

THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MUSIC
MANUSCRIPTS AT ST. PATRICKS

CATHEDRAL, DUBLIN:
SOURCES, LINEAGE, AND RELATIONSHIP
TO OTHER COLLECTIONS

VOLUME 1

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PH.D.

2002

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**The Eighteenth-Century Music Manuscripts at
St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin:
Sources, Lineage, and Relationship to Other Collections**

**Three Volumes
Volume 1: Text**

Kerry Houston

**This thesis is submitted for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy to the
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Permission to reproduce manuscripts has been granted by the Dean and Chapter of St Patrick's Cathedral, the British Library and the Kunitachi College of Music Library.

SUMMARY

This thesis examines the music manuscripts copied before 1800 that survive in the music library at St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin. Prior to this study, these manuscripts had not been investigated in a comprehensive way. The aim of this investigation is to record textual detail of the manuscripts and to examine their provenance and lineage in the wider context of the cathedral's history and the history of cathedral music in the British Isles.

The first chapter investigates the local evidence: chapter acts, proctor's accounts and other primary sources have been analysed and information relating to the compilation of manuscripts (including alterations and replacements) is presented. Information gathered from these sources is included in the appendixes. Each of the twenty-eight eighteenth-century manuscripts has been examined and details of pagination, handwriting, attributions of pieces, variant readings in indexes and marginalia have been recorded. This information is used to establish that the manuscripts were copied before 1800.

The second chapter discusses newly discovered sources for an early symphony anthem by Henry Purcell, *Praise the Lord, ye servants*. Until recently, this work was only known in two very incomplete sources. Fifteen more sources survive in Dublin, missed by those who studied the collections in the past due to incorrect attributions or lack of attributions in most of the manuscripts. An edition of the surviving parts of this anthem is included in appendix 5.

The third chapter investigates the repertoire of the collection. It was decided to consider the repertoire under the various geographical locations where the composers worked or where their music has a strong representation in other libraries, rather than in chronological order. Setting the repertoire in this wider context has suggested several routes by which the music may have come to Dublin. In many cases this has been established with a considerable degree of certainty, but in others the suggestions are more speculative. In particular, direct connections have been established with books in Edinburgh, Durham, Oxford, London and a part book from the Chapel Royal that is now in Japan. As well as enhancing our knowledge of the manuscripts in Dublin, this work has thrown new light on manuscripts in other locations. This approach, allied to the comparison of manuscripts in Dublin to other authenticated sources, has confirmed or

challenged the attributions given in the Dublin manuscripts and identified many pieces which were not previously attributed.

The final chapter moves from the general to the specific and examines some of the evidence presented in previous chapters in more detail in order to draw further conclusions about the library at St Patrick's and its importance in the wider context of the history of Anglican church music.

Appendixes 1 and 2 include comprehensive catalogues of the eighteenth-century manuscripts that are in the library. These will be used as the basis of a forthcoming catalogue of music manuscripts at St Patrick's and Christ Church Cathedrals.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Old-style dates have been modernised without comment.

Full details of all literature and published music listed here are given in the bibliography.

A	alto
Arnold	Samuel Arnold, <i>Cathedral Music</i>
B	bass
Barnard	John Barnard, <i>The First Book of Selected Church Musick</i>
Boyce	William Boyce, <i>Cathedral Music</i>
Bs	Benedictus (Luke 1:68)
c.	<i>circa</i> , about
Ca	Cantate Domino (Psalm 98)
C.A.	chapter acts
Cr	Nicene Creed
CT	contratenor
d.	died
De	Deus misereatur (Psalm 67)
Dennison	<i>Pelham Humfrey: Complete Church Music</i> , ed. Peter Dennison
diss.	dissertation
ed.	edition, editor, edited by
E.P.	extraordinary payment(s)
f., ff.	folio, folios
<i>fl.</i>	<i>floreat</i> , flourished
G	Gloria in excelsis
Grove (1954)	<i>Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i> , ed. Eric Blom
Grove (1980)	<i>The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i> , ed. Stanley Sadie
Grove (2001)	<i>The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i> , 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie
J	Jubilate (Psalm 100)

Jebb's catalogue	John Jebb, 'Index to the Services and Anthems composed for the use of the choirs in England and Ireland since the Reformation', Ob MS Tenbury 1240
Joule's word book	Benjamin St J. B. Joule, <i>A Collection of Words to which Music Has Been Composed or Adapted for Use in the Choral Service of the United Church of England and Ireland as Anthems</i>
Lbl	The British Library, London
K	Kyrie (i.e. responses to the commandments)
Ma	Magnificat (Luke 1:46)
MS, MSS	manuscript, manuscripts
n.	(foot)note
N	Nunc dimittis (Luke 2:29)
NUI	National University of Ireland
Ob	Bodleian Library, Oxford
Och	Library of Christ Church, Oxford
O.P.	ordinary payment(s)
Page	<i>Harmonia Sacra</i> , ed. John Page
P.A.	proctor's accounts
p., pp.	page, pages
PR	Preces and responses
Ps.	Psalm
Purcell Society	<i>The Works of Henry Purcell</i> , published for the Purcell Society
RCBL	Representative Church Body Library, Dublin
repr.	repint, reprinted
RISM	An unpublished catalogue of manuscript music in the British Isles compiled by RISM.
Sa	Sanctus
Scandrett	Robert Leland Scandrett, 'The Anthems of William Croft'

SECM	Ralph T. Daniel and Peter le Huray, <i>The Sources of English Church Music 1547–1660</i>
Service catalogue 1824	A list of the service music sung by the cathedral choirs of England, repertoires listed by cathedral sung published in <i>Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review</i> 1824
T	tenor
TCD	Trinity College, Dublin
TCM	Tudor Church Music
Te	Te Deum
Tr	treble
vol., vols	volume, volumes
Willoughby	<i>Sacred Harmony</i> , ed. Robert Willoughby
Zimmerman	Franklin B. Zimmerman, <i>Henry Purcell 1659–1695: An Analytical Catalogue of His Music</i>

INTRODUCTION

Interest in musical activity in eighteenth-century Dublin has brought to fruition several publications and research papers in recent years. The most important are those by Barra Boydell, Brian Boydell, Harry Grindle, Ita Hogan, and T. J. Walsh.¹ These publications give a comprehensive overview of the thriving musical life of Dublin during the century. However, the relative inaccessibility of archival material for sacred music in Dublin has meant that secular music has received more attention. Attempts to redress this imbalance began with Harry Grindle's pioneering study *Irish Cathedral Music*, Barra Boydell's specialised work on music at Christ Church Cathedral, and *Irish Musical Studies*, vol. 6.²

There are few references to either of the Dublin cathedrals in Brian Boydell's *A Dublin Musical Calendar*, and if one were to omit the references which Boydell derives from Grindle's study, only a handful would remain. Music at the cathedrals was not advertised or reported in newspapers and therefore there are few archival sources to provide basic information. The names of members of the cathedral choirs occur most frequently in Boydell's *Calendar* with reference to their participation in secular concerts—the most significant example being the first performance of Handel's *Messiah* on 13 April 1742, when five of the eight soloists were members of the cathedral choirs.

¹ *Music at Christ Church Before 1800: Documents and Selected Anthems*, ed. Barra Boydell (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999); Brian Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar, 1700–1760* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1988); Brian Boydell, *Rotunda Music in Eighteenth-Century Dublin* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1992); W. H. Grindle, *Irish Cathedral Music: A History of Music at the Cathedrals of the Church of Ireland* (Belfast: The Institute of Irish Studies, The Queen's University of Belfast, 1989); Ita Margaret Hogan, *Anglo-Irish Music, 1780–1830* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1966); *Christ Church Cathedral Dublin: A History*, ed. Kenneth Milne (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000); T. J. Walsh, *Opera in Dublin 1705–1797: The Social Scene* (Dublin: A. Figgis, 1973); T. J. Walsh, *Opera in Dublin 1798–1820: Frederick Jones and the Crow Street Theatre* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

² *A Historical Anthology of Irish Church Music*, ed. Gerard Gillen and Andrew Johnstone (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001). The present writer co-authored section 1 of the introduction to this volume, which includes some of the findings presented in this thesis. Other published and unpublished studies include Barra Boydell, “‘Now that the Lord hath readvanc'd the crown’: Richard Hosier, Durham MS B1 and the Early Restoration Anthem Repertory at the Dublin Cathedrals”, *Early Music*, xxviii (2000), 238–51; Carol Cunningham, ‘Selected Eighteenth-Century Anthems by Composers at Christ Church Cathedral Dublin’ (diss., NUI Maynooth, 1997); Eithne Donnelly, ‘Richard Woodward: A Study of his Life and Music’ (diss., NUI Maynooth, 1998); Barbara McHugh, ‘Music in St Patrick's Cathedral Dublin, 1865–1915’ (diss., University College Dublin, 1980); Andrea Moran, ‘Three Eighteenth-Century Anthems from Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin’ (diss., University College Dublin, 1994); Eamonn O’Keeffe, ‘The Study of Irish Musical Sources: The Case of Christ Church Cathedral’ (diss., University College Dublin, 1993), ‘Sources of Church Music in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century’ in *The Maynooth International Musicological Conference 1995: Selected Proceedings, Part 1*, ed. Patrick F. Devine and Harry White (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1996), 111–18, ‘The Score Books of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin: A Catalogue’, *Fontes artis musicae*, xlv (1997), 43–104.

The chapters of the cathedrals were willing to give permission for members of the choirs to take part in many charity concerts.³ They were not so willing, however, to give permission for commercial performances: on numerous occasions penalties were imposed on those who took part in such performances without permission.⁴ Sadly, these references shed little light on the daily musical life in the cathedrals.

Monck Mason wrote the first comprehensive history of St Patrick's Cathedral, which was published early in the nineteenth century. As with Brian Boydell's *Calendar*, this book is remarkable as there are only a handful of references to music in the cathedral, and the few that are included do not reveal many pertinent details about the musical life or repertoire at St Patrick's.⁵

The best guide to the repertoire in the Dublin cathedrals during the eighteenth century is the collection of printed music and music manuscripts that survives from the period in the cathedral libraries.⁶

Accordingly, it was decided to investigate the collection at St Patrick's Cathedral. During initial enquiries, it was surprising to learn how little was known about the collection.⁷ Modern editions in the library are catalogued for practical use on a day-to-day basis, but no catalogue has survived for the other material. However, the allocation of shelf marks on the older material indicates that there were once catalogues or listings that are now lost. Some of the manuscripts contain up to three shelf marks.

The inclusion of the library of St Patrick's in analytical catalogues and other scholarly

³ For example, St Patrick's C.A. 1764–92 (RCBL C2.1.3.9), p. 24, records Mr Samuel Murphy's request in 1768 for permission for the boys to sing in a piece that he has composed. Permission was granted.

⁴ Christ Church C.A. 1740–69 (RCBL C6.1.7.6) shows that on 25 May 1742 the chapter 'agreed and ordered that Joseph Ward and John Hill, two Stipendiaries of this Church be and accordingly are hereby fined four Shillings each and admonished for disobeying the Order of 22nd December 1741, by their singing at a publick Musical performance in Neal's Musick-Room in Fishamble Street on Friday the 21st of the Instant, and that the Proctor do Stop the Said Fines out of their Salaries.'

⁵ William Monck Mason, *The History and Antiquities of the Collegiate and Cathedral Church of St Patrick, near Dublin, from Its Foundation in 1190, to the Year 1819: Comprising a Topographical Account of the Lands and Parishes Appropriated to the Community of the Cathedral, and to Its Members; and Biographical Memoirs of Its Deans* (Dublin: the author, 1819). Extracts from this publication are reproduced in appendix 6 below.

⁶ See O'Keeffe, 'The Score Books of Christ Church Cathedral'. Susan Hemmens has catalogued the Christ Church part books and organ books which are now held at the Representative Church Body Library, Dublin (RCBL C6.1.24).

works is spasmodic and the citations are often incomplete. This is largely due to the absence of a catalogue, and to some reluctance on behalf of the cathedral authorities to allow access to the collection. This reluctance is partly explained by a shortage of staff to assist researchers in the past. The earliest surviving catalogue to make any significant references to sources at St Patrick's is contained in Ob MS Tenbury 1240. This is an 'Index to the Services and Anthems composed for the use of the choirs in England and Ireland since the Reformation' and is signed 'J. Jebb 1857-8'.

John Jebb was born in Dublin in 1805 and took an MA from Trinity College in 1829. After holding some positions in the Irish church, he moved to Herefordshire in 1843 and was appointed a prebendary of Hereford Cathedral in 1858. Jebb was a prominent figure in the revival of interest in church music in England and published *The Choral Service of the United Church of England and Ireland* in 1843.⁸ Ob MS Tenbury 1240 is an extensive index (which is not paginated or foliated) making reference to sources at both St Patrick's and Christ Church cathedrals, Dublin, but without indicating which books are being referred to. Accordingly, it is difficult to determine whether Jebb examined the books himself or whether he was relying on information supplied by others. It seems likely, however, that he would have consulted the libraries at the Dublin cathedrals when he lived there, or during later visits to the city.

The collections at Dublin were known to John Skelton Bumpus who used some of them in preparing his collection in score now held at the British Library: Lbl MS G. 518. b. (1-18). This manuscript will be considered in more detail in chapter 3 below. His papers on Irish cathedral music delivered to the Musical Association in 1900 are the earliest formal study of this aspect of musical life in Ireland.⁹

Myles B. Foster's *Anthems and Anthem Composers*, published in 1901, is an important source of information on the genre and, in the cases of many minor composers, it has not been superseded.¹⁰ Foster makes many references to Dublin sources in this book, but it is

⁷ The paucity of research in this general area is discussed in O'Keeffe, 'Irish Musical Sources'.

⁸ Bernarr Rainbow, 'John Jebb', Grove (2001), vi, 929.

⁹ John Skelton Bumpus, 'Irish Church Composers and the Irish Cathedrals', *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, xxvi (1899-1900), 79-113, 115-59.

¹⁰ Myles Birket Foster, *Anthems and Anthem Composers: An Essay Upon the Development of the Anthem from the Time of the Reformation to the End of the Nineteenth Century, With a Complete List of Anthems (in Alphabetical Order) Belonging to Each of the Four Centuries, A Frontispiece, and Several Rare Portraits*,

not clear if he consulted the sources himself. The preface to the book suggests that he may have relied on information provided by Bumpus.

A catalogue of manuscript music in the British Isles was made for RISM in the 1960s, for which Richard Andrewes (now music librarian at the University Library, Cambridge) catalogued the manuscripts in the Irish cathedrals.¹¹ The catalogue was never published, but microfilms of the index cards are available at the British Library, the Bodleian Library and Cambridge University Library. However, the parameters of that catalogue dictated that only ascribed works were noted and accordingly, unattributed pieces were excluded (unless easily identifiable). The reason for this exclusion in the RISM Series A/II project was the lack of musical incipits. There is now a plan to re-do the catalogue including the musical incipits, but the particular problems of dealing with cathedral manuscripts means that they will be done later as a special project, the details of which have yet to be formulated.¹²

Robert Scandrett completed an extensive study of the anthems of William Croft in 1961.¹³ He lists the manuscript sources consulted (pp. 177–85), which are restricted to those held at the British Library, the Bodleian Library, the Library of St Michael's College, Tenbury, and the Royal College of Music Library, London. Scandrett states in the preface to his thesis that 'the enormous task of collating all the manuscripts was not a part of this study'.¹⁴ Accordingly, the inclusion of sources at Dublin is hardly to be expected.

Franklin B. Zimmerman published his monumental catalogue of the works of Henry Purcell in 1963.¹⁵ This catalogue includes the Dublin collections of Christ Church Cathedral, Trinity College and Marsh's Library, but not the library of St Patrick's Cathedral—despite the fact that it contains some fourteen anthems by Purcell in manuscripts copied before 1800. The libraries at St Patrick's and Christ Church contain important sources for an early symphony anthem by Purcell and these sources evaded Zimmerman's investigation. Was he dependent on the rather unreliable tables of contents

etc. (London: Novello, 1901; repr. New York: Georg Olms, 1980).

¹¹ References to RISM in this thesis refer to this catalogue.

¹² I am grateful to Mr Richard Andrewes for clarifying this point. He has kindly given his original records to St Patrick's for inclusion in the cathedral archives.

¹³ Robert Leland Scandrett, 'The Anthems of William Croft (1678–1727) [with] Part II: The Anthems of William Croft for Voices with Organ Accompaniment' (diss., University of Washington, 1961).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. i.

¹⁵ Franklin B. Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell 1659–1695: An Analytical Catalogue of His Music* (London and

of the manuscripts? This matter will be considered in detail in chapter 2 below, but it is sufficient to note here that Zimmerman appears to have relied on an existing index of manuscripts at Christ Church. He does not appear to have investigated the library at St Patrick's at all.

Rosamund Harding's thematic catalogue of the works of Matthew Locke mentions the library of Christ Church Cathedral in connection with three anthems.¹⁶ There is no citation of St Patrick's, however, despite the presence there of *Lord, teach us to number our days* and *Lord, let me know mine end*—two anthems with doubtful attributions to Locke which are included in the catalogue.

Thomas F. Taylor's thematic catalogue of the works of Jeremiah Clarke grew from his doctoral dissertation that contains a list of Clarke's works, compiled without inspecting the original sources.¹⁷ He did not search libraries for possible sources not included in this list, but recognised that this type of inspection would be necessary for the completion of a comprehensive catalogue. Taylor acknowledges the assistance of the librarians of many British and American libraries in the preparation of his catalogue, but there is no mention of Irish libraries even though the libraries of Christ Church Cathedral, St Patrick's Cathedral and Trinity College are included in his index of manuscripts. The introduction to this index mentions that he used Richard Andrewes's work for RISM as a preview to inspecting the sources. Accordingly, it would appear that Taylor did not consult the Dublin sources, but relied on Andrewes's work. His note on item 503 *O Jerusalem* in his catalogue corroborates this:¹⁸ he states that 'letters of enquiry were sent in March and August 1970, with no answer'—he may have concluded that there was little point in making a visit to Dublin in view of the lack of response to his letters. He appears to have repeated Andrewes's dating of the relevant manuscripts without further investigation. A parameter of Andrewes's listing was that only ascribed works be included, and, as it seems that Taylor did not consult the sources, he missed important material which will be considered further in chapter 3 below.

New York: Macmillan, 1963).

¹⁶ Rosamund E. M. Harding, *A Thematic Catalogue of the Works of Matthew Locke with a Calendar of the Main Events of His Life* (Oxford: Alden & Mowbray Ltd, 1971).

¹⁷ Thomas F. Taylor, *Thematic Catalog of the Works of Jeremiah Clarke* (Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1977).

Taylor gives Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin as a source for seven anthems (his catalogue numbers are shown here in brackets). The anthems are:

I will love thee (105)

Praise the Lord, O my soul (115)

I will love thee (106)

The Lord is full of compassion (117)

O Lord God of my salvation (110)

O Jerusalem, thou that killest (503 music not located)

Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem (113)

At St Patrick's he has missed sources for *O Jerusalem, thou that killest* and *Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem*.

There is a consistent pattern in the scholarly work of presenting incomplete information with regard to sources at St Patrick's. This has continued in many of the articles in Grove (2001). The work list for Nares, for example, includes his anthem *Praise the Lord, ye servants*, and gives Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, as the only source: in fact, the anthem is in the library at St Patrick's also. The work list for John Goldwin includes St Patrick's as a source for *I have set God always* and *O praise God in his holiness*, but omits it as a source for *O Lord God of hosts*.

The indexes to the books at St Patrick's are not a reliable source of information, and this difficulty is presented well by an annotation (perhaps by Richard Andrewes) in the index of C.3.1: 'N.B. Assignment of authorship in this set (C.3.1–6) appears very unreliable. Accuracy of catalogue is therefore doubtful, anon anthems will often be found under the name of the best known author!'

The missing or incomplete information given in the publications mentioned above is misleading. The compilation of a new catalogue thus seemed to be an essential starting point for making any assessment of the collection.¹⁹

¹⁸ Ibid., 86.

¹⁹ The only publication to date that contains complete information with regard to sources at St Patrick's is Gillen and Johnstone, *A Historical Anthology of Irish Church Music*.

The music library at St Patrick's Cathedral contains both manuscript and printed music and is stored in music cupboards in the choir of the cathedral and in the organ loft. There is no clear chronological division between material currently used by the choir and the older music withdrawn from choir use. For example, the cupboards still contain Boyce's *Cathedral Music*, which was in fairly regular use until the mid-1970s. However, it is possible to divide the material into four categories:

1. Manuscript music copied before 1800.
2. Manuscript music copied after 1800.
3. Early printed editions (published before 1800).
4. Later printed books and music.

To date, there has been no attempt to investigate the contents of the library in a comprehensive way and the purpose of this thesis is to provide a detailed catalogue of the category 1 material, to explore its provenance and its relationship with other collections, to investigate the accuracy of the attributions in the manuscripts, to establish details of performance practice, and to identify unattributed works.

The challenges of this project include organising and listing archives, determining the provenance and lineage of surviving musical sources, and examining sources in Ireland and Britain to resolve inconsistent and sometimes confusing attributions in the music library at St Patrick's.

The value of the project is threefold:

1. Provision of a detailed catalogue of the category 1 sources held at St Patrick's which enhances our knowledge of the music concerned.
2. Provision of a guide to the cathedral's repertoire in the second half of the eighteenth century in the absence of other significant references for this information.
3. Identification of relationships between the collection at St Patrick's and other collections. In some cases these connections will be valuable in filling gaps in our knowledge of musical activity in institutions outside St Patrick's.

The terminal date was fixed at 1800 for three main reasons:

1. The music copied before this date contains the most interesting musical and historical information.
2. The Act of Union in 1800, which abolished the Irish parliament, marked the beginning of a decline in the prosperity and importance of Dublin as a major European city, and the fate of musical establishments suffered in direct proportion to this economic decline.²⁰ According to Bumpus,

Music seems to have been especially on the decline in Ireland during the earlier part of the nineteenth century. Though Dublin could boast of the then finest cathedral choir in the British Empire,^[21] and though, within its precincts, were contained several excellent composers and performers, yet the absence of rank and wealth, by which, alone, merit of this kind could then have been encouraged, retarded every effort towards arriving at pre-eminence in the profession. In the middle, and at the end of the eighteenth century, such composers as Handel, Arne, Geminiani, and others made Dublin, for some time, their home, but after the Union, which drained Ireland of her aristocracy, nothing similar can be pointed to.²²

3. Writing of the state of cathedral music at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Arthur Hutchings notes that 'between Boyce and Greene in the eighteenth century and Stanford whose works became known just before the opening of the twentieth century, no composer produced any music for Anglican choirs that is deemed worth mentioning in a general history of music'.²³ Kenneth Long records that 'in the earlier part of the [nineteenth] century the cathedrals suffered from the pervading neglect and dereliction of duty so general in the Church'.²⁴ The decline in standard of Anglican music written after 1800, was intensified by the circumstances mentioned above in Ireland, but some works by John Stevenson (1762–1833) and Robert Stewart (1825–94) rise above the general flow.²⁵

²⁰ In 1750 Dublin had the second largest population of any city in the British Isles and the eleventh largest in Europe. Boydell, *Calendar*, 11 n. 2.

²¹ It is interesting to note that Bumpus uses the singular here. Although the cathedral choirs were separate entities, the overlap of personnel was such that there was in reality only one choir serving both cathedrals.

²² Bumpus, 'Irish Church Composers', 79–80.

²³ Arthur Hutchings, *Church Music in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1967), 95.

²⁴ Kenneth R. Long, *The Music of the English Church* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1972), 319.

²⁵ Stevenson was best known in his day as a singer, but he was also the first organist of the Chapel Royal in Dublin Castle which opened in 1814. The title 'Sir John Stevenson' in many of the part books at St Patrick's establishes the date of copying as post-1800—Stevenson received his knighthood in 1803, and was probably the first Irish musician to be so honoured. Stewart was born in Dublin in 1825 and was a chorister at Christ Church Cathedral. He became organist there in 1844 and held the post until his death in 1894. Stewart was

Considering the above, this thesis has been divided into four chapters and seven appendixes. As far as possible, repetition of information has been avoided, but the nature of the study makes the elimination of all repetition impossible without excessive cross-referencing. The appendixes are included in volumes 2 and 3. Evidence is presented in chapter 1 showing that the earliest surviving manuscripts date from c.1738 and for convenience the manuscripts copied before 1800 are hereafter referred to as the eighteenth-century music library.

For ease of access, references are given to entries in Lawlor's *The Fasti of St Patrick's*,²⁶ Shaw's *The Succession of Organists*,²⁷ Grindle's *Irish Cathedral Music* and Milne's *Christ Church Cathedral*. These references have been extensively checked against the source documents, and are very reliable.

Chapter 1 concentrates on the manuscripts themselves, explores the problems of dating them and suggests possible sources and copyists for the surviving eighteenth-century material. An outline of the condition of the cathedral fabric is given to show how earlier material was lost and replaced. This chapter provides some biographical details of copyists. Details of scribal hands, pagination, watermarks and payments to copyists are given for each volume in the collection. Full details of the contents of each volume are listed in appendix 2.

Chapter 2 discusses newly discovered sources for Henry Purcell's symphony anthem *Praise the Lord, ye servants*, and investigates possible routes by which these sources reached Ireland.

also 'afternoon' organist at St Patrick's from 1852 to 1861, and continued to play at St Patrick's after that time. He was professor of music at Dublin University from 1862, and was a renowned concert organist. On Sundays a group of men stood around the organ at St Patrick's when he played: 'Five or six of his admirers, men of various ages, often two at each side and one or two standing near at hand, kept up an almost incessant conversation during divine service...The writer was only occasionally involved in this, and never without a sense of shame, for it was not always harmless conversation, but a joke of the "smoke-room" variety was not unknown.' T. W. E. Drury, *Unforgotten* (Dublin: Association for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1951), 119.

²⁶ Hugh Jackson Lawlor, *The Fasti of St Patrick's, Dublin* (Dundalk: W. Tempest, 1930).

²⁷ Watkins Shaw, *The Succession of Organists of the Chapel Royal and the Cathedrals of England and Wales from c.1538: Also of the Organists of the Collegiate Churches of Westminster and Windsor, Certain Academic Choral Foundations, and the Cathedrals of Armagh and Dublin* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

Chapter 3 explores the repertoire of the collection in the wider context of cathedral music in the British Isles. The relationship of the collection at St Patrick's to collections at other institutions is considered, and some biographical information on the composers and others who had a role in the transmission of repertoire concerned is provided.

Chapter 4 considers the evidence presented in the preceding chapters and draws some aspects of this evidence into sharper focus to reach more specific conclusions on the eighteenth-century music library at St Patrick's.

Appendix 1 contains a composer index for the surviving eighteenth-century music manuscripts at St Patrick's. This index gives details of authenticated sources that have been used to verify the attributions in the books at the cathedral or to identify unattributed pieces. Just under one third of the anthems in the collection have no attributions in the surviving manuscripts although in many cases clues to the authorship are given in the later indexes.

Appendix 2 contains tables that list the contents of each volume in the order in which they appear. These tables record the title and attribution of each piece as given by the copyist. A standardised form of composer name and title is included also. Any misattributions are corrected and unattributed works are identified. A commentary is included.

Appendix 3 lists details of Irish subscribers to eighteenth-century printed editions of church music, thereby giving an overview of the transmission of printed church music in Ireland.

Appendix 4 lists details from the proctor's accounts of St Patrick's Cathedral that are relevant to the surviving eighteenth-century music library.

Appendix 5 contains an edition of *Praise the Lord, ye servants* by Henry Purcell.

Appendix 6 reproduces extracts from Monck Mason's *The History and Antiquities of the Collegiate and Cathedral Church of St Patrick* that shed light on the musical life of the cathedral.

Appendix 7 contains illustrations of all eighteenth-century copyists' hands and watermarks which appear in the books.

CHAPTER 1

HISTORICAL AND TEXTUAL INVESTIGATION OF THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MUSIC LIBRARY AT ST PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL

1.1 HISTORICAL SKETCH OF ST PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO DISESTABLISHMENT (1870)

Before the building of St Patrick's, the seat of the Archbishop of Dublin was the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity (commonly called Christ Church), a Hiberno-Norse foundation dating from about 1030 that became a Benedictine house during the last quarter of the eleventh century. Lorcán Ua Tuathail was appointed Archbishop of Dublin in 1162 and introduced the Augustinian rule which continued until the Reformation.²⁸

According to tradition, St Patrick's Cathedral was built near the site of a well where, it is believed, St Patrick baptised converts to Christianity in the fifth century. Furthermore, it was thought that there had been a church on the site since that time. However, Howard Clarke strongly implies that St Patrick's visit to Dublin was apocryphal.²⁹ The evidence to support his visit seems to be mere propaganda of the twelfth century and later. Dublin evolved from two settlements in the ninth and tenth centuries, and therefore it would seem unlikely that St Patrick would have proselytised there in the fifth century.

Clarke has established a revised earliest date for a mention of a church of St Patrick as c.1121.³⁰ Lorcán Ua Tuathail's charter for the church of the Holy Trinity mentions one of the witnesses as 'Edanus presbiter de Sancto Patricio'.³¹ A bull of Alexander III dated 20 April 1179 refers to the church as St Patrick's 'in insula' by virtue of the fact that it was built on an island in the River Poddle.³² This unusual and unsuitable site for a church had a considerable impact on the survival of musical and other records in later centuries. Lorcán Ua Tuathail's successor, Archbishop John Cumin, built a palace close to this church

²⁸ Stuart Kinsella, 'From Hiberno-Norse to Anglo-Norman, c.1030–1300' in *Christ Church Cathedral*, ed. Milne, 25–52.

²⁹ Howard Clarke, 'Conversation, Church and Cathedral: The Diocese of Dublin to 1152' in *History of the Catholic Diocese of Dublin*, ed. James Kelly and Dáire Keogh (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000), 19–50.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 21.

³¹ Lawlor, *Fasti*, 1 n. 1.

³² *Ibid.*

outside the city walls,³³ and raised the status of St Patrick's to a collegiate church on 17 March 1192 (St Patrick's day). Cumin's chapter consisted of canons of equal rank, but his successor, Henri de Londres, created the offices of dean, precentor, chancellor and treasurer in the second decade of the thirteenth century.³⁴ It seems likely that de Londres's intention was for St Patrick's to supersede Christ Church as the diocesan cathedral for Dublin, and it comes as no surprise that the chapter of Christ Church resisted all moves in that direction.

St Patrick's lost cathedral status for a short time in the sixteenth century when the chapter surrendered the cathedral to the crown during the reign of Henry VIII, but Philip and Mary restored it in 1555.³⁵ Though Christ Church continued as a place of worship during the Cromwellian Interregnum, St Patrick's was used for secular purposes. Despite these two interruptions, however, St Patrick's fits the mould of an 'old foundation cathedral', whereas Christ Church joined the ranks of the new foundation cathedrals at the Reformation.³⁶ The complex relationship between St Patrick's, Christ Church and the diocese of Dublin over the centuries is well documented elsewhere:³⁷ for the purpose of this study it is sufficient to recall that the final battle was won by Christ Church Cathedral at the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland in 1870. At that time, Christ Church became the sole cathedral for the diocese of Dublin, and St Patrick's was styled a 'National Cathedral' with representatives on the chapter from all dioceses in Ireland. The chapter at St Patrick's maintains its ancient privilege to elect the dean from among its own membership. The relationship between St Patrick's and Christ Church resembles that between Westminster Abbey and St Paul's Cathedral in London.

³³ Cumin had a palace beside Christ Church Cathedral from whence he moved to his new palace at St Patrick's.

³⁴ Curiously, it seems that the office of dean was created several years after those of the other three dignitaries. See Lawlor, *Fasti*, 2–7.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 12.

³⁶ The constitutions of many cathedrals in the British Isles were altered at the Reformation. The constitutions of cathedrals with secular chapters were generally unaffected and these cathedrals (including St Patrick's) are referred to as cathedrals of the 'old foundation'. Cathedrals with monastic chapters needed to be re-founded following the dissolution of the monasteries by Henry VIII: these cathedrals (including Christ Church Cathedral) are referred to as cathedrals of the 'new foundation'.

³⁷ See G. J. Hand, 'The rivalry of the Cathedral Chapters in Medieval Dublin', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquarians of Ireland*, xcii (1962), 193–206; repr. in *Medieval Dublin: The Living City*, ed. H. B. Clarke (Blackrock: Irish Academic Press, 1990), 100–111.

1.2 THE MUSICAL ESTABLISHMENT AT ST PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL UP TO THE EARLY RESTORATION PERIOD

There were vicars choral at St Patrick's from the second decade of the thirteenth century—probably before there was a dean or any other dignitaries.³⁸ Archbishop Talbot founded a college of minor canons or petty canons in 1432. He also provided for six choristers, and this is the first evidence of boys singing at St Patrick's. No music has survived in the cathedral library from earlier than the middle of the eighteenth century, although some of the earliest manuscripts have direct links to the early Restoration period. Accordingly, it was decided to use the Restoration of Charles II in 1660 as a starting point for this study.

27 January 1661 saw a memorable spectacle at St Patrick's. A great procession consisting of the deans, chapters and choirs of both cathedrals, members of the University of Dublin, the Primate Archbishop Bramhall, and twelve bishops-elect, came down the hill from Christ Church Cathedral for a service of consecration of the twelve bishops in St Patrick's. The dean of St Patrick's, William Fuller provided a text for an anthem which was set by Richard Hosier.³⁹ This consecration anthem, *Now that the Lord hath re-advanc'd the crown*, does not appear in the libraries of Christ Church Cathedral or St Patrick's Cathedral, but it is present in Durham Cathedral MS B1.⁴⁰ This Durham book is the earliest post-Restoration manuscript from Dublin to have survived and gives an indication of the repertoire at St Patrick's in the immediate post-Restoration period. Brian Crosby, Ian Spink and Barra Boydell have investigated its provenance and contents.⁴¹ It will be considered below in chapter 3 under Durham Cathedral.

Another significant indication of the Dublin cathedrals' repertoire in the immediate post-Restoration period is an anthem word book that was published in 1662.⁴² This book contains fifty-one mostly unattributed anthems (including *Now that the Lord hath re-*

³⁸ Lawlor, *Fasti*, 34.

³⁹ Fuller was dean of St Patrick's 1660–66; Hosier was dean's vicar 1660–77 (Lawlor, *Fasti*, 47–8, 216). Monck Mason's description of the ceremony is reproduced in appendix 6 below.

⁴⁰ See Boydell, *Music at Christ Church*, 238–51.

⁴¹ Brian Crosby, 'An Early Restoration Liturgical Music Manuscript', *Music & Letters*, lv (1974), 458–64; Ian Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music 1660–1714* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 225–6; Boydell, 'Richard Hosier', 238–51.

⁴² *Anthems to be Sung at the Celebration of Divine Service in the Cathedral Church of the Holy and Undivided Trinity in Dublin* (Dublin, 1662).

advanc'd the crown).⁴³ The only composers who could have set these anthems whilst living in Dublin are Benjamin Rogers, Randall Jewett, Richard Hosier (consecration anthem) and John Holmes. Very few of the anthems in this 1662 word book are present in the surviving books at St Patrick's. In fact, only two can be positively identified: Bull's *Almighty God* and Jewett's *I heard a voice from heaven*.

John Playford's *Introduction to the Skill of Musick* provides some interesting insights into cathedral practice in the early Restoration years.⁴⁴ At morning prayer, the *Venite* 'is begun by one of the Quire, then sung by Sides'.⁴⁵ This implies that the *Venite*, which was not included in service settings by Restoration composers, was sung to chant rather than a polyphonic setting as in Tudor times: indeed, Playford's *Introduction* includes the earliest known examples of Anglican chant. The services of Bevin, Byrd, Gibbons and Tallis are present in the eighteenth-century part books and organ books at St Patrick's, but the omission of the *Venite* establishes that it was chanted—if not entirely left out—in Dublin at that time.

Playford states that the priest sings 'We praise thee, O God' and the choir answers 'We knowledge thee'.⁴⁶ This word underlay is consistent with the first (and oldest) set of part books at St Patrick's which retain the older form of the words of the *Te Deum* rather than the modernised 'We acknowledge thee' which appears in the prayer book of 1662.⁴⁷ This indicates that the manuscripts from this set are copies of older sources that have their origins in pre-Restoration manuscripts. At Holy Communion it is likely that the choir did not remain after the Creed unless there was to be a celebration of the sacrament at which the *Sanctus* and *Gloria* were needed.⁴⁸ The omission of these movements in most of the settings at St Patrick's indicates that practice was similar in Ireland and mainland Britain. In fact, the only two settings of the *Sanctus* in the part books are from Rogers's Service in D and Shenton's Service in E \flat . In the case of alto book C.3.1, the Rogers *Sanctus* has been

⁴³ Barra Boydell describes the contents of this book in 'Richard Hosier', 241–2.

⁴⁴ John Playford, *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (London: W. Godbid, 1674).

⁴⁵ Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 10.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Lbl MS G.518.b:1–18 contains a description of the Gostling manuscripts at York Minster by John Naylor (organist of York Minster 1883–97) in which he makes the same observation: 'The sentence in the *Te Deum* "wee acknowledge" which is everywhere in these books "wee knowledge" should not be overlooked, as it is the version before the last revision [1662] of the prayer book.'

⁴⁸ Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 12.

added later (and very untidily).⁴⁹ Other settings of the *Sanctus* are present in organ books only, and these books are all in a late eighteenth-century hand, that of John Mathews d. 1799. This suggests a change in liturgical practice at St Patrick's in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, when the *Sanctus* may have been used as an introit. Mathews also copied the only setting of the *Gloria* (Thomas Ebdon in C) to survive in books of this period.⁵⁰

At the Restoration, a new printed collection of Anglican church music was made available to cathedrals.⁵¹ John Barnard's original intention had been to publish two books, one containing works by dead composers, and another—which never saw the light of day—containing works by living composers. Although his first book is presumed to have been printed in 1641, it was probably not released until later than this date. It seems likely that John Playford acquired the stock—he sold sets to Canterbury Cathedral and Westminster Abbey. The cathedrals of Gloucester, Hereford, Lichfield, Salisbury and Worcester also bought sets.⁵² There is no evidence that St Patrick's or Christ Church bought Barnard's books, and the relatively small representation of Barnard's repertoire in the word book for Christ Church Cathedral from 1662 suggests that his publication was not purchased by the Dublin cathedrals. Some of the pieces from Barnard's book are included in the eighteenth-century music library, however, and it is likely that Barnard is at least an indirect source for some of this repertoire:

Table 1.1 Repertoire in the eighteenth century music library at St Patrick's to be found in Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick*

COMPOSER	ANTHEM TITLE	SERVICE TITLE
Gibbons	Almighty and everlasting God	
Gibbons	Hosanna to the Son of David	
Gibbons	Lift up your heads	
Tallis		Short Service
Bevin		First Service
Byrd		Short Service
Byrd	Bow thine ear	

⁴⁹ See plate 1.

⁵⁰ Organ book 86, p. 99.

⁵¹ John Barnard, *The First Book of Selected Church Musick consisting of Services and Anthems such as are now Used in the Cathedrall and Collegiat [sic] Churches of this Kingdome* (London: 1641; facs. ed., Farnborough, 1972).

⁵² Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 76.

Plate 1 C.3.1 folio 120r showing the *Sanctus* of Rogers in D added in a later hand

Full

Lord have mercy upon us and write all
these thy laws in our hearts we beseech thee

Sanctus

De Rogers

Sanctus

Sanctus

Table 1.1 cont'd

COMPOSER	ANTHEM TITLE	SERVICE TITLE
Batten	Deliver us, O Lord	
Batten	O praise the Lord, all ye heathen	
Farrant	Call to remembrance	
Farrant	Hide not thou thy face	
Hooper	Behold, it is Christ	

Although the earliest surviving music manuscripts at St Patrick's were copied *c.*1738, much of the music contained in these manuscripts has strong connections with the early Restoration period. The surviving books are replacement copies of older material which is now lost. Consideration of extra-musical conditions at the cathedral will now put this situation in context.

1.3 CONDITION OF THE CATHEDRAL FABRIC AND ITS EFFECT ON MUSIC MANUSCRIPTS 1660–1940

The frequent replacement of books at St Patrick's occurred partly because the cathedral is built over the River Poddle. This unusual situation resulted in regular flooding—the problem arose much earlier than the seventeenth century.⁵³ In 1493, the dean and chapter felt the need to resort to parliament to address the situation 'the Podell [*sic*] river, the water whereof encreased frequently and to great degree, by sudden rains; that the two streams which, of old time, flowed, without any impediment, on either side of St Patrick-street, were then choked up, partly by the inhabitants throwing into it their filth, and partly by tanners making dams and sluices thereon, in so much, that of late years the church and college had been surrounded by water, to its great hurt and damage.' The representations were successful and each inhabitant was required to clean the area around their house or pay a fine of twenty shillings to the proctor of the cathedral.⁵⁴ A similar act of parliament was passed in 1664 as inundations from the river were more frequent and the level of fine in this act was to a maximum of five pounds.⁵⁵

⁵³ The site of St Patrick's Cathedral is most unsuitable for a large building, as it is built on marshy ground. By tradition, St Patrick baptised Christian converts at a well close to this site in the fifth century and this tradition led to the erection of several church buildings before construction of the cathedral in the early thirteenth century.

⁵⁴ Monck Mason, *History*, 141. The proctor was appointed each year by the dean and chapter to manage the cathedral's income and to make salary and other payments.

Monck Mason describes the fabric of the cathedral in the immediate post-Restoration period:

The fabrick of this cathedral having suffered much, from the application thereof to profane uses, during the usurpation, the inhabitants of the city and county of Dublin entered into a voluntary contribution for its repair; by this timely assistance it was, in some degree, prevented from falling entirely into ruin. The address to their fellow citizens, published by certain of the inhabitants, upon this occasion, represents the decayed state to which it was then reduced: 'With doleful regret', say they, 'we look upon the decayed and ruinous state of the ancient, and once most famous and beautiful cathedral church of St. Patrick, occasioned by the sacrilege and neglectful impiety of these latter times'. This age of neglectful impiety did not terminate with that of usurpation, we still behold the tottering fabricks of this, and other edifices, dedicated to the worship of God, whilst palaces are erected, for profane uses, in all parts of our metropolis.

Considerable restoration work in the years 1668–85 brought the building into a tolerable state of repair, the final part of the work being a renewal of furnishings in the choir including galleries. However, the renovations did not have to wait long for further attacks from the elements.⁵⁶ In December 1687 there was a flood which exceeded anything known before. It had rained for two months, and a storm on Saturday 3 December brought things to a head. Some houses in lower parts of the city were filled with water to their first floor, and Essex Street Bridge was washed away. Water rose above the choir stalls in St Patrick's destroying most of the music.⁵⁷ There was another significant flood in 1701 when 'boats plied in the adjoining streets, and much damage was done to the cathedral'.⁵⁸ Water rose five feet in January 1726 following constant rain assisted by melting snow on the nearby Dublin mountains. This flood caused so much damage that it was not possible to hold services for some time.⁵⁹

The cathedral accounts are very fragmentary before 1718 but they are complete from that year and are of great benefit in tracing conditions of the fabric that have a direct effect on the survival of music manuscripts. The proctor's accounts are divided into ordinary payments and extraordinary payments. The ordinary payments contain details of salaries and other regular payments. The extraordinary payments contain items of an exceptional nature, including payments for cathedral repairs and the renewal of the music library. A list

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 195.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 198 n. 'd', 202.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 205.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 217.

of 'extraordinary payments' in the proctor's accounts relating to music purchase and copying is given in appendix 4 below.

In 1725 a payment was made to Henry Land of 'one pound seven shillings for repairing the Books damaged by the flood', and further payments were made in the following year 'for Drying and binding the Register Book' and 'for drying some of the Church Books after the overflowing of the Church.'⁶⁰ It is not clear if any of these are music books, but the term 'church books' is used elsewhere (e.g. Christ Church, Oxford) for choir books. There was a payment in 1736 'for carpenters done in enclosing the organ'. This work may have been necessary to protect the organ from the elements.⁶¹ A payment the following year 'for Timber bought from me to be laid over the Poddle sewer' does not give encouraging signals as to the state of repair of the cathedral and its precincts, and the proctor's accounts for 1741 include a payment for 'Cloaths to cover the Organ during the repairing of the roof of the Cathedral for 6 mths'.⁶²

As will be shown later, the books sustained considerable damage, and their replacement started in the late 1730s. Two payments in the proctor's accounts for the period December 1744 to February 1745 show that the floods were continuing to take their toll: 3 December 1744, £1.13.4 for 'cleaning & drying the Cathedral after the late Flood', and 12 February 1745, £2.17.8 for 'cleaning & drying the Cathedral after the late great Flood which rose up 5 feet 3 inches'. It is not surprising that in February 1745, the dean and chapter of Christ Church gave permission for the dean and chapter of St Patrick's to use Christ Church for Ash Wednesday and other Wednesdays in Lent owing to 'their church being dangerous to assemble in, from the late floods'.⁶³ The Poddle continued to make a nuisance of itself, necessitating work in 1749 to provide 'arching over the Poddle Hole and cleaning the Water Course under the Arch'.⁶⁴

There was ongoing work on the sewer in the 1750s with payments for 'Arching over sewer', 'Labourers work done about the sewer' and 'on acct of dirt carried away from the

⁵⁹ Ibid., 351.

⁶⁰ P.A. 1725, E.P. 10; P.A. 1726 E.P. 18 (RCBL C2.1.10.1).

⁶¹ P.A. 1735, E.P. 50 (RCBL C2.1.10.2).

⁶² P.A. 1741, E.P. 23 (RCBL C2.1.10.2).

⁶³ Grindle, *Irish Cathedral Music*, 38.

⁶⁴ P.A. 1749, E.P. 3 (RCBL C2.1.10.2.).

sewer on the poddle near the watch house'.⁶⁵ Flooding continued, however, with payments 'for drying the Church after the Flood in Dec 1755', 'for drying and cleaning the church after the Floods in July & August 1757', 'for drying the church after the flood in March' and 1759 'for cleaning the church of water'.⁶⁶

There was a series of inundations in the period 1762–4. One bill (see plate 2) refers to carrying out the water after the 'great flood 10th Octr 1762', 'for the labour of 3 men and 5 women in cleaning the Church & carrying out the water after the great flood on the 10th Octr and also for Brooms, Brushes & Sawdust this 20th Octr 1762'.⁶⁷ The books were in danger again only eleven days later, and a bill relating to the flood on that date refers to a payment for 'wading threw the water to save the books'. The water had risen 5 feet in October.⁶⁸ The proctor's accounts 1762 refer to this event 'for the labour of eight men and women employed to carry out the water & mud, & in cleaning the choir Chapter House after a very great flood which suddenly rose on 21st Oct last—Including seven shillings for Brooms, Flannel & drink for the men in the water Novm 20 1762'.

Yet another bill (see plate 3), dated 13 December 1762, contains itemised expenditure including 'to four men for mooving [*sic*] the books' and 'to drink when in the water'. There are similar bills at regular intervals until 1764 and then at less regular intervals thereafter. The bill in respect of the flood on 14 January 1764 (see plate 4) includes ten shillings and ten pence 'to four men Saving the Books'. The accounts for 1770 include two payments to Fergus Gibbons for 'cleaning the church after the Flood', and a payment for a 'Flood gate'. In 1778, the dean and chapter appealed for more assistance after suffering severely from a flood of the Poddle,⁶⁹ but the winter of 1783–4 brought the usual floods and the accounts show payments on 1 December 1783 'cleaning the cathedral after the late flood', 'for cleaning the cathedral after the flood of January 2d 1784' and 'for new binding, cleaning & drying the Musick books which were damaged by the Floods'. A payment 'for writing musick in several of the Choir singing Books for my father William Mathews' is

⁶⁵ P.A. 1754, E.P. 20, 22, 38 (RCBL C2.1.10.2).

⁶⁶ P.A. 1755, E.P. 18 (RCBL C2.1.10.2). P.A. 1757, E.P. 18; P.A. 1758, E.P. 36; P.A. 1759, E.P. 28 (RCBL C2.1.10.3).

⁶⁷ P.A. 1762 (RCBL C2.1.10.3).

⁶⁸ Monck Mason, *History*, 447.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 449.

Plate 2 Bill for carrying out water from St Patrick's Cathedral 10 October 1762 after a flood.

The Bill settled upon enquiry, for carrying
 out y^e water after the great Flood 10th Oct^r 1762
 & cleaning the Church from the mud left behind

To 3 water ^{men} for 2 days teaming out water	9	-	9
at 1-6 each			
— to D ^o sweeping away mud & dirt	3	-	3
— to Tho: Lving one day before that for	1	-	1
taking out Rubbish			
— to 5 women assisting 5 days in	15	-	15
cleaning y ^e Church at 3 each			
— for 4 Brooms	2	-	0
— 2 Brushes	2	-	2
— Sawdust	2	-	2
<u>—</u>			
	1	-	13
			10

The Bills brought in did charge £ 2:14:9

Dec^r 13

To four men for moving of Books	£	
at 2 8 ^h ^{EMPTING} of ^{entrance} of water	50	10 10
To two men in of water at 2 ^h	0	4 0
To one Day for three women in of water at 1 ^h 6 ^h	0	4 6
To five Days for three woman at 1 ^h 1 ^h	0	16 3
To two men ^{BRUSHING} of wall two Days at 1 ^h 6 ^h	0	6 0
To Brooms	0	1 1
To Drinck when in of water	0	1 0
To Fireston	0	0 6
		<u>2 4 2</u>

A Bill for cleaning y^e Church
 after y^e Flood of y^e 14th of Jan^y 1764

To four men Sawing the Books	—	0	10	00
To four men in y ^e water 6 Days	)	2	00	00
at 2 ^d 0 ^d p ^r Day	—			
To three Women 6 Days in y ^e water	)	1	00	00
at 1 ^d 0 ^d p ^r Day	—			
To four woman out of y ^e water	)	2	00	00
seven Days at 1 ^d 0 ^d p ^r Day)			
To two Barrels of Charcole	—	0	00	00
To one Barrel of S ^o Sence y ^e former	)	0	00	00
	—			
		0	02	00
To 100 lbs		0	03	00
To three yards of flanel	—			
To brooms	—	0	01	00
To freestone		0	00	00
To Drink in y ^e water	—	0	04	00
		7	12	00

probably related to this damage.⁷⁰

The flood of 2 January mentioned above is described by Monck Mason as a mountain flood—‘great numbers of houses...were over-flowed so that many lives and much property was lost’—and a similar flood on 10 February caused by a melting of snows on the mountains to the southwest of the city. There is also a payment ‘for raising Doors to the Stalls’ in that year. It is very likely that these doors were intended to prevent damage from floodwater. The poor state of the fabric is obvious from the accounts for the succeeding years, with payments for cleaning after floods in most years. Mason quotes the *Dublin Courant* of 20 November 1787: ‘So great was the flood that there was eight feet of water in the cathedral of St. Patrick.’ The payment in 1787 for ‘taking down stone Arch over Choir & putting up timber one’ does not inspire confidence that the music was safe, especially when one notes a payment the following year for ‘repair to roof over choir’, and in 1792 a payment ‘for shoring up the roof of the Cathedral’. The wall in the nave had departed two feet from the perpendicular. Further representations were made to the government in 1791 and 1795, but the deterioration continued and scaffolding was erected to support the roof of the nave in 1800.⁷¹

The foregoing, together with normal wear and tear, sets the scene for the replacement of the music books at St Patrick’s several times during the eighteenth century. Books which survived into the nineteenth century continued to suffer flood damage until remedial action was taken in the 1880s. Sir Edward Guinness offered to build a new culvert, at a cost of £750, from the cathedral to the high water level in the River Liffey on condition that the cathedral board would construct drains around and through the cathedral to drain water to this new culvert. When this work—which involved closing the cathedral from July to December 1882—started, the cause of the flooding in the previous centuries was discovered. Several springs were discharging water directly under the floor of the cathedral. This discovery made the task of draining the area much more difficult than had been envisaged, as large quantities of mud needed to be removed and about three thousand tons of concrete poured in to provide a new and more secure foundation for the building.⁷² A new tiled floor was laid down at this time, yet, although there has been no flooding since

⁷⁰ P.A. 1784, E.P. 23 (RCBL C2.1.10.4).

⁷¹ Monck Mason, *History*, 455–6, 463.

⁷² Alexander Leeper, *Historical Handbook to the Monuments, Inscriptions, &c. of the National Collegiate*

then, the problem of damp has not disappeared—a section of the floor in the north transept was repaired in 2000 at a cost of IR£50,000, and other areas of the floor continue to suffer from moisture damage.

Although the books were safe from water damage in the twentieth century, they suffered further accidental loss when the decani side of the choir stalls and its music presses were badly damaged by a fire on Good Friday 1940. The organ books fared better than the part books in this fire, as they were stored in the organ loft and thus saved from damage. Accordingly, many pieces survive in the organ books which are no longer to be found in the part books.

Unfortunately, the cathedral board minutes from this period shed little light on how much music was destroyed, and the only pertinent reference is in the board minutes of 29 April 1940 when it was resolved that the cathedral architect, Mr Fred Hicks, write to Messers Crampton (the contactors engaged to restore the fire damage): ‘The Dean is very anxious, as explained to you, that the oak music press damaged by the fire should be taken away as soon as possible and restored, using up any of the oak that is sound.’⁷³ The *Irish Times* records the event the following day, Saturday 23 March 1940: ‘The Dean’s Stall, eight of the Canons’ Stalls, and some old music—part of which is irreplaceable, together with seven banners which hung above the stalls—were completely destroyed.’ Plate 5a includes a photograph of the choir stalls after the fire, published in the *Irish Times* on 23 March 1940 (the damaged music cupboard can be seen in the background), and plate 5b gives the full text of the accompanying report. The charred state of some of the surviving eighteenth-century books verifies that the manuscript collection suffered damage in the fire. In fact, all of the charred items are miscellaneous books that do not form complete sets, and it seems likely that other members of these orphans’ families perished on that fateful Good Friday morning.

The foregoing has outlined the conditions in the cathedral that influenced the survival and renewal of music manuscripts in a general way. Moving to a more specific investigation, the following section gives details of the surviving books, and presents evidence which assists in the dating them and tracing their possible lineage.

and *Cathedral Church of S. Patrick, Dublin* (3rd ed. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis and Co., 1891), 31–2.

⁷³ The cathedral board minutes have not been catalogued.

Plate 5a Report of a fire in the choir of St Patrick's Cathedral from *The Irish Times* 23 March 1940. The charred music cupboard can be seen in the background.

THE IRISH TIMES, SATURDAY, MARCH 23, 1940.

MOUSE SET FIRE TO DUBLIN CATHEDRAL

St. Patrick's
Damaged

NINE STALLS
DESTROYED



EXAMINING the damaged interior of St. Patrick's Cathedral after the

THE IRISH TIMES, SATURDAY, MARCH 23, 1940.

MOUSE SET FIRE TO DUBLIN CATHEDRAL

St. Patrick's Damaged NINE STALLS DESTROYED

A MOUSE was responsible for the destruction of a part of the choir and several banners of the Knights of St. Patrick in a fire at St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, yesterday morning.

The mouse caused a short circuit in the electric wiring system, which apparently fused in the vicinity of the Dean's Stall and started a fire among the other oaken stalls of the Canons of the Cathedral. Later, when the fire had been extinguished, the body of the mouse was found among the wreckage.

The Dean's Stall, eight of the Canons' Stalls, and some old music—part of which is irreplaceable, together with seven banners which hung above the stalls—were completely destroyed. The stone fabric of the cathedral was undamaged, except for a slight crumbling of ornamentation by the Dean's Stall, and a small amount of mortar which was dislodged from the ceiling owing to the heat.

VERGER'S DISCOVERY

Mr. Sydney Taft, a vergger, discovered the fire when he went to enter the cathedral shortly before 9.30 a.m. to prepare for Matins. He attempted to open a small door on the south side—near the choir—but the heavy smoke forced him back. He immediately called the Fire Brigade, and two sections from the Central Station and Rathmines turned out. As it was impossible to enter the smoke-filled cathedral through the side door, a window had to be broken at the west end of the building. Firemen ran their first-aid hoses into the cathedral, and found the stalls on the Docani (south) side of the choir, inwards towards the altar, on fire.

These stalls are only a short distance from the pulpit, which was used by Dean Swift, and on the opposite side to the famous Willis organ.

In a short time the fire was under control, but it was impossible to save most of the stalls or the music, which was stored in a press behind them. Among the banners destroyed was that of Queen Victoria.

As soon as the firemen had left the building a corps of cleaners was mobilised, and by mid-afternoon the cathedral had been completely cleaned up. A few of the Canons' Stalls at the end of the choir nearest the altar were not badly damaged, and it is probable that these will be re-fitted; these stalls, like those which were destroyed, still have the armorial bearings of the Knights of St. Patrick painted on them.

The destroyed banners have hung in the cathedral since about 1870, and there is only one Knight still living whose banner is among those around the walls—the Duke of Connaught.

Dr. G. H. P. Hewson, the cathedral organist, tested the organ later in the morning, and the Dean of St. Patrick's (the Very Rev. David F. R. Wilson) said that it was believed that the organ was unharmed except from the effects of the heat on some of the more delicate stops.

SERVICES TO-MORROW

The Dean cancelled the Services for the day and for to-day, but said that the cathedral would be open for Services as usual on to-morrow, Easter Sunday. It was intended that the Easter music from the "Messiah" should be sung at the Festival Evensong, but owing to the destruction of choir books in the fire some changes may be necessary.

"The Cathedral and Collegiate Church of St. Patrick, Dublin"—the official name for St. Patrick's—is the National Cathedral of the Church of Ireland. It was founded in 1191, and the architectural style is chiefly early English; but its square tower is fourteenth century, and the spire is an eighteenth century addition. Among the interesting monuments within the cathedral is the grave of Dean Swift, and memorials to Duke Schomberg, who fell at the Battle of the Boyne; John Philpott Curran, Turloch O'Carolan, the last of the Irish bards, and Samuel Lover, the novelist and poet. The cathedral suffered from neglect for many years, but it was partially restored with funds provided by Sir Benjamin Lee Guinness, Bart., M.P., in 1865; forty years later his son, Lord Iveagh, K.P., gave funds to complete the work.

The collection of manuscripts in St Patrick's Cathedral library consists of more than one hundred volumes of individual voice parts and organ accompaniments. Although there are references to payments for score books in the proctor's accounts, none has survived.

The manuscripts were copied over a period from about 1738 to the present day, and twenty-eight date before 1800. These early books do not contain music written after 1800 but, as this in itself does not establish conclusively that they were not copied after 1800, further evidence will be presented to establish their eighteenth-century credentials. Most were re-bound in the nineteenth century, and some contain nineteenth-century additions bound with eighteenth-century material. For the sake of completeness, all books containing any eighteenth-century material have been included in this study.

The books can be divided into four groups, and the shelf numbers given in the following table will be used hereafter when referring to specific books and sets. These shelf numbers are from an index or catalogue that has not survived. They have been retained because scholars who examined the books in the past have used them.

Table 1.2

VOLUMES	SET	PART	SHELF NO
Part books	1 (numbered 3 or III and later C.3.1-6)	Alto Decani	C.3.4
		Alto Cantoris	C.3.1
		Tenor Decani	C.3.3
		Tenor Cantoris	C.3.2
		Bass Decani	C.3.6
		Bass Cantoris	C.3.5
Part books	2	Treble Cantoris	A.1.11
		Alto Decani	A.2.21
		Alto Cantoris	A.2.20
		Tenor Decani	A.2.22
		Tenor Cantoris	A.2.25
		Bass Decani	A.2.23
		Bass Cantoris	A.2.24
Part books	Miscellaneous	Treble Book	A.1.7
		Treble Book	A.1.8
		Treble Book	A.10.1

Table 1.2 cont'd

VOLUMES	SET	PART	SHELF NO
Part books	Miscellaneous	Treble Book	A.1.7
		Alto Book	A.10.3
		Tenor Book	A.10.8
Organ books			77
			79
			85
			86
			87
			88
			90
			91
			92
			93

The six books which form the first set of part books (C.3.1–6) are the oldest. Copying of the main text of these books was done *c.*1738. Before considering in detail the evidence establishing this dating, it will be useful to investigate the predecessors of , and speculate on how the repertoire contained in these books may have come to Ireland.

From the Restoration until the early years of the nineteenth century, there were thriving musical establishments at both Christ Church and St Patrick's Cathedrals and their work was closely intertwined. The duties of the organists and singers were such that it was possible to be a member of both choirs (collecting two salaries), and in later times many organists and singers held positions in Trinity College Chapel and the Chapel Royal at Dublin Castle as well as their cathedral posts. The musical personnel of both Dublin cathedrals overlapped, and the attractive salaries resulted in much traffic across the Irish Sea during the post-Restoration period. Some of those who abandoned less lucrative posts in England to come to Dublin brought music with them, keeping the repertoire at the Dublin cathedrals as up to date as their English counterparts—and probably more up to date than in the remoter parts of England and Wales.

One of these nomads, Robert Hodge, was probably the Robert Hodge who was organist of Wells Cathedral 1688–90, was a lay clerk at Durham Cathedral 1691–2, and who left

Durham for 'Hibernia'.⁷⁴ He became the vicar choral of the prebendary of Swords at St Patrick's on 19 April 1693 and organist on 19 October 1694, retaining that post until 15 November 1698 when he was succeeded by Daniel Roseingrave.⁷⁵ He retained his post as vicar choral after Roseingrave's appointment as organist, and brought two choristers to St Patrick's from England on 7 February 1706.⁷⁶

The chapter acts record that on 17 March 1698 Hodge was paid for delivering and transcribing some anthems from England.⁷⁷ A similar reference occurs in the Christ Church accounts for 2 November 1699: 'Five pounds to Mr Hodge for his service in bringing over severall Anthems out of England for the service of this Church.'⁷⁸ It may be that this payment from Christ Church is for the same music.⁷⁹

The following table sets out the music that Hodge brought from England. The names of possible composers suggested by Harry Grindle are given in square brackets:⁸⁰

Table 1.3

NO.	COMPOSER	VERSE ANTHEMS	FULL ANTHEMS	SERVICES
1	Blow	God is our hope and strength (Thanksgiving day)		
2	[Tucker]	God is gone up on high		
3	[Blow]	We will rejoice		
4	[Blow, Child or Purcell]	Sing unto God		
5	[Aldrich, Blow or Purcell]	O give thanks unto the Lord		
6	[Blow]	Turn thee unto me, O Lord		
7	[W. Parsons, Tallis, Whythorne or Tucker]	Wherewith [<i>sic</i>] shall a young man cleanse his way		
8	Blow	I was glad when they said unto me		
9	[Hawkins]	In Jury [<i>sic</i>] is God known		

⁷⁴ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 420.

⁷⁵ Lawlor, *Fasti*, 243, 250.

⁷⁶ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 420.

⁷⁷ C.A. 1678–1713 (RCBL C2.1.3.5–6). C2.1.3.6 is a copy of the earlier parchment C2.1.3.5.

⁷⁸ Boydell, *Music at Christ Church*, 105.

⁷⁹ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 420.

⁸⁰ Grindle, *Irish Cathedral Music*, 32–3.

Table 1.3 cont'd

NO.	COMPOSER	VERSE ANTHEMS	FULL ANTHEMS	SERVICES
10	[Blow]		My God, my Lord, [sic] look upon me	
11	[Blow]		The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble	
12	[Purcell, Tucker or Turner]		O Lord God of host[s]	
13	[Aldrich or Blow]		God is our hope and strength	
14				Aldridge [sic], Blow and Child and Purcell

Items 3 (Blow), 5 (Purcell or Aldrich), 11 (Blow), 12 (Purcell) and 13 (Aldrich) are in the part books at St Patrick's and it is likely that they are descendants of Hodge's work. Although item 8 does not survive in the library at St Patrick's, it is interesting to note that it was written for the opening of the choir of St Paul's Cathedral on 2 December 1697, and its arrival in Ireland just a few months later shows how quickly music travelled between the two islands.⁸¹ Several anthems with the words of item 2 are in the books at St Patrick's. Tucker's setting is not present however, and those which are present were composed too late to have been copied by Hodge. No settings of the words of items 4, 6, 7, 9 and 10 composed before 1697 have survived at St Patrick's. Service settings by Aldrich, Blow and Child appear in the books, but none of Purcell's service music is present, even though it is known that his *Te Deum* in D was performed in St Patrick's at celebrations to mark St Cecilia's day in 1731.⁸²

The pieces imported by Hodge provide the earliest ancestral evidence for the surviving books at St Patrick's. They were copied mainly into the first and earliest set of part books.

On 14 December 1699 it was resolved to pay Hodge's successor Daniel Roseingrave for transcribing the following pieces for use at St Patrick's: Aldrich's Service in G, Byrd's 'Full' service, Farrant's 'High' service and Wise's communion services in E and F.⁸³ The

⁸¹ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 420.

⁸² Boydell, *Calendar*, 48 n. 3.

⁸³ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 421.

chapter acts of Christ Church Cathedral of 15 December 1699 award 'Daniel Roseingrave three pounds as a Gratuity for his writing three services and two Creeds for the use of the Church'.⁸⁴ Shaw comments that 'writing may or may not mean copying as distinct from composing and the works in question may be those for which St Patrick's also paid him in the same month'.⁸⁵ As the descriptions of the music mentioned in both cathedrals is very similar, it is almost certain that it was the same music—the two 'Creeds' referred to in the Christ Church acts being Wise's communion services contained in the first set of part books at St Patrick's.

Unlike the contribution by Hodge mentioned above, all of the music transcribed by Roseingrave is present in the first set of part books, and the route of transmission is clear cut.

The accounts of Christ Church Cathedral in 1698 record a payment of £6.7.6 to 'Mr Rosingrave for writeing [*sic*] the organ books and postage of Anthems'.⁸⁶ The inclusion of an amount for postage indicates the transmission of music across the Irish sea. Unfortunately no details of these anthems are given so it is not possible to make any definite connection with the books at St Patrick's. It is probable, however, that some of the early Restoration repertoire derives from Roseingrave's work at this time, in addition to the services by Aldrich and Wise mentioned above.

The following two extracts from the chapter acts at St Patrick's give details of music copied in the period immediately before the earliest surviving books:

Upon Reading the Certificate of Mr John Woorall, Mr Robt Hodge and Mr John Harris that they Examined and Viewed the Musick Books Written and pricked by Mr Thomas Finnell^[87] for the Service of the said Cathedral Church and that there were 59 Verse Anthems and 24 full Anthems soe [?] finished and Compleated. It was there upon ordered by the aforesaid Deane and Chapter that the aforesaid Woorall, Hodge and Harris make out a list of the said Severall Services and Anthems and present the same to the next chapter.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Boydell, *Music at Christ Church*, 106.

⁸⁵ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 411.

⁸⁶ Boydell, *Music at Christ Church*, 142.

⁸⁷ Finell's role in copying is discussed in chapter 2 below.

⁸⁸ C.A. 1690–1719 (RCBL C2.1.3.7).

Upon Reading the Certificate of Mr John Worrall Mr Robt Hodge and Mr John Harris Vicars of the said Cath church Setting forth that they had Examined and [?] the Books pricked by Mr Thomas Finell and We finde that there are 83 Anthems and 15 Services fayrly written and prick'd.⁸⁹

Both of these extracts indicate eighty-three anthems in the books—about half the number in the first set of part books. However, when the anthems from the first set of part books by later composers such as Croft, Greene, Roseingrave (presumably Ralph) and Boyce are excluded, the total is very close to the eighty-three mentioned in the chapter acts. Therefore, the repertoire of the first set of part books appears to be based on these eighty-three anthems together with subsequent, early eighteenth-century pieces. Similarly, when early eighteenth-century service settings are excluded from the first set of part books, the number of services matches that mentioned in the chapter acts.

1.5 DATING THE SURVIVING EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BOOKS AT ST PATRICK'S

As stated earlier, a parameter of this study is to exclude manuscripts copied after 1800. Consequently, it is necessary to divide the surviving material into pre- and post-1800 groups. The criteria used in this process were:

1. Notes of payments for purchase of paper and music copying in the cathedral accounts.
2. Dates of other marginalia occurring in the manuscripts.
3. Contents of each volume.
4. Handwriting, present construction of the books, and their watermarks.

The present condition of the manuscripts can be misleading. Most have been re-bound at least once, and many have been repaginated to allow for later additions and alterations. The library's collection of manuscript volumes contains books which originated in the cathedral itself and 'Castle Chapel' books. This distinction made part of the task of grouping easy: the new chapel was built and choral services were established at Dublin Castle in 1814.⁹⁰ Therefore this date serves as a useful *terminus ante quem*, ruling out the possibility of the 'Castle Chapel' books being copied before 1800. Notwithstanding this, the repertoire of these books establishes their nineteenth-century vintage. The repertoire of many of the other books at St Patrick's places them firmly in the same period.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ There was a chapel before this date but no regular choral services, as Christ Church Cathedral was the venue for most state occasions during the eighteenth century.

The proctor's accounts throw some light on the gradual renewal and growth of the music library at St Patrick's during the eighteenth century by recording expenditure on music copying and the purchasing of paper. However, the accounts do not give much detailed information and the linking of payments to surviving manuscripts must in some cases be speculative.

During the eighteenth century the names Daniel Roseingrave Sr, John Mason, Samuel Murphy, Ralph Roseingrave, John Sharman, John Walsh, William Taverner and John Mathews appear in the accounts for copying music. Apart from Ralph Roseingrave, William Taverner and John Mathews, the only copyist who received total payment of more than £10 is John Mason, who received £17 sterling in 1738 'writing 25 new anthems in score for the use of the Choir.'⁹¹ As was mentioned above, none of these score books survives in the present collection.

In the case of the Roseingraves, most of the payments are in respect of organ books and will be considered later in this chapter. William Taverner received almost £100 for copying activities, establishing him as the main copyist at the cathedral before the arrival in 1776 of John Mathews—who also received close to £100 in the last quarter of the century.

The earliest complete proctor's accounts to survive at St Patrick's date from 1718 and include a payment of £6 to Charles Taylor for 'writing and pricking two books for the Quire'.⁹² Subsequent payments were also made for the purchase of paper. It is likely that material in the first set of part books, other than that mentioned in the chapter acts as being in Finell's hand, was derived from the books copied by Taylor.

In 1724 a payment of £0.10.10 'for a new anthem' was made to John Phipps, who was in all probability the same John Phipps whose will was proved in Dublin in 1759 and who seems to have been copyist of Ob MS Tenbury 1503.⁹³ It is not clear if the 1724 payment

⁹¹ P.A. 1738, E.P. 44 (RCBL C2.1.10.2). Mason was admitted to a half vicar choralship at St Patrick's on 14 October 1729 and held this post until at least 1783. He was also a member of the choir of Christ Church Cathedral for fifty-one years, and was one of the soloists at the première of *Messiah*.

⁹² Taylor was admitted as a vicar at St Patrick's on 26 October 1692 and held various positions there, and at Christ Church and Armagh cathedrals, until his death in 1743. His name appears as a 'pricker' in the ordinary payments in the proctor's accounts at St Patrick's.

⁹³ P.A. 1724, E.P. 29 (RCBL C2.1.10.1); Robert Shay and Robert Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Musical Sources* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 158.

was for the copying of the anthem or for obtaining it from England. Another payment to an Elenor Lopague ‘for a Book of Manuscript Anthems. Rec’d 27th December 1729’ is equally vague.⁹⁴

Daniel Roseingrave (d. 1727) received a payment of two pounds and six shillings ‘for pricking the new organ books’ in 1721.⁹⁵ Other payments to members of the Roseingrave family for providing music include a payment in 1726 to Daniel Roseingrave of ‘two pds nine shillings and six pence for 33 anthems, six shillings for three services and one pound six shillings and nine pence being the Remainder for Dr Croft’s first and second volume’,⁹⁶ and a payment to Ralph Roseingrave of ‘Two pounds ten shillings allowed [him] by order of Chapter for setting and composing 30 Anthems Nov 15 1736’.⁹⁷ It is not entirely clear if these payments are for the composition of anthems rather than the copying of them. The complex matter of attributing the compositions of the Roseingraves will be discussed in more detail in chapter 3.

The payments above all refer to a generation of books that have not survived, and possible routes of transmission of this material will be considered further in chapter 2.

The oldest part books now in the library (the first set of part books) contain pages spanning a period of more than sixty years, but the main sections of these books were started about 1738. There is a common principal hand—that of Revd William Taverner—with later additions mainly in the hand of John Mathews. Examples of Taverner’s hand are given in appendix 7 below.⁹⁸

Over eighty per cent of the pages in the first set of part books are copied by Taverner, who held several vicar choralships in St Patrick’s from 1725 until 1775.⁹⁹ He had some difficulty in managing his financial affairs, and the dean and chapter of St Patrick’s proposed that he forfeit his salary to discharge his debts. It may be that they decided to award copying duties to Taverner to assist him with his financial problems. In 1741 Dean

⁹⁴ P.A. 1729, E.P. 41 (RCBL C2.1.10.1).

⁹⁵ P.A. 1721, E.P. 17 (RCBL C2.1.10.1).

⁹⁶ The last of these payments is for Croft’s *Musica Sacra*.

⁹⁷ P.A. 1736, E.P. 43 (RCBL C2.1.10.2).

⁹⁸ These examples show that he used two types of ‘d’ throughout his copying career.

⁹⁹ Lawlor, *Fasti*, 229, 243, 245.

Jonathan Swift was outraged when he heard that Taverner and two other vicars had 'presumed to sing and fiddle at a club of fiddlers in Fishamble Street'. Swift ordered the sub-dean to 'punish such vicars as shall ever appear there as songsters, fiddlers, pipers, trumpeters, drummers, drummermajors, or in any sonal quality, according to the flagitious aggravations of their respective disobedience, rebellion, perfidy and ingratitude'.¹⁰⁰

The first mention of William Taverner in the proctor's accounts is in 1736 when he received a payment of £8 'on acct of transcribing the Choir Books.'¹⁰¹ However, the origins of the books in the first set are recorded two years later with two substantial payments to Taverner in 1738 for copying music: £20 sterling and £26 sterling together with a payment of £4.8.0 for 'two Reams of Royal paper for new Musick books to be used in the Choir'.¹⁰² Two reams or forty quires would give 960 sheets, 1,920 folios or 3,840 pages, which would be enough paper for eight books of 480 pages each. Assuming the two missing treble books from the first set of part books were the same size as the surviving alto, tenor and bass books, this purchase of paper corresponds with the amount required for these books. Therefore the genesis of this set of part books can be traced to 1738, but it would be about a century before the books reached their present form and binding with considerable additions and alterations.

Taverner received another £2 the following year. After this initial burst of activity, his name does not appear until 1753 when he received two payments: £11.6.7½ for 'ruling and pricking the Musick books', and £7.2.7 for 'Musick book consisting of 113¾ sheets pricked and ruled...5 sheets ruled'. Another payment gives the quantity of paper bought for £1.10.0: '8 quires of paper delivered to Mr Taverner for the Musick books of the Cathedral'; and the following year payments were made for 'binding four musick books for the use of the Cathedral' and 'for a large Organ book in two bindings'.¹⁰³ There was very little expenditure on music in the following years.

This payment schedule shows that the copying of the main text of the first set of part books took place in 1738 and 1739. Accordingly, the bulk of the copying in this set was completed over a short period rather than gradually. The only evidence of a chronological

¹⁰⁰ Grindle, *Irish Cathedral Music*, 43–4.

¹⁰¹ P.A. 1736, E.P. 42 (RCBL C2.1.10.2).

¹⁰² P.A. 1738, E.P. 20, 27, 38 (RCBL C2.1.10.2).

sequence comes from the later additions in a variety of hands at the end of each volume. If these books had been copied over a long period of time, it is probable that the contents would appear in the same sequence in each. Although the order of pieces is similar in some sections of the books, this type of consistency is generally absent.

The lion's share of the material for copying must have been available when Taverner started work in 1738, and this was chiefly in the hands of Finell, Taylor, Hodge and Daniel Roseingrave. The later payments to Taverner for paper and music are probably for a replacement treble book. The '113 $\frac{3}{4}$ sheets pricked' in 1753 equates the requirement for a replacement book, whilst the '8 quires of paper' suggest some work on the other books also—possibly the bass books which are generally in less good condition than the others in the set.¹⁰⁴

It can thus be proved that the main work on the first set of part books was complete and the pagination inserted before 1755.

A payment made in 1754 for 'binding & gilding 20 Anthem books for the use of the Cathedral' establishes that there were at least twenty anthem books in use at St Patrick's at that time.¹⁰⁵ However, it is possible that some of this binding might have been the rebinding of Croft's *Musica Sacra* (1724) or Greene's *Select Anthems* (1743) rather than manuscript books.¹⁰⁶ If any of the books referred to were manuscripts, none seems to have survived, as the part books from the first set contain both services and anthems and are not strictly speaking 'anthem books'.

The later additions, which are mainly in the hand of John Mathews, necessitated the repagination of the books and resulted in the rather cumbersome pagination in the set. Mathews's contribution to the volumes in the set, illustrated in appendix 7 below, was twofold: he replaced damaged or missing pages, and inserted additional material. The additional material includes adaptations by Revd Robert Shenton of music from services by Byrd, Tallis, Farrant and Gibbons to provide settings of the *Jubilate*.¹⁰⁷ It also includes

¹⁰³ P.A. 1739, E.P. 63; P.A. 1753, E.P. 23, 31, 44; P.A. 1754, E.P. 11, 42 (RCBL C2.1.10.2).

¹⁰⁴ P.A. 1753, E.P. 31, 44 (RCBL C2.1.10.2).

¹⁰⁵ P.A. 1753, E.P. 9 (RCBL C2.1.10.2).

¹⁰⁶ The dean and chapter of St Patrick's were subscribers to both publications, see appendix 3 below.

¹⁰⁷ These adaptations are discussed further in chapter 3 below.

pieces which were not present when the books were originally copied; Blow's *My God, my soul is vexed*; *Be not wroth* (a recomposition of Byrd's *Ne irascaris* by Henry Aldrich); Croft's *Hear my prayer, O Lord* [II], *O Lord God of my salvation* [I], *O Lord I will praise thee*, *Put me not to rebuke*; Handel's *As pants the hart*; Mason's *O Lord how manifold*; Parkinson's *Service in E \flat* ; and Tallis's *I will give thanks*.¹⁰⁸ Other additions by Mathews replace worn or lost pages from the original books.

1776 is a significant date in music copying at St Patrick's as it was in this year that John Mathews, a notoriously prolific copyist, arrived in Dublin having been appointed a half vicar choral to the prebendary of Clonmethan.¹⁰⁹ Mathews was previously a cathedral singer at Winchester, Salisbury and Durham. He was the principal copyist of the second set of part books, the miscellaneous part books and some of the organ books. He died in Dublin in 1799, this date of death confirming the eighteenth-century credentials of all copies in his hand.

There has been some confusion regarding the identities of several persons by the name of Mathews in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. Grindle records that a John Mathews was organist of Cashel Cathedral from *c.*1791 to *c.*1799. The latter date implies that he was the same John Mathews who held posts in Dublin. If so, this would be an example the widespread practice of musicians holding several posts simultaneously. Cashel is situated about a hundred miles from Dublin, which would have necessitated absenteeism from one or other post—not an improbable situation, as the chapter books of both Dublin cathedrals contain numerous references to the absenteeism of their musicians. However, the list of subscribers to Ebdon's *Sacred Music* proves otherwise. Included are both 'Mr John Mathews Vicar Choral of Christ Church and St Patricks Dublin' and 'Mr John Mathews Jun Organist of Cashel'.¹¹⁰ This strongly suggests that the organist of Cashel was the son of the Dublin copyist.

Three manuscripts in the hand of the Dublin John Mathews are held in the Reid Music Library in Edinburgh (see chapter 3 below). They are awaiting a catalogue number, and

¹⁰⁸ This appears to be an adaptation by Henry Aldrich (see section 3.25.2.1 below).

¹⁰⁹ Vicar choralships were regularly shared by two appointees at this time. In primary documents and secondary critical literature, Mathews is often referred to as 'Matthews', but he always used the spelling 'Mathews' when signing the proctor's accounts.

¹¹⁰ Thomas Ebdon, *Sacred Music Composed for the Use of the Choir in Durham*, i (London, 1790).

have been allocated shelf marks D217–19 as a temporary measure. In this thesis, they will be referred to as Edinburgh MSS 1–3. A note on page 15 of MS 2 reads ‘NB. At Cashel in A natural, a 3rd higher’. Further references to transpositions occur in other parts of the book. It seems that Mathews Sr noted these details from his son, or even that the book was held at Cashel for some time. A description of a visit to Cashel by George Holmes in 1797 suggests the use of such material there:

Yesterday after hearing divine service at the cathedral, we prepared for the road. We were highly delighted with the music, the singers are numerous and well chosen, and under the care of the present Archbishop, the choir has risen to a pitch of excellence well befitting a metropolis; the organ is a fine new instrument, and admirably performed on by Mr Mathews.¹¹¹

St Patrick’s MS A.1.8 contains a note to the effect that it was ‘examined by Mr John Mathews and paid for this far Nov 17 1812’ (f. 44Br). This date suggests that John Mathews Jr returned to Dublin after his time as organist in Cashel, was active in music copying, and was the very John Mathews who was appointed organist of St Patrick’s in 1810.¹¹² He is almost certainly the John Mathews who was appointed half vicar of the prebendary of Clonmethan in 1827 and held that post until his death in 1854 at the age of 85.¹¹³ However, these references lie beyond the parameters of this study.

The writings of J. S. Bumpus add to the confusion of identifying the various members of the Mathews family by introducing a James Mathews into the picture—presumably as a misnomer for John Sr:

He [James Mathews] was a meddlesome old person and tampered sadly with many of the fine old manuscript services and anthems. He seems to have been a good specimen of Georgian ignorance. He wore a wig and took snuff in quantities. One can picture him hovering over books in the cathedral music libraries, with his penknife and quill, coolly altering all harmonies he did not like, and putting in turns, shakes and grace notes never dreamt of by the worthy composer. He added a whole second treble part to the Gloria Patri of Walsh’s Jubilate in D, besides disfiguring and tinkering with the composition generally.^[114] Sir Robert Stewart once said to me ‘when I was young and enthusiastic, it cost me much labour to restore “Walsh in D” after old Mathews cooking and I presented an accurate copy to the Rev. J. Clarke Crosthwaite, our Dean’s Vicar at

¹¹¹ Grindle, *Irish Cathedral Music*, 51.

¹¹² Lawlor, *Fasti*, 250.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 234.

¹¹⁴ Mathews is probably responsible for this service’s entering the repertoire in England, as he sent it to Durham in 1777 (Durham MS A18: 99–123). All the other Durham copies of this item are of later date.

Christ Church'.^{115]} This was in 1842, and the gaunt ecclesiastic was much pleased with the young ex-chorister's cleverness and industry.¹¹⁶

Such amendments and 'improvements' were common practice in the eighteenth century however and much of the music which has survived in Dublin may not have done so without Mathews's work.

Frustratingly, payments listed in the proctor's accounts do not refer to specific books. As has been established earlier, however, the 1738 accounts refer to the purchase of paper for the first set of part books and for Taverner's copying of the main texts. Many of the later insertions in this set include marginalia added by John Mathews, indicating dates of copying or dates of payment for copying. These marginalia do not match the references in the proctor's accounts exactly, but it has been possible to link many of them to payments in the proctor's accounts, albeit tentatively. Where possible, these payments have been cross-referenced in the manuscript descriptions which appear below and will be referred to as payments A–J.

The first payment to Mathews appears shortly after his arrival in Ireland: 'for writing Church Musick for my brother Thos Mathews' (payment A).¹¹⁷ There are a few payments to other copyists after this such as 3 November 1777 'for writing Musick Saml Murphy', and payments to one John Sharman to be mentioned below. By 14 July 1777 Mathews had received a payment of £11.8.5½ 'for music written since April 1777' (payment B), and on 8 July 1779 a further payment of £3.4.2½ was made to him 'for music written since July 1778' (payment C).¹¹⁸

Mathews had a fine hand, and his manuscripts are much more elegant than those of his predecessors. This may partly be the reason that he seems to have taken over as sole music copyist from about 1778. The sums paid to Mathews suggest that he was doing a lot of copying—both replacing older books which had deteriorated with general wear and tear and water damage, and introducing new repertoire. The proctor's accounts for the year

¹¹⁵ The second treble part has been cancelled in the TCD MS 4769 copy of this service.

¹¹⁶ Bumpus, 'Irish Church Composers', 122–3.

¹¹⁷ P.A. 1777, E.P. 22 (RCBL C2.1.10.4). Christ Church Cathedral made a payment to 'Mr Thomas Mathews Twenty Guineas for his trouble in making a complete index to all the Musick of the Church' on 12 March 1798. (See Boydell, *Music at Christ Church*, 128.)

¹¹⁸ P.A. 1778, E.P. 10 [payment B]; P.A. 1779, E.P. 1 [payment C] (RCBL C2.1.10.4).

1780 records payments of £16.17.8½ ‘for music written since June 1779’ (payment D), and of £18.7.9½ ‘for music written by the Dean’s order from the month of June 1780 to the month of March 1781’ (payment E). The 1781 accounts include £5.19.9½ ‘for music written by order of the Dean & new music paper put in where it was wanted’ (payment F), and the 1784 accounts include £2.4.5 ‘for writing musick in several of the Choir singing Books’ signed ‘for my father William Mathews’ (payment G).¹¹⁹

Copying activities from 1777 to 1784 provided the main text of the second set of part books and the miscellaneous part books. This initial burst of activity seems to have provided all that was required by way of manuscript music, and most payments in subsequent years relate to the purchase of printed music.

There were no further payments to Mathews for copying (he was also paid for supplying printed music) until 1792, when he received £2.12.6½ for ‘writing Musick Books’ (payment H), and in 1798, when he received £3.13s.6½ ‘for new Paper & writing the necessary parts in the Treble short Choir Books & the loft Anthem Book 17 Nov 1798’ (payment J).¹²⁰ This is for the replacement of worn material rather than new material, and is the only payment for which a detailed bill exists. This bill has survived in two versions, one giving a breakdown of the work done whilst the other is a summary (see plates 6 and 7). Both versions show that the expenditure was for the set 2 treble books (including the now-missing decani book) and the ‘loft’ treble book (A.10.1). The reference in the bill to ‘choir books’ and ‘loft books’ suggests that soloists may have sung from the organ loft or perhaps a separate choir loft.

Most of the insertions in the first set of part books consist of material copied in 1780 and 1781. Payment F refers to insertions in Mathews’s hand as ‘new music paper put in where it was wanted’. However, the size of the payments indicates much more work than Mathews’s contribution to the first set of part books and, in fact, most of these payment are for his work on the second set of part books, some miscellaneous part books, and organ books. Mathews’s additions to the end of each book of set 1 occurred later than his

¹¹⁹ P.A. 1780, E.P. 6 [payment D]; P.A. 1780, E.P. 34 [payment E]; P.A. 1781, E.P. 27 [payment F]; P.A. 1784, E.P. 23 [payment G] (RCBL C2.1.10.3–4). William Mathews died 7 April 1797 (it will be noticed that he predeceased his father) and was buried in the Vicars Bawn—see *The Registers of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials in the Collegiate and Cathedral Church of St Patrick, Dublin*, ed J. H. Bernard and C. H. P. Price (Dublin: Parish Register Society of Dublin: Alex Thom, 1907), 95.

Account of Sacred Music writing work done by John Mathews
 according to Order or direction of the Rev^d Dean of St^t Patrick's Dublin
 since the 15th April 1798 in the Church Anthem Left & Choir Short
 Treble Singing Books. Viz^t.

In the Anthem Left Short Treble Singing Book } L 1 2
 - 87 Pages is 22 Sheets at 13^{/-} Sheet } comes to 1: 3: 5¹/₂
 To Indexes for 3 Anthem Left Treble Book — 2: 1: 1

In the Choir Decani Short Treble Singing Book }
 Services 24 } 58 Pages is 14¹/₂ Sheets at 13^{/-} Sheet } comes to 1: 15: 8¹/₂
 Anthems 34 }
 To Indexes of Services & Full & Verse Anthems for Dec: Short Treble: 2: 2

In the Choir Cantorum Short Treble Singing Book }
 Services 22 } 52 Pages is 13 Sheets at 13^{/-} Sheet } comes to 1: 14: 1
 Anthems 30 }
 To Indexes of Services & Full & Verse Services for Cant: Short Treble ~: 2: 2

To 18 Sheets of Anthem Superfine Imperial Music paper at 6^{/-} 6^{/-} Quire ^{put into the Left Short Treble Book} ~: 4: 10¹/₂

To 32 Sheets of Anthem ^{coarser Imperial} Irish Music paper at 5^{/-} Quire ^{put into the Choir Dec & Can: Short Treble Books} } ~: 6: 8

To best English Royal Music paper & Music writing (10 Pages is Score)
 to compleat One of the Anthems in D^t Boyces printed Score Book } ~: 3: 3
 Viz^t " Give the King thy Judgments" &c

£ 3: 13: 5¹/₂

Plate 7 Payment for music copying at St Patrick's Cathedral 17 November 1798

Musick writing work done on Anthem New Musick paper for repairing the S. Patrick's
Anthem soft short Treble Singing Book. Viz.

From Page 1 To Page 18 Inclusive is 18 Pages
From Page 32 To Page 62 Inclusive - 31 Pages
From Page 75 To Page 80 Inclusive - 6 Pages
From Page 129 To Page 146 Inclusive - 18 Pages
From Page 147 To Page 160 Inclusive - 14 Pages

£ s d

87 Pages is 22 Sheets at 13^{ff} Sheet is 1:3:6¹/₂

To Indexes for S. Anthem soft short Treble Singing Book ~ = 1:1

To Fine Imperial Anthem Musick Paper - 18 Sheets at 6/6^{ff} 4:10^{ff} ~ = 5:8¹/₂

To 4 Sheets of coarse Anthem Music paper at 5/-^{ff} 2^{ff} ~ = 10 s

£ 1:10:4

Musick writing work done on Anthem New Musick paper
for repairing S. Pat: Decani short Treble Choir Singing Book Viz.

Decan voices { From P. 1 To P. 8 Inclusive is 8 }
 { From P. 11 To P. 14 Inclusive is 4 } 24
 { From P. 147 To P. 158 Inclusive is 12 } 58
Decan Anthem { At Page 1 & Page 2 ~ 2 } 34
 { From P. 77 To Page 108 Inclusive 32 }

£ s d

Total 58 Pages is 14¹/₂ Sheets at 13^{ff} Sheet comes to ~ = 15:8¹/₂

To Indexes of Services & Full & Verse Anthems for S. Pat: short Treble Book 2:2

To 15 Sheets of Anthem ^{coarse} Music paper at 5/-^{ff} 2^{ff} for Decan Treble - 3:1¹/₂

£ 1:1:0

Musick writing work done on Anthem Music paper
for repairing S. Pat: Cantoris Choir short Treble Singing Book Viz.

Services { At Page 1 & 2 & Page 7 & 8 ~ 4 Pages }
 { At Page 11, & 12 & 13 & 14 ~ 4 Pages } 22
 { At Page 91 & Page 92 ~ 2 Pages }
 { From Page 147 To Page 158 Inclusive 12 Pages } 52
Anthem { At Page 1 & Page 2 ~ 2 Pages } 30
 { At Page 61 & Page 62 ~ 2 Pages }
 { From Page 73 To Page 98 Inclusive 26 Pages }

£ s d

Total 52 Pages is 13 Sheets at 13^{ff} Sheet comes to ~ = 14:1

To Indexes of Services & Full & Verse Anthems for Cantoris short Treble ~ = 2:2

To 13 Sheets of Anthem ^{coarse} Music paper at 5/-^{ff} 2^{ff} for Cantoris short Treble ~ = 8¹/₂

£ ~:18:11¹/₂

insertions and date from 1789 to 1793.

In 1746 John Church had received £1.18.0 ‘for copying out some Parts, for Musick Books.’¹²¹ When Church was not engaged in this activity, he led a more dangerous life registering a complaint against one of his colleagues, William Lamb (one of the soloists in the première of *Messiah*), who had ‘threatened to beat him in a violent manner in the time of divine service in the church’.¹²² Church was also responsible for the postponement of a performance of *Messiah* in December 1743 as he had ‘Assumed an Authority at all Publick Performances, which he is not entitled unto’, and a number of performers declared that they would not ‘engage or perform in any Society or Concert, where the said John Church is in any way concerned’.¹²³ It is not possible to identify precisely what the 1746 payment refers to, even if the manuscripts in question have survived. It seems likely, however, that Church may be one of the unidentified hands active in the first set of part books.

A certain John Butler received a payment of £1.10.0 in 1772 ‘for writing music in the Treble Books belonging to St Patricks Cathedral’.¹²⁴ This Butler’s work is no longer extant, as no Treble books have survive from earlier than Mathews’s arrival in Dublin in 1776.

The eighteenth-century part books contain some small contributions from unknown eighteenth-century hands and from some post-1800 hands. In most cases these hands are associated with individual pieces only. Illustrations of these hands are given in appendix 7 below: hands which are clearly post-1800 have been generally ignored unless they are identifiable. The indexes to several volumes have been added by George Hewson (1881–1972), who was choir librarian at St Patrick’s in the early years of the twentieth century. Hewson went on to become organist and choirmaster of the cathedral from 1920 to 1960.

¹²⁰ P.A. 1792, E.P. 40 [payment H]; P.A. 1798 E.P 18 [payment J] (RCBL C2.1.10.4).

¹²¹ P.A. 1746, E.P. 42 (RCBL C2.1.10.2).

¹²² Grindle, *Irish Cathedral Music*, 42.

¹²³ Boydell, *Calendar*, 95 n. 3.

¹²⁴ P.A. 1772, E.P. 31 (RCBL C2.1.10.3).

The significant unidentified hands in the first set of part books are:

Unidentified A. A late eighteenth-century hand, which has added verse sections to Bishop's Evening Service in D in the alto books C.3.1 and C.3.4. A similar hand has also contributed to the books at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin.

Unidentified B. This late eighteenth-century hand has appended an alternative verse section to Croft's *God is gone up* in volume C.3.1. Again there is evidence of a similar hand at work in the Christ Church books.

Unidentified C. Creighton's *I will arise* in volumes C.3.1–2 and C.3.5 are the only instances of this untidy hand, which is not represented in the Christ Church books.

Unidentified D. Another untidy hand to be seen only in the parts of the Service in D by Walsh in volumes C.3.1–3 and C.3.5–6. This could be Walsh's own manuscript and it does not occur in C.3.4 (copied by Mathews) or in the Christ Church manuscripts.

Unidentified E. This copyist was responsible for the Service in E, by Hayes in five of the books (C.3.1–4 and C.1.6). The service is in Mathews's hand in C.3.5 so unidentified E must have been earlier than or contemporary with him as Mathews takes over copying from E on the same page in C.3.3 f. 249v. In fact, unidentified E whose work is also present in the Christ Church books may be Thomas Mathews (brother of John Mathews).

Unidentified F. The only examples of this copyist's work in the Dublin cathedral manuscripts are Boyce's *Praise the Lord, ye servants* in C.3.2 and *I have surely built thee an house* in C.3.2 and C.3.5.

Details of further unidentified hands appearing in set 2 and the miscellaneous part books (G, H) and in the organ books (J, K, L, M, N, O) are given below. Unidentified J may be Richard Woodward; unidentified K may be Langrish Doyle; unidentified O may be John Walsh.¹²⁵

¹²⁵ I am grateful to Susan Hemmens for helpful comments and advice with regard to the scribal hands working at Christ Church.

The first set of part books probably acquired their present binding in 1839, when a payment of £21 was made to 'Mr Mullen for binding music books', and their indexes in 1841, when a payment of £5.2.10 was made to 'Grey for Indexing Music Books'.¹²⁶ The index pages contain an 1835 watermark (see appendix 7, watermark *O*).

1.6 DESCRIPTIONS OF THE PART BOOKS

Scholars have used the extant pagination in the books in the past and for this reason it has been retained in the indexes in appendixes 1 and 2. However, this inconsistent pagination is not adequate to provide a detailed description of the construction of the books. For the purposes of the present study, folio numbers have been added to each volume to enable consistent description of each volume. The extant pagination for each volume is given above the foliation in the analytical tables below. Reference in the text of this thesis will generally be made using the folio numbers, as many pages bear repeated page numbers or no number at all. All index hands are nineteenth- or twentieth-century, and have been ignored for present purposes.

Key to the descriptions

A Foliation

1. Roman numerals indicate folios (recta *and* verso) on which there is written material before (and occasionally following) the music proper. Arabic foliation commences with the music proper.
2. It was common eighteenth-century practice to copy from both ends of the book. Accordingly, foliation from the front of the volume is marked **F**, that from the back **B**.

B Pagination

1. Round brackets () indicate extra pages inserted after the original pagination was completed.
2. Square brackets [] indicate pages where the numbers have been torn off, lost or partially obscured when pages have been cut, but which appear to be in sequence with the extant pagination.

¹²⁶ P.A. 1839, E.P. 9; P.A. 1841, E.P. 36 (RCBL C2.1.10.5).

3. A question mark '?' indicates an intact page whose number, if any, cannot be deduced from the surrounding material.
4. An idiosyncrasy of John Mathews's pagination, which is reproduced in full in the following tables, is the occasional appearance of the word 'Letter' e.g. '144 Letter B'.

The pagination/foitation table for each manuscript below is followed by analyses of rastra, copyists, dates and watermarks together with additional information on the contents. All copyists' hands and watermarks are illustrated in appendix 7; full details of the contents of each book are tabulated in appendix 2.

1.6.1 *The First Set of Part Books (C.3.1–6)*

Six books: two alto, two tenor and two bass books; treble books missing

Volume C.3.1: 'Alto Cantoris'

443mm x 276mm x 60mm (cover)

434mm x 272mm x 50mm (pages)

Pagination and foliation:

pp. 1–6	?	[7]	7–16	?	[17 Letter B]	18	18	19	19		
pp. i–v	ff. 1r–3v	4r	4v	5r–10r	10v	11r		11v	12r	12v	13r
20–30	30	31	31–58	[58]	60–94	[94 Letter A]		[94 Letter B]			
13v–18v	19r	19v	20r–34v	35r	35v–52v	53r		53v			
[94 Letter C]	[94 Letter D]	95 Letter A	95 Letter B	95 Letter C	96	95–112					
54r	54v	55r	55v	56r	56v	57r–65v					
[113–133]	134	135	[136]	(136–137)	137–143	[144]	145–190	[191–192]			
66r–76r	76v	77r	77v	78r–78v	79r–82r	82v	83r–105v	106r–106v			
192–193	(193–194)	(194–195)	(195–196)	[196–197]	197–202		(203–204)				
107r–107v	108r–108v	109r–109v	110r–110v	111r–111v	112r–114v		115r–115v				
205–211	[212–216]	217–218	[219, 220]	221	[222–224]	225	[226–228]				
116r–119r	119v–121v	121r–121v	122r, 122v	123r	123v–124v	125r	125v–126v				
229	[230]	231–233	[234]	235	[236]	237	[238]	239–241	[242–244]		
127r	127v	128r–129r	129v	130r	130v	131r	131v	132r–133r	133v–134v		

245	[246]	247	[248]	249	[250–252]	257	[258–260]	253	[254–256]
135r	135v	136r	136v	137r	137v–138v	139r	139v–140v	141r	141v–142v
261	[262–264]	265	[266–268]	269	[270–272]	273	[274]	(?)	
143r	143v–144v	145r	145v–146v	147r	147v–148v	149r	149v	150r	
[275, 276]	277	[278–280]	281	[282–284]	285	[286–288]	289	[290–292]	
151r, 151v	152r	152v–153v	154r	154v–155v	156r	156v–157v	158r	158v–159v	
293	[294–296]	297	[298–300]	301	[302–308]	309	[310–316]	317–320	
160r	160v–161v	162r	162v–163v	164r	164v–167v	169r	168v–171v	172r–173v	
[321–328]	329	[330–332]	333	[334–336]	337	[338–340]	341		
174r–177v	178r	178v–179v	180r	180v–181v	182r	182v–183v	184r		
[342]	343	[344]	345	[346]	347	[348–351]	352–356	(356–357)	357
184v	185r	185v	186r	186v	187r	187v–189r	189v–191v	192r–192v	193r
[358–360]	361	[362–368]	369	[370]	371	[372–374]	(374–375)	[375–420]	
193v–194v	195r	195v–198v	199r	199v	200r	200v–201v	202r–202v	203r–225v	
(420–421)	[421–440]	441	[442]	(?)	[443–446]	(446)	[447–461]	462	
226r–226v	227r–236v	237r	237v	238v	239r–240v	241r	242r–248v	249v	
[463–467]	468	121 [469]	[470]	471–472	(473–478)				
250r–252r	252v	253r	253v	254r–254v	255r–257v				

Music pages all have ten staves except:

Table 1.4

NO. OF STAVES	FOLIO NO.
7	238v
11	4v, 16v, 11v, 54r–v, 55v, 159r–v, 187v, 254v
12	108r–110v, 241r, 255r–257v
14	202r–v

Copyists:

Table 1.5

COPYIST NAME	FOLIO NO
William Taverner	2r–3v, 5r–9v, 12r–18v, 20r–52v, 57r–107v, 112r–149v, 151r–158v (158v top), 160r–186v (186v top), 188r–191v, 193r–201v, 203r–225v, 227r–237v, 239r–240v, 242r–247v, 248r
John Mathews	1r–v, 4v, 10r–11v, 19r–v, 53r–56v, 108r–109v, 150r, 158v (bottom), 159r–v, 186v (bottom), 187r–v, 192r–v, 202r–v, 226r–v, 241r, 254r–v
Unidentified A	Slip of paper glued to bottom of 75v
Unidentified B	238v
Unidentified C	248v
Unidentified D	249v–253v
Unidentified E	255r–256v
Post-1800 hand	Pencilled addition of Sanctus from Rogers Service in D: bottom of 120r

Dates given in manuscript:

Table 1.6

DATE	FOLIO NO.	PAYMENT REF.
'April 1781'	108r–110v	F
'wrote April 1781'	192r–v	F
'March 1780'	202r–v	D
'April 1781'	226r–v	F

Watermarks:

All marks in this book are *A1*, *A2*, *A3* or *B* except ff. 10 and 53–4 which are *C3*. No marks can be seen on ff. 78, 108–110, 150, 192, 226, 241, 251, 253.

Additional indications such as 'Cantoris', 'Decani', and 'Full' appear in Mathews's hand in the sections of the book originally copied by Taverner.

The six surviving volumes from this set are all similar in construction, and the following description can be applied in a general way to the entire set.

This alto cantoris volume (C.3.1) is primarily in the hand of William Taverner, and has subsequent additions in the hand of John Mathews and others. There are numerous alterations, mainly in pencil, in this working volume, and only the most important ones have been noted here. The volume opens with service settings by Tallis, Byrd and Gibbons,

followed by three services by Child (in D, F and G) and services by Rogers, Farrant, Priest, Bishop and Wise. The Creeds and Kyries in E and F minor by Wise appear as addenda in the index, and supplementary ‘chorus’ indications have been added to the music in pencil. Substantial alterations have been made, also in pencil, to the *Gloria* in D by Rogers. Additional markings of ‘Verse’, ‘Cantoris’ and ‘Decani’ have been pencilled in to Aldrich’s Service in A. The *Sanctus* in D by Rogers has been written in (very untidily) after Aldrich’s *Kyrie* in G. The word underlay of Greene’s *I was glad* has been altered, also in pencil. The first section of Greene’s *Blessed be the Lord my strength* has been crossed out. Hall’s *The souls of the righteous* is unattributed but ‘?Croft’ is added in pencil in the index. As the pagination runs 252, 257, 258, 259, 260, 253 (138v, 139r, 139v, 140r, 140v, 141r), it is necessary to turn over pp. 257–60 to get to the end of Locke’s *Lord, teach us to number our days*, and to turn pp. 253–6 to reach the end of Blow’s *And I heard a great voice*. The end of the attribution to Roseingrave’s *Rejoice in the Lord* has been cut off. The attribution of *Hear my prayer* to Weldon has been cancelled in the manuscript and replaced by Carter. Croft’s anthem *O Lord, grant the king a long life* is misattributed to ‘Rosingrave’ in the index. The words of Greene’s *I will sing of thy power* are altered in pencil.

See appendix 2, table 1

C.3.2: ‘Tenor Cantoris’

443mm x 276mm x 60mm (cover)

434mm x 272mm x 50mm (pages)

Pagination and foliation:

pp.	3–7	[8]	9–50	52	52–54	(?, ?)	55–102	(102–103)		
pp.	i–vi	ff.	1r–3r	3v	4r–24v	25r	25v–26v	27r–27v	28r–51v	52r–52v
103–114	(114 Letter A–Letter C, 115 Letter A–Letter D, 116)					116	116–120			
53r–58v	59r–60r,		60v–62r,		62v	63r	63v–65v			
(120, 121 Letter A–Letter C)			122 Letter A–Letter B		123–152	(?, ?)	153–181			
66r–67v			68r–68v		69r–83v	84r, 84v	85r–99r			
?	183–189	189–194	196–219	[220]	221–228	(228–229)	229–252			
99v	100r–103r	103v–106r	106v–118r	118v	119r–122v	123r–123v	124r–135v			

252–253	(253–254)	(254–255)	255–294	[295–296]	297–314	[315, 316]	
136r–136v	137r–137v	138r–138v	139r–158v	159r–159v	160r–168v	169r–169v	
(316–317)	317–331	333–438	(?)	439–465	[466]	467–472	[473]
170r–170v	171r–178r	179r–231v	232r	233r–246r	246v	247r–249v	250r
474	[475–476]	477–479	[480]	481–490	(491–501)	(?)	(511–514)
250v	251r–251v	252r–253r	253v	254r–258v	259r–264r	264v	265r–266v

Music pages all have ten staves except:

Table 1.7

NO. OF STAVES	FOLIO NO.
2	84r–v
11	27r–v, 59v–61v, 66r–67v, 69r–v, 170r
12	62r, 137r–138v, 170v
14	264–v

Copyists:

Table 1.8

COPYIST NAME	FOLIO NO
William Taverner	1r–26v, 28r–51v, 53r–58v, 63r–65v, 68r–83r, 85r–118r, 119r–122r, 124r–136r, 139r–168r, 171r–231r, 233r–246r
John Mathews	27r–v, 52r, 59r–62v, 66r–67v, 84r–v, 123r–v, 137r–138v, 168v–170v, 232r, 251v, 255v–263v, 265r–266r
Unidentified C	118v
Unidentified D	246v–251r (There are alterations in an unidentified post-1800 hand, perhaps that of George Hewson) in this section.)
Unidentified E	252r–255r
Unidentified F	264r–v
Post-1800	206r last two staves

Dates given in manuscript:

Table 1.9

DATE	FOLIO NO.	PAYMENT REF
'wrote April 1781'	123r –v	F
'wrote April 1781'	137r–138v	F
'April 1781'	170r–v	F
'March 1789'	259r	H?
'N.B. paid for so far 27th March 1793'	263v	H

Watermarks:

The marks in this book are *A1* or *B* except f. 27 which is *C3*, ff. 59, 61 and 66 which are *C4*, and ff. 60, 62 and 67 which are *D2*; ff. 123, 137–138, 170 and 232 have no marks.

Additional indications such as ‘Cantoris’, ‘Decani’, and ‘Full’ appear in Mathews’s hand in the sections of the book originally copied by Taverner.

See appendix 2, table 2

C.3.3: ‘Tenor Decani’

445mm x 277mm x 63mm (cover)

431mm x 266mm x 52mm (pages)

Pagination and foliation:

	pp. 1–3	?	5	?	7–58	?	?	59–83	?	85–102	102	
pp.	i–vi	ff. 1r–2r	2v	3r	3v	4r–29v	30r	30v	31r–43r	43v	44r–52v	53r
	?	103–124	[125]	126–131	[132]	133–134	[134 Letter A]	?	?	?		
	53v	54r–64v	65r	65v–68r	68v	69r–69v	70r		70v	71r	71v	
	[135 Letter A]	?	136	136–150	?	?	150 Letter C	?	151–167	[168]		
	72r		72v	73r	73v–80v	81r	81v	82r	82v	82r–90r	90v	
	169–186	[187–188]	189	?	191–194	[195–196]	197–215	[216]				
	91r–99v	100r–100v	101r	101v	102r–103v	104r–104v	105r–114r	114v				
	217	[218]	219	[220–224]	225–227	[228]	229–231	[232]	233	[234]		
	115r	115v	16r	116v–118v	119r–120r	120v	121r–122r	122v	123r	123v		
	235–237	[238–240]	241–244	(244–245)	245–246	[247–248]	249–250					
	124r–125r	125v–126v	127r–128v	129r–129v	130r–130v	131r–131v	132r–132v					
	[251–252]	253–255	[256]	257–262	[263–264]	265–266	[267]					
	133r–133v	134r–135r	135v	136r–138v	139r–139v	140r–140v	141r					
	268	(269–270)	271–275	[276]	277–279	[280–288]	289–294	[295–297]				
	141v	142r–142v	143r–145r	145v	145r–147r	147v–151v	152r–154v	155r–157r				
	298–299	[300]	301–302	[303–305]	306–320	[320]	322	322–323				
	157v–158r	158v	159r–159v	160r–161r	161v–168v	169r	169v	170r–170v				

(323, 324) (324, 325)	325–326	[327–328]	329–332	[333–336]	337–341				
171r–171v 172r–172v	173r–173v	174r–174v	175r–176r	177r–178v	179r–181r				
[342–344]	345–346	[347–348]	349–352	[353–360]	361–432 (?)				
181v–182v	183r–183v	184r–184v	185–186v	187r–190v	191–226v 227r				
433–460	[461–467]	?	[479]	474	?	476	?	478	?
228r–241v	242r–245r	245v	246r	246v	247r	247v	248r	248v	249r
480–496	(497–508)								
249v–257v	258r–263v								

Music pages all have ten staves except:

Table 1.10

NO. OF STAVES	FOLIO NO.
11	30r–v, 53r–v, 70r–72v, 81r–82v, 129v
12	142r–v, 171r–172v

Copyists:

Table 1.11

COPYIST NAME	FOLIO NO
William Taverner	2r–29v, 31r–52v, 54r–69v, 73r–80v, 82r–116r, 117r–128v, 130r–141v, 143r–169v, 173r–241v
John Mathews	1r–v, 26r (last system), 30r–v, 53r–v, 70r–72v, 81r–82v, 116v, 129r–v, 142r–v, 170r–172v, 227r, 249v (bottom)–263r
Unidentified D	242v–245v
Unidentified E	246r–249v (top)

Dates given in manuscript:

Table 1.12

DATE	FOLIO NO.	PAYMENT REF
'March 1781'	129r–v	E
'April 1781'	171r	F
'March 1789'	249r	H?
'N.B. paid thus far 27 th March 1793'	263r	H

Watermarks:

The marks in this book are *A1* or *B* with the following exceptions: ff. 1, 53, 71–72, and 81 which are *A4*; and ff. 30, 70 and 82 which are *C3*. No marks are visible on ff. 129 and 142.

Additional indications such as ‘Cantoris’, ‘Decani’, and ‘Full’ appear in Mathews’s hand in the sections of the book originally copied by Taverner. There are frequent additions and alterations throughout the book. Part of the index has been cut off. *My song shall be always* (Purcell?) appears in the index crossed out, but no page number is given and there is no music in the book. *I heard a voice from heaven* is noted in the index as a verse anthem without page number or attribution, but is not present in the book. This is a reference to the anthem by Randall Jewett which is present in C.3.5–6.

See appendix 2, table 3

C.3.4: ‘Contra Tenor Decani’

444mm x 278mm x 60mm (cover)

427mm x 272mm x 52mm (pages)

Pagination and foliation:

pp. 1–6	(7–8)	9–18	(19–22)	23–32	(33–34)	35–82	85–104	
pp. i–vi	ff. 1r–3v	4r–4v	5r–9v	10r–11v	12r–16v	17r–17v	18r–41v	42r–51v
(105–112)	113–130	130	131	131–224	(?, ?)	225–228	(?)	(?)
52r–55v	56r–64v	65r	65v	66r–112v	113r, 113v	114r–115v	116r	117r
229–290	(291)	291–364	(365–370)	371–374	(375–376)	377–386	(387–388)	
118r–148v	149r	150r–186v	187r–189v	190r–191v	192r–192v	193r–197v	198r–198v	
389–406	(407–408)	409–476	477–510	(511–512)	513–514	(515–523)	(2)	
199r–207v	208r–208v	209r–242v	243r–259v	260r–260v	261r–261v	262r–266r	266v	

Music pages all have ten staves except:

Table 1.13

NO. OF STAVES	FOLIO NO.
6	260r–v
11	11r, 17r, 52r, 53r, 54r, 198r–v
12	10r, 52v, 53v, 54v, 55v, 187r–189v, 192r–v, 262r–265v
13	11v
14	208r–v

Copyists:

Table 1.14

COPYIST NAME	FOLIO NO
William Taverner	1r–3v, 5r–9v, 12r–16v, 18r–51v, 56r–115v, 118r (top), 120r–148v, 150r–186v, 190r–191v, 193r–197v, 199r–207v, 209r–242v, 244r–v
John Mathews	4r–v, 10r–11v, 17r–v, 52r–55v, 113r, 118r (bottom)–119v, 149r, 187r–189v, 192r–v, 198r–v, 208r–v, 236r–237r (top stave only which replaces material obscured when the pages were cut), 243r–v, 245r–261v, 264r–266v
Unidentified A	116r, 117r
Unidentified E	262r–263v

Dates given in manuscript:

Table 1.15

DATE	FOLIO NO.	PAYMENT REF
'Jan[uar]y 1777'	118r	A
'March 1789'	245r	H?
'March 1789'	266r	H?

Watermarks:

All pages contain marks *A1*, *A2*, *A3* or *B* except ff. 55 which is *C2*, ff. 4, 10 and 53 which are *C4*, and 11, 17, 52 and 54 which are *D2*. There are no marks visible in ff. 187–189, 192, 198, 264–266.

Additional indications such as 'Cantoris', 'Decani', and 'Full' appear in Mathews's hand in the sections of the book originally copied by Taverner.

This volume has been totally repaginated, but it not clear when this was done; ff. 243–59 are slightly narrower than the others.

See appendix 2, table 4

Pagination and foliation:

pp.	1-48	(49-50)	51-86	(87-88)	89-100	(?)	101-104	(?, ?)		
pp.	i-vi	ff.	1r-24v	25r-25v	26r-43v	44r-44v	45r-50v	51r	52r-43v	54r-54v
	105-106	(?)	107-178	(?)	179-180	(162)	181-194	(195-200)	201-244	
	55r-55v	56r	57r-91v	92r	93r-93v	94r	95r-101v	102r-104v	105r-126v	
	(245-246)	247-266	(267-270)	271-406	(?)	407-451	450-468	(469-470)		
	127r-127v	128r-137v	138r-39v	140r-207v	208r	209r-231r	231v-24v	241r-241v		
	471-492	(493-506)	(?, ?)							
	242r-252v	253r-259v	260r-260v							

Music pages all have ten staves except:

Table 1.16

NO. OF STAVES	FOLIO NO.
1	56r
6	92r
11	28r-33v, 36r-37v, 43r-45v, 48r-49r, 103r-104v, 138r, 139v, 242v
12	138v-139r, 241r-v
14	260r

Copyists:

Table 1.17

COPYIST NAME	FOLIO NO.
William Taverner	2r-24v, 26r-27v, 34r-35v, 38r-42v, 46r-47v, 50r-v, 52r-53v, 55r-v, 57r-64r, 64v-91v, 93r-v, 95r-101v, 105r-126v, 128r-133r, 134r-137v, 140r-147v, 149r-207v, 209r-235r
John Mathews	1r-v, 25r-v, 28r-33v, 36r-37v, 43r-45v, 48r-49v, 51r, 54r, 56r, 64r (bottom), 92r, 94r, 102r-104v, 127r-v, 138r-139v, 148r-v, 208r, 241r-259v
Unidentified C	133v
Unidentified D	235v-240r
Unidentified F	260r

Dates given in manuscript:

Table 1.18

DATE	FOLIO NO.	PAYMENT REF.
'Wrote April 1781'	102r-v	F
'N.B. original musick wrote April 1781'	127r	F
'April 1781'	127v	F
'Wrote April 1781'	138r	F
'Wrote Feb[ruary] 1781'	148r	E
'Newly written & paid for in March 1793'	241v	H
'March 1789'	255r	H?
'N.B. paid thus far 27 March 1793'	238r	H

Watermarks:

The marks in this book are *A1* and *B* with the exception of f. 252 which is *A3*; ff. 29, 32, 37 and 44 which are *C2*; ff. 49, 148 and 249–250 which are *C3*; f. 255 which could be *D1* or *D2*; ff. 25, 30 and 36, which are *D2*; and ff. 28 and 45 which are *E1*. No marks are visible on ff. 102–104, 127, 138–139, 234, 237, 241–243, 253–254 and 256–259.

Additional indications such as 'Cantoris', 'Decani', and 'Full' appear in Mathews's hand in the sections of the book originally copied by Taverner.

This book has been totally repaginated though it is not clear when. The substantial contribution from Mathews suggests that it had fallen onto disrepair and that many of the pages are replacements for lost originals.

See appendix 2, table 5

Pagination and foliation:

	pp. 1-9	[10]	11-12	[13-14]	15-17	[18]	19-20	[21-26]
pp. i-vi	ff. 1r-5r	5v	6r-6v	7r-7v	8r-9r	9v	10r-10v	11r-13v
27-36	(?, ?)	37-64	(64, 65)	65-80	(80-81)	81-94		
14r-18v	19r-19v	20r-33v	34r-34v	35r-42v	43r-43v	44r-50v		
(94 Letter A,	94 Letter B,	94 Letter C,	94 Letter D)			95-108		
51r,	51v,	52r,	52v			53r-59v		
(108,	108 Letter B,	108 Letter C,	108 Letter D,	109 Letter A,	109 Letter B,	109 Letter C,	110)	
60r,	60v,	61r,	61v,	62r,	62v,	63r,	63v	
110	110-129	[130]	131-132	132	[134-138]	138-139	[139-140]	140-141
64r	64v-74r	74v	75r-75v	76r	76v-78v	79r-79v	80r-80v	81r-81v
[141]	142-146	[147-149]	150-161	?	?	[164]	165-168	[169-170]
82r	82v-84v	85r-86v	86v-92r	92v	93r	93v	94r-95v	96r-96v
171-177	[178]	179-180	[181-182]	183-222	222-223	(223-224)		
97r-100r	100v	101r-101v	102r-102v	103r-122v	123r-123v	124r-124v		
(224-225)	225-273	[274]	275	[276]	277-281	[282-286]	287-294	
125r-125v	126r-150r	150v	151r	51v	152r-154r	154v-156v	157r-160v	
[295-296]	297-304	[305-306]	307-320	[321-322]	323-339	[340-342]		
161r-161v	162r-165r	166r-166v	167r-173v	174r-174v	175r-183r	183v-184v		
(?)	343-344	[345]	346-348	[349-350]	351-352	[353]	354	
185r	186r-186v	187r	187v-188v	189r-189v	190r-190v	191r	191v	
[355-356]	357-361	[362]	363-364	[365-366]	367-371	[372]	(372-373)	
192r-192v	193r-195r	195v	196r-196v	197r-197v	198r-200r	200v	201r-201v	
373-385	[386]	387-404	(404-405)	405-424	(424-425)	[425]	426-427	
202r-208r	208v	209r-217v	218r-218v	219r-228v	229r-229v	230r	230v-231r	

[428]	429–452	[453]	454–474	[475–476]	477–483	485	485–503
231v	232r–243v	244r	244v–254v	255r–255v	256r–259r	259v	260r–269r
?	505–516	(517–520)	521–522	(523–524)			
269v	270r–275v	276r–277v	278r–272v	279r–279v			

Music pages are all have ten staves except:

Table 1.19

NO. OF STAVES	FOLIO NO.
4	19r–v
11	43r–v, 51r–52v, 62v–63r, 76r–80v, 124r, 123v, 269v
12	124v–125r, 201r–v, 218r–v, 229r–v, 276r–277v

Copyists:

Table 1.20

COPYIST NAME	FOLIO NO
William Taverner	1r–18v, 20r–33r, 35r–42v, 44r–50v, 53r–59v, 64r–75v, 82r–123r (top), 126r–135v (top), 136r–169v, 171r–184v, 186r–199v, 202r–217v, 219r–228v, 230r–257v
John Mathews	19r–v, 34r–v, 43r–v, 51r–52v, 60r–63v, 76r–140v, 123r (bottom)–125v, 135r–v (bottom), 170r–v, 185r, 199v–201v, 218r–v, 229r–v, 262v, 266r–279v
Unidentified D	257r–262r
Unidentified E	263r–265v

Dates given in manuscript:

Table 1.21

DATE	FOLIO NO.	PAYMENT REF.
'written Feb[ruary]: 1781'	201r	E
'March 1789'	279r	H?

Watermarks:

Table 1.22

MARK	FOLIO
<i>A1 or B</i>	1–42, 44–50, 53–9, 64–76, 78, 80–123, 126–84, 186–200, 202–17, 219–28, 230–74
<i>C2</i>	43, 51
<i>C3</i>	77, 79, 275
<i>C4</i>	62–3
<i>D1</i>	61
<i>D2</i>	52, 60
Unclear	124–5, 185, 201, 218, 229, 276–9

Additional indications such as ‘Cantoris’, ‘Decani’, and ‘Full’ appear in Mathews’s hand in the sections of the book originally copied by Taverner.

See appendix 2, table 6

1.6.2 *The Second Set of Part Books* (A.1.11, A.2.20–25)

Seven books: one treble, two alto, two tenor and two bass books; treble decani missing

Unlike the first set of part books, the main parts of which were copied quickly and were spasmodically added to, the second set of part books and the miscellaneous part books were compiled gradually between 1776 and 1799. The chief copyist of these books was John Mathews. The present binding has altered the original order of the pages. Copyists’ notes with regard to payments, matched to the proctor’s accounts, give the most tangible information about the dating of these books.

A payment of £1.10.2½ was made in 1776 to John Sharman ‘for writing out Choruses from the messiah’, and £0.19.4 ‘for Music writing for the Church’ in 1778.¹²⁷ Sharman does not appear in the cathedral records as being a member of the choir. A few of the choruses from *Messiah* which are included in set 2 are not in the hand of the main copyist John Mathews, and may be in the hand of Sharman. As there is no other evidence that Sharman made these copies, this hand will be referred to as unidentified G below.

Mathews’s work survives in many places outside St Patrick’s. He was the principal copyist at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and his

¹²⁷ P.A. 1776, E.P. 2; P.A. 1778, E.P. 2 (RCBL C2.1.10.5).

Music pages all have ten staves except:

Table 1.23

NO. OF STAVES	FOLIO NO.
11	93Fr, 103Fr–104Fv 1Br–v, 4Br–v, 8Br–9Bv
12	98Fr, 7Br
14	75Fr–v, 82Fr–83Fv

Copyists:

Table 1.24

COPYIST NAME	FOLIO NO
John Mathews	1Fr–97Fv, 99Fr–102Fr, 103Fr–104Fv, 105Fv (bottom), 1Br–14Bv
Unidentified G	102Fr, 105Fr–v
Post-1800 hands	98Fr, 106Fr–107Fr, 15Br–16Br

Dates given in manuscript:

Table 1.25

DATE	FOLIO NO.	PAYMENT REF.
'1798 April May'	1Fr–2Fv,	J
'N.B. paid thus far April 1777'	12Fr	?A
'paid so far July 1778'	15Fr	B
'1798 April May'	41Fr	
'April May 1798'	69Fr–73Fr	
'paid thus far on the 8 th July 1779'	79Fv	C
'May June 1798'	84Fr–94Fv	
'June 1798'	95Fr–97Fr	
'June 1798'	99Fv–100Fv	
'P[ai]d so far July 1778'	102Fr	B
'Paid thus far April 1777'	6Br	A
'Paid thus far June 1786'	7Br	
'1798'	8Br	

Watermarks:

The marks in this book are faint and run into the binding. It is therefore impossible to identify them with any degree of certainty, but they may be mark *D1*. These partial marks are visible on ff. 5F, 8F, 24F, 27F, 29F–34F, 37F, 50F–51F, 57F, 60F, 64F, 66–67F, 73F, 77F, 85F, 86F, 89F–90F, 97F, 2B–3B, 10F–11B, 13B–14B.

Mark *O* is present in ff. 15B–17B and mark *N* is present in ff. 106F–17F and 18B–20B.

These nineteenth-century marks indicate that these pages were inserted at the time of binding in the 1830s.

Notes written at the top of several pages have been cut off, and it is likely that further details of payment dates have been lost as a result of these cuts. An alternative pagination is given in pencil. The titles are written at the top of each page in brown ink. The front pagination starts at p. 11: it would appear that earlier pages are lost.

See appendix 2, table 7

A.2.20: 'Alto Cantoris'

361mm x 255mm x 42mm (cover)

342mm x 247mm x 31mm (pages)

Pagination and foliation:

Front

	pp.	1-37	?	37	36-112	(113F-114)
pp.	i-iiF	ff.	1Fr-19Fr	19Fv	20Fr	20Fv-57Fv
						58Fr-58Fv

Back

	pp.	1-154	(155-160)
pp.	i-ivF	ff.	1Br-77Bv
			78Br-80Bv

Music pages all have ten staves except:

Table 1.26

NO. OF STAVES	FOLIO NO.
11	12Fr-13Fv, 21Fr-v, 24Fr-v, 27Fr-v, 36Fr, 39Fr-v, 40Fv, 41Fv-42Fv, 45Fr-40Fr, 48Fr-v, 55Fr-56Fv, 49Br, 62Br-63Bv, 66Bv, 70Br-72Br, 73Br, 74Br-77Bv
12	65Bv-66Br
15	58Fr-v, 78Bv-80Bv

Copyists:

Table 1.27

COPYIST NAME	FOLIO NO
John Mathews	1Fr-30Fv, 32Fr (bottom)-58Fv, 1Br-80Bv
Unidentified G	31Fr-32Fr (top)
Post-1800 hands	13Fr (portion with Anglican chant), 32Br

Dates given in manuscript:

Table 1.28

DATE	FOLIO NO.	PAYMENT REF.
'paid so far April 1777'	16Fv	A
'paid so far July 1778'	28Fv	B
'paid thus far on the 8 th July 1779'	35Fr	C
'paid 30/0/0' added later in pencil	57Fr	
'paid October 1780'	57Fv	E
'paid so far April 1777'	14Br	A
'paid so far July 1778'	18Br	B
'paid Oct 1780'	72Bv	E
'paid thus far' [no date]	77Bv	

Watermarks:

The marks in this book are faint and run into the binding. It is therefore impossible to identify them with any degree of certainty, but they may be mark *DI*. These partial marks are visible on ff 12F–13F, 16F, 22F–23F, 25F–26F, 28F, 35F–38F, 40F–41F, 46F–48F, 50F–51F, 54F, 57F, 12B–13B, 15B, 18B–22B, 24B, 31B, 33B, 38B–48B, 50B, 53B, 55B, 57B, 59B–60B, 64B–66B, 68B–71B, 74B–77B.

The mark at 19F is clearer and is mark *F*.

See appendix 2, table 8

A.2.21: 'Alto Decani'

359mm x 257mm x 41mm (cover)

344mm x 248mm x 29mm (pages)

Pagination & foliation:

Front

pp. 1–36 (36) (?) 37–92 (93–94)

pp. i–ivF ff. 1Fr–18Fv 19Fr 19Fv 20Fr–47Fv 48Fr–v

Back

pp. 1–8 8 9 9–164 (165–170)

pp. i–iiB ff. 1Br–4Bv 5Br 5Bv 6Br–83Bv 84Br–86Bv

Music pages all have ten staves except:

Table 1.29

NO. OF STAVES	FOLIO NO.
3	19Fr
11	4Fr–5Fv, 7Fr–8Fv, 12Fv, 17Fr–18Fv, 23Fr–v, 25Fr–27Fv, 40Fr–v, 42Fv, 43Fv, 69Bv, 78Br, 79Bv–81Br, 82Br–v
12	11Fv–12Fr, 47Fr–v
15	48Fr–v, 84Br–86Bv

Copyists:

Table 1.30

COPYIST NAME	FOLIO NO.
John Mathews	1Fr–23Fv, 25Fr–27F, 28F (bottom)–48Fv, 1Br–86Bv
Unidentified G	24Fr–v, 28Fr (top)

Dates given in manuscript:

Table 1.31

DATE	FOLIO NO.	PAYMENT REF.
'N.B. this was written in Feb[rua]ry 1781'	7Fr–8Fv	E
'Feb[rua]ry 1781'	17Fr	E
'written in Feb[rua]ry 1781'	17Fv–18Fv	E
'pd so far July 1778'	22Fv	B
'N.B. this was written in Feb[rua]ry 1781'	23Fr–v	E
'paid thus far on the 8 th July 1779'	31Fr	C
'wrote in April 1781'	40Fv	F
'N.B. paid so far Oct[obe]r 1780'	47Fr	D
'this page was written in Feb[rua]ry 1781'	47Fv	E
'paid thus far in April 1777'	20Br	A
'paid so far July 1778'	23Bv	B
'paid October 1780'	83Br	D

Watermarks:

The marks in this book are faint and run into the binding making it impossible to identify them. These partial marks are visible on ff. 1F, 4F–5F, 7F–8F, 12F–13F, 17F–19F, 28F–29F, 32F, 36F–40F, 42F–45F, 10B, 13B–14B, 27B, 31B–34B, 37B–38B, 43B–49B, 51B–52B, 54B–59B, 61B, 63B, 68B–73B, 76B, 83B.

Folio 19F is clearer and contains Mark G (part of mark only).

As Mathews continues the work of unidentified G at f. 25Fr, his work must be later. This corroborates the conjecture that unidentified G was Sharman. The end of G's work can be seen on f. 28Fr so ff. 25F–7F are a later insertion. At least some of the eleven-stave folios seem also to be later insertions.

See appendix 2, table 9

A.2.22: 'Tenor Decani'

367mm x 255mm x 44mm (cover)

343mm x 251mm x 34mm (pages)

Pagination and foliation:

Front

pp. 1–94F (95) (96/173)

pp. i–ivF ff. 1Fr–47Fv 48Fr 48Fv/89Br

Back

pp. 1–6 (6–7) 7–8 8½ 9 10 10 11–166 (167–173/96)

pp. i–iiiB ff. 1Br–3Bv 4Br–4Bv 5Br–5Bv 6Br 6Bv 7Br 7Bv 8Br–85Bv 86Br–89Br/47Fv

Music pages all have ten staves except:

Table 1.32

NO. OF STAVES	FOLIO NO.
9	61Br–64Bv, 68Br–69Bv
11	5Fr–6Fv, 10Fr–11Fr, 14Fr–15Fv, 18Fr–19Fv, 23Fr–v, 30Fr, 38Fv, 44Fr–46Fv, 71Bv, 78Bv–79Br, 81Br
12	42Fv
13	11Fv, 38Fr
15	48Fr–v, 86Br–89Br

Copyists:

Table 1.33

COPYIST NAME	FOLIO NO
John Mathews	1Fr–23Fv, 25Fr (bottom)–48Fv, 1Br–89Br
Unidentified G	24Fr–25Fr (top)

Dates given in manuscript:

Table 1.34

DATE	FOLIO NO.	PAYMENT REF.
'paid thus far April 1777'	9Fv	A
'15 March 1781'	15Fv	E
'March 16 1781'	19Fv	E
'pd so far July 1778'	22Fv	B
'this was written in Feb[rua]ry 1781'	23Fr-v	E
'paid thus far July 8 th 1779'	28Fr	C
'paid October 1779'	42Fv	
'paid thus far April 1777'	21Bv	A
'pd so far July 1778'	25Br	B
'paid October 1780'	85Bv	D

Watermarks:

The marks in this book are faint and run into the binding making it impossible to identify them. These partial marks are visible on ff. 1F-3F, 5F-6F, 8F-9F, 13F-15F, 18F-19F, 22F, 25F, 27F, 29F-36F, 38F-39F, 41F-42F, 45F-46F, 2B, 4B, 9B-10B, 13B-14B, 17B, 19B-20B, 22B-23B, 32B-34B, 37B-40B, 42B, 45B, 47B-49B, 51B-52B, 55B-57B, 61B-65B, 67B, 69B-75B, 77B, 82B-85B.

Although these marks are difficult to read, those on 61B, 62B, 67B seem to be type *B* and those on 63B, 64B and 69B are type *E3*.

Pencilled alterations and additions include some tonic solfa notation. Cuts are indicated by slips of paper stuck over the original. James Kent's *Why do the nations* appears in the index without a page number and is not in the volume.

See appendix 2, table 10

Pagination and foliation:

Front

pp. 1-90 155-158 (159-164)

pp. i-vF ff. 1Br-45Fv 46Fr-47Fv 48Fr-50Fv

Back

pp. 1-6 (?) (?) 7-10 10-11 11-71 74-154 91-92

pp. i-iiiB ff. 1Br-3Bv 4Br 4Bv 5Br-6Bv 7Br-7Bv 8Br-38Br 38Bv-78Bv 79Br-79Bv

(93-94)

80Br-80Bv

Music pages all have ten staves except:

Table 1.35

NO. OF STAVES	FOLIO NO.
4	4Br-v
11	4Fr-v, 6Fr-v, 11Fr-v, 13Fr-v, 23Fr-v, 29Fr, 38Fr-v, 40Fr, 43Fr-45Fv, 6Bv, 7Bv, 47Br-v, 79Br-v
12	10Fr, 7Br, 8Br
15	48Fr-51Fv, 80Br-v

Copyists:

Table 1.36

COPYIST NAME	FOLIO NO
John Mathews	1Fr-21Fv (top), 23Fr-50Fv, 1Br-78Bv
Unidentified G	21Fv (bottom)-22Fv

Dates given in manuscript:

Table 1.37

DATE	FOLIO NO.	PAYMENT REF.
'N.B. wrote April 1781'	6Fv	F
'paid thus far April 1777'	9Fr	A
'pd so far July 1778'	21Fr	B
'N.B. written in Feb[rua]ry 1781'	23Fr	E
'Febr[uar]y 1781'	23Fv	E
'paid thus far July 8 th 1779'	27Fr	C

Tabke 1.37 cont'd

DATE	FOLIO NO.	PAYMENT REF.
'paid Oct[obe]r 1780'	42Fr	D
'paid 1780' (copyists' later pencilled addition)	47Fv	D
'paid thus far April 1777'	20Br	A
'paid thus far July 1778'	23Bv	B

Watermarks:

The marks in this book are faint and run into the binding making it impossible to identify them. These partial marks are visible on ff. 1F–2F, 4F–7F, 9F, 11F, 13F–16F (16F possibly *H*), 18F–20F, 22F, 25F–26F, 33F, 37F–38F, 40F–41F, 43F, 47F, 1B–2B, 6B–8B, 12B, 15B, 18B, 26B–29B, 32B, 34B, 37B, 39B–40B, 45B, 48B, 50B, 53B, 55B–56B (56 possibly *H*), 59B–60B, 63B, 65B–68B, 71B–72B, 75B, 77B, 79B.

See appendix 2, table 11

A.2.24: 'Bass Cantoris'

360mm x 255mm x 45mm (cover)

346mm x 244mm x 30mm (pages)

Foliation and pagination:

Front

pp. 1–70 ?/198

pp. i–iiF ff. 1Fr–34Fv 35Fr/100Bv

Back

pp. 1–6 (?) (?) 7–168 (169–176) 177–198/?

pp. iB ff. 1Br–3Bv 4Br 4Bv 5Br–85Bv 86Br–89Bv 90Br–100Bv/35Fr

Music pages all have ten staves except:

Table 1.38

NO. OF STAVES	FOLIO NO.
11	4Fr–5Fv, 7Fr–v, 12Fr, 13Fr, 14Fr–15Fv, 24Fr–v, 67Br–68Bv, 72Br, 91Br, 93Bv, 94Bv–95Br, 96Br–99Bv
12	23Fv
15	86Br–89Bv

Copyists:

Table 1.39

COPYIST NAME	FOLIO NO.
John Mathews	1Fr–39Fv (top), 21Fr–35Fr, 1Br–23Bv, 25Br–85Br, 86Br–100Bv
Unidentified G	20Fv, 24Br–v
Post-1800 hand	85Bv

Dates given in manuscript:

Table 1.40

DATE	FOLIO NO.	PAYMENT REF.
'paid so far April 1777'	10Fr	A
'pd so far July 1778'	20Fr	B
'paid thus far on the 8 th July 1779'	25Fr	C
'paid thus far April 1777'	20Br	A
'paid for July 1778'	23Bv	B
'N.B. written in Feb[rua]ry 1781'	25Bv	E
'paid Oct[obe]r 1780'	85Br (written in pencil by the copyist)	D
'paid October 1780'	95Br	D

Watermarks:

The marks in this book are faint and run into the binding making it impossible to identify them. These partial marks are visible on ff. 2F, 4F, 6F, 8F, 10F, 13F, 16F, 19F–21F, 23F–24F, 29F–30F, 9B, 11B–14B, 16B–18B, 21B–23B, 26B–28B, 31B–33B, 36B–39B, 42B–43B, 48B–51B, 56B–58B, 60B, 63B, 65B, 67B–76B, 79B–80B, 83B–85B, 90B–92B, 97–98B, 100B.

See appendix 2, table 12

A.2.25: 'Tenor Cantoris'

355mm x 250mm x 45mm (cover)

341mm x 244mm x 35mm (pages)

Pagination and foliation:

Front

pp. 1–26 31–35 32 37–168 (169–174) (173–174)

pp. i–vF ff. 1Fr–13Fv 14Fr–16Fr 16Fv 17Fr–81Fv 82Fr–84Fv 85Fr–85Fv

Back

pp. 1–31 ? 32 ? ? ? 33–106

pp. i–iiiB ff. 1Br–15Br 15Bv 16Br 16Bv 17Br 17Bv 18Br–54Bv

Music pages all have ten staves except:

Table 1.41

NO. OF STAVES	FOLIO NO.
11	5Fr–6Fv, 10Fr–11Fv, 13Fr–14Fr, 15Fv, 17Fr–18Fv, 24Fr–v, 26Fr–v, 34Fv, 36Fv–37Fv, 39Fv–40Fr, 41Fr, 42Fv–45Fv, 69Fr–v, 72Fv, 50Br–52Br, 53Br–54Br
12	34Fr, 49Bv, 54Bv
13	16Fv
15	83Fr–86Fv

Copyists:

Table 1.42

COPYIST NAME	FOLIO NO.
John Mathews	1Fr–26Fv, 28Fr (bottom)–86Fv, 1Br–42Bv (top), 43Br–48Bv, 49Bv–54Bv
Unidentified G	27Fr–28Fr (top)
Unidentified H	49Br
Post-1800 hand	42Bv (bottom)

Dates given in manuscript:

Table 1.43

DATE	FOLIO NO.	PAYMENT REF.
'paid so far April 1777'	9Fv	A
'Tenor Cantoris 1781'	24Fv	F
'P[ai]d so far July 1778'	25Fv	B
The copyist's note has been partially cut off here but it Probably reads 'P[ai]d thus far the 8 th July 1778'	31Fr	B
'paid October 1780'	82Fv	D
'N.B. paid thus far April 1777'	20Bv	A
'p[ai]d so far July 1778'	24Br	B

The marks in this book are faint and run into the binding making it impossible to identify them. These partial marks are visible on ff. 3F, 4F, 7F–8F, 20F–21F, 23F, 28F, 32F–33F, 37F, 44F–45F, 50F, 52F, 54F–57F, 59F–61F, 63F–4F, 1B, 3B, 7B, 9B, 13B, 15B–16B, 21B–31B, 33B–36B, 38B and 48B.

See appendix 2, table 13

1.6.3 *The Miscellaneous Part Books* (A.1.7–8, A.10.1, 3, 8)

The five surviving miscellaneous part books do not form a set, but they provide some material which is not present elsewhere in the collection, including verse parts to choruses contained in sets 1 and 2.

A.1.7: 'Treble' (Labelled Soprano on cover)

Volume A.1.7 is currently unavailable and therefore a full description is not presented.

There are many alterations and additions in pencil in this book. The pages have been trimmed down and consequently many have lost their original pagination which has been added in pencil.

See Table 14 Appendix 2

A.1.8: 'Treble' 356mm x 258mm x 23mm (cover)
350mm x 235mm x 18mm (pages)

Pagination and foliation:

Front

pp.	95	[96]	97–124	(?)	(?)	125–143	?
pp.	i–iiiF	ff.	1Fr 1Fv	2Fr–15Fv	16Fr	16Fv	17Fr–26Fr 26Fv/61Br

Back

pp.	15	14	15–20	(?)	(?)	23–84	(?)	(?)	85–88	(?)
pp.	i–iiiB	ff.	1Br 1Bv	2Br–4Bv	5Br	5Bv	6Br–36Bv	37Br	37Bv	38Br–39Bv 40Br
(?)	89–112	[113]	[114]	115–121	121	123–127	?			
40Bv	41Br–52Bv	53Br	53Bv	54Br–57Bv	58Br	58Bv–60Br	61Br/26Fv			

Music pages all have ten staves except:

Table 1.44

NO. OF STAVES	FOLIO NO.
11	3Fv
15	5Br–v

Copyists:

Table 1.45

COPYIST NAME	FOLIO NO
John Mathews	1Br–4Bv, 6Br–15Br
Post-1800 hands	1Fr–26Fv, 5Br–v (Hewson?), 15Bv–61B

Dates given in manuscript:

Table 1.46

DATE	FOLIO NO.
‘examined by Mr J Mathews and paid for thus far Nov[ember] 17 1812’ ¹²⁸	13Fr
‘Paid January 22, 1810’	24Bv
‘examined by Mr John Mathews and paid for thus far Nov[ember] 17 1812’	44Br
‘Paid Feb[ruary] 1814’	50Bv

Watermarks:

Partial marks towards the bindings can be seen on ff. 7F–8F, 11F–13F, 16F, 19F–20F, 22F–23F, 25F–26F, 1B–4B, 6B, 11B–12B, 14B–15B, 17B–23B, 25B–27B, 30B–34B, 36B, 39B–41B, 42B–44B, 46B–47B, 49B, 51B, 54B and 56B–61B.

See appendix 2, table 15

A.10.1: ‘Treble’

350mm x 249mm x 29mm (cover)

345mm x 227mm x 21mm (pages)

Pagination and foliation:

pp. 7–94	[95]	96–112	(?)	(?)	113–115	[116]	117–119	[120–123]	124–154	(?)	
pp. i–iii	ff. 1r–44v	45r	45v–53v	54r	54v	55r–56r	56v	57r–58r	58v–60r	60v–75v	76r
(?)	155–160										
	76v	77r–79v	iv								

¹²⁸ Probably John Mathews Jr, son of the main copyist of set 2 (see above).

Music pages all have ten staves except:

Table 1.47

NO. OF STAVES	FOLIO NO.
4	76v
5	76r
11	45r, 59r, 61r-62r
12	56v-58v, 59v-60r

Copyist: John Mathews (to f. 79v).

Dates given in manuscript:

Table 1.48

DATE	FOLIO NO.	PAYMENT REF.
'April May 1798'	1r-6v	J
'April May 1798'	13v-28v	J
'April May 1798'	35v-37v	J
paid thus far in the bill signed Feb[ruary] 28 and March 5 th 1781'	43r	E
'June 1798'	43v-53v	J
'paid thus far'	53v	
'May 1798'	62v	J
'Ap[ril] May 1798'	63v-79v	J

Watermarks:

The marks in this book are faint and run into the binding making it impossible to identify them. These partial marks are visible on ff. 1-5, 10, 20-21, 25, 36-39, 41, 44-49, 55-60, 62-67, 69, 71-72 and 75-79.

Pages are missing at the beginning of the book, and the first page is numbered 7. The ink is brown in many parts of this book and there are alterations.

See appendix 2, table 16

A.10.3: 'Alto'

357mm x 260mm x 40mm (cover)

349mm x 227mm x 29mm (pages)

Pagination and foliation:

pp. (?) 1-21 24-167

pp. i-iii ff. 1r 2r-12r 12v-84r

Music pages all have ten staves except f. 1r-v (12 staves).

Copyists:

Table 1.49

COPYIST NAME	FOLIO NO.
John Mathews	2r-26v, 28r (bottom)-74v
Unidentified G	27r-28r (top)
Post-1800	1r [Robert Stewart], 75r-83v

Dates given in manuscript:

Table 1.50

DATE	FOLIO NO.	PAYMENT REF.
'paid thus far July 1778'	26v	B
'paid thus far the 8 th July 1779'	33v	C
'paid Feb[ruary] 28 1781'	66r	E
'N.B. wrote March 1781'	66v	E
'paid thus far'	72v	

Watermarks:

The marks in this book are faint and run into the binding making it impossible to identify them. Partial marks are visible on ff. 7, 10, 12, 15, 17, 20, 30, 32-34, 41-42, 44-47, 49-50, 53, 57-58, 60-63, 65, 68, 71-72, 75, 78-79, 81-84.

Folio 84r is the last page of music: this folio is paginated and the rest of the book consists of unpaginated leaves without music, but with staves drawn. The ink is brown in many places throughout this book.

See appendix 2, table 17

A.10.8: Tenor (loft) book

355mm x 250mm x 28mm (cover)

345mm x 242mm x 20mm (pages)

Pagination and foliation:

pp. (?)	1-43	42 Letter B	43 Letter B	44-107	[108]	109	[110]	111-122	?	
pp. i-iv	ff. 1r	2r-23r	23	24r	24v-56r	56v	57r	57v	58r-63v	64r

Music pages all have ten staves except f. 1r-v (12 staves).

Copyists:

Table 1.51

COPYIST NAME	FOLIO NO.
John Mathews	2r-16r, 17v (bottom)-50v
Unidentified G	16v-17v (top)
Post-1800	1r [Robert Stewart], 51r-63v

Dates given in manuscript:

Table 1.52

DATE	FOLIO NO.	PAYMENT REF.
'paid so far April 1777'	7v	A
'paid thus far July 1778'	16r	B
'paid Feb[ruary] 28 th 1781'	44r	E
'NB Wrote March 9 th 1781	44v	F
'April 1781', partly cut off	50r	F

The marks in this book are faint and run into the binding making it impossible to identify them. Partial marks are visible on ff. 7-9, 14-16, 19-20, 26-27, 30-32, 35, 38, 42-47, 49-50, 53-55, 60-61 and 63. The blank pages after f. 64 contain a variety of nineteenth-century marks.

The book consists of eighteen unpaginated sheets after f. 63. These sheets do not contain any music but staves are drawn. There is an incomplete Anglican chant in pencil in the treble clef on one sheet.

See appendix 2, table 18

The payments from the proctor's accounts mentioned above are those which refer to part books or in some cases part books and organ books. There are, however, some payments which refer specifically to organ books.

In 1739 Ralph Roseingrave was twice reimbursed for expenditure on organ books: 18 shillings for John Neal for 'a new Musick book for the use at the Organist' and 'Paid to Mr Neal the sum of one pound two shill[ing]s & ninepence in full for another large Musick book for the Organist.' Roseingrave received a further payment of £8.15.0 in 1741 'for Organ musick books etc.'¹²⁹

George Walsh was appointed organist of St Patrick's on 18 November 1760. The stipend was only £5 per annum but this was increased to £30 on condition that he copy out music books for the organ.¹³⁰ A payment, apparently to another Walsh, for copying music in 1770 may include the copying of organ book 91: John Walsh 'four pounds eleven shillings in full for writing three music Books Jan 20th 1770'.¹³¹

Although Mathews contributed to eight of the extant organ books, only one payment specifically refers to his copying of organ books: £13.13.0 'for two Organ Books—4 April 1798'.¹³² One of these two books is probably organ book 77, which contains a reference to a payment with that date on f. 143v. The other could be organ book 87 or 88: Both are in Mathews's hand, and contain no dates which would suggest that they were copied earlier than 1798.

The organ books contain a few other eighteenth-century hands which cannot be positively identified. Illustrations of these hands are given in appendix 7.

Table 1.53

HAND	SOLE CONTRIBUTION
Unidentified J	Howard's <i>Blessed is the man</i> in organ book 85
Unidentified K	Dupuis's Morning Service in E \flat in organ book 86
Unidentified L	Shenton's <i>Te Deum</i> in E \flat in organ book 88
Unidentified M	Hayes Evening Service in E \flat in organ book 90

¹²⁹ P.A. 1739, E.P. 15, 22; P.A. 1741, E.P. 4 (RCBL C2.1.10.2).

¹³⁰ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 422.

¹³¹ P.A. 1770, E.P. 3 (RCBL C2.1.10.3).

¹³² P.A. 1797, E.P. 23 (RCBL C2.1.10.4).

Table 1.55 cont'd

FOLIO	MARK	FOLIO	MARK	FOLIO	MARK	FOLIO	MARK
15	Partial	52	Partial	92	Partial	130	Partial
18	Partial	53	<i>H</i>	93	Partial	131	Partial
19	Partial	60	<i>H</i>	95	Partial	132	Partial
21	Partial	61	<i>H</i>	97	<i>H</i>	133	Partial
22	Partial	62	Partial	99	Partial	138	<i>H</i>
24	<i>H</i>	63	Partial	100	Partial	139	<i>H</i>
28	Partial	65	<i>H</i>	102	<i>H</i>	142	<i>H</i>
29	Partial	67	Partial	106	Partial	145	<i>H</i>
32	<i>H</i>	69	<i>H</i>	107	<i>H</i>	146	<i>H</i>
34	<i>H</i>	71	Partial	110	Partial	147	<i>H</i>
35	Partial	73	<i>H</i>	111	Partial	149	<i>H</i>

The inked notation has been added to in pencil throughout this book, sometimes in red pencil, filling out the organ part originally copied by Mathews. The first sheet is missing, so there is no indication of the composer of first piece. However, it can be identified as part of Tallis's responses and five-part litany. There is a reference on f. 97r to copying from an 'old organ book', showing that Mathews was replacing an existing book which was presumably worn out.

See appendix 2, table 19

Organ Book 79

270mm x 361mm x 46mm (cover)

256mm x 351mm x 40mm (pages)

Pagination and foliation:

pp. 1–256	(257, 256, 257)	258–344	(345–346)
pp. i–ii	ff. 1r–128v	129r, 129v, 130r	130v–173v 174r–174v

Music pages all have eight staves.

Copyist: John Mathews (ff. 1r–174v).

Date given in manuscript: 'paid thus far to J M on 4th April 1794' (f. 163r).

Watermarks:

Table 1.56

FOLIO	MARK	FOLIO	MARK	FOLIO	MARK	FOLIO	MARK
1	<i>H</i>	42	<i>H</i>	91	<i>H</i>	135	Partial
3	Partial	47	<i>H</i>	92	Partial	136	Partial
4	<i>H</i>	48	Partial	93	Partial	138	Partial
7	<i>H</i>	49	Partial	94	<i>H</i>	139	<i>H</i>
8	<i>H</i>	53	<i>H</i>	98	Partial	141	<i>H</i>
9	Partial	55	Partial	100	Partial	144	<i>H</i>
10	<i>H</i>	57	<i>H</i>	102	<i>H</i>	145	<i>H</i>
14	<i>H</i>	59	<i>H</i>	105	Partial	146	<i>H</i>
19	<i>H</i>	61	<i>H</i>	106	Partial	147	Partial
20	<i>H</i>	63	Partial	109	Partial	156	<i>H</i>
22	<i>H</i>	66	Partial	111	<i>H</i>	157	<i>H</i>
24	Partial	68	<i>H</i>	115	<i>H</i>	158	<i>M</i>
27	Partial	71	<i>H</i>	116	Partial	160	<i>H</i>
28	Partial	72	Partial	117	Partial	163	<i>M</i>
29	<i>H</i>	73	Partial	118	<i>H</i>	165	Partial
30	<i>H</i>	75	<i>H</i>	121	<i>H</i>	167	Partial
33	<i>H</i>	80	<i>H</i>	122	Partial	169	<i>F</i>
34	Partial	81	<i>H</i>	125	<i>H</i>	170	<i>F</i>
39	<i>H</i>	82	<i>H</i>	126	Partial	172	Partial
40	<i>H</i>	85	Partial	132	<i>H</i>		
41	<i>H</i>	87	Partial	133	<i>H</i>		

Additional notes have been added in pencil in many places in this book.

See appendix 2, table 20

Organ Book 85

237mm x 334mm x 26mm (cover)

225mm x 330mm x 18mm (pages)

Pagination and foliation:

pp. 1–58 61–121 126–148

pp. i ff. 1r–29v 30r–60r 60v–71v

Music pages all have ten staves.

Copyists:

Table 1.57

COPYIST NAME	FOLIO NO.
Ralph Roseingrave	1r–16r (top), 16v–60v, 65v–71v
Unidentified J	(clefs and ‘Amen’) 61v–65r (This section comes after a blank page)
Post-1800 hand	16r (bottom)
George Hewson	Index hand

Dates given in manuscript: none.

Watermarks:

The marks in this book are faint and run into the binding making it difficult to identify them. Partial marks are visible on ff. 2, 4–7, 10, 12–13, 15–18, 23, 25, 27, 29, 32, 34, 37, 40–41, 44–45, 47, 49–50, 53–54, 57, 60–62, 65, 67. These marks are *L* and *E2*. Folios 38–39, 46, 52 and 56 have part of a mark which includes the word ‘Honig’.

The index is in the hand of George Hewson and is signed by him. ‘Done’ is written in pencil beside several of the pieces, and there are numerous alterations to the music in pencil and pen. It is possible that ‘Done’ means that the work was reintroduced into the repertory by Hewson when he became organist of St Patrick’s in 1920. Later additions in Mathews’s hand include ‘Chorus’, ‘Verse’, and extra figuring of the bass.

See appendix 2, table 21

Organ Book 86

248mm x 357mm x 31mm (cover)

236mm x 338mm x 22mm (pages)

Pagination and foliation:

pp.	1–14	14–15	15–54	57–102	(?)	103–118	(172, ?)	119–158		
pp.	i	ff.	1r–7v	8r–8v	9r–28v	29r–51v	52v	53r–60v	61r, 61v	62r–81v

Music pages all have eight staves.

Copyists:

Table 1.58

COPYIST NAME	FOLIO NO.
John Mathews	1r-74r
Unidentified K	74v-81v

Dates given in manuscript:

Table 1.59

DATE	FOLIO NO.
'March 1789'	35r
'NB paid thus far March 27 th 1793'	42v

Watermarks:

Table 1.60

FOLIO	MARK	FOLIO	MARK	FOLIO	MARK	FOLIO	MARK
1	<i>J</i>	22	<i>J</i>	43	<i>J</i>	64	<i>B?</i>
2	<i>B</i>	23	<i>B</i>	44	<i>B</i>	65	Unclear
3	<i>J?</i>	24	<i>J</i>	45	<i>B</i>	66	<i>B</i>
4	<i>B</i>	25	<i>B</i>	46	<i>J</i>	67	<i>J</i>
5	<i>B</i>	26	<i>J</i>	47	<i>B</i>	68	<i>J</i>
6	<i>J</i>	27	<i>B</i>	48	<i>J</i>	69	<i>H</i>
7	<i>J?</i>	28	<i>J</i>	49	<i>J</i>	70	<i>B</i>
8	Unclear	29	<i>J</i>	50	<i>B</i>	71	<i>H</i>
9	Unclear	30	<i>B</i>	51	<i>D</i>	72	<i>B</i>
10	<i>J</i>	31	<i>J</i>	52	None visible	73	<i>H</i>
11	<i>B?</i>	32	<i>B</i>	53	<i>B</i>	74	<i>B</i>
12	<i>B</i>	33	<i>B</i>	54	Unclear	75	<i>H</i>
13	<i>J</i>	34	<i>J</i>	55	<i>B</i>	76	<i>B</i>
14	<i>J</i>	35	Unclear	56	Unclear	77	<i>H</i>
15	<i>B</i>	36	<i>J</i>	57	<i>J</i>	78	<i>B</i>
16	<i>J</i>	37	<i>J</i>	58	<i>J?</i>	79	<i>B</i>
17	<i>B</i>	38	<i>B?</i>	59	<i>J?</i>	80	<i>H</i>
18	<i>J</i>	39	<i>J</i>	60	<i>B</i>	81	<i>H</i>
19	<i>B</i>	40	<i>B</i>	61	None visible		
20	<i>J</i>	41	Unclear	62	<i>B</i>		
21	<i>B</i>	42	<i>J</i>	63	<i>J</i>		

Beginning with the *Magnificat* on f. 58r, the pieces by Ebdon which appear in this volume are in the same order as the printed edition of his music. A marginal comment by Mathews

reads '(NB This Organ part was Copied from Ebdons printed Score Book) Sett by Mr Thos Ebdon Orgst of Durham'. A later, pencilled hand has crossed out the writing in brackets, and added 'This does not agree with MS parts'.

See appendix 2, table 22.

Organ Book 87

247mm x 354mm x 39mm (cover)

239mm x 348mm x 33mm (pages)

Pagination and foliation:

pp. 1-60 63-219 [220]

pp. i-ii ff. 1r-30v 31r-109r 109v

Music pages all have eight staves.

Copyists:

Table 1.61

COPYIST NAME	FOLIO NO.
John Mathews	1r-109v
George Hewson	Index hand

Dates given in manuscript: none.

Watermarks:

Table 1.62

FOLIO	MARK	FOLIO	MARK	FOLIO	MARK	FOLIO	MARK
1	<i>J</i>	29	Unclear	57	<i>B</i>	85	<i>H</i>
2	<i>J</i>	30	Unclear	58	<i>J</i>	86	<i>J</i>
3	<i>B</i>	31	Unclear	59	<i>B</i>	87	<i>B</i>
4	<i>B</i>	32	<i>J</i>	60	<i>B</i>	88	<i>J</i>
5	<i>J</i>	33	<i>J</i>	61	<i>J</i>	89	<i>B</i>
6	<i>J</i>	34	<i>B</i>	62	<i>B</i>	90	<i>B</i>
7	<i>B</i>	35	<i>B</i>	63	<i>J</i>	91	<i>J</i>
8	<i>J</i>	36	<i>H</i>	64	<i>J</i>	92	<i>B</i>
9	<i>B</i>	37	No Mark	65	<i>B</i>	93	<i>J</i>
10	<i>J</i>	38	<i>J</i>	66	<i>B</i>	94	<i>J</i>
11	<i>B</i>	39	<i>B</i>	67	<i>J</i>	95	<i>B</i>
12	<i>B</i>	40	<i>J</i>	68	<i>J</i>	96	<i>B</i>

Table 1.62 cont'd

FOLIO	MARK	FOLIO	MARK	FOLIO	MARK	FOLIO	MARK
13	<i>J</i>	41	<i>B</i>	69	<i>B</i>	97	Partial
14	<i>B</i>	42	<i>J</i>	70	<i>J</i>	98	<i>H</i>
15	<i>J</i>	43	<i>B</i>	71	<i>B</i>	99	No Mark
16	Unclear	44	<i>B</i>	72	<i>B</i>	100	No Mark
17	<i>J</i>	45	<i>J</i>	73	<i>J</i>	101	No Mark
18	<i>J</i>	46	<i>J</i>	74	<i>J</i>	102	Partial
19	<i>B</i>	47	<i>B</i>	75	<i>B</i>	103	No Mark
20	<i>J</i>	48	<i>J</i>	76	<i>J</i>	104	No Mark
21	<i>B</i>	49	<i>B</i>	77	<i>B</i>	105	No Mark
22	<i>J</i>	50	<i>J</i>	78	<i>J</i>	106	Partial
23	<i>B</i>	51	<i>B</i>	79	<i>B</i>	107	Partial
24	<i>B</i>	52	<i>B</i>	80	<i>J</i>	108	Partial
25	Unclear	53	<i>J</i>	881	<i>B</i>	109	No Mark
26	<i>B</i>	54	<i>J</i>	82	<i>B</i>	110	
27	<i>J</i>	55	<i>B</i>	83	<i>J</i>	111	
28	Unclear	56	<i>J</i>	84	No mark	112	

See appendix 2, table 23

Organ Book 88

259mm x 356mm x 35mm (cover)

245mm x 342mm x 26mm (pages)

Pagination and foliation:

	pp.	15-34	A-35	B-35	A-36	36-B	37-76	85-98	98-99	
pp.	i-v	ff.	1r-10v	11r	11v	12r	12v	13r-32v	33r-39v	40r-40v
	99-116	A-116	B-116	C-116	D-116	E-116	F-116	117-184	(185-186)	
	41r-49v	50r	50v	51r	51v	52r	52v	53r-86v	87r-87v	
	187-199	190	201	192	203	194	205	196	207	208
	88r-94r	94v	95r	95v	96r	96v	97r	97v	98r	98v

Music pages all have eight staves.

Copyists:

Table 1.63

COPYIST NAME	FOLIO NO.
John Mathews	2r (bottom)– 96v
Post-1800 hand	Music on end pages (dated 1895)
Unidentified L	1r–2r (top)

Dates given in manuscript: none other than 1895 on end pages.

Watermarks:

The marks are difficult to read on many folios, and some have been partly cropped.

Table 1.64

FOLIO	MARK	FOLIO	MARK	FOLIO	MARK
2	<i>H</i>	35	<i>H</i>	74	<i>M</i>
6	<i>H</i>	36	<i>H</i>	78	<i>M</i>
11	<i>H</i>	51	? <i>J</i>	85	<i>H</i>
12	<i>H</i>	52	<i>J</i>	98	<i>H</i>
18	<i>M</i>	54	<i>H</i>		
22	<i>H</i>	55	<i>H</i>		
27	<i>H</i>	61	<i>H</i>		
29	<i>M</i>	64	<i>H</i>		
32	<i>M</i>	66	<i>H</i>		
34	<i>H</i>	71	<i>M</i>		

There are many alterations and additional figures in pencil.

See appendix 2, table 24.

Organ Book 90

271mm x 371mm x 33mm (cover)

255mm x 356mm x 23mm (pages)

Pagination and foliation:

pp. 2–192

pp. i ff. 1v–96v

Music pages all have ten staves except ff. 74r–81v which have nine.

Copyists:

Table 1.65

COPYIST NAME	FOLIO NO.
Ralph Roseingrave	1v–47v (top), 49v–73v, 82r
John Mathews	47v (bottom), 74r–81v and he has replaced a few bars on 28r and 52r
Unidentified M	82v–87v
Unidentified N	88v–90v
Unidentified L	91r–96r

Dates given in manuscript: none.

Watermarks:

The marks in this book are faint and run into the binding making it impossible to identify them. These partial marks are visible on ff. 4, 6–7, 9, 11, 14–15, 18, 21, 23–25, 27–28, 33–36, 38, 40, 43, 46, 50–53, 55, 57, 59–60, 62, 64–67, 72, 75–76, 78, 80–82, 84–8, 90, 92 and 96.

The index contains the Kyrie and Creed in E_b but these movements are not in the volume. Additional indications and alterations have added in many places, mainly by Mathews. There are numerous examples of repagination from page 176 onwards.

See appendix 2, table 25

Organ Book 91

373mm x 285mm x 35mm (cover)

360mm x 255mm x 28mm (pages)

Pagination and foliation:

Front

pp. ? 1–46 46–51 53–135 ? ? ? ? ? ?

pp. iF ff. 1Fr 1Fv–24Fr 24Fv–27Fr 27Fv–68Fv 69Fr 70Fr 71Fr 72Fv 73Fr 73Fv

Back

pp. [1] 2–36 ? ?

ff. 1Br 1Bv–19Br 19Bv 20Br

Music pages all have six six-line staves.

Copyists:

Table 1.66

COPYIST NAME	FOLIO NO.
Unidentified O	1Fv–68Bv, 1Br–5Bv(?)
John Mathews	6Br–18Bv
Post-1800 hand	19Bv–20Br

Date given in manuscript: ‘paid thus far on the 8th July 1779’ (18Bv).

Watermarks:

The marks are difficult to read in this book as they are close to the binding, but mark *K* is visible on folios 33F and 42F. Other folios with partial marks are 3F, 7F–9F, 11F–12F, 18F, 21F–22F, 24F, 28F, 30F–32F, 34F–35F, 38F, 40F–41F, 44F–45F, 52F–57F, 60F–61F, 64F–66F, 68F, 5B, 7B–10B, 12B and 17B.

‘Croft’ is written in pencil on the first page of this volume. Above it ‘John Walsh’, and John Mathews (twice) are written in ink; underneath is written ‘Anno Domino milesimo sesateng entiotuma’ and ‘John A Walsh a very good fellow you Se?’. The rest of the page is blank. The proctor’s account shows a payment to (this?) John Walsh ‘four pounds eleven shillings in full for writing three music Books Jan 20th 1770’.¹³³ Mathews takes over copying at the back of the book, implying that the main copyist was earlier and was probably Walsh.

The staves throughout this book have six lines rather than the more modern five. Despite this antiquated feature, this book does not appear to be old as organ books 85, 90, 92 and 93 each of which is partly in the hand of Ralph Roseingrave (d. 1747). The date 1779 nonetheless shows that organ book 91 contains some of Mathews’s earliest work at St Patrick’s.

In places the musical notation has been added to in pencil. Most of the middle of the volume is blank.

See appendix 2, table 26.

¹³³ P.A. 1770, E.P. 3 (RCBL C2.1.10.3).

Pagination and foliation:

[9]	pp.	10	[11]	12	[13–15]	16–177	186–191	194–285	?	?		
pp.	i	ii	ff.	1r	1v	2r	2v–3v	4r–84v	85r–87v	88r–133v	134r	134v

Music pages all have ten staves.

Copyists:

Table 1.67

COPYIST NAME	FOLIO NO.
Ralph Roseingrave	1r–134r
Post-1800 hand	134v
Robert Stewart	ii

Date given in manuscript: June 26 1852 (p. ii).

Watermarks:

Fragments of marks are discernible on ff. 1, 2, 5, 9–11 15–17, 20, 22, 25–27, 29, 32–35, 38–43, 45, 49–50, 53, 55, 57, 59–63, 66, 68, 70, 72–73, 75–76, 78–80, 82–84, 86, 89, 94–96, 98–100, 102–106, 110, 112, 114, 118–120, 122–123, 127–128, 130 and 134.

This book is exclusively devoted to anthems by Maurice Greene, but they do not appear in the same order as in his *Forty Select Anthems*. In addition to this, certain textual differences indicate that this book was almost certainly not copied from the printed edition. Some later fleshing out of these accompaniments is to be observed in places. Mathews has added some indications of ‘Verse’, ‘Chorus’, etc.

See appendix 2, table 27.

Foliation and pagination:

pp.	?	1-25	?	27-43	(43, 44, 44)	45-129	(129, 130, 130, 131, 131,		
pp.	I	ff.	1r	1v-13v	14r	14v-22v	23r, 23v, 24r	24v-66v	67r, 67v, 68r, 68v, 69r,
		132, 132)	133-176	178-205	207-244	(?)	(?)	245-279	
		69v, 70r	70v-92r	92v-106r	106v-125r	126r	126v	125v-143v	

Music pages all have eight staves except:

Table 1.68

NO. OF STAVES	FOLIO NO.
9	23r-24r, 67r-70r
10	78r-143v

Copyists:

Table 1.69

COPYIST NAME	FOLIO NO.
Ralph Roseingrave	1v-22v, 24v-66v, 70v-137v
John Mathews	23r-24r, 67r-70r, 125r (replacement of a few bars), 138r-143v

Dates given in manuscript:

Table 1.70

DATE	FOLIO NO.
'NB this organ part was written in this book by J M on the 10 th May 1792'	138v
'NB paid for the writing of these 12 pages by the dean & chapters proctor 27 March 1793'	143v

Watermarks:

The marks in this book are faint and run into the binding making it impossible to identify them. Partial marks are visible on ff. 1-2, 4, 7-8, 11-12, 15-16, 18, 22, 24-25, 27, 30, 32-33, 35, 37, 39, 42, 44-46, 49-50, 52, 55-56, 58, 60, 62, 64-67, 69-70, 72-74, 78-95, 99-102, 104-115, 117-123, 125, 128-136, 139, 142 and 96.

Mathews has placed additional indications throughout this book. There are numerous other pencilled additions. This book is devoted to anthems from Croft's *Musica Sacra*: however these have not been copied in the same order as the printed edition and consequently do not seem to be derived from it. *See appendix 2, table 28.*

More than ninety-five percent of the surviving eighteenth-century music library has been copied by three copyists: William Taverner, Ralph Roseingrave and John Mathews. The individual contributions from other copyists are very small, and are generally associated with one or two isolated pieces.

Taverner was responsible for copying the oldest set of part books. This set contains the early-Restoration repertoire together with some earlier material. A conservative copyist, Taverner retained features of older manuscripts, including archaic spelling and word underlay. There is no evidence to suggest that he played an active role in the acquisition of new repertoire: indeed it seems he continued to copy older pieces even when complete exemplars were not available. *Praise the Lord, ye servants* by Purcell, a good example of this, is examined in detail in chapter 2.

Roseingrave's copying activities are confined to the organ books. As he was both copyist and performer, the musical shorthand must have been clear to him. His at times skeletal accompaniments have often been fleshed out by later hands. Although only four books in Roseingrave's hand survive in the eighteenth-century library, the proctor's accounts suggest that he also copied others. Later organ books in the hand of John Mathews are probably copies of Roseingrave's work, and this matter will be considered in more detail in chapter 4.

John Mathews was responsible for almost all of the music copying at St Patrick's in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. His calligraphy, though stylised, is very clear and easily distinguishable from that of other copyists. Whilst Mathews copied score books for Christ Church Cathedral (as well as part books and organ books), there is no evidence that he compiled score books for St Patrick's—certainly none has survived. Whilst they would be condemned by today's editorial standards, Mathews's amendments and 'improvements' reflect common eighteenth-century practice. He was a very diligent copyist who took much greater care than many of his contemporaries to ensure that legible and complete copies of music were preserved for succeeding generations.

CHAPTER 2
ASSESSMENT OF NEWLY DISCOVERED SOURCES FOR
PURCELL'S *PRAISE THE LORD, YE SERVANTS*

Despite the lack of a catalogue of the music manuscripts at the Dublin cathedrals, scholars and editors have not ignored the collections. Nigel Fortune, one of the joint editors of the revised complete edition of Purcell's works,¹³⁴ wrote to the librarian of Christ Church Cathedral on 21 August 1954 requesting permission to have a photograph taken of the Christ Church manuscript copies of Purcell's anthem *Christ is risen*. The dean of Christ Church, the Very Revd E. H. Lewis-Crosby, seems to have thought that a major discovery had been made which might result in financial gain for the cathedral. In a letter dated 13 October 1954 he asked Fortune to explain the purpose of his request, despite the fact that this was quite clear from Fortune's original letter, and expressed concern that the copyright of the dean and chapter should not be infringed. After another exchange of letters, the dean gave permission for a photostatic copy to be made. Some five months later however, Fortune had not received the photostat, and he wrote a letter of reminder to the dean on 19 February 1955.

On 10 March 1955, the dean wrote to the music publishers Novello & Co. and Oxford University Press, enquiring whether they would be interested in publishing the anthem—provided, of course, that royalties would be assigned to the cathedral. Did the dean not realise that Novello were already the publishers for the Purcell Society? He received a reply from Novello stating that they would not publish the anthem as it was to be included in the forthcoming Purcell Society Edition. There is no record of a reply from Oxford. The dean wrote to Fortune on 22 March 1955 asking whether he intended publishing the anthem separately, or using it in any other way. At this point the correspondence seems to have ended.

Franklin B. Zimmerman considered the attribution of this anthem to Purcell to be spurious, and attributed it to a certain E. White. He gave no reason for this attribution, but it may have been based on Ob MS Tenbury 788, in which a cut off attribution of the anthem reads 'E Whit'. Zimmerman may have conjectured this to be 'E. White' but the index to this manuscript (added by library staff) lists the composer as 'E. Whitebroke'. Whitebroke is

also the name given in Edmund Fellowes's catalogue of the Tenbury collection.¹³⁵ Nearly fifty years after the correspondence between Fortune and Lewis-Crosby, this manuscript anthem remains unpublished in the libraries of St Patrick's and Christ Church.¹³⁶ Kenneth Milne has described the perilous financial state of Christ Church in the 1950s, which was presumably the motivation for the dean's pecuniary actions.¹³⁷ Whilst this extraordinary correspondence was taking place however, an unpublished manuscript of an anthem unquestionably by Purcell, *Praise the Lord, ye servants*, remained unnoticed in the libraries of the Dublin cathedrals.

Early Restoration composers feature strongly in the first set of part books at St Patrick's, Blow, Hall, Humfrey, Purcell, Turner, Wise and others all being represented by anthems and, in many cases, services. In a letter dated 25 November 1731, Mrs Delany describes a recent performance of Purcell's *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* in D.

Monday being St Cecilia's Day, it was celebrated with great pomp at St Patrick's Cathedral. We were there in the greatest crowd I ever saw; we went at ten and stayed till four; there is a very fine organ, which was accompanied by a great many instruments, Dubourg at the head of them; they began with the first concerto of Corelli; we had Purcell's *Te Deum* and *Jubilate*; then the fifth concerto of Corelli; after that an anthem of Blow's, and they concluded with the eighth concerto of Corelli...¹³⁸

The apparent grandeur of this occasion did not represent common practice at the cathedral, and it seems likely that instrumental forces additional to the organ were rare. Unfortunately, no trace of the vocal or instrumental parts for the *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* have survived at St Patrick's, though a manuscript copy is included in volume Z1.2.25 at Marsh's Library. This score however is in the hand of John Mathews, and was in all likelihood copied from sources in England before Mathews arrived in Ireland in 1776.¹³⁹

This *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* were written for the St Cecilia's day celebrations in 1694, but

¹³⁴ *The Works of Henry Purcell*, Purcell Society ed., 32 vols (London: Novello, ongoing).

¹³⁵ Edmund Horace Fellowes, *The Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of St Michael's College, Tenbury* (Paris: Éditions de l'oiseau-lyre, 1934).

¹³⁶ The misattribution to Purcell has been continued in Durham MS A19, which John Mathews sent to Durham from Dublin.

¹³⁷ *Christ Church Cathedral*, ed. Milne, 315–38.

¹³⁸ Mary Delany, *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mrs Delany*, i (London, 1861), 316, quoted in Boydell *Dublin Musical Calendar*, 48. Dubourg was Master of His Majesty's Music in Ireland from 1728 to 1764 or 1765.

¹³⁹ Mathews gives the dates when he was at Winchester, Salisbury and Durham on the inside front cover of this score book.

Purcell wrote most of his verse anthems with strings (symphony anthems) earlier in his career when Charles II provided for strings to accompany music at the Chapel Royal. The young Henry Purcell's first exposure to the symphony anthem was as a chorister at the Chapel, and the span of his short life neatly encompasses the period in which the genre flourished. Twenty-seven complete or nearly complete symphony anthems by Purcell have survived as well as two fragments of symphony anthems by him. It is likely that he wrote others which are now lost. Most of his early anthems (1676–9) are scored for continuo only; from 1681 however, the symphony anthem dominates.¹⁴⁰

2.1 THE SOURCES FOR PRAISE THE LORD, YE SERVANTS

Praise the Lord, ye servants (Z. N.68) is one of Purcell's earliest surviving symphony anthems, and until recently it was known in only two fragmentary sources. This setting of Psalm 113 is listed in Novello's *Purcell's Sacred Music* (1828–44) as a lost anthem for three voices. British Library Add. MS 17820 ends with a printed list of manuscripts in the possession of Vincent Novello 'which have never been published'. This list includes a setting of *Praise the Lord, ye servants* for four voices. Some items are marked '& instr', but this is not written beside *Praise the Lord, ye servants* which simply has '4'. It is therefore possible that a version without strings circulated and that this was this version which reached Dublin.

The anthem is included in Jebb's catalogue, where the Chapel Royal and Hereford—but not Dublin—are given as sources. Despite an extensive search at Hereford Cathedral Library, no source can be found there, so Jebb's entry must be an error or a reference to material which is now lost.

The first source (hereafter referred to as **A**) for this anthem to be discovered in modern times was a bass part book from the Chapel Royal,¹⁴¹ formerly in the collection of Richard

¹⁴⁰ Martin Adams, *Henry Purcell: The Origins and Development of His Musical Style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 164.

¹⁴¹ This volume has some interesting annotations. Inside front cover: 'A curious old part book from the Chapel Royal...the arms of Charles the 2nd given to me by Dr E J Hopkins—4 Oct 1896 William H Cummings'. Inside back cover: '1699—April 24 Warrant to provide clothes for William Croft and William Robert late Children of the Chappell Royal, whose voices have changed and are gone from the Chappell and to pay them the sum of £20 each for the year 1698'. See also Henry Cart De Lafontaine, *The King's Musick: A Transcript of Records Relating to Music and Musicians, 1460–1700* (London: Novello, 1909; repr. New York: Da Capo Press, 1973), 432.

Border, and now held in the British Library (Add. MS 50860).¹⁴² Unfortunately, the page containing the beginning of *Praise the Lord* is missing, and this source contains the last verse sections (from ‘He taketh up the simple out of the dust’) and the last chorus only (see plate 8).

The next source (**B**) came to light via the discovery in Tokyo, by Hugh McLean, of another bass part book from the same Chapel Royal set (Nanki Music Library, Ohki Private Collection, MS N-5/10).¹⁴³ Though it contains the bass chorus sections only, this manuscript gives a fuller idea of the anthem’s overall layout. These discoveries were noted, and parts of the text reproduced, in Zimmerman’s *Analytical Catalogue*. Where the bass parts split, both books have complementary parts, and they include almost identical repertoire in the same order.¹⁴⁴ (See plate 9.)

The present investigation has brought to light additional sources at St Patrick’s Cathedral (**C1–6**) and Christ Church Cathedral (**D1–9**). These provide the alto, tenor and bass parts for all four choruses and both bass parts and one tenor part for most of the verses. The books in Dublin indicate that some of the verse sections were scored for ‘4 voc’. Some of these are still missing as are the treble part (or parts), the organ part and the string parts. Table 2.1 sets out all extant sources for the anthem showing that many sections are only represented by the newly discovered sources **C** and **D**. A slight variant of Zimmerman’s conjectured plan of the anthem emerges:

Table 2.1

TEXT	Z	BASS	TENOR	ALTO
Praise the Lord, ye servants (Verse T)	2a		D	
Praise the Lord, ye servants (Chorus [?S]ATB)	2b	BCD	CD	CD
Blessed be the Lord (Verse [?A]TBB)	3a	D	D	
The Lord’s name is praised (Verse [?A]TBB)	4a	D	D	

¹⁴² Watkins Shaw, ‘A Cambridge Manuscript from the English Chapel Royal’, *Music & Letters*, xlii (1961), 263–7.

¹⁴³ Zimmerman, *Purcell: Analytical Catalogue*, 66; Hugh McLean, ‘Purcell and Blow in Japan’, *Musical Times*, civ (1963), 702–5; Margaret Laurie, ‘The Chapel Royal Part-books’, *Music and Bibliography: Essays in Honour of Alec Hyatt King*, ed. Oliver Neighbour (London: Clive Bingley, 1980), 28–50; Bruce Wood, ‘A Newly Identified Purcell Autograph’, *Music & Letters*, lix (1978), 329–34. The Ohki private collection was only deposited briefly at Nanki in the 1960s: its present whereabouts are not certain, but it may be with the Yomiuri Nippon Symphony Orchestra.

¹⁴⁴ Copies of these two manuscripts are reproduced here with kind permission of the British Library and the Kunitachi College of Music Library.

Plate 8 Purcell's *Praise the Lord, ye servants* in the hand of William Tucker from a Chapel Royal part book. British Library Add MS 50860 reproduced by kind permission.

12 33

Symphony

bress *Ritoe* *bress*

He taketh vp y simple out of
y dust he: *ff*: out of: *ff*: & listeth vp y
poor y: *ff*: out of y mire. *Ritoe.* // That he may sell
him may sell him wth y princes y: *ff*: may: *ff*:
may: *ff*: with: *ff*: y: *ff*: may: *ff*: may: *ff*:
wth: *ff*: *Ritoe:* // even wth y princes of his
people. // *cho:* // He maketh y barren woman
to keepe house & to be a joyfull mother of Children
& to be a joyfull mother a: *ff*:
of: *ff*: & to: *ff*: a: *ff*: of: *ff*: a
joyfull mother of Children, / M^r Henry Purcell

Plate 9 Purcell's *Praise the Lord, ye servants* in the hand of William Tucker from a Chapel Royal part book. Nanki Music Library, Ohki Private Collection MS N-5/10 reproduced by kind permission

Praise ye the Lord, ye servants.

Solus: // Praise ye the Lord, ye servants.

Chorus: // O praise ye name praise: // of: // praise ye the Lord, ye: // O

Organ, Lute, Recorder, Chorus: // O praise ye name praise: // of: // O praise ye: // pr: // of: //

Organ, Lute, Recorder, Chorus: // O pr: // of: //

Chorus: // The Lord's name is praised. The: // is: //

Chorus: // The Lord is high: // about all heathen & his glory

Psa: 113: //

above ye heavens & his glory his: // above: //

He maketh ye barren woman

to keepe house. And to be a joyfull mother

of children: // & to: // of: // & to: //

a: // of: // A joyfull mother of

Children.

M^r Henry Purcell

Table 2.1 cont'd

TEXT	Z	BASS	TENOR	ALTO
The Lord's name is praised (Chorus [?Tr]ATB Verse [?A]TBB)	4b	BCD	CD	CD
Unto the going down of the same (Verse [?A]TBB)	5	D	D	
The Lord is high above all heathen (Chorus [?S]ATB)	6	BCD	CD	CD
Who is like unto the Lord (Verse B)	8a	D		
He taketh up the simple (Verse [?A]TBB)	10a	AD	D	
That he may set him with princes (Verse [?A]TBB)	11a	AD	D	
Even with princes of his people (Verse [?A]TBB)	11c	AD	D	
He maketh the barren woman to keep house (Chorus [?Tr]ATB Verse B)	12a&b	ABCD	CD	CD

The part books at both cathedrals are complex in their construction, as they have been rebound several times with alterations and additions. Details of the first set of part books at St Patrick's Cathedral which contain *Praise the Lord, ye servants* are as follows:

Table 2.2

SIGLUM	PART	VOLUME	PAGE	HAND	MS	INDEX (early C19th)
C1	Alto Decani	C.3.4	270	Taverner	no attribution	'Mr Purcell'
C2	Alto Cantoris	C.3.1	255	Taverner	no attribution	no attribution
C3	Tenor Decani	C.3.3	380	Taverner	no attribution	'Purcell'
C4	Tenor Cantoris	C.3.2	390	Taverner	no attribution	no attribution
C5	Bass Decani	C.3.6	371	Taverner	'Mr Purcell'	'Mr Purcell'
C6	Bass Cantoris	C.3.5	455	Mathews	'Purcell'	'Purcell' (a later addition in pencil)

Plate 10 illustrates the opening of the anthem in C2 in Taverner's hand. The late eighteenth-century section of C6 was inserted during rebinding, and probably replaced older, damaged pages.

It would appear that Zimmerman did not consult the books at St Patrick's when he compiled his *Analytical Catalogue*—he does not cite the cathedral despite the presence of fourteen anthems by Purcell in its library. The want of a catalogue at St Patrick's seems the most likely reason for this omission.

Given the attributions in the books at Christ Church Cathedral, it is not surprising that *Praise the Lord, ye servants* was passed over by Zimmerman and others. This source group

Praise the Lord ye Servants

Verse

Praise the Lord ye Servants O Praise ye

Name praise the Name of the Lord praise ye Lord ye

Servants O Praise the Name of the Lord of the

Lord O praise the Name praise the Name of

the Lord O praise the Name praise the Name of

the Lord *Verse* *cho* *in the* *cho* *The Lord's Name is praised*

cho

The Lord's Name be praised *cho* *The*

Lord is High above all heathen and his glory a

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation on aged paper. The text is written in a cursive hand. The music is written on a single staff with a treble clef and a 3/4 time signature. The lyrics are written below the notes. There are several instances of 'cho' (choir) and 'verse' written above or below the notes. The page is numbered 'Plate 10 C.3.1 folio 142r' at the top.

comprises six part books out of a set of ten (C6.1.24.3.1–6), containing the chorus sections of the anthem, and three miscellaneous ‘loft books’ (C6.1.24.4.3–4, 7) which provide both bass parts and one tenor part for the verse sections. Although the set which includes the chorus sections is complete, *Praise the Lord, ye servants* is absent from the four treble books. These nine books at Christ Church are in a variety of eighteenth-century hands. Their details are as follows:

Table 2.3

SIGLUM	PART	VOLUME	PAGE	MS	INDEX
D1	Alto Decani	C6.1.24.3.1	390	‘Boyce’	‘Boyce’
D2	Alto Cantoris	C.6.1.24.3.4	317	‘Boyce’	‘Boyce’
D3	Tenor Decani	C.6.1.24.3.2	314	‘Child’	‘Child’
D4	Tenor Cantoris	C.6.1.24.3.5	263	no attribution	no attribution
D5	Bass Decani	C.6.1.24.3.3	291	‘Child’	‘Child’
D6	Bass Cantoris	C.6.1.24.3.6	263	no attribution	‘Dr Croft’
D7	Tenor loft book	C.6.1.24.4.3	38	no attribution	no attribution
D8	Bass loft book	C.6.1.24.4.4	34	no attribution	no attribution
D9	Bass loft book	C.6.1.24.4.7	18	no attribution	no attribution

D5 and **D6** are largely unbarred. In the opinion of Susan Hemmens the hand in **D2** and **D5–9** may be Robert Hodge, John Church or Charles Taylor.

Apart from the mention of Croft, all the attributions are later additions. The attribution to Boyce is difficult to explain: although his setting of the same text is present in Hayes’s *Fifteen anthems...by William Boyce*,¹⁴⁵ he can be ruled out as the composer of the present setting on purely stylistic grounds. The dean and chapter of St Patrick’s were subscribers to Hayes’s publication; therefore, Boyce’s *Praise the Lord ye servants* was known at the Dublin cathedrals. There is no mention of a setting of this text by Croft or Child in Grove (1980), but two settings are attributed to Croft in Ob MS Mus.28 and Och MS Mus 11 respectively. Neither of these settings corresponds with Purcell’s.

¹⁴⁵ *Fifteen Anthems, together with a Te Deum, and Jubilate, in Score for 1, 2, 3, 4, & 5 Voices, Composed for the Royal Chapels by William Boyce*, ed. Philip Hayes (London: printed [by T. Bennett] for the author’s widow and family, 1780).

As the records at the Dublin cathedrals are incomplete, we can only speculate on how Purcell's *Praise the Lord, ye servants* found its way to Dublin. The two sources known to Zimmerman are in the hand of William Tucker, who died on 28 February 1679, giving a useful *terminus ante quem*. In both books, John Blow is styled 'Mr': as he received his doctorate on 10 December 1677, *Praise the Lord, ye servants* is unlikely to have been composed much later than that date.¹⁴⁶

No direct link can be established between the Dublin sources and the earlier ones known to Zimmerman, but the Dublin sources do seem to have a common Irish ancestor, which is now lost. It is likely that this postulated manuscript came to Ireland as early as the 1670s or 1680s, when members of the Isaac family—noted copyists of church music who had close connections with the Chapel Royal repertoire—were working in Dublin.¹⁴⁷

A Peter Isaac (whose name is also spelled Isaack) was a chorister at the Chapel Royal until his voice broke in 1670. He is mentioned in a Chapel Royal payment on 8 August 1671: 'Warrant to pay £30 a year during his Majesty's pleasure to Captain Cook, master of the children of his Majesty's Chapel for the keeping of Peter Isaack, late one of the children of his Majesty's Chapel, whose voice is changed and is gone from the Chapel.'¹⁴⁸ It is likely that this is the same Peter Isaac who was appointed half vicar choral in St Patrick's Cathedral in 1672. This was increased to a full post the following year and it seems that he stayed in Ireland until 1687 when he was appointed organist of Salisbury Cathedral.¹⁴⁹ He held his vicarage at St Patrick's until 24 April 1688 when he was removed for neglect of duty. Isaac was nevertheless back in Ireland in 1692: he was appointed organist of Christ Church Cathedral on 31 March, and organist and vicar choral of St Patrick's on 4 April. He held these posts until his death in 1694.¹⁵⁰ If this is the 'Chapel Royal' Peter Isaac, it is quite possible that he was responsible, before or after his time at Salisbury, for the transmission of Purcell's early symphony anthem to Ireland. It is also possible that the

¹⁴⁶ Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 144. Later sources normally refer to Blow as 'Dr Blow'.

¹⁴⁷ Bruce Wood, 'A Note on Two Cambridge Manuscripts and Their Copyists', *Music & Letters*, lvi (1975), 308–12; Peter Holman, 'Bartholomew Isaack and "Mr Isaack" of Eton: A Confusing Tale of Restoration Musicians', *Musical Times*, cxxviii (1987), 381–5.

¹⁴⁸ Andrew Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, 9 vols (Snodland: the editor; Aldershot: Scolar, 1986–96), i, 107.

¹⁴⁹ Lawlor, *Fasti*, 215, 222; Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 264.

anthem was in the music library at Salisbury, but unfortunately no music manuscripts from the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries have survived there. Nor is any light shed on the matter by the incomplete cathedral accounts in Dublin.

Another candidate for the transmission is Bartholomew Isaac. Probably a younger brother of Peter Isaac, he was also a chorister in the Chapel Royal in the early 1670s. The Chapel records note on 6 December 1676: 'Warrant to pay £30 yearly during his Majesty's pleasure to John Blow, for keeping Bartholomew Isaack, late one of the children of the Chapel, but who is gone from the Chapel, his voice being changed.'¹⁵¹ Bartholomew was thus a very close contemporary of Henry Purcell, and may have been in daily contact with him during the writing of *Praise the Lord, ye servants*. It is likely that this is the Bartholomew Isaac who was appointed vicar choral of St Patrick's on 8 April 1685 and removed for neglect of duty on 3 February 1687. Details of the disciplinary action against Isaac, given by Monck Mason, are reproduced in appendix 6 below. Bartholomew seems eventually to have returned to England: he was appointed organist of St Saviour's Church, Southwark, on 26 July 1705.¹⁵² The name Isaac does not appear in the baptism, marriage or burials registers at St Patrick's or Christ Church Cathedrals, so it is unlikely that either Peter or Bartholomew were natives of Dublin.

Several others could have brought *Praise the Lord, ye servants* to Dublin. One of these, Robert Hodge, was a pupil of Purcell in the mid-1680s and organist of Wells Cathedral from 1688 to 1690. After a brief time as a lay clerk at Durham, he left for 'Hibernia' and was appointed a vicar choral of St Patrick's Cathedral on 19 April 1693 and organist on 19 October 1694. He held the organist's post until 1698 when he was appointed master of the choristers at Christ Church Cathedral, retaining this post until his death in 1709.¹⁵³ The chapter acts of both Dublin cathedrals note payments to him for bringing some services and anthems from England and transcribing them into the (no longer extant) part books.

Another likely purveyor of the anthem is Daniel Roseingrave. It has been claimed by Hawkins and others that Roseingrave was one of the children of the Chapel Royal at the

¹⁵⁰ Lawlor, *Fasti*, 237, 245, 250.

¹⁵¹ Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, i, 166.

¹⁵² Holman, 'Bartholomew Isaack and "Mr Isaack" of Eton', 381–5.

¹⁵³ Lawlor, *Fasti*, 243, 250; Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 288, 420.

same time as Purcell, but no evidence to support this claim has been found.¹⁵⁴ Ashbee lists payments to Chapel Royal choristers in *Records of English Court Music* and Roseingrave does not appear in his listing. It is beyond doubt, however, that he had contact with the group of musicians working at the Chapel Royal in the late seventeenth century. Roseingrave was organist of Gloucester Cathedral (1679–81), Winchester Cathedral (1681–92) and Salisbury Cathedral (1692–98) before coming to St Patrick's and Christ Church in 1698.¹⁵⁵ Until his death in 1727, he remained in Dublin, where numerous payments to him for transcribing music are recorded in the cathedral accounts. Sadly, few of these payments specify the works transcribed. However, a copy of Roseingrave's anthem *Lord thou art become gracious*, in Purcell's hand, is preserved at Christ Church, Oxford (MS Mus 1215). Peter Holman suggests that when Roseingrave was organist of Winchester Cathedral, he wrote to Purcell asking him to make a copy for him from a London source which is now lost. It is likely that Purcell would have travelled to Winchester when Charles II was considering establishing a court there and could have renewed his acquaintance with Roseingrave. These conjectures add weight to the possibility that music was exchanged between the two composers, and that Roseingrave may have brought Purcell's *Praise the Lord, ye servants* with him to Ireland. This hypothesis cannot be confirmed because, as mentioned above, no early music manuscripts have survived at Salisbury Cathedral and the situation is similar at Winchester.

Yet another possibility, though a more tenuous one, is that the anthem came to Ireland with a member of the Finell (Finall, Fynall) family. A Thomas Finell held several posts in the choir and as organist at both St Patrick's Cathedral and Christ Church Cathedral from about 1677 until his death in 1709, and is interred in the cathedral graveyard. Watkins Shaw suggests that he may be the person of the same name who was a lay vicar at Westminster Abbey at the Restoration.¹⁵⁶ It is not clear if he had any connection with the 'Finnal' who is mentioned in royal payments on 22 October 1667: 'Order that Mr Thomas Finall is to wait in the room of Robert Strong, musician in ordinary to his Majesty for the violin.'¹⁵⁷ This is followed by frequent payments to 'Finall', 'Fynell' and 'Finell' as a

¹⁵⁴ John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 5 vols (2nd ed. London: J. Alfred Novello, 1853), ii, 771.

¹⁵⁵ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 121–2, 264, 299, 411, 420.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 410–11; Lawlor, *Fasti*, 225, 228, 232, 245, 249; Bernard, *Register of the Liberty of St Patrick*, 19.

¹⁵⁷ Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, i, 67.

violinist with sums paid almost every year until 1676—the year before Thomas Finell took a position in St Patrick's Cathedral. On 2 November 1681, however, the court records state: 'Notice to stop the wages of Jeoffrey Ayleworth, Thomas Farmer, Thomas Finell and Richard Tomlinson until further notice they being suspended for neglecting their duty in attending at the play acted before his Majesty at Whitehall on Tuesday night last.' A payment was nonetheless made on 17 May the following year 'to 17 of the King's music attending the King at Windsor' including '£11.13.2 Henry Purcell and £11.12.8½ Thomas Finall'.¹⁵⁸ The court records for 1 April 1690 mention a 'Letter from Anne Fynall of Westminster, widow, relict, and administratrix of the goods and chattels of Thomas Fynall, late of Westminster, gent., deceased, (formerly one of the violins to the late King Charles II), appointing David Webb of Westminster, joiner, as her true and lawful attorney to receive any money due to Thomas Fynall for his salary or otherwise'.¹⁵⁹ While the identities of these Finells is not certain, it is probable that there is some connection with the Dublin Finells. This is suggested by 'A PASTORAL ELEGY ON THE Much lamented Death of the Reverend and Celebrated Mr PETER FINALL' published in Dublin in March 1728.¹⁶⁰ This elegy opens: 'Weep ev'ry Eye, and ev'ry Tongue deplore, Our PURCELL's dead, and FINALL is no more.' (See plate 11.)

A John Finell was appointed half vicar choral of St Patrick's Cathedral in 1711, and died in office two years later. A Peter Finell held several posts as vicar and minor canon from 1700 until his death in 1727. Like Thomas Finell, he is buried in the graveyard. It is likely that Thomas and Peter (and possibly John) were brothers. Peter's son, also Thomas is buried in the cathedral graveyard too.¹⁶¹

In addition to the Isaacs, Hodge, Daniel Roseingrave and the Finnels, John Phipps must be mentioned as a possible courier of Purcell's anthem. He was the copyist of Ob MS Tenbury 1503 which is the unique source for Purcell's *O Lord, grant the king a long life*.¹⁶² Phipps was appointed a vicar choral at St Patrick's in 1720, and remained in the cathedral choir until his death in 1758 or 1759.¹⁶³ He may have been related to the Benjamin Phipps who

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., i, 196; vii, 245.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., ii, 32.

¹⁶⁰ Printed by George Faulkner and James Hoey (Dublin). Faulkner was Jonathan Swift's publisher.

¹⁶¹ Lawlor, *Fasti*, 204, 218, 228; Bernard, *Register of the Liberty of St Patrick*, 29, 31.

¹⁶² Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 157–8.

¹⁶³ Lawlor, *Fasti*, 223, 245.

Plate 11 A Pastoral Elegy on the death of Peter Finall printed by George Faulkner (Jonathan Swift's publisher).

A PASTORAL
E L E G Y

ON THE

Much lamented Death of the Reverend and Celebrated Mr
PETER FINALL, who belong'd to the Choirs of
St. Patrick's and Christ-Church, and departed this mortal
Life on Friday the eighth of this Instant March, 1727-8.

*Hunc Risus, Ladusq; Jocusq;
Et Numeri innumeri simul omnes collacry manant.*

Plaut.

WEEP ev'ry Eye, and ev'ry Tongue deplore,
Our PURCELL's dead; and FINALL is no more;
Is ev'ry Lyre to Finall's Praise unstrung,
Whose tuneful Voice so oft his Maker Sung?
The Lukewarm Muse has been inspir'd by you,
And shall the Muse to thee refuse thy due?
Orpheus the Rocks inanimate did charm,
But you the Atheist's colder Breast could warm;
When thou thy Voice hast lifted to the Lord,
The trembling Atheist hath his God ador'd,
In mournful Notes if you your Sins confess'd,
His Heart has melted in his Conscious Breast.
Weep ev'ry Eye, and ev'ry Tongue deplore,
Our Purcell's dead, and Finall is no more.
Timotheus did the Grecian Youth controul,
And rule the Motions of his troubled Soul,
With martial Rage now warm'd his rising Breast,
Now melted into Love his Royal Guest:
The Various strings did various Thoughts inspire,
Not less thy Voice could do, than did his Lyre.
How has Divine Cecilia blush'd to see
So just a Rival of herself in Thee?
When you have Sung, She hath mistook the Key,
And her swift Fingers have forgot to play.
Weep ev'ry Eye, and ev'ry Tongue deplore,
Our Purcell's Dead, and Finall is no more.
That Voice, which prais'd on Earth his God so well,
Shall now among th' immortal Quire excell,
And He among th' Angelick Host shall shine,
Who here fill'd ev'ry Breast with Love Divine.
For Him shall SWIFT, for Him shall ELLIS grieve,
And Envy to his Merits Praises give;
But would the Reader his just Merits know,
Finall must live, for he alone can show.
Weep ev'ry Eye, and ev'ry Tongue deplore;
Our Purcell's Dead, and Finall is no more.

Dublin: Printed by George Faulkner and James Hoey, 1727-8.

was prebendary of Kilmactalway at St Patrick's from 1666 until his death in 1682, and simultaneously Dean of Ferns from 1670 and Chancellor of Christ Church Cathedral from 1673.¹⁶⁴

2.3 THE MUSICAL TEXT

The repertoires of the two sets of part books **C** and **D**, their varying notational styles, and the tendency of the Christ Church (**D**) set to preserve readings less inclined to eighteenth-century 'improvement', suggest that the St Patrick's set is the later of the two. Indeed, the copies at St Patrick's are almost certainly replacements for older books destroyed by the flooding described in chapter 1. The music at Christ Church was not threaten by flooding because of the cathedral's hilltop situation. The 'improvements' in *Praise the Lord, ye servants* include the modification of dissonances in bars 12–14 of the chorus 'The Lord is high above all heathen'. In the Christ Church books **D1–6** (which lack the treble and organ parts) the music appears as:

The image shows three staves of musical notation in 3/4 time, with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are 'a - bove the Heav'ns.' The top staff is in treble clef, the middle staff is in alto clef (C-clef on the third line), and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The lyrics are aligned under the notes: 'a - bove the Heav'ns.' for the top staff, 'a - bove the Heav'ns.' for the middle staff, and 'a - bove the Heav'ns.' for the bottom staff. The middle staff has a long horizontal line under 'bove'.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 121.

The tenor part has been altered in bar 13 in the St Patrick's books **C3–4** to read:

The image shows a musical score for three parts: Soprano, Alto, and Bass. The time signature is 3/4. The lyrics are "a - bove the Heav'ns." The Soprano part has a dotted quarter note on 'a', a quarter note on 'bove', a quarter note on 'the', and a dotted quarter note on 'Heav'ns.'. The Alto part has a dotted quarter note on 'a', a quarter note on 'bove', a quarter note on 'the', and a dotted quarter note on 'Heav'ns.'. The Bass part has a dotted quarter note on 'a', a quarter note on 'bove', a quarter note on 'the', and a dotted quarter note on 'Heav'ns.'.

The bass leap of a minor ninth is a rather cumbersome attempt by the youthful Purcell to avoid the veiled effect of parallel unisons between the tenor and bass parts.

The Dublin part books also contain examples of shortened notes at the ends of sections. This eighteenth-century 'improvement' was presumably intended to clear the upbeat for the following section. The chorus 'The Lord's name is praised' ends as follows in the Chapel Royal source **B** (bars 5–7).

The image shows a musical score for a single part in 3/4 time. The lyrics are "The Lord's name is prais - ed." The notes are: a dotted quarter note on 'The', a quarter note on 'Lord's', a quarter note on 'name', a quarter note on 'is', a dotted quarter note on 'prais', and a dotted quarter note on 'ed.'.

In **C1–6** and **D 1–9** this has been adjusted to:

The image shows a musical score for three parts: Soprano, Alto, and Bass. The time signature is 3/4. The lyrics are "The Lord's name is prais - ed." The Soprano part has a dotted quarter note on 'The', a quarter note on 'Lord's', a quarter note on 'name', a quarter note on 'is', a dotted quarter note on 'prais', and a dotted quarter note on 'ed.'. The Alto part has a dotted quarter note on 'The', a quarter note on 'Lord's', a quarter note on 'name', a quarter note on 'is', a dotted quarter note on 'prais', and a dotted quarter note on 'ed.'. The Bass part has a dotted quarter note on 'The', a quarter note on 'Lord's', a quarter note on 'name', a quarter note on 'is', a dotted quarter note on 'prais', and a dotted quarter note on 'ed.'.

The term 'loft books' (**D7–9**) may simply refer to the place where the books were stored, but it is interesting to note that it is these books that contain the verse sections of *Praise the Lord, ye servants*. The soloists may thus have stationed themselves in the organ loft or some other gallery. Finer details of performance practice in the now-destroyed Chapel Royal at Whitehall Palace in London are obscure, but it would seem that vocal soloists had their own gallery there whilst the main body of singers was at ground level. The string players may have been occupied a separate gallery or surrounded the organ. Such arrangements were effectively polychoral and it is probable that this was also the practice in Dublin—soloists certainly sang from the organ loft in St Patrick's in the nineteenth century.

Strings were used at Christ Church Cathedral from 1677 to accompany the choir at important services but this practice declined after 1685.¹⁶⁵ The records are less complete at St Patrick's but it seems likely that practice was similar at both cathedrals. The books in Dublin do not indicate any use of strings, so it seems that a version for organ and voices was used. This would probably have involved some cuts in the music of the original string symphonies, common practice in Dublin and elsewhere in the eighteenth century.¹⁶⁶ Certainly, the part books in the Dublin cathedrals contain numerous examples of shortened versions of anthems and services.

Zimmerman believed in the existence of more than one version of the anthem: the Nanki manuscript (**B**) indicates four soloists, whereas Novello suggests just 'three voices'. The Dublin sources confirm that the scoring is indeed for four soloists, and that there were four (or possibly even five) parts in the choruses.

Was *Praise the Lord, ye servants* ever performed from these part books? It is one of the very few anthems in these books which do not appear in any organ book, even though organ books have tended to survive the flooding at St Patrick's better than part books. Moreover, no treble parts exist and the verse parts are fragmentary. The anthem is not in the score books at Christ Church which appear to have been copied from part books and organ books dating from the early and mid eighteenth century. The part-book format saved

¹⁶⁵ *Christ Church Cathedral*, ed. Milne, 300.

¹⁶⁶ For revealing observations on such selective cutting in eighteenth-century Dublin, see Watkins Shaw, 'John Matthews's Manuscript of *Messiah*', *Music & Letters*, xxxix (1958), 116.

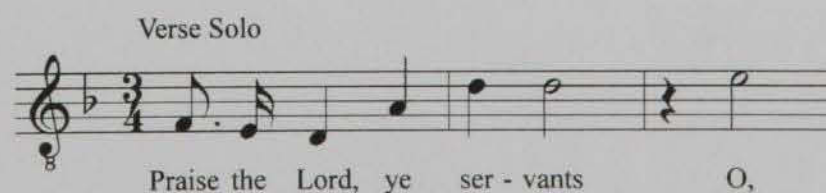
time, space and money, but was more susceptible to scribal error. The omission of *Praise the Lord, ye servants* from the score books suggests that the compiler did not have all the parts to hand, and/or that the conflicting readings in the part books defeated him.

Only three verse anthems with strings by Purcell can be reliably dated as earlier than 1677: *Praise the Lord, ye servants* (Z. N.68), *If the Lord Himself* (Z. N.66)¹⁶⁷ and *My beloved spake* (Z.28). *Praise the Lord, ye servants* is confirmed by Chapel Royal sources (A and B) as one of Purcell's earliest symphony anthems. All three works survive in the British Library source (A), but *My beloved spake* is probably the latest of the three—it not included in the Nanki source (B).

Though it is one of the earliest surviving sources for Purcell's sacred music, A contains *My beloved spake*, an extended symphony anthem showing a high level of technical ability for a composer only in his late teens. *Praise the Lord, ye servants* does not reach the same level of achievement, and is thus very probably an earlier work. Its sections are quite short: only two exceed twenty bars; many are shorter than ten.

Although the Dublin sources (C and D) are incomplete, they nonetheless help to resolve some of the uncertainties about *Praise the Lord, ye servants*, and they tend to support Zimmerman's conjectural plan for it. As his catalogue has been used so widely by scholars, his numbering scheme is retained here.

The first section of the anthem of the anthem to have survived is the verse 'Praise the Lord, ye servants' (numbered by Zimmerman as 2a). Purcell reworked the motivic material in bars 1–7 in the relative major in the following bars. The declamatory nature of the text is underpinned by the rhythmic figure in the opening bar and by dramatic accentuation of the word 'O'.¹⁶⁸



¹⁶⁷ Zimmerman did not note that this anthem is included in Lbl Add. MS 50860 (A) when compiling his *Analytical Catalogue*. The end of the anthem, which probably included an attribution to Purcell, is missing in this source, which probably explains Zimmerman's oversight. Its inclusion in Nanki MS N-5/10 (B) however confirms its authenticity beyond reasonable doubt.

¹⁶⁸ Purcell used the same device in his anthem *Thy word is a lantern* (Z.61).

The tonic/relative major juxtaposition in this verse section is repeated in the following chorus 2b as well as chorus 6 and verse 11a. Martin Adams has pointed to the influence of Blow and Humfrey in *My beloved spake*, where sectional repetition and contrast highlight the dramatic potential of the text.¹⁶⁹ As these anthems were written during the same period, it is not surprising to find the similar influences at work in *Praise the Lord, ye servants*. Both anthems make very restricted use of modulation.

Chorus 2b contains some aurally discernable parallel fifths between the alto and tenor (bars 5–6). This is a rare occurrence in the works of Purcell, who was so drawn to strict compositional models for his music. Furthermore, there are thinly veiled parallel octaves between the bass parts of the verse section 3a (bars 5–6): bar 6 of this verse section has rather crude part writing between the tenor and bass over an uneasy dominant pedal. Unless they are the result of faulty copying, the presence of such contrapuntal misdemeanours points to an early date of composition.

¹⁶⁹ Adams, *Henry Purcell*, 19.

Verse section 5 contains a good example of the type of rhetorical text setting that was used by many Restoration composers. The descending scale passage depicting the setting of the sun, where the second bass covers a scale of a twelfth in its first entry, presages the more impressive two octave descent in *They that go down to the sea in ships*, a solo written for the extraordinary voice of the Reverend John Gostling.¹⁷⁰

Purcell probably got the feel for this type of word painting from anthems which he encountered as a chorister in the Chapel Royal; possibly the 'fell down, down, down' section from Blow's *I beheld and lo, a great multitude* which is present in sources A and B.

The descent in fourths in the tenor and first bass parts in bar 10 of this verse section is another instance of rather unrefined writing. However, a missing countertenor part may move in parallel thirds above the tenor part thereby alleviating the effect.

¹⁷⁰ This anthem is normally dated c.1685.

8

down of the same un - to the go - ing down of the same.

down of the same. Un - to the go - ing down of the same.

down of the same, the go - ing down of the same.

There is another example of this type of text setting in verse 8a.

[be]hold the things that are in heav'n and earth.

This gives an interesting comparison to the late setting of the *Te Deum in D* where the bass drops to a low register at the words 'and earth.'

Hea - - - - - ven

Hea - - - - - ven

and earth

Verse 10a has a very expressive, if rather crude treatment of the word 'poor'. This harmonic treatment may likewise be a foreshadowing of some of the harmonic episodes in *My beloved spake*. Verse 11a deploys the tonic/relative major contrast of earlier sections. Although probably too early to have been written for John Gostling's renowned bass range, it ends with a low D for the second bass.¹⁷¹

The closing choruses 12a and 12b are the most extended sections of the entire anthem (35 bars) and, also as in *My beloved spake*, are interspersed with contributions from the solo voices. It is regrettable that no string parts have survived, as a comparison with string parts of other early symphony anthems would doubtless be illuminating, particularly with respect to motivic relationships between string and vocal writing.

In conclusion, it is probable that the early dating of the Chapel Royal books and the stylistic elements in the music indicate that it is a very early anthem, possibly Purcell's first attempt at a symphony anthem. The survival of the parts in Dublin and the apparent disappearance of parts in England suggest that the music came to Ireland soon after its composition and that it was lost in England at an early stage. Just how long it continued to be performed at Christ Church and St Patrick's is questionable: if performance were attempted using the part books at the Dublin cathedrals, the many textual conflicts would have ensured a perilous, even cacophonous result. These confusing variant readings (see critical commentary in appendix 5 below) may one day be resolved if another source comes to light.

¹⁷¹ Purcell has a very low bass range in many of his later verse anthems that were written for John Gostling: this renders them difficult to perform, as few basses possess the necessary range.

CHAPTER 3
THE REPERTOIRE AND
ITS RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER COLLECTIONS

The repertoire contained in the eighteenth-century manuscripts in the library at St Patrick's reflects the taste of the church and the musicians working for it in the post-Restoration period. The pre-Commonwealth music in the collection is of slight musicological importance, being standard repertoire that is present in most other cathedral manuscripts and early printed editions. Obviously, the manuscripts at St Patrick's are very late copies of this repertoire, and tracing their ancestry would be a highly speculative, if not unfeasible task. Even if a successful trail could be established, it would be unlikely to yield any significant information.

The post-Restoration material is, however, much more interesting. Though none of the surviving copies dates from earlier than 1738, many have an Irish ancestor or ancestors contemporary with the music's composition. The frequent flooding described in chapter 1 resulted in the copies needing to be replaced at fairly regular intervals: the surviving books therefore have direct links with the immediate post-Restoration period.

This chapter considers the repertoire of the post-Restoration library and establishes connections with other collections. In some cases these connections are well defined: in others they are speculative and purport to be nothing more.

The music libraries at St Patrick's and Christ Church are closely related. Indeed their contents are so similar that their identities might not be considered to be independent. It was essentially the same body of musicians that provided music at both institutions from the Restoration until the middle of the nineteenth century.

The music manuscripts held in the library of Christ Church Cathedral have been catalogued by Susan Hemmens and Eamonn O'Keefe. The purview of their respective projects did not include placing that library in the wider context of cathedral music in the British Isles, but the findings of this chapter will by and large also be applicable to the Christ Church collection. In fact, much information from this study will be incorporated into a joint

catalogue of all music manuscripts held at the Dublin cathedrals.¹⁷²

In the following survey, composers, copyists and others who may have had a role in the transmission of music manuscripts are grouped under the establishments where they worked—even if their music's exact route to Dublin cannot be traced. Each individual has a main listing under one institution—normally the one where he held his last post—and other citations are cross-referenced to that main listing. In some cases, composers are listed under institutions other than those where they worked if the representation of their *oeuvre* at that institution is significantly linked to Dublin: Humfrey and Locke, for example, are thus listed under Durham Cathedral. For the sake of completeness, composers are mentioned under every institution with which they had connections even where links with Dublin are not obvious. Listings have been arranged in this way in order to facilitate consideration of transmission history and perhaps to act as a catalyst for similar research on other collections. The short biographical notes concentrate on geographical issues and the various appointments held by the persons concerned, as these are the details which are most likely to shed light on the transmission of sources to and from Dublin.

Representation of composers' works in the collection at St Patrick's is tabulated at the beginning of each section. In the case of services, the movements given in the tables are those present in the books at St Patrick's, rather than all the movements known to have been set by the composers concerned. Anthem titles are given in the standardised forms used in appendixes 1 and 2.

Interest in service writing seems to have declined markedly in the early Restoration years, whilst interest in the new solo and verse anthem styles increased. The post-Restoration service settings by local and cross-channel composers that have survived in the Dublin books reveal competence but little inspiration. Composers in this period were more attracted by the variety of texts available for anthem settings and seem to have considered service setting to be a necessary chore enlivened only by the often excessive repetition of word-painting clichés. Most of the new music added to the books at St Patrick's in this period consists of anthems rather than services. Almost half of the services that were written after 1700 are by local composers Shenton, Roseingrave, Walsh, Parkinson,

¹⁷² This catalogue is currently being prepared by Susan Hemmens and the present writer for publication in 2004.

Broadway, Carter and Higgins, whereas—with the possible exception of Rogers—none of the earlier services have local connections.

Although the business of anthem writing was more inspired in this period, products were uneven in quality. The later addition of cut-markings to certain anthems is, therefore, hardly surprising. Although such cuts may have been intended merely to save time, they are often justifiable on purely artistic grounds: among the lesser lights of the eighteenth century, a lack of inspiration was often married to a lack of brevity.

Perhaps in view of the disappointing quality of contemporary service settings, the service repertoire by Tudor and Stuart composers was maintained in the collection at St Patrick's together with a handful of 'ancient' anthems. The three major pioneers of the early Restoration period Blow, Humfrey and Purcell are much better represented as are those fashionable contemporaries Croft and Greene. The particularly strong presence of local composers Roseingrave and Shenton is a distinguishing characteristic. Details of the service settings and anthems that have survived in the eighteenth-century music library at St Patrick's are included in the following sections.

3.1 ARMAGH CATHEDRAL

Seat of the Archbishop and Primate of all Ireland, Armagh is one of the few Irish cathedrals outside Dublin to have had a music establishment approaching that of English cathedrals, despite its comparatively remote situation about a hundred miles north-west of the capital. Sadly, very few records survive from earlier than the middle of the nineteenth century.

3.1.1 John Hawkshaw

Hawkshaw was organist of Armagh *c.*1661–*c.*1670. Grindle identifies him as the first organist of both Dublin cathedrals after the Restoration.¹⁷³ Shaw is less conclusive but suggests that a connection is likely.¹⁷⁴ In any case, Hawkshaw does not appear to have been active as a composer and there is no direct evidence of his being responsible for the transmission of manuscripts across the Irish sea.

See under Dublin, St Patrick's Cathedral

¹⁷³ Grindle, *Irish Cathedral Music*, 219.

¹⁷⁴ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 403.

3.1.2 Robert Hodge

?d. 1709

A Robert Hodge was organist from 1695 until about 1711. In outlining the dismal state of music in Armagh at this time, Grindle suggests that Hodge was an absentee there and simultaneously held multiple posts in the Dublin cathedrals.¹⁷⁵ Shaw is more cautious, suggesting that the Dublin Hodge and the Armagh Hodge may have been different individuals.¹⁷⁶ Were there only one Hodge, however, the post at Armagh would have been vacant 1709–11 as the Dublin Hodge died in 1709. Details of that Hodge's activities in bringing music to Dublin from England have been discussed in chapters 1 and 2.

See under Dublin, St Patrick's Cathedral

3.1.3 Richard Langdon

c.1729–1803

Langdon was a chorister at Exeter Cathedral and became organist there in 1753. His duties at Exeter included copying organ books. After brief periods as cathedral organist at Ely (1777) and Bristol (1777–81), he came to Armagh (1782–94) whence he retired back to Exeter.¹⁷⁷ In view of his known copying activities, it is possible that he was responsible for the transmission to Ireland of repertoire from any of the three English cathedrals where he worked, but there is no firm evidence for this. *Langdon in A* is included in the entries for Bristol, Exeter and St Davids cathedrals in a list of services compiled by one 'X. A. P.' in the early 1820s (hereinafter referred to as Service Catalogue 1824). The evening service appears twice on the list once as 'Sequel to Boyce' and once as 'Chanting Service'.¹⁷⁸ Langdon appears in J. S. Bumpus's biographical sketches in Ob MS Mus.c.425. Some of Langdon's music is included in this volume and in Ob MS Tenbury 651.

See under Oxford, Bodleian Library

3.1.4 Langrish Doyle

c.1753–1814

The date of Doyle's appointment to Armagh as organist is not quite clear, but 1776 seems likeliest. He moved to Dublin in 1780, becoming organist, master of the choristers and a

¹⁷⁵ Grindle, *Irish Cathedral Music*, 35, 219.

¹⁷⁶ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 403.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 39, 103, 114, 404.

¹⁷⁸ *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* (1824), 27, 311, 315.

stipendiary of Christ Church Cathedral, where he also acted as copyist.¹⁷⁹

See under Dublin, Christ Church Cathedral

3.1.5 John Clarke (later Clarke-Whitfeld)
 1770–1836

Clarke was born in Gloucester and became organist of Armagh Cathedral in 1794, moving to Dublin—in the footsteps of his predecessor—in 1797 to become master of the choristers at both cathedrals. He returned to England in 1798 ‘owing to the Irish rebellion’.¹⁸⁰

See under Hereford Cathedral

3.2 BANGOR

The geographical location of Bangor Cathedral on the North Wales coast would suggest fertile ground for movement of personnel and music to and from Dublin. The cathedral was poorly endowed, however, and with the possible exception of Priest’s Service in F, none of the Dublin repertory seems to have originated there.

3.2.1 ?Nathaniel Priest
 fl. c.1730

Watkins Shaw notes the appointment of a certain ‘Priest’ as organist of Bangor Cathedral in 1705, and speculates that this may be the Nathaniel Priest who was appointed organist of Bristol in 1710.¹⁸¹

See under Bristol Cathedral

3.3 BRISTOL

Bristol was a busy port in the eighteenth century and its westerly location makes it a likely line of transmission of music to Ireland. Despite being one of the largest cities in England, however, Bristol Cathedral was not well endowed in the Restoration period.¹⁸² No music manuscripts have survived from that time there, but some musical and personnel connections with Dublin can be traced.

¹⁷⁹ Shaw *The Succession of Organists*, 404, 412.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 140–1.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 22 and Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 350.

¹⁸² Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 193.

3.3.1 Elway Bevin

d. 1638

Bevin was organist of Bristol Cathedral from 1585 until his death in 1638. He had previously been a lay vicar choral at Wells Cathedral and was appointed a gentleman of the Chapel Royal in 1605.¹⁸³ His First Service, also called the Dorian or Short Service (Te, Bs, J, K, Cr, Ma, N) travelled widely probably owing to its inclusion in Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick*. Although vocal parts have not survived at St Patrick's, an accompaniment is included in organ book 77. As with other pre-Commonwealth services at St Patrick's, the original *Venite* is omitted and the *Jubilate* is an adaptation by Robert Shenton (c.1730–98)¹⁸⁴ of Bevin's *Benedictus*. This adaptation and others like it were almost certainly made with brevity in mind: the text of the *Jubilate* (Psalm 100, four verses) is less than half the length of the text of its alternative the *Benedictus* (Luke, 1: 68–79). A different *Jubilate* for this service is also found at Ely Cathedral, where MS 9 contains Bevin's *Jubilate* 'probably peculiar to Ely'.¹⁸⁵ It is not clear whether this is the work of Bevin himself or a local adaptation à la Shenton to enable the morning service to be used without the lengthy *Benedictus*.

3.3.2 Thomas Deane

Thomas Deane was appointed organist of Bristol Cathedral in 1640. His duties there were interrupted by the civil war, but he returned in 1660 and remained in the post until 1668. As no Restoration music has survived from Bristol, it is not clear if Deane was active as a composer there. A service by one Thomas Deane is included in the part-books at St Patrick's, but it is probably by the Thomas Deane who was a lay clerk in Worcester Cathedral in the early eighteenth century.¹⁸⁶

See under Worcester Cathedral

¹⁸³ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 36–7.

¹⁸⁴ See under Dublin, St Patrick's.

¹⁸⁵ Now held at the University Library, Cambridge.

¹⁸⁶ Grove (1980) v, 290.

3.3.3 Nathaniel Priest

fl. c.1730

Priest was a chorister at the Chapel Royal,¹⁸⁷ and was organist of Bristol Cathedral from 1710 until 1734. He may be the Priest who was organist of Bangor Cathedral (1705–8).¹⁸⁸ His Service in F (Te, J, Ma, N) is the only example of his work at St Patrick's. It travelled quite widely, and Ian Spink has observed that 'there are some expressive moments in F minor, but others which are empty and pretentious.'¹⁸⁹

3.3.4 Edward Higgins

d. 1769

Table 3.1

TYPE	KEY	MOVEMENTS
Services	D	Te, J, Cr, K, Ca, De
	E♭	Te, J, Cr, K
	A	Te, J
Single Chant		

Higgins was organist of Bristol Cathedral from 1759 until 1764 before entering the choirs of St Patrick's and Christ Church Cathedrals in 1765. He died in 1769 and was buried in Bristol.¹⁹⁰ He may have brought music with him from Bristol, but as the books that contain his services in Dublin are in John Mathews's hand, they were copied after Mathews's arrival in 1776 and therefore do not help in dating his compositions. The probability that his Service in D was written in Dublin is supported by the RISM citation of Dublin sources and Durham MS A18 (of Dublin origin) only.

3.3.5 Richard Langdon

c.1729–1803

Langdon was organist of Bristol Cathedral from 1777 to 1781.

See under Armagh Cathedral

¹⁸⁷ A payment on 18 January 1706 'To pay the usual allowance of £20 to Nathaniel Priest, late child of the Chapel' is noted in Andrew Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, ii, 86.

¹⁸⁸ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 38.

¹⁸⁹ Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 194.

¹⁹⁰ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 39.

3.3.6 Carter

The identity of the composer(s) Carter will be discussed under Dublin, St Patrick's Cathedral, but a manuscript at St Paul's Cathedral, London suggests a Bristol connection. Tenor MS 6 contains a note 'Mr Carter was one of the Vergers and one of the Choir of Bristol bred under Dr Blow and was the last boy but one whom the Dr educated. N.B. Mr Kent was the last.'

See under Dublin, St Patrick's Cathedral

3.4 CAMBRIDGE

Considering its easterly location in England, it is not surprising that connections between the colleges at Cambridge and the repertoire at the Dublin cathedrals are not strong. However, the Cambridge organ builder, Lancelot Pease, was active in Ireland, building organs for the chapel of Trinity College and other places.¹⁹¹

3.4.1 KING'S COLLEGE

3.4.1.1 Richard Hosier d. 1677

The Richard Hosier who was the copyist of Durham MS B1 was a member of the choir at King's College in the 1630s. This Durham manuscript was copied whilst Hosier held posts in the Dublin cathedrals in the immediate post-Restoration period.¹⁹²

See under Durham Cathedral

3.4.1.2 John Bishop 1665–1737

John Bishop was a lay clerk and the master of the choristers in 1688. He succeeded Jeremiah Clarke as organist of Winchester College in 1695.¹⁹³

See under Winchester Cathedral

¹⁹¹ The organ at Trinity has outlived the chapel building it was built for and the case is preserved in the Public Theatre of the College. It is the oldest organ case surviving in Ireland.

¹⁹² Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 225.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 201.

3.4.2 TRINITY COLLEGE

3.4.2.1 James Kent

1700–76

James Kent was organist of Trinity College from 1731 until he moved to Winchester Cathedral in 1737.¹⁹⁴

See under Winchester Cathedral

3.4.2.2 John Clarke (later Clarke-Whitfeld)

1770–1836

John Clarke came from Dublin to Cambridge to be organist at Trinity and St John's colleges 1799–1820.¹⁹⁵

See under Hereford Cathedral

3.5 CANTERBURY

The only piece that appears in the library of Canterbury that may have a direct connection with Dublin is Carter's *Hear my prayer*. However, the following pieces by minor composers included in the library at Canterbury are also present in the books at St Patrick's and may indicate some indirect associations:

Table 3.2

COMPOSER	TYPE	TITLE
Cooke	Services	Service in C
Priest		Service in F
Stephens		Service in E□
Blake	Anthems	I have set God
Reynolds		My God, my God

The Service Catalogue 1824 includes Bacon's Service in A as being in the repertoire at Canterbury. This service came to Ireland via John Mathews (Edinburgh MS1).

See under Edinburgh

¹⁹⁴ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 367.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 140–1.

A Collection of Anthems as Performed in the Cathedral and Metropolitan Church at Canterbury (3rd edition) was published in 1845. This volume does not contain any anthems of Irish origin, but it does include *Lord of all power* by Mason. This anthem composed in far away York reached Dublin also.

3.6 CARLISLE

The cathedral was severely damaged by the Scottish army in 1646 and was in a ruinous condition in the early Restoration period. Virtually no music from the period has survived and it has not been possible to make any direct connections with the repertoire in Dublin despite a westerly location.¹⁹⁶

3.7 CASHEL CATHEDRAL

Cashel Cathedral is situated about 100 miles south west of Dublin on the main route to Cork. There was a small choral establishment there in the eighteenth century which survived until about the middle of the nineteenth. Several members of the Mathews family held posts at the cathedral from the 1780s. References to Cashel in the Edinburgh manuscripts in John Mathews's hand suggest a Cashel provenance.

The music library at the cathedral is neither catalogued nor inventoried. However, a brief inspection of the library revealed about fifty manuscript books from the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-centuries. Many of these books are in Mathews's hand. A thorough investigation and listing of this collection is likely to show a close connection with repertoire in Dublin, and it seems that the books at Dublin were the primary source for those at Cashel together with additional material provided by local composers.

The Cashel repertoire is drawn mainly from the second set of part books at St Patrick's. In addition to anthems by Stevenson and Woodward, a chant by Langdon, and Carter's *I cried unto God*, it includes the following services by Irish and Irish-connected composers:

¹⁹⁶ Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 215.

Table 3.3

SERVICE	COMPOSER
E♭	Higgins
D	Walsh
E and E♭	Shenton
B♭	Woodward
A	Langdon
C	Stevenson

3.8 CHAPEL ROYAL

The Chapel Royal is not a building, but a collegiate body in the monarch's retinue. The reign of Charles II was a golden age for the chapel and the King lavished resources on its musical establishment. Its repertoire was the most potent single force acting on cathedral music in the period, and this influence was felt as strongly in Dublin as in the English cathedrals.

3.8.1 Richard Farrant 1529–80

Farrant was a gentleman of the Chapel Royal and organist of St George's Chapel, Windsor.

See under St George's Chapel, Windsor

3.8.2 Thomas Tallis c.1505–85

Table 3.4

TYPE	TITLE	MOVEMENTS
Services	Short Service	Te, Bs, J, K, Cr, Sa, Ma, N
Anthems	I call and cry I will give thanks (adapted by Henry Aldrich) ¹⁹⁷	

Tallis was a lay clerk at Canterbury Cathedral from c.1540. He was a gentleman in the Chapel Royal by 1547 and organist there by 1575, probably holding the post until his death in 1585.¹⁹⁸ His Short Service is present in most cathedral collections, but at St Patrick's, it is supplemented by a setting of the *Jubilate* adapted from the *Benedictus* by Revd Robert Shenton. John Mathews makes reference to this adaptation, together with similar ones for

¹⁹⁷ This anthem is investigated under Aldrich (Oxford, Christ Church).

¹⁹⁸ Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 2.

services by Bevin, Gibbons, Byrd and Farrant, in a letter to the chapter of Durham Cathedral:

Those First 5 Jubilates I thought would be very usefull in the Choir and Church of Durham as well as here in Dublin as the Benedictus of those old authors are in many Cathedrals often thought too long.¹⁹⁹

Later composers, such as Roseingrave, either set both the *Jubilate* and *Benedictus* or just the *Jubilate*.²⁰⁰ The grasp of the modality of Tallis's Short Service displayed by the compiler of the indexes at St Patrick's is faulty—it is listed as 'Tallis in C' in C.3.1, 'Mr Tallis in D' in C.3.3.

See also under Oxford, Christ Church—Aldrich

3.8.3 William Byrd c.1540–1623

Table 3.5

TYPE	TITLE	MOVEMENTS
Services	Short Service	Te, Bs, J, K, Cr, Ma, N
Anthems	Be not wroth very sore	

Byrd (or Bird as his name is spelt in the part books) was an organist of the Chapel Royal 1575–c.1613 having been organist of Lincoln Cathedral 1563–72.²⁰¹ The part books in Dublin are very late copies of his music and cannot be considered primary sources in any meaningful sense. However, his representation indicates that his music was performed in the post-Restoration period in Dublin.

Byrd's Short Service circulated widely and was an integral part of the *lingua franca* of cathedral music: its appearance in the part books in Dublin is hardly surprising. As with Tallis's Short Service, Shenton adapted a *Jubilate* from the *Benedictus*: 'for Mr Birds Service—Taken from his Benedictus by Revd Robt Shenton V.C.C.C. & St P.'²⁰²

The only other music by Byrd in the eighteenth-century library is *Be not wroth very sore*.

¹⁹⁹ The full text of this letter is given in section 3.13.5.

²⁰⁰ Ralph Roseingrave's Service in C has both *Benedictus* and *Jubilate* whereas his Service in F has *Jubilate* alone. The *Benedictus* from the Service in C is absent from sources for this services at Christ Church Cathedral Dublin. Significantly, Mathews omitted it from Durham MS A18 whilst he included all the other movements.

²⁰¹ Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 3, 155.

This is a re-composition of Byrd's motet *Ne irascaris* by Henry Aldrich. It is a later addition to the first set of part books in the hand of John Mathews—who does not name Aldrich as the adaptor.

See also under Oxford, Christ Church—Aldrich

3.8.4 Orlando Gibbons
1583–1625

Table 3.6

TYPE	TITLE	MOVEMENTS
Services	Short Service	Te, Bs, J, K, Cr, Sa, Ma, N
Anthems	Almighty and everlasting God	
	Hosanna to the Son of David	
	Lift up your heads	
	O clap your hands	
	O Lord God, to whom	

Gibbons was a chorister at King's College, Cambridge, and was an organist of the Chapel Royal from 1605 until his death in 1625.²⁰³ His Short Service circulated widely and, as with other Tudor services, Shenton cobbled together a *Jubilate* from the *Benedictus*.

Gibbons is also represented by five anthems—a larger representation than Tallis or Byrd. Apart from *Hosanna to the Son of David*, however, which is in the first set of part books, these anthems appear in organ book 79 only (in the hand of John Mathews) and they are a tone higher than the original pitch. The second part of the anthem *O clap your hands* is copied as a separate anthem—*God is gone up*.

3.8.5 John Bull
c.1562–1628

Bull was organist of the Chapel Royal from 1592 until 1613 and his anthem repertory has a sole representative at St Patrick's.²⁰⁴ It is an adaptation by Aldrich of *Almighty God, who by the leading of a star* to the words *O Lord, my God* which appears in Boyce. It appears in

²⁰² Organ books 77 and 88.

²⁰³ Shaw *The Succession of Organists*, 6.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.

organ book 79 only, in Mathews's hand. It is likely that this anthem was reintroduced as a result of its inclusion in Boyce, but its presence in the 1662 anthem word book from Christ Church Cathedral indicates that it was in the repertoire in Dublin in the early-Restoration period also.

See under Oxford, Christ Church—Aldrich

3.8.6 Pelham Humfrey

1647–74

Table 3.7

TYPE	TITLE
Anthems	Haste thee, O God
	Have mercy upon me, O God [II]
	Hear, O heavens
	I will always give thanks [Club anthem]
	Like as the hart
	Lord, teach us to number our days
	O be joyful
	O Lord my God
	O praise the Lord, laud ye
	Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous
	Thou art my king, O God

Humfrey was amongst the first of Captain Cooke's choristers at the Restoration Chapel Royal.²⁰⁵ His voice broke in 1664 and, assisted by funds from the Secret Service, he travelled in Italy and France. He returned to the Chapel as a gentleman in 1667 and succeeded Cooke as master of the children in 1672.²⁰⁶ Seven of the eleven anthems that appear in St Patrick's are symphony anthems, but (as discussed in chapter 2) by the time the surviving books were copied, performance was with organ alone.

The inclusion of eleven of Humfrey's eighteen anthems at St Patrick's is a good example of strong Chapel Royal connections. This representation of Chapel Royal repertoire indicates the early ancestry of the Dublin books, because the chapel's prestige declined

²⁰⁵ Henry Cooke (d. 1672) was probably a chorister in the Chapel Royal of Charles I. He served as captain in the royalist army during the Civil War, was appointed the first master of the children at the Chapel Royal on the Restoration in 1660 and held that post until his death in 1672. Cooke was among the best choir trainers that England has ever known: among the choristers of the Restoration Chapel Royal were Pelham Humfrey, John Blow, Michael Wise, William Turner and Henry Purcell. Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 107.

after the death of Charles II and the chapel material probably made its way to Dublin soon after its composition. It is possible that more of Humfrey's anthems once belonged to the Dublin repertory in sources that are now destroyed.

Dublin is listed as a source for the anthems *Have mercy upon me*, *Like as the hart*, *O Lord my God*, *O praise the Lord* and *Thou art my king O God* in Jebb's catalogue.

Lord teach us to number our days has no attribution in the main text of the part books at St Patrick's, but it is attributed to Locke in the indexes of four of the six books (there is no attribution in the indexes of the other two books). This probable misattribution in Dublin is discussed later in connection with Locke's work.

Peter Dennison included two settings of *Have mercy upon me* in his complete edition of Humfrey's church music and it is the second of these that is present in the first set of part books.²⁰⁷ As Don Franklin has observed, Dennison overlooked two important sources for Humfrey's work which have Dublin connections: Durham MS B1 (copied by Richard Hosier in Dublin) and British Library Add. MS 50860 (the Chapel Royal bass part book that is one of two sources outside Dublin for Purcell's anthem *Praise the Lord, ye servants*). On stylistic and documentary grounds, Franklin suggests that the first setting (not present at St Patrick's) is not by Humfrey, but by Richard Hosier.²⁰⁸

See also under Durham Cathedral

3.8.7 William Turner
1652–1740

Table 3.8

TYPE	TITLE
Anthems	Lord, thou hast been our refuge
	O Lord God of hosts
	I will always give thanks [Club anthem]

Turner was a chorister at Christ Church, Oxford, and the Chapel Royal. His voice broke in

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 116.

²⁰⁷ *Pelham Humfrey: Complete Church Music.*, ed. Peter Dennison, MUSICA BRITANNICA, xxxiv–xxxv (London: Stainer & Bell, 1972).

²⁰⁸ Don Franklin, review of *Pelham Humfrey: Complete Church Music*, *Journal of the American*

1666 but he had been appointed master of the choristers at Lincoln Cathedral by the following year.²⁰⁹ The so-called ‘Club anthem’ was a composite work by Chapel Royal choristers Humfrey, Blow and Turner.

3.8.8 Henry Purcell

1659–95

Table 3.9

TYPE	TITLE	MOVEMENTS
Anthems	Be merciful unto me	
	Behold, I bring you glad tidings	
	Blessed is he that considereth	
	I was glad	
	My song shall be always	
	O give thanks	
	O God, thou art my God	
	O God, thou hast cast us out	
	O Lord God of Hosts	
	Praise the Lord, ye servants	
	Rejoice in the Lord always	
	They that go down to the sea in ships	
	Thy way, O God, is holy	
Thy word is a lantern		

Purcell’s biographical details are unclear and have been debated extensively elsewhere. Though Purcell is a common Irish name—an Ignatius Purcell was in dispute with the minor canons at St Patrick’s at the time of the Restoration concerning rights to land in the ‘town and fields of Crumlin’²¹⁰—there is no documentary evidence to support Grattan Flood’s claim that the composer was an Irishman. Purcell was the son of either Henry or Thomas Purcell, brothers who were gentlemen at the Chapel Royal. Henry Jr was one of Captain Cooke’s boys at the Chapel Royal from about 1669 until his voice broke in 1673. He was active as a composer whilst still a teenager and his anthems were in the repertoire of the Chapel Royal before 1680. He became organist of Westminster Abbey in 1679 and was appointed one of the organists of the Chapel Royal in 1682, holding both posts until his

Musicological Society, xxviii (1975), 143–9.

²⁰⁹ Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 137.

²¹⁰ Monck Mason, *History*, 85. Crumlin is now a suburb of Dublin lying about three miles to the south-west of St Patrick’s.

early death in 1695.²¹¹

Jebb's catalogue simply gives Novello's edition as the source for many of Purcell's anthems, but Dublin manuscript sources for *I was glad, O give thanks, O God, thou art my God, Sing unto God, They that go down to the sea in ships* and *Thy way, O God* are mentioned. The strong Chapel Royal representation in the collection at St Patrick's is reflected by the presence of fourteen anthems of Purcell's anthems. With the exception of *They that go down to the sea in ships*, these anthems are included in the first set of part books. *Be merciful unto me* is notated with two flats in the part-books and with three in organ book 85. The alto and bass books contain the chorus parts of *My song shall be always*. The tenor books from the set do not include this anthem and its inclusion under Purcell in the index of C.3.2 turns out to be Thomas Godfrey's setting of the same words. The same misattribution has been amended to Godfrey in the index of C.3.3. It would thus appear that the tenor parts for Purcell's setting of this anthem were lost from Dublin sources.

Lionel Pike has identified numerous different versions of the symphony anthem *Rejoice in the Lord* including a 'Dublin version' which is one of several accompanied by organ only.²¹²

3.8.9 William Child
1606–97

Table 3.10

TYPE	TITLE	MOVEMENTS
Services	D	Te, J, K, Cr, Ma, N
	F	Te, J, K, Cr, Ca, De
	G	Te, J, K, Cr, Ma, N
	E	S
Anthems	Lord, grant the king a long life [I]	
	Praise the Lord, O my soul [I]	

Child is an interesting figure: he lived to a great age spanning the pre- and post-Restoration periods holding posts in the Chapel Royal on both sides of the Interregnum. Perhaps

²¹¹ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 332.

²¹² Pike, 'Purcell's "Rejoice in the Lord", All Ways', *Music & Letters*, lxxxii (2001), 391–420.

because of the urgent need of repertoire which faced Restoration church musicians, his extensive output circulated widely and remained in use longer than it might have otherwise.²¹³ He is represented at St Patrick's by three services and two anthems. The services in F and G remained in manuscript form, but Boyce included the 'Whole' or 'Sharp' Service in D in the third volume of his *Cathedral Music*. However, the part books containing this music at St Patrick's pre-date Boyce, and the opening words of the *Te Deum* in these books are 'We knowledge thee' as opposed to Boyce's modernised version 'We acknowledge thee'. A verse section in the *Jubilate* has been inserted on a slip of paper in C.3.1.

3.8.10 Jeremiah Clarke
 1674–1707

Table 3.11

TYPE	TITLE
Anthems	I will give thanks
	I will love thee (Duet)
	I will love thee (Quartet)
	O Jerusalem
	O Lord God of my salvation
	Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem

Clarke was admitted as a gentleman of the Chapel Royal in 1700 and held the post of organist jointly with Croft from 1704 until his death in 1707. He was organist of St Paul's Cathedral, London 1699–1707, having been organist of Winchester College 1692–95.²¹⁴ He is represented by five anthems including two versions of *I will love thee*. *O Jerusalem* is included in Taylor's thematic catalogue as a doubtful work ('music not located').²¹⁵ It is listed in neither Grove (1980) nor RISM. Though it may thus be spurious, it nevertheless appears in the books at Christ Church and St Patrick's.

²¹³ For an overview of Child's output and its chronology, see Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 374–9.

²¹⁴ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 10, 175–6, 398–9.

²¹⁵ Thomas F. Taylor, *Thematic Catalog*.

3.8.11 John Blow
1649–1708

Table 3.12

TYPE	TITLE	MOVEMENTS
Services	A	Te, J, K, Cr, Ca, De
	E minor	Te, J, K, Cr, Ca, De
Anthems	And I heard a great voice ²¹⁶	
	God is our hope and strength [I]	
	God is our hope and strength [II]	
	I beheld, and lo! a great multitude	
	I will always give thanks [Club anthem]	
	Lift up your heads	
	Lord, how are they increased	
	My God, my God, look upon me	
	My God, my soul is vexed	
	O God, wherefore art thou absent	
	O Lord God, to whom vengeance belongeth	
	O Lord, I have sinned	
	O sing unto God, and sing praises	
	Save me, O God	
	The kings of Tharsis	
The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble		
We will rejoice in thy salvation		
When Israel came out of Egypt ²¹⁷		

Blow was one of Cooke's choristers at the Restoration Chapel Royal and became a gentleman of the chapel (1674), master of the children (1694) and organist (1676). He also held the post of organist of Westminster Abbey from 1668 to 1679, and returned to that post in 1695 on the death of Henry Purcell. Blow's considerable output includes symphony anthems and anthems for accompaniment by organ alone.

Jebb's catalogue cites Dublin as a source for Blow's *And I heard a great voice*, *I beheld, and lo! a great multitude*, *O be joyful in God*, *O how amiable* and *Praise the Lord, O my soul*.

²¹⁶ *And I heard a great voice* is an earlier version of *I was in the spirit*. Crosby, 'An Early Restoration Liturgical Music Manuscript', 111.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.* The title of the anthem *When Israel came out of Egypt* with an attribution to 'Dr Blow' is contained in C.3.3, but the music is not present.

Blow's representation at St Patrick's includes two services and eighteen anthems—if the so called 'Club anthem', a youthful collaboration between Blow, Humfrey and Turner, is included. (This anthem may owe its wide circulation at least partly to its curiosity value.) This representation includes five symphony anthems, although it seems that they were performed with organ alone at St Patrick's.

As in Boyce's collection, the Service in A is notated with a key signature of two sharps in the part books, but the organ part (organ book 90) is notated with three sharps. *Cathedral Music* has bars of four minims; the organ and part books have bars of two. The complete Service in E minor is in organ book 90, and vocal parts for the evening service only are in the first set of part books (with a key signature of two sharps). Boyce has a key signature of two flats for *The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble*, but the part books have only one flat. The later organ book 79 has two flats and the copyist, John Mathews, may have incorporated this to make the organ book 'fit' Boyce's edition.

I beheld, and lo! a great multitude was one of Blow's most popular and widely disseminated symphony anthems. It was sung at the centenary of Trinity College Dublin in 1692 and at the subsequent tercentenary and quatercentenary celebrations.

At the end of Byrd's *Be not wroth* occurs the title 'Chorus Full Canon 4 in 1' in all six part books from the first set. This canon is attributed to Blow in three of the six books. The clefs and key signatures are written, but no music, so this seems to be lost. It might be that this canon was intended to follow on from the end of Byrd's anthem. It is included in Ob MS Tenbury 607, and this matter is considered further in chapter 4.

3.8.12 William Croft
1678–1727

Table 3.13

TYPE	TITLE	MOVEMENTS
Services	Morning and Communion Service in A	Te, J, K, Cr
	Morning and Communion Service in B minor	Te, J, K, Cr
	Morning and Evening Service in E \flat	Te, J, Ca, De
Anthems	Blessed are all they	
	Blessed be the Lord my strength	
	Blessed is the people	

Table 3.13 cont'd

TYPE	TITLE	MOVEMENTS
	Deliver us, O Lord	
	God is gone up	
	Hear my prayer, O Lord [I]	
	Hear my prayer, O Lord [II]	
	I cried unto the Lord with my voice	
	I waited patiently	
	I will alway give thanks	
	I will give thanks	
	I will sing unto the Lord	
	Lord, what love have I	
	O be joyful	
	O Lord God of my salvation [I]	
	O Lord God of my salvation [II]	
	O Lord, grant the king a long life	
	O Lord, I will praise thee	
	O Lord, rebuke me not	
	O Lord, thou hast searched me out	
	O praise the Lord, all ye heathen	
Anthems	O praise the Lord, ye that fear him	
	Out of the deep	
	Praise God in his sanctuary	
	Praise the Lord, O my soul	
	Put me not to rebuke	
	Sing praises unto the Lord	
	Sing unto God, O ye kingdoms	
	Sing unto the Lord and praise his name	
	The earth is the Lord's	
	The heavens declare the glory of God	
	The Lord is king	
	The Lord is my strength [I]	
	The Lord is my strength [II]	
	This is the day which the Lord hath made	
	Thou, O God, art praised in Sion	
	We wait for thy loving kindness	
	We will rejoice in thy salvation	

Croft was a chorister at the Chapel Royal under John Blow and became organist in 1704 (jointly with Jeremiah Clarke 1704–7), a post which he held until his death in 1727.²¹⁸ Croft was one of the most prolific composers of the early part of the eighteenth century and the publication of his *Musica Sacra* (2 vols, 1724–5) was a measure of his success and the esteem in which he was held.

Robert Scandrett's study of the anthems of William Croft is an impressive monograph and has yet to be surpassed as an overview of Croft's work. A collation of sources for Croft's anthems, however, lay outside the parameters of this study. The second part consists of an edition of Croft's anthems based, when a choice of sources was available, on 'the one judged to be most carefully written.'²¹⁹

Croft is well represented at St Patrick's with three services and thirty-eight anthems—an indication of how 'up to date' the Dublin repertoire was. The anthems of Croft and Greene account for a quarter of the total number of anthems in the eighteenth-century music library.

St Patrick's is possibly the unique source for the *Kyrie* or *Credo* for Croft's Morning and Communion Service in B minor. Oxford Christ Church MSS 23 and 40 contain a *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* in B minor. The work list in Grove (1980) describes the setting as Service with Sanctus-Gloria in B minor: Arnold, and manuscript sources at the British Library and Durham Cathedral indeed have a *Sanctus* and *Gloria*, but neither the *Kyrie* or *Credo* which are present at St Patrick's.

Many of the anthems found in St Patrick's are included in *Musica Sacra*, Boyce and Page, but three (*Blessed be the Lord my strength, I waited patiently* and *Praise God in his sanctuary*) survive in manuscript only. Of the anthems found at St Patrick's, *I will always give thanks* is a thanksgiving anthem for victory in the Battle of Oudenaarde 1708. *This is the day which the Lord hath made* is a verse anthem written for the Treaty of Utrecht (7 July 1713). *O praise the Lord, ye that fear him* was written for the thanksgiving after the battle of Mons (22 November 1709). A sheet added after f. 150 of *O Lord I will praise thee* in C.3.1 seems to be a missing chorus. Another sheet added to C.3.1 (f. 238) contains a

²¹⁸ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 10.

²¹⁹ Scandrett, preface to 'The Anthems of William Croft'.

different version of *God is gone up. The Lord is my strength* [II] is an interesting inclusion in the first set of part books. There is only one anthem by this name in *Musica Sacra* ('composed for the anniversary of the accession 8 March 1711'), and only one anthem in the work lists in Grove (1980) and Scandrett. At Durham, however, two anthems with this text are attributed to Croft.

Praise God in his sanctuary was composed in 1717 and Lbl Add. MS 17844 includes a note to the effect that it was 'composed by Dr Croft for the opening of the organ at Finedon in Northamptonshire, the gift of the Revd Sr John Dolben to that church 1717'. *O praise the Lord all ye heathen* is in G minor in the part books, but organ books 85 and 93 are one tone higher.

3.8.13 John Weldon
 1676–1736

Table 3.14

TYPE	TITLE
Anthems	Hear my crying, O God In thee, O Lord

Weldon was born in Chichester and became a chorister at Eton College. Later he was a pupil of Henry Purcell. He was organist of New College, Oxford, from 1694 until 1701 when he became a gentleman of the Chapel Royal. Weldon succeeded Blow as one of the organists of the chapel on the latter's death in 1708, and became a composer to the Chapel Royal in 1715.²²⁰ He wrote about thirty anthems of which two are found in the first set of part books at St Patrick's. Both circulated widely and are included in Boyce.

3.8.14 Maurice Greene
 1696–1755

Greene succeeded Croft as organist and composer of the Chapel Royal in 1727.²²¹

See under London, St Paul's Cathedral

²²⁰ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 10–11; Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 173.

²²¹ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 11.

3.8.15 John Travers
c.1703–1758

Table 3.15

TYPE	TITLE	MOVEMENTS
Services	F	Te, J, K, Cr, Sa, Ma, N
Anthems	Ascribe unto the Lord The earth is the Lord's	

Travers was a pupil of Maurice Greene and Johann Christoph Pepusch, and one of the organists at the Chapel Royal from 1737 until his death in 1758.²²² His Service in F is included in organ book 77 and was sung regularly in St Patrick's until the 1970s. The second set of part books contain two anthems by Travers: *Ascribe unto the Lord* (which is in Arnold) and *The earth is the Lord's* (for which Dublin is cited as the source by Foster). Mathews included the latter anthem in Durham MS A19 which he sent from Dublin, presumably because he knew that it was not in the books at Durham.

3.8.16 Charles Stroud
c.1705–26

Stroud was a chorister at the Chapel Royal and a pupil of William Croft. His anthem *Hear my prayer, O Lord* was included in Page and is the sole item by Stroud in the work list compiled by Myles B. Foster.²²³ It is present in places as far apart as Hereford, Durham, and Dublin (the first set of part books at St Patrick's).²²⁴

3.8.17 John Reynolds
d. 1778

Reynolds was a gentleman in the Chapel Royal 1765–70. Foster lists just one anthem by him, *My God, my God*,²²⁵ which is included in organ book 79 'sett by Mr Reinholds' (Reynolds! has been added in a later hand).

²²² Ibid. 11–12.

²²³ Foster, *Anthems and Anthem Composers*, 139; John Page, *Harmonia Sacra*, 3 vols., (London: 1800).

²²⁴ It is present in places as far apart as Hereford, Durham and Dublin.

²²⁵ Foster, *Anthems and Anthem Composers*, 135.

3.8.18 William Boyce

1711–79

Table 3.16

TYPE	TITLE
Anthems	Be thou my judge
	By the waters of Babylon
	Give the king thy judgements
	I have surely built thee an house
	If we believe
	O give thanks
	O, where shall wisdom be found?
	Praise the Lord, ye servants
	The Lord is my light
	Turn thee unto me
	Wherewithal shall a young man

Boyce was a chorister at St Paul's Cathedral and later became one of the composers of the Chapel Royal, taking the post of organist in 1758 and retaining it until his death in 1779. As both a composer and publisher, Boyce made a much-valued contribution to the history of English music. His *Cathedral Music* is the most important English music publication of the eighteenth century, and it prompted similar publications by Arnold, Page and others. All of his anthems appear at St Patrick's in either *Fifteen Anthems by Dr Boyce* ed. P. Hayes (London, 1780) or *Collection of Anthems and a Short Service* ed. P. Hayes (London 1790), but in most cases the part books pre-date these publications and so cannot have been based on the printed scores.

3.8.19 James Nares

1715–83

Table 3.17

TYPE	TITLE	MOVEMENTS
Services	C	Te, J
	F	Ma, N
Anthems	Blessed be the Lord God of Israel	
	Blessed is he that considereth the poor	
	By the waters of Babylon	
	Call to remembrance	
	O Lord, grant the king a long life	

Table 3.17 cont'd

TYPE	TITLE	MOVEMENTS
	Praise the Lord, ye servants	
	Try me, O God	

Nares was a chorister at the Chapel Royal. He became organist of York Minster in 1735, a post he held until succeeding Maurice Greene as one of the organists and composers of the Chapel Royal in 1756. From 1757 to 1780 he was master of the children, and retained his two other posts until his death in 1783.²²⁶

With the exception of *Praise the Lord, ye servants*, Nares's services and anthems that are included in the library in St Patrick's were published in late eighteenth-century editions. *Praise the Lord, ye servants* (for which Foster gives 'Dublin' as the source) has never been published, and the only source given in the work list in Grove (2001) is Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin.

3.8.20 Thomas Sanders Dupuis 1733–96

Dupuis was a chorister in the Chapel Royal and succeeded Boyce as one of the organists of the chapel. He held this position until his death by opium overdose in 1796. Joseph Haydn attended the Chapel in 1790 and referred to Dupuis as 'a great organist'.²²⁷ Some of Dupuis's music was published posthumously under the title *Cathedral Music* in 1797.²²⁸ His Morning Service (Te, J) is in organ book 86, and curiously, a *Sanctus* in the same key appears in isolation in organ book 77. The *Sanctus* is not indexed and may be a later addition. All three movements are in the key of E \flat : the printed edition is surprisingly in D.

3.9 CHESTER CATHEDRAL

Chester was an important port in the eighteenth century and was the main gateway for travellers to Ireland. The manuscripts at the cathedral are being catalogued at present and no eighteenth-century books have been discovered as yet.²²⁹ *Words of Anthems in Use in the Cathedral Church of Chester* compiled by E. L. Y. Deale and published in Chester in

²²⁶ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 320–21.

²²⁷ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 14.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, 13.

²²⁹ Information received from the Chester Cathedral archivist, Canon Barker, September 2000.

1880 contains two anthems by Robert Stewart and nine by John Clarke-Whitfeld. There are no representations from eighteenth-century Dublin composers such as Ralph Roseingrave or the illusive Carter(s), but five anthems by Rogers are present.

3.9.1 Randall Jewett
 c. 1603–75

Randall Jewett was a chorister in Chester Cathedral (1612–15) and came to Dublin about 1631 to succeed Thomas Bateson as organist of Christ Church Cathedral and to take the position of organist of St Patrick's Cathedral also.²³⁰ He returned to Chester briefly as organist in 1643 but was back in Dublin by 1644.

See under Winchester Cathedral

3.9.2 Edmund White

An Edmund White was organist from 1705 until 1715, and it could be that he is the 'E. White' listed by Zimmerman as the composer of the anthem *Christ is risen*. This anthem is misattributed to Purcell in the Dublin books.²³¹

3.10 CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL

3.10.1 Thomas Kelway
 c. 1695–1744

Kelway was the son of another Thomas Kelway who was a priest-vicar choral at Chichester Cathedral. Thomas Jr was a chorister at the cathedral and became organist in 1720, holding the position until his death in 1744.²³² His Evening Service in B minor (Ma, N), which is the only representative of his music at St Patrick's, circulated widely.

3.11 CLOYNE CATHEDRAL

There was a modest choral foundation at Cloyne Cathedral in county Cork during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.²³³ Grindle notes the purchase of eighteenth-century printed editions at Cloyne. Colin Nicholls (Organist of St Fin Barre's Cathedral, Cork) has

²³⁰ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 417. Bateson had been organist at Chester Cathedral before coming to Dublin.

²³¹ Zimmerman, *Analytical Catalogue*, 429.

²³² Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 77–8.

²³³ Grindle, *Irish Cathedral Music*, 53, 77–8, 107–8.

rescued some old part books and printed music from Cloyne, and this fragmentary collection includes Croft's *Musica Sacra* (both volumes), a set of ten fugues by Joseph Diettenhofer, *Grand Funeral Anthem Composed by Handel as Performed in the Two Cathedrals also in the College and Castle Chapels Dublin on the Much Lamented Death of HRH Princess Charlotte of Wales Arr. David Weyman Member of Both Cathedrals and Trinity College*. This last piece is also found in the library of printed music at St Patrick's. A manuscript score book includes *Lord, how are they increased and I am well pleased* (Stevenson), *O, where shall wisdom be found?* (Boyce) and *Lord, what love have I* (Kent) which are present at St Patrick's. The inclusion of Stevenson indicates a nineteenth-century date.

The surviving part books include Purcell's *Thy word is a lantern* and *They that go down to the sea in ships*. Other items of interest in connection with the collection at St Patrick's are Shenton's *Jubilate* adaptation for Gibbons's Short Service, Howard's anthem *Blessed is the man*, King's *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* in D, Woodward's *Te Deum* in B \flat and Wise's *Kyrie* in E. Handel's representation includes the coronation anthem *Zadok the Priest*, and 'Rejoice greatly' and 'Worthy is the Lamb' from *Messiah*. The ancestry of the Cloyne copies lies beyond the limits of the present study, but it is highly probable that they are descendants of Dublin sources.

3.12 DUBLIN

3.12.1 CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL

Christ Church Cathedral Dublin has the largest library of manuscript and printed music of any Irish Cathedral. A catalogue watermarked 1831 has survived. It contains volume numbers for score books and printed scores, but the page numbers are not given and there are no references to the part books or organ books.

Susan Hemmens has catalogued the part books, organ books and loft books at Christ Church; Eamonn O'Keefe has catalogued the score books. These catalogues were not intended to authenticate the attributions in the manuscripts or to identify anonymous compositions. Verification of attributions and identification of anonymous works at St Patrick's given in the composer index in appendix 1 below will facilitate future verification and identification of works in the Christ Church library.

The collection at Christ Church is closely related to St Patrick's because it was essentially the same body of musicians who served both cathedrals from the Restoration until the middle of the nineteenth century. The repertoire of the two collections is thus very similar. A greater number of manuscripts have survived at Christ Church than at St Patrick's because Christ Church was not subject to the frequent flooding which beset St Patrick's. Some of the books at Christ Church are referred to as 'loft books' and contain the solo parts for anthems and services. This designation may mean nothing more than that the books were stored in the organ loft—as the 'triforium books' at Westminster Abbey were stored in the triforium—but it could imply that the soloists ascended to the loft in a similar manner to the Restoration Chapel Royal (where it seems that vocal soloists and instrumentalists played from galleries in the performance of symphony anthems). It was certainly commonplace for soloists to sing from the organ loft in St Patrick's during the nineteenth century.

Thomas Taylor was unaware of sources for the anthem by Jeremiah Clarke *O Jerusalem* at Christ Church Cathedral when he prepared his thematic catalogue.²³⁴ There are sources for this anthem at both St Patrick's and Christ Church, but Taylor gives the attribution to Clarke as doubtful. Neither Zimmerman nor Rosamond Harding have recorded the complete sources for works by Purcell and Locke at the Dublin cathedrals in their catalogues, but Christ Church generally has fuller references than St Patrick's in bibliographical sources of this type. This is probably due to the existence of a catalogue at Christ Church, the more complete nature of the collection there and the survival of score books.

3.12.1.1 George Walsh,
d. 1765

Having been organist of St Ann's Church, Dawson Street, Dublin 1743–47, Walsh was organist of Christ Church 1747–65 and St Patrick's 1760–65.²³⁵ At St Patrick's, a chapter act of 14 January 1762 awards Walsh a salary of £30 per annum on condition that he 'write such music as shall be necessary for the organ at his own expense'.²³⁶ A new organ for Christ Church Cathedral by the London builder John Byfield was inaugurated in 1752, and

²³⁴ O'Keefe, 'Irish Musical Sources', 2–3.

²³⁵ Boydell, *Dublin Musical Calendar*, 240; Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 421.

²³⁶ C.A. 1720–1763 (RCBL C2.1.3.8).

a *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* by Walsh were performed on that occasion.²³⁷ This must be the Morning Service in D which is the only representative of Walsh's work at St Patrick's. This morning service was once well known, and Bumpus describes it as follows:

He claims notice, inasmuch as he was the composer of a really fine and scholarly Morning Service, consisting of *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* in the key of D. Sir Robert Stewart esteemed it so highly that he wrote a Communion Service to match it...One cannot help feeling surprised that Boyce, Arnold, Rimbault, Novello, and Ouseley never included this fine piece of Church music in the various collections edited by them...There are copies at St Paul's, Durham, Worcester, Gloucester and Hereford, and I possess a fine score in my own library.²³⁸

Bumpus also mentions this service in the biographical sketches given in Ob MS Mus c. 425: 'The *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* in D in this vol: are fine pieces of Georgian Service-music. They have never been printed!'

There are many alterations to this work in the first set of part books where it is a later addition by an unidentified and very untidy hand. The work appears in Hereford MS 30 a 16, 16b, 20 (MSS c.1760), full score N 8 xii (1822) and organ book 30 B 111 (1823). It is also in Durham MSS A18, A21, B18, B30, C20, C23, C24 and C25.

3.12.1.2 Richard Woodward
c.1744–77

Table 3.18

TYPE	TITLE
Anthems	Sing, O ye heavens
	O praise God in his holiness

Woodward came to Ireland as a child and became a chorister at Christ Church Cathedral in 1751 when his father (also Richard) was appointed a stipendiary there.²³⁹ Richard Sr was master of the choristers from 1768 until resigning in 1776 in favour of his son who had been appointed organist in 1765 and a vicar choral at St Patrick's in 1770.²⁴⁰ Richard Jr published his *Cathedral Music* in 1771 and Bumpus stated that two anthems from it, *Sing, O ye heavens* and *O praise God in his holiness* were still (c.1900) sung at Westminster

²³⁷ Boydell, *Dublin Musical Calendar*, 170.

²³⁸ See Bumpus, 'Irish Church Composers', 93, for details of Robert Stewart's expurgation from this service of a second treble part.

²³⁹ *Christ Church Cathedral*, ed. Milne, 308.

Abbey.²⁴¹ These two anthems appear to have been especially popular, as they are the only works by Woodward included in the eighteenth-century books at St Patrick's (organ book 79).

Woodward's Service in B \flat is listed in the Service Catalogue 1824 as present in the libraries at Lincoln, Peterborough and Worcester. It is also included in Ob MS Tenbury 1030, a score book possibly in the hand of John Clarke-Whitfeld, which dates from about 1800.

A mid-nineteenth-century word book containing 2,270 anthems by 429 composers includes the following seven works by Woodward:²⁴²

<i>Behold, now praise the Lord</i>	<i>O give thanks unto the Lord</i>
<i>My heart showeth me the wickedness</i>	<i>O praise God in his holiness</i>
<i>O be joyful in God</i>	<i>Sing, O ye heavens</i>

3.12.1.3 Langrish Doyle
 c.1753–1814

Doyle was a chorister at St Patrick's Cathedral Dublin 1763–8. After a period in Armagh (see section 3.1.4 above) he was appointed organist, master of the choristers and a stipendiary of Christ Church Cathedral in 1780. He was also appointed master of the choristers at St Patrick's Cathedral at that time. Doyle retained the post of organist until his death in 1814, but resigned as stipendiary in 1791 and as master of the choristers in 1797.²⁴³ At St Patrick's, he was appointed a half vicar choral to the prebendary of Clonmethan on 14 May 1781 and full vicar of the prebendary of Swords on 21 January 1784. Although Doyle was not a composer, he was active as a copyist in Dublin and his hand may be unidentified K in the St Patrick's books.²⁴⁴ He is referred to as 'Dr Doyle' in the Chapter Acts at Christ Church after 1790.²⁴⁵

²⁴⁰ Lawlor, *Fasti*, 233.

²⁴¹ Bumpus, 'Irish Church Composers', 94.

²⁴² Benjamin St J. B. Joule, *A Collection of Words to Which Music Has Been Composed or Adapted for Use in the Choral Service of The United Church of England and Ireland as Anthems* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts and J. A. Novello, 1859).

²⁴³ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 412.

²⁴⁴ Boydell, *Music at Christ Church*, 150.

²⁴⁵ Boydell, *Music at Christ Church*, 126.

Archbishop Narcissus Marsh's library was founded in the first decade of the eighteenth century and is situated to the south-east of St Patrick's in the cathedral close. Marsh was a keen musician and a bass viol player. A catalogue of the musical contents of the library has been compiled and published.²⁴⁶ The collection of instrumental music is the most important music collection in the library, but it also contains four volumes of sacred music copied by John Mathews. Jacob Stone presented these volumes to the library in November 1934 and they have some connections with the manuscripts at the Dublin cathedrals and further afield. The four score books (shelf marks Z1.2.25–8) were copied before Mathews came to Dublin.

Z1.2.25 mentions dates from 1759 to 1776, when Mathews was successively at Winchester, Salisbury, Durham and Dublin. It contains one service (Purcell's *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* in D) and twenty-nine anthems. Only six of these items do not appear in the part books at St Patrick's but most of the relevant books in the cathedral library pre-date the arrival of Mathews in Dublin so the concordances could be mere coincidence. No parts for Purcell's *Te Deum* survive at St Patrick's, but the piece is known to have been performed at the annual St Cecilia's day celebrations in the eighteenth century.²⁴⁷

Z1.2.26 is a score of Handel's *Messiah* and bears the inscription 'John Mathew's [*sic*] Book, Salisbury 30th December 1761'. Mathews bequeathed this book to his son George Mathews and it remained in private ownership until 1934. Watkins Shaw notes the insertion of a leaf between pages 82 and 83: Mathews did not take account of this in his index and Shaw suggests that it was added whilst Mathews was in Durham. The leaf contains a J Whatman watermark which suggests the possibility of its addition in Dublin. Unfortunately, Shaw did not have the opportunity to examine the manuscripts at the Dublin cathedrals when working on his *Messiah* research: his observations would doubtless have proved revelatory.²⁴⁸ Mathews was probably involved in local music making in the various places where he resided, and his enthusiastic transmission of contemporary material between the institutions where he worked will be considered further: section 3.14.1 will deal with his score books at the Reid Music Library, Edinburgh and section 3.26 with the

²⁴⁶ Richard Charteris, *A Catalogue of the Printed Books on Music, Printed Music and Music Manuscripts in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin* (Kilkenny: Boethius Press, 1982).

²⁴⁷ Boydell, *Dublin Musical Calendar*, 48 n. 3.

Salisbury repertoire. Marsh's library MS Z1.2.26 is bound by Edward Eaton of Salisbury (this information is recorded on the back cover) and it seems that Mathews continued to use this binder after he came to Dublin.²⁴⁹ The spacing in Z1.2.26 suggests that it is a copy of another score book, and Donald Burrows has suggested that Mathews may have copied it from a score book made by Harris (who is known to have borrowed Handel's parts for performances of *Messiah* at Salisbury).

Z1.2.27 contains Handel's setting of Dryden's *Ode on St Cecilia's day*; Z1.2.28, which is undated, contains fourteen anthems copied by Mathews. Only five of these are contained in the part books in the cathedral.

The repertoire contained in Z.1.25–8 differs from that in the books in Mathews's hand in the Reid Music Library in Edinburgh (see below). This suggests that the Marsh and Reid volumes formed part of Mathews's personal library of scores in which duplication of items would have been unnecessary.

3.12.3 ST PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL

3.12.3.1 Thomas Godfrey ?d. 1689

Table 3.19

TYPE	TITLE
Anthems	God is our hope and strength
	My song shall be always

Godfrey was organist of St Patrick's Cathedral from 1686 until 1688 or 1689. He was threatened with suspension for neglect of duty in December 1688 and on 9 April 1689, Thomas Finell was granted a payment of £15 per annum to stand in for Godfrey. Lawlor suggests that Godfrey was organist of Christ Church Cathedral from 1689, but he gives no source for this information; Shaw does not credit Godfrey with holding the position of organist of Christ Church, but notes that he received some payment probably as acting

²⁴⁸ From the author's correspondence with Mr Shaw in November 1993.

²⁴⁹ Mathews brought Edinburgh MS2 to Dublin and this manuscript includes a note on page 30 '25m: after 2 o'clock 18 Nov 1779: here to E. Easto[n] (T[?]. J. Master sent with 5 Guineas Bill in it) put into Dubn. Genl. Post Office. J.M. V.C. Xc Cho. & St Pat: Dubn.' showing that this book was posted somewhere in

organist; Grindle mentions him as organist of Christ Church 1688–9.²⁵⁰ Barra Boydell has found the answer, however, in a Christ Church chapter act 9 January 1689: ‘The Organists place being now vacant by the death of Mr John Hawkshaw, Mr Thomas Godfrey is sworne and admitted into his roome and place as Organist’.²⁵¹ Lawlor cites a petition from Thomas Finell to the chapter of St Patrick’s stating that he succeeded an organist who died ‘in the time of the Troubles’.²⁵² It seems likely that this was Godfrey, as his name disappears from accounts and other documentation after 1689.

In the absence of any other candidate, it is almost certain that the two anthems by ‘Godfrey’ included in the first set of part books are indeed by Thomas Godfrey of Dublin and are thus the earliest compositions of Dublin provenance to have survived in the books at St Patrick’s. Excepting the presence of *God is our hope* in Ob MS Tenbury 1503, which was copied by the Dublin scribe John Phipps, no manuscript copies of or references to these anthems have been located outside Dublin.²⁵³

3.12.3.2 Robert Hodge d. 1709

This was probably the Robert Hodge who was organist of Wells Cathedral 1688–90 and a minor canon at Durham 1691–3 whereafter he departed for ‘Hibernia’.²⁵⁴ He became a vicar choral at St Patrick’s on 19 April 1693 and organist on 19 October 1694.²⁵⁵ Hodge remained as organist until 1698 when he was succeeded by Daniel Roseingrave. He continued as a vicar choral at St Patrick’s, and brought two choirboys to that cathedral from England on 7 February 1706. Hodge may also have been organist of Armagh Cathedral (see section 3.1.2 above). Two of his anthems are in Durham MS C34 which dates from the early 1690s.²⁵⁶ Though Hodge was employed as copyist in Dublin, none of his music has survived at St Patrick’s. He was responsible, however, for bringing a considerable amount of music from England across the Irish Sea (see chapter 1).

1779—probably to Salisbury. This manuscript is considered in detail in section 3.14.1.

²⁵⁰ Lawlor, *Fasti*, 249; Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 410; Grindle, *Irish Cathedral Music*, 223.

²⁵¹ Boydell, *Music at Christ Church*, 102.

²⁵² Lawlor, *Fasti*, 249 n. 1.

²⁵³ See Christ Church sources: RCBL C6.1.24.3.1–6 and C6.1.24.4.1–3.

²⁵⁴ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 288.

²⁵⁵ Lawlor, *Fasti*, 243, 250.

²⁵⁶ Brian Crosby, *A Catalogue of Durham Cathedral Music Manuscripts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 51.

3.12.3.3 Daniel, Ralph and Thomas Roseingrave

The Roseingraves were a very prominent family of musicians living in Dublin in the first half of the eighteenth century. They may have been descendants of the Ralph Roseingrave who died in Dublin in 1667.²⁵⁷ It seems likely that Daniel Roseingrave Sr (d. 1727) had contact with the group of musicians working at the Chapel Royal in the late seventeenth century, but the extent of the contact is open to conjecture. Hawkins states that he was 'educated at the Chapel Royal, London, and a fellow-disciple of Purcell'.²⁵⁸ His name is not found in Chapel Royal records, but those records are not complete until 1685.²⁵⁹ Bumpus also makes the Chapel Royal claim:

Roseingrave was originally a chorister in the Chapel Royal under Pelham Humphreys, and subsequently studied under Purcell and Blow...I possess, in a curious contemporary six-lined stave organ book, a Service in F by Roseingrave, which includes a setting of the *Benedicite*.²⁶⁰

Whatever the details of his early life may have been, Roseingrave had been organist of Gloucester Cathedral (1679–81), Winchester Cathedral (1681–92) and Salisbury Cathedral (1692–8) before coming to Dublin in 1698. Here he enjoyed four salaries: as organist and stipendiary at Christ Church and as organist and vicar choral at St Patrick's.²⁶¹ Despite their generous payments to organists and singers, the chapters of the Dublin cathedrals often had fraught dealings with their staff. It would seem that the rehearsal of music was rather casual, as the chapter of Christ Church passed a resolution in 1702 that 'the Vicars Choral, Stipendiaries and Choristers do meet in the said church on every Saturday at five of the clock in the afternoon to practise the anthems and service to be performed the day following'.²⁶² In 1715 the chapter resolved 'such of the vicars and Stipendiaries as are appointed to perform the anthem do not leave the church until the service be intirely over'.²⁶³ There is mention of a 'quarrell' between Daniel Roseingrave and his predecessor Robert Hodge in the chapter acts of Christ Church Cathedral as early as 5 December 1699, when it seems they 'lately gave each other very scurrilous language in Christ Church,

²⁵⁷ Boydell, *Music at Christ Church*, 263 n. 123.

²⁵⁸ Hawkins, *History*, ii, 771.

²⁵⁹ Peter Holman, 'Purcell and Roseingrave: A New Autograph' in *Purcell Studies*, ed. Curtis Price (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 102–4.

²⁶⁰ Bumpus, 'Irish Church Composers', 88. This organ book is now in the Library of the University of California at Berkeley (MS Mus. 751 a–b).

²⁶¹ Grindle, *Irish Cathedral Music*, 28.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, 30.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, 31.

Dublin, and afterwards went to a tavern and there fought'.²⁶⁴ Grindle outlines details of further disciplinary problems.²⁶⁵

Roseingrave had three sons who featured in the musical life of Dublin. Daniel Jr was possibly the 'young Roseingrave' who was organist of Trinity College Chapel in 1705, but he does not appear to have been active as a composer.

In 1707, Thomas Roseingrave, another son, enrolled as a student at Trinity College, but he left without completing his degree and, with the aid of a grant from the dean and chapter of St Patrick's Cathedral, went to study in Italy where he was befriended by Domenico and Alessandro Scarlatti. He was appointed organist of St George's Church, Hanover Square, London, in 1725. Mental illness preceded his return to Ireland in 1747, where he remained until his death in 1766. Thomas's main contribution to the sacred repertoire is his orchestral anthem *Arise, shine, for thy light is come*, which was written for the thanksgiving for the peace of Venice in 1712. There are no sources for this work at St Patrick's and, in fact, there is no evidence to suggest that any of the surviving anthems by 'Roseingrave' at St Patrick's are the work of Thomas.

Ralph Roseingrave succeeded his father as organist of St Patrick's in 1719 and Christ Church in 1727.²⁶⁶ Unlike his brothers, there is no record of his having attended Trinity College. However, Lord Mornington—who was to become the University of Dublin's first professor of music—was one of Ralph's pupils.

Much music attributed to Ralph is extant in the eighteenth-century music library at St Patrick's. A considerable amount of music ascribed to 'Roseingrave' has survived in the part books and organ books of the Dublin cathedrals and Trinity College but it is very difficult to determine which of the four Roseingraves mentioned above wrote this music. The work lists in Grove (1980) divide the music between Daniel Sr, Ralph and Thomas, but the basis of the division is not clear.²⁶⁷ The works in the books at St Patrick's are attributed to either Ralph Roseingrave or, more often, simply Roseingrave. Further investigation suggests that other members of the family may have written some of the

²⁶⁴ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 420.

²⁶⁵ Grindle, *Irish Cathedral Music*, 39–41.

²⁶⁶ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 411, 421.

pieces. As mentioned above Daniel Sr had contact with the first generation of Chapel Royal musicians after the Restoration, and the style of the music attributed to 'Roseingrave' in Dublin is typical of the English baroque or Restoration style—including the type of motivic repetition and harmonic relationships found in Purcell's *Praise the Lord, ye servants* (see chapter 2 above).

The following table lists the works by 'Roseingrave' which are present in the books at St Patrick's. It also notes the presence or otherwise of the pieces in Ob MS Tenbury 607, the attribution given in the article in Grove (1980) (if any) and the sources indicated in the survey undertaken by RISM in the 1960s.

Table 3.20

TYPE	TITLE	MOVEMENTS	T607	GROVE	RISM	
Services	C	Te, Bs, J, K, Cr, Ca, De		Ralph		
	F	Te, J, K, Cr, Ca, De		Ralph ²⁶⁸		
Anthems	Blessed is he that cometh		✓	Thomas	Dpc, Dcc, T607	
	Bow down thine ear		✓	Thomas	Dpc, Dcc, T607	
	I will cry unto God		✓	Thomas		
	I will magnify thee [two settings] ²⁶⁹		✓	Thomas	Dpc, Dcc, T607	
	It is a good thing					
	O come hither		✓	Thomas	Dpc, Dcc, T607	
	O give thanks				Dpc, Dcc	
	O how amiable				Dpc, Dcc	
	O praise God in his holiness				Dpc, Dcc	
	O praise the Lord				Dpc	
	O sing unto the Lord				Dpc, Dcc	
	O worship the Lord				Dpc,	
	Praise the Lord, ye servants			✓	Thomas	Dpc, Dcc, T607

²⁶⁷ Grove (1980), xvi, 195–7.

²⁶⁸ Grove (1980) also lists the Service in F by Daniel Sr which is not in the library at St Patrick's.

²⁶⁹ The RISM cards and Grove only list one setting which Grove attributes to Thomas.

Table 3.20 cont'd

TYPE	TITLE	MOVEMENTS	T607	GROVE	RISM
	Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous [I]				Dpc, Dcc, T607 Durham A.18 ²⁷⁰
	Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous [II]				Dpc, Dcc, T607
	Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous [III]				
	Sing unto God The Lord, even the most				Dtc, Dcc

This table shows that the attributions to Thomas Roseingrave seem to rest solely on the relevant items being included in Ob MS Tenbury 607 yet this manuscript does not, in fact, give any indication as to which member of the family was responsible for the compositions. The repertoire of Tenbury 607 has a strong connection with Dublin, which makes the attribution of the anthems to the London-based Thomas rather unlikely. The provenance of Tenbury 607 will be considered further in chapter 4: it seems that Tenbury 607 is an organ book from St Patrick's and thus makes the division of work lists for Roseingrave even more tangled.

Jebb's catalogue includes Thomas Rosingrave [*sic*], but makes no reference to Daniel or Ralph. The catalogue contains just four anthems: *Arise, shine, It is a good thing* and *O Lord our governor*. Dublin is given as a source for only one of the four anthems, *It is a good thing*. Jebb indicates Chapel Royal sources for the remaining three, which are not present in the library at St Patrick's. This suggests that they may never have reached Ireland. As mentioned above, *Arise, shine* was penned by Thomas Roseingrave in Venice in 1712.²⁷¹ *Haste thee, O God* was written by Daniel Sr and is included in sources held in the library of the University of California at (MS Mus 751 a–b) and at Gloucester Cathedral.²⁷² The remaining anthem, *O Lord our governor*, may be the composition in Edinburgh MS 2 with an attribution 'Roseingrave/Walkely.' This attribution suggests a Salisbury provenance for the anthem and Daniel Sr as a strong candidate for composer.

²⁷⁰ The distinction of the three settings of *Rejoice in the Lord* is not clear from the RISM cards.

²⁷¹ Grindle, *Irish Cathedral Music*, 174–5.

²⁷² Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 364.

Joule attributes the following anthems to Ralph Roseingrave:

Bow down thine ear

Haste thee, O God

I will magnify thee

O be joyful in God

O Lord our governor

Praise the Lord, ye servants

Rejoice in the Lord

Sing unto God, O ye kingdoms

Thomas Roseingrave receives a biographical note in Joule's word book, but no anthems are attributed to him. Daniel is not mentioned.

The *Gloria* of the *Nunc dimittis* to Purcell's Evening Service in G minor has aroused the interest of scholars. Maurice Bevan suggests Ralph as the 'Mr Rosengrave junior' mentioned as the composer in sources at York Minster. The lack of sources for this piece in Dublin suggest that it might, in fact, be by Thomas Roseingrave, and Harry Grindle suggests Thomas as the more likely composer on stylistic grounds.²⁷³ Almost all sources for this service refer to 'Mr Purcell' rather than Henry Purcell and it is now thought that this *Magnificat* and *Nunc dimittis* are, in fact, by Daniel Purcell. They are to be placed in an appendix in the forthcoming revised Purcell Society edition.

The cathedral accounts mention payments to Daniel Roseingrave Sr and Ralph Roseingrave: these might have been for composing music or simply copying it (see chapter 1). The question of which Roseingrave composed what in the books at St Patrick's remains open. More conclusive delineation awaits stylistic analysis on the basis of a complete edition of the Roseingraves' works, and the drawing up of stemmata for all known sources.

3.12.3.4 Richard Broadway
d. 1760

Table 3.21

TYPE	TITLE	MOVEMENTS
Services	Evening Service in D	Ma, N
	Evening Service in G	Ma, N
	Morning Service in D	Te, J
	Morning Service in G	Te
	Jubilate to Farrant's Te Deum	

²⁷³ Grindle, *Irish Cathedral Music*, 173.

Table 3.21 cont'd

TYPE	TITLE	MOVEMENTS
Anthems	Great is the Lord I will lift up Thou, O God, art praised in Sion Unto thee I will cry	

Richard Broadway succeeded Ralph Roseingrave as organist of St Patrick's in 1747 and held that post until his death in 1760. Grindle states incorrectly that there is no evidence of Broadway's having made a contribution to the sacred repertoire;²⁷⁴ Brian Boydell also states that 'no trace of his music has been found'.²⁷⁵ Broadway's work is, however, represented in a solitary source at St Patrick's: organ book 91. The inclusion of a 'Jubilate to Farrant's *Te Deum* is the earliest example of this type of adaptation of Tudor music to survive in the St Patrick's books, and it may have been the catalyst for Robert Shenton's similar ventures a few years later.²⁷⁶

Brian Boydell notes a performance of a *Te Deum, Jubilate* and an anthem by Broadway at the opening of a new organ at St Audoen's Church on 23 May 1756 and two days later a performance of an organ concerto by 'Mr Walsh' in Fishamble Street.²⁷⁷

3.12.3.5 Carter

A composer named Carter is represented by four anthems and one service in the eighteenth-century library at St Patrick's.

Table 3.22

TYPE	TITLE	MOVEMENTS
Services	Service in C	Te, J
Anthems	Hear my prayer I cried unto the Lord Like as the hart Sing unto God	

²⁷⁴ Ibid., 177.

²⁷⁵ Grove (1980), iii, 24.

²⁷⁶ In the nineteenth century, Robert Stewart composed several movements to complete services by a variety of Tudor and later composers. These included a *Venite* for Tallis's Short Service—it is possible that Stewart was unaware of Tallis's own setting of the *Venite* in that service as it is absent in the Dublin manuscripts.

²⁷⁷ Boydell, *Dublin Musical Calendar*, 218. St Audoen's Church is situated about a hundred yards to the west of Christ Church Cathedral.

In four of the six part books in the first set, an attribution to Weldon for *Hear my Prayer* has been cancelled and changed to Carter.

The composer or composers of church music in the eighteenth century by the name of Carter pose a problem of identification. Grove (2001) lists two Carters with Dublin connections, one of whom was 'brought up in the choir of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, and was organist to Werburgh Church'. It is unlikely, however, that either of these composers was responsible for the repertoire in the books at St Patrick's. The sources for works by 'Carter' at St Patrick's indicate a date of composition too early for either (Charles) Thomas Carter (i) (born c.1735) or Thomas Carter (ii) (born 1769), listed in Grove (2001). The author of the Grove articles, Roger Fiske, admits that the identities of the two Carters are somewhat confused, but the confusion is more complex than he implies. Two of the anthems by Carter appear in a mid-eighteenth century anthem word book.²⁷⁸ The Service in C and the anthem *I cried unto the Lord* are contained in part books which were copied c.1738. All these pieces must therefore have been composed by a third, earlier Carter.

Three Carters are noted as choristers in the records of St Patrick's Cathedral: Arnold Carter (1700), Timothy Carter (1723) and Sampson Carter (1759). Sampson's late date rules him out as a possible composer of the music referred to above, but Arnold and Timothy remain as candidates. RISM notes Ob MS Tenbury 1020, Christ Church and St Patrick's Dublin as sources for *Sing unto God*, but neither RISM nor Grove makes mention of *I cried unto the Lord* or *Like as the hart*. Tenbury MS 1020 also contains 'Mr Carters Te Deum'.

Of the anthems, only *Hear my Prayer* was published (*Sacred Harmony...arranged...by R. Willoughby*). Ob MS Tenbury 704 contains an interesting note at the end of this item: 'This anthem has been used in the Choir of Lichfield a great many years, 70 or so at least: I never could learn anything of the author' followed by initials which might be 'J L'. (A manuscript score of the anthem is still present in the library at Lichfield Cathedral.²⁷⁹) The same writer continues 'these words have been set to music by many composers but I never heard any of them that I thought so truly pathetic as this of Carter's'. Be that as it may, it

²⁷⁸ *A Collection of Anthems, as the Same are Now Performed in the Cathedral Church of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, Dublin* (Dublin: Robert Owen, 1745).

²⁷⁹ Don Franklin, 'Five Manuscripts of Church Music at Lichfield', *RMA Research Chronicle*, iii (1963), 58.

does not help in the identification of the composer.

Jebb's catalogue includes two anthems by 'William Carter'—*Hear my prayer* (it is not clear if Jebb was referring to the setting already identified) and *I will sing a new song*—but unfortunately he offers no biographical details about the composer. Tenor MS 6 from St Paul's Cathedral, London, adds further intrigue. This book contains a note appended to Carter's *Hear my prayer*: 'Mr Carter was one of the Vergers and one of the Choir of Bristol bred under Dr Blow and was the last boy but one whom the Dr educated. N.B. Mr Kent was the last'. Could this Carter, therefore, have been a chorister at the Chapel Royal? That possibility is supported by the Dublin evidence that he was an early eighteenth-century figure. Records of the Chapel Royal and Royal Court do not, however, confirm this curious note. A Mr Andrew Carter 'priest of Salesbury [*sic*] was sworn Gent of his ma[jes]ties Chappell' in 1664, but this person, who died in 1699, is unlikely to have had any connections with the Dublin Carters.²⁸⁰

The possibility of a Bristol connection is corroborated by a Tenor Decani part book at Christ Church Cathedral that attributes the Service in C to 'Mr Thomas Carter of Bristol'.²⁸¹ However, the concentration of sources for Carter's music in Dublin strongly suggests that the composer resided there for some time. Joule's word book includes Carter's *Hear my prayer*. The composer is noted here as 'Thomas Carter ?1768–?1800.'²⁸²

3.12.3.6 Samuel Murphy d. 1780

Murphy was probably a chorister at both Dublin cathedrals.²⁸³ He became a half vicar choral (prebendary of Clonmethan) at St Patrick's in 1759 becoming master of the choristers in 1766 and organist in 1770.²⁸⁴ He held the position of organist until his death in 1780. He was also organist of Christ Church Cathedral (1777–80).²⁸⁵

His anthem *O praise the Lord, ye that fear him* is his only work to have survived in the

²⁸⁰ Andrew Ashbee and John Harley, *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal, with Additional Material from the Manuscripts of William Lovegrove and Marmaduke Alford* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), i, 35–6.

²⁸¹ From the set of part books RCBL C6.1.24.3.11–16, 55–6.

²⁸² Joule, *A Collection of Words*, 46.

²⁸³ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 422.

²⁸⁴ Lawlor, *Fasti*, 233.

books at St Patrick's or Christ Church, but John Mathews's letter to the dean and chapter of Durham in MS A18 implies that other works were planned: 'Dr Murphy is Composing a Service in eight parts which is expected to be a very fine one'. This service has either been lost or remained uncompleted on Murphy's death in 1780. *O praise the Lord ye that fear him* is included in the works that Mathews sent to Durham in what is now Durham MS A19.

3.12.3.7 Robert Shenton
c.1730–98

Table 3.23

TYPE	TITLE	MOVEMENTS
Services	E	Ca, De
	E \flat	Te, J, K, Cr, Sa, Ca, De, Ma, N
	G	Te, Be, J, K, Cr, Sa, Ma, N
Anthems	Awake thou lute and harp	
	Behold how good and joyful	
	Blessed be the name of the Lord	
	By the waters of Babylon	
	God is our hope and strength	
	Lord, thou hast been our refuge	
	O give thanks unto the Lord for he is gracious	
	O give thanks unto the Lord and call	
	O God, my heart is ready	
	O Lord, thou hast searched me out	
	Praise the Lord, O my soul	
Sing we merrily		

Shenton held the position of dean's vicar at Christ Church Cathedral from 1757 and various vicarships at St Patrick's from 1760, being appointed dean's vicar there in 1783. He held these posts until his death in 1798,²⁸⁶ and others at Kildare Cathedral.²⁸⁷ Bumpus reports:

[He] was born at Hagbourne, Berks, in 1730, and admitted as a chorister of Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1740. From 1745 to 1752 he was one of the academical clerks in the same choir. In 1753 he became a member of the College of Vicars Choral at Hereford. Six services and eighteen

²⁸⁵ Boydell, *Music at Christ Church*, 251.

²⁸⁶ Jebb's catalogue gives 1778 as his date of death, but this seems to be an error.

²⁸⁷ Lawlor, *Fasti*, 216.

anthems by him exist in the Dublin choir books. Several of the former are to be found among the Sperling MSS., in the magnificent musical library formed by the late Sir Frederick Ouseley, at S. Michael's College, Tenbury, where I recently had an opportunity of examining them.²⁸⁸

Some of the anthems by Shenton that are included in the library at St Patrick's appear in organ books only. All the vocal parts are from the second set of part books in John Mathews's hand. In addition to the compositions in the table above, Shenton's output includes adaptations of Tudor compositions to fit the words of the *Jubilate*, and adaptations of music by Handel, Beretti and others.

Jebb's catalogue lists eleven anthems by Shenton and gives Dublin as the source for ten of these. The exception is *Lord, how are they increased* which is not present in the books at St Patrick's. Hereford and the Chapel Royal are given as sources for this anthem.

The Service Catalogue 1824 includes Shenton's Service in D at Hereford. This service is also present in Och MS 1231 (an organ book), but it appears never to have come to Ireland as it is not present in the books at Christ Church or St Patrick's.

Joule's word book includes:

Lord, how are they increased

O Lord, thou hast searched me out

Praise the Lord, O my soul

Mathews used Shenton's adaptations of the *Jubilate* as enticements when he wrote to the chapter of Durham Cathedral seeking another commission to send music from Dublin. (The full text of Mathews's letter is given in section 3.13.5 below.) These adaptations were probably made as Georgian taste favoured the *Jubilate* over the much longer canticle to which it forms an authorised alternative, the *Benedictus*.

3.12.3.8 John Parkinson

d. 1819

Parkinson was appointed a half vicar choral to the prebendary of Clonmethan in 1760 (sharing the appointment with Samuel Murphy) and became a full vicar choral to the

²⁸⁸ Bumpus, 'Irish Church Composers', 118–19. Bumpus also mentions Shenton in the biographical sketches in Ob MS Mus.c.425.

prebendary of Yagoe in 1772. He held this post until his death in 1819.²⁸⁹ His sole representation in the books at St Patrick's is a Service in E_b (Te, J). This is a later (and very untidy) addition to the first set of part books. Its position towards the end of the books on paper differing in quality to the main text establishes that it was not included when the books were initially compiled.

3.12.3.9 John Andrew Stevenson
1762–1833

Table 3.24

TYPE	TITLE	MOVEMENTS
Services	C (The Royal Service)	PR, Te, J, K, Cr, Sa, Ca, De, Ma, N
	C	Te, J
	E	Te, J
	E _b	Ma, N, Ca, De
	F	Ma, N
Anthems	Arise, O Lord God	
	Behold, how good and joyful	
	Bow down thine ear	
	By the waters of Babylon	
	Chant for the Creed of St Athanasius	
	Chant for the Venite	
	Credo	
	Grant to us, Lord	
	I am well pleased	
	I will magnify thee	
	Lord, how are they increased	
	O God, my heart is ready	
	O Lord our governor	
	O praise God in his holiness	
	Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous	
	The Heavens are telling	
	The Lord is king	
The Lord is my shepherd		
There were shepherds		
When the day of Pentecost		

²⁸⁹ Lawlor, *Fasti*, 233, 246.

Stevenson received his early training from Richard Woodward and Samuel Murphy, and he became a vicar choral at both Dublin cathedrals.²⁹⁰ He was knighted in 1803 (reputedly the first Irish musician to be so honoured) and this date is useful in determining which manuscripts were copied after that auspicious event. In fact, Stevenson is referred to as 'Sir John' in all the surviving books at St Patrick's and thus the inclusion of his works in the 'eighteenth-century library' is a result of some of his music's being bound with earlier material. He was appointed the first organist of the new chapel at Dublin Castle in 1814, but he was better known as singer than organist.

As his music was copied after 1800 it is outside the parameters of this study, but for the sake of completeness, the list above contains the services and anthems that appear in the books which also contain material copied before 1800. Stevenson was a great admirer of Haydn and *The heavens are telling* included above is an elaboration of that chorus from Haydn's *Creation*.

3.13 DURHAM

Durham Cathedral library holds one of the most important and extensive collections of sacred music in the British Isles. The music manuscripts have been catalogued by Brian Crosby.²⁹¹ The seventeenth- and eighteenth-century part books and organ books have significant connections with Dublin.

3.13.1 Richard Hosier d. 1677

Biographical details are still not certain, but it is likely that the Richard Hosier who was a stipendiary in the choir of Christ Church Cathedral for a few months in 1634 (he was dismissed in December 1634 for neglect of duty) is the same Richard Hosier who was in the choir of King's College, Cambridge in 1637 and was a gentleman in the Chapel Royal in 1641 returning to Dublin at the Restoration to take a place in the choirs of both cathedrals.²⁹² Barra Boydell also suggests that the Richard Hosier who was admitted a probationary minor canon at Bristol Cathedral in April 1622 may be the 'Dublin Hosier.'²⁹³ No music by Hosier has survived at the Dublin cathedrals, but Durham MS B1 (an organ

²⁹⁰ Grindle, *Irish Cathedral Music*, 49.

²⁹¹ Crosby, *A Catalogue of Durham Cathedral Music Manuscripts*.

²⁹² Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 225; Boydell, *Music at Christ Church*, 69.

book), one of the earliest post-Restoration manuscripts at Durham, contains six of his anthems. Brian Crosby observed that the contents show this manuscript was not produced for use in Durham, as many of the pieces do not appear anywhere else at the cathedral. Nor do some items have concordances elsewhere.²⁹⁴ His attempts to trace the origins of the manuscript focus on two matters:

1. The inclusion of music by composers with London connections—Pelham Humfrey (6), Michael Wise (3), John Blow (1) and Henry Cooke (2). This implies some link with the Chapel Royal.
2. The presence of six anthems by Richard Hosier. Although Crosby did not have many biographical details for Hosier,²⁹⁵ he puts forward the case that Hosier is a strong candidate as copyist.

Harry Grindle described the consecration anthem *Now that the Lord hath readvanc'd the crown* used at St Patrick's for a service for the consecration of twelve bishops on 27 January 1661.²⁹⁶ Grindle believed the music to have been lost, but it is, in fact, one of the six anthems by Hosier in Durham MS B1. Thus MS B1 appears to have been copied in Dublin in the early years of the Restoration.²⁹⁷ Hosier died in Dublin in 1677 and Ian Spink suggests that MS B1 might have found its way to Durham via John Blundeville who was a vicar at St Patrick's in the late 1680s before moving to York (1681) and then Durham (1703).²⁹⁸ Crosby notes a 'John Blundevile' leaving the Chapel Royal as a chorister on Christmas Day 1664, and it seems likely that this is the same Blundevile who was a member of the choirs of the Dublin cathedrals between 1677 and 1680 and also turns up in the records at York and Durham.²⁹⁹ Durham MS B1 is the earliest Restoration music manuscript of Irish origin to have survived.

²⁹³ Boydell, 'Richard Hosier', 243.

²⁹⁴ Crosby, 'An Early Restoration Liturgical Music Manuscript'.

²⁹⁵ Barra Boydell puts forward several possible connections with Hosiers in England (see 'Richard Hosier', 242–3).

²⁹⁶ Grindle, *Irish Cathedral Music*, 25–6. For a full description of this ceremony, see appendix 6 below.

²⁹⁷ Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 225–6.

²⁹⁸ The names 'John Blunderfild' and 'Thomas Blunderfild' are written in the cover of Durham MS B1 (see Crosby, *A Catalogue of Durham Cathedral Music Manuscripts*, 463).

²⁹⁹ Boydell, *Music at Christ Church*, 178.

3.13.2 Pelham Humfrey

1647–74

Durham MS B1 contains over sixty items, but despite its Dublin origin, only seven of these are present in the books at St Patrick's. Of these seven, five are anthems by Pelham Humfrey—a remarkable representation as there are only seven anthems by Humfrey in MS B1 if one includes the doubtful attribution *Lord, let me know mine end*.³⁰⁰

Items included in Durham MS B1 which are also present in the eighteenth-century books at St Patrick's are:

Table 3.25

TITLE	COMPOSER
Haste thee, O God	Humfrey
Have mercy upon me, O God	Humfrey
Like as the hart	Humfrey
Lord, let me know mine end	?Locke
Lord, teach us to number our days	Humfrey
O praise the Lord, laud ye	Humfrey
Te Deum	Tallis

It may be coincidental that it is primarily the newer compositions in Durham MS B1 that have survived in the books at St Patrick's.

Before the Dublin provenance of Durham MS B1 was discovered, however, Brian Crosby discerned a possible Chapel Royal connection. This connection is almost certainly Richard Hosier (see 3.13.1 above).

Humfrey's anthems *Haste thee, O God* and *Like as the hart* have the organ bass for the symphonies in MS B1 and the string parts are provided for *O praise the Lord*. This implies performance with strings in Dublin (supported by reference to payments to players in the accounts of Christ Church Cathedral). Unfortunately, the proctor's accounts at St Patrick's are fragmentary before the 1720s, but it is likely that there was similar practice there.³⁰¹

Christ Church Cathedral part books contain Humfrey's *O praise God in his holiness*—this

³⁰⁰ One of the two anthems attributed to Humfrey in Durham MS B1 which is not at St Patrick's is *O praise God in his holiness*, a work known only from this source and considered to be of doubtful attribution.

could be the result of the attribution of this anthem to Humfrey in Durham MS B1. Peter Dennison records this attribution as doubtful,³⁰² and the anthem does not appear in the part books at St Patrick's.

See under Chapel Royal

3.13.3 Matthew Locke
 *c.*1621–77

The anthem *Lord, teach us to number our days* referred to in section 3.8.6 above, merits further comment here—Rosamond Harding lists it as a spurious anthem in her thematic catalogue of the works of Matthew Locke.³⁰³ The anthem has no attribution in the first set part books at St Patrick's, but there is an attribution to Locke in the indexes of four of the six books in the set. The anthem is included in the collection at Christ Church Cathedral, but the attribution to Locke likewise appears only in the index. Ob Tenbury MS 1503, whose copyist John Phipps became a vicar choral at St Patrick's in 1720, also contains this anthem, but without attribution. The inclusion of *God is our hope and strength* by Dublin-based Thomas Godfrey towards the end of Tenbury 1503 suggests that Phipps had the volume with him when he lived in Ireland. It is therefore likely that Tenbury 1503 is the source for the Dublin copies, but Harding has not listed it in her catalogue.

Harding makes no reference to the books at St Patrick's in her thematic catalogue, and the lack of a catalogue or listing at St Patrick's may explain this—as it would explain the absence of references to St Patrick's in Zimmerman's *Analytical Catalogue* of the works of Purcell.

A setting of *Lord, teach us to number our days* is attributed to Humfrey in Joule's word book but Joule does not list an anthem with this text by Locke.³⁰⁴ The attribution to Humfrey in Lbl Harl. 7338 and Add. MS 17820, together with attributions to Humfrey in the Gostling part books at York, makes Humfrey the more likely composer.

The only other anthem attributed to Locke which is included in the St Patrick's books is *Lord, let me know mine end*. This is present also in Durham MS B1 and it provides another problem of attribution. Harding includes the anthem in her thematic catalogue but notes

³⁰¹ Almost all payments for instrumentalists in the accounts at Christ Church are from before 1720.

³⁰² Dennison, *Pelham Humfrey: Complete Church Music*, 120.

³⁰³ Harding, *A Thematic Catalogue*, 30.

that it is attributed to ‘Silas Taylor al[ia]s Mr. Lock’ in Ob MS.Mus.Sch.C. 40.³⁰⁵ Durham MS B1 also attributes the anthem to Silas Taylor and it is so attributed in Ely Cathedral MS, Organ 1.³⁰⁶ An anthem by this name attributed to Locke is present in a score book at Lichfield Cathedral copied by J. Barker in 1750, but this is not mentioned in Harding’s catalogue.³⁰⁷ An anthem by this name attributed to Locke is included in the word books from Durham (1848) and Norwich (1789) and Joule’s word book (1859).³⁰⁸ The attribution of this anthem remains open.

Durham MS B1 is an important document: it is the earliest example of manuscript traffic across the Irish sea in the post-Restoration period. Its strong Chapel Royal repertoire suggests a thriving transmission of Chapel Royal music to Ireland. This matter will be examined further in chapter 4.

See under Chapel Royal

3.13.4 Robert Hodge
d. 1709

Robert Hodge was a minor canon at Durham from 1691 to 1693 and he is probably the Robert Hodge who was organist of Wells Cathedral 1688–90, and left Durham for ‘Hibernia’.³⁰⁹

See under Dublin, St Patrick’s Cathedral

3.13.5 John Mathews
d. 1799

Mathews was a lay clerk in Durham 1764–76. His activities as a copyist are discussed in chapter 1 above. These prolific copying activities make him the most important conduit for music entering the repertoires of the Dublin cathedrals in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Furthermore, he was responsible for music of Irish origin making its way to England.

³⁰⁴ Joule, *A Collection of Words*, 238.

³⁰⁵ Harding, *A Thematic Catalogue*, 10.

³⁰⁶ Crosby, ‘An Early Restoration Liturgical Music Manuscript’, 460.

³⁰⁷ Franklin, ‘Five manuscripts at Lichfield’, 56.

³⁰⁸ *Anthems Performed in the Cathedral Church of Durham* (Durham: George Andrews; London: F. & J. Rivington, 1848); *Anthems Used in the Cathedral Church of Norwich* (Norwich: Crouse & Stevenson, 1789).

³⁰⁹ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 288.

Mathews sent two volumes of music to Durham (Durham MSS A18 and A19) shortly after he arrived in Dublin. A letter written by him directly into MS A18 is dated 30 October 1777 and reads as follows:

Revd Gentlemen

We have another Service of Mr Shenton in G and one of Dr Childs in E \flat Key, and one of Mr Goldwins in F and Dr Murphy is Composing a Service in 8 parts which is expected to be a very fine one and those three or four is all we have now more than you have at Durham, and those I could send you a copy of another year if the Dean and Gentlemen of the Chapter of Durham please to commission me so to do, We have many more Anthems now that are not in the Choir Books at Durham viz about 6 of Dr Boyces, abt. 10 or 12 of Rosingraves, several of Dr Nares's, Two or Three of Mr Shentons, some few of other Authors, and one of Dr Murphy's which he has almost finished, those or part of those I could also send a Copy of to Durham if requested so to do—those Anthems I guess would fill abt. 3 to 6 sheets each one with another—Those First 5 Jubilates I thought would be very usefull in the Choir and Church of Durham as well as here in Dublin as the Benedictus of those old authors are in many Cathedrals often thought too long therefore I sent those thinking to serve the Church of Durham thereby. As for Mr Wise's Two Kyries et Credo's [*sic*] I thought by sending them I should also serve the Church of Durham as they will so well match with Wise's Evening Service which you have already in your Choir Books — As for the rest of the Services Chants and Anthems now sent, tho' they exceed a little in Number the commission you sent me by my Friend Mr Wood. Yet I trust and presume that when they are properly brought into practice, the goodness of the Music will procure such an approbation thereof as will sufficiently plead an excuse for the liberty taken in sending so many by,
Revd Gentlemen

Your much oblig'd and obednt Servt

John Mathews

Durham MS A19 contains a comment (pp. 422–3) stating that Shenton wrote the *Sursum corda*, *Sanctus* and *Gloria* (for his Service in E \flat) at Mathews's request to make his service more useful at Durham.³¹⁰ The misattribution of *Christ is risen* to Purcell in Durham MS A19 is a repetition of the misattribution in Dublin.³¹¹

It would seem that Mathews's enthusiasm for the music he was sending was not shared by its recipients in Durham—there were to be no further commissions. John Mathews was nonetheless responsible for the dissemination of considerable amounts of music on both sides of the Irish Sea. When he moved from Salisbury to Durham he brought Durham MSS

³¹⁰ Crosby, *A Catalogue of Durham Cathedral Music Manuscripts*, 18.

³¹¹ See chapter 2 for correspondence between Dr Nigel Fortune and Dean Lewis-Crosby about this anthem.

A24, A32, D7, D8 and part of A17 with him.³¹²

Manuscript books at Durham in Mathews's hand are:³¹³

Table 3.26

MSS	PAGE	MSS	PAGE
A13	126–32	B6	170–92 Rev 19–20, 69–70
A15	104–20	B7	315–34
A17	1–7, 83–198	B8	82–3, Rev 197–202
A18		B9	172–91, Rev 58–69
A19		B10	350–end
A24 (while at Salisbury)		B12	1–345
A26	97–106	B13	137–62 Rev 148–70
A32 (while at Salisbury)		B17	123–46 Rev 167–8, 172–85
		B19	372, 380–400
B21	206–7	C19	483–90
B22		C19A	1–24
B23	3–165	C21	198–201
B28	389–97, 3–67, 79–87, 157–84, 201–4 217–24, 311–88	C33	1–117, 317–28
B29	209, 270–86	C35	99–14 [<i>sic</i>] 23–4, Rev 27a
B31	90–122, Rev 100–24		
B32	94–9, Rev 74–80	D7	
B33	139–66, Rev 81–2, 87–110	D8	
B35	154–72, Rev 1, 2, 103–33		
B36	119–60, Rev 113–19		

Manuscripts in Mathews's hand also survive in Edinburgh and Oxford. These are considered in sections 3.14, and 3.25.1.

³¹² Crosby, *A Catalogue of Durham Cathedral Music Manuscripts*, 244.

³¹³ 'Rev' is used rather than **B** here to refer to pagination from the back of the volume as this is the format used in Crosby's catalogue.

3.13.6 Thomas Ebdon
1738–1811

Table 3.27

TYPE	TITLE	MOVEMENTS
Services	Service in C	Te, J, K, Cr, Sa, G, Ma, N, Ca, De
Anthems	Behold, God is my salvation	
	Behold, how good and joyful	
	Blessed is he	
	Blessed is the man	
	Cry unto the Lord	
	Deliver me from mine enemies	
	Hear me when I call	
	I will give thanks	
	I will magnify thee, O God	
	I will remember thy name	
	O give thanks	
	O Lord my God, I will exalt thee	
	O Lord my God, I cried	
	O Lord, rebuke me not	
	O sing unto the Lord	
	Praised be the Lord	
	Teach me, O Lord	
	The Lord is my shepherd	
	The souls of the righteous	
	To God, O my soul ³¹⁴	

Ebdon was a chorister at Durham Cathedral and became organist there in 1763, holding the position until his death in 1811. His music is published in two volumes *Sacred Music* (1790–1810).³¹⁵ His Morning, Communion and Evening Service in C has survived at St Patrick's and it is the only communion service setting in the eighteenth-century library to include *Kyrie*, *Creed*, *Sanctus* and *Gloria*. Twenty-one anthems are represented, but most of these are in organ book 86 with corresponding vocal parts in A.1.7 only.

³¹⁴ According to Brian Crosby this anthem was composed between 1768 and 1769 with words by Spencer Cowper, dean of Durham (from correspondence with the author).

³¹⁵ A list of Irish subscribers to Ebdon's *Sacred Music* is given in appendix 3 below.

3.14.1 UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH: REID MUSIC LIBRARY

There are three manuscript score books in the hand of John Mathews at the Reid Music Library at the University of Edinburgh.³¹⁶ These books have not been catalogued, but have been allocated shelf marks D 217, 218 and 219. It seems that they were sent to Professor Newman (Reid Professor in the 1960s) for examination and were deposited in a storeroom in the library. A note in the first book in Professor Newman's hand gives details of a fourth manuscript which is now missing and which contains the full score of Handel's *Saul*. It would appear that two of the three volumes were copied whilst Mathews was at Salisbury,³¹⁷ and the third one seems to have been copied later—possibly in Dublin. The writing in these volumes is very similar to Mathews's work in Dublin, although it is less developed than his 'mature' late-Dublin style. Mathews's traits of additional organ figuring and full details of psalm texts are present in these Edinburgh books. Furthermore, some of the very large semibreves that are found in Mathews's Dublin work are also present here (see plate 12).

These books are the primary source for some of the pieces in the second set of part books at St Patrick's, of which Mathews was the principal copyist. It is also very probable that they are the primary source for some Salisbury repertoire at Durham—e.g. works by Robert Bacon (d. 1759, priest vicar of Salisbury Cathedral 1753)³¹⁸ and John Stephens. Certainly, the arrival of this repertoire at Durham does not pre-date the arrival of Mathews, and most of the Durham copies are in Mathews's hand.³¹⁹

³¹⁶ I am grateful to Dr Brian Crosby for drawing my attention to the existence and unexpected location of these manuscripts.

³¹⁷ 'John Mathews Lay Vicar: of Salisbury September 1760' is written on the inside front cover of MS 1, and the following page mentions 'Durham November 24th 1764'.

³¹⁸ Foster, *Anthems and Anthem Composers*, 107.

³¹⁹ Information received from Mr Simon Anderson.

Table 3.28 MS 1

PAGE	COMPOSER	TITLE	COMMENTS
1	Dr Blake	I have set God always	
5			'NB If the verse be transposed and played in the key of A or B \flat , a 5 th or 6 th higher it will then suit very well to be sung by a tenor and two treble voices and perhaps the key of A \flat is more proper and ? than the Key of B \flat '. This note is written at the end of the ATB section with the text, 'For Thou Wilt not,' which is in the key of D of this book.
10	Mr Bacon	The eyes of the Lord	
20	Dr Green	Like as the hart	'A note higher in Durham and Xch. org and Choir books'
29	Dr Croft	I will give thanks	
44	Dr Croft	[I waited patiently]	
51	[? Croft]	[God is gone up with a merry noise]	
61	Mr Bacon	Te Deum	This setting is in A minor.
74	Mr Bacon	Jubilate Deo	This setting is in A major.
80	[Bacon]	[The Lord is king]	This piece is included in Edinburgh MS 3 also.
89	Dr Boyce	The Lord is my light	
99	Dr Blow	[I was in the spirit]	
113	Mr H Purcell	[Behold, I bring you glad tidings]	
121	Dr Boyce	[If we believe]	
130	[Boyce]	[By the waters of Babylon]	
140	Mr Hall	Te Deum	This setting is in E \flat .
151	Mr Hine	Jubilate	This setting is in E \flat . There in an indication 'Durham Decany' on page 155.
158	Dr Greene	I will magnify thee	
166	[?Tupell]	Cantate Domino	
174	[?Tupell]	Deus misereatur	Page 176–77 have notes 'Butcher Bill he left unpaid 31 st March 1788 £2.0.3' and 'Butcher Bill from 31 st March to 29 th Sept of 1788 £8.0.6 ¼'.
178	[Weldon]	[Hear my crying]	

Table 3.28 cont'd

PAGE	COMPOSER	TITLE	COMMENTS
188	[Boyce]	Give the king thy judgements	
198	[Hall]	[The souls of the righteous]	Page 200 has notes 'NB only a ritornello in the Durham Books' and 'Repeat the first verse (Both in Dublin and Sarum books)'
208	[Weldon]	[In thee, O Lord]	Page 205 has a note 'NB This Cho: is not right with the Durham books'

'John Mathews Lay Vicar: of Salisbury September 1760' is inscribed on the inside front cover of MS 1 and the following page also mentions 'Durham November 24th 1764'. This suggests that the book was started when Mathews was at Salisbury, but it is not clear if it was completed at Salisbury or after his move to Durham. The note on page 20 'A note higher in ? Durham and Xch. [i.e. Christ Church] org and Choir books' confirms that Mathews brought the book to Dublin. This is corroborated further by the 1788 dates written on pages 176–7. The notes on pages 200 and 205 show that Mathews compared the slightly different versions of some of the anthems in books at Salisbury, Durham and Dublin. In the case of Hall's *The souls of the righteous* (p. 198), it shows that this anthem was at Durham before Mathews's arrival. The pieces by Robert Bacon (d. 1759) and Boyce (with the exception of *If we believe*) must have been copied from this book into the books at Durham.³²⁰

Table 3.29 MS 2

PAGE	COMPOSER	TITLE	COMMENTS
1	Mr Purcell	[Be merciful unto me]	
10	Mr Purcell	The Lord is king	
15	? Walkley/Roseingrave	Domino Dominus [O Lord Our Governor]	There are numerous references to transcripts at Cashel here. 'NB in Cashel in A a 3 rd higher' 'NB in Cashel in C a 5 th higher'
21	[Blake]	[Thou, O God]	'NB: a longer chorus to finish this anthem was originally intended by the author, had leisure and opportunity permitted him to have done it' is written at the end of this anthem.

³²⁰ Information received from Brian Crosby.

Table 3.29 cont'd

PAGE	COMPOSER	TITLE	COMMENTS
27			'NB 1 st EBCB/BBA' and 'NB 2 nd BBAF/GGA' and 'in Dublin score' This is written at the end of a treble duet suggesting that this score does not match Dublin books.
30	Mr John Stephens, Organist of Salisbury	Evening Service	'25m: after 2 o'clock 18 Nov 1779: here to E. Easto[n] (T[?]. J. Master sent with 5 Guineas Bill in it) put into Dubn. Genl. Post Office. J.M. V.C. Xc Cho. & St Pat: Dubn.' is written on page 30.
48	Dr Croft	The Lord is my strength	Solo Bass
55	Dr Walkley or Mr Walkley or Mr Roseingrave	[O Lord, thou hast searched me out]	P.56 'At Cashel repeated and 2 nd time piano'
62	Mr Clarke	[The Lord is full of compassion]	
70	Mr Wise	[The ways of Sion do mourn]	
75	Mr Clarke	I will love thee	This version has two solo parts, one tenor and one bass—chorus. 'The Earth Trembled' has dots over repeated quavers.
81	Mr Humphrys	Like as the hart	'NB in Durham books you must rest three Bars for a Sym: on the organ before this 1 st verse begins'
93	[Croft]	[Blessed is the people]	
102	Dr Croft	[Sing praises to the Lord]	
110	Mr Wise	Awake, awake, put on thy strength, ye saints]	
118	Mr A. Walkley	O how amiable	
128	[Anon]	[Like as the hart]	
135	Dr Blow	Sing we merrily	
144	Dr Boyce	[Teach me, O Lord]	

This book has its original cover inscribed by Mathews. The inside front cover gives dates when Mathews held posts at Salisbury and Durham, and it seems that this volume, like MS1, was started in Salisbury. The index contains crosses and notes such as ‘man c’, indicating that Mathews was noting where he had copied from, or was copying to, or perhaps simply providing a cross reference. The note on p. 30 ‘25m: after 2 o clock 18 Nov 1779: here to E. Easto[n] (T[?]. J. Master sent with 5 Guineas Bill in it) put into Dubn. Genl. Post Office. J.M. V.C. Xc Cho. & St Pat: Dubn.’ shows that this book was posted somewhere in 1779. This addressee seems to be the book binder Edward Eaton of Salisbury who also bound Mathews’s score book, Marsh’s library Z 1.2.26.³²¹

The inside back cover contains a note ‘Mr Remmington virger &c Kilkenny.’ This inscription suggests that the book did not remain in Dublin, but made its way to the city of Kilkenny, which lies about 70 miles to the south west of Dublin. The cathedral for the Diocese of Ossory is situated in Kilkenny, and the book may have had some function there although little is known of the cathedral’s musical foundation at this time.³²² However, the references on pp. 15 and 56 strongly suggest that the book was used at Cashel—probably when John Mathews Jr was organist (1791–99).³²³

A tremulando indication in Clarke’s anthem *I will love thee* is reminiscent of the Frost scene in Purcell’s *King Arthur*.³²⁴ The note on p. 81 indicates differing performance practice in different locations. The omission of ritornelli in symphony anthems was a common feature of eighteenth-century practice. Many of these anthems were intended primarily for performance in the Chapel Royal and amended versions were used at other places where strings were not available.³²⁵

Edward Blake was a prebendary of Salisbury Cathedral from 1757 and would therefore have met Mathews when the latter was a singer there in the early 1760s.³²⁶

³²¹ This information is recorded on the back cover of the Marsh’s library volume.

³²² Grindle, *Irish Cathedral Music*, 34–5.

³²³ See chapter 1 above on the confusing identities of members of the Mathews family.

³²⁴ The Frost scene was well known in Dublin. Boydell, *Dublin Musical Calendar*, 58 n. 1.

³²⁵ Lionel Pike investigates various versions of Purcell’s *Rejoice in the Lord* for performance without strings, including a ‘Dublin type’ and a ‘Durham type’, in ‘Purcell’s “Rejoice in the Lord”’.

³²⁶ Foster, *Anthems and Anthem Composers*, 110.

Table 3.30 MS 3

PAGE	COMPOSER	TITLE	COMMENTS
1	Dr Croft	Praise the Lord, O my soul	
16	Dr Croft	O Lord, thou hast searched me out	
39	Dr Boyce	I will magnify thee	
51	Robt Shenton	Lord, how are they increased	
60	Mr Rosingrave	I will magnify thee	
67	Mr Dupuis	Lord, what love have I	
73	Mr Howard	Blessed is the man [whose strength is in thee]	
85	Mr Kent	Give the Lord [the honour due unto his name]	
93	Mr Clark	The Lord is full of compassion	
103	Mr Bishop	O Lord our governor	
111	Mr Bacon	The Lord is king	
124	Mr Weldon	Thou art my portion	
132	Mr Norris	Hear my prayer, O God	This anthem is in Marsh's Library MS Z1.2.28.
139	Dr Stephens	O Lord, consider my distress	
140	Mr Hawkins	Arise, O Lord, into thy resting place	
145	Dr Boyce	Teach me, O Lord	
152	Mr Bishop	I will magnify thee	
156	Mr Kent	The Lord is my shepherd	

The canticles in MS 2 are ascribed to 'Mr John Stephens'. This Stephens received his doctorate in 1763, and the designation Dr in the third volume confirms that MS 3 is a later book than MS 2. The inclusion of *I will magnify thee* by Roseingrave early in MS 3 suggests that it was, in fact, copied in Dublin. (It may also have been bound there as the cover is similar to books in the library at St Patrick's.) There are three settings of the text *I will magnify thee* by 'Roseingrave', however, and it is improbable that one composer wrote all three. It is thus possible that the setting in Edinburgh MS 3 is by Daniel Roseingrave, and comes from a source known to Mathews from his time at Winchester and now lost.

The inside front cover is inscribed 'This score is the property of Thos. Mathews Vicar Choral of Christ Church and St Patrick's Cathedrals Dublin Sepr 20th 1780 (no 49 Camden St. Dublin) and—delivered to the care of the Revd Dr Nan Lord Bishop of Cork & Ross.' There are many blank pages after p. 163.

The anthem *Hear my Prayer* by Thomas Norris is not present in the books at St Patrick's, but is included in Mathews's score book in Marsh's library MS Z1.2.28. This anthem gives a clue to another manuscript with Dublin connections. Until the discovery of the Edinburgh book, the only known sources for this anthem by Norris were Marsh's Library MS Z1.2.28 (in Mathews's hand), Och 1226 (probably autograph)³²⁷ and Ob MS Mus.d.174 (in Mathews's hand). Ob MS Mus.d.174 is discussed in section 3.25.1 below.

The Edinburgh books were almost certainly the original sources for the Durham books and the Dublin copies of Stephens's Evening Service in Eb, the anthem *The Lord is king* by Robert Bacon and Boyce's anthems *The Lord is my light*, *By the waters of Babylon* and *Give the king thy judgements*.³²⁸ They also seem to have been the original source for the Dublin copies of Boyce's *If we believe* and two anthems by the Salisbury composer Edward Blake, *I have set God always before me* and *Thou O God, art praised in Sion*.

Other books in Mathews's hand are discussed under Oxford, Bodleian Library below.

3.15 ELY CATHEDRAL

Like Cambridge, because of its geographical location, Ely's musical repertoire did not lend itself to cross fertilisation with that in Dublin. In particular, none of the works of the prolific Ely composer James Hawkins (c.1660–1729) are present in the surviving manuscripts at St Patrick's. However, a setting of *In Jury [sic] is God known* was one of the anthems brought from England by Robert Hodge, and it may have been by Hawkins.³²⁹

A Catalogue of Ancient Choral Services and Anthems was compiled by Revd W. E. Dickson and printed for the dean and chapter of Ely at the University Press, Cambridge in 1861. This catalogue does not contain any material by Irish composers.

³²⁷ Information received from Mr John Wing, former Assistant Librarian, Christ Church, Oxford.

³²⁸ None of these anthems was in the collection at Durham before Mathews arrived, and the Durham copies are in his hand.

³²⁹ See chapter 1.

3.16 ETON COLLEGE

3.16.1 Benjamin Rogers
 1614–98

Rogers was organist at Eton 1661–4.³³⁰

See under Oxford, Magdalen College

3.16.2 John Weldon
 1676–1736

Weldon was a chorister at Eton.

See under Chapel Royal

3.17 EXETER CATHEDRAL

3.17.1 William Jackson
 1730–1803

Jackson received his early training from Exeter Cathedral organist, John Silvester (d. 1753). He went to study with John Travers in London when he was eighteen, and later returned to Exeter where he taught music privately, and became the cathedral organist in 1777, a position he held until his death in 1803. He was also an essayist and landscape painter.³³¹

None of Jackson's anthems appear to have come to Ireland, but his Service in F (Te, J, K, Cr, Doxology, Sa, Ca, De) is present in organ book 77. *Anthems & Church Services by the Late William Jackson of Exeter* was published in 1819 and it contains a note: 'N.B. The rests must not be struck on the organ'. John Mathews inserted a similar comment on folio 145v of organ book 77: 'NB The author has in his score directed in writing that all rests on both right hand and left hand lines throughout the whole of this his service must be kept and not struck on the organ.' A further comment has been added on folio 286, possibly by Robert Stewart: 'note in the Christ Church books the adjoining inscription "Old Mathews should never been *kept* as copyist & ought to have been *struck* repeatedly for his tampering with harmonies.'" This is shown on plate 13.

³³⁰ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 374–5.

3.17.2 Henry Hall
1656–1707

Hall was organist at Exeter from 1674 to 1679.³³²

See under Hereford Cathedral

3.18 GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL

3.18.1 Philip Hosier
d. 1638

A Philip Hosier was organist from 1620 until 1638 and he may have been related to Richard Hosier, the copyist of Durham MS B1.³³³

3.18.2 Daniel Roseingrave,
d. 1727

Roseingrave was organist from 1679 until 1681. On 10 April 1679 he was admonished for beating and wounding John Payne, one of the ‘singing men’.³³⁴ His violent behaviour was not confined to his time at Gloucester, and continued in Dublin.

See under Dublin, St Patrick’s Cathedral

3.18.3 William Hine
1687–1730

Hine was a chorister and later a lay clerk at Magdalen College, Oxford and after his dismissal for ‘*fornicationem, manifestam et scandalsam*’ he studied with Jeremiah Clarke in London.³³⁵ He was appointed organist of Gloucester Cathedral in 1713 although he had been acting as organist since 1707. He held this post until his death in 1730.

His sole representation in the music at St Patrick’s is his *Jubilate* in E \flat which was widely used with Henry Hall’s *Te Deum* in the same key. This service, Hall & Hine in E \flat , is discussed under Hereford Cathedral below.

³³¹ Ibid., 114–15.

³³² Ibid., 111.

³³³ Ibid., 119.

³³⁴ Ibid., 122.

³³⁵ Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 262.

A large music library has survived at Hereford but it awaits a full catalogue and a comprehensive investigation of its contents may be a rewarding task for a scholar in the future.

- 3.19.1 Henry Hall
 1656–1707
 Henry Hall (son of above)
 d. 1714

If Daniel Roseingrave senior was a chorister at the Chapel Royal with Purcell, he would have been acquainted with Henry Hall Sr also. Like the Roseingraves, there is some uncertainty about the attribution of music by ‘Hall’. Both Henry Sr and Henry Jr were composers, and both were organists of Hereford Cathedral.

Music at St Patrick’s by the Halls:

Table 3.31

TYPE	TITLE	MOVEMENTS
Services	Morning Service in E \flat (with Hine)	Te, J ³³⁶
	Evening Service in B \flat	Ca, De
Anthems	Blessed be the Lord	
	Lift up your heads	
	Praise the Lord, O ye servants	
	The souls of the righteous	

Until recently, it was thought that almost all the surviving music was by Henry Sr. In their history of Hereford Cathedral, however, Aylmer and Tiller shed new light on the matter, and suggest that the collaborative venture with Hine actually involved Henry Jr.³³⁷

Joule divided works by the ‘Halls’ as follows:

³³⁶ William Hine wrote the *Jubilate* of the service.

³³⁷ *Hereford Cathedral: A History*, ed. Gerald Aylmer and John Tiller (London: The Hambleton Press, 2000), 405–7, 461–2.

Table 3.32

Hall Sr	Hall Jr
Arise, O Lord	Blessed be the Lord God
Behold, now praise the Lord	Deliver us, O Lord our God
Blessed be the Lord my strength	
By the waters of Babylon	
It is a good thing	
O clap your hands	
O God, thou art my God	
O praise the Lord	
Praise the Lord, ye servants [<i>sic</i>]	
Righteous art thou	
The souls of the righteous	
Thou, O God, art praised in Sion	
We will rejoice in thy salvation	

Henry Hall Sr was a chorister at the Chapel Royal, and his contribution to Purcell's *Orpheus Britannicus* (1696) shows that he and Purcell were fellow pupils of Blow:

We learnt together, but not learnt alike:
Though equal care our Master might bestow
yet only Purcell e'er shall equal Blow.

Joule quotes Hall's epigram:

Sometimes a hero in an age appears,
But scarce a Purcell in a thousand years.³³⁸

Hall acted as organist of Wells Cathedral for a few months in 1674 before becoming organist of Exeter Cathedral (1674–9). Hall went to Hereford in 1679 where he assisted the cathedral organist, John Badham, and succeeded him 1688. On Hall's death the post of organist passed to his son who held it until his death in 1714.³³⁹

Five services and at least twenty-eight anthems survive at Hereford, Gloucester and Worcester. Ian Spink cites evidence of Hall's music being used by the Chapel Royal.³⁴⁰ His compositions are to be found in the Stephen Bing part books at York (M.1.S), in Cambridge (Fitzwilliam Museum MS 117) and in Tudway's collection (Lbl MS Harl. 7342).

³³⁸ Joule, *A Collection of Words*, 326.

³³⁹ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 111, 137–8, 453.

The books at St Patrick's contain the Morning Service in E \flat (with William Hine), the Evening Service in B \flat , and four anthems. Grove (1980) does not list Hall's works, but three of the four anthems found in St Patrick's are included in Foster's list. The anthem missing from Foster's list is *Praise the Lord, O ye servants*, but an anthem *Praise the Lord, ye servants* is there attributed to Henry Hall Jn. To confuse matters further, organ book 79 at St Patrick's gives the title *Praise the Lord, ye servants* whereas the first set of part books has the text *Praise the Lord, O ye servants*. Hereford Ms R 14 2, which was copied about 1820,³⁴¹ does not clarify matters: its attribution 'Henry Hall 1706 Praise the Lord' gives a date when both Halls were alive.

RISM and Foster give Dublin as the only sources for *Lift up your heads*. The Edinburgh manuscripts in Mathews's hand include Hall & Hine in E \flat together with Hall's anthem *The souls of the righteous*.

The following works by Hall are in the library at Hereford Cathedral. Attributions to Hall Sr and Hall Jr are given as they appear in the Hereford source. It is interesting to note that only two of the four anthems that are included in the books at St Patrick's are in the books at Hereford:

Table 3.33

TYPE	TITLE	MOVEMENTS
Services	Service in B \flat	Ca, De
	Service in E \flat	Te, J
Anthems	Behold, now praise (Sr)	
	Deliver us, O Lord (Jr)	
	I heard a great voice (Sr)	
	I will cry unto God (Sr)	
	If we believe	
	O Lord, grant the king	
	O praise the Lord (Sr)	
	Praise the Lord, O ye servants	
	Righteous art thou	
	The souls of the righteous	
	Thou, O God	
	We will rejoice	

³⁴⁰ Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 268.

³⁴¹ Information recorded in the card catalogue at Hereford Cathedral Library.

Table 3.33 cont'd

TYPE	TITLE	MOVEMENTS
	When the Lord	
	Wherewithall shall a young man	

The morning service, Hall & Hine in E_b, has a curious history. Hall wrote the *Te Deum* and William Hine wrote the *Jubilate*, yet it is difficult to understand why this marriage of canticles should have come about as a *Jubilate* by Hall survives in Hereford. It may be that the composite service was used at a Three Choirs' Festival, linking Hereford and Gloucester. In fact, a 1709 payment from Gloucester Cathedral to Henry Hall Jr was perhaps Gloucester's contribution to a joint venture.³⁴² Whatever its *raison d'être*, Hall & Hine in E flat was popular in its day and travelled widely. It is included in volume three of Arnold. Its peculiarity was augmented by later composers, including William Hayes, a former pupil and admirer of Hine, who wrote a communion and evening service to 'complete' the *Te Deum* and *Jubilate*.³⁴³ Hayes's evening service is contained in the eighteenth-century books at St Patrick's. Another 'completion' of Hall & Hine was penned by William Raylton of Canterbury.³⁴⁴

3.19.2 Robert Shenton c.1730–98

Shenton was a member of the college of vicars choral at Hereford from 1753 until he came to Dublin in 1757. Hereford MS 30.B.15, a late nineteenth-century alto part book, includes his services in E, E_b, G and C. Earlier Hereford books contain the Service in D (tenor part book MS 30.A.16, c.1752; organ book MS 30.B.18 c.1752) and the anthem *Lord, how are they increased* (MS C.9.14, a pre-1800 book).³⁴⁵ Shenton's handwriting may be seen in Hereford MSS 30.B.2, 6 and 9.

See under St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin

³⁴² *Hereford Cathedral*, ed. Aylmer and Tiller, 462.

³⁴³ Philip Hayes, son of William, says that Hine 'was an excellent organ player as I have frequently heard my father and others who knew him say'. Lbl Add. MS 33235, cited in Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 123.

³⁴⁴ Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 267.

³⁴⁵ The dating of these MSS is taken from notes in the card catalogue in Hereford Cathedral Library.

3.19.3 Richard Woodward
c.1744–77

Although Woodward did not have any direct connection with Hereford, it is interesting to note that two of his anthems are to be found in the library there: *O praise God* and *Sing, O ye heavens*.

See under St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin

3.19.4 John Clarke (later Clarke-Whitfeld)
1770–1836

Clarke was born in Gloucester and became organist of Armagh Cathedral in 1794. He moved to Dublin in 1797 to become master of the choristers at both cathedrals for a short time before returning to England 'owing to the Irish rebellion'. He was organist of St John's and Trinity colleges, Cambridge from 1799 until his appointment to Hereford in 1820. He held that appointment until 1832 and died near Hereford in 1836. Clarke's own music dates from after 1800 and thus lies outside the parameters of this study.

During his brief time in Dublin Clarke must have been acquainted with Shenton, and it is possible that some of the music by Shenton found in the nineteenth-century books at the library in Hereford had not been composed there, but was brought by Clarke from Dublin.

3.20 LICHFIELD CATHEDRAL

The part books at Lichfield contain music by John Loggins, including the anthem *Be thou my judge* which is present in Hosier's Durham MS B1. He was probably the John Loggins who was a chorister at the Chapel Royal until 1666.³⁴⁶

The early score books which have survived Lichfield have been inventoried by Don Franklin.³⁴⁷ With the exception of Carter's *Hear my prayer*, these books do not contain any music with direct Dublin connections.

³⁴⁶ Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 274.

³⁴⁷ Franklin, 'Five manuscripts at Lichfield', 55–9.

3.21 LINCOLN CATHEDRAL

3.21.1 William Byrd

1540–1623

Byrd was organist at Lincoln from 1563 to 1572.³⁴⁸

See under Chapel Royal

3.21.2 John Blundeville,

c.1650–1721

Blundeville was a chorister at Lincoln and is mentioned as master of the choristers 1661–7.³⁴⁹

See under Durham Cathedral

3.21.3 George Holmes

d. 1720

Spink declares that Holmes was the most important Restoration composer at Lincoln.³⁵⁰ He was a chorister at Durham and organist to the Bishop of Durham before coming to Lincoln as organist in 1705.³⁵¹ His only representation in Dublin is the anthem *Arise and shine*, which was written to celebrate the 1707 Act of Union between England and Scotland.³⁵²

3.21.4 William Turner

1652–1740

Turner, a former chorister at the Chapel Royal, succeeded Blundeville as master of the choristers at Lincoln. Later he became a gentleman of the Chapel Royal and vicar choral of St Paul's Cathedral.³⁵³

See under Chapel Royal

³⁴⁸ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 155.

³⁴⁹ Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 226.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 286.

³⁵¹ Crosby, *A Catalogue of Durham Cathedral Music Manuscripts*, 187.

³⁵² Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 286.

³⁵³ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 160.

3.22.1 BRITISH LIBRARY

The British Library holds extensive collections of music manuscripts which are important sources for Restoration music. The authenticity of many of the pieces at St Patrick's has been tested against sources held in the British Library and details are included in appendix 1. A full list of manuscripts consulted in this study is given in the bibliography. In particular, Harl. MSS 7337–42 is one of the most important collections of English Church Music prior to the publication of Boyce in 1760. This manuscript collection is *A Collection of the Most Celebrated Services and Anthems Used in The Church of England from the Reformation to the Restoration of K Charles II. Composed by the Best Masters and Collected by Thomas Tudway DM Musick-Professor of the University of Cambridge AD MDCCXV.*

MS G. 518. b. (1–18) bears John Bumpus's book plate and contains a catalogue of services held by cathedral libraries in 1824. This catalogue was published in the *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review*, vol. 6, xxi (1824) pp. 17–27, 310–17, 'Cathedral Service'—Author: X. A. P. It is followed by a short account of the Gostling Choir Books in the York Minster library handwritten by John Naylor (Minster organist) and dated 14 October 1884. The main portion of the volume is devoted to manuscript scores of services and anthems. Bumpus has been fairly assiduous in recording the location of the part books from which he compiled each score. He was aware of the sources at the Dublin cathedrals and he scored certain items from them. From books at Christ Church he took down services by King (in D), Stevenson (in D and in E flat) and Wise (in E and in F minor).

Bumpus lists the services of King and notes that, though Marshall published the *Te Deum*, *Jubilate*, *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis* from the Service in D, the *Kyrie*, *Creed* and *Sanctus* remained unpublished. This *Kyrie* and *Creed* are present in organ book 90. Bumpus also notes that the *Sanctus* was 'written for the service by Sir R. P. Stewart' (who also contributed a *Sanctus* for Wise's settings). It is interesting to note that Bumpus used sources at Christ Church rather than St Patrick's, possibly because he found the sources more complete there.

3.22.2 ST PAUL'S CATHEDRAL

The Quire of Christopher Wren's new cathedral was completed and opened 5th December 1697.³⁵⁴ Blow's anthem *I was glad when they said unto me* was written for this occasion and had reached Ireland by the following March, showing how quickly music travelled to Dublin in the early Restoration period.³⁵⁵ Randall Jewett was a minor canon of St Paul's in 1661;³⁵⁶ other vicars included Michael Wise, William Turner and John Blow.

3.22.2.1 Jeremiah Clarke

1674–1707

Clarke was organist from 1699 to 1707, having been a chorister in the Chapel Royal.³⁵⁷

See under Chapel Royal

3.22.2.2 Charles King

1687-1748

Table 3.34

TYPE	TITLE	MOVEMENTS
Services	B \flat	Te, J, Ca, De
	D	Te, J, K, Cr, Ma, N
Anthems	O be joyful	
	O pray for the peace	

King was a chorister, and later almoner and master of the choristers (1707–48) at St Paul's.³⁵⁸ He wrote at least seven services and nineteen anthems. Of his two services found at St Patrick's, the one in B \flat was included by Arnold and the one in D was published by Marshall in 1840. *O be joyful* was also printed by Arnold, and *O pray for the peace* turns up in Page.

³⁵⁴ Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 296.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 226; see chapter 1 above and Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 420.

³⁵⁶ Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 297.

³⁵⁷ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 175.

³⁵⁸ Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 302.

3.22.2.3 Adrian Batten
1591–1637

Table 3.35

TYPE	TITLE
Anthems	Deliver us, O Lord Hear my prayer, O God, and hide not ³⁵⁹ O praise the Lord, all ye heathen ³⁶⁰

The position of organist was ill-defined at St Paul's Cathedral before the civil war, but Batten can probably be described as having held it. It is certain, however, that he was a vicar choral, and Watkins Shaw notes that every organist of St Paul's was a vicar choral until the appointment of Sir George Martin in 1888.³⁶¹ (At St Patrick's, the tradition of the organist of the cathedral being a vicar choral survives to the present day.) Batten's *Hear my prayer* appears in the first set of part books, and all three anthems in organ book 79.

3.22.2.4 Maurice Greene
1696–1755

Table 3.36

TYPE	TITLE	MOVEMENTS
Services	C	Te, J, Ma, N
Anthems	Acquaint thyself with God Arise, shine, O Zion Behold, I bring you glad tidings Blessed are they that dwell in thy house Blessed are those that are undefiled Blessed is the man that hath not walked Bow down thine ear, O Lord God is our hope and strength Have mercy upon me Hear my prayer, O God, and let Hear, O Lord, and consider my complaint How long wilt thou forget me, O Lord I will always give thanks	

³⁵⁹ Two settings of this text, of which this is the first, are listed in Ralph T. Daniel and Peter le Huray, *The Sources of English Church Music, 1549–1660* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1972).

³⁶⁰ Three settings of which this is the first, are listed in Daniel and le Huray, *The Sources of English Church Music*.

³⁶¹ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 170–73.

Table 3.36 cont'd

TYPE	TITLE	MOVEMENTS
	I will be glad	
	I will give thanks	
	I will magnify thee	
	I will seek unto God	
	I will sing of thy power, O God	
	Let God arise	
	Let my complaint [I]	
	Let my complaint [II]	
	Like as the hart	
	Lord, how are they increased that trouble me	
	Lord, how long wilt thou be angry	
	Lord, let me know mine end	
	My God, my God, look upon me	
	My soul truly waiteth still upon God	
	O clap your hands together	
	O give thanks unto the Lord, let them	
	O God of my righteousness	
	O God, thou art my God	
	O how amiable are thy dwellings	
Anthems	O Lord, give ear unto my prayer	
	O praise our God, ye people	
	O sing unto God, sing praises to his name	
	O sing unto the Lord a new song	
	O sing unto the Lord with thanksgiving	
	Praise the Lord, O my soul	
	Praise the Lord, ye servants	
	Put me not to rebuke, O Lord	
	Sing unto the Lord a new song	
	The king shall rejoice	
	The Lord, even the most mighty God	
	The Lord is my shepherd	
	The Lord is my strength	
	Thou, O God, art praised in Sion	

Greene was a chorister at St Paul's and was admitted as a vicar choral on probation on 20 March 1718. He was appointed organist at this time also. He succeeded Croft as one of the

organists and composers at the Chapel Royal in 1727,³⁶² and held both organists' positions until his death in 1755. Like Croft he is well represented in the collection at St Patrick's, by his Service in C and forty-six anthems. Greene is one of the most 'modern' composers to be included in the collection. The dean and chapter of St Patrick's subscribed to the publication of his *Forty Select Anthems* in 1743.³⁶³

Jebb includes Dublin as a source for many of Greene's anthems in his catalogue of anthems. An anthem *Blessed is the man whose strength* receives attributions to 'Howard', 'Greene' or 'Greene or Howard' in part books at Durham. Crosby has given Howard as the composer, and this is corroborated by the books at St Patrick's and Ob MS Mus.c.2.³⁶⁴ The first section of this anthem has been cancelled in C.3.1.

Greene's Service in C was included by Arnold in his *Cathedral Music*. Organ book 87 agrees with Arnold's barring with four minims per bar, but the part books—where various textual differences are to be found—have two minims per bar.

3.22.2.5 Jonathan Battishill
1738–1801

Table 3.37

TYPE	TITLE
Anthems	Call to remembrance
	I waited patiently for the Lord

Battishill was a chorister at St Paul's Cathedral and held some parish church positions in later life. Although (according to Bumpus) he deputised for Boyce at the Chapel Royal,³⁶⁵ Battishill was primarily a secular composer.³⁶⁶ His pair of anthems found at St Patrick's appear in the second set of part books, whilst *Call to remembrance* is also in organ book 79. Both circulated widely in printed editions.

³⁶² Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 11, 176.

³⁶³ See appendix 3.

³⁶⁴ Crosby, *A Catalogue of Durham Cathedral Music Manuscripts*, 178.

³⁶⁵ John Skelton Bumpus, *A History of English Cathedral Music, 1549–1889* (London: T. Werner Laurie, [1908]), 324.

³⁶⁶ Long, *Music of the English Church*, 310.

3.22.3 WESTMINSTER ABBEY

3.22.3.1 Edmund Hooper

1553–1621

It seems likely that the master of the choristers at the Abbey was also expected to play the organ, but the posts of master of the choristers and organist were recognised as being separate posts from 1606—even though the same person often held both.³⁶⁷ This division took place during Hooper's tenure of office (1585–1621). He was appointed a gentleman of the Chapel Royal in 1603.

Hooper's anthem *Behold, it is Christ* was a popular piece which appears in many manuscript collections, and Barnard included it in his *First Book of Selected Church Musick*. It is present in the tenor books only of the first set of part books, and in organ book 79 where it is one tone higher than the part books.³⁶⁸

3.22.3.2 William Tucker

d. 1679

Tucker was a singer and copyist at Westminster Abbey and the Chapel Royal.³⁶⁹ His music disseminated quite widely, reaching Durham, Ely, Gloucester, Lichfield, Oxford and Winchester Cathedrals. It is interesting that none of his music has survived at St Patrick's, but his role as copyist is significant in determining the date of composition of many Restoration anthems including Purcell's *Praise the Lord, ye servants* (see chapter 2).

3.22.3.3 Robert Cooke

1768–1814

Cooke succeeded his father, Benjamin Cooke, as organist of St Martin-in-the-Fields in 1793, and was appointed organist of the Abbey in 1802, a post which he held until his death in 1814.³⁷⁰ Bumpus relates some biographical information in Ob MS Mus.c.425:

He committed suicide in consequence of a love affair; was missing on the 22nd [August] and was found in the Thames, near Millbank on the 23rd. The Service in C was first published for Henry Cooke, at Birchall's, some considerable time before it was republished by Rimbault, Goss and Turle and Vincent Novello. It was composed in 1806.

³⁶⁷ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 325–8.

³⁶⁸ See Long, *Music of the English Church*, 54.

³⁶⁹ Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 77.

³⁷⁰ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 336.

This Evening Service in C (Ma, N) is his sole representative in part books at St Patrick's where it is a later addition to books A.1.7 and A.1.8.

The following also were organists of the Abbey but are considered in the Chapel Royal section of this chapter. Orlando Gibbons (1623–25), John Blow (1668–79 and 1695–1708), Henry Purcell (1679–95) and William Croft (1708–27).

3.23 MANCHESTER COLLEGIATE CHURCH

No music from the period survives at Manchester and it has not been possible to establish any links with Dublin. A William Carter was organist 1638–66 and he may have some connection with the early eighteenth-century Dublin composer(s) 'Carter'.

3.24 NORWICH CATHEDRAL

The cathedral's music was destroyed by the puritans in 1643. However, Rowe Library MSS 10–17 at King's College, Cambridge originate from Norwich.³⁷¹ No music in the library at St Patrick's suggests any connections with copyists or composers from Norwich. The only anthem with an Irish connection included in an anthem word book from Norwich published in 1789 is Roseingrave's *Haste thee, O God*.³⁷² This anthem is not present in the books at St Patrick's and was written by Daniel Roseingrave Sr before he came to Ireland.

3.25 OXFORD

3.25.1 BODLEIAN LIBRARY

The Bodleian library holds one of the most important collections of music manuscripts in the British Isles and several of the volumes there have connections with Dublin. Ob Mus.d.174 is a late eighteenth-century score book partly in the hand of John Mathews. The book has close connections with repertoire in Dublin, the books in Mathews's hand in the Reid Music Library in Edinburgh (see section 3.14.1 above) and Ob MS Tenbury 856. The volume contains John Bumpus's book plate, and was purchased by the Bodleian Library in 1927. Salisbury composers represented are Bacon, Blake and Walkeley.

³⁷¹ Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 305.

³⁷² *Anthems Used in the Cathedral Church of Norwich*.

The following table provides cross-references with the Edinburgh and Tenbury manuscripts:

Table 3.38 Ob Mus.d.174

FOLIO	COMPOSER	TITLE	COMMENTS
1	Mr King	Service in C	'Mr King's in C fa ut': this does not seem to be in Mathews's hand.
7			<i>Jubilate</i> added later in red ink.
10			<i>Kyrie eleison</i> added later in red ink.
11		Credo in unum Deum	
15		Magnificat	
20		Nunc dimittis	
26	Mr Bacon	Morning Service	The book is in Mathews's hand from here until f. 105. This service is also present in Edinburgh MS 1 and Tenbury 856.
29	Mr Bacon	Jubilate Deo	'Jubilate Deo Mr Bacon': this is in A major and is present in Edinburgh MS 1 and Tenbury 856.
33			'Mr Pr Fusil of Winchester': this is a <i>Cantate Domino</i> .
38			<i>Deus misereatur</i> to the above.
40	Dr Greene	I will magnify thee	Also in Edinburgh MS 1.
44	Dr Boyce	Give the king thy judgements	Also in Edinburgh MS 1 and Tenbury 856.
52			There is evidence of page cutting with a note about Boyce which seems to refer to St Paul's Chapel Royal.
52	Dr Boyce	Be thou my judge, O Lord	Also in Tenbury 856.
56	Dr Boyce	Teach me, O Lord	Also in Edinburgh MSS 2 and 3.
58	Dr Blake	Thou, O God, art praised	Also in Edinburgh MS 2.
61	Dr Battishill	[Two chants]	
62	Dr Croft	I waited patiently	Also in Edinburgh MS 1
66	Sett by Mr Bacon one of the vicars choral of Sarum	The eyes of the Lord	Also in Edinburgh MS 1
71	Dr Greene	Like as the hart	Also in Edinburgh MS 1
75	Sett to music by Dr Blake	I have set God	[in E] Also in Edinburgh MS 1

Table 3.38 cont'd

FOLIO	COMPOSER	TITLE	COMMENTS
80	Mr Kent organist of Winchester	Hear my prayer	This is in Marsh's Library MS Z1.2.28
82	Mr Bishop Organist of Winchester	I will magnify thee	This is in Edinburgh MS 1
83	Sett by Mr Hawkins	Arise O Lord	
84	Sett by Mr Kent organist of Winchester	It is a good thing	
86	Mr Kent Orgst of Winchester	My song shall be of mercy	
89	Sett by Mr Norris	Hear my prayer	Also in Marsh's Library MS Z1.2.28 and Edinburgh MS 3
93	Mr Wise late Organist of New [cut off] Saru [cut off]	The ways of Zion	
95	Mr Wakely [<i>sic</i>] late organist of Salisbury	O Lord, thou hast searched me	Also in Edinburgh MS 2
97	Mr Bacon	The Lord is king	Also in Edinburgh MSS 1 and 3
105	Dr Nares	Service in E	A hand other than Mathews's takes over from here.
106		Jubilate	
108	Dr Dupuis	Te Deum in A	
110		Jubilate	
111		Magnificat	
112		Nunc dimittis	
113		'Te Deum in E \flat Major'	'Dr Dupuis' added later
116		Jubilate	
117		Cantate	
120		Deus	
122	Mr John Reynolds	My God, my God	

The absence of works by Dublin composers suggests that the Mathews section of this volume was compiled before his move to Ireland. Indeed there is no evidence to suggest that the volume ever was in Ireland. It is probably the source, however, for the common repertoire with the three Edinburgh books which Mathews *did* bring to Dublin and which were subsequently used to introduce new repertoire (particularly contemporary Salisbury composers) at the Dublin cathedrals.

The catalogue at the Bodleian Library describes MSS.Mus.c.424–25 as ‘Two volumes of services in score with figured bass for the organ, late 19th century, owned and annotated by J. S. Bumpus’. These volumes are in the same hand, and the inclusion of works by Shenton, Langdon and Walsh suggests at least an indirect connection with Dublin. Bumpus includes biographical notes for these three composers in the volumes.

Table 3.39

MS NO	PAGE	TITLE	MOVEMENT	COMMENTS	
MS424	1	King in D	Te Deum	This manuscript is entirely in the same hand as MS.Mus.c.425.	
	41		Jubilate		
	58	Deane in C	Cantate Domino		
	80		Deus misereatur		
	96	Child in G	Te Deum		
	116		Jubilate		
	126		Kyrie		
	128		Credo		
	144		Magnificat		
	156		Nunc dimittis		
	163	Croft in E \flat	Te Deum		
	208		Jubilate		
	224		Cantate Domino		
	254		Deus misereatur		
	274	Rogers in F	Te Deum		
	285		Jubilate		
	291		Magnificat		
	298		Nunc dimittis		
MS 425	1	Langdon in A	Te Deum		This manuscript is in the same hand as MS.Mus.c.424.
	28		Jubilate		
	38		Magnificat		
	51		Nunc dimittis		
	58	Bishop in D	Cantate Domino		
	75		Deus misereatur		
	89	Shenton in G	Te Deum	There is a note to say that the ‘Magnificat and Nunc dimittis in E \flat is at Durham; ³⁷³ the Cantate Domino and Deus misereatur in D are at Hereford; and the Magnificat and Nunc dimittis in C are at Winchester.’	

³⁷³ This is in Durham MS A19 which was sent from Dublin by John Mathews.

Table 3.39 cont'd

MS NO	PAGE	TITLE	MOVEMENT	COMMENTS
MS 425	113		Jubilate	
	124	Cooke in G	Te Deum	
MS 425	150		Jubilate	
	165		Magnificat	Note: 'composed for the opening of the organ at Westminster Abbey with pedals—1780.'
	179		Nunc dimittis	
	187	Cook in C Major	Nunc dimittis	
	210	Walsh in D	Te Deum	
	239		Jubilate	
	260	Croft in A	Te Deum	
	298		Jubilate	

TENBURY COLLECTION

The library of the college was begun by Frederick Ouseley, who founded St Michael's College, Tenbury in 1856, and it is now housed in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. The early part books contain unique texts of works by Taverner, Tallis, Tye, Byrd, and Weelkes. Librarians have included Edmund H. Fellowes (who published a catalogue of its contents³⁷⁴) and Harold Watkins Shaw (who made numerous corrections to that catalogue). It is one of the most important collections of music manuscripts in the British Isles. Auction purchases account for many of the library's accessions, and, unlike most cathedral libraries, the Tenbury collection contains books of widely varying provenance. An examination reveals quite a number of connections with Dublin: these are in some cases rather speculative, in others very clear cut.

MS TENBURY 651

The repertoire of this book indicates that it may have an indirect connection with Dublin. The anthems by Aldrich, Boyce, Turner and Wise are in the part books at St Patrick's, while Langdon, who was organist at Armagh Cathedral (1782–94) had Irish contacts. The book plate reads: 'Thomas Bever LL.D 1777 purchased, among many others, from the collection of Mr. Scroggs Esq. Purchased at the sale of Dr. Bevers collection, June 9th 1790 Wm. H[ayes]'.

³⁷⁴ Fellowes, *The Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of St. Michael's College, Tenbury.*

Table 3.40

PAGE	COMPOSER	TITLE
1	Bishop	Holy, holy
4		Blessed are all they
7		Bow down thine ear
10	Wise	Thy beauty, O Israel
19	Turner	Lord, thou hast been
29	Wise	Awake, awake
43	Aldrich (from Carissimi)	I am well pleased
59	Boyce	By the waters of Babylon
72	Langdon	Not unto us

MS TENBURY 704

This score book contains Carter's *Hear my prayer, O God*. As this is by far the most widely circulated work by Carter, however, it is possible that it is the work of a composer other than the Dublin Carter(s).

MS TENBURY 844

The repertoire of this mid-nineteenth-century score book contains much music present in the Dublin books and the works by Shenton suggest a stronger connection. Shenton's Service in D is present in Och MS 1231 also.

Table 3.41

PAGE	COMPOSER	TITLE	MOVEMENTS	COMMENTS
1	Bishop	Morning and Evening Services in D	Te Deum	
15			Benedictus	
28			Kyrie	
29			Credo	
42			Cantate Domino	
50			Deus misereatur	
58	Tudway	Evening Service in A	Magnificat	
65			Nunc dimittis	
70	Hall	Evening Service in B	Cantate Domino	
82			Nunc dimittis	
91	Shenton	Evening Service in D	Cantate Domino	
100			Deus misereatur	
110	Wakeleys	Morning and Evening Services in F	Te Deum	Corrected in pencil by Ouseley.

Table 3.41 cont'd

PAGE	COMPOSER	TITLE	MOVEMENTS	COMMENTS
121			Jubilate	
128			Kyrie	
129			Credo	
136			Magnificat	
143			Nunc dimittis	
147	Shenton	Evening service in C	Magnificat	Pencil addition at the title: 'The ink notes just as they are in N[ew].C[ollege]. Chapel Books'.
153			Nunc dimittis	
161	W. King	The Lord is king		There is a note included stating that this anthem is derived from books at New College, Oxford. The note implies that the following anthems are derived from this source also.
163	Husbands	O Lord, rebuke me not		
167	Lewis	O Lord God of my salvation		
173	Rogers	Behold, how good and joyful		
175	Rogers	Save me, O God		
178	Rogers	How long will thou forget me		
182	Rogers	O pray for the peace		
185	Rogers	O give thanks		
191	Rogers	O that salvation		
193	Rogers	Lord, who shall dwell		

MS TENBURY 1020

This score book is possibly in the hand of Richard Clack of Hereford (1754–79). The inclusion of Carter's Service in C (twice) and three of his anthems suggests strong Dublin connections—if these are works by a Dublin Carter. Unfortunately, the book yields no further clues to the composer's identity.

Table 3.42

PAGE	COMPOSER	TITLE	COMMENTS
1	[Evans]	Te Deum	
13		Jubilate	
23		Magnificat	
30		Nunc dimittis	
33	Mr John Jackson	Te Deum	
45		Jubilate	
53		Kyrie	
54		Creed	
64		Magnificat	
72		Nunc dimittis	
91	Dr Child	Child in D: Te Deum	
102		Jubilate	
107		Magnificat	
115		Nunc dimittis	
119	Mr Carter	Te Deum	
133		Jubilate	
143	Mr Purcell	O give thanks	
160	Mr Purcell	Be merciful	
172	Dr Greene	Bow down thine ear	Only the opening of this anthem is present.
181		I call and cry	
189	Mr William Bird	Bow thine ear, O Lord	
198	Mr William Laws	The Lord is my light	
209	Mr Clark	The Lord is my strength	
218	Dr Green	Sing unto the Lord	
234	Dr Green	Lord, let me know my end	
244	Dr Green	O Lord, give ear unto my prayer	
254	Mr King	O pray for the peace of Jerusalem	
260	Dr Tudway	I will sing unto the Lord	
276	Mr Will Davice of Worcester	Lord, why sleepest thou	
286	Dr Croft	I will give thanks	
298	Mr Carter	I will sing a song unto thee	Canon 3 in 1
299	Sig Boniam	Not unto us	Canon 3 in 1
300		Praise the Lord, ye servants	[not Purcell's symphony anthem]
309	Mr Hall	It is a good thing	
315			'Chorus by Mr Priest organist of Bristol'

Table 3.42 cont'd

PAGE	COMPOSER	TITLE	COMMENTS
316		I will give thanks	Finis 1732
349	Dr Tye	I will exalt thee, O Lord	
357	Dr Greene	Hear, O Lord	
367		O Lord, thy word endureth	
376	Wm. Evans	In thee, O Lord	
382	Mr Carter	Sing unto God	
393	Mr Carter	Hear my prayer	
	Mr Carter	Te Deum and Jubilate	Carter's canticles appears at the back of the book [turned over] and are the only items there

MS TENBURY 607

This is an organ book of Dublin origin which will be investigated further in chapter 4 below. The attributions of works by Roseingrave in the work list in Grove appear to rest on this manuscript. MS Tenbury 607 is the only source for Roseingrave's works in the Tenbury collection, and Fellowes describes it as mid-eighteenth-century in his catalogue.

The contents, with composer names in square brackets taken from the index, are:

Table 3.43

PAGE	COMPOSER	TITLE	COMMENTS
1	Dr Croft	We will rejoice	
6	[Croft]	O Lord, rebuke me not	
11	[Croft]	Hear my prayer O L[or]d	
14	[Croft]	O Lord, grant the king a long life	
18	[Croft]	O Lord God of my salvation	
22	[Croft]	Sing praises to the Lord	
26	[Croft]	God is gone up	
30	Dr Greene	I will sing of thy power	
34	[Greene]	Lord, how long	
38	[Greene]	Lord, let me know mine end	
40	[Greene]	O clap your hands together	
46	[Greene]	O sing unto the Lord	
52	[Greene]	How long will thou forget me	
60	[Greene]	Let my complaint	
64	[Dr Hayes]	O be joyful	
68	[Hayes]	Save, Lord	
74	[Dr Boyce]	Turn thee unto me	
78	[Clarke]	O Lord God of my salvation	

Table 3.43 cont'd

PAGE	COMPOSER	TITLE	COMMENTS
82	Weldon	Hear my crying	
86	[Boyce]	By the waters of Babylon	
97	[Gibbons]	Hosanna to the Son	
100	[Purcell]	O God, thou hast	
106	[Tallis]	I call and cry	
92	[Strode]	Hear my prayer	
108	[Rosingrave]	Blessed is he that cometh	
110	[Rosingrave]	O come hither	
114	[Rosingrave]	Bow down thine ear	
116	[Rosingrave]	Sing unto God	
120	[Rosingrave]	I will cry unto God	
124	[Rosingrave]	Praise the Lord, ye servants	
126	[Rosingrave]	I will magnifie thee	
128	[Hooper]	Behold, it is Christ	
130		My God, my soul is vexed	This is John Blow's setting of these words.
132	Mr Goulden	I have set God always before me	
135	Carter	Hear my prayer	
138	[Aldridge]	We have heard with our ears	
	[sic]		
141	[Batten]	Hear my prayer	
143	[Aldridge]	God is our hope	
146	[Blow]	Save me, O God	
149	Dr Boyce	O give thanks	
154	Mr Bird	Be not wroth	
156	Dr Blow		4 in 1—the words start 'Glory'. This is followed by the opening of an anthem 'O Lord God of hosts'.

MS TENBURY 856

MS Tenbury 856 is a score book in the hand of John Mathews. The index is in his hand also. The contents include works by Salisbury composers Bacon, Stephens and Walkeley. The catalogue describes this as a late-eighteenth-century manuscript—a dating confirmed by Mathews's hand.

Table 3.44

TYPE	MOVEMENTS/TITLE	COMPOSER
Morning Service	Te Deum	Rev Mr Bacon
	Jubilate Deo	
Evening Service	Cantate Domino	Dr Stephens
	Deus misereatur	
Anthems	Give the king thy judgements	Dr Boyce
	If we believe	Dr Boyce
	O Lord, thou hast searched me out	Mr Walkley
	The Lord is king	Rev Mr Bacon
Anthems	Be thou my judge	Dr Boyce
	The Lord is my light and my salvation	Dr Boyce

Mathews describes the anthems as 'Sett by Dr Boyce', 'Sett by Mr Walkley' and 'Sett by the Revd Mr Bacon'. This is similar to his descriptions in the books at St Patrick's. The repertoire of this score is present there with the exception of the service by Bacon. However, an examination of the manuscript did not yield any evidence that it had ever been in Dublin, and the strong representation of Salisbury composers suggests that it was copied when Mathews was there and that the transmission of the repertoire to Dublin is more likely to have been via the score books in Edinburgh (see section 3.14.1).

3.25.2 CHRIST CHURCH

The library of Christ Church, Oxford is a valuable source for cathedral music. The library owes much to Henry Aldrich who was dean at Christ Church from 1689 until 1710 and bequeathed his extensive music collection. G. E. P. Arkwright published a catalogue of the music library at Christ Church.³⁷⁵ A new catalogue is being prepared by Dr John Milsom.

Och MS 1231 (an organ book) contains Shenton's Evening Service in D. Although this service does not appear in the books in Dublin, there may be an indirect connection because other pieces do appear there.

³⁷⁵ *Catalogue of Music in the Library of Christ Church, Oxford, Pt. 1: Works of Ascertained Authorship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1915; repr. 1971).

The contents of this volume are:

Table 3.45

TITLE	ATTRIBUTION	PAGE NO
		Front
Cantate Domino	Mr Shenton in D	1
Deus misereatur		8
Cantate Domino	Mr Bishop in D	14
Deus misereatur		19
Te Deum	Mr Goodson in C	24
Jubilate		34
Te Deum	Mr Tallis	39
Benedictus		44
Sanctus		48
Lord, have mercy		49
Glory be to thee, O Lord		49
Credo		50
Magnificat		54
Nunc dimittis		57
Te Deum	Mr Bird	59
Benedictus		65
Commandment		70
Credo		70
Magnificat		75
Nunc dimittis		78
Te Deum	Orlando Gibbons	80
Benedictus		85
Commandments		90
Credo		90
Magnificat		95
Nunc dimittis		99
Te Deum	Dr Rogers in D	101
Jubilate Deo		106
Sanctus		108
Lord, have mercy		108
Creed		109
Magnificat		113
Nunc dimittis		116
Commandments	[in score and incomplete ? Charles King]	120
		Back
Te Deum	Mr Wise in D [minor]	1
Jubilate		8

TITLE	ATTRIBUTION	PAGE NO
Magnificat		10
Nunc dimittis	Mr Wise in D [minor]	14
Te Deum	Mr Humfries in E [minor]	17
Jubilate		23
Magnificat		26
Nunc dimittis		30
Te Deum	Dr Child in E \flat	33
Jubilate Deo	Dr Child in E \flat	40
Magnificat	Dr Child in E \flat	43
Nunc dimittis	Dr Child in E \flat	47
Te Deum	Mr Farrant in A [minor]	49
Benedictus		55
Lord, have mercy		61
Credo		61
Magnificat		66
Nunc dimittis		69
Te Deum	Mr Patrick	71
Benedictus		77
Lord, have mercy		82
Credo		82
Magnificat		87
Nunc dimittis		90
Te Deum	Mr Purcell in B \flat	92
Benedictus	Mr Purcell in B \flat	99
Cantate Domino	Mr Purcell in B \flat	104
Deus misereatur	Mr Purcell in B \flat	111

3.25.2.1 Henry Aldrich
1648–1710

Table 3.46

TYPE	TITLE	MOVEMENTS
Services	G	Te, J, K, Cr, Ma, N
	A	Te, J, Ca, De
Anthems: original	God is our hope	
	O give thanks	
	O Lord, I have heard thy voice	
	O praise the Lord, all ye heathen	

Table 3.46 cont'd

TYPE	TITLE	MOVEMENTS
Anthems: original	Out of the deep	
Anthems: adapted	And I heard a great voice	
	Be not wroth	
	How are the mighty fallen	
	I am well pleased	
	I will give thanks	
	O Lord, my God	
	We have heard with our ears	

Aldrich was a keen amateur musician and composer of both sacred and secular vocal music. He also did scholarly work in the fields of logic and architecture. His compositional output includes four services and about twenty-five anthems. He is possibly best remembered, however, for his adaptations or re-compositions of Latin works by Tallis, Byrd, Palestrina, Carissimi and others. These works are best represented in the part books at Christ Church, Oxford, but also appear in Page, Boyce and Arnold.

Robert Shay notes how widely Aldrich's music was dispersed and mentions Durham and Dublin as extremities.³⁷⁶ Aldrich is well represented at St Patrick's by two of his four services (those in G and A), five original anthems and seven adaptations.³⁷⁷ The Service in G was published by Boyce; the Service in A by Arnold. But neither of these printed editions appears to have been the source for the manuscript copies: In the case of the A major service, Arnold's date of publication, 1790, is too late. This service appears in organ books 86 and 90 and is a semitone higher (B \flat major) in book 90. Arnold's version of the *Te Deum* opens with the text 'We acknowledge thee' whereas the part books retain the older version 'We knowledge thee'. In the case of the G major service, Boyce notates the service with four minims per bar whereas the part books are notated two minims per bar (organ book 77 has four minims per bar). The discrepancy with the opening text of the *Te Deum* mentioned above occurs here also.

³⁷⁶ *Henry Aldrich: Selected Anthems and Motet Recompositions*, ed. Robert Shay, RECENT RESEARCHES IN THE MUSIC OF THE BAROQUE ERA, lxxxv (Madison: A-R Editions, Inc., 1998), p. vii.

³⁷⁷ The classification of Aldrich's works and adaptations is taken from Robert Shay, "'Naturalizing' Palestrina and Carissimi in Late Seventeenth-Century Oxford: Henry Aldrich and His Recompositions', *Music & Letters*, lxxvii (1996), 389, table III.

Of the original anthems, *God is our hope* is included in Page and *O praise, the Lord all ye heathen* is included in Arnold. *O give thanks* and *Out of the deep* are in Boyce, but *O Lord I have heard thy voice* appears in no early edition. The parts for this anthem at St Patrick's are a minor third higher than Och MS 19. It is also found in Durham MSS A29, B12, B17, B20, B36, C21, C29 and C 35.

Of the adaptations at St Patrick's *I was in the spirit* is a re-composition of Blow's anthem *And I heard a great voice*.

Be not wroth very sore is a re-composition from Byrd's *Ne irascaris*. It is a later insertion in all six part books of the first set. The copyist is John Mathews. To complicate matters further, *Bow thine ear* is a later text attached to the music of this anthem,³⁷⁸ and it appears under that title in organ book 79. Plate 14 shows this piece in organ book 79, where Mathews indicates that he has taken it from Boyce. Plate 15 shows the end of the piece in C.3.1, where staves are laid out for a canon by Blow, but no music has been inserted. Similar blank staves for this work appear in other part books. The canon is present, however, in Ob MS Tenbury 607, and is considered further in chapter 4.

Thy beauty, O Israel is a re-composition of *How are the mighty fallen* by Wise which is included in Boyce's collection.³⁷⁹ This anthem appears in Durham MSS B27, B36 and C27 attributed to Aldrich. Mathews was the copyist of the section of MS B36 immediately following the Wise/Aldrich anthem: while this suggests that he might have provided the means by which it came to Ireland, the books in Dublin actually pre-date his arrival there. *I am well pleased* is a re-composition of *Praevaluerunt in nos* and *Vidi impium* by Carrissimi.³⁸⁰ This is included in Arnold's collection, but the word underlay in the St Patrick's books does not agree with Arnold. *O Lord, my God* is a contrafactum (i.e. an adaptation with minimal musical alterations) of *Almighty God, who by the leading of a star* by John Bull that appears in Boyce. This so-called 'star anthem' was in the early Restoration repertoire in Dublin and is included in the 1662 anthem word book from Christ Church Cathedral. *We have heard with our ears* is a re-composition of *Doctor bonus* by

³⁷⁸ Crosby, *A Catalogue of Durham Cathedral Music Manuscripts*, 119; Shay, 'Aldrich and his Recompositions'.

³⁷⁹ Crosby, *A Catalogue of Durham Cathedral Music Manuscripts*, 236.

³⁸⁰ Shay, 'Aldrich and his Recompositions', 396–9.

Plate 14 Organ book 79 folio 132r showing the two texts applied to Byrd's music

Bow-thine ear
Be not wrath

261

Handwritten musical score for organ, showing two texts applied to Byrd's music. The score is written on a single page with two systems of staves. The first system has two staves, and the second system has two staves. The music is in a simple, early modern style with various clefs and time signatures. The text is written in a cursive hand, and the page number 261 is visible in the upper right corner.

Plate 15 The end of Byrd's *Be not wroth* in C.3.1. folio 192v. The canon 4 in 1 by Dr Blow is absent from the books in Dublin but is present in MS Tenbury 607.

357

April 1781

Burnt up with Fire is burnt up with Fire burnt up with
Fire wilt thou refrain thy self wilt thou hold thy peace
Wilt thou refrain thy self wilt thou hold thy peace Wilt
thou refrain thy self thy self wilt thou hold thy peace
wilt thou hold thy peace and afflict us ve = ry sore.

Canon Full
Canon 4 in 1
Dr Blow

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation on aged paper. At the top left, the number '357' is written in ink. To its right, the date 'April 1781' is written. The page contains six staves of music. The first five staves have lyrics written below them in a cursive hand. The lyrics are: 'Burnt up with Fire is burnt up with Fire burnt up with Fire', 'wilt thou refrain thy self wilt thou hold thy peace', 'Wilt thou refrain thy self wilt thou hold thy peace Wilt', 'thou refrain thy self thy self wilt thou hold thy peace', and 'wilt thou hold thy peace and afflict us ve = ry sore.' The sixth staff is empty. Below the sixth staff, there are four more empty staves. At the bottom of the page, there is a handwritten note: 'Canon Full', 'Canon 4 in 1', and 'Dr Blow'.

Palestrina.³⁸¹ This is published in Arnold with four minims per bar, but there are two minims in the part books at St Patrick's.

The most interesting adaptation is *I will give thanks*. An anthem by this name appears in the first set of part books and organ book 79. It is a later insertion in each of the six part books, and all of which are in the hand of John Mathews, where it is simply attributed to Tallis. The anthem is very near the end of organ book 79 (also in Mathews's hand) and its absence from the index suggests that it was a later addition here also. At first sight this anthem raised the possibility of a significant discovery, as no anthem with this text is known by Tallis. However, on stylistic grounds alone, Tallis can be ruled out as a possible composer. Further investigation revealed that it was the same music as *All people that on earth do dwell*, misattributed to Tallis in Arnold's collection. This anthem is present in a score book in Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin (No 24 pp. 18–23). This book is in the hand of Mathews who attributes the piece thus: 'The music of Mr T Tallis.'

For convenience, the anthems have been divided into six sections:

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------------|------------|
| a. | Three-part verse (Tr, Tr, A) | Bars 1–8 |
| b. | Three-part verse (A, T, B) | Bars 9–16 |
| c. | Four-part Chorus (Tr, A, T, B) | Bars 17–32 |
| d. | Three-part Verse (Tr, Tr, A) | Bars 33–40 |
| e. | Three-part verse (A, T, B) | Bars 41–48 |
| f. | Four-part Chorus (Tr, A, T, B) | Bars 49–88 |

All sections are present in all the Dublin sources. Other sources for the anthem are at Christ Church, Oxford, and these establish a further complication: two versions of the anthem exist. One version has all six sections listed above (version II), the other version has the full sections 'c' and 'f' only (version I). All the Oxford sources use the text from Psalm 100—*All people that on earth do dwell* whereas the Dublin sources use the text from Psalm 9—*I will give thanks unto thee*.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 393–4.

Table 3.47

MS	TYPE	COMMENT
Och MS 11	score book	'Tallis' and 'in Arnold Vol 1' have been added in pencil.
Och MS 16 pp 1–2 and 46–47	score book	Tallis has been added in pencil in both parts of the MS where the anthem appears. At p. 46 it is described as altered 'see page 1'. The differences are in sections d and e. There is a note at the beginning of the Volume 'This volume seems to be a collection of Aldrich's adaptations from Carissimi, Palestrina and others. All but the first 2 can be identified I think.' This volume is Aldrich's principal autograph volume of re-compositions. ³⁸²
Och MS 614	score book	Contains version II only.
Och MS 1220	alto part book	Contains version I at p. 184 attributed to 'Mr Thomas Tallis'. Version II is not present in this volume.
Och MS 1221	tenor part book	Contains version I at p. 179 attributed to 'Thomas Tallis' and version II at p. 200 without attribution.
Och MS 1222	tenor part book	Contains version I at p. 173 attributed to 'Mr Thomas Tallis' and version II at p. 190 without attribution.
Och MS 1223	bass part book	Contains version I at p. 173 attributed to 'Mr Thomas Tallis' and version II at p. 188 without attribution.
Och MS 1224	bass part book	Contains version I at p. 168 attributed to 'Mr Thomas Tallis' and version II at p. 186 without attribution.
Och MS 1230	organ book	Containing version II only attributed 'Tallis'. This book was begun by Richard Goodson Sr (a close colleague of Aldrich), and is mainly in his hand.
Och MS 1235	organ book	Contains version II only attributed to 'Mr Tallis'.

The existence of two versions of the anthem suggests that Aldrich may have adapted or composed the chorus parts first and added the verse parts later. The ordering of the pieces in the Christ Church books corroborates this. Version I, containing the chorus parts only, occurs earlier in each of the part books Och 1220–24 than version II.

The issue of the differing text is still puzzling, however. It could be that Aldrich made a third version with the Dublin text, or that Mathews or Shenton may have changed the text to suit a particular occasion in Dublin. All of the Dublin sources are in Mathews's hand and there are indications that it is a later addition in most of the books.

³⁸² Shay, 'Aldrich and his Recompositions', 382.

Mathews may have brought the music from Durham, where it is found in several books with the Oxford text. The only work list for Tallis to include an anthem with the Dublin text is Foster's which cites Joule's word book as a source. Joule attributes an anthem with this text to Tallis in his book implying that it was known with this text in England.³⁸³ The title and attribution to Tallis are also given in a Victorian word book from Dublin.³⁸⁴

The origins of this anthem are uncertain and the marriage of texts is baffling. It is not clear how the tradition of the Tallis ascription began, but the fact that it did start suggests that the anthem may be based on pre-existing material.

3.25.2.2 Richard Goodson
c.1655–1718

Goodson was professor of music at Oxford from 1682, and was appointed organist of Christ Church in 1692 having previously been organist of New College. He held the Christ Church post until his death in 1718, when his son (also Richard) succeeded him.³⁸⁵ Richard Jr became professor of music also.

Goodson's Service in C (Te, J) was for some time a popular piece and circulated widely. It is the sole representation of his work at St Patrick's where it appears in organ book 87 only.

³⁸³ Joule, *A Collection of Words*, 231.

³⁸⁴ *Cathedral Anthems* (3rd ed. Dublin: Association for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1895).

³⁸⁵ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 211.

3.25.3.1 William Hayes
1708–77

Table 3.48

TYPE	TITLE	MOVEMENTS
Services	E \flat	Ca, De
Anthems	Hear me, O God O be joyful in God Save, Lord, and hear us	

William Hayes was a chorister at Gloucester Cathedral where he studied with William Hine. He was appointed organist of Worcester Cathedral in 1731 before being appointed organist of Magdalen in 1734, where he remained until his death in 1777.³⁸⁶ Some of his works were published by his son Philip in *Cathedral Music* in 1795.³⁸⁷

His output is represented at St Patrick's by his Service in E \flat 'completion of Hall and Hine's service', and three anthems. Of the anthems, *Hear me, O God* remained unpublished, but was listed by Foster, who gave Dublin as the only source. The anthem may thus be unique to the Dublin books—if it is, in fact, by Hayes.

Hayes's completion of music by others was not restricted to Hall & Hine in E \flat . He also wrote a trio for the *Jubilate* of Croft's Service in E \flat . MS A.2.23 has a verse section marked 'Two Trebles and a Tenor by Dr Hayes of Oxford' (f. 52Bv). The other books from the second set of part books have similar attributions including MS A.1.11 'N B the following Trio Verse was set by Dr Wm Hayes Junr the old music composed by Dr Croft being lost out of Dublin [?] book' (f. 42Fr). The attribution to Hayes Jr (i.e. Philip) in A.1.11 seems to be an error. This trio made its way to Durham where it is included in Durham MS A18 which was sent from Dublin by John Mathews.

³⁸⁶ Ibid., 383.

³⁸⁷ William Hayes, *Cathedral Music*, ed. Philip Hayes (Oxford, 1795).

3.25.3.2 Benjamin Rogers
1614–98

Table 3.49

TYPE	TITLE	MOVEMENTS
Services	D	Te, J, K, Cr, Sa, Ma, N
Anthems	Behold now, praise the Lord Teach me, O Lord, the way	

Rogers was a chorister at St George's Chapel, Windsor. He acted as organist of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, in 1638 and was appointed to the post in the following year. He left Christ Church in 1641 and went to be a Vicar Choral in Cloyne Cathedral, and later Youghal.³⁸⁸ He returned to England during the Interregnum, taking the position of *informator choristarum* at Eton College in 1653. From 1662 he was also a lay clerk at St George's Chapel, Windsor relinquishing both posts to become *informator choristarum* at Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1665.

None of Rogers's music appears in pre-Restoration sources but the inclusion of two anthems in the 1662 word book for Christ Church Cathedral suggest that they date from his years there. These two anthems are now lost. Ian Spink outlines the difficulties in establishing a chronology for Roger's works.³⁸⁹ His large output is represented in Boyce and Page, and is included in every major manuscript collection in England. The version of his anthem *Behold now, praise the Lord* in the first set of part books contains slight variants from Boyce's printed edition. Variants from Boyce are greater in the Service in D: the *Magnificat* has major alterations in part books C.3.1 and C.3.3 and the *Sanctus* has been added later (very untidily) between the *Kyrie* and *Credo* of Aldrich in G in C.3.1.

3.25.3.3 Daniel Purcell
d. 1717

Purcell was organist of Magdalen 1688–95. Seventeen anthems survive, as well as a Service in E minor reconstructed by John Stainer from a now lost organ part. Recent research suggests that the Service in G minor which has been attributed to Henry Purcell is more likely to be by his brother Daniel. This G minor service has a *Gloria* by 'Mr

³⁸⁸ St Mary's Collegiate Church at Youghal is in the Diocese of Cloyne (County Cork). Little is known of the choral foundation there in the seventeenth century.

³⁸⁹ Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 321–3.

Roseingrave jn' at York Minster.

A similar misattribution was pointed out by Brian Boydell: A performance of 'The Island Princess' by the 'celebrated Mr Purcell' confuses Henry with his lessor known brother.³⁹⁰ None of Daniel Purcell's music is represented in the books at St Patrick's, nor is the 'Roseingrave Gloria'.

3.25.4 NEW COLLEGE

3.25.4.1 Hosier

Payments were made to a Mr Hosier in 1638: this may have been the Richard Hosier who was to copy Durham MS B1 in Dublin in the immediate post-Restoration period.³⁹¹

See under Durham Cathedral

3.25.4.2 Richard Goodson (I)
1656–1718

Goodson was organist of New College 1682–92.³⁹²

See under Oxford, Christ Church

3.25.4.3 John Weldon
1676–1736

Weldon was organist of New College 1694–1701.³⁹³

See under Chapel Royal

3.25.4.4 Philip Hayes
1740–97

Hayes was organist of New College 1776–97.³⁹⁴

See under Chapel Royal

³⁹⁰ Boydell, *Dublin Musical Calendar*, 92 n. 3.

³⁹¹ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 388.

³⁹² *Ibid.*, 389.

³⁹³ *Ibid.*, 390.

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 391.

Correspondence with the librarian of Salisbury Cathedral Ms Suzanne Eward (17 June 1993) confirmed that no music manuscripts of the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries have survived there. Nor is there any documentary evidence in the archives at Salisbury of music being sent to Dublin or vice versa. There are thus no examples of John Mathews's work surviving at Salisbury and it may be that he took all his music with him when he went to Durham. Mathews was, however, responsible for the dissemination of considerable amounts of music by the Salisbury composers Bacon, Blake, Stephens and Walkeley. It is possible that he met Bacon, who died around the time Mathews moved to Salisbury from Winchester, and this may explain Mathews's particular enthusiasm for Bacon's music. Mathews certainly would have known Blake and Stephens, who were working at Salisbury in the 1760s.

3.26.1 Michael Wise

*c.*1648–87

Table 3.50

TYPE	TITLE	MOVEMENTS
Services	E \flat	Ma, N
	E	K, Cr
	F minor	K, Cr
Anthems	Awake, put on thy strength	
	Behold, how good and joyful	
	How are the mighty fallen	
	The ways of Zion do mourn	

Wise was a child of the Chapel Royal (his voice broke in 1663) and a clerk at Eton and Windsor before being appointed organist of Salisbury Cathedral in 1668. He became a gentleman of the Chapel Royal in 1676, but he proved troublesome at both Salisbury and the Chapel. At Salisbury he was admonished in 1683 for 'notorious fame of profaneness, intemperate drinking, and other excesses in his life and conversation' and two years later he was suspended from the Chapel Royal at the time of the coronation of James II. However, he was appointed to the position of almoners and master of the choristers at St Paul's Cathedral, London, in January 1687. In the following August he was killed by the nightwatchman at Salisbury in a dispute.³⁹⁵

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 262–4.

Wise's output is represented at St Patrick's by parts of his services in E \flat , E and F minor. Tudway included the Evening Service in E \flat in his collection.³⁹⁶ Wise's *Credo*s and *Kyrie*s in E and F minor seem to have survived better in Dublin than in other places although they were entered in Chapel Royal part books between 1677 and 1680.³⁹⁷ John Mathews included them in Durham MS A18 which he sent from Dublin to Durham and made reference to them in his accompanying letter (see under 3.13.5 above). They are also mentioned in Bumpus's *Cathedral Music* Lbl MS G. 518. b. (1–18).

Of the four anthems by Wise in the books at St Patrick's, *How are the mighty fallen* is contained in Fitzwilliam MS 117. Another version of this anthem *Thy beauty, O Israel*, was created by Aldrich who added solos which expanded it to the form in which it was eventually published by Boyce. The other three anthems are included in Tudway's collection.

Despite the absence of Restoration manuscript sources at Salisbury, a set of Barnard part books now in the Royal College of Music in London originated there (printed music I.A.1). This set of books contains additions in manuscript including two services and fifteen anthems by Wise. In their heyday Wise's works enjoyed a wider circulation than Humfrey's, Blow's or Purcell's. Ian Spink has proposed a chronology for Wise's anthems.³⁹⁸

2.26.2 Peter Isaac
 d. 1694

Isaac was organist 1687–92, and in 1687 was described as a citizen of Dublin.³⁹⁹

See under Dublin, St Patrick's Cathedral

³⁹⁶ Lbl Harl. 7338.

³⁹⁷ Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 346.

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 340–46.

³⁹⁹ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 264.

3.26.3 Daniel Roseingrave
d. 1727

Roseingrave was organist of Salisbury 1692–8.⁴⁰⁰ An anthem word book from Salisbury published in 1830 includes two anthems by ‘Roseingrave’—*Haste thee, O God* and *O Lord our Governor*. These two anthems are not present in the books at St Patrick’s and this suggests that they were written by Daniel Roseingrave Sr when he was organist at Salisbury (or Gloucester or Winchester) rather than being a product of his Dublin years or from the pen of one of his sons.

See under Dublin, St Patrick’s Cathedral

3.26.4 Anthony Walkeley
?1673–1718

Walkeley may have come from Wells Cathedral, where there are references to two persons of that name. He was appointed organist of Salisbury in 1700, holding the post until his death in 1718 (aged 45, according to his tomb).⁴⁰¹ Ian Spink has it that three services and thirteen anthems can be traced, but few of the anthems survive. *Divine Harmony*⁴⁰² gives the words of ten, of which only *O Lord, thou hast searched me out* is extant. This anthem, which is present in Ely Cathedral MS 9, is the only example of Walkeley’s work at St Patrick’s.⁴⁰³ An attribution to Hawkins has been crossed out and replaced by ‘Walkley [*sic*] of Salisbury’ in the Ely manuscript. There are significant textual differences between Ely and Dublin sources. Furthermore, Foster gives the title as *O God, thou has searched me out* with Ely as the source.

John Mathews was responsible for the transmission of this Salisbury piece to Dublin. It is also included in Ob MS Mus.d.174, Edinburgh MS 2 and Ob MS Tenbury 856—all of these books are in Mathews’s hand.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid.

⁴⁰² *Divine Harmony; or A New Collection of Select Anthems, Us’d at Her Majesty’s Chappels Royal*, ed. William Croft (London: S Keble, 1712).

⁴⁰³ Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 347.

3.26.5 Robert Bacon
d. 1759

Revd Robert Bacon was appointed a priest-vicar at Salisbury Cathedral in 1753.⁴⁰⁴ Of the three anthems by him, listed by Foster, *The Lord is king* is the sole representative of his music in the anthem collections at St Patrick's and Durham (there is a Morning Service in A at Durham also). This anthem appears only in organ book 79 in Mathews's hand, and it is therefore highly probable that Edinburgh MS 1 was the source for it. In addition to the Edinburgh, Durham and Dublin books, Bacon's music appears in Mathews's hand in Ob MS Mus.d.174 and Ob MS Tenbury 856. Three anthems by Bacon are included in Jebb's catalogue but he does not cite Dublin as a source.

The Lord is king is included in the 1830 anthem word book from Salisbury.

3.26.6 Edward Blake
1708–65

Table 3.51

TYPE	TITLE
Anthems	Thou, O God, art praised in Sion
	I have set God always before me

Blake was a prebendary of Salisbury Cathedral 1757–65. His known output consists of two anthems, both of which are present in the books at St Patrick's and in Ob Mus.d.174 which is in Mathews's hand also.⁴⁰⁵ These anthems arrived in Dublin via John Mathews, and the Dublin part books are probably copies of Edinburgh MSS 1 and 2. Mathews was singing at Salisbury at the same time that Blake was a prebendary, and the note in Mathews's hand at Blake's anthem *Thou, O God* in Edinburgh MS 1 'NB: a longer chorus to finish this anthem was originally intended by the author, had leisure and opportunity permitted him to have done it' indicates personal contact with the composer.

I have set God appears to have remained in the repertoire at Salisbury longer than *Thou, O God*, as only the former is included in the 1830 anthem word book from the cathedral. Blake's anthems travelled elsewhere: *I have set God* is included in a late eighteenth century

⁴⁰⁴ Foster, *Anthems and Anthem Composers*, 107.

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 110.

word book from Norwich.⁴⁰⁶ Jebb's catalogue cites the Chapel Royal, Dublin, Canterbury, and Salisbury as sources for this anthem.

3.26.7 John Stephens
 *c.*1720–80

Stephens was probably a chorister in Gloucester Cathedral and was organist of Salisbury Cathedral from 1746 until his death in 1780.⁴⁰⁷ His Evening Service in E \flat (Ca, De) is his only work in the books at St Patrick's. A posthumously published collection of Stephens's music contains the following prefatory remarks:

The editor of these anthems is extremely concerned that they have been so long delayed, and much hurt that he is not able to comply with the Conditions which the Proposals set forth; the unfortunate failure of Mr Riley not only occasion'd the delay, but in the confusion of his affairs, the Cantate Domino was lost, and the Editor has not been able to recover it.⁴⁰⁸

However, this Salisbury composer's work was extensively copied by Mathews—presumably before his departure from Salisbury in 1764. The editor of Stephens's works was not aware of the existence of the E \flat service in the books at Dublin, Durham and other places. Manuscript sources include:

Table 3.52

TITLE	SOURCE	MS NO	COMMENTS
Service in E	Durham	MSS B13	
		B19	Incomplete
		B22	No Deus Misereatur
			Cantate Domino incomplete
		B28	
	C33		
	Edinburgh	MS 2	
Ob MS Tenbury	856		
St Patrick's	A.1.11; A.2.20–25; Organ 87		

These copies are all in Mathews's hand.

The anthem word book from Salisbury mentioned above shows that manuscript trafficking between England and Ireland was reciprocal—in addition to *Haste thee, O God*, which

⁴⁰⁶ *Anthems Used in the Cathedral Church of Norwich*.

⁴⁰⁷ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 265.

⁴⁰⁸ *Cathedral Music Composed by the Late John Stephens*, ed. Highmore Skeats (London, 1805).

Daniel Roseingrave composed before leaving Winchester in 1692, it includes Woodward's *O praise God and Sing, O ye heavens*.

3.27 WELLS CATHEDRAL

3.27.1 John Broderip
1719–70

Broderip was organist of Wells Cathedral from 1741 until his death in 1770, and was perhaps the son of William Broderip (1683–1727) who was organist there from 1713 until 1726.⁴⁰⁹ The Evening Service in D by 'Broderip' presents an interesting problem of attribution. Betty Matthews lists a service in that key by William Broderip in her work list in Grove (1980), and gives the British Library as the source.⁴¹⁰ The only manuscript source at the British Library, Lbl Harl. 7342, contains a *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis* in D. The books at St Patrick's, however, have a *Cantate Domino* and *Deus misereatur*, with organ book 87 giving the attribution 'sett by Mr John Broderip Orgst of Wells'. Brian Crosby attributes the piece to the earlier William in his Durham catalogue,⁴¹¹ but the only source at Durham is MS A18 which was sent there from Dublin where the piece is attributed to John. Furthermore, the Dublin part books which contain the service and Durham MS A18 are all in the hand of John Mathews. RISM gives Durham Cathedral, Hereford Cathedral and Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin as sources for the piece. This is yet another example of St Patrick's being omitted from source lists. On balance, the attribution to John Broderip seems more likely than that to William.

3.27.2 Henry Hall
1656–1707

Hall acted briefly as organist here in 1674.⁴¹²

See under Hereford Cathedral

⁴⁰⁹ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 289.

⁴¹⁰ Grove (1980), iii, 328–9.

⁴¹¹ Crosby, *A Catalogue of Durham Cathedral Music Manuscripts*, 117.

⁴¹² Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 288.

3.27.3 Robert Hodge
d. 1709

Hodge had been a chorister at Exeter Cathedral, and the dean and chapter of Exeter allowed him to go to London to study with Henry Purcell. Purcell wrote to the dean of Exeter in 1686 asking for arrears of fees and expenses: ‘Compassion moves me to acquaint you of a great many debts Mr Hodge contracted whilst in London and to some who are so poor ’twere an act of charity as justice to pay them’.⁴¹³ The dean and chapter paid these and others debts incurred by Hodge, who showed his lack of gratitude by promptly leaving Exeter and becoming a vicar choral at Wells in 1687 and organist there the following year. His travels continued to Durham in 1691 and to Dublin in 1692. He received payments for bringing music from England when in Dublin but there is no evidence that any of it came from Wells.

See under Dublin, St Patrick’s Cathedral

3.27.4 Robert Creighton
1636 or 1637–1734

Table 3.53

TYPE	TITLE	MOVEMENTS
Services	E \flat	Te, J, Sa, Ma, N
Anthems	I will arise	

Robert Creighton was appointed professor of Greek in Cambridge University in 1662 and became precentor of Wells in 1674—Bumpus gives Creighton’s date of death as 22 February 1734 aged ninety-six and he lists nine services and ten anthems by him.⁴¹⁴ Foster also lists ten anthems by Creighton. Royal College of Music MS 673 (originally from Wells) contains some of his music, together with music by other Wells composers.

Creighton is represented by one service and one anthem at St Patrick’s. His Service in E \flat is present in organ book 77 and his anthem *I will arise*, which was published in Boyce and circulated widely, appears in the first set of part books and organ book 79.

⁴¹³ Ibid.

⁴¹⁴ Lbl MS G.518.b. (1–18).

3.28 WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL

3.28.1 Randall Jewett
c.1603–75

Jewett was a chorister at Chester Cathedral 1612–15, and has a rather complex history after that (which is described by Shaw). He seems to have come to Dublin around 1628, the first references to payments to him as organist are from the Christ Church Cathedral accounts 1629–30. He seems to have become organist of both Dublin cathedrals by 1631. After a short break as organist of Chester Cathedral, he is recorded as being back in Dublin by the end of 1644, and is recorded again as organist of St Patrick's. He was probably organist of Christ Church Cathedral by 1646. He went to London during the Interregnum, but at the Restoration St Patrick's still regarded him as their organist, noting that Mr Hawkshaw would officiate during Mr Jewett's absence. However, Jewett had obtained a minor canonry at St Paul's Cathedral, London, and he remained there until the fire of 1666. Thereafter he was appointed organist of Winchester Cathedral, a post which he held until his death in 1675.⁴¹⁵

The anthem *I heard a voice from heaven* is his only work present in the part books at St Patrick's, and two editions of this anthem have been published.⁴¹⁶ It is in the bass books from the first set of part books only, and it appears in the indexes of two of the other books from the set but it is not present in those books. It appears without attribution in both the manuscripts and indexes.

3.28.2 John Bishop
1665–1737

John Bishop was a lay clerk and the master of the choristers at King's College, Cambridge, in 1688.⁴¹⁷ He succeeded Jeremiah Clarke as organist of Winchester College in 1695,⁴¹⁸ and held the position until his death in 1737. He was appointed cathedral organist at Winchester in 1729 and held that position also until his death.

⁴¹⁵ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 64, 298, 410, 417–8; Gillen and Johnstone, *A Historical Anthology of Irish Church Music*, 71–2.

⁴¹⁶ *I heard a voice from heaven*, ed. Maurice Bevan (Chichester: Cathedral Music, 1989); Gillen and Johnstone, *A Historical Anthology of Irish Church Music*, 41–56.

⁴¹⁷ Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 201.

⁴¹⁸ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 399.

Bishop's Morning and Evening Service in D (Te, Be, Ca, De) is in the books at St Patrick's, where MS C.3.1 has a verse section added on a sheet affixed to f. 75v. The Evening Service is included in Oxford, Christ Church MS 1231 (an organ book). This Oxford manuscript contains other repertoire suggestive of Dublin connections (see under Oxford, Christ Church).

3.28.3 Daniel Roseingrave

d. 1727

Roseingrave was organist of Winchester from 1681 until 1692.⁴¹⁹ Correspondence with the curator of manuscripts at Winchester Cathedral Mr John Hardacre confirmed that very little early material has survived there, nor is there any trace of music by Daniel Roseingrave.

See under Dublin, St Patrick's Cathedral

3.28.4 Vaughan Richardson

1670–1729

Richardson was a chorister at the Chapel Royal under John Blow, and sang at the coronation of James II in 1685. Shaw conjectures that he may be the Richardson who acted as organist of Worcester Cathedral 1686–8. The Richardson who was appointed organist of Winchester Cathedral in 1692 succeeded Daniel Roseingrave who had translated to Salisbury Cathedral.⁴²⁰

His Evening Service in C (Ca, De), which is contained in the second set of part books and organ book 86 at St Patrick's, is also included in Tudway's collection where it is described as 'Evening Service composed on the peace [of Utrecht] 1713 by Mr Vaughan Richardson Organist of the Cathedral Church at Winchester'.⁴²¹

⁴¹⁹ Ibid., 299.

⁴²⁰ Ibid.

⁴²¹ Lbl Harl. 7342, f. 179.

3.28.5 James Kent
1700–76

Table 3.54

TYPE	TITLE	MOVEMENTS
Services	C	Te, J, Ca, De
Anthems	Hear my prayer	
	Hearken unto my voice	
	The king shall rejoice	
	Why do the heathen	

Kent was a chorister in Winchester and then one of the children of the Chapel Royal. He was organist of Trinity College, Cambridge, from 1731 until 1737. He was appointed organist of Winchester Cathedral and Winchester College in 1738 and held both positions until two years before his death in 1776. He assisted Boyce with the publication of *Cathedral Music*. Kenneth Long describes him as a ‘wretched composer’,⁴²² but the description of him given in the biographical section of the anthem word book from Salisbury published in 1830 is more charitable: ‘as a composer, he attained the end which should be the object of every writer in sacred music, viz a proper mixture of harmony and melody, each tempering and relieving the other’.

The service and three of the anthems which are present in the books at St Patrick’s were published in Arnold, *Twelve Anthems Composed by James Kent Organist of the Cathedral & College at Winchester* (1773) and *Morning & Evening Service with 8 Anthems* (ed. Joseph Corfe, c.1777). *The king shall rejoice*, however, is not in these printed editions. RISM gives Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, as the only source for this anthem, and it is not mentioned in Foster’s anthem list. The Grove (2001) work list includes it, noting it as music arranged from Antonio Lotti and giving Christ Church Cathedral as the sole source. It is included in organ book 79 at St Patrick’s in the hand of John Mathews, where it is described as ‘sett by Sign Lotti & Mr Jas Kent. The Chorus’s are by Sign Lotti, the verse by Mr Kent’. This curiosity does not appear to have survived outside Dublin, and as Kent was organist of Winchester when Mathews was a singer there it is likely that it did not circulate widely. It seems that Mathews’s enthusiasm for adaptations such as this is the reason why *The king shall rejoice* persisted in the repertory at Dublin.

3.29 WINCHESTER COLLEGE

3.29.1 Clarke Jeremiah
1674–1707

Clarke was organist 1692–5.⁴²³

See under Chapel Royal

3.29.2 John Bishop
1665–1737

Bishop was organist 1695–1737.⁴²⁴

See under Winchester Cathedral

3.29.3 James Kent
1700–76

Kent was organist 1738–74.⁴²⁵

See under Winchester Cathedral

3.30.1 William Child
1606–97

Child was organist ?1630–97.⁴²⁶

See under Chapel Royal

3.30.2 John Golding [Goldwin]
c.1667–1719

Table 3.55

TYPE	TITLE
Anthems	I have set God always
	O praise God in his holiness
	O Lord God of hosts

Golding is referred to as ‘Goldwin’ or ‘Golding’ in Boyce and other sources. The part books at St Patrick’s transmit two other variants ‘Gooldwin’ and ‘Goolding’. Goldwin became assistant organist to William Child at St George’s Chapel in 1685 and was

⁴²² Long, *The Music of the English Church*, 307.

⁴²³ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 398–9.

⁴²⁴ *Ibid.*, 399.

⁴²⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁶ *Ibid.*, 344.

appointed organist in 1697. He held that post until his death in 1719. One service and at least thirty-eight anthems are attributed to him in various sources. Surprisingly, only twenty-four of the anthems are at Windsor.⁴²⁷ Three of his anthems are in the books at St Patrick's.

Although the work list in the Grove (2001) gives St Patrick's as a source for *I have set God always* and *O praise God in his holiness*, it does not include St Patrick's as a source for *O Lord God of hosts*. In the absence of a catalogue at St Patrick's, this type of inconsistency is to be expected.

3.30.3 Michael Wise
c.1648–87

Wise was a lay clerk in 1660s.⁴²⁸

See under Salisbury Cathedral

3.30.4 Richard Farrant
1529–80

Table 3.56

TYPE	TITLE	MOVEMENTS
Service	Short Service	Te, Be, J, K, Cr, Ma, N
Anthems	Call to remembrance	
	Hide not thou thy face	

Farrant was a gentleman of the Chapel Royal, and organist of St George's from 1564 until his death in 1580.⁴²⁹ His Short Service was a popular setting and travelled widely. As with other Tudor composers, Shenton adapted a *Jubilate* to complement it. Only two of Farrant's anthems are to be found in the books at St Patrick's: both anthems are in organ book 79 in John Mathews's hand, but are not in the part books.

⁴²⁷ Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 381.

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.*, 372.

⁴²⁹ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 343.

3.31 WORCESTER CATHEDRAL

3.31.1 Vaughan Richardson
1670–1729

Richardson acted as a deputy organist 1686–8 before going to Winchester.⁴³⁰

See under Winchester Cathedral

3.31.2 William Hayes
1708–77

Hayes was organist from 1731 to 1734.⁴³¹

See under Oxford, Magdalen College

3.31.3 Thomas Deane
c.1671–after 1731

Thomas Deane was a lay clerk at Worcester in the early part of the eighteenth century. He is the most likely composer of the service (Te, J, Ca, De) which has survived in the books at St Patrick's, although it is possible that it is by an earlier Thomas Deane who was organist at Bristol Cathedral on both sides of the Interregnum.⁴³² Though in the key of C in the books at St Patrick's, this service is in B \flat in score book 18 at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin. It is also in B \flat in Ob MS Tenbury 1310 (a mid eighteenth-century manuscript in the hand of W. Davis). It was published by Novello in the key of A 'composed by Thomas Deane Mus Doc AD 1731'. This printed edition goes on to state that it was taken 'from the old part books in St Paul's Cathedral'.

3.32 YORK MINSTER

York Minster is one of the relatively few English cathedrals with a published catalogue.⁴³³ This gives an inventory of each volume for the older material, but fewer details for later manuscripts. For the later material, the composers' names, but not the titles of the works, are given. Nor is there a composer/title index. Griffiths has prioritised the inventory of each volume over composer/title index, whereas Brian Crosby's catalogue of Durham

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*, 307.

⁴³¹ *Ibid.*, 308.

⁴³² Grove (1980), v, 290.

⁴³³ David Griffiths, *A Catalogue of the Music Manuscripts in York Minster Library* (York: University of York, 1981).

Manuscripts has a composer/title index but no detailed inventory of each book. In the case of the Durham catalogue, this decision had to be made in the interests of economy, it having been Crosby's original wish to include an inventory of the volumes.⁴³⁴

3.32.1 William Mason
1725–97

Table 3.57

TYPE	TITLE	MOVEMENTS
Service	D	K
Anthems	Lord of all power and might O Lord, how manifold	

Mason was Rector of Aston in Yorkshire, and was appointed precentor of York in 1763.⁴³⁵ He compiled the first listing of the minister's music library around 1780.⁴³⁶

A *Kyrie* in D and two anthems are included in the library at St Patrick's. *Lord of all power* was published in several collections in the key of D, but the books at St Patrick's present it in E. Jebb includes only *Lord of all power* in his catalogue Ob MS Tenbury 1240 where he gives Canterbury, Dublin and Hereford as the manuscript sources.

O Lord, how manifold has never been published, but is included in Foster's work list which gives John Bumpus's MSS collection as the source. This anthem is also in library of Durham.⁴³⁷

3.32.2 James Nares
1715–83

Nares was organist of York from 1735 until 1756.⁴³⁸

See under Chapel Royal

⁴³⁴ Information provided by Brian Crosby in 1992.

⁴³⁵ Foster, *Anthems and Anthem Composers*, 130.

⁴³⁶ David Griffiths, 'The Music in York Minster', *Musical Times*, cxxiii (1982), 633.

⁴³⁷ Crosby, *A Catalogue of Durham Cathedral Music Manuscripts*, 190.

⁴³⁸ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 320.

3.32.3 John Blundeville,

Blundeville was master of the choristers at York from 1682 until 1692, having been a vicar at St Patrick's 1678–80. He may have been responsible for Durham MS B1 making its way from Dublin to Durham.⁴³⁹

See under Durham Cathedral

3.33 COMPOSERS WHO DID NOT HOLD CATHEDRAL OR COLLEGIATE POSITIONS

3.33.1 George Frideric Handel
1685–1759

Table 3.58

TYPE	TITLE
Anthems	As pants the hart
	All we like sheep
	And he shall purify
	And the glory of the Lord
	For unto us a child is born
	Glory to God in the highest
	Hallelujah
	Lift up your heads
	Since by man came death
	The ways of Zion do mourn
	Worthy is the Lamb

Handel's biographical details are so well documented in other places that it is unnecessary to repeat them here. It is worth restating, however, that Handel's celebrated visit to Ireland in 1741–2 resulted in the greatest musical event in Dublin's history: the première of *Messiah* in April 1742. His music was immediately popular in Dublin and remains so today. Excepting the anthems *As pants the hart* and *The ways of Zion do mourn*, Handel's representation in the books at St Patrick's consists entirely of choruses from *Messiah*. *As pants the hart* is probably the earliest of Handel's English anthems. Unlike the choruses from *Messiah* which are contained in the second set of part books, it is a later addition to the first set of part books in the hand of John Mathews. *The ways of Zion do mourn* is present in the miscellaneous part books only.

⁴³⁹ Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 226.

It is interesting to note that the choruses are the ones which would be most useful for inclusion at cathedral services at Christmas and Easter. Music from *Messiah* is still performed each year at St Patrick's on the Sundays after Christmas and Easter. Although five out of the eight soloists at the first performance of *Messiah* belonged to the Dublin cathedral choirs, it seems unlikely that the part books in Dublin have any direct connection with that 1742 performance. Those books are all in the hand of John Matthews, who came to Dublin in 1776; the source for these is likely to have been Mathews's score book now in Marsh's Library MS Z1.2.26 (see section 3.12.2 above).

Jebb's catalogue notes Dublin as a source for several of Handel's anthems:

<i>Blessed is the people</i>	<i>I will magnify thee</i>
<i>My song shall be always</i>	<i>O come, let us sing</i>
<i>O magnify the Lord</i>	<i>O sing unto the Lord</i>
<i>Zadok the priest</i>	

No sources for these anthems survive at St Patrick's.

3.33.2 Samuel Howard
1710–82

Table 3.59

TYPE	TITLE
Anthems	Blessed is the man whose strength is in the Lord Wherewithal shall a young man

Howard was pupil of Croft and Pepusch, and assisted Boyce in the preparation of *Cathedral Music*.⁴⁴⁰ Foster lists three anthems by Howard, and two of these are included in the collection at St Patrick's. The only source given by Foster for *Wherewithal shall a young man* is Dublin. However, both *Wherewithal shall a young man* and *Blessed is the man whose strength is in the Lord* are included in Ob MS Mus.c.2. This source corroborates the Dublin sources, except that *Blessed is the man*, in C at St Patrick's, appears in the Oxford manuscript in the key of D.

⁴⁴⁰ Foster, *Anthems and Anthem Composers*, 126.

OVERVIEW

The foregoing survey shows how the repertoire contained in the eighteenth-century library at St Patrick's has connections, albeit indirect in some cases, with most of the cathedrals across the Irish Sea. Connections with more westerly institutions and institutions where an exchange of personnel with the Dublin cathedrals took place are stronger. The importance of John Mathews in the transmission of repertoire on both sides of the Irish Sea is a recurring feature in this geographical analysis. The harsh criticism from which his reputation has suffered requires re-evaluation: Mathews was an 'enthusiast', and whilst his enthusiasm for the adaptations by Shenton and Aldrich flies in the face of present-day historicism, these adaptations nonetheless represent a wholly authentic facet of eighteenth-century practice. Moreover, Mathews was responsible for the introduction of new and contemporary repertoire to Dublin, and for the preservation of many local compositions.

A recurring feature is the unreliability of bibliographical references to the collection at St Patrick's. In many cases St Patrick's has been omitted from source lists and, in fact, Dublin sources are the only extant sources for at least a dozen items written by composers based at other centres. This suggests that Dublin kept a very up to date repertoire, and that the inherent conservatism that ensued after the Act of Union in 1800 provided an environment in which this repertoire could be frozen.

George Hewson (1881–1972) who was music librarian in the first decade of the twentieth century was responsible for some of the indexes in the manuscripts. Appointed organist in 1920, he revived some of the repertoire in the eighteenth-century books. His pupil William Sydney Greig (1910–83) succeeded him as cathedral organist in 1960. Greig had been assistant organist since 1943, and continued the traditions of his mentor. By the time he retired in 1977, the repertoire at St Patrick's contained many pieces which had fallen out of general use in England. At that time, St Patrick's was probably the only cathedral still using Boyce's *Cathedral Music* as performance material. A further unusual feature until the 1990s was the location of the eighteenth-century organ books: although they had not been played from for many years, they were still kept beside the organ console as if ready for use.⁴⁴¹

⁴⁴¹ The books have been transferred to more suitable shelving in the music library.

The presence in the eighteenth-century library at St Patrick's of music by composers, significant (and less so), from English cathedrals may assist researchers of music at those institutions. Despite flooding and fire at St Patrick's, the eighteenth-century library has survived more intact than libraries at many ancient English cathedrals, and may yield more enlightening concordances in the future.

CHAPTER 4

REPERTOIRE TRANSMISSION, PERFORMANCE PRACTICE AND CONCLUSION

The aims of this study have been to investigate the music manuscripts copied before 1800 surviving in the music library at St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, to consider their lineage and to assess their importance. The investigation has explored all the material available in the cathedral archives and, in order to establish the authenticity of attributions in the books, sources in many other institutions have been consulted. This has established that twenty-eight of the books in the cathedral library were copied in whole or in part between 1738 and 1800. In the absence of other significant evidence of the repertoire at St Patrick's in the eighteenth century, the catalogue which is included in appendix 1 gives the fullest information now available.

Chapter 2 investigated isolated sources for a symphony anthem by Purcell which have survived in Ireland but not in England. Chapter 3 considered the repertoire of the library in a geographical context by referring to the institutions where composers or copyists worked, and it is hoped that this method of enquiry will lead to further research. This final concluding chapter will bring the research of the preceding chapters into sharper focus by investigating some issues which merit further detailed investigation:

1. How useful is an analysis of the repertoire of a collection as a tool for determining a definitive date for copying?
2. To what extent can the original source and intermediate lineage of the manuscripts that have survived at St Patrick's be ascertained?
3. What do the surviving manuscripts tell us about performance practice in Dublin from the Restoration until 1800?
4. Is there a pattern in the changes introduced by John Mathews in the eighteenth-century manuscripts, and what was the purpose of these changes?
5. Do manuscripts connected with St Patrick's survive in other libraries? How has the present research enhanced our knowledge of Anglican church music in the post-Restoration period?
6. Is the repertoire in the eighteenth-century library similar to that in English cathedrals?
7. How has the present research of this thesis enhanced our knowledge of the collection at St Patrick's and what avenues for further research has it opened?

The repertoire contained in a manuscript will define certain parameters for the date of copying. These can be precise when the exact date of composition is known; even when this is not known, the composer's lifespan will limit the range of possible dates. If textual questions are precluded, however, this type of evidence gives a *terminus post quem* without a *terminus ante quem*.

Mathews documented his copying activities in the later books in the library in some detail, and an analysis of the repertoire simply corroborates the evidence from Mathews's notes and marginalia. However, the situation in the earlier books is much less clear. The repertoire of these books includes works by Tudor and Restoration composers, together with works by such later composers as Boyce, Carter, Hayes, Kent, Mason, Parkinson, Priest and Walsh. The representation of these composers would suggest that the books were copied no earlier than c.1760. In favour of this dating is the presence of works by Parkinson (d. 1819) and Carter—if this is the Carter whose dates are given in Grove (2001) as c.1735–1804.

However, an examination of the books disturbs this *terminus post quem*. The bulk of the repertoire supports an earlier date of copying, while just a few pieces seem to fall outside the generally represented era. Could there be an explanation for the very small representation of repertoire written after 1740 in books which contain predominantly older music?

The Service in E \flat by Parkinson appears at the end of each of the six books in the first set. It was added to the books after Taverner's work on the main text, and is thereby eliminated as a factor in determining the main text's date of copying. The works by Boyce, Hayes, Kent, Mason, Priest and Walsh all turned out to be either early works or later additions to the part books. This leaves other evidence that the books were copied before 1740 intact. The representation of Boyce (1711–79), for example, in the first set of part books consists of the following, mostly early, anthems:

Table 4.1

TITLE	DATE OF COMPOSITION GIVEN IN GROVE
By the waters of Babylon	c.1740
I have surely built thee an house	1759
O give thanks	1736 or earlier
Praise the Lord, ye servants	1749 or earlier
Turn thee unto me	1749 or earlier

By the waters of Babylon is present in all six books and is in the hand of John Mathews (except in C.3.1 where it is in Taverner's hand). *I have surely built thee an house* is present only in C.3.2 and C.3.5, is a later addition in the same very untidy hand (unidentified F) as *Praise the Lord, ye servants* in C.3.2. The latter anthem appears in no other books from the set. *O give thanks* and *Turn thee unto me* are present in all six books, in Taverner's hand in C.3.1–3 and Mathews's in C.3.4–6.

As *I have surely built thee an house* and *Praise the Lord, ye servants* were added to the books after the main text had been copied, they give no clues to the copying date of the main text. Nor do the copies of the other anthems in Mathews's hand.

The argument in favour of c.1738 as the copying date is not substantially disturbed by the dating of *Turn thee unto me* given in Grove (1980): '1749 or earlier' certainly does not exclude a composition from the late 1730s. The copies in three of the books are replacements by Mathews of earlier copies. Even if a date close to 1749 were to be established for Boyce's composition of *Turn thee unto me*, this would do little more than to suggest that Taverner's copies of it were themselves later additions to the main text. On balance, therefore, Boyce's representation supports the textual and bibliographical evidence presented in chapter 1 that substantial portions of the first set books were copied before 1740, and corroborates other evidence that repertoire could reach Ireland soon after its composition in England.

Six further anthems by Boyce appear in books copied later in the eighteenth century, and are not later additions to those books:

Table 4.2

TITLE	DATE OF COMPOSITION GIVEN IN GROVE
Be thou my judge	1749 or earlier
Give the king thy judgements	1736 or earlier
If we believe	c. 1740
O where shall wisdom be found	1769 or earlier
The Lord is my light	1749 or earlier
Wherewithal shall a young man	1749 or earlier

Although works by the other composers mentioned above reveal a similar pattern, the attribution of works by ‘Carter’ to the Charles Thomas Carter who was born *c.*1735 would still argue for *c.*1755 as the earliest possible date of copying: these works form part of the main text of the books rather than later additions.

However, the textual and bibliographical evidence dating the copying of the main text of these books as *c.*1738 presented in chapter 1 disproves the attributions to Charles Thomas Carter given in Grove (1980 and 2001) and assumed by Grindle. This evidence is based on patterns of payment for the purchase of paper, payments to copyists, consistency of paper type and watermark type, and establishes beyond reasonable doubt that the works in question are by another ‘Carter’ (just which Carter this may have been has been investigated in detail in chapter 3).

This example of textual evidence demanding a re-evaluation of earlier conclusions underscores the danger of dependence on only one method of research. While repertoire is an obvious aid for dating manuscripts, in this case manuscripts prove to be a surer aid for dating repertoire.

4.2 POSSIBLE LINEAGE OF THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MUSIC LIBRARY

The patterns of payments in the proctor’s accounts and the ordering of pieces in William Taverner’s main text of the first set of part books indicate that the books were copied in a relatively short period at the end of the 1730s. Thus these were collations of earlier and contemporaneous material rather than compilations made over a period of years. It is impossible to determine with much certainty the routes whereby the repertoire in this set of books was transmitted to Ireland—all the exemplars from which the set was copied, which

could have yielded vital clues, are untraceable. However, the possible routes of transmission of *Praise the Lord, ye servants* have been examined in detail in chapter 2. The other early-Restoration pieces in the set probably followed similar routes of transmission, which need not be restated here.

Evidence from chapter acts presented in chapter 1 shows that about half of the repertoire in the first set of part books was copied from older material. It is the newer works, especially those by William Croft (thirty-four anthems) and Maurice Greene (twenty-three anthems), that distinguish the books in Taverner's hand from their predecessors. This indicates that the repertoire at Dublin was being updated on a regular basis and that the strong representation of Chapel Royal composers extended beyond the immediate post-Restoration school. But, the route of transmission for this material remains conjectural.

It may be that the John Church who held several vicarships at St Patrick's from 1732 until his death in 1759 had some connection with the John Church who was principal copyist at the Chapel Royal and Westminster Abbey in the early part of the eighteenth century.⁴⁴² If so, he could be the link in transmitting the music of Greene and Croft to Dublin.

Another possible conduit could have been provided by John Phipps, who was a vicar at St Patrick's from 1720 until his death in 1759.⁴⁴³ Biographical details pre-dating this appointment are unknown, but Phipps may have had a position in Britain. A manuscript held in the Bodleian Library (Tenbury 1503) contains the inscription 'John Phipps His Score Book January the 6 1714:15' and Phipps indeed appears to have copied most of this book. Correspondence from the 1950s between Watkins Shaw (then librarian at St Michael's College, Tenbury) and John Boston (then an undergraduate at Lincoln College, Oxford) is preserved with this manuscript. Boston had bought the book from the dealer Leonard Hyman, and sold it to St Michael's College in the autumn of 1955. It had belonged in the nineteenth century to W. H. Cummings, but details of its ownership before that are unknown.⁴⁴⁴

⁴⁴² Lawlor, *Fasti*, 221, 229, 232, 241.

⁴⁴³ *Ibid.* 223, 245.

⁴⁴⁴ Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 57–8.

The repertoire in Tenbury 1503 is significant. It includes thirty-five anthems, of which twenty-four appear in the first set of part books. Of these twenty-four, eleven are also found in organ book 85, three in organ book 93, and one in organ book 79 (see table 4.3 below).

This similarity of repertoire strongly suggests that Phipps's score book could have been the line of transmission for some of the repertoire in the books at St Patrick's. Phipps could have copied all of these pieces in England before assuming his position at St Patrick's in 1720, with the probable exception of Dublin composer Godfrey's *God is our hope and strength*. The placing of that anthem towards the end of MS Tenbury 1503 indicates, however, that the book could have been completed in Dublin having been started elsewhere. Phipps received a payment of ten shillings and tenpence from St Patrick's for 'a new anthem' in 1724. It may be that this was payment for a specific piece of his own composing (now lost), but was more likely a piece which he had had sent from England.⁴⁴⁵ While most of the pieces could have been scored by Phipps from the part books in Dublin, it is certainly no less likely that the Dublin parts were copied from Phipps's score. A rigorous textual analysis of Tenbury 1503, the first set of part books at St Patrick's and all concordances would probably reveal the order in which copying took place.

MS Tenbury 1503 is the unique source for Purcell's *O Lord, grant the king a long life*. This anthem, like *Praise the Lord, ye servants*, seems to have fallen out of circulation in England soon after its composition.⁴⁴⁶ If *O Lord, grant the king a long life* was copied in Dublin, the manuscripts have been lost.

The pre-Restoration anthems in MS Tenbury 1503—Gibbons's *Behold, thou hast made my days* and *Sing unto the Lord* and, Parsons's *Above the stars*—are not present in the eighteenth-century books at St Patrick's. Although the most widely circulated early service settings (by Bevin, Byrd, Farrant, Gibbons and Tallis) are represented in the first set of part books, the pre-Restoration anthems present in this set are later additions by John Mathews. This reflects a marked preference for a more up to date style of anthem at the time the part books were initially put together. It is significant that, although a source was available in

⁴⁴⁵ P.A. 1724, E.P. 29 (RCBL C2.1.10.1).

⁴⁴⁶ Zimmerman suggests that the symphony anthem *O Lord, grant the king a long life* may have been written for Charles II, but was not completed until after his death (*Analytical Catalogue*, 36). Symphony anthems were used little after the death of Charles II because his Roman Catholic brother and successor, James II, did not attend the Chapel and, except on special occasions, the resource of strings was accordingly withdrawn.

Dublin in the form of Tenbury MS 1503, these anthems were not copied into the books.

Very firm conclusions may be drawn regarding the transmission routes of the repertoire contained in the later eighteenth-century books (the second set and the miscellaneous part books). John Mathews copied these books, which contain a few slight contributions from other hands. His career had brought him from Winchester to Dublin via Salisbury and Durham. He was active as a copyist at Durham and, although no examples of his work survive in Winchester or Salisbury, it is probable that his copying career started at the former cathedral—it had certainly started before he left the latter.

Representation at St Patrick's of works by Winchester composers Richardson and Kent must be a result of Mathews's travels—the copies of works by these minor composers are in his hand. He had been associated with Kent at Winchester Cathedral, and the anthem *The king shall rejoice* 'sett by Sign Lotti & Mr Jas Kent: the Chorus's are by Sign Lotti, the verse by Mr Kent'⁴⁴⁷ does not appear to have survived outside Dublin.

Mathews was, also without doubt, the means whereby certain works of minor Salisbury composers Bacon, Blake, Walkeley and Stephens arrived in Dublin. Though Mathews's sojourn at Salisbury post-dated Walkeley, who died in 1718, Mathews may well have been acquainted with Bacon, who died in 1759. He certainly knew both Blake and Stephens, who also held posts at Salisbury Cathedral in the early 1760s.

Walkeley's anthem *O Lord, thou hast searched me out* is included in Edinburgh MS 2, which Mathews brought to Ireland, and this must be the reason for its presence in the second set of part books and organ book 86. Bacon's *The Lord is king* and Blake's *Thou, O God, art praised in Sion* and *I have set God always before me* arrived in Ireland in the form of Edinburgh MS 1. All of these anthems are present in the library at St Patrick's in Mathews's hand.⁴⁴⁸ The source of Stephens's Evening Service in E \flat is Edinburgh MS 2.⁴⁴⁹

The Edinburgh score books contain many other anthems that are present in the books at St Patrick's, and are thus also the probable line of transmission for these anthems.

⁴⁴⁷ Organ book 79, f. 127v.

⁴⁴⁸ These four anthems are also present in Mathews's score book Ob MS Mus.d.174, and two are in Mathews's score book Ob MS Tenbury 856.

A further possible filliation for the surviving manuscripts at St Patrick's which needs to be considered is the possibility that some are copies of printed editions. As mentioned in chapter 1, the Dublin cathedrals do not appear to have purchased Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick*, but this printed edition may have some connection with the copies of Tudor works which are in the library at St Patrick's.

In the eighteenth-century church music was invariably published on a subscription basis, and the names of Irish subscribers to such publications are listed in appendix 3 below. St Patrick's subscribed to Boyce's *Cathedral Music*, his *Fifteen Anthems* and *Collection of Anthems*, Greene's *Forty Select Anthems*, Nares's *Twenty Anthems in Score*, and Ebdon's *Sacred Music*. Though St Patrick's does not appear in the list of subscribers to Croft's *Musica Sacra*, the proctor's accounts contain references to payments made at the time of its publication,⁴⁵⁰ and Jonathan Swift, Dean of St Patrick's 1713–45, is listed among the subscribers. Swift's interest in music was slight, however, and it is possible that this subscription originated from members of his chapter.

In most cases, the first printed editions of the repertoire concerned post-date the manuscript copies in the cathedral library, thereby eliminating the manuscripts' possibility of being copies of those editions. However, the early publication date of Croft's *Musica Sacra*, 1724, raises the possibility that the first set of part books could have been copied from this printed score. As copies of *Musica Sacra* were in the dean's possession, there would have been no need to copy its contents into the manuscripts part books. It is therefore much more likely that Croft's anthems were copied into the part books from existing manuscript copies without the realisation that they were in the printed edition. A second possibility is that the printed copies were damaged in the flooding described in chapter 1 and were lost by the time the first set of part books was copied in the late 1730s. Though Novello's nineteenth century edition of *Musica Sacra* survives in the library at St Patrick's, all printed copies of the first edition have vanished.

Most of the anthems in *Musica Sacra* are, however, present in manuscript form in St Patrick's. The following table gives the contents of Croft's first volume and the items by him present in alto book C.3.1.

⁴⁴⁹ This service is also present in Mathews's hand in Ob MS Tenbury 856.

⁴⁵⁰ P.A. 1724, E.P. 21; P.A. 1726, E.P. 7 (RCBL C2.1.10.1).

Table 4.3

Title	Page Number	Page Number	Comment
	<i>Musica Sacra</i>	C.3.1	
Sing unto God, O ye kingdoms	1	313	No attribution in C.3.1
Lord, what love have I	10	315	No attribution in C.3.1
Sing unto the Lord and praise his name	18	317	No attribution in C.3.1
We will rejoice in thy salvation	31	422	No attribution in C.3.1
Out of the deep	40	310	No attribution in C.3.1
O Lord, thou hast searched me out	49	318	No attribution in C.3.1
The Lord is my strength [1]	67	329	No attribution in C.3.1
O Lord, rebuke me not	79		Not in C.3.1
We wait for thy loving kindness	87	331	No attribution in C.3.1
I will sing unto the Lord	95	324	No attribution in C.3.1
Praise the Lord, O my soul	102	325	No attribution in C.3.1
Hear my prayer, O Lord	116	193	Replaced in C.3.1 (by Mathews)
O be joyful	123	333	No attribution in C.3.1
O Lord God of my salvation	134	334	No attribution in C.3.1
Rejoice in the Lord	143		Not in C.3.1
Burial Service	177		Not in C.3.1

The first three anthems in this table are in identical order in *Musica Sacra* and C.3.1. While this suggests a connection, the pattern is not continued by both sources. There are, however, loose groupings of anthems in C.3.1 which are similar to *Musica Sacra*. Textual differences between the printed score and C.3.1 are slight. The lack of attributions in C.3.1 is curious, as the authorship of anthems copied from *Musica Sacra* cannot have been in doubt. If the anthems were copied from existing, unattributed, manuscript copies, however, the continuation of anonymity would be explained.

Certain anthems by Croft in the first set of part books are later insertions by Mathews, who may have been 'improving' the copies at the cathedral by making them consistent with *Musica Sacra*.

The publication of *Musica Sacra* was a significant factor in strengthening of the representation of Croft's music at St Patrick's and elsewhere. The part books nonetheless have an independent lineage, and *Musica Sacra* was probably used only to fill gaps or correct faulty copies.

The publication of Greene's *Forty Select Anthems* in 1743 presents an entirely different range of possibilities. This publication post-dates the presumed completion by William Taverner of the main text of the first set of part books, and thus cannot be the immediate copy-source for Greene's anthems in the main body of those books. This is corroborated by further evidence in the text of the books: *Acquaint thyself*, for example, is a tone higher in the manuscripts than in the printed edition, and further textual discrepancies, such as bar lengths and rhythmic variants (see plates 16 and 17) confirm that the printed edition was not the source of the manuscript copies.

The library at St Patrick's contains further examples of Greene's anthems being notated in different keys from his *Forty Select Anthems*: *My soul truly waiteth* is a tone lower in the part books than in the printed edition and organ book 92. The part books could therefore be copies of manuscripts pre-dating the publication of *Forty Select Anthems*, while organ book 92, which is in the hand of Ralph Roseingrave, may be based on the printed version after *Forty Select Anthems* was purchased by the cathedral.

O Lord, give ear unto my prayer presents a curious conflict of keys. It appears in the key of E in organ books 85 and 92, and in E \flat in the first set of part books and *Forty Select Anthems*. This could be an example of the organ and vocal parts being copied from different sources.

A further anthem that supports the argument that both the part books and organ books were copied from sources other than *Forty Select Anthems* is *The Lord is my shepherd*. This is a tone higher in organ book 92 than in the first set of part books and *Forty Select Anthems*. In places the part books differ rhythmically from the printed edition.

Like as the hart is accompanied by a rubric in Edinburgh MS1 'A note higher in Durham and Xch. org and Choir books'. The anthem is contained in Lbl Add. MS 17850 where it is a tone lower than organ book 92 at St Patrick's. *Like as the hart* is one of seven anthems by Greene which are present in the books at St Patrick's which are not included in Greene's *Forty Select Anthems*.

The ordering of Greene's anthems in the part books bears no resemblance to their order in the printed edition. The anthems are distributed throughout the books rather than copied

Plate 16 Greene's *Acquaint thyself* in C.3.6. folio 187v showing variants from the printed score *Forty Select Anthems*.

187v

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation on aged paper. At the top left, the number '187v' is written in the margin. The page contains three staves of music, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The first staff begins with a common time signature 'C'. The lyrics for the first three staves are: 'comes before Seat and my roa - - rings are', 'poured out my roa - - rings are poured', and 'out - - like water'. Below these staves are several empty staves. Further down the page, the text 'Solo Echo: Acquaint thy self with' is written above a staff. The lyrics for the subsequent staves are: 'The Lord will deliver y^e righteous', 'The Lord will deliver the right-', 'eous he will save the Humble Man', 'The Lord will save the humble', and 'man the Lord will deliver the righteous'. The handwriting is in a cursive style typical of the 17th century.

comes before Seat and my roa - - rings are

poured out my roa - - rings are poured

out - - like water

Solo Echo: Acquaint thy self with

The Lord will deliver y^e righteous

The Lord will deliver the right-

eous he will save the Humble Man

The Lord will save the humble

man the Lord will deliver the righteous

Plate 17 Chorus from Greene's anthem *Acquaint thyself* as published in *Forty Select Anthems* (1743)

Chorus Andante

The Lord will deliver the Righteous, the Lord will deliver the Righteous, the Lord will deliver the Righteous, the Lord will deliver the Righteous, he will save the humble man, he will save the humble man, he will save the humble man, he will save the humble man.

into one section only, and this strongly supports the view that the edition was not the source for the part books. The balance of evidence here supports the argument that Greene's anthems arrived at St Patrick's via a route prior to the publication of his *Forty Select Anthems*.

The dean and chapter of St Patrick's Cathedral were subscribers to Boyce's *Cathedral Music*. The first volume of this important collection was published in 1760, almost two decades after the completion of Taverner's main activity on the first set of part books, and thus played no part in the compilation of that set of books. Most of the repertoire contained in *Cathedral Music* appears in the first set of books at St Patrick's rather than in the books copied after *Cathedral Music* had entered the library at St Patrick's. Boyce imposes the 1662 text of the *Te Deum*, 'We acknowledge thee', whereas the same settings appear with the older opening 'We knowledge thee' in the part books. This strongly suggests that the part books are faithful copies of older manuscripts and confirms that Taverner's copying style was conservative. Many *allabreve* pieces in the first set of part books are barred with two minims per bar, while Boyce has a standard four minims per bar.

Cathedral Music, however, influenced the subsequent alterations to the first set of part books. One of Mathews's many insertions incorporates Shenton's adaptation of the *Jubilate* for Farrant's Short Service. This necessitated recopying the first few bars of that service's *Magnificat* in MS C.3.2. The new opening differs from the original copy, Mathews having altered it to match the version in *Cathedral Music* (See plates 18–21; the St Patrick's manuscripts are a tone higher than the printed edition). Strangely, Mathews did not alter all the books in the set which must have led to some very confused performances of this canticle.

Organ parts for many of the pieces in *Cathedral Music* are contained in organ book 77, which was copied (by Mathews) later than the first set of part books. This opens the possibility that Mathews copied these parts from *Cathedral Music*. There are, however, frequent conflicts of pitch: Bevin's Short Service, for example, in organ book 77 is a tone higher than in *Cathedral Music* and Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick*. Tallis's Short Service is likewise a tone higher in organ book 77 than in these two printed editions and the first set of part books. The pattern continues with Byrd's Short Service, which is described in organ book 77 as 'Sett by Mr Bird in E natural. N.B. originally Sett

Falle Magnificat

my soul doth magnifie the Lord and my spirit
Dec:
hath rejoyced in God my saviour For he hath re:
Dec:
garded the lowliness of his handmaiden For
Dec:
behold from hence forth all generations shall
Dec:
call me blessed For he that is mighty hath magni:

Plate 20 Opening of Magnificat from Farrant's Short Service, Organ book 77 folio 68v

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for an organ and vocal performance. The page is divided into two main sections. The first section, labeled 'Magnificat: A1' and 'Comp. Mr. Farrant.', is marked 'Full Organo' and features a treble and bass clef with a common time signature. The lyrics 'My soul doth magnify the Lord and my spirit' are written below the notes. The second section, marked 'Piano Organo', features a treble and bass clef with a common time signature and the lyrics 'For he hath'. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and clefs, and is written in a cursive hand.

Magnificat: A1
Comp. Mr. Farrant.

Full Organo

My soul doth magnify the Lord and my spirit

Full Organo

Piano Organo

For he hath

7-76

Plate 21 Opening of *Magnificat* from Farrant's Short Service as amended by Matthews in C.3.2 folio 62v.

116 *Magnificat de Sth M^r Farranto.*

Full My Soul doth magnify the Lord
And my Spirit hath rejoiced in God my
Saviour For he hath regarded the
Lowliness of his hand maiden
For beholds from henceforth all
Generations shall call me blessed
For he that is mighty hath magnified
me and holy is his Name

in D natural'. There are numerous examples of voice parts being in different keys from organ parts at St Patrick's. It seems that this was not considered important—at least not important enough to write out the music afresh.

Manuscripts continued to exist alongside published scores to the end of the eighteenth century. Boyce's *Fifteen Anthems* (1780), Arnold's *Cathedral Music* (1790), Page's *Harmonia Sacra* (1800), and two publications devoted to Nares's work, *Twenty Anthems in Score* (1778) and *A Morning and Evening Service... Together with 6 Anthems in Score* (1788) contain repertoire included in the manuscript collection.⁴⁵¹ In general these printed scores contain bars twice the length of the bars in the St Patrick's manuscripts, and there are further textual differences. One of Nares's anthems, *Praise the Lord, ye servants*, was omitted from the printed editions, but is included in the second set of part books—confirming that these books were not copied from a printed source. In fact, the only known sources for this anthem by Nares are held in the Dublin cathedrals.

In the case of Boyce's *Fifteen Anthems*, the part books use treble clefs rather than the C clefs of the printed score: this, along with other textual differences, implies that the printed edition was not the source for the manuscript copies. (St Patrick's did not subscribe to Arnold's *Cathedral Music*, which includes Greene's Service in C. There are many textual differences between Arnold's edition and the manuscripts at St Patrick's.)

There are, however, some conclusive examples of manuscripts being based on printed scores. Mathews declared that he had copied the organ part of the *Magnificat* of Ebdon in C in organ book 86 from the printed score. To complicate matters, it seems that the printed score, Ebdon's *Sacred Music*, was not the source for the manuscript vocal parts. A copy of that print in the library at St Patrick's contains a note at the top of page 36 (the *Magnificat*): 'NB This book is altered so as to be the same as the Old Cathedral Manuscript Books. Please look at alterations before singing Pages 38, 40, 45, 46, Bass.' This note has been cancelled and a subsequent note reads 'I prefer Ebdon DRFW' (see plate 22 and 23).⁴⁵²

⁴⁵¹ Nares was a subscriber to Arnold's *Cathedral Music*, but he died before the publication came to fruition.

⁴⁵² DRFW: David Frederick Ruddell Wilson was appointed succentor of St Patrick's in 1899 and held several offices in the cathedral before becoming dean in 1935. He retired in 1950 and died in 1967. Elsewhere Wilson scribbled 'as recomposed by old Mathews'.

Plate 22 Opening of *Magnificat* from Ebdon's Service in C with note showing that Mathews has copied it from the printed score but that it does not agree with the part books, Organ book 85 folio 58

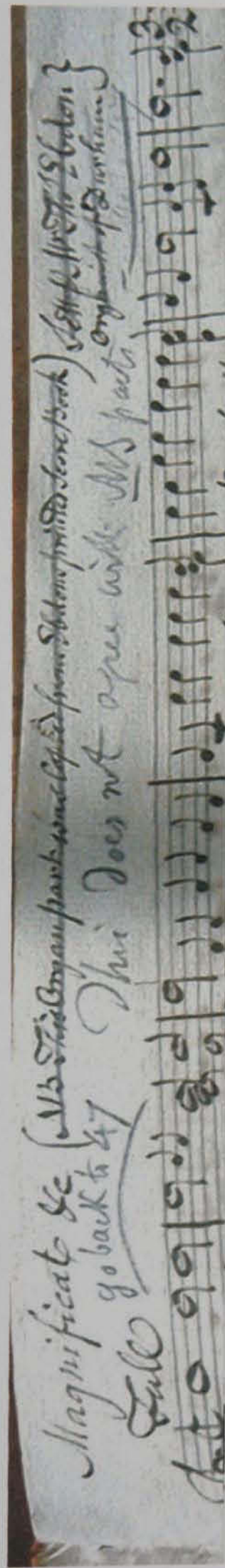


Plate 23 Magnificat from Ebdon's Service in C from the printed score with annotations showing that this does not agree with the manuscript copies.

NB. This book is altered so as to be the same as the Old Cathedral Manuscript-Bookes as reprinted by Mr. Mottin. Please look at alterations before singing to yes 38, 40, 45, 46

Bless.

36

Magnificat. I prefer Ebdon's

DRW

Full.

My Soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord

My Soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord and my Spi - rit hath re -

My Soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord and my Spi - rit hath re -

My Soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord



The image shows a page from a music manuscript with four systems of staves. Each system contains a vocal line and a lute line. The lyrics are: 'My Soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord', 'My Soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord and my Spi - rit hath re -', 'My Soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord and my Spi - rit hath re -', and 'My Soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord'. The manuscript includes handwritten annotations in blue ink, such as 'NB. This book is altered so as to be the same as the Old Cathedral Manuscript-Bookes as reprinted by Mr. Mottin. Please look at alterations before singing to yes 38, 40, 45, 46', 'Bless.', '36', 'Magnificat. I prefer Ebdon's', and 'DRW'. The word 'Full.' is written above the first system. The page is numbered '36' in the left margin.

Whilst the impact of printed editions cannot be dismissed, there is a consistent pattern of copying from older manuscript sources rather than prints. Printed copies were not widely used by the choir until the nineteenth century.⁴⁵³

4.3 PERFORMANCE PRACTICE

Very few details of performance practice at St Patrick's can be deduced from historic accounts or recent critical literature. The few general histories of the cathedral convey only sparse details of musical activity, and Harry Grindle's account is mainly concerned with matters of establishment, personnel, and the music itself, rather than with performance practice. In this context then, the only way of attempting to form some view of performance practice at St Patrick's is by using evidence contained in the extant manuscripts.

Durham MS B1 is the earliest surviving music manuscript from Restoration Dublin. It contains Hosier's anthem *Now that the Lord hath readvanc'd the crown*, which was used at the consecration service for twelve bishops that took place at St Patrick's in January 1661. It also contains several symphony anthems (including their instrumental parts), indicating the use of strings in the early-Restoration period at the Dublin cathedrals. The accounts of Christ Church Cathedral from the period include payments to string players.⁴⁵⁴ The proctor's accounts at St Patrick's from before the 1720s are very fragmentary, and no payments to string players can be located in them, but it is not unreasonable to presume that strings would have been used at St Patrick's also. By 1720, however, the practice of using strings at Christ Church had, except on certain ceremonial occasions, fallen into abeyance.

The strong representation of symphony anthems in the eighteenth-century library at St Patrick's includes six by Blow, eight by Humfrey and seven by Purcell. Although accompaniment with strings had ceased at the cathedral by the time the surviving manuscripts were copied, the large number of symphony anthems indicates that this was a popular genre in the immediate post-Restoration period in Dublin. The extant copies are scored for performance with organ alone, at least some being in all likelihood reductions of

⁴⁵³ The nineteenth-century manuscript books contain mainly unpublished works—many by local composers.

fully scored, original versions which had reached Dublin. In these reduced versions, the organ part includes the short symphonies within choruses or verses, but omits the longer ritornelli.

Lionel Pike has carried out a textual study of the various versions and related performance practice of Purcell's most popular symphony anthem, *Rejoice in the Lord* (Z.49).⁴⁵⁵ He identifies a 'Dublin version' of this anthem, and his detailed stemma shows it to be linked with versions at Lincoln, Windsor and Worcester. This 'Dublin version' was intended for performance without strings and the St Patrick's manuscripts contain no trace of the original opening symphony. (At Christ Church, however, there are indications that the opening symphony was reinstated.)

Composers in the Restoration period normally allocated solo or verse sections in anthems to the adult members of the choir rather than to the boys. In the early years, to ensure continuity of line, the boys of certain choirs were accompanied by instruments. Barra Boydell suggests that the extensive use of treble soloists in the repertoire of Durham MS B1 indicates that the ability of the boys in Dublin was above average.⁴⁵⁶ Repertoire by local composers in the early part of the eighteenth century similarly suggests that a high level of accomplishment amongst the boys continued. The duet section from the *Jubilate* of Carter's Service in C illustrates this nicely (see plate 24).

It is believed that Chapel Royal soloists sang from galleries in the early-Restoration period. This practice was certainly also possible in St Patrick's, as galleries surrounded the choir area in the cathedral at that time—see plate 25. MSS A.10.1, A.10.3 and A.10.8 are described as 'Loft books' on their covers. This designation indicates that performance from a gallery or loft was customary in the last quarter of the eighteenth century when these books were copied. They contain, amongst other things, verse parts for some of the repertoire in the first two sets of books. The provision of these separate 'Loft books' strongly supports the argument that singers (and possibly instrumentalists in earlier times) performed solo and verse sections away from the main body of the choir.

The performance of solos from the organ gallery continued into the nineteenth century at St

454 Boydell, 'Richard Hosier', 243–4.

455 Pike, 'Purcell's "Rejoice in the Lord"', 391–420.

Plate 24 Carter's *Jubilate* from the Service in C

34 **very slow**
VERSE DECANI

Be ye sure that the Lord he is God, is

VERSE CANTORIS

Be ye sure that the Lord he is

very slow
VERSE

Be ye sure

36

God: it is he that hath

God: it is he that hath made us, that hath made us

tr

38

made us and not we our - selves, not we our -
and not we, and not we our - selves, not we our -

6 6

40

selves; we are his_ peo - ple, we are his
selves; we are his peo - ple, we are his peo - ple,

6 4 6 # # 6 4 6 6 4+ 6 2

42

peo - ple, are his peo - ple and the sheep, and the sheep_ of his
we are his peo - ple and the sheep, and the sheep_ of his

#

44

pa - sture, we are his peo - ple,
pa - sture, we are his_ peo - ple, we are his_

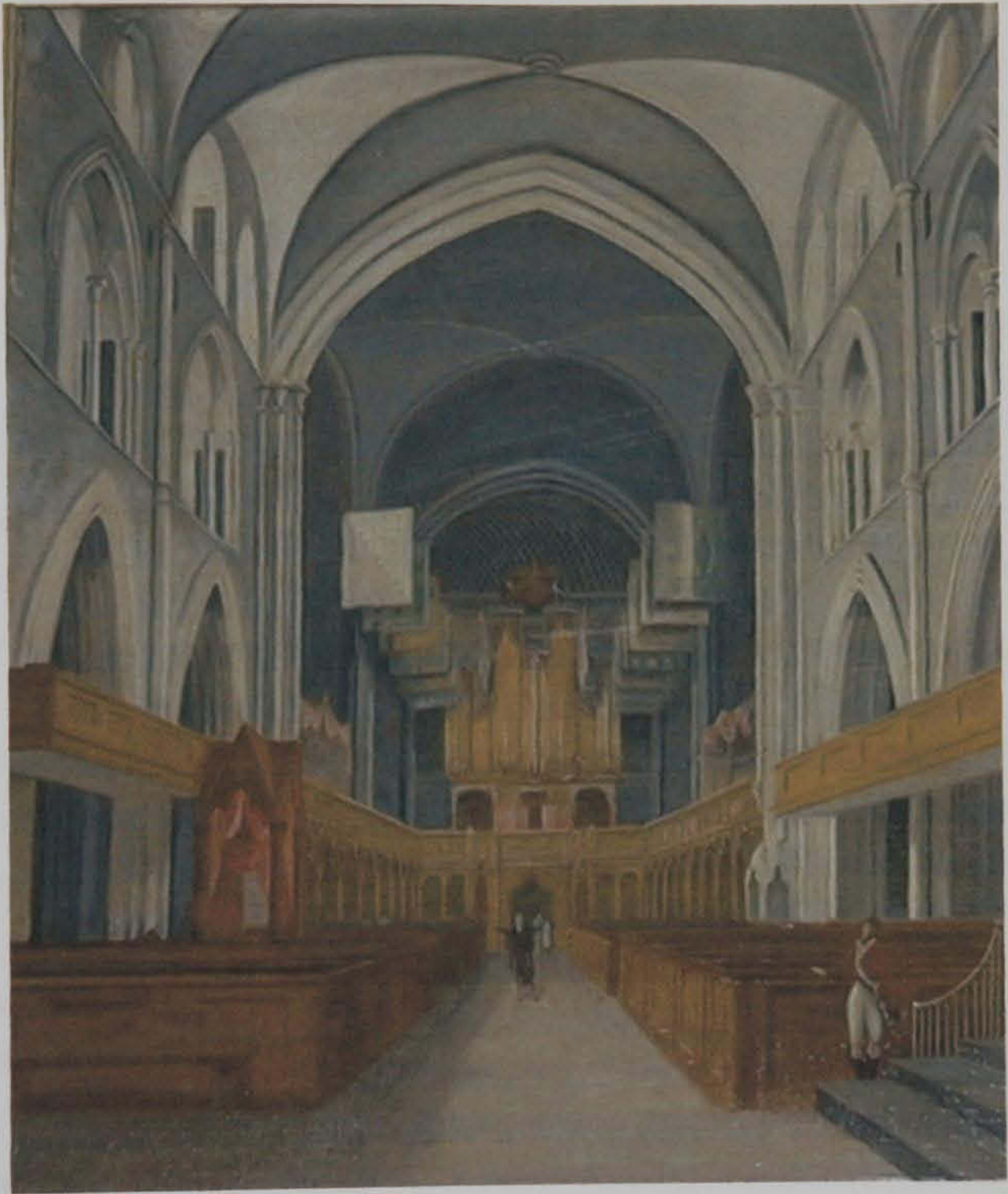
46

we are his peo - ple, are his peo - ple, and the sheep, and the
peo - ple, we are his peo - ple, and the sheep, and the

48

sheep_ of his pa - sture.
sheep_ of his pa - sture.

Plate 25 A painting of Saint Patrick's Cathedral in the eighteenth century showing galleries in the choir which may have been used by soloists and possibly instrumentalists.



Patrick's. Writing in 1900 Bumpus refers to the practice:

Another custom—a most unseemly one and now happily long discontinued—prevailed in the Dublin cathedrals of placing solo singers in the anthem in the organ-loft, whereby all ritual decency and choral propriety were outraged...Some of the old MS. Books at S. Patrick's are lettered 'Loft Score'.⁴⁵⁷

Though Bumpus vents his outrage at the 'loft singers', it seems that the singers in the choir stalls were no less irreverent. Blow's anthem *I beheld, and lo* was still in the repertoire in the nineteenth century, and Bumpus gives the following report of how it was performed:

It was frequently alleged that in the passage 'Fell down, down, down before the throne' from Blow's famous anthem...William [Robinson] produced the effect of a note far below even his range, on the final word, by pointing his finger down with an impassioned gesture, and gazing at the same moment open-mouthed towards the groined roof of the Cathedral.⁴⁵⁸

Owing to the tradition of performance of long verse anthems on Sundays, evensong at St Patrick's was known as 'Paddy's Opera'. The custom of singing two anthems at evensong on Sundays continued at St Patrick's until the late 1990s.

John Mathews's work on the books at St Patrick's also provides some insights to performance practice. His alterations are chiefly evident in the first set of part books and the organ books not principally in his hand. They fall into six types:

1. Mathews simply replaced pages which had been lost or damaged. This occurs most frequently at a book's beginning and end (e.g. C.3.1, f. 1).
2. He added such directions as 'Full', 'Decani', 'Cantoris' etc. (see plate 26: C.3.1, f. 2v). These directions may indicate the introduction of antiphonal singing in the latter part of the eighteenth century, but it is more likely that antiphonal singing was practiced earlier than this, the choir singing 'by side' without written directions. In many cases Mathews lifted these directions from Boyce or other printed scores (see plate 27).

456 Boydell, 'Richard Hosier', 245.

457 Bumpus, 'Irish Church Composers', 136.

458 Ibid., 130.

Plate 26 *Benedictus* from Tallis's Short Service from C.3.1. folio 2v. The main text is in the hand of William Taverner but the indications of *Full*, *Decani* and *Cantoris* are later additions by John Mathews.

Benedictus

Full
Blessed be the Lord God of Israel for he.

Decani
hath visited and redeemed his people And

Cantoris
hath raised up a mighty salvation for us in the

Decani
house of his servant Da- - - vid As he spake

by the Mouth of his Ho- - - ly Prophets which have

Plate 27 The opening of the *Benedictus* from Tallis's Short Service from Boyce's *Cathedral Music*.

Benedictus

Treble
Blessed be the Lord God of Is-ra-el

Contra
Blessed be the Lord God of Is-ra-el

Tenor
Blessed be the Lord God of Is-ra-el

Bass
Blessed be the Lord God of Is-ra-el

he hath visited & redeemed his people And hath raised up a mighty sal-
ve
he hath visited & redem ed his people And hath raised up a mighty sal-va-
tion
he hath visited & redeem - ed his people And hath raised up a mighty sal-va-
tion
he hath visited & redeem - ed his people And hath raised up a mighty sal-va-
tion

Andante *Adagio*

tion for us in the house of his ser - vant Da-vid As he spake by the mouth of his
tion for us in the house of his ser - - vant Da-vid As he spake by the mouth of
tion for us in the house of his ser - vant Da - vid As he spake by the mouth of
tion for us in the house of his ser - - vant David As he spake by the mouth of his

16 6 65 70

3. He inserted new material. The most obvious examples are the settings of the canticle *Jubilate* to the services of Byrd, Farrant, Gibbons and Tallis. These adaptations were made by Robert Shenton some twenty years after the main work on the first set of part books was complete. In every case the pagination of the books was altered to allow for this additional material. This necessitated the repetition of certain page numbers or the addition of letters to the pagination. The material which Mathews added, rather than altered, will be considered later in the context of repertoire.

4. He amended the music itself. Plate 28 shows how Mathews altered the *Nunc dimittis* of Child in D. In some cases his amendments were intended to 'improve' or 'correct' the music by making it correspond with printed editions. Mathews was subsequently accused, however, of 'coolly altering all harmonies he did not like, and putting in turns, shakes and grace notes never dreamt of by the worthy composer. He added a whole second treble part to the *Gloria Patri* of Walsh's *Jubilate* in D, besides disfiguring and tinkering with the composition generally.'⁴⁵⁹ This criticism is perhaps a little harsh—there is, in fact, very little evidence that Mathews indulged in such scribal interference at St Patrick's. Nothing of the magnitude of the second treble part to Walsh in D is to be found in the surviving books. His tendency to 'improve' is, however, much more noticeable at Christ Church where he was responsible for many of the score books,⁴⁶⁰ and modestly ornamented the organ part to Carter's *Jubilate* (see plate 24). A more positive judgement of Mathews's work at St Patrick's would be that he introduced new repertoire and preserved older material which might otherwise have been lost.

5. He adjusted the word underlay. In some cases this was done to bring the texts of Tudor settings into line with the 1662 prayer book (see plate 29).

6. He added figuring and inner voices to certain organ parts (see plate 30). His amended figuring is often quite extensive, suggesting a fully fleshed out organ accompaniment. Whilst this is stylistically inappropriate for earlier repertoire, the figuring seldom conflicts with the vocal parts.

⁴⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 122.

⁴⁶⁰ There are no score books in the library at St Patrick's and the only reference to payments for score books in the proctor's account is one payment to Mason. It thus seems unlikely that Mathews made score books for St Patrick's.

Plate 28 The *Nunc dimittis* from Child in D, C.3.1 folio 31r.

thy word for mine eyes have seen
thy saluation thy saluation on which thou
hadst prepar- ed before the face of
all people of all people To be a light to be
a light to lighten the gentiles to lighten the
gentiles to be the glory of thy people Israel

Plate 29 Te Deum from Tallis's Short Service, C.3.1. folio 1r

Mr. Tallis

Full

Cantoris

We acknowledge thee to be the Lord, All the

Decani

Earth doth worship thee the Father Everlasting To thee all

Cant.

Angels cry aloud the Heavens and all the Powers therein To

Dec.

thee Cherubin and Seraphim Continually do cry Holy

Dec.

14

Plate 30 Part of O Give thanks by Purcell, Organ book 85 folio 6v

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for the piece "O Give thanks" by Henry Purcell. The score is written on ten staves. The first staff is marked "Chorus Slow" and "Vrhe is oratione". The second staff is marked "Tercio". The third staff is marked "Chorus". The fourth staff is marked "Vrhe". The fifth staff is marked "Chorus". The sixth staff is marked "Vrhe". The seventh staff is marked "Chorus". The eighth staff is marked "Vrhe". The ninth staff is marked "Chorus". The tenth staff is marked "Vrhe". The notation includes various musical symbols such as clefs, notes, rests, and bar lines. The handwriting is in a historical style, and the paper shows signs of age.

Mathews's work as copyist shows an interventionist approach albeit with a view to 'correct' copies he considered corrupt. He used his knowledge of the up to date sources that he brought in manuscript form from Britain and that arrived in Dublin in printed form in the last forty years of the eighteenth century. His severest critics are those who viewed his work from a nineteenth-century standpoint. The opinions of Bumpus in particular, like his historical writings on church music generally, now appear passé. The present re-evaluation of Mathews's work shows him to be a copyist of significance.

4.4 MANUSCRIPTS WITH DUBLIN CONNECTIONS AT OTHER LOCATIONS

The probable lineage of the eighteenth-century music library at St Patrick's and the importance of Ob MS Tenbury 1503 have been considered above. Other manuscripts in libraries in Britain have important connections with Dublin and chapter 3 has presented details of manuscripts in the hand of John Mathews in Edinburgh, Durham and Oxford. In the case of the Edinburgh manuscripts, there can be no doubt that they were in his possession in Dublin and are important links in the development of the repertoire at the Dublin cathedrals. In addition to the early-Restoration manuscript B1, the library of Durham Cathedral contains two score books, MSS A18 and A19, which Mathews copied in Dublin and sent to Durham on commission. He thereby introduced some Dublin repertoire to Durham, including anthems such as Travers's *The earth is the Lord's* which he knew were not in the books there. This anthem may be considered 'Dublin repertoire' as no other sources appear to have survived outside Dublin.

The British Library MS G.518.b (1–18) contains services and anthems scored by Bumpus, who took some of them from books at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin. He thereby established a connection with St Patrick's, as these items share a common stemma:

King in D	Stevenson in E \flat	Wise in F minor
Stevenson in D	Wise in E	

A number of manuscripts now in Oxford have hitherto undetected connections with Dublin. The repertoire of Ob Mus.d.174 and MS Tenbury 856 (both in the hand of John Mathews) have the strongest connections, and these have been described in detail in chapter 3. In the cases of Ob MS Tenbury 651, Tenbury 844, Tenbury 1020 and Och MS 1231 the connections are more speculative.

While music composed by the Roseingraves rises above the generally pedestrian level of composition attained by Dublin composers in the first half of the eighteenth century, this music does not appear to have travelled widely. There are few manuscript sources for music by 'Roseingrave' outside Ireland, and the inclusion of anthems by 'Roseingrave' in eighteenth-century anthem word books from English cathedrals is rare. Chapter 3 presented evidence to suggest that some of the anthems which received attention in England were, in fact, composed by Daniel Roseingrave Sr before he came to Ireland. There are no sources at the British Library for the Roseingraves' music that is included in the library at St Patrick's, and the strong representation in Ob MS Tenbury 607 is unique outside Ireland. The reason for this strong representation becomes clear on an examination of the manuscript.

Ob MS Tenbury 607 is an organ book with dimensions:

232mm x 330mm x 27mm (cover)

224mm x 330mm x 20mm (pages)

These dimensions are almost identical to those of organ book 85 at St Patrick's:

237mm x 334mm x 26mm (cover)

225mm x 330mm x 18mm (pages)

The watermarks in MS Tenbury 607 are the same as organ book 85:

Mark *L* is visible on pages 3, 5, 9, 23, 27, 28, 59, 73, 75, 79, 81, 91, 101, 103, 111, 119, 123, 137, 139 and 143.

Mark *E2* is visible on pages 7, 13, 25, 31, 37, 39, 51, 53, 57, 65, 71, 83, 109, 117, 133, 135 and 149.

The hand is the same as that of organ book 85 and can be identified as Ralph Roseingrave's.

These three pieces of evidence indicate that MS Tenbury 607 may be an organ book from Dublin. An investigation of its contents establishes this beyond doubt as all items are also found in the hand of John Mathews in organ book 79 at St Patrick's. Indeed, organ book 79 would appear to have been copied as a replacement for the battered Tenbury 607.

Table 4.4 Repertoire of Tenbury MS 607 compared to organ book 79:

COMPOSER	TITLE	PAGE	PAGE
		TENBURY 607	ORGAN 79
Croft	We will rejoice	1	96
Croft	O Lord, rebuke me not	6	66
Croft	Hear my prayer, O Lord	11	46
Croft	O Lord, grant the king a long life	14	76
Croft	O Lord God of my salvation	18	80
Croft	Sing praises to the Lord	22	72
Croft	God is gone up	26	56
Greene	I will sing of thy power	30	274
Greene	Lord, how long	34	230
Greene	Lord, let me know mine end	38	239
Greene	O clap your hands together	40	234
Greene	O sing unto the Lord	46	133
Greene	How long wilt thou forget me	52	215
Greene	Let my complaint	60	222
Hayes	O be joyful	64	180
Hayes	Save, Lord	68	20
Boyce	Turn thee unto me	74	12
Clarke	O Lord God of my salvation	78	1
Weldon	Hear my crying	82	16
Boyce	By the waters of Babylon	86	26
Strode	Hear my prayer	92	41
Gibbons	Hosanna to the Son	97	248
Purcell	O God, thou hast	100	192
Tallis	I call and cry	106	251
Roseingrave	Blessed is he that cometh	108	322
Rosingrave	O come hither	110	150
Roseingrave	Bow down thine ear	114	164
Roseingrave	Sing unto God	116	158
Roseingrave	I will cry unto God	120	167
Roseingrave	Praise the Lord, ye servants	124	154
Roseingrave	I will magnify thee	126	156
Hooper	Behold, it is Christ	128	178
Blow	My God, my soul is vexed	130	195
Goldwin	I have set God always before me	132	175
Carter	Hear my prayer	135	35
Aldrich	We have heard with our ears	138	92
Batten	Hear my prayer	141	38
Aldrich	God is our hope	143	53

Table 4.4 cont'd

COMPOSER	TITLE	PAGE TENBURY 607	PAGE ORGAN 79
Blow	Save me, O God	146	189
Boyce	O give thanks	149	6
Byrd	Be not wroth	154	261
Blow	The last chorus of Byrd's anthem Be not wroth has 'Full Chorus a canon by Dr Blow {NB left out in general}'	156	264

The last item in MS Tenbury 607 is of particular interest: Blow's chorus is mentioned at the end of Byrd's anthem *Be not wroth* in the first set of part books. While the clefs were drawn in some of the books, none contains any music (see plate 15). This certainly ensured that the chorus was indeed 'left out'.

Blow's chorus is followed in MS Tenbury 607 by the opening of an anthem *O Lord God of hosts*. A comparison with organ book 79 identifies this anthem as William Turner's setting.

The contents of MS Tenbury 607 are not present in any other organ book at St Patrick's. The order of the anthems in organ book 79 differs from MS Tenbury 607, although the works of individual composers are loosely grouped in both. Organ book 79, which was copied by John Mathews in the 1790s, contains in excess of sixty further anthems, which probably explains the different ordering of pieces within the manuscripts. As organ book 79 was copied about 50 years later than MS Tenbury 607 it is possible that an intermediate copy once existed.

It has proved impossible to trace how MS Tenbury 607 made its way from St Patrick's, where undoubtedly it started life as an organ book, to the Tenbury collection. There is no evidence of other sources in England having been copied from it, nor does the material by Roseingrave appear to have been otherwise dispersed.

The identification of this book being a St Patrick's organ book in the hand of Ralph Roseingrave casts serious doubt on the attributions of the anthems *Blessed is he that cometh, Bow down thine ear, I will cry unto God, I will magnify thee, O come hither and Praise the Lord, ye servants* to Thomas Roseingrave in the work list in Grove (2001). MS

Tenbury 607 was in Ireland at the time Thomas Roseingrave was living and composing in Britain. Nothing suggests that he was active as a composer when he 'retired' to Ireland in 1747. In any case, MS Tenbury 607 must have been completed by 1747, the year of Ralph Roseingrave's death. The absence of any indication of which Roseingrave wrote the anthems in MS Tenbury 607 suggests that the copyist, Ralph Roseingrave, is the most likely candidate.

4.5 REPERTOIRE

The main compositional focus of eighteenth century Anglican church musicians was on the anthem rather than the service. The service repertoire in the eighteenth-century library at St Patrick's includes both pre-Commonwealth and post-Restoration settings which were in wide circulation. The majority of eighteenth-century service settings included were written by local composers: Broadway, Higgins, Roseingrave, Shenton, and Walsh. This pattern suggests that there was little interest in importing the rather undistinguished up to date services being written in England, and that the Dublin cathedrals were content with the common currency of the day supplemented by locally minted items.

The anthem repertoire is less straightforward. The representation of pre-Commonwealth anthems is small (about five per cent) and this repertoire was introduced—or reintroduced—by John Mathews towards the end of the eighteenth century. This token repertoire of earlier music places the strong appetite for more contemporary anthems in relief.

The anthem repertoire in the eighteenth-century library at St Patrick's can be divided into three broad categories:

1. Works by Chapel Royal composers (Tudor, Stuart and Restoration).
2. Irish works (predominantly composed by English composers resident in Dublin).
3. Works by other composers (almost all English).

Chapel Royal composers account for almost two thirds of the anthem repertory, with the remaining third divided evenly between Irish-based composers and English composers who did not hold posts at the Chapel Royal. About half of this last group have connections with Oxford or London, and the remainder have connections with places where John Mathews

had worked before coming to Ireland. Their work has been examined in detail in chapter 2. The Chapel Royal attracted the best composers in England, and most English cathedrals have a strong representation of Chapel Royal works in their libraries. However, the vigorous representation in Dublin is significant.

The inclusion of eleven of Humfrey's eighteen extant anthems in the library at St Patrick's is a pertinent example. It suggests that the music reached Dublin very soon after its composition and, like the sources for Purcell's *Praise the Lord, ye servants*, has remained in quiet obscurity in the cathedral libraries there. The same could be said of the fourteen anthems by Purcell and eighteen by Blow, while anthems by Croft and Greene account for more than a quarter of the entire anthem repertoire.

The representation of older repertoire in the part books is confined to the first set of part books, where the service settings are in Taverner's hand, but the anthems are later additions by John Mathews. In some cases these may be replacements for damaged or lost pages, but it is surely significant that none of the 'ancient' anthem repertoire has survived in the older parts of the books. Although some of this repertoire may have been copied by Mathews from older, now lost, books at St Patrick's, it seems more likely that Mathews introduced the material himself, as numerous eighteenth-century sources show that much of it was still in common use in England. This is corroborated by the organ books at St Patrick's: the archaic repertoire included in organ books 77 and 79 is in Mathews's hand. The two anthems by Farrant at St Patrick's, and four of the five by Gibbons, were copied into organ book 79 only and have no corresponding vocal parts.

Mathews seems to have identified the lacuna of archaic anthems at St Patrick's, and set about remedying this deficiency. He was responsible for dispatching Shenton's adaptations of older service settings to Durham in the 1770s, and his taste for later adaptations is reflected by his introduction of such works by Henry Aldrich to St Patrick's. Mathews was copying this repertoire at a time when the publication of the first volume of Boyce (1760) stimulated a revival of interest in earlier music.

Before the passing of the Act of Union in 1800, Dublin was the second most important city in the British Isles, and boasted a significantly aristocratic population. Its cathedrals had considerable financial resources and offered better financial inducements to singers than

almost any comparable institution in England. The resulting migration across the Irish Sea included accomplished musicians with Chapel Royal connections. The taste of these musicians obviously favoured the repertoire with which they were familiar. The Irish ascendancy favoured English music over indigenous products. A relatively small percentage of the repertoire flowed from the pens of local composers. These composers belonged to the minority Protestant population, all held cathedral posts, and all followed English compositional models closely. Very few of their works circulated in England although Walsh in D and some of Woodward's anthems held sway for some time.

Though generally uneven in quality, the music attributed to 'Roseingrave' is at best comparable to much English material of the time. It did not circulate widely in manuscript form, however, and its appearances in eighteenth-century anthem word books from English cathedrals are few and far between. The greater success of Woodward's music must have been largely dependent on its availability in a printed edition.

4.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS AND POSSIBLE AVENUES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Before the preparation of this thesis, the music library at St Patrick's Cathedral was one of the few cathedral collections which suffered from a complete lack of listing. This severe disadvantage resulted in the collection being treated in a cursory manner by scholars in the past, access being difficult and rewards uncertain. The relatively rare citations of Dublin sources in recent works on post-Restoration music suggests that there are no significant sources for this repertoire in Dublin. Most studies of post-Restoration music have either passed over the sources at St Patrick's, for example, Zimmerman's *Analytical Catalogue*, or have given only partial citations.

The collection, however, yields significant information concerning the history of Anglican church music, and this significance is not confined to Ireland. The work of establishing the authenticity of the manuscripts has involved the comparison of the non-local contents of the library with sources that have been authenticated elsewhere, and this aspect of the work has produced the most illuminating results. Investigation of the contents of libraries at other cathedrals involved some biographical research that established links of personnel between institutions and between manuscripts.

Despite its geographical separation from the England, the repertoire at the Dublin

cathedrals proves to have been very up to date with its English counterparts, and the Dublin sources turn out to be important links in the transmission of material. Much has survived there which perished at such high-ranking English cathedrals as Salisbury and Winchester.

This thesis has identified many previously unknown sources for post-Restoration works, and has identified several works which are not known elsewhere. The work of the copyist John Mathews has been investigated and unknown examples of his work have been newly identified in the Bodleian and Tenbury collections. These manuscripts have been linked to other books in Mathews's hand in the Reid Music Library, Edinburgh, and Marsh's Library, Dublin. The work of this copyist has been examined and the transmission route for several pieces has been established—especially in the case of works by certain Salisbury composers. The connections that have been established between different sources in Mathews's hand will promote the future assessment of music at Salisbury and Winchester cathedrals, where little material has survived from before 1800. The wide dissemination of Mathews's work suggests that the work of other copyists with Dublin connections may still be hidden in libraries in Britain. In particular, copies in the hand of Daniel Roseingrave, of Ralph Roseingrave, Robert Hodge, Charles Taylor, John Phipps, the Isaacs or the Finells may be awaiting discovery in sources outside Ireland.

Despite work on the collections in Dublin by Purcell scholars, unique sources for the symphony anthem *Praise the Lord, ye servants* remained unnoticed in the libraries of St Patrick's and Christ Church until now. It is very likely that these would still remain unnoticed without the type of investigation that has been undertaken here. These sources do not convey the entire text of the piece, but they include material which gives insight into Purcell's earliest experiments in this genre.

Existing source lists for many composers now require revision to include the sources at St Patrick's. In addition to the Purcell sources, this research has uncovered unique copies of works by Clarke, Croft, Hall and Travers.

No examination of the collection at St Patrick's in a geographical context had previously been carried out, and the importance of the historical and musicological information yielded by this approach suggests that it could be a fruitful way of investigating other collections in the British Isles. It suggests also that there is still more to learn from collections in Dublin.

Oxford: Christ Church Library

Och MS 11

Och MS 622

Och MS 1230

Och MS 16

Och MS 628

Och MS 1231

Och MS 19

Och MS 1002

Och MS 1235

Och MS 40-2

Och MS 1220-5

Och MS 1246

York: Minster Library

MS M 1/8 (S)

MS N-5/10 of the Nanki Music Library, Japan, was consulted on a microfilm kindly supplied by the Library of the Kunitachi College of Music.

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