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“Grave, solemn, & fitted to devotion”: Anglican Church Music 1688 – 1727

by

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ABSTRACT

My thesis explores how English church composers between 1688 and 1727 engaged with the wide-spread religious and cultural objective for moderation and tolerance, in order to avoid repeating the destructiveness of seventeenth-century religious division between Catholics, Anglicans, and Nonconformists. Sermons written around the turn of the eighteenth century are particularly valuable because they illustrate this moderate temperament, and a number of them also defend and support Anglican sacred music, which had been a highly divisive issue in the seventeenth century.

For English church composers to have their music approved of and accepted, preachers and writers cautioned them to avoid imitating French and Italian-style secular music, which was decried as the “theatrical style,” and encouraged them to maintain, in the words of William Croft (1678 – 1727), the “Solemnity and Gravity of what may properly be called the Church-Style.” There were two methods that composers used to attain the grave and solemn style: the first was choice of text, where they favored penitential psalms, or selectively chose mournful verses from non-penitential psalms; the second was the cultivation of a distinctive style that avoided text painting, but emphasized syllabic setting, slower tempos, and the repetition of mournful words within anthem movements for ensembles of voices.
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Introduction

From its very beginning, the Anglican church was wedged between the Scylla of Catholicism, and the Charybdis of Nonconformity, which, it will be shown, had significant cultural reverberations up to the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and beyond. Culturally, composers of sacred music in London after 1688 were part of a large network that strived for a particular religious and cultural ethos: a moderate, middle-ground stance that attempted to avoid reigniting conflicts between Catholicism, Anglicanism, and Nonconformity that ravaged the seventeenth century and were still not fully reconciled. Composers of Anglican sacred music in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries interacted with the general mindset of their time and place to a degree that has been rarely commented on, and they became wrapped up in the considerable anxiety that was a feature of English culture coming out of the trials and tribulations of the seventeenth century, and facing the uncertainty of the eighteenth. As will be shown, the innovations that they made to their art were key elements in the interaction of music with the wider cultural sphere.

The Origins of Anglican Instability 1534 – ca. 1560

Henry VIII’s desire for a male heir, and the unwillingness of Pope Clement VII to grant a divorce from Catherine of Aragon (the well-known story goes), resulted in an unprecedented turn of events that culminated in the 1534 Act of Supremacy.¹ This break with Rome, though carried out in the wake of the Continental Protestant Reformation, was fundamentally political. While theological doctrine was not initially at the forefront of Henry’s mind (for instance, English-language sacred music retained the elaboration of the Catholic tradition²), certain advisors like Thomas Cromwell advocated the kind of iconoclastic Protestantism that resulted in the

Dissolution of the Monasteries in the late 1530s. Henry’s son and heir Edward VI “became a precocious and bigoted Protestant,” who sanctioned the complete destruction of Catholic tradition in favor of radicalized Protestantism. His early death 1553 allowed his older half-sister Mary (Henry’s daughter by Catherine of Aragon) to claim her rightful inheritance. Her primary objective was to bring England back into the Catholic fold. Though she ascended the throne on a wave of goodwill, her eventual persecution of Protestants, culminating in a series of executions like those of bishops Latimer, Ridley, and Cranmer (the so-called Oxford Martyrs), inspired considerable opposition, and permanently damaged the reputation of Catholicism in England. Her successor Elizabeth’s first goal as queen was to bring the Anglican church to a state of equilibrium. Though she remained dedicated to the fundamentals of Protestantism, Elizabeth proved to be remarkably able at placating both sides, and the settlement of 1563 ultimately “saved England from the religious civil war that afflicted other European countries at the time…”

As can be seen, the specific problem of the early Anglican church was its constant swinging back and forth between ultra-Protestantism and Catholicism, a result of the difficulty of finding a middle-ground doctrine acceptable to the largest possible number of people. Ultra-Protestants like Cromwell and Edward VI lambasted the church for not going far enough in repealing Catholicism since its inception, while the personal convictions of Henry VIII and Elizabeth, and the policies they put in place to secure Anglican supremacy, are rather more open-ended. In this respect, the challenges that faced the post-1688 Church of England, the point of departure for this thesis, are similar to those of the early Church of England, and the unpredictability of the status of the Anglican church highlights just how precious the post-1688 supremacy was to the men and women of the time. In attempting to placate both Catholics and ultra-Protestants
(usually called Nonconformists prior to 1688 and Dissenters thereafter;\textsuperscript{3} J.C.D. Clark notes that both terms were and are used interchangeably\textsuperscript{4}) and avoid reigniting conflicts that lead to the English Civil Wars (ca. 1642 – 1651), English monarchs after 1688 took Elizabeth as a model, and attempted to tread a delicate middle path that cemented both the theological and political legitimacy of Anglicanism.

\textit{Seventeenth-century Conflicts 1603 – 1688}

James VI (1566 – 1625) of Scotland became James I of England in 1603 after the death of childless Queen Elizabeth I, his distant cousin. The most significant obstacle to the success of James I and his son and successor, Charles I (r. 1625 – 1649), was their stalwart belief in the divine right of monarchy. This aspect of their personalities manifested itself in two ways. The first was an unwillingness to work with Parliament. James, and Charles especially, continually butted heads with Parliament, an antagonism that would eventually lead to civil war. The second was their personal endorsement of Catholicism, as they allowed mass to be celebrated for their consorts. In truth, neither James nor Charles were actually Catholic, but nevertheless their benevolence contributed to the rising tensions in the early part of the century, and most Anglicans increasingly feared a return to the authority of Catholic Rome that characterized Continental Europe. The reforming zeal of William Laud (1573 – 1645) favored high church elaborate ceremony, deference to authority, and clerical hierarchy, and was pitched against both mainstream and dissenting Protestants who favored a low church focus on scripture, rejection of authority, and personal revelation. It was feared that Laud, and his royal support, would steer the


nation towards a reconciliation (or be brought to heel, depending on one’s viewpoint) with the Pope.

The Civil Wars, and Interregnum and Protectorate (ca. 1651 – 1660) caused unprecedented religious, political, and social upheaval, and ultimately resulted in regicide. However, the despotic rule of Oliver Cromwell (1569 – 1658) resulted in a factionist and gridlocked parliament, and wide-spread dissatisfaction with the outcome of the war. The ultimate effect was that the utopian society envisioned by parliamentary faction, the victors of the Civil Wars, dissolved into near anarchy. Upon the death of Cromwell, Charles II (1630 – 1685), the deposed and exiled son of Charles I, was quickly invited to take back the throne.

The Restoration of 1660 initiated one of the most exuberant periods in English history. Charles II’s return from exile was widely celebrated, and under him the arts flourished in an explosion of pent-up energy. Politically, Parliament was now in a position of increased power – it was they who invited Charles back, after all. With the notion of the divine right of kings undone by the beheading of Charles I, Charles II, though popular, did little to strengthen the concept of monarchy. Instead, the rising power of Parliament gave most English citizens unprecedented governmental representation, and the relatively new idea of parliamentary monarchy proved popular in Restoration England. The death of Charles II without heir, and the succession of his brother, openly Catholic James II (1633 – 1701), however, instigated a new crisis: not only was the religion of James II at odds with his status as head of the Church of England, but he found himself (recalling his father and grandfather) increasingly in conflict with Parliament. This new hostility between king and Parliament culminated in James’s overthrow in the so-called Glorious Revolution in 1688.
Anglican Supremacy 1688 – 1745

Parliament’s invitation to William III (r. 1689 – 1702) and Mary II (r. 1689 – 1694) to take the throne of England firmly and finally settled the question of a Protestant succession. However, there was the lingering threat from the Jacobites, the descendants and supporters of James II. The likelihood of a Jacobite restoration is a key motivator in the feelings of unease that plagued the early eighteenth century. The Jacobites had ready support in Scotland until 1746, and in England some Tory officials within the court of William and Mary and, later, Anne hedged their bets by maintaining ties to the court of James II, exiled in France. The Jacobite threat was real and present; the two most significant Jacobite uprisings were in 1715 and 1745, the ‘45 being the final defeat of the Jacobite cause in the bloody Battle of Culloden.

When it became obvious that William was going to die without an heir, the threat of a Jacobite succession became all the more pressing. James Francis Edward, the “Old Pretender” and natural son of James II, had the strongest claim to the throne of England. To exclude him from the English throne, the 1701 Act of Settlement secured a Protestant succession through Sophia of Hanover, a Dutch-born, German princess and a granddaughter of James I. Upon the childless death of William, Anne (r. 1702 – 1714), younger sister to Mary I, ascended the throne. Anne was a generally popular queen whose foremost consideration was the wellbeing of her subjects, the prosperity of her nation (which unified with Scotland to become Great Britain in 1707), and the maintenance of the Church of England.

The childless death of Anne in 1714 brought to the Act of Settlement to fruition. Per its stipulations, the Protestant son of Sophia, Georg Ludwig, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg and Elector of Hanover, became George I of England (r. 1714 -1727). While the Jacobite threat did not subside under the reign of George I, it was less immediate, and the Whig ministry that
dominated the eighteenth century was passionately opposed to the Tory party that had kept the Jacobite cause in their back pockets, so to speak, during the reigns of William and Anne. Accelerating a trend begun at the Restoration, during the reign of George I the mantle of government was passed along from a personal monarch to a representational one, headed essentially by Parliament and overseen by a Prime Minister, a position created for Robert Walpole (1676 – 1745). The final defeat of the Jacobite cause in 1745 ushered in a period of unmatched peace and prosperity in England. The event turned a page from the religious and political turmoil that had ravaged the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and created a feeling of comfortable tranquility and a culture of civility in the mid-eighteenth.

**Two Extremes: Catholicism and Nonconformity**

On the one hand, the English people felt a general and widespread anxiety following the Glorious Revolution of 1688 about Catholics. The English equated Catholicism with religious and political absolutism, which they considered antithetical to the freedom characteristic of the English nation and people. In his *Letters Concerning the English Nation*, Voltaire remarked on this palpable sense of English liberty,

> But here follows a more essential difference between Rome and England, which gives the advantage entirely to the latter, viz. that the civil wars of Rome ended in slavery, and those of the English in liberty.⁵

On the other hand, there was the on-going issue of ultra-Protestant nonconformity, or Dissent. The most significant of the recognized Nonconformist sects, some of which were granted toleration under the Act of 1689, were Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, and Quakers. The thread that connected these Nonconformist denominations was a rejection of the authority of official Anglican hierarchy. Coupled with the theological doctrine of personal

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revelation from God as opposed to clerical interpretation, the religious views of the now protected Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, and Quakers, which disavowed ecclesiastical authority in general and the supremacy of the Anglican Church in particular, could potentially jeopardize the hard-won stability and supremacy of the Church of England.

To an Anglican after 1688, Nonconformity and Catholicism occupied two extreme ends of the political spectrum. The nation of France and the expansionist motives of Louis XIV (1638 – 1715), for example, were seen as Catholicism run rampant. Louis’ persecution of French Protestants following his revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 only deepened the English aversion to the Sun King. According to Andrew Marvell in An Account of the Growth of Popery, and Arbitrary Government in England (1677):

There has now for diverse Years, a design been carried on, to change the Lawfull Government of England into an Absolute Tyranny, and to convert the established Protestant Religion into down-right Popery: the both which, nothing can be more destructive or contrary to the Interest and Happinesse, to the Constitution and Being of the King and Kingdom.⁶

Following this line of reasoning, a return to the Catholic fold of Europe would strip the English of the freedom (a concept linked to parliamentary representation and the lack of government censorship) they had come to see as their birthright.

Earlier in the seventeenth century, and perhaps even still within living memory, the most extreme form of Nonconformity had led to civil war, regicide, and a failed experiment in parliamentary democracy under Oliver Cromwell. Politically, Nonconformity was equated with the near anarchy that precipitated the English Civil Wars, and followed the failed democratic experiment of the Commonwealth and Protectorate. According to J.D.C Clark,

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war soon brought to prominence in England a sectarian Protestantism that in its extreme forms rejected the validity of the state church ideal itself and sought instead to create ‘gathered churches’ of religious zealots.\(^7\)

Recalling the uneasy shifting between doctrines of the early Anglican church, English society at the beginning of the eighteenth century attempted to tread a delicate middle-ground between the two extremes of Catholicism and Nonconformity. The upheavals of the early seventeenth century were due almost exclusively to religious conflict between the three faith traditions, and the horrific effects of division remained in the national consciousness of the English people for many years after 1688. The result was a lasting anxiety over the stability of the English nation, either of lapsing back into destabilized Nonconformist anarchy, or of becoming a totalitarian, absolutist Catholic state.

*The London Musical Establishment 1660 – 1727*

A crucial component of the exuberance of the Restoration court was the reestablishment of the musical household. Charles II was fond of music and dancing, and he brought with him to England the latest French musical fashions, breathing new life into music for court and chapel. The most significant new musical form was the “symphony anthem.” Directly modeled on the *grand motets* of the Chapel Royal in France, symphony anthems were accompanied by a specialized string band called the Four-and-twenty Fiddlers (modeled after the *Vingt-Quatre Violons du Roi*), and contained orchestral ritornellos between each verse of text, and usually an introductory symphony. Diarist and amateur musician Samuel Pepys was present for, apparently, one of the first symphony anthems, noting in the entry for 7 September, 1662, that he heard at the chapel at Palace of Whitehall “a most excellent anthem, with symphonys between, sung by Captain Cooke.”\(^8\) Captain Henry Cooke (1616 – 1672; he achieved the rank of captain in the

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\(^7\) Clark, *From Restoration to Reform*, 83.

royalist forces) was the Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal at the outset of the Restoration. While the symphony anthem was inaugurated by him, the genre would continue to develop and reach its fullest potential under his pupils, the most prominent of which were Pelham Humfrey (1647/58 – 1674), John Blow (1648 – 1708), Henry Purcell (1659 – 1695), and William Turner (1651 – 1740).

The symphony anthem blossomed under the pens of these composers. A large output of the sacred music of Blow and Purcell are symphony anthems, and Pelham Humfrey did not live long enough to write anything else. Nevertheless, the genre did not sit well with those who viewed French (and therefore Catholic) tastes with suspicion. John Evelyn wrote in his own diary on 21 December, 1662, “One of [Charles II’s] Chaplains preach’d, after which, instead of the ancient, grave, and solemn wind musiq accompanying the organ, was introduced a concert of 24 violins between every pause, after the French fantastical light way, better suiting a tavern or playhouse than a church.”

William III was a Calvinist at heart, and sympathized with the viewpoint of Evelyn and those like him. Using the decades of back-payment owed to the musicians as justification, William slashed the musical household to its essentials. The band of violins was disbanded, and while some of its members were absorbed into the King’s Musick, everyone had to seek employment elsewhere; for instance, the bulk of Purcell’s theater music is a result of this sudden change, as he looked for jobs outside of the court. From now on, the organ would be the only instrument in anthem accompaniment (notwithstanding a viol and theorbo as continuo instruments, and occasional large-scale orchestral anthems). The written-out organ ritornellos which begin to appear in the music of Clarke and Croft at this time were likely meant to “fill in” for the orchestral sections between verses.

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Most people were thankful when the throne passed from William to Anne – William was never very popular and was not widely mourned. Anne had been the primary patron of the traditional Chapel establishment during her time as princess. According to Robert Bucholz, music was one major art form in which Anne took an active interest from the first… Throughout the reigns of James II and William III, while the court was, for the most part, neglecting the work of the choir and allowing its number to dwindle, Princess Anne continued to patronize individual members, such as Henry Purcell and William Turner, for birthday odes and occasional piece. … Once on the throne, though Anne did not restore the orchestral accompaniment of anthems discontinued by William in 1689, she did bring the choir back up to strength…”

Because Anne was an ardent defender of Anglicanism, there was a high church groundswell during her time on the throne, due in some part to the brilliant English campaign during the War of Spanish Succession (1701 – 1714), and her preference for moderate, high church Tories, as opposed to radical, low church Whigs. The Chapel Royal during Anne’s reign saw the employment of Jeremiah Clarke (1674 – 1707), John Weldon (1676 – 1736), and William Croft (1678 – 1727), the composers who would carry the “spirit of quiet yet confident Anglicanism” through the reign of George I. But the reinvigorated musical establishment still did not free English musicians from the need to seek further employment. Pluralism, where a choir member would hold multiple posts at one time, limited performing forces considerably. Indeed, even though Anne produced a well-balanced budget, she and George I were simply short on the kind of cash that would provide for a sparkling musical household. The reasons behind the cultural shift away from the royal court in the early eighteenth century are numerous and some were long standing. Suffice it to say that the era of the court as a cultural bellwether was irrevocably coming to a close.

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Stylistically, by the time of Croft, Clarke, and Weldon, sacred choral music, and indeed all musical genres, were moving away from piercing and affective harmonic dissonances characteristic of late-seventeenth century music, which were smoothed over to fit the politer tastes of the eighteenth century. Writers and composers towards the middle of the eighteenth century looked askance upon the characteristic use of dissonances for moments of intense pathos that lent a certain edge to Restoration-era sacred music. Perhaps no one was as critical of the piquancy of Restoration sacred music as Charles Burney, who, in the third volume of his General History of Music (1789) is harshly critical of John Blow’s “crudities” (Figure 0.1), giving several pages’ worth of extracts illustrating augmented and diminished harmonies, cross-relations, and parallel motion, which are indicated by a small cross above the offensive part. As Burney says,

I am sorry to see, as to say, how confused and inaccurate a harmonist [Blow] was… He has been celebrated by Dr. Boyce, for “his success in cultivating and uncommon talent for modulation”; but how so excellent a judge of correct and pure harmony could tolerate his licences, or reconcile them to his monumental character, and the additional praise he has himself bestowed upon him, is as unaccountable a thing as any in Blow’s compositions…”

In revealing his prejudices against Blow, Burney was articulating mid-eighteenth century attitudes, which viewed music as a pleasurable pastime, and conscientiously cultivated a musical style that was urbane, polite, and refined. Charles Avison’s Essay on Musical Expression (1752) is a classic example of musical thought in the middle of the century. His argument was that “Expression” is the result of a balance between “Melody and Air,” and that,

One of the best general Rules, perhaps, that can be given for musical Expression, is that which gives Rise to the Pathetic in every other art, an unaffected Strain of Nature and Simplicity.

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In line with this cultural attitude, composers began to abandon the biting dissonances of Restoration sacred music around the turn of the eighteenth century. Taking the oeuvre of Croft and Weldon against that of Blow and Humfrey, for instance, we can see that consonance in harmony and counterpoint was overtaking the dissonant and beguiling piquancy of late seventeenth century music.

English composers were forced to adapt to their situation. It was perhaps coincidental but nonetheless a boon to them that the stylistic lingua franca of the early eighteenth century favored monody and a chordal accompaniment instead of full contrapuntal textures. Thank to this trend, the majority of sacred music between 1688 and 1727 falls into the category of verse or solo anthem. According to Robert Scandrett, “a considerable portion of the verse anthems of Croft is made up of solo song in the form of recitative, arioso and aria. Although choral movements appear in nearly all the anthems, in many cases there are more sections for solos and ensembles than for full chorus.”¹³ Likewise the only publication of John Weldon’s sacred music, Divine Harmony (1716), is a set of six solo anthems “Compos’d on several Occasions by Mr. Jn” Weldon, Organist of his Majestys Chappell Royal, and there Performed by the late Famous Mr. Richard Elford.”¹⁴ Full anthems were written as usual but in far fewer numbers. Even then, the standard form of the full anthem was tripartite, with full chorus movements flanking a contrasting middle movement, usually for a small vocal ensemble. The style of monody and the depletion of choir members relegated the use of the full chorus to short and perfunctory-sounding marginal roles at the end of most verse and solo anthems, never more so than when the text is “Alleluia,” often set in a dance-like triple meter.

This rather bleak picture of the Anglican choral establishment in the early eighteenth century does not do justice to the level of professionalism that was maintained, and the care that composers put into their work. Sacred music was still a valid medium for personal artistic expression, and the wide public interest in sacred music can be easily seen from the inception of the Three Choirs Festival in about 1713, an annual event which was from the outset, and continues to be, devoted entirely to sacred music. The preponderance of verse and solo anthems in the Chapel Royal repertory can and should be read as an innovation. Solo song could be a medium of intense expression, and in the hands of a skilled soloist, such as the bass John Gostling (1650 – 1733) or countertenor Richard Elford (1677 – 1714), could reach previously untouched heights of pathos.

*The Theatrical Style*

Taken as a whole, anthems written between 1688 and 1727 incorporated Italianate, aria-like forms, an indication that church composers were active players in a multifaceted, cosmopolitan musical milieu. There are two primary culprits for the encroachment of what was called the theatrical style into church music that writers and preachers such as Roger North, Arthur Bedford, and John Boydell, and musicians such Thomas Tudway criticized in their writings (discussed fully in chapters One and Two, respectively), and that composers were in some measure responsible for introducing into their music: 1) orchestral ritornellos, or “symphonies” between vocal passages; and 2) virtuosic vocal solos.

In the preface to the second volume of the Harley collection of Anglican sacred music, Thomas Tudway remarks that the orchestral introductions and ritornellos and the proclivity for triple-time movements that characterize the Restoration-era symphony anthem genre were the
result of the “brisk, & Airy” personality of Charles II. Becoming bored with the “Grave and Solemn way” of pre-Restoration Anglican music, Charles encouraged the most talented children of the Chapel Royal, that is, Blow, Turner, and above all, Humfrey,

To add Symphonys &c with Instruments to their Anthems; and thereupon Establish’d a select number of his private music, to play the Symphonys, & Retornellos which he had appointed.

With the establishment of the Four-and-twenty Fiddlers, and with the encouragement of Charles II, the symphony anthem genre became firmly entrenched in the Chapel Royal repertory. However, the secularized quality of this genre was noted by the writer and amateur musician Roger North, who connected its overwhelming use of triple-time, which he called “step tripla,” with Charles II’s preference for quick, strongly rhythmic music: “He could not bear any musick to which he could not keep the time, and that he constantly did to all that was presented to him, and for the most part heard it standing.”

Tudway was also critical of the genre, noting in the preface to the second volume of the Harley Collection,

But the Composers… being Charm’d, with what they heard at White Hall [the royal palace in London], never consider’d how improper such Theatrical performances are, in religious worship; How such performances, work more upon the fancy, than the passions, and serve to create delight, than to Augment & actuate devotion.

Thou art my King, O God (Appendix, Table 0.1) by Pelham Humfrey is a good example of the symphony anthem form. Furthermore, the symphony (Example 0.1), which recurs as a ritornello, is in a strongly accented triple-time, North’s “step tripla,” and illustrates the levity of this style that Tudway condemned. For North and Tudway, the preponderance of triple time

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16 Ibid., 437.
18 Tudway, quoted in Spink, Restoration Cathedral Music, 437.
added flippancy to the act of divine service that was considered inappropriate, and, according to Tudway, would “draw off our minds, from what we ought to be most intent on, & make us wholly attend, to the pleasing, & Agreeable variety of the sounds…”19

By the turn of the eighteenth century, symphony anthems were impossible to produce at the Chapel Royal because the string orchestra had been disbanded by William III, and nearly every English composer cultivated a more consonant, Italianate style. This left the second and perhaps the more egregious source of the theatrical style in Anglican music: the vocal solo. By 1700 in England, Italianate and monodic compositional practices had almost totally overtaken French, polyphonic ones, and were proving invigorating to composers in all genres. What is more, the composers of the Chapel Royal, by chance historical circumstance, were lucky to have magnificent singers like John Gostling and Richard Elford within their ranks, who not only had the virtuosic skill of opera singers, but reached a comparable level of fame. The passage illustrated in Example 0.2, from Blessed be the Lord my strength by John Weldon, typifies the vocal solo style. This anthem comes from Divine Harmony, a collection of solo anthems, all by Weldon, and all written specifically for Elford. Not only is it a solo anthem, but the title reads “An Anthem Sung by Mr Elford at his Majestys Chappell Royall.”20 Here, then, is an anthem for a famous vocal soloist, sung before the king in the most prestigious musical establishment in the kingdom, and composed to show off the singer’s ability.

Passages such as in Example 0.2 would have flown right in the face of a writer dedicated to moderation in worship and a composer to the grave and solemn style. Specifically, the four beats accorded to the first syllable of “people” in mm. 15 – 16 can hardly be said to illustrate the text in any meaningful way. Likewise, the rising melodic contour of the sixteenth-note melisma on

19 Ibid., 437.
20 Weldon, Divine Harmony, 4.
the second syllable of “subdue” is arguably the opposite of how that word might be set by a composer keeping restraint in the back of his mind, even though the word is the critical point of the sentence.

Passages such as Example 0.2 are not rare in or solo anthems or verse anthem solo movements. The MS collection of sacred music by Daniel Purcell held in the British Library, for instance, consists entirely of solo anthems the style seen in Blessed be the Lord my strength. In They that go down to the sea in ships (Example 0.3) Henry Purcell pairs the two traits of the theatrical style as defined by North and Tudway by opening with a triple-time orchestral symphony, and immediately following the movement with a highly virtuosic and picturesque bass vocal solo. This anthem was written in 1685, and shows that Purcell’s sacred music is stylistically more closely related to the earlier Restoration style, rather than the grave and solemn style of the early eighteenth century.

We wait for thy Loving kindness O Lord (Example 0.4) by William Croft is another good example of the vocal solo being used as a vehicle for virtuosity. The central movement is a duet between soprano solo and the cornet stop in the right hand of the organ accompaniment. The vocal agility in passages such as the sixteenth notes on “glad” are echoed in the organ; later, when the voice sustains “glad” for eight beats, the organ restates the sixteenth-note motif as a countermelody. After the Chapel Royal orchestra was disbanded, composers utilized the organ to fill in passages that would normally have been taken by strings, either as a ritornello, or, as in this case, as a duet partner with a vocalist. In this movement, Croft recalls the instrumental accompaniment of the symphony anthem (and perhaps even the court ode tradition), which writers such as Tudway and North criticized.
Some solo movements look very much indeed like recitative or arioso, such as the tenor solo in *Thou O God* (Example 0.5) by York composer Valentine Nalson (1683 – 1723). This brief passage uses two-beat sixteenth-note sequences to emphasize the word “dwell.” The music itself is not highly virtuosic, but it is the close connection to arioso, an operatic and/or secular style, that runs contrary to the tenets of the grave and solemn style. In *Sing unto God* by Croft (Example 0.6), the connection to recitative is impossible to miss; in general, it is not uncommon to find recitative and arioso in anthem collections.

The use of instrumental accompaniment, the practice of recitative and arioso, and above all theatrical-sounding vocal virtuosity in anthems illustrates that the writers and preachers who decried the theatrical style were perceptive listeners, whose ideas about secular music practices being applied to church music were based on a sensitive understanding of their subject.
Chapter One

Sermons and the Ethos of Religious and Musical Moderation

Up until the hard-won Anglican supremacy of 1688, religion was in many ways the most important factor in the conflicts of seventeenth-century England, and the outlook of those who experienced those conflicts was characterized by the desire to avoid further turmoil. Understanding this perspective is a key element in sketching the cultural milieu out of which a distinctive style of Anglican sacred music arose. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the cultural background through a discussion of “music sermons,” to borrow a term coined by Pierre Dubois, a sermon genre that both defended the use of music in church, and defined what the appropriate style of church music was.

The opinion of the majority of Anglicans between 1688 and 1727 was that the road to ruin lay in over-exuberance in belief and worship practices. On the one hand, extensive, complicated ritual and ceremony, and sophisticated music, seemed like Catholicism; on the other hand, the supreme focus on the interpretation and transmission of scripture, and the iconoclastic views that criticized ceremonial elements, seemed like Nonconformity. Too much of either would be the undoing of the Church, and the undoing of England. The aesthetic that was sought by the powers-that-be within the Church of England was one that conscientiously avoided anything incendiary, and brought as many people into the Anglican fold as possible by avoiding extreme or divisive doctrinal positions.

The outlook became, in a word, moderate. According to John Walsh and Stephen Taylor,

The cohesion of the eighteenth-century Church was strengthened by a cult of religious moderation…. Philippians 4.5 became a much-used text, which was seen as epitomizing the spirit of Hanoverian churchmanship: ‘Let your moderation be known unto all men.’… The very intensity of clerical controversies in the post-Revolutionary decades provoked a reaction
towards moderation. By the 1740s there were signs that they were beginning to subside. Philip Doddridge noted gratefully in 1744, ‘I think our Clergy grow more moderate.’

According to Robert Tombs,

there are many signs of a deliberate rejection of extremism – “enthusiasm,” “fanaticism,” hypocrisy,” “superstition,” – whether “Popish” or “Puritan.” It became common to praise the virtues of moderation, sincerity and rationality…

Moderation became a defining feature of not only the religious, but also the social climate, as can be seen in *The Tatler No. 220* by Joseph Addison. In this engaging piece of fiction, the writer has invented a “church thermometer” which gauges the religious climate of its surroundings; the scale runs thus,

- Ignorance
- Persecution
- Wrath
- Zeal
- CHURCH
- Moderation
- Lukewarmness
- Infidelity
- Ignorance

According to the Addison,

The reader will observe that the church is placed in the middle point of the glass, between Zeal and Moderation, the situation in which she always flourishes, and in which every good Englishman wishes her who is a friend to the continuation of his country.

According to William Gibson, later in the century, “charity, civic humanism, politeness and Anglicanism were connected in an ideal of moderation….” An Anglican in the early eighteenth century who pondered the lessons of the seventeenth saw that the primary cause of the multiple upheavals of those “sad and distracted times” was over-zealous religious conviction, either

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towards a reconciliation with Catholicism, or towards the decentralizing principles of Nonconformity. In sum, in the eighteenth century moderation was the stance by which the Anglican church would both ward off the religious zealotry that was a primary cause of the turmoil of the seventeenth century, and cement its authority beyond all challenge. One of the immediate needs in charting this middle-ground course was to find a suitable vindication for church music – that is, to ensure the continuation of the art but in a manner that was free of Catholic influence while also shielding the official liturgy from the attacks of Nonconformist sects.

*Music Sermons*

Music was one of the most contested aspects of worship throughout the seventeenth century, and the use of music in divine service waxed and waned with every change of the political tide (which parallels the general state of the Anglican church). There was a flowering of sacred music under James I and Charles I, when the Chapel Royal and cathedrals throughout the country were served by composers such as Orlando Gibbons, Thomas Tomkins, and William Child. Puritans, however, decried sophisticated art music in church, and under Cromwell all church music, except for a cappella, congregational singing of psalms, was banned. In fits of Puritanical zeal, choir stalls were demolished, music books destroyed, and organs dismantled, either saved where they could be, or their pipes melted to make ammunition. The pendulum swung again after the Restoration, and one of Charles II’s highest priorities was to get the sacred music establishment back up and running. Under the command of Captain Henry Cook the Chapel Royal was rebuilt from the ground up, and filled with the brightest musical talents from every part of the country: John Blow from Newark, Pelham Humfrey probably from London, Michael Wise from Salisbury, and William Turner from Oxford. These composers would go on to fill the most
important musical posts in the country, and instruct the next generation of composers, who would carry the Anglican choral establishment into the eighteenth century.\(^{26}\)

Due to the wide range of opinions that surrounded the use of music in divine worship, Anglican clerics such as Arthur Bedford, John Boydell, and Ralph Battell felt compelled to preach on the subject of sacred music. About sixty-five music sermons were published between 1660 and 1820.\(^{27}\) The key concept of these sermons is a defense of sacred music from Catholic influence on the one hand, and Nonconformist criticism on the other, usually by presenting the reader with two theses. The first, and usually the main objective of the sermon, is to defend church music, and to demonstrate its appropriateness and necessity in divine service, drawing on Biblical texts that specifically mention music, especially the Book of Psalms. The second objective is to define a style of sacred music free of perceived secularisms (that is, theater and dance music) and thus above the reproach of Nonconformist arguments against it.

**Defending Sacred Music**

The most common defense of Anglican sacred music is the scriptural basis for making a “joyful noise unto the Lord,” as Psalm 100 instructs. To this end, most music sermons are either written on a text from the book of Psalms, or discuss the psalms extensively. Thirty-one of the sixty-five music sermons listed by Pierre Dubois are written on psalm texts, and the most popular passages are those that specifically assert the use of vocal and instrumental praise, such as Psalms 81, 100, and 150. Probably the most comprehensive list of scriptural allusions to music comes from *The Excellency of Divine Musick* (1733) by Arthur Bedford. About twelve pages of a total of twenty-seven detail where music is mentioned in the Bible. Many references occur in the


psalms, but Bedford extends his purview to the complete Old and New Testaments. Detailed footnotes on each page show the exact location of the passages of scripture.28 For instance, the footnote on page eleven, where Bedford shifts from referencing primarily psalms to other scriptural allusions to music, lists Psalms 95: 1 – 3, 100: 1, 3, and 98: 1, 4, along with Colossians 3: 3, 16, 17, and James 5: 13.29

A number of music sermons were written on Biblical texts outside of the psalms, and usually discuss the power of music to guide the “correct” spirit for worship. For instance, *Psalmody Recommended* (1712) by Luke Milbourne is written on 2 Chronicles 29:3030, and *Musick the Delight of the Sons of Men* (1726) by Thomas Bisse (and dedicated to William Croft) on Ecclesiastes 2:831. *The Right Use and Improvement of Sensitive Pleasures* by Peter Senhouse (1728) is written on Genesis 27:432. This sermon asserts that the sensitive pleasures (i.e. physical senses) make humans fit for the reception of the Holy Spirit, because “sensitive Pleasures, considered as an Enjoyment of God’s Goodness, naturally raise up our Hearts to the Love of him… wherever the Love of God is, there also is the Holy Spirit of God effectually working.”33 Senhouse thus articulates a fundamental argument of the music sermon; that music is “best qualified to receive the Impressions of the divine Goodness, and convey them to our Perception, in Pleasures unstained and undisguised by any earthly Mixture.”34

Ralph Battell, in *The Lawfulness and Expediency of Church-Musick Asserted* (1693), went so far as to give a list of five justifications of music in church, seemingly paraphrased from one

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29 Ibid., 11.
32 Peter Senhouse, *The right Use and Improvement of sensitive Pleasures, and more particularly of Musick* (London: John Palmer, 1727).
34 Ibid., 14.
“Mr. Baxter, a considerable man esteemed amongst those of the Separation [i.e., Nonconformists].” The fifth of these is,

Nothing can be said against it [church music], but what may be said against Tunes and Melody of Voice; and whereas some say that they find it to do them Harm, yet all wise Men say, they find it to do them good: and why should the experience of some prejudiced self-conceited Persons, or of a half man that knoweth not what Melody is, be set against the experience of all others, and deprive them of such Helps and Mercies as these People say they find no benefit by?³⁵

Nonconformity

Battell’s “prejudiced self-conceited Persons” is code for Nonconformists – that is, Presbyterians, Baptists, Congregationalists, Quakers, and any of the numerous sects that disavowed Anglican authority and clerical hierarchy in favor of the autonomy of every person and church body. Taken as a whole, music sermons are mostly devoted to refuting the Nonconformist position of banning church music, and indeed opposition to Anglican worship practices comes primarily from the Nonconformist side. This attitude did not die out with the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, as is evidenced by the attack on organs in church in James Owen’s *Church-pageantry display’d, or, Organ-worship, arraign’d and condemn’d* (1700). Owens’s argument is that the increasing use of organs would lead to a complete breakdown of religious order:

If you are empower’d to bring in so considerable a thing as a pair of Devotional Organs, why mayn't you by the same Power fill the Church with a great many more new fangl’d Ceremonious Superstitions? And at this rate, why mayn't we expect a superfætation of Articles, and new Schemes of Religion ev'ry new Year? And a spawning of Novel Creeds and equipping out of Organical Confessions every Spring.³⁶

Excluding *a cappella* singing of congregational psalms, Nonconformist ideals were completely and totally opposed to the use of music in church. This viewpoint had been played out to

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³⁶ James Owen, *Church-pageantry display’d, or, Organ-worship, arraign’d and condemn’d* (London: A. Baldwin, 1700), 4.
devastating consequences during the Civil Wars, where church music was proscribed under Oliver Cromwell. Following the Restoration, the Church of England and its musical heritage would face a similar threat if Nonconformist sects ever gained anything like their former political power again. Those who wrote and delivered music sermons after the Restoration and their readership knew full well that sacred music was potentially under a real-world threat, and that opposition was always poised to attack.

Catholicism

Because the Catholic Church had no such proscriptions of music in worship, there seemed to sermon writers no clear way of defending Anglican sacred music against Catholic doctrine. Therefore Anglican criticism tended to emphasize the notion that overelaborate art music would open the door to Catholic sympathy. For instance, James Owen saw organs as contemptible popery:

Organ-Worship is a Popish Neotrical [i.e., modern] practice, foisted into the Church, when Church-Men had prostituted 'mselves to the Babylonian Whore; and ever since this and such like Meritorious Pomp has been accounted the greatest Splendor of the Romish Hierarchy.37

Another pointed criticism of the Catholic musical tradition comes from Sampson Estwick in *The Usefulness of Church Musick* (1696), where, in defense of Anglican sacred music, he blames the “Practice of the Church of Rome, which has fram'd and contriv'd her Praises more to the Honour of Men than of God; and not only so; but she has lock'd up the few sound Pieces of Devotion remaining in their Breviary, in a Language not understood by the generality of their People [Latin].”38

There was no great affinity between Anglicans and Catholics, but with the guaranteed Protestant succession after 1700 it was generally the political implications of religious doctrine

37 Owen, *Church-pageantry disply’d*, 23.
38 Samuel Estwick, *The Usefulness of Church-Musick* (London: Thomas Bennet, 1696), 20.
rather than the music of the Catholic religion that caused distress among Anglicans. What is more, Catholic musicians had served in the private chapels of the consorts of James I, Charles I, Charles II, and James II and, in some cases, Catholic chapels even had something of an allure, drawing ordinary citizens in to see the ceremony and hear the music, especially the bizarre novelty of castrato singers. John Evelyn notes in his diary entry on January 30, 1686,

I heard the famous eunuch Cifaccio [Siface] sing in the new Popish Chapell this afternoon; it was indeede very rare, and with greate skill. He came over from Rome, esteemed one of the best voices in Italy. Much crowding – little devotion.39

Unlike Nonconformist doctrine, Catholics did not refute the use of music in church. Therefore, to distance themselves from Catholicism, Anglicans were careful to avoid the theatricality, the “much crowding – little devotion,” that surrounded Catholic sacred music, lest it open the doors to Catholic sympathy. The flagrancy of the royal court and chapel under Charles I, which was sympathetic to Catholicism, was one of the primary motivators in his fall from grace. The powerful legacy of the Civil Wars was so strong that both moderate Anglicans and Nonconformists, as seen in James Owen, were on the alert for any sign of “popery.” Therefore, if the objective of music sermons was to make the music of the Church of England part of the defense against the Catholic influence, then a recipe was needed that would distinguish Anglican music from Catholic music, and, more specifically, temper the perceived Catholic-influenced over-enthusiasm in Anglican worship practices. In one swoop, Anglican sacred music that conformed to the more moderate ideals that characterized religious and social life would strip Nonconformist opposition of its ammunition, and sufficiently fortify the Church of England from the encroachment of Catholic sympathies.

39 Bray, Memoirs of John Evelyn, 222.
Grave and Solemn Music

After preachers had settled the question of whether or not composed art music should be allowed in the church (answer: it should), they set about the second thesis of music sermons, which was to outline exactly what kind of music was best suited to the worship service. In some ways, the technical musical details included in music sermons tend to be cursory or vague. After all, these are not musical treatises, but documents of social and religious history, likely given to congregations with a low level of musical literacy. Even in sermons given to the congregations that included trained professionals and educated amateurs during the annual St. Cecilia’s Day celebration or the Three Choirs Festival, specific theoretical details are minimal.

It was the encroachment of the so-called theatrical style into church music that caused the most consternation among the apologists of sacred music such as Roger North (1651–1734), a skilled aristocratic amateur musician who provided colorful and detailed commentary on all aspects of music in England between 1688 and about 1728. Regarding the inappropriateness of the concertato style in church in “Ecclesiasticall Musick” (ca. 1726),

if, as they say, consorts and operas are introduced in some forrein churches, it is in the place of anthems, and belong to the theatricall kind… being intended for public entertainment; and are no part of the service, as the hymnes and psallmodys are, which must retain their solemnity.  

In general, it was the effect of drawing the mind away from sacred devotion that was the primary concern of writers who expressed unease with the present state of sacred music. The preacher John Boydell notes that,

Evil Spirits are permitted to make Use of the Passions of the mind, and the ill Humours of the Body, to disturb the Man; and that Musick has a very great Power to qualify the Disorder, by repelling evil Thoughts, and quelling those vicious Inclinations…

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40 Wilson, Roger North on Music, 267.
41 John Boydell, The church organ; or, a vindication of grave and solemn musick in Divine Service (London: the author, 1727), 12.
For sacred music to prove defensible it had to preserve its appropriateness, and composers had to maintain the sense of solemnity associated with religious observance. Thomas Mace, in the first part of *Musick’s Monument* (1676), gives a scriptural basis for the church music: “Tis very well worth noting how St. Paul instructed the *Ephesians*, chap. 5 vers. 18, & 19. Thus. Be fulfilled with the Spirit, speaking to yourselves in *Psalms and Hymns*, and, *spiritual Songs; singing and making melody to the Lord in your hearts, &c.*” Mace was writing from a secular vantage point, but his essay on sacred music, which forms the entire first part of *Musick’s Monument*, clearly toes the line set by preachers. In practical terms, according to Mace,

The Musician should observe to cast all such *Psalms* as are concerning Humiliation, Confession, Supplication, Lamentation or Sorrow, &c. into a flat, solemn, mournful Key; and on the contrary, all such as are concerning Rejoycing, Praising of God, giving Thanks or extolling his wondrous works or goodness, &c. into a sharp, sprightly, brisk Key; contriving for both as much Majesty and Stateliness as can be found out in the Art, which abounds with plenty.

Mace crucially advocated, in the final sentence, that music that conveys rejoicing and music that conveys lamentation should both be set in a style that is majestic and stately, which would preserve the dignity of divine service.

Arthur Bedford, in *Excellency of Divine Musick*, notes that “The Design of every Master of *Musick* in his *Compositions* is to move the Passions by Accommodating of Notes to Words; if the Words express Sorrow, Repentance or Humiliation, they are usually attended with long Notes, soft Movements, and most frequently in a *flat Close* or *Key*.” While Mace and Bedford both alerts their readers and listeners that minor keys are most suitable for penitential texts, it should be noted that the concept of *Affektenlehre* was not current in England in this period. And while a passage from John Hawkins’ *General History of Musick* (1776) does note that “those

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[keys] with the minor third are all calculated to excite the mournful affections,“

Rita Steblin, in *A History of Key Characteristics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* finds no writings in England to match the theories of key signatures and their related affections that were circulating in Germany and France. Hawkins’s view is perhaps indebted to his antiquarian outlook, and “the specific key characteristics … were probably Hawkins’ subjective impression.”

Nevertheless, composers and preachers alike were aware of the connection between minor keys and contriteness, and choice of key is one stylistic trait among those like slow tempo and long notes that characterize the grave and solemn style.

In *The Church-Organ: Or, A Vindicatio*n of **Grave and Solemn Musick in Divine Service* (1727), John Boydell, commenting on his old age, fondly recalls his contentment when “the Concert [i.e. the performance of sacred music] is managed with that soft, smooth, deliberate Air and Gravity, wherewith all solemn Ecclesiastical Offices ought to be attended.”

Further in the same work he writes,

One kind [of music] raises the Passions; another subdues them. Experience shewes, that as sharp, short, and spritely Airs, do invigorate the languid and dull: So the more soft, slow, and long Measures, do wonderfully compose the disorderly Passions, reducing them to a serene and sedate Temper.

And,

But when any Musical Instrument (for instance, an Organ) is dedicated to a sacred Use; surely it ought to be handled in the most sober, grave and solemn manner; and great Care taken, that the service of God, which should be advanced thereby, be not profaned.

Solemnity and gravity were the terms that Boydell applied to sacred music in order to characterize the style that was appropriate to divine service. As the following quotes

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49 Ibid., 35.
demonstrate, the attributes of solemnity, gravity, slowness, stateliness, piety, nobleness, majesty, and sobriety were typical of the general ideal of the church music style, and the descriptors Boydell used were taken up by other writers as well. According to Roger North, church music “requires a great share of the stately, without the least levity or extravagance; but having a clear and full harmony and most distinguishable air, suiting the subject, which is always pious and grave.”\textsuperscript{50} John Boydell wrote that organists should, “transgress not the grave and sober Laws of Church-Musick.”\textsuperscript{51} George Lavington said that sacred music, “can move majestically grave and slow.”\textsuperscript{52} Thomas Bisse wrote that, “the parts [choral voices], whether in Fuge or Counterpoint, generally recommend and set off the foregoing by a judicious succession; the solemnity and gravity of the former being relieved by the cheerfulness and vivacity of the following; and the briskness and levity of the these again are, as it were, check’d and apologized for by the majesty of the succeeding.”\textsuperscript{53} But it was Arthur Bedford who had the most forceful opinions regarding the grave and solemn style:

We should all be serious in the Worship of God, and affect that Musick, which is grave and solemn.\textsuperscript{54}

The Air of Divine Musick is contriv’d to charm the Soul into Sobriety and Gravity, and to fix her with the Delight in Meditation upon the most noble Objects.\textsuperscript{55}

Our antient Church Musick is lost, and that solid grave Harmony, fit for a Martyr to delight in, and an Angel to hear, is now chang’d into a Diversion for Atheists and Libertines, and that which Good Men cannot but lament.\textsuperscript{56}

A general sense of moderation was seen as the natural antidote to the devastating events of the seventeenth century. The rhetoric that surrounded Anglican sacred music attempted to

\textsuperscript{50} Wilson, \textit{Roger North on Music}, 125.
\textsuperscript{51} Ibid., 36.
\textsuperscript{52} Lavington, 17.
\textsuperscript{53} Bisse, \textit{Musick the Delight of the Sons of Men}, 17.
\textsuperscript{55} Ibid., 218.
\textsuperscript{56} Ibid., 209.
counter the main critiques that Nonconformist opposition hurled at the Church of England. The question was whether music was appropriate in church in any way shape or form, and if so, how that music should sound. The Anglican answer was unequivocally yes, but in order to guard the musical establishment from further criticisms, and to avoid the over-extravagance of musical styles from Catholic Europe, preachers argued for a grave and solemn style of church music as a safeguard. It was a fairly small task to detail the scriptural basis for music in worship, and the point of most music sermons of the period was to show that music was, indeed, essential to spiritual fulfillment based on scriptural evidence. Add to this the criteria asserted for the attainment of musical solemnity (gravity, stateliness, etc.) and the point was made: music was a crucial component of the Church of England, forever safe from questioning and critical opinions.
Chapter Two

“The most Celebrated Services and Anthems”:

Collections of Old and New Music to 1727

This chapter is an examination of two collections of Anglican sacred music, the first compiled by Thomas Tudway (c.1650 – 1726), professor of music at Cambridge University, and the second by James Hawkins (c.1672 – 1729), organist of Ely Cathedral. Tudway’s collection of sacred music, compiled for Edward, Lord Harley (1689 – 1741), between 1715 and 1720 (and therefore known as the Harley collection), comprises six massive volumes of “Ancient compositions” from “the Reformation to the reigne of our late Souvereigne Lady Queen Anne,” and is largely drawn from the Chapel Royal repertory, including up-to-the-minute works by living composers. The many volumes of sacred music copied by Hawkins for the Dean and Chapter of Ely take in a similar repertory, and which place music by Hawkins’ provincial contemporaries like John Ferabosco and Henry Loosemore alongside works by Blow, Purcell, and Croft. These two collections take in repertory from musical centers outside of London, chiefly the cathedrals, and they indicate that musicians in other parts of the country were responsive to the middle-ground social and religious objective that was centered in London, because, as will be shown, Hawkins collected provincial music that he considered to be at the level of the London repertory, and Tudway specifically stated that collecting music that was “Grave, solemn, & fitted to devotion,” was his primary intention.

Thomas Tudway and the Harley Collection

Thomas Tudway was one of the leading figures in the musical world of Cambridge. Becoming the organist of King’s College in 1670, and the university professor of music in 1705, Tudway was shown favor by Queen Anne who, after she denied him an official post in 1702, let

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him serve as an unofficial supernumerary composer to the court. The Harley collection, the project for which Tudway is best known, was begun under the patronage of Edward, Lord Harley, an avid bibliophile, antiquarian, and son of prominent Tory politician Robert Harley. Not long after Edward married in 1713 and settled into the Harley family estate at Wimpole Hall, near Cambridge, “the library became his consuming passion. Though actively engaged in his family's political life, he took a largely social interest in politics that lacked initiative.”

Edward’s antiquarian interests were strongly matched by Humfrey Wanley (1672 – 1726), the librarian at Wimpole Hall.

With the three men sharing an interest in early primary sources of literature, Harley was readily disposed to support the collection of sacred music proposed by Tudway. In the correspondences between Tudway and Wanley the first reference to a collection of sacred music comes from November 24, 1715 describing his acquisition of a manuscript of service music by “Tallis or Bird [sic].” According to William Webber, the “next reference to the collection, in the fourth letter, 8 January 1715/16, that Tudway seems to have a broader notion of a collection, for he states that he is grateful to John Church of the Chapel Royal for helping 'to compleat my volume of Ancient Church Musick.'” The collection grew in scope over the course of the next five years, reaching its final form of six monumental volumes by 1720.

Tudway lays out his intentions in collecting Anglican sacred music from the past two centuries in the prefaces to each of the six volumes of the Harley Collection. These prefaces include dedicatory addresses to Harley that portray him as a savior of neglected or forgotten “Ancient Compositions,” and volume six includes a short discourse on the history of music. But the ultimate purpose of the collection was to guard Anglican sacred music against the

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59 Ibid., 194.
encroachment of the “Levity, & wantonness” of the theatrical style by “rescuing from the dust, & Oblivion, our Ancient compositions of Church musick; at this time, so much mistaken, & dispis’d.” 60 The theme of saving the best examples of Anglican sacred music appears in nearly every preface, and the music Tudway sets up as the cream of the Anglican repertory reveals his views of that repertory, and the new styles that were making their way into Anglican services.

Tudway idealizes the Anglican sacred music of the past, which he idolizes as the “old, Grave, and solemn way.” 61 The prefaces emphasize the natural solemnity of the music of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries by acknowledged masters like Tallis, Byrd, and Gibbons, and Tompkins, along with lesser-known composers like Amner, Mundy, and Tye. Perhaps the most elegant expression of the indebtedness of early eighteenth-century composers to the music of their forbears comes from the preface of Croft’s *Musica Sacra* (1724), a two-volume collection, in score, of his own music:

In all the following Compositions I have endeavoured to keep in my View the Solemnity and Gravity of what may properly be called the Church-Style (so visible in the works of my Predecessors) as it stands distinguish’d from all those light Compositions which are used in Places more proper for such Performances… 62

Using historical music as a model, Tudway provides a tantalizing but frustratingly brief definition of the style of church music that avoided levity and inappropriateness of “those light Compositions”:

[the musicians of the Anglican church at the end of the sixteenth century] knew well, that operose, or Artificiall Musick, woud have no effect, to inspire true devotion, but wou’d rather excite, delight, and Pleasure; And therefore not fit, or proper to be admitted, within the doors of the Church; They kept closse therefore, ev’n to the Character, or Notes, long before us’d in Church Musick; viz: Breif, semebreif, minum &c, & forbid the makeing use of Notae diminutionis, that they might not in any wise, mix divine musick, with Secular. 63

61 Ibid., 437.
Tudway equated the perceived slowness of Elizabethan and Caroline sacred music as appropriate for use in church, relating his interpretation of the grave and solemn church style to the perspectives of the music sermons discussed in Chapter One. In Tudway’s mind, as in Croft’s and preachers’, the grave and solemn style (perhaps he would have called it the slow style) of earlier schools of sacred music was the mechanism by which over-exuberance would be kept at bay. For Tudway, it was crucial that the music of the Anglican church which had been allowed to pass into oblivion, and which was naturally solemn (or perceived as such) and appropriate for worship, be preserved and used as a model to instruct the current generation of composers.

Tudway lays the blame for the introduction of the inappropriate theatrical style squarely at the feet of Charles II, a “brisk, & Airy Prince,” and on the symphony anthems of the first generation of composers to reach maturity after the Restoration, namely Pelham Humfrey and John Blow. It is the effects of this style of music that are most grievous:

How such performances, work more upon the fancy, than the passions, and serve rather to create delight, than to Augment, & actuate devotion; And indeed all such light & Airy Compositions, do in their own Nature, draw off our minds, from what we ought to be most intent on....

Tudway may indeed have been aiming for solemnity by gathering music of long note-values, but the scarcity of this feature, along with a lack of tempo indications, at least as written in the MSS, makes it difficult to pin down exactly where Tudway was locating the solemnity as he described it (i.e., lack of orchestral accompaniment and long note values). The volumes that preserve repertory from the Restoration (MS 7338 – 7340) do not seem to expressly avoid symphony anthems, as they include a significant number of them alongside anthems with organ accompaniment. There are symphony anthems by Blow and Purcell, and instrumental accompaniment is simply unavoidable in the music of Humfrey.

64 Ibid., 437.
In the end, Tudway likely found it difficult to link what he wrote about the grave and solemn style in his prefaces with the music he included in the MSS. But just because Tudway’s definition does not precisely match up with the music that he chose to include, at least in reference to seventeenth-century repertory, does not mean that he had no grasp of the concept, or that it is not to be found within the collection. Rather, it means that his definitions of the aesthetic concept were fairly loose and difficult to pin down. Tudway, by explicitly defining what is not appropriate for church music (the symphony anthems from the time of Charles II and diminutions) implies a definition of what is appropriate.

In volumes five and six (MS 7341 and 7342) Tudway confined himself “to the works of living Authors only, except the famous Te Deum, & Jubilate of Mr. Henry Purcells.” Volume six is mostly made up of large-scale, orchestral, and occasional eighteenth-century repertory, such as William Croft’s orchestral Te Deum and Jubilate, the Utrecht Te Deum of Handel (because these two works fall under the category of service music, i.e., not anthems, they need not concern us here), and Arise, Shine, for thy light is come by Thomas Roseingrave, the last two written to celebrate the Peace of Utrecht in 1713. The thanksgiving services held at St. Paul’s Cathedral to celebrate the victories of the English during the War of Spanish Succession, though hardly solemn occasions, were momentous, and Tudway includes these two along with an orchestral anthem of his own to “celebrate the Peace.” Notwithstanding these monumental pieces, both volumes are devoted to contemporary music.

Because Tudway never altered his selection criteria, it follows that the music contained here falls in line with the “Grave, and solemn way” of the historical music included in earlier volumes. The contents of volumes five and six are tabulated in Table 2.1 in order to detail the makeup and highlight the patterns of distribution within them. What can be seen from Table 2.1

is that Tudway anchored the collection with the works of acknowledged masters, while also including pieces by his lesser-known contemporaries from different parts of England (and indulging in a bit of self-promotion). Because the music Tudway selected was intended to conform to the ideals of the grave and solemn style, as outlined in his prefaces, the music of these little-known figures bears comparison with the work of high-profile composers as exemplars of that style. While musical analysis will be the focus of Chapter Three, it can be reasonably stated here that the style Tudway endeavored to illustrate in his collection could indeed be found among musicians and composers beyond London, because he included them alongside historical models that were considered to be grave and solemn.

The Harley collection serves as a singularly important source for the music that was held up as the bastion of the Anglican church. Thomas Tudway succeeded in compiling a magisterial tome of the premier examples of historical and contemporary Anglican sacred music at a time when such a collection simply did not exist elsewhere, and the importance of the Harley collection in this regard is paramount. To further identify the grave and solemn style in eighteenth-century music that Tudway infused into the pages of the Harley collection, we must compare the contents of his work with another repository of early-eighteenth century repertory, of which there is only one: the MSS of James Hawkins.

*James Hawkins and the Ely Manuscripts*

Not far from Tudway in Cambridge, James Hawkins, organist of Ely Cathedral since 1682, was busy with a similar line of work. Copying down as much of the Anglican choral repertory as he was able, Hawkins compiled a vast collection of church music from the time of the Reformation to his own day. Hawkins himself was known in Cambridge circles; he was informally associated with St. John’s College and on personal terms with Tudway, even sending
him some music for the Harley project. But by and large, Hawkins was cloistered in Ely, busily copying music into scores and parts for the Dean and Chapter. As a matter of fact, he was a little too busy in this regard, for in 1693 they ordered that “the Organist shall not be allowd any bill for pricking books… unless his design shall be first allowd before he performs it.” 66 This hardly stopped the man from collecting and notating as much music as he could get his hands on, and the collections written in his hand span his entire tenure of nearly fifty years at Ely. He even passed on this copying zeal to his son, also James, who took down repertory of the mid-eighteenth century, including music by Handel and the young Maurice Greene.

Whereas Tudway was driven by the desires of a like-minded patron with strong political ties, Hawkins’ motivation was more personal and professional, for he diligently set about his work collecting as many of the best examples of sacred music as he could with little recourse to the political and religious currents of the day. The music that Hawkins preserved is essentially that which was seen to epitomize Anglican sacred music. The Chapel Royal repertory is represented heavily, reaching back to the Reformation of Tye and Tallis, but Hawkins kept up-to-date, including works by Blow, Purcell, Croft, and Clarke. Beyond music of the London school, Hawkins included generous amounts music by his near contemporaries, provincial organists and composers such as Thomas Bullis, Henry Loosemore, and John Ferabosco, all of Ely, Henry Hall, Michael Wise, and Henry Aldrich (Aldrich, dean of Christ Church, Oxford, was a widely respected polymath who adapted Italian sacred polyphony to English text). Hawkins’ musical selections indicate a fairly cosmopolitan outlook, and as the music preserved in score matches that preserved in the organ and choir part books, it is a fair conclusion that the congregation at Ely was regularly exposed to a wide variety of the best and most current sacred music.

66 Spink, Restoration Cathedral Music, 84.
As far as I am aware, no writings by Hawkins exist in regards to aesthetic theories. While there is no indication if his choice of music was in any way politically informed, with the high rate of literacy and the swell of publishing that ensued at this time, and the fact that his entire professional life was spent at a prominent cathedral, it is safe to deduce that Hawkins would have been familiar with the sermons and writings of the leading London preachers entreating a moderate, middle-ground social and religious outlook. In the end, preserving the best Anglican sacred music for future use was Hawkins’ prime motivation, and the repertory that he collected provides valuable insight into what an organist and composer of the time considered the highest achievement in the genre.

Out of the nine volumes of music that are almost completely in the hand of Hawkins Sr., which are now part of the Ely Dean and Chapter Collection held in the Cambridge University Library, MSS 5, 6, 7, 11, 17 – 21, MS 7 is devoted to music by Hawkins himself, and MS 11 to that of Tudway. In all volumes, verse anthems outnumber full anthems by a wide margin, and solo anthems are comparatively rare. In the table of contents that preface each volume, and presumably for his own quick reference, Hawkins lists the performing forces required for each anthem. An ATB trio is most common. Hawkins does not seem to favor music for soprano, instead reserving the soprano voice for the full chorus that had become an obligatory closing gesture in verse and solo anthems. While the contents of the Ely MSS are not organized in any specific order, earlier volumes tend to contain earlier music than later volumes. MS 5, for instance, contains music by Orlando Gibbons, John Amner (1579 – 1641), George Barcrofte (d. 1610), and John Farrant (late sixteenth century). Whether this is the result of any scheme is unlikely because any one volume could contain music from any point in Anglican history. MS 21, dated 1726 and partly in the hand of James Hawkins Jr., is a good representative of the
patchwork quality of old and new music. Table 2.2 lists the composers and performing forces found in MS 21 but omits titles for brevity’s sake, and keeps original spelling.

As Table 2.2 shows, there is a marked preference for music by Hawkins’ immediate predecessors and contemporaries, and the music of composers associated with the Chapel Royal. John Weldon is conspicuously absent, but his compositional activity was limited after he became an organist of the Chapel Royal. While some of the MS is in the hand of James Hawkins Jr., we can nevertheless see that a provincial musician was taking great care to engage with London musical culture, which is likely why Maurice Greene takes pride of place. MS 21 illustrates that the maintenance of historical music and the accessing of contemporary music were of equal importance in the outlook of a provincial workaday musician in the early eighteenth century. Because Hawkins would have had to make decisions about what contemporary music he could and could not write down, be it from time or monetary constraints, his choice was limited to those examples that maintained the standard of the historical models that were acknowledged as grave, solemn, and appropriate for worship by Tudway, music sermon writers, and presumably Hawkins himself. By collecting new music from London and other parts of the country and placing it in collections alongside historical music that was thought to meet the standard of gravity and solemnity, the contemporary repertory that Hawkins wrote down can be taken to embody those very same ideals.

The two collections by Thomas Tudway and James Hawkins are essentially the only comprehensive compilations of the early-eighteenth century repertory that exist from this time. They are valuable in that they paint a clear picture of how provincial musicians accessed and interacted with cultural and musical currents of London. Thanks to the dedicatory prefaces written by Tudway and included in each volume of his collection, we are given a rare glimpse of
a musician reacting to current trends in social and religious thought, and we can see that the cry for moderation coming from the pulpit fell on sympathetic ears. Hawkins was fueled by the practical concerns of supplying music for the choir and congregation he served. To that end, he was uniquely industrious in gathering current music from London and beyond. The tie that binds the two men together is the pairing of old and new music. Old music was already considered appropriate to the purpose and ethos of divine worship: it was solemn, grave, decent, and edifying. In sum, Tudway and Hawkins are effectively placing old and new music on the same pedestal by pairing them together in their collections. The characteristics that bind the early eighteenth-century anthem to its historical moment, and to the objectives of these two musicians, can be found by looking closely at the new music that Tudway and Hawkins regarded as worth the considerable effort to put to paper.
Chapter Three

The Grave and Solemn Style in Anglican Sacred Music

Composers of church music in England, facing the religious, political, and social uncertainties of the early eighteenth century, had many hurdles to jump if their music was to be widely accepted. On the one hand, the widespread shift in stylistic influence from France to Italy, and the new popularity of aria-driven operatic forms were invigorating all native composers, and it would have been nearly impossible to escape the allure of this new style. On the other hand, it has been discussed how broad cultural attitudes in England had by this time shifted decidedly in favor of moderate Anglicanism that avoided excessive displays of religious zeal that would invite sympathy towards either Catholicism or Nonconformity. It was this strand of Anglican thought that was hostile to the importation of foreign musical practices which it was thought would degrade the church with music inappropriate to the dignity of religious service. What is more, in their attempt to connect to the traditions of the Restoration era, Anglican composers of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were confronted with a musical style that was itself considered to be theatrical, and unbefitting the decorum of the Anglican church.

The purpose of this chapter is to show how English church composers between 1688 and 1727 engaged with the conscientious middle-ground stance encouraged by Anglican religious officials (Boydell, Bedford, and Bisse) and social commentators (Addison, Tudway, and North). Composers interacted with this outlook through two methods: first, composers exhibit a clear inclination towards texts that were contrite and penitential; and second, within anthem movements for ensembles of voices, composers cultivated a distinctive style of little or no text painting, syllabic setting, slower tempos, and repetition of mournful words, all of which actualized the concept of gravity and solemnity in church music that was put forward in sermons.
I will demonstrate that anthem movements for ensemble, due to their adoption and development of these stylistic traits, and their emphasis on texts with a penitential message, do the most work to achieve the grave and solemn style in sacred music.

Text

Choice of text is the first crucial element in expressing musical solemnity. Anthem texts were taken from the 1662 edition of the Book of Common Prayer. The most common texts are psalms, but there are anthems where the text comes from another part of the King James Bible (My Beloved Spake by Purcell is a setting of verses from Song of Solomon, for instance). There is a marked preference between 1688 and 1727 for penitential psalms, a trend which can be seen in A Collection of Anthems: As the same are now performed in his Majesty’s Chapels Royal, &c. a word book printed for use in the chapel so that the congregation could follow the text of the anthem of the day. However, many psalms have an ambiguous mood, or even a shift in mood somewhere in the middle or towards the end. The difficulty of determining the mood of an anthem at face value illustrates an important point about the choice of anthem texts: beyond simply setting psalms that are in and of themselves repentant or contrite, the specific verses a composer set are often more indicative of how he went about infusing his music with solemnity. A good example is “grant the king/queen a long life.” Typically used at coronations, this text would logically appear to be clearly joyful, proclaiming the desire for the new monarch to have a long and peaceful reign. But the message is subtler than that. The text is an amalgam of Psalms 61, 84, and 132 as follows:

Psalm 61:
6 Thou shalt grant the king a long life: that his years may endure throughout all generations.

7 He shall dwell before God for ever: O prepare thy loving mercy and faithfulness, that they may preserve him.

Psalm 84:
9 Behold, O God our defender: and look upon the face of thine Anointed.

Psalm 132:
19 As for his enemies, I shall clothe them with shame: but upon himself shall his crown flourish.68

The outcome of this cut-and-paste is a text that is more in line with a plea to God to preserve the monarch, rather than an extrovert hymn of jubilation that would be appropriate for the coronation service. *My God, my God* by James Hawkins of Ely (see also Examples 3.7a and b) is a perfect example of how a composer cherry-picked verses to suit the needs of musical solemnity within the context of daily worship. The anthem is a setting of Psalm 22 vv.1; 7 – 8; 12 – 17; this order produces a stirring body of text:

1 My God, my God, look upon me; why hast thou forsaken me: and art so far from my health, and from the words of my complaint?
7 All they that see me laugh me to scorn: they shoot out their lips, and shake their heads, saying,
8 He trusted in God, that he would deliver him: let him deliver him, if he will have him.
12 Many oxen are come about me: fat bulls of Basan close me in on every side.
13 They gape upon me with their mouths: as it were a ramping and a roaring lion.
14 I am poured out like water, and all my bones are out of joint: my heart also in the midst of my body is even like melting wax.
15 My strength is dried up like a potsherd, and my tongue cleaveth to my gums: and thou shalt bring me into the dust of death.
16 For many dogs are come about me: and the council of the wicked layeth siege against me.
17 They pierced my hands and my feet; I may tell all my bones: they stand staring and looking upon me.

But, in its complete 32-verse form, Psalm 22 is more conciliatory than the verses that Hawkins’s setting would imply, and eventually turns and ends hopefully. While bemoaning the psalmist’s state as a wretched sinner, verses 2 – 6 are a grateful reflection on God’s protection of previous generations:

68 Note: All psalm texts are taken from *The Book of Common Prayer from the Original Manuscript Attached to the Act of Uniformity of 1662* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, ca. 1892).
2 O my God, I cry in the day-time, but thou hearest not: and in the night-season also I take no rest.
3 And thou continuest holy: O thou worship of Israel.
4 Our fathers hoped in thee: they trusted in thee, and thou didst deliver them.
5 They called upon thee, and were holpen: they put their trust in thee, and were not confounded.
6 But as for me, I am a worm, and no man: a very scorn of men, and the outcast of the people.

At verse 23 the mood changes to one of rejoicing. A few verses of this second part of the psalm will adequately show that trying to understand the whole psalm only from his anthem is bound to be misleading:

23 O praise the Lord, ye that fear him: magnify him, all ye of the seed of Jacob, and fear him, all ye seed of Israel.
24 For he hath not despised, nor abhorred, the low estate of the poor: he hath not hid his face from him, but when he called unto him he heard him.
25 My praise is of thee in the great congregation: my vows will I perform in the sight of them that fear him.
26 The poor shall eat and be satisfied: they that seek after the Lord shall praise him; your heart shall live forever.

Another example of how verse selection can alter the emotional effect of an anthem is seen in

*Be merciful unto me, O God* by William Croft, a setting of Psalm 86, vv. 3 – 10:

3 Be merciful unto me, O Lord: for I will call daily upon thee.
4 Comfort the soul of thy servant: for unto thee, O Lord, do I lift up my soul.
5 For thou, Lord, art good and gracious: and of great mercy unto all them that call upon thee.
6 Give ear, Lord, unto my prayer: and ponder the voice of my humble desires.
7 In the time of my trouble I will call upon thee: for thou hearest me.
8 Among the gods there is none like unto thee, O Lord: there is not one that can do as thou doest.
9 All nations whom thou hadst made shall come and worship thee, O Lord: and shall glorify thy Name.
10 For thou art great, and doest wondrous things: thou art God alone.

But, like *My God, my God*, this anthem leaves out the plea for salvation from a “holy,” and therefore righteous, servant in verses 1 – 2, and the thanksgiving for God’s mercy and love of verses 11 – 17;
1 Bow down thine ear, O Lord, and hear me: for I am poor, and in misery.
2 Preserve thou my soul, for I am holy: my God, save thy servant that putteth his trust in thee.

11 Teach me thy way, O Lord, and I will walk in thy truth: O knit my heart unto thee, that I may fear thy Name.
12 I will thank thee, O Lord my God, with all my heart: and will praise thy Name for evermore.
13 For great is thy mercy toward me: and thou hast delivered my soul from the nethermost hell.
14 O God, the proud are risen against me: and the congregations of naughty men have sought after my soul, and have not set thee before their eyes.
15 But thou, O Lord God, art full of compassion and mercy: long-suffering, plenteous in goodness and truth.
16 O turn thee then unto me, and have mercy upon me: give thy strength unto thy servant, and help the son of thine handmaid.
17 Shew some token upon me for good, that they who hate me may see it and be ashamed: because thou, Lord, hast holpen me and comforted me.

As can be seen, it is very easy to alter the affect of a psalm by extracting and setting verses that assert penitence and avoiding verses that assert joy and thanksgiving, thereby creating a text which has one continuous mood throughout. Hawkins in My God, my God and Croft in Be merciful unto me, O God made informed choices about their settings by taking verses that illustrate a penitential disposition from whole psalms in which the mood may shift from penitence to gladness.

**Ensemble Movements in Verse Anthems**

The second stylistic trait that composers used to express musical solemnity was the use of movements for vocal ensemble, which existed within a general trend towards sectionalization. Thus, music that was written in a grave and solemn style tempered the perceived over-enthusiasm and theatricality of solo movements. Put another way, ensemble movements alleviated the vivacity and flashiness that could come from solo movements, keeping a lid, as it were, on the overall affect of the anthem by exhibiting traits such as little or no text painting,
syllabic text setting, nearly always a slow tempo (usually the tempo designation is simply slow), and repetition to emphasize key words or phrases.

While the anthem genre had always allowed for multiple movements, by the end of the seventeenth century a decisive change had taken place in how anthems, especially verse anthems, were organized. According to Nicholas Temperley, the eighteenth-century anthem, was a continuous piece in several independent movements, each with its own sentence of text; the concluding movement was invariably for full chorus.\footnote{Nicholas Temperley, Music in Church. In \textit{The Blackwell History of Music in Britain}, vol. 4, \textit{The Eighteenth Century}, ed. H. Diack Johnstone and Roger Fiske (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), 365.}

‘Sections’ is the word ordinarily used, but in the 18\textsuperscript{th} century they were as much separate movements as the corresponding parts of sonatas or oratorios. Each was marked by a double bar, a fresh beginning and often a change in tempo, time signature and key signature.\footnote{Ibid., 462.}

There was a wider cultural basis for the proliferation of anthem movements in the idea that variety in all art forms was both pleasurable and desirable, a consequence being that most anthem movements are self-contained and relationships between them are loose. According to Arthur Bedford, “our Ears must be delighted with the like Variety, and no Sound can long please us.”\footnote{Bedford, \textit{The Excellency of Divine Musick}, 23.} In the influential series of essays titled \textit{The Pleasures of the Imagination}, Joseph Addison wrote that anything that is “\textit{new} or \textit{uncommon} … recommends variety, where the mind is every instant called off to something new, and the attention not suffered to dwell too long, and waste itself on any particular object.”\footnote{Dubois, \textit{Avison’s Essay on Musical Expression}, 412.} In this context, the multiplication of anthem movements becomes an effort to maintain the listener’s interest in a long text. Some anthems by John Goldwin contain up to six movements; in the verse and solo anthems of both volumes of \textit{Musica Sacra} (1724), William Croft rarely composes less than four movements, and even as many as nine or ten, such that a reader perusing any of the volumes of either the Harley collection or the
Ely MSS might become overwhelmed with the abundance of movements. In sum, toward the end of the seventeenth century, it became standard compositional procedure to divide texts into as many movements as there were verses of text.

One consequence of sectionalization is the increased use of solos and ensembles and the diminished use of the full chorus. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the chorus within the verse anthem became almost an afterthought. Some are less than ten measures, and those that appear at the end of long sequences of solos and ensembles are short and perfunctory, bringing the anthem to an anticlimax. Often the chorus takes up the tune of the preceding movement, treating it imitatively where it had been monodic. In this way, especially where it enters mid-way through a work, choruses buttress the architecture of the anthem by creating two large sections made up of small movements. Otherwise, choruses were usually given short shrift.

With the diminished importance of the chorus, most anthem movements are for either a vocal soloist or an ensemble, usually ATB. While some vocal solos were written with gravity and solemnity in mind, many if not most were written in the theatrical style that caused a religious and social backlash by writers such as North, Tudway, Bedford, and Bisse. Likewise, choruses had little role to play except to drive home one or two key points. Composers therefore pressed ensemble movements into service when attempting to attain, according to Croft, “what may properly be called the *Church-Style.*”

The overwhelming majority of sacred compositions at the turn of the eighteenth century are verse anthems, the result of the Restoration symphony anthem emerging from the practical reality of the royal musical establishment. According to Ian Spink, “throughout the Restoration period composers favoured the verse anthem above the full anthem for the reason that it gave
greater scope for contemporary techniques, which were essentially soloistic.” The late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century verse anthem provided the composer a creative outlet thanks to the practice of monody. The key innovation of using monody in verse anthems was that its dramatic possibilities were now practically endless, and composers could reach new heights of pathos by utilizing solos at crucial moments to highlight important passages of text.

But the overarching goal was to achieve a middle-ground in church music, an attitude that would have been critical of the virtuosic and soloistic elements of the vocal solo. To this effect, ensemble movements in verse anthems that were written in a discernably grave and solemn style serve to balance the work by providing commentary upon the text without the theatricality associated with, particularly, vocal solos. *Sing we merrily* (Examples 3.1a and b) by Thomas Tudway is a good example of how ensemble movements written in this style can temper movements that are more ebullient. In this anthem, Tudway introduces the chorus mid-way through with a setting of “Blow up the trumpet in the new moon,” where the chorus takes on an enthusiastic four-part sixteenth-note pattern which is highly evocative of a military fanfare. From this exultant high point, Tudway quickly reins in the mood by giving the following ATB ensemble, after a short triple-time passage on “even in the time appointed,” very simple, unrelenting, homophonic eighth-notes on the text “and upon our solemn feast day” (Example 3.1b). This passage is marked “slow” by James Hawkins in EDC MS 20, and “solemn feast” is repeated no fewer than nine times, and that just in the alto voice. In these passages, Tudway illustrates the ability of ensemble movements to alter the emotional trajectory of an anthem by gliding smoothly between two distinct moods; the chorus is the exuberant and joyful, while the

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ensemble movements temper that enthusiasm through far simpler and slower music, and the repetition of the crucial word “solemn.”

In *My God, my God* by James Hawkins (Example 3.2a), the text of which was discussed on page 43 of this chapter, the disjunctive, nervous rising thirds motive, the declamatory setting of “my God,” and the chromatically descending continuo line provides the opening ATB ensemble with an earnest and penitential quality. This movement also serves an important function throughout the anthem as it is used as a ritornello, appearing four times in the same voicing after verse movements, the fourth time leading into the concluding chorus which takes up both the words and a simplified version of the motive from the ensemble (Example 3.2b). The opening motive thus provides both structure and continuity in the anthem, and solidifies the mournful message of the text given its penitential quality. By using the passage and its music as a ritornello, Hawkins binds the intervening movements, which are largely stand-alone, while retaining the essential message of the anthem, which is the penitential plea “my God, my God, look upon me; why hast thou forsaken me: and art so far from my health, and from the words of my complaint.”

The fifth movement of *The Lord is full of compassion* by Clarke (Example 3.3) gives a sense of how a composer can drive home the point of a word or words through repetition and restrained text painting. The “long ever” motif occurs a total of three times, and the deliberately slow ten beats of the word “ever” shown in Example 3.3 would have cemented the main idea of the passage, that the Lord is eternally merciful, without invoking a theatrical or exuberant style.

*Hear my prayer O Lord* by William Croft (Examples 3.4a – j) is a good example of many of the stylistic traits of the grave and solemn style put into practice. The anthem is in eight mostly self-contained movements, though the last ensemble movement and the concluding chorus are
Verse 4 voices and Chorus. The anthem is a setting of Psalm 143 vv. 1-5; 7, and the last
of the seven Penitential Psalms:

1 Hear my prayer, O Lord, and consider my desire: hearken unto me for thy truth and
righteousness sake.
2 And enter not into judgment with thy servant: for in thy sight shall no man living be
justified.
3 For the enemy hath persecuted my soul; he hath smitten my life down to the ground: he
hath laid me in the darkness, as the men that have been long dead.
4 Therefore is my spirit vexed within me: and my heart within me is desolate.
5 Yet do I remember the time past; I muse upon all thy works: yea, I exercise myself in the
works of thy hands
6 Hear me, O Lord, and that soon, for my spirit waxeth faint: hide not thy face from me, lest I
be like unto them that go down into the pit.

The first movement is an AT duet marked slow (Example 3.4a). Rhetorical figures occur in
the form of descending melismas on the plaintive “O” and the syllable right of the word
“righteousness,” thereby highlighting the importance of those words but not going so far as to
exhibit an over-enthusiastic or theatrical style. The placid motion is kept in check by a continuo
part of little more than quarter- and half-notes, augmented only at the very end by a right-hand
passage whose descending chain of suspensions creates a languishing motive. The downward
motion of most melodic phrases, the descending scale on “O,” and a few instances of suspension
and resolution infuse this ensemble movement with a plaintive, crestfallen character.

The second movement is an ATB ensemble which flows into a chorus on the same text with
the same music (Examples 3.4b and c). Indeed, the chorus is simply a full-choir setting of the
ensemble; apart from two bars of imitation missing in the chorus, the music lines up. Composers
often solidified crucial ideas by giving the chorus music, usually simplified, that matched the
ensemble (see Examples 3.3a and b). Text repetition in this movement drives the point of “in thy
sight shall no man living be justified.” This line is repeated three times and is introduced through
imitation, thereby driving up that number considerably.
These two very grave movements for ensemble and chorus are followed by two solo movements, the first for bass and the second for alto (Examples 3.4d and 3.4e). Both are marked slow and both are set over a ground bass. According to Robert Scandrett, “Croft and his contemporaries found the device [ground bass] of great usefulness as a unifying factor.” What is more, both movements exhibit the “motto aria” form, common in Croft’s solo movements: “In its strictest form, the accompaniment introduces a phrase of the melody in the organ bass. The voice sings the first part of the main subject, often only a measure or two in length. This is followed by a short instrumental interlude. The singer then repeats the beginning phrase and continues with a full statement of the main subject.”

Whatever invectives were hurled at the theatrical style, Croft and his contemporaries must have spent considerable time on solo movements, given the general degree of sophistication that is to be found in them. While it may be true that note-spinning solos such as that in Example 0.3 were the norm, solo movements could nonetheless imbue an anthem with considerable pathos, and there are moments when solo movements also aim for solemnity and decorum. In this anthem, text painting is kept to a minimum, and the vocal solo movements are restrained and dignified, avoiding any flashy passagework that would detract from the contrite text. The bass enjoys an ascending chromatic scale on “long” and the alto and accompanying continuo are so saturated with eighth-notes that the dotted-eighth sixteenth notes on “vexed” and dotted quarter-notes on “heart” are sure to stand out. In this anthem Croft reins in the virtuosic quality that was becoming so apparent in verse and solo anthems in the early eighteenth century. Croft’s position as one of the most esteemed and prominent musicians in the country would have put him in the

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75 Ibid., 73.
middle of the religious and social currents of his day, and it is instructive to see that at least some solo movements were written in a way that engaged with the ideology of moderation.

The following movement is for ATB trio (Example 3.4f). It is also on a ground bass, and recalls the alto solo in its persistent eighth-note rhythm and descending motion on “remember.” A slow tempo is appropriate here as the syllables are largely set to eighth-notes. There is some homophony and some imitation, and both procedures highlight the text “I will remember” which is repeated almost continuously in the first part of the movement. Because this movement moves through the text in so straightforward a manner, Croft seems to be engaging with the practice of balancing anthems by following vocal solos with ensemble movements that self-consciously avoid the style commonly found in solo movements.

The following SATB ensemble is a short fugue in two sections (Examples 3.4g and 3.4h). The first fugue subject carries the entire clause of text, the second half of which becomes more emphasized as the section progresses. Emphasis through text repetition can play a key role in illustrating the mood of an anthem, and Croft uses the subordinate clause “for my spirit waxeth faint” as a musical counter-subject, thereby allowing it to play a prominent part in the message of the anthem. “Hear me O Lord” was the message of the anthem’s first movement; it is the result of being unheard that Croft brings to the fore in this final movement. The next fugal section begins the second sentence of text (Example 3.4h). Croft lightens up the fugal rigor by various pairings of the voices instead of treating each independently and by dividing the text instead of having an entire sentence sung at the outset. In this way “hide not thy face from me” becomes equally as important as “lest I be like unto them that go down to the pit.” This second subordinate clause is thrown back and forth between imitation and homophony. It is treated imitatively at the outset, almost to the point of fugue; is given homophonic music in the next few
bars of music; and ends in imitation. This movement is set in the same self-consciously solemn style Croft previously used in the anthem (Examples 3.4a, 3.4c, and 3.4e), which can be observed in the slow-moving, syllabic eighth note pattern, the elongated note lengths on important words such as “hear,” and the rhetorical descending phrase on the text “hide not thy face from me.”

The de rigueur final chorus treats the two sections of text in an essentially identical way (Examples 3.4i and 3.4j). Text emphasis is similarly on “my spirit waxeth faint” in the first part of the chorus, and “them that go down to the pit” in the second. The chorus seems to follow the text emphasis and music of the preceding ensemble movement very closely, so that the chorus amplifies and emphasizes the text of the preceding movement. The increase in vocal parts would have made the imitated music all the more impressive and affective simply through sheer force.

_Ensemble Movements in Full Anthems_

The full anthem between 1688 and 1727 was more conservative than the verse anthem. It is worth considering why composers who were attempting to connect to the world-view of moderation did not gravitate towards the full anthem genre, given its inherent conservatism. The full anthem’s fall from prominence in favor of verse anthems likely comes from the fact that verse and solo anthems incorporates the popular monodic style of the middle Baroque period while full anthems did not. Most composers at the outset of the Restoration continued the pre-Commonwealth full anthem tradition as a matter of course. According to Ian Spink,

In 1660 there was, after all, no recent music available; there was no immediate alternative but to revive old repertoire, and once revived it tended to remain. Hardly surprising, then, the full anthem of the early Restoration period followed closely the model of those written before the Civil War.\[^{76}\]

\[^{76}\] Spink, _The Seventeenth Century_, 109.
Though most full anthems were written in a conservative style, the innovations that were developed for ensemble movements in verse anthems were also applied to full anthems. Given the absence of vocal solos and instrumental accompaniment, full anthems did not run so great a risk of lapsing into a theatrical style. Nevertheless, in the same way that ensemble movements mitigated the perceived over-exuberance in verse anthems and thus became a defining organizational principle of the genre, ensemble movements that provided contrasting text, music, and mood became a standard component of full anthems. Full anthems in the early eighteenth century, rather than being one long movement for full choir throughout, were ternary in form, meaning that the full choir flanks on either side a central ensemble movement. In full anthems, the central ensemble movements can be for larger forces than in verse anthems. In *God is gone up with a merry noise* by Croft, the central ensemble movement is for *decani* SAT and *cantoris* SAB (meaning a group of soloists facing each other on either side of the choir stalls). Solo movements are rare, but where they do exist, such as in *Help, Lord, for the Godly Man Ceaseth* by Croft, they exhibit the same traits as verse anthem solos, and occur, as befits a full anthem, between choral movements.

*Sing praises to the Lord O ye saints* by Croft, like his verse anthem *Hear my prayer*, exhibits many of the characteristic traits of the full anthem in the early eighteenth century. The text is Psalm 30 vv. 4-5:

4 Sing praises unto the Lord, O ye saints of his: and give thanks unto him for a remembrance of his holiness.
5 For his wrath endureth but the twinkling of an eye, and in his pleasure is life: heaviness may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning.

The opening chorus builds up the texture in a way that is fairly typical for Croft and his contemporaries (Example 3.5a; the continuo, which follows the bass and alto respectively, is not shown). The entrances are tightly knit, and do not stray far from the D major tonic. By the
second musical phrase, which has a contrasting fugal subject, the voices are in full force in a way that is avoided in the opening fugue, where exits make way for points of imitation in other voices. The opening fugue subject eventually gives way to a more florid subject, and the more rapid subject entries of “and give thanks” (Example 3.5b) illustrate the jubilation of the act giving thanks.

The central movement is for SSATB ensemble, and is a D minor setting of the first clause of verse 5. This ensemble movement pushes the drama of the anthem forward, bringing the mood down from the jubilation of the first movement to an affective musical representation of reflection on God’s grace. The most emphasized word in this movement is “favor” (Example 3.5c), which warns that there is eternal life only in God’s favor. Croft emphasizes the word through simple repetition, eight times in the first soprano, and rhythmic augmentation with an E’ in octaves over moving parts.

The concluding chorus sets the second subordinate clause of verse 5 “but joy cometh in the morning” (Example 3.5d). The movement, which is jubilant by all accounts, is set in D minor. To account for this apparent disjuncture between text and music, it is helpful to remember that on page eleven of Chapter One it was discussed that the relationship between keys and affect was not quite as rigidly defined in England as it was on Continental Europe at the same time; in England joyful and mournful texts were both frequently set in minor keys. Suffice it to say that this trait is common among all English composers of sacred music and its appearance in this movement by Croft is in no way unusual. Indeed, according to Donald Burrows, “A surprisingly large number of [concluding Alleluias] are in minor keys and, indeed, it is not at all uncommon to find anthems by Croft with jubilant texts which end with minor key movements.”77 Joy, perhaps, can be found in the striking immediacy of the fugal movement, and the constant

reiteration of the word “joy,” both of which would surely grab any listener’s attention, but would have kept the over-exuberance associated with theatricality at arm’s length, thanks to the conservative style of the full anthem genre.

The key innovations that exemplified the grave and solemn style in English church music between 1688 and 1727 were 1) text choice and 2) ensemble movements written in a style that responded to the social and religious call for a peaceful middle-ground outlook. The features that distinguish ensemble movements can be seen as solutions to the problem of attaining a grave and solemn musical style while still engaging with new musical influences from Europe, which primarily effected solo movements. It is anthem movements for ensemble, over and above movements for solo and even those for chorus, that engage with the widely-held aspiration for the grave and solemn style in English church music.
Conclusion

The stylistic trends that can be observed in Anglican sacred music between 1688 and 1727 were the result of the attempt by composers to meet the demands of the unsettled social and religious context of England. The recent history of England was riddled with divisive religious antagonism between Catholicism, Anglicanism, and Nonconformity, and the Glorious Revolution of 1688 provided an uneasy compromise that only slightly alleviated anxiety among English men and women of the three faiths. Writers and preachers pushed for social and religious moderation as a means to ease antagonism, with the goals of protecting England from repeating the conflicts of the Civil Wars, and strengthening the new supremacy of the Anglican Church.

The musical qualities of the grave and solemn style would therefore have to be aesthetically pleasing to the Anglican congregations who now felt secure in the scriptural endorsement of sacred music, while simultaneously avoiding the extravagant, flashy displays of vocal techniques and dance-like qualities of the secular, or theatrical, style. Completely converting to Italianate musical styles would have pushed sacred music into the operatic sphere, so to reach a comfortable middle-ground, composers were careful to take the Anglican choral repertory of the past as the model for anthem movements for ensemble and full chorus, while infusing movements for vocal solo with new stylistic elements from Europe.

Anthem movements for ensemble most clearly demonstrate the grave and solemn style as it was described by writers such as Tudway and North, and preachers such as Bedford, Boydell and Bisse. The qualities in ensemble movements that illustrate the style are slow tempos, a syllabic or otherwise un-melismatic setting of the text, and repetition of the word or phrases that illustrate the repentant mood of the anthem as a whole. Ensembles were perfect moments to highlight important words or phrases like “solemn” or “hear me, O Lord” in a way that maintained the
sense of restraint characteristic of the style, because they were unsuitable for the kind of music that was criticized as the theatrical style.

With these specific stylistics traits, the music for the Anglican service by William Croft, Jeremiah Clarke, Thomas Tudway, James Hawkins, and others stands as a unique testament to the historical frame within which it was written, on a level with the genteel, moralizing writings of Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, the forthright, dignified portraiture of Godfrey Kneller, and the stately, refined architecture of Christopher Wren. Composers of sacred music were active cultural players in a time and place where men and women were genuinely worried about the stability of the English nation, and the continuation of the Anglican religion. The grave and solemn style was the interaction in Anglican sacred music with a particularly and uniquely complicated, divisive, and formative point in English history.
Appendix

Figures, Tables, and Musical Examples

Figure 0.1 Burney, John Blow’s Crudities

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Table 1. Movement outline of Humfrey, *Thou art my King, O God*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Movement</th>
<th>Key</th>
<th>Meter</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Symphony</td>
<td>C minor</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verse ATTB; ritornello</td>
<td>C minor</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verse ATT</td>
<td>C minor</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repeat of Symphony</td>
<td>C minor</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verse AT; ritornello</td>
<td>C minor</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verse TB; ritornello</td>
<td>C minor</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repeat of opening Verse, with ritornello</td>
<td>C minor</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chorus SATB</td>
<td>C minor</td>
<td>Alternation of 4 and 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example 0.1 Humfrey, *Thou art my King, O God, Symphony*
Example 0.2  Weldon, *Blessed be the Lord my Strength*, mm. 10 – 18

Treble or Tenor

who subdueth the People, subdueth the People, subdueth the People, the People that is under me.
Example 0.3  Purcell, *They that go down to the sea in ships* mm. 34 – 56

They that go down to the sea in ships,

These, these men see the works of the Lord, and his wonders, his wonders in the deep.

For his word the storm arising, wind a-ri-s-eth,
Example 0.4  

Croft, *We wait for thy Loving kindness, O Lord* mm. 65 – 92

Solo

Cornet Stop

Diapasons upon the left hand

Let the Mount Si - on re - joice and let the daugh - ter of Ju - dah be gla -
Example 0.5  Nalson, *Thou O God* mm. 25 – 42

Example 0.6  Croft, *Sing unto God* mm. 217 – 227
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Harley 7341 No. of works</th>
<th>Harley 7342 No. of works</th>
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<tr>
<td>Thomas Tudway (Cambridge)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Thomas Tudway 6</td>
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<tr>
<td>James Hawkins (Ely)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>John Goldwin 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Croft (London)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Maurice Greene (London) 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Church (London)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>James Hawkins 4</td>
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<td>Charles King (London)</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Goldwin (Windsor)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Henry Hall (Hereford) 2</td>
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<td>Phillip Hart (London)</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>George Holmes (Lincoln)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>William Broderip (Wells) 1, with orchestra</td>
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<td>Benjamin Lamb (Eton)</td>
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<td>Edward Finch (York) 1</td>
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<td>John Bishop (Winchester)</td>
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<td>James Cooper (Norwich)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thomas Wanless (York)</td>
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<td>John Weldon (London)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Charles Woolcott (Cambridge)</td>
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</table>
Table 2.2. Composers and performing forces in EDC MS 21

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Solo</th>
<th>a 2 voc</th>
<th>a 3</th>
<th>Solo</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Green</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawkins</td>
<td>Full</td>
<td>Solo</td>
<td>a 3</td>
<td>a 3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dr. Crofts</td>
<td>a 3</td>
<td>Solo</td>
<td>Full</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Purcell</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>a 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Blow</td>
<td>a 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Creighton</td>
<td>Full</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Fuller</td>
<td>a 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Golding (Goldwin)</td>
<td>a 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Tudway</td>
<td>a 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Example 3.1a  
Tudway, *Sing we merrily*, mm. 42 – 52
Example 3.1b cont’d, mm. 62 – 71

And up on our solemn feast and up on our solemn feast day;

soft

and up on our solemn our solemn our solemn feast day; and up on our solemn our solemn feast day;

and up on our solemn our solemn our solemn feast day; and up on our solemn our solemn feast day;

and up on our solemn our solemn our solemn feast day; and up on our solemn our solemn feast day;

and up on our solemn our solemn our solemn feast day; and up on our solemn our solemn feast day;
Example 3.2a

Hawkins, *My God, my God*, mm. 4 – 14

Example 3.2b

cont’d, mm. 125 – 128
Example 3.3
Clarke, *The Lord is full of compassion*, mm. 109 – 123

But the merciful goodness of the Lord endur eth for ever and ever up on them that fear him.
Example 3.4a

Croft, *Hear my prayer O Lord*, mm. 1 – 19
Example 3.4b  cont’d, mm. 27 – 39

Slow 3 Voices

Alto

Tenor

Bass

And every one of them shall be driven out to the airflow of the winds, and shall be cast into the midst of the sea.

And the winds of the heavens shall spread them over the earth, and the earth shall be desolate, and he shall perish from under the heavens.

And he shall not be found in the earth, and his name shall not be found in the heavens.

And the winds of the heavens shall spread them over the earth, and the earth shall be desolate, and he shall perish from under the heavens.

And the winds of the heavens shall spread them over the earth, and the earth shall be desolate, and he shall perish from under the heavens.

And he shall not be found in the earth, and his name shall not be found in the heavens.

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And he shall not be found in the earth, and his name shall not be found in the heavens.

And the winds of the heavens shall spread them over the earth, and the earth shall be desolate, and he shall perish from under the heavens.

And he shall not be found in the earth, and his name shall not be found in the heavens.

And the winds of the heavens shall spread them over the earth, and the earth shall be desolate, and he shall perish from under the heavens.

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And the winds of the heavens shall spread them over the earth, and the earth shall be desolate, and he shall perish from under the heavens.

And he shall not be found in the earth, and his name shall not be found in the heavens.

And the winds of the heavens shall spread them over the earth, and the earth shall be desolate, and he shall perish from under the heavens.

And he shall not be found in the earth, and his name shall not be found in the heavens.
Example 3.4c  cont’d, mm. 40 – 50 (continuo not shown)
Example 3.4d cont’d, mm. 51 – 68

For the en e my hath per se cut ed my soul

for the en e my hath per se cut ed my soul he hath smit ten my life down down - to the

ground he hath smit ten my life down down - to the ground he hath laid me in the

dark ness hath laid me in the dark ness as the men that have been long -

---dead
Example 3.4e  
cont’d, mm. 81 – 98

Therefore is my spirit vexed with me and my heart with me is desolate

and my heart with me is desolate
Example 3.4f  
cont’d, mm. 123 – 139
Example 3.4g  cont’d, mm. 148 – 167
Example 3.4h
cont’d, mm. 181 – 191
Example 3.4i  cont’d, mm. 195 – 200

Soprano

Alto

Tenor

Bass 1

Bass 2

hide not thy face - from me

hide not thy face - from me hide not thy face -

hide not thy face - from me

hide not thy face from me

hide not thy face from me

hide not thy face from me

hide not thy face from me thy face - from me

thy face - from me

thy face from me

thy face - from me

thy face from me

thy face from me

thy face from me

thy face from me

hid not thy face - from me thy face - from me

hide not thy face - from me thy face - from me

hide not thy face from me hide not thy face from me

hide not thy face from me hide not thy face from me
Example 3.5a  Croft, *Sing praises to the Lord, O ye saints*, mm. 1 – 11

Sing praises to the Lord, O ye saints, of his ye saint of

Sing praises to the Lord, O ye saints of his ye saints of

Sing praises to the Lord, O ye saints of his sing praises to the

Sing praises to the Lord;
Example 3.5c  
cont’d, mm. 53 – 56

Example 3.5d  
cont’d, mm. 61 – 68
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