

## PREFACE

*O Lord God, the heathen are come into Thine inheritance: Thy holy temple have they defiled, and made Jerusalem an heap of stones.*

When William Child set these words from Psalm 79 as an anthem, sometime around 1644, his despair was well founded. In January 1643, Parliament passed a bill calling for the ‘utter abolishing’ of the Church of England’s ecclesiastical structure, including ‘all vicars choral and choristers’. The bill was not enacted, but the Puritans’ intent was clear, and in May 1643, Child was ejected from his post as organist of St George’s Chapel, Windsor Castle. His fate was shared by hundreds of his fellow musicians elsewhere: in cathedrals across the country, choirs were ejected from their stalls, and organs torn down by Cromwell’s soldiers. By the end of 1645, the Anglican choral tradition lay silent. Whilst some cathedrals were now used to house troops and horses, musicians were compelled, in the words of eighteenth-century historian John Hawkins, to ‘betake themselves to some employment less offensive to God than that of singing his praises’.

But the enforced silence proved short lived. In May 1660, Charles II was proclaimed King, and returned to England from exile. This marked not only the Restoration of the monarchy, but also the revival of Anglican worship. Within months, surviving lay clerks had returned to their stalls and a new generation of choristers was being recruited and trained. Local composers hurriedly turned out anthems with music tailored to the needs of their fledgling choirs, and setting biblical texts which celebrated their good fortune: ‘O Lord, grant the King a long life’, ‘As for his enemies, clothe them with shame’ and ‘If the Lord himself had not been on our side’.

In 1660, Child resumed his post at Windsor, and was appointed one of the three organists of the Chapel Royal. He quickly emerged as a leading composer of church music, and it is fitting that this volume opens with his anthem, *O praise the Lord, laud ye the name of the Lord*, written to mark the Restoration. The anthem’s musical style harks back to the 1630s and 1640s, a conscious echo of the ‘lost’ tradition, and in the middle section, the phrase ‘Ye that stand in the house of the Lord’ is repeated three times, basking in the choir’s reclamation of its rightful place. Yet at the same time that the older style was being restored, the English polyphonic tradition was being challenged from a different quarter, as novel French and Italian musical styles began to exert their influence in England – particularly at Charles II’s Court. The second half of the seventeenth century was a time of considerable change: modality gradually gave way to modern

tonality; polyphony was supplanted by the Italian *basso continuo* style. As a result, the Restoration anthem is characterised by a rare diversity of styles and techniques, which often sit alongside one another in a single work.

### Contents

This collection of anthems – the first of two projected volumes – does not attempt to be a systematic anthology of Restoration church music; rather, it seeks to present some of the finest anthems from the period that will be suitable for varied use by modern cathedral, collegiate and church choirs, providing new editions of well-known works currently unavailable elsewhere, alongside many less familiar anthems, some of which are published here for the first time. However, the collection intentionally contains examples of the three main types of anthem cultivated at the time (excluding the symphony anthem with strings written specifically for the Chapel Royal): the full anthem, the full anthem with verses, and the verse anthem, and it reflects the variety of full textures and solo groupings which were employed. With one possible exception (Hawkins’ *O praise the Lord all ye heathen*, which is included on stylistic grounds), all the anthems in this volume are known to have been composed during the reigns of Charles II and James II; the next volume will begin with music written soon after the coronation of William and Mary. Contemporary cathedral manuscripts indicate that many of the chosen works enjoyed considerable popularity in their day, with six securing a more lasting place in the Anglican repertory through their inclusion in Boyce’s *Cathedral Music* (1760-3).

### The composers

Music from the Chapel Royal – the premier choral establishment of the time – inevitably forms a major part of the collection. Amongst this body of priests, gentlemen and choristers which performed daily choral worship for the King (usually at Whitehall, but at Windsor during the Court’s summer progress there), were many of the country’s leading church musicians: John Blow, William Child and Henry Purcell all served as organists (Blow also becoming master of the choristers); William Tucker was one of the priests, and William Turner and Michael Wise were gentlemen of the Chapel.

All combined their Court duties with senior posts in other choral establishments: Wise was organist of Salisbury Cathedral, and had been appointed master of the choristers at St Paul’s Cathedral shortly before his death; Blow succeeded Wise at St Paul’s, and twice served as organist at Westminster Abbey (he relinquished the post in

favour of his pupil, Purcell, resuming it again following Purcell's untimely death); Tucker was a minor canon at Westminster Abbey and one of London's leading music copyists; and Turner enjoyed a successful stage career as both soloist and composer, before joining the choirs of St Paul's and Westminster Abbey. Several of Matthew Locke's English anthems were performed by the Chapel Royal. However, as a Catholic, he was barred from holding office in any Anglican institution, serving instead as organist in the Chapel of Charles II's Catholic queen, Catherine of Braganza, and as composer in the King's Private Musick.

Services and anthems by Benjamin Rogers (including *I beheld and lo*) were also part of the Chapel Royal's repertoire, yet – somewhat surprisingly – he himself never held office there. Organist of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, before the Civil War, he briefly held posts at Eton College and St George's, Windsor at the Restoration, before moving to Magdalen College, Oxford, as organist. Of the three remaining provincial composers represented in the volume, James Hawkins was organist of Ely Cathedral (although his prolific activity as a copyist meant that he was well aware of stylistic developments in London), whilst the others held ecclesiastical rather than musical office: Henry Aldrich as dean of Christ Church, Oxford, and Robert Creighton as precentor of Wells Cathedral.

#### *The music*

One of Purcell's first duties at Court after his voice had broken seems to have been to edit anthems by sixteenth-century composers, such as Byrd and Tallis, and to compose works in a similar style. The fruits of this apprenticeship are apparent in later masterpieces such as *Hear my prayer*. Other more recent compositions also served as models: it seems likely that *O Lord God of hosts* was modelled on Blow's *God is our hope and strength*. The two works not only share the same texture – eight-part polyphonic chorus, contrasted with verse passages for groups of high and low voices – but also display thematic parallels: the descending, dotted figure at 'our enemies laugh us to scorn' echoes Blow's vigorous setting of 'shall she not be removed'. Purcell had previously copied (and perhaps arranged) an organ part for *God is our hope and strength*, which is reproduced for the first time in this edition. It provides a carefully-worked skeleton of the vocal parts rather than a *basso continuo* part; an organ part in a similar style has been provided editorially for Purcell's own *O Lord God of Hosts*, which hitherto has been published with a continuo-style accompaniment.

In contrast to these two masterpieces, most of the surviving full anthems (with or without verses) from the early Restoration period are modest and unpretentious works; whilst they clearly met the

needs of recently restored choirs, few are worthy of revival. However, the shorter works chosen for this collection all have a quality to set them above the average. With its concentration of interest in the melodic line, supported by simple yet effective harmonies, Rogers' *How long* is perhaps reminiscent of the pre-war lute song. Far more modern in style is *O praise the Lord all ye heathen* by Hawkins, which adopts a vigorous triple-time idiom, with cross rhythms familiar from many works by Purcell. The anthems by Creighton and Aldrich belie their learned background as part of what Burney termed the 'reverend dilettanti'. The conservative style of *Out of the deep* was informed by Aldrich's interest in sixteenth-century music, which saw him make almost 30 English adaptations of Latin works by composers such as Tallis and Palestrina for use at Christ Church. The canonic writing in Creighton's *I will arise* is typical of Restoration composers' interest in contrapuntal puzzles (for example, Purcell's *Service in B flat* includes no less than ten different types of canon).

Whilst the full anthem afforded a link with past traditions, the verse anthem allowed Restoration composers greater freedom to employ contemporary techniques and idioms. Child, Rogers and Turner all employ triple time to good effect: Child and Rogers to signify joy; Turner to create a contrast in tempo and metre to reflect the sudden withering of the grass. Child's *Behold, how good and joyful* is almost madrigalian in character, with vivid responses to each line of text, punctuated by brief choruses which echo the preceding material. This simple structural device was a common feature of the early continuo-style verse anthem, as developed within the Chapel Royal by composers such as William Tucker. The simple declamatory style of his anthem, *Wherewithal shall a young man cleanse his way?*, and its scoring for two treble soloists are also typical of the verse anthem during the 1660s and 1670s (later composers tending to prefer the solo grouping of countertenor, tenor and bass).

Monody lay at the heart of the *stile nuovo*, and it is perhaps in solo vocal writing that one finds the clearest evidence of English composers experimenting with the new Italianate style. The phrase 'Shall there be any more hunger, or thirst, or tears, or pain, or death?', from Rogers' *I beheld and lo*, points clearly in this direction, with repeated notes and strong changes of chord (from A major to F sharp major). More consistent attempts are to be found in the two anthems by Locke and Wise, where some solo outbursts come close to the expressive arioso style of contemporary Italian opera. Wise, in particular, had a gift for natural yet expressive word setting, and Burney was moved to describe the opening of *The ways of Sion do mourn* as one of the most 'beautiful and expressive' works of the period.

## Performance Issues

### *Organ accompaniments*

It is evident from contemporary sources that the organ was used to accompany both verse and full anthems at this time – though exactly *what* organists played is far less clear. In keeping with the transitional nature of the period, surviving organ books vary in both their style and level of detail, ranging from almost complete short-score keyboard reductions to a figured bass line alone. To some extent there is a rough correlation between the style of a piece, and the format of associated organ scores. But there are sufficient examples of the same work surviving in different formats in different institutions to suggest that accompanimental practice varied between organists.

The most commonly-found texture, particularly for full anthems, is the two outer voices alone, sometimes with a few notes sketched in to show important entries, and supplemented by occasional figures. As yet, there is no firm agreement amongst scholars as to the purpose, and therefore the interpretation, of such sources: was the texture merely an *aide memoire*, conveying essential harmonic and melodic information in as economical a way as possible, and intended as a guide in performance, or for use in teaching the choristers; or does it genuinely indicate what was played? If the latter, were extra notes added; and if so, how many?

The picture is also unclear in respect of the verse anthem, where the question of whether or not the organist doubled the vocal line has clear implications for the style of the accompaniment. Two autograph manuscripts of *I beheld and lo*, by Rogers, illustrate the problem. One is a score, with a separate, and largely independent, organ part written on two staves either side of vocal part during the tenor verses; the other is an organ book which, for the same passages, presents a reduction of both the obbligato organ part *and* the vocal line. This could be interpreted as evidence that organists routinely doubled the vocal line(s). Equally, however, the vocal line may have been intended merely as a guide – to assist with ensemble in performance and to indicate the character of the vocal writing, which the organist may wish to reflect in his accompaniment – and not for direct incorporation. Such information is, of course, readily available when playing from a full score. It is therefore interesting to note Roger North's view that scores were 'the best thro base part', since they allowed a continuo player to 'observe the Composition, as they goe along'.

In practice, there were probably no hard and fast rules: Locke's accompaniment for his anthem *How doth the city sit solitary* takes a different approach to doubling in different verse sections. It therefore seems likely that other organists also adopted a variety of styles, dependent upon personal and

institutional tastes, the prevailing idiom of the piece, or the ability of particular singers.

Two other organ parts which are almost fully-written out in original sources have been included in this collection: for Blow's *God is our hope and strength* (as discussed above) and Child's *O praise the Lord*. For the remaining works, the editors have supplied their own accompaniments, choosing a variety of approaches. Clearly, there is a broad sense in which music in the conservative English contrapuntal style should be accompanied *colla voce*, whereas an independent continuo part is more appropriate for works in a modern idiom. But in other instances, such as homophonic choruses in verse anthems, it is far more a question of judgement.

The realisations presented here are intended only as a guide. The editors have deliberately kept them simple, giving organists scope to adapt or embellish them according to their own tastes and circumstances. The aim should always be to support but not dominate the voices. Small-scale works such as Rogers' *How long* can be successfully performed by a quartet of soloists (when a lighter texture may be more appropriate). Other pieces, such as Child's *O praise the Lord*, can be sung effectively (if inauthentically) unaccompanied.

Little evidence survives regarding the choice of organ registration. Early Restoration organs differed little from those destroyed in the 1640s. Most large establishments had 'double' organs: a Great organ, usually with metal pipes, and often on a screen with doubled ranks sounding east and west; and a Chaire, or Choir organ, with wooden and metal ranks, speaking into the choir. Reeds, cornet stops and pedals were all yet to appear. Occasionally, organ books are marked 'loud' or 'soft', corresponding to full and verse sections, respectively. But it remains unclear as to whether this implied changes of manual or just stops. Slightly later sources often specify '2 Diapasons' for chorus sections (probably the Great open and stopped 8' diapasons), which may represent a continuation of earlier practice.

### *Tempo relationships*

Although there is no surviving literary evidence from the Restoration period to suggest that triple and duple time signatures were still interpreted as proportional mensurations, there is a strong case to be made from the music itself that the practice was occasionally continued from earlier times. The appearance of sections in triple time within otherwise duple-time compositions was common from Byrd onwards, and Charles Butler's table of 1636 (reproduced in R. Herissone, *Music Theory in Seventeenth-Century England* (OUP, 2000), p.41) shows that proportions were understood well into the seventeenth century. The case for a proportional interpretation of time signatures in Restoration

music rests on a question of musical style: proportional relationships may be appropriate in pieces composed in a generally conservative idiom, i.e. most of the church music of the period. The principal proportion continued from earlier times was the *sesquialtera*, whereby three minims in triple time take the same time as two in duple. This works well in Purcell's *O Lord God of hosts*. A further complication arises, however, in works such as Child's *Behold how good and joyful* and Turner's *Lord, thou hast been our refuge*, in that the pulse of the music in duple time is now the crotchet rather than the minim, though the time signatures remain the same (C and C/3i). In these cases it seems plausible to give two crotchets in duple time the same time as three minims in triple time. It might seem more logical for a composer to have written the sections in triple time also with crotchet beats, as occurs in several anthems by John Blow. In this volume the technique can be found Rogers, *I beheld and lo*, which unusually contains two sections in triple time both with the same time signature but one moving with a crotchet pulse and the other a minim. Here the *sesquialtera* proportion works well for the triple section in crotchets, being similar to Blow's anthems, but Rogers appears to have deliberately intended a different speed for the section in minims, perhaps implying a slower tempo for this passage in comparison to the section in crotchets, possibly maintaining the same pulse as the duple section (i.e. the crotchet in duple time having the same time as the minim in triple time), or implying a slight increase in speed, but not as much as in *sesquialtera*.

#### *Ornamentation*

Restoration singers would have embellished their solos as a matter of course, with extempore ornamentation which might include the backfall and forefall (appoggiaturas from above and below), the slide (a rapid scale of a third, leading up to the main note) and the trill (both with and without an upper note). They were intended as an expressive device, and contemporary writers caution singers against their over-use. Modern performers should also heed this advice; but there are several places in the collection (such as the echo repeats in *The ways of Sion do mourn*) where ornamentation could be used to good effect.

#### **Editorial Policy**

The sources used in preparing this volume have been selected on the grounds of their proximity to the presumed time and/or location of a work's composition. Thus later versions of particular anthems, in which alterations have been made to suit the prevailing taste of the time, have been excluded, and only those sources directly used in the compilation of each edition have been listed.

Original note values have been retained; barring, beaming and slurring have been regularised. Key signatures and accidentals have been modernised, redundant accidentals tacitly removed, and accidentals silently added where required by the regularisation of bar-lines. Original time signatures are shown above the keyboard part.

Standard modern part names have been adopted (thus 'Treble' and 'Mean' are designated 'Soprano'; and 'Countertenor' as 'Alto'). Chorus and verse indications, spelling and punctuation have all been modernised and standardised.

Prefatory staves show the original clefs and – in the case of anthems which have been transposed upwards to make the range of the vocal parts more suitable for modern choirs – the original pitch.

Purely editorial interventions, including keyboard realisations and completions, are shown in small type, or enclosed in square brackets. All other differences from the copy text (apart from the standard apparatus described above) are detailed in the Critical Commentary.

#### **Acknowledgements**

The editors are indebted to both Professor Ian Spink – whose *Restoration Church Music, 1660–1714* (OUP, 1995) is the essential study of the period – and Dr Rebecca Herissone for their considerable advice and practical help; and to Dr Peter Holman, Dr Robert Thompson and Mr Richard Lyne for help and advice regarding specific works and sources. The following libraries have kindly supplied material or allowed their holdings to be consulted: the British Library; Cambridge University Library (Ely Cathedral collection); the Pendlebury Library of the Faculty of Music, University of Cambridge; the Bodleian Library, Oxford; and the libraries of Christ Church, Oxford, York Minster, Wimborne Minster (with thanks to Mr Frank Tandy), St George's Chapel, Windsor, Worcester Cathedral, and the Royal College of Music. Our thanks are also due to the Choir of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, whose members gleefully spotted mistakes in our draft editions, and sang more than their average share of Restoration church music during the Michaelmas Term 2002.

Keri Dexter and Geoffrey Webber  
Cheltenham and Cambridge, January 2003

## CRITICAL COMMENTARY

The commentary records the original source reading at all points where the printed edition departs from the copy text *and* this difference is not due to the standard editorial procedures detailed in the preface. Variant readings in other listed sources are noted only where they occur at the same points as variants in the copy text; or where they have informed the editors' choice of reading.

*Abbreviations:* S, soprano; A, alto; T, tenor; B, bass; Orgr/Orgl organ right hand/left hand; Bc, basso continuo; Me, medius; Ct, countertenor; *br*, breve; *sbr*, semibreve; *m*, minim, *cr*, crotchet; *q*, quaver; *sq*, semiquaver; *dsq*, demi-semiquaver; *c.*, dotted crotchet (*etc.*)

*Pitch* is denoted by standard Helmholtz notation (octaves reading upwards from 8<sup>th</sup> pitch are C, c, c', c'', and each octave symbol remains in force from C to the B above. Middle C = c'). In works which have been transposed, variants are recorded as if the original source was also at the transposed pitch, and are prefaced by '='.

*System of reference:* bar.part.symbol (including tied notes and rests). Thus, '8.T.6-9.T.3: from C... **B** has *cr* d' (*and*), *cr* d' (*be-*), *m*. c' slurred to *cr* b flat (*-fore*)' means that the tenor part from the 6<sup>th</sup> symbol of bar 8 to the 3<sup>rd</sup> symbol of bar 9, inclusive, is taken from source C, rather than the copy text, **B**, whose reading is as follows: the word 'and' is set to a crotchet d', followed by the syllable 'be-' set to a crotchet d', and the syllable '-fore' which is set to a dotted minim c' and crotchet b flat, which are slurred together. (Example from Creighton, *I will arise and go to my Father*.)

*Library Sigla:* *Cfm* – Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum; *Cu* – Cambridge, University Library (cited sources are all from the Ely Cathedral Dean & Chapter Archives); *Lbl* – London, British Library; *Lcm* – London, Royal College of Music; *Ob* [T] – Oxford, Bodleian Library, [Tenbury Collection]; *Och* – Oxford, Christ Church; *SGC* – Windsor, St George's Chapel Archives; *WB* – Wimborne Minster; *Y* – York Minster

**Child, O praise the Lord, laud ye the Name of the Lord** (p.11)

### *Sources*

- A.** *Cfm* Music MS 117, ff.73v-74r. Score, copied by William Isaack, minor canon of St George's Chapel, Windsor. Anthem probably copied c.1678-9.  
**B.** *SGC* Music MSS 1A, 2-4. First set of post-Restoration partbooks. Copies of the anthem all date from Child's lifetime (ranging from c.1668-c.1690), and are in the hand of Thomas Kelway, successively lay clerk and minor canon of St George's Chapel.  
 MS 1A (Can Ct) pp.41-2 [A2]; MS 2 (Dec Ct) pp.51-3 [A2]; MS 3 (Can T) pp.50-1; MS 4 (Dec B) pp.42-3  
**C.** *Cu* EDC 10/7/1, verso, pp.50-1. Organ book. Anthem copied c.1670-77 by John Ferrabosco, organist of Ely. (For the link between contemporary Ely and Windsor sources, see under Child's *Behold, how good and joyful a thing it is*, below.)  
**D.** *Y* M1/6 (S) ff.61v-62r. Dec Ct volume from 'Bing-Gostling' partbooks [A1, A2]. Anthem copied in the 1690s by John Gostling, gentleman of the Chapel Royal.

**A** is the copy text for the *music* of the vocal parts (with S1 and S2 reversed), and **C** for the organ part. Underlay in **A** is incomplete, and often carelessly aligned, and has therefore been disregarded. Underlay and slurring in **A** (bars 1-22), A2 (23-52), T and B are from **B**; S1, S2 and

A1 underlay and slurring has been tacitly supplied by the editor, conflating incipits from **A** with **B** and **D**. Variants noted only where the rhythmic text in **A** has been altered.

Optional antiphonal markings are based on the distribution of material in **B**. Antiphonal performance seems to have been adopted at Windsor during the mid 1680s, after **A** was copied.

*Note:* The version of this anthem which survives in *Lbl* Harleian MS 7338 and *SGC* MSS 2A, 11-13 is not found in any sources copied during the Child's lifetime, and appears to be a 'modernisation' to reflect early 18<sup>th</sup>-century tastes. Tudway's assertion concerning the date of composition (which is reproduced at the head of this edition) is supported by the addition of its text (in c.1660-1663) to *Lbl* Harleian MS 4142, a wordbook compiled c.1643-4 and c.1660-3 by Zacharie Irishe, the principal Windsor music copyist.

### *Variants*

- 1.T.2-3: *cr cr* **AB**  
 3.S1: untexted lower part, starting on 2<sup>nd</sup> minim beat: = s g', *cr* f', *cr* g', *m* a' flat, *cr* a' flat, *cr* a' flat, *m* e' flat, *m* b' flat  
 8.T.7, 8.Orgl.5: = a flat in **ABC**  
 9.T.3: = a natural only in **A**; = a flat (no accidental) in **B** and contemporary partbooks at Ely and Durham.  
 27.B.3: = a flat **AB**  
 30.A1.3: = d' natural **A**  
 33.T.4, 33.Orgl.4, upper voice: from **B**; **AC** have = c'  
 34.B.3-4: from **B**; **A** has *sbr*  
 35.T.1-2: from **B**; **A** has *cr cr*  
 35.Orgl.2-3, lower part: *cr. q* **C**  
 36.B.1-2: from **B**; **A** has *sbr*  
 38.Orgl.1, upper voice: = *cr c'* **C**  
 39.Orgl.4, lower voice: = *cr b'* flat **C**  
 43.S1.4: from **C**; **A** has = *cr c'*  
 47.S2.4-49.S2.1: = *sbr* d'', *sbr* c'', *m* b' natural **A**  
 47.A1.1: = e' flat **A**  
 47.T.3-48.T.3: **B** has *sbr, m*, then *m* tied to *m*. (underlaid *-sion, pos-ses-*); **A** has the same, without underlay  
 51.A1.4-52.A1.1: tie missing **A**  
 51.B.1-2: *m. G cr* **A** flat **AB**  
 52.all voices: final chord is *br* + pause **ABC**

**Aldrich, Out of the deep have I called unto thee, O Lord** (p.18)

### *Sources*

- A.** *Och* MS Mus. 19, pp.199-201. Autograph score; volume probably compiled in 1680s and early 1690s.  
**B.** *Och* MS Mus. 1230, pp.53-5. Organ book, largely in hand of Richard Goodson (organist of Christ Church, 1692-1718).

An earlier autograph version in score (*Och* MS Mus. 15) has been consulted but not collated.

**A** is the copy text for the vocal parts. Source accidentals apply only to consecutive notes of the same pitch, and not to subsequent repetitions within a bar. Accidentals required due to modern usage or the regularisation of barlines have been added silently. Full and verse indications are from **B**. The organ realisation is editorial, with figuring taken from **B**.

### *Variants*

- 13.A.2: **A** has both *m* rest and *m* d' (not underlaid)  
 49.A.5-7: from **B** & *Och* 15; **A** has *cr. e', sq* f', *sq* g'  
 Final chord: *br* + pause in all voices **A**

**Blow, *God is our hope and strength*** (p.23)*Sources*

**A.** *Cfm* Music MS 88, ff.141r-138v. Score; anthem copied by Purcell, c.1678.

**B.** *Och* MS Mus. 554, f.3r-3v. Loose-leaf organ part, copied (and arranged?) by Purcell, c.1675-6.

**A** provides copy text for the vocal parts, **B** for the organ. Direct signs in **B** have been silently incorporated into the editorial completion of the organ part. There are no other variant readings.

**Child, *Behold, how good and joyful a thing it is*** (p.32)*Sources*

**A.** *Cfm* Music MS 117, ff.66v-68r. Score, in the hand of William Isaack, minor canon of St George's Chapel, Windsor. Anthem copied c.1678-9.

**B.** *YMS* M1(S) ('Bing-Gostling' partbooks).

M1/1 (Can Me) ff.78r-78v [S1]; M1/2 (Can Ct) f.93r [choruses only]; M1/3 (Can T) f.73v; M1/5 (Dec Me) f.111r [S2]; M1/6 (Dec Ct) ff.107v-108r; M1/7 (Dec T) f.100v; M1/8 (Dec B) f.106r. Anthem copied c.1677-81 by Stephen Bing, lay vicar of Westminster Abbey.

**C.** *Cu* EDC 10/7/1, pp.20-1. Organ book, figured bass line only. Anthem copied between 1663 and 1669 by John Ferrabosco, organist of Ely.

**D.** *WB* MS P.10, ff. 4r-4v. Organ book. Figured bass line only. Anthem copied after 1663.

Partbooks at Windsor suggest that the anthem was composed between July 1663 and June 1665. It was probably amongst the music for which the Ely chapter paid the principal Windsor copyist in 1664 ('some Anthems of Dr Childes') or 1667-8 ('severall Anthems').

**A** is the copy text, with some material from **B**, **C** and **D**, as noted below. **C** and **D** (which are almost identical) supply the continuo bass in bars 18-35, 56-59.3, and 71-97, where **A** has no separate continuo stave (figuring from **C** and **D** omitted, but occasional upper notes given in these sources have been incorporated silently into the editorial realisation).

Final notes of sections are presently differently in each source, and inconsistently within each source, being either *sbr* or *br*, with or without pauses. All final notes have been tacitly altered to *sbr* without pause.

*Variants*

2.Orgr.3-3.1, lower part: **A** has *cr e'*, *cr f'* sharp, *cr g'* 9-17: S1, S2 from **B**, as the underlay and slurring are unclear in **A**

18.Bc.1-2: *m. f* sharp **CD**

26.A.1-2: from **B**; missing in **A**

26.B: underlay from **B**; **A** has *cr. q (u-)*, *m (ni-)*

28.Bc.1-2: *m. f* sharp **CD**

42.S1.5-7: sharps missing **AB**

56.Bc-57.Bc.1: bar 56 is missing in **A** but present in **C** and **D** as shown, and as rests in **B**

58.S1.1: sharp present in **A** and **B**; figured '6' in **CD**

65.A.5: sharp missing **AB**

66.B.1: from **B**; **A** has *m b*

67.S1.3-4: *q d"*, *q e"* **AB**

74-78: dotted rhythms inconsistent (differently) in both **A** and **B** have been made consistent without comment

79.T.3: sharp from **B**; no accidental in **A**

81.Bc.1-2: *m b* **CD**

86.B/Bc.2: natural from **BC**; no accidental in **A**

89.Bc.4: *q a*, *q b* **CD**

90.S1.2: sharp from **B**; no accidental in **A**

91-95: **A** has 'Chorus' in 91 and no further comment;

**C** has "cho: sides:" in 91 and "Full" in 95; **D** has "Can: side" in 91, "Dec." in 93 and "Cho" in 95

92.Bc.2: *sbr a* **CD**

95.Bc.3-4: *cr f* sharp **CD**

**Creighton, *I will arise and go to my Father*** (p.40)*Sources*

**A.** *Lcm* 673, f.37r. Figured bass with text underlaid; volume copied at Wells Cathedral, c.1678-85, probably by the organist, John Jackson.

**B.** *Lbl* Harleian MS 7339, ff.153v-154r. Score, in hand of Thomas Tudway; volume dated '1716'.

**C.** *Cu* EDC 10/7/21, ff.54v-56r. Score; volume copied c.1724-9 by James Hawkins, organist of Ely.

Although it contains no vocal parts, **A** is clearly the earliest and most reliable source, having been copied at Wells during Creighton's time as precentor there. Its rhythm suggests that Creighton set the word *sinned* as two distinct syllables throughout, a feature that has been removed in the later sources. This edition is a suggested reconstruction of the original vocal parts using the bass line and figures from **A** and the upper vocal parts from **B**, adapted so that *sinned* and *called* are sung as two syllables.

*Variants*

8.T.1-2: from **C**. **B** has *cr d'* (*sinn'd*), *cr b* flat (*a-*)

8.T.6-9.T.3: from **C**, which fits better with **A**'s figuring;

**B** has *cr d'* (*and*), *cr d'* (*be-*), *m. c'* slurred to *cr b* flat (*fore*)

**Hawkins, *O praise the Lord, all ye heathen*** (p.42)*Sources*

**A.** *Cu* EDC 10/7/8, pp.317-19. Vocal score, with figuring above the vocal bass; mid-18<sup>th</sup> century MS (final page of volume dated '27 Feb 1764').

**B.** *Cu* EDC 10/7/1, pp.92-3. Autograph organ score, mostly treble and bass, with occasional figures and additional notes. Added by Hawkins, at an unknown date, to this early Restoration organ book.

**A** is the copy text; minor variants in **B** not noted.

*Variants*

4.S.1-2: *sbr* with 'backfall' ornament in **A**; written out as two minims (*a'* flat, *g'*) in **B** (see also bar 24)

13-14.T.B: tie missing **A**

14-15.T: 14.T.1 is underlaid *-tions* and tied to bar 15

20.S.1: *m c"* **A**

22.A.1: *sbr f'* **A**

24.B.1-2: from **B**; **A** written as *sbr. d* flat, with 'forefall'

40.S.2: *cr d"* flat **A**

**Locke, *How doth the city sit solitary*** (p.45)*Sources*

**A.** *Och* 14, ff.140v-143r. Score, copied by John Blow (possibly during the 1670s).

**B.** *Och* 1219, fascicle D. Autograph organ part (possibly from the 1670s). Fully-written out, and pitched a fifth high for use on a 'transposing' organ.

**A** is the copy text for the vocal parts, **B** for the organ. **A**'s independent continuo line (which is almost identical to the bass line of **B**) is omitted.

**B** includes 14 bars not found in **A**, but since exact source dates are unknown it is not clear whether either represents a 'revised' version. Editorial vocal parts have been supplied, based on material elsewhere in the anthem;

alternatively, the anthem can be performed with a cut from 100.3 to 114.2. In the case of other minor variants, **B**'s reading has been regarded as authoritative. Pauses missing from **A** have been added silently to vocal parts.

#### Variants

- 6.Orgr.1-4: no accidentals in lower voice **B**  
 12.Orgl.3, lower part: no accidental **B**  
 13.Orgl.4, upper part: no accidental **B**  
 18.T.7 and 18.Orgl.7, upper part: no accidental **AB**  
 21.B.7: no accidental **A**  
 22.B.2: = e **A**  
 30.Orgr.5-6, upper part: *q q B*  
 39.B.2: = B **A**  
 43.T.1-2: *m, m A*  
 50.A.2: = e' **A**  
 58.S.2: = a' **A**  
 62.S.4: no accidental **A**  
 73.S1.2: no accidental **A**  
 73.Orgr.3, middle part: no accidental **B**  
 75.2: chorus repeat not written out in either source. **A** has rubric 'Chorus as before / woe now unto us'; **B** has 6 chord incipit marked 'woe unto us & C: as before'.  
 80.Orgr.4, lower part: no accidental **B**  
 82.S2.2: no accidental **A**  
 91.Orgr.1: no accidental **B**  
 114.Orgr.3: no accidental **B**  
 120.Orgr.2-121.Orgr.1: inner part = *m a'* tied to *m a'*  
 129.1: long in all parts **AB**

#### Purcell, *O Lord God of hosts* (p.53)

##### Source

*Cfm* Music MS 88, ff.92r-89r. Autograph score; anthem probably copied in late 1682, or 1683.

There are no ambiguous or variant readings.

The editorial organ part has been supplied in the style of Purcell's accompaniment to Blow's *God is our hope and strength*.

#### Rogers, *How long wilt thou forget me, O Lord?* (p.64)

##### Sources

- A.** *Cu* EDC 10/7/8, pp.200-203. Score, mid-18<sup>th</sup> century (final page of volume dated '27 Feb 1764').  
**B.** *Cu* EDC 10/7/28, p.43. Tenor partbook, begun during the 1660s; anthem copied after 1669.  
**C.** *Cu* EDC 10/7/29, verso, p.51. Bass partbook begun during the 1660s; anthem copied post 1719.  
**D.** *Cu* EDC 10/7/1, verso, pp. 76-7. Organ book. In a section of the MS in the hand of John Ferrabosco, organist of Ely; this anthem copied c.1670-77.

The copy text, **A**, was possibly compiled from earlier Ely sources, including **B**. It provides full underlay only for Alto, with occasional incipits in other voices. Underlay tacitly completed by the editor, with reference to **B** and **C**. Organ part editorial, except for fragment of continuo bass (28.4-30.1) and figuring given in bass stave of **A**.

##### Variants

- 14.S.4: no tie **AD**  
 14.beat 4-27: key signature 2 flats in error (all voices) **A**  
 15.S.4: *m* (dot missing) **A**; *m. D*  
 20.S.5: from **D**; no natural in **A**  
 23.T.2: *g* natural **AB**  
 23.A.4: *d'* **A**  
 25.A.4-5: *f*, *e'* sharp, in error **A**  
 26.B.1: **A** has *E* and *e*; **C** has *e* only  
 30.all voices.1: pause in **BD** only  
 30.T.3: from **B**; **A** has *e*

31.A.1-2: *cr. q A*

33.T.1-4: **A** has *m c'*, *m c'*, *m c'*, *m b*; possibly an attempt to correct **B**, which has *cr c'*, *cr c'*, *m c'*, *m b*, underlaid *lov-ing-ly with*

39.T.2-3: *cr. q AB*

40.B.1: figured '♯3', but T has *g* natural in **AB**

40.S.4: from **D**; **A** has *e''*

#### Rogers, *I beheld, and lo, a great multitude* (p.68)

##### Sources

**A.** *Och* 21, pp.171-5. Autograph score, dated '1678' (a later insertion into a score of anthems, fantasias and madrigals, compiled in the 1620s and 1630s).

**B1.** *Lbl* Add. MS 30833, ff.11r-10v. Autograph cantoris bass partbook of works by Rogers (undated).

**B2.** *Lbl* Add. MS 30834, ff.18v-17r. Autograph organbook, containing works by Rogers (undated).

An earlier version, scored for treble and bass soloists, was copied into *DRc* MS B.1, a Dublin score (see under Tucker's *Wherewithal shall a young man cleanse his way?*, below) c.1660-2. 1678 may therefore represent the date of revision.

**A** is copy text for vocal and organ parts, with minor vocal variants from **B** as listed.

Pauses occurring in at least one voice at a cadence have been silently added to all other voices.

##### Variants

4.Orgr.1: *sbr A*

13.T.1-4: *q b* missing **A**

19.T.2: from **B2**; no accidental in **A**

31-33: rhythm of 'salvation and glory' standardised in all voices, synthesising variants in **A** and **B**

37.B.3-4: from **B1**; **A** has *m d*

48.Orgl.1-2: from **B2**; **A** has *cr e*, *cr d*

49.S.3-5: from **B2**; **A** has *cr d''*, *cr. d''*, *q c''* sharp

58.Orgr.3-4: *cr cr* in both hands **A**; **B2** has *cr. q* in Orgl (Orgr missing)

66.Orgl.1-2: upper part from **B2**; **A** has *cr. a*, *q g*

66.S.3: *q* in **A**; at 66.S.3-6 **B2** has *q b'*, *q b'*

68.Orgr.1-69.Orgr.3: *cr f* sharp, *cr g* natural, *cr a* sharp, *cr b* tied to *cr b*, *cr a* sharp, *m b A*

72.B.4-5: from **B1**; **A** has *q q*

88.B.1-2: from **B1**; **A** has *m d* tied to *m d*

95.A.1: *m, m-rest A*

102.B.1-2: from **B1**; **A** has *cr. A*, *q G*

111.B.1-2: *m A*, underlaid *God A*

111.B.3-113.B.1: underlay from **B1**; **A** underlaid *to our God and to the Lamb*

#### Tucker, *Wherewithal shall a young man cleanse his way?* (p.76)

##### Sources

**A.** *YMS* M1(S) ('Bing-Gostling' partbooks). M1/1 (Can Me) f.71v [S2]; M1/5 (Dec Me) f.104r [S1]; M1/6 (Dec Ct) ff.94r-94v; M1/7 (Dec T) f.88r; M 1/8 (Dec B) f.88r. Anthem copied c.1677-81 by Stephen Bing, lay vicar of Westminster Abbey.

**B.** *Ob* Mus. Sch. c.40, pp.14-19. Score; volume copied c.1698-1716 by Charles Badham, minor canon of St Paul's Cathedral.

**C.** *DRc* MS B 1, reverse, pp.21-25. Score, of Dublin provenance. Anthem copied by Richard Hosier, master of the choristers at Christ Church and St Patrick's Cathedrals, probably in the 1670s.

**A** is the copy text for the vocal parts, and **B** for the organ/continuo part.

*Variants*

1-2.Orgr: in **B** the melody in bar 1 and the first 2 beats of bar 2 is placed in the single staff for the organ part at tenor pitch, and the dotted rhythm in bar 1 is given as two quavers

4.S2: dotted rhythm from **B**; even quavers in **AC**

8.S2.2-3: *q q* **ABC**

12.S2.2-3: *q. sq* **ABC**

14.Bc.2: natural missing **BC**

18.S2.7: natural from **C**; no accidental in **AB**

22.S.1: from **B**; **A** (both Can and Dec) and **C** have *m. a'*

31.Bc.1: sharp from **C**; no accidental in **B**

38-39.1: **A** and **B** have conflicting accidentals in the S and T parts (the 2 S partbooks in **A** also differ); this version follows **C** which has naturals for both parts

39.A.3-4: *cr. q* **ABC**

44.Bc.2-3: *q q* **B**; originally *q q* in **C**, altered to *q. sq*

46.S2.2: sharp from **C**; no accidental **AB**

49.S1.4-5: **A** has *q. sq cr-rest*; **C** has *q q cr-rest*; **B** has *q q* with *cr-rest* missing

58.S1.2-5: from **B**; **A** has *q a' (not)*, then *sq a, dsq b' flat, dsq c" (I)*; **C** has *sq a' (not)*, then *sq a', sq b' flat, sq c"* (slurred together, underlaid *I*)

59.S2.2-3: *q g' (not)*, *q b' flat (I)* **ABC**

64.T.4-5: *c'* natural **ABC**

65-end.Bc: no separate organ staff in **B**, but the large notes given here are included in the bass vocal line

67.S.3-4: **A** (Dec and Can), **BC** all have this reading

**Turner, Lord, thou hast been our refuge** (p.81)*Sources*

**A.** *Cfm* Music MS 117, ff.132r-133v. Score, copied by William Isaack, minor canon of St George's Chapel, Windsor; anthem copied c.1679-82.

**B.** *YMS* M1(S) ('Bing-Gostling' partbooks).

M1/5 (Dec Me) f.97v; M1/6 (Dec Ct) ff.105v-106r;

M1/7 (Dec T) ff.98v-99r; M1/8 (Dec B) ff.102v-103r.

Anthem copied by Stephen Bing, lay vicar of Westminster Abbey, probably in late 1677.

**A** provides copy text (including figuring), with some readings taken from **B**, as indicated below.

*Variants*

10.T.3: **A** has *c'* sharp. **B** has two versions for 2-3: *q b, cr c'*; and *q f sharp, cr e'*

40.T.1: from **B**; **A** has *q g sharp*

44.A.1-3: **AB** have *cr c' sharp, q, d' sharp, sq e'*; later sources, such as Tudway's score in *Lbl* Harleian 7341, have the version given here. It may be that the more dissonant version is Turner's original, which is then smoothed out to suit later musical taste; however, **A** and **B**'s readings may stem from the same copying error.

63.B.4-64.B.5: from **B**; **A** has *cr c' (were)*, *cr a (a)*, *cr f sharp (tale)*, *cr. g* slurred to *q f sharp (that)*, *cr f sharp (is)*

66-71: independent Bc part missing from these bars in **A**; some figuring supplied above vocal bass line.

80.A.9: from **B**; **A** has *sq d' sharp*

**Wise, The ways of Sion do mourn** (p.89)*Sources*

**A.** *Lbl* Add 31444, ff.33r-35v. Score. Copyist unknown; works in his hand were probably copied soon after 1696 (but before 1705). Other sections of the volume are in the hand of James Hawkins, who may have subsequently owned it.

**B.** *Cu* EDC 10/7/9, pp.218-220. Score, copied by James Hawkins (*d.*1729), after 1713. Possibly derived from **A**, or a common source, though with some variant readings.

**C.** *Ob* T 1181, pp.286-90. Organ book, copied by John Gostling, c.1710.

Sources of the anthem are numerous, all post-dating Wise's death. S, B and Bc are generally consistent across all sources, with variants confined to rhythmic details and the occasional accidental. However, there are several distinct versions of the A, T chorus parts, which can broadly be classified as follows:

**I** 'Midlands': survives in partbooks at Worcester (copied pre June 1693), Christ Church, Oxford (post 1698), and the Chapel Royal (1760s); and in *Lcm* 1059, an early 18<sup>th</sup>-century score of Oxford provenance.

**II** 'East Anglia': survives in score in **A**, **B** (Ely), and *Ob* T 789 (early 18<sup>th</sup>-century, linked to Peterborough Cathedral). A variant of this version appears in *Lbl* Harl 7338 (Tudway) and Boyce, *Cathedral Music*.

**III** 'Gostling': survives in sources copied by John Gostling (*US-Cn* Case 7A/2, *Ob* T 1176-81) and his St Paul's colleague Charles Badham (*Ob* T 1031); also in *Ob* T 1183 (an early 18<sup>th</sup>-century score).

A unique, and ungrammatical, version survives in partbooks at Wimborne Minster.

It seems likely that Wise's original manuscript lacked A, T chorus parts, and that several institutions later made their own completions. This hypothesis is supported by *Lcm* 1059, where the chorus was copied on two staves for S, B *only*, with A, T parts later added to the second chorus (in 2-stave short score). Version **III** – used in the previous published edition – is uncharacteristically dissonant, and possibly corrupt. Neither **I** nor **II** can be shown to be more authoritative than the other; the editors have therefore chosen to use version **II**, which preserves the most musically satisfactory reading.

Except for the introduction (bars 1-4.2, taken from **C**), **A** provides the copy text throughout, with minor variants as noted below (*nb* **C** not collated after bar 4). The rhythm and rests in the refrain 'For these things I weep...water', which are inconsistent in all sources consulted, have been standardised without comment. Apart from 95-6, where **A** has 1st and 2nd time endings, repeat mechanisms are editorial: elsewhere, **A** supplies a single ending (noted below), with a preceding **:S** to indicate the start point.

*Variants*

4.Bc.1-3: **A** starts here with = *sbr. F m F*

13.Bc.2-3: **AB** have = *sbr f*

16-17: **A** has *sbr* in S, Bc; *m, m-rest* in B

18: **A** marked 'Retornello', but no music supplied

21.B.3: from **B**; **A** has = *e flat* (no accidental)

35.Bc.4-5: from **B**; **A** has = *m B flat*

40.Bc.2-3: from **B**; **A** has = *m B flat*

41-2: **A** has *m* in S, B; *sbr* in Bc

56.Bc.3-57.Bc.1: from **B**; **A** has = *sbr c, m-rest, m c*

60.S.3: from **B**; **A** has = *q-rest, q g'*

67-68: **A** has *cr, m, cr rest* in S; *sbr* in Bc

75.Bc.1-2: from **B**; **A** has = *m B flat, m B flat*

76.B.2-3, Bc.3-4: *cr. q* **AB**

85: **AB** and *Ob* T 789 have 2 extra beats between 85.1 and 85.2 (thus 85.Bc.1-2 is = *m E flat, m-rest, m-rest, m e flat* in **A**; = *sbr E flat, sbr e flat* in **B**). Additional beats have been omitted to produce 'segue' version found in all other sources consulted.

89.Bc.1-2: = *sbr g* **AB**

90.Bc.1-2: from **B**; **A** has = *m c*

90.B.6: from **B**; **A** has = *e flat*, later corrected

92.B/Bc.2: **A** has = *f* in B, = *a flat* in Bc. = *f* used at 92.2;

= *a flat* at 95.2, as per written-out repeats in stemma **I**

93.S.1-2: from **B**; **A** has *cr. q*