

Chapter 12

The relationship between musical style and religious allegiance

So far in the second part of this thesis, various facets of musical practice and textual choices have been analysed in terms of the distinctiveness of otherwise of the institutions related to John Cosin. This chapter will instead argue that in the area of compositional style Cosin's activities were not uniform between Durham and Peterhouse, that the Peterhouse repertoire was distinct from other Laudian churches, and that the Chapel Royal was in some sense a case apart.

The *stile nuovo* and the Laudian movement

This section will consider the manner in which developments in musical style intersected with liturgical habits and alignments in the period under question. The question central to this undertaking is: what might we expect the relationship between churchmanship and musical taste to be ?

One possible line of enquiry would be to trace the trajectory of developments in composition. Roger Bowers has suggested that a substantial expansion in the ambition of composition took place as a result of a nascent consciousness of the 'beauty of holiness' as early as the first decade of James's reign. This for Bowers was worked out in the expansion of the use of the expressive possibilities of the verse anthem, and of longer anthem texts and therefore longer compositions.¹ However, it seems difficult convincingly to connect this with Laudian thought for a number of reasons. The first is that the generation of composers invoked by Bowers as the key players in this flowering of English church music were rather too senior to be in the vanguard of Laudian musical experimentation. Orlando Gibbons died in 1625, two years after Thomas Weelkes, and Thomas Tomkins appears not to have attended court after 1628, (probably, as suggested by Le Huray, because of old age, as he would then have been 56 years old.)² It is also the case that the works of this golden

¹ 'Cathedral Music and Liturgy' p.439.

² *Music and the Reformation* pp. 274-6. On the development of the verse anthem see John Morehen, 'The English Consort and Verse Anthems' *EM* 6 (1978) 381-5. See also Lionel Pike, 'Church Music

generation of English composers in fact form the staple of almost all of the sources with which we are dealing, non-Laudian as well as Laudian. The Batten organ book, which we have suggested was connected with one of two non-Laudian institutions, contains twenty-one works of Weelkes, as well as many by Gibbons and lesser composers of the same generation. Similarly, the Southwell tenor book, copied probably as early as 1617, contains some sixteen pieces by Tomkins.³ It is also the case that any attempt to gauge the relative preponderance of works of, for instance, greater length, must remain as conjecture, as no sources survive which could determine how often each piece was performed in the course of a liturgical year. It is to the work of a later generation of English composers, and the clearly and recognisably new techniques of Italianate composition, which we must turn.

It has been shown elsewhere that the relationship between court culture in the 1630s and elements of continental bias in taste impacted on the acquisition of pictorial art, and on taste in the secular music produced for masques and other such entertainments at court.⁴ It might then be supposed that we ought to expect to find similar influences in the music of the Chapel Royal in particular, and by extension in cathedral churches and collegiate institutions under the influence of ‘Laudian’ churchmen. This is certainly the view of Peter Le Huray, who has stated that, ‘understandably enough, the first church musicians to show a serious interest in the *stile nuovo* were both members of the Chapel Royal’. Le Huray names two Chapel Royal men, Walter Porter and Henry Lawes, to whom we shall come, but does not explore any further the reasons for this state of affairs, or the incidence of such composition elsewhere.⁵

I: Before the Civil War’ in Ian Spink (ed.), *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain: The Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1992) pp.66-96; pp. 66-88.

³ It is a matter of great regret that due to the lack of any liturgical sources dated any earlier than 1617, it is impossible systematically to investigate the incidence of different types of composition in the later years of Elizabeth’s reign, and the early Jacobean period. The only surviving indications are scattered references to the circumstances of commissioning of particular pieces. For the tiny proportion (only 22 before 1620) of datable compositions in the entire repertoire, see Morehen, ‘Sources’ p.494-5.

⁴ See, *inter alia*, Malcolm Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England* (Philadelphia, Un. Of Pennsylvania Press, 1987) pp.226-8, 124-6, 139-82. See also notes below on William Child and the Lawes brothers.

⁵ *Music and the Reformation in England* p.344. Lothar Bleeker has also asserted the same close connection (‘die enge Verbindung’) between Arminian appointments and *stile nuovo* composition, but without demonstrating such a case. He also dates the beginnings of this movement to 1640, which as we shall see, is rather later than the evidence suggests: *Anglikanische Kirchenmusik* p. 180-1. Jonathan Wainwright refers explicitly to a ‘Royalist repertoire’ in use in wartime Oxford: ‘Images of

The task of this section then is to examine the patterns of survival of liturgical compositions in this new style, and specifically to determine whether one can find any evidence of the use of *stile nuovo* composition in all ‘Laudian’ musical contexts, and in any institutions apparently free of direct Laudian influence.

The task of defining the *stile nuovo* style is a difficult business, as it did not consist in a list of identifiable compositional devices so much as in a general approach to composition. Peter Le Huray’s description of it as ‘a form of heightened oratory’ is a useful one, as such compositions, when for solo voices, tended to employ more elaborate decoration of particular words (more so than older madrigalian word painting) and the use of forceful rhythmic figures, lending themselves to staccato declamation. A recitative style was deployed, which differed from the contrapuntal fabric of the verse anthem, and tended to employ few chord changes in the accompaniment, which functioned as a means to emphasise cadences in the vocal line, rather than to supply the rest of a contrapuntal fabric of equal parts.

The overall conception of choral passages, and the accompaniments to verse passages, also tended to be less contrapuntal and consisted more of block chordal writing, with unison rhythms for the whole ensemble. A form of choral recitative was also employed, treating the massed voices in a sense as a single voice, with a similarly minimal accompaniment.⁶

At this point, a digression to consider the relationship between clergy and their musicians is necessary. Up to this point we have dealing with matters of texts, instrumentation and liturgical propriety, all of which are matters which are relatively straightforward for a churchman without musical expertise to grasp and therefore speak to if they should be so moved. This section however is dealing with matters of music itself, and which therefore required a measure of training even to begin to discuss in terms intelligible to the practitioner. It is therefore extremely difficult to recover the processes by which a churchmen could, if at all, guide and coerce his musical staff to compose in a particular style. To the best of my knowledge, the

Virtue and War: Music in Civil War Oxford’ in Andrew Ashbee (ed.), *William Lawes 1602-45. Essays on his life, times and work* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 1998) pp. 121-142; p.129.

⁶ Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England* p.341. Lionel Pike, ‘Church Music I: Before the Civil War’ pp.91-96. It should not however be inferred that English music was entirely isolated from foreign technique before the reign of Charles. Peter Phillips has demonstrated the ongoing process from the Edwardian Reformation onwards of the gradual development of a distinctively English amalgam of styles. However this discussion will focus explicitly on the obviously Italianate techniques as defined here. *English Sacred Music* pp.453-5.

dealings between the parties as recorded in Dean and Chapter records are silent on the matter, being confined, as we saw in Part One, to matters of discipline, staffing levels and general standards of performance. We have already seen in Part One that the theological literature is similarly barren.

However, there is considerable evidence of involvement in the commissioning of composition in various sources. The autograph source of Orlando Gibbons's 'This is the record of John' is annotated to the effect that 'This anthem was made for Dr Laud, President of St John's'⁷. Similarly, John Amner's 'Caesar's service' is described in the Peterhouse manuscripts as 'Mr Amner's 2nd called Caesar's (dedicated to Deane Caesar)' and William Child's Latin *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* as 'made for the Right wor [shipful] D[r] Cosin.'⁸ There is also some evidence of aristocratic patrons of secular music priding themselves on a certain expertise in the appreciation of music, as befitted the ideal of the courtier. The significance of this evidence for our purpose, if the pattern identified by Lynn Hulse regarding Robert Cecil, First Earl of Salisbury is typical, is difficult to interpret. Although Cecil had a good knowledge of music as a listener, maintained a skilled musical establishment and was in the vanguard of the adoption of the new Italian styles, when it came to actual composition the details were left to the professional. The musical knowledge of the patron was to be general rather than particular.⁹

However, despite this evidence, the conclusions drawn from the discussion following must necessarily remain at least in part conjectural, as the extent to which such compositional experiment was driven by musical logic alone is impossible to recover.

⁷ E.H. Fellowes, *Orlando Gibbons* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1925) pp. 63-4: the MS is Och 21.

⁸ Peterhouse MS 478: 57v: MS 489: 60.

⁹ Hulse, 'The musical patronage of Robert Cecil, First Earl of Salisbury (1563-1612)' *JRMA* 116 (1991) 24-40; pp. 37-8. See also the work of Jonathan Wainwright on Christopher, first Baron Hatton and his patronage of music at the Oxford court until 1646: 'Images of Virtue and War: Music in Civil War Oxford' in Andrew Ashbee (ed.), *William Lawes 1602-45. Essays on his life, times and work* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 1998) pp. 121-142, especially pp. 125-9. *Idem.* 'The Christ Church Viol-Consort Manuscripts Reconsidered' in A. Ashbee, Peter Holman (eds), *John Jenkins and his time. Studies in English Consort Music* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1996) pp.189-242: *Idem.*, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton* (Aldershot, 1997). Hulse also makes the point that musical taste was more closely bound up with notions of convention and decorum than a more modern conception of self-expression through music. On the decline of music as a craft and its development into a vehicle of the expression of the personal, see Koenigsberger, 'Music and religion in Modern European History'.

In order to investigate the connection, if any, between Laudian figures and the *stile nuovo*, I have set out to analyse the sources of those composer figures most closely associated with its development. The work of Jonathan Wainwright has demonstrated the large extent to which Italian music, both sacred and secular, circulated in England, both in manuscript and in printed editions. The London bookshop of Robert Martin alone listed some 224 Italian music prints in catalogues prepared between 1633 and 1650.¹⁰ Perhaps the first and most influential publication of music in the newer style was the *Prime musiche nuove* of Angelo Notari, published in London as early as 1613. It however appears that Notari composed no music for the English church. Peter Le Huray identified later figures such as Walter Porter, William Lawes, Henry Lawes, William Child, Robert Ramsey, George Jefferies and John Wilson as the prime movers in the years before the outbreak of war, and I shall therefore deal with them in turn, beginning with Walter Porter.

Walter Porter

Walter Porter was an extremely significant figure in the transmission of Italian styles in English music. He spent most of his creative life at the Chapel Royal, being sworn in as Gentleman in February 1617. An annotation in Porter's hand on a copy of his 1657 *Mottets of Two Voyces*, referring to Claudio Monteverdi as his 'good Friend and Maestro', suggests that Porter had studied with the Italian, most likely between 1612 and 1615. Even if this is impossible to verify, Ian Spink has suggested that the style of collection of *Madrigals and Ayres* (London, 1632) supports the theory, being for Spink virtually the only English madrigals in the *concertato* style.¹¹ Regrettably, although nine of his anthems are listed in the Chapel Royal wordbook, only one of them survives, by virtue of its inclusion in the *Madrigals and Ayres*: the verse anthem *Praise the Lord, for it is a good thing to sing praises unto our God*. A number of features of this anthem very clearly belong to the *stile nuovo*, such as the florid

¹⁰ Krummel, 'Venetian Baroque music in a London bookshop; Martin's catalogues 1633-50' in O. Neighbour (ed.) *Music and Bibliography: essay in honour of Alec Hyatt King* (London, 1980) pp.1-27, cited by Wainwright, 'The dissemination and influence of Monteverdi's music in England in the seventeenth century' in Silke Leopold, Joachim Steinheuer (eds), *Claudio Monteverdi und die Folgen: Bericht uber das Internationale Symposium Detmold 1993* (Kassel, Barenreiter, 1998) pp.105- 121. See in particular pp.105-108.

¹¹ Ian Spink, 'Walter Porter' *NGD* xv. 137.

declamatory passages for the soprano solo in the opening verse, and a similarly ornate trio section and quartet later in the piece.¹² It is also significant for our purposes that despite the fact that Porter was composing in this style as early as 1632, and presumably for some time prior to that, none of his compositions appear to have been copied into any other liturgical sources of the period, Laudian or otherwise.

William Lawes

William Lawes is one figure who has attracted great recent musicological interest. The circumstances of his life as private musician to first Prince and then King Charles, at the wartime court at Oxford, and his death in Royalist colour during the siege of Chester in 1645, have all been well documented.¹³ It is also certainly the case that Lawes's output shows extensive use of Italianate techniques of composition. The 1648 publication of *Choice Psalmes* contains compositions utilising the figured bass and trio sonata textures, in a similar style to William Child's earlier publication, considered below.¹⁴ Among his pieces surviving in later liturgical sources, *Let God arise*, with its highly declamatory and elaborate solo bass part, also shows Italianate influence.¹⁵

Unfortunately, only two pieces can firmly be attributed to pre-war sources: the anthems 'Who is this that cometh' and 'Before the mountains were brought forth'. Particularly unhelpful for our purposes, neither of these survive in musical form, but as text only in the Chapel Royal word book (Rawl.Poet. 23).¹⁶ This is particularly regrettable as the anthem 'Before the mountains were brought forth' is described in that source as 'with verses for cornetts and sackbuts' which Peter Le Huray sees as a

¹² The piece is edited by Peter Le Huray in *The Treasury of English Church Music ii: 1546-1650* (London, Blandford, 1965) pp.232-47. Peter Phillips, *English Sacred Music* pp.389-90.

¹³ Murray Lefkowitz, 'William Lawes' NGD x.558-566, and his *William Lawes* (London; Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1960) pp.10-22. See also Andrew Ashbee (ed.), *William Lawes 1602-1645. Essays on his life times and work* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 1998) which includes Ashbee, 'William Lawes and the 'Lutes, Viols and Voices' pp.1-10 and Layton Ring, 'Wednesday 24 September, 1645. The Death of William Lawes during the Battle of Rowton Heath at the siege of Chester' pp.155-173.

¹⁴ Andrew Robinson, 'Choice Psalmes' : A Brother's Memorial' in Ashbee (ed.) *William Lawes* pp. 175-95. Lefkowitz, 'William Lawes' pp.237-246.

¹⁵ See the discussions by Lefkowitz, *William Lawes* p.257, and Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation* p. 348-9.

¹⁶ The two anthems 'Let God arise' and 'The Lord is my light' appear in the secular source BL Add MSS 29403-5, which had its inception early in the century, but these are almost certainly later additions: Le Huray and Daniel, *Sources* pp. 118, 3.

significant departure from the previous practice of cornets and sackbuts being only used in full sections.¹⁷ This however need not be seen as necessarily an Italianate development, for, as we have seen, experimentation with instrumental combinations could also take place within the English verse anthem tradition.

Henry Lawes

Henry Lawes, brother of William, was appointed as a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal in 1625, was involved in the composition of music for the court masques, and contributed a number of settings to the 1638 edition of George Sandy's psalm paraphrases, with the decidedly novel device of a thorough-bass. Lawes was also the instigation behind the *Choice Psalmes* collection, published in 1648 as a tribute to his brother William (considered above), and can therefore be considered as one of the composers experimenting most fully with newer compositional devices.¹⁸

However, not a note of the four anthems recorded in the Chapel Royal anthem book survives in any source, and nothing else of his music survives in any other pre-war liturgical source.

George Jefferies.

The work of Peter Aston has put the music of George Jefferies in its place as one of the most important meetings of continental technique with English sacred music.¹⁹ He was connected with the Hatton family as early as 1631, becoming steward to Christopher, First Baron Hatton, in 1646, and was previously joint organist with John Wilson at the wartime royal household at Oxford (of which Hatton was controller).²⁰ However, despite the suggestion of Anthony Wood that Jefferies was a

¹⁷ *Music and the Reformation in England* p.347.

¹⁸ Ian Spink, 'Henry Lawes' *NGD* x.557-8. Le Huray and Daniel, *Sources* p.116-7: Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation* pp.344-347. On Lawes' activity in the Chapel Royal, see W.M. Evans, *Henry Lawes, Musician and Friend of Poets* (New York, 1941) pp.47-56: see also pp.171-85 on the *Choice Psalmes*, and pp.141-44 on the 1638 edition *A paraphrase upon the Psalmes of David* by George Sandys,

¹⁹ 'George Jeffreys' *NGD* ix.583-586.

²⁰ On these connections with Hatton, see Jonathan Wainwright, 'Images of Virtue and War' pp.123-127, and his *Musical Patronage*: R. Thompson, 'George Jeffreys and the *Stile Nuove* in England: a new date for his autograph score, British Library Add. MS 10338' *ML* 70 (1989) 317-41.

member of the Chapel Royal at some point before 1643, this is impossible to verify, and none of his music survives in any pre-war source.

John Wilson

The composer, lutenist and singer John Wilson appears to have been involved with the musical life of the court from as early as 1614, and he became a member of the King's Musick in 1635, and subsequently accompanied the court to Oxford. Some sense of his political mind can be deduced from his 1657 publication *Psalterium Carolinum*, subtitled 'the Devotions of his Sacred Majestie'. These settings are for three solo voices, accompanied with a thorough bass. His output of secular and private devotional songs was large, but he appears seldom to have composed for the liturgy, and no liturgical music survives in any pre-war liturgical source.²¹

Hence we can identify a cluster of composers attached to the court and Chapel Royal who, at least after the outbreak of hostilities, all showed an interest in the use of continental techniques, and utilised them freely in secular and the smaller scale private devotional music. However, given the extremely limited survival of their work, it would be mere conjecture to suggest that such techniques were widely in use in Chapel Royal services, although the presence of pieces by Walter Porter suggests that there was some such music in use. Of the composers discussed, the Chapel Royal word-book only includes these pieces by Porter. It is also important to note that no compositions by any of these figures can be found in sources associated with Laudian centres outside the court. Not a note is to be found at Peterhouse for instance. However, there *is* evidence of direct connection between Cosin and two older, more conservative and provincial figures: Robert Ramsey and William Child.

Robert Ramsey

Graduating from Cambridge in 1616, Robert Ramsey was organist of Trinity College from 1628 until 1644. However, it is difficult to determine whether his

²¹ Ian Spink, *NGD* xx.443-4. The anthem 'Hearken O God hearken unto a wretches' cries' survives only in the Interregnum Chapel Royal word book, Harleian MS 4346, and the 'Let me not Lord' survives in the secular source Yale University Music Library MS MA21/F48/ A11: Le Huray and Daniel, *Sources* p. 158.

compositions were used at Trinity, as no such sources survive relating to the college. However, the Peterhouse manuscripts preserve several of his compositions, and are in fact the unique pre-war source for several, which are listed below.²² In the opinion of Edward Thompson, the editor of Ramsey's sacred music, Ramsey's most Italianate composition is limited to his secular music and private devotional song, and to the *Latin* service music. The two settings of the Latin *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* in the Peterhouse books make use of *concertante* textures, with a rhythmic and harmonic style reminiscent of Monteverdi. The English service used at Peterhouse is conservative in comparison, being closer in style to the Short Service of Orlando Gibbons.²³ The use of *stile nuovo* techniques in English service is unusual then, even under the influence of the most *avant garde* of the Laudian clergy, Cosin.

(Whole) Service 4 parts: TeD,Bs, K,C,M,ND
 Litany from above
 another Litany
 Latin Litany
 Latin TeD and J (1)
 Latin TeD and J (2)
 Almighty God, which hast given us thy only begotten Son
 Almighty God, which through thy only begotten son
 Grant we beseech thee almighty God
 God which as upon this day
 Almighty and everlasting God, which hast given unto us thy servants grace
 Almighty and everlasting God, we humbly beseech thy majesty
 We beseech thee O Lord, pour thy grace into our hearts
 Almighty God, which hast knit together
 I heard a voice from heaven (incomplete)
 My song shall be alway (incomplete)

²² E. Thompson, 'Ramsey' *NGD* xv.579, and his 'Robert Ramsey' *MQ* 49 (1963) 210-24. The sacred music is edited in two volumes by Thompson: *EECM* vol. 7: (I: English Sacred Music) and vol. 31 (II: Latin Sacred Music).

²³ Thompson, 'Ramsey' *NGD* xv.579; Thompson, 'Robert Ramsey' pp.212-5. See also Pike, 'Church Music I: Before the Civil War' pp.90-1. See also the discussion by Phillips of some significant, although much less pronounced, experimentation in the English collect settings: *English Sacred Music* pp.383-6.

Of those compositions of Ramsey's not present in Peterhouse sources, only one, a *Te Deum*, survives in any other liturgical source, BL Add. 29289, which as we have already seen cannot be firmly attributed to any one institution.²⁴ The other sacred compositions of his, as listed below, survive only in non-liturgical sources.

Hear my prayer O Lord, and consider	BL Add. 29366-8 ²⁵
How are the mighty fallen	Edin. Dk.5.14 ²⁶
How doth the city remain desolate	Oxford, Bodl Mus.f.20-24 (Hammond)
When David heard	BL Add 29427. Ten 1162-7 ²⁷
Woe is me that I am constrained	Bodl Mus.f.20-24 (Hammond).
When David heard	BL Add. 29427 Ten 1162-7

William Child

Child, as a composer whose working life straddled the reigns of James and Charles, and who was still active as late as 1686, whilst not rated as a composer of the first rank, was nevertheless an important transitional figure in the adoption of the style of the Italian Baroque.²⁸ His output was prolific, and survives widely in both

²⁴ The single part of this piece that survives suggests that it was in a conservative, possibly full service, style. *EECM* vii. 132.

²⁵ A. Hughes-Hughes, *Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum*.

²⁶ One of the set of partbooks for domestic use compiled by Thomas Wode, vicar of St Andrews, between 1562 and c.1590, with some later additions c.1615, of which this piece must be one. K. Elliott (ed.), *Music of Scotland 1500-1700* (Musica Britannica xv, London, Stainer & Bell, 1957) pp. xv-xvi, 202.

²⁷ Ibid; E.H. Fellowes, *The catalogue of manuscripts in the library of St Michael's College, Tenbury* (Paris, 1934) pp.249-50.

²⁸ Child became a clerk of St George's Chapel, Windsor in April 1630, and sometime before 1632 became organist. He held this post, interrupted by the Civil War, almost until his death in 1697. Frederick Hudson, W. Roy Large, 'William Child', *NGD* iv.227-230: pp.227-8. See also, by the same authors, 'William Child (1606/7-1697) – a new investigation of sources' *Music Review* 31 (1970) 265-284.

pre- and post-Restoration sources.²⁹ His most significant essay in the *stile nuovo* was his published *Choise Musick to the Psalmes* (London, 1639), for domestic use. However, the most interesting composition for the purposes of this thesis was the Latin texted *Te Deum* and *Jubilate*, unique to the Peterhouse manuscripts, and described as ‘made for the Right wor [shipful] D[r] Cosin.’³⁰ These settings have been identified as embodying an early example of *stile concitato* writing, very unusual in the music of the time. Other Child compositions in a similar style and unique (amongst pre-Reformation sources) to the Peterhouse books are the anthems ‘Bow down thine ear’ and ‘O God wherefore art thou absent’.³¹

However, the difficulty in assessing Child lies in the presence in his output of compositions of essentially a conservative nature. The two services (in ‘Gamut G’ and the ‘Sharpe’ service³²) both survive in the Pembroke source, Och 1220-4 and the Peterhouse books, as does the anthem ‘Sing we merrily’.³³ Interestingly, the anthem ‘O Lord God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance’, described by a later musician, Thomas Tudway, with a connection through Windsor to Child, as written ‘in the year 1644 On the occasion of the abolishing The Common Prayer And overthrowing the constitution, both in Church and State’, which has often been described as testifying to Child’s ‘royalist’ sympathies, was in fact written in a conspicuously archaic style.³⁴

It can in fact be concluded that, despite the presence of Child’s compositions in various sources, including the Chapel Royal word book, and the Batten book, those displaying traces of the *stile nuovo* are confined to Peterhouse sources, and the

²⁹ On the sources, see Le Huray and Daniel, *Sources* pp.90-95; also C. Batchelor, ‘William Child: an examination of the liturgical sources, and a critical and contextual study of the church music’ (Cambridge Ph.D. thesis, 1990, 3 vols) vol. 1.

³⁰ See for example Peterhouse MS 489: 60. The *Jubilate* is edited by Lothar Bleeker, *Anglikanische Kirchenmusik* pp. 297-304.

³¹ For a discussion of Child’s output, see Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England* pp.356-63. ‘O God wherefore art thou absent’ deploys declamatory writing for the full choir, for instance in the opening phrase. Le Huray also suggests that its harmonic scheme displays Italian influence. The piece is edited by Le Huray in Le Huray (ed.), *Treasury of English Church Music* ii pp.248-50. See also Peter Phillips, *English Sacred Music* pp. 275-8.

³² An edition of this service is given by Batchelor, ‘William Child’ pp.1-21.

³³ An edition of ‘Sing we merrily’ is given by Batchelor, ‘William Child’ pp.91-7.

³⁴ The piece is edited by C. Dearnley in *Treasury of English Church Music* iii : 1650-1760 pp.10-20. For the observation that Child was ‘involved in the Laudian or High Church movement of the 1630s’, see Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation* p.359. See also Hudson and Large, *NGD* iv.229.

‘collecting’ Pembroke source (almost certainly never used liturgically). The one exception to this is the anthem ‘Turn thou us, O good Lord’ which also survives in Och 1220-4 as well as Peterhouse and Pembroke. Even then, despite traces of declamatory writing, it remains fundamentally a verse anthem in the older style, and in its conception is very different from the Latin *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* referred to above.³⁵ As was the case with Ramsey, Child’s most daring experiments with the new style were associated with Peterhouse (in this case, explicitly so), to Latin texts, and do not survive in other contemporary sources which might have been regarded as under ‘Laudian’ influence such as Occ 1220-4 or the Gloucester book.

Conclusion

Drawing any firm conclusions in this section must be tempered with some caution, due to the limited number of sources surviving from a period late enough realistically to include music in the *stile nuovo* styles. However, there is insufficient evidence to conclude, and significant evidence against such a conclusion, that Laudian figures were in any clearly discernible way disposed towards the development of newer Italianate techniques of composition in English church music. It is rather the case that a division can be posited between two centres of such endeavour. The composers of the Chapel Royal, as might be expected given the natural concentration of their talent, made the court one such centre of endeavour in secular music, and if the one surviving composition by Walter Porter is typical, in sacred music. It is also noteworthy that no compositions by Porter or either of the Lawes brothers were copied into any other of the liturgical sources, including Peterhouse. Apparently separate from the Chapel Royal group, and slightly predating their work, was the composition under the aegis of Cosin at Peterhouse of a number of Italianate works by two composers of an earlier generation, Ramsey and Child. These works are almost all unique to the Peterhouse sources, and appear not to have been copied into any other sources.

It is also the case that none of these advanced works, either from the Chapel Royal or from Peterhouse, were copied into any other contemporary liturgical

³⁵ Peter Le Huray (ed.), *Turn thou us, O good Lord* (Oxford Anthems no.208, OUP, 1964). The incomplete verse anthem ‘Lord who shall dwell’, which survives in Och 1220-4 only, appear to be fundamentally conservative in style, as does the anthem ‘Hear O my people’ and the Flat service ‘for verses’ in C minor, both given by Batchelor, ‘William Child’.

sources, being absent from those sources copied late enough to have any possibility of including them, and that were associated with Laudian institutions: Och 1220-4 and the Gloucester book.

It is therefore possible at least to draw the negative conclusion that it is impossible to extrapolate from the undoubtedly unusual work of Cosin at Peterhouse a generalised linkage of Laudian practice with the new compositional style.

A subsidiary observation to be made here is that the most Italianate material utilised by Cosin was that with Latin texts, and of canticles appointed at Morning Prayer rather than either the Eucharist or Evensong. It is then probable, as has been noted by several scholars to date, that these were used as part of the morning service at Peterhouse, a service taking advantage of the Elizabethan provision for collegiate churches that any language was permissible in liturgy if understood by those attending. Morning Prayer at Peterhouse was a less public service than evensong, reserved mainly for fellows of the college.³⁶ It has been observed by Edward Thompson that Ramsey's Latin works (and by extension Child's also) were in fact too daring in style to be used in services, and were therefore possibly for private use only.³⁷ This, as he admits, is of course purely conjectural, and cannot be verified. The presence of so many compositions in liturgical manuscripts strongly suggests such a possibility. Whichever is the case, the distinctness of Cosin's practice at Peterhouse remains clear.

Musical Antiquarianism: The Use of Contrafacta

We have spent this chapter up until now pursuing elements of Laudian 'modernism' in musical practice. However, much has also been made of some essentially backward looking elements of Laudian thought, such as the work of Lancelot Andrewes on the liturgy, and Cosin's *Collection of Private Devotions*, published anonymously in 1627 for the use of ladies of the court. These have been interpreted as displaying a distinctive search for the purer forms of patristic and

³⁶ Hughes, *Catalogue* pp.50-1. Hudson and Large 'William Child' p.273.

³⁷ 'Robert Ramsey' p.218.

ancient liturgy, and as an attempt to recover the essentials, whilst removing the corruption, from the practice of the medieval church.³⁸

It is then possible that we might expect a similar ‘antiquarian’ approach to be present in Laudian musical thought, in a sense seeking to demonstrate musical as well as theological continuity rather than disjuncture with the pre-Reformation church. We have already noted the existence in the Peterhouse books of various fragments of Latin anthems and a complete mass by John Taverner. However, we also noted the haphazard nature of these survivals in the Peterhouse books. Some further investigation is clearly therefore necessary to explore the nature of such musical antiquarianism.

One barometer of this could be the incidence in liturgical sources of *contrafacta*, that is to say, adaptations of Latin anthems or service music to English texts. These may be pre-Reformation compositions, or from the large volume of Elizabethan music written for private Catholic use, or for reasons of preservation or recreation on the part of the composer.³⁹

John Morehen has identified some 37 Latin compositions of which there are adaptations, which are largely the works of four composers, and the majority of which are works which had previously appeared in published collections.⁴⁰ Those

³⁸ On Cosin and the *Devotions*, see L.W. Hanson, ‘John Cosin’s *Collection of Private Devotions*, 1627’; *The Library* xiii (1958) 282-7; J. Hoffman, ‘John Cosin, 1595-1672. Bishop of Durham and champion of the Caroline church’ (University of Wisconsin – Madison, Ph.D. thesis, 1977) pp.39 – 42; H.B. Porter, ‘Cosin’s Hours of Prayer: a liturgical review’ *Theology* 56 (1953) 54-8: On Cosin’s library, see A. I. Doyle, ‘John Cosin (1595-1672) as a library maker’ *The Book Collector* 40 (1991) 335-357; pp. 352-7. On the liturgical work of Jeremy Taylor, H.B. Porter, *Jeremy Taylor, Liturgist* (London, SPCK, 1979). On Lancelot Andrewes, see N. Lossky, *Lancelot Andrewes the Preacher (1555 – 1626). The origins of the mystical theology of the Church of England* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1991) pp.336-49. On ‘High Church’ liturgical thought more generally, see G.W.O. Addleshaw, *The High Church Tradition: A Study in the Liturgical Thought of the Seventeenth Century* (London, Faber & Faber, 1941) pp. 1-66.

³⁹ On the motivations behind, and stylistic development in, continued Latin composition after 1559, when Latin was restricted to the universities and other collegiate churches, see Hugh Benham, *Latin Church Music in England c.1460-1575* (London, Barrie and Jenkins, 1977) pp.162-220. See also Joseph Kerman, ‘The Elizabethan motet: a study of texts for music’ *Studies in the Renaissance* 9 (1962) 273-308 on the textual choices made by composers, and the connections between Byrd’s music and his religion. John Milsom has discussed the sources of sacred music used in Elizabethan chamber contexts: ‘Sacred songs in the chamber’ in Morehen (ed.), *English Choral Practice, 1400-1650* (Cambridge, CUP, 1995) pp. 161-79.

⁴⁰ There are also other types of *contrafacta* that survive in liturgical sources of the period – adaptations of other English-texted anthems, and of secular compositions. John Morehen has identified almost 100 *contrafacta* in total. This investigation is however confined to adaptation of Latin anthems, and takes as its starting point the 37 such compositions listed by Morehen, ‘English Anthem Text’ pp.69-72. See also the discussion by Ralph T. Daniel, ‘*Contrafacta* and polyglot texts in the early English anthem’ in H. Tischler (ed.) *Essays in Musicology. A birthday offering for Willi Apel* (Indiana, University Press,

five works by the Henrician composer John Taverner identified by Morehen do not survive in any of the sources under consideration, and only one such composition by Robert White.⁴¹ The works pertinent to this study are by Thomas Tallis and William Byrd.

Taking into consideration *contrafacta* of the works of William Byrd, a number of them are to be found uniquely in sources connected to Cosin.

Anthem	Latin original	Published collection ⁴²	Sources
Behold, I bring you glad tidings/ And there was with the angel	Ne irascaris domine/ Civitas sancti tui	1589	Peterhouse
Let not thy wrath Lift up your heads	Ne irascaris domine Attolite portas	1589 1575	Durham Peterhouse Durham
O Lord, give ear to the prayers	Memento homo quod cinis est	1575	Peterhouse Durham

However, this should not be considered as evidence of a deliberate ‘Laudian’ accumulation of such pieces by Cosin and his musicians. The following three *contrafacta* are unique among liturgical sources in the Southwell tenor book, which can be clearly identified as a non-Laudian source.

Behold now, praise the Lord	Laudate pueri	1575	Southwell ⁴³
Let not our prayers	Nos enim pro peccatis ⁴⁴	1589	Southwell

1968) pp.101-106. John Milsom, ‘A new Tallis contrafactum’ *MT* 123 (1982) 429 – 431: *Idem*. ‘Songs, carols and contrafacta in the early history of the Tudor anthem’ *PRMA* 107 (1980) 34-45.

⁴¹ ‘Praise the Lord, O my soul’, an adaptation of ‘Speret Israel’ from his ‘Domine non est exaltatum’, which is contained in RCM 1045-51. Morehen, ‘English anthem text’ p.72: Bunker Clark, ‘Batten and Barnard’ p.229.

⁴² The collections are given in these tables by their date of publication. They are:

- 1575 - William Byrd and Thomas Tallis, *Cantiones quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur*
- 1589 - William Byrd, *Liber primus sacrarum cantionum*
- 1591 - William Byrd, *Liber secundus sacrarum cantionum*
- 1605 - William Byrd, *Gradualia . . liber primus*
- 1607 - William Byrd *Gradualia . . liber secundus* .

The identifications of these contrafacta are those given by Morehen, ‘English Anthem Text’ pp.71-2.

⁴³ This also survives in BL Add. MS 17786-91, a domestic source: Hughes- Hughes, ‘British Museum music manuscripts’ p.5.

Let us arise	Attollite portas	1575	Southwell
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It is also the case that some *contrafacta* were among the most popular anthems of the period. The adaptation of ‘Ne irascaris Domine’ shown below survives in Durham and Gloucester sources, the Chapel Royal word book, as well as in RCM 1047 (one of the Barnard partbooks), the Southwell book, and the Chirk Castle books.

O Lord, turn thy wrath/ Bow thine ear	Ne irascaris domine/ Civitas sancti tui	1589	Durham Gloucester RCM 1047 Rawl.Poet 23 Ojc 181 Southwell Chirk Myriell BM Add. 17792-6 ⁴⁵ Drexel 4180-5 ⁴⁶
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A similar pattern is found in the incidence of *contrafacta* of music by Thomas Tallis. Two pieces are unique to Cosin related sources: ‘O God be merciful’ in the Peterhouse books, and ‘Arise, O Lord, and hear’ in the Durham sources.⁴⁷ However, several *contrafacta* of Tallis’s work were very widespread, as was the case with ‘Mihi autem nimis’ given below, which survives in Durham and Chapel Royal sources, as well as non-Laudian sources such as the Barnard books, Och 1001, the Southwell tenor book, and three domestic sources. It was also included in Barnard’s *First Book*, published in 1641.

Blessed be thy name	Mihi autem nimis	1575	Barnard, <i>First Book</i> Durham BM Add 29289 Lambeth 764 RCM 1045-51
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⁴⁴ The third part of ‘Tribulationes civitatum’.

⁴⁵ This is a domestic source; Pamela J. Willetts, ‘Music from the circle of Anthony Wood at Oxford’ *British Museum Quarterly* 24 (1961) 71-75.

⁴⁶ Also a domestic source; Botstiber, ‘Musicalia in der New York Public Library’ p.746.

⁴⁷ Adaptations of ‘Absterge Domine’ and one of Tallis’s settings of ‘Salvator mundi’ respectively. Both of the originals were published in the 1575 *Cantiones sacrae*.

			Rawl Poet 23 Occ 1001 Ojc 180 Southwell Drexel 4180-5 Hammond BM Add. 17792-6
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One of the many other Tallis contrafacta to achieve this level of popularity was ‘With all our hearts’, similarly to be found in manuscripts connected to Laudian institutions such as Gloucester, the Chapel Royal wordbook, neutral sources (Barnard, Loosemore, and Southwell), and some four domestic sources.

With all our hearts	Salvator mundi (i)	1575	Batten, <i>First Book</i> Gloucester BL Add. 29289 RCM 1045-51 Loosemore Rawl.Poet.23 Ojc 180 Southwell Chirk BL Add. 17792-6 Ten 1162 BM 30480-4 Myriell
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It is therefore clear that it is impossible to associate the use of Latin contrafacta with the churchmanship of particular institutions. Adaptations of older Latin compositions are found in almost all of the liturgical sources of the period. Although it is impossible to verify, it is plausible to suppose that once the initial adaptation had been made (possibly, in most of these cases, in an older source now lost) the ‘new’ composition then took on a life of its own, and that only those acquainted with the original publication were likely to be aware of the connection. This possibility is strengthened by the fact that there is no evidence that any of these compositions could have been performed publicly in their Latin-texted form, which would have made the acquaintance with the published version the key to such an

association.⁴⁸ Be that as it may, it can however safely be concluded that no ‘Laudian’ practice in the use of *contrafacta* can be identified.

Conclusion

In this chapter, it has been demonstrated that in the area of musical style, no easy identification between Laudian churchmanship and particular tastes in composition can be made. *Contrafacta* of Latin anthems, in general archaic in style were found widely spread throughout the sources, both Laudian and non-Laudian, with no clear correlation to any type of source. The incidence of compositions in the *stile nuovo* fits neither of the patterns identified in either of the previous two chapters. Cosin’s practice at Peterhouse was distinctive from his work at Durham, and from any other cathedral or collegiate foundation. However, the practice of the Chapel Royal was clearly different from both, and more advanced than that of Peterhouse.

⁴⁸ John Milsom has examined the surviving copies of the 1575 *Cantiones sacrae*, and the later Byrd *Cantiones sacrae* and *Gradualia* publication, and has found no evidence to suggest that any copies were ever owned by cathedral and church choirs: ‘Sacred songs in the chamber’ pp.176-8.

Conclusion

The central concern of this thesis was to explore the ways in which people in early Stuart England understood the place of music in worship, its effect on the auditor, and the task of determining what was appropriate music for the task. Central to this was the task of exploring the validity of the trend in current historiography to assign to the 'Laudian' movement a polemically and practically distinctive view of music in worship.

Part One dealt with contemporary published and manuscript discussions of the nature and role of music. It was concluded that the forcible removal and destruction of organs and other musical equipment in the 1640s was not due to a settled, considered and distinctive 'Puritan' view of the right or wrong use of music, but rather that music had become associated with one of the two burgeoning conspiracy theories of Popish tyranny and Puritan profanity and subversion that Peter Lake has identified. In subsequent chapters it was demonstrated that writers of all theological labels could deploy the language of the engagement of the understanding, of edification and of music 'rightly used.' The use of any of these terms cannot therefore be taken in itself to exemplify one or the other side of a polarised debate over the nature of music in worship.

In successive examinations of the treatments of Biblical precedent, the witness of the early church and the reformed churches of continental Europe, the fundamentally ambiguous nature of these authorities was elucidated. Also explored was the complex and diffuse background of classical and medieval understandings of the place of music in the ordering of the cosmos, its affinity with man's nature and its various consequent effects on him. Authoritative writings on church music had been able to find and utilise two equally powerful but mutually contradictory principles. On the one hand, music was uniquely powerful to stir up the heart of the worshipper, to inculcate doctrine and add to the spirit of the body of the church. At the same time, however, music was also terrifyingly able to distract, deprave and corrupt, and to prevent the engagement of the heart with divine truth. As this fissure was present in the catalogue of authorities available to thinkers in early Stuart England, so was it perpetuated in the discussions of music in the period, with almost all authors assenting to both principles in general, with very few attempts being made to explore

how a balance might be struck in practice. This pattern was found to cut across categories of ‘Laudian’ or ‘Puritan’, as these ideas concerning the ‘right’ role of music were in fact almost universally axiomatic in the discourse of the period.

In Part Two, the thesis considered the surviving musicological evidence of practice in cathedral and collegiate churches from 1603 onwards, to attempt to discern any patterns of distinctive usage in ‘Laudian’ institutions, to which the polemical reaction of Chapter 1 can be attributed. It was in fact found that the evidence provided a number of varied patterns.

With regard to the use of musical instruments (organs, viols, and sackbuts and cornets) it was found in Chapter 9 that little distinctively Laudian activity could be found. Expenditure on the provision and repair of organs predated Laudian influence, was not universal to Laudian chapters, and was to be found in chapters not under the direct influence of Laudian clergy. Similarly there is no evidence of novel use of other instruments in Laudian chapters. In fact, what very little evidence there is of such experimentation was found to be occurring independently of Laudian influence. In this, Laudian chapters were indistinguishable from what had been common practice in most, if not all, Jacobean cathedrals.

In the areas of the utilisation of music at unusual parts of the liturgy, the choice of anthem texts, and in questions of compositional style, a number of different patterns were identified. In some cases, as demonstrated in Chapter 10, the practices of John Cosin at Peterhouse, Cambridge and Durham Cathedral were entirely unique, being repeated neither in non-Laudian institutions nor in other Laudian churches. In other cases the Chapel Royal practice, which cannot easily be called ‘Laudian’, was found to be distinctive from both Cosin’s practice and elsewhere, (Chapter 12). Finally in some areas, such as the use of *contrafacta*, and the incidence of anthems with Sternhold and Hopkins texts, no clear division can be found at all, with these pieces being evenly spread across all types of surviving sources (Chapter 11). It was therefore the case that much ‘Laudian’ practice was indistinguishable from that in non-Laudian cathedrals, and that the habit of scholars to extrapolate a ‘Laudian’ style from the work of Cosin is a misleading one.

Overall, it is then possible to conclude that the historiographically established place that church music has been given in the Laudian experiment, either in theory or practice, is a problematic one. It was certainly the case that the most advanced musical practice was carried out under the ‘Laudian’ John Cosin. It can also be

argued that the most elevated rhetoric tended to be employed by Laudian figures, although not exclusively. However, any link that there was between Laudian churchmanship and elaborate church music can only be described as a contingent, rather than a necessary, one. As Part One demonstrated, any such tendency was not founded on a distinctive theological understanding of the role of music in worship among Laudian thinkers. It was also the case that any such link was not uniformly applicable in practice, as Part Two has shown. It is therefore difficult to posit a distinctive Laudian understanding of, or practice in, church music.