

Chapter 8

The sources of English cathedral music

In the following chapter, I shall examine all the surviving liturgical musical manuscripts for the period from 1603 until the outbreak of war in 1642 and, at the same time, the state of knowledge regarding their provenance, dating and the theological and liturgical circumstances surrounding their compilation and use. The purpose of this investigation is twofold. The first aim is to provide a basis on which to place the use of particular pieces of music, with particular texts or in particular styles, in their theological and liturgical context. The second aim is to provide contexts in which the evidence concerning the use of musical instruments can be located and interpreted in Chapter 8. The section is divided between those sources with clearly establishable dating and provenance, and those with doubt over either or both. The situation at a number of cathedrals, for which there are no known surviving liturgical sources, but significant evidence of the use of musical instruments, are also examined. So too are some of the non-liturgical sources (those not used in a context of public worship) in which there is the highest incidence of sacred compositions, and a number of sources excluded from the enquiry, and the reasons for that exclusion. My concern throughout has been to identify wherever possible sources that can safely be linked to individuals and institutions otherwise displaying evidence of particular views of the role of music in worship, and therefore provide a means of comparing Laudian and non-Laudian practice.

There are a number of difficulties attendant on the interpretation of these sources. Some sources are single members of a set of vocal partbooks, and are occasionally only fragments. With regard to dating, a number of specific problems pertain. Scribes were rarely in the habit of dating their copying. Where there is a date, it does not necessarily apply to the whole source, as many books were copied over a long period of time, by different scribes, not necessarily sequentially, or, as in the case of the Peterhouse books, compiled from leaves from various sources and scribes and bound together. Careful use must then be made of the biographies of those scribes whose hands can be identified, the biographies of the composers whose work appears, and the watermarks of the paper, along with the circumstantial evidence of payments for copying in the accounts of institutions.

With regard to provenance, similar considerations apply. Few sources explicitly avow ownership, except occasionally by the bindings used (for instance, Ojc 180/1). Deductions must therefore be made on the basis of the scribe involved and the profile of composers contained in the source (as one would expect to find work of local composers.) Only occasionally does one find a piece, the composition of which is attributed to the direct influence of an individual (as in the Peterhouse books to Cosin), or a list of the singers of the choir on a flyleaf, as in Gloucester MS 93.

Manuscripts with firmly established dating and provenance

Durham Cathedral

Given below in Table 1 are the John Cosin-related musical manuscripts currently held by the Dean and Chapter Library of Durham, arranged into sets (from some of which, as with C8 or C13, there is only a single survivor).

Manuscript	Contents	Dating ¹
Organ Books		
A1 (Organ Book)	General	c.1633-8
A2	General	1620s and 1630s
A3	General	1630s and 1660s
A5	General	1638-9 with later additions
A6	General	1638
Choir Part-Books		
C2, 3, C7 (first fascicle), C14	Anthems	1630s
C4, C5, C6. C7 (2 nd fascicle), C9, C10	Anthems	1620s and 1630s.
C8	Services	c.1630
C11	Anthems	Late 1630s with later additions
C13	Anthems	Late 1630s

¹ I have adopted the dating given by Brian Crosby, *A Catalogue of Durham cathedral music manuscripts* (Oxford, OUP, 1986) : see also his 'Durham Cathedral's Liturgical Music Manuscripts c.1620 – c.1640' *Durham University Journal* 66 (1973) 40-51

C18	Services and Festal Psalms	1620s and 1630s
E4-E11	Preces and Responses, Festal Psalms and Services	c.1630
E11a	Services	Late 1630s

John Morehen has collated all the references in the Dean and Chapter accounts, and it is clear that there was an intensive period of music copying from 1629 to 1635, the period of Cosin's main activity at Durham.² The later sets (C13, C11, A5 and A6) are consolidated volumes of material in the sets copied earlier. The close involvement that Cosin had in this process is demonstrated by the following entry in the Treasurer's Accounts, for June 1629:

Song Bookes of the comon and ordinarie services of the quier being now torne and defaced shalbe new and fairley prickt out again by Mr Todd and Toby Brooking into forty Quires of paper already provided for that purpose and that they shalbe rewarded and paid for these paines by the treasurer for the tyme being accordinge to that agreement which Mr Cosin shall make with them for the same.³

As we have already seen in Part One, one of the component parts of the Durham prebendary Peter Smart's attack on Cosin of 1628 was the use of 'organs, sackbuts and cornets and all other instruments of music, which were used at the Consecration of Nabuchadonozer's image (unfit instruments for Christian churches)', as well as tapers, bowing to the east and other popish contaminations.⁴ Cosin was appointed to a prebendal stall at Durham in December 1624, and the Durham rectory of Brancepeth in 1626, and with other appointments of bishop Richard Neile (amongst others, Augustine Lindsell, Gabriel Clarke and Eleazor Duncon) was responsible for innovations which raised the suspicions of older, Calvinist members of the chapter like Smart.⁵ Here, perhaps, is a good example of a 'Laudian' cathedral chapter.

² 'Sources of English cathedral music c. 1617 – c.1644' (Cambridge, Ph.D., 1969) pp.4-5.

³ 'Sources' pp. 3.

⁴ "The Vanitie and Downfall of Superstitious popish ceremonies" (unpaginated) article 8.

⁵ DNB 'Cosin' xii.264-271: for events at Durham, see Michael Tillbrook, 'Arminianism and Society in County Durham, 1617-1642 in David Marcombe (ed.), *The Last Principality: Politics, Religion and Society in the Bishopric of Durham, 1494-1660* (Nottingham, University Department of Adult Education, 1987) pp.202-226: Brian Crosby, 'The choral foundation of Durham cathedral c.1350 – c.1650' (Durham, Ph.D., 1992) chapter 4, and also his 'John Cosin and Music' in Margot Johnson (ed.), *John Cosin* (Durham, Turnstone, 1997) pp.164-84, and Nick Heppel, 'Cosin and Smart: Using Musical Evidence to Untangle some Historical Problems, *loc.cit.* pp.125- 163: J.G. Hoffman, *John*

Peterhouse, Cambridge

Among the most important sources under consideration here are the two ‘Caroline’ sets of partbooks, used at Peterhouse and currently in the custody of the University Library in Cambridge. These have conclusively been attributed by John Morehen to the agency of John Cosin when Master of the college from 1635 to 1643, on the grounds of direct attributions of individual pieces of music to Cosin, and by the presence of music by Peterhouse musicians.⁶ They can be securely dated as being assembled between 1635 and 1643, albeit with some leaves which pre-date the assembling.

Contemporary with the two sets of part books are an organ book (MS 46), and a folio printing of Walter Haddon’s Latin translation of the *Book of Common Prayer*, dating from Charles’s reign, with a basic selection of music for the offices of matins, the Eucharist and evensong interleaved.⁷

The historiographical treatment of this source has been unanimous in seeing the manuscripts as, in the phrase of their most recent cataloguer, ‘the High Church revival of the reign of Charles I translated into terms of music’.⁸ Certainly, in ways other than musical, there is evidence of an elaborated ceremonial at Peterhouse under Cosin, in the new chapel built by his predecessor Matthew Wren. A 1641 report on affairs in Cambridge, probably made by Parliamentary investigators, reports that ‘This Chappell since Dr Cosins was admitted master of ye Colledge hath bene so dressed up and ordered soe Cerimoniously, that it hath become ye gaze of ye University & a greate invitation to strangers.’ The altar was decked with silks, flanked by two candlesticks, and with a representation of a dove and cherubim behind

Cosin, 1595 - 1672: Bishop of Durham and Champion of the Caroline Church (Uni. of Wisconsin, Madison, Ph.D. thesis, 1977): chapters of this were later published; ‘John Cosin, Prebendary of Durham Cathedral and Dean of Peterborough, 1642-43’ *Durham University Journal* 78 (1985) 1-10; ‘The Arminian and the Iconoclast: The Dispute between John Cosin and Peter Smart’ *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 1979 279-301: see also M. James, *Family, Lineage and Civil Society: A Study of Society, Politics and Mentality in the Durham Region, 1500 – 1640* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1974) ch. 5

⁶ ‘Sources’ p.120-2.

⁷ Perne Library, Printed Book G.5.30: Morehen, ‘Sources’ pp.144-49; Hughes, *Catalogue of the Musical Manuscripts at Peterhouse* pp.48-50.

⁸ Anselm Hughes, *Catalogue of the Musical Manuscripts at Peterhouse*, p.xv, repeated by J.G. Hoffman, ‘The Puritan revolution and the ‘Beauty of Holiness’ at Cambridge’ *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 72 (1984) 94-106; p.99.

it. Scholars were ‘exceedingly Employed to learn pricksong to ye great losse of their time & prejudice of their studdyes’.⁹ Cosin was responsible for the employment of an organist from November 1635, and the Parke foundation of March 1636 of four fellowships and four scholarships conditional on the singing of service in the chapel.¹⁰ With whole-hearted support from the college, Peterhouse is perhaps the situation most likely to give a clear indication of Laudian practice.

The Chapel Royal: Bodleian MS Rawl.Poet. 23

The only surviving source from before 1642 associated with the Chapel Royal is not in fact a musical source, but a manuscript containing the words (and composers’ names) of over two hundred anthems used in the Chapel Royal. A suggestion is made by a later owner (without any proof) on a letter pasted into the book that it is the copy used by Charles himself.¹¹ John Morehen has dated its copying to 1634-5, and the end of the list is followed by a list of ‘The King’s Chaplains in ordinarie attendance, 1635.’¹²

The Chapel Royal is one of the most difficult institutions to interpret. Anthony Milton has pointed out that a long succession of Deans of the Chapel and Clerks of the Closet were Laudian appointments – Lancelot Andrewes, Laud himself and Matthew Wren as Dean, and Wren, Richard Steward and Richard Neile as Clerk of the Closet.¹³ It is also well documented that the musical establishment of the Chapel Royal survived throughout the period in question. David Baldwin and Andrew

⁹ Allan Pritchard ‘Puritan charges against Crashaw and Beaumont’ *TLS* 2/7/64 p.578: see also David Hoyle, ‘A Commons Investigation of Arminianism and Popery in Cambridge on the eve of the Civil War’ *Historical Journal* 9 (1986) 419-25 for tentative agreement of the official capacity of the investigators as of a Parliamentary committee, authorised to call witnesses in April 1641.

¹⁰ For full details, Hoffman, ‘Puritan revolution’ pp.98-99; also Hughes, *Catalogue of Peterhouse Manuscripts* pp. xiv – xvii.

¹¹ For this suggestion see the anonymous ‘The Chapel Royal anthem book of 1635’ *Musical Antiquary* 2 (1910) 108-113; p. 108. This article also gives an inventory of the sources, as does Morehen, ‘Sources’ pp. 419-424.

¹² ‘Sources’ pp. 417-426.

¹³ Anthony Milton, “That Sacred Oratory”; Religion and the Chapel Royal during the Personal Rule of Charles I’ in Andrew Ashbee (ed.) *William Lawes (1602 - 1645): Essays on his life, times and work* (Aldershot; Ashgate, 1998): pp. 69 – 96. See also Peter McCullough, *Sermons at Court: Politics and religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean preaching* (Cambridge, CUP, 1998) pp. 40-5, 59-63.

Ashbee have provided us with a rich vein of detail on the day to day functioning of the Chapel music throughout James's and Charles's reigns.¹⁴

However, evidence also exists that standards of behaviour were not always achieved. Even if the 1623 Chapel regulations had stipulated 'solemne musick like a Collegiatt church' at Morning and Evening Prayer, Laud as Dean found it necessary to assert in 1632 that the gentlemen of the chapel 'shall (at all such tymes as they does attend that service) come in decent manner in their gownes and surplices, and not in cloakes and surplices, nor with bootes and spurres', a measure that had to be reasserted in April 1637.¹⁵

It would also be an oversimplification to suggest that the Chapel Royal was subject to a watertight Laudian hegemony. Anthony Milton has demonstrated the continuing presence of non-Laudian figures such as John Prideaux, John Davenant and Thomas Winniffe amongst the preachers. The common aspect to the majority of the preachers was an emphasis on the royal supremacy, rather than a distinct theological and ceremonial stance. However, it was the case that the musical activity remained operationally separate from the preaching, and more influenced by the Dean and Sub-Dean of the Chapel.¹⁶

Malcolm Smuts has demonstrated the manner in which court culture, in its embracing of classical thought and pagan elements, went beyond the bounds of Christian orthodoxy, incurring on occasions the concern of Laud himself. Anthony Milton has also drawn attention to the absence from the court of the vigorous clericalism of much Laudian thought. It would then be an oversimplification to elide Charles' caesaro-sacramentalist vision of the church with the wider Laudian programme, court culture with Laudianism.¹⁷ Therefore, although there is evidence of the polemical use of the Chapel Royal as a blueprint and a precedent for national,

¹⁴ David Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal, Ancient and Modern* (London, Duckworth, 1990) pp.284-7; Andrew Ashbee, *Records of Early English Court Music* vol. 4 (Snodland, Kent, 1991) and vol. 5 (Aldershot, Scolar, 1991); Jonathan P. Wainwright, 'The King's Music' in Thomas N. Corns (ed.), *The Royal Image: Representations of Charles I* (Cambridge, CUP, 1999) pp. 162-75.

¹⁵ Milton, 'Sacred Oratory' p.74; Baldwin, *Chapel Royal* pp.289, 280.

¹⁶ Milton, 'Sacred Oratory' pp. 76-84. McCullough, *Sermons at Court* p.62.

¹⁷ Malcolm Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England* (Philadelphia, Un. Of Pennsylvania Press, 1987) pp.222-4; Milton, *Sacred Oratory* pp.83-4.

extra-canonical practice,¹⁸ in musical terms, we should not necessarily expect the Chapel Royal to be exemplary of Laudian practice.

Gloucester MS 93 (Gloucester)

The Gloucester source is a single bass part book, containing service music and anthems, which was almost certainly used in Gloucester cathedral in the period immediately preceding the outbreak of hostilities. John Morehen deduces this from the list of names inside the flyleaf, described as ‘the quiristers of decani side’, and the 1640-1 payment to the organist for ‘a booke of Anthems’.¹⁹

The evidence relating to the chapter of Gloucester is ambiguous, but it is nevertheless one of the closest examples of what might be termed a ‘Laudian’ chapter. If William Prynne is to be taken as indicative, there was certainly a perception at large that Gloucester, under its bishop Godfrey Goodman, was a hive of unorthodoxy. Prynne refers to ‘divers crucifixes and images in the cathedral at Gloucester .. and after the Popish manner consecrated divers altar-cloths, pulpit cloths with other vestments for the cathedral, whereon crucifixes were embroidered to the great scandal of the people.’²⁰ Goodman himself was recorded by Peter Heylyn to have preached a sermon before the King in 1626 in which he ‘pressed so hard upon the point of the Real Presence that he was supposed to trench too near borders of Popery, which raised a great clamour in Court and Country.’²¹ Thomas Pury, MP for Gloucester stated during the Root and Branch debate that

it is notoriously knowne to the city of Gloucester and country there abouts, That not one of the said Statutes before mentioned, are, or ever were, during my remembrance, kept, or the matters contained in any of them performed by any one of the Deanes, or Prebends of the said Cathedrall’²²

¹⁸ Milton, ‘Sacred Oratory’ p.75 on John Pocklington’s description of Charles as ‘Nursing Father’ of the church (a reference from the Psalms).

¹⁹ ‘The Gloucester Cathedral Bassus Part Book MS 93’ *M&L* 62 (1981) 189-196; p.189. This article also gives an inventory of the manuscript.

²⁰ Eward, *No fine but a glass of wine; cathedral life at Gloucester in Stuart times* (Gloucester, Russell, 1985) p. 62: *Hierurgia Anglicana* i.296.

²¹ Heylyn, *Cyprianus Anglicanus* p. 146 cited by Soden, *Goodman* p.159, and Eward, ‘*No fine but a glass of wine*’ p.66.

²² *Mr Thomas Pury, alderman of Glocester his speech*, (London, 1641): quoted by Eward, *No fine but a glass of wine* p.66.

It is certainly the case that from 1632 two Laudians were appointed to the chapter with one, Accepted Frewen, as Dean. Gilbert Sheldon was Warden of All Soul's College, Oxford and presided over the relocation of the communion table in the chapel there in 1629. He is recorded as having denied that the Pope was not necessarily the Antichrist in Oxford in 1628, and later attended on the king at the negotiations at Uxbridge in 1644.²³

Accepted Frewen, Dean from 1631, was a royal chaplain and President of Magdalen College, Oxford from 1626. At Magdalen he had been responsible for the moving of the altar, the installation of a new organ, and new marble flooring in the chapel. He is also recorded as having sent the college plate to the king in 1642.²⁴

Having said all this, it is worth remembering that Goodman himself was never fully identified with the Durham House group of Laudian clergy, and indeed spent some time in prison for refusing to subscribe to the canons of 1640.²⁵ It must also be noted that all was not as intended within Gloucester itself – after the 1635 visitation Nathaniel Brent recorded that ‘here is much solemnity, many orations and great entertainment’ but still ‘many things amiss’, with ‘no cope, the fabric in decay’. The Chapter Act Books recorded in 1636 that some of the singing men and choristers were disorderly, unruly and wilfully negligent, and two of the latter were incorrigible, a perennial trouble at Gloucester.²⁶ Suzanne Eward casts doubt on how well orders given could have been enforced, as the lay clerks, who were local men, would reflect the deep-seated Puritanism of the city.²⁷ It is telling in this regard that a chapter act of 1630 enjoins secrecy surrounding the proceedings of the Chapter, suggesting that an atmosphere of suspicion was present in the city at large. Peter Heylyn later described

²³ *DNB* lii.24-6: Montague Burrows, *Worthies of All Souls* (London, Macmillan, 1874) pp.141-151; N. Tyacke, ‘Religious controversy’ in Tyacke (ed.) *The history of the University of Oxford vol. 4: Seventeenth century Oxford* pp.569-619; p.585: Milton, *Catholic and Reformed* p.117. See however the argument of Victor D. Sutch that, despite this, Sheldon was in fact anti-Arminian in theology, and on his involvement with the anti-Laudian Great Tew Circle; *Gilbert Sheldon, Architect of Anglican survival, 1640-1675* (The Hague, Nijhoff, 1973) pp. 1-8. For Sutch Sheldon stood in the ‘*via media*’ of Anglican theology; p.8.

²⁴ *DNB* xx.271-3: Tyacke, ‘Religious controversy’ p.586: see also H.A.Wilson, *Magdalen College* (London, F.E.Robinson, 1899) pp. 145-9. Frewen did however have a Calvinist pre-history, maintaining, and licensing works that maintained, Calvinist views on grace in the late 1620s. His defection from the Calvinist camp came when he supported Laud's bid to become Chancellor of the University in 1629: Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists* pp. 77-9.

²⁵ Soden, *Goodman* pp.127, 300. Milton, *Catholic and Reformed* pp.169-70.

²⁶ Injunctions from Laud, following a visitation; *Ibid.*, p.243.

²⁷ Eward, *Gloucester* p.52.

Gloucester as ‘much pestered with the Puritan faction, which was grown multitudinous and strong by reason of the small abode which the Dean and prebendaries made among them, the dull connivance of their bishop, and the remiss government of their metropolitan’²⁸ The picture we then have is of a Laudian chapter in the midst of a hostile city.

Chirk Castle (New York Public Library MS Mus. Res.*MNZ (Chirk))

This set of part books is at once one of the easiest to date and locate, but one of the most difficult to interpret. Peter Le Huray has demonstrated that they were almost certainly prepared by William Deane, organist of the parish church of Wrexham, on behalf of Sir Thomas Myddleton for use in his chapel at nearby Chirk Castle.²⁹ The source can be dated on internal evidence between 1626 and 1638, and it was probably prepared between c.1630 and 1635 when Myddleton was renovating the castle, spending £270 on the chapel including the purchase of a new organ. The difficulty lies in categorising Myddleton himself. The *Dictionary of National Biography* describes him as of a ‘strong Puritan temperament’ and he represented Denbighshire in the Commons from 1640 to 1648. However, as Le Huray suggested, a ‘Puritan’ is not likely to have tolerated a crucifix and cathedral style services in his private chapel. As this is perhaps the only source that falls into this category, it is more difficult to verify Le Huray’s (tentative) suggestion that ‘the singing of Services and anthems in household chapels may have been more widespread than has so far been suspected, at least during the Laudian revival of the 1630s’.³⁰ However, we have already noted in Chapter 2 that there were instances of ostensibly Puritan or at least strongly Calvinist figures, such as William Whittingham, who were open to the use of choral music. This source has therefore been treated as a non-Laudian source.

²⁸ Eward, *No fine but a glass of wine* p.2.

²⁹ ‘The Chirk Castle Partbooks’ *Early Music History* 2 (1982) 17-42. This article includes an inventory of the source.

³⁰ *Ibid.* p.27: *DNB*: 39.441-3: see also Mary Freer Keeler, *The Long Parliament 1640; a biographical study of its members* (Philadelphia, Amer. Phil. Soc. 1954) p.273.

It is also suggested by Le Huray, with John Morehen, that the organ book **Oxford Christ Church MS Mus 6** belongs to this set, as there is a close congruence of contents, and it is in the same hand.³¹

New York Public Library MS Drexel 5469 (King's College, Cambridge)

MS Drexel 5469 (cited in the ensuing chapters as the Loosemore book) is an organ book in the hand of Henry Loosemore, organist of King's College, Cambridge from 1627 until 1670. John Morehen has suggested, on the basis of evidence of recorded payments to Loosemore for copying a book of similar size in 1627 and binding in 1630, and on the evidence of the presence and absence of various Cambridge figures, that the book was used at King's and was substantially complete by 1630 (with a handful of additions, which may have been copied at any time until 1670.)³²

The historiography of Laudian influence at King's has been more limited than on other colleges, notably Peterhouse and Trinity. The major music copying project in fact took place in the late 1620s, with the organ book above (and, presumably, a set of choir books to accompany it), and no further payments are recorded after 1631³³ – this was of course before the peak of 'Laudian' influence in Cambridge. Ian Payne refers to an 'outburst of Arminian activity' at Midsummer 1635, when some £22 was spent on repairing the organ and a further £80 on decorating the chapel.³⁴ The communion table was moved and railed off in 1634, against a new screen.³⁵ However, we have already seen that to attribute such activity immediately to Arminian influence can be misrepresentative. The report on 'Certain Disorders in the University', possibly written by Cosin for the attention of Laud, and dated 19th September 1636, refers to negligent singing men, unable to sing, and choristers not

³¹ Ibid. p.20: 'Sources' p. 460.

³² 'Sources' pp. 205-10; see also Thurston Dart, 'Henry Loosemore's Organ Book' *Trans. of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 3 (1959-63) 143-151. An inventory is given by Morehen, *Sources* pp.202-4, and also by Dart.

³³ Morehen, 'Sources' pp.212-3 gives a complete list of payments in the college Mundum and Particular Books.

³⁴ *Provision and Practice* p.94.

³⁵ J. Saltmarsh, 'King's College' in J.P.C. Roach, *The Victoria County Histories of England: A History of the County of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely: Vol. 3 The City and University of Cambridge* (London, O.U.P., 1959) pp.376-408; p.391.

wearing surplices. Little reverence was shown and the service ‘posted over’.³⁶ According to John Twigg’s timing of liturgical change in Cambridge, King’s made ‘innovations’ only in the mid 1630s, in contrast to more fervently Laudian colleges such as Peterhouse and Pembroke, closely and reluctantly followed by Trinity, Christ’s and Caius.³⁷ The college had a single Provost from 1615 until his deprivation in 1645, Samuel Collins, Regius Professor of Divinity and distinguished Latinist, who cannot be characterised as a Laudian.³⁸ It can then fairly be said that the compilation of Drexel MS 5469 took place independently of Laudian influence.

St Michael’s College, Tenbury MS 1382 (Southwell Minster)

This tenor part-book is the only remnant of the set described as below in the preface:

Be it remembered that these eight anthem books with an organ book unto them belonging, having pricked into them threescore and eight [sic] anthems, were bestowed on the quire of the Collegiate Church of Southwell of the bountiful and friendly gift of Mr Jarvas Jones of Oxford one of the sons of Walter Jones sometime Prebend Residenty of the Prebend of Normanton within the said Church.
Anno D[omi]ni 1617’³⁹

John Morehen has argued convincingly that these books were initially assembled by the Worcester musician John Fido for the private use of one Jarvas Jones at Oxford, before being presented to Southwell in 1617. The book is of an unusual size for liturgical sources (oblong quarto) and the part names are given as ‘altus’, ‘cantus’, ‘quintus’ and ‘sextus’ which were almost always reserved for domestic sources, rather than the ecclesiastical ‘medius’, ‘mean’ or ‘contra-tenor’.⁴⁰

Due to the lack of the records of the chapter from 1616 until 1661, it is difficult to form a very clear picture of musical practice at Southwell. In 1620 a local man, Gervase Lee, made a number of charges against the chapter including that services were neglected, and the choir was short of adult singers, as well the fabric of

³⁶ F.J. Varley, *Cambridge during the Civil War, 1642-6* (Cambridge, Heffer, 1935) pp. 22-5.

³⁷ *The university of Cambridge and the English revolution* pp.35-7.

³⁸ Saltmarsh, *King’s College* p. 391, 396: *DNB*, ‘Collins’ xi.374-5: Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists* p.44.

³⁹ John Morehen, ‘The Southwell Minster Tenor Part Book in the Library of St Michael’s College, Tenbury’ *M&L* 50 (1969) 352-64: p.354. This article provides an inventory of the source.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p.363.

the church being in need of lead and glass.⁴¹ There also exist a set of answers to Archbishop Neile's visitation of September 1635, in which the master of the choristers was accused by Richard Williams, a singing man, of being 'very negligent in the Quire and allsoe of his boyes', and the boys 'not well instructed in musique nor manners for instruments'. The choir possessed all it needed 'savinge a paire of goode Organs.'⁴²

However, Edward Quarles, canon of Halloughton, was of the opinion that all the musical staff were 'fitt and servaceable and withall diligent in their places.'⁴³ There is also evidence in the fabric accounts of 'gold used for beautifying and gilding some parts of the quire this year' in 1639-40, and Neile had ordered in 1636 that the resources from the lease of tithes from two parishes be put to the use of the vicars choral.⁴⁴ The picture then, fragmentary though it is, is of a moderate institution neither riddled with neglect nor under an increasing ceremonialism. The early date of copying the books also rules them independent of 'Laudian' influence.

Canterbury Cathedral Mus. MS 1A (Canterbury)

The 'Laudian' credentials of Canterbury Cathedral are particularly difficult to establish with any clarity, as the most recent historian of the cathedral has noted.⁴⁵ On the one hand, Laud appears to have paid this 'mother church' an unusual amount of attention, instituting a new set of statutes in 1637, and being in constant paper-borne communication with the chapter over matters such as augmenting the stipends of the lay-clerks. The moving of the sermons, previously preached in the chapter house, or 'Sermon House', gave rise to tension over matters of ceremonial precedence between city and chapter, a pattern that we have already identified in other cathedral cities above. The situation was sufficiently polarised by Christmas

⁴¹ Alan Rogers *et al*, *Southwell Minster after the Civil Wars* (Nottingham, University Department of Adult Continuing Education, 1974) p.7.

⁴² W.A.James, *An account of the Grammar and Song Schools of the Collegiate Church of Blessed Mary the Virgin of Southwell* (Lincoln, Ruddock, 1927) pp.58-9.

⁴³ Rogers, *Southwell Minster* p.12.

⁴⁴ Rogers, *Southwell Minster* p.11: K. Fincham, *Visitation Articles* vol. 2, p. 168.

⁴⁵ Patrick Collinson, 'The Protestant Cathedral' in Collinson, N. Ramsey, M. Sparkes (eds), *A History of Canterbury Cathedral* (Oxford, OUP. 1995) pp. 154-203. See in particular pp.186-190.

1640 that a part of the congregation in protest sang the whole of Psalm 119 in metre, in competition with the choral service.⁴⁶

However, as Professor Collinson notes, the archbishop was a busy man, and spent very little time at Canterbury in person, and was therefore dependent on his resident officials. Relations with Dean Isaac Bargrave, however, were by no means entirely harmonious. Despite the Dean's support for the altar policy, and the royal prerogative, Laud had some years previously, in 1627 while Bishop of London, attempted to prevent his appointment to a living at Lydd. Bargrave for his part was at various times in dispute over questions of authority with William Somner, registrar of the diocese, as well with the deans of London and Westminster. This, coupled with opposition from various of the senior members of the chapter to his alleged partiality with patronage, may account for Laud's description of his dealings with Canterbury as characterised by 'one peevish difference or other, for better I cannot name them, still arising to disturb all that is well meant.'⁴⁷ It is difficult, then, to establish in what sense this chapter, which carried out many of those ceremonial changes associated with Laudianism, whilst being at loggerheads with Laud himself, should be called 'Laudian'.

Roger Bowers has identified a number of pre-Restoration folios of music, bound into one of a set of Barnard's printed part books in a post 1660 binding (Mus MS1A). These leaves contain eight anthems and two sets of service music. The presence of one service and an anthem by the local composer George Marson suggests that the source is a remnant of a Canterbury source of the 1630s, and it was the case that payments for copying are recorded throughout the decade.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Ibid., p.190. The petition of the citizens of Canterbury, as reprinted by Culmer, *Cathedrall Newes from Canterbury* certainly expresses discontent with the 'Cathedrall-Ceremonious - Altar-Service': *Cathedrall Newes* p.2. The historian of the music of the cathedral describes Canterbury as 'a soundly royalist and Laudian institution': Roger Bowers, 'Cathedral Liturgy and Music' in Collinson *et al*, *Canterbury Cathedral* pp.408-50; p. 448. This interpretation of Canterbury practice as authentically Laudian is followed by Saunders, 'English cathedral choirs and choirmen' p.58.

⁴⁷ Collinson, 'Protestant Cathedral' pp.187-8: *DNB* iii.183-184 'Bargrave'.

⁴⁸ Bowers, 'Cathedral Liturgy and Music' p.447-8. Bowers gives the relevant folios as ff. 135-42, 173-68 (reversed), in contrast to the typescript catalogue, held by Canterbury Cathedral Library by Robert Ford, which lists the folios as 1-8v and a-f. I am greatly indebted to Cressida Annesley of the Cathedral Archives for providing me with a copy of the relevant parts of Dr Ford's catalogue.

Sources with doubtful provenances or dating⁴⁹

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tenbury MS 791 (Batten)

Tenbury 791, the so-called ‘**Batten** organ book’ has excited debate over both the identity of its copyist and its institutional heritage. Peter Le Huray has argued that the attribution of the book to Adrian Batten of St Paul’s by Edmund Fellowes, from which the epithet is derived, is mistaken, and that the book was in fact copied by Giles Tomkins for use at Salisbury cathedral.⁵⁰ John Morehen and John Bunker Clark have both argued that, while Tomkins is still a possible candidate, Batten is a more likely one, on the basis of the profile of composers included and their match with Batten’s known movements and connections.⁵¹

What is clearly deducible is that, from inscriptions in the source, it was begun at some point in or before 1633, and was not yet complete in 1635. It does not have a liturgical arrangement (services and anthems separated) but rather appears to be a collecting source, with material added as the copyist found it, in rough clusters by the same composers.

The situation within the close at Salisbury is a mixed one. On the one hand we find one Humphrey Henchman in the chapter, a prebendary who, according to the Dictionary of National Biography, was notable for the ‘care he took to secure reverence in the church and a more dignified ceremonial at the altar’. After the outbreak of war he continued to live in the close, and was in regular correspondence with royalist figures, personally helping in the 1651 escape of Charles II after the Battle of Worcester.⁵² There is also evidence of considerable expenditure on the organ with a Mr Burward engaged in 1635 to repair and enlarge the great organ and

⁴⁹ Despite the suggestion of Le Huray (‘Towards a definitive study’ p.171) that parts of Ely Cathedral Music MSS 1, 4, 28 and 29 were copied before the war, he gives no evidence to that effect, and Morehen, ‘Sources’ excludes them completely. I have therefore not included them for the purposes of this study. Doubt is also cast on such an early dating by *The Music Collections of the Cambridge Libraries* (printed guide to Harvester Microform collection, Brighton, 1987) pp.22-3.

⁵⁰ Le Huray, ‘Towards a definitive study’ pp. 172-6. An inventory is given in Morehen, ‘Sources’ pp. 216-222.

⁵¹ ‘Sources’ pp. 216-23: Bunker Clark, ‘Adrian Batten and John Barnard: Colleagues and Collaborators’ *Musica disciplina* 22 (1968) 207-229. Bunker Clark’s demonstration of the connections between Ten 791 and the Barnard manuscripts examined below is powerfully suggestive, if not conclusive.

⁵² *DNB* xxv.388-9

to provide a small new choir organ. Payments of £44 and £3 10s are recorded the following year for ‘gilding and culling’ of the same, and new wainscot. It may also be significant that the chapter appear to have paid 4s in 1643 for the organ to be taken down, and presumably stored, although this is not specifically recorded in the accounts.⁵³

However, a set of answers to Laud’s visitation of 1634 record that ‘All save Doctor Seward answered that they conceive that the choristers have not ben well ordered and instructed in the arte of singing, but their teacher doth promise to looke better unto them’. A contemporary document, included with the records relating to the visitation, records regular absenteeism amongst the chapter, and that ‘our quyre and church service is utterly destitute and naked of all cathedral ornaments, I might say robbed, for about 40 years agone, they were solde and fowly’⁵⁴. We can hence discern no clear pattern of attention to ceremonial from Laudian clergy or under external pressure, nor a clear and consistent indifference towards it.

A similar mixed picture emerges regarding St Paul’s. A 1631 visitation by Laud, in the person of William Noye, found much to be concerned about. Children were permitted to play in the church, those of the ‘greater sort and qualities’ were found to be promenading in the building, and it was used as a thoroughfare. After a dispute over Laud’s jurisdiction a set of orders was issued in 1639, stipulating that no vicar choral was also to hold a position at the Chapel Royal, which suggests some measure of absenteeism and conflict of interest had persisted up to this point. The Dean from 1631 to 1641 was Thomas Winniffe, a moderate Calvinist, royal chaplain, and nominee to the see of Lincoln in 1641.⁵⁵ We therefore see a picture of a moderate chapter, and certainly no centre of Laudian ceremonial experiment.

⁵³ C. Wordsworth, Dora H Robertson, ‘Salisbury Choristers: Their endowments, boy-bishops, music teachers and headmasters with an history of the organ’ *Wiltshire Archaeological And Natural History Magazine* clxviii (1938) pp.201-31: pp.222ff. See also Michael Foster, *The Music of Salisbury Cathedral* (London, Stainer & Bell, 1974); Dora Robertson, *Sarum Close* (London, Jonathan Cape, 1938) pp.172-187

⁵⁴ ‘Archbishop Laud’s Visitation of Salisbury in 1634’ *Wiltshire Notes and Queries* i (1893) 10-23, 70-79, 110-122; p.21: ‘A Remembrance for the Church of Sarum in very many and necessary particulars’ *Ibid.* p.73.

⁵⁵ E.F. Carpenter, ‘The Reformation 1485-1660’ in W.R. Matthews, W.M. Atkins (eds), *A History of St Paul’s Cathedral* (London, Phoenix, 1957) pp.100-71: pp.162–166: the report is printed in full, along with the notice posted in the cathedral as a result in W. Sparrow Simpson (ed.), *Documents illustrating the history of S. Paul’s Cathedral* (London, Camden Society new series 26 1880) pp.131-3. On Winniffe, see *DNB* lxxxii.196-7; Soden, *Goodman* p.132; Fletcher, *Outbreak* p.121.

For the purposes of this analysis, it is not crucial whether the book can be attributed to use in St Paul's (the more likely) or Salisbury, as both can be described as moderate chapters, neither in the vanguard of ceremonial observance, nor particularly lax in the same.

British Library Add. MS 29289

This single partbook is a useful point of comparison, as the vast majority of its contents can be securely dated to c.1629, with one later addition before c.1635. The paper is dated by Augustus Hughes to c.1629, and there is a signature 'ABatten 1629' by the third last item. John Morehen has suggested a possible link to use at St Paul's cathedral, as Adrian Batten was on the staff there at this point.⁵⁶ It must be mentioned however that the repertoire in this source is very conservative, being mostly by sixteenth-century figures, and containing no verse anthems, the newer seventeenth-century medium. For the purposes of this study the source is therefore treated as a non-Laudian source.

Oxford, St John's College MS 315 (Ojc 315)

St John's College, Oxford MS 315 is a frustrating source, in that this organ book can be attributed to use in the college chapel at St John's, but its compilation stretches over periods both before and after the Civil War. The source contains much music by the local composers John Frith, Robert Luge and William Ellis, organist of the college from before the outbreak of war. John Morehen has suggested, along with John Bunker Clark, that Ellis is the most likely scribe, based on palaeographic comparison with other sources.⁵⁷

There is ample evidence of a revival of the choral service at St John's, after the choir had been disbanded in 1575. Under the direction of successive Presidents - (Laud, William Juxon from 1621 to 1633, and Richard Baylie from 1633 onwards⁵⁸)

⁵⁶ For an inventory see Morehen, 'Sources' pp.432-441; A. Hughes-Hughes, *Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum* (London, 1909) pp.15-16.

⁵⁷ 'Sources' pp. 445-450: J. Bunker Clark, 'A re-emerged seventeenth century organ accompaniment book' *M&L* 47 (1966) 149-52.

⁵⁸ On the Arminianism of Juxon and Baylie, see Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists* pp.208, 183.

- music was copied, patronal anthems commissioned and a new organ built between 1619 and 1622, and Sir William Paddy made a large bequest in 1637 which was used to institute a choir of men and boys. In tandem with this, ample evidence survives of extensive beautification of the chapel. New glass of the story of John the Baptist was set up in 1619, and the choir painted and oak panelling installed. In either 1630 or 1632 Laud donated £40 for new altar rails, and payments for cushions and candlesticks and various other items are recorded in 1638 and 1639.⁵⁹ It would seem fair to regard St John's as a 'Laudian' chapel.

The obstacle to the safe interpretation of this source for this thesis is the fact that it appears to have been copied (by the single scribe) over a period covering the whole of the Civil War and Interregnum. William Child appears as 'Mr' up to page 97, and 'Dr' on p.162 and p.232. Child received his doctorate in 1663. Only some of the music contained in the manuscript has therefore been used in this investigation.⁶⁰

Oxford, St John's College, MSS 180 and 181 (Ojc 180/1)

These two bass part books, in the same hand and with very little duplication, are probably complementary and from the same institution, being in the same bindings. Peter Le Huray has suggested that they were in use at St George's Chapel, Windsor.⁶¹ John Morehen has made a more convincing case for a Chapel Royal provenance, based on an agreement of approximately 85% with the contents of the Chapel Royal word book (**Rawl.Poet. 23**, discussed above), by the presence of unusually large amounts of music by the Master of the Children at the Chapel Royal

⁵⁹ W.C. Costin, *The History of St John's College, Oxford 1598–1860* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1958 – OHS, new series, xii) pp.66-69: see also Francis Knights, 'The History of the Choral Foundation of St John's College, Oxford' *MT* 131 (1990) 444 - 447

⁶⁰ Le Huray suggests that no music of Benjamin Rogers can be securely dated to before the war. I have therefore in the service music of this source considered only pages 1 – 116, after which Rogers' music is present. In the verse anthems, I have considered those compositions up to the appearance of Henry Lawes, 'My song shall be of mercy and judgement', and in the full anthems his 'Zadok the priest' which was composed for the coronation of Charles II: *Music and the Reformation* pp.365, 345. This approach assumes (reasonably, in the absence of any other organising design) that music was copied into the book chronologically.

⁶¹ 'Towards a Definitive Study of Pre-Restoration Anglican Service Music' *Musica disciplina* xiv (1969) 167-95: p.178

until 1634, Nathaniel Giles, and by the presence of all six services designated in the early **Cosyn Virginal Book** as ‘for the Kings Royal Chappell’⁶² Morehen’s dating of this source as clearly pre-war is supported by the almost complete dominance of the contents by conservative figures. I have therefore treated these two books as being of a Chapel Royal provenance.

Oxford, Christ Church MS 1001 (Och 1001)

The key to the background of this particular organ book lies in the identification of ‘R.P.’, these initials being imprinted on the cover. John Morehen has dated the book as 1635-40, and has elucidated the two leading contenders.⁶³ The first of these of these is Richard Portman, organist of the Chapel Royal from 1638.⁶⁴ Och 1001 has a close match of material with both the Chapel Royal word book, and with Ojc 180/1, discussed above. However, the text of Byrd’s ‘O Lord make thy servant’ does not match that in the word book, and there are points which suggest a connection with Robert Pickhaver, a musician at New College, Oxford. The New College Bursar’s Accounts contain a payment in 1637/8 of £2 10s for a set of part books and an organ book, and there is a (limited) agreement between Och 1001 and two fragments which may be identifiable with this New College set (Oxford, Bodleian Mus MS C48 and D162).⁶⁵ Further evidence in Pickhaver’s favour are the later inscriptions by one of the eighteenth century father and son organists of Christ Church and New College, ‘Ric. Goodson’. (Of course, later possession of the book by New College does not prove use in the chapel in the 1630s.)

The most recent historian of New College has described the college as Royalist during the war ‘and substantially Laudian before it’, although with limited

⁶² ‘Sources’ pp.391-406. Morehen here includes an inventory of the manuscript: the (Benjamin) Cosyn book (BL Royal Music Collection MS.23.1.4) is an earlier source (c.1620). The fly-leaves of both books are signed by William Juxon, Dean of the Chapel Royal from 1633.

⁶³ ‘Sources’ p. 464-72.

⁶⁴ Le Huray, ‘Richard Portman’ NGD xv.138.

⁶⁵ ‘Sources’ p.497-503. MS D162 contains two anthems probably by William Wigthorp, organist of New College until 1611. Both sources contain only music of pre-Restoration dating. It should be noted that while Morehen dates Pickhaver’s appointment to New College as c.1637, Paul R Hale believes it to be 1662, preceded by one Simon Coleman from 1640-9. This would not however rule out the book having been in use at the college before it coming into Pickhaver’s possession. ‘Music and Musicians’ in Williams, Buxton, *New College* pp.267-92: p.270.

documentary evidence.⁶⁶ Certainly the king used New College as a headquarters during the war, and the chapel was brought into line with ‘Laudian High Church precepts’ in the two years after Laud’s intervention in 1636, with the provision of new choir stalls, a new screen with organ case, and a black and white stone floor.⁶⁷

However, it is also the case that Laud felt the need in 1635 to write to Walter Curle, Bishop of Winchester and Visitor of the college, to prevail upon Warden Robert Pink not to teach undergraduates so much of the works of Calvin, fearing it to be the cause of the low quality of graduates of the college.⁶⁸ New College is perhaps then to be regarded as a solidly conservative institution but not under the influence of *avant-garde* ceremonialist figures.

Oxford, Christ Church MSS 1220-4 (Och 1220-4)

John Morehen has firmly attributed this partial set of partbooks to use in Christ Church, partly on the basis of payments recorded in the college accounts after 1660, and by the presence of much material by the incumbent organist from 1638, Edward Lowe.⁶⁹ The main difficulty with this source is identifying how much of the early part of the books can be dated before the disruption of services. Morehen’s account allows of two interpretations, in that William Child’s ‘O Lord God the heathen’ is dated as having been composed in 1643-44, but Nathaniel Giles is still referred to as ‘Mr’ in the service music section and as ‘Dr’ in the full anthems. It is then probable that the scribe copied the service music first, and heard the news of Giles’s award before continuing with the full anthems, which begin at number 30. (It is odd to note that Giles had died in 1634, and had received the D.Mus. as early as 1622.) Although conclusions based on this source must necessarily be tentative, I have considered those items up to the point where Child ‘O Lord God the heathen’ appears (nos. 1-56).⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Penry Williams ‘From the Reformation to the Era of Reform 1530-1850’ pp.44-71 in P. Williams, J.Buxton (eds), *New College Oxford, 1379-1979* (Oxford, Warden and Fellows of New College, 1979); p.55.

⁶⁷ The phrase is that of Gervase Jackson-Stops, ‘The Architecture’ in Williams, Buxton (eds), *New College* pp.193-232; p.204.

⁶⁸ Williams ‘From the Reformation’ p.52: Laud, *Works* v.116.

⁶⁹ ‘Sources’ pp. 348-356.

⁷⁰ Every composition in this section is by a figure active in the years before the outbreak of war.

Information on the musical establishment of Christ Church is very sketchy, other than the acknowledgement of the existence of a choir and organs. The Dean from 1629 to 1638, Brian Duppa, was clearly identified as one of the Laudian party, before his translation to the see of Chichester in 1638, as was his successor Samuel Fell, although Fell was one with a Calvinist past. Duppa was responsible for paving the choir in black and white marble, a work completed by Fell.⁷¹

An observer of the royal visit to Oxford of 1636, during which Charles lodged, attended divine service and witnessed dramatic entertainments at Christ Church, declared that

The Churches and Chappells of all the colleges are much beautified, extraordinary Cost bestowed on them: scarce any Cathedrall churches, not Windsor or Canterbury, nay not Paul's quire exceeds them.. all Theyre Communion tables fayrely covered with rich Carpetts, hung some of them with speciall good hangings.⁷²

Several of the chapels also had paving of black and white stone, as referred to above. Christ Church was also to be the centre of the exiled court after the outbreak of hostilities, and Fell was to withhold the college plate from Lords Saye and Sele in 1642.⁷³ Here is perhaps one institution we can define as 'Laudian' in its churchmanship.

Cambridge, Pembroke College MS 6. 1-6 (Pembroke)

The set of six part books held at Pembroke college, Cambridge can be firmly connected with Pembroke in this period, as the bass decani book has the annotation 'Henricus May his guift Amen so be it' in the flyleaf. Henry May was at Pembroke

⁷¹ Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Christ Church Oxford: the portrait of a college* (Oxford, 3rd edn. 1989) pp.13-14. On Duppa's Arminianism while Bishop of Chichester, see Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists* pp.206-7; *DNB* 'Duppa' xvi.242-3. Fell, although Calvinist in doctrine in his early days as Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity (from 1626), later became actively supportive of Laud, and was conspicuously Royalist after war began: *DNB* 'Fell' xviii.298-99; Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists* pp. 75, 85. On the links between Laud and Fell see Fincham, 'William Laud and the exercise of Caroline ecclesiastical patronage' *JEH* 51 (2000) 69-93: p.78, 90.

⁷² A.J. Taylor, "The Royal Visit to Oxford in 1636" *Oxoniensa* 1 (1936) 151 – 158; p.153: on dramatic entertainment, pp. 156-8; also Thompson, *Christ Church* pp.50-4: see also Frederick S. Boas (ed.), *The Diary of Thomas Crosfield* (London, OUP 1935) p.91. The writer is George Garrard, chaplain to the Earl of Northumberland, Edward, 2nd viscount Conway and Killultagh, Lord General of the Horse and Deputy General of the Army.

⁷³ H.L.Thompson, *Christ Church* (London, F.E.Robinson, 1900) p.54.

from 1637, and a Fellow in 1642.⁷⁴ However, this source is somewhat enigmatic in that there is no mention of any kind of choral provision in the accounts of the college in the 1630s. However, both Peter Le Huray and John Morehen have speculated about the possibility that the choir of Peterhouse may have sung at Pembroke on occasions. The main evidence for this is a reference in Pembroke fellow Richard Crashaw's *Epigrammata Sacra* of 1634, addressed to the Master of the college, Benjamin Laney, to 'the sacred things that have been honoured amongst us' which included:⁷⁵

and glowing with his duty's worth
Each starry tressed chorister
With look that savours not of earth
Tends like a rosy cherub there

This possibility is strengthened by the presence of works such as Thomas Tomkins' 12-part anthem 'O praise the Lord', a work only within the reach of a technically competent choir, and the presence of settings by 'Farrant' of the psalms appointed for Obit Sunday, the patronal feast of the college. However, it must also be mentioned that it would appear from their physical condition that the books have hardly been used. Thus it is difficult to conclude that these books were used liturgically, but their contents are nonetheless at least broadly indicative of the preferred music of such a college. Pembroke was home to a number of Laudian fellows, with Master Benjamin Laney being engaged in the beautification of the chapel, and John Tournay being barred from taking his degree for opinions expressed in his degree sermon.⁷⁶ However, the evidence is insufficient to place very much interpretative weight upon this source.

⁷⁴ For a discussion and inventory of the source, see Le Huray, 'Towards a definitive study' pp.181-85. Morehen, 'Sources' pp. 360-7.

⁷⁵ 'Sources' pp. 360-7: 'Towards a definitive study' p.181. Crashaw was in 1635 to resign his Pembroke fellowship for one at Peterhouse.

⁷⁶ A. Attwater, *Pembroke College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, CUP, 1936) pp.70-1. The *DNB* concludes from this passage of Crashaw that Laney had restored choral services at Pembroke. Prynne was later to describe Laney as one of 'the professed Arminians, Laud's creatures' *DNB* xxxii.82-3.

Non-liturgical sources

Oxford, Bodleian MSS Mus.f.1-28 (Hammond)

This set of MSS, in fact six separate sets, were copied by Thomas Hammond, resident of the manor of Cressners, in the parish of Hawkedon, near Bury St Edmunds. They were variously compiled from printed and manuscript sources, and liberally intersperse English texted anthems with Latin motets and English madrigals.

Mus.f.1-6 also contain French and Italian vocal music, with both sacred and secular texts. The selection is predominantly Elizabethan and Jacobean music, although the probable dates of copying are 1631-56.⁷⁷

Christ Church, Oxford Mus MSS 56-60 (Fanshawe)

This set of partbooks in the library of Christ Church have been demonstrated by John Aplin to be one of two sets (the other being **Och 61-66** and **67**) prepared during the reign of James for the private recreation of Sir Henry Fanshawe, Remembrancer of the Exchequer and possibly a close acquaintance of Prince Henry.⁷⁸ They contain a wide range of material, including anthems in verse and full forms, as well as madrigals, solo songs and various elegies on the death of Henry. **Och 61-6** also contain instrumental music, secular music by Italian composers, and Italian texted material by English figures. Neither set contains any liturgical music.

Royal College of Music MSS 1045-51 (RCM 1045-51)

These books are not a non-liturgical or domestic source in the sense of Och 56-60, but rather (it has been suggested) they are a set of trial books prepared by John Barnard in preparation for his publication, *The First Book of Selected Church Musick*

⁷⁷ M.C. Crum, 'A seventeenth century collection belonging to Thomas Hamond, a Suffolk landowner' *Bodleian Library Record* 6 (1957-61) 373-86. Two dates are given by the sources; '1633 &c' in Mus.f.2-4, and '1655 & 1656' in Mus.f.16-19.

⁷⁸ 'Sir Henry Fanshawe and two sets of early seventeenth century part-books at Christ Church, Oxford' *M&L* 57 (1976) 11-24.

(London, 1641).⁷⁹ They still have the original binding, dated August 22nd 1625, with annotations that suggest that music was being added until at least 1634.⁸⁰ John Morehen makes a convincing case for the unusable nature of the books on the basis of there being several incomplete items, and items in one or more of the partbooks but not all of them.⁸¹ The disposition of the books (two medius, two alto, two tenor and two bass) is also an unusual one - the more common disposition in liturgical sources is MMAAAATTBB, with divided altos. Both these partbooks and the later printed source are useful indicators of the music which Barnard thought popular enough to be worth publishing in 1625 and into the 1630s.

Cathedral chapters without any connection with relevant liturgical sources, but otherwise referred to in detail.

Exeter Cathedral

An examination of the fate of Exeter cathedral and its clergy after the outbreak of war reveals a chapter fiercely loyal to the king. In November 1642 the chapter contributed a sum of forty marks to the defence of the city by Parliamentary forces against the king, which contrasts with the £1000 later given to the royal cause. The princess Henrietta was born in the city and christened in the cathedral on July 21st 1644, and several of the chapter suffered deprivation and economic hardship subsequently.⁸²

However, the picture of Exeter in the 1630s provides a valuable corrective to equating loyalty after 1642 with ‘Laudian’ activity before it. Wallace MacCaffrey has suggested that relations between city and chapter were in general harmonious, apart from an incident where the mayor James Tucker and two of the aldermen put on their hats during the reading of the 1639 proclamation of the situation in Scotland (the case was eventually brought before the Privy Council.) For MacCaffrey, what quarrels there were were primarily over jurisdictional matters of land and sanctuary,

⁷⁹ Barnard was a minor canon of St Paul’s cathedral: Morehen, ‘Barnard’ *NGD* ii.166.

⁸⁰ Le Huray, ‘Towards a definitive study’ pp.177-8.

⁸¹ ‘Sources’ pp. 226-282.: see also Bunker Clark, *Batten and Barnard* (pp. 219-229) for an inventory of both the partbooks and the later publication.

rather than liturgical or ceremonial innovation, despite the city having something of the ‘Puritan spirit.’⁸³ It was also the case that the chapter was rocked in 1632 by an accusation levelled against Dean Robert Peterson by three of his chapter of fathering an illegitimate child by his kitchen maid, hardly circumstances under which the new Laudian spirit of reverence could be fostered.⁸⁴ It is difficult then to characterise Exeter as anything other than a moderate conformist institution.

York Minster

The situation in York in the 1630s in many ways appears typical of the antagonism between a cathedral chapter in the process of implementing Laudian ceremonial and a city corporation opposed to it. Claire Cross has documented the clashes between city and a chapter dominated by Laudian clergy over seating arrangements in the church in 1633, and the ongoing dispute over the city’s annexation of lands previously in the liberty of St Peter. At the same time the city was vigorously supporting godly preachers in the city, both publicly and on an individual basis, and indeed refused to make the royal chaplain William Dalby city preacher in 1642 (as his position as incumbent of All Saints, Pavement suggested he should be).⁸⁵ This tension also extended as far as matters of the conduct of the Minster services (over and above the more commonplace jurisdictional disputes) as criticism was levelled as early as 1633 at the levels of attendance of the Chapter. The Minster also spent the sum of approximately £1000 on the beautification of the Minster, purchasing between 1633 and 1634 new frontal cloths and plate for the altar, a new organ of very large dimensions, and the screen behind the altar was coloured and

⁸² W.J. Harte, ‘Ecclesiastical and religious affairs in Exeter 1640-62’ *Reports and Transactions of the Devonshire Association* 69 (1937) 41-72, pp.47-8, 56-8: W.G. Hoskins, *Two Thousand Years in Exeter* (Exeter, Townsend, 1960) pp.67-8.

⁸³ *Exeter, 1540-1640. The growth of an English county town* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1958) pp.199-200. This picture of dispute only occurring late in the decade, and over a single issue, is reinforced by Eugene A. Andriette, *Devon and Exeter in the Civil War* (Newton Abbot, David and Charles, 1971) pp.39-40.

⁸⁴ The accusers included the precentor William Cotton, and the Archdeacon of Totnes, Edward Cotton, and the affair was termed a ‘foul conspiracy’ by Laud. David Marcombe, ‘Cathedrals and Protestantism: the search for a new identity. 1540-1660’ in Marcombe, C.S.Knighton (eds), *Close Encounters; English Cathedrals and Society since 1540* (Nottingham, University Department of Adult Education, 1991) pp.43-61: p.47.

⁸⁵ Claire Cross, ‘Achieving the Millennium: the Church in York during the Commonwealth’, *Studies in Church History* iv (1967) 122-142: pp.125-8, 130: see also her ‘Conflict and Confrontation: the

gilt.⁸⁶ It is indicative of the churchmanship of the chapter that the it was necessary in October 1645, after the dismantling of the cathedral service and the organ for sequestrators with musketeers ‘to repair to the house of the said Dr Hodson, [Phineas Hodson, chancellor] there to seise and take the organ pipes, books, coaps, surplisses and the like’⁸⁷

Given this context in the 1630s, it is singularly unfortunate for the purposes of this study that the single surviving manuscript associated with the Minster (York Minster Library M13S) appears to date from the 1610s.⁸⁸ It is nonetheless indicative of the repertoire of service music current at that point, and presumably still in use into later decades.

Sources excluded from consideration on grounds of uncertainty

The following sources have been excluded from consideration on the grounds of insufficient evidence to prove their use in a particular institution, or on grounds of dating.

British Library, Harleian MS 4142

This source has been excluded from consideration in this study on grounds of both dating and provenance. It is a word book, similar to Rawl.Poet.23, but according to John Morehen its copying was begun as late as 1643. It bears a close similarity in its contents to Occ 1220-4, the Pembroke source and the Windsor books, but cannot conclusively be related to any one of them.⁸⁹

York Dean and Chapter and the Corporation in the 1630s’ in Marcombe and Knighton (eds), *Close Encounters* pp.62-71.

⁸⁶ Cross, ‘Achieving the Millennium’ p.133: ‘Conflict and Confrontation’ p.67.

⁸⁷ Peter Aston, ‘Music since the Reformation’ in G.E. Aylmer, R. Cant (eds), *A History of York Minster* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1977) pp.395-429: pp. 407-8.

⁸⁸ David Griffiths, *A musical place of the first quality. A history of institutional music making in York c. 1550-1990* (York, York Settlement Trust, 1994) p.9. The MSS are catalogued in Griffiths, *A Catalogue of Music Manuscripts in York Minster Library* (York, Minster Library, 1981) pp.78-9. See also Morehen, ‘Sources’ pp.98-99.

⁸⁹ ‘Sources’ pp.384-9.

Windsor MS XVIII.1.11-13 (Windsor)

The inception of these three part books (two tenor and one countertenor) is relatively easy to determine, as the date 1640 is stamped on the bindings. The contents were in fact copied in two stages: the verse anthems and the first six full anthems at an early stage, and the rest later. Only this first group of entries have been considered in the following investigation, all of which are conservative in style.⁹⁰

It is however difficult to attribute these books to use at Windsor, as they do not appear in any of three inventories of college possessions drawn up in 1641, 1643 and 1667. John Morehen has conjectured a possible link with Eton College, partly on the presence of two anthems by Leonard Woodson, the organist of the college from 1615 until at least 1641, when the records end.⁹¹ It is clear that there was a choral establishment at Eton College, with a new organ built in 1613-14, and music copied in the same year. ‘Sundry songs’ were copied in 1639-40, and ‘Anthems for the use of the Provost and Colledge’ and also in the organ book in 1640-1. Unfortunately the college accounts for 1641-6 are no longer extant.⁹² The liturgical practice of the chapel, however, remains obscure. A payment is recorded for painting the ‘pale’ around the communion table in 1631-2, although it is unclear when these rails were set up. The outlook of the Provost until 1639, Henry Wotton, is unclear, and the impact of his successor Richard Steward, although clearly a Laudian figure, in his short time in his office is also difficult to determine.⁹³ It would therefore be unsafe to treat this source as evidence of any particular ceremonial stance.

Lambeth Palace MS 764

Lambeth 764 is a particularly frustrating source, as plausible cases have been made for its attribution to three different establishments. It can be dated securely as

⁹⁰ See Morehen, ‘Sources’ p.370 for an inventory.

⁹¹ ‘Sources’ pp. 368-70: *NGD* ‘Woodson’ xx.522.

⁹² M.R. James, ‘Organs and organists in the college accounts’ *Etoniana* 24 (1919) 369-376; pp.371-2

⁹³ H.C. Maxwell Lyte, *A History of Eton College 1440-1884* (London, Macmillan, 1889) pp.216-224. Tyacke describes Wotton as a Calvinist in theology (*Anti-Calvinists* p.89) although he also displayed some of the tendencies of an aesthete: *DNB*, ‘Wotton’ lxiii.51; Steward, *DNB* liv.258-60.

during the reign of Charles, and probably after 1633.⁹⁴ John Morehen has presented evidence for a Westminster Abbey provenance on the basis of the presence of much music by Richard Portman, organist there from 1633. The reasonable correspondence with **Ojc 180/181** also however hints at a Chapel Royal provenance, although the misattribution of a piece to Thomas rather than Nathaniel Giles (Master of the Choristers at the Chapel Royal) suggests that the copyist was not from the Chapel Royal. It is also impossible to discount the possibility of the source being in use at Lambeth Palace itself, as services were recommenced in 1633, with repairs being made to the organ in 1635.⁹⁵ However, no accounts exist for the chapel until 1750, making it impossible to verify such a suggestion. The existence of compositions in this source has therefore not been relied upon as evidence of either Laudian and non-Laudian practice.

Conclusion

It is therefore the case that a number of sources have firmly been attributed to use in ‘Laudian’ and ‘non-Laudian’ churches. In the ensuing chapters, I shall treat the Peterhouse, Durham, Gloucester and Christ Church, Oxford, and St John’s College, Oxford sources as ‘Laudian’ sources. Similarly, the Batten book, the Southwell tenor book, the Loosemore book, the Chirk Castle source and the Canterbury source will be treated as ‘non-Laudian’ in provenance. The Barnard partbooks will be treated as evidence of the type of music likely to be acceptable in a wide enough range of institutions to be worth publishing. Two sources related to the Chapel Royal (Rawl.Poet.23 and Ojc 180/1) have also been identified.

Statement of Presentation Conventions

In the following sections, I have adopted a number of conventions of citation and presentation in the source inventories given.

⁹⁴ Morehen, ‘Sources’ p.408. An inventory is given at pp.409-10.

⁹⁵ Morehen, ‘Sources’, loc. cit.; Peter Le Huray, ‘Towards a Definitive Study’ p.179 has the same suggestion. Dorothy Gardiner, *The Story of Lambeth Palace* (London, Constable, 1930) pp.129-34 records the work on the organ by Dallam, and other work on the chapel fabric.

1. Unless otherwise stated, listings of the occurrence of particular compositions are based upon the information given in Peter Le Huray and Ralph T. Daniel, *The Sources of English Church Music, 1549-1660* (London, EECM supplementary volume, 1972), and a collation of this with the sources themselves (in some cases), and published and unpublished inventories thereof (as listed in the notes above).
2. Sources are identified by those designations given in brackets in the headings of each source discussion above.
3. The existence of compositions in sources dated later than 1643 has not been listed.
4. Where a composition exists in two sources associated with the same institution, but now housed in separate locations, I have listed the principal of the two sources only. This applies primarily to Durham sources and the associated 'Dunnington-Jefferson' MS, now York Minster Library MS M 29 S, where in cases of duplication the latter has been omitted from the listing.⁹⁶

⁹⁶ Crosby, *Catalogue of Durham music manuscripts* p.36.