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**MUSIC BY MEMBERS OF THE CHORAL FOUNDATION OF  
DURHAM CATHEDRAL IN THE 17TH CENTURY**

**TWO VOLUMES  
VOLUME ONE**

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**Ph. D**

**UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM**

**DEPARTMENT OF MUSIC**

**1999**



**18 OCT 2000**

# **Music by Members of the Choral Foundation of Durham Cathedral in the 17th Century**

Simon John Anderson

Thesis for the degree of Ph.D.  
University of Durham, 1999

## **Abstract**

Durham Cathedral is known to possess one of the largest and most intact collections of 17th-century liturgical music manuscripts in the world. That so much material survived the trauma of the Commonwealth is fortuitous indeed.

The history of the pre-Civil War manuscripts has already been researched, and those after the Restoration have been investigated to a degree. The present research is concerned with a detailed study of the music composed by the many Durham musicians of the 17th century contained in the manuscripts, and their related sources. In total over 80 works by 20 composers are represented in varying degrees of completeness. These range from complete autograph texts through to solitary tenor parts. The study is concerned solely with the scene at Durham.

To enlarge on earlier research, a detailed study of the manuscripts from the second half of the century is presented. These show the stability of the repertoire and the introduction of much new material towards the end of the century. A newly-compiled catalogue of the related manuscripts at Peterhouse, Cambridge is presented as an appendix.

A representation of every piece of Durham-composed music is given. Extracts only are presented of fragmentary items, and also for reasons of space and time where a whole piece of music does not reveal anything significant. Reconstructions are presented of works with one or two parts missing, or where a large amount of material can be recovered from an extant organ part. Transcriptions are presented in cases where a complete text survives.

The study is divided into two volumes. Volume one describes the music and its sources, and volume two contains musical transcriptions.

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I declare that none of the material contained in the thesis has previously been submitted for a degree in this or any other university.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Simon J. Anderson', with a stylized, flowing script.

Simon J. Anderson

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## Introduction

The impetus for this research came from reading Brian Crosby's 1986 Catalogue of Durham Cathedral Music Manuscripts. That so much music by Durham composers remained unknown stirred a desire to explore the manuscripts and rediscover music that had been written for the cathedral four hundred years ago, but for at least the last three hundred had been consigned to a dark cupboard.

William Smith is the only Durham 17th century composer to enjoy any currency in present choral circles, and this solely on the strength of his splendid set of Preces and Responses. What of his many other compositions? And what of his musician contemporaries?

The present research is therefore not entirely original, for Crosby has already catalogued the Durham music manuscripts and written his doctoral thesis on the lives of the Durham musicians up to 1650. The present work, though, is concerned primarily with the *music* of the composers, and hence the large second volume of transcriptions, which actually constitutes the bulk of the thesis. That this work straddles the whole of the 17th century inevitably covers some ground already worked on, and this is referred to in the footnotes.

In presenting a study of a century of music it has been found appropriate to condense the research of the manuscripts and repertoire hitherto undertaken, and then to present a more exhaustive study of the post-Restoration manuscripts. These books reveal much of the changing repertoire and styles of music over the century. After this survey the century is broken into three approximate sections and the composers are studied individually work by work. The texts of the works are given in full where a complete transcription is presented, otherwise the beginning only of the text is reproduced. Liturgical texts are not given here. After the text a commentary remarks on any matters of interest and discusses any editorial problems. Too much

actual analysis has been avoided, as it is felt that, with a transcription to hand, the reader can draw his own conclusions.

The commentary is followed by a list of sources for the piece, with autograph sources shown in bold. The Durham sources are discussed in Chapter 1, and the Peterhouse and York sources are covered in earlier studies by Crosby and John Morehen. A newly-compiled catalogue of the Peterhouse manuscripts is presented here as an appendix. This was prepared in order to correct the inaccuracies in the original 1953 Hughes catalogue. Morehen, in his 1969 thesis, corrects about half of the original fifty or so mistakes, but in doing so makes a small number of new errors. The problems with obtaining his thesis, and then comparing it with the original catalogue prompted the production of the new catalogue.

After the sources are given for each work, a basic structure is presented. This is mainly useful for verse works, though the lengths of the works (in minim beats) are provided in the case of full anthems. A table of variants follows for works that are transcribed or reconstructed in full. This follows the common practice of bar, beat (minim), stave (top=1) and detail. Obvious scribal errors are here included for the sake of completeness, and are shown as [se]. Variants which appear to arise out of the expected application of *musica ficta* are shown as [mf]. Underlay variants are legion, and only those of significance are noted.



**Abbreviations**

Liturgical

A	agnus dei
Bs	benedictus
Be	benedicite
C	creed
G	gloria
Go	gospel response
J	jubilate
K	kyrie (= responses to the commandments)
L	litany
M	magnificat
N	nunc dimittis
S	sanctus
Sc	sursum corda
Td	te deum
V	venite

Miscellaneous

a	alto
b	bass
b.	born
c.	<i>circa</i>
d.	died
f	full
fl.	<i>floruit</i>
hol	holograph
inc	incomplete
m	medius
ms	manuscript
p	page
r	<i>recto</i>
t	tenor
tr	treble
v	verso [page numbers]
v	verse [section of music]
vol	volume

**Chapter 1: Durham's 17th century music manuscripts**

The early 17th century - a summary of earlier research ..... 1

Post-Restoration manuscripts  
    detailed studies of C1, C15, C19, C17, C12, BL78, BL79 ... 4

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## Durham's 17th Century Music Manuscripts

### The early century

It is difficult to gauge the extent of Durham's music repertoire before the 1620s. The earliest surviving manuscripts date from this time, though Brian Crosby has shown how some leaves from organ book ms A2 may date from the first decade of the 17th century. In the 1620s and 30s the whole repertoire was reorganised into five sets of books according to genre. The surviving books at this time indicate a repertoire of between 250 and 300 anthems and services, and there is little reason to suppose that more have disappeared, as every type of music is represented in the five sets. We know from inventories and treasurer's records that a set of men's voices books existed in the 1560s and 1660s, though from the evidence offered by organ books and post-Restoration replacement copies, it would not have contained much more than ten items.

Much of the music copied into the new sets came from the previous century, with composers such as Tallis, Sheppard, Robert White, Tye and the earlier Robert Parsons well represented, and from the turn of the century, Gibbons, Weelkes and Durham composers William White and Edward Smith likewise. Their music must surely have been a big feature of the manuscripts that were being replaced. The organ book A2 contains a small number of pieces which are not represented in any part-book at Durham, such as William Cobbold's *In Bethlem Town*, Richard Carlton's *Let God arise* and Leonard Woodson's *Arise, O Lord God*, and it is likely that these, too, were discarded from earlier days. The index to A2 (dated 1681) lists a work by John Fido, *I call and cry*, which no longer exists in the manuscript, nor anywhere else.

The re-organisation of the Durham music manuscripts in the 1620s and 1630s has already been extensively researched. In 1960 Peter le Huray presented an

examination of the manuscripts,<sup>1</sup> and John Morehen's 1969 thesis<sup>2</sup> contained detailed discussion of the Durham and Peterhouse manuscripts. Brian Crosby's first article on the subject showed how his findings differed from those of le Huray and Morehen,<sup>3</sup> and his thesis developed this article into the most thorough and conclusive investigation to date of copying activities at Durham in the 1620s and 30s.

In order that a clear picture can be gained of the development of the manuscripts in the latter part of the century, it will first be necessary on the following two pages to give a condensed version of Crosby's division of the Durham books into sets.<sup>4</sup> The discussion on the post-Restoration manuscripts is my own work, but it relies inevitably on information contained in Crosby's catalogue of the Durham music manuscripts.

The surviving part-books of the 1620s and '30s can be divided into six sets, as follows:

Set 1	full and verse anthems	C4 C5 C6 C7 (2nd fasc.) <sup>5</sup> C9 C10
Set 2	verse services	C18
Set 3	music for festal days	E4 E5 E6 E7 E8 E9 E10 E11
Set 4	full services	C8
Set 5	festal anthems	C2 C3 C7 (1st fasc.) C14
Set 6	composite books	C11 C13 C16 E11a
	organ books	A1 A2 A3 A5 A6

Set 1 has been shown to be the earliest set, possibly begun as early as 1625, and originally containing 37 full and 42 verse anthems in separate groups. The full anthems were all copied by John Todd, who died in January 1630/1, and the verse

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<sup>1</sup> le Huray 1960, pp.167-95

<sup>2</sup> Morehen 1969

<sup>3</sup> Crosby 1974, pp. 40-51

<sup>4</sup> See Crosby 1992 vol. 1, pp. 221-68 for a full discussion. The table of part-books on p. 222 contains two errors; the manuscripts listed for Sets 3 and 4 are the wrong way round, and ms C11 in set 6 should be grouped with C16 (anthems). Crosby 1986, xii-xvi contains a more concise investigation.

<sup>5</sup> Ms C7 is made up of two separate individual books of different sizes. Both date from the 1620s and 30s.



anthems were shared on a decani/cantoris basis between Todd and Toby Brooking. The scribes number the anthems themselves rather than the pages. Two corpuses were added to the set; one in the mid 1630s by Brooking, and the other either in the early 1640s or the early 1660s - it has proved impossible to determine which, though personal inclination is for the latter date. I have followed Crosby's naming of these corpuses as 'added later' and 'added later still' respectively.

Sets 2 and 4 are of a similar date to Set 1, and were mostly copied in the late 1620s by Todd, and added to in the 1630s by Brooking.

Set 3 is a set of large books containing preces and festal psalms for major feast days, as well as verse services. Again, Todd was responsible for copying the original parts of the decani books in the late 1620s, and Brooking for most of the cantoris, though some other hands are yet to be identified. Set 5, containing anthems for feast days, begins at the Fourth Sunday in Advent, and follows the church year round to Whit Sunday, then the Saints' days, and finally general full and verse anthems. It was copied by Brooking in the 1630s, though in various stages.

The Set 6 books were not strictly choir books in the sense that they were copied out for members of the clergy to follow, and possibly sing from.<sup>6</sup> Mss C11 and C16, both anthem books, contain all of the music from Set 5, and most of the music from Set 1 (though not the second corpus that was to be added to it). Mss C13 and E11a are both service books; C13 is similar to C11, both giving the tenor decani reading, and E11a gives the alto cantoris reading. Both books represent almost all the contents of Sets 2, 4 and 5, and were both begun by Brooking in the 1630s and added to after the Restoration.

The contents of the organ books are not divided into sets, but are instead a jumbled miscellany.

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<sup>6</sup> It seems quite likely from references in the Chapter Act books that able Minor Canons were expected to join in with the choir. There is nothing to suggest whether Prebendaries also followed this practice.



## Post-Restoration manuscripts

As the repertoire changed in the latter part of the 17th century, many of the manuscripts already in existence were added to. Some, for example the Set 5 books, had spaces left deliberately in order to facilitate the addition of new material as it came to hand. Others had not been filled by their initial contents, and had blank ruled pages towards the end. It became necessary to start a number of new manuscripts after the Restoration, either to replace books that had gone missing or become damaged, or for members of clergy to follow. From their handwriting, the references to copyists' payments, and their repertoire, the following books can be dated as having been begun in the last half of the 17th century:

### organ books:

A3 <sup>7</sup>	organ	anthems and services		1630s-70s
A4	organ	anthems and services	c.	1679-90
A25	organ	anthems	late	1690s
A33	organ	anthems and services		1690s

### choir books:

C1	medius [cantoris]	anthems and services	c.	1660s
C12	tenor cantoris	anthems and services	c.	1680
C15	tenor	anthems	c.	1660s
C17	bass cantoris	anthems	late	1670s
C19	bass decani	anthems and services		1660s
C26	bass	anthems and services		1690s
C27	bass	anthems		1690s
C28	bass	anthems		1690s
C31	bass	services		1690s
C32	bass	services		1690s
C33	bass	services		1690s
C34	bass	anthems		1690s
BL Add. ms 30478 <sup>8</sup>		anthems		1660s
BL Add. ms 30479		anthems		1660s

<sup>7</sup> Ms A3 was begun in the 1630s by William Smith, but is mostly post-Restoration

<sup>8</sup> For ease of reference these tenor manuscripts are hereafter referred to as BL78 and BL79

These books all give clues as to how the repertoire was changing. Some works that had fallen from favour were discarded, and new works were introduced, both imported and 'home-grown'.

Taking the ten original books of Set 1, we can see that Durham still possesses the original four alto and two tenor books. Missing are the original two medius and bass books. From the 1660s, mss C1 and C19 replace the medius cantoris and bass decani books, and in the 1670s ms C17 replaces the bass cantoris. This leaves only the medius decani book, which presumably either saw service through to the end of the set's life and then disappeared, or was replaced and its replacement was subsequently also misplaced. It should be observed that mss C12 and C15 are both post-Restoration tenor books that repeat much of the contents of Set 1. Both original tenor books survive however (mss C9 and C10), giving rise to the possibility of these books being copied for clergy. Both C12 and C15 contain the still-unidentified untidy hand(s) responsible for much of C1 in the 1660s.

Set 5 has four survivors from the original ten. Missing are both medius books, alto 2 cantoris, tenor decani, and both bass books. Again C1 replaces the medius cantoris book, and C15 replaces much of the missing decani tenor. C17 and C19 are the replacements for the two bass books. This leaves the books for the medius decani and alto 2 cantoris part, neither of which survives.

It is difficult to tell exactly when manuscripts disappeared, though in the case of Set 3 we know that the two books now missing had strayed by the time of the inventory of c. 1665.<sup>9</sup> These were the *primus contratenor decani* and *bassus decani* books. It is clear that if direct replacement copies were ever made of these, then they do not survive today. Indeed, the well-preserved state of the remaining eight books raises the question of their being discontinued as soon as the two books were lost.<sup>10</sup> The repertoire of the 1660s seems to have shifted away from the large-scale

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<sup>9</sup> Crosby's date; see 1992 pp. 280-3. The date is reached on p. 283. There were two inventories, though of a similar date, and with almost identical contents.

<sup>10</sup> Crosby, too, makes this observation; 1992, p. 287.



verse anthems and festal psalms of the Cosin era, and so there would not be such a need for the music of Set 3, though the festal psalms were copied anew into C1 some time after the Restoration.<sup>11</sup> It is also conceivable that Durham may have had no other copies of the music that had disappeared. Whereas the reconstruction of the missing bass music would have been a simple matter using surviving organ books, the creation of the first alto part, with its many verses, would have been a different matter altogether.

The music from the missing decani bass book survives at Durham in organ books, which always provide at least the outer parts. The 'Dunnington-Jefferson Manuscript'<sup>12</sup> (now housed in York Minster Library) was a composite bass decani volume that contained all of the festal psalms of Set 3, and would very likely still have been in Durham at the Restoration.<sup>13</sup> Several of the nine lay clerks named in the 1660 treasurer's book were survivors from the 1640s and would have been able to lend the weight of their memories to any speculation. Finally, Peterhouse ms 476 gives the decani alto 1 reading of most of the music of Set 3. With Elias Smith and James Green surviving from the group of copyists who contributed to the Peterhouse manuscripts, these people at least would have been aware that replacement music would survive at Cambridge if it were required. It is possible that this line of enquiry was pursued, and the manuscripts were found to have gone missing from Peterhouse. Morehen has shown that some of the manuscripts were

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<sup>11</sup> Quite *why* is a mystery, as both medius parts for the festal psalms set survived. C1 duplicates ms E5 (medius cantoris). The only explanation that can be offered is that giving the boys C1 to read from would spare the 'special' books E4 and E5 from wear and tear.

<sup>12</sup> A bass book, originating from Durham. For an examination of this see Ford, 1959, pp. 144-60. For a development of Ford's remarks see Crosby, 1992, pp. 250-4. The shelfmark of this manuscript is MS M. 29 (S), though here it is referred to as M29.

<sup>13</sup> There is no clue as to when the manuscript moved from Durham. Even if it were copied for the use of Cosin himself it would probably have returned to Durham in 1660 with its owner.

taken to Ely.<sup>14</sup> Others remained at Peterhouse, three of which were not rediscovered until 1948.<sup>15</sup>

Sets 2 and 4 pose more problems in that, although they both had ten part-books at the time of the 1660s inventories, only one survivor from each set remains today: the bass decani book from Set 2 (ms C18) and the [decani] alto [2] book from Set 4 (ms C8). If the missing 18 books were ever replaced, these replacements too are now missing. That ms C8 has payments for copying dated as late as 1739 (p. 547) is an indication of the length of service for this set of books. However, by this date the whole concept of 'sets' of manuscripts was clearly redundant. What was an orderly inventory of books in 1665 soon became a confused picture with the changing repertoire. New items were squashed into any available space, books were lost and replaced, and in the late 1680s the repertoire was given a complete overhaul with the start of a new project of copying undertaken by Matthew Owen.

Composite manuscript C13 contains the items from Sets 2 and 4, as well as from Set 3, giving the tenor decani reading, and similarly E11a gives the [cantoris] alto [1] reading for all three sets, these being special books copied for the clergy to follow. Additional composite manuscripts produced after 1660 include ms C12, and what are now housed in the British Library as Additional mss 30478 and 30479.<sup>16</sup> All three give the tenor cantoris reading, and were produced in the 1660s.

It will be useful to look in detail at the post-Restoration replacement manuscripts for the information they give regarding the changing repertoire. Particularly detailed inventories are given of the two manuscripts no longer at Durham.

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<sup>14</sup> 1969 pp. 137-140

<sup>15</sup> What are now mss 475, 477 and 480

<sup>16</sup> For a more detailed discussion of the British Library 'exiles', see pp. 19-33



## Durham Cathedral ms C1: medius, anthems and services

It is still not entirely clear how music was transmitted between choral establishments, though some fragments of scores remain.<sup>17</sup> There are strong indications that the music in the medius book C1 was copied from the top line of an organ book, as the underlay is often wildly at odds with that of other voice parts, and the rhythms are also often awry. As the organ parts in full pieces often give no more than the outer two voices, and occasional clues to entries in the inner parts, we can see that to restore a missing medius or bass part would be a fairly simple matter (providing neither part divided, in which case usually the outer only is given), whereas the replacing of an alto part would be nigh on impossible.

There is also evidence in some manuscripts that the music and words were copied in separately, with the words copied first. References in treasurer's books often differentiate between 'writinge' and 'prickinge', though with payments usually made for both activities simultaneously. The 'writing' clearly refers to the copying of text, and 'prickinge' to the notes. The Oxford Encyclopedic English Dictionary defines one meaning of 'prick' as 'to mark with small holes or dots'. There are several instances of pages in manuscripts both at Durham and Peterhouse where the text has been written for an entire piece, and no notes filled in, though considerably fewer instances of notes with no text.<sup>18</sup>

Ms C1 is something of a mystery. From the two clearly different sizes of paper, it can be seen that it was originally two separate books. Both give the medius reading, and mostly, but not always, the cantoris part. A second indication of the two original books is Weelkes's anthem *Hallelujah: I heard a voice*, which appears twice in the manuscript, page five giving the decani reading, and page 128 the cantoris. As it is a

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<sup>17</sup> See for example ms A2: 162, Peterhouse ms 487: Z3v, Peterhouse ms 481: 128v

<sup>18</sup> For text with no notes see Peterhouse ms 476: 263rv, ms 478: 14v-15r, ms 487: Q4v, and Durham Cathedral ms E6: 17-19. For notes with no text (all Peterhouse) ms 480: 127v-128r, ms 481: 1r, ms 485: O6v, ms 487: P6v, ms 488: N1v, ms 489: 70v



replacement volume for missing original manuscripts, the fact that music from both sets 1 and 5 occupies the first fascicle offers strong evidence that C1 dates from after Treasurer Dalton's inventory of c.1665. This inventory lists ten books for both sets 1 and 5. If C1 had been copied before it, the total number of books for the two sets would have been 19.

The two original fascicles of C1 represent a re-copying of much of the repertoire of the 1620s and 30s, beginning with Set 1 (full and verse anthems), and continuing with Set 5 (anthems for festal days), naturally avoiding the duplications between the two sets. The second fascicle begins with Set 2 (verse services), though omits more than half of the original items of the set. It continues with Set 3 (preces and festal psalms) before becoming more random in its selection, with a service, a block of anthems from Set 5, more services and then more festal psalms.

With Dalton's inventory of c.1665 showing complete sets of ten books for what are undoubtedly Sets 1, 2, 4 and 5, and two books missing from Set 3 (neither of which was a medius book), it may be queried why ms C1 was necessary, unless it was compiled after 1665. What the inventory does not indicate is whether the books are originals or replacements. From its appalling hand (still unidentified) it seems hard to believe that anybody, not least boys, would be able to read ms C1 clearly and quickly. It certainly gives the impression of having been copied in a rush. One possibility is that the book was used only for practice - either for the boys to learn from, or for the master of the choristers to teach from.

Neither section of C1 is complete. The first section of the manuscript represents a recopying of Set 1,<sup>19</sup> and the now missing first 48 pages would have contained most of the full anthems from this set. Although we cannot tell how many would have been omitted, from the evidence of other post-Restoration manuscripts such as C19 and C17, we can guess with confidence no more than two. Rutter's anthem, *Blessed is the man*, which now opens the manuscript, was originally number 33 of the 37 full

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<sup>19</sup> The original Set 1 manuscripts are explored in Crosby, 1992, pp. 224-34.

anthems of Set 1. The manuscript proceeds to anthem number 37, and then begins the pagination with 38, forgetting that in Set 1 it was the anthems that were numbered, rather than the pages.

Then follows Weelkes's anthem for All Saints, *Hallelujah: I heard a voice*, originally from the Set 5 series, and Geeres's *The eyes of all*, which was originally added later to Set 1, but here appears in the original hand, showing that C1 is at least later than the original manuscripts of the set. Some selectivity is shown with the Set 1 verse anthems; the first two, Byrd's *Alack when I look back* and [William] Mundy's *Ah, helpless wretch* are missing, and it is noticeable that no organ part survives for these at Durham. Could it have gone astray during the Commonwealth, making its re-copying impossible?<sup>20</sup> What is more likely is that, having non-biblical texts, these items were no longer in favour at Durham. Giles's anthem *He that hath my commandments*, a men's voices full anthem, is also missing from C1, though having no medius part this is understandable. Its upper two (alto) parts are represented in mss C4-C7 at Durham, and ms 486 at Peterhouse. What is not so clear is why it was originally included in the middle of the verse anthems for full choir of Set 1.

For some reason the scribe re-numbers the verse anthems, as well as paginating the manuscript, though with three missing from the original 42, the numbers are out of sequence with the surviving members of the set. In including all of the anthems 'added later' and 'added later still' to Set 1 in the original hand, and continuing to number the anthems through the 'added later still' section, C1 can be shown to date from either the early 1640s or the 1660s.

Copied next are the anthems from Set 5, for festal occasions. The 103 anthems are split into two corpuses in C1. The first group of 45 are assigned to particular feast days, and had spaces left between the days for later additions in the original manuscripts, though not, perhaps significantly, in C1. This could point to the fact that

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<sup>20</sup> This is not conclusive, however, as the organ parts to several other Set 1 anthems in C1 are also no longer extant.



the set was now deemed 'complete', that the whole concept of sets of music was now being phased out, or simply, and most likely, that the copyist was in such a rush to get the book finished that what may have seemed 'trivialities' were dispensed with. The second group of 58 anthems are anthems for general use, and though they are mostly verse, there is a corpus of 15 full anthems at the end.

Of the first group of 45 anthems from Set 5, C1 retains 30, and from the second 58, 29 are retained. Missing from the first section are:

1	Gibbons	This is the record of John	(Advent 4)
2	Gibbs	See, sinful soul	(Good Friday)
3	Byrd	Christ rising again	(Easter)
4	Gibbons	We praise thee O Father	(Easter)
5	Mundy, J	O Lord our governor	(Ascension)
6	Gibbons	Glorious and powerful God	(Whit Sunday)
7	Palmer	Almighty and everlasting God	(Purification)
8	Giles	Everlasting God, which hast	(St Michael)
9	Tomkins	Almighty God, which hast knit	(All Saints)
10	Hooper	O God of gods	(King's Day)
11	Gibbons	Grant Holy Trinity	(King's Day)
12	Weelkes	Give the king thy judgements	(King's Day)
13	Byrd	Thou O God that guidest	(King's Day)
14	Smith, E	If the Lord himself	(5 November)
15	Weelkes	O Lord, how joyful is the king	(5 November)

Various reasons can be advanced for these omissions; all except numbers 2, 5, 7, 13 and 15 were included in the Set 1 corpus, and would thus already be in the manuscript. Number 5 is also a festal psalm, and features later in the manuscript in that section. That leaves four anthems: Gibbs's for Good Friday, Palmer's for the Purification, Byrd's for the King's Day (ascribed to Giles in the manuscripts), and Weelkes's anthem for 5th November. Their absence from C1 cannot be explained, particularly as they were all added to C19 and BL78 and 79 in the 1660s, showing their continued place in the repertoire. The organ parts to the anthems by Palmer and Byrd have not survived, so any hope of recovering the medius part could have been lost with them, but ms A5 furnishes the organ part to the anthems by Gibbs and Weelkes, and a medius part could have been contrived from these. Palmer's anthem survives only in fragmentary state, yet there is enough to show that it was

not set for men's voices, so at least we know that a medius part would have been required.

There is a noticeably smaller percentage of duplications of Set 1 in the second corpus (general anthems) of Set 5 than in the first corpus (verse anthems for feast days). Of the first corpus ten of the 45 anthems are also featured in Set 1, though with the second corpus there are only three duplications in 58 anthems. The reason for this is that Set 1 has been shown by Crosby to have been produced first (in the mid 1620s), before Set 5 was even conceived. It comprised of roughly one hundred anthems, both full and verse, and many were deemed appropriate (or even composed specifically) for feast days. When Set 5 came to be compiled it was found that many anthems were already in existence in the Set 1 books, but for the sake of completeness they needed to be copied afresh into the books of anthems 'for festivall daies'. When the 'feast days' section of Set 5 had been copied, there was no need to further duplicate anthems for general use from Set 1 (save for the three exceptions listed below, for which no explanation is obvious).

Of Set 5's second corpus of 58 (mostly verse) anthems for general use, only 29, exactly half, are retained. There are only three duplicates from Set 1, and these are already included in the Set 1 section of C1:<sup>21</sup>

Jeffries	Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous
Hinde	O sing unto the Lord
Giles	I will magnify thee O Lord

The following anthems from Set 5 are retained in C1:

Batten	Holy Lord God Almighty
Tomkins	Above the stars
Batten	O Lord thou hast searched me out
Batten	Ponder my words
Batten	Hear my prayer O Lord, and hide not
Batten	Hear my prayer O Lord, and with thine ears
Giles	O hear my prayer Lord and let my cry

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<sup>21</sup> The anthem by Jeffries is actually a full anthem, and, as such, would have been included in the now missing opening section of C1. In Crosby's table of contents for Set 1 (1992, p. 224), this anthem is erroneously attributed to Hooper.



Ravenscroft	O let me hear thy loving kindness
Wilkinson	Preserve me O Lord
Wilkinson	Help Lord
Tomkins	O pray for the peace of Jerusalem
Parsons, R [2]	Above the stars
Hilton	Hear my cry O God
Giles	Out of the deep
Batten	Out of the deep
Giles	Have mercy upon me O Lord
Tozar	O Lord let me know mine end
Stevenson	When the Lord turned again
Hooper	I will magnify thee
Gibbons	Lift up your heads
Peerson	Blow up the trumpet
Alison	Behold now praise the Lord
Tomkins	O sing unto the Lord
Amner	I will sing unto the Lord
Mudd	God which hast prepared
Tallis	Arise O Lord
Hutchinson, R	Ye that fear the Lord

There appears to be no clear pattern as to what was retained and what discarded. Generally speaking the anthems retained are of a more penitential nature, though there are exceptions to this, particularly towards the end of the corpus. Many of the items not copied into C1 were copied into C19, a 1660s bass book, and also into the British Library 'exiles', showing that the music was still being used at Durham. Again this defies explanation.

The second fascicle of C1 begins by copying Set 2, verse services. It begins with an original page of 226, hinting at the possibility of an enormous amount of music now lost, though it should be borne in mind that the penultimate item in the first fascicle begins on original page 190. With C1 beginning by copying Set 1 anthems, and retaining the scheme of numeration (albeit revised) rather than pagination, it could have received its 'original' pagination after the two books were combined, and this would have been continuous throughout the two fascicles.

The compiler shows considerably more selectivity over the music retained from Set 2. Of the original 22 services in ms C18 (the manuscript, the sole survivor of its set, is incomplete) only ten are reproduced in ms C1. These are:



Morley	1st Service	Td [inc]; Bs, K, C, M, N
Morley	2nd Service	M, N
Giles	1st Service	Td, J, K, C, M, N
Tomkins	For Verses	M, N
Giles	2nd Service	Td, J, K, C, M, N
Gibbons	2nd Service	M, N
Weelkes	For Trebles	M, N
Hooper	For Verses [3rd]	M, N
Weelkes	Of 7 Parts	M, N
Batten	2nd Service	M, N

Whether or not Set 2 would have extended to include Batten's first, third and fourth verse services remains unclear. The third and fourth are included in Set 3 (festal psalms and services) in any case, and C1 includes them all, in order. It is of some significance that Batten's third verse service features in the service sheet for June 1680, performed on Sunday 20th.<sup>22</sup> This tells us for certain that either the two missing books of Set 3 *had* been replaced, or that Set 2 did in fact extend beyond the end of ms C18 to include all of Batten's verse services, and that the other nine books of that set were in existence at that time. Of the services from Set 2 not chosen for C1 much can be said. The following have no organ part surviving at Durham, and may have become 'incomplete' during the Commonwealth:

*	Gibbs	To The Organ	Td, J, M, N
*	Frost	To The Organ	M, N
	Parsons, R [1]	Of 5 Parts	Td, Bs, K, C
	Parsons, R [2]	The Flat Service	Td, Bs

\* = possibly fallen from the repertoire by c.1635

The remaining services have surviving organ parts, but were not copied into ms C1. This in itself is not too significant though, as an important part-book may have gone astray, rendering the remaining books useless. Although only one book from the set survives today, ten were in existence at the inventory of c. 1665 (i.e. a complete

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<sup>22</sup> For a full examination of this service sheet, which is pasted inside the front cover of ms C17, see Crosby, 1980, pp. 399-401, and Dearnley, 1970, pp. 282-4.

set). This leaves the explanation that the music had simply fallen from favour.

Furthermore C13 and E11a also omit Farrant, Frost, Gibbs, Jeffries, and Randall (all marked with an asterisk), and these were copied in the 1630s after the production of the initial sets. Had these pieces already fallen from the repertoire by then?

* Farrant	For Verses	M, N
Mundy, W	Of 5 Parts	M, N
* Randall		M, N
Byrd	Great Service	V, Td, Bs, K, C, M, N
Hooper	Of 5 Parts	M, N
Mundy, W	1st Service	V, Td, Bs, K, C, M, N
Blanks		M, N
* Jeffries	For Meanes	V, Td, Bs, K, C, M, N

Having exhausted Set 2, the copyist now turns his attentions to Set 3, preces and festal psalms. Here the complete set is reproduced, though in a different order and interspersed with other music, in two corpuses on pp. 205-15 and 292-304. Tallis's short service, appearing at the end of the first fascicle and in a different, possibly pre-Restoration hand, is the only item from Set 4 (short services) to be included in C1. Its presence means that every set is represented to some degree; almost all of Sets 1 and 3, most of Sets 2 and 5, and one item from Set 4.

### **Durham Cathedral ms C15: tenor, anthems**

The early pages of this manuscript (pp. 1-77) are in the same untidy hand as the second fascicle of ms C1 (pp. 141-end). Though it is clearly a post-Restoration manuscript, the reasons for its copying are not clear. Both original tenor books from Set 1 (mss C9 and C10) were still in existence, suggesting that this book was intended for clergy use. In reproducing the full anthems of Set 1, it agrees with other post-Restoration books in omitting the Batten verse anthem *Almighty God, which in thy wrath*. Geeres's anthem *O praise the Lord of heaven*, added slightly later to the original members of the set, is also omitted from the first section of the book, appearing later on p. 64, though his other full anthem *The eyes of all* is represented



in its 'correct' place. As with BL79, Byrd's anthem *How long shall mine enemies* is out of place, appearing 11 items earlier than in the original books of the set.

Unlike most of the 1660s manuscripts, C15 does not represent any of the verse anthems of Set 1. On reaching the end of the original 40 full anthems there are eight further anthems that were 'added later still' to Set 1. These are all full anthems. The verse anthems 'added later' are not included. At this point the manuscript includes nine items which were added to the repertoire in the 1660s, many by the then organist, John Foster.

After the first section (p. 78) the manuscript was added to as new anthems came to hand, into the start of the 18th century.

### **Durham Cathedral ms C19: bass decani, anthems and services**

Ms C19 contains most of the anthems of Set 1 and Set 5, and can be used to confirm or contradict the evidence offered up by C1. Like C1 its original beginning is lost. Its first page was originally page 37, and it starts with the 21st full anthem of the 40 in Set 1. Full anthem 23, Batten's *Almighty God which in thy wrath* is in fact a verse anthem, and is not included in C19 at this point. The rest of the full anthems are all included (except for a group of five that presumably would have occupied original pp. 51-8 (now missing) between what are now pp. 14 and 15). Also absent is Geeres's anthem *The eyes of all*, a later addition to the original manuscripts.

At this point in C19 the Set 1 verse anthems would have followed, but at some time later in the century a further 70 pages were inserted, containing anthems from Set 5, later additions to Set 1 and new additions to the repertoire, as well as the corpus of anthems for men's voices. A glance at the original pagination confirms this page-shifting. The verse anthems of Set 1 agree with C1 in omitting the first two (Byrd's *Alack, when I look back*, and Mundy's *Ah, helpless wretch*), confirming their disappearance from the repertoire in the late 1620s on account of their non-biblical

texts. Also lacking is Giles's anthem *He that hath my commandments*, which is placed more correctly in the men's voices corpus.

All of the other 39 verse anthems are present from the original Set 1 corpus, though this time there is selectivity over those 'added later' and 'added later still' to the original corpus. Sets 1 and 5 become merged at this point in C19 (p. 206). The impression conveyed is of anthems being added at the end of the book as they were required or acquired.

### **Durham Cathedral ms C17: bass cantoris, anthems**

Ms C17 was copied in the late 1670s by lay-clerk John White. It is a bass cantoris anthem book, and is a replacement copy of a Set 1 book. All of the full anthems of Set 1 are still represented, some fifty years after its inception. As with C1 and C19, 'full anthem' number 23 (Batten's *Almighty God which in thy wrath*) is missing, presumably recopied into relevant verse anthem books, none of which survives today. The only surviving post-Restoration text of Batten's anthem at Durham is in ms C2\*, which is dated c. 1700.<sup>23</sup>

Once the full anthems of Set 1 are copied, as with ms C19, the picture becomes less clear. We are presented with an assortment of new items added to the repertoire in the 1660s, some of the later additions to Set 1, and some items from the latter anthems of Set 5. A body of anthems for men's voices (pp. 93-103) is followed by a further miscellany, and then by a more selective group of verse anthems from Set 1, in which 19 of the original 42 are represented. This is in contrast with mss C1 and C19, written around ten years earlier, which both included 39 of the 42. Neither C17 nor C19 emulate C1 in following the earlier system of numbering the anthems.

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<sup>23</sup> C2\* is the shelf mark of the manuscript, not to be confused with ms C2

### **Durham Cathedral ms C12: tenor cantoris, anthems and services**

Like ms C15, ms C12 is also a tenor book that repeats the full anthems of Set 1 when the original books were still in existence. Only 21 of the 40 full anthems of Set 1 are represented here, possibly showing that the hitherto stable repertoire was beginning to change dramatically. Initially it was felt that a list of the nineteen anthems dropped from the set at this point would have been useful, until it was appreciated that this list bore no relation to the sixteen full anthems discarded during the later reorganisation of the manuscripts in the 1690s. There are several missing from C12 which are included in C27, C28 and C34, copied some ten years later, and vice versa.

If it is felt that C12 could be a direct replacement for the pages that are now missing from the original tenor cantoris book C10, which lacks many of its original full anthems, then this would go some way to explaining the conundrum. Unfortunately only nine of the 21 full anthems in C12 are missing from C10. The remaining 12 are represented in both books. Furthermore, we cannot be sure that the works now missing from C10 were missing when C12 was compiled.

The only other explanation for the seemingly random selection of anthems is that, assuming both original tenor books from Set 1 were intact after the Restoration, C12 was compiled for a member of clergy who selected which works he wished to have included, and which not. Crosby mentions the possible link between C10 and C12.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> 1992, p. 227



**The British Library 'Durham exiles'**

British Library Add. mss. 30478 and 30479 have much in common. They are both for the tenor voice, both contain anthems, were produced in the 1660s and were specifically for the use of clergy rather than choir. The contents of both books follow a very clear, pre-conceived pattern, and this can easily be divided into sections that are in the same order in both books. Their contents are similar, though not identical: BL78 contains 232 items, and BL79 has 234. 203 are common to both. As both are now deposited in the British Library, it may be useful to include an annotated inventory here.

**British Library Add. ms 30478 [BL78]:  
tenor cantoris, anthems**

The manuscript is both foliated and paginated, though the pagination is the earlier system. Both are given here. Original pages 380-404 are missing. It has, bound into it, printed sections from a tenor copy of Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick* (1641). Inside the front cover is written

Purchased at Messrs. Sotheby's & Co 3 aug. 1877  
Geo. Davenport. 1664.

TENOR CANTORIS/A/BOOKE/of selected/CHVRCH-MVSIC/consisting of/FULL  
ANTHEMS/and/ANTHEMS w<sup>th</sup> VERSES/used in the/CATHEDRALL CHURCH/of  
/DURHAM/Anno Domini 1664/T. Blakiston: scripsit

Page	Folio	Composer	Title
1-52	1-30	Printed Music	
The first manuscript section contains the full anthems of Set 1, though presents them in a random order, and lacks the first three. Unlike many other post-Restoration manuscripts it includes the Batten verse anthem 'Almighty God, which in thy wrath', though it also omits ten full anthems, some of which are represented in the printed pages preceding.			

53	31	White, R	O how glorious
54		Morley	Out of the deep
55	32	Byrd	O God the proud
56		Parsons I	Deliver me from mine enemies
57	33	Weelkes	O how amiable
59	34	Parsons I	Holy Lord God almighty
60		Mundy, J	O give thanks unto the Lord
62		Byrd	O Lord give ear
63	36	Mundy, W	O Lord I bow the knees
65	37	Tallis	Blessed be thy name O God
66		Hooper	O thou God almighty
67	38	Tomkins, T	Almighty God the fountain
69	39	Byrd	Save me O God
70		Warrock	O God of my salvation
71	40	Batten	Almighty God which in thy wrath
72		Jeffries	Rejoice in the Lord
73	41	Byrd	How long shall mine enemies
75	42	Mundy, J	Give laud unto the Lord
77	43	White, W	Behold now praise the Lord
79	44	White, W	O praise God in his holiness
81	45	Read	God standeth
82		Rutter	Blessed is the man
83	46	Byrd	Arise O Lord why sleepest thou
85	47	Hilton	Call to remembrance
87	48	Palmer	O God whose nature

The next section contains the full anthems of those 'added later still' to Set 1, though makes a couple of omissions - Mudd's *Let thy merciful ears*, and Hooper's *Teach me thy way*. These are both copied later in the manuscript, on pages 152 and 153.

88		Yarrow	Almighty and everlasting God
89	49	Geeres	The eyes of all wait
90		Wilson	By the waters of Babylon
93	51	Nicholls	O pray for the peace
95	52	Foster	When the Lord turned
97	53	Foster	If the Lord himself
99	54	Foster	Glory be to God on high

The third corpus represents mostly music acquired in the 1660s, though with some items from the end of Set 5.

101	55	Stephenson	When the Lord turned
103	56	Tallis	Arise O Lord and hear my voice
104		Mundy, W	O Lord the maker of all things
106		Mundy, W	O Lord the world's saviour
108		Mudd	God which hast prepared
109	59	Hutchinson, R	Ye that fear the Lord
112		Loosemore	Praise the Lord O my soul
113	61	Hooper	I will magnify thee O Lord
114		Jeffries	Rejoice in the Lord
116		Jeffries	Praise the Lord ye servants
119	64	Allinson	Behold now praise the Lord
121	65	Pearson	Blow up the trumpet
123	66	Tomkins, T	O sing unto the Lord a new song

A new scribe begins with items acquired during the 1660s.

125	67	Hutchinson, J	Out of the deep
126		Hutchinson, J	O Lord let it be thy pleasure
127	68	Hutchinson, J	Grant we beseech thee
128		Parsons of Ex	Ever blessed Lord
129	69	Hutchinson, J	Behold how good and joyful
130		Foster	My song shall be of mercy
132		Heardson	Keep we beseech thee
133	71	Child	O Lord grant the king
134		Foster	Almighty and everlasting God who
135	72	Foster?	I am the resurrection
137	73	Gibbons, O	Arise O Lord
138		Strogers	O God be merciful
139	74	Hooper	Almighty God which hast given

The corpus of music for men's voices.

141	75	Mundy?	Rejoice in the Lord alway
142		Mundy?	Let us now laud
144		Giles	He that hath my commandments
145	77	Mundy	He that hath my commandments
146		Tallis	If ye love me
147	78	Mundy?	This is my commandment
149	79	Tallis	Hear the voice and prayer
151	80	Sheppard	Submit yourselves

A miscellany, though with some items 'added later' to Set 1.

152		Mudd	Let thy merciful ears
153	81	Hooper	Teach me thy way
154		Geeres	O praise the Lord of heaven
155	82	Jeffries	Sing we merrily
157	83	Taylor	Sing we merrily



158-176      84-91      Printed Music

The original scribe resumes with verse anthems from Set 1. As with all post-Restoration manuscripts he omits the first two, and omits ten of the remainder.

Again, some of these are represented in the preceding printed section.

177	92	Giles	O how happy a thing it is
177		Mundy, J	O God my strength and fortitude
179	93	Mundy, J	Blessed art thou
180		Giles	My Lord my God
181	94	Portman	Save me O God
183	95	Gibbons, O	Sing unto the Lord
184		Hooper	O God of Gods
187	97	Gibbons, O	We praise thee O Father
189	98	Bull	In thee O Lord
190		Tomkins, T	Blessed be the Lord God of Israel
191	99	Gibbons, O	This is the record of John
192		Morley	How long wilt thou forget me
194		Hutchinson, R	O God my heart prepared is
197	102	East	When Israel came out of Egypt
199	103	Fido	Hear me O Lord
201	104	Tomkins, T	Thou art my king O God
202		Hutchinson, R	O Lord I am not high minded
202		Smith, W	I will wash my hands
203	105	Parsons I?	Deliver me from mine enemies
204		Hind	O sing unto the Lord
206		Parsons of Ex	How many hired servants
207	107	Gibbons, O	Glorious and powerful God
208		Batten	Praise the Lord O my soul
211	109	Smith, E	If the Lord himself

Some items from Set 5 follow.

213	110	Tomkins, T	Above the stars
214		Parsons of Ex	Above the stars
215	111	Batten	Blessed are they
216		Wilkinson	Behold O Lord
217	112	Wilkinson	Help Lord
218		Ravenscroft	O let me hear thy loving kindness
220		Wilkinson	Deliver me O Lord
221	114	Batten	Hear my prayer O God
222		Batten	Hear my prayer O Lord
224		Cranford?	Hear my prayer O Lord
225	116	Wilkinson	O Lord my God
226		Wilkinson	Put me not to rebuke
227	117	Tomkins, T	Out of the deep
228		Giles	Have mercy upon me O God
229	118	Hilton	Hear my cry O God
231	119	Wilkinson	Hear my prayer O Lord

233	120	Portman	I will always give thanks
234		Weelkes	In thee O Lord
236		Tomkins, T	O pray for the peace
237	122	Cranford	I will love thee O Lord
238		Wilkinson	Lord how are they increased
240		Batten	O Lord thou hast searched
241	124	Tomkins, T	My help cometh of the Lord
242		Giles	Hear my prayer O Lord
243	125	Tozer	O Lord let me know mine end
245	126	Wilkinson	Preserve me O Lord
246		Wilkinson	Praise the Lord O ye servants
247	127	Hilton	Save me O God
248		Smith, W	O Lord which for our sakes
249	128	Wilkinson	O Lord consider my distress
250		Batten	Ponder my words O Lord
252		Wilkinson	Unto thee O Lord
253	130	Palmer	Almighty (Ash Wednesday)
254		Amner	I will sing unto the Lord

A new scribe continues with Set 5 material.

257	132	Tomkins, T	O pray for the peace
258		Mundy, J	O God my strength and fortitude
259	133	Hutchinson, R	Lord I am not high-minded
260		Portman	Behold how good and joyful
261	134	Smith, E	O praise God in his holiness
263	135	Gibbons, O	Blessed are all they
264		Tomkins, T	O Lord let me know mine end
265	136	Foster	What reward
266		Cutts	My days are gone like a shadow
267	137	Foster	Lord what is man
267	137	Gibbons, O	Hear O my people
268		Byrd	Hear my prayer O Lord
269	138	Pearson	I will magnify thee O Lord
270		Smith, W	My heart is set to laud the Lord
271	139	Hooper	O Lord in thee is all my trust
272		Cutts	O praise the Lord all ye angels
273	140	Giles	O Lord turn not away thy face
275	141	Byrd	Have mercy
276		Batten	Holy Lord God almighty
277	142	Child	Hear O my people
278		Batten	O Lord thou hast searched [attrib. Giles]

The following items were acquired post-Restoration.

280		Loosemore	Glory be to God on high
281	144	Gibbons, C	Have pity upon me O God
282		Giles	Out of the deep
283	145	Mudd	I will always give thanks
284		Lawes, W	The Lord is my light
286		Loosemore	Fear not shepherd
287	147	Bryne	I heard a voice in heaven



288		Loosemore	I will give thanks unto thee
291	149	Tucker	O give thanks
292		Tucker	My heart is fixed
293	150	Tucker	There were shepherds
294		Tucker	Comfort ye my people
294		Tucker	This is the day
295	151	Tucker	Wherewithal shall a young man
296		Nicholls	I will give thanks unto thee O Lord

The next group begins with the original section of Set 5. There is a new scribe, and the section is headed

Tenor Cantoris Anthems with verses for Holy-Dayes Anno Domini  
1664 MDCCXIV

As with BL79 the scribe omits the first anthem, Gibbons's *This is the record of John*, on account of its duplication in Set 1.

301	153	Gibbons, O	Behold I bring you glad tidings
302		Smith, W	I will preach the law
304		Tomkins, T	Stephen being full
305	155	Geeres	Merciful Lord we beseech thee
306		Bull	Almighty God who by the leading
306		Palmer	Almighty God whose praise
308		Smith, W	O God which hast taught
309	157	Smith, El	How is the gold become dim
310		Tomkins, T	Almighty and everlasting God
311	158	Smith, W	Almighty and everlasting God
312		Palmer	Almighty and everlasting God we
313	159	Batten	Turn thou us O good Lord
315	160	Palmer	Almighty (Ash Wednesday)
316		Tomkins, J	Turn thou us good Lord
317	161	Hooper	The blessed Lamb
319	162	Juxon	Christ rising again
321	163	Gibbons, O	If ye be risen again
322		Deering	Almighty God which through
324		Smith, W	Grant we beseech thee
325	165	East	O clap your hands
326		Mundy, J	O Lord our governor
328		Gibbons, O	O God the king of glory
330		Gibbons, O	Glorious and powerful God
331	168	Tomkins, T	Behold the hour cometh
333	169	Giles	God which on this day
335	170	Gibbons, O	Grant Holy Trinity
336		Byrd	Thou O God that guidest
337	171	Weelkes	Give the king thy judgements
338		Cranford	O Lord make thy servant
339	172	Loosemore	Give the king thy judgements



341	173	East	As they departed
342		Gibbons, O	Almighty God
343	174	Giles	Everlasting God
344		Batten	I heard a voice
345	175	Tomkins, T	Almighty God which hast knit
346		Weelkes	Halleluiah: I heard a voice
347	176	Smith, E	If the Lord himself
348		Tomkins, T	Jesus came when the doors

A new scribe continues here, with material from later in Set 5.

349	177	King	I will always give thanks
350		Giles	God which as at this time
352		Gibbs	See sinful soul
353	179	Smith, W	O God which hast taught
354		Batten	I heard a voice
355	180	Mundy, J	Send aid
357	181	Juxon	Christ rising again
358		Carr	In thee O Lord
360		Child	O God wherefore art thou absent
361	183	Foster	Almighty God who seest
362		Foster	Set up thyself O God

The index to the manuscript stops here, showing that the last section was an afterthought. The page numbering also becomes confused in more than one instance. The remainder of the book is clearly predominantly late-17th-century music.

363	184	Child	O let my mouth be filled
363	184	Child	Thou art my king O God
364		Child	Blessed be the Lord God
364		Child	O sing unto the Lord
365	185	Child	O clap your hands
365	185	Child	O praise the Lord, laud ye
367	186	Child	O pray for the peace
368		Child	Gloria in excelsis [in D sol re]
369	187	King	Lord how are they increased
370		Portman?	I will always give thanks
371	188	Wise	Have pity upon me O ye my friends
372		Wise?	By the waters of Babylon
373		Harte?	Thou O God art praised
374		Gibbons, C	Teach me O Lord the way
375	190	Tucker	Lord how long
377		anon	Like as the hart desires
379	192	Tucker	I will magnify thee
405		Child	Service in D solre Td, J, K, Cr, M, N
413		Tucker	Service in F Be, J, K, Cr, M, N
420		Child	Service in C fa ut Td, J, S, K, Cr [inc], M, N

425	205	Hutchinson, J	Lift up your heads
426		Greggs	The Lord hear thee
426		Hutchinson, J	O God the proud
426		Purcell	O praise the Lord all ye heathen
427		Mudd	O God thou art my God
428		Blow	O God wherefore art thou absent
429	208	Lawes, H	My song shall be of mercy
431	209	Wise	How are the mighty fallen

**British Library Add. ms 30479 [BL79]:  
tenor cantoris, anthems**

The first 170 pages are in the hand of one scribe, Alexander Shaw. Altogether the manuscript contains 234 works, 31 of which are not found in BL78. Inside the front cover is written

*Anthemes Tenor Cantoris Preb VII I.B. MDCLXX*

The owner of the book in 1670 was Isaac Basire, holder of the 7th Prebendal stall.

The manuscript begins by copying the full anthems from Set 1 in the correct order. Missing is the verse anthem by Batten, *Almighty God which in thy wrath*. This was erroneously included in the full anthems section of Set 1 in the 1620s. Apart from one inconsistency (Byrd's, *How long shall mine enemies*), the manuscript follows exactly the order of the original Set 1 books:

Folio	Composer	Title
5r	White, R	The Lord bless us
5v	Tallis	I call and cry
6v	Hooper	Behold it is Christ
7r	White, R	O how glorious
7v	Giles	O give thanks unto the Lord
8v	Byrd	O Lord make thy servant
9r	Morley	Out of the deep
10r	Byrd	O God the proud
11r	Byrd	Sing joyfully
11v	Tye	I lift my heart to thee
12v	Parsons I	Deliver me from mine enemies
13r	Byrd	Save me O God
14r	Weelkes	O how amiable
14v	Parsons I	Holy Lord God almighty
15v	Mundy, J	O give thanks unto the Lord
17r	Byrd	O Lord give ear
17v	Mundy, W	O Lord I bow the knees

18v	Tallis	Blessed be thy name O God
19r	Hooper	O thou God almighty
19v	Tomkins, T	Almighty God the fountain
20v	Jeffries	Rejoice in the Lord
21v	White, W	O praise God in his holiness
22v	Taylor	Sing we merrily
23v	Gibbons, O	Almighty and everlasting God
24r	Gibbons, O	Hosanna to the Son of David
25r	Byrd	How long shall mine enemies
26r	Geeres	O praise the Lord of heaven
27r	Warrock	O God of my salvation
27v	Palmer	O God whose nature
28r	Byrd	Prevent us O Lord
29r	Mundy, J	Give laud unto the Lord
29v	Read	God standeth
30r	Byrd	Let not thy wrath O Lord
32r	Rutter	Blessed is the man
32v	Byrd	Arise O Lord why sleepest thou
33v	White, W	Behold now praise the Lord
34v	Hilton	Call to remembrance
35v	Hooper	Almighty God which hast given
36r	Geeres	The eyes of all wait

This is the end of the full anthems fundamental to Set 1. In the original books of the set the verse anthems followed at this point, and then a mixture of full and verse anthems that came to hand during the copying of the books in the 1620s and 30s. In this manuscript, however, the scribe divides the later items into their respective categories of full and verse, and copies them at the appropriate place. Here follow the full items 'added later' and 'added later still'. The verse items 'added later' and 'added later still' to Set 1 follow the verse section of this book, on f.109v.

37r	Nicholls	O pray for the peace
37v	Yarrow	Almighty and everlasting God
38v	Foster	When the Lord turned
39v	Foster	If the Lord himself
40v	Wilson	By the waters of Babylon
43r	Mudd	Let thy merciful ears
43r	Hooper	Teach me thy way
44r	Foster	Glory be to God on high

Following the end of Set 1 full anthems is a miscellany of items, most of which would have been acquired since its completion, either in the 1640s or, more likely, the early 1660s. There are also some items from Set 5, all of which appear towards the very end in the original books of that set.



45r	?Foster	I am the resurrection
45v	Foster	I heard a voice from heaven
46r	Hooper	I will magnify thee O Lord
47r	Gibbons, O	Lift up your heads
48r	Jeffries	Sing we merrily
49r	Jeffries	Praise the Lord ye servants
50r	Allinson	Behold now praise the Lord
51r	Pearson	Blow up the trumpet
52r	Tomkins, T	O sing unto the Lord a new song
53r	Stephenson	When the Lord turned
54r	Tallis	Arise O Lord and hear my voice
55r	Mundy, W	O Lord the maker
56r	Mundy, W	O Lord the world's saviour
57r	Strogers	O God be merciful
57v	Mudd	God which hast prepared
58v	Hutchinson, R	Ye that fear the Lord

Items acquired in the 1660s.

60r	Loosemore	Praise the Lord O my soul
60v	Foster	Almighty and everlasting God who art always
61v	Hutchinson, J	Behold how good and joyful
62v	Foster	My song shall be of mercy
63v	Heardson	Keep we beseech thee
64r	Hutchinson, J	Out of the deep
65r	Batten	O praise the Lord all ye heathen

The corpus for men's voices follows, all full anthems.

65v	Mundy?	Rejoice in the Lord alway
66v	Mundy?	Let us now laud
67r	Giles	He that hath my commandments
68r	Mundy	He that hath my commandments
69r	Tallis	If ye love me
69v	Mundy?	This is my commandment
70r	Tallis	Hear the voice and prayer
71r	Sheppard	Submit yourselves

More material acquired in the 1660s.

72r	Parsons of Ex	Ever blessed Lord
73r	Child	O Lord grant the king
73v	Hutchinson, J	O Lord let it be thy pleasure
74r	Hutchinson, J	Grant we beseech thee
75r	Carr	In thee, O Lord
76r	Foster	Almighty God who seest

A corpus added later.

76v	Child	O God wherefore art thou absent
77r	Child	Gloria in excelsis [in D sol re]
77v	Child	O clap your hands
78r	Child	Blessed be the Lord God
79r	Child	O praise the Lord, laud ye
80r	Stonard	My God my God look upon me
80v	Stonard	Hear O my people

The manuscript has nine blank pages here before the start of the verse anthems.

This was provision for the addition of more full anthems when they came to hand, as with the preceding group. The verse anthem section begins with music from Set 1.

As with several other 1660s manuscripts, this book omits the first two verse anthems: Byrd's *Alack when I look back*, and Mundy's *Ah, helpless wretch*. Their non-biblical texts is the probable explanation for their demise.

There are four further omissions from the verse anthems of Set 1:

	Bull	Deliver us O Lord
	Hooper	O Lord turn not away
	Giles	He that hath my commandments (but see 67r)
	Parsons	How many hired servants
81r	Morley	Out of the deep
82v	Mundy, J	O God my strength and fortitude
82v	Giles	O how happy a thing it is
83v	Mundy, J	Blessed art thou that fearest God
84v	Giles	My Lord my God
85r	Ward	Let God arise
86r	Pearson	I will magnify thee O Lord
87r	Portman	Save me O God
87r	Gibbons, O	Sing unto the Lord
88r	Gibbons, O	Grant Holy Trinity
89r	Gibbons, O	The secret sins
89r	Byrd	Behold O God
90r	Hooper	O God of Gods
91v	Tomkins, T	Thou art my king O God
92r	Gibbons, O	We praise thee O Father
93r	Smith, W	I will wash my hands
93v	Hutchinson, R	Lord I am not high-minded
94r	Tomkins, T	Give sentence with me
94r	Hind	O sing unto the Lord
95v	Gibbons, O	Glorious and powerful God
96v	Portman	Behold how good and joyful
97r	Batten	Praise the Lord O my soul
98r	Smith, E	If the Lord himself
99r	Weelkes	Give the king thy judgements

99v	Smith, E	O praise God in his holiness
100v	Fido	Hear me O Lord
101v	Gibbons, O	Blessed are all they
102v	Bull	In thee O Lord
103r	Tomkins, T	O Lord let me know mine end
104r	Gibbons, O	Behold thou hast made my days
104v	Tomkins, T	Blessed be the Lord God of Israel
105r	Gibbons, O	This is the record of John
105v	Morley	How long wilt thou forget me
106v	Smith, W	My heart is set to laud the Lord
107r	Hutchinson, R	O God my heart prepared is
108r	East	When Israel came out of Egypt

This concludes the original material from Set 1. The following four items are verse anthems from the 'added later' pieces.

109v	Giles	I will magnify thee O Lord
110r	Mundy, J	Send aid
111r	Smith, E	O Lord consider my distress
111v	Hooper	O Lord in thee is all my trust

A small corpus of items acquired mostly in the 1660s.

112r	Foster	What reward
112v	Giles	O Lord turn not away thy face
113r	Byrd	Have mercy
114r	Foster	Set up thyself O God
114v	Loosemore	Give the king thy judgements
115v	Bryne	I heard a voice
116r	Tucker	O give thanks
116v	Tucker	My heart is fixed
117r	Tucker	There were shepherds
117v	Tucker	This is the day
118r	Tucker	Wherewithal shall a young man
118v	Tucker	Comfort ye my people

The next corpus consists of items from the second original section of Set 5 - after the end of the anthems allotted to particular feast days is a large chunk of general anthems. Four anthems are missing from this corpus, and their absence cannot be explained, particularly as they occur in several other post-Restoration manuscripts, including BL78:

Smith W	Grant we beseech thee
Mundy J	O Lord our Governor
East	As they departed
Byrd	Thou O God that guidest



119r	Batten	Holy Lord God Almighty
119v	Wilkinson	Praise the Lord O ye servants
120r	Cranford	I will love thee O Lord
120v	Child	Hear O my people
121r	Tomkins, T	My help cometh of the Lord
122r	Gale	O how amiable
122v	Tomkins, T	Above the stars
123r	Batten	O Lord thou hast searched
123v	Batten	Ponder my words O Lord
124v	Batten	Hear my prayer O God
125r	Batten	Hear my prayer O Lord
126r	Giles	O hear my prayer O Lord
126v	Cranford?	Hear my prayer O Lord
127r	Byrd	Hear my prayer O Lord
127v	Hilton	Save me O God
128v	Wilkinson	Preserve me O Lord
129r	Wilkinson	Behold O Lord
130r	Ravenscroft	O let me hear thy loving kindness
131r	Wilkinson	Help Lord
131v	Tomkins, T	O pray for the peace
132r	Weelkes	In thee O Lord
133r	Parsons of Ex	Above the stars
133v	Hilton	Hear my cry O God
134v	Giles	Out of the deep
135r	Tomkins, T	Out of the deep
135v	Batten	Out of the deep
136r	Giles	Have mercy upon me O God
137r	Tozer	O Lord let me know mine end
138r	Wilkinson	Put me not to rebuke
138v	Wilkinson	O Lord consider my distress
139v	Wilkinson	O Lord my God
140r	Wilkinson	Hear my prayer O Lord
140v	Wilkinson	Unto thee O Lord
141v	Wilkinson	Lord how are they increased
142v	Wilkinson	Deliver me O Lord
143 v	Amner	I will sing unto the Lord
144r	Cutts	O praise the Lord all ye angels of his
144v	Cutts	My days are gone like a shadow
144v	Foster	Lord what is man

There are two blank ruled pages before the next section. The anthems of Set 5 follow, beginning with the second anthem of the original set. The first, Gibbons's *This is the record of John* also appears in Set 1, and for this reason was not included twice.

146v	Gibbons, O	Behold I bring you glad tidings
147r	Smith, W	I will preach the law
148r	Tomkins, T	Stephen being full of the Holy Ghost

148r	Geeres	Merciful Lord we beseech thee
149r	Hooper	Almighty God which hast made
149v	Palmer	Almighty God whose praise this day
149v	Bull	Almighty God which by the leading
150v	Batten	Turn thou us O good Lord
151v	Palmer	Almighty and everlasting God which hatest
152r	Smith, W	O Lord which for our sakes
152v	Palmer	Almighty and everlasting God who of
153r	Tomkins, J	Turn thou us O good Lord
154r	Gibbs	See sinful soul
154v	Hooper	The blessed lamb
155v	Juxon	Christ rising again
156v	Byrd	Christ rising
157v	Gibbons, O	If ye be risen again
158v	Deering	Almighty God which through
159v	Gibbons, O	O God the king of glory
160v	East	O clap your hands
161v	Giles	God which on this day
162v	Tomkins, T	Behold the hour cometh
163r	Tomkins, T	Almighty and everlasting God
163r	Tomkins, T	Jesus came when the doors were shut
164r	Smith, W	Almighty and everlasting God
164v	Palmer	Almighty and everlasting God we humbly
165r	Smith, W	O God which hast taught
165v	Gibbons, O	Almighty God, who by thy son
166r	Giles	Everlasting God
166v	Tomkins, T	Almighty God which hast knit together
167v	Weelkes	Halleluiah: I heard a voice
168r	Cranford	O Lord make thy servant
169r	Smith, El	How is the gold become dim?
170r	Batten	I heard a voice

The second scribe begins his work here. He completes the copying of Sets 1 and 5, the last four items of this following group represent works inadvertently omitted earlier in the manuscript.

170v	King	I will always give thanks
171r	Mudd	I will always give thanks
171v	Lawes, W	The Lord is my light
172v	Loosemore	Glory be to God on high
173r	Gibbons, O	God which at this time
174r	Gibbons, O	Arise O Lord
174r	Weelkes	O Lord how joyful is the king
176r	Parsons of Ex	How many hired servants

A third scribe finishes the manuscript from here, with material acquired post-Restoration.

177r	Child	O pray for the peace
178r	Child	O let my mouth be filled
178v	Child	O sing unto the Lord
178v	Child	Thou art my king O God
179r	King	Praise ye the Lord
179v	Nicholls	I will give thanks unto thee O Lord
180r	Lawes, H	My song shall be of mercy
181v	Loosemore	I will give thanks unto thee
183r	Loosemore	Fear not shepherd
184r	Weelkes	Successive course [sic]

The final item is worthy of note. It is unique to this manuscript, and is a verse anthem with a metrical text, part of which runs:

That mightie god that humble spirits rayes  
 assist my spirit that I may sing his praises....  
 .... How long deare Jesu, come sweet Christ O when  
 come soon Lord Jesu Christ, come soon, Amen.



**The re-ordering of the manuscripts in the late 17th century**

In the sixty years following the 1625 reorganisation of the manuscripts, much new material had been added to the repertoire. Comparatively only a small amount of music fell from regular use, because it was either unsuited to the changing taste, or of poor quality. Some books were lost, and most of these were replaced. Much of the new music had been squeezed into spaces in part-books, or at reverse ends, and by the 1680s the music books were in an untidy state.

**Matthew Owen**

On the death of John White in 1687, Matthew Owen was appointed to replace him. White had been a chorister, lay-clerk and schoolteacher, and was active as a copyist. It is possible that Owen's ability as a copyist was a contributory factor in his appointment, though there is no documentary evidence for this. Owen arrived at Durham on 23 December, 1687, and his first bill for copying was presented on 21 August the following year:<sup>25</sup>

	£	s	d
Prickt into ye Base books 79 sheets & a halfe	3	19	6
Prickt into ye Tenor & Contra Tenor books 58 sheets & a halfe	2	18	6
Prickt into ye Boys books 26 sheets & a halfe	1	6	6

At a total of £8 4s 6d this represented a payment of one shilling per sheet for 164½ sheets. A sheet was four pages of music, giving a rate of 3d per page for 658 pages.

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<sup>25</sup> Post-dissolution loose papers box 25

Illustration 1: Owen's first bill of 1688:

Bill for y<sup>e</sup> R<sup>t</sup> Hon<sup>ble</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Dean  
& y<sup>e</sup> Reverend y<sup>e</sup> Chapter, for Pricking  
Services & Anthems, into y<sup>e</sup> severall  
Books, belonging to y<sup>e</sup> Quire?!

Prickt into y<sup>e</sup> Base books 79 sheets & a halfe. 3-19-8  
Prickt into y<sup>e</sup> Tenor & contra Tenor books 58 sheets 2-18-6  
& a halfe.

Prickt into y<sup>e</sup> Boys books 26 sheets & a halfe. 1-6-6  
Paid by Mr. Kirkby to Mr. Henry Smith  
for 2 Setts of Singing Books by the  
Order of Mr. Dean. 10-5-0

8-9-6

21<sup>o</sup> Aug. 1688

Denis Granville Dean

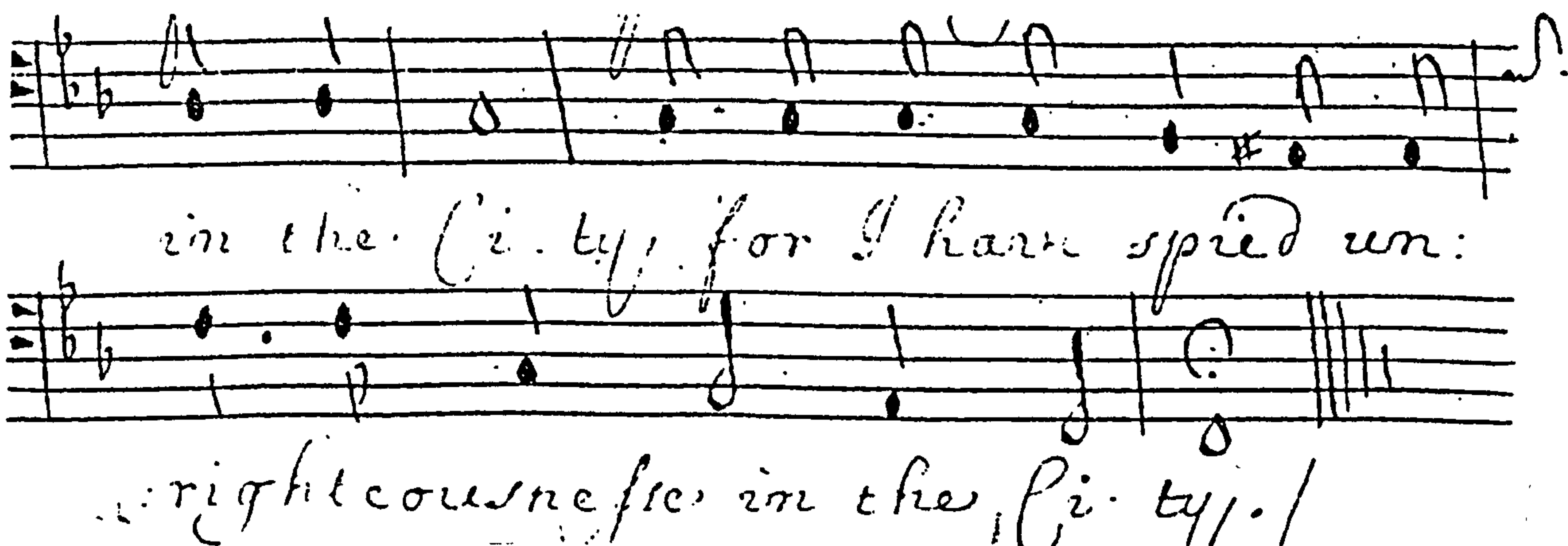
£89 9<sup>s</sup> Eight pounds  
Nine shillings and Six  
pence in full of this  
bill by Mr

William Cramme Treasur

Matthew Owen.

J. R. Kirkby Rector

Illustration 2: Owen's hand (C14: 204)



His bill for 1688/9 is even more detailed, showing how he copied a small number of pages into each of the choir books.<sup>26</sup> The total payment represents 904 pages.

	sh		sh
Mr Milners serv: book	4½	Mr Smiths serv: bk	6
Nich: Wilsons	6	Hen: Smiths	8½
Mr. Hawkins	13	Tho: Parkinson	12
Mr. Neiles	3½	Ro: Wilsons	8
Hen. Parkinson	4	Mr. Smarts	7
Boys 2 books	25½	Mr. Lises	5½
		Boys 2 books	17
Mr. Milners anthem book	7	Mr Smiths an: book	11
Mat: Owens	5½	Tho: Parkinson	3
Nich. Wilsons	12½	Ro: Wilsons	4
Mr. Hawkins	9	Mr. Smarts	3
Mr. Neiles	8½	Mr Lises	2
Hen. Parkinsons	10	Boys 2 books	8½
Boys 2 books	19		
Totall	11	3	6

This bill gives a good deal of information on the state of the manuscripts at the time. Firstly it shows that the original books were still being added to bit by bit. Manuscripts such as C7, C8, and C14, begun in the 1620s and 30s have corpuses of music in Owen's hand. From the differing number of pages contributed to each book, it shows that there was no unanimity in the contents of each book. If Owen were simply adding a new service to all the books as it came to hand, this would be reflected by a similar number of pages added to each book. We can also see that, whereas the men had one book each for services and anthems, the boys had two per side. In the 17th century there were only ten choristers, and it is hard to imagine five boys per side sharing one book, as they clearly must have done until at least the 1660s. Was the second book to make reading easier, or was it for learning from in the song school? Again, there is nothing to support either theory, though one cannot escape the feeling that, with so much music containing verse material and side divisions, what little music each individual boy may have had to sing could have

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<sup>26</sup> *ibid.*



been fairly easily committed to memory, and the books were being used as little more than a guide to entries.

Owen's next surviving bill covers the two years from November 1689 to November 1691, and represents what is probably the beginning of the reorganisation of the manuscripts:<sup>27</sup>

	£ s d [pages]
A new service book.	03 05 06 [262]
A new anthem book.	03 19 00 [316]
Mr Praecentor's anthem book.	00 16 00 [64]
Mr Foster's anthem book.	00 14 03 [57]
Nich. Wilsons anthem book.	00 16 06 [66]
Tho: Parkinsons anthem book.	00 09 03 [37]
Tenor anthem books Decani.	00 14 06 [58]
Tenor anthem books Cantoris.	00 14 09 [59]
Contra-tenor anthem books Decani	00 16 03 [65]
Contra-tenor anthem books Cantoris.	00 15 06 [62]
Boys anthem books Decani.	00 09 03 [37]
Boys anthem books Cantoris.	00 08 09 [35]
Total	13 19 06 [1,118]

The first two items in this list refer to new books, rather than pages added to existing books. Though the number of pages is not given in this bill, even at the 1688 rate of 3d per page, these new books would have 262 and 316 pages respectively. Of the seven surviving books which were started by Owen (mss C26, C27, C28, C31, C32, C33 and C34) all have roughly between 250 and 300 pages in his hand, though none matches the numbers in this bill exactly. Allowing for the fact that further books may have gone astray, we can say no more than that the anthem book was very probably one of mss C27, C28 and C34, and the service book one of mss C26, C31, C32 and C33.

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<sup>27</sup> *ibid.*

A further bill from Owen survives, dated 20 November 1694:<sup>28</sup>

For writing & pricking 2 new books for Mr. Hartis & Mr. Leeke being a Service book & an anthem book containing 56 sheets in writing & pricking at 2s 6d p. sheet.	£	s	d
	07	00	00
For writing & pricking 2 new services into the severall books of the church	02	05	06
[Total for 297 pages]	09	05	06

The significant factor here is the increase in remuneration from 1s per sheet to 2s 6d over a space of six years, more than doubling from 3d to 7½d per page. In 1686 the rate was 1s per sheet for choir books and 1s 6d for organ books (presumably on account of the greater number of notes per page). In 1691 the organist William Greggs was paid 2s per sheet for copying in the organ book, and this had risen to 2s 6d by 1694.

Though these are the only detailed bills surviving, it can be seen that from November 1689 through to November 1694 at least four new books were begun by Owen. A total of seven survive today, and the fact that these are all for the bass voice gives rise to the possibility that more were copied and lost. It is possible, though, that only the bass books were deemed necessary for re-copying. Evidence on this matter is inconclusive; it could be claimed that the medius, alto and tenor 1620s books were still in a fairly healthy state, yet the two bass books from Set 1 were recent replacements, so there ought to have been no need to copy these anthems afresh. The two original bass books from Set 5 are missing, and therefore we would expect to find this material in the books from the 1690s.

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<sup>28</sup> Post-dissolution loose papers box 26

Though no further bills from Owen survive, the Audit Books help to fill out the picture with records of payments, as follows:

20 November 1690	<i>Treasurer's discharge</i>	10 00 00
4 June 1692	<i>for pricking</i>	05 00 00
23 May 1692	<i>for pricking</i>	11 00 00
17 October 1692	<i>pricking</i>	10 18 00
1695/6	<i>for his song books</i>	10 00 00

All but the first relate directly to copying. A glance at the surviving music in Owen's hand shows that he is responsible for over 1700 pages in the seven new bass books alone. At 1s per sheet this would amount to over £20, though this figure would be more than doubled if the 2s 6d rate was prevalent, as it was by 1694.

There must have been many more payments to Owen which have not survived, as his surviving legacy numbers well over two thousand pages. There are no payments for 1693, yet the end of his copying in C33 (page 317) is dated 21 May 1693.

Owen became a minor canon towards the end of 1688. He must have been either absent or ill for much of 1692, as a John Proud signs for his salary in March, June and September, with Owen signing again in December. Early in 1695 he moved to Bywell, where his salary of £58 a year was a considerable increase on £25 as a minor canon. On 2 February that year Chapter ordered

That Mr. Owen have Three Trees from Muggleswith towards the building [sic] his vicarage house of Bywell St. Peter<sup>29</sup>

A further six trees were ordered on 20 April, and the following year five hundred slatting lathes. Bywell is in Northumberland, some twenty miles north west of Durham, and this may have been the reason Owen's salary is signed for by friends and never himself. We can be fairly sure that his move brought to an end his copying activities.

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<sup>29</sup> Chapter Act Book 1690-1729



A note in the Chapter Act Book for November 1690 states

That if Mr. Owen leave his Song Books in the Church he shall be payd for them as Mr. Dean & ye P.<sup>e</sup>centor think fitt.

They must have decided on ten pounds, for two receipts from Owen survive. One is dated 6 November 1695<sup>30</sup> for 40 shillings for

2 Song bookes which I have left for the use of ye Quire of Durham

and, on 8 August 1696,

A further £8 in respect of above rec'd by John Proud for ye use of Mr Owen

These two payments correspond with the £10 payment mentioned in the Audit books. It is not clear exactly which books these were. The ones he was paid for copying would belong to the Cathedral, so these must have been separate from the books used by the choir. The only other mention of Owen is again in the audit books for 1699, the year of his death, when he is paid £2 *In Eleemoysinis*.

## The manuscripts of the 1690s

The seven surviving manuscripts begun by Owen between 1689 and 1694 can be divided into two groups as follows:

Anthem books: mss C27, C28, C34

Service books: mss C26, C31, C32, C33

A close examination will reveal how the repertoire had changed in the second half of the century. That both groups of manuscripts contain verse and full material gives a strong indication that they contained between them the entire repertoire of the day.

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<sup>30</sup> *ibid.*

The most significant feature of the manuscripts is the fact that the concept of sets is abandoned. In the fifty years since the division of music into sets much new material had come to hand, and much old material had ceased to be used.

## Anthem books

It is clear that the full anthems of Set 1 proved much more durable than the verse anthems later in the century. Mss C1 and C19, both copied in the 1660s, included 39 of the original 42 verse anthems. In 1675, ms C17 used only 19, whilst retaining all 40 full anthems. In the books Owen copied in the 1690s, 27 of the 40 full anthems are retained, though not all appear in all three books. Byrd's *O Lord make thy servant* appears in ms C34, but not C27 or 28; John Mundy's *Give laud unto the Lord* only in C27, and Gibbons's *This is the record of John* not in C28.

In contrast only five verse anthems survive:

Gibbons	Sing unto the Lord
Gibbons	Glorious and powerful God
Gibbons	Behold, thou hast made my days
Gibbons	This is the record of John.
Tomkins	Thou art my king, O God

A probable reason for the demise of the original verse anthems is the emergence of the newer, Italianate style of writing in the 1670s. The majority of new post-Restoration anthems acquired by Durham were in the verse style, and limitations of size of repertoire would have condemned many existing verse anthems to obscurity. Whilst the style of the new verse anthem differed greatly from that of its pre-Restoration model, incorporating such 'modern' features as lengthy virtuosic verses, ritornellos and obligatory concluding 'hallelujah chorus', the full anthem did not change in structure, and only slightly in harmonic 'flavour'. Thus the anthems composed in the late-16th and early-17th centuries would not have appeared so outmoded. It is no coincidence that the five surviving verse anthems are of the

highest quality, and are still sung regularly today, whereas many that were not retained are at best second-rate.

Though the 'set system' was abandoned, the music in mss C27, C28 and C34 does have an organised layout. The anthems do not appear in exactly the same order in each, as they did in the original books, but they mostly fall within groups that relate to earlier corpuses. Each book is divided into two sections - full anthems at the front, and verse at the back. The popularity of verse over full anthems is reflected in the fact that full anthems occupy only one third of the 300 or so pages of each book. The first 50 pages are made up of early works: a large group of full anthems from Set 1, a smaller corpus of anthems from Set 5, and a handful of items from the 1660s, mostly by Foster. A group of eight full anthems by Child, acquired during the 1660s, is followed by anthems from later in the century by composers such as Purcell, Blow and Tucker.

At the end of the original full anthems in each book Owen left a gap of approximately ten pages for the addition of anthems acquired in the future. The verse anthem sections begin with a handful of anthems added to the repertoire in the 1660s before copying the pre-Restoration survivors. The books conclude with a lengthy section of contemporary verse anthems, many of which, bearing in mind the vogue for extended bass verses, run to several pages.

Whilst Owen copied all but the last few pages of ms C34, the other two anthem books were added to extensively in the 18th century. Page 605 of ms C28 is dated September 1794.



## Service books

There is more evidence in the service books of 16th- and early 17th-century material, though again it is the music for full choir rather than verse settings that is retained. Set 4 (short services) has only one survivor in ms C8, but of its 18 original items dating from the 1620s, nine survive into the books Owen copied in the 1690s. Included in these are the 'evergreen' settings by Tallis, Byrd, Gibbons and Richard Farrant, all of which are still sung regularly at Durham and elsewhere today, and also settings by Derrick, William Mundy, Patrick, Reed and Tomkins. To these nine can be added four more settings that do not appear in ms C8 but are short services dating from the time C8 was copied. The settings by Weelkes and Wilkinson appear in ms A6 (1630s) and services by Thomas Boyce and John Farrant in ms C13 (also 1630s).

The four service books begun by Owen, mss C26, C31, C32 and C33, all begin with a corpus of services that comprises of the 13 mentioned above, and a further seven that were composed and/or acquired shortly after the Restoration, by Batten, Bevin, Bryne, Foster, Loosemore, Nicholls, and Parsons (II, of Exeter). Ms C8, the original member of Set 4, and ms E11a (a composite manuscript of the 1630s comprised mainly of the services and festal psalms of Sets 2, 3 and 4) both grouped the services liturgically, with the music for matins at the front, the communion in the middle, and evensong at the end. Thus, in C8 one would find the Te Deum and Benedictus for Byrd's short service on pages 12-18, the Kyrie and Creed on pages 167-70, and the Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis on pages 247-52. In Owen's manuscripts the music is grouped together by setting rather than liturgically. In C26 all of Byrd's short service can be found between pages 9-17.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> There is confusion at Durham and Peterhouse pertaining to the Kyrie and Creed of Byrd's short service, resulting in a second Kyrie and Creed being copied on pages 168-70. It would seem that the first version Durham obtained was not the Byrd 'original', though it was included in mss A1 and C8 (the original 1620s and 30s books). This version, though still in 'D minor', is mainly in four parts. A five part

A further point regarding the 'early corpus' is the fact that, as with the 1690s anthem books, it is not segregated within itself into 'original', 'added later', and 'post-Restoration additions'. The music is simply all branded together as 'early', which, by the standards of the day, it clearly was. Much of it a hundred years old or more, it would have seemed quite different from the much fresher sounding 'modern' settings by Purcell, Tucker and Blow.

After the initial 'early' corpus is a gap of several pages, possibly for the addition of any other pre-Restoration settings that may come back into favour. It is difficult to think of what else may have been intended for these pages, for here the services are divided into early and contemporary, rather than full and verse. Owen would have known exactly which early services were still in use at the time. It would not be likely that an Elizabethan full setting would find its way to Durham in the 1690s. Following the gap is a large corpus of eight services by Child, occupying over 50 pages in each book, and then settings by Blow, Humphrey and Tucker. As with the anthem books, there are additions well into the following century.

## Conclusions

In total, less than a quarter of the 300 anthems, services and festal psalms in use up to the Commonwealth were retained into the 18th century. The service sheet for June 1680, pasted inside the cover of ms C17 bears no trace of any music that can be said to be in the 'new style'. A good deal of its contents are pre-Restoration, and the rest are 1660s additions to the repertoire. The stability of the repertoire this far into the century owes much to the fact that Durham organists up to this point had all been appointed 'in-house'. All were previously choristers and/or lay-clerks, and as

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version is standard in all other sources, and this seems to have reached Durham after the Restoration, as it is found in mss A3, C13v and later mss. The chaos is replicated at Peterhouse, with both Kyrie and Creeds represented in the Caroline manuscripts, though not in any Durham hand. Peterhouse ms 488: O1 has the rubric "This is ye Right Creed", illustrating that confusion abounded even in the 1630s.



such would be more likely to stick with a formula with which they were acquainted. The arrival of William Greggs as organist in 1682 was the appointment that broke this tradition. Greggs had previously been a songman and master of the choristers at York. A composer himself, Greggs contributed several anthems very much in the new style to the repertoire. A minute in the Chapter Act Book for 1 December, 1686 reads

Agreed that Mr. Greggs the Organist have Leave for three months to goe to London to improve himself in the Skill of Musicke.

There can be little doubt that he would have returned with fresh ideas and a good deal of new music for the choir. This would have resulted in the major re-organisation of the manuscripts undertaken by Owen starting in the late 1680s.

This study of the post-Restoration manuscripts demonstrates the stability of the repertoire under organist John Foster. We have seen how those manuscripts which were damaged or lost during the Commonwealth were replaced, and how existing manuscripts were added to as new material became available. The manuscripts of the 1690s show how the repertoire of the early century was largely discarded in favour of the new style of music championed by organist William Greggs. Although Durham was remote in Cathedral terms, it can be seen from this study of its repertoire and manuscripts that it kept abreast of musical developments in London and the rest of the country, by obtaining music from other establishments, and by providing much of its own.



**Chapter 2: The music of the late 16th and early 17th centuries**

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## John Brimley (c. 1502-76)

Brimley began his work at Durham before the Reformation as a lay-cantor, and subsequently became the cathedral's first organist and master of the choristers.<sup>1</sup> He died in 1576 and is buried in the Galilee Chapel.

## Te Deum and Benedictus<sup>2</sup>

With such little material on which to base remarks, much is inevitably speculative. We can see from the tenor part that this is a full setting, with side divisions, and is more expansive than the 'short service' style. There is a section in triple time at *thou sittest on the right hand of God*, a rare occurrence in the first half of the 17th century, though perhaps not so in the 16th. The only other triple time section in a surviving pre-Restoration Durham composition is in a verse anthem of Edward Smith.<sup>3</sup>

Crosby has identified the words of the Te Deum as being those of the 1535 King's Primer,<sup>4</sup> and these were clearly acceptable for use in the 1630s, though this is their only surviving example at Durham.

## Source

tenor decani                      C13: 189, 200-2<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For full biographical details see Crosby, 1992 pp. 112-14, 141-3, 145-51

<sup>2</sup> For extracts see vol. 2, p. 5

<sup>3</sup> *O praise God in his holiness*, composed at the beginning of the 17th century.

<sup>4</sup> 1986, p. 117

<sup>5</sup> These are consecutive pages, 190-99 are not extant. The index to C13 suggests that this piece may have been added later to the original contents, after Foster's First Service of 1638, along with G. Marson's [First] Service and John Thorne's Te Deum. Durham Cathedral is the unique source for all three.

### Kyrie to Mr Sheppard's Creed<sup>6</sup>

It seems there was some confusion, after the introduction of the Book of Common Prayer in 1549, as to exactly which parts of the communion service should be sung, and which spoken. It is implied, for example, that the Gloria be sung, but this was not included in early settings of the service. The ten commandments were not present in the 1549 service, though in their place was a nine-fold 'Kyrie' - Lord have mercy upon us, Christ have mercy upon us, Lord have mercy upon us - with a rubric *the Priest shall saye, or els the Clerkes shal syng*.

When the ten commandments were introduced into the 1552 rite, the instruction *the people knelyng, shal... ask Gods mercy... after thys sorte*, implies that the responses to the commandments be spoken rather than sung. It is not surprising, therefore, that Shepherd's two service settings contain no 'Kyrie', only setting the creed of the communion service to music. As a result of this we are provided with the only surviving piece of polyphony by Durham's first post-Reformation organist, John Brimley. He composed, rather unusually, a four-fold set of responses to the commandments to complement Shepherd's creed from the Second Service.

This service was a large-scale composition, a pre-cursor of the 'great service' style, and would have been reserved for festal use at Durham, as possibly the most elaborate setting in the repertoire at the time. Hence Brimley opted for something a little more grand than the usual two responses. Instead of writing one response for the first nine commandments and one for the tenth, he provided four in total - one for responses 1-3, one for 4-6, one for 7-9 and one for the tenth.

Whilst this is no great amount of music, it nonetheless offers a glimpse of Brimley the musician, and reveals him to be highly competent. The counterpoint here is confident and fluent, and the penitential nature of the words is captured. In a little over 150 beats, Brimley paints a picture of great quality.<sup>7</sup> What is frustrating, therefore, is the lack of any other music of his, save for a single tenor part of a

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<sup>6</sup> For a transcription see vol. 2, pp. 6-8

<sup>7</sup> For a comparison with William Smith's *Kyrie 'ten: several ways'* see pp. 141-2



morning service. As organist for almost 40 years, it is hard to believe that a man capable of music of this quality did not provide much other music for his choir.

Sources

medius decani	E4: 112	
medius cantoris	E5: 114	
alto 1 decani	lacking	
alto 1 cantoris	E7: 114-5	E11a: 286-7
alto 2 decani	E6: 107	
alto 2 cantoris	E8: 115	
tenor decani	C13: 222-3	E9: 105
tenor cantoris	E10: 110-11	
bass decani	lacking	
bass cantoris	E11: 118-19	
organ	lacking	

## William White (c. 1570-after 1622)

Although White appears to have left Durham and made his name as a musician in London,<sup>8</sup> at least one of his compositions, *Behold now praise the Lord*, survives at Durham, and may well have been an early work. A second anthem, *O praise God in his holiness*, is very probably the work of Robert White, though has been included here in case it should prove otherwise. A third work, the consort anthem *Almighty Lord whose love*, does not survive at Durham, but has been transcribed from a London source.

### Almighty Lord whose love to us<sup>9</sup>

Words: Thomas Myriell

#### Text

Almighty Lord, whose love to us was greater than we can express  
which diddest die our souls to save, and led'st thy life in all distress.  
Grant that thy love wherewith for us thou meekly did'st thy torments bear  
may keep us from all dreadful pains, which for our sins we justly fear.

Bend down, O Lord, thy gracious eyes which we from thee do still expect  
thou with thy blood hast us redeemed, thy servants' suite do not reject.  
Extend to us thy mercy here, that on this earth in danger live  
remit our faults which we have made and all our sins do thou forgive.

#### Textual commentary

The music to this consort anthem is found in a set of manuscripts in the British Library which all bear the following inscription;

TRISTITIÆ  
REMEDIUM  
CANTIONES  
Selectissimæ diversorum.  
autorum, tum argumentorum.  
labore e manu exalte  
THOMÆ MYRIELL  
A.D. 1616

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<sup>8</sup> I am grateful to Dr Brian Crosby for alerting me to recent research suggesting that the London and Durham William Whites may not be the same person. For further biographical details of the Durham White see Crosby 1992, vol. 2, pp. 130-1.

<sup>9</sup> For a transcription see vol. 2, pp. 301-10

The six books contain anthems, glees, *Cries of London*, and motets, and these are divided into groups of four, five and six parts, with gaps between each for later additions. It is possible that the unusual metre of the text (16.16.) was a pun on the year of production. The books all contain the same music on the same pages, with the exception of the quintus and sextus books, which only have music in five and six parts respectively. In the manuscripts are several anthems by the enigmatic composer Wilkinson, ascribed to *Tho: Wilkinson*, or *Mr Wilkinson*. White is invariably either *William White* or *Will: White* in each case.

That the set was copied for a consort of viols is apparent from the fact that the music continues when the words stop. Indications are of a performance with probably one voice to a part. This is apparent from the absence of verse and chorus indications in many of the manuscripts. The anthem is clearly divided into two parts. The cantus part has the instruction *Sequitur pars secunda William White* at the end of the first chorus. The two halves are labelled *Prima pars* and *Secunda pars*, and carry the rubric *A 6 voc.*.

The work was probably written after White's move to London sometime, between 1590 and 1603. There is no trace of it at Durham. The text follows the less common metre of 88 88. Metrical psalms of the day had a metre of 86 86.

Stylistic comparison with *Behold now praise the Lord* is hampered by the two works being in completely different styles. One is a full anthem of praise, the other a penitential consort anthem, probably written years later. Nonetheless, they do share a quality that sets them apart from much that Durham had to offer at the time. Both display a sure sense of structure and control.

### Sources

medius 1	BL add. ms	29372: 157v
medius 2	BL add. ms	29376: 144v
alto 1	BL add. ms	29377: 39v
alto 2	BL add. ms	29373: 157v
tenor	BL add. ms	29374: 157v
bass	BL add. ms	29375: 157v



Structure

verse	md mc	102	Almighty Lord, whose love
verse	ad ac	50	grant that thy love
chorus	mmaatb	56	grant that thy love
verse	t b	88	Bend down O Lord
verse	mdc t b	30	extend to us
verse	mdc adc t b	44	remit our faults
chorus	mmaatb	98	extend to us
Totals	314 + 154 =	468	

Variants

As there is only one manuscript to a part, variants are restricted to scribal errors.

Bar	Beat	Stave	Source	Variant
13	6	5	29374	c A flat c G [?se]
15	3-5	3	29377	only a minim rest here [se]
26	3	2	29376	sb F [se]
33	5	1	29372	note missing [se]
41	5-6	2	29376	only a crotchet rest here [se]
48	5	1	29372	m D [?se]
63	3	2	29376	sb C [se]

Behold now, praise the Lord<sup>10</sup>  
Psalm 134

Text

Behold now praise the Lord: all ye servants of the Lord.  
Ye that by night stand in the house of the Lord: even in the courts of the house of  
our God.  
Lift up your hands in the sanctuary: and praise the Lord.  
The Lord that made heaven and earth: give thee blessing out of Sion.

Textual commentary

There is strong evidence here that the Peterhouse manuscripts were copied from  
the Durham ones. The decani books at Peterhouse (mss 475-8) represent the work  
of the same hand in a tiny corpus with this White anthem, Weelkes: *O how amiable*,  
and Jeffries: *Rejoice in the Lord*, the latter of which it follows in organ book 493 as

<sup>10</sup> For a transcription see vol. 2, pp. 311-17

well. All three of these anthems are represented at Durham, though this corpus at Peterhouse is not in an identifiable Durham hand. With the exception of ms 478 there are no references to the composers. All four corpuses show earlier systems of pagination, and in each case the four-page corpus follows John Todd's copy of Woodson: *Give the king thy judgements*.

The cantoris books at Peterhouse are in a different hand, and here the anthem is not in an orderly corpus. The cantoris medius book 479 shows many signs of having been copied from the organ part, for where the music takes the medius voice below an alto, the higher alto note is given in 479, and the underlay contrived accordingly. The reading in ms 489 is in a different hand to the former set books and bears the inscription *Finis magistra White*. at the end.

The two organ books offer a similar reading, though with over 50 minor disagreements it is unlikely that they have the same origin. Whereas A1 leaves many accidentals to the interpretation of *ficta*, ms 493 adds a number of sharpened accidentals. The reading presented here is a conflation of these two.

Identical readings are shared between decani books C4 and 476, C6 and 477, and C16 and 478. It is likely that medius book 475 would represent an exact copy of the reading in the now missing Set 1 medius decani book at Durham.

At Durham the normal alto practice of matching first decani and second cantoris parts is abandoned. Here both first altos share the same part, with the possible result that the second alto part was in performance a little 'undernourished'. With the music strangely absent from Peterhouse ms 480 (alto 1 cantoris), we have no way of telling how the parts were split there, though decani alto 1 and 2 at Peterhouse sang the opposite parts to their Durham counterparts.

In bars 11 and 32 the Durham Set 1 decani books all have a cross marked in the same place. It was considered for a time that these may be rehearsal marks, but the fact that they appear in the middle of a phrase in every case makes it more likely that they were inserted by Todd, the scribe of each book, to indicate a point of reference in the score from which he was copying.

This is very probably an early work, written in the late 1580s or early 1590s before White left Durham for London. It is a competent and assured piece of writing in the full idiom, much the harder style to write for. The counterpoint is thorough and extended, with each point being worked effortlessly and expansively over several bars. The declamatory sections in bars 25 and 35 offer a contrasting texture and an alarming, though genuine false relation (bar 26). The modal flavour of the piece is achieved through very little actual modulation, though the result of this is a much stronger feeling of change where modulation does occur, such as at bars 26 and 42.

Henry Palmer, the scribe of the organ book, attests *Finis: Mr Will: White of Durham.*

Sources

medius	C1: 2-3	475: 131rv <sup>11</sup>	479: 131r	489: 9rv
alto 1	C6: 39-40	C7: 249-50	477: 81v	
alto 2	C4: 41-2	C5: 34-5	476: 143r	
tenor	C9: 21-2	C10: 29-30	C11: 25-6	C15: 44 (inc) <sup>12</sup>
	BL78: 77	BL79: 33v		
bass	C16: 18-19	C17: 45-6	C19: 15-17	478: 138rv
	481: 110v	M29: 19		
organ	A1: 278-80	493: 52v-53v		

Structure

full	maatb	308	Behold now praise the Lord
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<sup>11</sup> For details of Peterhouse mss 475-91 and 493, see appendix pp. 248-83

<sup>12</sup> The reading ends after the fourth beat of bar 30



**Variants**

The large number of variants is due, to a great extent, to textual confusion, though minor discrepancies are ignored. There was a great deal of scribal error over the different text at *the house of the Lord* and *the courts of the house of our God*.

Manuscripts C17, 476 and 479 contain such major corruptions as to make it unlikely they can ever have been used in performance.

Bar	Beat	Stave	Source	Variant
1	3	1	489	sb G
1	1	2	C6, 477	m praise m the
3	2	1	C1	m. ser- c-m -vants
3	6	3	C4, 476	sb G [se]
7	3	1	C1, 479	sb. no rest
8	4	1	C1	c in c the m courts [confused underlay]
11	1	6	A1	medius c B flat c F [se]
11	2	3, 4, 5	C4 C11 C16	"X" marked in ms, poss. a rehearsal mark?
11	3	3	C4, 476	sb [no dot, se]
11	6	1	479	rests for this phrase, notes resume bar 13
15	1	1	C1	m.-c our sb. God [underlay still confused]
15	3	1	C1, 479	sb. no rest
17	2	1	479	m A flat [se] - 479 seems to be from organ bk
17	4	5	C17	major confusion, 14 beats missing
18	2	5	M29	m of m the [se]
20	2	5	C17	m F [se]
22	3	1	C1 475 479	m C m C [se]
22	3	7	493	low B flat lacking
22	5	2	C7	m-sb. our m B flat God m lift [?se]
24	2	1	C1 475	m lift sb up
25	3	4	C10	m C [se]
25	4	5	M29	m D flat [se]
26	2	1	C1 475 489	c sanc- c -tu- m-m -a- sb -ry
26	4	1	479, 489	natural lacking [mf]
27	1	5	M29	rest lacking [se]
30	1	1	489	sb sb. rest
31	3	5	C17	sb B flat [se]
32	6	1-5	C1,6,11,16	"X" in ms
33	3	1	479	b lord m rest m and m praise m the
34	1	3	476	20 beats missing from ms [se]
38	1	5	C17	major confusion in this bar
38	5	1	479	m G [se]
41	5-6	1, 6	A1 C1 485	naturals lacking (also from 489) [mf]
42	4	4	C11	m give m thee [se]
45	4	1	479	4 beats rest sb give m thee sb bless-
49	5	1	489	flat lacking [?mf]
50	2-5	1-3	all	underlay discrepancy as in all mss
50	5	6	A1	bottom note m D flat [se]
51	3	2	all	b G [se]

### Work of dubious attribution:

#### O praise God in his holiness<sup>13</sup> Psalm 150

#### Text

O praise God in his holiness: praise him in the firmament of his power.  
Praise him in his noble acts: praise him according to his excellent greatness.  
Praise him in the sound of the trumpet: praise him upon the lute and harp.  
Praise him in the cymbals and dances: praise him upon the strings and pipe.  
Praise him upon the well-tuned cymbals: praise him upon the loud cymbals.  
Let everything that hath breath: praise the Lord. So be it.

#### Textual commentary

This piece is almost certainly by Robert White, and several factors combine to suggest this. Most tellingly, it exists in two versions - in four and eight parts. The four-part version dates from the late 1500s and is found in four of a set of five manuscripts that contain a mixture of Latin and English sacred, secular and instrumental music exclusively by 16th century composers. Well represented are Tallis, Sheppard, Johnston, Parsons, Tye, *Persley*, *Mr Moondaye* and Robert Adams.

The four-part version<sup>14</sup> was clearly contrived from the eight-part, as a glance at the extracts will confirm. The second statement of the point in the medius of the four-part version is curtailed, and the succeeding entries are all on a minim upbeat. The two antiphonal sections are inevitably dispensed with, and the *cymbals and dances* section is replaced with a vigorous running crotchet figure. With the exception of the antiphonal sections, the music is almost the same in both versions. The four-part version sharpens the medius fourths in the point *praise him in his noble acts* (bars 13-15), though there is a strong chance they would have been sharpened at Durham as a matter of *ficta*.

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<sup>13</sup> For a transcription see vol. 2, pp. 318-34

<sup>14</sup> Excerpts are given at the end of the eight-part version (vol. 2, p. 334). For a full reading, see TCM vol. V, p. 207



The only ascription to William White at Durham is in ms C4, where it is added in a later hand. The piece is nowhere at Durham or Peterhouse attributed to Robert White.

The Durham pre-Restoration books state that the anthem is in seven parts, and this explains why both decani and cantoris bass books give the same (cantoris) reading. Some post-Restoration Durham books correct this to eight parts. Even with an organ accompaniment, it must have been obvious to any musician that a second bass part was required, particularly in the antiphonal sections. Peterhouse ms 478 provides the decani bass part, confirming the organ part's suggestion of two basses.

Where the music becomes antiphonal (bars 22-25 and 31-35) the Peterhouse and Durham readings reverse sides, Durham's sections beginning in each case with cantoris. This is not significant on its own, however, as the same situation arises in William Smith's verse anthem *I will wash my hands*. More significant is the treatment of the phrase *praise him in the cymbals and dances* (bars 31-35). Where Durham has a minim rest between the phrases, the Peterhouse version overlaps the two, and has a coda-like third phrase. This reading is given in full at the end of the piece.

Peterhouse ms 485 gives a medius cantoris reading (though being a medius decani book). The hand in this book is different to that in the former set readings, which all agree, and it was possibly copied here in error.

Peterhouse and Durham readings of this piece differ so markedly that there is no possibility of them being related. They agree noticeably in the case of *Behold now, praise the Lord*. The Peterhouse parts, with the exception of the two medius cantoris parts are in the same hand, and the piece is found in a corpus comprising Byrd *Sing Joyfully*, Byrd *O God the Proud*, Hooper *Behold it is Christ*, White *O praise God*, Byrd *O Lord make thy Servant*, and Gibbons *Behold thou hast made my days*. The same corpus exists in the Peterhouse organ book ms 493, which differs so enormously from Durham ms A1 that they can be in no way related. 493 also supplies half as many notes again as A1. There are no original page numbers.



## Sources

medius decani	475: 107v-108r		
medius cantoris	479: 105v-106r		485: H1v-H2r
alto decani	C6: 22	C7: 232	476: 114v-115r
alto cantoris	C4: 23-4	C5: 16	
tenor decani	C9: 4	C11: 18-19	C15: 26-7
tenor cantoris	C10: 14	BL78: 79	BL79: 21v
bass decani	C16: 16-17	C17: 26-7	C19: 2-3
	M29: 17	478: 111v-112r	
bass cantoris	481: 107v		
organ	A1: 185-6	493: 39v-40r	

There are several other sources for this piece, most notably the 'Gostling' part-books at York Minster (c. 1675), which give a complete reading.<sup>15</sup> It is also to be found at Ely, Lichfield, St Paul's, Southwell, and Oxford, though with the exception of the *Southwell Tenor Book* (1617: Tenbury MS 1382: 67v; now housed in the Bodleian Library, Oxford), all sources are later than Durham's own, and many are post-Restoration.

The four-part version is found in the following manuscripts in the British Library, dated late 16th century:

medius	30480: 22v
alto	30481: 24v
tenor	30482: 22r
bass	30483: 24v

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<sup>15</sup> See Sources (1972), p. 156 for a full list

**Variants**

The two organ books present quite different reductions of the texture. The present edition gives a conflation of these, and their variants from each other are not listed.

Bar	Beat	Stave	Source	Variant
3	3	1	475	text: him
6	3	6	BL78	F flat [se]
7	5	4	C4	m god m in m his m ho- m-m -li- sb -ness
8	5	3	C6, C7	text: God (also bar 10)
9	3	1	475	sb powers [sic] A flat m praise B flat [se]
11	6	6	BL78	cc F [se]
15	1	8	C16 C17 C19	sb A flat [se]
15	2	3	476	m his m no- m -ble sb acts m rest
16	3-4	3	C6, C7	m. c
16	5	8	481	Long [2 breves]. Note missing in M29
17	6	4	C5	m A flat [se]
24	6	3	C4, C6	m E flat
26	2	4	C5, C7	m G [?se]
26	6	6	BL78	c C c C
28	6	8	C17	m C [se]
30	5	all	all	see appendix for Peterhouse version
31	1	all	Durham	Cantoris begin this section at Durham
31	1-4	3	476	both A flat and E flat in ms for two notes
32	3-6	1	475	voice parts probably followed organ here
34	4	2	480, 485	see above comment
37	2	2	485	lacking natural
37	5	2	479	lacking natural
40	6	5	C11	m m [se]
41	4	2	479	m F/A flat (both notes). 485 gives A flat
44	5	2	479, 485	c D flat c C [?se]
45	5-6	5	C9 C11 C15	m. c
46	3	5	C9 C11 C15	sb A flat [se]
47	5	5	C9 C11 C15	m B flat [se]
47	5	4	C4	second "praise the Lord" missing [?se]
52	2-6	2	479, 485	m E flat sb F sb G [se]
52	6	6	BL78	m G [se]
53	6	4	C4, C5	m A flat [se]
54	1	2	479	m C [se]

## ?John Horseley (fl. 1576-1619)

### O Lord, of whom I do depend<sup>16</sup>

From, *The Humble Suit of a Sinner*, published with Sternhold & Hopkins metrical psalms, 1562.

#### Text (Beginning)

O Lord, of whom I do depend, behold my careful heart  
and when thy will and pleasure is, release me of my smart.

Thou seest my sorrows what they are, my grief is known to thee  
and there is none that can remove or take the same from me.

#### Textual commentary

The style of the verse anthem is consistent with those of Edward Smith, composed at the start of the 17th century, and so it is a strong possibility that the composer was John Horseley, a lay clerk from 1576 to after 1619.<sup>17</sup> The lack of any voice parts can be explained by its non-biblical text. *O Lord of whom I do depend* is also known as *The humble suit of a sinner*, and was printed in Sternhold & Hopkins's *Old Version* of the metrical psalms (1562). The length of the text precludes the possibility of reconstruction, for although it was set by many composers, they selected at random from its many doleful verses. The organ part, in any case, gives little away in terms of vocal line.

Whilst it may have enjoyed popularity in the early years of the century, it undoubtedly fell from grace during the late 1620s when the non-biblical texts were purged from the manuscripts. Its inclusion in organ book A5 (c. 1638) is therefore odd. It could be that Palmer, in thoroughness, was including every available item in his transcription, regardless of contemporary taste, in case such texts should return to favour.

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<sup>16</sup> For extracts see vol. 2, p. 58

<sup>17</sup> For biographical details see Crosby 1992, vol. 2, pp. 70-1



**Source**

organ A5: 27-32

**Structure**

Six verse sections (560 beats) followed by six chorus sections (128) and an amen (14), giving a total of 702 beats. There are no clues as to solo disposition in the organ part. The choruses are concise and refrain-like, and several are almost identical, much like the opening two choruses of Edward Smith's *O Lord consider my distress*. From the lack of imitative entries we can deduce that most of the verses were for solo voice, though the last section shows signs of a duet between two altos. The second verse section is particularly chromatic, a device associated with plaintive texts, though one rarely explored much at Durham. Harmonically the music is fairly static, remaining for the most part in its (untransposed) tonic of A minor, though the penultimate chorus is in F major/D minor, and the final verse in D.

## Edward Smith (c. 1585-1612)

The talented Smith became organist around the age of 20 in 1608, having first served as a chorister. He died only four years later.<sup>18</sup> He is the earliest Durham composer of whom any substantial compositions remain, and thus plays an important role in illustrating the type of music in favour at Durham at the start of the 17th century. Surviving by him are parts of four anthems and a festal psalm, one of the earliest, and longest essays in the genre.

### If the Lord himself<sup>19</sup>

Psalm 124 + doxology

#### Text

If the Lord himself had not been on our side, now may Israel say: if the Lord himself had not been on our side, when men rose up against us.  
 They had swallowed us up quick: when they were so wrathfully displeased at us.  
 Yea the waters had drowned us: and the stream had gone over our soul.  
 The deep waters of the proud: had gone even over our soul.  
 But praised be the Lord: who hath not given us over for a prey unto their teeth.  
 Our soul is escaped even as a bird out of the snare of the fowler: the snare is broken and we are delivered.  
 Our help standeth in the name of the Lord: which hath made heaven and earth.

Blessed be the Lord for evermore. World without end, Amen.

#### Textual commentary

This anthem, being unusually represented in two sets of music (Sets 1 and 5), confirms the origins of ms C7, originally two separate manuscripts. Both fascicles give a cantoris reading, though only the second fascicle (Set 1) contains verse material, confirming it as the alto 1 cantoris reading. The first fascicle (Set 5) is that of alto 2 cantoris.

There are some minor confusions in the manuscripts over the text. C7, for the opening alto verse, reads *now may Israel now say*. Many books have the plural *souls*, where the singular is correct in both instances. The altos divide by sides, such

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<sup>18</sup> For full biographical details see Crosby 1992, vol. 1, pp. 161-3 and vol. 2, p. 110

<sup>19</sup> For a transcription see vol. 2, pp. 149-57

that in chorus sections both first and second decani altos sing the same music, a different part from both cantoris altos.

C1 erroneously gives one flat in the key signature throughout, though this is never countermanded by accidentals. All the Peterhouse readings are in the same hand, yet this is not identified as being a Durham hand.

In the Set 1 books the work is simply referred to by its title, though in the Set 5 books it is called *Mr Edward Smith: The fift [sic] of November*, and in BL78 as *Gunpowder Treason*. This makes a date of composition before 1605 unlikely, though Smith did not become organist until 1608. It is just possible that the work was composed before 5th November 1605 and subsequently assigned to that date.

The text is unusually appropriate for the Gunpowder Plot, and it is worth bearing in mind the strength of nationalist feeling at the time in appraising Smith's treatment of the words. There is ample scope for word-painting, and this is well executed, but the verse writing at *our soul is escaped ev'n as a bird...* (bars 60-70) transmits a true feeling of relief. The declamatory concluding bass verse sums up the message of trust in the Lord. Presumably Smith felt the addition of the 'doxology' (*blessed be the Lord for evermore...*) appropriate. It does not feature in the psalm, though some gesture of thanks makes for a more fitting ending.

That the piece features in the Tenbury ms 791 is noteworthy. Instances of music of Durham origin being transmitted beyond York and Cambridge are rare. The only other pre-Restoration examples are Edward Smith's anthem *O praise God in his holiness*, also in Tenbury 791, and Richard Hutchinson's *Ye that fear the Lord*, at Manchester. It shows that they were deemed of a suitable quality for performance elsewhere.

It is interesting to note that some sixty years later organist John Foster set exactly the same text with 'doxology', no doubt feeling it equally appropriate to the Restoration as it had been to the Gunpowder Plot.



Sources

medius decani	475: 98r		
medius cantoris	C1: 38-9	479: 97r	
alto 1 decani	C2: 109-119	C6: 75-6	476: 108rv
alto 1 cantoris	C7: 289-90	480: 95r	
alto 2 decani	C3: 81	C4: 73	
alto 2 cantoris	C5: 71	C7: 57	
tenor decani	C9: 47-8	C11v: 154-5	
tenor cantoris	C10: 62	C14: 65-6	BL78: 109+176
	BL79: 229		
bass decani	C16: 403-4	C19: 186-7	M29: 229
	478: 104v-5r		
bass cantoris	C17: 134-5	481: 98v-99r	
organ	A5: 64-9	Tenbury ms 791: 366	

Structure

verse	ac	74	If the Lord himself
verse	bc	56	they had swallowed us up quick
chorus	maatb	34	<b>they had swallowed us up quick</b>
verse	ad ac	46	yea the waters had drowned us
verse	bd bc	46	the deep waters of the proud
chorus	maatb	50	<b>the deep waters of the proud</b>
verse	md mc	52	but praised be the Lord
verse	mc ad td tc	36	our soul is escaped
verse	ad td tc	28	the snare is broken
chorus	maatb	42	<b>our soul is escaped</b>
verse	bd	94	our help standeth
chorus	maatb	40	<b>blessed be the Lord for evermore...</b>
Totals	432 + 166 =	598	

**Variants**

Bar	Beat	Stave	Source	Variant
14	1	2	C17	c. q (as organ), also in bar 15
19	5	1	481	no rests
22	3	5-7	A5, C17	fermata
23	3	3	C7, C5	lacking natural [?mf]
23	5	3	C7: 57	C7 has had several minim stems scratched out
27	1	5	not 481	all sources bar 481 have sb F
27	2	1	479	lacking natural [mf]
33	2	1	C2 C6 480	lacking natural [?mf]
33	6	2	C7: 289	see above; only 476 provides naturals
40	1	2	C17	m o- sb -ver m our sb souls [sic - both times]
44	1	5	all	dec books have 6 beats, can books 2
45	1	2	C2 3 4 6	480 is the only ms to provide this natural [?mf]
45	2	2	all	lacking natural [?mf]
47	4	1	479	lacking natural [mf]
48	1	4	C14	lacking rest [se]
49		all	Peterhouse	"soules" in each case
56	6	1	C1	sb [se]
58	6	2	475	lacking natural - possibly A flat intended
59	1	2	475	lacking natural - possibly B flat intended
71	3	1	479	"soules"
72	1	1	475 479	m escap'd
74	2	1	C1 475	m of sb the m fow- m -ler
75	1	5	C17	m m
90	1	1	478	natural before F poss. implying A natural later
92	2	1	M29	rests lacking [se]
93	4	1	478	m world m with- m -out m end
97	2	3	C5 C7	lacking natural [mf]
97	6	3	C7 476	lacking natural [mf]
98	5	1	C1 475	m G [se]
99	3	2	480	lacking natural [?mf]

**O Lord, consider my distress<sup>20</sup>**

Psalm 51, vv 1-4, 9-10, 18 (metrical version - Ravenscroft, 1621)

**Text**

O Lord, consider my distress, and now with speed some pity take  
 my sins deface, my faults redress, good Lord, for thy great mercy's sake.  
 Wash me O Lord and make me clean from this unjust and sinful act,  
 and purify yet once again my heinous crime and bloody fact.  
 Remorse and sorrow doth constrain me to acknowledge mine excess,  
 my sins, alas, do now remain before my face without redress.  
 For thee alone I have offended, committing evil in thy sight,  
 and if I were therefore condemned, yet were thy judgements just and right.

Turn back thy wrath and frowning ire, for I have felt enough thy hand,  
 and purge my sins, I thee desire, which do in number pass the sand.  
 Make new my heart within my breast, and frame it to thy Holy will,  
 thy constant spirit in me let rest, which may there raging enemies kill.

Lord unto Sion turn thy face, pour out thy mercies on thy hill,  
 and on Jerusalem thy grace, build up the walls and love it still. Amen.

**Textual commentary**

The origin of the text was established by Brian Crosby. Differing from the Sternhold & Hopkins version, this has a metre of 88.88., rather than the 'common metre' 86.86..

Verse anthem number 48 in Set 1, *O Lord consider my distress* was added later to the initial corpus by Brooking in the late 1630s. One wonders why it wasn't included in the original corpus, and where the music appeared from for its later inclusion, Smith having been dead over 20 years.<sup>21</sup> For some reason the anthem is omitted from ms C6.

The style of this piece is that of the early verse anthem. Its structure is straightforward, and the measured pace of the metrical text adds symmetry. The metrical psalm text was particularly popular with early verse anthem composers, and certainly the earliest examples (from the 1570s and 80s) are all set to metrical, often

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<sup>20</sup> For a reconstruction see vol. 2, pp. 158-65

<sup>21</sup> This prompted Crosby to query (1986, p. 217) whether this may be the work of a later Edward Smyth, who died in 1647. The style of this anthem, however, is very clearly contemporary with the organist Edward Smith.



non-biblical texts. Morehen draws parallels with the popularity of the consort song at the time.<sup>22</sup> Here each chorus repeats the closing line of its preceding verse. In all but the last verses, the organ anticipates the vocal line. The first two choruses are musically identical, and the last two similar.

Craig Monson<sup>23</sup> was the first to investigate the links between the Durham version of this piece and a version at Oxford in Bodleian Mss Mus. Sch. D 212-16 scored for viols and ascribed to *R.N.*. He shows how the work, very probably in Nicholson's hand, represents a reworking and extension of Smith's anthem, and merits his initialing in ms Mus. Sch. E 381.<sup>24</sup> Though Monson did not have access to all the Durham manuscripts, his deductions are nonetheless sound. He notes how Nicholson's reworking brings the music more into line with Jacobean taste, and shows how the addition of extra short choruses extends the work. Smith's organ part is typically sparse, and there is a large amount of filling out undertaken by Nicholson, particularly in verse sections.

The link between Nicholson and Smith may be the Richard Nicholson who was a chorister at Durham from 1576-80. After becoming King's Scholar at the Grammar School in 1580 he is not heard of again in connection with the Cathedral. He would have been about 20 years older than Smith, though could well have acquired the music in Durham in the early 17th century and taken it to Oxford, where he was appointed first Heather Professor of Music in 1627. He died around 1639.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> 1992, p. 66

<sup>23</sup> 1992, pp. 194-206

<sup>24</sup> The sixth part for the three pieces in six parts was added to this manuscript, not fitting in the original set of five

<sup>25</sup> Apart from this reworking Nicholson composed two anthems - the verse anthem *When Jesus sat at meat*, again for viol consort, and a full anthem, *O pray for the peace of Jerusalem*.

Sources

medius decani	lacking	
medius cantoris	C1: 67-8	
alto 1 decani	lacking	
alto 1 cantoris	C7: 312-3	
alto 2 decani	C4: 91	
alto 2 cantoris	C5: 90	
tenor decani	C9: 67	C11v: 41-2
tenor cantoris	C10: 84	BL79: 111
bass decani	C16: 172-3	C19: 208-9
bass cantoris	lacking	
organ	A5: 85-9	

Structure

verse	ac	118	O Lord consider my distress
chorus	matb	24	and purify yet once again
verse	td	116	remorse and sorrow doth constrain me
chorus	matb	24	and if I were therefore condemned
verse	bd mc	106	turn back thy wrath and frowning ire
chorus	matb	30	thy constant spirit in me let rest
verse	[md] mc	110	Lord, unto Sion turn thy face
chorus	matb	58	and on Jerusalem

Totals            450 + 136 = 586

Variants

Bar	Beat	Stave	Source	Variant
21	3	3	C11	m [se]
21	5	6	A5	bass sb low G [se]
22	2	1	C1	lacking natural [mf]
27	1-2	2	A5	lacking naturals [mf]
43	1-2	2	C7	m m
78	3	1	C1	sb. [se]
87	1	2	C7	sb Je- m -ru- m -sa-
90	8	3	C10 BL79	lacking natural [?mf]

**O Lord my God, to thee I do complain<sup>26</sup>**

Text origins unclear

**Textual commentary**

From the single surviving organ part, this would appear to be similar in conception to *O Lord, consider my distress*. The scale is almost identical, with five verse sections here answered by short choruses. It would appear that the reading given by A2 is the earlier, though it is not known in whose hand it is. G major (untransposed) creates a rather lively mood for a text of complaint. Its lack of choir parts may be put down to its non-biblical metrical text, which was deemed unsuitable by the Calvinist movement of the 1620s. The text is reproduced in James Clifford's *The Divine Services and Anthems* of 1663.

**Source**

organ                                      A2: 272-4      A5: 116-20

**Structure**

On account of its one source, not much of structure can be gleaned.

verse 112 beats, chorus 26, verse 76, chorus 22, verse 62, chorus 16, verse 74, chorus 26, verse 28, chorus 12, amen 20.

Totals: 352 + 122 = 474

**O praise God in his holiness<sup>27</sup>**

Psalm 150 + Amen

**Text**

O praise God in his holiness: praise him in the firmament of his power.  
 Praise him in his noble acts: praise him according to his excellent greatness.  
 Praise him in the sound of the trumpet: praise him upon the lute and harp.  
 Praise him in the cymbals and dances: praise him upon the strings and pipe.  
 Praise him upon the well-tuned cymbals: praise him upon the loud cymbals.  
 Let everything that hath breath: praise the Lord. Amen.

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<sup>26</sup> For excerpts see vol. 2, p. 166

<sup>27</sup> For excerpts see vol. 2, p. 167



## Textual commentary<sup>28</sup>

This verse anthem appears as number 31 Set 1, and is a fundamental member of the set. Again the hand of A2 has not been identified, though it is probably earlier than Palmer's reading in A5.

This is an enormous work. It is impressive in size, scoring, and structure. The six-part chorus scoring with two basses is unusual, Smith usually being content with matb. The change of time signature for the *cymbals and dances* verse, the cheerful text, and the contrapuntal choruses make this stand out from Smith's other works. Despite this, however, the harmony is very static, and struggles to get away from the tonic at all. It also has a sectional feel, with hardly any through-composition.

## Sources<sup>29</sup>

medius decani	475: 135r			
medius cantoris	C1: 42-3	479: 136v		
alto 1 decani	C6: 77-8	476: 146r	M1/6: 154	
alto 1 cantoris	C7: 291-2	480: 126r		
alto 2 decani	C4: 75			
alto 2 cantoris	C5: 73	M1/2: 156		
tenor decani	C9: 49-50	C11v: 183-4	M1/7: 144	
tenor cantoris	C10: 64-5	BL78: 134	BL79: 99v	490: K2rv
bass decani	C16: 151-3	C19: 189-90	M29: 122	
	478: 162rv	488: H1v		
bass cantoris	C17: 136-7	481: 123r		
organ	A2: 359-62	A5: 90-4	Tenbury ms 791: 245	

<sup>28</sup> A full edition of this anthem, edited by J. Bunker Clark, is printed in *Notations and Editions: A book in honor of Louise Cuyler*. Wm. C. Brown, Dubuque, Iowa, 1974. Pages 69-74 deal with editorial considerations, and the anthem is on pages 75-102. A copy of the relevant pages is held in the Dean and Chapter Library, Durham.

<sup>29</sup> Sources (1972) lists an entry for York MS M1/8: 144, which does not exist. It omits the entry in York MS M29: 122. The entries in three of the eight 'Gostling' part-books at York are included here for the sake of completeness. The reading in the tenor decani book M1/7 contains verse material for alto and bass as well as tenor.

## Structure

verse	bc	64	O praise God in his holiness
<b>chorus</b>	<b>maatbb</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>praise him in the firmament</b>
verse	ad tc	98	praise him in his noble acts
<b>chorus</b>	<b>maatbb</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>praise him in his noble acts</b>
verse	bd bc	32	praise him in the sound of the trumpet
verse	atbb	18	praise him in the sound of the trumpet
verse	mc md	34	praise him upon the lute and harp
verse [3]	mc md	30 [45 beats]	praise him in the cymbals and dances
verse [C]	mc md	14	praise him in the cymbals and dances
<b>chorus [C]</b>	<b>maatbb</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>praise him upon the strings and pipe</b>
verse	bd	64	praise him upon the well-tuned cymbals
<b>chorus</b>	<b>maatbb</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>let everything that hath breath</b>
<b>chorus</b>	<b>maatbb</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>Amen</b>

Totals: 364 + 216 = 580 beats

## Preces for Ascension Matins

The Psalm, by John Mundy, is Psalm 8

## Textual commentary

These are the same as the *Preces for All Saints*. The Psalm, *O Lord our governor* is by John Mundy. It is likely that the two were paired by a 1630s scribe when the feast merited a festal psalm, possibly at Cosin's encouragement. It already appeared as one of four Ascension anthems in Set 5, but, being the only one to set the text to the proper psalm for Ascension Matins, was paired with Smith's *Preces* to create a proper psalm. Crosby's conclusions<sup>30</sup> that Set 3 has an earlier date than Set 5 are persuasive, though one wonders why *O Lord our governor* would then be needed as an anthem if it had been sung already as the festal psalm at Matins. Having the work in both books keeps options for performance open, however.<sup>31</sup> Mss E4-11 provide the earliest source here, being copied c. 1630.

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<sup>30</sup> 1992, pp. 267-8

<sup>31</sup> It seems likely from their good state of repair that the large books of Set 3 were only used on feast days.



## Sources

medius decani	E4: 21	475: 25r	
medius cantoris	C1: 297	E5: 21	479: 27r
alto 1 decani	476: 29r		
alto 1 cantoris	E7: 21	E11a: 14	480: 25r
alto 2 decani	E6: 21	477: 30v-31r	
alto 2 cantoris	E8: 21		
tenor decani	C13v: 14	E9: 21	
tenor cantoris	E10: 21		
bass decani	M29: 360	478: 30r	
bass cantoris	E11: 21	481: 30v-31r	
organ	lacking		

## Preces and Psalms for All Saints<sup>32</sup>

Psalm 119, vv. 1-8 + Gloria, vv. 169-176 + Gloria

**Text** (prayer book original words in bold, superfluous words in square brackets)

Blessed are they [**those**] that are undefiled in the way: and walk in the law of the Lord.

Blessed are they that keep his testimonies: and seek him with their whole heart.  
For they who do no wickedness: walk in his ways.

Thou hast charged: that we shall diligently keep thy commandments.

O that my ways were made so direct: that I might keep thy statutes.

So shall I not be confounded: while I have respect unto all thy commandments.

I will thank thee with an unfeigned heart: when I shall have learned the judgements of thy righteousness.

I will keep thy ceremonies: O forsake me not utterly.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son: and to the Holy Ghost.

As it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be: world without end, Amen.

Let my complaint come before thee, O Lord: give me understanding, according to thy word.

Let my supplication come before thee: deliver me, according to thy word.

My lips shall speak of thy praise [**word**]: when thou hast taught me [the way of] thy statutes.

Yea my tongue shall sing of thy word: for all thy commandments are righteous.

Let thy hand help me [O Lord]: for I have chosen thy commandments.

I have longed for thy saving health, O Lord: and in thy law is my delight.

O let my soul live, and it shall praise thee: and thy judgements shall help me.

I have gone astray like a sheep that is lost: O seek thy servant, for I do not forget thy commandments.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son: and to the Holy Ghost.

As it was in the beginning is now and ever shall be: world without end, Amen.

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<sup>32</sup> For a transcription see vol. 2, pp. 168-80



## Textual commentary

There are several minor deviations from the prayer book text. Even as early as the acclamation opening, the bass has *they* instead of *those*.

There is a short passage of verse for decani alto 2, which, like Palmer's brief use of the voice, reveals a sharp sense of humour at work. The text in question is *I have gone astray like a sheep that is lost*. Smith could easily have used decani alto 1 for this passage, but, bearing in mind that alto 2 was regarded as the weaker voice, and that the sound of a bad alto is often compared to such animals as sheep and goats, the effect of allotting this section to the second alto would possibly have been sheep-like! Smith, writing as organist, would no doubt have had a particular voice in mind when selecting decani alto 2, and there must have been mirth in performance.

Most books contain a warning at the end of the first psalm - *the last part followeth*. The work has different titles in different manuscripts. The oldest reading, organ book A2, has *Answers and Psalmes of Edw: Smiths*.

The unusual combination of verse and full sections for the psalm is possibly emulating Byrd's model for the Epiphany, which music Durham had. It seems probable that, excepting Mundy's Psalm for Ascension, Byrd's was the only other festal psalm in Durham's repertoire at the time. As Mundy's psalm exists in all other (non-Durham) sources as a verse anthem, it may well have been adapted for psalm-use at Durham, with Smith's Preces specially composed. Indeed, the different key signature here for preces and psalm could indicate that the preces were composed first to complement Mundy's 'psalm', and Smith's Psalm for All Saints was written subsequently.

At little short of 700 beats, this is the longest single composition from the pre-Commonwealth period at Durham. The structure of this work seems to have served as a model for later compositions by William Smith (*Easter Evensong* begins with a verse section, then proceeds full in sides, and *Christmas Evensong* alternates verse and full sections), and Henry Palmer (*Easter Evensong*).

Both sections are simple and straightforward matb. The two Glorias are the same, and the verse sections much like his early verse anthems, solo in every case. The two settings of the Gloria are identical.

The organ books have no key signature for the preces and one flat for the psalms.

### Sources<sup>33</sup>

medius decani	E4: 37-40	475: 26rv	
medius cantoris	C1: 208-10	E5: 37-40	479: 27v-28v
alto 1 decani	476: 29v-30v		
alto 1 cantoris	E7: 37-40	E11a: 25-27	480: 26rv
alto 2 decani	E6: 37-40	477: 31r-32r	
alto 2 cantoris	E8: 37-40		
tenor decani	C13v: 24-6	E9: 37-40	
tenor cantoris	E10: 37-40		
bass decani	C18: 3 (inc) <sup>34</sup>	M29: 371-2	478: 31v-32v
bass cantoris	E11: 37-40	481: 30rv	
organ	A1: 99-104	A2: 1-5	

### Structure

<b>full</b>	<b>matb</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>preces</b>
verse	bc	8	Blessed are they
<b>chorus</b>	<b>matb (divisi)</b>	<b>238</b>	<b>And walk in the law of the lord</b>
verse	md	44	Let my complaint
<b>chorus</b>	<b>matb</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>Let my supplication</b>
verse	ad	82	My lips shall speak
<b>chorus</b>	<b>matb</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>Let thine hand help me</b>
verse	ac	38	I have longed for thy saving health
<b>chorus</b>	<b>matb</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>O let my soul live</b>
verse	md ad td	50	I have gone astray
<b>chorus</b>	<b>matb</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>Gloria</b>
<b>Totals:</b>	<b>222 + 462 =</b>	<b>684</b>	

<sup>33</sup> The readings in 476 and 480 give the psalm only. This is because the preces are on the preceding page with Mundy's Psalm for the Ascension.

<sup>34</sup> The reading begins beat 4 of bar 41

Variants

Bar	Beat	Stave	Source	Variant
2	5	2	477	sb F [se]
4	2	1	475	natural lacking [?mf]
10	1	1	C1, E4	m and m. is [se]
10	2	1	475	natural lacking
10	3	4	M29	natural lacking [se]
12	2	1	475	note missing [se]
17	1	4	478	m rest m and
17	5	4	478	m m
21	3	5	A2	natural lacking
27	6	4	E11, 481	m E flat [se]
31	4	1	E4, 475	natural lacking [mf]
34	1	4	E11, 481	m m
34	6	4	E11, 481	sb -foun- [se]
40	5	4	M29	m m [se]
45	3	2	E7, 480	flat lacking
47	3	2	E7, 480	sb G flat not sb F ut- m F -ter- sb F -ly
54	3	1	E4, 475	natural lacking
57	5	2	A1	D natural lacking
64	1	4	481	sb let sb my
66	1	2	E6 E7 E11a	m -fore [se]
83	5	2	E8	natural lacking
85	1	2	476, 477	c c c [se]
95	4	2	476	natural lacking
96	4	2	E7, E8	m F m F
97	2	2	477	natural lacking [mf]
97	4	6	A1, A2	bass m C [se]
97	7	1	E4	natural lacking [mf]
102	3	2	477	sb [se]
107	5	4	M29	rest lacking [se]
110	5	4	C18 E11	m. c is



### Richard Hutchinson (c. 1590-1646)

Although organist of Durham Cathedral for over thirty years,<sup>35</sup> it would seem that Hutchinson's four surviving compositions all date from the first half of his tenure. Two are settings of metrical texts and two are prose psalms. The prose texts were copied for use at Peterhouse, and all bar the fragmentary *O Lord let my complaint* were copied into post-Restoration manuscripts. They would appear to have enjoyed currency until the end of the 17th century. Excepting the fragmentary anthem, which was not appended to any set of manuscripts, the anthems were all fundamental to their sets - *Lord I am not high-minded* and *O God my heart* to Set 1 (late 1620s), and *Ye that fear the Lord* to Set 5 (early 1630s). The latter would appear to have been composed initially as a festal psalm, and subsequently adapted for anthem use.

It was doubtless as a result of his falling from grace with the Dean and Prebendaries that Hutchinson ceased to provide music for the choir. His four surviving anthems show him a capable composer, and thus it is all the more difficult to imagine him being able to resist the spark of imagination which so evidently seized his contemporaries William Smith, Henry Palmer and John Geeres. It is true that Smith, and to a certain extent Palmer, were writing new music to complement the high-church fancies of Cosin, and it is clear from Hutchinson's testimony to Parliament in 1628 that he concorded more with Smart's puritan line.<sup>36</sup> Yet there was never a more exciting time for choral music at Durham. Huge amounts of time and money were spent providing the choir with completely new sets of music. Many new pieces were composed especially for these manuscripts, though not, it would seem, by Hutchinson. Nor does a single note in any manuscript appear to be in his hand.

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<sup>35</sup> For full biographical details see Crosby 1992, vol. 1, pp. 182-6 and vol. 2, p. 74

<sup>36</sup> See Crosby, 1992, pp. 177-8

**Lord, I am not high-minded<sup>37</sup>**  
 Psalm 131

**Text**

Lord, I am not high-minded: I have no proud looks.  
 I do not exercise myself in great matters: which are too high for me.  
 But I refrain my soul and keep it low, like as a child that is weaned from his mother:  
 yea my soul is even as a weaned child.  
 O Israel, trust in the Lord: from this time forth for evermore. Amen.

**Textual commentary**

*Lord, I am not high-minded* is Hutchinson's shortest and most successful composition. The humble, reproachful nature of the text is excellently captured in the opening verse sections for solo tenor. The first of these verse sections has an ornamental cadence which makes rare use of the semiquaver, and suggests that other solos may have been ornamented at the discretion of the singer.

The verses are more expressive than the choruses, which are short and a little 'stiff'. There is a textual discrepancy in the second chorus, with most books giving *yea my soul is like a weaned child*, and a couple *yea my soul is ev'n as*. In the final chorus the medius part divides, and the altos unite, retaining the five-part texture. The *amen* includes a startling false relation, involving a clash of two beats' duration of minor/major third. Alarming as it sounds, it cannot be explained as a scribal error, as several manuscripts are involved, and in each case a written accidental appears before the note in question.

As *Lord I am not high-minded* was included in the original corpus of verse anthems for Set 1, a date of composition no later than 1630 can be deduced, though Set 1 may have begun as early as 1625, and the piece could of course pre-date this.

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<sup>37</sup> For a transcription see vol. 2, pp. 61-4

Sources

medius decani	485: D5r			
medius cantoris	C1: 29-30	489: 21v	489: 28r	
alto 1 decani	C6: 67			
alto 1 cantoris	C7: 278			
alto 2 decani	C4: 66			
alto 2 cantoris	C5: 64			
tenor decani	C11v: 25-6			
tenor cantoris	C10: 54	BL78: 104, 133	BL79: 93v	490: H2r
bass decani	C16: 165	C19: 170-1	M29: 180	488: K5r
bass cantoris	C17: 180	491: O1r		
organ	A1: 212-13			

Structure

verse	td	74	Lord I am not high-minded
chorus	maatb	24	which are too high
verse	td	44	but I refrain my soul
chorus	maatb	16	yea my soul is ev'n
verse	md td bd	38	O Israel trust in the Lord
chorus	mmatb	20	from this time forth for evermore
chorus	maatb	24	Amen

Totals            156 + 84 =    240

Variants

Bar	Beat	Stave	Source	Variant
16	2-4	2	C6, C7	c-c-m.-c for b me
16	5	1, 6	C1, A1	lacking natural
22	3-4	1	C11	m-m G natural-G flat [se]
24	5	4	BL78, 79	sb [se] in all three BL readings
25	all	1-5	various	text: my soul is like a weaned child
27	6	1	485	A natural in source, disagreeing with organ
28	5-6	3	C16	m. is- m -ra- [se]
30	2	3	M29	sb [se]
35	4	4	BL78, 79	m G [se] in all three BL readings
35	5-6	6	A1	'alto' sb A natural [se]
35	5-6	5	C16,19,M29	sb tenor F [also 481]
35	6	5	M29	m Ab [se]
36	5-8	4	BL78, 79	m rest m-m-sb A- sb -men
36	6	3	C5	natural lacking



**O God my heart prepared is<sup>38</sup>**

Psalm 108, metrical version (Sternhold & Hopkins, 1562), vv. 1-4, 12-13

**Text**

1. O God my heart prepared is, and eke my tongue is also  
I will advance my soul in song in giving praise also.
2. Awake my viol and my harp sweet melody to make  
and in the morning I myself right early will awake.
3. By me among the people Lord, still praised shalt thou be  
and I among the heathen folk will sing O Lord to thee.
4. Because thy mercy, Lord, is great above the heavens high  
and eke thy truth doth reach the clouds above the lofty sky.
12. Give me O Lord thy saving aid O Lord [sic] when trouble doth assail  
for all the help of man is vain and can no whit avail.
13. Through God we shall do valiant acts worthy of renown  
He shall subdue our enemies, yea He shall tread them down. Amen.

**Textual commentary**

This anthem shows evidence of being an early composition. Included in the original members of Set 1 anthems, as with *Lord I am not high-minded*, it must have been composed before the end of 1630. The metrical text was very much in the ascendancy at the turn of the century, and by 1630 was falling from grace in favour of the collect-anthem and prose psalm settings. For the length of the piece the small number of variants is significant. It may be that the music was copied directly from Hutchinson's original. Palmer's autograph set of parts for *Lord what is man* is similarly short of variants.

All voices are represented in the part-books, except for *medius decani*. The organ part shows that this was independent of *cantoris* throughout, and there is sufficient given to make reconstruction a relatively simple task. We are fortunate that C17 (a *decani* book) gives the only bass *cantoris* reading, though there is no explanation for this. Of the two organ parts, the one in A2 is the older, copied by Todd probably in the 1620s. Both this and Palmer's organ part in A1 (c. 1638-9) are unusual in that they are transposing parts, a fourth lower than choir pitch. This is the only instance of a Durham-composed piece with transposing organ parts,<sup>39</sup> and could again

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<sup>38</sup> For a reconstruction see vol. 2, pp. 65-73

<sup>39</sup> There are several other pieces in the pre-Restoration organ books that require

suggest an earlier date of composition. It would seem Palmer copied A1 from A2, as they are identical.

In one or two places the text has been slightly altered to fit the metre of the music, hence verses 1 and 12 have more than the regular 14 syllables to a line (divided into 8:6). In verse 4 the original word *within* has been replaced by *above (the lofty sky)*.

Stylistically the anthem has much in common with earlier models by Edward Smith, and in particular *O Lord, consider my distress*. Smith was organist when Hutchinson was a chorister, and would have taught him as a boy. There is a preference for solo or imitative duet verses, followed by short choruses. Perhaps deliberately Hutchinson elongates the verse sections by repeating phrases of text.

There are some elementary sets of consecutives, most notably the octaves between tenor and bass at bar 69, followed immediately by fifths. Harmonically the piece never strays far from its tonic and dominant roots, though Hutchinson at least varies the cadence figures at the close of sections, introducing an imperfect tonic cadence at bar 71, a plagal cadence at bar 36 and a perfect cadence into the dominant at bar 39. The amen, rather unusually, begins in the subdominant and moves only to its own subdominant (E flat major), before a plagal cadence ends the piece in the subdominant.

There are regular instances of bass books disagreeing over octave pitching at cadence figures. Rarely are all books unanimous, and occasionally they defer judgement, giving both octave pitches simultaneously. It would seem likely that the singers had the option, and those with strong low registers would take the lower note, leaving the upper octave for the higher basses. It is possible that the copyist, knowing the capabilities of the bass for whom he was writing the part, may have chosen the appropriate octave himself. That this lower octave regularly plunges below the organ may suggest that the organ would always drop an octave at

cadence points. The present editions reflect the majority decision in each case, without reference in the variants.

Sources

medius decani	lacking		
medius cantoris	C1: 54-6		
alto 1 decani	C6: 92-3		
alto 1 cantoris	C7: 303		
alto 2 decani	C4: 84		
alto 2 cantoris	C5: 82		
tenor decani	C9: 59	C11v: 36-7	
tenor cantoris	C10: 74-5	BL78: 194	BL79: 107r
bass decani	C16: 153-5	C19: 44-6	M29: 115
bass cantoris	C17: 142-4		
organ	A1: 206-11	A2: 238-43	

Structure

verse	ac	24	O God my heart prepared is
verse	[md] ac tc bcd	32	I will advance
chorus	[m]matb	12	In giving praise also
verse	bd	62	Awake my viol and my harp
chorus	[m]matb	32	And early in the morning
verse	ad	56	By me among the people Lord
chorus	[m]matb	26	will sing O Lord to thee
verse	[md] tc	86	Because thy mercy
chorus	[m]matb	24	above the lofty sky
verse	m[d]c	56	Give me O Lord
chorus	[m]matb	26	For all the help of man
verse	bdc	102	Through God we shall do valiant acts
chorus	[m]matb	26	yea he shall tread them down
chorus	[m]maatbb	26	Amen
Totals	418 + 172 =	590	



**Variants**

Bar	Beat	Stave	Source	Variant
11	2	6	C17, M29	natural lacking
11	2	6	C17, M29	m-sb al- b -so
23	5	5, 7	M29, A5	naturals lacking from bass part [mf]
42	5-6	3	A1, A2	m. G c G [?se]
55	3	5	M29	rest lacking [se]
57	1	4	C10, BL	sb sky m. lof- c -ty
68	6	5	C19	c B flat c C [se]
69	5	6	A1, A2	D flat [se - scribe assumed english cadence]
84	2	6	A1, A2	'alto' minim G [se]
84	6	6	A1, A2	'alto' minim F [se]

**O Lord, let my complaint**<sup>40</sup>  
 Psalm 119, vv. 169-end (metrical version - Ravenscroft, 1621)<sup>41</sup>

**Text**

[O Lord let my complaint....]  
 My humble supplication towards thee let find access  
 and grant me, Lord, deliverance, for so is thy promise.  
 [...] wherein stands my comfort  
 [...] are just and perfect all  
 [...] stretch out thy hand and speedily me save,  
 for thy commandments to observe chosen O Lord I have.  
 [...] I do delight alone.  
 [...] O seek me,  
 for I have not failed thy commandments to keep. Amen.

**Textual commentary**

From its one surviving bass part, this anthem would appear to be similar in size and scale to *O God my heart prepared is*. At 520 beats it would have been an impressive length. We can be fairly certain of the length in this case. Whereas many manuscripts have a fixed pattern of rests to denote a verse section in which the voice is to remain silent (usually 32 or 48 beats), M29 appears to be specific, differing in most sections. It is ironic, as this manuscript is generally notoriously bad at including rests during sections where the voice is active, to the extent that it had

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<sup>40</sup> For a transcription of the surviving part see vol. 2, p. 74  
<sup>41</sup> I am grateful to Dr. Brian Crosby for establishing the origins of the text.

been supposed the member of clergy for whom it was written was not especially musically competent.

Even with one source there are several scribal errors apparent, undoubtedly arising from missing rests. Bars 2, 14, 16, 32 and 42 contain odd numbers of beats. The bass verse at bar 22 shows the hallmarks of a duet. The tonal structure is less adventurous than that of *O God my heart*, here rarely moving from the tonic key. This, combined with the paucity of sources lead to the assumption that this is perhaps Hutchinson's earliest surviving work.

The lack of any other parts is puzzling, as the piece was copied into M29 in the mid 1630s, which would suggest that then, at least, a full set was available. Possibly it existed on single sheets at the time, as it was undoubtedly composed well before the set divisions of the late 1620s. Why it was not included in the Set 1 verse anthems cannot be explained. Is it possible that Hutchinson, who was out of favour with the cathedral authorities, destroyed the copies in protest at his suspension from duty?

Source

bass [decani] M29: 181

Structure

[verse	?	38?	O Lord let my complaint]
verse	bd [...]	48	my humble supplication
chorus	[?mat]b	18	for so is thy promise
verse	?	48?	?
chorus	[?mat]b	30	wherein stands my comfort
verse	?	48?	?
chorus	[?mat]b	28	are just and perfect all
verse	bd [...]	46	stretch out thy hand
chorus	[?mat]b	26	chosen O Lord I have
verse	?	64?	?
[chorus]	[?mat]b	20	I do delight alone
verse	?	32?	?
verse	?	24?	?
chorus	[?mat]b	28	O seek me
chorus	[?mat]b	22	Amen
Totals	348 + 172 =	520	

**Ye that fear the Lord<sup>42</sup>**

Psalm 115, vv. 11-end + Gloria

**Text**

Ye that fear the Lord, put your trust in the Lord: he is their helper and defender.  
 The Lord hath been mindful of us and he shall bless us: even he shall bless the  
 house of Israel, he shall bless the house of Aaron.  
 He shall bless them that fear the Lord: both small and great.  
 The Lord shall increase you more and more: you and your children.  
 Ye are the blessed of the Lord: which made heaven and earth.  
 All the whole heavens are the Lord's: the earth hath he given to the children of men.  
 The dead praise not thee O Lord: neither all they that go down into silence.  
 But we will praise thy name: from this time forth for evermore.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son: and to the Holy Ghost.  
 As it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be: world without end, Amen.

**Textual commentary**

Although this anthem is composed in the style of a festal psalm, and the manuscripts contain references to its use as such, attempts to establish a feast day have borne no fruit. The only reference to Psalm 115 being linked to any feast day is in the 1549 prayer book, when it is used as an introit at the communion on the feast of St Barnabas (24 August), and here the whole psalm is used, rather than just verses 11 to the end. Bearing in mind that the music could have been written as early as the 1610s, when Durham had only a couple of other festal psalms in its repertoire, it seems probable that it was used as a general festal psalm for any feast day. It could also have been a partner for Edward Smith's Psalms for All Saints, which do not specify morning or evening use.

There is further evidence for this suggestion in the Durham manuscripts. The piece is squeezed into the very end of mss C2 and C3, both of which were copied in the early 1630s. Crosby has shown<sup>43</sup> how the set of manuscripts containing festal psalms (Set 3) was copied before Set 5. A likely scenario here is that Hutchinson's psalm was originally intended for inclusion in Set 3, but as William Smith appears to have provided music for the festal psalms to complete the set, there was suddenly

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<sup>42</sup> For a transcription see vol. 2, pp. 75-82

<sup>43</sup> 1992, pp. 267-8



no place for Hutchinson's psalm, which was instead fitted into the end of Set 5. The choir would, after all, not want to discard a piece that would equally serve as an anthem, particularly when its composer was their organist.

*Ye that fear the Lord* was copied for use at Peterhouse specifically as a festal psalm, for here it is to be found in the index under *Psalmi Ffestivales* (mss 475, 476), and *Antiphonae Ffestivales* (ms 477), though in ms 479 it comes under *Full Anthems of Prayse*. In all but the bass books it is called *He is their helper*, the first words that the chorus would sing.

This also explains the apparent confusion over the two separate openings. Peterhouse now has what would have been the original psalm version, with the unaccompanied bass versicle. This employs the same opening device as William Smith's psalm for Christmas Matins, where the organ part states that the bass voice begins alone without the organ.

The Durham organ part, copied in c. 1638-9, cannot be the original version, but instead is a version which incorporates a revised opening for use as an anthem, presumably composed by Hutchinson in c. 1634 when the piece was moved to the verse anthems set. This revised organ part shows signs of having been added on top of the original, as there is paper pasted over earlier writing. The new opening must have been written for either medius decani, alto cantoris or bass cantoris solo and organ. All other parts are accounted for at Durham, and none has the opening verse. From the available notes, and the fact that the bass had the original opening, bass cantoris looks the more likely contender.

The 'festal' psalm version begins with a bass intoning the first half of the opening verse, the organ part containing a reminder *The base begins alone*. The medius book C1 further clouds the picture, with the instruction *If an anthem begin here* above the second verse of text (*The Lord hath been mindful of us*). This would seem to suggest that the opening re-written solo was dispensed with altogether, at

least after the Restoration. A manuscript in the Henry Watson Library, Manchester<sup>44</sup> contains a matching version of the anthem which is entitled *The Lord hath been mindful*. Though its origins are obscure, it does lend some weight to the notion of a post-Restoration version.

As a festal psalm it shows marked similarities with those of William Smith, particularly with *I will give thanks* for Easter Matins. It is likely that this was a model Smith had in mind when writing his several works of the genre. He could well have sung Hutchinson's psalm as a chorister as well as been taught rudiments of music by him. Hutchinson takes the opportunity to expand the counterpoint into six parts in a number of places. The impression is of him dividing the basses where he can contrive a further entry, before returning to the safer confines of a five-part texture.

The lack of side-divisions at first appears strange. Other settings of festal psalms, including Edward Smith's, divide the text between decani and cantoris, both to maintain momentum and to avoid monotony. It seems possible that in its original form this psalm would have been antiphonal, though the six-part sections with *divisi* basses must have been for full choir, with only one bass book per side. The transmission to Peterhouse would have originated from the Set 5 books, and hence its undivided state there.

Texts of praise afford less opportunity for word-painting, though Hutchinson first ventures into six parts at the words *shall increase you more and more*. The busy counterpoint is suppressed for the phrase *the dead praise not thee O Lord*, and there is a unanimous rest after the word *silence*. The cantoris bass quaver run at the end of the last verse (bar 45) is verging on the eccentric, and the opening seven bars of the Gloria show Hutchinson to be a sound contrapuntist. The move to G flat major just before the amen (bar 60) is another touch of quality, a device which would have relieved a certain amount of harmonic monotony from William Smith's work.

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<sup>44</sup> MS 340 Cr 71 [alto cantoris, c. 1675]

There is no trace of a set of preces by Hutchinson to be sung with the festal psalm, nor any hint of which set should accompany them if not one of his. Edward Smith's, in the same key, would certainly fit.

Sources

medius decani	475: 127rv			
medius cantoris	C1: 232-4	479: 127rv		
alto 1 decani	C2: 202-4	476: 138rv		
alto 1 cantoris	480: 122rv			
alto 2 decani	C3: 175-6 (inc) <sup>45</sup>	477: 77rv		
alto 2 cantoris	C7: 112-4			
tenor decani	C11: 142-4			
tenor cantoris	C14: 156-8	C15: 73-5	BL78: 109	BL79: 58v
bass decani	C16: 91-4	C17: 60-3	C19: 44-6	478: 133rv
bass cantoris	481: 129rv			
organ	A5: 98-101			

Structure

verse	[bc]	14	Ye that fear the Lord
chorus	maatb	62	He is their helper and defender
chorus	maatbb	32	The Lord shall increase you more
chorus	maatb	118	Ye are the blessed of the Lord
chorus	maatbb	42	But we will praise thy name
chorus	maatbb	104	Gloria
Totals	14 + 358 =	372	anthem
	8 + 358 =	366	psalm

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<sup>45</sup> The reading begins at the start of bar 28



**Variants**

Bar	Beat	Stave	Source	Variant
4	1	4	C15	m [se] - no rest preceding
6	2	4	C11	c A flat [se]
13	5-6	4	C14, BL	m. c
14	1	5	all	most mss have both notes, C17 just the upper
15	5	4	C15	c. -crease c you [se]
22	1-2	6	A5	m. E flat C c E flat C [se]
24	1	1	475	D natural is erased from 1st c, present at 2nd
24	3	5	all	most mss have bottom note, 478 has both
30	1	4	C15	sb high E flat [?se]
36	1	5	C17	lacking dot [se]
43	5-6	4	C14, BL	m. G [se] c F
45	3-4	6	481	c.-sq-sq-sq-sq-sq the c-sb-b- Lord [?se]
52	5-6	2	C2, C3	m. E flat c D natural [se]
56	3-4	1	C1 475 479	'medius' m. E flat c D flat [se]
60	1	1	C1	flat lacking

**Works of dubious attribution:**

**O God the proud are risen**

Sources for this work are Durham Cathedral C11v: 227, C12: 79, C14: 161-2, C15: 113-4, C27: 139-40, C28: 138-41, and C34: 113-15. Sources (1972)<sup>46</sup> lists an entry in London BL Add MS 15166: 206v, though the work is not to be found in this, a treble manuscript from the 1570s. This anthem is by John Hutchinson.

**Hear my crying, O God**

Attributed to Richard Hutchinson by Hughes,<sup>47</sup> this is by John Hutchinson.

**Behold, how good and joyful**

Attributed to Richard Hutchinson by Jeffrey Mark in *Grove* (1927), this is by John Hutchinson.

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<sup>46</sup> p. 113. The entry states the composer as *John or Richard Hutchinson*.  
<sup>47</sup> Catalogue, p. 25.

**Of mortal men (The Southwell Anthem)**

Attributed to Richard Hutchinson by Hughes<sup>48</sup>, this is also by John Hutchinson. Sources for the work are Peterhouse, Ely, and Manchester, Henry Watson Library (MS 340 Hy 21) - a possible link with Richard Hutchinsons's anthem *The Lord hath been mindful*. The name *The Southwell Anthem* derives from the author of the words, Robert Southwell, who was martyred in 1595.

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<sup>48</sup> *ibid.*

## Summary

The music of the early century is principally represented by the work of Edward Smith. The 16th century John Brimley is included here for the sake of completeness, as is William White, whose one certain Durham composition, *Behold now praise the Lord*, was almost certainly written in the late 16th century. These two composers both wrote music of quality, but of a shamefully small surviving quantity,

Edward Smith shows the signs of having been a greatly talented man, being appointed organist about the age of 20. Whilst there are one or two persisting doubts over the authorship of his work, it displays a unity of style and concept that should speak for itself. His verse anthems are early in style. The genre was still in its youth in Smith's day, and the strange popularity of the poor metrical texts is reflected in his work. His festal psalm is particularly interesting as an early example of this rare species. We can see how it was used as a model by William Smith for his later outpouring of festal psalms.

Richard Hutchinson straddles the whole of the first half of the century as a figure of intrigue and controversy. His disputes with the cathedral authorities are well-researched elsewhere, though his music has only been lightly touched on. It appears to be early work - the compositions of a young and enthusiastic mind, eager to appease his employers. His imprisonment led to an inevitable suspension from duty, and his return was only to the post of organist, and not master of the choristers. His ability at the organ is praised, and no doubt was to some degree responsible for his retaining any sort of employment at the cathedral.

Though the early century is only represented by a small number of works, they nonetheless show Durham to be abreast of developments elsewhere in the country. The works of its own composers appear accomplished and show a good grasp of the style.



The scene was set for the explosion of musical activity in the late 1620s when the music manuscripts were overhauled, and when prebendary John Cosin began to stamp his influential foot on the role of music in worship at Durham. The following 20 years were to be the most exciting and productive in Durham's musical history. Never since has so much been accomplished in such a short time.

**Chapter 3: The music of c. 1625-45**

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## William Smith (1603-45)

Thanks to his shortest composition, William Smith lays claim to being Durham's best-known early composer.<sup>1</sup> The Preces and Responses by 'Smith of Durham' are sung today in Anglican establishments the world over. His large output makes him Durham's most prolific composer until eclipsed by Thomas Ebdon in the 18th century. His works are considered here in groups - anthems, festal psalms and service music.

### Anthems

The anthems of William Smith are, without exception, verse anthems. They appear in two separate groups of manuscripts at Durham; Set 1 anthems (general full and verse), and Set 5 anthems (for feast days). Represented in Set 1 are

I will wash my hands  
My heart is set to laud the Lord

and in Set 5

Almighty and everlasting God	(Purification)
Grant we beseech thee	(Ascension)
I will preach the law	(Christmas Day)
O God which for our sakes	(1st Sunday in Lent)
O God which hast taught	(Conversion of St Paul)

Each set is represented in a different group of manuscripts, as follows. A bold number indicates an original member of the set.

Set 1, voice	pre-Rest.	post-Rest.
medius decani	lacking	
medius cantoris	lacking	C1 [1660s replacement]
alto 1 decani	<b>C6</b>	
alto 1 cantoris	<b>C7</b> (2nd fasc.)	
alto 2 decani	<b>C4</b>	
alto 2 cantoris	<b>C5</b>	
tenor decani	<b>C9</b>	C15
tenor cantoris	<b>C10</b>	C12, BL78, BL79
bass decani	<b>C16</b>	C19
bass cantoris	lacking	C17

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<sup>1</sup> For biographical details see Crosby 1992, vol. 1, pp. 186-92 and vol. 2, pp. 116-7



Set 5, voice	pre-Rest.	post-Rest.
medius decani	lacking	
medius cantoris	lacking	C1 [1660s replacement]
alto 1 decani	<b>C2</b>	
alto 1 cantoris	lacking	
alto 2 decani	<b>C3</b>	
alto 2 cantoris	<b>C7 (1st fasc.)<sup>2</sup></b>	
tenor decani	<b>C11</b>	
tenor cantoris	<b>C14</b>	<b>BL78, BL79</b>
bass decani	<b>C16</b>	<b>C19</b>
bass cantoris	lacking	

It can be seen at once that not every part is represented, and this is particularly vexing in the case of verse anthems, where missing material is not so easily contrived.

Five out of William Smith's seven anthems are in the original key of G minor/major, with the remaining two in A minor/major. The oscillation between minor and major keys, very much a feature of Smith's writing, causes the sixth note of the tonic scale to be flattened and sharpened to varying degrees. Smith was happy to leave a key signature of one flat, and then add accidentals to the sixth note where necessary. The present edition, however, in most cases adds a flat to the key signature, and naturalises where necessary. This is because the number of flattened sixths outweighs those sharpened, except in *O God which hast taught*, which has been left without a flattened sixth in the key signature.

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<sup>2</sup>Crosby 1986, p. 38 and 1992, p. 244 calls this [1 Contratenor Cantoris], yet it is alto 2 cantoris for its opening section. The telling factor is the lack of any verse material, which an alto 1 part would have in abundance. A decisive example is William Smith's anthem for the Purification, which has an opening verse section that is obviously an alto duet. C2 provides the decani alto 1 part, but C7 contains no verse material. If it was the cantoris alto 1 part, it would contain the missing verse part.

**Almighty and everlasting God, we humbly beseech<sup>3</sup>**  
**Collect for the Purification of Mary the Virgin**

**Text**

Almighty and everlasting God, we humbly beseech thy majesty, that, as thy only begotten son was this day presented in the temple in substance of our flesh, [so grant that we] may be presented unto thee with pure and clean minds, by Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

**Textual commentary**

The text agrees with the 1549 Book of Common Prayer, with two small exceptions; *in the substance*, and *pure and cleare minds*.

It is immediately apparent that there is an amount of verse missing from this piece, and a glance at the sources reveals three missing parts: medius decani, alto 1 cantoris and bass cantoris. Any or all of these could be involved in verse work. Whilst the first verse section has a decani alto part surviving, on its own it is weak and fragmentary, though at the same time displaying signs of being one half of a duet. The gaps between phrases are as long as the phrases themselves, and the organ part confirms suspicions of a missing alto.

This is not a strictly imitative duet, in the style of many of Gibbons and Weelkes's models, but more of a developmental duet, with the harmony progressing through each entry. It opens promisingly and the first point is worked skilfully, but it is let down, as is often the case in Smith's work, by an over-fussy and busy point later in the verse at *presented in the temple* (bars 14-17).

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<sup>3</sup> For a reconstruction see vol. 2, pp. 189-92

Sources

medius decani	lacking		
medius cantoris	C1: 122		
alto 1 decani	C2: 82		
alto 1 cantoris	lacking		
alto 2 decani	C3: 62		
alto 2 cantoris	C7: 42		
tenor decani	C11v: 134		
tenor cantoris	C14: 48	BL78: 158	BL79: 164
bass decani	C16: 340	C19: 383	M29: 300
bass cantoris	lacking		
organ	A1: 30-1		

Structure

verse	ad [ac]	110	Almighty and everlasting God
chorus	matb	10	in substance of our flesh
verse	[md] [ac] bd	72	[so grant that we] may be presented
chorus	maatb	52	by Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen

Totals: 182 + 62 = 244

Variants

Bar	Beat	Stave	Source	Variant
11	4	3	A1	G flat lacking, [mf] (and bar 12)
16	3	7	A1	G flat lacking [mf]
16	6	6	A1	A natural lacking [mf]
24	1	3	C16, 19, M29	mind (singular) - possibly all parts read the same
33	5	5	C16, 19, M29	all books have a minim rest before Lord [se]
34	3	4	C11, 14, BL	A flat lacking [mf]
37	4	1	C1	D flat lacking [mf]

Grant, we beseech thee, Almighty God<sup>4</sup>  
Collect for Ascension Day

Text

Grant, we beseech thee, almighty God, that like as we do believe thy only begotten Son, our Lord, to have ascended into the heavens, so may we also in heart and mind thither ascend, and with Him continually dwell, through the same Christ our Lord, Amen.

<sup>4</sup> For a transcription see vol. 2, pp. 193-6



## Textual commentary

With three parts lacking (medius decani, alto 1 cantoris, and bass cantoris) the possibility of some missing verse material cannot be discounted. The opening verse section here is without doubt a solo. The organ part offers a simple supportive accompaniment above and below the alto, occasionally echoing a musical point, but showing no evidence of a missing part.

The second verse section is less clear-cut, and the thought of a missing medius decani verse was entertained for a while. The first phrase is anticipated in the top line, and bars 28-31 are an exact mirror an octave higher and a beat earlier than the alto. Two factors cast doubt, however. The upper organ line has descending quavers in bars 24 and 25 at the words 'ascend'. Such a word-painting enthusiast as Smith would never allow a vocal line to contradict text in this manner. The tessitura here, and in bar 26 is too high for a medius, with two B flats.

This leaves the final four bars of verse, bars 28-31, and these could conceivably be a duet between medius decani and the alto. The simple structure of the piece as a whole, however, persuades against this option. To have 20 bars or so of solo verse, and then introduce a second voice for the final four bars is simply not in keeping with Smith's style; either the solo voice persists alone, or groups of voices are introduced at an early stage.

Of interest here is the four-part first chorus (matb), and five-part second chorus (maatb). It is unusual to change the chorus disposition during a piece, though occasionally William Smith and Henry Palmer would double the final chorus antiphonally in larger-scale anthems, briefly creating a ten-part texture. There is only one other instance at Durham of this move from four to five chorus parts, in William Smith's similar-scale collect anthem for the Purification.

Sources

medius decani	lacking	
medius cantoris	C1: 117	
alto 1 decani	C2: 58-9	
alto 1 cantoris	lacking	
alto 2 decani	C3: 45	
alto 2 cantoris	C7: 35	
tenor decani	C11v: 119	
tenor cantoris	BL78: 164v	
bass decani	C16: 323	C19: 369
bass cantoris	lacking	
organ	A1: 38-9	

Structure

verse	ad	86	grant we beseech thee
chorus	matb	22	ascended into the heavens
verse	ad	74	so we may also
chorus	maatb	48	and with him continually dwell
Totals:	160 + 70 =	230	

Variants

Bar	Beat	Stave	Source	Variant
8	4	1	C2	original text c we c be- m -lieve is crossed out and replaced in a later hand with c like c as m we
17	5	5	A1, C19	A natural lacking - it is present in C16
33	5	3	C3	m him m con- m. -tin [se]
35	2	1	C1	lacking dot [se]
38	4	4	C11	natural lacking
38		4	C11	m-m-m-c-c-c- a- c -men sb a-

I will preach the law<sup>5</sup>  
Part of Hebrews 1.1 (Epistle for Christmas Day)  
some text still unidentified

Text

I will preach the law whereof the Lord hath said unto me Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten Thee. Desire of me and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession, Amen.

<sup>5</sup> For a transcription see vol. 2, pp. 197-200

Textual commentary

There are one or two discrepancies in the text, though most probably as a result of scribal confusion. A minority of manuscripts give the reading *Desire of me and I will give thee the heathen*, and there is confusion at the end of the first verse, with the bass erroneously repeating *inheritance* from the previous phrase.

As with several of Smith's short anthems, the small number of lacking parts mean there could be some missing verse, though again here the opening verse seems to be a very straightforward duet, and the organ part shows no other solo part to be obviously missing. Unusually for Smith the first half is through-composed, with the chorus section growing out of the verse and developing the point with repeated text.

The second verse section has factors in favour of a missing voice, such as the 'hollow' at the beginning of bar 25, and the organ 'alto' part in the following bars. The organ part for most of this section, however, offers nothing more than a filling-out of harmony, and a descant with echoes of musical points. The second chorus is not so developmental, yet still begins without a break. The musical material is similar to that of the verse section (compare alto 1 bar 29 with organ bar 20), though the point in bars 21-22 is ignored. The perfect cadence into G major (bar 33) is a breath of fresh air after a long section rooted to the tonic.

Sources

medius decani	lacking		
medius cantoris	C1: 90		
alto 1 decani	C2: 9		
alto 1 cantoris	lacking		
alto 2 decani	C3: 8		
alto 2 cantoris	C7: 6		
tenor decani	C11v: 89		
tenor cantoris	C14: 6-7	BL78:153v	BL79: 147r
bass decani	C16: 296-7	C19: 342-4	M29: 254
bass cantoris	lacking		
organ	A1: 36-7		



Structure

verse	tc, bd	80	I will preach the law
chorus	maatb	22	Have I begotten thee
verse	tc, bd	60	Desire of me
chorus	maatb	54	Desire of me

Totals            140 + 76 =    216

Variants

Bar	Beat	Stave	Source	Variant
3	3	1	all tenor	all books have "I will preach thy law"
16	1-3	4	BL78	m. I m be- m -got- m-m -ten [se]
16	5	4	BL78, 79	B natural [se]
20	3	1	all tenor	all books have "I will give thee"
22	4	2	C16	m -then m for [se]
27	2	2	all bass	all books have "thine inheritance" [se]
29	4	1	C1	"I will give thee"
31	2-3	2	C2	c in- c -he- c.-q -ri- m -tance
32	4	1	C1	c -most (C) c parts (G) m of (E flat)
35	2	1	C1	natural lacking [mf]

I will wash my hands<sup>6</sup>  
Psalm 26, vv. 6, 8

Text

I will wash my hands in innocency O Lord, and so will I go to thine altar.  
For I have loved the habitation of thine house, and the place where thine honour dwelleth, Amen.

Textual commentary

This piece is of interest in that it was the only anthem by Smith to be copied into the Cambridge manuscripts. We know that his other anthems (with the possible exception of *O God which hast taught*) were composed before 1635, and so must have been deemed unsuitable for use at Peterhouse. It is understandable why Cosin should want to take all of the festal psalms with him, but not so clear why this anthem was selected above five other contenders.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> For a transcription see vol. 2, pp. 201-5  
<sup>7</sup> Crosby 1992, vol. 2 (appendix 6), p. 220 lists the items at Peterhouse in identifiable Durham hands.

An interesting result of its inclusion at Peterhouse is the existence of two organ parts,<sup>8</sup> with the Durham organ book being autograph, and the Peterhouse part copied by Palmer. A testimony to Palmer's thoroughness and also clear evidence of his copying from Smith's original is afforded by the fact that, of several hundred notes, Palmer misses just one altogether, copies one wrongly, and omits one accidental and one (cautionary) rest. He also adds a cautionary flat where Smith does not.

It is not clear why the Cambridge books reverse the sides given at Durham in this piece, though the same situation is true of several other Durham compositions at Peterhouse. The opening verse in Durham is for alto 1 cantoris and bass decani, whereas at Peterhouse it is found in the alto 1 decani and bass cantoris books. In the second chorus, where the medius part splits briefly, Peterhouse ms 479 (cantoris) gives a different reading from Durham ms C1 (also cantoris). The alto chorus parts are also opposite. There would have been no aural consequence of this reversal, which was possibly completed deliberately by the scribe Brooking. He may have copied one part into the wrong book and then 'rectified' matters by reversing the whole piece.<sup>9</sup>

Again ms M29 gives an unreliable reading, omitting accidentals and rests, and no attempt has been made to document these in the list of variants. It simply reinforces the earlier conclusion that the book was copied for a member of the clergy with only a basic grasp of music to follow.

With the piece represented at Peterhouse, the sources are more complete, and now only lack tenor decani. It is felt that this part would not have contained verse material - there are no obvious indications in the organ part, and the alto and bass

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<sup>8</sup>Little has survived of the Peterhouse organ book (ms 493). Indeed, from the size of the repertoire we can see that much has disappeared over the years.

<sup>9</sup> There could be some significance in the fact that decani, on the north side at Durham, is the 'wrong' way round. At Peterhouse decani is on the south.



are complete in themselves. A smaller, though still valid, point is that Smith rarely utilised the tenor voice as a solo instrument.

Many of the variants in the sources stem from the interpretation of the flattened or sharpened sixth. In its original key of G minor, the manuscripts had a key signature of one flat, and would flatten the sixth with accidentals. There are several instances where voice parts and organ differ, and occasionally voice parts disagree with one another. It should be borne in mind that to the 17th century musician, accidentals were not as 'absolute' as they are today, and were intended more as a guide. The whole interpretation of *musica ficta* at Durham is discussed elsewhere,<sup>10</sup> but in summary it should be noted here that contemporary musicians would have interpreted accidentals more by mode and convention than by sticking rigidly to what was written in their part-books. The small and idiosyncratic repertoire would have meant many works were practically committed to memory. This could go some way to explaining the apparent confusion.

Sources

medius decani	479: 81v		
medius cantoris	C1: 29	475: 81v	
alto 1 decani	C6: 67	480: 79r	
alto 1 cantoris	C7: 277-8	476: 89rv	
alto 2 decani	C4: 66		
alto 2 cantoris	C5: 64	477: 50v	
tenor decani	lacking		
tenor cantoris	C10: 54	BL78: 104v	BL79: 93
bass decani	C16: 180-1	C17: 126	C19: 169-70
	M29: 337	481: 83r	
bass cantoris	478: 87v		
organ	A1: 40-1	493: 37v-38r	

Structure

verse	ac, bd	66	I will wash my hands
chorus	maatb	22	And so will I go to thine altar
verse	mdc, ac, bd	68	For I have loved the habitation
chorus	mmaatb	72	For I have loved the habitation
Totals	134 + 94 =	228	

<sup>10</sup> See vol. 2, pp. iv-vii



**Variants**

Bar	Beat	Stave	Source	Variant
7	5	3	A1, 493	G natural lacking [mf]
9	2	2	481	G natural (cautionary)
11	4	2	481	ccc to cm thine
13	5	1	C1	b go m to m-sb thine
20	2	5	493	A natural missing [mf]
28	3	2	C7	m E flat m C [se]
28	5	2	C7	G flat lacking [though implied mf]
28	5	3	477	minim F
30	5	3	C5, 477	G flat lacking
32	3	6	478	G flat
34	2	8	493	D flat [se]
35	4	8	493	G natural implied

**My heart is set to laud the Lord<sup>11</sup>**  
 Psalm 57, vv. 9-end (metrical version)

**Text**

Italicised words are the original Sternhold & Hopkins version

My heart is set to laud [*praise*] the Lord and [ ] in him to joy always  
 my heart I say doth well afford [*doth ever well accord*] to sing his laud and praise.  
 Awake my joy I say, awake my lute, my harp and string  
 for I myself before the day will rise, rejoice and sing.  
 Among the people I will tell the goodness of my God  
 and shew his praise that doth excel in heathen lands abroad.  
 His mercy doth extend as far as heavens are all high  
 his truth as high as any star that standeth [*shineth*] in the sky.  
 [*Set forth and shew thyself O God above the heav'ns most bright*]  
 Extoll thy praise on earth [*exalt thyself on each*] abroad, thy majesty and might.  
 Amen.

**Textual commentary**

The text varies in several places from the Sternhold & Hopkins original, notably in its opening phrase, though agrees with the later 1623 edition. Comment has already been made on the pun in the title on the name of Archbishop Laud, and interestingly this is absent from the original text, which reads *praise* instead of *laud*. This makes the reconstruction of bars 48-56 less certain, as here no voice parts survive, and we

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<sup>11</sup> For a reconstruction see vol. 2, pp. 206-12. ~~See Addendum for additional notes on the text.~~

are consequently lacking any text for the first half of verse 13. The original 1562 has been restored, though it should be appreciated that this may differ from the version used at Durham.

As with almost all of Smith's anthems, the incompleteness of the sources necessitates the reconstruction of some verse material, and this piece causes more problems than most. The opening verse section is complete with alto and bass solo respectively, and the second (bar 24) lacks nothing as a trio, with all of the leads represented in the organ part. It is felt that the organ part for the last section of this verse (bars 32-36) offers suggestions of one, and possibly two bass parts. With decani bass represented in C19 and M29, cantoris could be the only missing part, and this has to suffice. The organ entry at the end of bar 32 is more likely to be a 'bluff entry' than an extension of the bass entry two beats earlier. If the bass were to continue into three consecutive points (as cantoris alto does to two in bar 33), then the effect would be clumsy. The entry of the point is more marked when preceded by a rest.

The following verse section, beginning at bar 41, is also problematic. It begins with what is obviously a duet for tenor and missing medius, and is a highly effective piece of writing. The words, of an almost childlike quality, are depicted likewise, with short, simple, yet musical phrases, and a warming cadence into D flat major. The problems begin at the end of this duet, in bar 48. Here we have no text for eight bars, and are thus faced with what must be medius decani, bass cantoris, or both. Whilst there is not much precedent in Smith's music for changing voice within a verse section, we would expect the next point to enter without a gap (cf *O God which for our sakes*, bars 12 and 40, and *O God which hast taught*, bars 24 and 43). This is usually achieved by the introduction of a new voice, and here we would expect the cantoris medius to enter, as suggested by the organ. As the cantoris book is silent at this point, the decani medius has no option but to continue and introduce the new point. That the bass appears to do the same at bar 56 is some comfort, though the passage continues to perplex!



The spacious final chorus is deceptively impressive looking, being antiphonal for only twelve beats, or four short answering phrases.

There are two organ sources for this piece, both in the hand of the composer. Ms A2 provides a more detailed reading, including many more inner parts than A1. It would appear that A2 gives the earlier reading, if only because A1 represents Smith's 'collected works', copied in all likelihood a few years after composition. As the piece was already known by the organist, Smith would have felt confident in producing a less thorough copy for A1. Consequently, the reading of A2 has been preferred where the two differ, though not in all cases. A separate lengthy list of discrepancies between organ books is given after the variants.

John Morehen, in his 1969 investigation, researched the instances of duplicate organ parts,<sup>12</sup> and drew conclusions of consistency between parts based principally on the thoroughness of the scribe Henry Palmer. The two Smith autograph parts to *My heart is set*, however, yield up different statistics, proving, if anything, that an organ part was essentially more a *guide* than a literal representation. Whereas this had been the accepted case for organ parts of full anthems, and choruses of verse anthems, we can see that to a certain degree the organ part of verse sections is also skeletal. Bars 13-14, 54, and 58-9 at the very least would have necessarily been filled out in performance.

The organ part to bar 60 is worthy of note, for it would appear that Smith re-drafted this a number of times. The version in the present edition is the A2 rewrite. Originally in A2 the third beat of the bar was a root D minor chord. This was amended by Smith in A2, and further embellished in A1 with the addition of a bass crotchet D flat on the fourth beat. This small alteration in A1, clearly an improvement, is further small evidence for its post-dating A2.

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<sup>12</sup> 1969, pp. 36-41



Sources

medius decani	lacking		
medius cantoris	C1: 53-4		
alto 1 decani	C6: 90-1		
alto 1 cantoris	C7: 302		
alto 2 decani	C4: 83		
alto 2 cantoris	C5: 81		
tenor decani	C9: 58	C11v: 33-4	
tenor cantoris	C10: 73-4	BL78: 138v	BL79: 152
bass decani	C19: 201-2	M29: 114	
bass cantoris	lacking		
organ	A1: 32-5	A2: 382-5	

Structure

verse	ad	60	My heart is set to laud the Lord
verse	bd	66	Awake my joy, I say awake
chorus	maatb	16	will rise, rejoice and sing
verse	mc, adc, bc	74	Among the people I will tell
chorus	maatb	32	in heathen lands abroad
verse	md, tc	48	His mercy doth extend
verse	md, bc	42	Set forth and shew thyself O God
verse	md, ac	32	Extol thy praise
chorus	mmaaaattbb	40	extol thy praise

Totals            322 + 88 =    410

Variants

Bar	Beat	Stave	Source	Variant
3	23	2	C6	minor discrepancies with the organ are retained
14	6	1	M29	my string
20	4	5	C19	G flat lacking [mf]
28	6	1	C1	text missing from ms for these two crotchets
37	4	3	C7	m in m. hea- c -then m lands m a- c -broad c in
38	4	4	BL78, 79	B natural instead of A natural [se]
48	6	1, 4	n/a	editorial text for seven bars
63	6	2	C6	F natural [se]
63	6	6	C1	both crotchets E natural
64	1	4	C10, BL mss	sb [se] in all three mss
64	1	5	C19	natural lacking
65	1	5	C19	natural lacking

Organ Variants

Bar	Beat	Voice	A1	A2
2	5	alto	rest	as written
3	4-6	alto	rest	as written
5	1-2	tenor	rest, m	cccc
7	6	tenor	rest	as written
8	1	tenor	rest	as written
8	4	alto	no accidental	accidental
10	4	alto	no accidental	cautionary D flat
11	3	bass	sb.	sb, m rest
11-12	3	tenor	rest	notes
12	6	medius	sb	m m
14	4	tenor	m.E qG aA mB mA	as written
15	5-6	bass	sb	as written
16	1-2	bass	sb	as written
18	3	tenor	no accidental	cautionary D flat
18	5-6	alto 1	no notes	as written
19	2	bass	m	qqqq as written
19	3	bass	sb.	sb, m rest
19	3-5	alto	no notes	as written
20	1-2	alto	no notes	as written
20	3	bass	sb	m rest, m
21	3-6	tenor	no notes	as written
21	5-6	bass	sb tenor F	as written
23	4-8	alto	no notes	as written
23	6	bass	tenor F only	bass F only
24	2-3	medius	as written	sb D flat
28	2	medius	m	as written
28	4	medius	m	as written
28	6	medius	m	as written
29	all	tenor	no notes	as written
30	1-4	tenor	no notes	as written
30	5	bass	sb.	sb, m rest
31	1-2	alto	sb	as written
31	3-4	bass	sb	as written
32	3	bass	c rest, m c	c rest, ccc
33	6	alto 1	no note	as written
35	2	tenor	no accidental	cautionary D flat
36	4-6	alto	no notes	as written
37	4	alto	m A natural	as written
40	2-8	tenor	no notes	as written
46	5-6	tenor	sb	as written
48	3-5	alto	no notes	as written
50	3-4	tenor 1	no note	as written
51	6	tenor	no note	as written
52	5	bass	as written	breve
54	3-4	bass	sb	as written
55	1-2	bass	sb	as written
58	1	alto	cc	as written
58	2	alto	as written	c E c G
60	2	bass	minim C	as written
60	3-6	bass	mF cDcEcFcE mF	as written
62	5-6	bass	sb	as written
63	1	bass	m	as written
63	3	tenor	m	as written

**O God, which for our sakes<sup>13</sup>**

Collect for the First Sunday in Lent

**Text** (the italicised text is missing from the sources)

[*O God which for our sakes didst fast forty days and forty nights,*] give us grace to use such abstinence, that our flesh, being subdued to the spirit, we may ever obey thy godly motions in righteousness and true holiness, to thy honour and glory, which liveth and reigneth one God, world without end, Amen.

**Textual commentary**

Confusion surrounds the very title of this piece, which is called *O God, which for our sakes* in the contemporary manuscripts. The 1662 prayer book version of the collect however begins *O Lord, which for our sake*, and so it is listed in Crosby's 1986 catalogue. The opening verse section, which would resolve matters, is missing. Generally it is the post-Restoration books which name the anthem *O Lord*, and this is the text of the 1662 prayer book. It is possible that the new words were substituted in the solo part.

The reconstruction of missing material poses more problems here too due to the absence of a good deal of verse material, particularly, it would appear, from the missing alto 1 cantoris book. From the surviving books we can narrow down the potential missing verse parts to medius decani, alto cantoris and bass cantoris, and the organ part for the opening section gives enough clues as to the missing alto notes here.

A factor that makes the job of the reconstructor less clear-cut is the tendency of Smith to select solo voices at random as the harmony demands, often using a single voice for one short phrase. This is illustrated in the second verse section (in particular bars 23-5), where tenor and medius are called upon for no more than eight beats each.

Another complicating factor is octave substitution in the organ part. Particularly a feature of the anthems of John Geeres, but apparent here in bar 25, is the octave

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<sup>13</sup> For a reconstruction see vol. 2, pp. 213-7



transposition (downward in this case) of the missing alto 2 part, where this cannot be accommodated by one hand at its intended pitch. Of course this part is conjecturally restored, but it cannot be a tenor part as both books survive and at this pitch it is too low for an alto. The possibility remains of its being incidental harmony, though an entry is required at this point to maintain the momentum until the next alto entry in the following bar.

The final verse section is problematic in deciding to which voice to allot the missing part. It is clearly a duet, and Smith would generally maintain the same two voices throughout a verse section. Here, though, the organ part suggests a missing part in the alto range for the first section, and medius for the second. Whilst it is feasible that either part could carry the solo for the whole section, the tessitura of the first section is slightly too low for a medius, and the high D flat in bar 45 is outside of the recognised alto range. The choice of a mean for this section is borne out by its repetition in the final chorus (bars 49-50). Whilst this part, too, is missing, all three alto books give the same reading, confirming the unusual mmatb disposition.

The scoring of the final chorus shows that, on the one hand, Smith is happy to break the generally rigid conventions of vocal scoring, and on the other, that he is not able to work a fairly restrictive point (which only works at thirds and sixths with the bass) into two alto parts. This final chorus is a better example of Smith's handling of climax, building the phrase up from three parts (bars 42-46), through four (47-48), and finally five parts (49-end).

At the start of the final chorus BL78 has the rubric *mark your close:*, a warning that the tenor entry is earlier than would be expected.

Sources

medius decani	lacking		
medius cantoris	C1: 101		
alto 1 decani	C2: 31		
alto 1 cantoris	lacking		
alto 2 decani	C3: 23		
alto 2 cantoris	C7: 17		
tenor decani	C11v: 102		
tenor cantoris	C14: 19	BL78: 127v	BL79: 152
bass decani	C16: 309	C19: 354-5	M29: 330
bass cantoris	lacking		
organ	A1: 27-9		

Structure

verse	[ac]	68	[O God which for our sakes]
verse	[ac], ad, td	22	Give us grace to use such abstinence
chorus	maatb	22	to use such abstinence
verse	mc, ad[c], td, bd	52	That our flesh being subdued
chorus	maatb	32	we may ever obey
verse	mc, [ac]	36	In righteousness and true holiness
verse	[md], mc	36	which liveth and reigneth
chorus	mmatb	44	One God, world without end
Totals	214 + 98 =	312	

Variants

Bar	Beat	Stave	Source	Variant
18	6	1	C1	flat lacking
19	1	2	C7	G flat (same scribe as C2 which gives G natural)
19	3	2	C7	breve. C7 is the only manuscript with a breve.
32	3	4	all	the discrepancy with the organ is in all sources
32	4	4	C14, BL mss	natural lacking
33	1	2	C2	m mo- m-m-m -ti sb -ons
33	1	4	all	flat lacking
47	2	3	C2	flat lacking
48	4	4	C11	flat lacking [mf]
49	4	3	C7	flat lacking [mf]
50	6	3	C7	m-b A- b - men

**O God, which has taught<sup>14</sup>**

Collect for the Conversion of St Paul

**Text**

O God, which hast taught all the world by the preaching of thy blessed apostle Saint Paul, grant, we beseech thee that we, which have his wonderful conversion in remembrance, may follow and fulfil thy holy doctrine which he taught, through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

**Textual commentary**

Several readings of this anthem are incomplete. C14 ends after the first beat of bar 30 with a torn out page, though its music is duplicated in the British Library exiles. C7 ends after the first beat of bar 35, and C3 after the third beat of bar 47. These two books contain the same part, so the expiry of C3 necessitates the reconstruction of the second alto for the final chorus, which task is made easier by the unusually full organ part. No explanation can be given for the two readings in BL78. They are of the same (cantoris) tenor part, though in different hands.

From its absence from the autograph collection of works in A1, this has been assumed to have been a later piece. Crosby has observed<sup>15</sup> that this was added slightly later to the original books of Set 5, and this, too, supports the theory.

The missing books again appear to have contained a considerable amount of verse material, though this is relatively simply allotted thanks to Henry Palmer's detailed organ part. Of note in verse sections is the lack of any solo work for decani tenor - the only voice in the choir to be denied.

Whilst showing some assured touches, the piece also contains several weak points. The rising figure at *Of thy blessed Apostle Saint Paul* offers potential, but Smith is unable to work anything from it beyond parallel thirds. When he finds a point that works well, such as *his wonderful conversion* (bars 25-36) he overworks it almost to the point of monotony. The repeated crotchet figure at *follow and fulfil* (bars 40-42) is thankfully brief - Smith was clearly aware of its lack of potential.

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<sup>14</sup> For a reconstruction see vol. 2, pp. 218-23

<sup>15</sup> 1992, p. 247



Sources

medius decani	lacking		
medius cantoris	C1: 125-6		
alto 1 decani	C2: 86-7		
alto 1 cantoris	lacking		
alto 2 decani	C3: 66 (inc)		
alto 2 cantoris	C7: 44 (inc)		
tenor decani	C11v: 132		
tenor cantoris	C14: 52 (inc)	BL78: 156v, 179	BL79: 165
bass decani	C16: 337-8	C19: 38	M29: 317
bass cantoris	lacking		
organ	A5: 95-7		

Structure

verse	[ac], bd	48	O God which hast taught
verse	mc, [ac], td, bd	30	of thy blessed Apostle Saint Paul
chorus	maatb	32	of thy blessed Apostle Saint Paul
verse	[md]c, ad[c] tc, bd[c]	90	Grant we beseech thee
chorus	maatb	16	his wonderful conversion
verse	[md]c, ad[c] tc, bd[c]	64	may follow and fulfil
chorus	ma[a]tb	36	Through Jesus Christ our Lord
Totals	232 + 84 =	316	

Variants

Bar	Beat	Stave	Source	Variant
5	2	2	C19	m which m hast [se]
16	6	5	C19	flat lacking [mf]
18	5	3-5	all	semibreve, rather than breve
31	6	5	C19	m con- m. -ver- c -si- m -on
32	1-5	2	C2	text as in ms
34	2	4	BL78	m B flat [se]
41	2	4	BL79	A lacks natural and is a minim [se]
47	1	6	A5	rh rest is minim [se]
50	2	5	C19	flat lacking [mf]

Preces, Responses and Festal Psalms

The phenomenon of the festal psalm was not particularly widespread outside of Durham. Its elaborate nature would have appealed to John Cosin, who doubtless encouraged William Smith to complete Durham's repertoire of this genre, which hitherto comprised the following:

Epiphany	Byrd
Ascension Evensong	Byrd
Ascension Matins	Edward Smith/John Mundy
Whitsunday Evensong	Gibbons
All Saints	Edward Smith

To this, Smith added festal psalms for Easter Matins, Easter Evensong, Whitsunday Matins, Christmas Matins and Christmas Evensong. The same set of Preces was used in each case, and is not repeated here. These are reproduced with the Responses.

The Preces and Psalms were all copied into Durham's large set of books for feast days (Set 3) in about 1630. They were also copied into the Peterhouse books in about 1635, and we are fortunate that the texts for the two missing Durham books (alto 1 decani and bass decani) survive at Peterhouse and York (ms M29). Hence a complete reading of all psalms is preserved.<sup>16</sup>

voice	Durham Set 3 c.1630	Peterhouse c.1635	Other mss
medius decani	E4	475	
medius cantoris	E5	479	C1 (c.1661)
alto 1 decani	lacking	476	
alto 2 decani	E6	477	
alto 1 cantoris	E7	480	E11a (c.1635)
alto 2 cantoris	E8	lacking	
tenor decani	E9	lacking	C13 (c.1635)
tenor cantoris	E10	lacking	
bass decani	lacking	478	M29 (c.1635)
bass cantoris	E11	481	
organ	A1		

<sup>16</sup> A small section of the decani alto 2 part is lacking from the Psalm for Easter Evensong. See pp. 122-3.

It becomes apparent that the Peterhouse books were copied directly from the Set 3 books - they have a number of errors in common. A good example is bar 11 of the Psalm for Christmas Evensong. All three medius cantoris books omit three beats from the beginning of the bar. The mistake originated in E5 (the earliest book), was transferred to Peterhouse (ms 479), and also copied into C1 after the Restoration. A glance at the list of variants for the psalms will show a large number of scribal errors common to Peterhouse and Durham. We can safely assume that, for example, mss E11a and 480 were copied from E7, C13 from E9, and both 478 and M29 from the now missing decani bass book at Durham.

Generally, where there are discrepancies between the Durham and Peterhouse readings, the former is accepted as authoritative, with preference given to mss E4-E11, the earliest manuscripts dated c.1630. Only in instances where Peterhouse gives a more logical or musical reading is it preferred, eg. Easter Matins, medius bar 28 beats 5-6. The Durham text gives *of his cov'nant*, whereas Peterhouse repeats *he shall ever...* in keeping with the musical point.

There was no set formula for the festal psalm. Early settings by Byrd and Edward Smith combined full antiphonal sections with simple verse sections, usually for solo voice. Gibbons's Whitsunday evensong setting at Durham is a verse setting,<sup>17</sup> scored mainly for his favoured verse scoring of mmaa, with maatb chorus.

William Smith attempted several different formulas: the psalms for Christmas, Easter and Whitsunday Matins are all full, antiphonal settings, though with the opening phrase sung either by a solo voice or verse ensemble. The Evensong psalms are more florid, with Christmas Evensong being scored for alternating verse sections for various voice combinations, alternating with full chorus sections. The psalm for Easter Evensong begins and ends with verse sections, and has a large central section for antiphonal chorus.

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<sup>17</sup> There are two settings for Whitsunday Evensong by Gibbons: Psalm 145 vv. 1-14 is a full setting, and Psalm 145 vv. 15-end is a verse setting.



**Psalm for Christmas Day at Matins<sup>18</sup>**

Psalm 85 + Gloria

**Text**

Lord, thou art become gracious unto thy land: thou hast turned away the captivity of Jacob.

Thou hast forgiven the offences of thy people: and covered all their sins.

Thou hast taken away all thy displeasure: and turned thyself from thy wrathful indignation.

Turn us then O God our saviour: and let thine anger cease from us.

Wilt thou be displeased at us for ever: and wilt thou stretch out thy hand from one generation to another.

Wilt thou not turn again and quicken us: that thy people may rejoice in thee.

Shew us thy mercy O Lord: and grant us thy salvation.

I will hearken what the Lord God will say concerning me: for he shall speak peace unto his people and to his saints, that they turn not again.

For his salvation is nigh them that fear him: that glory may dwell in our land.

Mercy and truth are met together: righteousness and peace have kissed each other.

Truth shall flourish out of the earth: and righteousness hath looked down from heaven.

Yea, the Lord shall shew loving kindness: and our land shall give her increase.

Righteousness shall go before him: and he shall direct his going in the way.

Glory be to the Father and to the Son: and to the Holy Ghost.

As it was in the beginning is now and ever shall be: world without end, Amen.

**Textual commentary**

The text differs from the 1662 prayer book only in the second verse:

*Thou hast forgiven the offences of thy people*, becomes singular. It is not clearly marked whether the opening acclamation is intended to be sung by a solo voice, or all the basses on decani, as neither bass book is labelled *vers*. A solo voice is the more likely. As well as the *a capella* instruction in Smith's autograph organ part, the Peterhouse bass book 478 has:

*Base begins alone w<sup>t</sup>out the orgon:-*

Scribal confusions aside, there are not many deviations from the text in the manuscripts. E7 has **stritch** instead of stretch, though this could be a pointer towards local pronunciation rather than a spelling error. Smith was not concerned with adhering strictly to the text in all parts, and would happily alter words to fit a

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<sup>18</sup> For a transcription see vol. 2, pp. 229-37

musical point. At bars 32-6 he compresses the words of the second alto part to enable an early start to the next point. He does the same in the Psalm for Easter Matins, the tenor part in bar 15.

Sources

medius decani	E4: 1-3	475: 27rv	
medius cantoris	C1: 215-17	E5: 1-4	479: 21rv
alto 1 decani	476: 30v-31v		
alto 1 cantoris	E7: 1-3	E11a: 1-3	480: 27rv
alto 2 decani	E6: 1-3	477: 28rv	
alto 2 cantoris	E8: 1-3		
tenor decani	C13v: 1-3	E9: 1-3	
tenor cantoris	E10: 1-3	M29: 345	
bass decani	478: 25rv		
bass cantoris	E11: 1-3	481: 27rv	
organ	A1: 9-12		

Structure

[verse]	bd	10	Lord thou art become gracious
chorus	maatb	364	Thou hast turned away
chorus	maatb	72	Gloria

Totals:            10 + 436 =    446

Variants

Bar	Beat	Stave	Source	Variant
3	5	1, 4	E5, E10	both mss give m. instead of sb. [se]
12	2-3	1	E5, 479	both mss give m. (E flat) tur- c (C) ned
13	1-6	5	E10	ccc dig- c na- mmsb ti-
20-15		3	E8	m ev- sb er m and
20	3-4	4	E9	m (G) m (F sharp) [se]
21	2	3	E8	the E natural from the previous bar is not contradicted
24		2, 4,5	C13v, 476	and 478 "wilt not thou"
26	6	1	E5, 475	lacking flat
29	2	1	C1	m thy m mer- m -cy c. q m O
29	3	2	480, E7, E11a	lacking natural
38	4	4	C13v	c. a- q sb -gain
41	4	2	480	m that m fear m him m that c glo- c -ry m may c dwell
				c in m our c land c may
54	1-4	5	M29	m (E flat) -ving m (F) kind- sb (low B flat) ness
57	1	5	M29	flat lacking
61	4	1	C1	natural lacking
67	8	2	E7, E11a	natural lacking (though possibly implied from beat 2)
68	6	2	476	m and m. e- cm -ver m shall m be

**Psalm for Christmas Day at Evensong<sup>19</sup>**

Psalm 110 + Gloria

**Text**

The Lord said unto my Lord: sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies my footstool.

The Lord shall send the rod of thy power out of Sion: be thou ruler, even in the midst among thine enemies.

In the day of thy power shall the people offer thee free-will offerings with an holy worship: the dew of thy birth is of the womb of the morning.

The Lord sware and will not repent: thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedech.

The Lord upon thy right hand: shall wound even kings in the day of his wrath.

He shall judge among the heathen; he shall fill the places with the dead bodies: and smite in sunder the heads over divers countries.

He shall drink of the brook in the way: therefore shall he lift up his head.

Glory be to the Father and to the Son: and to the Holy Ghost.

As it was in the beginning is now and ever shall be: world without end, Amen.

**Textual commentary**

Ms 480 (alto 1 cantoris) duplicates a number of verses for decani alto and even medius, squeezed into its margins in a later hand. This could possibly point to deficiencies in the Peterhouse choir, with one alto assuming responsibility for many solos. As may be expected, by using verse sections Smith makes a more effective setting than that for Christmas Matins, chiefly on account of the varying texture.

**Sources**

medius decani	E4: 5-7	475: 27v-28r	
medius cantoris	C1: 292-4	E5: 5-8	479: 22rv
alto 1 decani	476: 31v-32r		
alto 1 cantoris	E7: 5-8	E11a: 3-5	480: 28rv
alto 2 decani	E6: 5-7	477: 29rv	
alto 2 cantoris	E8: 5-7		
tenor decani	C13v: 4-5	E9: 5-7	
tenor cantoris	E10: 5-7		
bass decani	M29: 348	478: 26rv	
bass cantoris	E11: 5-7	481: 27v-28r	
organ	A1: 13-16		

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<sup>19</sup> For a transcription see vol. 2, pp. 238-47



Structure

verse	alc	38	The Lord said unto my Lord
chorus	maatb	40	<b>The Lord shall send the rod</b>
verse	ad	31	In the day of thy power
verse	adc, tc, bd	59	The dew of thy birth
chorus	maatb	60	<b>The dew of thy birth</b>
verse	mc, bd	58	The Lord sware
verse	ac	18	The Lord upon thy right hand
chorus	maatb	44	<b>He shall judge among the heathen</b>
verse	mc, ad	34	He shall drink of the brook
chorus	maatb	66	<b>Gloria</b>

Totals:            238 + 210 =    448

Variants

Bar	Beat	Stave	Source	Variant
7	3	4	E9	E9 enters a beat earlier with sb F, poss. not an error
8	5	2	E8	natural lacking
9	6	3	E7, 476, 480	flat lacking
11	1-3	1	C1, E5, 479	three beats missing from all medius cantoris books
30	6	4	C13, E9, E10	B natural [se]. In the context of the tenor part it is
				easy to see how the scribe assumed a natural here.
31	3	1	E4	flat lacking
36	2	2	E8, 477	m the
47	3	1	C1	c or- c -der. Follows organ rhythm
54	2, 4	2	E6, E8, 477	D naturals implied here
54	3	3	E7, E11a, 480	lacking flat
57	3	3	480	lacking flat
58	4	2	E6	lacking natural
60	3	1	C1, E5, 479	D natural implied here (B natural untransposed)
64	5	1	C1, E5	minim rest missing. Same scribal error in both books.
66	1	3	E7, E11a	lacking natural - poss. implied through the cadence

**Psalm for Easter Day at Matins<sup>20</sup>**  
**Psalm 111 + Gloria**

**Text**

I will give thanks unto the Lord with my whole heart: secretly among the faithful and in the congregation.

The works of the Lord are great: sought out of all them that have pleasure therein. His work is worthy to be praised and had in honour: and his righteousness endureth for ever.

The merciful and gracious Lord hath so done his marvellous works: that they ought to be had in remembrance.

He hath given meat unto them that fear him: he shall ever be mindful of his covenant.

He hath shewed his people the power of his works: that he may give them the heritage of the heathen.

The works of his hands are verity and judgement: all his commandments are true. They stand fast for ever and ever: and are done in truth and equity.

He sent redemption unto his people: he hath commanded his covenant for ever; holy and reverent is his name.

The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom: a good understanding have all they that do thereafter; the praise of it endureth for ever.

Glory be to the Father and to the Son: and to the Holy Ghost.

As it was in the beginning is now and ever shall be: world without end, Amen.

**Textual commentary**

There are slight deviations from the prayer book text here. In verse eight the word **shall** is omitted from *they **shall** stand fast*, and in verse ten the word **all** from *a good understanding have **all** they that do thereafter*. There is some confusion in verse eight, with several manuscripts giving the reading *they **shall** stand, stand fast*.

The three Durham decani books, E4, E6 and E9 all contain the same scribal error at bars 41-2. Todd, the copyist, erroneously added the word *shall* to the text.

Presumably the missing alto 1 and bass books would have replicated this error.

When the piece came to be copied into the Peterhouse books, and also mss C13 and M29, the error was corrected.

Minor discrepancies between voices and organ are retained, such as the last beat of bar 24 between bass and organ, and between tenor and organ in bar 49.

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<sup>20</sup> For a transcription see vol. 2, pp. 248-56

Generally M29 is unreliable, omitting a large number of rests. There could be a reason for this, in that it was a clergy book, rather than a choir book.

Further proof of the copying from Durham to Peterhouse is afforded here. E6 shares an obvious scribal error with 477 in bar 66, both books having a semibreve D natural, creating an extra beat. Even though 477 is not in an identified Durham hand, there is enough evidence to show that its reading of this piece was copied from E6. A further shared error is in bar 38 in the alto 1 part at the third beat, where both Durham and Peterhouse books give crotchets instead of the intended quavers. Slightly contradictory of this is bar 66 in the alto 1 part, where both Peterhouse books have the given reading, and both the Durham books give "*and is now*", though the scribe may have been alerted by the exceptional appearance of the word.

Sources

medius decani	E4: 13-15	475: 28v-29r	
medius cantoris	C1: 213-15	E5: 13-15	479: 25rv
alto 1 decani	476: 33rv		
alto 1 cantoris	E7: 13-16	E11a: 9-11	480: 29rv
alto 2 decani	E6: 13-15	477: 27rv	
alto 2 cantoris	E8: 13-16		
tenor decani	C13v: 9-11	E9: 13-15	
tenor cantoris	E10: 13-15		
bass decani	M29: 354	478: 26v-27v	
bass cantoris	E11: 13-15	481: 28v-29r	
organ	A1: 17-20		

Structure

verse	ac	14	I will give thanks unto the Lord
chorus	maatb	350	Secretly among the faithful
chorus	maatb	72	Gloria
Totals:	14 + 422 =	436	



**Variants**

Bar	Beat	Stave	Source	Variant
6	4	3	all alto 2	mmm -ga- sb -tion altered to concur with other parts
8	2-3	2	476	sb-m are [se]
11	2-3	3	E6	m all c that m have
16	1	1	C1	c. righ- (C) q -teous- (B flat) c -ness (A flat)
20	2	5	M29	m -ful m and [se]
21	6	2	476	m [se] - beat missing
26	5	3	E8	no cancelling accidental for earlier natural [?mf]
28	5	1	E5, C1	c of c his m cov- m -'nant
31	2	2	476	m the [se]
31	6	2	476	m [se] - beat missing. Crossings out in ms here.
33	1	1, 2, 3	E4, E6, 476, 477	m work (singular) - also where the word is repeated
33	3	4	C13	flat lacking
36	2	3	E8	m E flat [se]
38	3	2	E7, E11a, 480	c and c-c-m judge- m. ment [se]
41-2		1, 3, 4	E4, E6, E9	text: They shall stand, stand fast
46	all	3	E8	underlay unclear
49	1	4	E10	minim rest lacking [se]
49	3	1	479	natural lacking
52	1	1	479	c name c and sb rev- m -'rent
55	4	1	475	natural lacking
58	3	1	E5	rest missing [se]
61	5	5	M29, 478	m rest sb glo-. This could be intended to create the impression of more parts.
65	8	1	475	m in m the sb be- sb-m -gin- sb -ning
66	5	2	E7, E11a	c and c-sb-m is
66	5	3	E6, 477	sb now [se] - showing how 477 originated from E6
66	8	4	E9, C13	c and c is
70	4	5	all bass	no G flat. The autograph organ part has authority.

**Psalms for Easter Day at Evensong<sup>21</sup>**

Psalm 57, vv. 9-12, Psalm 118, vv. 19-24 + Gloria

**Text**

Awake up my glory, awake lute and harp: I myself will awake right early.  
 I will give thanks unto thee, O Lord, among the people: and I will sing unto thee  
 among the nations.  
 For the greatness of thy mercy reacheth unto the heav'ns: and thy truth unto the  
 clouds.  
 Set up thyself O God above the heav'ns: and thy glory above all the earth.  
 Open me the gates of righteousness: that I may go into them and give thanks unto  
 the Lord.  
 This is the gate of the Lord: the righteous shall enter into it.  
 I will thank thee for thou hast heard me: and art become my salvation.  
 The same stone which the builders refused: is become the headstone in the corner.  
 This is the Lord's doing: and it is marvellous in our eyes.  
 This is the day which the Lord hath made: we will rejoice and be glad in it.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son: and to the Holy Ghost.  
 As it was in the beginning is now and ever shall be: world without end, Amen.

**Textual commentary**

There are no deviations from the prayer book text. All parts survive intact, save for the decani alto 2 part, which lacks a substantial section from the middle. As this section is antiphonal, an amount of editorial reconstruction is necessary to restore the missing part. Curiously the words are present at this point in E6, but the notes have not been filled in - indeed, they stop half way through a phrase. The texture is harmonically complete with only four voices, and this leads to the conclusion that the piece was performable at Durham in its present state, though why the omission was not corrected, with Smith still at Durham, is not so easily explained. Is it possible that with John Todd, the E6 scribe, now dead, Smith provided the missing part on a loose sheet to be added by the meticulous Brooking when time permitted? Brooking and Todd were capable of very similar handwriting (to the extent that Morehen thought their work was by one scribe),<sup>22</sup> and it could be that with such special books as Set 3, Smith did not want to add his relatively untidy hand.

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<sup>21</sup> For a reconstruction see vol. 2, pp. 257-65

<sup>22</sup> 1969, pp. 46, 59



We have already seen through the shared scribal errors how the Peterhouse books were copied from the Set 3 Durham books, and it would have been expected that Peterhouse ms 477 would furnish the music missing from Durham E6. Ms 477, however, whilst containing all of Smith's other festal psalms, omits this one altogether. The Durham book (E6) lacks music from the first beat of bar 17 to bar 46 beat 2, and this may explain why the piece was not copied at all into the corresponding Peterhouse book (477).

Like ms 477, 481 also omits Smith's psalm, though both books contain Henry Palmer's festal psalms for Easter Evensong, and it could be that his setting was used at Peterhouse instead of the incomplete Smith setting. Interestingly, Palmer's psalm is only represented at Durham by an organ part and two part-books. It was clearly composed after the Set 3 books were compiled. Could he have written it with Peterhouse in mind, when it was apparent that Smith's psalm was incomplete? What is most perplexing though, is why Smith, who was involved himself in copying music for Peterhouse, could not have provided the missing alto part to his psalm.

Confusion has abounded for years<sup>23</sup> over the authorship of this piece, with many of the sources (contemporaneous with Smith) apparently attributing the psalm to Gibbons. The solution relates, however, to the interpretation of the title *Mr Gibbons's Preces and Psalm for Easter Day at Evensong*. Applying modern rules of interpretation, we would expect this to imply that Gibbons wrote both the preces *and* the psalm, yet if it is taken to imply the authorship of the preces only, then the picture becomes clearer. Peterhouse manuscripts clarify matters with the rubric *Mr Gibbons Preces & this psalme for Easter Day at Evensonge* in ms 480, and ms 478 has *Mr: William Smiths psalmes*:. Similar confusion pertains to the Preces and Psalm for Ascension Day Matins. It is only the preces that are Edward Smith's; the psalm is composed by John Mundy.

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<sup>23</sup> Wulstan 1985 has Gibbons, p. 338. Crosby 1986 has 'probably' Smith, p. 154. Crosby 1992 has Smith pp. 190-1. le Huray & Daniel ambiguous, but tending towards Gibbons, pp. 106 & 140. Bettley 1972 has Smith p. 36.



The absence of the psalm from C18 is also another small piece of evidence in favour of Smith. C18, the only survivor of a set of books containing verse services and festal psalms, was begun in the late 1620s. Its original beginning is lost, and it now starts with the end of Edward Smith's festal psalm for All Saints and Gibbons's psalm for Whitsunday Evensong, the same two pieces with which organ book A2 begins. It could be argued that, were the psalm for Easter Evensong composed by Gibbons and not Smith, we would expect to find it here, and in A2. It is not in either book because Smith had probably not composed it much before 1630.

The stylistic grounds for an attribution to Smith are argued convincingly by John Bettley,<sup>24</sup> who notes naive pictorialisation, dry, academic imitation and a [harmonically] identical amen to that in Smith's anthem *I will wash my hands*.

The reason Gibbons's preces were paired with William Smith's psalm in the first place is one of key relation. Whereas all of Smith's other four festal psalm settings are in A flat major transposed (the same key as his set of preces), this psalm is in B flat, the same key as Gibbons's preces. Whilst the matter of key-relation may seem trivial, the practice is still maintained today at Durham, of either the preces or psalm being transposed where necessary (no more than a tone) so that a smooth transition is achieved between the two.

It is interesting that Smith copies his own preces (rather than Gibbons's) before the psalm in his 'collected works' at the start of ms A1. As this book dates from some years after composition (the voice parts are c. 1630 and organ c. 1633) we must conclude that it was for the sake of consistency, rather than a suggestion that his preces may have superseded Gibbons's in performance by c. 1633. He would in any case have justifiably considered his preces superior to those of Gibbons, which are chordal and static.

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<sup>24</sup> 1972, pp. 36-7

Sources [in this edition the alto chorus parts are reversed]

medius decani	E4: 17-19	475: 30rv
medius cantoris	C1: 295-7	E5: 17-20      479: 26rv
alto 1 decani	476: 33v-34r	[=alto 2 chorus + dec verse]
alto 1 cantoris	E7: 17-20	E11a: 12-14
	480: 30rv	[=alto 2 chorus + can verse]
alto 2 decani	E6: 17-19 (inc) <sup>25</sup>	[=alto 1 dec chorus]
alto 2 cantoris	E8: 17-19	[=alto 1 can chorus]
tenor decani	C13v: 12-13	E9: 17-19
tenor cantoris	E10: 17-19	
bass decani	M29: 357	478: 38rv
bass cantoris	E11: 17-19	
organ	A1: 21-4	

Structure

verse	mc, bd	40	Awake up my glory
verse	mc, ac, bd	20	I myself will awake right early
chorus	maatb	252	I will give thanks unto thee O Lord
verse	mc, adc	50	This is the day which the Lord
chorus	maatb	56	Gloria

Totals:            110 + 308 =    418

Variants

Bar	Beat	Stave	Source	Variant
10	5-6	1	C1,E5,479	verse parts have m ear c ly c l
16	6	5	M29	lacking flat
18	4-6	4	E10	orig underlay m. ccc of c thy c sb. mer
25	2	1	E4,475	sb God m rest [se]
30	5-6	2	E8	c (B flat) righ- c (D flat) te- c (E flat) ous- m (F) ness [se]
31	2	4	E10	orig underlay c that c m l
32	6	1	E5,479	lacking natural
38	4-6	1	C1	m for m that m thou m hast
46	2	2	E6	E6 notes resume with c E flat c F [se]
46			E9,476	"headstone of the corner"
48	2-4	1	C1	m the sb Lord's
62	4	2	E6	lacking natural
65	3	2	E6	E natural [se]
67	3	1	E4,475	lacking natural
68	2 onw	3	476	m and c e- c ver m shall m be m world m with- m out m end
68	3	4	E9	lacking natural
69	3	3	E11a,480	lacking flat, implying another D natural

<sup>25</sup> Bars 24-46 are lacking music - the text is provided in the source

**Psalm for Whitsunday at Matins<sup>26</sup>**

Psalm 67 + Gloria

**Text**

God be merciful unto us, and bless us: and shew us the light of his countenance,  
and be merciful unto us:

That thy way may be known upon earth: thy saving health among all nations.

Let the people praise thee, O God: yea, let all the people praise thee.

O let the nations rejoice and be glad: for thou shalt judge the folk righteously, and  
govern the nations upon earth.

Let the people praise thee, O God: let all the people praise thee.

Then shall the earth bring forth her increase: and God, even our own God shall give  
us his blessing.

God shall bless us: and all the ends of the world shall fear him.

Glory be to the Father and to the Son: and to the Holy Ghost.

As it was in the beginning is now and ever shall be: world without end, Amen.

**Textual commentary**

There are no discrepancies with the prayer book text. C1 is generally an untidy book, and gives the impression of having been compiled in a hurry. As it is almost certainly post-Restoration, it is of little value where an earlier reading survives, as it does in this case. Here, though, by comparing the two readings we can see just how unreliable C1 is, and bear this in mind for the many pieces where C1 gives the only medius reading. To take the last verse (bars 31-37) as an example, the text, as given in the earlier E5 runs:

God shall bless us, **shall bless us**, and all the ends of the world shall fear him,  
**and all the ends of the world shall fear him**, shall fear him.

The bold sections are omitted from C1, which, in compensation, either fashions an awkward underlay, or omits notes altogether.

The Durham and Peterhouse books disagree over the status of the opening phrase. Whilst Smith's autograph organ part indicates verse, none of the four Durham part-books does. In any case the alto book would have been used by one

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<sup>26</sup> For a transcription see vol. 2, pp. 266-71



person only, so for the purposes of two bars the scribe may have felt it unnecessary to label the section "verse". The same could apply to decani tenor. There were ten lay clerks in Smith's day, and, excluding the four altos there is no way of telling the forces of the bottom two parts. Personal inclination, based on verse allotment and balance, is for four bases and two tenors. The only Peterhouse book involved is 480, and in this the opening section is headed *vers*.

Sources

medius decani	E4: 29-31	475: 29rv	
medius cantoris	C1: 302-4	E5: 29-31	479: 32(2)v
alto 1 decani	476: 32v		
alto 1 cantoris	E7: 29-31	E11a: 20-2	480: 28v-29r
alto 2 decani	E6: 29-31	477: 29v-30r	
alto 2 cantoris	E8: 29-31		
tenor decani	C13v: 20-1	E9: 29-31	
tenor cantoris	E10: 29-31		
bass decani	M29: 367	478: 27v-28r	
bass cantoris	E11: 29-31	481: 29rv	
organ	A1: 25-27		

Structure

verse	ac, td	14	God be merciful unto us and bless us
chorus	maatb	208	And shew us the light of his countenance
chorus	maatb	54	Gloria
Totals	14 + 262 =	276	

**Variants**

Bar	Beat	Stave	Source	Variant
2	1	2	E7, E11a, 480	lacking natural in all books, though supplied by organ
2	3	2	E7, E11a, 480	sb [se] in all books
4	3	2	E7, E11a, 480	sb. [se] in all books
5	3	4	E9, E10	lacking natural
6	3	1	C1, E5	rest missing [se]
7	4	3	477	sb m - underlay unclear
9	3	1	E4, 475	m u- sb -pon m the m earth [?se]
15	5	3	E8	redundant G natural (poss. to cancel earlier bass flat)
19	3	5	M29, 478	accidentals missing - also bars 28, 29
32-4		1	C1	underlay wildly arwy
34	3	4	E10	sb ends m of c the c ends c of c the m world m. shall
36	6	5	E11	flat lacking
39	2	4	E10	natural lacking
39	6	7	A1	flat lacking - although autograph, se is assumed
40	5	2	E7, E11a, 480	D natural lacking
41	3	1	all books	no flat - this must be assumed as ficta
41	3	4	C13, E9	sb. and no rest. Possibly intentional to create the effect of more voices.
41	3	1	479	m rest sb as. See note above.
43	6	2	476	both A crotchets are naturals
44	5	5	481	c-c-m with- c-c -out m end
45	5	5	M29	c [se]

**Preces and Responses**  
 [reconstruction: vol. 2, pp. 224-8]

**Textual commentary**

Exactly *when* the responses were sung at Durham before the Civil War is by no means clear. The preces have ample sources and were sung before the psalms on feast days. The responses after the Creed, however, only have one pre-Restoration source at Durham - organ book A1. Here they follow the responses by Byrd, which also lack any pre-Restoration choir parts. Byrd's setting also survives in an earlier organ book, ms A2, probably dating from the 1620s. There is no trace of any other sets of responses at Durham, which would suggest that their use was not widespread. It is possible that the choir had loose copies of such occasional music.

We owe the survival of Smith's responses to the Peterhouse connection, for here they are represented in all but one choir part, the cantoris alto, which book is lost. It could be possible that they were composed specifically for use at Peterhouse,

where services doubtless proceeded on a much more high church footing than at Durham.

Textually the preces and responses do not present much of a problem, save for the relatively straightforward reconstruction of the cantoris alto part after the creed.<sup>27</sup>

The question of the bass anticipatory note in a number of responses needs addressing. In his edition,<sup>28</sup> Watkins Shaw considers that it *was thoughtlessly derived from an organ bass, to give the pitch before the voices come in*.

In pursuing this point in correspondence with Dr Shaw he elaborated that he considered the bass part-book to have simply been copied from the organ, and hence the 'error'.

The lack of any voice parts at Durham means that this point cannot be confidently resolved, though with the Peterhouse bass part copied in Smith's lifetime, he would have been likely to have checked it for mistakes, particularly as he was involved in copying music for transmission himself. The present research concludes that it was against Smith's instincts to begin a musical phrase on an upbeat, and so his solution was to bring the bass and organ in with an anticipatory downbeat. Though several sections of his festal psalms commence on a weak beat, these are mid-psalm, and the pulse will still be present. The responses are a different matter, as the pulse is lost during the succeeding versicle.

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<sup>27</sup> Watkins Shaw points out in his 1964 revision of an earlier Fellowes and Atkins edition that he has approached the missing part afresh, "where this is not restricted to an obvious possibility whoever may attempt it". It must be said that there are many instances where there is only one option. Having sung Shaw's alto part many times, I have resisted the temptation to alter for the sake of being different.

<sup>28</sup> Four Settings of the Preces and Responses by Elizabethan and Early Stuart Composers, Church Music Society, London, 1964, p. 14



**Sources - Preces only**

medius decani	E4: 1, 5, 13, 29	475: 27rv, 28v, 29r	
medius cantoris	C1: 213, 292, 302	E5: 1, 5, 13, 29	
	479: 21r, 22r, 25r		
alto 1 decani	476: 30v		
alto 1 cantoris	E7: 1, 5, 13, 29	E11a: 1, 3, 9, 20	480: 27r
alto 2 decani	E6: 1, 5, 13, 29	477: 27r, 28r, 29rv	
alto 2 cantoris	E8: 1, 5, 13, 29		
tenor decani	E9: 1, 5, 13, 29	C13v: 1, 4, 9, 20	
tenor cantoris	E10: 1, 5, 13, 29	C14: 7 (inc)	
bass decani	478: 25r, 26v	M29: 345, 348, 354, 367	
bass cantoris	E11: 1, 5, 13, 29	481: 27rv, 28v, 29r	
organ	A1: 9, 13, 17, 21, 25		

**Sources - Preces and Responses**

medius decani	485: C4r	Gibbs12: u <sup>29</sup>
medius cantoris	489: A4v	C1: 88 (no preces)
alto decani	486: B3v	
alto cantoris	lacking	
tenor decani	487: C5v	
tenor cantoris	490: A1(2)v	
bass decani	488: A5v	
bass cantoris	491: G3v	
organ	A1: 130 (inc) <sup>30</sup> (no preces)	

There are no significant variants. The organ part is incomplete owing to a damaged page. Where previous editions corrected consecutives, Smith's original notes are restored here.

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<sup>29</sup> Folio prayer book with music interleaved. Originally from Peterhouse, this is now deposited in the Library at Christ Church, Oxford.

<sup>30</sup> The organ part stops in the middle of bar 30, resuming for the first amen only.

## Services and organ music

Time has not been as kind to service books at Durham as to anthem books. Of the two sets of service books begun in the late 1620s, one of each survives. We should be thankful for this, as at least a picture of the entire repertoire can now be gleaned. A consequence of this loss, though, is the dreadfully incomplete state of much service music from the period. Whilst this may not be irreparable in the case of Gibbons and Weelkes, who are well represented in manuscripts outside of Durham, for William Smith and Henry Palmer it is apparently permanent.<sup>31</sup>

We are blessed, in our quest for reconstruction, by three small factors. One is the transmission of one service item<sup>32</sup> to Peterhouse, where more sources survive. Another is the copying of a small number of manuscripts for clergy use. Mss C13 and E11a were both copied in the late 1630s and duplicate music from the sets of books for services. The third is the survival of organ parts, and their authority as autographs or their clarity in the case of Henry Palmer, who is unusually detailed in the provision of inner parts.

Whereas Smith's festal psalms and a number of his anthems appear in the original sections of the respective manuscripts, his services are absent, showing a later date of composition. In the case of the communion settings, these were added to C8 at a later, though pre-Commonwealth date. If his anthems and psalms can be termed conservative through their adherence to custom (though some of his psalms show experimental ideas), then his service music is quite different. Here Smith shows himself to be bold and visionary, pushing conventions to their limits and attempting to set canticles in ways nobody before (or since) has done.

William Smith wrote two settings of the communion service, which in the early 17th century comprised only the Kyrie and Creed. He used the same Kyrie for both services. The Kyrie is more correctly the responses to the ten commandments,

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<sup>31</sup>We can forever hope for the re-discovery of some of the missing manuscripts, as has happened this century at York and Peterhouse.

<sup>32</sup> Palmer's Kyrie and Creed

which were read at the beginning of the service, the people replying *Lord have mercy upon us...* to each commandment. The first nine commandments had the same response, with an extended response to the tenth. Hence musically a setting of the Kyrie would comprise two responses, the first to be sung nine times and the last once.

In the 1549 Book of Common Prayer, the ten commandments were not included in the communion service, a simple nine-fold kyrie being used instead. Early settings of the service dating from this prayer book only have the creed, and a result of this is the only surviving complete work by John Brimley, the 16th century Durham organist, who composed a kyrie to complement the creed to Sheppard's Second Service.<sup>33</sup> The ten commandments first appeared in the 1552 prayer book, though indicating, as with the 1559 prayer book, that

*the people knelyng, shal after every Commanundment aske Gods mercy for theyr transgression of the same, after thys sorte.*

Similarly the rubric for the creed clearly indicates that it be spoken by all, and it is therefore not unreasonable to assume that communion settings were reserved for feast days only. In the pre-Restoration manuscripts surviving at Durham there are 31 settings of the communion service, and four of these were added in the 1630s to the original quota of 27.<sup>34</sup> Compared with this number there are 35 settings of the morning canticles and 48 of the evening. The proportion of verse to full settings is virtually equal. Whilst this, of course, does not prove that less communion services were sung than spoken, it certainly suggests that there was less demand for communion settings than evening canticles.

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<sup>33</sup> His first service did not set the Kyrie either, though none of this service is found at Durham. It seems that Morley did not originally set a Kyrie for his First Service. Many sources omit the Kyrie altogether. Some include a Kyrie by Child. Durham and Peterhouse both include Kyries unique to themselves, neither one of which was likely to be Morley's.

<sup>34</sup> These were the two settings by Smith, one by Henry Palmer and one by the chorister John Foster, dated 1638.



It is likely that this service music dates among Smith's later compositions. Both communion settings are verse services, and we would expect to find them in either Set 3 (the large books for feast days), or Set 2 (verse services). That they occur at the end of Set 4 (full services) shows that they were written after the books were originally copied, and added to the end where there was space. It is not clear why they were added to the set of full services, though this is perhaps a blessing, as the surviving verse services book is incomplete. As Sets 2 and 4 were copied by 1630, and Smith's autograph organ part in A1 has been dated at c. 1633, we can narrow the estimated date of composition to between 1630 and 1633.

It is a shame that there is only one survivor of the original ten books of Set 4. Ms C8 appears to give the decani alto 2 reading, and hence lacks any verse material. The music from Set 4 was also copied into two composite manuscripts. Ms E11a gives the cantoris alto 1 reading, and includes a good deal of verse material, and C13 the tenor decani. Although three part-books may at first seem a poor representation on which to begin to piece the jigsaw together, we are fortunate that they represent the inner parts, and from both sides of the choir. The organ book gives much of the outer parts, and, in the case of the first setting, a reconstruction is at least a reasonable proposition. Faced with three parts from medius and bass, a reconstruction would be daunting and speculative.

## First Service; Kyrie, Gospel response, Creed<sup>35</sup>

### Textual commentary

The same kyrie is used for both settings of the creed. The gospel response is an oddity worthy of comment. Its different key and absence from the part-books suggest that it was possibly the standard response, used at every service.<sup>36</sup> If this is the case, it could quite feasibly be in four, rather than five parts. The singers would know their part by heart, and this would explain its absence from their books. Its inclusion in the organ book in the original hand would suggest Smith *is* the composer.

We know that the gospel response was an idea of Cosin's. Though it does not appear in any Prayer Book rubric, including that of 1662, in which a number of Cosin's alterations were implemented, he suggested the inclusion of the gospel responses at the 1661 Savoy Conference. Thus here, in a few notes, is perhaps the only direct result of Cosin's influence over the liturgy at Durham.<sup>37</sup>

The general structure of the creed is unusual in presenting a compromise between the full and verse idiom. Generally full liturgical music would divide by sides, and verse music would alternate solo groupings with full sections. Here Smith divides the music up between sides, but each side has a verse section followed by a chorus. This is implicit in the manuscripts. The organ book simply has verse and chorus directions without specifying the side of the choir. The part-books however, only carry alternate choruses, with the two decani books, C8 and C13, agreeing with each other and carrying different choruses from the cantoris book, E11a.

In such matters as restoration of missing material, the editor is often guided by no more than instinct. At bar 14 of the creed it may be felt that the alto 2 requires a G

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<sup>35</sup> For a reconstruction see vol. 2, pp. 272-83

<sup>36</sup> Henry Palmer's communion setting also has a Gospel Response, though it is only represented in the Peterhouse manuscripts, and cannot have been used at Durham. Conversely, Smith's communion settings were not copied for Peterhouse. Palmer possibly wrote his Gospel Response specifically for regular use there.

<sup>37</sup> This is discussed in the section on Henry Palmer, pp. 172-3

flat, yet bearing in mind Smith's feeling for word painting, a 'sharpened' G at this point carries more of a feel of 'light'.

The surviving texts carry a number of interesting rubrics. The organ part is particularly well annotated, and as well as providing verse and chorus indications that concur with the part-books, it also provides pointers to the text, presumably for ease of reference in rehearsal. At the end of the first page, lest the organist think he has reached the end, is the warning

*Turne over & play forward.*

As the organ annotation is so informative it is reproduced here in between the staves. In bar 31 the cantoris alto 1 book has the warning *self* to indicate that this entry precedes the other voices. The organ part finishes with the words *Mr Smith clericus*, which more probably refers to his being copyist rather than his position in the church.

The term *Ponce Pilate* seems to be peculiar to the Durham settings and is also used by Henry Palmer, and by John Foster in his 1638 service, though *Pontius* is used in his two post-Restoration settings.

## Sources

medius decani	lacking
medius cantoris	lacking
alto 1 decani	lacking
alto 1 cantoris	E11a: 334-6 (-Go)
alto 2 decani	C8: 188-91 (-Go)
alto 2 cantoris	lacking
tenor decani	C13v: 87-8 (-Go)
tenor cantoris	lacking
bass decani	lacking
bass cantoris	lacking
organ	A1: 1-5



Structure

To avoid a confusing picture the editorial chorus parts are not shown in square brackets. Only alto 1 cantoris, alto 2 decani and tenor decani survive.

chorus	maatb	36	the Father almighty
verse	[mc]	18	and in one Lord Jesus Christ
chorus	maatb can	68	the only begotten Son of God
verse	td [bd]	16	who for us men
chorus	maatb dec	32	came down from heaven
verse	[mc, tc]	18	and was crucified
chorus	maatb can	26	under Ponce Pilate
verse	[md]	8	And the third day
chorus	maatb dec	12	according to the scriptures
verse	[mc] ac [bc]	20	and ascended into heaven
chorus	maatb can	18	and sitteth on the right hand
verse	[md, ad, bd]	26	And he shall come again
chorus	maatb dec	12	whose kingdom shall have no end
verse	[mc]	16	And I believe in the Holy Ghost
chorus	maatb can	44	who proceedeth from the Father
verse	[ad]	14	And I believe one Catholic
verse	[md]	22	I acknowledge one baptism
verse	[td]	12	and I look for the resurrection
verse	[md, ad]	8	and the life of the world to come
chorus	maatb	28	and the life of the world to come

Totals            178 + 276 = 454

Variants

Bar	Beat	Stave	Source	Variant
5	1	7	A1	first note missing from imperfect page
15	2	2	E11a	no flat in ms [?mf]
20	6	2	E11a	mm were [se]
47	1	7	A1	first note missing from imperfect page
61	all	6	A1	four alto notes added later in paler ink
65	3	7	A1	third beat missing from imperfect page
68	6	6	A1	water stain obscures the possibility of a natural

## Second Service; Kyrie, Gospel Response, Creed<sup>38</sup>

### Textual commentary

The Kyrie and Gospel Response are identical to those of the first service, and are not reproduced here. The Creed is very eccentric in terms of vocal scoring. It is an extreme example of the verse idiom, containing only ten beats of chorus - the final amen. This amen is odd, with a double suspension over a tonic that has already resolved onto a major chord, leading one to suspect scribal error.

From the outset it appears that there is little hope of restoring the piece to performable state. Only a skeletal organ part, one chorus part and two verse parts survive. Tantalisingly, the organ part gives the solo voice disposition for the last quarter only, and a few clues to the text at various points. From these clues it is possible to restore a good proportion, though it must be conceded that there is still an amount of guesswork (for example, bars 43-5, 52-6, 70-1). Nonetheless, a fair idea of the piece can be formed.

A study of the first seven bars shows how much of the solo line is represented in the organ part, and on this basis it is possible to tell with some degree of confidence, which voice was required in each section. In the case of the inner parts, where one of each survives, it is possible to determine the side of the choir for the soloist, though this is not possible with medius and bass, where neither part exists.

It seems that there are no instances (excluding the occasional overlap) where two or more soloists were used, creating more the feel of a consort song than a verse anthem. The verse sections often begin with an organ flourish unrelated to the point (for example bars 20 and 43), and again this is unusual, though possibly more related to solo songs than imitative verse sections.

The amen, which was touched on earlier, defies explanation. It would seem, from the surviving parts, that a ten-part texture is intended here. What is presented is grammatically incorrect, as the double suspension in the two medius parts is already

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<sup>38</sup> For a reconstruction see vol. 2, pp. 283-7

resolved by alto and tenor. The effect is a chord of A flat major with added sixth and fourth, albeit for one beat. Was Smith simply underlining the eccentricity of the whole piece? The amen is tagged onto the end, and lacks the grace and counterpoint of many of his others.

The second creed may well have been an expression of dissatisfaction at his first attempt. If Smith was unhappy with the sectional feel of his First Creed, he remedies this by dispensing with chorus sections. There may have been difficulty in the congregation hearing the words clearly - the verse ensembles are often contrapuntal, and even the leading-voice figure employed in chorus sections clouds the texture. A solo voice throughout is the perfect remedy for this.

Neither of Smith's creeds are represented in post-Restoration books, as many of his anthems and psalms are. Whilst this does not confirm the situation, it certainly seems likely that they did not see service after 1660.

**Sources**

medius decani	lacking
medius cantoris	lacking
alto 1 decani	lacking
alto 1 cantoris	E11a: 336
alto 2 decani	C8: 192-3 (inc)
alto 2 cantoris	lacking
tenor decani	C13v: 89-90
tenor cantoris	lacking
bass decani	lacking
bass cantoris	lacking
organ	A1: 5-8



Structure<sup>39</sup>

verse	ac	42	The father almighty
verse	[m]	26	And in one Lord Jesus Christ
verse	[b]	8	God of God
verse	[ad]	6	very God of very God
verse	[m]	12	very God of very God
verse	[b]	22	being of one substance
verse	[ad]	26	Who for us men
verse	[tc]	26	And was incarnate
verse	[m]	40	And was crucified
verse	[ad]	20	And the third day
verse	td	26	and ascended into heaven
verse	[m]	26	And he shall come again
verse	[b]	20	to judge both the quick and the dead
verse	[m]	10	And I believe in the Holy Ghost
verse	[tc]	20	the Lord and giver of life
verse	[m]	26	who with the Father and the Son
verse	[ad]	12	And I believe one catholic
verse	[tc]	20	I acknowledge one baptism
verse	[b]	16	And I look for the resurrection
verse	[m]	10	And the life of the world to come
chorus	[mm]aat[tbb]	10	Amen

Totals:        414 + 10 =     424

Variant

Bar	Beat	Stave	Source	Variant
11	1-2	3	A1	m. E flat c D flat [?se]

<sup>39</sup> Bettley's assertion (1972, p. 31) that this creed is 'mostly for alto verse, with other solo voices taking over towards the end' seems to have arisen from a misinterpretation of the organ annotations. The absence of voice indications for the first 50 bars does not imply that the opening solo continued that far.

## Kyrie "ten: several ways"<sup>40</sup>

### Text (1559 Book of Common Prayer)<sup>41</sup>

God spake these words and said; I am the Lord thy God: Thou shalt have none other gods but me. [*Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.*]

Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, nor in the water under the earth. Thou shalt not bow down to them nor worship them: for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, and visit the sin of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me, and shew mercy unto thousands in them that love me, and keep my commandments. [*Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.*]

Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain: for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain. [*Lord, have mercy upon us...*]

Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath day: six days shalt thou labour and do all that thou hast to do, but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God. In it thou shalt do no manner of work, thou and thy son and thy daughter, thy manservant and thy maidservant, thy cattle and the stranger that is within thy gates: for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the seventh day and hallowed it. [*Lord, have mercy upon us...*]

Honour thy father and thy mother; that thy days may be long in the land that the Lord thy God giveth thee. [*Lord, have mercy upon us...*]

Thou shalt do no murder. [*Lord, have mercy upon us...*]

Thou shalt not commit adultery. [*Lord, have mercy upon us...*]

Thou shalt not steal. [*Lord, have mercy upon us...*]

Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour. [*Lord, have mercy upon us...*]

Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his servant, nor his maid, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is his. [*Lord, have mercy upon us, and write all these thy laws in our hearts, we beseech thee.*]

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<sup>40</sup> For a reconstruction see vol. 2, pp. 288-95

<sup>41</sup> There are slight variations in the text of the 1604 and 1637 prayer books. The 1662 book reverted to the 1559 text. It is almost certain that the text used with the music would have changed, though the responses remained the same.



## Textual commentary

The wording of the title refers to *several* in the sense of separate and distinct, rather than a numeric sense. Unusually for a Kyrie each response is set differently. The normal practice was to write two responses, though Brimley (no doubt for a festal occasion) wrote four. This *tour de force* must have been intended for Christmas Day, or perhaps Easter.

The sources for this piece suggest that it was a late composition. The organ book, A6 was copied by Henry Palmer in 1638, and the cantoris alto 1 part in E11a dates from the late 1630s. Both manuscripts contain a number of services which seem to have been acquired or composed too late for initial inclusion in the sets of books to which they would belong.<sup>42</sup> We are slightly frustrated by the fact that, with the exception of the ten-fold kyrie, this small corpus is also represented in the tenor book C13. Both C13 and E11a are composite manuscripts, copied for members of the clergy.

There is no trace of the choir parts for this corpus in the surviving service books C8 and C18. C8 (full services) was added to into the 18th century as new music came to hand, and contains Smith's two communion settings, added slightly later than its original contents. C18 (the only survivor of a set of ten books of verse services) at 94 pages could well have been substantially longer. Its last page ends half way through the magnificat to Batten's second service. We can conclude that Smith's Kyrie *ten: several ways* may have been copied at the end of C18 and the other nine books from this set, now missing.

Again, we have a detailed organ part to thank for a clearer picture than would have been hoped. With one alto part surviving we may have expected that the second alto and tenor would have been irretrievable, yet the organ offers at least the start of their points in most cases.

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<sup>42</sup> Batten's 1st service, Child *in gamut*, John Hilton's 'Whole service', Marson's [1st] service, Weelkes short service and service for trebles, and Wilkinson's morning service.



As with the communion settings, it would seem that this Kyrie was not performed after the Restoration, as it is not represented in any replacement part-books from the 1660s. Its conception and size consign it to a feast day, and it may well have been composed to be sung with the second creed, but after the second creed was copied into the books. They certainly share an eccentric ideal.

In this edition, for practical purposes the four editorially supplied parts are shown in normal sized notes. The organ part is not editorially filled out, for reasons of clarity. It is not clear whether the commandments would have been spoken or intoned. The prayer book has this rubric

*Then shal the Priest rehearse distinctly all the Ten Commaundments;*

It is possible that both were practised, according to the ability of the priest.

John Bettley<sup>43</sup> suggests that this piece seems to be a 'compendium of different techniques of imitative writing for full choir', and indeed the task Smith undertook in setting such a repetitive text amounts almost to a musical exercise. Most of his 'tricks of the trade' are represented here - descending imitation starting with medius, answered in the second response with rising imitation from bass upwards. A rising scale is the point for the fifth response, and a sequence of falling thirds for the sixth. The fourth response is a beginner's guide to verse and chorus writing, with what is, in the context of the whole piece, a bizarre verse 'section' of just ten beats.

There are references to John Brimley's four-fold setting of the Kyrie, and it is not inconceivable that Smith was attempting to emulate, if not better Brimley's model. Smith's eighth response begins the same as Brimley's third, and Smith's ninth has even more in common with Brimley's second - the opening point and its treatment are identical. Whilst Smith triumphs in terms of the number of responses set, he is no match for Brimley's masterly grasp of counterpoint. The difference between 16th and 17th centuries is well illustrated here.

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<sup>43</sup> 1972, p. 30.

Sources

medius decani	lacking
medius cantoris	lacking
alto 1 decani	lacking
alto 1 cantoris	E11a: 287-90
alto 2 decani	lacking
alto 2 cantoris	lacking
tenor decani	lacking
tenor cantoris	lacking
bass decani	lacking
bass cantoris	lacking
organ	A6: 243-6

Structure

1st response	[ma]a[tb]	28	full
2nd	[ma]a[tb]	32	full
3rd	[ma]a[tb]	32	full
4th	[ma]a[tb]	18	full
	[m]ac	10	verse
5th	[ma]a[tb]	46	full
6th	[ma]a[tb]	34	full
7th	[ma]a[tb]	32	full
8th	[ma]a[tb]	42	full
9th	[ma]a[tb]	32	full
10th	[ma]a[tb]	68	full

Totals:            10 + 362 =    372

Variants

Bar	Beat	Stave	Source	Variant
4	5	2, 6	E11a, A1	G flat lacking [mf]
16	4	2	E11a	no verse indication, though has "cho" in next bar
33	6	2	E11a	sb [se]
43	1	2	E11a	flat lacking [mf]

## Organ music

At the back of ms A1 are two fantasias for organ. They are in the hand of William Smith, though are neither signed by him nor ascribed to anyone. As the start of the manuscripts shows, Smith was keen to initial all of his compositions, and it would seem unlikely that he would forget to initial these. The end of the second fantasia has perished, being the last page of the book, and it is probable that the ascription has gone with it.

Stylistically the music is greatly different from Smith's other surviving work to the extent that a large doubt must be cast over his authorship. This is perhaps not so surprising, bearing in mind the nature of the fantasia. Harvard calls it

an ingenious and imaginative instrumental composition, often characterized by distortion, exaggeration and elusiveness resulting from its departure from current stylistic and cultural norms.<sup>44</sup>

Certainly the keyboard works of John Bull and William Byrd, and to a certain extent Orlando Gibbons, differ radically from anything they wrote for the church. Yet one cannot escape the conclusion that, bearing in mind Smith's forward-looking approach to certainly his service music, had he been responsible for these pieces there would surely be some trace of the same harmonic adventurism in his other works. In this respect Henry Palmer becomes a stronger candidate, though why the piece is not in his hand, responsible as it was for hundreds of pages of organ music, counts slightly against him.

There is greater harmonic variety here than in Smith's choral writing, something that would have relieved a certain amount of monotony. Chromaticism goes much further than Smith's favourite device of immediately flattening a sharp third. Similar to Smith's style are the several consecutives (Fantasia II bars 23, 34, 38) and general contrapuntal weakness. This is not a lost Gibbons masterpiece.

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<sup>44</sup> 1986, p.299.



If not composed by William Smith, then these pieces would very likely have come from another Durham pen. Perhaps organist Richard Hutchinson, whose scruffy hand must have precluded any scribal duties, or possibly Edward Smith, William's uncle. From a harmonic standpoint Henry Palmer would seem a strong contender, as suggested above.

The decision to transpose the organ music up a minor third was taken principally for reasons of consistency, and also because it would have probably been performed with the same liturgical music which has also been transposed.

### Organ Fantasia I<sup>45</sup>

The reading for this piece is almost complete, with a couple of torn page corners necessitating the addition of notes. It is obvious that not all the notes intended are represented. Bare cadences such as at bars 37 and 42 would surely have been filled out. The written out ornament in bar 37 questions how many other cadences would have been decorated. The source is void of ornament signs, which littered many other contemporary keyboard books, and this may suggest that at Durham ornamentation was undertaken *ad libitum*, possibly in verse singing as well as organ accompaniment.

There are surprisingly large stretches for the hands to accommodate. Whereas in choral accompaniments an interval above a ninth would be represented by a direct sign (suggesting that the organist might employ octave substitution to achieve the note, or omit it altogether as it was covered by the choir), here tenths are commonplace, and larger intervals frequent. Bar 40 contains a spread chord of F minor such that the middle C must be either an eleventh below the top note or a twelfth above the bottom. It is possible that this common triadic chord-formation was used to show the notes that the organist should strive for in the most comfortable position.

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<sup>45</sup> For a transcription of the fantasias see vol. 2, pp. 296-300

The nature of the music offers no suggestion of a duet, nor of any possible registration changes, though, as Bettley observes,<sup>46</sup> repeated cells such as at bars 33-4 and 35-6 could be intended as an echo effect.

## Source

**organ**

**A1: 328-30**

## **Variants**

Bar	Beat	Part	Source	Variant
5	3	bass	A1	sb. [se]
49	1	bass	A1	sb E flat crossed out
55	3	bass	A1	natural in source [?se]

## Organ Fantasia II (incomplete)

More eccentric yet than the first fantasia, this piece contains many baffling moments that, even with the addition of editorial notes, cannot be made to sound comfortable (bars 28-9 being a good example). There is more to add to this piece in terms of bare cadences, and towards the end the source becomes fragmentary. From the middle of bar 56 there could be anything up to 30 beats more (the bottom of the page survives with blank staves), though it may even conclude within a bar, as here.

## Source

**organ**

**A1: 331-3 (inc)**

## **Variants**

Bar	Beat	Part	Source	Variant
28-9		all	A1	these bars are unclear in the source
44	3	alto	A1	sb [se]
47	4	bass	A1	bottom stave missing
56	3	all	A1	end missing

46 1972, p. 49.

**Henry Palmer (lay-clerk 1627-d. 1640)**

Arriving in Durham in 1627, Henry Palmer was a lay-clerk until his death in 1640.<sup>47</sup> After William Smith, Palmer was Durham's next most prolific pre-Civil War composer. Surviving are parts of eight anthems, one festal psalm and one communion setting. Though Smith is often regarded (largely on account of his *Preces and Responses*) as Durham's brightest light, in fact Palmer's work shows him to be the more musically able. As well as being one of the main (and neatest) copyists of the 1630s, Palmer was employed as master of the choristers upon Hutchinson's fall from grace.

**Anthems**

Palmer's eight surviving anthems are written to the following texts:

Text	Feast day	Source	Set
Almighty and everlasting God	Purification	collect	Set 5
Almighty and everlasting God	Ash Wednesday	collect	Set 5
Almighty and everlasting God	Palm Sunday	collect	Set 5
Almighty God whose praise	Holy Innocents	collect	Set 5
Hear my prayer O Lord		psalm	no set
Lord what is man		psalm	no set
O God whose nature		Litany	Set 1
The end of all things		epistle	no set

The four collect-anthems are all verse settings. Of the two psalm-anthems, one is full and the other verse. One anthem, possibly Palmer's earliest surviving work and his only representative in Durham's earliest set of manuscripts, Set 1, uses a prayer from the Litany. The final anthem is, rather unusually, a full setting for men's voices of words from an epistle.

The four collect-anthems are found in the Set 5 manuscripts, and have almost identical sources. This set of books presents a problem in that not all parts of the choir are represented in the survivors. There are regular sections of verse in the

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<sup>47</sup> For biographical details see Crosby 1992, vol. 2, pp. 93-5



organ books with no corresponding voice part. It should be possible to ascertain which parts could be missing, by comparing the surviving books of Set 5.

**Medius:** C1 (medius cantoris) usually provides the lower reading when the medius parts divide. This is confirmed by comparing with the organ book. There is no surviving medius decani book, and therefore the anthems of Set 5 will probably lack a good deal of medius verse.

**Alto:** C2 (alto 1 decani) provides much verse material in the collect for Ash Wednesday, and also some in the Purification collect. C3 (alto 2 decani), as we might expect, provides very little verse. C7 (alto cantoris) gives the same reading as C2 in split alto choruses, such as the end of Ash Wednesday and Sunday before Easter. Furthermore, it provides hardly any verse material, whereas C2 abounds with it, and in the one instance of verse occurs, it is partnered by C3 (alto 2 decani). These factors suggest that the first fascicle of C7 is alto 2 cantoris. With alto 1 cantoris lacking from the set, there could be a good deal of alto verse lacking.

**Tenor:** C11v (tenor decani) provides ample verse material. C14 (tenor cantoris) gives a different reading and an equal amount of verse material to C11v. BL78 and BL79 share the readings of C14. With both sides of the choir provided for the conclusion is that there is unlikely to be any tenor verse material lacking.

**Bass:** C16 and C19 (bass decani) are so identical that it would appear C19 (1660s) was actually copied from C16 (1630s) for a member of the clergy to follow. York ms M29 only provides the text for two Palmer Set 5 anthems, and this agrees too with C16 and C19, even in the short verse section. In the two final choruses which divide into several parts, the organ book reveals the bass part to divide, and so a bass cantoris book must be lacking from the set.

In conclusion, the surviving manuscripts of Set 5 are lacking medius decani, alto 1 cantoris and bass cantoris. Any missing verse sections in these anthems, must therefore be restricted to these three parts.

Set 1 is better served, with only the medius part requiring reconstruction. The three anthems not belonging to any set may well have been the last to have been composed.

**Almighty and everlasting God, we humbly beseech<sup>48</sup>**  
**Collect for the Purification of Mary the Virgin**

### **Text**

*[Almighty and everlasting God], we humbly beseech thy majesty [that, as thine only begotten Son was this day presented in the temple], so grant that we may be presented unto thee with pure and clean minds, by Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.*

### **Textual commentary**

BL78 calls this anthem *Purification 3*, implying that it was the third setting of this collect to be written (after those by William Smith and Tomkins). It is a wonder Palmer felt the need to write this piece at all, if Durham was already furnished with two settings of the text. Could there possibly have been a rivalry with William Smith - Palmer feeling he could produce a better setting? This was the only anthem text that they both set, though they also have a festal psalm and communion setting in common.

No organ or medius parts survive, so reconstruction is impossible. The reading in C7 is incomplete and finishes at the end of bar seven. The second verse section, *we humbly beseech*, is labelled *Gimel* in C2 and C16. The last chorus features long descending crotchet runs, the longest spanning a twelfth. The music is firmly rooted in E flat major (transposed), and so it is a surprise when the amen begins on a Db major chord.

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<sup>48</sup> For a transcription of the surviving parts see vol. 2, pp. 90-1

Though the music is found in the Set 5 manuscripts, it is curiously lacking from C1, where it ought to appear on p. 123. This prompted the thought that the anthem may be for men's voices, as the fact that it appears in C19 and the British Library manuscripts proves that it was retained after the Restoration. The decani and cantoris alto parts contain the same music, however, and it is obvious that a higher part is lacking, so we must conclude that the piece was either omitted from C1 in error, or survived in other medius books which have subsequently gone astray. Its place in Set 5 suggests a date of composition earlier than 1633.

Sources<sup>49</sup>

medius decani	lacking		
medius cantoris	lacking		
alto 1 decani	C2: 83		
alto 1 cantoris	lacking		
alto 2 decani	C3: 62-3		
alto 2 cantoris	C7: 42 (inc)		
tenor decani	C11v: 135		
tenor cantoris	C14: 48-9	BL78: 158v'	BL79: 164v
bass decani	C16: 341	C19: 385	M29:301
bass cantoris	lacking		
organ	lacking		

Structure

[verse	?	50	Almighty and everlasting God]
verse	[?m]ad,tc,bd	9	we humbly beseech thy majesty
chorus	[m]atb	9	<b>we humbly beseech thy majesty</b>
[verse	?	44	that, as thine only begotten son]
chorus	[m]atb	36	<b>so grant that we may be presented</b>
verse	[?m]at	16	with pure and clean minds
[verse	?	14	by Jesus Christ our Lord]
chorus	[m]atb	20	<b>by Jesus Christ our Lord</b>
chorus	[m]atb	24	<b>Amen</b>
Totals:	133 + 89 =	222	

<sup>49</sup> Sources (1972) wrongly gives Tenbury MS 1023 instead of York ms M29 for the last entry here. It gives the C19 entry as being on p. 384.



Variants

Bar	Beat	Stave	Source	Variant
3	5	2	C11	m. ma- [B flat] c -je- [A flat] [se]
4		all	all	number of beats rest do not agree
4	4	3	M29	m grant m that [se]
13	3	3	M29	flat lacking
16	2	1	C3	D natural in source
16	2	3	all bass	cm our [B flat, A flat] [se]
18	1	3	M29	flat lacking
19	5	1	C3	flat lacking [mf]

Almighty and everlasting God, which hatest nothing<sup>50</sup>  
Collect for Ash Wednesday

Text

Almighty and everlasting God, which hatest nothing that thou hast made, and dost forgive the sins of all them that be penitent, create and make in us new and contrite hearts, that we, worthily lamenting our sins, and acknowledging our wretchedness, may obtain of thee, the God of all mercies, perfect remission and forgiveness. Through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

Textual commentary

Parts for decani medius, cantoris alto 1 and cantoris bass are lacking, though otherwise the text is complete. BL78 calls the anthems *Ash Wednesday 2*. Batten's *Turn thou us, O good Lord* was presumably the first option, as John Tomkins's setting of that text is labelled *Ash Wednesday 3*.

The opening verse section consists of one word scattered around each of the eight parts. The first chorus is only 10 beats long, and reveals the deftest of touches in an elongated chord of the flattened supertonic (C flat major) on the word *everlasting*. This chord appears later on the word *contrite*. The bass verse, *create and make*, is preceded by a running crotchet organ introduction of ten beats, which seems to bear no relation to the solo music. It looks very much as if the verse is for bass duet, with the cantoris part lacking. The organ contains many clues for its reconstruction. The final verse section *perfect remission* builds out of a tenor duet into an octet, rather

<sup>50</sup> For extracts see vol. 2, p. 92

like the opening verse, and the *perfect remission* is reflected in the brightness of F and B flat major after the dark *wretchedness* and *lamenting* of the preceding verse. In common with many of Palmer's works the final chorus expands in terms of vocal force, though apparently only to seven parts. There is no trace in the organ of an independent decani bass.

An anthem fundamental to Set 5, this must have been composed before 1633.

Sources

medius decani	lacking
medius cantoris	C1: 100
alto 1 decani	C2: 27
alto 1 cantoris	lacking
alto 2 decani	C3: 20-1
alto 2 cantoris	C7: 15
tenor decani	C11v: 100-1
tenor cantoris	C14: 18 (inc) <sup>51</sup> BL78: 130, 160 BL79: 151v
bass decani	C16: 307-8 C19: 353-4
bass cantoris	lacking
organ	A5: 70-3

Structure

verse	m[d]c ad[c] tdc bd[c]	22	Almighty
chorus	matb	10	and everlasting God
verse	ad[c]	22	which hatest nothing
verse	td [?bc]	34	and dost forgive
chorus	matb	28	and dost forgive
verse	bd[c]	64	create and make in us
verse	tdc	56	that we worthily lamenting
verse	m[d]c ad[c] tdc b[d]c	46	perfect remission and forgiveness
chorus	m[m]a[a]ttb[b]	28	through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen
Totals	244 + 66 =	310	

<sup>51</sup> The reading stops half way through the verse *that we worthily lamenting*

**Almighty and everlasting God, who of thy tender love<sup>52</sup>**  
**Collect for the Sunday next before Easter**

**Text**

[Almighty] and everlasting God, [who of thy tender love towards mankind, hast sent thy Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ] to take upon him our flesh and to suffer death upon the cross [that all mankind] should follow the example of his great humility, [mercifully grant, that we may both follow the example of his patience] and be made partakers of his resurrection, [through the same Jesus Christ, our Lord], Amen.

**Textual commentary**

Morehen suggests<sup>53</sup> that this piece is 'a pun on the composer's name' (being set for Palm Sunday), and as such is 'perhaps the most eccentric example of extra-liturgical influence over the choice of collect texts'.

At 466 beats it is by far his longest anthem. *Lord, what is man*, his second longest is only 340 beats. It is regrettable that a great deal of verse material is lacking, making any attempt at reconstruction largely conjectural, even with the holograph organ and most chorus parts intact.

Its simplicity suggests that it may be an early work. Apart from the incomplete anthem for the Purification, this is his only composition in the original key of C major. A glance at the opening bars of the organ part reveal a large number of unprepared modulations, and the music shows no signs of wanting to settle into a key, to the extent that all sense of the tonic is lost.

An unusual feature of this piece is the allocation of verse writing to the two second altos.<sup>54</sup> The verse section, *to follow his example*, is scored for medius cantoris, four altos, tenor cantoris and bass decani (see vol. 2, p. 94). This is initially surprising, particularly as the two altos on the same side never sing together during the verse, so in effect the whole piece could be sung by just one alto per side. A closer look, however, reveals Palmer's penchant for 'intelligent wordplay', and a dry sense of

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<sup>52</sup> For extracts see vol. 2, pp. 93-4

<sup>53</sup> PRMA 1992 p. 78

<sup>54</sup> The only other examples of verse sections for second alto in the Durham manuscripts are in Richard Hinde's *O sing unto the Lord* (only a short phrase), and Edward Smith's *Psalms for All Saints* (see p. 73). Thus, Palmer cannot claim to have broken new ground! This section is illustrated in the extracts (vol. 2, p. 94).



humour at work. Here the senior alto on each side begins with a sounding of the point *should follow the example of his great humility*. This is then followed by the junior alto literally 'following the example', and repeating the phrase. Doubtless this would have been a celebrated moment at the time - a rare chance for the junior altos to shine!<sup>55</sup>

The final amen is afforded expansive treatment, the choir dividing into eight parts. This anthem, fundamental to Set 5, must have been composed before 1633.

Sources

medius decani	lacking	
medius cantoris	C1: 102	
alto 1 decani	C2: 33-4	
alto 1 cantoris	lacking	
alto 2 decani	C3: 25-6	
alto 2 cantoris	C7: 19	
tenor decani	C11v: 103	
tenor cantoris	C14: 21	BL79: 152v
bass decani	C16: 310	C19: 355-6
bass cantoris	lacking	
organ	A6: 285-9	

Structure

verse	[?ac]	64	[Almighty and everlasting God]
chorus	[m]matb	12	<b>and everlasting God</b>
verse	[?bc]	70	[who of thy tender love]
verse	mc [ac] tc [bc]	4	our flesh
verse	[md] ad td bd	4	our flesh
chorus	[m]matb	12	<b>to take upon him our flesh</b>
verse	[?bc]	50	[and to suffer death upon the cross]
chorus	[m]matb	32	<b>and to suffer death upon the cross</b>
verse	[md] mc a1d	38	[that all mankind] should follow the
	[a1c] a2dc tc bd		example of his great humility
chorus	matb	28	<b>of his great humility</b>
verse	[?ac]	36	mercifully grant that we may be
chorus	maatb	34	<b>and be made partakers</b>
verse	[?md]	32	through the same Jesus Christ
chorus	[m]maattb[b]	50	<b>Amen</b>
Totals	298 + 168 =	466	

<sup>55</sup> Whereas the current practice at Durham, and at most cathedrals, is to share out the solos out on a weekly rota, in the 17th century it seems that the senior altos had the solos to themselves.

**Almighty God, whose praise this day<sup>56</sup>**  
**Collect for The Innocents' Day**

**Text**

Almighty God, whose praise this day the young innocents, thy witnesses, have confessed and shewed forth, not in speaking, but in dying, mortify and kill all vices in us, that in our conversation our life may express thy faith which with our tongue we do confess, through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

**Textual commentary**

This short collect-anthem rates amongst the best music produced at Durham before the Civil War. As William Smith's anthem for the Purification is a concise summary of his style, so this is Palmer's thumbnail sketch. He shows a real feeling for the text. The 'young innocents' are represented by a quartet of upper voices, and the falling chain of suspensions woven around *but in dying* comes close to emulating Gibbons's fine counterpoint in *See, see, the word is incarnate*. The harmonic change from F to D major at the start of the first chorus on the word *mortify* must have been little short of shocking. It recalls the madrigalian harmonic eccentricities of Weelkes in his macaronic anthem *Gloria in excelsis deo*.

The second verse section, *that in our conversation*, is equally successful. Here the scattered solo voices effectively represent a discussion, such as in Gibbons's second magnificat at *he hath scattered the proud*. The second chorus, the 'Amen', is another extended piece of counterpoint, written largely in the subdominant minor.

That the second verse section continues from the first chorus without a break is evident from the lack of a single breve, pause or double bar in any source.

As with all of the anthems from Set 5, the sources are incomplete. Lacking are medius decani, alto 1 cantoris and bass cantoris. Thankfully the autograph organ part is sufficiently detailed to provide clues to these parts, and their restoration is relatively straightforward. The organ part is the last of Palmer's large corpus in ms A1, which began with his long verse anthem *Lord, what is man*.

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<sup>56</sup> For a reconstruction see vol. 2, pp. 95-9

Sources

medius decani	lacking	
medius cantoris	C1: 95	
alto 1 decani	C2: 16-17	
alto 1 cantoris	lacking	
alto 2 decani	C3: 14	
alto 2 cantoris	C7: 10	
tenor decani	C11v: 92	
tenor cantoris	C14: 12	BL78: 155v <sup>57</sup> BL79: 149v
bass decani	C16: 300	C19: 347-8
bass cantoris	lacking	
organ	A1: 326-7	

Structure

verse	ad	28	Almighty God whose praise
verse	m[d]c ad[c]	78	the young innocents
chorus	mmatb	20	<b>mortify and kill all vices in us</b>
verse	m[d]c ad[c] bd	68	that in our conversation
chorus	mmatb	38	<b>Amen</b>
Totals	174 + 58 =	232	

Variants

Bar	Beat	Stave	Source	Variant
5	5	6	A1	bass note missing [?se]
17	4	2	C1	m C in [?se] altered to concur with organ
20	7	5	C16, C19	text: me
23	6	5	C16	c Bb all c Bb our
31	1-2	3	C2	sic
31	5	2, 3, 5	C1, C2, C16	voice parts have sb./organ indicates 4 beats
36	2	2	C1	m F m F [se]

<sup>57</sup> The index to BL78 has *Almighty God who out of the mouths*



**Hear my prayer O Lord<sup>58</sup>**  
 Psalm 39, vv. 13-end

**Text**

Hear my prayer O Lord, and with thine ears consider my calling: hold not thy peace at my tears.

For I am a stranger with thee: and a sojourner as all my fathers were.

O spare me a little while, that I may recover my strength: before I go hence, and be no more seen.

**Textual commentary**

It is odd that only a single bass part and holograph organ part survive, both from the 1630s. The bass part is found in C16, a composite manuscript representing anthems from Set 1 and Set 5. Palmer's anthem is the only pre-Restoration item in the book not found in these sets, though in C16 it is copied within the full anthems of Set 1, as would be expected, for its text does not relate to a festal occasion. It seems probable that the piece was composed too late for inclusion in the initial copying (c. 1625-30), and was circulated on single sheets, such as were sent to Peterhouse.

Thankfully the autograph organ part is detailed enough to reconstruct the missing parts with some confidence. It would appear to be scored for dividing medius, though the parts unite for a good deal of the time. The organ bass strays from the bass voice in a couple of places (bars 32-3 and 42-3). It seems more likely that the tenor covers at this point, rather than the bass part splitting briefly. Bearing in mind that the piece was undoubtedly performed accompanied in Palmer's day, it is not unfeasible that the organ may have provided notes that were not sung, such as in bars 42-3.

The penitential nature of the words is well expressed in the music. Much of Palmer's texts are prayerful and reflective, and this may tell us something of the man himself. The short text is given an extensive treatment, with phrases such as *for I am a stranger with thee* being drawn out over 50 beats. The bass sings the word *stranger* six times. Palmer's favoured device of running crotchets occurs to depict

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<sup>58</sup> For a reconstruction see vol. 2, pp. 100-5

the wandering of a *sojourner as all my fathers were*, a metaphor heightened by both ascending and descending crotchets. In bars 26-7 a hemiola is to be found. Whilst not a rare device in itself, these were almost unheard of among Durham composers. The short, eight-beat verse section (bars 27-8) is an odd feature, no doubt intended to shoulder a little of the burden of the heavy texture. Though this is only a reconstruction, there is little evidence of rests in the voice parts.

Minor discrepancies (usually octave pitching or rhythm) between bass and organ are unaltered. There are no significant variants.

Sources

medius decani	lacking
medius cantoris	lacking
alto 1 decani	lacking
alto 1 cantoris	lacking
alto 2 decani	lacking
alto 2 cantoris	lacking
tenor decani	lacking
tenor cantoris	lacking
bass decani	C16: 58-9
bass cantoris	lacking
organ	A5: 33-5

Structure

full	[mmat]b	161	Hear my prayer O Lord
verse	[?mma]	8	as all my fathers were
full	[mmat]b	101	as all my fathers were
Totals	8 + 262 =	270	

**Lord what is man<sup>59</sup>**

Psalm 144, vv. 3-4, Psalm 146, vv. 3-4 + Amen

**Text**

Lord what is man, that thou hast such respect unto him: or the son of man that thou so regardest him?

Man is like a thing of nought: his time passeth away like a shadow.

For when the breath of man goeth forth he shall turn again to his earth: and then all his thoughts perish.

Blessed is he that hath the God of Jacob for his help: and whose hope is in the Lord his God. Amen.

**Textual commentary**

The fact that all of the sources of this anthem are holograph lends it unusual weight in terms of authenticity. The only part to be lacking is alto cantoris, and from the organ book, it would seem that this part provided little verse material, though a different chorus reading to the decani alto. The *Latter Set* of part-books at Peterhouse was originally a set of eight, of which one (cantoris alto) is now missing. In dividing works between the *Former* and *Latter* sets, scribes were careful in selecting four-part works for the *Latter* set. In the few instances where works have two alto parts (such as Child's *Hear, O my people*), these are presented on facing pages, to enable the two singers to sing from one copy.<sup>60</sup> Hence, we can discount the possibility of there being three missing alto parts.

There is no conclusive explanation for the voice parts being at Peterhouse and not Durham. It has already been noted that the organ part represents the start of Palmer's rewriting of the Durham organ books A1, A5 and A6, and that his scribal work concluded with another of his compositions, *The end of all things is at hand*, of which again there are no voice parts at Durham. The impression from the Peterhouse parts is of their having been written at Durham on loose sheets for binding at Cambridge, for each is headed with its part *Contra: 1, Bassus 2* and so on.

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<sup>59</sup> For a transcription see vol. 2, pp. 106-12

<sup>60</sup> eg. ms 488: G8v-G9r



The question is made more vexing by the fact that this is one of Palmer's best works. One would expect it to appear in the Set 1 anthem books, probably in the 'added later' section, as does his anthem *O God whose nature and property*. Clearly it does not belong with Set 5, the anthems for festival days.<sup>61</sup> What seems most likely is that Palmer copied the anthem onto loose sheets for Durham as well as for Peterhouse. The fact that John Foster set exactly the same composite text after the Restoration suggests that he may well have sung Palmer's setting as a chorister. There are no other extant versions of this particular combination of psalm verses.

It has already been established that organ book ms A2 was originally a collection of loose sheets, most probably bound together after the Restoration. A number have remarks such as *ye coppies*, which would suggest that the loose sheets were kept inside. This would explain the existence of a small number of pieces at Durham with only an organ part surviving.

Palmer's thoroughness as a scribe is apparent in the very few and insignificant variants. (There are only six in total, between two detailed organ parts). Whilst it is rare to find a piece with all sources in the same hand, and particularly that of the composer, it does clearly illustrate how the introduction of 'foreign' hands to the transmission process causes major contamination.

The Peterhouse organ part bears the rubric *vers: - long tyme* at the start of the medius duet (bar 18). This is very probably an indication of a slower tempo, necessary to communicate the doleful message of the text, as well as to enable the quaver runs to be effectively enunciated.

*Lord, what is man* is fine work, and again displays Palmer's penchant for the humble, contemplative text, which he no doubt selected himself. There is inventive writing, particularly in the medius duet *man is like a thing of nought* (bars 18-26). There are florid quaver runs to illustrate *his time passeth away*. The four-part 'double

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<sup>61</sup> In suggesting that the work could have been copied into the now missing set of men's voices books (1992, p. 300), Crosby is confusing the work with *The end of all things is at hand*, which is a men's voices work.

gimmel' verse (bar 26) is a quite unusual scoring; the organ part has a left-hand clef change to accommodate the alto 'bass part'. As in his anthem for *Holy Innocents*, Palmer pays a rare visit to D major, here in the second chorus at *his thoughts perish* (bar 35). The voice distribution is unusual for Palmer in dividing the alto part in choruses rather than the mean.

The final chorus split into eight parts is perhaps more impressive to the eye than to the ear. The parts are divided for no more than 20 beats, and rarely are six voices sounding simultaneously. The intention, however, remains to present a grand and stylish coda to a composition Palmer would have known to be among his best.

Sources

medius decani	485: G5r	
medius cantoris	489: 42r	
alto decani	486: D3r	
alto cantoris	lacking	
tenor decani	487: K1r	
tenor cantoris	490: K1r	
bass decani	488: H1r	
bass cantoris	491: M2r	
organ	A1: 69-72	493: 5v-6v

Structure

verse	ac	76	Lord, what is man
chorus	maatb	30	or the son of man
verse	mdc	50	man is like a thing of nought
verse	mdc ad[c]	48	for when the breath of man goeth forth
chorus	maatb	30	and then all his thoughts perish
verse	mc ad bc	74	blessed is he
chorus	mma[a]ttbb	20	whose hope is in the Lord his God
chorus	maatb	16	Amen
Totals	248 + 96 =	344	

**Variants**

Bar	Beat	Stave	Source	Variant
19	1	5	493	'alto' E flat missing
33	1	5	A1	alto: c G c G disagrees with voice part
32	2-3	5	493	additional tenor E flat m. and c
37	6	5	493	'alto' A flat missing
46	3	5	493	'alto' notes c. q
59	4	5	493	'alto' G missing

**O God, whose nature and property**<sup>62</sup>  
 Book of Common Prayer (1559): The Litany

**Text**

O God, whose nature and property is ever to have mercy and to forgive, receive our humble petitions; and though we be tied and bound with the chain of our sins, yet let the pitifulness of thy great mercy loose us; for the honour of Jesus Christ, our mediator and advocate. Amen.

**Textual commentary**

The text of this anthem originally comes from the 1559 prayer book, at the end of the Litany, with the rubric *And the Litany shall ever end with this Collect following.*

The litanies of the 1549 and 1552 books ended with a different collect, and in the 1604 revision it was removed. In the 1662 prayer book it was moved, along with several other litany prayers, to a new section headed

*Prayers and Thanksgivings, upon several occasions, to be used before the two final Prayers of the Litany, or of Morning and Evening Prayer.*

This is the only one of Palmer's compositions to feature among the Set 1 anthems, though it was added slightly after the earliest corpus, which was copied c. 1625-8.<sup>63</sup> Todd copied the first 27 full anthems and first 20 verse anthems of Set 1, after which John Geeres copied his anthem *O praise the Lord of heaven*. Todd resumed his copying after this interjection. Geeres arrived at Durham in October 1628, and Todd died in January 1630/1, which means this anthem must have been copied between

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<sup>62</sup> For a reconstruction see vol. 2, pp. 113-6  
<sup>63</sup> Crosby, 1992, p. 232 gives these dates



those dates. Palmer arrived in Durham himself in July 1627, and by the following May was deputising as master of the choristers.

The inclusion of this anthem in ms C2\* (c. 1700) should point to its continued use into the 18th century, though doubts arise from its absence from any of the books copied by Owen when the manuscripts were reorganised in the 1690s. BL78 has the title *The last prayer at the litany*. The missing medius is provided in the holograph organ part. Unusually for Palmer, the piece is scored for maatb. Whilst this was the usual disposition of parts, almost all of Palmer's music is written for matb or mmatb.

Even in this early piece, Palmer displays a unique harmonic language. His handling of counterpoint is competent, though not exceptional. There are several consecutives, and he shows a fondness for the first inversion chord (bar 13). The word-painting at *tied and bound* (bars 14-18) is effective, as so many notes are tied that the metre is briefly lost. The crude dissonance at the end of bar 20 is no doubt intended. The arpeggio figure at *of thy great mercy* (bars 22-4) is very probably another attempt at word-painting. Here the harmony remains static in the tonic for 12 beats (still 'tied and bound') before being 'loosened' in bar 24.

Sources

medius decani	lacking			
medius cantoris	lacking			
alto 1 decani	C2*: 38	C6: 31		
alto 1 cantoris	C7: 241			
alto 2 decani	C4: 33			
alto 2 cantoris	C5: 25			
tenor decani	C9: 12	C11: 47-8	C15: 35-6	
tenor cantoris	C12: 28-9	BL78: 48	BL79: 27v	
bass decani	C16: 41-2	C17: 36-7	C19: 13-14	M29: 55
bass cantoris	lacking			
organ	A5: 138-9			

Structure

full [m]aatb 186 O God whose nature

Variants

Bar	Beat	Stave	Source	Variant
4	4	4	BL mss	natural lacking
13	2-6	2	C2*	four notes missing, though direct signs instead
19	4	2	C2*	sb [se]

The end of all things is at hand<sup>64</sup>  
1 Peter 4, vv. 7-8 (Epistle for Sunday after Ascension)

Text

*[The end of all things is at hand; be ye therefore sober, and watch unto prayer. And above all things have fervent charity among yourselves: for charity shall cover the multitude of sins.]*

Textual commentary

The only surviving source for this anthem is the holograph organ score. The top of the page is torn, but the following can still be read,... *n*te for men:~ There are one or two imperfections in the source owing to torn corners, calling for some editorial reconstruction.

From the text and structure of the music we can see that this belongs to the 'commandment anthem' genre, popular in the early post-Reformation period, of which Tallis's *If ye love me* is perhaps the best known example. 'Commandment anthems' were settings of gospel or epistle texts based on Christ's 'new' commandment - *love one another as I have loved you* (John 13, vv. 34-35). They are almost exclusively set for mens' voices, and follow the structure A:B:B.

Palmer's choice of text is unusual, in that it originates not from the words of Christ, but from St. Peter. No other setting of these words has yet come to light. Crosby

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<sup>64</sup> For a reconstruction see vol. 2, pp. 117-19

speculates on the reasons for this choice of text<sup>65</sup> - it is the last piece in the transcription of the three organ books, and could have been written for this, or possibly to reflect his unfortunate personal circumstances, having lost a wife and daughter in the previous months. No voice parts survive, though they may well have been copied by Palmer into the set of books for men's voices mentioned at the 1665 inventory, which are now all lost. Its absence from post-Restoration manuscripts' men's voices corpuses such as C17 pp. 93-104 suggests that it may have existed on single sheets only.

A diligent man, it is likely that Palmer felt an affinity for the text. It is quite plausible therefore that the reference to sobriety is a comment on the behaviour of certainly the organist, Richard Hutchinson, and possibly other choir members. It could equally be a tongue in cheek comment. Lay clerks today, as four hundred years ago, are frequently to be found in ale houses. Eyebrows would have doubtless been raised across the stalls at the words *brethren be sober!*

As there is only one source, there are no variants.

Sources

alto decani	lacking
alto cantoris	lacking
tenor decani	lacking
tenor cantoris	lacking
bass decani	lacking
bass cantoris	lacking
organ	A5: 280-1

Structure

full	[aatb]	70	The end of all things
full	[aatb]	82	And above all things
[full	[aatb]	82	and above all things - repeat]
Total	234 with repeats		

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<sup>65</sup> 1992 vol. 2, p. 94



Illustration 3: Palmer's autograph organ part of *The end of all things*, ms A5: 281  
The excerpt is from the end of bar 15 to the end of the piece.

281.

The image shows a handwritten musical score for organ, consisting of eight staves. The notation is in a historical style, featuring various note values, rests, and bar lines. The final staff ends with a double bar line, and the word "Fins." is written below it. The signature "Henry Palmer" is at the bottom right.

Fins. —

Henry Palmer: —

**Preces and Psalm for Easter Evensong<sup>66</sup>**

Psalm 118, vv. 24-end + Gloria

**Text**

This is the day which the Lord hath made: we will rejoice and be glad in it.  
 Help us now, O Lord: O Lord send us now prosperity.  
 Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord: we have wished you good luck,  
 ye that be of the house of the Lord.  
 God is the Lord which hath shewed us light: bind the sacrifice with cords, yea, even  
 unto the horns of the altar.  
 Thou art my God and I will thank thee: thou art my God and I will praise thee.  
 O give thanks unto the Lord for he is gracious: and his mercy endureth for ever.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son: and to the Holy Ghost.  
 As it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be: world without end, Amen.

**Textual commentary**

Attempts to reconstruct the psalm are frustrated by a lacking organ part, and possibly some verse material from the missing tenor cantoris part. No attempt has been made to recompose Palmer's opening, nor the start of the Gloria. For the sake of clarity, the editorial organ part is presented in full-sized notes except in the preces, which it is assumed would in a modern performance be unaccompanied.

Downbeats at the start of off-beat phrases have not been added to the organ part as, unlike William Smith, Palmer is content to leave such entries 'dry'. His creed and verse anthems support this.

It would seem that Palmer is striving to make a lively set of preces. The extended treatment of the second response and the rhythmic shift throughout the first make for an effective opening. The four-part texture requires something a little more special for real effect though, and it certainly lacks the 'fizz' of William Smith's preces. His crude attempt to avoid consecutive octaves and fifths in bar eleven is unsuccessful.

The psalm displays Palmer's inventiveness, particularly in vocal orchestration. His fondness for combinations of upper voices, and particularly divided medius, is to the

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<sup>66</sup> For a reconstruction see vol. 2, pp. 20-9



fore. Short antiphonal bursts, such as used in his creed, are implemented here in bars 42-3 to good effect with the declamatory 'yea'.

The 'intelligent wordplay' used to represent the Trinity in Palmer's Creed (bars 67-74) is also to be found here in the Gloria (bars 62-4), where a bass voice begins (the Father), is joined by a mean (the Son) and an alto (the Holy Ghost). It could be argued that there is also wordplay at *bind the sacrifice with cords* (bars 35-9), where the point is 'woven' into the texture, introduced on an offbeat suspension.

There is a large discrepancy between the sources at the start of the Gloria, which, in the absence of an organ part, must remain unresolved. It would seem possible that Durham and Peterhouse had different opening verse sections to the Gloria, unless E11a contains a major scribal error. It is annotated in the variants and, though agreeing in shape, even with every possible transposition cannot be made to fit.

It is not clear why the work was composed at all, as Durham already had Smith's setting of Festal Psalms for Easter Evensong,<sup>67</sup> or why it was copied for Peterhouse, where the Smith setting was also copied. There seems little need for two settings of a work that was only sung once a year in any case! Palmer's psalm provides Durham with its only duplication in the following complete set:

Christmas Matins	William Smith
Christmas Evensong	William Smith
Epiphany*	William Byrd
Easter Matins	William Smith
Easter Evensong	William Smith/Henry Palmer
Ascension Matins	Edward Smith (Preces), John Mundy (Psalm)
Ascension Evensong	William Byrd
Whitsun Matins	William Smith
Whitsun Evensong	Orlando Gibbons
All Saints' Day*	Edward Smith

\* Epiphany and All Saints Day do not specify Matins or Evensong.

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<sup>67</sup> This survives with an incomplete alto part, however. See pp. 122-3.



That all of these festal psalms occur at Peterhouse is no coincidence.

Furthermore, in most of the cases they are in the hand of Durham scribes. It is clear that this particularly florid genre appealed to Cosin, who was no doubt behind the decision to take these pieces to Cambridge. At Peterhouse, but not at Durham, are two further festal psalms; for Christmas Matins, by Thomas Wilson, and for Christmas Evensong, by John Amner. Reasons for this are not conclusive. Possibly the parts went missing from Smith's setting, or perhaps they were felt not to be sufficiently elaborate for the feast of Christmas!

Outside of the Durham/Peterhouse circle, instances of festal psalms are rare. Only the settings by Tallis, Morley and Byrd have a multiplicity of sources. There are incomplete psalms surviving by Batten, Child, Davies, Holmes, Hooper, Marson and Tomkins.

Four of the seven Peterhouse books were copied by the Durham scribe Toby Brooking, and these are neat and legible. The three that were not copied by Brooking, however (mss 475, 477 and 479), are untidy and indicate only a small amount of the underlay. Consequently, much of the underlay of these parts amounts to little short of guesswork. In the Gloria the underlay is inconsistent in many parts, such that the four crotchet point is worked to many different words. This has been corrected, and the relevant text underlined to show editorial amendments.

## Sources

medius decani	475: 30v-31v	
medius cantoris	479: 29rv	
alto 1 decani	476: 34v-35r	
alto 1 cantoris	E11a: 28-30	480: 30v-31v
alto 2 decani	477: 33rv	
alto 2 cantoris	lacking	
tenor decani	C13v: 27-9	
tenor cantoris	lacking	
bass decani	478: 32v-33r	
bass cantoris	481: 26rv	
organ	lacking	

Structure

verse	mdc ac td	42	this is the day
chorus	matb	32	help us now o Lord
verse	mdc ad [tc]	52	blessed be he that cometh
chorus	mmatb	82	God is the Lord which hath shewed
verse	mc md ac td	36	thou art my God and I will thank thee
chorus	mmatb	48	O give thanks unto the Lord
verse	md ad bc	26	Glory be to the Father
chorus	mmatb	70	as it was in the beginning.... Amen.
Totals	156 + 232 =	388	

Variants

Bar	Beat	Stave	Source	Variant
2	4-6	1	475, 479	m. E flat m A flat [?se]
9	5	2	476	m m
11	5	4	481	m. [tied to following bar]
29	2	3	476	q. sq [se]
30	5	3	476	m E flat m rest
41	3	1	475, 479	sb [se]
50	6	4	C13	mm [se]
62	9	4	481	this note missing from source
63	3	2	E11a	major contradiction with other sources as follows:
				m Eb and sb Eb to m D the sb Eb son m rest
				m G and m F to m Eb the m. Eb Ho- c Db -ly
				sb C Ghost

## Kyrie, Gospel Response and Creed<sup>68</sup>

### Textual commentary

We are fortunate that Peterhouse and Durham between them provide all but two parts of this lengthy composition. At Peterhouse the music would have been copied into all of the books of the *Former Set*. Three of these books are now missing - tenor decani, alto 2 cantoris and tenor cantoris. The alto 2 decani book survives, but lacks pages 2-24, which would have undoubtedly have carried Palmer's Kyrie and Creed, for they are found towards the front of the surviving books. The tenor decani part is provided by Durham C13v, though tenor cantoris remains wanting.

The alto parts are fairly straightforward. As the piece is for four voices (matb), the two alto books on each side give the same reading. Thus, Peterhouse 476 gives the decani alto 1 reading, containing solo verses. Durham C8, the decani alto 2 book, agrees with 476 in chorus sections, but omits the verse sections. As for cantoris, Durham E11a and Peterhouse 480 (both alto 1 books) agree exactly in providing the same chorus and solo material. We would assume, therefore, that the missing cantoris alto 2 books would give the same readings as these books, but without verse material.

The verse section from bars 18-25 initially prompted the thought that there could be verse material in the cantoris alto 2 books, as the tessitura seems a little high for a tenor. Whilst there is one other high tenor A flat (bar 82), this is a crotchet, and is much more easily attained than the semibreve in bars 18-19. An alto would more comfortably manage the entire verse section, yet there is no reason for it not being found in the alto 1 books, and so we must conclude that the verse would be found in the missing tenor cantoris book.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> For a reconstruction see vol. 2, pp. 130-141

<sup>69</sup> Although the cantoris alto 2 book is lacking, there is little chance the verse would be found there. The only other instance of alto 2 verse in Palmer's writing is an exceptional case of word-painting in his anthem for Palm Sunday. See pp. 153-4.



It is unusual that the organ part survives in the post-Restoration hand of organist John Foster. It is the only organ part of Palmer's not to survive in his own hand, and it is not clear why he did not copy it into any of the organ books A1, A5 or A6. As the piece was probably written before Palmer began copying the organ books anew, it is possible that the organ part was on several loose sheets. Foster may have copied from this, or possibly, if Palmer's original had gone astray, devised his own organ part afresh - not too taxing a task bearing in mind all the voice parts were extant at Durham after the Restoration.

The idea of Foster 'rewriting' the organ part, though conjectural, may not seem so unlikely when it is appreciated that he also probably provided the organ part for Weelkes' anthem *In thee O Lord*. This piece is an interesting case and its origins are far from clear. It is unique to Durham sources, though its voice parts agree with another Weelkes anthem *If King Manasses*.<sup>70</sup> It seems that the non-biblical text to this (from Robert Southwell's *Saint Peter's Complaynt*, 1595) was not suitable for use at Durham, and so that of Psalm 71 was fitted instead. Why Durham did not obtain the upper medius or organ parts to *If King Manasses* is not known. Foster was clearly oblivious to the first medius (which is only independent of the second medius for the final chorus), and fashioned his own organ part. It is possible, as with the Palmer creed, that Foster copied from organ parts already in existence.<sup>71</sup>

The Gospel Response survives in Peterhouse sources only, and hence lacks an organ and tenor part. This would suggest it was composed specifically for Peterhouse, possibly for use every Sunday. It would seem that William Smith's Gospel Response was in regular use at Durham. The only prayer book rubric relating to the Gospel Response dates from 1549:

*The Clearkes and people shall aunswere,  
Glory be to thee, O Lorde.*

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<sup>70</sup> For a critical edition of this, and further editorial notes see MB XXXIII (1966).

<sup>71</sup> Weelkes's *In thee O Lord* was fundamental to Set 5 (c. 1630), and so its organ part may have been devised by some Durham musician other than Foster.

This was not countermanded in either 1552, 1559 or 1662, but simply omitted, suggesting that the practice continued. The fact that the clerks and people answered together does tend to imply that the response was sung and, for the people to join in, it would need to be the same each week. Cosin's annotated prayer book contains the suggested reinstatement of this response, and he tried unsuccessfully to have it restored to the 1662 prayer book. Thus Palmer's was very likely composed at his specific request.

The piece is immediately followed in Peterhouse manuscripts 476 and 480 by the Latin motet *Laudate dominum omnes gentes* by ?Richard Portman. In each case only a fragment of the opening is given, possibly as a reminder that this was to follow the creed. It is not related to the liturgy, though Hughes suggests<sup>72</sup> that it may be used as part of a commemoration of benefactors.

This is a composition of quality. There is greater fluency than in Smith's First Creed, even though both share the same eight sectional breaks. Palmer is the more adventurous harmonically. Passing through keys such as C major and G flat major, albeit briefly, does much to break the monotony of the tonic and dominant. In vocal orchestration Palmer also has the upper hand. The use of antiphonal verse quartets at bars 25 and 43 is effective, as is the sequential development of short phrases such as *he rose again* (bars 49-51) and *the resurrection* (bars 85-87).

There is intelligent wordplay in the verse section at bar 67. *And I believe in the Holy Ghost* begins as a solo (as if sung *by* the Holy Ghost), and then two different voices (the Father and the Son) continue with *who proceedeth from the Father and the Son*, before all three voices (the Trinity) unite to sing *who with the Father and the Son...* The use of the upper three voices for this section heightens the 'celestial' effect.

The final amen is an extended section of 28 beats - twice the length of Smith's, showing the grand scale Palmer had conceived for the piece. Again Palmer opts for

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<sup>72</sup> 1953, p. 46



split medius rather than alto, and this is a feature of his work in general. Possibly, as acting Master of the Choristers, he was keen to stretch his charges musically. Generally choirs find music for divided voices more challenging and rewarding to sing.

It is a little puzzling that, after a number of full chorus sections, Palmer should opt for a cantoris-only chorus section at *he suffered and was buried* (bars 45-7), particularly as it immediately follows a full section. It does seem a deliberate gesture, and possibly decani were expected to bow their heads with the clergy at this point in the creed. Whilst there is no evidence to support this speculation, it is notable that in William Smith's first creed, cantoris also sing this text.<sup>73</sup> Palmer balances the equation by giving decani the following chorus, and then reverting to full choruses.

Also like Smith, Palmer sets the words *Ponce Pilate*. This must have been a local pronunciation, as it is not so in any prayer book translation.

Sources<sup>74</sup>

medius decani	475: 21r	
medius cantoris	479: 19rv	
alto 1 decani	476: 20v	
alto 1 cantoris	E11a: 337-8 [-Go]	480: 19v-20r
alto 2 decani	C8: 194-7 [-Go]	
alto 2 cantoris	lacking	
tenor decani	C13v: 85-6 [-Go]	
tenor cantoris	lacking	
bass decani	478: 165r [-Go]	
bass cantoris	481: 16r	481: 20v [K only] (inc)
organ	A3: 221-7 [-Go]	

<sup>73</sup> His second creed is incomplete, though it has a medius verse at this point.  
<sup>74</sup> Sources (1972) has errors in the Peterhouse manuscripts, giving: 479: 19 [rv] & 20v (*imp*), 480: 19v, and omitting the 481 entry.



Structure

verse	bd	26	The Father almighty
chorus	matb	24	and of all things visible
verse	[tc]	42	and in one Lord
verse	mc ac [tc] bc	4	God of God
verse	md ad td bd	6	light of light
verse	mc ac [tc] bc	16	very God of very God
chorus	maatb	20	being of one substance
verse	td	12	who for us men
verse	md ad td bc	8	came down from heaven
chorus	matb	26	and was incarnate
verse	bc	24	and was crucified
verse	mc ac [tc] bc	4	for us
verse	md ad td bd	4	for us
chorus	matb	8	under Ponce Pilate
chorus	mc ac [tc] bc	16	he suffered and was buried
verse	md	28	And the third day
chorus	md ad td bd	20	according to the scriptures
verse	mc	28	and ascended into heaven
verse	[tc]	30	and he shall come again
chorus	maatb	12	whose kingdom shall have
verse	ad	18	And I believe in the Holy Ghost
verse	mc td	8	who proceedeth from the Father
verse	mc ad td	20	who with the Father and the Son
chorus	mmatb	20	who spake by the prophets
verse	mc	16	And I believe one catholic
verse	td	20	I acknowledge one baptism
verse	ac	24	and I look for the resurrection
verse	md mc	22	and the life of the world to come
chorus	mmatb	28	Amen
Totals	360 + 174 =	534	

**Variants**

Bar	Beat	Stave	Source	Variant
1	6	5	A3	cc [se]
2	1	2	E11a	sb [dot lacking]
3	8	5	A3	c. q [se]
4	6	1	479	cc
15	1-2	1	475, 479	m D natural m E flat [se - wrong way round]
16	1	1	475	m A flat
17	3-4	1	475	m B flat c E flat c D flat
23	4-6	6	A3	sic - poss to indicate direction of solo line
27	3-4	5	A3	organ alto has m. F c A flat [?se]
28	1	1	479	sb c rest [se]
29	5	6	A3	m. B flat c C
30	1-2	4	481, 478	c E flat c E flat c C c A flat b A flat: no text
31	2	1	475, 479	m. rest [se]
31	4	1	479	m E flat things
34	3	6	A3	mmcc [se]
35	3	1	475, 479	m. [no rest] inconsistent with atb
36	2	4, 6	478, 481, A3	discrepancy as in sources
38	5	1	475	sb B flat
44	1	2, 5	476, A3	the natural is absent from the organ part [?se]
69	all	2	476	extra 6 beats repeats figure a tone higher [se]
69	5	2	476	breve
72	5	1	479	cc instead of qq [se]
83	3-4	3, 5	C13, A3	sic

**Works of dubious attribution:**

**Thou, O God, art praised In Sion**

This is most definitely a post-Restoration work. John White (C11v: 218) ascribes it to Palmer in the 1670s. It is probably by John Hawkins.

**O go not from me**

Attributed to *Mr Palmer* in BL Add. mss. 17792-17796, though it would be surprising if the attribution referred to *Henry* Palmer. Elsewhere this consort anthem for five viols is attributed to Martin Peerson.

## John Geeres (c. 1605-42)

Geeres received his training outside of Durham, arriving as a Cambridge graduate in 1627.<sup>75</sup> His music has a unique style, and whilst the verse anthem *Merciful Lord* displays some signs of quality, his full anthems are weak. He remained a lay-clerk at Durham until his death in 1641/2.

**Merciful Lord, we beseech thee**<sup>76</sup>  
The collect for St John Evangelist

### Text

Merciful Lord, we beseech thee to cast thy bright beams of light upon thy church, that it being lightened by the doctrine of thy blessed Apostle and Evangelist John, may attain to thy everlasting gifts, through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

### Textual commentary

Despite being represented at both Durham and Peterhouse, this anthem still lacks the alto 1 cantoris part. The book is missing from both Set 5 at Durham, and the 'latter' set at Cambridge. The fact that all seven other voices have solos in the opening verse section tells us that some verse material would very probably have existed in these books, though pinning this down in the organ score is far from simple. Geeres is much more liberal in his treatment of musical points, and his organ accompaniments often employ bizarre octave transpositions that defy explanation. All of these factors conspire to frustrate the modern editor.

This work is one of the few Durham compositions from the 17th century to have been published,<sup>77</sup> and thus it is at least familiar to the scholars of the period. The unusual through-composed structure has been commented on. Crosby observes<sup>78</sup> that this piece was added to the Set 5 manuscripts at Durham slightly later than its original items, giving a date of composition somewhere between 1632 and 1634. If it

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<sup>75</sup> For biographical details see Crosby 1992, vol. 2, pp. 53-4

<sup>76</sup> For a reconstruction see vol. 2, pp. 42-5

<sup>77</sup> ed. Morehen, 1969. pub. J. Fisher & Bro. Glen Rock, New Jersey

<sup>78</sup> 1992, p. 247. The observation is based on washier ink, a more hurried hand and the absence of end flourishes.



had been composed earlier it would surely have been included with the original material.

The text was undoubtedly selected with the pun on the Christian name intended, in the same way as Tomkins was drawn to the collect for St Thomas and, as Morehen suggests, Palmer set the text to Palm Sunday.

The leap of an augmented fifth in the medius part of the last amen clearly caused problems at Durham, for in C1 the minim A natural has been altered to a crotchet followed by a crotchet C natural, making the subsequent D flat easier to locate. Palmer, the copyist of the organ part, ascribes it to *John Geeres:~ Bach. of Musick:~*.

As a piece of music *Merciful Lord* is more successful than Geeres's full anthems, though still displaying the same lack of ability at counterpoint. Geeres tries to compensate by the use of short phrases and pairs of voices and the result is a fragmented composition. For ease of reference, the organ part is not editorially filled out in the choruses.

Sources (The Peterhouse sources, in bold, are all autograph)

medius decani	<b>485: I3r</b>			
medius cantoris	C1: 92-3	<b>489: 45r</b>		
alto 1 decani	C2: 14	<b>486: I1r</b>		
alto 1 cantoris	lacking			
alto 2 decani	C3: 12			
alto 2 cantoris	C7: 8			
tenor decani	C11v: 91	<b>487: K3r</b>		
tenor cantoris	C14: 10	BL78: 305	BL79: 148r	<b>490: L2r</b>
bass decani	C16: 299	C19: 345-6	<b>488: K1r</b>	
bass cantoris	<b>491: N3r</b>			
organ	A1: 324-5			

Structure

verse	mdc ad[c] tdc bdc	84	Merciful Lord
chorus	maatb	92	may attain
Totals	84 + 92 =	176	

**Variants**

Bar	Beat	Stave	Source	Variant
7	5	2	C1	lacking natural [mf]
8	2	2	C1	lacking natural [mf]
9	2	3	486	c D flat c C [?se]
20	6	2	C2	m high B flat
22	1-2	4	C11	m high F m low F
22	6	5	C16	"cho" indication here, not in bar 15 [se]
23	6	1, 6	C1, A1	lacking natural
29	1	1	C1	c A natural c C

**O Praise the Lord of heaven**<sup>79</sup>  
 Psalm 148, vv. 1-5, 12; Book of Common Prayer, slightly altered

**Text**

O praise the Lord of heaven: praise him in the highest.  
 Praise him all ye angels of his: praise him all his host.  
 Praise him sun and moon: praise him all ye stars and light.  
 O praise him all ye heavens: and ye waters which are above the heavens.  
 Let them praise the name of the Lord.  
 Young men and maids: praise the name of the Lord.  
 Old men and children: praise the name of the Lord.  
 For his name is exalted: and his praise above heaven and earth.

**Textual commentary**

The cantoris medius part to this anthem would have been represented in the first 48 pages of ms C1, which are now lost. This is to be regretted, as, with the organ part giving little away in terms of upper parts, there is now no hope of an effective reconstruction.

Ms C10 has the detailed rubric in Geeres's hand:

*Psalme 148. and the 1.2.3.4. and 12. verses. O Praise ye Lord of Heaven,  
 2. meanes: 2 tenors: of 6 voc:*

The unusual scoring adds weight to the suggestion that the work may have been composed before Geeres came to Durham. There were no other works in the repertoire which required two tenors and only one alto. Indeed the tenor was

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<sup>79</sup> For extracts see vol. 2, p. 46

seemingly regarded at the time as an inferior voice, judging by the number of solos allotted, and the rare occurrences of *divisi*.

Its place in the manuscripts at Durham is significant in that it occurs in the same place in the books of Set 1, between the full anthems number 27 and 28, suggesting that it was copied as the books were being written. Geeres arrived in Durham sometime between 1627 and 1628, the same time that Set 1 has been shown to have been under construction. What is not clear is why Todd (the copyist of the original section of Set 1) was not prepared to copy the work himself. Surely for the sake of continuity of presentation he would have wished to add the one item himself. He did, after all, copy items by Palmer, Hutchinson and William Smith later in the set. Perhaps Geeres insisted on copying his own work, not trusting the thoroughness of the scribe. Possibly he copied it without Todd's knowledge, and without expectation of payment, eager to create a favourable impression with his new employer. Possibly, too, Todd was not happy with the quality of the piece, and did not feel it merited a place among the anthems of Set 1.

Stylistically it has much in common with the five-part *The eyes of all*. Counterpoint is not Geeres's forte, and instead he utilises homorhythmic blocks interspersed with short two-part bursts of crotchet movement. The opening point is the only real successful piece of counterpoint in the work. Elementary attempts at word-painting through vocal orchestration at points such as *young men and maids* (medius and alto), and *old men and children* (tenors and bass) are less than spectacular.

An interesting feature of the autograph organ part is that Geeres signs the piece *Compared :- J: G:*, and at the end of several of the choir parts he apparently abbreviates this to *cor:-*. Copyist John Todd writes this at the end of several of his works, both at Durham and Peterhouse.<sup>80</sup> At first it was wondered whether this

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<sup>80</sup> See for example, Peterhouse 486: B4rv and 487: C6rv for Gibbons's *Preces* and *Psalm for Whitsunday Evensong*, and 487: D3r-D4r for Derrick's *Jubilate*. There are numerous examples in the Set 1 manuscripts at Durham, particularly among the full anthems.



possibly referred to the use of cornets in that particular piece, as almost all of the full anthems of Set 1 have *cor:* in at least one book, with the notable exceptions of Byrd's *O Lord, make thy servant*, and Gibbons's *Hosanna to the son of David*. Where Brooking begins copying some of the books, he never adds the abbreviation to his work, though Todd continues through the full anthems, and into the verse anthems, where only a small number have the word added.<sup>81</sup> There does seem to be some pattern to Todd's use of the word, though, it must be conceded that its meaning has proved elusive. If not *compared*, then the only other words it could abbreviate are

corpus	-	a body of music from an earlier corpus
correct	-	checked against the original
correlated	-	checked against the original
corrupt	-	unlikely
corvee	-	a day's unpaid work owed to a Lord

Unlikely as the last may seem, it could refer to the copyist being exempt from payment. Perhaps Todd was paid in advance for some work, and this was a reminder to the precentor that these pages were not to be counted towards future payment.<sup>82</sup>

Sources (autograph manuscripts in bold)

medius decani	lacking		
medius cantoris	lacking		
alto 1 decani	<b>C6: 28-9</b>		
alto 1 cantoris	<b>C7: 238-9</b>		
alto 2 decani	<b>C4: 30-1</b>		
alto 2 cantoris	<b>C5: 22-3</b>		
tenor decani	C9: 10-11	C11: 67-8	C15: 63-4
tenor cantoris	<b>C10: 20-1</b>	BL78: 154	BL79: 26r
bass decani	C17: 32-3	C19: 9-11	
bass cantoris	lacking		
organ	<b>A1: 48-9</b>		

Structure

full	[mm]attb	258 beats
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<sup>81</sup> These are numbers 23, 24, 27, 29-34, 39, 40.  
<sup>82</sup> I am grateful to Professor Paul Doe for his observation that the abbreviation is from the Latin *correctum*.

**The eyes of all wait upon thee O Lord<sup>83</sup>**  
 Psalm 145, vv. 15-17

**Text**

The eyes of all wait upon thee, O Lord: and thou givest them their meat in due season.

Thou openest thy hand: and fillest all things living with plenteousness.

The Lord is righteous in all his ways: and holy in all his works.

**Textual commentary**

This is unquestionably an early composition, and it is hard to find anything praiseworthy in its construction. This makes the fact that it is the only composition by 1620s Durham composers to feature in the 1690s manuscript restructuring by Matthew Owen all the more suprising.

A rare autograph scribal error in tenor bar 15 C9 has been replicated in C11 and C15 by later scribes, showing their reliance on Geeres's original. The small number of variants, and the fact that they are all, bar one textual discrepancy, obvious copying errors, lends weight to the authenticity of the piece. The number of autograph originals shows that Geeres very probably copied the entire set initially (the medius and bass books of which are now missing). There is no explanation for the absence of the decani alto 1 reading in ms C6, which was extant at the time Geeres copied the other parts.

The eccentric organ part, with its frequent octave transpositions, led to considerations of missing medius and/or bass parts, for in one or two instances (bar 5 and 10-11 medius, and bar 12 bass) the organ carries the harmony. These do seem to be isolated incidents, however, and an independent medius or bass would feature more prominently in the organ score.

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<sup>83</sup> For a transcription see vol. 2, pp. 47-9

Sources (manuscripts in bold are autograph)

medius decani	lacking		
medius cantoris	C1: 6		
alto 1 decani	C2*: 21		
alto 1 cantoris	C7: 252		
alto 2 decani	C4: 47		
alto 2 cantoris	C5: 39		
tenor decani	C9: 26	C11: 66-7	C15: 46-7
tenor cantoris	C10: 33	BL78: 89	BL79: 36r
bass decani	C16: 43	C17: 64-5	
bass	C27: 32	C28: 34	C34: 17
organ	A5: 46-7		

Structure

full                    maatb                    150      The eyes of all

Variants

Bar	Beat	Stave	Source	Variant
2	5	7	A5	organ 'tenor' has m. B flat [se] q A natural q G
11	1	4	C15	c them c their c meat c in m due m sea- m -son
12	4	1	C1	thine hand [se] - and subsequent repeats
12	6	2	C2*	m low A flat [se]
13	4	4	BL79	m G sharp [se]
15	3	4	C9 C11 C15	sb E flat [se]
17	6	5	C19	m D flat [se]
22	1	4	BL79	sb [se]
23	4	1	C1	sb [se]



## Work of doubtful authorship

### *In manus tuas Domine*<sup>84</sup>

The order of Compline

#### Text

*In manus tuas domine commendo spiritum meum. Redemisti me domine Deus veritatis.*

#### Textual commentary

As John Morehen concluded thirty years ago, it is unlikely that the question of the authorship of this piece will be resolved.<sup>85</sup> In Geeres's favour is the fact that it is in his hand. It is only found at Peterhouse, where Latin was permitted to be sung. He may well have composed the piece whilst studying for his music degree at Cambridge. Counting against Geeres most strongly is the fact that he signs or at least initials all of his compositions in his own hand, and these four pages have neither.

It is hard to make a stylistic comparison with his other music, as the style of the Latin antiphon has nothing in common with the English anthem. In the same way the motets of Thomas Tallis do not compare well with his English 'short service'. This said, however, *In manus tuas* does show a surer grasp of counterpoint than Geeres displays elsewhere.

Morehen says that the piece "may well be by Geeres himself"<sup>86</sup> and mentions the unusual cleffing (C1, C3, [G2], G2, G2). Harvard<sup>87</sup> says that this particular *chiavette* cleffing is open to different interpretation, but can imply either written pitch, or transposition downwards of a minor third. This second option puts the music into B flat major, a more comfortable tessitura for tenor and bass, though possibly a little low for treble.

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<sup>84</sup> For a reconstruction see vol. 2, pp. 40-1

<sup>85</sup> 1969, p. 166

<sup>86</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> 1986, p. 154

Sources

voice	source	ms heading
treble 1	485: O2r	3 tribles/ 3 partes [sic]
treble 2	489: 71r	3 tribles/ 5 partes
treble 3	lacking	
tenor	487: R1r	3 tribles/ Tenor:/ 5 partes
bass	488: M2r	[ ] tribles/Bassus/ 5 partes
organ	lacking	

Structure

full      mmmtb      98 beats

## ?Thomas Hughes (fl. 1627-30)

### Evening Service "to Derrick's short service"<sup>88</sup>

Hughes and Derrick are two composers of whom virtually nothing is known. Hughes wrote this evening service to complement Derrick's morning canticles. Durham and Peterhouse are the only sources for either composer. Nothing else survives by Hughes, and apart from his short morning service, by Derrick are a separate Jubilate (matb, C major), and a Kyrie and Creed (mmatb, G minor).

Hughes may possibly be identified with the Thomas Hughes who was a lay-clerk at Durham from 1627-30.<sup>89</sup> This would concur with the dates of the manuscripts, the earliest of which (C8) was copied c. 1630. Several items at Peterhouse have been shown by Crosby to have been copied by Durham scribes, and here the decani books were the work of Toby Brooking,<sup>90</sup> James Green and John Gaydon. This shows the music was transmitted from Durham to Cambridge and not vice versa, though it does not conclusively prove Hughes to be a Durham musician.

Arguing against the music being by Durham's Thomas Hughes are the absence in any manuscript of a Christian name or provenance, and the absence of any other music by the composer. If Hughes was the lay-clerk Thomas Hughes, who was a member of the choir at a time when music production was at its optimum, one would expect to find other items from his pen, particularly as these evening canticles are a work of some quality. It is notable that between Brimley's morning canticles (mid 16th-century) and John Foster's first service (1638) these are the only other canticles that may have been from the pen of a Durham musician. This, unfortunately bars any potential textual comparison with contemporary settings.

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<sup>88</sup> For extracts see vol 2, pp. 59-60

<sup>89</sup> For biographical details see Crosby, 1992 pp. 71-2

<sup>90</sup> Crosby identifies the reading in ms 480 as Brooking's in 1992 p. 314. The reading in 476: 56v is also in Brooking's informal hand. There is confusion over the Durham scribes' copying of Derrick's work (1992, vol. 2, p. 221). The anthem 'Rejoice' is not by Derrick, but by Matthew Jeffries. Derrick's Kyrie and Creed in ms 487 are in the hand of Elias Smith, his Kyrie in 488 is in Brooking's formal hand, and Jubilate in 490 is in the hand of John Todd.



Watkins Shaw observed, in the preface to his edition of William Smith's responses, how the Durham composer set the word 'spirit' as two syllables, whilst Byrd and Tomkins shortened it to one syllable. Hughes sets one syllable, but as he was not a chorister at Durham, and may have composed his setting before arriving on the scene, this piece of evidence is inconclusive.

In the manuscripts the composer is variously spelt Hughes, Hewes and Hughs. Durham ms C8 and Peterhouse ms 476 provide the link with Derrick - *Mr hewes Magnificat to dericks Short Service*. The table to ms E11a lists the canticles under the heading *Eveninge Services which have noe Mattins*. In the Peterhouse manuscripts the setting is found within a corpus of service music, comprising

Mundy *In Medio Chori*  
 Weelkes *For Trebles*  
 Mundy *Evening Service to Parsons's 5 Part*  
 Hooper *For Verses*  
 Blanks *Short*  
 Strogers *Short*.

Ms 476 provides the entire corpus twice in what must have been an oversight in the copying arrangements, and perhaps offers a little weight to the suggestion that the Durham scribes copied their parts in Durham, rather than travelling to Cambridge to assist with the work. This scale of duplication would surely not have occurred with all of the scribes in one place.

These settings of the evening canticles are of a similar scale, all falling half way between the concise 'short' service style of Morley and Weelkes, and the larger verse services and 'great' services. Hughes's setting is in five parts with side divisions (though it may reduce to four parts in single-side sections). The counterpoint is confident, accomplished, and at times expansive. '*His servant Israel*' is stretched over 58 beats, and '*all generations shall call me blessed*' over 80.

The section '*He remembering his mercy*' is unusual in scoring the lower parts for decani only, though using both medius parts. The result is a six-part texture, with medius being the only part singing on cantoris. The reverse of this happens at '*For*

*he that is mighty*’ with decani medius joining a cantoris section. Odd as it looks, the third chord of the Magnificat is thus in the sources.

Sources

medius decani	475: 40v-41v
medius cantoris	479: 39r-40r
alto 1 decani	476: 44v-45v 476: 56v-57v
alto 1 cantoris	E11a: 388-92 480: 41r-42r
alto 2 decani	C8: 294-302
alto 2 cantoris	lacking
tenor decani	C13: 90-4
tenor cantoris	lacking
bass decani	478: 44v-46r
bass cantoris	481: 42r-43r
organ	lacking

?George Rutter (chorister 1600-c.1607)

Blessed is the man<sup>91</sup>  
Psalm 112, vv. 1-3 + Amen

Text

Blessed is the man that feareth the Lord: he hath great delight in his commandments.  
His seed shall be mighty upon earth: the generation of the faithful shall be blessed.  
Riches and plenteousness shall be in his house: and his righteousness endureth for ever, Amen.

Textual commentary

This work was added to the Set 1 anthems sometime in the 1630s, after the main corpus had been transcribed. This is the only surviving piece by *Mr Rutter*, and it is only preserved in Durham-related sources. It is therefore likely to have been composed by the George Rutter who was a chorister from 1601-7.<sup>92</sup> Musically it is competent, if unadventurous, making it a surprising survivor into the 1690s recopying by Owen.

Sources

medius	C1: 1 (inc) <sup>93</sup>			
alto 1	C6: 37-8	C7: 247		
alto 2	C4: 39-40	C5: 31-2		
tenor	C9: 18-19	C10: 27	C11: 32-3	C12: 25-6
	C15: 41-2	BL78: 45v	BL79: 32	
bass	C16: 24-5	C17: 42-3	C28: 28-9	C34: 39-40
	M29: 30			
organ	A3: 101-3			

Structure

full	maatb	262 beats
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<sup>91</sup> For extracts see vol. 2, p.142  
<sup>92</sup> For biographical details see Crosby 1992, vol. 2, p. 104  
<sup>93</sup> only the last 15 beats and amen. The end of this piece now starts the manuscript, which lacks its original beginning.



## James Carr (chorister 1612-17)

The composer James Carr may be identified with the chorister of the 1610s.<sup>94</sup> There is only one work bearing his name, and of that a lone tenor part survives. The three sources are all post-Restoration, though the style of the music looks back to before the Civil War.

**In thee O Lord**<sup>95</sup>  
Psalm 31, vv. 1-6

### Text

In thee O Lord have I put my trust: let me never be put to confusion, deliver me in thy righteousness.

Bow down thine ear to me: make haste to deliver me.

And be thou my strong rock, and *the* house of defence: that thou mayest save me.

For thou art my strong rock [defence] and my castle: be thou also my guide, and lead me for thy name's sake.

Draw me out of the net that they have laid privily for me: for thou art my strength.

Into thy hands I commend my spirit: for thou hast redeemed me, O Lord, thou God of truth. Amen.

### Textual commentary

Italicised words do not appear in the prayer book translation, and words in square brackets do. The substitution of *strong rock* for *defence* could simply be a copyist's error.

This is a full anthem, over 270 beats in length. It is divided into two sections, the second beginning at *Bow down thine ear*. The amen is separate.

### Sources

tenor            C12v: 43-5    BL78: 358    BL79: 75r

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<sup>94</sup> For biographical details see Crosby, 1992, vol. 2, p. 32.

<sup>95</sup> For extracts see vol. 2, p. 9

## Summary

The second quarter of the 17th century is Durham's 'golden age' musically speaking. Though there were considerable troubles, ranging from the theological dispute between Smart and Cosin, to the personal troubles of organist Richard Hutchinson, there was also an unprecedented amount of music making.

Thanks largely to Cosin's impetus there was more liturgical music than ever before or since. Music was composed especially for his whims, some quite extravagant. The music books underwent a whole restructuring that took over ten years to complete and resulted in what must have been one of the finest collections of church music anywhere in the country. That so much of this survives today is the basis for the present research.

The use of sackbuts and cornets has been discussed at length in previous studies. It is known that two sackbutters and two cornet players were paid at Durham from the 1620s through to the 1690s. No evidence survives of music from which they may have played, nor of which parts, though from practical experience of performing reconstructions it seems the most successful effects are obtained when the sackbuts double tenor and bass and cornets double the two altos. In verse writing they should only be employed in choruses so as not to distort the solo, and in full works they should play throughout. It appears that the high frequencies of the medius voice support its projection in the building, and doubling is not required.

The music of this period reveals much of its creators. William Smith, who had been considered Durham's most accomplished composer, is shown to be enthusiastic, though limited by a lack of invention. His works are monotonous, though they are relieved by occasional glimpses of talent, usually in his verse writing.

John Geeres presents us with a bizarre handful of compositions. Their harmonic idiom is so unusual that we wonder how they can have been made to sound acceptable in their day. His radically different style reflects the difference that can be made by a non-Durham musical training.

Henry Palmer is perhaps the great treasure of the pre-commonwealth period, for his music, on a similar scale to William Smith's, shows a more enlightened approach. His non-Durham musical education may well have been more thorough. Everything about the man from his wonderfully neat hand to his fanciful wordpainting and his selection of pensive texts reveals an intelligent, gentle, humorous mind. The works of Rutter, Carr and Hughes are comparatively insignificant, and may not eventually prove to be by the Durham musicians of the same name. They are included here for the sake of completeness and out of interest. They show a similar style to that current at Durham, and, in the case of Hughes, provide us with the only pre-Commonwealth set of Durham evening canticles.

Tragic though the cessation of services was, the musical lights had all but been extinguished at Durham. The space of six years saw the deaths of Palmer, Smith, Geeres and Hutchinson. Several survivors returned in the 1660s to the new musical scene, and the survival of the music books may well be down to the diligence of one man, the minor canon, librarian and grammar school headmaster Elias Smith.



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## Thomas Wilson (c.1617-after 1648)

Wilson was a chorister at Durham from c. 1632-4,<sup>1</sup> and his talents must have been early in evidence, as he was taken to Peterhouse, Cambridge with John Cosin to act as organist. At Peterhouse he responded to the liturgical persuadings of Cosin much as William Smith and Henry Palmer had done at Durham, producing a long list of anthems, festal psalms and Latin compositions to adorn worship there. Time and space preclude a detailed study of his work here, though all the sources of his works are listed in the Peterhouse catalogue in the appendix.<sup>2</sup>

It is not clear exactly when the one surviving anthem at Durham, *By the waters of Babylon* was written, but it would appear to be after Wilson's return to Durham in the late 1640s. The sentiments it expresses are those of one who has returned to the place of his youth to find a church void of worship and of music. Indeed, it is not taking the metaphor too far to compare Babylon and its waters with Durham and its river.

### **By the waters of Babylon<sup>3</sup>** Psalm 137 + Gloria

#### **Text<sup>4</sup>**

By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept: when we remembered thee, O Sion.

As for our harps, we hanged them up: upon the trees that are therein.

For they that led us away captive required of us then a song, and melody in our heaviness: sing us one of the songs of Sion...

#### **Textual commentary**

The manuscript sources of this large work date from the early 1660s. Whilst it was probably written in the late 1640s it would not have been copied into the music books until the return of the choir in 1660 or soon thereafter.

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<sup>1</sup> For full biographical details see Crosby, 1992, vol. 2, pp. 133-4

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 281-2

<sup>3</sup> For extracts see vol. 2, p. 335

<sup>4</sup> It has not been felt necessary to reproduce the entire texts of works which are given only as extracts in vol. 2.

At 508 beats the work is very long, and the text is treated to much repetition. It is as if Wilson was squeezing every last drop of grief out of himself. The music reflects the intensity of the words with some quite startling harmonic devices, and forward-looking chromaticism far removed from anything he produced at Cambridge. Particularly impressive is the phrase *O daughter of Babylon, wasted with misery*, which moves through a stream of chords - E major to A minor, A major, D minor, and through B major to E major again.

The appending of a Gloria to such a plaintive text may seem a paradox, though this is very probably Wilson reaffirming his faith in the face of extreme adversity. He is not heard of in Durham after the Restoration.

Sources

medius	C1: 73-6			
alto	C7: 315-17			
tenor	C9: 69-71	C10: 89 (inc)	C11: 85-9	C12: 50-4
	C15: 48-51	BL78: 90	BL79: 40v	
bass	C16: 81-84a	C17: 52-5	C19: 27-30	C27: 23-6
	C28: 22-6	C34: 125-8 (words only)		
organ	A3: 104-9			

Structure

full	matb	508 beats
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## **Elias Smith (c.1600-76)**

One of the Cathedral's longest-serving members, Smith was involved with the foundation for almost fifty years.<sup>5</sup> This, his only surviving composition, clearly depicts the misery of the cessation of worship at the cathedral he loved.

### **How is the gold become dim<sup>6</sup>**

Lamentations 4, vv. 1-2; 5, v. 16; 4, v. 20; 5, v. 21, with slight amendments.  
The last line is added to create a prayer-like petition.

### **Text**

How is the gold become dim! How is the most fine gold changed! The stones of the sanctuary have been poured out at the top of every street. The precious sons of Sion, comparable to the fine gold, were esteemed as earthen pitchers, the work of the hands of the potter!

The crown is fallen from our heads: woe unto us, that we have sinned.

The breath of our nostrils, the anointed of the Lord, was taken in their pits, of whom we said, under his shadow we shall live among the nations.

Turn thou us unto thee, O Lord, and we shall be turned; renew our days as of old.  
For thy tender mercy's sake, Amen.

### **Textual commentary**

The importance and relevance of the text can not be overstated. That an event of the magnitude of the suspension of a hundred-year-old choral tradition stirred Smith to take up his pen for the only time, as far as we can tell, is of no small significance. Smith had been involved in the music of the cathedral from 1628 as minor canon, and subsequently librarian and headmaster of the grammar school. His hand has been identified in music manuscripts at Durham and Peterhouse.

The organ part clearly indicates the presence of two alto parts, yet the surviving alto books (C2, C3 and C7, representing both decani and cantoris alto) all give the same reading. This can only be explained as a copyist's error, particularly as the anthem seems to have been copied on its own, rather than as part of a corpus of additions. The missing part is easily restored from the organ book, though the possibility of missing solo material remains unresolved. Certainly the organ part

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<sup>5</sup> For biographical details see Crosby, 1992, vol. 2, pp. 111-13, and copyist activities vol. 1, pp. 305-7.

<sup>6</sup> For a reconstruction see vol. 2, pp. 181-8

shows traces of a duet between alto and bass. The bass part contains no obvious 'holes', however, and as the imitation is far from strict it has been decided to leave the opening verse as solo.

The inscription *King Charles the Martyr* (BL78 and 79) should not be taken as proof that the piece was composed in or after 1649. The text could relate to the troubles of the 1640s, and would subsequently have proved appropriate for the feast day at the Restoration.

There are key signature discrepancies in the sources - the organ and tenor books have one flat, and the bass and alto two. This shows that key signatures, at least in the 1660s, were functional rather than representational of a particular key or mode. The tenor part has only two E flats (untransposed), and these are flattened in the source. The organ part is more puzzling, as there are more flats than naturals. Though the bass book contains two flats in the signature, the E is regularly given an extra cautionary flat.

It seems that the music was copied into the manuscripts in the early 1660s. Is there any chance that Smith copied any of the parts during the 1650s, when presumably, as Cathedral Librarian, the music books were in his safe keeping, possibly at the grammar school where he was headmaster?

Musically it is competent, the mood suitably sombre. The verses are expressive in parts, though the choruses are a little stiff, relying too much on the *minim, crotchet, crotchet* figure. The text is unusual in setting verses from two chapters of Lamentations.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Morehen (JRMA Vol 117 pt. 1 1992, p. 68, footnote 33) succeeded in identifying the verses from chapter four, but not those from chapter five.

Sources

medius decani	lacking		
medius cantoris	lacking		
alto 1 decani	C2: 79-80		
alto 1 cantoris	lacking		
alto 2 decani	C3: 85-6		
alto 2 cantoris	C7: 67-8		
tenor decani	C11v: 162-3		
tenor cantoris	C14: 71-2	BL78: 157	BL79: 169
bass decani	C19: 400-3		
bass cantoris	lacking		
organ	A3: 403-7		

Structure

verse	bd	126	how is the gold become dim
chorus	[m?a]atb	38	the crown is faln [sic] from our heads
verse	[?a] td bd	64	the breath of our nostrils
chorus	[m?a]atb	56	the breath of our nostrils
verse	[?a] tc bd	56	turn thou us unto thee O Lord
chorus	[m?a]atb	48	turn thou us unto thee O Lord
chorus	[m?a]atb	14	Amen

Total: 246 + 156 = 402

Variants

Elias Smith's meticulousness as a proof-reader is shown in the small number of variants, none of which is significant. Though not a copyist of any of these parts, he would appear to have checked them.

Bar	Beat	Stave	Source	Variant
37	5	3	C11	flat lacking [mf]
38	1	3-5	all	"nations" in all mss, though bible has "heathen"
39	4	7	A3	A natural lacking [mf]
46	4	2	C2	c we c-m shall c live c a-
52	1	5	C19	m. tur- c-sb-m. -ned
57	3	4	C11	m rest [se]
61	5	2	C3	m G flat [se]
64	1	4	C14, BL78	c G flat c G flat m. F c G natural c A flat
66	3	6	A3	medius sb missing



## John Foster (c.1620-77)

Having shown promise before the Civil War as a young composer, Foster's post-Restoration output is a little disappointing.<sup>8</sup> His surviving music is very pedestrian, and he seemed content to favour the old style of writing. There are no traces, even in his apparently late works, of any hint of the incoming Italianate style.

Four services and nine anthems<sup>9</sup> survive. The services are all full, and of the anthems just two are verse, and these are short. Two anthems set collect texts, and the rest psalms. The anthems show little variety of style. Two are transcribed in full, one of each genre, and the rest given as extracts.

### Anthems

#### **Almighty and Everlasting God**<sup>10</sup> Collect for 12th Sunday after Trinity

#### **Text**

Almighty and everlasting God, who art always more ready to hear than we to pray, and art wont to give more than either we desire or deserve: pour down upon us the abundance of thy mercy, forgiving us those things whereof our conscience is afraid, and giving us those good things which we are not worthy to ask, but through the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ, thy Son, our Lord, Amen.

#### **Textual commentary**

The organ reduction suggests that two alto parts are missing from this piece, though they may only be independent for short sections, as the texture is generally complete in four parts. The surviving part-books have *more ready to hear then we to pray* in each case, though this may be a reflection of the local pronunciation, rather than a spelling error.

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<sup>8</sup> For biographical details see Crosby 1992, vol. 2, pp. 48-9

<sup>9</sup> This number includes *Glory be to God on high*, though not *I heard a voice*, part of the burial service.

<sup>10</sup> For extracts see vol. 2, p. 11

Sources

medius	lacking			
alto decani	lacking			
alto cantoris	lacking			
tenor	C11: 147-8	C12: 38-9	BL78: 134	BL79: 60v
bass	C17: 73-4	C19: 23-4	K.e.2 <sup>11</sup>	
organ	A5: 292-3			

Structure

full	[maa]tb	168 beats + separate 16 beat Amen = 184 beats
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Almighty God, who seest<sup>12</sup>  
Collect for 2nd Sunday in Lent

Text

Almighty God, who seest that we have no power of ourselves to help ourselves,  
keep us both outwardly in our bodies and inwardly in our souls.....

[blank]

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11 For details of this British Library manuscript, see p. 225 footnote 44  
12 For extracts see vol. 2, p. 12

Textual commentary

The date of *August ye 22th.[sic] 1671* in C11 (p. 150) must relate to the date of composition, or of copying. Setting a lent text, it is unlikely to have been composed for a performance in August. If it was composed in 1671, then as a late composition it shows how Foster's style remained static throughout his life. It reveals no progress from the music he produced as a teenager in the 1630s. The text is identical to 1662 except for the addition of the word *thou'* in *keep thou us'*.

The organ part occasionally reveals a five-part texture, but, as it is clear the work would have been performed accompanied, it is likely that it was written for four voices.

Sources

medius	lacking			
alto	lacking			
tenor	C11: 150-1	C12: 49-50	BL78: 361	BL79: 76r
bass	C17: 105	C19: 80-1		
organ	A3: 421-2			

Structure

full	[ma]tb	146 beats
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Glory be to God on high<sup>13</sup>  
The Communion Service, Book of Common Prayer

Textual commentary

There is conflicting evidence over the purpose of this piece. It is found in the communion service in the prayer book, though this setting is found in most sources amongst the anthems. C17 has the heading  
*The thanksgiveing after ye Holy communion.*

In the organ book, in Foster's hand, the work appears after his Sursum Corda and Sanctus. It is followed by Ravenscroft's setting of *Come Holy Ghost*, which prompted the thought that the Gloria may have been sung liturgically at a service of ordination

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<sup>13</sup> For extracts see vol. 2, p. 13



of priests. Bishop Cosin, who maintained a strong interest in the music of the church, provided the translation of *Veni creator spiritus* for use in this service. Unfortunately his translation, in 88. 88. metre does not scan with Ravenscroft's 86. 86. music.

In style, Foster's Gloria has a liturgical flavour, with the opening versicle set as a bass verse in the style of a festal psalm. The impression is of a piece of 'utility music', probably performed predominantly as an anthem, though able to be performed liturgically on festal days.

The prayer book had never suggested the Gloria be spoken. The 1549 book has the priest intoning the first line, then

*The Clerkes.* And in yearth peace...

From 1559 the text was simply headed *then shall be said or sung*, though it is apparent from contemporary settings that it was not sung to polyphony. It does show, nonetheless, that a polyphonic setting such as this would not be wrong.

Foster experiments with vocal scoring. The section *O Lord God, lamb of God...* is for lower voices, employing aatb, and its following section, *thou that takest away*, is scored for mmab.

Written in the key of D major/minor (untransposed), *Glory be to God on high* would have been compatible with either Foster's first or third communion service, as well as his Sursum Corda and Sanctus.

Sources

medius decani	lacking		
medius cantoris	C1: 85-6		
alto decani	lacking		
alto cantoris	C7: 341-2		
tenor	C9: 73 (inc)	C10: 99-100 (inc)	C11: 101-3
	C15: 60-1	BL78: 99	BL79: 44r
bass	C17: 74-6	C19: 37-8	
organ	A3: 10b-14		

Structure

verse	bc	16	Glory be to God on high and In earth peace
chorus	[m]matb	316	
Totals	16 + 316 =	332	

If the Lord himself<sup>14</sup>  
Psalm 124 + doxology

Text

If the Lord himself had not been on our side: may Israel now say.  
If the Lord himself had not been on our side...  
[Doxology: Blessed be the Lord for evermore, Amen.]

Textual commentary

As with *Lord, what is man*, Foster shows his fondness for texts previously set by Durham composers. *If the Lord himself* was set as a festal psalm by Edward Smith at the turn of the century, and Foster even sets Smith's 'doxology', proving this is no coincidence. The decani medius part is lacking, though the organ part shows that this was independent of the cantoris medius. The text doubtless refers to the collapse of order during the Commonwealth. Though it is not clear exactly when this was written, it is probably early 1660s, as it is the second item to be added to organ book A5 after 1660.

Sources

medius decani	lacking		
medius cantoris	C1: 83-4		
alto	C7: 324-6		
tenor	C10: 96-7	C11: 98-100	C15: 58-9
	BL78: 97	BL79: 39v	
bass	C16: 89-91	C17: 59-60	C19: 34-6
	C27: 34-6	C28: 42-4	C34: 24-6
organ	A5: 285-7		

Structure

full	[m]matb	350 beats
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<sup>14</sup> For extracts see vol. 2, p. 15

**I heard a voice in heaven<sup>15</sup>**

Revelation 14, v. 13. The Burial of the Dead: Book of Common Prayer (1662)

**Text**

I heard a voice in heaven saying unto me, write, from henceforth blessed are the dead which die in the Lord: Even so saith the Spirit, for they rest from their labours.

**Textual commentary**

This short piece would seem to offer a solution for the misattribution of *I am the resurrection* to John Foster. Clearly a 16th century composition, *I am the resurrection* is a post-Restoration addition to the manuscripts, and survives largely without attribution, though the table to C28 has *Tallis*, and *Morley* is given in the 18th century B10. Foster is ascribed in C17, the British Library tenor books, and C5.<sup>16</sup>

The 1662 Prayer Book does not contain any different rubrics regarding the service for the Burial of the Dead. From the 1549 book through to 1662, the instruction for *I am the resurrection* is *then shalbe sayed or song*. It may well be the case that the passage *I heard a voice* was spoken before the Civil War, and now required music. Thus Foster composed music to correspond to that in existence for the earlier sung sentences. John White, the scribe of C17, simply made an error in assuming the whole funeral service was set by Foster.

The piece was probably sung, without accompaniment, at the graveside. The earliest organ part for *I am the resurrection* is c. 1720s, though most voice parts date from the 1660s. The organ part for *I heard a voice* is in Foster's own hand, though he does not claim it. It is found between his anthem *Almighty God who seest* and the third communion service.

There are many parallels with *I am the Resurrection* in terms of scoring, key and the versicle-style opening. In two books the pieces follow one another, and this is another possible reason for the Foster attribution to *I am the Resurrection*.

Only the bass book C17 gives the first line, and here it is *I heard a voice in heaven*, which differs from the prayer book. This could be a mistake on the part of

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<sup>15</sup> For a reconstruction see vol. 2, pp. 16-17

<sup>16</sup> The ascription appears in a later hand than the music.



the scribe. The reading in C7 has had bar-lines added, showing its use into the 18th century.

Sources

medius	lacking	
alto	C5: 96	C7: 329
tenor	C10: 86	BL79: 45v
bass	C17: 92	
organ	A3: 423	

Structure

full	b	12	I heard a voice from heaven
full	[m]atb	74	write, from henceforth
Total	86 beats		

Variants

Bar	Beat	Stave	Source	Variant
8	1	4	C17	natural lacking [?mf]
9	6	6	A3	flat lacking
11	1	6	A3	flat lacking
11	5	4	C17	m. F and D flat - two notes
14	2	5	A3	A flat crotchet in autograph ms

**Lord what is man**<sup>17</sup>  
Psalm 144, vv. 3-4; Psalm 146, vv. [?3]-4 + Amen

**Text**

Lord what is man, [that thou hast such respect unto him: or the son of man that thou so regardest him?]  
Man is like a thing of nought: his time passeth away like a shadow.  
[For when the breath of man goeth forth he shall turn again to his earth: and then all his thoughts perish.]  
Blessed is he that hath the God of Jacob for his help: and whose hope is in the Lord his God. Amen.

**Textual commentary**

The manuscript sources suggest that this is a late work. C11 was added to as new music came to hand, though *Lord what is man* appears in a corpus in the hand of John White who was active from 1674. Page 171 is dated 1675, and this anthem appears three pages later. Its appearance in the British Library manuscripts occurs after the initial corpus, again suggesting a later date.

The contemplative nature of the text also supports the late date of composition, and it is interesting to note that Foster selects the same text from two different psalms as Henry Palmer had done in the 1630s.<sup>18</sup> Although all of the voice parts for Palmer's anthem are now at Peterhouse, it is likely Foster would have known the piece as a chorister. Palmer's setting was considerably longer, at almost 350 beats. There are no other surviving 17th century settings of this text. The lack of further sources is a little strange - this is the only Foster composition to be missing an organ part.

**Sources**

medius	lacking		
alto	lacking		
tenor	C11v: 174	BL78: 267	BL79: 144v
bass	C19: 296		
organ	lacking		

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<sup>17</sup> For extracts see vol. 2, p. 18  
<sup>18</sup> See pp. 159-62

Structure

verse	?	62	Lord what is man
chorus	[ma]tb	28	Man is like a thing of nought
verse	?	68	[For when the breath of man]
chorus	[ma]tb	46	Blessed is he
Totals	130 + 74 =	204	

My Song shall be of mercy and judgement<sup>19</sup>  
Psalm 101, vv. 1-7, 9, 11

Text

My song shall be of mercy and judgement: unto thee O Lord will I sing.  
O let me have *true* understanding: in the way of faithfulness...

Textual commentary

Again the organ part offers the occasional suggestion of divided upper voices. The omission of two verses of text is noteworthy.

Sources

medius	lacking				
alto	lacking				
tenor	C11: 140-1	C12: 32-3	C15: 81-3	BL78: 130	BL79: 62v
bass	C17: 77-8	C19: 40-2	C27: 33-4	C28: 44-6	C34: 26-7
organ	A5: 289-92				

Structure

full	[ma]tb	242 beats
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<sup>19</sup> For extracts see vol. 2, p. 19



**Set up thyself O God<sup>20</sup>**

Psalm 57, vv. 6, 8-11

**Text**

Set up thyself O God above the heavens: and thy glory above the earth.  
 My heart is fixed O God, my heart is fixed: I will sing and give praise.  
 Awake up my glory, awake lute and harp: I myself will awake right early.  
 I will give thanks unto thee O Lord among the people: and I will sing unto thee  
 among the nations.  
 For the greatness of thy mercy reacheth unto the heavens: and thy glory unto the  
 clouds.

**Textual commentary**

Whereas in the first half of the 17th century at Durham the verse anthem was much favoured over the full anthem, the reverse was true in the years immediately following the Restoration. Foster, it would seem, favoured the simple structure of the four-part full anthem, and from what survives of his work he never ventures beyond the confines of a five-part texture. In his two verse anthems Foster shows restraint. They are closer in style to the earlier models of Edward Smith and Hutchinson, favouring solos and imitative duets over the complex ensembles of Palmer and Geeres. The choruses are compact and mostly homorhythmic.

The text of *Set up thyself* differs slightly from the prayer book. In verse 11 the word *glory* is substituted for the original *truth*. This anthem has verse writing for at least one alto and two basses, and the chorus for matb. It shares a good deal of text with William Smith's *Awake up my Glory*, though the two treatments bear no resemblance.

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<sup>20</sup> For extracts see vol. 2, p. 20

Sources

medius decani	lacking		
medius cantoris	lacking		
alto decani	lacking		
alto cantoris	C5: 94		
tenor decani	C11v: 165		
tenor cantoris	C10: 105	BL78: 362	BL79: 114r
bass decani	C19: 214-15		
bass cantoris	lacking		
organ	A5: 294-6		

Structure

verse	bd	44	Set up thyself
verse	ac	36	my heart is fixed
chorus	[m]atb	34	my heart is fixed
verse	bd [bc]	58	Awake up my glory
chorus	[m]atb	30	awake up my glory
verse	[m] ac bd	58	I will give thanks
chorus	[m]atb	50	for the greatness of thy mercy
Totals	196 + 114 =	310	

What reward shall I give<sup>21</sup>  
Psalm 116, vv. 11-12, 15-16

Text

What reward shall I give unto the Lord: for all the benefits that he hath done unto me?  
I will receive the cup of salvation: and call upon the name of the Lord.  
I will offer [*to thee*] the sacrifice of thanksgiving: and will call upon the name of the Lord.  
I will pay my vows unto the Lord in the sight of all his people: in the courts of the Lord's house, even in the midst of thee O Jerusalem, praise the Lord.

Textual commentary

The italicised words are from the prayer book, but are omitted in this setting, presumably deliberately to retain the reported speech style. Like *Set up thyself*, this is also a short four-section verse anthem in G minor. From the surviving parts it would appear to be for tenor and bass verse and at least matb chorus, though the

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<sup>21</sup> For a reconstruction see vol. 2, pp. 21-5

detailed autograph organ part suggests there may be split upper voices for at least a part of the time.

C5, originally the alto 2 cantoris book, contains verse material for Foster's other verse anthem, *Set up thyself O God*. The fact that the reading here presents only chorus material suggests that all alto verses are for the decani part.

Sources

medius decani	lacking		
medius cantoris	lacking		
alto decani	lacking		
alto cantoris	C5: 94		
tenor decani	C11v: 83		
tenor cantoris	C10: 100	BL78: 265	BL79: 112r
bass decani	C16: 241-2	C19: 218-19	
bass cantoris	C17: 147		
organ	A3: 353-5		

Structure

verse	[ad] bd	42	What reward shall I give
verse	[mc] tc	40	I will receive the cup
chorus	[ma]atb	36	I will offer the sacrifice
verse	[ad] bd	62	I will pay my vows
chorus	[ma]atb	40	ev'n in the midst of thee
Totals	144 + 76 =	220	

Variants

Bar	Beat	Stave	Source	Variant
10	6	7	A3	note or rest missing from organ 'tenor' part
14	6	4	BL79	no chorus indication
16	5	4	BL78	natural lacking from first A [mf]
19	5	5	C16	direct sign replaces final note
22	3-4	5, 7	A3, C16	discrepancy as in source
32	4	4	C11	natural lacking
32	6	4	BL78	both rests lacking
32	6	7	A3	organ tenor part: sb C m C [?se]
				either the organ or tenor are wrong



**When the Lord turned again<sup>22</sup>**

Psalm 126

**Text**

When the Lord turned again the captivity of Sion: then were we like unto them that dream.

Then was our mouth filled with laughter: and our tongue with joy.

Then said they among the heathen: the Lord hath done great things for them.

Yea the Lord hath done great things for us already: whereof we rejoice.

Turn our captivity O Lord: as the rivers in the south.

They that sow in tears: shall reap in joy.

He that now goeth on his way weeping, and beareth forth good seed: shall doubtless come again with joy, and bring his sheaves with him.

**Version 1 - Textual commentary**

Only medius and tenor parts survive of a shorter, earlier version of this anthem. It is 174 beats against 258 in the 'reworking', and omits verse six of the text, *turn our captivity O Lord, as the rivers in the south*. This omission could possibly have significance in the dating of the first version, as the sources suggest a date of composition close to the Commonwealth. If the earlier version were written in the late 1630s or 1640s, then there would have been no 'captivity' to speak of. The changes in the 1640s would have caused more significance to be heaped on the words, and their inclusion in a revised text would have been appropriate.

Much of the musical material is common to both versions, and it is apparent that the vocal forces were also the same. There is no indication in either manuscript that this version subsequently became obsolete. Although the medius book C1 represents both versions of the anthem, this manuscript was originally two separate books, and one version would have appeared in each book. The 'new' version was not copied into C14.

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<sup>22</sup> For a transcription of version 1 see vol. 2, p 32, and for version 2 see vol. 2, pp. 26-31

Sources

medius	C1: 231-2
alto	lacking
tenor	C14: 158-9
bass	lacking
organ	lacking

When the Lord turned again - Version 2

Textual commentary

A reworking of version 1, which is half as long again, and includes verse six of the psalm which was lacking from the first version. Of Foster's many fragmentary anthems this is the most complete, and one of only three to survive into the 1690s and possibly beyond. It was also one of two copied into British Library ms K.7.e.2. for possible use at Ripon.<sup>23</sup> The success of the piece rests on its contrasting textures - a lively contapuntal opening gives way to a sustained and more contemplative middle section. The joy of the opening returns with the words *shall doubtless come again*.

Sources

medius	C1: 81-2			
alto	C7: 322-3			
tenor	C10: 94-5	C11: 95-7	C15: 56-7	
	BL78: 95	BL79: 38v		
bass	C16: 86-8	C17: 57-8	C19: 32-4	C27: 37-8 (inc)
	C28: 106-7	C34: 44-5	k.7.e.2: 127	
organ	A5: 282-4			

Variants

The involvement of the composer in regular performances must be a factor in the small number of variants.

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<sup>23</sup> The other was *Almighty and everlasting God*. These were probably selected from several contenders as Foster's best compositions. For more details of ms K.7.e.2. see p. 225 footnote 44.

Bar	Beat	Stave	Source	Variant
10	1	3	C11	F sharp [se]
20	1	2	C7	sb. [se]
25	1	1	C1	"God" [se]

Service music

Foster was responsible for four separate services, as follows:

1st Service :	Td, Bs, K, C	D minor/major
2nd Service:	Td, J, M, N	D minor/major
2nd Communion Service:	K, C	F major
3rd Communion Service:	K, C	D minor/major

The picture is confused by different services being allotted different titles. The first service is straightforward. It is a pre-Commonwealth composition, and has movements for matins and communion, but not evensong. After the Restoration confusion arises with two apparently different second services. It would appear that Foster next wrote a 'second service' comprising Te Deum, Jubilate, Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis. This is in D major/minor untransposed. As with the first service, all the movements are thematically linked. This service, unlike the first, employs side divisions.

Next came a second communion service, in F major and with Kyrie and Creed linked thematically. Finally a third communion service was written, in D major/minor, though here the movements do not share material. Though this setting shares a key with the second morning and evening service, it is not linked thematically.

Problems developed in the 1690s when the music manuscripts were reorganised. Here for the first time settings became labelled with keys, such as *Tallis in D minor*, *Gibbons in F*, and *Byrd in D minor*. Matthew Owen, the scribe responsible for many of the manuscripts of the 1690s, spotted that the second morning and evening



service was in the same key as the third communion service, and lumped the two together as *Foster in D minor*, adding to the confusion.

It is the apparent co-existence of two second services which causes the problem, though as long as it is remembered that they are separate settings - one for communion, and one for matins and evensong - then the picture becomes clearer.

### **First Service/Short Service (1638); Td, Bs, K, C<sup>24</sup>**

The organ book A5 is furnished with the celebrated comment "*John Foster:- chorister of ye church of Durham:- 1638:-*", as well as giving the title *Short Service*. This is in the hand of the copyist Henry Palmer, who was also master of the choristers for a time, and very probably taught Foster. Naturally proud of his pupil's achievement, he recorded the youth of the composer for future generations to marvel at.

Though medius and bass parts are lacking for this service, they are both present throughout in the organ part. The music is for full choir, and with a surprising absence of side divisions. The use of *divisi* affords for extra interest in the options available with antiphonal writing. There are thematic links in the openings of all movements. C8 labels the Kyrie and Creed *At the Second Service*, though this refers to the communion service being the second service of the day, rather than to a further missing first service by Foster.<sup>25</sup>

The fact that Foster wrote this service whilst still a chorister makes it an impressive achievement. Although he would have been close to 18 years of age, it shows mature touches, and in parts is reminiscent of Gibbons's short service. There is always a danger of monotony when setting long canticle texts for full forces, and Foster avoids this reasonably well by implementing the various devices popular at the time; one voice leading the other three, a canon between medius and tenor in

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<sup>24</sup> For extracts see vol. 2, pp. 33-4

<sup>25</sup> The communion services by Palmer and Smith are also given the heading *at the second service* in C8.

the Benedictus (*for thou shalt go before the face*), and word-painting (*the sharpness of death, ascended into heav'n*), though there are still examples of the 'Durham plague' - the consecutive, which, by its ubiquity cannot have been viewed as a weakness by Durham composers. Harmonic interest is maintained by the oscillation between major and minor, a favourite device of William Smith. The opening motif for each canticle implements a shift from minor to major.

Sources

medius	lacking	
alto	C8: 158-60 [Td, Bs]	229-36 [K, C] (C inc) <sup>26</sup>
	E11a: 111-18 [Td, Bs]	278-81 [K, C]
tenor	C13: 284-93	
bass	lacking	
organ	A5: 210-24	

Second Service; Td, J, M, N<sup>27</sup>

The second service is a full setting, again in four parts, though with side divisions. Medius and alto are lacking (though the medius is recoverable from the organ part). Again there is a thematic link between the starts of movements, in this case a rising fourth. A3 gives the title *2d Te deum Short Service Jo: Foster*, and whilst this may appear to give two titles it merely distinguishes between the two sets of morning canticles, both composed in the 'short' style. C12v supplies *Mr Fosters 2d Evening Service*; and although this can be taken to imply the existence of a first evening service, in this case it relates to the evening canticles from the second service. This is confirmed by C13, which gives *Evening Service John Foster*.

<sup>26</sup> The reading stops at *the resurrection of the dead*, though the missing notes are provided in ms E11a

<sup>27</sup> For extracts see vol. 2, pp. 35-6

Sources

medius decani	lacking	
medius cantoris	lacking	
alto decani	lacking	
alto cantoris	lacking	
tenor decani	C13: 13-18	
tenor cantoris	C12v: 96-100 [Td, J] (J inc) <sup>28</sup>	102-4 [M, N]
bass decani	C31: 82-6 [Td, J]	89-92 [M, N]
	C32: 71-3 [Td. J]	76-7 [M, N]
	C33: 60-2 [Td, J]	63-5 [M, N]
bass cantoris	C26: 73-7 [Td, J]	80-2 [M, N]
organ	A3: 409-20	

Second communion service; K, C<sup>29</sup>

The title, from Foster's autograph organ part, implies no connection with the second service above, but was written after the 1638 Kyrie and Creed, and before the third Kyrie and Creed, below. It is again in the 'short' style, with side divisions. As a result of this, C8 provides only the decani reading - a little over half of the total. The autograph organ part again affords clues as to the middle parts and, with an alto part surviving, reconstruction is feasible.

Sources

The only extant sources are:

alto decani	C8: 198-202
organ	A3: 243-7

Third communion service; K, C<sup>30</sup>

Although this must have been Foster's last setting, but for the title we would never know. There are no discernible differences in style, though as has been already noted, this is a feature of Foster's writing. The need for three separate communion settings suggests that the first two were enjoying regular use. C33, copied in 1771, is a pointer to the third service's length of currency.

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<sup>28</sup> The reading stops towards the end of the Jubilate Gloria, though as this is full the missing notes are provided in ms C13  
<sup>29</sup> For extracts see vol. 2, p. 37  
<sup>30</sup> For extracts see vol. 2, p. 38



Sources

medius decani	lacking		
medius cantoris	lacking		
alto decani	lacking		
alto cantoris	lacking		
tenor decani	lacking		
tenor cantoris	C12v: 101 [-K] (C inc) <sup>31</sup>		
bass decani	C31: 87-9	C32: 74-5	C33: 62-3
bass cantoris	C26: 77-80		
organ	A3: 428-32		

Sursum Corda and 'Sanctus'<sup>32</sup>

Text

The Sursum Corda text follows the prayer book, though the 'Sanctus' actually takes its text from the corresponding passage of the Te Deum:

Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth, heaven and earth are full of the majesty of thy glory. Glory be to thee O Lord in the highest.

Textual commentary

The prayer book translation of the Sanctus has not changed since the first 1549 version, so there is no question of Foster having used a different text. It is possible that he simply made a mistake in copying the words of the Te Deum. Also it is possible that the different translation was a part of Cosin's move to bring the prayer book more into line with the ancient liturgies. There is no question of these two items having been written with any other than a liturgical performance in mind, though here in the prayer book is no reference to the text ever being sung.

In the original key of D major/minor they would have been compatible with Foster's first and third settings of the communion service, as well as his Gloria.

The presence of the 'Sanctus' in York ms M29 in the hand of Toby Brooking advances the date of composition to at least the 1640s.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup> The reading begins at *and he shall come again with glory*

<sup>32</sup> For extracts see vol. 2, p. 39

<sup>33</sup> Crosby makes this observation, 1992, p. 253. The Gloria in M29, however, although immediately following the Sanctus, does not agree with Foster's text.

## Sources

medius	C1: 86, 88
alto 1	C7: 314
alto 2	C4: 92 (inc)    C5: 92
tenor	C10: 86
bass	B28: 182 [-S]    C33: 186 [-S]    M29: 338, 385
organ	A3: 10-11

## Work of doubtful authorship:

**I am the Resurrection**<sup>34</sup> (St John 11, vv. 25, 26; Job 19, vv. 25-27 (not 1662 or King James); I Timothy 6, v. 7; Job 1, v. 21)

## Textual commentary

The ascription of this item to Foster is baffling. It is a full setting for matb with versicle-style introduction. It is almost definitely *not* by Foster, but there are no clues as to who the composer might be. The style of the music is much earlier than that of the mid-17th century. The only books to credit Foster with the composition are C5 (where the music follows his Sanctus and Sursum Corda; in any case *Mr John Foster* was added in a later hand) and C17 in the hand of John White, a chorister and lay-clerk under Foster, who would surely have known whether or not his organist was the author. The table to C17 has *Mr Foster I am*, and on p. 59, *Mr John: Foster I am the Resurrection*. In mss C7, C10, C11, C15 and C19, all copied in Foster's lifetime and many in the hand of Alexander Shaw, the piece is unattributed.

Foster's setting of *I heard a voice from heaven* is in the same style as this piece. With both texts from the burial service, it seems he wrote music for *I heard a voice* to complement that of *I am the resurrection* and this is possibly the cause of the confusion. It should be noted that other early English anthems such as Tallis's *Hear the voice and prayer* and *If ye love me*, and Sheppard's *Submit yourselves* all appear without attribution in Durham sources. Either they were so well known in their

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<sup>34</sup> For extracts see vol. 2, p. 14

day that the composer did not need to be added to the manuscripts, or were already so old that their origins had become obscure.

**Sources** (The organ and B10 parts date from the 1720s)

medius	lacking			
alto	B10: 11-12	C5: 92-3	C7: 328-9	
tenor	C10: 103-4	C11: 104-5	C15: 61-2	
	BL78: 135	BL79: 45r		
bass	C17: 59-60	C19: 42-4	C27: 1-2 (inc) <sup>35</sup>	C28: 1-2
organ	A7v: 8-9			

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<sup>35</sup> Reading lacks 54 beats from the middle, though the mising notes are preserved in other manuscripts



**John Nicholls (c. 1627-81)**

Nicholls was a chorister shortly before the Civil War, and at the Restoration became a lay-clerk. As well as composing a small number of items for choir use, he was also employed as a copyist. On the death of Foster in 1677 he became master of the choristers, though not organist, suggesting his abilities may have been more on the instructional than practical side. He died in 1681.<sup>36</sup>

**I will give thanks unto thee, O Lord<sup>37</sup>**  
Psalm 9, vv. 1-5

**Text**

I will give thanks unto thee O Lord with my whole heart: I will speak of all thy marvellous works.  
I will be glad and rejoice in thee: yea, my songs will I make of thy name, O thou most highest...

**Textual commentary**

The words of this anthem have an early post-Restoration flavour, thanking God for the restoration of the status quo. The earliest surviving sources are all from the 1670s. Its musical content, too, hints at the new style, with its interaction of common and triple time. The verse writing is not as florid as that of Greggs.

Bass book C19 divides for the last five beats of the first bass verse (bar 9 of the extract), though this is taken as either an alternative version, avoiding a low E, or as an illustration of the cadence, rather than implying a 2-part verse. As no organ or medius part survives, reconstruction is rendered the more difficult.

**Sources**

medius	lacking			
alto	C2: 129			
tenor	C10: 106	C11v: 166	BL78: 151v	BL79: 179v
bass decani	C19: 294-5	C27: 131-3	C34: 100-1	
bass cantoris	C17: 162			
organ	lacking			

<sup>36</sup> For biographical details see Crosby 1992, vol. 2, pp. 91-3

<sup>37</sup> For extracts see vol. 2, p. 83

Structure	voice	time	
verse	b	C	I will give thanks
chorus	[m]atb	3	I will be glad and rejoice
verse	b	C	Whilst mine enemies are driven back
chorus	[m]atb	C	Thou hast rebuked the heathen

**O pray for the peace of Jerusalem<sup>38</sup>**  
Psalm 122, vv. 6-end + Gloria

**Text**

O pray for the peace of Jerusalem: they shall prosper that love thee.  
Peace be within thy walls: and plenteousness within thy palaces.  
For my brethren and companions' sake: I will wish thee prosperity.  
Yea, because of the house of the Lord our God: I will seek to do thee good.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son: and to the Holy Ghost.  
As it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be: world without end, Amen.

**Textual commentary**

The text differs only in making the word 'sakes' singular. The underlay variants are plentiful, particularly in the amen, where no two manuscripts agree. C19 attributes the piece to *Mr Jo: Nicholls jun.* and C16 to *Jo: Nichollo's*. The ascription 'junior' is explained by Crosby: <sup>39</sup> Nicholls had an uncle, also John, who had been a chorister earlier in the century.

The words no doubt refer to the troubles of the time, and makes a pre-Commonweath date a possibility, though Nicholls's age counts against this. His date of birth is not known. He is first recorded as a chorister in 1637, and with choral services ceasing in around 1644 this would make him no more than 16 at that time - a little too young for a work of this maturity, even bearing in mind the young Foster's achievements. Certainly the style is earlier than that of Nicholls's other two surviving compositions. The mood is reflective and calm, as if the composer is recalling the peace of earlier times. There are a couple of harmonic surprises, notably at the

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<sup>38</sup> For a transcription see vol. 2, pp. 84-8  
<sup>39</sup> 1992, appendix, p. 91

interrupted cadence on *companion's sake* (bars 15-16), moving from the dominant of D to Bb major - an unusual move for the time.

Sources

medius	C1: 78-9		
alto	C4: 47 (inc) <sup>40</sup>	C7: 320-1	
tenor	C10: 92-3	C11: 93-4	C15: 53-4
	BL78: 51	BL79: 37	
bass	C16: 85-6	C17: 56-7	C19: 31-2
	C27: 43-4	C28: 52-4	C34: 28-9
organ	A3: 109-11		

Structure

full	matb	214 beats
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Variants

Bar	Beat	Stave	Source	Variant
2	5	2	C4	lacking dot [se]
3	2	2	C4	lacking natural [mf]
4	4	3	C11	m. G [?se]
5	2	2	C4	lacking flat [mf]
11	1	4	C34	m. F c D flat [se]
16	1	all	all	sake [sic] - BCP has sakes
19	3-4	6	A3	organ disagrees with tenor: m. B flat c A flat
21	5	1-3	C1 C7 C11	"X" in copy at this point
33	1	6	A3	lacking flat

Short Service "In G", Td, J, M, N<sup>41</sup>

Only bass and cantoris tenor parts survive from this service composed in the short style (with side divisions), though even from this we can tell it is a later work than *O pray for the peace*. The harmony moves with greater ease, modulating through a variety of keys. In the first phrase, lasting 32 beats, there are modulations to E major and A major, before a return to the tonic. There is a smattering of imitation at *continually do cry, Holy, Holy, Holy*, and a move to B major at *the sharpness of*

<sup>40</sup> The reading ends after the second beat of bar 5. The following page in the manuscript is blank, suggesting the piece was begun in error.

<sup>41</sup> For extracts see vol. 2, p. 89



*death*. The Jubilate, Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis all set different Glorias. Its representation in C33 shows its continued use into the 1770s.

Sources

medius	lacking		
alto	lacking		
tenor decani	lacking		
tenor cantoris	C12v: 194-201		
bass decani	C31: 113-19	C32: 101-6	C33: 65-9
bass cantoris	C26: 103-9		
organ	lacking		

## Alexander Shaw (c. 1647-1706)

Named in the first list of post-Restoration choristers, Shaw must have already been relatively old, for in 1664 he transferred to the post of sackbutter. His neat hand is well represented in post-Restoration manuscripts, and he is responsible for much of the contents of the British Library exiles. He became organist on the death of Foster in 1677, and held the post for four years until he was sacked for contumacy. He died in 1706.<sup>42</sup> His small number of surviving compositions reveal an experimental tendency, and his two anthems are quite bizarre. The fragmentary services appear more conservative in character.

**I will sing unto the Lord<sup>43</sup>**  
Psalm 104, vv. 33-35 + Gloria

### Text

I will sing unto the Lord as long as I live: I will praise my God while I have my being.  
And so shall my words please him...

### Textual commentary

From what survives of this piece it appears to be a strange work, possibly attempting a more modern approach to harmony. Though the bass sings through all the verse sections, it would seem other voices were required too, as the bass follows a bottom part rather than a solo line. The organ writing throughout the verse sections is very homorhythmic, and suggests a four part verse with little imitation. Only Geeres managed to write anything quite as bad as this, and, bearing in mind the relative success of his Shaw's service music, we must conclude that this is either the work of a young or experimental mind.

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<sup>42</sup> Further biographical details are given in Crosby, 1986, p. 245

<sup>43</sup> For extracts see vol. 2, p. 143

**Sources** (Bold sources are autograph)

medius	lacking
alto	lacking
tenor	lacking
bass decani	<b>K7e2: 147<sup>44</sup></b>
bass cantoris	lacking
organ	<b>A4: 54-8</b>

**Structure**

verse	b [+?]	I will sing unto the Lord
chorus	[mat]b	<b>I will praise my God while I have my being</b>
verse	b [+?]	And so whall my words please him
chorus	[mat]b	<b>Praise thou the Lord O my soul</b>
verse	b [+?]	Glory be to the father
chorus	[mat]b	<b>As it was in the beginning....</b>

**The Lord is my shepherd<sup>45</sup>**

Psalm 23

This is an odd-looking piece, with only a holograph organ part to give clues. There are no obvious vocal lines in the verse sections, making assignment of text difficult.

The style appears again to be early, with none of the virtuosic writing evident in Greggs's verse anthems, though these were slightly later. It appears to be an early attempt at the Italianate style of writing.

**Source**

organ	<b>A4: 6-11</b>
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<sup>44</sup> Ms K.7.e.2 is something of a mystery. It contains printed copies of parts of the set of books of Barnard's 1641 publication, with manuscript items bound on to the ends. From the content of the music the manuscripts seem to be 1660s-70s, with a northern provenance, containing music from Durham, York and Ripon composers. Much of the music is in the hand of Shaw.

<sup>45</sup> For extracts see vol. 2, p. 144



**Service *In E lo mi* Td, J, M, N<sup>46</sup>**

This holograph organ part was copied in October 1679, half way through Shaw's tenure as organist. There are verse sections here, which seem to be for reduced voices rather than solo and accompaniment. The style is 'short' with no indications as to side divisions, though neither are there such indications in the *Gamut* service whose tenor part shows that it does divide.

**Source**

organ            **A4v: 77-92**

**Service In *Gamut* Td, J, K, C, M, N<sup>47</sup>**

In spite of the incomplete autograph organ part, enough survives of this service to give a fair idea of its scope. Happily a tenor part survives to help flesh out the skeleton. It would appear that both of Shaw's services share much in the way of style, size and vocal force. Hence we can gain clues from the more complete *Gamut* about *E lo mi*.

*Gamut* has side divisions and verse sections. The first verse occurs at *When thou took'st upon thee* and appears to be for four voices, though the tenor at this point provides the 'bass'. As only the organ part indicates *vers*, it could imply that the tenor continued full. The verse section appears to be *mmat*. A similarly scored verse section occurs in the creed at *who for us men*, though C12 has rests here, indicating that the verse must be for the other tenor, or for divided upper voices. The situation repeats at *and he shall come again with glory*.

The organ part to the Kyrie shows that two medius parts are required.

Several factors point to the *Gamut* service being composed first. Its position in the organ book immediately precedes *E lo mi*. C12, whilst not containing music for *E lo mi*, calls the *Gamut* service *Mr Shaw his Te Deum:~~* and *Mr Shawes Magnificat*,

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<sup>46</sup> For extracts see vol. 2, p. 145

<sup>47</sup> For extracts see vol. 2, pp. 146-8

which would imply that at the time they were the only ones in existence. Hence we can conclude a date of composition before October 1679, though possibly not much.

The Te Deum adopts the modern approach of setting the opening versicle *we praise thee O God* for the whole choir, rather than the previous practice of intoning the first line, the choir continuing *we knowledge thee to be the Lord*. This possibly dates the service after the E minor service, whose organ part begins *we knowledge thee*.

Sources

medius	lacking
alto	lacking
tenor decani	C13v: 29-30 (inc) <sup>48</sup>
tenor cantoris	C12v: 184-94
bass decani	lacking
bass cantoris	lacking
organ	A4v: 55-68, 73-6 (inc) <sup>49</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Only part of the Te Deum survives.  
<sup>49</sup> Pages 69-72 are missing from the manuscript. They would have contained the end of the Creed, from "who with the Father and the Son" and the beginning of the Magnificat as far as "he hath put down the mighty". As it is, this loss renders both canticles unrecoverable.

## Francis Forcer (c. 1650-1705)

*ffranciscus fforcer* is first named as a chorister in the 1661 treasurer's book, and last appears in 1664. He was organist to Bishop Cosin until 1669, when he ran away to London.<sup>50</sup>

**O give thanks unto the Lord**<sup>51</sup>  
Psalm 107, vv. 1-8

### Text

[O give thanks unto the Lord for he is gracious: and his mercy endureth for ever.  
Let them give thanks whom the Lord hath redeemed: and delivered from the hand of  
the enemy.]  
And gathered them out of the lands: from the east and from the west: from the north  
and from the south...

### Textual commentary

Unfortunately much of this piece appears to be verse for decani alto, a part that does not survive. The lack of an organ part frustrates attempts at a reconstruction. If Forcer wrote the piece before leaving for London, then he would have been young. Bearing in mind the size of the work, and the fact that it is very ornate in style, it was probably composed in London, and brought back for use at Durham. The sources all date from the 1690s.

There is a key change to two flats for the central minor section, which uses some effective chromaticism. Confusingly, C7 has neither the minor verse section, nor the rests that should replace it, but continues straight into the next chorus. The opening missing verse is in two sections, presumably for the two verses of missing psalm text. The first section (45 beats) is in triple time, and the second (22 beats), to the text *let them give thanks whom the Lord hath redeemed* is in common time.

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<sup>50</sup> Crosby, 1986, p. 148

<sup>51</sup> For extracts see vol. 2, p. 10



Sources

medius	lacking
alto decani	lacking
alto cantoris	C7: 381-3
tenor	C14: 209-11   C15: 207-9
bass	C28: 218-20   C34: 182-3
organ	lacking

Structure

verse	[C major]	[O give thanks], <i>for a Contratenor alone</i>
chorus	[C major]	<b>and gathered them out of the lands</b>
verse	[C minor]	<i>They went astray for a Contra tenor alone</i>
chorus	[C minor]	<b>they went astray</b>
verse	[C major]	[He led them forth by the right way]
chorus	[C major]	<b>O that men would therefore praise the Lord</b>

**William Greggs (16?52/?62-1710)**

Greggs's arrival at Durham in 1682 brought to an end a long line of in-breeding, whereby all organists previous to him were former choristers of Durham.<sup>52</sup> An accomplished musician, he was clearly familiar with the new Italianate style of composition which was sweeping the country. Parts of six anthems, all in this style, survive at Durham, where he remained as organist until his death in 1710.

**Hear my prayer O Lord**<sup>53</sup>  
Psalm 102, vv. 1-2

**Text**

Hear my prayer O Lord: and let my crying come unto thee.  
Hide not thy face from me in the time of my trouble: incline thine ear unto me when I call. O hear me and that right soon.

**Textual commentary**

This simple full anthem probably dates from the early 1690s, as it was added later to manuscripts C27, 28 and 34. It is a successful combination of slow chromatic counterpoint, expressing the anguish of the sinner, contrasting with the lively triple-time plea *incline thine ear*. So short is the work, that it could almost be a movement from a longer anthem.

**Sources**

medius	lacking			
alto	C7: 200-1			
tenor	C14: 130	C15: 136 (inc) <sup>54</sup>		
bass	C19: 97	C27: 59	C28: 61	C34: 90
organ	A25: 26-7			

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<sup>52</sup> Palmer was not a chorister, but neither was he organist. He was master of the choristers in the 1630s when Hutchinson proved incapable. See Crosby, 1992 p. 155 for more details on organists' pedigrees.  
<sup>53</sup> For a reconstruction see vol. 2 pp. 50-2  
<sup>54</sup> Stave torn out resulting in the loss of eight beats, which in any case survive in C14

**If the Lord himself had not been on our side<sup>55</sup>**

Psalm 124

**Text**

If the Lord himself had not been on our side: now may Israel say: if the Lord himself had not been on our side, when men rose up against us...

**Textual commentary**

All that survives of this lengthy verse anthem is a holograph organ part, giving, as with *My heart is inditing*, melody and verse only. Notation of organ parts at this time was going through a period of change to accommodate the new style of writing.

Where previously the outer parts and significant entries or chords were given, this changed to show the bass line and solo melody only (often just the bass alone), and eventually the more widespread use of figured bass. The verse and chorus sections are clearly marked here, but there are no clues as to how the words fit.

**Source**

organ            **A25: 33-7**

**I will sing a new song unto Thee O God<sup>56</sup>**

Psalm 144, vv. 9-10, [?11-12,]13-end + hallelujahs

**Text**

I will sing a new song unto thee O God: and sing praises unto thee upon a ten-stringed lute.

Thou hast given victory unto kings: and hast delivered David thy servant from the peril of the sword...

**Textual commentary**

Greggs's autograph organ part is headed *A Thanksgiveing Anthem to Almighty God for a Generall peace: ye 2 1697* [sic]. This large-scale verse anthem is sadly too fragmentary to reconstruct. The organ book gives nothing more than basso continuo to work from. The virtuosic writing for bass solo must have been written with a

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<sup>55</sup> For extracts see vol. 2, p. 53

<sup>56</sup> For extracts see vol. 2, p. 54



particularly skilled individual in mind. The reading in ms C28 is littered with mistakes and cannot possibly have been used to perform from.

Sources

medius	lacking	
alto	lacking	
tenor	C14: 85-8	
bass	C27: 323-7	C28: 418-21
organ	A4: 126-30	

My heart is inditing of a good matter<sup>57</sup>  
Psalm 45, vv. 1-8 + hallelujahs

Text

My heart is inditing of a good matter: I speak of the things which I have made unto the king.  
My tongue is the pen: of a ready writer...

Textual commentary

Though there are only bass and organ parts surviving for this, the organ gives the solo line as well as the bass, and it would appear to be mostly a duet between bass and medius. C27 is helpful in initialling the solo forces required for each piece, and here confirms the picture with *M: B.*. Hence, reconstruction of the verse sections is a fairly straightforward matter. The chorus sections are short and mostly comprise of strings of hallelujahs.

Sources

medius	lacking			
alto	lacking			
tenor	lacking			
bass	C27: 126	C27: 333-6 <sup>58</sup>	C28: 215	C34: 180
organ	A4: 153-8			

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<sup>57</sup> For extracts see vol. 2, p. 55  
<sup>58</sup> It is not clear why C27 contains two readings, though that on page 126 is the earlier.

**O Lord our Governor**<sup>59</sup>  
Psalm 8, vv. 1, [?2,] 3-6, [?7,] 8-9 + Gloria

**Text**

[O Lord our Governor, how excellent is thy name in all the world: thou that hast set thy glory above the heavens...]

**Textual commentary**

The autograph organ book is headed *Verse for a Treble alone*, and this part is lacking, though its melody is given in the upper stave of the organ part. An imperfect page results in the loss of 8-9 bars. The music returns to the opening material for the last verse of text, which repeats the first verse. The Gloria is full, though the whole psalm is verse. The impression is of a gentle, reverential piece, and the choice of a treble soloist conveys this mood well.

It was unusual at this time to suffix a Gloria to an anthem, and it seems Greggs may have only done this out of necessity to give the rest of the choir something to sing. Although 'solo anthems' enjoyed some popularity in the mid-18th century<sup>60</sup> they were not known to have been used at Durham in the late 17th century.

**Sources**

medius	lacking		
alto	lacking		
tenor	lacking		
bass	C27: 133	C28: 213	C34: 180
organ	A25: 56-8 (inc) <sup>61</sup>		

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<sup>59</sup> For extracts see vol. 2, p. 53  
<sup>60</sup> Such as Ralph Roseingrave's *I will magnify thee* and, co-incidentally, an anonymous *O Lord our governor*. These anthems are not represented in any Durham manuscripts, but survive in three manuscripts in the Reid Music Library, Edinburgh University. They are in the hand of John Mathews, a Durham lay-clerk of the mid-18th century. From notes in the manuscripts they were clearly in his possession whilst at Durham, and so the solo anthems may well have been used by the choir then.  
<sup>61</sup> Two staves are missing from the organ book, resulting in the loss of 8-9 bars of 4/4 time.

**The Lord hear thee<sup>62</sup>**  
Psalm 20 + hallelujahs

**Text**

The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble: the name of the God of Jacob defend thee.  
Send thee help from the sanctuary: and strengthen thee out of Sion...

**Textual commentary**

This is a verse anthem on the same scale as *My heart is inditing*, though with a more complete text. It is the only one of Greggs's pieces to be represented in the British Library exiles, though it is almost at the end of 30478, added later than the original 1660s corpus, and showing that that book was added to into the 1680s.

There are two unusual instances of manuscripts giving readings other than their own. BL78, a tenor book, gives the bass reading throughout, whilst alto book C7 provides the bass verses, then reverts to alto for the chorus parts. With the organ providing an unfigured bass line only, the medius part is lacking completely.

**Sources**

medius	lacking			
alto	C7: 336-9			
tenor	C11v: 233	C14: 167	C15: 110	BL78: 426
bass	C27: 134-6	C28: 239-42	C34: 179	
organ	A4: 173-5 (inc) <sup>63</sup>			

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<sup>62</sup> For extracts see vol. 2, p. 54  
<sup>63</sup> The organ lacks the very final hallelujah chorus.



## Robert Hodge (lay-clerk 1691-3)

The *Mr Hodge* named as the composer of two anthems surviving as bass parts only, is undoubtedly Robert Hodge, the lay-clerk, who sang between 1691 and 1693. The style of the music and the dates of the manuscripts support these dates. A single part is not much upon which to judge a piece of church music, though both anthems would appear to be extended essays in the verse anthem genre - very much the flavour of the day. It seems unusual that no other parts survive, and it does beg the question how many works have disappeared without trace?

### I will give thanks<sup>64</sup>

Psalm 138, vv. 1-5 + hallelujahs

#### Text

[I will give thanks unto thee O Lord with my whole heart: even before the gods will I sing praise unto thee.]

Hallelujah.

I will worship towards thy holy temple and praise thy name, because of thy loving mercy [kindness] and truth: for thou hast magnified thy name and thy word above all things.....

#### Textual commentary

There is a minor deviation from the prayer book text in verse two, where Hodge sets *thy loving mercy* rather than *thy loving kindness*. The bass source gives one or two other clues as to the forces for verse sections, with two *vers 3 voc:* sections, two *Ritor* sections, and one *verse alone*.

#### Source

bass

C34: 263-5

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<sup>64</sup> For extracts see vol. 2, p. 57

**O clap your hands together<sup>65</sup>**  
 Psalm 47, vv. 1-5 + hallelujahs

**Text**

O clap your hands together all ye people: O sing unto God with the voice of melody.  
 For the Lord is high and to be feared: [he is the great king upon all the earth]....

**Textual commentary**

The opening verse material recapitulates at the end after verse five, and is followed by the obligatory closing hallelujah section. The piece was added to the table of C34 in a later hand.

**Source**

bass C34: 261-3

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<sup>65</sup> For extracts see vol. 2, p. 57

## Thomas Allinson (c. 1672-1705)

Allinson was a chorister in the 1680s under Greggs, and subsequently became a lay-clerk in 1690. In 1693 he moved to Lincoln Cathedral as organist. The four surviving anthems at Durham were probably written during the years he was a lay-clerk.

**Have mercy upon me, O Lord**<sup>66</sup>  
Psalm 6, vv. 2-4

### Text

Have mercy upon me O Lord, for I am weak: O Lord heal me, for my bones are vexed.

My soul also is sore troubled: but Lord, how long wilt thou punish me.

Turn thee unto me, O Lord and deliver my soul: O save me for thy mercy's sake.

### Textual commentary

Of Allinson's four surviving anthems at Durham this one alone stood the test of time, being used at least until the mid 19th century, the other three not surviving beyond the early 1700s. It is his only full anthem, and this could be a reason for its survival, the other three conforming to the lengthy verse anthem style prevalent at the end of the 17th century.

It is noteworthy for its effective use of chromaticism in the phrase *my soul also is sore troubled*, which consists chiefly of a rising chromatic phrase in minor thirds or major sixths. The last section, *turn thee unto me O Lord*, is in triple time, again an unusual feature for such a short piece.

It seems to have undergone a revision in the 18th century, with later sources omitting the lengthy amen (24 minim beats) and replacing it with a simple plagal amen. Ebdon's organ part of 1783 transposes the work down a semitone, and adds figured bass. The original barring in C15 is irregular, and this has been augmented by a later pencil hand, showing that this version was used into the 18th century.

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<sup>66</sup> For extracts see vol. 2, p. 1



Sources (with the exception of B24 only the contemporary sources are listed)

medius	B24: 78 <sup>67</sup>		
alto	C2*: 23	C7: 12-13	C7: 203-4
tenor	C14: 49-50 <sup>68</sup>	C15: 119-20	
bass	C19: 99-100	C28: 100-1	C34: 80-1
organ	A33: 38-9		

I will bless the Lord<sup>69</sup>  
Psalm 34, vv. 1, 3; unidentified [let them give thanks]; Ps 116, vv. 15-16

Text

I will bless the Lord at all times: his praise shall be continually in my mouth.  
O magnify the Lord with me: and let us exalt his name together. Hallelujah.  
Let them give thanks whom the Lord hath redeemed: and delivered from the hands  
of the enemy.  
I will offer thee the sacrifice of thanksgiving: and will call upon the name of the Lord.  
I will pay my vows unto the Lord in the sight of all his people: in the courts of the  
Lord's house, even in the midst of thee O Jerusalem, praise the Lord.  
O magnify the Lord with me: and let us exalt his name together. Hallelujah.

Textual commentary

The words of this composite text are from two different sources - the words of Psalm  
34 are the King James version, though those to Psalm 116 are from the prayer  
book.

This is a lengthy verse anthem, principally for bass alone, though with two short  
satb verse sections, and ending with a hallelujah chorus section. By using a lengthy  
repeat (25% of total length) it has an A:B:A structure. The bass and organ books  
write out the repeat in full. The alto and tenor books detail a *vers alone* before the  
hallelujah chorus, but bass and organ books neglect to mention this, hence its  
queried appearance in the structure table. There is a particularly florid setting of the

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<sup>67</sup> This is the only surviving medius part, dating from the 1770s  
<sup>68</sup> The version in C14 is corrupt, and gives an indication that the parts may have  
been copied out from a score. The first 30 minim beats are actually the alto part,  
written as though with an alto clef and creating a nonsense. At the page turn the  
music reverts to the tenor part, though there is nothing in the manuscript to suggest  
that an error has occurred.  
<sup>69</sup> For extracts see vol. 2, p. 2

word 'exalt' in the second bass verse. Apart from a brief recit in E major, the piece never strays far from the tonic of D major. The missing medius part is found in the organ book. Its sources suggest that it did not survive long into the 18th century.

Sources

medius	lacking		
alto	C7: 393		
tenor	C14: 235	C15: 200	
bass	C27: 232-5	C28: 196-200	C34: 159-63
organ	A25: 71-8		

Structure

		time	bars	text
verse	b	3/C	4/9	I will bless the Lord
ritornello		3	6	
verse	b	3	20	O magnify the Lord with me
verse	matb	3	12	And let us exalt his name together
?verse	?	?	?	?
chorus		C	8	Hallelujah
verse	b	C/3	12/21	Let them give thanks
ritornello		3	6	
verse	b	C	18	I will pay my vows
verse	b	3	20	O magnify the Lord with me
verse	matb	3	12	And let us exalt his name together
?verse	?	?	?	?
chorus		C	8	Hallelujah

**My song shall be of mercy<sup>70</sup>**

Psalm 101, vv. 1-8

**Text**

My song shall be of mercy and judgement: unto thee O Lord will I sing.  
 O let me have understanding: in the way of godliness.  
 When wilt thou come unto me: I will walk in my house with a perfect heart.  
 I will take no wicked thing in hand; I hate the sins of unfaithfulness: there shall no  
 such cleave unto me.  
 A froward heart shall depart from me: I will not know a wicked person.  
 Whose privily slandereth his neighbour: him will I destroy.  
 Whoso hath also a proud look and high stomach: I will not suffer him.  
 Mine eyes look upon such as be [are] faithful in the land: that they may dwell with  
 me. Hallelujah.

**Textual commentary**

The last verse makes a small change from the prayer book text, whose original is in square brackets.

The surviving bass verse and atb chorus parts indicate this to be an anthem of the same scale as *I will bless the Lord*. The alto and tenor parts give indications that the opening verse section, as well as the last two *Hallelujah* verses were *Vers a 2 Voc*. This is confirmed by the missing text *I will walk in my house* in verse 3, and by the bass shape of the end of the first phrase which would only be used if supporting upper parts.

The bass part has the rubric *Verse for a tenor* before the first chorus, and the fact that this survives in neither C14 nor C15 implies that they both carried the same (cantoris) part. At the tenor verse there is no text missing from the psalm, and thus it seems likely the verse text would have anticipated the following chorus, as happens with the *Hallelujah* verse/choruses at the end. It seems odd for Allinson to only set the first eight verses of an eleven verse psalm, particularly as the remaining three are in the same mood as the first eight.

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<sup>70</sup> For extracts see vol. 2, p. 3



Sources

medius	lacking	
alto	C7: 191	
tenor	C14: 221	C15: 202-3
bass	C34: 257-61	
organ	lacking	

Structure		time	bars	
verse	b	3	27	My song shall be of mercy and judgement
verse	b	C	13	When wilt thou come unto me
ritornello		?	?	
verse	[td]	?	?	?I will take no wicked thing in hand
?ritornello		?	?	
chorus	[m]atb	C	11	I will take no wicked thing in hand
verse	b	3	18	A froward heart shall depart from me
ritornello		3	3	
verse	b[+?]	3	13	Whoso privily slandereth his neighbour
ritornello		3	?2	
verse	b	C	23	Whoso hath also a proud look
verse	b[+?]	3	16	Hallelujah
chorus		3	16	Hallelujah (repeat of above)
verse	b[+?]	3	8	Hallelujah
chorus		3/C	8/2	Hallelujah (repeat of above + cadence)

**Why do the heathen<sup>71</sup>**

Psalm 2, vv. 1-5

**Text**

Why do the heathen so furiously rage together: and why do the people imagine a vain thing?

The kings of the earth stand up, and the rulers take counsel together: against the Lord and against his anointed.

Let us break their bonds asunder: and cast away their cords from us.

He that dwelleth in heaven shall laugh them to scorn: the Lord shall have them in derision.

Then shall he speak unto them in his wrath: and vex them in his sore displeasure.

**Textual commentary**

Compared with the serene *Have mercy upon me*, this would appear to be a less accomplished composition. The structure is well-planned and balanced, but the counterpoint and the musical points themselves are often elementary. Allinson spotted the potential in the text for extravagant word-painting in phrases such as *laugh them to scorn* and *rage so furiously*, and these are set to predictable dotted quaver figures. The anthem illustrates the importance of a strong melody, for the only really successful section is the verse *he that dwelleth in heaven* which works an angular point well. The vocal scoring is a little unusual in retaining four parts throughout the verse sections, whose structure is largely homophonic throughout.

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<sup>71</sup> For extracts see vol. 2, p. 4

Sources

medius	lacking		
alto	C7: 184-7		
tenor	C14: 215-19	C15: 103-6	
bass	C27: 90-1(inc) <sup>72</sup>	C28: 101-5	C34: 81-5
organ	A33: 30-3		

Structure

			time	beats		
chorus	matb	c	48	Why do the heathen	(G major)	
verse	matb	c	62	The kings of the earth	(G minor)	
chorus	matb	3	48	Let us break their bonds	(G major)	
verse	matb	3	105	He that dwelleth on high	(E minor)	
chorus	matb	3	48	Let us break their bonds	(G major)	
verse	matb	3	69	Then shall he speak	(C major)	
chorus	matb	c	48	Why do the heathen	(G major)	

<sup>72</sup> The reading is from the middle of the second chorus to the middle of the final chorus



## Summary

After the Restoration, the cathedral was quick to return to as near to normality as possible. No master of the choristers is named in the Treasurer's Book for November 1660, and neither are the choristers named, which suggests there may have been some difficulty in recruiting early on. John Foster is named organist in 1661, having proved himself a capable musician before the Civil War, and held the post for sixteen years, guiding the choir through a period of rebuilding, during which it would seem that much old music was used, and little new music introduced. Missing manuscripts were replaced and some new items were added, including several by Foster himself. His hand is restricted to the organ books.

On the death of Foster in 1677 the post of organist and master of the choristers was divided. His widow signs for his June salary, and in September Alexander Shaw is paid as organist and John Nicholls as master of the choristers. Both had been choristers themselves. Shaw subsequently became a sackbutter and copyist and may have been organist at Ripon. Nicholls was a lay-clerk from 1660 and continued to be paid as such throughout his tenure as master of the choristers.

The death of Nicholls in 1681 and the sacking of Shaw in the same year brought about the appointment of William Greggs in the combined post of organist and master of the choristers, bringing stability and the first of a line of long tenures of the post, which he held until his death in 1710. He was paid £40 a year, the same as Foster, though this was increased to £50 in 1690 and £54 in 1702.

The sackbuts and cornets, a major feature of the music of the late 1620s and 30s, continued to be employed after the Restoration. The two sackbutters were last paid in 1680 and the cornets in 1696 and 98 respectively. It would seem that their positions had become all but redundant with the new style of music, but they were paid until their deaths, perhaps to be on duty for festal occasions as required.

Thomas Wilson has been included in this chapter as it is felt that, even if he wrote *By the waters* before the Restoration, it was added to the repertoire after 1660, and so can be considered a post-Restoration piece. The same applies to Elias Smith's anthem.

Whilst John Nicholls's style can be seen to be fairly conservative, that of Alexander Shaw is anything but. His florid hand is reflected in the very eccentric style of his music.

William Greggs is Durham's first composer to make a success of the new style of music, where Shaw failed. If he had not learned this before his Durham arrival, then he acquired the skills in his London visit of 1706.

Lay-clerk Robert Hodge is poorly represented, though his large verse-anthems are the work of a confident mind. He is mentioned regularly in the account books as receiving extra payments. Though these are largely unspecified, they could well be music-related.

Thomas Allinson, another young talent, became organist of Lincoln at the age of about 20, after serving as chorister and lay-clerk at Durham. Like Edward Smith a century earlier, his career was cut short by an early death. What survives shows signs of a composer of quality.

## Conclusion

In researching and reproducing a century of music from one remote choral establishment it is inevitable that there will be much sub-standard material. The fact that the music has been dipped into before tells us that there is no hidden masterpiece here. No claims are made for outstanding quality.

What we do have is a picture of a team of musicians, many of whom were inspired by some act, person or reason, to add their own music to the repertoire. The picture has changed little in the years since. Greggs's successor James Hesletine produced a number of compositions, and Thomas Ebdon's output numbers in excess of fifty. Down to the present century there are countless examples of cathedral musicians providing music for worship.

The 17th century was particularly interesting for it represented a period of enormous change. From the early days of the verse anthem, through Cosin's injection of stimulus, the Commonwealth, the Restoration and finally to the arrival of William Greggs and the new style of writing. Each major event is reflected in the type of music written for the cathedral, and each of the 88 works written during the century is discussed in as full a way as surviving sources permit, and reconstructed where possible. Volume 2 presents the music in a performable state often for the first time since it fell from regular use 300 years ago.



**APPENDIX: A CATALOGUE OF THE CAROLINE MANUSCRIPTS  
AT PETERHOUSE, CAMBRIDGE**

**Introduction**

Because of the strong links between the Caroline manuscripts at Peterhouse, and the contemporary books at Durham, and owing to the fact that the catalogue compiled by Hughes in 1953 contains a number of inaccuracies, it was felt that it would be useful to compile a catalogue anew for ease of cross-reference.

The manuscripts are divided into two sets as follows:

**Former Set**

ms 475	medius decani
ms 476	alto 1 decani
ms 477	alto 2 decani (incomplete)
lacking	tenor decani
ms 478	bass decani
ms 479	medius cantoris
ms 480	alto 1 cantoris
lacking	alto 2 cantoris
lacking	tenor cantoris
ms 481	bass cantoris

**Latter Set**

ms 485	medius decani
ms 486	alto decani
ms 487	tenor decani
ms 488	bass decani
ms 489	medius cantoris
lacking	alto cantoris
ms 490	tenor cantoris
ms 491	bass cantoris

**Organ book**

ms 493	organ
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The former set originally consisted of ten books and contains music for five-part choir with independent altos. The latter set originally comprised eight books and contained four-part music. The books are fragile, untidy and, in the words of Morehen "utter chaos".

The catalogue is organised alphabetically by composer. A holograph entry is indicated by h, verse and full by v and h, and men's voices by mv. A page number in brackets, eg. 490:N4(2)v, denotes the page following N4 (usually with no number, though sometimes also N4). r and v denote the *recto* and *verso* of a page. Canticles follow the usual abbreviations.

## ANONYMOUS ITEMS

**Ad te levavi oculos meos f8**

487:[4] (text only) 488:[4] 490:[1v] 491:[2]

**Aspice Domine de sanctis f**

487:[3] 488:[3] 490:[1r] 491:[1]

**Audite verbum Domini ?f**

488[11]

**Benedictus es Domine f**

487:[6] (text only) 488:[6] 491:[4]

**Cantemus virgini f**

485:P4v 487:P3v 488:N4r 489:68v

**Coeli enarrant f**

488:[8]

**Estote fortes in bello f**

487:[7] 488:[7] 491:[5]

**Gaudeamus omnes f8**

488:[9]

**Laudate Dominum in sanctis eius f**

488:[10]

**Lincoln Tune**

485:W2(2)v 486:S3(2)v

**O Jerusalem, Jerusalem v**

Morehen says "probably by Wilson" (Ph. D p. 144)

476:172r 478:172rv 479:160r 481:158rv

**O Lord our governor v**

Each entry is in the same hand, on the *verso* of Batten O Lord thou hast searched me out, and in each case is erased. Headed "for a bas:"

486:H2v 487:H6v 490:l5v

**Omnes gentes plaudite f**

487:[5] 488:[5] 491:[3]

**Out of the deep f3**

487:B3v



**This is the day which the Lord hath made f4**

485:W2v 486:S3r 487:Z2v 488:R4(2)v 490:U2r 491:T9(2)v

**Benedicite omnia opera (Latin) f**

475:21v 476:21v 478:165v-166r 479:20rv 485:C6r 486:E2rv 487:F3r  
488:G1rv 489:26rv

The table to ms 486 lists an entry at G1 which no longer exists

**Evening Service: M (inc), N f**

476:41r (inc; end of Mag. gloria and Nunc)

**Kyrie (D minor)**

491:T9(2)r (inc)

**Kyrie (A minor)**

487:Y5r 488:R4r

**Litany (English)**

491:A2rv

**Litany (Latin)**

489:75r

**Te Deum laudamus (Latin) f4**

489:129(2)v-129(4)r (4-pt short score)

**Venite**

487:B3v (inc; 4-pt score)

## ANONYMOUS FRAGMENTS

485:[1]	sketches in 2 and 4-pt score
485:O6v	textless notes; 2 flats
487:B5v	?organ music; upside down
487:P6v	textless music
487:R1v	textless 4-pt score; 2 bars in F major
487:Z3v	textless 4-pt score; ?psalm or hymn tune
488:B1(2)v	textless 4-pt score; D minor
488:N1v	4 lines textless music; C minor; upside down
489:70v	3 lines textless music; 2 flats; upside down
479:92r	medius and tenor parts to 5 chants
481:1r	?end of tenor/bass duet in score; no text
486:O3r	?Jubilate
490:K4r	3 part ?psalm chant; 5 bars C major; textless
481:128v	5-pt textless score; 14 beats
486:L3r	end of a gloria; no ks, ends in G
493:1r	3-pts in score frag.
476:124v	Gloria; 5-pts in score; C major; "Glory" only word given
486:A2v	6-Fold Venite, v.1 only; alto and tenor parts
480:127v	textless 2-pt alto duet in score; G minor
480:128r	textless 2-pt bass duet in score; G minor
479:115v	textless 5-pt music in score; A minor

**AMNER, John****A stranger here f6**

476:164v 479:152r 480:141v 481:151rv

**Glory be to God on high v**

Anthem, rather than part of Service in D minor. Holograph except 493

475:84r 476:92r 478:90r 479:83r 480:80r 481:84r

493:1v-2r 493:2v (inc)

**h Hear O Lord and have mercy v**

485:S1r 486:Q1r 487:W1r 488:P1r 489:107r 490:Q3r 491:R3r

**How doth the city remain solitary f5**

All mss give 'Now doth the city'

475:155r 476:164r 478:164v 480:141r (title and 1st clef only)

481:151r

**h I will sing unto the Lord as long as I live v**

485:R2v 486:P2v 487:V1v 488:O10v 489:103v 490:P6v 491:Q5v

**h Lift up your heads f4**

475:84(2)r 476:92(2)r 479:84r 481:84(2)r

**h Lord, I am not high-minded f5**

475:83r 476:90r 477:51r 478:89r

**h My soul flieth unto the Lord see Out of the deep****h O come hither and hearken f5**

485:R5r 486:P5r 487:V4r 488:P2r 489:104r

**h O sing unto the Lord f7**

485:R4r 486:P4r 487:V3r 488:O12r 490:Q1(2)r 491:R1r

**h O ye little flock v**

485:R3r 486:P3r 487:V2r 488:O11r 490:Q1r 491:Q6r

**h Out of the deep f3**

Pt. 2: My soul flieth unto the Lord

475:82r 476:91r 478:88r

**Remember not, Lord, our offences f5**

475:154v-155r 476:164r 478:163rv 479:151v 480:140v 481:150v

**Woe is me f4**

475:154v 478:162v-163r (imp - text only after 19 beats) 479:151v

481:150v



**h First Preces and Psalm 89 for Christmas Evensong f**  
485:R6r 486:P6r 487:V5r 488:P3r 489:105r 490:Q2r 491:R2r

**h Second Preces and Venite f**  
485:R2(2)v 486:P2(2)v 487:V6v 488:P4v 489:106v 490:Q2(2)v  
491:R2(2)v

**h First Service: Td, Bs, K, C, M, N f**  
Listed in Sources as Third Service, Short Service  
475:85r-88v 476:93r-96v 478:91r-94v 479:84(2)r-87v  
480:81r-84v 481:85r-88v

**Third Service (Caesar's Service): V, Td, J, K, C, M, N v**  
For Dr. Henry Caesar, Dean of Ely  
475:47r 476:49r 478:57r 479:44r 480:45v 481:48r

## **BATH, George**

**Hear my prayer O Lord, and consider v**  
Anonymous in all mss, titled 'For a Base alone'. Durham ms C16 has Cranford. Morehen  
gives Bath (Ph. D p. 144).  
475:73r 476:80v 478:80v 479:73v 480:70(2)v 481:73r-74r

## **BATTEN, Adrian**

**Blessed are those v**  
488:G5r

**Christ rising again (Easter) v**  
475:115v 476:120v 477:69rv 478:118v-119r 479:110v-111r 480:108r  
481:111v-112r

**Deliver us, O Lord our God f4**  
475:138r 476:148v 479:134v 480:128v 485:U5r 485:W2v (frag)  
486:S3v 488:H2r 488:R5r 489:129v 490:K4r 490:U2r 491:K6v  
491:T9r

**Have mercy upon me, O God v**  
475:125r 476:131rv 477:76r 478:131r 479:124r 480:117r 481:125r  
493:9r-10r

**Hear my prayer, O God, and hide not v**  
475:134r 476:134r 477:85r 478:141r 479:139r 481:135r 486:G1v (inc)  
486:H4v (inc) 488:G5v-G6r 491:G4v (inc) 491:N4v

**Hear my prayer, O Lord, and with thine ears v**

Erroneously ascrib. Wilkinson

488:G6v

**Holy, holy, holy, Lord God almighty (Trinity Sunday) v**

Mss 476 and 480 give both contratenor parts on facing pages

475:74r 475:116r 475:133r 476:81v 476:82r 476:123r 476:144r

477:60v 477:84r 478:119v 478:140r 479:74r 479:114r 479:138r

480:71(2)v 480:72r 480:108v 481:74v 481:114r 481:134r

**I heard a voice (Michaelmas) v**

475:117r 476:124r 477:67v (inc) 478:120v-121v 479:115r 480:110v

481:115r

**Jesus said unto his disciples (St Peter) v**

Hughes wrongly gives 'Jesus said unto Peter'

475:116v 476:122v 477:67r 478:120rv 480:109r 481:113v

**O how happy a thing it is v**

475:133v 476:144v 477:84v 478:140v 479:138v 481:134v

**O Lord, let me know mine end see TOZAR, Salomon****O Lord, thou hast searched me out v**

"Anthem for a bas a lone:"

485:F5rv 486:H4r 487:H6r 488:K2rv 489:40rv 490:I5r 491:N4r

**Out of the deep I ("for a Tenor") v**

485:G1r 486:H5r 487:I6rv 488:L3r

**Out of the deep II v**

488:G6rv

**Ponder my words, O Lord v**

485:E4rv 486:H2r 487:H3rv 488:G5rv 488:I3rv 489:38rv 490:I3rv

491:M5r 493:18r-19r

**Praise the Lord, O my soul, and all v**

485:E6rv 486:H3rv 487:H4rv 488:I4r-I5r 489:39rv 490:I4rv 491:M6rv

493:19v-21r

**Turn thou us, O good Lord (Ash Wednesday) v**

475:113r 476:123v 477:68r 478:116rv 479:114v 480:107r 481:114v

**Fourth Service: M, N v**

485:D2v (frag) 485:D3rv 486:G1rv 487:F5rv 488:F3rv 489:23rv

490:F5rv 491:G4vr (sic)

**Litany f**

487:B4v 491:A4v (and *possibly* 485:A4v)

**BECK, Anthony****Who can tell how oft he offendeth v**

488:G9 is the decani contratenor part missing from ms 486

485:G7v 487:H7v 488:G8r 488:G9v 490:G6(2)r 491:K7r

**BENNET, John****O God of gods v**

475:135v-136v 476:146v 479:135r-136r 480:126v-127r 481:123v  
490:K2v

**BLANKS, Edward****Evening Service: M, N v**

475:39v-40v 476:54r-55r 477:36r-37r 478:43r-44v 479:37v-38v  
480:38r-39v 481:41r-42r

**BOYCE, Thomas****Short Service: Td, Bs, K, C, M, N v**

475:57r-59v 476:65v-68r 478:63v-65v 479:57v-59v 480:57r-59r  
481:63r-65v

**Latin Te Deum**

485:K11rv 486:K5(8)rv 488:F11rv 489:66rv 491:H1(5)rv

**BULL, John****Almighty God, who by the leading (Epiphany) v**

All mss have "Anthem for Twelfe day", also known as 'The Starr Anthem'

475:111rv 476:119rv 476:154v-155r (inc) 477:70r 478:114v-115r  
479:109rv 480:105v-106r 481:109r



**BYRD, William****Arise O Lord, why sleepest thou f**

Attrib. Tallis in all mss, this is an adaptation of Byrd's motet **Exurge Domine**  
 485:G4r 486:D2v 487:A2v

**Behold, I bring you glad tidings f**

Adaptation of **Ne Irascaris**  
 475:139r 476:150r 478:142r

**Fac cum servo tuo f**

485:O5v 487:P5v 488:M6v 489:69v-70r

**How long shall mine enemies f5**

Hughes has 'How long O Lord'  
 485:G3v 486:D2r 487:A2r

**Laetentur coeli v**

485:O5rv 487:P5r 488:M6r 489:69rv

**O God, the proud are risen against me f6**

475:106v 476:113v 478:110v 479:104v 481:106v 493:42rv

**O Lord, give ear to the prayers f6**

Adaptation of **Memento homo**  
 475:76v 476:84v 477:46v 478:83v 479:76v 480:74v 481:78v  
 493:50r

**O Lord, make thy servant Charles f6**

475:108r 476:115rv 478:112r 479:106r 485:H2r 491:G6r 493:40v

**Prevent us, O Lord f5**

485:R2r 486:P2r 487:V1r 488:O10r 489:103r 490:P6r 491:Q5r

**Sing joyfully unto God our strength f6**

475:106r 476:113r 478:110r 479:104r 481:106r 493:41rv

**First Preces**

475:100v 479:99v 480:97r 486:L3(2)v 487:A3v

**Second Preces and Psalms 114, 55 and 119:33 for Epiphany f/v**

475:23rv 476:27rv 477:25rv 478:28r-29r 479:23r-24r 480:23r-24r  
 481:24r-25r

**Second Preces and Psalm 24:7 for Ascension Day, Evensong f**

Psalm 24:7 is an adaptation of the motet **Attolite portas**  
 475:24r-25r 476:28rv (-Pr) 477:26rv 478:29r-30r 479:24r-25r  
 480:24r-25r 481:25rv

**Preces and Responses**

485:C4v 486:B3r 487:C5r 488:A5r 489:A4r 490:A1(2)r 491:G3r

**Short Service: Td, Bs, K, C, M, N**

Including the 'alternative' Kyrie and Creed, exclusive to Peterhouse and Durham sources.

Kyrie may be by Giles and Creed by Farrant. cf. Monson Byrd edition.

485:M3r-M5r 486:N1r-N3v 487:T1r-T3r 488:E1r-E2r 489:6r-8v

489:93v-96r 490:C4r-C6v 491:B6r-C2v 491:l4r-l6r

**K (as above)**

481:159v 485:B2r 486:B1r 487:B6r 488:A3

**M, N**

485:C3rv 486:D6rv 487:E5rv 488:C5rv

**Kyrie and Creed**

The Byrd 'originals' for the Short Service; 488:O1 has "This is ye Right Creed",

illustrating the confusion even in the 1630s

485:Q2r 486:O1v 487:Q1rv 488:O1r 489:73v 490:N5rv 491:P3rv

**Latin Te Deum**

Latin adaptation of Short Service Te Deum

485:K10rv 486:K5(7)rv 487:H1(7)rv 488:F10rv 489:65rv 490:N3(7)rv

491:H1(4)rv

**Service in F: Td, Bs**

476:17r-19r

**Td**

478:14v-15r (inc - text only) 479:15r (inc - first half only)

**Great Service: M, N**

475:77r-79r 475:100v-102r 476:85r-87r 477L47r-48v 478:84r-85v

478:106v-107v 479:77r-79r 479:99v-101r 480:75r-76v 480:97r-98v

481:79r-80v 486:L3v-L3(2)v 487:A3v-A4v (-N) 487:B1rv (-M) 493:31r-

35v

**CHILD, William****Almighty God, which hast knit (All Saints) v**

475:143v 476:156v 478:147rv 479:143rv 480:135rv 481:139v

**Bow down thine ear, O Lord f4**

485:l2(2)r 488:L6r 490:K6r

**Give the king thy judgements (King's Day) v**

475:144rv 476:155v-156r 478:147r-148r 479:143v-144r 480:135v-136r  
481:140r 487:l4r

**Hear, O my people v**

Ms 488 presents both contratenor parts on facing pages

485:G7v 487:H7r 488:G8v 488:G9r 489:30r 490:G6(2)v 491:K7v

**I am the resurrection see Wilkinson****O God, wherefore art thou absent f4**

485:l2r 486:L1(4)r 487:L3v 488:L5(2)r

**O let my mouth be filled v**

475:15r 476:92v 478:89v 479:159r 480:79v 481:84(2)v 485:H2(3)r  
486:K8(2)r 487:H3(2)r 488:H6r 489:55r 490:M1(2)r 491:L8

**Sing we merrily f8**

475:142rv 476:153rv 478:145v-146r 479:141v-142r 480:133r-134r  
481:138rv

**Turn thou us, O good Lord v**

475:145rv 476:157v 478:148v-149r 479:145r 480:137rv 481:141rv

**What shall I render unto the Lord v**

"an anthem of thanksgivinge:"

485:H2(2)r 486:K8(3)r 487:H3(3)r 488:H5(2)r 489:54r 490:M1(3)r  
491:L7r

**Sanctus and Gloria f8**

475:141rv 476:152rv 478:143v-144r 479:140v-141r 480:132v-133r  
481:137rv

**Latin Te Deum and Jubilate f**

"Made for the Right wor:ll Dr. Cosin by Mr Child." in most mss. The entry at 489:129 is a fragment of 4-part score.

485:K6r-K7r 486:K5(3)r-K5(4)r 487:H1(3)r-H1(4)r 488:F12r-F12(2)r  
489:60r-61r 489:129(5)r (frag) 490:N3(2)r-N3(3)r 491:G5(2)r-G5(3)r

**Service in Gam ut: Be, J, K, C, M, N**

475:70r-73r 476:77r-80r 478:75r-79r 479:70r-73r 480:67r-70(2)r  
481:70r-72v

**Service in Gam ut: Venite**

In each case this precedes the Sharp Service Te Deum

475:7v-8r 476:6v-8r 478:6v 479:7v-8r 480:7v-8r 481:7rv



**Sharp Service in D sol re: Td, J, K, C, M, N**

475:8r-11v 476:8v-13r 478:8r-11r 479:8r-11v 480:8r-11v 481:7v-11r

**CRANFORD, William****I will love thee, O Lord my strength v**

476:171v 478:170v-171v 479:159v 480:145v 481:156v-157v

**O Lord, make thy servant Charles v**

475:108v 476:115v-116r 478:112v 479:106v 480:101r 481:104rv

**DERING, Richard****Almighty God, which through thy only begotten Son (Easter) v**

Hughes reckons this to be a motet adaptation

475:74v-75r 476:82v-83r 477:44rv 478:79v-80r 479:74v-75r

480:72v-73r 481:75r

**Lord, thou art worthy f5**

Adaptation of the motet 'O nomen Jesu'

485:O2(2)r 486:L1(3)r 487:K7r (?inc) 488:l2r 490:K4(2)r

**Therefore with angels f5**

Text is the Sanctus with Preface

485:O2(3)rv 486:L1(2)r 487:K8rv 488:l1(2)rv 490:K4(3)rv

**DERRICK****Jubilate f4** [not part of the same service as the K, C; this is in c major]

485:C1r-C2r 486:C1r-C2r 487:D3r-D4r 488:C2r-C2(2)r 489:4r-5r

490:A6r-A6(2)r 491:A6r-B1r

**Kyrie and Creed flat in Gamuth f5** [mmatb]

475:80v-81r 476:88rv 477:49v-50r 478:86v-87r 479:80v-81r 480:78rv

481:82rv 485:H4rv 486:K4rv 487:H5rv 488:G2rv 489:20rv 490:E6rv

491:K3rv

**Kyrie** (as above)

485:B3r 486:B2r 487:C1r

**EAST, Michael**

- ?h **Awake and stand up f6**  
485:K1r 486:K2(2)r 487:L1r 488:E6r 489:49r 490:L4v 491:F2v
- ?h **Blow out the trumpet v**  
485:l6rv 486:l4rv 487:K6r 488:E5rv 489:48rv 490:L5r 491:F3
- ?h **O clap your hands together v**  
485:K1v 486:K1(2)v 487:L1v-L2r 488:E6v-E7r 489:49v-50r 490:L6rv  
491:F4rv
- ?h **O Lord, of whom I do depend v**  
485:K2v 486:K2v 487:L2v 488:E7v 489:50v 490:M1r 491:F5r
- ?h **Evening Service: M, N v**  
485:l4r-l5v 486:l2r-l3v 487:K4r-K5v 488:E4r-E4(2)v 489:46r-47v  
490:L3r-L4v 491:F1r-F2v

**FARRANT, John****Short Service: V, Td, J, K, M, N f**

Ms 481 contains the rubric "Mr Boyces his Creed followeth thi[s] Kirrye" f. 62r  
475:55r-56v 476:63r-65r 478:62r-63v 479:55r-57r 480:55r-56v  
481:61r-63r

**FARRANT, Richard****Call to remembrance, O Lord f**

476:162r 478:157v 479:148v 481:147v

**Short Service: Td, Bs, K, C, M, N f**

485:M5r-N1v 486:N3v-N5v (-N, M inc) 487:T3r-T5v 488:E2r-E2(3)v  
489:96r-98v 491:l6r-K2v

**FERRABOSCO****Sanctus f**

Attrib. "Mr Ferrabosco"  
485:O6(2)v

**FERRABOSCO, Alphonso, Jr.****Have ye no regard v**

475:96v 476:106v 478:102v 479:95v 480:92v-93r 481:96v-97r

**FIDO, John****Hear me, O Lord v**475:136v-137r 476:147rv 479:133rv 480:127rv 481:124v 490:K3r  
491:K5r**GEERES, John****h In manus tuas Domine f3**

Appears unattrib. but in Geeres' hand; "3 tribles/ 5 partes"

485:O2r 487:R1r 488:M2r 489:71r

**h Merciful Lord, we beseech thee (St John Evangelist) v**

485:l3r 486:l1r 487:K3r 488:K1r 489:45r 490:L2r 491:N3r

**GIBBONS, Orlando****Behold, I bring you glad tidings (Christmas Day) v**

475:110r 476:118r 477:59r 478:114r 479:108r 480:105r 481:108r

**Behold, thou hast made my days v**

475:109r 476:116v 478:113r 479:107r 480:101v 481:105r

**Glorious and powerful God v**

476:163v (text only) 478:160r 485:H1r 488:B5r 489:51(2)v 490:M2r

The table to ms 486 lists an entry at L4 which doest not exist

**If ye be risen again with Christ (Easter Day)v**

Hughes has 'If ye then be risen with Christ'

475:113v-114r 476:120r 477:68v 478:117r 479:110rv 480:107v  
481:110r**This is the record of John (St John Baptist) v**

485:A2 gives the verse part for medius an octave higher

479:131v 485:A2rv 485:F6r 486:H1rv 487:H2r 488:L1r 489:77r  
490:l1v 491:N2v 493:3v-4v**We praise thee, O Father (Easter Day) v**475:79v-80r 476:87rv 477:49r 478:86r 479:79v-80r 480:77rv 481:81rv  
493:35v-37r



**First Preces and Psalm 145:15-21 for Whitsunday Evensong v**  
 485:B4rv 486:B4rv 487:C6rv 488:B2rv 489:A6rv 490:A4rv 491:A3r

**Second Preces and Psalm 145:1-14 for Whitsunday Evensong f**  
 Labelled 'First Preces' in all mss. The present catalogue follows the 'Sources' numbering.  
 475:5v-6v 476:5v-6v 478:5v-6v 479:5v-6v 480:5v-6v 481:4v-5v (inc)

**Preces for Easter Evensong**

The Psalms (57:9-12 and 118:19-24) are almost certainly by William Smith q.v.  
 475:30r 479:26rv

**Short Service: Venite f**

485:A1(2)rv 487:N4r 488:B8r 489:A2r 490:F3rv 491:A4r  
 The table to ms 486 lists an entry at E3 which no longer exists

**Short Service: Td, Bs, K, C, M, N f**

486:L5r-M1r 487:R5r-S1r (C inc, N inc) 488:D1r-D3r 489:86r-88r  
 490:R4r-R4(2)v (-M, N) 491:H2r-H4r

**Td (Latin)**

An adaptation of the short service music. The 'Te Deum (in Latin)' listed by Hughes and in Sources as being on 487:H1(7)rv is an adaptation of Byrd's short Te Deum.  
 485:K12rv 486:K5(2)rv 487:H1(2)rv 488:F5rv 489:62r 490:N3(4)r  
 491:G5(4)rv

**K**

485:B3v 486:B2v 487:C1v

**K, C, M, N**

Includes a Gospel Response after the Creed which may not be by Gibbons  
 485:L2r-L3r

**M, N**

489:27rv (contratenor cantoris pt) 490:F6rv 490:R7rv 491:E2rv

**Second Service: M, N v**

475:95rv 476:105rv 478:101(3)rv 479:94rv 480:90(3)v (-N, M inc; tenor pt) 480:91rv 481:95rv

The table to ms 485 lists a "Mr Gibb - Verse Evening Service G4, G5" which no longer exists

**GILES, Nathaniel****God, which as on this day (Whitsunday) v**475:114v 476:122r 477:60r 478:118r 479:113rv 480:109v-110r  
481:113r**Have mercy upon me, O Lord v**

476:139rv 488:K6rv 489:29r 490:H1rv 491:O2rv

The table to ms 485 lists an entry at D4 which no longer exists

**He that hath my commandments f (mv)**

486:G3v 487:G1v 488:I6v 491:N2r

**O give thanks unto the Lord f**

486:G3rv 486:D1v 487:A1(2)v

**Out of the deep v**475:144v-145r 476:157r 478:148r 479:144v 480:136v-137r 481:140v-  
141r**First Service: Td, J, C v**475:11v-14v 476:13v-16r 478:12v-14r 479:11v-14r 480:12r-14v  
481:11v-13v**First Service: M, N v**475:93v-94v 476:103v-104r 478:99v-100r 479:92v-93v 480:89v-90v  
481:93v-94r 485:C5v (-N, M inc)**HEATH, John****Evening Service: M, N v**478:24rv 485:A1rv 486:A1(2)rv 487:A1rv 488:A[1]rv 489:iv-v 490:A1rv  
491:A1rv**HILTON, John****Call to remembrance f7**475:76rv 476:84r 477:46rv 478:83r 479:76r 480:74rv 481:78r 493:49r-  
50r**Hear my cry, O God v**475:34rv 476:38r 477:35v 478:37rv 479:32(2)r 480:34rv 481:35v  
493:24r-25v**Sweet Jesus v6**

475:97r 476:107r 478:103r 479:96r 480:93v-94r 481:97r

**HINDE, Richard****O sing unto the Lord v**

Ms 491 states "finis Rich: Hinde 1632"

475:153v-154r 476:162v-163r 478:160v-161r 479:150rv 481:145v  
485:G2rv 486:H6r 487:I5r 488:H5rv 489:41rv 490:I6r 491:L6rv  
493:11r-13r

**HOOPER, Edmund****Almighty God, which hast given us (Christmas) f**

475:118rv 476:137rv 477:75rv 478:130r 479:123rv 480:116rv  
481:122r 493:28r-29r

**Almighty God, which madest thy blessed son (Circumcision) v**

475:110v 476:118v 477:59v 478:114v 479:108v 480:105v 481:108v

**Behold it is Christ f5**

475:107r 476:114rv 478:111r 479:101v (text only, inc) 479:105r  
481:107r 485:G3r 486:D1r 487:A1(2)r 489:21v 489:36r (inc)  
490:H5r 493:39r

**O God of gods v**

475:119rv 476:129rv 477:72r 477:72v (text only, inc) 478:122r  
479:116rv 480:104rv 481:116rv 493:26r-28r

**The blessed Lamb (Good Friday) v**

475:112rv 476:121rv 477:70v 478:115v-116r 479:111v-112v 480:106v  
481:109v

**Great Service: M, N f**

Ms 481 has no page 68

475:68r-69r 476:75r-76r 477:40r-41r 478:81r-82r 479:68r-69r  
480:65r-66r 481:67rv and 69r

**Short Service: Sanctus and Gloria f**

Ms 485 is erroneously attrib. to Tallis, whose own Sanctus and Gloria appear on D1v  
485:D1r 486:F1rv 487:O1rv 488:C1rv

**Short Service: M, N f**

475:99r-100r 476:109r-110r 478:105r-206r 479:98r-99r 480:95v-96v  
481:99v-100v 487:A3r (-M)

**[Third] Verse Service: M, N v**

Ms 476 furnishes both contratenor parts

475:50v-51v 476:42r-43r 476:58v-59v 478:52v-53v 479:49r-50v  
480:49v-50v 481:44v-45r



**HUGHES****Evening Service: M, N f5**

The ascription "to Derick's short service" appears in ms 476

475:40v-41v 476:44v-45v 476:56v-57v 478:44v-46r 479:39r-40r  
480:41r-42r 481:42r-43r

**HUTCHINSON, John****Behold, how good and joyful f4**

485:T6r 486:Q6(2)v 487:X4r 488:Q6v 490:S4r 491:S5r

**Hear my crying, O God v**

485:E1(2)r (frag) 485:E2r 487:G2v (frag) 487:G3r 488:H3r  
489:32v (frag) 489:33r 490:H2v-H3r 491:L1(2)v (frag) 491:L2r

The table to ms 486 lists an entry at G5 which no longer exists

**Of mortal men v**

485:E3r 487:G4v 488:H4r 489:34rv 490:H4r 491:L4r

The table to ms 486 lists an entry at G6 which no longer exists

**HUTCHINSON, Richard****Lord, I am not high-minded v**

485:D5r 488:K5r 489:21v 489:28r 490:H2r 491:O1r

The table to ms 486 lists an entry at G5 which no longer exists

**Ye that fear the Lord f5/6**

475:127rv 476:138rv 477:77rv 478:133rv 479:127rv 480:122rv  
481:129rv

**JEFFRIES, Matthew****Rejoice in the Lord O ye righteous f6**

475:130v-131r 476:142v 477:80v 478:137v 487:F2r 487:H5v  
489:20v-21r 490:E6v-F1r 491:K3v-K4r 493:51r-52r

**JUXON, ?George**

Attributed simply to 'Mr Juxon', Hughes opts for ?William, 'Sources' for ?George

**Christ rising again (Easter) f6**

485:U2rv 486:R2rv 487:X6rv 488:Q8rv 489:120vr [sic] 490:S6rv  
491:T1rv

**KNIGHT, Robert****Propterea maestri facti est f**

485:O6rv 487:P6r 488:N1r 489:70v

**LAUD, William****Praise the Lord, O my soul v**

486:O2r 487:Q4r 488:O3r 489:74v 490:N5v 491:P2(2)v

**LOOSEMORE, Henry****h Behold it is Christ v**

485:T4r 486:Q5r 487:X2r 488:Q4r 489:118r 490:S2r 491:S1r

**Behold now, praise the Lord f8**

475:124rv 476:127rv 478:124r 479:117rv 480:112rv 481:120r

**Fret not thyself v**

485:U6rv 486:R5rv 487:Y3rv 488:Q12rv 489:124rv 490:T3rv 491:T4r

**O God, my heart is ready f5**

475:123rv 476:126rv 477:73rv 478:127rv 479:120r

**h Praise the Lord, O my soul, and all v**

475:121r 476:130r 478:123r 479:118r 480:114r 481:118rv

**h Tell the daughter of Sion f5**

475:121v 476:130v 478:123v 479:118v 480:114v 481:119r

**Thou art worthy, O Lord v**

475:125v 476:133v 478:131v 479:125v 480:118r 481:126rv 493:29v-30v

**To Jesus Christ the faithful witness v**

476:129v 478:125r 479:117v 480:113r 485:D6r 486:L1r 487:G6r

**h Truly God is loving unto Israel v**485:E6(2)r 486:K1r 487:L4(3)r 488:M5(2)rv 489:19r 491:M2(2)r  
493:54rv (inc - last half of last chorus missing)**Turn thee again, O Lord v6**

475:120rv 476:128rv 478:129rv 479:119rv 480:111rv 481:117rv

**Unto thee lift I up mine eyes f5**

Ms 475:117v is the bass part

475:117v 475:122r 476:125rv 477:74rv 478:128r 479:121r

**Latin Litany (G minor) f**

485:Q3(2)rv 486:O4(2)r-O4(3)r 487:Q5v-Q6r 488:N5r 489:75v-76r  
490:O2rv 491:P6v-Q2r

**First Service: Td, J, Litany, K, Gospel Response, C, M, N f**

475:155v-159r 476:167r-169r 478:166v-168r 479:153v-156r

480:15v-18r 481:17r-18v

**h First Service: Litany (Latin adaptation) f**

485:A6(2)rv 486:A2(2)r 486:D3v 487:B3(2)r 488:A2rv 489:B1r-B2v  
490:A3v 491:A2(2)r-A2(3)v

**Second Service: Be, J f**

475:159r-160v 476:169v-170v 478:168v-170r (Be music inc, J text only)

479:156v-158r 480:20v-21v 481:21r-22r

**LUGG, John****Behold, how good and joyful v**

Curiously both these anthems are represented in York's Dunnington-Jefferson manuscript, but not at Durham. Mss 485 and 491 are holograph for both anthems.

485:F2r 486:F5r 487:N5v 488:K3rv 489:53v 490:F2r 491:N5r

**Let my complaint v5**

"Chorus 2 meanes" in ms 485

485:F1rv 486:F5v 487:N5r 488:K3v 489:53r 490:F2v 491:N5v

**MACE, Thomas****Alleluia. I heard a voice v**

475:162r 476:172v 478:173r 479:160v-161r 480:145(2)v 481:159r

**MARSON****God is our hope and strength v**

Ascribed simply to "Mr Marson"

478:161rv



**MARSON, George****O clap your hands together f6**

485 is labelled "6 voc: Secundus Medius"

485:Q1rv 486:O4rv (inc)

**MOLLE, Henry****Great and marvellous v**

All parts give text reference "Apocalyp:15.3.", which may be significant

475:105r 476:112r 478:109rv 479:103rv 480:100r 481:103r

**Litany ("Dr Cozens") f**

485:B6v 486:A3rv 487:B5r 487:L6v-M1r 488:B5v-B5(2)v 489:B3rv

490:M2v (inc) 491:A2r

**Litany (English) f**

Authorship uncertain; 486 and 488 give Molle, 485 Tomkins and 487 Tallis

485:A6rv 486:A4rv 487:B4r 488:B3r 489:A3r 490:A3r

**Litany (Latin) f**

485:B1rv 486:A6rv 487:L5r-L6r 488:A2v 489:51r-51(2)r 490:A2rv

491:G1rv

**Te Deum (Latin) f**

485:D6r-E1r 485:K5rv 486:C7rv 486:K5rv 487:R4rv 488:F5(2)rv

488:H2v-H2(2)v 489:57rv 490:N1rv 491:G5rv

**First Service: M, N v**

475:19rv 476:19v-20r 476:102rv 478:61rv 479:17v-18v 479:121v-122r

480:18v-19r 480:59v-60r 481:19v-20r 485:K3v-K4r 486:O3v 487:C3rv

489:73r 490:M6r (-M) 491:G2v-G3r

**Second Service: M, N f4**

481:101v-102r 485:Q3(3)v-Q4v 485:K3rv 486:F6rv 486:L1rv 487:F4rv

488:F1rv 489:22rv 490:F1rv

**MORLEY, Thomas****How long wilt thou forget me v**

475:137v 476:148rv 479:134r 480:128r 481:124r 490:K3v-K4r 491:K6r

**Out of the deep v**

485:I1rv 486:F2rv 487:N3rv 488:K4r 489:A1rv 490:G1rv 491:N6rv

**Teach me thy way, O Lord f5**

485:R1r 486:P1r 487:T10r 488:O9r 489:102r 490:P5r 491:Q4r

**First Service: Td, Bs, K, C, M, N v**

The Kyrie may not be by Morley. It is likely he never wrote one for this service, as this Kyrie differs from those at Durham and York, which differ also from one another.

475:89r-92v 476:97r-102r 477:52r-53v (-M, N; C inc) 478:95r-98r  
479:88r-91v 480:85r-88v 481:89r-92v 487:C4rv (M, N only; M inc)  
489:5rv (M only) 489:85v (N only)

**Second Service: M, N f5**

485:U4r-U5r 486:R4r-R4(2)r 487:Y2r-Y2(2)r 488:Q10r-Q11r  
489:122r-123r 490:T2r-T2(2)r 491:T3r-T3(2)r

**MUDD****Let thy merciful ears, O Lord f4**

Unattrib. but in each case follows Weelkes' Short Service in same hand

489:114v 490:R5v 491:R5v

**MUDD, Thomas****I will always give thanks v**

Both of these anthems are in the same hand in each entry and are all ascr. "Mr Tho: Mudd"

485:E2v 487:G3v-G4r 488:H3v 489:33v 490:H3v 491:L3r

The table to ms 486 lists an entry at G6 which no longer exists

**O clap your hands together v**

485:E3v-E4(2)v 487:G5r 488:H4v 489:35r 490:H4v 491:L5r

The table to ms 486 lists an entry at G7 which no longer exists

**MUNDY****Blessed is God in all his gifts f4**

485:Q3(3)v 486:O2r 487:Q1v 488:O3r 489:74r 490:N6r 491:P2(2)v

**Service in Three Parts for Men: Td, Bs, M, N f (mv)**

476:22r-25v 478:16r-19v 480:142v-145r 481:152v-156r 491:C3r-C5v

**Td, Bs**

486:D4r-D5v 487:E3r-E4v 488:C4r-C4(2)v 490:C1r-C2v

**M, N**

486:E1rv 487:E6rv 488:C6rv 490:C6v-D1v

**Service in Four Parts for Men: Td, Bs, K, C, M, N f (mv)**

486:C3r-C6v 487:D5r-E2v 488:C3r-C3(4)v 490:B1r-B4v 491:B2r-B5v

**Service in C fa ut: M, N f**485:T1r-T2r (-N) 486:Q3r-Q3(2)v 487:W6(2)r-W7r 488:Q1r-Q2r  
489:115r-116r 490:R6r-R7r**MUNDY, John****Give laud unto the Lord f5**485:T5r 486:Q6r 487:X3r 488:Q5r 489:119r (contratenor pt) 490:S3v  
491:S2r (medius pt)**Psalm 8 for Ascension Day Matins v**Paired with Edward Smith's Preces, some mss imply the psalm is Smith's too, though ms 481 is explicit: "Mr Edward Smiths preces and Mr Mundy's psalme for assentio day"  
475:25v-26r 476:29rv 477:30v-31r 478:30v-31v 479:27rv 480:25rv  
481:31r**MUNDY, William****Lay not up your treasures f**Strictly part of the First Service, this is a setting of the Offertory Sentence for the communion service. Hughes and Sources give "Lay not up for yourselves".  
485:N5r**This is my commandment f4 (mv)**Mss 486 and 488 attr. "Mundy", others are unattr.; elsewhere this is attr. to Tallis and Johnson  
486:G3r 487:G1r 488:I6r 490:G6r 491:N1r**First Service in D sol re: Td, Bs, K, C, M, N f**485:N2r-N6r 486:K6(2)r-K8v 487:M4r-N2v 488:E3r-E3(3)v 489:80r-85r  
490:O4r-P3r 491:E3r-E6v**Service In Medio Chori: M, N f**The two entries in ms 476 give different contratenor parts; ms 478 is the only part to give the composer's full name: "Mr: William Mundies:"  
475:38r-39r 476:52rv 476:53r-54r 478:41r-42e 479:36r-37v  
480:37r-38r 481:40rv**Evening Service "to Mr Parsons Service of 5 parts": M, N f**Ms 481 "Mr Mundys magnificatt yat followes Mr Parsons service of 5 parts:"  
475:42r-43r 476:55v-56v 477:37rv (-N; M inc) 478:46r-47v 479:40v-41r  
480:39v-40v 481:43r-44r



**Short Service: Td, J, K, C f**

There is no Venite at Peterhouse, as Sources claims

475:35v-37v 476:72r-74r 478:67r-69r 479:62r-64r 480:52v-54v  
481:75v-77v

**K**

485:B2v 486:B1v 487:B6v 488:A3v

**PALMER, Henry****h Lord, what is man v**

485:G5r 486:D3r 487:K1r 488:H1r 489:42r 490:K1r 491:M2r  
493:5v-6v

**Preces and Psalm 118:24 for Easter Evensong v**

475:30v-31v 476:34v-35r 477:33rv 478:32v-33r 479:29rv 480:30v-31v  
481:26rv

**Kyrie, Gospel Response and Creed v**

475:21r 476:20v 478:165r (-Go) 479:19rv 480:19v-20r 481:16r  
481:20v (K only, inc)

**PARSLEY, Osbert****Flat/Short Service: Td,Bs f**

485:M1r-M2r 486:M5r-M6r 487:S5r-S6v 488:D6r-D6(2)r 489:92v-93v  
490:C3rv 491:I2v-I3v

**PARSONS****O bone Jesu f5**

485:P1rv 487:O4r 488:N2rv 489:67rv

**PARSONS "of Exeter", Robert [II]****Ever blessed Lord f**

The entries for mss 485-8 have titles, staves and clefs prepared, but no words or music;  
ms 490 gives the detail "Mr Robert Parssons [sic] of Exeter June 25 1639 N.B."

485:S6r (inc) 486:Q2(5)r (inc) 487:W6r (inc) 488:P9r (inc)  
489:112v-113r 490:R3v-R4r 491:R4(4)rv

**Short Service: Td, Bs, K, C, M, N f**

485:S2r-S6r 486:Q2r-5r 487:W2r-W6r 488:P5r-P8v 489:108r-112r  
490:Q4r-R3r 491:R4r-R4(4)r

**PATRICK, ?Nathaniel ?Richard****Short Service: Td, Bs, M, N f**

485:L3r-L4v 486:M1v-M2v 487:S1r-S2v 488:D3r-D4v 489:88r-89v  
490:N4r 491:H4r-H5v

The table to ms 489 lists an entry B5 and B6 which no longer exists

**PEERSON, Martin****Blow up the trumpet f5**

475:97v 476:107v 478:103v-104r 479:96v 480:94v 481:97v-98r

**Bow down thine ear, O Lord v**

475:96rv 476:106r 478:102r 479:95rv 480:92r 481:96r

**PHILIPS, Peter****Aspice Domine f5**

Pt. 2: In lux pulchra; authorship given in table to 488

485:P4rv 487:P3rv 488:M4(3)v 489:68rv

The table to ms 490 also lists an entry at N4, which no longer exists

**PORTMAN, Richard****Lord, who shall dwell v**

481:32v 485:U3r 486:R3r 487:Y1r 488:Q9rv 489:121v 490:T1r  
491:T2r

**O God, my heart is ready v**

485:W2r 486:R6v 487:Y4v 488:R2r 489:126r 490:T4v 491:T5v

**Short Service: V, Td, Bs, K, C, M, N f**

485:Q5v-Q8v (-V) 486:O6(2)r-O6(4)v 487:T6r-T9v 488:O5r-O8v  
489:99r-101r 490:P4r-P4(4)v 491:Q3r-Q3(4)v

**Laudate Dominum omnes gentes f6**

Ms 489 has "Richa" as the only clue to the composer. The only Richards represented in these mss are Dering, Farrant, Hind, Hutchinson and Portman. Of these only Portman is referred to by christian name and no prefix. The attribution remains uncertain. Ms 489 has two parts.

476:21r (frag; one line only) 480:20r (frag; one line only) 486:O1rv  
487:F1r 488:M5r 489:18rv 489:25r

**RAMSEY, Robert****Almighty and everlasting God, we humbly (Purification) f5**

475:138v 476:149v 479:128v 488:G7v 490:K4v 491:L1r

**Almighty and everlasting God, which hast (Trinity) f**

475:147v 476:159r 478:150rv 479:147r 480:139r 481:142v-143r

**Almighty God, which hast given (Christmas) f5**

476:135v 485:E1v 488:I2(2)v

**Almighty God, which hast knit (All Saints) f5**

475:98v 476:136r 478:151r 479:139v 480:121r 481:143r 491:L5v

**Almighty God, which through (Easter) f5**

475:75v 478:113v 479:75v 479:145v 480:73v

**God, which as upon this day (Whitsunday) f5**

475:147r 476:158v 478:149v-150r 479:146v 480:99v 480:138v  
481:142rv 488:I2(2)r 490:K6(2)r

**Grant, we beseech thee, almighty God (Ascension) f5**

475:146v 476:100r 476:117r 476:158r 478:149v 479:146r 480:138r  
481:141v-142r

**I heard a voice from heaven f5**

475:128v (inc) 479:124v

**My song shall be alway v**

475:151v 476:161r 478:156v 481:148rv

**O sapientia f5**

478:126v 485:C5r 485:I3v 486:I1v 487:K3v 489:5v 489:45v 490:L2v  
491:N3v

**We beseech thee, O Lord (Annunciation) f**

478:132v 487:A5v

The table to ms 488 lists an entry at A6 which no longer exists



**Litany (Latin)**

Holograph in 487,88,89

485:Q3(3)rv 486:O4(3)rv 487:Q4(2)rv 488:N6rv 489:79rv 490:O3rv  
491:P6rv**Litany (English)**

485:A4v

**Latin Te Deum and Jubilate no. 1 f**

Holograph in 488,89,90

485:A3r-A4r 486:G3(2)r-G4r 487:G6v and H1(5)rv 488:F6r-F7r  
489:58r-59r 490:N2r-N3v 491:G6v and H1v**Latin Te Deum and Jubilate no. 2 f**

Holograph in 485-90

485:K8r-K9v 486:K5(5)r-K5(6)v 487:H1(6)rv 488:F8r-F9v 489:63r-64v  
490:N3(5)r-N3(6)v 491:H1(2)r-H1(3)v**Service in Four Parts: Td, J, K, Go, C, L, M, N f**

475:148v-151r 476:157(2)v-160v 478:152v-156r

**L**

479:152v 480:15r 480:142r 481:152r

**SHEPHERD, John****I give you a new commandment f (mv)**

486:G2r 487:F6rv 488:F4r

The table for ms 475 has "Mr Shepperd full" [evening service] at p. 65 which is not extant

**SMITH, Edward****If the Lord himself had not been on our side v5**

475:98r 476:108rv 478:104v-105r 479:97r 480:95r 481:98v-99r

**O praise God in his holiness v**475:135r 476:146r 478:162rv 479:136v 480:126r 481:123r 488:H1v  
490:K2rv**Preces for Ascension Matins**

The Psalm, "O Lord our governor" is by John Mundy q.v.

475:25r 476:29r 477:30v-31r 478:30r 479:27r 480:25r 481:30v-31r

**Preces and Psalms 119:1 & 119:169 for All Saints Day f/v**475:26rv 476:29v-30v (-Pr) 477:31r-32r 478:31v-32v 479:27v-28v  
480:26rv (-Pr) 481:30rv

**SMITH, John****Te Deum and Benedictus v**

This, the only source of his only known piece, shows many indications of being holograph

475:94(2)r-94(2)v 476:102(2)r-102(3)v 478:101r-101(2)v  
479:93(2)r-93(3)v 480:90(2)r-90(3)r 481:94(2)r-94(3)v

**SMITH, William****I will wash my hands v**

The sides are reversed from those given at Durham, hence medius dec here agrees with Durham's medius can etc.

475:81v 476:89rv 477:50v 478:87v 479:81v 480:79r 481:83r  
493:37v-38r

**Preces and Psalm 85 for Christmas Matins f**

The Preces are the same setting in each case

475:27rv 476:30v-31v 477:28rv 478:25rv 479:21rv 480:27rv 481:27rv

**Preces and Psalm 110 for Christmas Evensong v**

475:27v-28r 476:31v-32r (-Pr) 477:29rv 478:26rv (-Pr) 479:22rv  
480:28rv (-Pr) 481:27v-28r

**Preces and Psalm 111 for Easter Matins f**

475:28v-29r 476:33rv (-Pr) 477:27rv 478:26v-27v 479:25rv  
480:29rv (-Pr) 481:28v-29r

**Psalms 57:9-12 & 118:19-24 for Easter Evensong v/f**

Paired with Gibbons' Preces and, accordingly, often misattributed to him. Most mss here have "Mr Gibbons preces & this psalme..." but ms 478 gives "Mr: William Smiths psalmes: ..."

475:30rv 476:33v-34r 478:38rv 479:26rv 480:30rv

**Preces and Psalm 67 for Whitsunday Matins f**

475:29rv 476:32v (-Pr) 477:29v-30r 478:27v-28r (-Pr) 479:32(2)v (-Pr)  
480:28v-29r (-Pr) 481:29rv

**Preces and Responses**

485:C4r 486:B3v 487:C5v 488:A5v 489:A4v 490:A1(2)v 491:G3v

**STEVENSON, Robert****When the Lord turned again v**

475:34v-35r 476:38v-39r 477:35r 478:36rv 479:35rv 480:34v-35r  
481:33r

**STONARD, William****Hear, O my people v**

485:L1r 487:M3r 488:H6(2)rv 489:56r 490:G5r 491:M1r 493:14rv

**Sing unto God v**

485:L1v 487:M3v 488:H6(3)rv 489:56v 490:G5v 491:M1r 493:15v-16v

The table to ms 490 also lists an entry at H6 which no longer exists

**When the sorrows of hell v**

485:L1rv 487:M3r 488:H6(2)v-H6(3)v 489:56r 490:G5r 491:M1v  
493:14v-15v

**STROGERS, Nicholas****Domine, non est exaltatum f**

485:O1rv 487:R2rv 488:M1rv 489:72rv

**O God be merciful unto us and bless us f**

475:32v 476:36v-37r 477:34v 478:35v-36r 479:34rv 480:33rv 481:33v  
493:46rv

**Short Service: V, Td, Bs, K, C, M, N f**

475:43v-46v 476:46r-49r 478:47v-52r 479:41v-44v 480:42r-45r  
481:36r-39v 489:10r-13v 490:D2r-E1r 491:C6r-D3v

**TALLIS, Thomas****Adesto nunc propitius f**

485:P5r 487:P3v-P4r 488:N4r (?inc) 489:68v

**Arise O Lord, why sleepest thou see BYRD****De lamentatione ieremiae prophetae f5**

There is no written indication that either **De lamentatione** or **Incipit lamentatione** were intended for men's voices, though it is implied by the unusual cleffing, viz.: 485 "Medius" C4, 487 "Tenor" F3, 488 "Bassus" F4.

485:P2r-P3r 487:P2r & P2(2)rv 488:N3r-N3(2)v

**Discomfit them, O Lord f5****Adaptation of the motet Absterge Domine**

485:D2rv 485:R1v 486:E6rv 486:P1v-P2r 487:L4(2)rv 487:T10v-V1r  
488:O9v-O10r 489:102v-103r 490:P5v-P6r 491:O3rv 491:Q4v-Q5r

The table to ms 490 also lists an entry at L2, which no longer exists.



**Hear the voice and prayer f4 (mv)**

478:126r 480:115r 481:121r

The table for ms 475 lists an entry at p. 115 which no longer exists

**Incipit lamentatione ieremiae prophetae f5**

485:P3v &amp; P2r 487:P2v &amp; P2(2)r 488:N3v-N3(2)r

**O God, be merciful unto us and bless us f5**

485:F3r 486:F4r 487:I1r 488:G4r

**Verily, verily I say unto you f4**

476:157(2)r 478:152r 479:148r

**Litany f4**

The five-part Litany arranged for four parts; ms 486:A2 gives the minister's part

485:A5rv 486:A2r 486:B6v 487:B3r 488:B4rv

**Preces and Responses**

475:5rv 476:5r 478:5rv 479:5rv 480:5rv 481:4rv

**Second Preces and Responses**

485:B3(2)r 486:A1r 487:C2r 491:A2(4)r

**Short Service: V, Td, Bs, K, C, M, N f**

485:L5r-M1r (-V) 486:M3r-M5r (-V) 487:S3r-S5r (-V)

488:D5r-D6r (Td, M (inc), N only) 489:14r-17v 489:90r-92r (-V)

490:E2r-E5v 491:D4r-E1v 491:H6r-I2r (-V)

**K**

485:B2r 486:B1r 487:B6r 488:A3r

**Sanctus and Gloria f**

Sources classifies this separately from the Short Service, though it shares key and head-motif

485:D1v 486:F1r 487:O1r 488:C1r 489:A2(2)rv 490:G2rv 491:A5rv

**TAVERNER, John****Missa 'Sine Nomine': G, C, S, Bs, A f**

The two entries in ms 487 furnish different tenor parts

485:O3-O4r 487:O2r-O3v 487:O5r-O6r 488:M4r-M4(2)v 490:G3r-G4r

**TOMKINS, Thomas****Almighty God, which hast knit together (All Saints) v**

475:132rv 476:132rv 479:132r 480:124r 481:127r 488:L4r

**Behold, the hour cometh v**

475:104r 486:K3r 487:L3r 488:L5r 491:F6r

**Blessed be the Lord God of Israel v**

475:32r 476:36r 477:33v 478:35v 479:30r 480:32rv 481:32r

**Give sentence with me, O God v**

The entry at ms 475:162 is the bass part

475:33r 475:162v-162(2)r 476:37v 478:34v-35r 479:34v-35r  
480:33v-34r 481:34v-35r**God, which as at this time (Whitsunday) v**

The entry in ms 489 is on the 2nd folio of music, the page before A1

485:I2(3)r 486:F3r 487:N6r 488:I1r 489:[2r] 490:F4r 491:M3r

**Jesus came when the doors were shut (St Thomas) v**478:139r 485:F4r 486:L2r 487:A5r 489:37r 490:I2rv 491:M4r  
493:22r-23r**My beloved spake v**

485:W1rv 486:R6r 487:Y4r 488:R1rv 489:125rv 490:T4r 491:T5r

**O Lord, I have loved the habitation f5**

475:128r 476:140r 477:78r 478:134r 479:128r 480:123r 481:130r

**O pray for the peace of Jerusalem v**

475:143r 476:154r 478:146v-147r 479:142v 480:134rv 481:139r

**Sing unto God v**

485:T3r 486:Q4r 487:X1r 488:Q3rv 489:117r 490:S1r 491:R6r

**Thou art my king, O God v**

475:137rv 476:148r 479:133v 480:127v 481:124r 490:K3v 491:K5v

**Turn unto the Lord our God f6**

485:U2v 486:R2v 487:X6v 488:Q8v 490:S6v 491:T1v

**"Common" Litany f**

485:A6v 486:A5r 487:B2r 488:A2(3)r 489:A3v 490:A4v 491:A3v

**Preces and Responses**

479:122v 485:B3(2)v 486:A1v 487:C2v 488:B3v 491:A2(4)v

**Short Service: V, Td, Bs, K, C, M, N f4**

475:63r-65v 478:70r-74r 479:64v-66r (-V) 480:70(1)r-71(1)v (-V)  
481:51r-53v

**V**

476:69r 477:42r 479:63(1)rv 480:61r 481:60r

**Td**

485:M2v (inc)

**K**

485:B2v 486:B1v 487:B6v 488:A3v

**M, N**

476:61v-62r

**TOZAR, Salomon****O Lord, let me know mine end v**

Ascrib. to Batten in tables to Mss 476 and 481, otherwise unascrib. Sources gives Tozar.

476:133r 479:125r 480:118v 481:128r 485:G6r 493:7r-8v

**TYE, Christopher****Miserere mei, Deus f**

487:R3rv 488:M3rv 491:P1rv

**Praise ye the Lord f4**

478:158rv 479:149rv 481:149rv

**Evening Service to Parsley's Service: M, N f**

479:132v 485:G6rv 486:I5rv 488:G3rv 490:L1r 491:L1v

**WARD, John****Hallelujah. I heard a voice of a great multitude v**

485:U1rv 486:R1rv 487:X5r 488:Q7r 490:S5rv 491:S6r

**Let God arise v**

475:103r 476:111r 478:108rv 479:102r 480:99r 481:132v-133r



**WARROCK, Thomas****O God of my salvation f5**

Ms 489 gives the contratenor part, and 491 the medius

485:T5v 486:Q6v 487:X3v 488:Q5v 489:119v 490:S3r 491:S2v

**WEELKES, Thomas****O how amiable are thy dwellings f5**

475:130r 476:142r 477:80r 478:114rv

**Short Service: M, N f4**

489:114rv 490:R5rv 491:R5rv

**Evening Service for Trebles: M, N v**

475:51v-52v 476:41v-42r 476:57v-58r 478:53v-54v 479:51r-52v  
480:49rv 481:45v-46r

**Evening Service in 7 parts: M, N f7**

475:52v-54v 476:43r-44v 476:60r-61v 478:54v-56v 479:53r-54v  
480:51r-52v 481:46r-47v

**WHITE****O praise God in his holiness f8**

475:107v-108r 476:114v-115r 478:111v-112r 479:105v-106r 481:107v  
485:H1v-H2r 493:39v-40r

**WHITE, Robert****O how glorious art thou f5**

485:Q2v 486:H5v 487:Q2v 488:O1v 489:74r 490:N6r 491:P3v

**WHITE, William****Behold now, praise the Lord f5**

475:131rv 476:143r 477:81rv 478:138rv 479:131r 481:110v  
489:9rv ("Magistra White") 493:52v-53v

**WILKINSON, ?William, ?Thomas****Behold, O Lord v**

475:33r-34r 476:35v-36r 478:33v-34r 479:31r-32v 480:31v-32r 481:34r

**Hear my prayer O Lord v**

Contrary to Sources' title, the verse in ms 475 has "and let thine ears consider my calling" 475:126rv 476:135r 478:132r 479:130rv 481:119rv 487:L4r 489:42(2)rv 490:K5rv

**Help, Lord, for there is not one godly man left v**

475:32r 476:36v 477:33v-34r 478:34r 479:30rv 480:32v-33r 481:32r

**I am the resurrection v**

Possibly by Child. 487 table gives Wilkinson, 485 and 487 Child.

485:H5r-H6r 486:E4r-E5r 487:I2r-I3v 489:31r-32v 490:H6r-I1r 491:O4rv

**O Lord God of my salvation f4**

475:152r 476:161v 478:157r 481:147r

**Kyrie f**

485:H6v 486:E5v 487:I3v 491:O5r

**WILSON, Thomas****h Almighty God, which madest thy blessed Son (Circumcision) f**

487:Z1v 488:R4v 489:128v 490:U1r 491:T8r

**h Almighty God, who seest (2nd Sunday in Lent) v5**

493:47rv

**h Behold, how good and joyful f**

487:Z2r 488:R4(2)r 489:129r 490:U1v 491:T8v

**h Behold now, praise the Lord f4**

486:S2r 487:Y6v 488:R3v 489:127v 490:T6r 491:T7r

**h Blessed is the man that feareth the Lord f4**

486:P3v 488:O4r 489:77v-78r 490:O1v 491:P5v

**h Christ rising again from the dead (Psalm for Easter Morning) f4**

Part 2: Christ is risen

485:H3rv 486:I6vr [sic] 488:L6(2)rv 489:43rv 490:M6v (pt 2 inc) 491:O6rv 493:45r-46r (not hol)

- h **Grant, we beseech thee, Almighty God (4th Sunday in Lent) f5**  
493:48rv
- h **Merciful Lord, we beseech thee (St John Evangelist) v**  
486:S2v 487:Z1r 488:R4r 489:128r 490:T6v 491:T7v
- h **Prevent us, O Lord f4**  
485:Q3v 486:O5v-O6r 487:Q3v-Q4r 488:O3v 489:77v 490:N4(2)v  
491:P5r
- Thy mercy, O Lord f4**  
475:153r 478:159r 480:140r (hol) 481:145r
- h **Turn thy face from my sins f**  
475:152v 478:159v 480:139v 481:150r
- h ***Unidentified work v***  
bass verse solos only  
493:17r
- h **Psalm 85 for Christmas Matins f**  
485:B5r-B6r 486:B5r-B6r (?inc) 487:D1r-D2r 488:B1r-B1(2)r  
489:52r-52(2)v 490:M3v 493:43r-44v
- h **Kyrie and Creed (Latin) f**  
485:O6(2)rv 486:O2(2)rv 487:Q2r 488:N6(2)rv 490:N4(2)rv 491:P2(2)r
- Sanctus f**  
476:159v 478:150v 479:147v 481:143v 491:P4v (hol)
- Litany (Latin)**  
491:G2r
- Venite (I)**  
485:A5(2)r-A5(4)v 488:B6r-B6(3)r 489:A5rv 490:A5r-A5(3)r
- h **Venite (II)**  
485:Q5rv (not hol) 486:O2(2)v 487:M1v-M2r 491:P2rv
- h **Evening Service in A minor: M, N v**  
485:Q2v (-M; N frag only, erased) 485:Q3rv 486:O5rv 487:Q3rv  
488:O2rv 489:76v-77r 489:76(2)r (verse frags) 490:N6v-O1r 491:P4rv
- h **Evening Service in C: M, N f**  
486:S1rv 487:Y5v-Y6r 488:126v-127r 490:T5rv 491:T6r-T7r



**WOODSON, Leonard**

**Give the king thy judgements, O God v**

Ms 478:136r furnishes the verse part, f.135r the chorus

475:129r 476:141r 477:79r 478:135r 478:136r 479:129r 480:125r  
481:131r

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<sup>1</sup> *Durham Commissions*, Priory Records CD PRCD 562 contains recordings of five of the works presented here.



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