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Changes in English vocal church music from the beginning of the Commonwealth (1649) through the Restoration (1688).

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CHANGES IN ENGLISH VOCAL CHURCH MUSIC
FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE COMMONWEALTH (1649)
THROUGH THE RESTORATION (1688)

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INTRODUCTION

The problem is to trace and explain the rather feeble efforts of
church music composers in the Commonwealth to their renewed endeavors
in the Restoration; and, to delineate the development of their tech­
niques through the rise of a new group of composers and their school
of musical thought, leading to the gradual development of a new Eng­
lish idiom.

At very few times in history have the affairs of state been so
closely integrated with the religion of the people. Governmental re­
striction hampered, and significantly effected, the composition of
English church music. This study also will attempt to point out the
scarcity of material in some areas of research for this period.

The title is self-explanatory, and any other terms will be de­
fined as they are used. It seems wise to note the scope of years for
the following historical periods.

The Commonwealth---1649-1653

The Protectorate---1653-1660, although the years from 1649-1660
are referred to generally as the Commonwealth.

The Restoration---1660-1688, includes the reign of Charles II
1660-1685 and the rule of James II 1685 to the arrival of William III
in 1688.

To prepare an adequate background for the developments in church
music a brief summary of the period's general history has been pre­
pared. It is felt that placing developments of this period in their
proper perspective entails a knowledge of political, economical and
social factors, which influenced and dominated musical composition.
Only a few musical examples have been included to illustrate trends and changes. This paper deals only with those composers who seemingly contributed the most to the development of English church music during the years 1649-1688. It does not deal extensively with any one composer, with the exception of Henry Purcell, who was the most prominent musician of his age.
CHAPTER I
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The contest between the King and Parliament which had been going on since 1215 when the feudal barons forced concessions from King John, reached its climax in 1649 with the beheading of King Charles I. For eleven years Charles had not called Parliament, and, when he summoned it, there were dissenting factions. Parliament was against the King, and the members of Parliament, the Cavaliers and Puritans, were against each other. The situation reached a crisis with the execution of Charles, upon which Oliver Cromwell, the Puritan leader, became dictator. At his death and during the rule of his son, Puritan rule crumbled and monarchy was restored when Charles II issued the Declaration of Breda and returned to be crowned King by invitation of the Convention Parliament.

The period of the Commonwealth and Protectorate lasted from 1649-1660. The Commonwealth was an experiment in Republican government in which the nominal authority was the House of Lords and the Council of State. The leader of the Puritan government was Oliver Cromwell. Contrary to general opinion Cromwell was not one of the more radical Puritans. He ruled with a steady but iron hand, and, believing in assertion of complete freedom of belief, he was essentially a very fair and just person. Although Cromwell did not allow singing or organ playing in church he was a music lover and had religious music performed at Whitehall. He employed John Kingston as organist and director of two choirs, which sang Deering's Latin motets.
His organ was salvaged from Magdalen College, Oxford. Cromwell clung to some of the old practices of the Anglican church, and both his daughters were married by an ordained minister after they had complied with Puritan marriage regulations.

After the establishment of the Protectorate Cromwell could have become king, but he refused after much hesitation. His refusal led to the establishment of the Protectorate by the Barebones Parliament in 1653 and the "Instrument of Government" issued by the Army. Accordingly, Cromwell was to be Lord Protector for life. The Parliament was to be elected by a fairly generous franchise, despite the fact that the Catholics and all those who had borne arms against Parliament were barred from participation. This body was to meet at least five months every three years. 1 Cromwell died September 3, 1658. Unfortunately, or fortunately, as the case may be, his son Richard was not strong enough to carry on his father's work. The country was in a state of chaos for over a year. The English people were weary of the stern Puritan rule and longed for the return of monarchy. In January of 1660 Parliament issued a summons for a new election, and the resultant Convention Parliament recalled Charles II from his exile in France.

The two leading religious sects during the Puritan reign were the Presbyterians and the Independents. The Presbyterians of French origin were strong in Scotland. Theirs was an elaborate system of assembly and classes governed by a hierarchy of elders. They adhered

to the strict principles of Calvin and resisted the tyranny of the
spiritual offences by civil penalties. They wished to reform the
Church of England by substituting a system more spiritual but none
the less ecclesiastical.

The Independents, led by Cromwell and Milton, also believed that
spiritual offences should be punished by spiritual penalties, thus
eliminating the danger of a church-governed state. Each congregation
claimed the right to choose its own ministers and to order all its
own business, whether religious or secular. They wanted to reform
the Church of England by bringing the church toward more personal
liberty, a religion that expressed the thoughts and beliefs of the
common individual.

During the Puritan reign the Quakers became well-rooted and
their tolerance partially corrected the worst faults of many of the
non-conforming sects such as the Presbyterians, Independents, and
Baptists, out of whose midst they had grown.

The Catholics were not allowed to worship publicly but other-
wise were not molested. At this time a great many Jews returned to
England and were left undisturbed to practice their religious beliefs.

No toleration can be found in Puritan dealings with the Anglican
church. During their rule the Church of England was disestablished;
the use of the Book of Common Prayer was declared illegal. John
Evelyn makes the following comment in his "Diary" upon this: "I
heard the Common Prayer (a rare thing in these days) in St. Peter's,
at Paul's Wharf, London."¹ Only marriages solemnized before a Jus-

¹Evelyn, "Diary", December 25, 1652.
tice of Peace were legal and Christmas Day was not observed. Evelyn records, "Christmas Day, no sermon anywhere, no church being permitted to be open, so observed it at home." On the dismal Sabbaths, even walking was deemed an unholy pleasure.

At the beginning of the Puritan rule, the clergy of the Church of England were released from their posts and many were imprisoned. Evelyn says in his Diary for March 14, 1652,

I went to Leversham, where I heard an honest sermon on I Cor. ii, 5-7, it being now a rare thing to find a priest of the Church of England in a parish pulpit, most of which were filled with Independents and Fanatics.

The positions of the displaced clergy were filled by men who had inadequate training. Evelyn makes the following comment, "Going this day to our church, I was surprised to see a tradesman, a mechanic, step up."

Not only were the clergy relieved of their positions, but also a great many of the church musicians. Although the profession of music in the secular vein went on actively during the eleven years of absolute Puritan rule, music was not permitted in religious services. However, they allowed unaccompanied singing of the psalms from the psalm books. Even as some of the priests remained, some of the musicians were left. For the dispossessed church musicians the British government made the following provisions.

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1Evelyn, "Diary", March 25, 1649.
2Evelyn, Ibid., March 14, 1652.
3Evelyn, Ibid., December 4, 1653.
The Parliament having ordered the sale of bishops' lands, and the lands of deans and chapters, and visited the money in the hands of trustees, appointed part of the money to be appropriated for the support and maintenance of such late bishops, deans, prebendaries, singing men, choristers, and other members, officers, and persons destitute of maintenance, whose respective offices, and livelihoods were taken away, and abolished, distributing and proportioning the same according to their necessities. How well this was executed I cannot determine but it was a generous act of compassion, and more than the Church of England would do for the non-conformists at the restoration.\(^1\)

During the early excesses of Puritan rule some churches were destroyed and others became military storehouses or stables. The Puritans considered the organ a secular instrument. Many were destroyed in the mass hysteria that included the shattering of stained glass windows, the tearing out of pews and the burning of pictures and statues. After this rather brief period of demolition there was a less vindictive spirit, and church property, including organs, was allowed to remain. In Christ's College the organ was possibly used for voluntaries, for these were allowed by even the strictest of Puritans. However, the choir service was silenced.\(^2\)

The Puritans who preached toleration, did not follow their own teachings. They had filled the people with fears and repressions for nearly twenty years, and the Restoration was a release for the masses of England. The actual termination of the Puritan revolt was when Charles II was proclaimed King, May 8, 1660. He entered London, May 25, 1660.


In April 1660 Charles II issued his "Declaration of Breda" upon which the Restoration was grounded. The Declaration proclaimed the following points:

1. There was to be a free and general pardon, except only such persons as should thereafter be excepted by Parliament.

2. There was to be a liberty to tender consciences; no man was to be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matter of religion, and the King would be ready to consent to such act of Parliament as should be offered to him for the full granting of that indulgence.

3. All things relating to the recent grants, sales, and purchases of land were to be determined in Parliament.

4. The King would be ready to consent to any act or acts of Parliament for the payment of arrears of pay due to Monck's army.

Charles II character was a "combination of excessive laziness and cynical indifference which in reality marked his latent cleverness." He delegated much of the government business but the English system of government and England itself were his prime interests. He also cared for the Anglican church and kept English church services in his private chapel while in exile in France, even though he inherited Catholic tendencies from his Mother and his cousin, Louis XIV of France, with whom he spent his exile. He declared his conversion to Catholicism on his deathbed. Clark records the following when speaking of Charles' death.

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2 Hall and Albion, op. cit., p. 376.
Old Father Huddleston, who had risked his life to help the King on his escape from Worcester, came quietly in by the backstairs and gave him the viaticum for a longer journey.\(^1\)

Dr. James Helwood in 1700 said

His religion was Deism, or rather that which is called so; and, if in exile, or at his death, he went into that of Rome; the first to be imputed to a complaisance for the company he was then obliged to keep, and the last to a lazy indifference in all other religions, upon a review of his past life, and the near approach of an uncertain state.\(^2\)

Despite Charles' later Catholic leanings, his return marked the restoration of the Anglican church. All benefits were restored to the clergy on May 29, 1660, that had not been concerned in Charles' death. New bishops were appointed and on December 20, 1661, the revised Prayer Book was accepted. In this new edition there was a distinction made between the episcopates and priesthood. There were additions to the baptismal and confirmation services and the commemoration of the departed was added to the prayers for the Church in the communion service. The "Beach Rubric" was added at the end of the communion. The restoration of Churches began and church musicians assumed their former positions.

Even so, Puritanism left its mark on English religious views and life. The Englishman's religion was now more personal, based on the family and Bible study. Even though he still loved the Prayer Book the common man had less need for the formal church services.

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\(^1\)George W. Clark, op. cit., p. 110.

Charles II's Chancellor was Sir Edward Hyde who worked constantly and successfully to identify the royal cause with the cause of legality. The Restoration stood, as he did; for the common law; the historic institutions of the country; regularity and precedent; and for good order, not for absolutism and arbitrary power. Hyde was Head of the Privy Council for seven years, but ended his days in exile. Charles had a habit of dropping his helpers by the way whenever it seemed expedient to his cause. Consequently, he was pretty much his own chief minister, but such men as Sir Edward Nicholas, Duke Ormonde and the Earl of Counthampton were in his Council.

The First Convention Parliament, in 1660, made up of Presbyterians, restored Parliament and king, the non-military state and the dominance of the hereditary upper class. It abolished feudal dues although the government was heavily in debt, owing the Army arrears in pay.

The Cavalier Parliament in 1661 restored the Anglican church and adopted the Clarendon Code. This Code was a series of repressive measures. They were:

1. The Corporation Act by which all magistrates were obliged to take the sacrament according to the Church of England, to abjure the covenant, and take an oath declaring it illegal to bear arms against the king.

2. The Act of Uniformity which required clergymen, college fellows and school masters to accept everything in the Book of Common Prayer.

3. The Conventicle Act which forbade nonconformist religious meetings of more than five persons, except in a private household.

4. The Five-Mile Act which required all who had not subscribed to the Act of Uniformity to take an oath of non-resistance, swearing never to attempt any change in Church or State; and which prohibited all who refused
to do this from coming within five miles of any incorporated town, or of any place where they had been ministers. 1

In 1669 Charles II made an alliance with the French which granted toleration to the Roman Catholics in England. The Treaty of Dover in 1670 with Holland was to be followed by a Declaration of Indulgence and the declaration of the King's conversion to the Catholic faith. The Parliament and the country were in ignorance of these plans, and when the Declaration of Indulgence was issued in 1672 it was declared illegal. Due to situations such as this, and the obvious feelings of the King, the Church of England was settling into a state of apathy toward the end of Charles' reign. Although the Church was connected with the higher institutions of learning, such as Oxford and Cambridge, this did not balance the lagging spiritual interest, for these colleges fell into the lax state also.

At the death of Charles II in February of 1685 James II was declared King of England, and was crowned May 19, 1685, with no communion. This was a great shock to the church men of the Anglican faith. As Duke of York James had worshipped God in private, and it was known when he became king that Jesuits held church under his roof. The churchmen believed that he would always treat his creed and beliefs as a private matter, but the Second Sunday after his accession he went in state to mass in the palace chapel at Whitehall. On the other hand, James supposed the high churchmen were in reality half Catholic and therefore would allow their church to be absorbed by Rome. So, at the

very beginning the differences of opinion between the churchmen and James formed a state of contention and dissatisfaction that was to result ultimately in James' abdication. But, one passion still united the Church of England and the king - the desire for cruel treatment of Protestant nonconformist sects.

In July 1686, James II formed the Court of High Commission which proceeded to direct the religious life of the country, although it was an illegal body under the laws of the Parliament. The vacant Bishopries were either left empty or filled by men who were Roman Catholic in feeling.

In the following year James II issued the first Declaration Act which granted liberty to all denominations in England and Scotland. James wanted the right to give any office, civil or military, to a Roman Catholic. Already priests conducted masses within the lines of his Army, and in the summer training camp on Hounslow Heath outside London, most of the Protestant officers were replaced by Catholics. The second Declaration Act in 1688 made the appointment of Catholics to civil and military command legal. This declaration was read in only seven churches in London and six Bishops were put in the Tower for their refusal to read it in their churches. From this time until the end of James' rule there was a steady trickle of conversion among the peers, lawyers, mayor and other men in office, for it was obvious that to be of the Catholic faith was assurance of being in favorable political graces.
Regardless of this situation there were still men of strong Anglican sentiments who resented the corruption of the state and began looking for a new King. Their choice was William of Orange, whose wife, Mary, was King James II's daughter. After negotiations with William, in July of 1688 they issued the following invitation to him:

.....if the circumstances stand so with your Highness, that you can get here in time enough, in a condition to give assistance this year sufficient for relief under these circumstances which have now been represented, we, who subscribe this will not fail to attend your Highness upon landing. 1

The signers included the suspended bishop of London, Henry Sidney, lately English minister to the court of William in Holland and commander of English regiments there. This invitation was what William had been waiting for, for his real purpose was to bring England into the struggle against Louis XIV. In November William landed at Torbay with English and Scotch regiments supplemented by Swedes, Dutch, guards and mercenaries. Within two weeks, the gentry of England had rallied and come to William's side. James could have saved the throne had he been willing to call a new Parliament and become a limited constitutional monarch. But, rather than meet these terms James threw the Great Seal in the Thames and fled to France, even though Tory interests and principles would not have allowed him to have been deposed if he had not abdicated.

Thus the Restoration which had brought about so many political and religious upheavals came to an end in 1688. England had re-established Anglicanism and hovered on the verge of Catholicism with the reign of Charles II; had been subjected to Catholicism under James II and asserted Anglican power by arranging the coming of William of Orange, and the return of the Church of England.

1Clark, op. cit., p. 127.
CHAPTER II
MUSIC AND MUSICIANS

English church music during the Commonwealth and Protectorate was adversely affected by two prime factors - internal political strife and Puritan religious doctrines. The Anglican church service was shorn of its ritualistic elements by the Puritans, leaving the composers with no channel for religious expression.

Anglican church music, in general, can be placed in two categories.

1. Traditional Anglican chant and the metrical psalm, corresponding to the Roman Catholic Gregorian chant and the chorales of the Protestant church. These psalms can be performed three ways:
   a. unaccompanied
   b. with instrumental accompaniment
   c. note-against-note harmony

2. "Figural music" which consists of anthems and services. (A group apart from these is sacred music for private devotion, with freely invented, not necessarily scriptural words.)

During the Puritan regime all matters concerning religion were referred to Parliament to the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. In 1644, this body established a new form of divine worship in which no music except psalm singing was permitted.

The metrical psalms were to be sung unaccompanied to so called "church tunes" or "proper tunes", distinguished by proper names. To implement the Assembly's decision regarding psalm singing, the following rules were enjoined.

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It is the duty of the Christians to praise God publicly by singing the psalms together, in the congregation, and also privately in the family. In singing of psalms the voice is to be audibly and gravely ordered; but the chief care must be to sing with understanding and with grace in the heart, making melody unto the Lord. That the whole congregation may join therein, everyone that can read is to have a psalm-book, and all others, not disabled by age or otherwise, are to be exhorted to learn to read. But for the present, where many in the congregation cannot read, it is convenient that the minister or some fit person appointed by him and the other ruling offices, do read the psalm, line by line, before the singing thereof. 1

Although the Assembly of the Divines contemplated revisions of the psalms, they made no definite alterations and the people continued to use the Sternhold and Hopkins Version of 1565, the Ainsworth Psalter of 1612 and the Ravenscroft Psalter of 1621.

The Chapel Royal Anthem Book of 1635 contained anthems that corresponded to the motets in the Roman church and the words were restricted to the Psalms. It was still available but could not be used because the Puritans did not approve of this form of church music.

Despite Puritan limitations on church ritual some composers continued to produce ecclesiastical music. Those men with few exceptions, lived through the comparatively brief tenure of the Puritans and into the reign of Charles II with its environment, which was more kindly for their pursuits. As a result, it is necessary to consider these composers as individuals rather than to categorize them as Commonwealth or Restoration composers.

Henry Lawes was the connecting link between pre-Commonwealth composers such as Byrd and Tallis, and those who grew up during Puritan domination. Although he was essentially a secular composer he did make contributions to church music. He and his brother William devised music for George Sandys' paraphrases on the psalms. This work was published in 1648 as the "Choice Psalms." Following is a section of one of these psalms.

\[\text{music notation}\]

\[\text{text}: \text{Lord judge my cause Thy piercing eye beholds my false in-gri-}\]
Lawes introduced the Italian style with continuo to English music by employing the bass to mark the place of accent and rhythmic divisions of the melody. This device is shown in the following measures from his secular song, "More than most fair."
He also used this device in his "Select Psalms of a New Translation to be sung in Verse and Chorus of 5 Parts with Symphonies of Violins, Organ and other Instruments," published in 1655. This work was not well received since the Puritans did not sanction the use of instruments in the church service. After this venture he remained in the background until he composed "Zadock the Priest," an anthem, for the Coronation of Charles II in 1660.

A contemporary of Lawes was William Child whose efforts were primarily in the field of church music. His first recognized composition was "Choice of Psalms" for three solo voices, with organ or theorbo-lute accompaniment. This work was published in 1639, re-issued in 1650 and reprinted under the title, "Choice Musick to Psalms of David" in 1656. It is considered a bridge between the verse anthems of the madrigalian era and those of the Restoration. Child also wrote service anthems "without any great depth of science or elevation of genius" but they "possess a great deal of warmth and exhibit imagination." In the anthems Child continued the development of the Italian continuo style, as introduced by Lawes. Also he made attempts at direct expressiveness forecasting the techniques of Pelham Humphrey thirty years later. His florid setting of words paved the way for men of the next generation, especially Purcell.

Little can be said about Benjamin Rogers for he made no outstanding contribution to English church music, but he is a link in the chain of Commonwealth-Restoration composers. Rogers belonged to a group that came after Child and therefore he was more resolutely

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an adherent of the new order. Although he made use of older techniques of composition, he cultivated melody in his church music, after the new style of Child. His "Hymus Eucharisticus" written in 1660 for King Charles II is Roger's best known work and to this day is sung every May morning at London Tower. He also wrote some hymns and anthems for two voices which are in a collection entitled "Cantica Sacra, London 1675" and "Psalms and Hymns" in four parts which were published by Playford.

Matthew Locke is perhaps the best known of the Commonwealth and early Restoration composers. He wrote church anthems which were published in Dr. Boyce's collection. "Not unto us, O Lord," "Turn Thy face from my sins" and one for five voices, "Lord let me know my end" are representative of his works. In 1660 he wrote a canon for eight voices called "Domine Salarum fac Regem." "Although Locke was bred in a cathedral, he seems to have affected the style of the theater, and to have taken up dramatic music where Henry Lawes left off." ¹

Locke was composer in ordinary to King Charles II and composed services for the Chapel Royal. He composed a morning service, in which the prayer after each of the ten commandments had a different setting; this, was deemed an inexcusable innovation, and on April 1, 1666, at the first performance, it met with some objections. The singularity of this service lay in the fact that whereas it had been the practice to make all the pieces to the commandments, in the same notes, except the last, here, all were different. This service was in the key of F and had counterpoint at a major third. Locke was

very much upset and disgusted and proceeded to publish the service with
the following vindication of it and him, in the title, "Modern Church
Music, Pre-accused, Censur'd and Obstructed in the Performance before
His Majesty, April 1, 1666. Vindicated by the Author, Matthew Locke,
Composer in Ordinary to His Majesty." This was a much discussed topic
of the times and unfortunately Locke is best remembered for this dis-
pute. In later years he became a Roman Catholic, although the specific
reasons are not known, perhaps this incident had some bearing on his
decision.

"The Restoration was an age of violent contrasts, the ostensible
restoration of the old order and at the same time the birth of the
new."1 The Stuart monarch had been restored but was now dependent on
Parliament. From this time on English political history reveals the
increasing power of Parliament, more and more subject to the will of
the individual. The return of English church music was simultaneous
with the return of Charles II. John Evelyn in speaking of Charles'
Coronation in his famous "Diary" says, "anthems and rare music with
lute, viols, trumpets, organs and voices were then heard."2 Many
composers contributed anthems to this event in the spirit of thank-
fulness for the return of the traditional Anglican service. Within
three weeks after the return of Charles II, Samuel Pepys was able to
make this entry in his "Diary", "this day the organs did begin to
play at Whitehall before the King."3 Before another three weeks had
elapsed he had heard the first choral service in the same place.

1A.K. Holland, Henry Purcell, The English Musical Tradition,
London, Bell & Sons, 1932, p. 50.
2Evelyn, Diary, May 29, 1660.
3Pepys, Diary, May 29, 1660.
King Charles II called upon Child, Christopher Gibbons, Cooke, Locke and Lawes to form the new choir at Whitehall. Cooke was made Master of the Boys. It was difficult to find boys capable of singing the service. It had been so neglected during the Commonwealth that, for at least a year, the treble parts were either played upon cornets or sung by men in falset. The cathedral service had so long been laid aside that scarcely any two organists in the country's cathedrals performed it alike. This situation was remedied in 1661, when Edward Loe published a tract entitled, "A Short Direction for the Performance of Cathedral Service. Published for the information of such Persons as are Ignorant of it and shall be called to officiate in Cathedral or Collegiate churches where it hath formerly been in use." This little book contained pieces, responses, history and general information. It was very useful and the demand was so great that it was reprinted in 1664, with a change of title, "A Short Review of the Short Direction........"

There was a need for new organs after the destruction wrought by the Puritans and the willful neglect of the instruments for the past twenty years. Two celebrated workmen, Schmidt from Germany and Harris from France, were among those brought over from the continent for the express purpose of restoring existing organs and building new ones.

With the new freedom in church music the psalm were given little attention. However, Playford published "Psalms and Hymns in Solemn Musick," in 1671, with the following comments on the decline of hymn tunes.
At this day the best and almost all the choice hymns are lost, and out of use in our churches; nor must we expect it otherwise, when in and about this great city, in about one-hundred parishes, there are but few parish clarks to be found that have either ear or understanding to set one of these tunes musically as it ought to be; it having been a custom during the late wars, and since to choose men into such places, more for their poverty than skill or ability; whereby this part of God's service hath been so ridiculously performed in most places, that it is now brought into scorn and disrepute by many people.¹

Playford issued "The Whole Book of Psalms" in 1677. In these three part settings of the psalms he gave the tune to the upper voice throughout, although heretofore the tenor had carried the melody.

The most important accomplishment in English church music between 1660 and 1688 was the development of the Restoration anthem. Ernest Walker summarizes the dominating influences exerted on English church music in this period in the following statement.

The main feature of the whole of the music of the Restoration period is the emergence of the art into the full atmosphere of secularity and publicity; the old church chains were snapped, and with them also went (purely accidental as was the connexion) the old intimate appeal to a few. Now the appeal was gradually becoming more indiscriminate, gradually there becomes visible the pressure on the composer to write to satisfy someone else more primarily than himself, to underline his effects, to do something or another to secure success among his inferiors in artistic knowledge.²

Among the prime factors shaping the changes in church music was the attitude of the new king, who had been influenced by the music in the court of Louis XIV. Evelyn in speaking of a visit to the Royal Chapel says,

One of his Majesty's chaplains preached; after which, instead of the ancient, grave, and solemn wind music accompanying the organ, was introduced a concert of twenty-four violins between every pause, after the French fantastical light way, better suiting a tavern, or playhouse, than a church. This was the first time of change, and now we no more heard the cornet which gave life to the organ; that instrument quite left off in which the English were so skillful.\(^1\)

Tudway claims that Charles "did not intend by this innovation to alter anything in the established way", but it did.\(^2\) Charles II had little education or taste for the finer elements of English church music. He expected all music to have the rhythmic characteristics of dance music and specified this to the Chapel Royal composers. The old masters of music such as Dr. Childs hardly knew how to comport themselves with these new ways and continued composing in the old style.

With the succession of the Catholic James II to the throne in 1685 there was a new influence for the Restoration anthem. James imported Italian musicians to perform at Whitehall and Evelyn records the following on December 29, 1686, "I went to hear the music of the Italians in the new chapel, now first opened publically at Whitehall for the Popish service."\(^3\) The majority of people came to be 'entertained' by the Italian musicians and not for worship. Evelyn notes in his "Diary."

I heard the famous eunuch, Cifaccio, sing in the new Popish Chapel this afternoon; it was indeed very rare and with great skill. He came over from Rome, esteemed one of the best voices in Italy. Much crowding...little devotion.\(^4\)

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\(^1\)Evelyn, Diary, December 21, 1662.  
\(^2\)Holland, p. 38.  
\(^3\)Evelyn, Diary, December 29, 1686.  
\(^4\)Ibid., January 30, 1687.
The Puritans had instilled in the English people the idea of a personal religion and this remained long after Cromwell and his followers were gone. This led to the same need in music, a personal expression of thoughts. The masses were joyful and filled with anticipation at the coming of Charles II. They desired church music that expressed their feelings rather than the stilted, dignified, Puritan rendition of the psalms or the clear, polyphonic music of Byrd and Tallis.

In compliance with these various demands the composers of the Restoration developed the Restoration anthem, although they still wrote verse and full anthems. The verse anthem employed the full chorus with passages for solo voice or two or more voices. The full anthem used the full choir without solo passages.

Restoration anthems consisted of an instrumental introduction, multi-sections consisting of choral numbers, arias, duets and quartets. Obviously, these anthems cannot be categorized by any flat definition and they varied with individual composers. In general, they resemble a short cantata and were quite apt to conclude with an alleluia chorus in fugal style. New applications were: a more extended system of harmony, more fluent melody in the voice parts, the employment of a greater variety of tonalities, and the assertion of instrumental ritornelli.

Roger North's opinion of the Restoration anthems is indicated by this statement.

The young chapel composers, Humphrey, Blow and Wise by the introduction of several triple stop movements are accused by Dr. Tudway, and others, of indulging the king's French taste so far as to introduce theatrical corants and dancing movements into their anthems.
Even the great Purcell is not exempt from this change, and many of his small anthems are disfigured by "fiddling symphonies" invented only to please Charles.¹

With the accession of Charles II to the throne Henry Cooke became Master of the Boys in the Chapel Royal. His basic contribution to English church music was the training of the composers whose activities began with the Restoration. Although a prolific writer for the church, his anthems remain in manuscript and he is better known for his singing than for his compositions. In his part writing he used consecutive fifths and octaves but little is actually known of his techniques.²

Pepys records in his "Diary" for September 11, 1662,

To Whitchall Chapel...and I heard Captain Cooke's new musique. Then the first of having violls and other instruments to play a symphony between every verse of the Anthem, but the music more full than last Sunday, and very fine it is.³

Pelham Humphrey, a student of Cooke, succeeded him as Master of the Boys in 1672. Humphrey had been sent to France and Italy by Charles II for training and to study with Lully. The Italian declamatory recitative was decisive influence in his church music. He also employed the French melodies as in his anthem, "Have mercy upon me, O God." His return from the continent was marked by the publication of five anthems in Clifford's "Divine Services and Anthems" of 1664.

³Pepys, Diary, September 11, 1662.
Humphrey's music was a curious mixture of notable efforts to be expressive and pathetic. He was not always successful in accomplishing these ends. He wrote much in the minor mode to exemplify pathos and employed diminished and augmented intervals for the same purpose. A certain sketchiness of structure is noticeable in his music. This is due to the superficial instrumental introductions and interludes, and the secular rhythms which he employed so Charles could keep time by tapping his feet. In regard to these weaknesses Pepys refers to a certain anthem as "a good piece of musique", but criticizes it by the remark, "but I cannot call the Anthem anything but instrumental musique with voice, for nothing is made of the words at all."¹ "O Praise the Lord" typifies Pepys' remark. One of the two short bass solos in this anthem is almost like a sea chanty.

Contrary to these criticisms of his anthems Humphrey demonstrated a great stress on the pictorial representation of words in his sacred songs. The following example from "Sacred solo cantata" as published in Playford's "Harmonia Sacra" illustrates this and also the use of false second intervals.

¹Pepys, Diary, November 1, 1667.
In comparison with Locke, however, his harmonic progressions are less awkward and have a firmer direction and wider sweep. He set the standard of observing the verbal inflection in the musical rhythm, which Purcell was to elaborate and fully develop. Humphrey was a pioneer of the declamatory style and expressive church music. The opening of his anthem "Like as a hart" is a typical example of his style at its best.
Humphrey's special importance to the history of English church music was his introduction of the declamatory recitative in the anthem style. He served as a link between Lully (the greatest French composer of this period) and Purcell (the greatest English one).

In 1674 John Blow succeeded Humphrey at the Chapel Royal.

The musical problem of Blow's day...how to organize a composition whose main interest was no longer the interplay and independence of smooth and freely-moving voices--was offered by the idea of the ground. The reiteration of a musical sentence in the lowest part throughout a composition endowed it with unity which the upper parts so conspicuously lacked; their function being, of course, to supply the harmony and melodic variety which, in its turn, the bass so conspicuously lacked."

Blow realized the intricacies of the ground bass and knew that it should have length and individuality. Even when he confined himself to using notes of the same time value he managed to produce a neatly balanced and interesting line.

Perhaps his most striking creative effort in this field is the "Second Musical Entertainment" for St. Cecelia's Day in 1684. In this composition twenty measures of ritornello and vocal duet are founded on the ground bass.

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1 The Musical Quarterly, 24, p. 31.
The majority of Blow's music was tonal with the tonic, dominant and sub-dominant having modern functional values. In his ground bass patterns he often modulated to nearly related keys or changed the rhythm to prevent monotony. Blow violated harmonic rules of the time by treating seconds like thirds as shown in the following measure.

Blow was influenced by the Italian aria style and his "Goe perjured man" is in imitation of Carissimi's "Dite O Cieli." This composition was the result of a challenge made to him by Charles II to produce something as good as that of the Italian master. An excerpt of Carissimi's anthem and a portion of Blow's is shown below.
Flow wrote both in the polyphonic and homophonic style. His most successful contributions to English church music are the use of forceful invention and the effective design of melodies. Flow's church music at its finest is in the anthems where the words afford opportunity for pathos and deep feeling. He had a gift for writing exceptionally expressive short phrases as in the opening of "How doth the city sit solitary."

Michael Wise, Thomas Tudway and William Turner were among the less important composers of the Restoration. Though minor, their contributions were a part of the progressive line which culminated in the music
Wise was the king's organist in 1686. His anthems were rather uneventful in their simplicity although at times he employed chromatic intervals for word expressiveness. The following selection from his setting of "Jeremiah's lament" emphasizes this particular technique on the word mourn.

\[
\text{The ways of Zion do mourn do mourn do mourn} \\
\text{The ways of Zion do mourn do mourn do mourn} \\
\text{The ways of Zion do mourn do mourn do mourn} \\
\text{The ways of Zion do mourn do mourn do mourn} \\
\text{The ways of Zion do mourn do mourn do mourn} \\
\text{The ways of Zion do mourn do mourn do mourn} \
\]
The bass solo, "Ye mountains of Gilboa", from "Thy beauty, O Israel" is one of his finer examples of the declamatory style. Wise was less affected by the dance rhythm meters that Humphrey and others had employed to please Charles.

Although Wise was not an outstanding Restoration composer he surpassed Tudway and Turner in the elegance and charm of his melodic vein.

Tudway and Turner both employed a rather stiffly formal style of a markedly scholastic character. Both men are better known for their works composed after the Restoration period. Although, during the Restoration, Tudway made a manuscript collection of "Anthems from the Reformation to the Restoration of King Charles II" as composed by the best masters. This work in six volumes is now in the British Museum. Turner is best known for composing the Club Anthem with Humphrey and Blow, when they were allchoristers in the Chapel Royal. Humphrey composed the first movement, Blow the last, and Turner the intermediate bass solo, "Lo! the poor crieth."
CHAPTER III
HENRY PURCELL

Henry Purcell, the best known composer of the Restoration and perhaps the most famous of English composers, developed the Restoration anthem to its zenith. Purcell appeared at a time when it was possible to bring to a culmination the fusion of Italian and French influence in English music and to perfect the English idiom that had its beginning with William Childe. A Progressive line runs from Childe, excluding Cooke and Locke, to Humphrey and Blow, and ends with Purcell.

The progressive style manifest itself less in the instrumental accompaniment by strings and the organ, which was familiar even to the composers of the old school, than in the new affective conception of melody and the abandonment of the polyphonic texture. The concerto style with frequent alterations of solo voices and full choral sections in rapid syllabic declamation characterizes the modern trend from Childe to Purcell.  

Purcell's early training exposed him to both the old and new styles of church music. As a chorister of the Chapel Royal he had sung the traditional anthems of Tallis and Byrd, in which no instrument was employed but the organ, and the voice parts were constantly moving, fugue, imitation or plain counterpoint. However, the majority of anthems sung in the Chapel Royal were those of Childe, Humphrey and Blow. Although his early works show the influence of Byrd and Tallis he was more affected by prevailing techniques. His teachers, Cooke, Blow and Humphrey, leaned toward the Italian style. Purcell often made use of the Italian features of the 3/2 bar in the slow movement, and 3/4 and 6/8

\[1\] Bukofzer, op. cit., p. 200.
time based on the coincidence of the accented beat with a crotchet followed by a minim. \[\text{\textbf{\textit{PPPP}}}\] To express gaiety or violent emotion Purcell followed the example of Lully, Cavalli, Luigi and Rossi and made great use of a rhythmic figure based on a succession of dotted quavers followed by semi-quavers. \[\text{\textbf{\textit{PPPP}}}\]

Purcell was also swayed by King Charles' taste, and was impressed by the Lullian feature of twenty-four violins.

Purcell worked by a set of principles laid down in the early seventeenth century by Thomas Morley.

If the subject be light, you must cause your musick to go in motions, which carry with them a celerity or quickness of time, as minimes, crotchets and quavers; if it be lamentable, the note must go in slow and heavy motions, as semi-briefs, briefs and such like. Moreover you must have a care, that when your matter signifies ascending, high heaven and such like, you make your musick ascent; and by the contrarie where your ditty speaks of descending, lowness, depth, hell and others such, you must make your musick descend. For as it will bee though a great absurdity to talk of heaven and point downward to the earth; so it will be counted great incongruity of a musician upon the words he ascended into heaven should cause his music to descend. We must also have a care to apply the notes to the wordes as in singing there be no barbarisme committed; that is, that we cause no syllable which is by nature short, to be expressed by many notes, or one long note, nor no long syllables to be expressed with a short note.\[1\]

The works of Purcell can be divided into four groups; anthems, and other sacred music, odes and welcome songs, compositions for the stage and instrumental music. The religious music belongs primarily to the early period from the late 1670's to about 1685. Purcell's dramatic tendencies and techniques can be detected in his religious compositions. The opening of "Why do the heathen" is almost identical to the opening of the "Dido and Aeneas" overture. This is understandable for the anthems

\[1\text{Holland, op. cit., p. 114.}\]
of the Restoration period were a form of court entertainment and were often secular in character. In Purcell's religious and dramatic music alike, his essential feature was the tendency to illustrate the immediate verbal imagery.

The first known composition of Purcell's is, "ADDress of the Children of the Chapel Royal to the King and their Master, Captain Cooke, on His Majestie's birthday A.D. 1670, composed by MASTER PURCELL, one of the children of the said Chapel."

His first anthems were written in 1679 at Westminster. They were full anthems in motet style (a cappella) with close imitation and bold harmonic effects. The limitations employed are often so closely spaced that they appeal to the eye and not the ear. "Hear my prayer" is an example of these early anthems and has the strong massiveness of the older style with almost a flawless counterpoint, but is modern in tonality. An excerpt from this anthem follows.
Another early anthem is, "In the midst of life" and the following example shows its use of dissonance.

These works belong to an experimental stage and later Purcell revised some of them by using more modern tonalities. In "Hear me, O Lord" the first version turned twice to a colorful, but repetitious, deceptive cadence, while the second version replaced it with modern harmonic progressions that moved through the circle of fifths.

After these initial compositions Purcell concentrated on what has been defined as the Restoration anthem. ¹ He integrated many styles and devices. The string accompaniment took the form of a French overture, usually in triple time, which was sometimes repeated as a symphony between the verses. While Lully's instrumental ritor- nelli remained as independent introductions, Purcell's often anticipated or repeated the melody of the choral sections. The amount of musical material he provided for the instruments varied. It ranged from unison playing in the heavy choruses to a completely independent concerto, linked only by imitation to the voices. In the anthem, "My beloved spake", the instruments enter singly in the form of a solo obbligato. In "We sing unto the Lord", they enter jointly as accompaniment. The general form of Purcell's anthems is: over- ture, alto (sung by men) and bass, solo or combination verse, closing

¹Ch. II, p. 11.
ritornello, verse and final chorus and the customary alleluia.

Often Purcell set the solo verse in aria fashion with symmetrical melody. These were preferrably in triple time with dotted rhythms appearing to such words as joy, praise, triumph or alleluia.

The following measures from "I will give thanks unto thee" illustrate the use of the dotted rhythms in parallel thirds, unprepared sevenths and the alleluia.
Another feature that Purcell employed to depict a gayer lighter mood was the division of the choir into two parts and the quickening of the tempo. These characteristics are found in "O God, thou hast cast us out." The following passage from this anthem will give some idea of the complexity of Purcell's polyphonic writing and his use of suspensions and anticipations. It is a good example of the harmonic structure created by the Restoration composers.
In 1685 Purcell composed two anthems for the coronation of James II, "I was glad" and "My heart is inditing." The section, "Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem", from the latter anthem, is written in vertical style with each note of the melody supported by a chord. This style was unusual for Purcell.

In the last year of the Restoration, 1688, Purcell wrote the anthem "O sing unto the Lord." In this the verse is written over a slightly varied ground bass, a feature that was rarely present in his anthems. This same composition has an overture patterned after the Italian style, with a full chordal section which is taken up in the first verse, and a short canzona.

One work that stands between the anthems and the service music is the psalm "Jehova, quam multi sunt." The "Ego cubui et dormivi" section of this is declared by Ernest Walker to be "one of the most beautiful solemnly inspirations in all English music."\(^1\) A portion of the "Ego cubui et dormivi" follows.

\(^1\) Walker, op. cit., p. 170.
Purcell's religious music for private devotions was more declamatory and lyrical than his anthems. He often employed a ground bass as a fugue subject. A typical ground bass is found in the following measures taken from the Evenside hymn "Now that the sun."

Purcell was the leading Restoration composer and the final link in the chain of musicians which began with Childe. He manifested equal abilities and resources whether writing in the style of his famous predecessors, Tallis and Byrd, or in the new and more progressive style of which he was one of the inventors. This later style consisted of:

1. accompanying the voice parts with instruments, other than the organ
2. the addition of the overture, usually in the French style
3. the instrumental symphony or ritornelli between verses in the anthems
4. the enforcing of the melody and the meaning of the words by rhythmic devices such as the dotted notes to symbolize joy and praise
5. the use of downward slur over the interval of a fifth or fourth to express tenderness
6. the ascending and descending note passages to signify similar physical motion in the words
7. the arranging of choruses in the Italian declamatory style
the addition of the alleluia to the end of the anthems, which is one of the principal, but not the best, features of the Restoration anthem.

Purcell invented his own devices, but also developed the idea and techniques sketched by his predecessors, primarily Cooke, Blow and Humphrey. Thus he added the refinement which was necessary to bring the Restoration anthem to its full musical stature.
CONCLUSION

For many reasons it has been impossible to conduct an exhaustive study of this problem. Primary among these limiting factors is the sparseness of musical material for some composers. In order to probe all areas of research it would be necessary to delve into manuscripts and documents that are kept in the British Museum. This points up future research problems which would bring light to more of the musical contributions of the years from 1649-1688. A study of the manuscripts, such as the compositions of Henry Cooke, which remain in the British Museum, would reveal techniques that were used. The direct sources are few, with the exception of Evelyn's and Pepys' diaries. These are used extensively by most historians and it seems that perhaps a search of old English documents would uncover more material of the period. There is a need for a more recent history of English music with emphasis on church music - especially for the Commonwealth and Restoration. Burney's history is one of the principal works in use. He lived too close to this period to have formed unprejudiced opinions, and to get the overall picture of accomplishments and reflections on modern church music. It seems unfortunate that an authority with such personal and intense feelings should be used as a criterion. This is illustrated in his discussion of John Blow's music.

There was a definite shortage of church music during the Commonwealth. Much of the pre-Commonwealth music was burned and probably an equal amount was hidden, never to be found. No doubt most of the music
remained in manuscript because musical publications were governed by the natural law of supply and demand. The Puritans did everything to discourage church music composition.

It must be taken into consideration that the English composers had a scarcity of raw material with which to work. The poems at the disposal of the Protestant church musicians were mostly unsuited to religious music except for the awkward versions of the psalms. At the same time the Catholics had access to the words of the Mass, which had been refined through the ages. There was no real training center for Protestant church musicians, since the leading musical institutions of learning were the Roman Catholic monasteries in Europe.

There were many influences on the Church music of the Commonwealth and Restoration. The Puritan influence upon religious music was negative since they did not allow music during the service. Thus English church music was at a standstill for about twenty years. Naturally styles were altered and no one can surmise what the development would have been without the alterations brought about by this political situation. The Puritans enjoyed and approved of secular music. This was fortunate and progress in this area was made which was integrated later into religious music. The Puritans were more tolerant toward the dispossessed Anglican musicians than they are usually given credit for, as is shown in the provisions they made for payment of these men during the Commonwealth.
England was preoccupied with political and religious affairs during the years from 1649-1688, and undoubtedly the emphasis on church music was less than in more untroubled times. There was constant internal strife and dissent between the Puritans, Anglicans and Catholics, leaving the people in a rather confused state. Nevertheless, the English masses were looking for a means of self-expression in sacred music during the Restoration and composers were striving to satisfy this need.

The attitude of Charles II toward the gay and light mood in anthems led to the development of the Restoration anthem which bordered on the thin line between ecclesiastical and dramatic music. This was due to the French overtures, triple meters, affective representation of words, complex harmonies and the symphonic interludes. English musicians became either discouraged or were obsessed with a desire to please when James II imported the Italian musicians to his chapel at Whitehall. The attitudes of Charles and James made it necessary for the composers to switch styles to comply with the characteristics that were expected by the ruling powers.

The apex of Restoration church music came with Henry Purcell. He was in step with the times, and wrote to please the king, the people, and to satisfy his own desires. Herein lies the true talent of Purcell—he developed one style, the Restoration anthem, by masterfully fusing many styles.
There were significant changes in English church music from the beginning of the Commonwealth to the end of the Restoration. Church music developed from the pre-Commonwealth, unaccompanied, polyphonic anthems of Byard and Tallis to the Restoration anthem with its orchestral accompaniment and affective word representation. Henry Lawes, a Commonwealth composer, wrote anthems with secular characteristics and introduced the Italian continuo style. William Child's attempts at expressiveness were further developed by Pelham Humphrey. Humphrey introduced interludes and ritornelli and used the Italian declamatory recitative. These features were employed in the anthems of Tudway and Turner. The anthems of Henry Purcell culminated these developments and brought the Restoration anthem to its full structure.
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