save the King" für ein Segen ist.

(I must show the English a little what a blessing they have in their "God save the King.")—BEETHOVEN'S *Diary*, 1813.

The muddle and almost hopeless confusion which has grown up in connection with the inquiry as to the origin of the music of "God save the King" is largely due to the patriotic and well-meant endeavours of Richard Clark, a bass singer in the Chapels Royal, Westminster Abbey, and St. Paul's Cathedral, who died in the year 1856.*

In 1814 Clark published a work, which now lies before me, entitled "The Words of the Most Popular Pieces performed at the Glee Club," &c. In the preface to this book he says, "Difference of opinion has prevailed in the musical world respecting the composition of the popular air and words of 'God save the King'; some account of both may not be uninteresting. Such as strikes the editor as worthy of consideration is submitted, and in the language of George Saville Carey, by

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^{*} The Rev. Baring Gould, in "English Minstrelsie," says: "Clark was deputyorganist at Westminster Abbey, and then at the Chapels Royal"; a mistake—I knew him well, he could not play the organ. He commenced his music-career as a singing boy in St. George's Chapel, Windsor and Eton College, and at his death was a Gentleman of Her Majesty's Chapels Royal, Vicar Choral of St. Paul's Cathedral, and Lay Vicar of St. Peter's, Westminster.

whom it is given, in vindication of his father, for whom he claims the honour of this national song, and to which it would seem that he is justly entitled." Clark then narrates a biography of Henry Carey, and the son's presentation of his father's claims, in which all the evidence it was possible to adduce is brought forward to prove that Henry Carey wrote the music and words of "God save the King." Clark concludes the special pleading on behalf of Carey with the following statement of his own: "John Ward speaks of 'God save the King' in his account of the Professors of Gresham College, published 1740, where he gives a catalogue of Dr. Pepusch's music as follows: 'No. xviii. 2 vols. 4to. Vol. I. folio 56. "God save the King," which is all that is there mentioned of it. It has been thought to be a variation of that gentleman's composed on the above tune, but the editor has not been able, at present, to meet with it."

The above, as I have already stated, was published in 1814. Eight years afterwards, in 1822, Clark issued another book, called "An account of the National Anthem entitled 'God save the King!' with authorities taken from Sion College Library, the ancient records of the Merchant Taylors' Company, the old Checque*-book of His Majesty's Chapel, &c. &c. &c. Selected, edited, and arranged by Richard Clark." In this book, which he dedicated to the "Master, Wardens, and Court of Assistants to the Worshipful Company of Merchant Tailors," he entirely discards his previous theory

> * Sic. (2)

that Carey was the author of "God save the King," and boldly asserts that it was specially composed by Dr. John Bull for an entertainment given by the Company to King James I. on July 16, 1607. Clark proceeds to give various interesting extracts, one of them fully proving that Dr. John Bull performed on a "very rich pair of organs" before the King at that feast.

The account is taken from the ancient records of the Merchant Taylors' Company, and runs as follows : "On Thursday, July 16, 1607, His Majesty King James the First, Prince Henry, and many honourable persons dined at the Merchant Tailors' Hall. . . . At the upper end of the Hall there was set a chair of estate, where his Majesty sat and viewed the Hall; and a very proper childe, well spoken, being clothed like an angel of gladness, with a taper of frankincense burning in his hand, delivered a short speech, containing xviii. verses, devised by Mr. Ben Johnson,* which pleased his Majesty marvellously well: and upon either side of the hall, in the windows near the upper end, were galleries, or seats made for music, in either of which were seven singular choice musicians, playing on their lutes, and in the ship, which did hang aloft in the hall, three rare men and very skilful, who song to his Majesty, and over the King, sonnetts, and loud musique, wherein it is to be remembered, that the multitude and novse was so great that the lutes nor songs could hardly be heard or understood, and then his Majesty went up into the

* Spelt thus in the Merchant Taylors' records.

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King's chamber, where he dined alone at a table which was provided only for his Majesty and the Queen (but the Queen came not), in which chamber were placed a very rich pair of organs, whereupon Mr. John Bull, Doctor of Music, and a brother of this company, did play all the dinnertime; and Mr. Nathaniel Gyles, Master of the Children of the King's Chapel, together with Dr. Montague, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and Dean of his Majesty's Chapels, Lenard Davis, Sub-Dean, and divers synging men, Robert Stone, William Byrde, Richard Granwell, Crie. Sharpe, Edmund Browne, Thos. Woodson, Henrie Eveseede, Robert Allison, Jo. Hewlett, Richard Plumley, Thos. Goold, William Laws, Elway Bevin and Orlando Gibbons, Gen. extraordinary, and the children of the said chapel, did sing melodious songs at the said dinner; after all which, his Majesty came down to the great hall, and sitting in his chair of estate, did heear a melodious song of farewell by the three rare men in the shippe, being apparelled in watchet silk, like seamen; which song so pleased his Majesty, that he caused the same to be sung three times over."

"Dr. Bull, and Mr. Nathaniel Gyles admitted into the lyvery of this company. Also at this court the company have accepted and taken Mr. John Bull, Doctor of Musique, and a brother of this company, into the clothing and livery of the company. Also, they have accepted and taken Mr. Nathaniel Gyles, who hath his grace to be Doctor of Musique, and is Master of the Children of the King's Chapell, into the freedom of this society, and into the clothing and lyvery of the same; and it is ordered that they shall be placed in the lyvery next unto the Assistant; and note, that the lyvery-hoods were put upon their shoulders, but neither of them sworn; and the Company are contented to shew their favour unto them for their paynes when the King and Prince dined at their Hall, and their love and kindness in bestowing the musique which was performed by them, their associates, and children, in the King's chamber gratis: whereas the musicians in the great hall exacted unreasonable sums of the Company for the same, and therefore the Company mean not that this calling of Mr. Dr. Bull and Mr. Nathaniel Gyles into the lyvery hath any burthen or charge unto them further than shall stand with their own good liking."

The foregoing account is taken from the Archives of the Merchant Taylors' Company, and Clark supplements it with the following from *Howes' Continuation* of Stow's "Annals": " The King, during this and the election of the new Maister and Wardens, stoode in a newe window made for that purpose; and with a gracious kingly aspect, behelde all their cerimonies, and being descended into the hall to depart, his majestie and the Prince were then again presented with like musique of voyces and instruments, and speeches, as at the first entrance. The musique consisted of twelve lutes, equally divided, 6 and 6 in a window on either side the hall, and in the ayre between them were a gallant shippe triumphant,

^{* &}quot;Annals; or, a general Chronicle of England, begun by John Stow; continued and augmented, unto the end of the year 1631, by Edmund Howes, gent." (Stow died two years before the banquet took place.)

wherein were three rare menne like saylors, being eminent for voice and skill, who in their several songs were assisted and seconded by the cunning lutanist. There was also in the hall, the musique of the city; and in the upper chamber, the children of his Majesties Chappell song a grace at the King's table, and whilest the King sat at dinner, John Bull, Doctor of Musique, one of the organists of his Maiesties Chappel Royal, and free of the Merchant Tailors, being in a citizen's gown, cappe, and hood, plaied most excellent melody upon a small pair of organs placed there for that purpose onely, concerning the bountie of the feast, and plentie of all things as well for pleasant princely entertainments of the King, the prince, the nobility, and the rest, where were very many braue courtiers and other gallants, as were most rare and excellent. The Company of Merchant Tailors also after that gaue very kind respect, with full and honourable reward unto every man, according to their highest measure of desert, that did them any service or kindness, either by voice or instruments, making of speeches, or setting of songs or otherwise."*

Clark's comment on this is: "Not one of the speeches, songs, sonnets, or music, that was performed at that great entertainment, is to be met with;" and yet he was the first to make the statement that "God save the King" was composed for that particular occasion, and was then sung in Merchant Taylors' Hall. Clark's bold assertion was

^{*} The rewards and payments made by the Company will be found in the Appendix, page 89.

quoted as a fact, on the occasion of the Prince of Wales dining with the Merchant Taylors' Company, April 6, 1875, when the master said, "Permit me to remind you that in 1607 Ben Jonson wrote, and Dr. John Bull added music to, 'God save the King.'"

In the above extract from the "Annals," the only approach to a particularisation of the music performed on the occasion of the banquet to King James, is to be found in the *Grace* which was sung by "the children of his Majesties Chappell." The identification even of this piece is not possible; although Clark argues that as Byrde was one of the singers, and also the composer of "Non nobis, Domine," it must have been his music which was performed. It is sufficient to regard this as highly probable.

On page 67 of his book, Clark says, "I shall now proceed to prove that Dr. Bull composed the music of 'God save the King' before the year 1613, by the following extract from the old Cheque-book now at the King's Chapel, which states :—

In 1613 John Bull, Doctor of Musique, went beyond the seas without licence, and was admitted into the Arch-Duke's service, and entered upon pay there about Mich.; and Peter Hopkins, a base, from Paul's, was sworne into his place the 27 of December following : his wages from Mich. unto the day of swearing-in of the said Peter Hopkins, was disposed of by the Deane of his Majesty's Chapel."

Clark adds : "It is not at all probable that he (Bull) should have written any music in honour of the

King of England, after having been discharged from his Chapel; he therefore must have composed it previously." Admitting that Bull composed an air with variations which he entitled "God save the King," but which particular piece had nothing in common with our National Anthem, as I shall presently show, I fail to see why he should not have written it after he had quitted the King of England's service, and become one of the musicians in the court of a friendly prince. Bull had a son whom he was anxious to get admitted in the King's chapel, as is proved by a letter of his, which is still extant;* he therefore had every reason for endeavouring to secure the favour of James I., a monarch generally credited with a great liking for flattery and adulation. Clark's crowning proof now comes before us. He says, "the following extract from the manuscript music of Dr. Bull will prove beyond a doubt that he did compose the music of 'God save the King." In Ward's lives of the Professors of Gresham College, published in London, 1740, we read as follows: "There is extant a large number and variety of Dr. Bull's pieces in manuscript that make up a part of the curious and valuable collection of music, now reposited in the library of Dr. Pepusch; of which I shall here add the following account, as communicated to me by the Doctor." Clark then copies from Ward's account the index to a large folio of music "for the organ or harpsichord," also of a second volume, large quarto, but as these contain nothing to the point, I shall pass them over

> * See Appendix, page 94. (8)

and come to the third volume quarto, of which the index stands as follows:—*

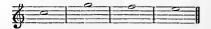
Folio.

- 1. Præludium to the fantasia, Felix namque offertorium.
- 1. Fantasia, Felix namque offertorium.
- 8. Galliard, Madamoyselle Charlotte de la Haye.
- 15. Tres voces in unum, Salvator mundi.
- 56. GOD SAVE THE KING.
- 63. Gloria tibi, Trinitas.
- 77. Fantasia on a chromatic subject, a 4v.
- 86. Door Dr. Bull gemaekt, ter eeren Van Goduart Van Kappell.
- 88. Dr. Bull voor my gemaekt, En revenant.
- 92. Levez vous, cœur.
- 98. Air.
- 101. Ballet, die partyen door Dr. Bull op superius gemaekt.
- 102. Philis heeft myn hert gestoolen, voor my gemaekt.
- 103. Gemaekt op * *
- 105. Courante de chapelle primi toni, ann. 1619.
- 105. Courante de chapelle.
- 106. Galliard op die eerste courante.
- 107. Almand de chapelle primi toni.
- 109. Galliard de chapelle primi toni.
- 110. Galliard.
- 111. Allmand op die voorgaende galliard.
- 113. Fantasia.
- 114. Fantasia.
- 116. Den lustelycken Mey. Imperfect.

Clark proceeds to say, "Here then (on folio 56) is a positive, incontrovertible, and undeniable claim by Dr. Bull to the tune of 'God save the King,' as composed by him in honour of King James the First. It must be the same tune which is sung at the present time." This was a strong assertion to make, and an unfortunate one, Clark never having seen the volume to ascertain what the music on folio 56 really

was like. Fortunately the identical book was then in the possession of Dr. Kitchener, a medical man by profession, also an enthusiastic musical amateur of moderate musical ability; excited by Clark's account, he examined folio 56 of Bull's MS., and finding the statement wholly untrue, Dr. Kitchener employed Edward Jones, the well-known musical antiquary and harpist, to make a copy of the music, which the doctor published in 1823 with the following note: "This is an accurate copy of the 'God save the Kinge' mentioned in the above index, which Mr. Edward Jones, Bard to the King, was so obliging as to transcribe, putting it at the same time into our modern notation. Dr. Bull's, being on six-line staves with a multiplicity of clefs, in its original form was illegible, except by a musical antiquary, and too complicated to be playable without such an arrangement. The editor briefly remarks that Dr. John Bull's composition is a sort of ground or voluntary for the organ, of the four notes C, G, E, F, with twenty-six different basses ! and is no more like the anthem now sung than a frog is like to an ox."

Bull's composition, with the title he gave it, "God save the Kinge," is printed at length in the Appendix, (page 73). It will be seen that the theme



exactly fits the words God save the King. By a curious coincidence it is an anticipation of (10)

GOD SAVE THE KING.

the theme of a fugue by Sebastian Bach, No. 7 in the second book of the Wohltemperite Klavier-



It is important to notice the date of the composition is given in the manuscript, 1616, for although this is not appended to folio 56 in Ward's index, the omission, for which Dr. Pepusch was responsible, must have been purely accidental; certainly such was the case with one of the Bull volumes referred to and described in Ward's list, which having personally examined, I have noted the omission of no less than twelve dates.* If, then, the date of the composition be 1616, three years after Bull left England, it could not possibly have been performed at the Merchant Taylors' Hall in 1607. One would have supposed that the publication of Dr. Kitchener's evidence would have convinced Clark of the blunder he had made, and have kept him silent; he, however, seems to have accepted the fact that the tune was not what he had described, but at the same time he endeavoured to cover his retreat by venturing on the following assertion : "The ground lately produced by Dr. Kitchener, composed by Dr. Bull, bearing the title of 'God save the King,' proves what I have before stated, that the first naming a tune or piece of music in honour of the king was by Dr. Bull." It has been already stated that the tune composed by Dr. Bull with the title of "God save the Kinge,"

* This book is now in the British Museum.

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may be taken to represent either a chant to the four words or a musical embodiment to the cry of the populace. The short phrase "God save the King" must have been in frequent use in the house of God, in the Palace, and in the streets, from the time of King Solomon downward.*

In the year 1823 the question of the authorship of "God save the King" frequently cropped up in the public journals, and at length the "Gentleman's Magazine" of 1836 devoted several articles to its consideration, and finally closed with the following sentence: "We are therefore arrived at the close of our inquiry, and the result appears to be that the original music of 'God save the King' was an anthem prepared by Purcell or Blow for the Chapel of James the Second."

This brought Clark again into the forefront of the fight, and in August, 1837, he published a short pamphlet addressed "To the lovers of research, the historian, and the impartial critic." It will be unnecessary to say much of this extraordinary production, excepting that Clark roundly asserts "no doubt the melody was as popular then (in Purcell's day) as it is as this time," and that Purcell had avowedly imitated Bull's melody. He adds, "A continuation on this subject nevertheless will shortly appear. In the meantime, R. Clark respectfully assures his Royal, Noble, and Honourable Subscribers, and especially the Master, Wardens, and

^{*} Norton (Thos.). "Warning agaynst the Dangerous Practices of Papists of the late Rebellion (Popish Rebellion in Yorkshire). Published by John Daye, 1569." On the last leaf we read "God save our Queene Elizabeth and confound hir enemies."

Court of Assistants, of the Worshipful Company of Merchant Tailors, that his former account is correct, and that the National Anthem and National Grace, 'Non nobis, Domine,' were written in Latin by Ben Jonson to please King James the First, he being considered a good Latin scholar, and were first sung in their Hall." I have already examined the truth of most of the foregoing myth, and do not think it worth while wasting many words over the ignorant assumption that Ben Jonson wrote the words "Non nobis, Domine ! non nobis, sed nomini Tuo da gloriam," the ninth verse of the Psalm "In exitu Israel" (in our English version the first verse of the 114th Psalm). After this publication of Clark's (1837) there ensued a short truce, but the subject was re-opened by a letter of inquiry addressed to The Musical World, September, 1839.* Whether written from a spirit of mischievous fun, or really from a desire for more accurate knowledge it is now impossible to decide, but certain it is, there soon followed letters from John Parry and others, notably Dr. Rimbault, who dealt mercilessly with Clark's unwarranted assertions. Matters became more complicated by the appearance, in the same periodical (November 21, 1839), of a remarkable letter signed James Henry Saville, of Bishopsgate Street Within; it detailed the discovery of certain curious old hymns or songs. of the time of Henry VII., on the subject of "Long lyve ye Kinge" and "Godde preserve ye Kinge," and on the following December 12 the

* Published in the number dated October 10.

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excitement was intensified by the publication of the following :---

Sir,-I beg to trouble you with the following account of a very curious manuscript I have lately come into the possession In my preambles about town I had occasion (feeling of. hungry) to go into a cheesemonger's shop in the neighbourhood of Clerkenwell to purchase a piece of cheese; perceiving that the shopman had served the little girl with some butter wrapped up in a piece of music in manuscript, I asked him if he had any more music of that kind; he stated that he had had a great quantity that he purchased for waste-paper, some written and some printed, and produced the one I am now about to describe, which was the last he had left, which he said if it was of any use to me I might have; the paper is very old, about the time of James or Charles I., one side is blank, with the following number at the corner, 141. On the side which is not paged is the music, the staves have five lines, but on the music side a sixth had been added with the pen; at top is written the "King's Anthem," "Dr. Bull." For a long time I was not able to make these words out, except the words "King's" and "Dr. Bull," which are plain enough; but on account of the h, in the other words being carried down like a y, it puzzled me for some time; at the beginning of the stave is the sign for common time, with a dot and a figure of three underneath it: the music is barred with six minims in a bar for the first seven bars only, which seven bars contain the tune of our present "God save the King," only the tune appears to be different to that which is played now; the tune has harmony to it, either for the organ, or as I suppose another keyed instrument (perhaps the virginal, as I have heard of such an instrument), but as I only play the fiddle a little I am not sufficiently able to judge. Underneath the first bar (with the aid of a glass, for the writing is so small it can scarcely be traced with the naked eye), is the following words : "God save oure mightye Kinge." After the first seven bars, which contains the whole of the tune, there is other music, apparently in a different time, beginning with the words, "In the O Lorde." There is not the whole of the anthem, but in the whole page, containing twelve staves, there are thirty-four bars very closely written, and very full (I mean of harmony).

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GOD SAVE THE KING.

The tune of "God save the King" is in the key of G, with the sharps placed before the notes. Should anybody wish to see it I shall be happy to forward it to your office, if you will put a notice to that effect in your answer to correspondents.— Yours,

THOMAS HUNTER.

Gray's Inn Lane.

The pretended discovery by Mr. Thomas Hunter of "The King's Anthem, Dr. Bull" was readily believed in by some, although there were others who doubted its genuineness. The MS. was sent to Richard Clark for his inspection, who wrote to the *Musical World* another long letter re-asserting all his previous statements respecting Bull, Ben Jonson, and the Merchant Taylors' Company, but he closed it with the following cautious paragraph:—

If the MS. [sent by Mr. Hunter] headed "The King's Anthem, Dr. Bull," which has been forwarded to me for my inspection, be genuine, it is a further confirmation of what I have already stated of Dr. Bull. By the watermark in the sheet of music-paper containing the tune in question, the paper was made by P. Ballard about 1607, of which make I have much in my possession. If this said MS. be not genuine (which I much suspect), we shall learn something more respecting it anon."—(Musical World, February 13, 1840.)

It appears that the MS. was shown to Sir Francis Madden, the Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum, and he expressed his opinion that it was "undoubtedly a forgery, written within these twenty years, and that the paper was anterior to the time."

I should not have referred to the letters of James Henry Saville and Thomas Hunter had I not feared that some enthusiastic student might hereafter discover and reproduce them as reliable statements of veritable facts. In order to prevent any such use being made of them, I am able to state that they were both the concoction of the late Joseph Warren, a well-known and accomplished musician and antiquary. Originally intended as an amusing hoax, these letters doubtless added to the mystery and confusion which surrounded the subject of the authorship of "God save the King." Mr. Warren subsequently endeavoured to make amends by informing Mr. Richard Clark of the true state of the case; but, so far as I know, the latter never publicly referred to the matter. The following letter, addressed to Mr. Warren, was given me by him, with permission to publish it :—

Litlington Tower,

Cloisters, Westminster,

February 12, 1846.

Dear Sir,-When you were at my house looking through my own book with the accounts of persons in the Musical World on the long-disputed subject of "God save the King," you mentioned various funny circumstances which had been pursued by yourself, Dr. Rimbault, Mr. Chapèlle, and Mr. Davidson only for the purpose of bringing out before the public all that could possibly be written on that subject you stated also that whilst you were at the Museum one day you concocted the piece of music said to have been found at a Cheesemonger's Shop, Islington this was taken by Mr. Chapèlle to (I forget who)—he pronounced the same a forgery all this you wished me to transcribe in my own book stating that you had authorised me to do so. Now you will oblige me by drawing up the above particulars in a letter and put the same in the post because there were several other amusing facts which I do not recollect. I should like to place yours to me on the subject beside Dr. Rimbauts', Mr. Nichol's, and Mr. Chapell's. Your early reply will oblige,

Dear Sir, yours truly,

To Joseph Warren, Esq. RICHD. CLARK.* * The spelling and punctuation are printed literatim from Clark's manuscript.

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Mr. Warren told me he adopted the nom de plume of Saville, thinking of Saville House, Leicester Square, and that Hunter is one of his family names.

The controversy respecting the authorship of "God save the King" remained in this unsatisfactory state until 1840, when, by a stroke of good fortune, Clark purchased the book containing Bull's "God save the King." Dr. Kitchener died in February, 1827, leaving "particular injunctions respecting the non-disposal of a certain MS. musicbook"-the volume containing Bull's compositionsconsequently this book was not included in the sale of the doctor's library. Mr. Clark bought it for f.20, and shortly afterwards announced it to be a "Collection of Pieces for the Virginals in the veritable autograph of Dr. John Bull," which he had carefully gone through, and "found that precisely at the bar where Dr. Kitchener's published extract concludes, the correct melody of the National Anthem begins." Here again Clark made two foolish blunders, for we shall presently find that the MS. could not by any possibility have been in Bull's autograph, and a reference to the index previously given fully proves that the "God save the King" which Kitchener had quoted was followed by several pieces bearing neither reference nor resemblance to the air we call the National Anthem. In November, 1841, Clark addressed a printed circular to the "Masters, Wardens," &c., of the City Companies, in which he says :--

I continued my inquiries until eventually I was enabled to obtain a sight of, and finally to purchase (in the handwriting of the composer, Dr. John Bull), this long lost manuscript.

That the manuscript was not in the composer's own hand may be ascertained by reference to the list and indices of the Bull volumes, published in Ward's "Lives of the Gresham Professors," where the name of the Flemish scribe is quoted as part of the "Large quarto, number 16 in the Catalogue." At the end of this book is written the following note: "Incepit 6 Apr. 1628, finivit 20 Oct. 1628. Scribebat Gulielmus a Messaus,* Divae Walburgis Antverpiensis phonascus." These dates are an additional proof that the writings were not in the autograph of Dr. Bull, for he died on the 12th or 13th of March, 1628, and was buried in the Church of Notre Dame, in Antwerp. I have already mentioned the fact that I have carefully examined one of the Bull volumes-that described on page 206 of Ward's "Lives"—and I am therefore able confidently to assert that it also is in the hand of a Flemish scribe, and further, that several of the pieces bear dates showing that they were copied after Bull was dead and buried. In 1860, Sir Francis Madden examined the particular volume which had belonged to Kitchener and Clark, the one in which all our interest is now centred, and he wrote respecting the contents: "Of course they cannot be in the handwriting of Dr. John Bull, but of some Dutchman." We may therefore, I think, very fairly assume that all the Bull MSS. spoken of by Ward were copies made by the same scribe.

It is singular that, after having published so many

^{*} For an account of Gulielmus a Messaus, see Appendix, page 99.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

untenable statements respecting "God save the King," Clark should have really discovered in his recent purchase an "Ayre" bearing a remarkable resemblance to the true melody;—that the resemblance was very apparent may be gathered from the writings of Dr. Rimbault,* Dr. Gauntlett, Sir George Smart, and Mr. William Chappell. The last-named recorded his opinion in "Popular Music of the Olden Time." He says:—

It is a curious fact (of which Clark could not have been aware when he published his account) that an "Ayre" at page 98 of the manuscript is very like our "God save the King." The piece which is therein entitled "God save the King" is at page 66, and the same which Kitchener published. When Clark played the "Ayre" to me, with the book before him, I thought it to be the original of the National Anthem; but afterwards, taking the manuscript into my own hands, I was convinced that it had been tampered with and the resemblance strengthened, the sharps being in ink of a much darker colour than other parts. The additions are very perceptible, in spite of Clark's having covered the face of that portion with varnish. In its original state the 'Ayre' commenced with these notes :—



The G being natural, the resemblance to "God save the King" does not strike the ear, but by making the G sharp, and changing the whole from an old scale without sharps or flats into the modern scale of A major (three sharps), the tune becomes *essentially* like "God save the King." When I reflected further upon the matter, it appeared very improbable that Dr. Bull should have composed a piece for the organ in the modern key of A major. The most curious part of the

* The late Dr. Rimbault has been quoted as a determined opponent to the authorship of Bull. He doubtless was so up to 1841, but on examining the "Ayre" he changed his opinion, and in 1855 published a short account of the National Anthem, in which he strongly expressed his belief that Dr. Bull composed "God save the King." (See *Fly Leaves*, by Edward F. Rimbault. 1855.)

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resemblance between Dr. Bull's "Ayre" and "God save the King" is that the first phrase consists of six bars and the second of eight, which similarity does not exist in any other of the airs from which it is supposed to have been taken. It is true that the eight bars of the second phrase are made out by holding on the final notes of the melody through two bars, therefore it differs decidedly from all copies of our modern tune; but the words may be sung to Bull's "Ayre" by dividing the time of the long notes—in fact, it has been so performed in public, before the late King of Hanover, at the Concerts of Ancient Music, and at other public concerts. The late R. Clark lent the voiceparts, which had been used on these occasions, to Dr. Rimbault for performance at his Lectures on Music in Liverpool. Dr. Rimbault copied them in score for his own use, and has favoured me with the following transcript :—







From what I have said above it will be understood that in this copy the "Ayre" has been transposed and changed into the key of G major. The first note of the tune should (in this key) be D, and instead of four G's at the end, the first G in the (20)

thirteenth bar should be held through that and the fourteenth to the termination of the tune. I have other doubts about the accuracy of the copy, but cannot resolve them from memory, and the permission to compare it with the original has been refused.

Unfortunately the book containing Bull's "Ayre" has disappeared, and whether it will ever again see the light is somewhat doubtful; but I am enabled to supply a very efficient substitute. In my library is a volume of miscellaneous music from the collection of Sir George Smart; its contents are oddly thrown together, as will be seen from the following list:—

(1) "Mendelssohn's Midsummer Night's Dream Music."

(2) An address "To the lovers of research, the historian and the impartial critic," by Richard Clark. (This was prepared for a meeting of the Purcell Society, and endeavoured to prove that "God save the King" was a popular melody in Purcell's time.)

(3) Sir George Smart's transcript of "God save the King" from the Bull MS.

(4) "Reminiscences of Handel," by Richard Clark.

(5) "The Soldier's Dream," by Attwood, with manuscript additions in the autograph of the composer.

(6) "The Soldier's Dream," printed copy incorporating the additions previously mentioned.

(7) "The Incantation Scene" from Der Freischütz, with MS. notes by Smart.

- (8) "Kutusoff's Victory," by Cramer.
- (9) Goss's "Collection of Chants."

(10) Mendelssohn's "Te Deum and Jubilate."

The third piece in this volume is "God save the King," copied direct from the manuscript book of Bull's compositions by Sir George Smart, who was a most precise and careful man; the accuracy of the transcript may therefore be accepted as absolute. See page 82 in the Appendix.

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I would invite a careful comparison of the "Ayre," as faithfully copied for his own study and use by Sir George Smart, with that which was prepared for the hearing of the late King of Hanover "at the Concerts of Ancient Music, and other public concerts." Doubtless the persistent endeavours to make up strong evidence in favour of Bull engendered suspicion, and must be considered most reprehensible. It is, moreover, probable that Mr. Chappell is correct in his surmise that Bull's "Ayre" had originally few or no sharps. The insertion of these was somewhat overdone, as may be seen by referring to bars 3, 4, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 of Sir George Smart's transcript, and as in the original index the piece is simply called an "Air," the words "God save the King" were probably added with the sharps. The like must be said of the words "2 more verses."

In a long letter addressed by the late William Chappell to myself, dated May 27, 1878, he says:---

Let it be borne in mind that I had Bull's MS. to try over and to value to Richard Clark, and to decide whether his offer of $\pounds 20$ should be accepted or not. I saw Bull's MS. after Clark had varnished it, as well as before. The few who saw it after me confirm my testimony that it had been garbled. Pray mark that the four bars of resemblance created by Dr. Gauntlett, are in the older carol (Remember, O thou man). I am sure it was Gauntlett, from his visits to me, and his attempts at cross-questioning me. Richard Clark was a poor thing in music, and could not have had nous enough. Clark could sing from the Bass clef, but although he must have had months of practice at Bull's "Ayre," transmuted, before he attempted to play it to me, he had to look at his fingers and then at the book in every chord, and could not even then play it correctly.

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Mr. Chappell's suggestion that Dr. Gauntlett was Clark's adviser is borne out by the following circular or prospectus issued in October, 1841:—

NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED.

The manuscript compositions of John Bull, Doctor of Music, Organist to the Chapels Royal in the reign of Elizabeth; Organist and Chamber Musician to James the first, and Professor of Music to the Gresham College. Born 1565. Died 1622.*

Mr. Richard Clark, of her Majesty's Chapels Royal, St. Paul's Cathedral, and Westminster Abbey, has the honour to announce to the lovers of classical music, a proposal for publishing by subscription the compositions of Dr. John Bull, contained in that valuable manuscript formerly in the possession of Dr. Pepusch (an account of which is given in Ward's History of the Professors of Gresham College, 1740), and which has successively formed a great object of attraction and curiosity in the Libraries of Mr. Edward Jones, Bard to His Majesty King George the third, Mr. James Bartleman, and Dr. Kitchener, of whose son Mr. Clark has purchased the entire interest.

Dr. Bull's reputation as a composer and as an organist extended during his lifetime to the capitals of Holland, France and Germany, and he may justly be considered the Henry Purcel of the latter half of the eighteenth century.* It is presumed the publication of this interesting manuscript will tend to throw a new light on the extraordinary genius and acquirements of one of the earliest and most celebrated musicians of which this country can boast; and it will materially assist in demonstrating that in the reign of Elizabeth there first appeared those great harmonies and combinations of notes, which it has been the habit of many Professors to attribute to the later period of Henry Purcel, and the still later one of Sebastian Bach. To the musical antiquary, to the historian of the rise and progress of the science, and to the lover of pure classical compositions for the organ, it is anticipated this work will be an object of peculiar regard and veneration.

* A curious error. Bull died in 1628, the beginning of the 17th century.

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It also exhibits another and if possible still more interesting claim on the attention and patronage of the musical public, as it contains the National Air of God save the King, composed for Four Parts. This is written in 3 time, and the melody is, with one or two exceptions, precisely the same as is now in use; and it is but justice to the memory of Dr. Bull, its composer, to state that his reputation may be considered to have suffered from the claims which have unjustly been made for various persons as the Composer, and from the slight alteration which has arisen from the lapse of time, and the want of an authentic copy as a reference.

It is necessary to observe that the movement extracted from this MS. and published by Dr. Kitchener, in what he calls his "Loyal and National Songs of England," as God save the King is not the melody referred to, and that the Doctor's extract is merely certain variations on a few notes, probably used as the introductory Music to the King and vast company invited to Merchant Tailors' Hall, 1607, and only as a flourish for the Cornets or Trumpets in the State and City Bands. In addition to this great curiosity, there are twenty-seven other compositions, including many fugues, canons and variations for the fine old Gregorian Hymns, "Gloria tibi Trinitas,"— "Salvator Mundi Domini,"—"Felise namque Offertorium," &c.

Mr. Clark pledges himself to adhere closely to the manuscript, which is in every respect a very beautiful one; to transpose the different clefs (of which there are eleven) into the two clefs now in general use; to have the work engraved in a handsome and bold manner, and to accompany it with engraved portraits of Dr. Bull, from the painting in the music-school, Oxford, King James the first, and Ben Jonson. An introductory Preface will precede the Music from the pen of Mr. Henry John Gauntiett.

Price to subscribers, one guinea, to non-subscribers two guineas. The work will be published by Mr. Chappell, 50, New Bond Street, Publishers to the Musical Antiquarian Society. Subscriptions in advance will be received only by Mr. Clark, Litlington Tower, Cloisters, Westminster Abbey, and Mr. Chappell. Subscribers' names will be given.

This proposed publication was never issued, possibly for want of sufficient subscribers.

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Looking at the copy of Bull's "Air" on page 82, we may admit that the "sharps," "title," and the words, "2 more verses," were modern additions, and still believe that, whether read in the minor or major mode, we have in Bull's composition the first suggestion of the music of our National Anthem. There is an identity in rhythm and melody; the mode, major or minor, is of little importance.*

The first part of the tune or melody is made up of six bars or measures, phrased in groups of two; the second part of the tune, also grouped in twos, consists of eight bars. This is a variation of the old form of the dance known as the "Galliard," which originally consisted of two parts, each made up of eight bars in triple time. About the year 1600, composers began to permit themselves liberties in the number of bars. Some Galliards by Bull, containing six and eight bars, as in "God save the King," are still extant.[†]

A change of the mode from minor to major is, as already stated, a matter of little consequence; all Cathedral musicians are familiar with what are termed "changeable chants," that is to say, chants so composed that they may be played major or minor at pleasure, without alteration of the letter-notes, requiring only the addition or omission of sharps,

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^{*}I possess a large number of variations composed on God save the King, written by musicians from the time of J. C. Bach to Thalberg, and I find that nearly all these composers give one variation in the minor mode.

[†] The name Galliard seems to have fallen into disuse before the 18th century, but the spirit and peculiar two-bar phrase in triple time survived. An excellent specimen is the "Sarabande in E minor, in Handel's "Suite de Pieces," published in 1720.

flats, and naturals. Some of our popular folk-songs are sung in like manner, both in major and minor, notably "The bailiff's daughter of Islington" and "Huntingtower."

The MS. formerly belonging to Mr. Richard Clark, and which you have mentioned at some length in your work, has been offered to me for purchase. I have looked at it again carefully, and am of opinion (as I formerly was) that the lower part of page 98 is in a much later hand than the rest of the volume, and also that the pretended reference to page 98 on another page is a recent addition to the original flourish.

Sir Francis Madden speaks of a "pretended reference to page 98 on another page." It is just possible this may have been added when the programme of Bull's music for performance, before the King of Hanover, was in preparation.

It will be interesting here to present a complete copy of the programme referred to :---

By command of H1S MAJESTY THE KING OF HANOVER, At Christ Church, Newgate Street, August 3, 1843.

Selections from the ORGAN AND VOCAL MUSIC.

Composed by DR. JOHN BULL,

Professor of Music in Gresham College, Organist of the Chapels Royal in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and Organist and Chamber Musician to his Majesty King James the First.

> Born 1563. Died 1622.* * An error. Dr. Bull died in 1628. (26)

No. I. Vorspiele, or Prelude in Four Parts, composed by Dr. Bull, on the Lutheran Choral Hymn, "Vater unser im Himmelreich." The Melody is placed in the Tenor or Third Part, and is performed by the Obligato* Pedal. It is composed in the Doric Key of the Ancient Church Tones. The MSS. in the possession of Mr. Richard Clark.

No. II. The same Choral-taken from the original Choral Book of Dr. Martin Luther, 1540; and harmonised in Four Parts, by John Sebastian Bach, 1750.

No. III. Four Movements selected from the original MSS. of Dr. Bull, in the possession of Mr. Richard Clark, of Her Majesty's Chapels Royal, and of St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey; and in the original Virginal Book of Queen Elizabeth in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

- I. Ayre in the Key C; in 3 time.
- 2. Air varied in C; in Common time.
- 3. Ayre in C; in ²/₄ time.
- 4. Andante in F; in Common time.

No. IV. Prayer for the King, from the original MSS. of Dr. Bull, on a Gregorian Melody, with Obligato* Organ Accompaniment. "O Lord Almighty God, whose righteousness is like the strong mountains, and Thy judgments like the great deep: after the multitude of Thy mercies save the King who puts his trust in Thee, and evermore mightily defend him for Jesus Christ His sake; to whom with Thee and the Holy Ghost be all honour and glory. Amen."

No. V. Prelude and Ayre in G Major, composed by Dr. Bull, from the Virginal Book in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

No. VI. The original Music of the National Anthem, "God save the King," composed and performed by Dr. Bull on the occasion of His Majesty King James's visit to Merchant Taylors' Hall, 1607, in commemoration of his escape from the Powder Plot.

I. The Prelude, or Introduction to the National Anthem for the Organ, with an Obligato* Trumpet Accompaniment.

2. The National Anthem in its original form, note for note, from the MSS. in the possession of Mr. Richard Clark.

The Vocal Music will be sung by Miss Rainforth; Masters Stevens and Sullivan; Messrs. Young, Bayley, Howe, Lockey, Bradbury, Allen, and R. Clark.

Organ-DR. GAUNTLETT.

[Manning & Mason, Printers, Ivy Lane.]

* Sic. (27)

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The sixth number in the above programme consisted of (I) the Prelude or Introduction to the National Anthem for the organ, with an obbligato trumpet accompaniment.

A reference to the music of Bull's "God save the Kinge" (page 73) will show that it would be a matter of difficulty for a solo player to perform it on the organ as written. The addition of a trumpet obbligato, to play the notes of the plain-song C, G, F, E, would therefore be most judicious and effective, and leave the organist free to deal with the elaborate variations. It should also be noted that, although Bull's "God save the Kinge" commences in the key of C major, and is for the most part written in that mode, yet the closing variations are in A, and the final chord, of A major, would fittingly introduce "the National Anthem in its original form, note for note, from the MSS. in the possession of Mr. Richard Clark" (page 82). On June 16, 1876, I called on Mrs. Clark, the

widow of Richard Clark, at the house where she was then residing (Dr. Ray's Collegiate School, Queen's Road, Peckham), with the hope of obtaining some information from her, and on the possibility of being permitted to examine the book containing Bull's music. Mrs. Clark told me the MS. had been offered to the Queen, the British Museum, and also to Miss Charlotte Dolby, the well-known contralto vocalist, for the sum of £100, but they having declined to purchase, the book had been disposed of. In the following September, I wrote to Mrs. Clark, offering to purchase the volume, and (28)

asking for help in collecting memoranda respecting "God save the King," the only result being the following note:—

Dear Sir,—At your interview with me I told you the book in question was disposed of, and as regards your other request I cannot assist you; my great age prevents it.

Yours respectfully,

Sept. 14, 1874.

H. CLARK.

Mrs. Clark, in the letter, speaks of her great age. One of the evidences of her failing powers is the date she gave, 1874, whereas it should have been 1876 this is shown by the post-office stamp on the cover, still in my possession.

Mrs. Clark died at 46, Queen's Road, Peckham, on March 12, 1885, and was buried in the grave of her husband in Brompton Cemetery. The book in question has not since been heard of.

It is impossible to fix accurately the time of the first print and *publication* of the music and words of "God save the King." We find in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, October, 1745, a version with three verses commencing "God save great George our King"; but an older version, "God save our Lord the King," is to be found in the first edition, undated, of—

THESAURUS MUSICUS. A collection of two, three and four-part songs; several of them never before printed. To which are added some Choice Dialogues, set to music by the most eminent masters viz., Dr. Blow, H. Purcell, Handel, Dr. Green, Dl Purcell, Eccles, Weldon, Leveridge, Lampe, Carey, &c. The whole revis'd, carefully corrected and figur'd by a judicious master. London, Printed for, and sold by John Simpson, at the Bass Viol and Flute in Sweeting's Alley, Opposite the East door of the Royal Exchange.

Printed probably in 1740. The first line, "God save (29) c 2 our Lord the King," shows that it preceded the version sung at Drury Lane Theatre in 1745, when the first lines were "God save our noble King, God save great George our King."

The music as printed in the first edition of "Thesaurus Musicus" will be found in the Appendix, page 83. The Flute part is arranged in the key of F (showing that it was intended for the Old English flute). The only heading to the above is "For two voices." In the second edition of "Thesaurus Musicus" the piece is again printed on page 22, but from a plate entirely re-engraved, with the added title, "A Loyal Song, sung at the Theatres Royal." This must therefore have been published after the performances at Drury Lane and Covent Garden Theatres in 1745. We may reasonably conclude that the copy in the first edition was published before it had been given at the Theatres. This second edition differs, both in music and words, from the first edition (see Appendix, page 84). The third edition of "Thesaurus Musicus" contains the words and music printed on page 22, again newly engraved, with an alteration in the second line of the second verse, which reads "Scatter our Enemies." A fourth edition of "Thesaurus Musicus" was published by "R. Bremner, at the Harp and Hautboy, opposite Somerset House in the Strand," but no further change is made in "God save the King."

In Chappell's "Old English Popular Music," edited by Professor H. Ellis Wooldridge (1893), the copy there given of "God save our Lord the King" is said to be taken from the "Harmonia Anglicana," 1742 (?),

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with the editorial note: "The Harmonia Anglicana is printed without date, but a clue to the time of publication is obtained in the following way. There are several works advertised by the publishers on the title page, and three or four more seem to have been added subsequently to fill up vacant space on the index plate. The last of these are 'Two collections of favourite Scotch tunes, set for a violin, German flute, or harpsichord; by Mr. Oswald.' These two collections were advertised in November, 1742."

This evidence is of no value. The first, second, and third editions of "Thesaurus Musicus" have precisely the same titles and advertisements.*

In the "Thesaurus" I also find, on page 65, "A two-part song on the *approaching* nuptials of the Prince of Orange and the Princess Royal of Great Britain." The marriage referred to took place in the Lutheran Chapel, adjoining St. James's Palace, March 14, 173³, when Anne, eldest daughter of George II., was united to William Charles Henry, Prince of Nassau and Orange. (Memorials of St. James's Palace. By the Rev. Edgar Sheppard. 1894.)

If we were to accept this reference to "approaching nuptials" (an event which took place in 1734) as proof that the book was published before that date, we should be greatly misled. The truth is, "Thesaurus Musicus" was printed from plates which had been engraved and published at various periods. Of the existence of the "Harmonia

^{*} These three editions have the words "Musick, just published" by J. Simpson, preceding the list, which is precisely the same in all; a sure proof that the advertisements are of no value in fixing the date of publication.

Anglicana," described by Mr. Chappell and Professor Wooldridge, I have great doubt. The only work with this title known to me, is an oblong folio, of which I possess a copy. The title is as follows :—

HARMONIA ANGLICANA or the Musick of the English Stage, Containing Six sets of Ayres and Tunes in 4 Parts, made for the Operas Tragedys and Comedyes of the Theater Royal. The first collection which will be continued with the sets of Tunes made for the Play Houses and other Occasions. Engraven in a fair Character. London. Printed and sold by J. Walsh, Musicall Instrument Maker in Ordinary to his Majesty at ye Golden Harp & Hoboy in Catherine Street near Sumerset House in ye Strand and J. Hare Musicall Instrument Maker at the Golden Viol in St Pauls Church yard & at his Shop in Freeman's yard near ye Exchange in Cornhill.*

There is no tune of "God save the King" in this book, nor has it anything in common with the upright folio volumes known as "Thesaurus Musicus."

The first recorded public performance of "God save the King" appears in the *Daily Advertiser* of Monday, September 30, 1745: "On Saturday night last, the audience at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, were agreeably surprized by the Gentlemen belonging to that House performing the Anthem of God save our noble King. The universal Applause it met with, being encored with repeated Huzzas, sufficiently denoted in how just an Abhorrence they hold the arbitrary Schemes of our insidious Enemies, and detest the despotick Attempts of Papal power." The immense popularity the words and music immediately obtained induced

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^{*} I wrote to Mr. Chappell in 1886, asking where he had seen the "Harmonia Anglicana." He was only able to refer me to the work here described.

the managers of other theatres to follow the example set by Drury Lane, and we find an advertisement in the *General Advertiser*, October 2, 1745: "At the Theatre in Goodman's Fields, by desire, God save the King, as it was performed at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, with great applause." At this house the Anthem seems to have been performed nightly up to November 14. The Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, followed suit, and we read in the *General Advertiser*, December 24, 25, and 26, 1745, an advertisement of the performances at that house, which concludes with the following words: "And at the play, God save the King."

The arrangement of the National Anthem sung at Drury Lane was made by Dr. Arne, and that for Covent Garden by his pupil, Dr. Burney. The manuscript of the former exists in Arne's autograph, and is interesting and admirable; it was sung as a trio by Mrs. Cibber, Mr. Beard, and Mr. Reinhold,* each part repeated in chorus. (For Arne's arrangement, see Appendix, p. 85.)

Of the enthusiasm of the public at these performances we have a graphic account in the published letters of Benjamin Victor, in one of which, addressed to David Garrick, October 10, 1745,

^{*} Mrs. Cibber, sister of Dr. Arne, and wife of Theophilus Cibber, was the contralto singer for whom Handel composed the airs in the "Messiah" and "Samson." Born in 1714, she died in 1766, and was buried in the north cloister of Westminster Abbey.

John Beard, an eminent tenor singer, engaged by Handel in 1736 for performances of "Alexander's Feast," "Acis and Galatea," and "Atalanta." He died in 1791, in his 74th year.

Thomas Reinhold, a native of Dresden, engaged by Handel as bass soloist for "Israel in Egypt," "Samson," "Semele," "Belshazzar," and other oratorios. He died in 1751.

he says: "The stage, at both houses, is the most *pious*, as well as the most *loyal* place in the three kingdoms. Twenty men appear at the end of every play; and one, stepping forward from the rest, with uplifted hands and eyes, begins singing, to an old anthem tune, the following words:—

O Lord our God, arise ! Confound the enemies Of George, our King ! Send him victorious, Happy and glorious, Long to reign over us, God save the King !

Which are the very words, and music, of an old Anthem that was sung at St. James's Chapel, for King *James* the Second, when the *Prince of Orange* was landed, to deliver us from popery and slavery; which God Almighty in His goodness was pleased *not* to grant." (Original Letters and Poems. By Benjamin Victor. 1766.)

Another interesting notice of a performance is to be found in a letter of Horace Walpole, dated August 5, 1746: "I saw the company get into their barges at Whitehall Stairs, as I was going myself, and just then passed by two City Companies in their great barges, who had been a swan hopping. They laid by, and played 'God save our noble King,' and altogether it was a mighty pretty show." (Letters of Horace Walpole. By P. Cunningham. 1857-9.)

It is to be noted that at the time of its performance, in 1745, neither Dr. Burney nor Dr. Arne were able

to say who was the composer of the Air, for Burney tells us that when Arne was interrogated on the subject he answered, "He had not the least knowledge, nor could he guess at all, who was either the author or composer, but that it was a received opinion that it was written for the Catholic Chapel of James II."; and Burney added his own opinion in these words: "We believe that it was written for King James II., while the Prince of Orange was hovering over the coast; and when he became King, who durst own or sing it?"

Burney must have continued his enquiries respecting the origin of the Anthem, as will be seen by the following letter, the original autograph of which is in my possession.

This letter, now for the first time printed, was addressed to Sir Joseph Banks :--

Chelsea College,

29th Fuly, 1806.

Dear Sir,—Previous to my plunging into a subject which requires considerable discussion, let me refer you to the article *Balnea*, in the *Monthly Review*, for July, 1799, p. 356,* in which the author asserts that his father, Harry Carey, not only wrote the words but composed the music to "God save great George our King."

Now, taking it for granted that you have perused the article referred to in the *Review* (of which, in confidence to you, dear sir, and to you only, except Lord Macartney, I confess myself to be the author), I shall proceed to tell you all I know concerning the history of this loyal song, of which I do not recollect that I have made any particular mention in my general history of music. The assertion of Carey being the author of *God save the King* is again denied in the *Monthly Review* for April, 1800, p. 419. \dagger

Old Mrs. Arne, the mother of Dr. Arne, and Mrs. Cibber, a bigotted Roman Catholic, assured me at the time, 1746, that "God save the King " was written and sung for King Fames, in 1688, when the Prince of Orange was hovering over the coast; she said she had heard it sung, not only at the Playhouse but in the Street. Her son, Mr. Arne, composer to Drury Lane Theatre, at the desire of Mr. Fleetwood, the Patentee, harmonized this loyal song for the stage, and he made a Trio of it for Mrs. Cibber, Beard, and Rheinhold, with instrumental accompaniments without knowing the author of the words or original melody, and it continued to be sung and called for a full year after the suppression of the rebellion. I, then a pupil of Mr. Arne, was desired by some of the Covent Garden singers with whom I was acquainted, and who knew that I was a bit of a composer, to set parts to the old tune for the new house, as it was then called, which I did utterly ignorant who wrote the words or put them to music. ' And it seems as if the author, or authors, fearful of discovering themselves, after King William had ascended the throne, guitted the world without having their merit recorded. There are many conjectures concerning the source of this loyal production, but they are mere conjectures. A Monkish version of this kind of Hymn in Latin, is pretended to have been written and sung for Charles the 2d., but how could any case of Carolus (or Carolous) be made a monosyllable to go to the present tune? God save great Charles, James, or George, equally suit the melody and English measure of the words, and I pretend not to swear that they were expressly written for James; but am most certain that they were sung for him at the time abovementioned, and enough is known to satisfy us that it is not a production of the 18th Century.

I have the honour to be with the highest respect and regard,

dear sir,

Your most obliged and faithful servant,

CHAS. BURNEY.

This autograph letter was in the possession of Sir Thomas Phillipps, Middle Hill, Worcestershire. I purchased it with other papers of Bernard Quaritch. Amongst these are the following notes in the hand-(36) writing of Sir Joseph Banks, which are worthy of preservation :--

That the loyal and popular Hymn of "God save the King" was originally written and composed for the advancement of Popery and Jacobitism is scarcely credible, and yet it is all but certain.

It first appeared or rather re-appeared in our day in 1746,* on the return of the Duke of Cumberland from the suppression of the rebellion of 1745, and Mr. Arne, composer to Drury Lane Theatre, harmonized it for the stage, where it was sung as a trio by Mrs. Cibber, Beard and Rheinold, with instrumental accompaniment.

Old Mrs. Arne, a bigotted Roman Catholic, the mother of Mr. Arne who harmonized it, and of Mrs. Cibber who performed in the trio, remembered it being sung in the Streets and performed in the Playhouse in r688, when the wretched James was in hourly expectation of the arrival of King William. The words afford strong evidence in favour of Mrs. Arne's recollection, if it need any support, when the fact of her son who harmonized it never being deemed to be the composer of it is recollected.

That a King whom God is so earnestly called upon to save must have been in some danger seems evident. The second stanza makes it appear that this danger arose from political enmity and popular disaffection. Confound their politicks frustrate their knavish tricks.

That the earnestness with which the direct interference of the divinity in favour of the King is repeatedly implored; the total silence that reigns throughout the whole respecting the established religion of the Church, and the supreme excellence of the melody, which is in the best choral style, savour much more of concealed Popery than of avowed Protestantism, for surely no one who preferred the established religion of a country would forego the use of that powerful instrument in an attempt to excite a national enthusiasm which this song most evidently is. Curious it is that it failed entirely to produce the effect intended by the author, and has succeeded beyond all example in producing the direct contrary one : it is

> * An error; it should be 1745. (37)

possible that the expression in the last stanza of "may he defend our laws," rather a singular wish in England when neither coupled with Liberty or Religion, may be read into some of the later proclamations of that much misguided Monarch.

The words God save the King are a literal translation of the Domine salvum fac Regem, and without much perversion may be construed in the double sense of God preserve his body from the danger that threatens it, and his soul also, by giving him wisdom to embrace what the writer conceived to be the proper means of salvation.

In Dr. Burney's letter, already quoted (p. 36), he says: "A Monkish version of this kind of Hymn in Latin, is pretended to have been written and sung for Charles the 2^{d.,} but how could any case of Carolus (or Carolous) be made a monosyllable to go to the present tune?"

Dr. Burney's difficulty is entirely removed in the following Latin lines, with which he was unacquainted—

LATIN CHORUS.

O Deus Optime ! Salvum nunc facito Regem nostrum ; Sit læta victoria, Comes et gloria, Salvum jam facito, Tu Dominum.

11.

Exurgat Dominus; Rebelles dissipet, Et reprimat; Dolos Confundito; Fraudes depellito; In te sit sita Spes! O! Salva Nos. (38) I.

Anglicised-

O good God, preserve our King in safety; Let joyful Victory and Glory be his constant Companions. O God ! save our King.

11.

O God arise! disperse the Rebellious, and suppress them; Confound their Devices, and frustrate their Schemes, for in Thee we place our Hopes. O save us all!

This Latin chorus and the English version fill two pages of a word-book (to be described later), without title-page, which commences on page I as follows:—

ACT I.

Overture of Esther. Canzonet for Two Voices Compos'd by Mr. Travers. Concerto Hautboy. Song compos'd by Mr. Travers. Concerto Violoncello. Fourth Concerto of Corelli.

ACT II.

Ode on the Birth-day Of Her Royal Highness The Princess of Wales Compos'd by Mr. Travers; To conclude with A LATIN CHORUS.

The second page is blank, then follows on page 3 the canzonet, "I, my dear, was born to-day," by Prior, the music composed by Travers; on page 4, song, "When vernal airs perfume the fields," composed by Travers; on page 5, "Ode on the Birthday of Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales; composed in the year 1743." The words of this ode are continued on pages 6, 7, 8, and 9. The Latin chorus and the translation, on pages 10 and 11, complete the book.

It is evident that this book of words was prepared for a performance given on November 28, 1743, the birthday of the Princess Augusta, wife of Frederick, Prince of Wales, probably at her private residence. John Travers, the composer of the music of the birthday ode, had been appointed organist of the Chapels Royal in 1737. Travers was a favourite pupil of Dr. Pepusch, who then possessed the several MS. volumes containing Bull's musical compositions. Pepusch bequeathed his library to his pupils, John Travers and Ephraim Kelner. The words of the Latin chorus so accurately fit the music of our National Anthem, that we must conclude they are those which were originally sung. Whether Travers obtained his copy of the music, with the Latin words, for the concert of 1743 from the Chapel Royal, or from Dr. Pepusch's library, cannot now be ascertained.

It will be well here to describe the volume which contains the birthday word-book: it is lettered on the back "Academy, 1730"; on the inside of the cover it has the autograph signature "R. J. S. Stevens, Charterhouse," and in his handwriting the following index:—

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Joseph by Defesch, 1745. Concert chiefly by Travers, Academy of Ancient Music, April 24, 1746. March 29, 1750. ,, ,, ,, Feb. 28, 1751. ,, ,, ,, Feb. 27, 1755. ,, ,, ,, April 29, 1756. 11 •• •• May 5, 1757. ,, ,, ,, March 1, 1759. ,, ,, 11 Nov. 29, 1759. ... 11 • 1 April 13, 1775. ,, ,, ,, Jan. 19, 1786. ,, ,, ,, May 11, 1786. ,, ,, ,, Feb. 3, 1791. ,, ,, ••

The word-books are of various sizes, some have had their edges cut, but the birthday-book is uncut. It is quite evident that the collection was bound up for Stevens. The volume belonged to the late Dr. Rimbault, and was lot 3 at the sale of his library in 1877, when I purchased it. Dr. Rimbault made a communication to Notes and Queries, on April 29, 1876, in which he described the book as "a curious volume of word-books issued by the old Academy of Ancient Music between the years 1733 and 1791." This is, as I have shown, quite erroneous; the index proves that five of the wordbooks had nothing to do with the "Academy." Dr. Rimbault alludes to the remarkable fact that "the learned Directors of the Academy were unable to give the name of the composer of the Latin chorus," but as it had no connection with their concerts, they probably had never seen or heard of it.

We have seen that "God save our noble King" was received with enthusiasm at Drury Lane Theatre in September, 1745, and the rapidity with which it became universally popular suggests that the tune and some version of the words must have been familiar in certain sections of society. Three years later, in 1748, the following parody of the words appeared in a newspaper advertisement :---

"Extempore Catch for the Westminster Fish Market, to the tune of 'God save the King'-

> O may this market thrive Whilst there's a fish alive ; Nature's best treat Each knavish art decrease, Monopolising cease, That men of all degrees May turbot eat."

In 1750 a satirical poem was published, entitled "The Scandalizade," in which occur the following lines:—

Ho! there, to whom none can forsooth hold a candle, Called the lovely-faced Heidegger out to George Handel, In arranging the poet's sweet lines to a tune, Such as God save the King! or the famed Tenth of June.

In 1754, John Sadler, the inventor of printing on earthenware, published a book with the following title:—

THE MUSES DELIGHT. An accurate collection of English and Italian Songs, Cantatas and Duetts, set to music for the Harpsichord, Violin, German-flute, &c., with instructions for the Voice, Violin, Harpsichord or Spinnet, German-flute, Common-flute, Hautboy, French-horn, Bassoon and Bass-Violins: also, a Compleat Musical Dictionary, and several Hundred English, Irish and Scots songs, without the music. Liverpool: Printed, Published and Sold by John Sadler, in Harrington St. M,DCC,LIV.

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In the same year, whether earlier or later there is no evidence to show, the work was published in London, the only variation being the title-page, where it reads "and upwards of Four Hundred English, Irish and Scots Songs, without the music. London: Printed by Henry Purcell,* at Handel's Head, in Wood-street. M,DCC,LIV." Another edition of the book, with additions, in two volumes, was published by Sadler, in Liverpool, in 1756. On page 152 of all these volumes we find "A loyal song, for two voices," which, so far as the music is concerned, presents a copy of that in the second edition of "Thesaurus Musicus," but the words differ in some respects. A second verse reads—

> O grant that Cumberland May, by his mighty hand, Victory bring; May he sedition hush, And like a torrent rush, Rebellious hearts to crush, God save the King.

The third verse "O Lord our God, arise," is without change, but the fourth ends as follows :--

Thy choicest gifts in store, On him be pleas'd to pour, Long may he reign; May he defend our laws, And ever give us cause To cry with loud applause, God save the King.

A single sheet song, with the title "God save the King," commencing "Fame, let thy trumpet sound,"

> * Probably a grandson of the great composer. (43)

printed from copper-plate, which must have been circulated about this time, is interesting, as showing the penultimate bar of the melody in modern form, and also indicating repeats of the first and second parts. It is curious also as giving, according to ancient fashion, the melody in the Tenor, as well as a new version of words.

GOD SAVE THE KING.





scorns their chain, All their vile arts are vain, Great George is King.

May Heav'n his life defend, And make his race exstend, Wide as his Fame. Thy Choicest Blefsings shed, On his most Sacred head, And make his Foes to dread, Great George's name.

3

He Peace and Plenty brings, While ROME'S deluded KINGS, Waste and destroy. Then let his People SING, Long live great GEORGE our KING, From whom such Blefsings spring, Freedom and Joy.

None of these publications had a composer's name appended to the air, and it was not until the year 1795 that George Saville Carey claimed the authorship for his deceased father, Henry Carey. It is probable the claim would not have been made at all, but for the hope he entertained that the King would grant a pension to him for his father's assumed $\begin{pmatrix} 45 \end{pmatrix}$ loyal service on behalf of the Crown. A yearly pension of $\pounds 200$ had just been granted to Charles Dibdin* on account of the services he had rendered to the nation by the composition of his famous naval and patriotic songs; and if Carey could have proved his father's claim to the authorship of "God save the King," he might clearly have anticipated some consideration at the hands of the King and the Government.

George Saville Carey shall tell his own story, as given in "The Balnea" (1799), page 110, where, speaking of a fashionable seaside resort, he says :—

When the Royal family make their first entrance into Weymouth, every summer season, the inhabitants, out of compliment, cover the pavement with small pebbles from the sea-shore, which has generally the effect of endangering your eyes, or breaking the parlour windows of all the houses in the street; for as the party is numerous, and the horses driven along at a furious pace, their hoofs, tipping the pebbles before them, make them fly as thick as hail, and as sharp almost as a small bullet shot from a pistol.

Yet, notwithstanding all the apparent zeal of the natives of Weymouth, one would think they in reality did not care a straw for the Royal visitors; otherwise these Gothamites, if they truly wished to make their Sovereign's entrance easy, would have bestowed a bundle or two of the above commodity for the sake of his family, their friends' eyes, their neighbours' windows, and the general safety of His Majesty's subjects. Being thrown into this situation once myself, with my head uncovered like an obedient subject, I was under the necessity of turning my back upon my betters, for the sake of saving my face; it was at a time when I had an idea of addressing his Majesty in respect to my father being the author of "God save great George our King." I had no evil in my mind, like Macbeth, yet "the very stones seem'd to prate at my whereabout," for they rose from the pavement in such vollies, and pelted me hip and thigh at such a rate, that I could not help

* See a reference by Dibdin to "God save the King," page 122.

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bringing to mind that passage in the Scriptures where it is said, "I asked for bread, and he gave me a stone!" As it has been whispered abroad, nay, even in print, that an annuity of two hundred pounds per annum had been bestowed on me in consequence of my father being the author of "God save great George our King," I think it a duty incumbent on me to acquaint the world that no such consideration has ever yet transpired; yet I must beg that my readers will give me leave to introduce a few lines on this subject. In spite of all literary cavil and conjectural assertions, there has not yet appeared one identity to invalidate the truth of my father's being the author of the important song; some have given the music to Handel, others to Purcell; some have signified that it was produced in the time of Charles I., others in James I. ; and some in their slumbers have dreamed that it made its appearance in the reign of Henry VIII. It might as well have been carried still further back, to the wicked reign of Saul, or the wiser one of song-singing Solomon, the son of the psalmsinging David. I have heard the late Mr. Pearce Galliard, an able counsellor in the law, and a colleague of my father's, who died some years ago at Southampton, assert, time after time. that my father was the author of "God save the King," that it was produced in the year forty-five and six;* another friend presented it to me in its original state, bound up with a collection of songs for two and three voices, set to music by Mr. Handel, Dr. Blow, Mr. Leveridge, Dr. Greene, Mr. Eccles, Mr. Lampe, Daniel Purcell, Mr. Corfe, and Henry Carey, printed in the year 1750 for John Johnson, opposite Bow Church, in Cheapside; † it precedes another song of my father's, beginning with-

" He comes, he comes, the Hero comes,

Sound, sound your trumpets, beat your drums," &c.

But for the satisfaction of my readers, I will insert the song of "God save great George our King," as it is printed in the original text, where it is called a song for two voices, and runs thus :--

[Here follow four verses of the words. The first * His father, Henry Carey, died in 1743!

† I possess a copy of this volume, which, like the "Thesaurus Musicus," previously described, is printed from plates engraved at various periods; there is no composer's name attached to "God save Great George our King."

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three resemble those at present in use; the fourth reads thus]:---

Long grant that Marshal Wade * May, by Thy mighty aid, Victory bring; May he sedition hush, And like a torrent rush, Rebellious Scots to crush, God save the King.

Every one who has read the history of the Scotch rebellion in 1745 will remember that Marshal Wade was a commander of great and eminent ability, employed by our Government to repel the factious spirit of the Caledonians, who were hostile to this country at that time, and invaded many of the northern parts of this island.

The following letter of the ingenious Dr. Harington, of Bath, strongly corroborates the authenticity of my father's being the author of the song in question. Hearing that he was in possession of this piece of information, I entreated him to make it known to me, which he politely and readily acquiesced in, saying :--

"SIR,—The anecdote you mention, respecting your father being the author and composer of the words and melody of 'God save great George our King' is certainly true; that most respectable gentleman, Mr. Smith, my worthy friend and patient, has often told me what follows, viz., 'That your father came to him with the words and music, desiring him to correct the bass, which Mr. Smith told him was not proper; and at your father's request he wrote down another in correct harmony.' Mr. Smith, to whom I read your letter this day, the 13th of June, repeated the same again. His advanced age and present infirmity render him incapable of writing, or desiring him to be written to; but on his authority I pledge myself for the truth. Should this information be in the least advantageous to yourself, it will afford the most sincere satisfaction and pleasure to

"Sir,

"Your most obedient servant, W. HARINGTON.

Bath, June 13, 1795.

* George Saville Carey did not notice how absurd it was to claim these words for his father, who was dead when the Scottish Rebellion broke out, and Wade sent to Scotland.

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"P.S.—My curiosity was often raised to enquire after the author before Mr. Smith related the above, and I was often misinformed. Mr. Smith says he understood your father intended this air as part of a birth-day ode, or somewhat of that kind; however this might be, no Laureate nor composer has furnished the world with any production more complimentary or more popular, which must be the consequence of concise elegance and natural simplicity."

Surely the foregoing letter wears the complexion of truth, and yet, either from envy or rigid scepticism, it has been held out by many as a matter of doubt, without one feasible authority of circumstantial argument that could render it so. Convinced of the infallibility of Dr. Harington's letter, I concluded on giving it a place here, referring the reader to the material and provident aid the song had often yielded to the King and State in every critical situation; when lurking sedition had caused loud and dangerous murmurs to be daily heard in every house and street, threatening defiance to the sword of justice and her wise established laws, spurning at Majesty on his road to meet his mob-insulted senate, or annoying him in his public pleasures, yet has the wavering subject been often called back to his original duty to his King, and the harsh and clamorous voice of anarchy lulled into a calm, by this divine, this popular, and national hymn. Reflecting on its utility, and convinced of its having been written by my father, I thought there could be no harm in endeavouring, through some medium or other, to make myself known at Windsor as son of the author of "God save great George our King," and as great families create great wants, it is natural to wish for some little relief; accordingly I was advised to beg the interference of a gentleman residing in the purlieus of the castle, and who is for ever seen bowing and scraping in the King's walks, that he would be kind enough to explain this matter rightly to the Sovereign, thinking it was not improbable but that some consideration might have taken place, and some little compliment bestowed on the offspring of one "who had done the State some service"; but alas! no sooner did I move the business with the greatest humility to the demi-canon, but he opened his copious mouth as wide as a four-and-twenty-pounder, bursting as loudly upon

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me as the largest piece of ordnance, with his chin cocked up like the little centre figure, with his cauliflower wig, in Bunbury's country club, exclaiming: "Sir, I do not see, because your father wrote the song of God save the King, that the King is under any obligation to his son." I could have said, had he not been in his own house, that private as well as public obligations were hereditary, and ought never to be forgotten; and, where there is a propinquity of blood, it should not be suffered to rest lingering in the veins for want of that physical assistance, gratitude. Surely no one will say there is anything un-Christianlike in this mode of arguing; I am convinced there is justice in it, and there is much justice in religion: they are engrafted and grow from the same stock.

This is all George Saville Carey could say concerning the assumption that his father, Henry Carey, had composed "God save the King." The attempts of Carey the younger to obtain a pension failed, and he seems to have accepted the situation with tolerable equanimity. Had other and more weighty evidence been obtainable he doubtless would have brought it into notice. He adds to the foregoing statement :—

I am convinced, had my plea been fairly stated at a great and good man's house, I should have had a *Princely* answer; but his doors perhaps, like Jaffer's, might have been "damm'd up," not with "starving creditors," but clamorous petitioners, backed with such irresistible influence that there was nothing to be done for me.

It is only fair here to refer to a statement, which has obtained considerable acceptance, that Henry Carey sang "God save the King" in 1740 at a tavern in Cornhill, at a dinner given to celebrate the victory of Admiral Vernon at Portobello. The evidence adduced to support this assertion is not very direct

or precise. A letter addressed to the Gentlemen's Magazine in 1796 contains the following passage: "The first time I ever heard the anthem of ' God save the King' was about the year 1740, on some public occasion at a tavern in Cornhill." Mr. Townsend, in 1794, told Mr. John Ashley, of Bath, that his father dined with Henry Carey at a tavern in Cornhill, in the year 1740, at a meeting convened to celebrate Admiral Vernon's capture of Portobello, and that "Carey sang it on that occasion." "The applause he received was very great, especially when he announced it to be his own composition" (Ashley's letter to the Rev. W. L. Bowles, 1828). This thirdhand evidence is surely of small value. It is possible that the memory of these gentlemen may have played them false, and that they heard Carey sing some patriotic song resembling "God save the King." There are three songs of Carey's which might have done duty at the tavern in Cornhill. One of them, the composition mentioned by G. S. Carey in "The Balnea," is to the following words:-

> He comes, he comes, the Hero comes, Sound, sound your trumpets, beat your drums. From Port to Port let cannons roar His welcome to the British Shoar.

· Welcome to the British Shoar.

Prepare, prepare, your songs prepare, Loud, loudly rend the Ecchoing Air; From pole to pole your joys resound, For Virtue is with glory crown'd.

Virtue, Virtue, Virtue, Virtue, Virtue is with glory crown'd.

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The second, published in 1731, in *The Musical* Miscellany, ends with the following verse:—

> Learn, learn, ye Britons, to unite : Leave off the old exploded Bite ; Henceforth let Whig and Tory cease, And turn all party rage to Peace ; Then shall we see a glorious Scene, And so, God save the King and Queen !

The third song is to be found in a small stage piece of Carey's which he calls "Nancy, or The Parting Lovers: an Interlude set to music by the author:"—

AIR.—Death or Victory, now must determinate All disputes with Haughty Spain; That proud race we'll entirely exterminate, Or be Masters of the Main. CHORUS.—Britons, rouse up your great magnanimity:

Let your courage now be shewn ! Till proud Spain shall, with Pusilanimity, For its insults past atone.

If Carey really had been the author and composer of "God save the King," how was it that he never included it in any of his numerous publications? And if "God save the King" had been sung at the convivial meeting in Cornhill, in 1740, with so much applause, would it not have been published by one of the many music-sellers who at the time were ever ready to appropriate and publish the effusions of composers of merit or note with, or without, permission. (See Appendix, p. 121.)

A writer on the subject in Long Ago, February, 1874, accounts for the non-publication of "God (52)

save the King " by hazarding the supposition that Carey's last printed composition appeared in 1740, and that "God save the King" was probably written immediately afterward; but this is clearly an error, for I have now lying before me a printed song of Henry Carey's, composed and written to celebrate the "late glorious victory at Dettingen." The date of this victory was June 16, 1743, therefore Carey's music must have been published only just before his death, which took place on October 5 of the same year. Again, I find the following advertisement in the Daily Advertiser, December 20, 1743:—

Whereas the late Mr. Henry Carey published proposals, dated September 20, 1743, for the reprinting of his Dramatic works in Quarto, bound in calves leather, at half a guinea; this is to give notice, that the said books are reprinted, and ready to be deliver'd to the subscribers. The widow of the late Mr. Carey humbly begs the favour of those gentlemen and ladies who are subscribers, to send a letter or messenger to her house in Cross Street, Hatton Garden, where they shall be deliver'd, she being unacquainted where to send, otherwise would wait on them with the said books, and likewise those gentlemen and ladies who have subscribed to his "Musical Century" may be supplied therewith at the same place.

From the latter part of this advertisement we may infer that the third edition of the "Musical Century" had just been issued from the press, and it is significant that "God save the King" is not to be found in that volume.* Mr. John Christopher Smith's correction of Carey's music may have had

* The first edition of the "Musical Century" was published in 1737, the second in 1740.

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reference to the "God save the King and Queen" quoted on page 52.

Dr. Rimbault's opinion may here be cited from Notes and Queries, of April 29, 1876 :---

The authorship of the words of our National Anthem is all matter of conjecture. Carey is totally out of the question, for he died in 1743, and all the stories that are told about his singing them are entirely devoid of credit. As regards his having composed the music, and getting Smith (Handel's amanuensis) to adapt or alter his bass, it is too ridiculous for serious consideration. The supporters of this theory are men who know nothing of music, and who are unable to judge of Carey's skill as a musician. It only requires an examination of his works to be convinced that he possessed considerable knowledge of the science. I may particularly notice his Cantatas published in 1724. As music, these compositions are second to none of the works of the minor composers of the time. All the improbable stories told of Henry Carey in connexion with the National Anthem were got up regardless of truth, mainly to serve poor George Saville Carey, and perhaps get him a pension; but they signally failed, as it was just they should.

Dr. Chrysander, in his Jahrbücher (Leipzig) for 1863, page 397, gives a paragraph in italics, as if quoted from the General Advertiser, September 28, 1745: An demselben 28 September liess Lacy zum erstenmal in seinem Theater Carey's God save the King singen. (On the same 28 September, Lacy had Carey's "God save the King" sung for the first time in his theatre.) This is calculated to mislead. It is true, as we have seen by the extract from the Daily Advertiser, September 30, 1745, quoted on page 32, that "God save the King" was first performed at the theatre on September 28, but Carey's name never appears in connection with it in the

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General Advertiser, or any other paper of the period. Indeed, his name was not associated with it before George Saville Carey made an attempt to obtain a pension, in 1795.

It may be well now to read Dr. Burney's criticism as it appeared in the *Monthly Review*, July, 1799:---

In the article "Weymouth," abounding with vulgar jokes and flippancy, his Majesty is charged with ingratitude for not settling an annuity of two hundred pounds on the author in consequence of his father having written "God save great George our King."

Here follows a quotation from "The Balnea," which has already been given (page 46). Dr. Burney continues:—

The late Mr. Smith, Handel's confidential friend and assistant, may have composed basses to some of Henry Carey's melodies, as the latter never was thought to be what musicians call a good contrapuntist, but as the late Mr. Smith's advanced age and infirmities rendered him incapable of writing, or desiring to be written to, when the question was asked him by the respectable Dr. Harrington, his memory probably failed him. We believe that it is wholly uncertain who was the original author either of the words or tune of the loyal and national song or hymn of "God save the King," and we are well assured that it was unknown at the time of the rebellion, when it was brought on the stage and sung at both theatres. As to Mr. Carey's claims on behalf of his father, they can, unfortunately for him, be easily set aside. He asserts, from the authority of counsellor Galliard, "that it was produced in forty-five and six," but alas! Sir John Hawkins informs me that the facetious H. Carey, in a fit of insanity or despondency at the badness of his circumstances, put an end to his own existence about the year 1744, and this account has been copied in the octavo edition of the Bibliographia Britannica of 1784. Though there is little room for dependance on the dates of Sir John, the Bibliographia Dramatica, much better authority, and the Gentleman's Magazine, fix his death on the fourth of October, 1743.

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In a later number of the Monthly Review (April, 1800), Burney, in reviewing Coxe's "Anecdotes of George Frederick Handel and John Christopher Smith," says :--

We find a note at page 43 of this pamphlet on the mention of Harry Carey which we cannot pass over. We are sorry to see in this note an unqualified assertion repeated, that Carey was the author of the words and music of the now national song or hymn of "God save great Georgeour King" which we fully refuted in our Review for July, 1799, page 356. As all the magazines and newspapers of the time tell us that Carey died in 1743, the song could not have been written and set to music by him for the rebellion of 1745! Nor on any antecedent occasion, since it does not appear in any of Carey's numerous publications of songs with and without music ; and, had it been his, it could not have remained concealed so many years. The composer of the words and melody was utterly unknown at the time of the rebellion, when it was in such favour, and so much inquiry was made after the author. We mean not by denying poor Carey this honour, to depreciate his talents; which were original both in the words and music of a great number of beautiful ballads, serious and comic ; but his claim to the air in question is so ill-founded that nothing but the infirmity of Mr. Smith's memory at his great age* and when on the brink of the grave, can account for his abetting it.

On Thursday, November 17, 1743, a performance was given at Covent Garden Theatre, for the benefit of the widow and family of Henry Carey. The advertisement announcing it is curious as

* He was then 8_3 years of age. Carey had at various times published songs containing the following :—

"King George he was born in the month of October Tis a sin for a subject that month to be sober."

"God send no end to line Divine Of George and Caroline."

"Then we shall a glorious scene And so, God save the King and Queen."

It is quite possible Smith may have seen some of these.

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containing the only instance I have seen of Carey's name appearing without an "e," evidently a misprint; his name is always spelt Carey on his own numerous publications, and on the roll of the "Royal Society of Musicians," of which he was a member : --

For the benefit of the Widow and four small children of the late Mr. Henry Cary. At the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden on Thursday next, the 17th inst., will be presented a Comedy, call'd *The Miser*. The part of Lappit to be perform'd by Mrs. Clive, in which character will be introduced a song call'd "The life of a Bean." To which will be added a Farce call'd *The Virgin Unmask'd*. The part of Miss Lucy by Mrs. Clive. With other entertainments as will be express'd in the bills. Boxes 5s. Pit 3s. Gallery 2s. Tickets and places to be had of Mr. Page at the Stage door of the Theatre, or at Mr. Suett's, the Apple Tree in Cold-Bath Fields; or at the Widow Cary's in Cross Street, Hatton Garden.

In the *Daily Advertiser*, December 1, 1743, we find the following, which may be regarded as a summary of the notable doings of Carey, but there is no reference to any National Song or Anthem :---

Prologue (spoke by Mr. Hale) to The Miser ;

Acted at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden, for the benefit of the Widow of the late Mr. Henry Carey, and her four small children.

By Mr. Lockman.

Deep in the Fane, where Monarchs breathless lie, Pleas'd we the Busts, to Poets would descry; As a just Tribute offer'd to their Name : And rousing some to vie with them in Fame. Yet idle all such Trophies must appear, Compar'd to what now forms the Circle here : Those are but Honours to a Phantom paid; By you the Helpless will be Happy made. And sure no contrast is more strong or just, Than that 'twixt succouring Life and honouring Dust,

Ye generous Souls, whose sympathising Breast Shares every Pang that tortures the distress'd, Say, mid the various Joys you taste below, What Bliss so great as easing virtuous Woe? O! say what Charm, the Widow's Tear to dry, To echo fondly to the Orphan's sigh ?---To be their Guardian, bid their Wailings cease And, with kind Language, tune their Souls to Peace? Frequent the Bard, whose Reliques are your Care, In Theatres has pleas'd the Brave and Fair ; His double Muse diverts us from the Stage, Whilst Nature, Humour, ev'ry Ear engage: She soothes in private, whilst the Fair-One sings Gaily responsive to th' harmonious Strings. Ah! should his breathing Offspring then be left Weeping, defenceless, of all Aid bereft ? Be sunk in Sorrow, when their Father's Lyre With Cheerfulness does every Heart inspire? Vain is the Recompense of only Fame: Who serve the Public, thence Support may claim. Yet this Reflection cannot here have Place, Vanish'd the Bard and clos'd his mortal Race : From his blithe Fancy you no more expect, And 'tis from Goodness only you protect. Exalted Goodness! which whilst it supplies Another's Wants, bids countless Transports rise; Transports that bless the Donor; dart a Joy Which naught can lessen, nor even Death destroy. Raptures like these (bright Charity's alone, Child of the Skies) to Avarice are unknown. Av'rice to all Things, but mean Interest blind, Can boast no kindred; outcast of Mankind. Fruitless, mid you, our comic Muse wou'd place Her sportive Glass, in hopes to catch a Face. She comes not to instruct, but to delight, So only holds your Counterpart in Sight; A Miser! Weeds like this curse every Soil Beauty is best distinguished by her Foil.

A letter of Lord Houghton's, published in *The Times*, (5⁸)

February 1, 1878, concluded with the following bold assertion :—" The French might find some consolation in the knowledge that 'God save the King' was composed by Lully, and first produced on the visit of Louis XIV. and Madame de Maintenon to the convent of the Demoiselles de St.-Cyr. Some years after, it was happily and unscrupulously appropriated by Dr. Bull, organist of St. Paul's."

Lully was born in 1633, five years after the death of Dr. Bull, who, by the way, was never organist of St. Paul's; therefore the stigma of "unscrupulous appropriation" should rest on the head of Lully, were there any foundation for the mythical performance before Louis and Madame de Maintenon. The whole story, however, rests on the mendacious fabrication entitled "Souvenirs de la Marquise de Créqui, 1710 à 1800," Paris, 1834. Soon after the appearance of this work the volumes were noticed in the Quarterly Review. The reviewer most conclusively proves the worthlessness and absurdity of the clumsy forgery, which is believed to have been the work of Cousen de St. Malo. A sentence or two from the Quarterly Review must suffice here, the whole article is printed in the Appendix (p. III) :---

Infinite are the shapes of falsehood, and *depuis feu Proteé*, as Madame de Deffand pleasantly says, nothing can equal the versatility of a Parisian manufacturer of memoirs.... We are confident, and shall prove, that the "Mémoires" are, in every point of view, a *complete forgery—the grossest and most impudent of impostures;* for not only are the facts false, and the work spurious, but the very person to whom they are attributed is a *phantom* created by the ignorance of the

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fabricator, who, having very ridiculously mistaken one lady of the family of Créqui for another, builds his whole edifice on this fundamental blunder. . . We add, that the literary merit of the work is worse than nothing—vulgar trash—stupid threadbare stories, not only common to all *French* jest-books, but to be found in our own *Joe Miller*—indecent in many passages, disgusting in more, contemptible in all.

The article from which the above passages have been extracted appeared in June, 1834, and in the following August the story of "God save the King" and the nuns of St.-Cyr was innocently paraded in *The Times* as a marvellous discovery, but was very speedily demolished. The Parisians, not content with the "Souvenirs de la Marquise de Créqui," manufactured the following *canard*, which appeared in the *Cabinet de Lecture :—*

They write from Edinburgh that the MS. Memoirs of the Duchess of Perth have been sold in London for £3,000; among them are to be found a number of interesting details relative to the Court of Louis XIV., as well as of James II., during the sojourn of the King and Queen of England at St.-Germain-en-Laye. In giving an account of the establishment at St.-Cyr, she bears testimony not quite unknown in France, but which hitherto rested on that of the ancient nuns of this house, namely, that the air and words of "God save the King" are of French origin. She says, when the most Christian King entered the Chapel, all the Choir of the aforesaid noble damsels sung each time the following words to a very fine air by Sieur de Lully:--

GRAND DIEU, sauvez le Roy ! Grand Dieu, vengez le Roy ! Vive le Roy ! Que toujours glorieux, Louis victorieux, Voye ses ennemis, Toujours soumis, Grand Dieu, sauvez le Roy ! Vive le Roy.

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The tradition (proceeds the Duchess) at St.-Cyr is that the composer Handel, during his visit to the Superior of the House, obtained leave to copy the air and words, which he submitted to George I. as his own composition. Madame de Créqui, in her "Recollections," relates the anecdote in the same manner, and adds that the words were written by Madame Briandon.

Immediately after the publication of the foregoing fabrication certain questions were published, and to this day they remain unanswered, for very evident reasons. Where are the memoirs of the Duchess of Perth? Who sold them, and who bought them?

Lully died in 1687, a year before the fictitious singing by the "noble damsels"; and as to Handel, the story is so absurd that it is almost a waste of time to consider the imputation that he stole the air. He was the most eminent composer in London when "God save the King" was produced at the theatres; his friend and amanuensis being the John Christopher Smith who fancied that "God save the King" was the work of Henry Carey. There is abundant evidence in print that Handel gave frequent proof of his loyalty to the royal family by the exercise of his genius. We find in the Daily Advertiser, November 28, 1743:—

Yesterday his Majesty was at the Chapel Royal, St. James's, and heard a sermon by the Rev. Dr. Thomas, when the new Te Deum and the following Anthem, both set by Mr. Handel on his Majesty's safe arrival, were perform'd before the royal family, "The King shall rejoice in thy strength, O Lord," &c.

Again, in the *Daily Advertiser*, September 12, 1744 we read :--

At the Green House at Windsor, this day, a grand concert, to conclude with the Coronation Anthem of "God save the King."

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This doubtless meant the grand anthem composed by Handel for the Coronation of George II., in 1727: "Zadock the priest and Nathan the prophet anointed Solomon King, and all the people rejoiced and said, God save the King, long live the King, may the King live for ever! Amen. Alleluja."

In the General Advertiser, October 26, 1745 :--

At the late Wells, the bottom of Lemon Street, Goodman's Fields, on Monday next, will be performed a Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Musick. Divided into two parts. The Concert to conclude with the Chorus of Long live the King.

There is a song of Handel's, said to have been sung about that time; each verse ends with "Long live the King." The first verse reads as follows :—

Stand round, my brave boys, with heart and with voice And all in full chorus agree; We'll fight for our King, and as loyally sing, And let the world know we'll be free. CHORUS—The rebels shall fly, as with shouts we draw nigh And Echo shall victory ring; Then safe from alarms, we'll rest on our arms,

And chorus it, Long live the King.

Later on we find Handel composing a national song with the express intention of catching the popular ear. In the *General Advertiser*, November 14, 1745, is an advertisement of the performance at Drury Lane Theatre of "A Chorus Song, set by Mr. Handel for the Gentlemen Volunteers of the City of London, to be sung by Mr. Lowe and others." I could easily enlarge upon Handel's loyal work, but it is not necessary here.

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There have been many staunch champions on behalf of a claim that the tune of "God save the King" had a Scottish origin. Dr. Mackay, in the London Scottish Journal, August 11, 1877, has expressed his "conviction that the composition was written to give expression to the loyalty of the Jacobites, and their hopes for the restoration of James VIII. of Scotland, the father of Prince Charles Edward." The latest advocacy of these views appeared in The Times of February 27, 1878, as follows :—

GOD SAVE THE KING.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE TIMES."

SIR,—Like everything that is excellent, the air and original verses of "God save the King" are both Scotch.

In an account of the Highland Society of London, drawn up at the desire of the society by Sir John Sinclair, of Ulbster, and published in 1813, his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex being then President of the Society, I find the following :--

"Some account of the celebrated air of God save the King' and copy of the original verses to which it was sung.

"It cannot now be decisively ascertained who was the composer of this celebrated air, or whether it was of Scotch or English or German extraction. It seems indeed to have been a compilation, for a part of the air is to be found in a collection of Scotch music published at Aberdeen in the reign of William and Mary; but, to whomsoever the air may be attributed, there is every reason to believe that the original words to which that air was sung were Scotch, and composed in favour of the House of Stuart. Indeed the author of this account (Sir John Sinclair) had an opportunity of copying the following verses, supposed to be the original ones, from an inscription cut in glass on an old drinking-cup still preserved at Fingask Castle, in the Carse of Gowrie, North Britain, the seat of P. Murray

(63)

Threipland, Esq., whose family were distinguished by their attachment to the House of Stuart :---

- "God save the King. I pray God bless the King. I pray God save the King.
- " Send him victorious,*
- " Happy, and glorious,
- " Soon to reign over us, " God save the King:
- "God bless the Prince of Wales,

" The true-born Prince of Wales,† " Sent us by Thee.

" Grant us one favour more,

- " The King for to restore,
- " As Thou hast done before. " The Familie.

" Amen."

It would be interesting to get hold of a copy of the collection of Scotch music published at Aberdeen in the reign of William and Mary, in which a part of the air is to be found. Also, if possible, to learn the date when these lines were inscribed on the old drinking-cup, which were copied previous to 1813 by Sir John Sinclair.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant, February 25 [1878]. D. FORREST.

This account of the drinking-glass appeared, word for word, in Richard Clark's book (1822), page 37, and was there given as an extract from *The Gentle*man's Magazine. But, of course, inscriptions on drinking-glasses are valueless unless we can positively affix a date to them. The drinking-glass may

^{* &}quot;Send him victorious" is retained in the modern version, and is evidently more applicable to the Stuart than to the Hanoverian family.

^{+ &}quot;From this line it would appear that these verses must have been written either about the time of, or rather before the Rebellion in 1715."

be old, but the inscription may be modern. The recent traveller who found the lines "Try Warren's Blacking" on the Great Pyramid did not immediately come to the conclusion that it was a contemporaneous work of the Pharaohs.

When we consider the music published at Aberdeen we deal with something tangible. There is a book entitled "Cantus, Songs and Fancies to three, four, or five parts; both apt for Voices and Viols. With a brief Introduction to Musick, as it is taught in the Musick School of Aberdeen. Printed in Aberdeen by John Forbes."* Three editions of the book were published in 1662, 1666, and 1682. Although printed in Scotland, it by no means follows that its contents are Scottish; indeed, the author (Forbes) says in his preface that the book contains " a considerable number of excellent choise Italian songs and English ayres." A superficial glance at the volume shows us that it includes such well-known pieces as Douland's "Awake, sweet love," and Morley's "Now is the month of maying."

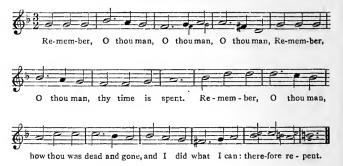
The music referred to as resembling "God save the King" is set to the words, "Remember, O thou man, thy time is spent," &c.; but it had previously appeared in a book published in London in 1611 under the following title: "Melismata: Musicall Phansies fitting the Court, Citie, and Countrey Humours. To 3, 4, and 5 Voyces. London: Printed by William Stansby for Thomas Adams."

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^{*} Professor Wooldridge, in his preface to "Old English Popular Music," 1893, says "of this work nothing but the Cantus part remains." No other part was ever printed. Cantus is the title of the book, which is complete, and includes parts for more than one voice.

A CHRISTMAS CARROLL.



[The small notes with the tails turned down are according to the "Melismata" copy, the other reading is that found in the Aberdeen "Cantus."]

"Melismata," in which "Remember, O thou man" was printed, was edited by Thomas Ravenscroft, and became very widely known amongst musicians. It is, however, probable that the Christmas Carol was a very old tune, and that Ravenscroft merely harmonised it in four parts. Be that as it may, Dr. Bull, at the time of the publication of "Melismata" (1611), was in the zenith of his fame, and surely had he desired to make variations to a well-known carol, such as "Remember, O thou man," he would have given the tune in its original form.

The air of "God save the King" has sometimes been claimed for Henry Purcell. "The Essex Harmony" (third edition, 1786) prints it with his name attached, but there is no composer's name in the previous editions of the work. Richard Clark asserted that Purcell was acquainted with

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"God save the King," and endeavoured to prove it by quoting a passage from the Sonatas published by Purcell in 1683. Clarke was not, however, content to leave his readers to judge fairly of the extent of the resemblance, but positively altered the notation and added bars of music and words, the original being a composition without words for viols (two violins and a bass) with "harpsecord."

LARGO FROM PURCELL'S SIXTH SONATA.



There are twenty-six bars more in a similar strain. Clark printed one other example from Purcell, and it is to be found on page 4 of "A choice Collection of Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinnet, composed (67) by the late Mr. Henry Purcell"; published by his widow, Frances Purcell, in 1696:---



It will be seen that the air from Ravenscroft's "Melismata," and the extracts from Purcell's instrumental compositions have certain resemblances to "God save the King," notably the triple rhythm and two-bar phrases; but they are wanting in the most important feature which is found in Bull's Ayre, and in the National Anthem, namely, the six-bar first part, and the eight-bar second part.

If the reader has carefully considered the details placed before him in these pages, he will be able to affirm with confidence that Carey had nothing whatever to do with the composition of either the words or the music of "God save the King." He will be equally ready to reject the mythical French $\begin{pmatrix} 68 \end{pmatrix}$

origin; the suggested Scottish derivation, and the ridiculous Handel claim *; probably he will adopt the opinion that the music is, as I think, derived from the air by Dr. John Bull, and that the original Latin words were used in the Catholic Church service. Of course, in the lapse of years, Bull's tune has been altered and improved by the "Vox Populi," an inevitable and desirable process in the formation of a national melody.

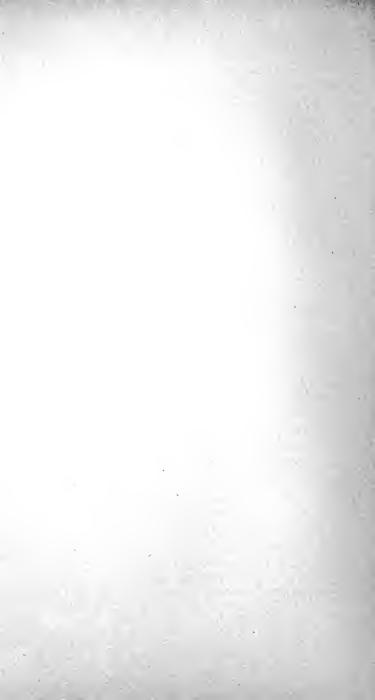
It would be worth while, at the opening of this new century, and at the commencement of what we pray may be a long and glorious reign, to revert to the form of words used in 1745-6 :---

> God save our Lord the King, Long live our noble King, God save the King. Send him victorious, Happy and glorious, Long to reign over us, God save the King.

O Lord our God arise, Scatter his enemies, And make them fall. Confound their Politicks, Frustrate their knavish tricks, On him our hopes are fixed, God save us all.

Thy choicest gifts in store, On him be pleased to pour, Long may he reign. May he defend our laws, And ever give us cause, With heart and voice to sing God save the King.

* The fictitious stories associated with the names of Anthony Young and James Oswald are dealt with on pages 101-3.



APPENDIX.



APPENDIX.

GOD SAVE THE KINGE.

(See p. 10.)

Dr. JOHN BULL, 1616.

From the original manuscript in the Library of Wm. Kitchener, M.D.*



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* The notes D and F, are both marked b in Kitchener's print; manifest errors. (74)





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The tr are marked = in Kitchener's printed copy.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

"Copied from Dr. Bull's MS. Book, about which so much has been written, now in the possession of R. Clark-(G. Smart).-Page 98."





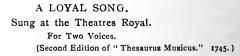
The first printed copy of God save our Lord the King, page 22, of "Thesaurus Musicus." First edition. 1740. (?)

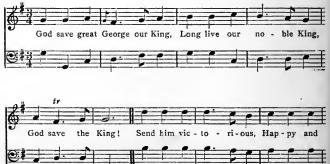
(For Two Voices.) God save our Lord the King, Long live our no - ble King, God save the King! Send him vic - to - ri - ous, Hap-py and (83)



O Lord our God arise, Scatter his Enemies, And make them fall: Confound their Politicks, Frustrate their Knavish Tricks. On him our Hopes are fix'd, O save us all.

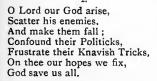






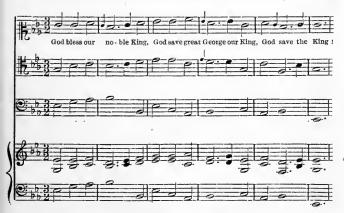
(84)





^{3.} Thy choicest gifts in store, On George be pleas'd to pour, Long may he reign. May he defend our laws, And ever give us cause, With Heart and Voice to sing, God save the King.

DR. ARNE'S ARRANGEMENT OF THE NATIONAL ANTHEM, FROM HIS AUTOGRAPH MANUSCRIPT IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.* (Add. MSS. 29,466.)



* This arrangement made by Dr. Arne, was performed in Drury Lane Theatre, on Saturday evening, September 28, 1745. The principal singers were, Mrs. Cibber, Messrs. Beard and Reinhold. The pianoforte accompaniment is added here for convenience.-(W.H.C.)

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The Banquet given by the Company of Merchant Taylors to James I. in 1607.

	•			
For 19 lbs. of rope at 3d. the pound,	£	5.	đ.	
and 31 lbs. of rope at 3d.	0	12	0	
More for three pullies for to hoise up				For the Ship
the shippe 6d. the peece	э	I	6	
13s. 6d.				
To Mr. Springham for 19 ells $\frac{1}{2}$ of taffite)			For taffita for ye
to make clothes for the three singers				garmts of the
in the shipp, and for him that made	-13	0	0	
the speech to His Maty at 13s. 4d.				shippandrobes
the ell, the some of)			for the speaker.
To John Allen the chief singer in the				•
shipp	4	0	0	
To Thomas Lupo the chief singer in the				
shipp being his Maty Musitian	3	0	0	
To John Richards the third singer in)	1			
the shipp	3	0	0	
To John Hemmyngs for his direccion				
of his boy that made the speech to				
his Maty 40s., and 5s. given to John	} 2	5	0	
Rise the speaker				
To John, Mr. Swynnerton's man, for				
things for the boy that made the				
speech	1.0	13	0	
Viz: For garters, stockings, shooes,		-5	0	To ye Tayler
ribons and gloves				ko je rajki
For making of the two robes 6s. 8d. for				
the ribons and tapes 2s. 6d. and for	11		•••	
the firing 8s. 8d.	10	17	10	
For buckroms for the babes 8d. for	Ľ			
flowers for the garlands 3s. 6d.	6	5	0	
For sowing silke 2s. 4d. for making of	1			
ye garments 25s.	I			
For setting of the songs that were	1.		4	
songe to his Maty to Mr. Copiarario	12	0	0	
To Mr. Johnson's man for writing out	Ľ			
copies of the speech and songes to				
be given to the King and Lords with	1 0	15	0	
others				
To Mr. Johnson for the Musitian's				
dynner the day before the feast	2	0	0	
(89)				
,				

To Powle's singing men by Mr. Ben	l f.	s.	đ.			
Johnson 47 <i>l</i> . 8s. 2 <i>d</i> .	I	5				•
To Thomas Robinson 30s. and to Mr. John Done 40s.	3	10	0	То	them	that
To George Roselor 40s. and to Tho.	5			pla	id or	
Sturgon 40s. To Willm. Ffregosie, by Mr. Roselor	4	0	0	Lu	te	
40s., and by Jo. Robson 40s. To Nickolas Sturt for himself and his	4	0	0			
sonne	4	0	0			
To William Browne, by Sturt 40s. and to Joseph Sherly 40s.	4	0	0			
To Wilm Morley for himself 40s. and for Robert Kenn'sly 40s.	4	0	0			
To Robt. Bateman and Stephen		U	Ũ			
Thomas who plaid on the treble violens, by Nicholas Sturt and Richard Morley	} I	0	0			
To Mr. Beniamyn Johnson, the poett, for inventing the speech to his Maty and for making the songs, and his direccions to others in that business	20	o	0			
44 <i>l</i> . 10s. For 8 horsload of birch for to make the windowes for them that plaid on the lute To his Ma ^{ts} trompetors 40s.: and to) I	5	0			
his droms 20s.	3	0	0			
To the princes trompetors and droms To Mr. John Bull, Doctor of Musique, to pay to him that sett up the winde instruments in the King's chamber, where the King dined, and for tuning it, with the carriage of it from and to	I	0	0			
Ruccolds To Mr. Edney, Mr. Lancere,* and fower others of his Ma ^{ts} Musitions players of wynde instruments being placed	2	18	0			
over the skreene	10	TO	0			

(90)

DR. JOHN BULL.

John Bull was born, probably in the parish of Peylinch, in Somersetshire, in 1563. He became one of the children of Queen Elizabeth's Chapel Royal in 1572, when William Blitheman, the renowned organist, was master of the boys who "spared neither time nor talent to advance his natural ability." On December 24, 1582, he was appointed organist of Hereford Cathedral and subsequently master of the choristers. In January, 1585, he was admitted a "Gentleman of the Chapels Royal," in the place of Mr. Bodinghurst. In the following year, on the 9th of July, he took the degree of Mus. Bac., Oxford, having "practised the faculty of music fourteen years." In 1591 he was admitted to the degree of Mus. Doc., Cambridge. It is said that at the last-named date he was appointed organist of the Chapels Royal in succession to his former master, Blitheman. An interesting entry in the old Cheque book of the Chapel Royal records the appointment, May 29, 1592, of William Phelps, of Tewkesbury, as "Gentleman extraordinary," who "dyd show a most rare kyndness to Mr. Doctor Bull in his great distresse, being robbed in those parts." On July 7, 1592, Bull was admitted to the degree of Mus. Doc., Oxford. It is said this had been delayed in consequence of his having met with "rigid Puritans there, who could not endure church music." In 1596, on the opening of Gresham College, (or) G

he was made the first music lecturer upon the recommendation of Queen Elizabeth, who, on November 30, 1596, addressed a letter on his behalf to the Mayor and Aldermen of London. Bull, being unable to deliver his lectures in Latin, according to the founder's intentions, a special ordinance was passed in his favour as follows: "The solemn music-lecture twice every week, in manner following, viz., the theoretique part for one half hour, or thereabouts, and the practique, by concert of voice or instruments, for the rest of the hour, whereof the first lecture should be in the Latin tongue, and the second in English; but at this time, Mr. Dr. Bull, who is because recommended to the place by the Queen's Most excellent Majesty, being not able to speak Latin, his lectures are to be permitted to be altogether in English, so long as he shall continue in the place of music-lecturer there."

His inaugural address was delivered on October 6, 1597. It was printed by Thomas East (see Register of the Stationers' Co.), but no copy can now be found.

In 1601, Bull, being out of health, was permitted to travel abroad and to nominate Thomas Byrd as his deputy during his absence; he journeyed incognito, and visited Germany and France. Antony à Wood narrates the following amusing story:—

Dr. Bull hearing of a famous musician belonging to a certain cathedral at St. Omer's, he applied himself as a novice to him, to learn something of his faculty, and to see and

admire his works. This musician, after some discourse had passed between them, conducted Bull to a vestry or musicschool adjoining the Cathedral, and shewed to him a lesson or song of forty parts, and then made a vaunting challenge to any person in the world to add one more part to them, supposing it to be so complete and full that it was impossible for any mortal man, to correct or add to it; Bull thereupon desiring the use of pen, ink, and ruled paper, such as we call musical paper, prayed the musician to lock him up in the said school for two or three hours; which being done, not without great disdain by the musician, Bull in that time or less, added forty more parts to the said lesson or song. The musician being thereupon called in, he viewed it, tried it, at length he burst out into a great ecstacy, and swore by the great God that he that added those forty parts must either be the Devil or Dr. Bull. Whereupon Bull making himself known the musician fell down and adored him. Afterwards continuing there and in those parts for a time, he became so much admired, that he was courted to accept of any place or preferment suitable to his profession, either within the dominions of the Emperor, King of France, or Spain; but the tidings of these transactions coming to the English Court, Queen Elizabeth commanded him home.

On December 15, 1606, Bull was admitted into the freedom of the Merchant Taylors' Company, by service, he having been apprenticed to Thomas, the Right Honourable the Earl of Sussex, who was free of the Company.

A list, dated December 31, 1606, of persons to whom James I. ordered "Gold chains, plates or medals to be given," includes the name of Dr. John Bull.

On July 16, 1607, the memorable banquet was given by the Company to King James I., when Bull performed on the organ. On December 22, in the same year, Bull obtained a marriage licence from the

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Bishop of London, which is entered in the following terms :---

Mr. John Bull, Dr. of Music, of the Strand, and Organist of His Majesty's Chapel, Bachr., 47 or 48, and Elizabeth Walter, of the Strand, Maiden, about 24, dau of — Walter, Citizen of London, decd., she attending upon the Rt. Hon. The Lady Marchioness of Winchester, at Christ Church, London.

This marriage necessitated his resignation of the Gresham Professorship, which could only be held by an unmarried man. In 1611, his name stood first in the list of the musicians of Prince Henry, with a salary of $f_{.40}$ per annum.

In 1612, Bull wrote the following letter (Miscellaneous Collections relating to Gresham College. British Museum. Add. MSS. 6194):---

To his honorable and singular good frinde Sr. Michaell Hiks these.

Sr.

I have bin many times to have spoken with you, to desire your favor to my L. and M. Chaunchelor. Sir my humble sute is, that it would please my L. and M. Cha. to graunte me theire favors to chainge my name in my letters patents, and to (put) in my childes, leaving out my owne. It is but forty pounds by yeare for my service heretofore, the mater is not greate, yet it wilbe some reliefe for my poore childe, havinge nothinge ells to leave it. The Kinge hath bin moved by Sir Chri. Perkins, who hath order from the Kinge to speak with Sir Julio Cesar. I humbly thanck Sir Julio Cesar. I have bin with him, and hath promised me his favor; but one worde of yours will speade it, and make me and my poore childe everlastingly bound to you. I humbly desire you speak in this my humble sute with all the expidition you may, and so with my humble duty remembered I take leave.

Yours ever to commande

Indorsed 26 Apr.

J. BULL.

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We have seen that Bull could only retain his Gresham Professorship whilst unmarried, and the date of his marriage, December, 1607, makes it impossible that a son born in wedlock should have been old enough in 1612 to succeed his father as organist and composer to His Majesty. "The poore childe" must therefore have been an illegitimate son, and this fact explains the accusations brought against Bull by James I., as will appear later.

In 1613, Bull was residing abroad as one of the organists of the Chapel Royal in Brussels. The Cheque book of the Chapel Royal (London), under date 1613, contains the following notice :—" Jo. Bull, Doctor of Musick, went beyond the seases and served the Archduke* at Michaelmas." Another entry under the same date says, " John Bull, doctor of Musicke, went beyond the seas without license and was admitted into the Archduke's service, and entered into paie there about Michaelmas."

It is remarkable that the records of the Chapel Royal contain no further reference to Bull's unauthorised and clandestine departure from London and from his Court duties. At that time he was probably the most famous musician in England, his reputation having been greatly enhanced by his professional travels on the Continent.

However, it is evident from Bull's letter dated April 26, 1612, that he was even then contemplating leaving England, and therefore anxious for a

* Albert, son of the Emperor ; he married a Princess of Spain, and resided at Brussels.

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settlement "for his poore childe." The following extract from a letter sent to King James I. throws a little more light on this matter. The writer of the letter was William Trumbull, who was Ambassador to the Archduke Albert of Austria, Regent of the Netherlands, from 1609 till 1625; he returned to England and died in London in September, 1635.

May 30, 1614 (O.S.) :---

Most Excellent and most worthy Soveraign,

Finding after long attendance by reason of the Archdukes indisposition, that he was now so much amended as he gave accefs to some ministers of other princes. I procured audience of him on Monday was sennight; and according to your Majesties commandment sent me by Sir Thomas Lake, after I had used some congratulations unto him in your Majesties name for the recovery of his health, which he seemed to take in very good part, I told him, that I had charge from your Majestie to acquaint him, that your Majestie upon knowledge of his receiving Dr. Bull, your Majesties organist and sworn servant into this chappel, without your Majesties permission or consent, or once so much as speaking thereof to me, that am resyding here for your Majesties affairs : that your Majesty did justly find it strange as you were his friend and ally, and had never used the like proceedings either towards him or any forreign Prince; adding that the like course was not practized among private persons, much lefs among others of greater place and dignity. And I told him plainly, that it was notorious to all the world, the said Bull did not leave your Majesties service for any wrong done unto him, or for matter of religion, under which fained pretext he now sought to wrong the reputation of your Majesties justice, but did in that dishonest manner steal out of England through the guilt of a corrupt conscience, to escape the punishment, which notoriously he had deserved, and was designed to have been inflicted on him by the hand of justice, for his incontinence, fornication, adultery, and other greivous crimes. (Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 6194.)

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Remembering the history of the times of James I., it is amusing to read of his great anxiety to punish a moral delinquent in the person of Bull. His Majesty's annoyance at the loss of the services of such an eminent musician may possibly have served as a stimulant. It would be interesting to trace the progress of further negotiations between King James and the Archduke, and also what steps were taken by Bull to mollify the wrath of his late Royal Master; that something was attempted seems fairly certain, for it was in the year 1616 that Bull composed the air with variations to which he gave the title "God save the Kinge," and in the following year, 1617, he was promoted to the organistship of Notre Dame Cathedral, in Antwerp (at a salary of 100 florins per annum), in succession to the deceased Rombout Waelrant. In 1620 he was residing in the house adjoining the Church, by the side of the Place Verte, the habitation of the concierge of the Cathedral. He died in that house on March 13, 1628, and was buried in the Cathedral on the 15th of the same month. During his tenure of office great improvements in the Cathedral organ were made under his personal guidance and supervision. It is interesting to note that several English musicians were resident in Antwerp about the time of Bull, amongst them John Beake (a Priest Chaplain), John Stark, Anthony Sanders, Adam Gordon, Thomas Covert, Edmund Lewkenor, William Cledero, Robert Bruck. and one Fitzgerald.

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A portrait of Bull is in the Music School, Oxford, painted on panel, with an inscription on the left side of the head, AN. ÆTATIS SUÆ 26, 1589,* and on the right side, an hour-glass placed on a skull. Around the four sides of the frame was inscribed. the following :---

> The bull by force in field doth raigne, But Bull by skill good will doth gayne.

The date is of importance, enabling us to fix the year of Bull's birth. The wedding license describes him as about 47 or 48 in 1607; one can only suppose that the clerk who made out the document merely glanced at Bull's face and made a random guess at his age.

The Oxford picture is reproduced on the opposite page, from a photograph; the original is on panel, size I foot IO inches by I foot 6 inches.

Another fine portrait of Bull, painted later in life, at Antwerp, on panel, 14 inches by 10, forms the frontispiece to this book; the musician is depicted in the act of conducting, with a music book open before him. The original oil painting is in my own possession.

* This inscription was noted by Ward in 1760, by Hawkins in 1776, and an engraving from the picture inserted in the history of Music by the latter. It was to be seen on the portrait in 1885, when on loan at the "International Inventions Exhibition," at the Albert Hall, as I can vouch from my own observation. I am told by a resident in Oxford "the portrait was in a very bad state from exposure to damp and the action of the sun, and was sent with some others to be restored some years since." Unfortunately the age has been altered from 26 to 27.

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DR. JOHN BULL. From a picture painted in England, 1589.



GULIELMUS A MESSAUS.

Guillaume Messaus was born towards the end of the 16th century, and lived at Antwerp, where he was held in considerable reputation as a composer and organist, and also as Chapel Master, or Director of the Music, in the Church of St. Walburge, one of the most ancient ecclesiastical edifices in Antwerp, unfortunately demolished about 1809. Messaus was a pupil of Dr. John Bull, Organist of Antwerp Cathedral, whose compositions he very industriously and voluminously transcribed. Music composed by Messaus is to be found in the "Laudes vespertinæ B. Mariæ Virginis etem, Hymnus, etc," published by P. Phalèse, Antwerp, 1629. The contents of the collection are as follows:—

- 1. Ave regina cœlorum à 4 voix.
- 2. Quia quem meruiste à 5 voix.
- 3. Nobis datus.
- 4. Verbum caro à 5 voix.
- 5. Vita dulcedo à 6 voix.
- 6. Resonet in laudibus.
- 7. Beate immaculata.
- 8. O quam amabilis à 4 voix.
- 9. Ita dulcedo vita. '

Chansons (in four parts) :---

- 1. Gen Kindeken is geboren.
- 2. Het viel cens's Hemels dauwe.
- 3. Laet ons met heste reijne.
- 4. O Salich heylich Bettlehem.
- 5. Waer is die dochters van Sijon.

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- 6. Heden is ons een Kindeken gheboren.
- 7. Loffo sydat soete Kindeken eleyn.
- 8. Nu laet ons singhen het is tydt,
- 9. Ghegroot soet moel ghy zyn.
- 10. Met desen nieuwen jaere.
- 11. Het quamen dry Coninghen.

There are also compositions by Messaus in the following works :--

Livre premier des chansons vulgaires de diverses lutheurs à 4 parties, etc. En Anvers, chez les heritiers de Pièrre Phalèse au Roy David, 1636.

Cantiones Sacræ de Messaus édité à Anvers, chez les héritiers de P. Phalèse, 1635.

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ANTHONY YOUNG.

A claim has been made on behalf of Anthony Young as the composer of "God save the King," but it is based on such a flimsy foundation that it scarcely deserves mention.

The Gentleman's Magazine, of 1796, printed the following letter :--

Jan. 20, 1796.

Mr. Urban,

The present deservedly popular air of "Gcd save the King" is supposed to have been composed by Anthony Jones, musician, contemporary with Purcell, and grandfather of the late Mrs. Arne, Mrs. Lampe, and Mrs. Jones, all stage singers, while spinsters, by the name of Young. When this tune was revived, in 1745, tradition says that the words of "God save the King" were written, and the tune composed for King James the Second, at the time the Prince of Orange was expected to land in England. During the rebellion of 1745, Dr. Burney author of the "General History of Music," composed parts to the old melody, at the desire of Mrs. Cibber, for Drury Lane Theatre, where it was sung in a slow and solemn manner, in three parts, by Mrs. Cibber, Mr. Beard, and Mr. Reinhold, the father of the present singer of that name, and repeated in chorus, augmented in force, usually by the whole audience. It was called for at this theatre for near two years after the suppression of the rebellion.

About three years ago, being curious to know some further particulars respecting this majestic song, I waited on Dr. Cooke, late organist of the Abbey, who corroborated this account, and told me, that, when he was a boy, he remembered to have heard the tune sung to the words of "God save great James our King."

E. T.

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Note here the error of describing Anthony Jones as the grandfather of the Misses Young—the latter was their birth name. They were daughters of Charles Young, who was organist of Allhallows' Church, Barking, from 1713 to 1758, and he was supposed to be (it is not proven) the son of Anthony Young who was organist of the Churches St. Clement Danes and St. Catherine Cree, but never of Allhallows', Barking.

The mistake in naming Jones as the grandfather of the Young family was doubtless quickly discovered, and about 1805 a copy of "God save the King" was published with the heading, "This air was composed by Mr. Anthony Young, late organist of Allhallows', Barking, Essex." The printers and publishers were Riley and Willis, 23, Commerce Row, Blackfriars Road.

The anonymous letter of E. T., and the abovementioned obscure and unauthorised publications, appear to be the only evidence which can be adduced in favour of Anthony Young. It must be remembered that in 1795 George Saville Carey commenced his attempt to obtain a pension, thereby calling attention to the subject, and affording an opening for the erroneous letter of E. T. in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1796. That Arne arranged the air for performance in Covent Garden, and Burney for that in Drury Lane, has already been shown.

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OSWALD'S AIR.

There have been suggestions that possibly James Oswald, a musician and music publisher, who came to London from Scotland in 1741, may have had some part in the making or arranging of "God save the King."

The whole story is grounded on a statement made by Clark (p. 27, "An account of the National Anthem"), which is as follows :—

The editor being a native of Windsor, and knowing that the chimes of the parish church played the tune of "God save the King," under the title of "Osweld's Are," wrote to his friend Tho. Jenner to get him a copy of the brass plate containing the names of all the tunes which are played by the bells : who sent him the following account :—

"Sir,—After some trouble, I have succeeded in getting you the names of the tunes which the chimes of the Parish Church of Windsor play. We could not discover the plate for many days, in consequence of its being so crowded with dirt, the chimes not having played for five or six years past.

"They are thus put down on the brass plate:---I. 'Highland Laddie'; 2. 'Happy Clown'; 3. 'Osweld's Are'; 4. 'A Minuet'; 6. 'Milton's Jigg'; 7. 'Lady Chatham's Jigg'; 8. 'II3 Psalm.'"

Clark adds, page 29:-

The bells were first put up in the parish church of Windsor in the year 1769, and the barrel of the chimes was arranged by Mr. Oswald, a musicseller in St. Martin's Lane, who on that account probably, called the tune after his own name.

Clark seems to have muddled everything he wrote about, and in the above statement there are two

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difficulties. First of all, it is very significant that the tune No. 5 is omitted from the list given; probably this was "God save the King," which being well known, there was no occasion to name it. This leaves the "Osweld Are" in full possession of No. 3.

Secondly, according to the Gentleman's Magazine, James Oswald died at Knebworth, Herts, on January 2, 1769. How then could he have arranged the chiming barrel for bells which were placed after his death?

We have no authority beyond Clark's assertion that Oswald prepared the barrel; if he had done so he would probably have spelt his name properly. I take it that Osweld's Are, Milton's Jigg, and Lady Chatham's Jigg, were simply the names of tunes and not necessarily those of composers.

FOREIGN VERSIONS OF "GOD SAVE THE KING."

The earliest printed Continental version of "God save the King," is that in "La lire Maçonne, ou Recueil de Chansons des Francs-Maçons. Revu, corrigé, mis dans un nouvel ordre, & augmenté de quantité de chansons, qui n'avoient point encore paru; par les freres de Vignoles et du Bois. Avec les Airs notés, mis sur la bonne Clef, tant pour le Chant que pour le Violon & la Flute. A la Haye, Chez R. van Laak, Libraire M.DCC.LXIII." On page 161 of that book the tune appears as follows :--

D'ONGEVEINSDHEID.

Stem: God Seav* great George our King.



Six verses follow which need not be quoted. The music in the book is printed from type, and it is curious to note that in a second edition, published in 1775, a terrible blunder is made of the end of the first strain. It will not fail to be observed that the second part of the tune, as printed above, even to

* Sic. (105) the concluding bars, is identical with the most modern use.

A version was made for Denmark by Harries, which appeared in the "Flensburgsches Wochenblat," January 27, 1790. The first line was "Heil Dir, dem liebenden," and it was explicitly said to be intended to be sung on the King's birthday,* to the air of "God save great George the King."

The German form to the words "Heil Dir im Siegerkranz," was written by Balthasar Gerhard Schumacher, and was first published in the Spenersche Zeitung, in Berlin, December 17, 1793. It was afterwards adopted as a national song by Prussia, Saxony, and other German States.

It must, however, have been familiar to German folk in 1791, for in May of that year was published "Vier und zwanzig Veränderungen fürs Clavichord oder Fortepiano auf das englische Volkslied: God save the King, von Johann Nicolaus Forkel. Göttingen, beym Autor, und in der Vandenhoek-Ruprechtischen Buchandlung."—(Four and twenty variations for the Clavichord or Fortepiano on the English People's-song "God save the King" (by Johann Nicolaus Forkel). The music is introduced in an interesting Preface, of which I give a translation :—

The following variations have been specially written on the departure of the two Royal Princes of England, Ernst August and Adolf Friedrich from the University (Göttingen). The affection for all that is pure and beautiful attracted these noble King's sons also to the art of music, an ennobling recreation of Princes, and during their stay in Göttingen, they were amongst the most enthusiastic and attentive of the

* Christian the 7th, brother-in-law of King George of England.

audience, who were present at the Academic concerts. Their condescension, good will and sympathy, with which they honoured these musical gatherings from 1786 to the beginning of the year 1791, raised in me the wish to shew them a small proof of my gratitude, respectful esteem, and love, on the day on which for the last time the audience had the honour of their presence. This I thought I could best accomplish by introducing a farewell song at the end of the concert, choosing a well-known melody which the whole audience could join in. The English People's melody, "God save the King," seemed to me to be appropriate, and I chose it also more particularly as it would be the most pleasing to the two Princes, being their National Song. After I had first played the melody with some variations on a Fortepiano, the following verses were sung with four solo voices and full chorus alternately :---

Heil, theures Fürstenpaar! Aus Herzen, treu und wahr, Seyd uns gegrüsst! Mit hulderfülltem Blick Seht auf den Kreis zurück Der Eurer Nähe Glück Heut noch geniest! Kühn wandelt Ihr hinan Des Ruhmes steile Bahn; Drum Heil Euch, Heil! Es glüht in Eurer Brust Der eignen Kraft bewusst, Erhabne Thatenlust

Drum Heil Euch, Heil!

Am schönsten Seegen reich, Und Eurem Werthe gleich Sey Euer Loos! Euch adle eigner Muth Wie Eurer Väter Blut: Georg ist gross und gut, Und gut und gross! Gott schirme seinen Thron! Gott geb' ihm hohen Lohn Und Fried' und Heil! Und Lieb' und Ehrfurchtsvoll, Heiss betend für sein Wol, Ihm bringen Dankes Zoll, Sey unser Theil!

As I wished and expected, a large number of the audience present joined in with the full chorus, which was not prearranged; that surprise and the circumstances of the time made the song far more solemn and effective than it would have perhaps otherwise been, and I must acknowledge that I never before appreciated this melody so much as when I learnt to do so under these conditions. It attracted me so much by its simplicity, that I thought it worth the trouble of adding some artistic variations. If this work of art is so formed, that it does not hide but improve the original shape of so solemn and so loved a National song, then the motive for its production will be found the more worthy by connoisseurs.

Göttin, im May 1791.

J. N. Forkel.

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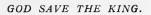
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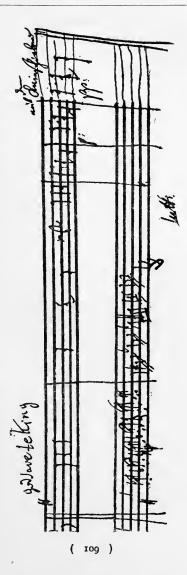
The music as arranged by Forkel, who was a pupil of Bach, is in the key of D; the only point worthy of special mention is that he marks it "Tempo di Minuetto."

Beethoven highly appreciated the air of "God save the King." He used it as a theme for a set of seven variations in C for the pianoforte in 1804; he arranged it for solo and chorus with accompaniments for pianoforte, violin, and violoncello; and he composed, in 1813, a work entitled "Wellington's Sieg oder Schlacht bei Vittoria," which he dedicated to George, the Prince Regent of England. This orchestral piece contains the air, and whilst working at the score, Beethoven inscribed in his diary "Ich muss den Engländern ein wenig zeigen, was in dem 'God save the King ' für ein Segen ist" (I must show the English a little, what a blessing they have in their "God save the King").

The subjoined facsimile is taken from one of Beethoven's sketch-books, now in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 29,801. $f82^a$). It is not possible to ascertain for what particular work he intended these bars. The pianoforte variations, as stated above, are in C, whilst this sketch is in G. The words written over the last bar, "mit dem Beinschieber," seem to have reference to the lever which is to be found in Stein's and other German pianofortes of the time. The performer could, by pressing the lever with the knee, raise the dampers over the strings.

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Weber was also very fond of the tune of "God save the King." He introduced it into his cantata, "Kampf und Sieg" (No.9), in his "Jubel" Overture, and twice arranged it for voices, in the keys of D and B flat.

In America, the tune of "God save the King" was adapted to a hymn at a very early period and printed in a book entitled :---

Urania or a choice selection of Psalm-tunes, Anthems and Hymns, from the most approved authors, with some entirely new; in two, three and four parts, the whole peculiarly adapted to the use of Churches and private families; to which are prefixed the plainest and most necessary rules of Psalmody, by James Lyon, A.B.

The title-page is handsomely "engraved by Henry Dawkins, 1761." The place of publication is not mentioned, but it is believed to have been at Philadelphia, soon after 1761. The music and hymn are called "Whitefield's." The hymn commences with the words "Come, Thou Almighty King," and as they appear in the sixth edition of G. Whitefield's collection, published in London in 1757, the adoption of the name is accounted for.

Another set of words adapted to the tune of "God save the King" is very popular in the United States. They were written by Charles Timothy Brooks, Unitarian Minister, of Salem, Massachusetts, born in 1813. The first verse commences :---

> God bless our native land; Firm may she ever stand; Through storm and night.

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SOUVENIRS DE LA MARQUISE DE CRÉQUI, 1710 À 1800. Tomes premier et second. Paris. 1834.*

Infinite are the shapes of falsehood and depuis feu Protée, as Madame du Deffand pleasantly says, nothing can equal the versatility of a Parisian manufacturer of memoirs. One day he is a dramatist-the next a bishop-by and by a monarch -then a jacobin-and in succession, a minister of state, and a thief-taker-a damsel of the Palais Royal, and a duchess of the Louvre. That there was a Madame de Créqui, who lived to a great old age, and was remarkable for a lively youth and an aimable vieillesse, is very well known; but that she wrote these volumes is, we confidently believe to be, the most insigne mensonge that ever was propounded. The fabricators are hard pushed; they find that the memoirs of men, and particularly of men of the present, or even of the last, generation, are liable to be tried, and, if false, detected, by tests which no ingenuity can elude. A man is either a statesman or a soldier-a cleric or a commis-a lawyer or a littérateur-and the sayings and doings of such men leave traces in their several walks of life which can neither be imitated nor obliterated. A forgery is in such cases easily detected, and the trade, instead of being profitable, becomes a losing concern. They have now, therefore, thought it prudent to try what they can do in female attire. The commérage of an old lady deals little in that class of facts or dates which, being preserved in authentic history, afford the best test of the authenticity of memoirs; and they are now trying how far the public may be deluded by that trivial gossip, as to the truth or falsehood of which few care, and still fewer examine.

Some of these manufacturers, looking about for a subject proper for their purpose, have lighted upon Madame de Créqui, a lady who—as the *Biographies* tell us and them—' died at a very advanced age in 1803; who was remarkable for social and conversational talents; and who left behind her several manuscripts.' 'Upon that hint they speak;' and this, we believe, is all that the author of this work knows of the lady, in whose

* Reprinted from the Quarterly Review, March and June, 1834.

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name and character he writes. He found, in two or three authentic works, notices of a Madame de Créqui—stated to have been born under Louis XIV., and to have died under Napoleon; and he therefore adopted her life as a *canvass* on which he might fearlessly spread all the anecdotic colours which he could collect from Dangeau, St. Simon, Bachaumont, Marmontel, Walpole, and Mesdames de Sévigné, Maintenon, De Staël, and Du Deffand.

The French critics believe-(it is wonderful how credulous French critics are prior to a detection, and how clear-sighted they become when a forgery is proved)-the French critics we say, affect to believe that there is a petit noyeau de vérité which is swelled into its present bulk by a vast deal of supposititious matter: in short, that some scattered manuscripts of Madame de Créqui have fallen into the hands of the editor, who has diluted her spirit into the gallons of washy stuff which fill these two octavos, and which are destined-if the public will but consent to be duped-to fill ten or a dozen similar tomes. This theory we absolutely disbelieve. We do not think that there is one genuine drop of Madame de Créqui in the whole publication; we are confident, and shall prove, that the 'Mémoires' are, in every point of view, a complete forgery-the grossest and most impudent of impostures; for not only are the facts false, and the work spurious, but the very person to whom they are attributed is a phantom created by the ignorance of the fabricator, who, having very ridiculously mistaken one lady of the family of Créqui for another, builds his whole edifice on this fundamental blunder. This seems incredible, but we think we can put it beyond all doubt. The account the editor gives of his author is as follows :---

'Renée Charlotte Victoire de Froulay de Tessé, Marchioness of Crequy, of Heymont, of Canaples, &c., was one of the women of her day the most remarkable for superiority and originality of mind. She died at the age of *near* an hundred. She had been presented to Louis XIV. in 1713, and had had an audience of the First Consul in the *twelfth* year of the republic (1804).'—Prospectus.

The date of her birth is not given; but as she was only near an hundred when she died, and as she was presented to the First Consul in September, 1804, she must have been born, at soonest, in 1705, and must therefore have been presented to Louis XIV. when she was *eight* years old. This little difficulty,

however, was discovered between the publication of the *Prospectus* and that of the work itself; and in the latter SHE is made to palliate the inconsistency by saying that she is not sure whether she was born in 1699 or in 1700, or in 1701—that she left her convent in Brittany, and came to Paris in the last days of 1713—that she saw Louis twice or thrice between that period and his death in 1715—that she was married during or immediately after the mourning for that prince—and that her interview with Buonaparte was on *Septidi de la troisième décade de Vendémiaire, an* xi (27th Sept., 1803), so that, instead of being *near* an hundred, as the Prospectus announced, she was by her own account, *at least* one hundred and two, or perhaps one hundred and four.

But little interested as we feel in the private history of the Froulay family, we are enabled to remove a considerable portion of the uncertainty under which the lady is represented as labouring as to the year of her birth. She says her mother died an hour before she was born-that her father was then at the head of his regiment on the frontiers of Germany-that he was soon after made prisoner by the enemy, and remained so for seventeen months, and never heard of her birth nor of her mother's death till his arrival at Versailles, where his uncle, the Maréchal de Tessé, informed him of these events, and obliged him to put himself into mourning. Now it happens to be known (' Mémoires de Tessé,' t. i. p. 182) that the Count de Tessé (he was not Maréchal till 1703) left Versailles on the 4th December, 1700, for Italy, where he remained for some years in command of the French army, so that it was not later than the 3d December, 1700, that he could have seen at Versailles Madame de Créqui's father-who was not, soit dit en passant, his nephew. Deduct the seventeen months of captivity from that date, and we are brought back to July, 1699, as the latest possible day for the birth of our heroine-she was, therefore, thirteen and a half when she left her convent-fourteen or fifteen when she was presented to Louis XIV., and near seventeen at her marriage-all much more credible than the other story; but then 'incidit in Scyllam cupiens vitare Charibdim,' she must have been not near an hundred, but above one hundred and four at her interview with Buonaparte, if it took place An XI.-as she says-and above one hundred and five-if it took place, as the editor originally announced, An XII. Imagine a lady writing her memoirs at one hundred

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and four! But it may be said that she only added a few notes at this very advanced age, and that the great body of the Memoirs was written some years before. They were written, she says, for the instruction of her grandson; and the editor tells us that he died long before his grandmother-very wellbut if this were so, why, when she was correcting and adding notes to her Memoirs in 1803, did she leave untouched the Dedication to her grandson, who had been long dead; and why, in the very note which records her interview with Buonaparte, does she still talk, as if to her grandson, of the consul's promise to restore to them 'our forfeited estates ?' for, after this grandson's death, there was no one to whom she could have designated the estates as ours. And why does she, in a passage, which must, as appears from the context, have been written subsequent to 1793, address her grandson as a childje vous conterai une histoire de voleur, mon petit prince-(vol. ii. p. 65)-when we see from another passage (vol. i. p. 137) that the petit prince (who never was a prince at all) must have been born prior to 1756?

But every page of the work proves, by its style and topics, that it is of *very recent* composition. This, if it were worth while to enter into such details, we think we could prove, from the idiom and orthography; nay, we are convinced by several political allusions, that it has been *wholly written since the revolution of July*. But such an examination would be, as our readers will see presently, a perfect waste of time in so flagrant a case as this. We shall content ourselves with two or three instances, which will prove that they are of too recent date to be the production of the imputed author.

In many passages of the work, the author quotes and frequently criticises and contradicts the Memoirs of St. Simon, and, indeed, St. Simon supplies a very considerable part of the matter of the work. Now, the Memoirs of St. Simon were not published till 1788, and then but imperfectly, while this writer alludes to more recent additions. We hear of the National Assembly (vol. ii. p. 123), and of the Revolutionary Tribunal (p. 132), and specifically of *Philippe Egalité* (p. 33), and *Citizen Fouché* (p. 104), and in the midst of a story, in which she apostrophizes her grandson as still living, she talks of the horrors of 1793 as already a matter of history. All this brings the composition of the work down to, at the earliest, 1794, at which time she would be about *ninety-five* years old—rather

an advanced age to commence writing *thirteen* volumes of memoirs—for such we are told is the extent of her work. *Credat Judaus !* But what follows would be too much for the credulity, we will not say of a Jew, but even of the Parisian public. The fictitious marquise thinks it necessary to be acquainted with all the eminent persons of the century embraced by her Memoirs, and accordingly she introduces, about the year 1714, the Marquis Dangeau.

'They said at the time (on disait alors) that he was writing his memoirs, and when they appeared (quand je les ai vu paraître) they seemed to me neither more interesting or less insignificant than their author.'—vol. i. p. 128.

Now, the Memoirs of the Marquis Dangeau did not appear till 1817, fourteen years after Madame de Créqui's death. These, and a hundred other anachronisms are not in stray paragraphs, or explanatory notes, or subsequent insertionsthey are interwoven with the body of the work, and accompanied by, and dovetailed into the most elaborate falsehoods and fabrications. Let us give our readers another example :--In a visit to Rome in 1722, Madame de Créqui is represented as meeting a 'certain Duchess of Bedford and her daughter,' 'Milady Marquionesse (as her mother called her) de Tavistock,' who are the most ridiculous personages that can be imagined, and of whom, particularly of the Marquionesse de Tavistock, the Memoirs tell us the most absurd stories. It may be very true, as the Memoirs say, that all Englishwomen are mad and vulgar-but at least the lady here specially attacked must be acquitted of the specific charges made against her-for luckily there happens to have been no Lady Tavistock between the years 1700 and 1764. In 1722, there existed a Duchess Dowager of Bedford, (who died in 1724, at Streatham,) and in 1725, her son, the third duke, married Lady Anne Egerton, and it was not till the marriage of the son of the fourth duke in 1764, that there was a Marchioness of Tavistock.

But it is mere waste of time to dwell on such trifles—we now revert to our former statement, that not merely is the book spurious, but the lady to whom it is attributed is a phantom of the fabricator's imagination. We beg our reader's attention to the exposure of this miraculous mistake.

We find in the French Biographie Universelle, article CREQUI, the following notice :--

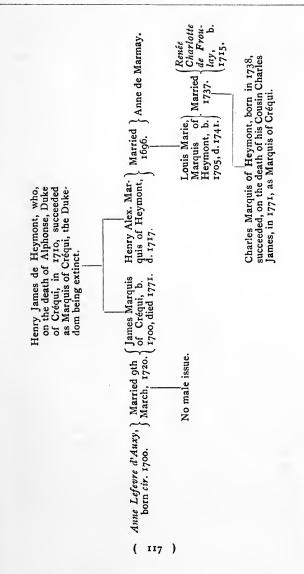
'The Marquise de Créqui (married in 1720 to the Marquis

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de Créqui) deserves to be reckoned amongst the most celebrated women of the eighteenth century. She loved literature and cultivated it, and died in Paris in 1803, at a great age, leaving a fine library to her executors, and several manuscripts amongst others, *Thoughts and Reflections on different* Subjects.'

Here we have the *germ* of these Memoirs—a Madame de Créqui, of great wit and talents, who dies at a great age, who *might* have seen both Louis XIV. and the First Consul, and bequeaths copious manuscripts to her executors—and this is, no doubt, the lady of whom the Princess des Ursins writes (as triumphantly quoted by the editor) from Rome, in 1722.

The editor quotes also, with great confidence and complacency, the eulogies of Voltaire and Rousseau, and (so late as 1788) of Delille. All this looks at first sight like an important, and, indeed, conclusive corroboration of the authenticity of these Memoirs; but alas! alas! we hardly know how to announce so direful a denouement of this fablethere have been two Marquises de Créqui-the one the lady mentioned in the Biographie, whose maiden name was Anne Louise Lefevre d'Auxy, and who was married in 1720, and whose husband died in 1771; and the other-the lady to whom these Memoirs are attributed-Renée Charlotte de Froulay, the wife of a gentleman of another branch of the Créqui family, which, on the death of the husband of Anne, in 1771, claimed the Marquisate of Créqui. Anne Lefevre d'Auxy was, no doubt, born early in the century, as she was married in 1720, and she was the only Marquise de Créqui existing till 1771. Renée de Froulay was not born till 1715, (the year in which the author of the Memoirs pretends she was married ;)-she was really married in 1737 to the Marquis de Heymont, and her son became, on the death of his cousin-in 1771-Marquis de Créqui, and she may, for aught we know, have also called herself Madame de Créqui. All this will be made quite clear by the following tabular view of the genealogy of the family, extracted from Moreri and La Chesnay des Bois.



So that the centenaire Madame de Créqui (if ever such a centenaire existed) was Anne Lefevre d'Auxy, the aunt, à la mode de Bretagne, of Renée de Froulay, who, in the Memoirs, usurps her age, her place, and her honours. What could have led to this extraordinary blunder we cannot venture positively to assert, but we suspect that an error in the Biographie has misled the fabricator. We doubt that the lady who died in 1803 was Anne Lefevre; we rather think it was Renée de Froulay, because we know that the Baron de Breteuil inherited some property from the lady who died in 1803, and the Breteuils were certainly allied to the Froulays, and not, that we can discover, to the Lefevres d'Auxy. But as Renée de Froulay, who was born after the death of Louis XIV., would not have answered the fabricator's purpose, he confounds her with her aunt; and by taking the birth of one and the death of the other, he completes his fable of a 'centenaire.' We see, indeed, that the fabricator had some misgivings that he was not on sure ground. He says Madame de Créqui complains of the inaccuracies of the dates in Moreri and La Chesnay des Bois. This it was quite necessary to do, because, having set out with the wrong person, he found it impossible to manage the dates, and he hoped to evade detection by thus denying the authorities which he could not reconcile: but he does not seem to have any suspicion that the cause of his difficulties was his having got, if we may use Queen Bess's homely expression, the wrong sow by the ear. Biographies and genealogies are, we well know, very liable to errors of date, but such a mistake as Anne Lefevre d'Auxy in one generation, for Renée de Froulay in another, we hardly think possible. But it is remarkable that, in this case, there seems additional reason for giving credit to the genealogists. First, the Biographie Universelle does not copy the genealogies, yet agrees with them as to the birth and marriage of Anne Lefevre: secondly, the edition of Moreri, in 1728, makes no mention of Renée de Froulay-which it would have probably done had she been married in 1715-but the edition of 1759, which continues the history of the family, introduces Renée as married to the Marquis de Heymont in 1737 : thirdly, in the edition of La Chesnay des Bois, in 1772, that writer continues still further the genealogy, and notices the death of James, Marquis de Créqui, in the preceding year, and adds, 'that by this event Charles, the son of Renée de Froulay, has become Marquis de

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Créqui:' and, fourthly, we find that the genealogies of the two different families of Tessé and Créqui agree in the same story. That of the Créqui family is given in the foregoing table : and in that of the Froulay family it is stated that 'Renée Charlotte de Froulay was married on the 18th of March, 1737, to Louis de Créqui, Marquis de Heymont, cadet de la branche ainée de la maison de Créqui.' We must further remark that out of this genealogy of the Froulays arises another remarkable contradiction in point of fact to the statements of the Memoirs. The Marquise Renée is made to say, that the death of her brother in his youth was, by her thus becoming an heiress, the cause of her marriage with M. de Créqui. Now, it appears, if any faith is due to history, that Renée's brother, the Marquis de Froulay, survived her marriage above eight years; and that, so far from dying a youth prior to 1713, he was a general officer, killed at the battle of Lafeldt, 11th July, 1745.

Our readers may ask how it is possible that any man of common sense and of the most superficial literature could fall into such extraordinary—such obvious mistakes? We might content ourselves with replying, in the words of Molière—

> Vous avez raison; et la chose, à chacun, Hors de créance doit paroître;
> Un conte extravagant, ridicule, importun,
> Cela choque le sens commun— Mais cela ne laisse pas d'être l'

We have only to state the facts, and cannot be expected to account for such strange inaccuracy; but the bold ignorance of some modern French writers is quite amazing. We proved in a former number* that M. Lemontey—the editor of Dangeau's 'Memoirs'—the author of an historical essay on the reign of Louis XIV., on the strength of which essay he was elected into the *French Academy*—showed, in that said essay, that he had never read (though he did not fail to quote) the 'Memoirs' of St. Simon, and had attributed to an anonymous satirist—'whose name he lamented he could not discover'—some of the most remarkable and best known passages of St. Simon's work. After such an example of the learning of the academicians, we cannot be surprised at any degree of ignorance in the obscure

> * See Quarterly Review, vol. XIX. p. 476. (119)

tribe who live by that disreputable class of fabrications which it has of late been our duty to expose.

We add, that the literary merit of the work is worse than nothing—vulgar trash—stupid threadbare stories, not only common to all the *French* jest-books, but to be found in our own *foe Miller*—indecent in many passages, disgusting in more, contemptible in all.

*** Since writing the above, we have received from Paris the result of a search which we caused to be made in the official registers of burial in that city. It confirms all we have said, and all we suspected. The lady who died in 1803, (14 Pluviose, an. xi.) was *Renée de Froulay*—born in 1715—the widow of *Louis Marie de Créqui*. This settles the matter

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HENRY CAREY ON COPYRIGHT.

All Authors are ambitious of reputation, tho' few obtain it. I am resolv'd to stand Candidate, however; if I succeed, it will overpay my Labours; if I fail, it shall be a Warning to me for the future.

-Cantatas. 1724. By HENRY CAREY.

In the first edition of "The Musical Century," published in 1737, Carey, in the Preface, alludes to the absence of copyright for musical works, as follows:—

As these little Labours are the Offspring of my own Brain, I confess I retain a paternal Concern for them, and am willing to send them into the World in the best Manner I am able.

Besides, many of my Friends being willing to collect 'em, I chose this method of Publication, for here they have them Compleat and Correct, in one Entire Edition of my own, at less than the tenth Part of the Expence, they must otherwise be at to purchase them, as scattered Abroad in false and surreptitious Scraps and Miscellanies, published by other Hands.

What retarded the Publication thus long, was the Prospect, I had from an Act depending in Parliament, for securing the right of copies to Authors or their Assigns, &c., it being almost incredible how much I have suffer'd by having my Works Pyrated; my loss on that Account, for many Years past, amounting to near £300 per Annum. As the Justice of such a Law is self Evident; and an Act already made in Favour of Engravers, I doubt not but the Wisdom and Humanity of the Legislature, will regulate this Affair, not confining the property of Authors, &c., to one particular Branch, but extending it to the Benefit of Arts and Sciences in General.

This method of Subscription, is the only one I can take to defend me from Pyrates, and as I publish so cheap none can well undersell me.

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SONG

Written and Composed by CHARLES DIBDIN

For his Entertainment called The Quizes, or A Trip to Elysium. Printed and sold by the Author at his Music Warehouse, No. 111 Strand, opposite the Adelphi (1792).

> All true honest Britons, I pray you draw near; Bear a bob in the chorus to hail the new year; Join the mode of the times, and with heart and voice sing A good old English burden—'tis "God save the King!"

> > Let the year Ninety-three Commemorated be

To time's end; for so long loyal Britons shall sing Heart and voice, the good chorus of "God save the King!"

See with two different faces old Janus appear, To frown out the old, and smile in the new year; And then, while he proves a well-wisher to crowns, On the loyal he smiles, on the factious he frowns.

For in famed Ninety-three,

Britons all shall agree,

With one voice and one heart in a chorus to sing, Drowning faction and party in "God save the King !"

Some praise a new freedom imported from France : Is liberty taught them like teaching to dance ? They teach freedom to Britons ! our own right divine ! A rushlight might as well teach the sun how to shine !

In fam'd Ninety-three,

We'll convince them we're free ! Free from every licentiousness faction can bring; Free with heart and with voice to sing "God save the King !"

Thus, here though French fashions may please for their day, As children prize playthings, then throw them away; In a country like England they never do hurt; We improved on the ruffle, by adding the skirt.

Thus in famed Ninety-three

Britons all shall agree,

While with one heart and voice in loud chorus they sing To improve "Ca'ira" into "God save the King!"

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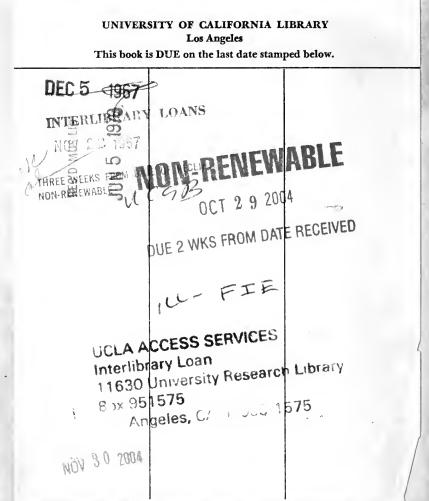
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