

## Chapter 11

### **Anthem texts and the homogeneity of Stuart musical practice**

The last chapter identified areas of musical practice which were unique to institutions under the influence of John Cosin, and had been previously seen as evidence of a distinctive Laudian practice in the historiography to date. This chapter consists of an examination of the incidence of some particular types of anthem text (those using different translations of the Bible, those with non-Biblical texts, and those of royal or national sentiment). Although the issues examined were less prominent in the polemical literature, the contest examined in chapter 7 between Cosin and Smart for the moral high ground of conformity to the law suggests that the use of texts not authorised by the Book of Common Prayer were a point of dispute. Smart objected in particular to the presence on the Durham books of the ‘Three Kings of Cologne’, an anthem ‘which was not the Word of God.’ Cosin for his part responded that the piece had never been sung in Durham in his time there and that he had ‘frequently shewed his dislike of singing any anthem which is not part of the Scriptures or a hymn publicly allowed by authority.’<sup>1</sup> It might then be expected that either Laudian and non-Laudian chapters, or indeed both, should have reason to scruple at the performance of such texts.

In a similar way, it will be argued that the polemical background to the literary standing of both the Sternhold and Hopkins psalter and Geneva Bible suggests that some scruples might be had at the use of such texts. It has also been suggested by a number of scholars that anthems of royal or national sentiment would have been peculiarly appropriate to Laudian, supposedly ‘Royalist’ *avant la lettre*, chapters. All of these possibilities are examined and in fact problematised, below.

### **The use of varying Biblical translations: the Sternhold and Hopkins psalter**

The first task at hand is to attempt to elucidate the standing of the metre translations of the Psalms, known as the Sternhold-Hopkins version, the dominance

---

<sup>1</sup> W.H. Longstaffe (ed.), *The Acts of the High Commission Court within the Diocese of Durham* (Surtees Society, xxxiv, 1858) pp.244-6. On this text, see Brian Crosby, ‘John Cosin and Music’ in Johnson (ed.), *John Cosin* pp.164-84 pp.171-2.

of which was such that it had gone through some 251 editions by 1640.<sup>2</sup> Crucial to this is the question whether or not part of the impetus for new translations of the psalms after 1600, such as those by George Sandys, and the regard in which those by Sir Philip Sidney and the Countess of Pembroke were held, was a conscious dissociation of conformist and/or 'Laudian' religious culture from the 'Puritan' Sternhold & Hopkins, by virtue of both its associations with Genevan separatism and on account of the uneven literary quality of its verse.

That there was a considerable amount of dissatisfaction with the literary quality of the Old Version is beyond dispute. The attitude of Thomas Fuller that the versifiers were 'men whose piety was better than their poetry; and they had drank more of Jordan than of Helicon' is well known. For Fuller, they made

the Maker of the tongue to speak little better than barbarism, and have in many verses such poor rhyme that two hammers on a smith's anvil would make better music;..... Some in favour of the translators allege that to be curious therein and over-descanting with wit had not become the plain song and simplicity of an holy style. But these must know there is great difference between painting a face and not washing it.<sup>3</sup>

The moderate Joseph Hall admitted in a letter that

For, to say truth, I never could see good verse written in the wonted measures. I ever thought them most easie, and least Poeticall. This fault (if any) will light upon the negligence of our people; which endure not to take paines for any fit variety<sup>4</sup>

As has already been noted, Cosin himself also lamented the fact that the canonical hymns and psalms, as he saw them had been 'thrust out and replaced by songs of their

---

<sup>2</sup> Hallett Smith 'English Metrical Psalms in the Sixteenth Century and their Literary Significance' *HLQ* 9 (1945-6) 249-71; p.251.

<sup>3</sup> Brewer (ed.), *Church History* iv.73, as cited by Hallett Smith, 'English Metrical Psalms' p.250. Edward Phillips, nephew of John Milton, was later to refer disparagingly to the psalms

Like a crack'd saints' bell jarring in the steeple  
Tom Sternhold's wretched prick-song for the people

cited by J.R. Watson, *The English Hymn; a critical and historical study* (Oxford, Clarendon 1997) p.46.

<sup>4</sup> Davenport (ed.), *Poems of Joseph Hall* (Liverpool, 1969) p.271, as cited by Richard Todd. 'So Well Attyr'd Abroad': A background to the Sidney-Pembroke Psalter and its implications for the seventeenth century religious lyric' *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 29 (1987) 74-93; p.80. Todd has referred to George Wither's *Preparation* to the Psalter (London, 1619) as part of 'a fairly concerted early seventeenth-century intellectual revolt in England against the ineptitude of the Old Version.' *Ibid.* p.80.

own choosing and composition, to be sung by people with “as much skill in singing as an ass has to handle a harp.”<sup>5</sup>

The Sidney-Pembroke psalter has been described as capable of nothing less than reconstituting ‘the inherent capacity of the Psalms as devotional poetry ‘of the Lyricall kind’, to move, teach and delight a sophisticated contemporary readership.<sup>6</sup> It was known by figures as significant as John Donne, Fulke Greville, Samuel Daniel, Ben Jonson, Joseph Hall, Sir John Harington, and very probably George Herbert, and transmitted widely in manuscript.<sup>7</sup> The verse by Donne ‘Upon the translation of the Psalmes by Sir Philip Sydney, and the Countesse of Pembroke his Sister’, published in 1635, gave a clear indication of the standing of the Old Version:

That I must not rejoyce as I would doe  
When I behold that these Psalmes are become  
So well attyr’d abroad, so ill at home  
So well in Chambers, in thy Church so ill  
AS I can scarce call that reform’d untill  
This be reform’d;<sup>8</sup>

It is clear then that a need was felt for some modification of the psalms, and indeed the Westminster Assembly was in 1643 to consider two different new translations, and adopt *The Psalmes of David in English Meeter* by Francis Rous (1643).<sup>9</sup> It was also the case that two works by composers closely associated with the court in the 1630s, the *Choice Psalmes* of William Lawes, and Walter Porter’s *Mottets of Two Voyces* opted to set the *Paraphrase upon the Psalmes* by George Sandys, first published in 1636.<sup>10</sup> (Both versions were published later, Lawes in 1648, and Porter in 1657.) Sandys was a member of the Privy Council, an accomplished gentleman, and his paraphrase was widely acclaimed as of great literary quality. In fact, Lawes’

---

<sup>5</sup> *Works* V, 63. That the objection was not purely literary, however, was shown by Cosin’s later suggestion (in a letter of 19<sup>th</sup> June 1646) that the metrical psalms had only gained authority in the church by virtue of the Company of Stationers. ‘No Bishop ever enquired of their observance, nor did ever any Judge, at an Assize, deliver them in his Charge.’ : R. Watson, *The Right Reverend Doctor John Cosin, Late Lord Bishop of Durham, his opinion* (London, 1684) pp.13-4. Watson was at the time when he received the letter chaplain to Lord Hopton, at Jersey.

<sup>6</sup> Rivkah Zim, *English Metrical Psalmes: Poetry and Praise as Prayer, 1535-1601* (Cambridge, CUP, 1987) p.152.

<sup>7</sup> J.C.A.Rathmell (ed.), *The Psalmes of Sir Philip Sidney and the Countess of Pembroke* (New York, University Press, 1963) p. xi.

<sup>8</sup> Rathmell, *Psalmes of Sidney* p.x. The poem was published in Donne’s *Poems* (London, 1635).

<sup>9</sup> Watson, *English Hymn* p.104.

<sup>10</sup> Evans, *Henry Lawes* p.183; Spink, Walter Porter’ *NGD* xv.137.

brother Henry had earlier set some of these verses, which were published with the book's second edition in 1638.<sup>11</sup> However, a William Lawes manuscript collection of devotional psalm settings (Occ 768-70) used the Sternhold and Hopkins texts.<sup>12</sup>

We can therefore detect a degree of dissatisfaction in court culture with the Old Version. However, I shall argue here that the surviving *liturgical* sources reveal the presence of a great many anthems with S&H texts, distributed throughout the sources, apparently unrelated to the theological background in which the source was prepared. They are to be found in Elizabethan sources, domestic sources, and sources which we have identified as non-Laudian, as well as in sources directly attributable to Cosin.

If we consider the following compositions by the Windsor musician Nathaniel Giles, a clear picture emerges. Of the four compositions listed below, bearing Sternhold and Hopkins texts, all four are to be found in the Chapel Royal word book copied in the 1630s, and all four are included in the Durham sources associated with Cosin. Furthermore, the setting of Psalm 102 was copied into the 'Laudian' Gloucester source as late as 1640, further demonstrating the current nature of the use of these texts.

<b>Composition</b>	<b>Text</b> <sup>13</sup>	<b>Sources</b>
O how happy a thing it is (I)	Ps 133	Durham Rawl poet 23 Batten
O how happy a thing it is (II)		Durham Rawl Poet 23
O Lord my God in all distress	Ps 71: 1-6	Durham Lambeth 764 RCM 1045-51 Rawl Poet 23 Ojc 181 Batten

<sup>11</sup> W. M. Evans, *Henry Lawes* p.141.

<sup>12</sup> Murray Lefkowitz, 'William Lawes' *NGD* x.558-566; p. 562.

<sup>13</sup> The texts are identified in the critical edition of Giles' anthems: *EECM* xxiii (London, Stainer & Bell, 1979).

O hear my prayer O Lord	Ps 102:1-3	Durham Gloucester Rawl Poet 23 Ojc 181 Batten
-------------------------	------------	---

The pattern is repeated with works by other composers. Christopher Tye's setting of Psalm 25 'I lift my heart to thee' is found in Chapel Royal and Durham sources, as well as in the neutral Southwell source, and domestic sources associated with Myriell and Fanshawe.<sup>14</sup>

Composition	Text	Sources
I lift my heart to thee	Psalm 25	Barnard, <i>First Book</i> Durham Lambeth 764 Rawl Poet 23 Ojc 181 Southwell Occ 56-60 (Fanshawe) Myriell

John Mundy's 'Blessed art thou that fearest God' (Psalm 128) is a further example of this widespread use of anthems with metrical texts, of which examples could be multiplied. It is to be found in Durham and the Gloucester source, as well as the Batten book and one of Barnard's pre-publication collecting manuscripts.

As well as the psalms, the Sternhold and Hopkins psalter included a number of original metrical hymns, which provided a very popular source of texts for composers of anthems. There are no fewer than nine settings of *O Lord in thee is all my trust*. (subtitled 'A Lamentation'), four of which are shown below. Again, three of these settings are to be found either in Chapel Royal or Durham sources, as well as in earlier Jacobean sources such as the Southwell book, in Barnard's collections, and in domestic sources such as BL 29427 and Tenbury 1162-7.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> The anthem is edited in *EECM* xix.99.

<sup>15</sup> E. Fellowes, *The catalogue of manuscripts in the library of St Michael's College, Tenbury* (Paris, 1934) p.249-50.

*O Lord in thee is all my trust ('A lamentation')*

Hooper	Durham RCM 1045-51 Batten Southwell
Tallis	John Day, <i>Certaine notes</i> <sup>16</sup> Rawl Poet 23 Chirk
Giles	Rawl Poet 23
Ravenscroft	Durham BM 29427 Ten 1162-67

The pattern is repeated with the following two Sternhold & Hopkins hymns, found in Cosin related sources, as well as more conservative ones, and also non-liturgical sources.

*O Lord, of whom I do depend (The Humble Suit of a Sinner)*<sup>17</sup>

East	Peterhouse
Horseley	Durham

*O Lord, turn not away thy face (The Lamentation of a Sinner)*<sup>18</sup>

Giles	Durham Harl 4142 RCM 1045-51 Rawl Poet 23 Ojc 181 Batten Southwell
-------	--

<sup>16</sup> Day's *Certain notes set forth in foure and three partes* (London 1560) is one of the earliest printed collections of English-texted church music: Robert Steele, *The earliest English music printing* (London, 1903) p.42.

<sup>17</sup> Another setting, anonymous, survives of this text, in two domestic sources only: BL Add. MS 17797,

(an early seventeenth century secular madrigal collection with some six anthems, including this, inserted: Hughes-Hughes, *Catalogue of British Museum Music Manuscripts* p. 6), and Occ 984-8: on these 'Dow' manuscripts, see David Mateer, 'Oxford, Christ Church MSS 98408: an index and commentary' *RMARC* 20 91986-7) 1-18.

<sup>18</sup> There also survive three anonymous settings, but all in secular sources: Edinburgh University Library MS La III.483, BL Add MS 33933: BL Add MSS 30480-4 and Oxford Bodl. MS Mus.f.17-19 (associated with Hammond).

Hooper

Durham  
RCM 1045-51  
Batten  
Southwell

It is therefore clear that despite the polemical opposition to the metrical psalms explored earlier, those sources associated with Laudian figures contain numerous examples of anthems with such texts. We can only conclude that either Cosin had no scruples about the use of such texts, or that if he did, any attempts that he made to remove such compositions were unsuccessful. It is of course possible that a figure such as Cosin could have issued instructions that such compositions were not to be sung. However, on this the sources are utterly silent.

### **Settings of the Geneva Bible**

Christopher Hill has recently demonstrated the dominance of the Geneva Bible, even when in competition with the Bishop's Bible of 1568, and the attempts made to suppress the Genevan translation and its notes after the appearance of the Authorised Version in 1611. After 1616 it was necessary to smuggle the Geneva bible from the Netherlands, and there is a case of a man imprisoned in 1632 for the importation of the same.<sup>19</sup> In the light of this, it is interesting indeed to note the occurrence of the Byrd compositions in the table below, all of which have Geneva Bible texts as shown, and all of which appear in the sources copied in the 1630s or later, and associated with Laudian institutions (the Peterhouse and Durham sources, Och 1220-4 and others). The setting of *Sing joyfully*, widely considered in the present day as one of Byrd's finest compositions, was one of the most popular anthems of the period.

Composition	Text	Manuscript Sources
Exalt thyself O God	Psalm 57: 6, 9-12	Ojc 180
O God the proud	Psalm 86; 14-15	Peterhouse Durham Rawl Poet 23 Och 1001 Ojc 181 Southwell
Sing joyfully <sup>20</sup>	Psalm 81: 1-4	Barnard, <i>First Book</i> Pembroke Peterhouse Durham Gloucester Loosemore Rawl Poet 23 Och 1001 Ojc 180 Southwell Myriell Bodl. Mus.f.20-4 (Hammond)

We are forced then to consider the possibility that churchmen such as Cosin did not seem to scruple at the use of such pieces in their worship, or at least not enough to rule out their use. It may simply have been the case that the desire to use the music outweighed the possible problem of the text.

### The use of non-biblical and non-Book of Common Prayer texts

The question at hand in this section is the use or otherwise of texts which were neither biblical nor authorised for liturgical use by inclusion in the Book of Common Prayer. More particularly, we need to consider what theological divisions (if any) we might expect to find over the use of non-biblical texts.

<sup>19</sup> *The English Bible and the seventeenth-century revolution* (London, Penguin, 1994) pp.56-60

<sup>20</sup> This piece also appears in numerous domestic sources:

- BL Add.17792-6 (see Pamela J. Willetts, 'Music from the circle of Anthony Wood at Oxford' *British Museum Quarterly* 24 (1961) 71-75.
- BL Add. 29366-8 (Hughes-Hughes, *Catalogue* p.5)
- Bodl MS Mus. Sch.e.381, the 'Forrest-Heather' collection of Tudor masses, which also includes various instrumental pieces. (M. Crum, 'Early lists of the Oxford Music School Collection' *M&L* 48 (1967) 23-34; p.26.)
- Bodl Mus Sch.d.212-216, a collection of (instrumental) *In nomine* settings, with anthems added at the end. (F. Madan, *A summary catalogue of western manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* (7 vols, Oxford, 1895- , vol vii. 212).
- New York Public Library, MS Drexel 4180-5. See note 26 below.

As we have already seen in chapter 7, and at the beginning of this chapter, many writers of all shades of liturgical opinion were able to utilise the rhetoric of prayer-book legalism. Both John Cosin and his opponent at Durham, Peter Smart, laid claim to the high ground of conformity in the cases between them that went through the court of High Commission.<sup>21</sup> It is also the case that in Durham MS C7 the non-Biblical and non-liturgical text of the anthem ‘The secret sins’ by William Mundy was altered, in the hand of William Smith, the Durham musician and composer, to a second text ‘The Lord only is my support’.<sup>22</sup> It is however difficult to recover the intention behind this, as there are, as we shall see, a number of other non-Biblical texts unaltered in the Durham sources.

It is in fact difficult to generalise as to what we might expect, as those we might care to call ‘Puritan’ tended to be more literalist and exclusive over the authority of the Bible, but at the same time less tolerant of a fixed liturgy. At the same time, the ‘Laudian’ group at once stressed uniformity in worship subject to royal authority, whilst being prepared to experiment in the name of the recovery of purer, more ancient forms of liturgy.

In the light of all this, the surviving manuscript sources reveal a very mixed picture, with anthems with non-biblical texts being found in MS from all backgrounds. John Morehen has examined in depth the anthem texts of the period 1549 to 1660, and has identified some 1,350 compositions, the texts of some 14 % of

---

<sup>21</sup> In conversation with Judge Yelverton, on July 19<sup>th</sup> 1629, one of a group of prebendaries including Cosin protested that ‘nothing was sung in the Church for the most part, but out of the book of Common Prayer’ Cosin, *Correspondence* pp.155-7.

<sup>22</sup> Crosby, *Catalogue of Durham music manuscripts* pp. 195, 39, and in a private conversation in Durham Cathedral, 14<sup>th</sup> September 1999. The older text is:

The secret sinnes that hidden lye within my pensive heart: & [cured/turned/sured ??]  
great heapes of bitter thoughts and fille my soule with smart: and yet the more my  
soule doth seeke some sweeter life to finde: the more doth sinne with vaine delighte  
alas still keepe mee blinde

Thou seest o god what strifes there are betweene my soule and sinne: thy grace doth  
work doth worke but sinne prevailes and blindes my soule theren. wherefore sweete  
christ thy grace increase, my faith augment withall: and for thy tender mercies sake  
Lord hear me when I call. Amen.

The text with which it was replaced appears to be a paraphrase of Psalm 23: MS C7: 265.

which are prayers, freely composed prose or those he was unable to identify.<sup>23</sup> The following investigation utilises in large part his identifications of the sources of anthem texts, and an identification of a source is attributable to him unless otherwise stipulated.

### (i) Texts from previous publications

The following table shows the incidence of anthems using texts from previously published poetic collections, and the analysis of their incidence presents us with some surprises. The setting by Richard Farrant (a very simple setting from early in Elizabeth's reign) appears in a source possibly associated with the parish church establishment at Ludlow (Shropshire Record Office 356 Mus MS 5), as well as in the Christ Church source, Och 1220. Settings of the Ben Jonson texts appear at once in Jacobean domestic sources (Myriell), and a Chapel Royal source of the late 1630s, and a setting of a penitential verse by the Jesuit martyr Robert Southwell appears in the Gloucester source, as well as two others without any explicit Laudian connections.

Composer	Composition	Source of Text	Manuscript Sources
Farrant	Lord for thy tender mercies sake	J. Bull, <i>Christian Prayers</i> (1568)	Och 1220-4 SRO 356 Mus. Ms 5 <sup>24</sup>
Crosse	Hear me O God, a broken heart	Ben Jonson, <i>Hymn to God the Father</i>	Rawl.Poet.23
Alfonso Ferrabosco (II)	Hear me O God, a broken heart	Ben Jonson, <i>Hymn to God the Father</i>	Myriell <sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> 'The English Anthem Text, 1549-1660' *JRMA* 117 (1992) 62-85; p. 64.

<sup>24</sup> On the establishment, and this source, see Alan Smith, 'Elizabethan Church Music at Ludlow' *M&L* 49 (1968) 108-21; p.120. For a second inventory, see Morehen, *Sources* pp.498-501. Morehen tentatively dates the book as c.1625 – c.1640, and casts doubt on how securely it can be attributed to Ludlow. Smith suggests that the arrangement of music in liturgical order suggests 'Laudian influence' (p.120) although it is difficult to discount reasons of practicality in such an arrangement, as all choral establishments essentially used the same liturgical structure.

<sup>25</sup> Thomas Myriell was rector of St Stephen's Wallbrook, London, from 1616 to 1625. His most important manuscript collection of music for domestic use is his *Tristitiae remedium* (BL Add. MSS 29372-7). Craig Monson, 'Thomas Myriell's manuscript collection: one view of musical taste in Jacobean London' *JAMS* 30 (1977) 419-465; p. 419. The Ferrabosco piece also appears in the secular source BL Add. MS 29427, which has been shown to contain a high proportion of pieces in common, and to contain Myriell's hand: P.J. Willetts, 'Musical connections of Thomas Myriell' *M&L* 49 (1968) 36-42; p. 39. See also her 'The identity of Thomas Myriell' *M&L* 53 (1972) 431-33.

Weelkes	If King Manasses, sunk in depths of sin	Robert Southwell <i>Saint Peters Complaynt</i> (1595)	Gloucester RCM 1045-51 Batten
Tallis	O Lord give thy holy spirit	Lidley, <i>Prayers</i> (1566)	BL 29289 Drexel 4180-5 <sup>26</sup> Southwell

As regards settings of metrical non-biblical texts, the compositions in the following table, all with texts by William Hunnis, Master of the Children at the Chapel Royal from 1566 until 1597, demonstrate the great popularity of a number of these settings. Particularly popular were the earlier Byrd settings (‘Alack’ and ‘Thou O God that guidest’) which appear in many different liturgical sources, as well as non-liturgical sources. It is perhaps instructive that John Barnard chose to include the latter in his 1641 publication, intended for as wide a circulation as possible.

<b>Composer</b>	<b>First line</b>	<b>MS Sources</b>
Byrd	Alack when I look back	Durham Lambeth 764 RCM 1045-51 Rawl Poet 23 Och 1001 Ojc 180 Batten Southwell BL Add 15117 <sup>27</sup>
Byrd	Thou O God that guidest (King`s Day)	Durham Lambeth 764 RCM 1045-51 Rawl Poet 23 Och 6 Och 1001 Ojc 181 Batten Southwell Chirk
William Mundy	Ah helpless wretch	Durham, Gloucester RCM 1045-51 Rawl Poet 23 Ojc 181 Batten

<sup>26</sup> This set of six part-books can be classified as a secular, non-liturgical source, containing as it does vocal and instrumental from various English figures, as well as continental composers Clemens non Papa and Luca Marenzio: Hugo Botstiber, ‘Musicalia in der New York Public Library’ *Sammelbaende der Internationalen Musik Gesellschaft* Jahr IV, Heft 4 (1903) 738-50, p.746.

<sup>27</sup> This is a single book of lute tablature with single melody lines, clearly designed for domestic use; Hughes-Hughes, *Catalogue of Music Manuscripts in the British Museum* pp. 10, 183, 426.

Morley	O Jesu meek	RCM 1051 Batten
John Hilton the elder	O Jesu mild	Batten
Weelkes	Give ear O Lord	Myriell Batten

## (ii) Freely composed texts

There are also several examples of texts that were freely composed for devotional use. John Amner's *O ye little flock*, which neither Morehen nor myself have been able to identify, consists of part of the narrative of the angel appearing to shepherd before the Nativity, and a freely composed passage of commentary before it, delivered by a solo voice:

O ye little flock, O ye faithfull shepherds,  
O ye host of heaven give eare unto my song

This piece appears in the Peterhouse sources, but also in the Batten organ book, and in the secular sources Drexel MSS 4180-5 and Oxford Bodleian MS Mus.f.20-4.<sup>28</sup> On a similar theme, 'Look shepherds Look. Why ? Where ?' by Thomas Ford is found in the Chapel Royal word book.<sup>29</sup> Henry King, Dean of Rochester from 1638-9, and subsequently Bishop of Chichester, provided texts for two known anthems, the most widely known of which was that for Gibbons' anthem 'Glorious and powerful God' which, as shown in the table below was to be found in a great many sources, including as well as Peterhouse, Durham and the Chapel Royal, non-Laudian sources such as the Loosemore book, RCM 1045-51 and the Batten organ book.<sup>30</sup>

Composition	MS Sources
Glorious and powerful God	Pembroke Peterhouse Durham RCM 1045-51 Loosemore

<sup>28</sup> Le Huray and Daniel, *Sources* p.75. The text is given here as in Peterhouse MS 485, f. R8.

<sup>29</sup> Morehen has identified the author of the text, following from the initials R.G. given in a post-Restoration source, as either Richard Gardiner, chaplain to Charles from about 1630, or Robert Gell, chaplain to Laud: *The English Anthem Text* p.85.

<sup>30</sup> John Wilson's composition 'Hearken O God to a wretches cry', surviving in post war texts only, also also a text by King: Morehen, *The English Anthem Text* p.85. On King, see *DNB* xxxi.133-4.

	Rawl Poet 23 Canterbury Och 1220-4 Ojc 180 Batten Chirk
--	--

It is therefore clear from this survey that neither Laudian nor more strictly Calvinist institutions made any efforts to remove anthems with texts which were either non-Scriptural or in other ways not explicitly authorised for use by the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer, or if they did, and the relevant sources have not survived, it would seem that they were unsuccessful.

### **The incidence of ‘Royalist’ texts in the anthem sources.**

The task in hand in this section is to examine the incidence of ‘royalist’ texts in the sources under examination, in order to ascertain whether any correlation can be discerned between the churchmanship under which a source was prepared and the use of explicitly ‘royalist’ material.

One of the immediate obstacles we meet in undertaking this task is defining what we should expect. Certainly, any picture of a straightforward equation of sentiment expressing loyalty to the Crown with Laudian churchmanship would be clumsy and unhelpful. It is one of the striking features of Stuart political discourse that almost all criticism of the status quo was conducted within a paradigm of solid loyalty to the office of kingship. David Cressy and Patrick Collinson have discussed in different ways the complexities of the intervention of providence in politics, and the implicit conditions that had to be fulfilled by a godly monarch.<sup>31</sup> For our purposes, however, it will be sufficient to note that no party within the church had a monopoly on expressed loyalty to the King. Some commentators have however appeared to suggest that some cathedral chapters in 1630s were more ‘royalist’ than others, and that some compositions were therefore more appropriate. Roger Bowers has suggested that William Cranford’s *O Lord make thy servant Charles* was ‘a very

---

<sup>31</sup> Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (Berkeley, Uni. of California, 1989) pp. xi – xiii; Collinson, ‘Biblical rhetoric: the English nation and national sentiment in the prophetic mode’ in C. McEachern and D. Shuger (eds),

appropriate item for a soundly royalist and Laudian institution’ such as Canterbury.<sup>32</sup> This section will attempt to consider how far such a division was in fact the case. It will argue that a relatively clear divide can be made between specific, event- or person-related texts and generalised anthems utilising the main texts for the November 5<sup>th</sup> and King’s Day celebrations, and other general (psalm) texts, and I shall consider them in that order.

### (i) Specific Texts

The two Chapel Royal sources (Oxford Bodl. Rawl. Poet.23) are unusual in containing a large number of anthems of specific royal content not to be found in other sources. No other source of the period contains such a number on such an exclusive basis. Of the ten pieces named below, only four made it into any other pre-Commonwealth source, and on the basis of the composers involved, we can conjecture that the two pieces in other liturgical sources were transmitted from the Chapel Royal outwards, rather than the other way around. The two composers William Randall and William Cranford were connected to the Chapel Royal or London based, and the subject matter is very particular to a royal foundation in both cases.<sup>33</sup> It is interesting to note that in the instances where these pieces have been found in other sources, they are not the ‘Laudian’ sources we have identified, but rather Och 56-60, a non-liturgical source associated with Sir Henry Fanshawe, the Southwell book, and the Batten book.

W. Porter	See Brethren what a pleasing bliss (‘for the Royal Family’) <sup>34</sup>	Rawl Poet. 23
Dr. Bull	Preserve most mighty God This blessed Britaine land	Rawl Poet 23
(anon.)	Most Gracious God and loving father (‘for the Royal Family after the birth of a Prince’) <sup>35</sup> .	Rawl Poet 23

---

*Religion and culture in Renaissance England* (Cambridge, CUP, 1997) pp.15-45: see also A. Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1999).

<sup>32</sup> *Cathedral Liturgy and Music* p. 448. Nick Heppel has suggested that there would have been ‘little need for these pieces to be used outside the Chapel Royal’ and their incidence in the Durham sources was therefore due to the political outlook of the chapter: ‘Cosin and Smart’ pp.149-50.

<sup>33</sup> Cranford was a lay vicar of St Paul’s: Norman Josephs, *NGD* ‘Cranford’ v.23: *NGD* ‘Randall’ xv.581.

<sup>34</sup> All the subtitles given are those in the Chapel Royal word book: anon., *The Chapel Royal anthem book of 1635*’ *Musical Antiquary* ii (1910) 108-113.

W. Cranford.	O Eternal God (for the Queen about to become the mother of 'succes-full children ')	Rawl Poet 23 Ten 791
Rich: Portman	Most Gracious God and merciful Father ('for the Queen')	Rawl Poet 23
W. Randall	O Father dear, O Son most dear/clear ('for the King')	Rawl Poet 23 Southwell
Orl: Gibbons	Great King of Gods whose gracious hand ('for the king')	Rawl Poet 23
Orl. Gibbons	Thou God of wisdom and of might	Rawl Poet 23 Ten 791
Dr Bull	An Antheme for the Garter. How joyfull & how glad a thing	Rawl Poet 23 Occ 56-60
Thomas Tomkins	Sadok the Priest	Rawl Poet 23
William Childe	Praise yee the strength of Britaines hope	Rawl.poet 23

Fewer compositions of such a specific nature survive both in the Chapel Royal source and another 'Laudian' source: one such is Richard Portman's 'I will always give thanks', which is to be found in the Durham sources. It is interesting to note that the piece was, according to John Morehen, composed in thanksgiving for the recovery of James from serious illness in 1619, and it is indeed subtitled to that effect in the Chapel Royal word book.<sup>36</sup> It is of some significance that such specific composition was not limited to the Personal Rule. Another such earlier composition was Byrd's anthem 'Thou O God that guidest.' Subtitled in Rawl.Poet.23 as 'for the King', it was originally composed to a metrical text by the Chapel Royal musician William Hunnis referring to Elizabeth.<sup>37</sup> Similarly Byrd's 'Behold our God ye sad

---

<sup>35</sup> The name is altered in the margin from the Duke of York to the Princess Elizabeth

<sup>36</sup> 'A thanksgiving after ye late sickness': Morehen, 'The English anthem text' p.84: Morehen, *Sources* p.421. Gibbons' 'O all true faithful hearts' is also subtitled 'A thanksgiving for the King's happy recovery from a great dangerous sickness' in its only source, Occ 21, dating from after 1660. Morehen argues that this was written in response to the same event: *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> The text is one of his *Seven Sobs of a Sorrowful Soule for Sin* of 1583, headed 'A Praier for the good estate of Queene Elizabeth':

'Thou that guid'st both heav'n and earth  
In whom we all depend  
Preserve our Queen in perfect health, and her from harms defend.'

Craig Monson (ed.) *The Byrd Edition vol. 11 The English Anthems* (London, Stainer and Bell, 1983) pp. 148-50, 222-3.

and heavy case', subtitled in the Chapel Royal word book as 'for the King's health' is a much earlier composition.<sup>38</sup>

## (ii) Generalised texts

A second striking feature of the anthem repertory of the period is the extremely widespread occurrence of anthems with texts expressing general royal/national sentiment. The following two anthems will serve as examples of very popular anthems with such texts.

William Byrd	O Lord make Thy servant Charles	Pembroke Peterhouse Durham Lambeth 764 RCM 1045-51 Loosemore Rawl Poet 23 Occ 1001 Occ 1220-4 Ojc 180 Ten 791 Southwell Dunnington Drexel 4180-5 Occ 984-8
Wm. Cranford	O Lord make thy Servant Charles	Peterhouse Durham Lambeth 764 RCM 1045-51 Rawl Poet 23 Occ 1220-4 Ojc 181 Canterbury Ten 791

This text, an adaptation of verses from Psalm 21, and altered in the case of the Byrd setting from 'Elizabeth', served as a basis for these very popular two settings. Both appear in Chapel Royal sources, and in the Cosin-related manuscripts at Durham and Peterhouse. However, the Byrd setting also appears in more neutral sources, such as the Loosemore organ book, the Southwell tenor book, and RCM 1045-51, as well as in the domestic sources Och 984-8 and Drexel MSS 4180-5. The Cranford setting also is found in RCM 1045-51 and the Batten organ book (Ten 791).

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.* p.219. The piece also survives in Durham sources, but with an altered text.

A similarly popular text was ‘O God of Gods, O kinge of kings, eternall father of all things’<sup>39</sup>

Hooper	O God of Gods (King`s Day) <sup>40</sup>	Peterhouse Durham Gloucester Lambeth 764 RCM 1045-51 Rawl Poet 23 Och 1220-4 Ojc 180 Batten Windsor
Bennet	O God of Gods	Durham Myriell RCM 1045-51 Occ 56-60 (Fanshawe)

This freely composed text is to be found in two settings, by Edmund Hooper and the Jacobean figure John Bennet. The Hooper setting is again found in the Chapel Royal sources, and at Durham and Peterhouse, but also in more neutral sources such as the RCM Barnard books and Tenbury 791 - (the Batten book). The Bennet setting is in fact found more often in non-liturgical sources than in liturgical sources. It appears in the anthology of Thomas Myriell, and also in manuscripts associated with Fanshawe, as well as in the Durham books.

The Byrd setting of *Thou O God that guidest*, a metrical text by the Elizabethan author William Hunnis, is another example of an extremely popular anthem. It occurs again in the Durham, Peterhouse and Chapel Royal sources, but also in various early and generally conservative sources, such as Och 6 and the Chirk Castle part-books, and also the Southwell tenor book.

Byrd	Thou O God that guidest (King`s Day)	Durham Lambeth 764 RCM 1045-51 Rawl Poet 23 Occ 6 Occ 1001 Ojc 181 Batten
------	--------------------------------------	--

<sup>39</sup> As given in Peterhouse MS 475:119.

<sup>40</sup> The ascription is given in the Durham sources; Crosby, *Catalogue of Durham Music Manuscripts* p.177.

		Southwell Chirk
--	--	--------------------

This pattern of very widespread occurrence is repeated with several other such texts.

Woodson	Give the king thy judgements (inc)	Durham Lambeth 764 RCM 1045-51 Batten
Jo: Cobb	Give the king thy Judgments	Rawl Poet 23
Child	Give the king thy judgements	Pembroke Peterhouse
Weelkes	Give the King thy judgements (King`s Day)	Durham Lambeth 764 RCM 1045-51 Ten 791 (Batten)
Loosemore	Give the king thy judgements (King`s Day)	Durham
Mallery	The King shall rejoice	Durham
Amner	The king shall rejoice	Occ 6 Chirk
John Tomkins	The king shall rejoice	Lambeth 764 RCM 1051 Rawl Poet 23 Ojc 181

David Cressy has argued that the celebrations for the 5<sup>th</sup> November, relatively uncontroversial in their first few years, became increasingly politicised in the 1630s. Laud and others on the episcopal bench attempted to downplay the significance of the festival, while Henry Burton had his ears cropped after using the 1636 occasion as an opportunity to preach about encroaching popery in England.<sup>41</sup> In the light of this, it is interesting to note that the two examples of anthems for the occasion listed below are prominent with sources associated with Cosin at Durham. Cosin and his successors at Durham appear to have felt no need to remove such anthems from the repertoire.

Smythe, Edw.	If the Lord himself (5 November)	Durham Batten
Weelkes	O Lord how joyful is the king (5 November)	Durham

<sup>41</sup> David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (Berkeley, Uni. of California, 1989) pp.152-4.

John Morehen has also identified two compositions relating specifically to the incidence of the plague, which are given in the table below.<sup>42</sup> Again, they are to be found in different types of source, including the collecting source of Pembroke, and Barnard's pre-publication collections.

Batten	Almighty God which in thy wrath <sup>43</sup>	Durham RCM 1045-51
R Parsons	Lord, comfort those	Pembroke Och 1220-4

We can then conclude from this section that it is not possible to draw out any patterns of the incidence of 'royalist' anthems that would emphasise the distinctiveness of Laudian musical practice. Instead, a very clear division is evident between very specific event related texts, predominantly in Chapel Royal sources, and general anthems which were universally used.

### Conclusion

It is clear from this chapter that, despite good grounds derived from other expressions of Laudian piety to suggest that we might expect such, it is impossible to detect any patterns in the use of the types of anthem texts examined here along lines of churchmanship. All the types of liturgical sources that were identified earlier include examples of all such texts, whether those using Geneva Bible or Sternhold and Hopkins texts, non-Biblical and otherwise non-canonical texts, and texts of general royal or national content. The only source to disturb this pattern was the Chapel Royal word-book, which included a large number of very specific royal texts, the presence of which cannot be attributed to anything other than the Chapel Royal's status as the monarch's place of worship. We cannot deduce from the evidence of this chapter that there was a 'Laudian style' in the choices of texts for church music.

---

<sup>42</sup> 'The English anthem text' p.84.

<sup>43</sup> In Durham MS C7: 233, this piece is headed 'Anthem in the time of plague'. The text ends with a supplication for God to 'Have mercy upon us miserable sinners that now are visited with great sicknes and mortalitie.'